



Fukui Eiichi, *Igaguri kun* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Akita Shoten, February 1954)

Fukui Eiichi and the Judo Manga Revolution Ryan Holmberg

Contrary to what the world's preteens may think, precious few Japanese know how to effectively launch throwing stars or wield a katana. That goes for Japanese cartoonists too—legions of ninja and samurai in their work notwithstanding.

On the other hand, a fair number do know martial arts. With judo and kendo first offered in Japanese schools in 1911, made compulsory in 1931 until the end of World War II in 1945, and then selectively reinstated in the early 1950s, most Japanese men born in the 20th century, and not a few women, have been familiar with at least the rudiments of grappling, tossing, and fencing, as others are with the basics of karate and archery. Considering also the number of black belts within the manga industry over the years—among them, Kajiwara Ikki (*Star of the Giants*; judo, karate), Baron Yoshimoto (*The Troublemakers*; judo), Hanakuma Yusaku (*Tokyo Zombie*; jiu-jitsu), Itagaki Keisuke (*Baki*; shorinji kenpo), and Arakawa Hiromu (*Fullmetal Alchemist*; karate)—you should think twice before tangling with a mangaka or scriptwriter.

Among the martial arts *actively practiced* in Japan in the modern period, the one that has had the greatest impact on manga is, hands down, judo. In prewar children's manga, heroes consistently execute hip tosses and tomoe-nage throws with resounding precision. Into the early postwar period, ninja and samurai continuously wander the countryside in manga flipping and pinning their foes as a less violent alternative to stabbing or bonking them. Nonetheless, as a distinct and sustained genre, martial arts manga did not come into its own until the '50s with the title

you hold in your hands, Fukui Eiichi's (1921-54) *Igaguri: Young Judo Master* (*Igaguri kun*, 1952-54), and the hundreds—yes, hundreds—of judo, kendo, karate, sumo, and professional wrestling manga made in its wake.

Originally serialized in the monthly magazine *Adventure King* (*Bōken ō*), *Igaguri* was easily one of the most popular and influential manga of the early postwar era. Not only did it kickstart a craze for judo manga that continued into the '70s, and for martial arts manga that continues to the present, it also helped establish the template for shōnen manga as we know it today. By combining influences from the moralizing fiction of the not-so-distant, pre-1945 past with the visual dynamism of cinema, animation, and postwar manga, *Igaguri* revolutionized both *what* was drawn in Japanese comics and *how* it was drawn. It established for martial arts manga, and by extension sports manga, an aesthetic and moral raison d'être. With its admirable protagonist Igaya Kurisuke—the stalwart judo prodigy with the “chestnut burr” buzz cut (the meaning of “*igaguri*” in Japanese)—*Igaguri* changed the very definition of what a “hero” was in manga and how that heroism was visually expressed. It demonstrated that dramatized combat could drive, not just intermittent scenes or an isolated storyline, but a continuing, multi-year series. It popularized the idea that comics might serve an edifying social purpose by building character among, not just little children (as they had previously), but also adolescent boys and, over time, young men. Inspired by the prose fiction of Fukui's own youth, *Igaguri* reconfigured shōnen manga



Photograph of Fukui Eiichi, *Asabi Graph* (June 10, 1953)

around the idea of *nekketsu*—“hot-blooded” passion, compassion, strength, and rectitude—breaking with the zany action, slapstick humor, talking animals, and exotic fantasy settings that had dominated comics for boys in Japan since the ‘20s. It thereby set the stage for both “sports grit” (*supokon*) manga of the ‘60s and the principles of “friendship, effort, and victory” (*yūjo, doryoku, shōri*) that propelled *Shōnen Jump* to industry dominance in the ‘70s and global fame in the ‘90s.

Igaguri and the *nekketsu* turn in manga also marked the first major challenge to Tezuka Osamu’s (1928-89) eminence. While few would contest the truism that Tezuka revolutionized Japanese comics in the years following World War II, many also recognize that his glorification has obscured not just the accomplishments of cartoonists in the decades before his ascension, but also the diversity and changes within manga during the early postwar



Fukui Eiichi, *Igaguri's Showdown*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (December 1953)

period. As argued by the manga critic Natsume Fusanosuke, what Fukui pioneered was, in some ways, more fundamental to the subsequent development of manga, or at least of manga for a young male audience. “There are many people who say that postwar manga derive entirely from Tezuka’s techniques, but that view strikes me as being too under the influence of baby boomers’ idolization of him,” writes Natsume. “Rereading *Igaguri* today, one is struck by everything in it that is not part of Tezuka’s world: an earthy, Japanese-y something that is so unlike Tezuka’s buttery, Hollywood world—a something that lived on covertly through succeeding generations of

manga artists.”¹

This “Japanese-y something,” it is important to note, was fundamentally reactionary in both origin and intent. As Tezuka wrote in his autobiography *I Am a Cartoonist* (*Boku wa mangaka*, 1979), “Until then [in the postwar period], boys’ magazines had kept their distance from anything nationalistic. They were particularly careful when dealing with judo, kendo, or karate, so much so that the results were dull and turned off readers. Fukui tore aside that veil and tackled martial arts manga without any reservations. Whether he was drawing black belts battling upon dry grass fields or karate masters, Fukui couldn’t care less how anachronistic his manga were. He drew his characters as cool as could be, reigniting a flame that had gone out in young boys’ hearts.”²

That extinguished “flame” was, more precisely, the moral codes and models of heroism that had held sway in shōnen culture since the early decades of the Japanese Empire, though now stripped of the military trappings and chauvinism that had accrued to them during the growth of militarism and fascism in the ‘30s and early ‘40s, and recast in a manner appropriate for the post-Occupation era—a time when the powers-that-be in Japan were searching for cultural footings that would serve the ideals of postwar pacifism and individual accomplishment in a capitalist society, while still being grounded in the traditions of the past. Familiar yet new, reactionary yet dynamic, a watershed that was also a return—*Igaguri* was so influential in large part because of its double-edged nature. Fukui, in effect, took Tezuka’s energy and innovations and rationalized and disciplined them in accordance with both the values of the pre-1945 past and the demands of the accelerated ‘50s present.

Tezuka recognized the challenge, responding to Fukui’s success with alternating expressions of competitive jealousy and posthumous respect. Younger artists, meanwhile, took eagerly to Fukui’s

streamlined cartooning and moral messaging, thereby seeding not just sports and martial arts manga as full-fledged genres, but also the cinematic, visual storytelling-centric form of comics that eventually came to be known as “gekiga”. On the ideological side, though *Igaguri* itself rarely strays beyond the conservative, the success of its revivalist gambit helped create a space for the return of rightist content within shōnen magazines in the late ‘50s and beyond.

Even Fukui’s sudden death in June 1954—the result of poor dietary habits, chronic health problems, and overwork—was a galvanizing force. His peers responded by demanding better pay and less pressure from their publishers, while employing Fukui’s techniques to fill pages effectively and punctually in an industry that showed no signs of slowing. Wont to let go of *Igaguri*’s lucrative popularity, *Adventure King* found other artists to continue the series until 1960, by which point weekly magazines had begun displacing monthlies in the manga industry, marking the end of an era. A second title orphaned by Fukui upon his passing, the kendo and sword-fighting manga *Red-Breasted Suzunosuke* (*Akadō Suzunosuke*, 1954-60), inspired not only its own swashbuckling army of copycats, but also the first major cross-franchising hit around a manga property in the postwar period, providing the template for what is now called the “media mix.”

The present English edition of *Igaguri* represents most of Fukui’s tenure on the manga, stopping at the end of a narrative arc that concluded in early 1954, a few months before his death. With the goal of fleshing out the beginnings of the alternative, post-Tezuka lineage that *Igaguri* helped initiate in Japanese comics, this essay offers a detailed look at the manga’s genesis and early reception, surveying Fukui’s own background as an animator, his turn to manga during the Occupation period, the cultural and social import of judo and *nekketsu*

fiction, the artist's relationship with Tezuka, and the industry's response to Fukui's success and death. Contrary to what Natsume suggests, *Igaguri's* influence was hardly "covert." True, today the manga may only be familiar to historians, collectors, and nostalgic baby boomers. But until the '70s, Fukui's influence at a both a macro and micro level was widely recognized and even openly acknowledged within the pages of other artist's manga—a story, unfortunately, that will have to wait until another time due to space limitations. Were it to be told, you'd be able to see Fukui's work as the essential link between Tezuka and both gekiga and "sports grit" manga. This essay will instead focus on *Igaguri* as an important conduit between animation and manga, between pre-1945 *nekketsu* fiction and postwar shōnen manga, between Imperial age propaganda and postwar entertainment, and between rapidly changing labor conditions and artistic innovation. I'd say that's an impressive resume for any mangaka, let alone one whose career lasted a mere five years.

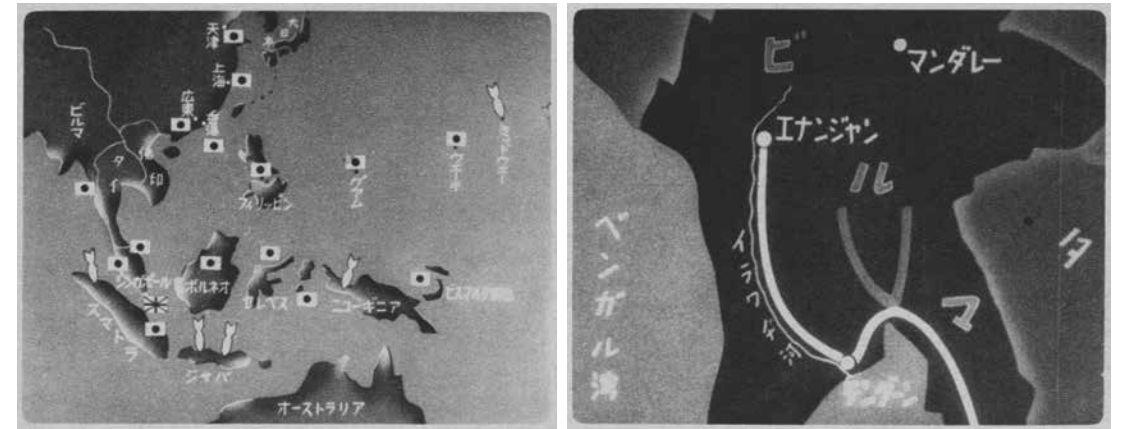
1. Young Fukui Eiichi and Animation

Aged twenty-seven when he started drawing manga fulltime in 1949—in an era when most rookies debuted in their teens—Fukui was a relative late-comer to the industry. Yet, he was no greenhorn when it came to the wider world of "cartooning." As is often the case in histories of artistic media, the novelty of *Igaguri* was partly the result of techniques adapted from one field to another—in this case, from animation and film to comics.

Fukui was born on March 3, 1921 in Shinagawa, a working class area in south Tokyo.³ His father was a carpenter, woodworker, and lacquerware maker, who was successful enough to afford to send his son to Ikubunkan Middle School (comprising seventh through eleventh grades in the prewar system), a private feeder school for Japan's elite colleges. He

enjoyed drawing manga from an early age. In his teens, he started submitting single panel cartoons and short strips to the amateur sections of youth magazines and newspapers. His visage reportedly appeared in a group photograph of regular submitters in either *Asahi Graph* or *Mainichi Shinbun* (more likely the latter) in the early '30s, though his cartoons themselves were rejected.⁴ According to his colleagues, the country's leading boys' magazine, Kōdansha's *Shōnen Club*, either published one of his cartoons or listed his name in its honorable mentions. They claimed that this occurred in the very same issue, circa 1932-33, as the debut of Inoue Kazuo, the future author of the baseball manga *Bat Kid* (*Batto kun*, 1947-49).⁵ The happiness of this coincidence (if true) will become evident below. Fukui also frequented movie theaters, especially to see animated films, which inspired a desire to work in the industry and make animation himself.⁶ When it came to live-action films, he preferred Japanese productions over American and European ones.

After Fukui graduated from Ikubunkan in 1938, he set his sights on art school. He studied for a while at the private Kawabata Painting Academy (Kawabata ga gakkō), as a few other future cartoonists and many famous painters had before him. He also reportedly worked at an employment center, where—putting his artistic skills to practical if uncreative use—he was tasked with producing the newsletter, neatly hand-lettering and laying out information for reproduction via mimeograph. "His handwriting looked like samples out of a textbook," recalled his colleague, cartoonist Takano Yoshiteru.⁷ "He wrote in *kaisho* [block script]," commented Tezuka, who read the strictness of his penmanship as an extension of his conservative personality.⁸ (The impeccability of his calligraphy can be seen particularly clearly on chalkboard on the cover of the book *Smiley Mangathon Classroom*, depicted on page xxx).



Stills from Nippon Eiga-sha Newsreels (1942), showing the South Pacific and Burma

Fukui's father, however, was strongly against him pursuing an artistic career. He told his son that, if he failed art school entrance exams, he would have to volunteer for the military. Alas, fail he did, and sign up for the military he did, at the age of eighteen. But a sudden case of appendicitis kept him from ever having to go through boot camp. After undergoing surgery, he convalesced in the salubrious subtropical climes of Chichijima in the Ogasawara Islands, where he and his sanatorium mates passed the time writing and drawing for their own self-published newspaper. Upon returning to the mainland, Fukui was stationed at a military base in Chiba, but was never called up for war—thus avoiding, if not a death sentence necessarily, the likelihood of injury, maiming, PTSD, or having to pillage and kill. Luckily for him again, he was released from the military in 1941, prior to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the mass call-up and conscription that followed. When asked by a fan in 1954 what he wanted to grow up to be as a child, Fukui replied, "An army general. I would've given anything to have had my chest decorated with military medals."⁹

At some point in the early '40s, Fukui joined the

animation department of Nippon Eiga-sha (Japan Movie Company), hereafter Nichiei. Originally known as Nippon Newsreel Company (Nippon nyuusu eiga-sha), Nichiei was created in 1940 by a government-mandated merger of the newsreel departments of the country's major newspapers. It subsequently absorbed the documentary and educational "culture films" (*bunka eiga*, a translation of the German "Kulturfilm") departments of Japan's major film studios. Boasting a staff of over a thousand people and churning out a newsreel a week in addition to regular feature and military training films, Nichiei was the largest producer of cinematic propaganda in Japan during World War II. Among its offerings were films celebrating the Emperor and the Imperial Family, patriotic sporting events, the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the war effort in China, Southeast Asia, and across the Pacific, and citizen heroism on the homefront.¹⁰ Fukui worked on the graphic and animated segments, doing such tasks as photographing and drawing maps to show the location of battles, sites bombed, and areas occupied by the Japanese military, indicated by little Rising Sun flags and animated arrows.¹¹ The stills repro-

duced here come from map segments in Nichiei newsreels, though I don't know if Fukui worked on these specific ones.¹² Tezuka posited that perhaps the reason Fukui was never conscripted for the war (unlike many young men his age) was because he worked on propaganda films and was therefore deemed too important to the war effort to become cannon fodder.¹³ That's not particularly convincing, however, considering that animators and other individuals from across the film industry working on propaganda were regularly dispatched to the front as the war worsened.

Before the war came to its miserable end in August 1945, Fukui's family home, like most wood structures in Japanese cities, was burned to the ground by American bombers. Nichiei turned to producing newsreels about Japan's surrender and the arrival of the Allied Occupation forces. They made their last newsreel in late December 1945, before being broken up and reorganized to better serve the needs of the Occupation. It's unclear whether Fukui still worked for Nichiei after the war. However, cartoonist Sugiura Shigeru (who also attended Ikubunkan Middle School, though a decade earlier) recalls meeting him in October 1945 at Mobarra Movie Research Laboratory (Mobarra eiga kenkyūjo), where Sugiura had worked during the war as an animator on instructional films for the Navy. The facilities were reportedly being used by a large mix of animators, including many from Nichiei, looking to make full-blown animated films.¹⁴

Soon thereafter, Fukui started working for a new animation studio, Shin Nihon Dōga-sha (New Japan Animation Company), founded in December 1945 by animator Yamamoto Sanae. Before and during the war, Yamamoto had worked on a variety of entertainment and propaganda films, including educational projects for the military at the same Mobarra Lab where Sugiura had been. Joining the

new Shin Nihon Dōga-sha soon after its creation were Masaoka Kenzō and Murata Yasuji. Masaoka is often referred to as “the father of Japanese animation” for helping to pioneer talkie and cel animation in Japan and for popularizing the term “*dōga*” (literally, “moving pictures”) to describe the animation process, while Murata is probably best known for his adaptations of *Norakuro* in the '30s. These stalwarts of prewar and wartime animation initially led a staff of twenty to thirty, which quickly grew to about eighty, including a number of recently repatriated artists who had fought in the war. Fukui's wife recalls him joining in early 1946. The studio was originally located in Ekoda (northwest Tokyo), not far from Fukui's home in Shiina-machi, just west of Ikebukuro.¹⁵

While Shin Nihon Dōga-sha also received commissions from the CIE (Civil Information and Education Division), the Occupation's propaganda and censorship office, their most significant work was produced at the behest of Tōhō, one of the nation's largest film studios, which was looking to branch out into animation. The initial (and ultimately only successful) result of this subcontracting arrangement was *Cherry Trees* (*Sakura*, a.k.a. *Spring Wonderland* [*Haru no gensō*], May 1946), an ethereal, wordless, musical, nihonga-esque, *Fantasia*-esque, 8-minute short directed by Masaoka, featuring a pair of anthropomorphic butterflies fluttering past flora, fauna, and humans in traditional Japanese dress at the dawn of spring. It reads as a reprise of Masaoka's most famous film, which is also one of the most highly regarded Japanese animated films prior to the '50s, the 15-minute *The Spider and the Tulip* (*Kumo to chuulippu*, 1943). *Cherry Trees* was followed by *Little Tiger, the Abandoned Kitty* (*Suteneko torachan*, August 1947), a cute, 20-minute, animated musical about a family of anthropomorphic housecats and their newly adopted, orphaned sibling, also directed by Masaoka. Though he doesn't specify for what

projects exactly, Kinoshita Toshio, a future cartoonist who worked at Shin Nihon Dōga-sha, claimed that Fukui was “chief animator” (*dōga chiifu*) at the studio, probably meaning that he was the lead keyframe artist and supervised the in-betweeners below him.¹⁶ He would, therefore, not only have had to master Masaoka's distinctively soft and rounded yet naturalistic figurative style, but also the modernist cinematic language of close-ups, montage, and abstraction that Masaoka had imported into animation from “culture films” of the '30s.

Like *Cherry Trees*, *Little Tiger* began as a Tōhō commission. But as the project went over schedule and budget, Shin Nihon Dōga-sha had to find funding sources from elsewhere, leading to the studio's restructuring in April 1947 as an incorporated company called Nihon Manga Eiga-sha (Japan Cartoon Movie Company)—Nichiman, for short. Among its investors were film studios, a hotel owner, a railway operator, and an advertising agency. Tensions over the shape of the new venture and concerns about the loss of creative autonomy, however, quickly led to the exit of its top members, including Yamamoto and Masaoka, who created a new company, Nihon Dōga-sha (Japan Animation Company), hereafter Nichidō. The arrival of outside investors also upset Shin Nihon Dōga-sha's original sponsor, Tōhō, who started working with the split-off company instead.

Fukui initially stayed with Nichiman, which was now headed creatively by Murata. Flush with capital, Nichiman began churning out more animated films than any other studio in Japan. They had difficulties finding distributors, however—as all of their films were short, they could only be shown as double features alongside feature films from other studios—so they had to resort instead to educational outlets, which were far less lucrative. They also took on side commissions like creating subtitles and animated diagrams, many via the CIE. Though



Little Tiger, the Abandoned Kitty (Shin Nihon Dōga-sha, August 1947), directed by Masaoka Kenzō

full credits for Nichiman films do not seem to have been recorded, Fukui's name appears in documents related to at least two productions: as chief animator on *Grow Strong Good Kid* (*Nobiyuke yoiko*, originally titled *Sarujifu gassen*, directed by Murata), completed in April 1947, but not released until March 1948; and as lead writer on *Spring Has Come Also to the Wife* (*Okusan ni mo haru ga kita*, directed by Kimura Ichirō), completed in January 1948 and released that November.¹⁷ Judging from their titles, these films were, like Masaoka's *Little Tiger*, related in content and style to prewar “*yoiko*” (good kid) manga and children's books.

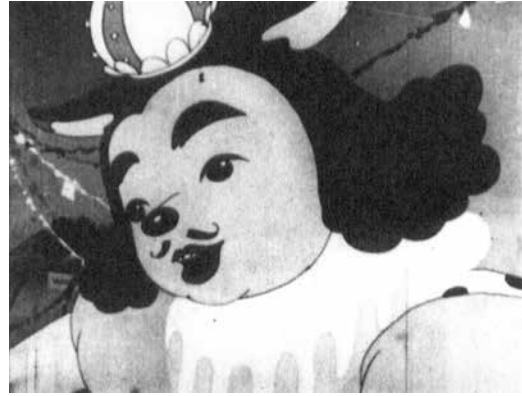
Nichiman is also where Fukui met his wife, Miyoko, who worked at the studio as a colorist. “He was kind of a slob,” Miyoko recalled about her first impression of him. “He always wore this blue, ikat-dyed kimono, carried around a duffle bag, and had a handkerchief sticking out of his back pocket. During break time at the studio, we played a lot of ping pong. He would tie his kimono sleeves back so that they wouldn't get in the way of swinging his paddle. He sure was a strange one.”¹⁸ Colleague Kimura Ichirō (another a future cartoonist) remembers him



Fukui Eiichi and Miyoko (late 1940s)

wearing a flight suit and wood sandals to work, “like a hero out of a manga.”¹⁹ Via company-organized social dances, Kimura recalls some nine different couples forming while he was at the company.²⁰ It’s not clear if this is how Fukui and Miyoko met; Miyoko only mentions working together late, group dinners at her family home, going to the movies together, and walking to and from the studio together. At any rate, they got married in 1948. Their first child, a boy, was born in January 1949.

In May 1948, Nichiman began production on a new movie, *The King’s Tail* (*Ōsama no shippo*), the studio’s first and ultimately only feature-length animated film. Inspired by *The Emperor’s New Clothes*, it is about a fox prince born without a tail



The King’s Tail (Nihon Manga Eiga-sha, October 1949), directed by Seo Mitsuyo

and his subjects, who are forced to hide their own tails for fear of upsetting the king. Once the tail-less prince assumes the throne, he realizes how much his subjects have suffered because of the directive proclaimed on his behalf. He has it rescinded and the realm rejoices. Initiated with the hopes of breaking Nichiman out of the flagging short film market, *The King’s Tail* ended up as the most expensive animated film produced in Japan to that date. It was directed by a new but highly esteemed employee at Nichiman: Seo Mitsuyo, the legendary director of *Momotaro: Sacred Sailors* (*Momotarō: umi no shinpei*, 1945), Japan’s first feature-length animated film and a masterpiece of wartime propaganda. Fukui was assigned as chief animator on the project—an exciting career step up.

Money and politics, however, hamstrung the film’s progress. Though Nichiman had received an infusion of capital from commissions via the CIE, including work on a (seemingly lost) adaptation of the German children’s story *The Adventures of Maya the Bee*, its short films continued to reap unsatisfactory returns, leading to attempts to cut staff. When that move was defeated by the company’s labor

union, loan sharks attempted to seize the studio’s equipment, hampering work on existing productions. According to Furusawa Hideo, one of Nichiman’s top animators (and another future cartoonist), the company paid so little that staff members had to pool their resources just to buy a pack of cigarettes.²¹

Nichiman’s staff belonged to the Japan Motion Picture and Theatrical Worker’s Union (JMTW), *Nichieien* for short in Japanese. Created in January 1946 as an umbrella organization for the entire film industry, it was one of the largest unions during the Occupation period, boasting some 18,000 members at its height and backed by the powerful, Japanese Communist Party-controlled All Japan National Congress of Industrial Unions (Sanbetsu), itself some 1.5 million members strong. Unable to come to terms with studio management over wages, working conditions, collective bargaining agreements, and creative control, JMTW launched the first of multiple strikes in March 1946, commencing what is known as the Tōhō Labor Disputes (Tōhō sōgi). Fractious and borderline violent, recurring protests and strikes continued until the fall of 1948, halting production, causing veteran talent to leave for alternate unions or independent studios, and climaxing in barricades, unionists arming themselves with studio equipment, and finally intervention by the Tokyo police and American Occupation forces, who showed up on August 19, 1948 with a platoon of troops and tanks. “They brought out everything but the battleships!” one actress famously quipped.²²

Fukui served as the General Secretary of JMTW’s Nichiman branch. According to his wife, he had little interest in leftwing political culture or the bigger ideological issues at play, and only started taking his union duties seriously during Nichiman’s final days, when they had to drag management to the table to negotiate about late and unpaid salaries. The Nichiman union participated in protests in support of the Tōhō strikes, though she claims that

few of their colleagues took them seriously. While committed protestors waved red flags and sung the Internationale during a May Day protest in Hibiya in central Tokyo, for example, Fukui and other Nichiman members chattered about nothing in particular, angering JMTW organizers. What they appreciated most about being in the union, she says, was free admission to affiliated theaters. It’s important, however, to take such retrospective cynicism with a grain of salt. This was an era when most Japanese were poor, daily life was a struggle, and leftist sentiment and activity were widespread. Simply because of circumstance, even aloofness would have been many times more engaged than the apolitical ignorance of a later, more peaceful and affluent age.

Despite financial troubles and work stoppages, *The King’s Tail* was finally completed in October 1949, clocking in at 47 minutes and some 6 million yen in production costs. Preview screenings received glowing reviews from critics. However, the movie was never shown publicly. The traditional explanation for this has been ideological: both the Occupation command and the film industry’s anticommunist management found the film’s egalitarian story too leftist in its sympathies and had it shelved. Recent scholarship has argued instead that the primary problem was practical: major film companies controlled distribution and made it almost impossible for independent studios like Nichiman (which was on poor terms with Tōhō) to show their films in theaters.²³ Whatever the reason, not only did the canning of *The King’s Tail* cripple Nichiman financially (the company squeaked by for another decade on small, subcontracted jobs), it also caused many animators to abandon the industry, including Fukui. According to Kimura, Nichiman was preparing to produce one of Fukui’s own ideas before he quit; the company’s failure must have been doubly disappointing for him if that’s true.²⁴ According to his wife, Fukui worked in 1949 at an animation



Masaoka Kenzō & Washisu Tomio (Ushio Sōji), *Litter Tiger, the Abandoned Kitty* (Tokyo: Mahiru shobō, July 1947). Prange Collection, University of Maryland

studio in Wakamatsu-chō (near Shinjuku), which is where Nichidō was located—so it seems that, after leaving Nichiman, Fukui spent at least a little time at Masaoka and Yamamoto’s rival studio. Tezuka similarly recalls Fukui having worked at Nichidō.²⁵ That same year, however, due to financial troubles, Masaoka, Nichidō’s president, quit.

Where did this pool of veteran talent go? While union directors and actors at Tōhō turned mainly to the theater to raise money for their cause and make ends meet during the strikes—others became street portraitists or took short-term design, wedding planning, and carpentry gigs, while their



Seo Tarō (Mitsuyo), “Little Tiger,” *Shōgaku ichinensei (First Graders)* (October 1951). From Hagihara Yukari, *Masaoka Kenzō to sono jidai* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2015)

families sold cheap goods like candies and dolls—many animators turned to the children’s publishing industry.²⁶ Masaoka appears to have been the main person organizing this lifeline. He had already been involved in drawing picture books during the war. With the support of Tōhō, his first *Little Tiger* film was adapted into a children’s book in 1947—illustrated, interestingly, by Ushio Sōji, an animator and special effects artist at Tōhō who began drawing manga and children’s books during the strikes (and whose name will come up again later in this essay).²⁷ In April 1949, with the aim of finding work in the children’s publishing indus-



Fukui Eiichi, Miyoko, and their son (early 1950s)

try for struggling and exiting animators, Masaoka organized the Japan Animator’s Group (Nihon dōga shūdan).²⁸ Members of both Nichiman and Nichidō—including Seo, Fukui, Furusawa, Kimura, Kinoshita, Kumakawa Masao, and Mori Yasuji—appear to have gained work through this channel. According to Toyoda Kiichi, an editor at Shōgakukan, Masaoka came to Shōgakukan in 1949 with a list of recommended artists, among them Fukui. If an artist’s work did not fit Shōgakukan or its subsidiary Shūeisha’s wholesome profile, they were passed on to publishers with more oomph, like Kōdansha and Akita Shoten.²⁹ Kurosaki Yoshisuke, a veteran

children’s illustrator who worked on various high profile animation projects during the ‘40s, including art design on Seo’s *Momotaro: Sacred Sailors* and keyframes for Masaoka’s *Cherry Trees* and the first *Little Tiger* film, also reportedly helped animators find drawing jobs.³⁰

Thus, between 1948 and 1950—as an unintended side effect of the union-busting and anti-communism of the post-Truman Doctrine phase of the Occupation, often referred to in history books as the “reverse course”—a large number of seasoned animators entered the Japanese publishing industry. Some, like Seo (now working under the

penname Seo Tarō), never looked back, keeping to children’s books and magazines for the rest of their careers. Masaoka wrote and drew stories and made mixed media works for children’s publications until the early ‘60s, at which point he was hired to train new animators for the age of TV anime at fledgling studios like Tezuka’s Mushi Pro and Ushio’s P Production. Others, like Mori and Kumakawa, straddled both industries through the ‘50s, dabbling in children’s books and talking animal comics for little kids while helping out at various animation studios, before recommitting fulltime to animation once Nichidō was absorbed by Tōei’s new animation studio in 1956—a merger which finally put the industry on firm footing. Mori also drew the covers for the final issues of *Manga Shōnen* (a magazine to be discussed below) in 1955. Yet other defectors used children’s publishing as a step to enter the more dynamic arena of shōnen manga. Among that group, which also included Furusawa, Kimura, and Kinoshita, Fukui’s work was by far the most consequential. Usually, the revolution that occurred in Japanese comics in the late ‘40s and early ‘50s is credited to Tezuka’s rise and his displacement of lingering pre-1945 stars and their styles. But the above, the temporary collapse of the Japanese animation industry and the conversion of animators into mangaka, was also a major catalyst.

“The hardships of his animation years became the steppingstones for his manga career,” claimed Furusawa about Fukui after his death.³¹ That indeed seems to have been the case: in terms of a committed work ethic, an ability to draw competently, quickly, and in a variety of styles, as well as the distinctive “cinematic” techniques he eventually developed. Compared to the capital-intensive, labor-segmented, distribution-sensitive, turbulence-prone nature of the animation industry, the book and magazine trade must have seemed like a paradise to ex-animators: a growing industry whose future seemed bright

and its working environment more laidback, with greater room for personal autonomy and artistic experimentation, and ample time for unstructured camaraderie among colleagues. It was also a field readying to undergo massive changes—not all of which were beneficial to its resident members.

2. The Don’t-Sweat-It Kid and Shōnen Manga

In the late ‘40s, the manga industry was populated by a large number of individuals who had been active professionally since before the war. Many of the artists whom Fukui grew up reading in *Shōnen Club* were still active, while former *Kōdansha* editors ran and staffed a number of youth periodicals, like *Yakyū Shōnen* (*Baseball Boys*) and *Manga Shōnen*. Accordingly, what was initially published in these magazines was closely related to what had been popular in the ‘30s in style and content—though, as to be expected, with milder forms of nationalism and no militarism, by order of the Occupation authorities. But things were about to change, thanks most of all to a young upstart from Osaka named Tezuka Osamu.

Within months of the publication of his co-authored *New Treasure Island* (*Shin takarajima*, written by Sakai Shichima) in 1947 and *The Mysterious Underground Men* (*Chiteikoku no kaijin*) in 1948, paperback “akahon” manga published in both Tokyo and Osaka teemed with copycats of Tezuka’s Disney-inflected style and penchant for fast-paced adventures in exotic, fantasy settings. After *Jungle Emperor* (*Janguru taitei*, 1950-54) for *Manga Shōnen*, Tezuka’s reputation in the more respectable world of Tokyo magazine publishing was also sealed. Older cartoonists working in older styles hung on until the mid ‘50s. Yet, it was becoming increasingly the case that if you wanted to break into the burgeoning manga market as a newcomer or survive its transformation into a full-fledged entertainment



Fukui Eiichi, “Female Police Officer,” *Society on the Move* (May 1947)



Fukui Eiichi, “The Woods of Male Prostitution,” *Weekly Asabi* (April 1948)

industry as a veteran, then you had to cartoon in a way that channeled at least some of the energy and imagination of Tezuka’s world.

At the same time, not long after Tezuka’s hegemony was consolidated, the lineaments of “post-Tezuka manga” appeared. This was initiated primarily by two forces: the immigration of animators into the manga industry (as described above) and the influ-



Fukui Eiichi, “Cartoons for Young Adults,” *Young Adults’ World* (February 1949). All images on this page from the Prange Collection, University of Maryland

ence of a genre of prewar boy’s prose fiction known as *nekketsu shōsetsu* (“hot-blooded stories”), facilitated by the end of the Occupation and the open return of conservative values in Japanese society and culture. These two forces combined in the person and work of Fukui.

Fukui started cartooning well before he quit Nichiman. Unable to rely on the irregular and



Fukui Eiichi, "Pocket Movie," furoku insert, *Yonen Club* (November 1948). Prange Collection, University of Maryland



Fukui Eiichi, "Moving Picture Cards," furoku insert, *Yonen Club* (May 1949), microfiche image. Prange Collection, University of Maryland

uncertain pay of his flailing employer, he first drew mini comics (*mamebon*) and flip animation booklets for akahon publishers-cum-toy manufacturers, according to his wife. Judging from available bibliographic data, his earliest published cartoon after the war dates from early 1947: a single-panel cartoon on the subject of female police (a new phenomenon in postwar Japan) published in the socialist magazine *Society on the Move* (*Shakai no ugoki*, May 1947), though labelled as a reprint from *Manga*, a political cartoon magazine of shifting ideological allegiances that had existed since before the war. Fukui also succeeded in getting a cartoon published in the popular *Weekly Asahi* (*Shūkan Asahi*) via its "New Cartoonists Contest" in April 1948. It depicts a booze-toting, cross-dressing male sex worker in Ueno Park and the confusion they cause to the representatives of public order. Children's magazines, it seems, were not yet on Fukui's career radar.

A few months later, however, he was drawing for Kōdansha, the publisher of the magazines he loved as a kid in the '30s. Interestingly, his first jobs for them were not comics but rather illustrations for *furoku* (bonus inserts)—all of which were related to animation. First was an assemble-it-yourself, animation flipbook titled "Pocket Movie" ("Pocketto eiga"), published with the November 1948 issue of *Yonen Club*, Kōdansha's little kids' monthly. On the frontside of the sheet are sequences depicting a boy playing catch and a mud-slinging baby, by Yokoyama Ryūichi and Hara Kazushi respectively. On the verso are two by Fukui, one showing a rabbit doing acrobatics on a zooming streamline roadster before crashing into a tree, and the other a hippopotamus trying to show off his gymnastic skills on an exercise bar but bending it out of shape with his weight instead. The beginning part of the racing rabbit one feels vaguely *New Treasure Island*-esque, but perhaps accidentally so, considering that speed-

ing cars were also common in prewar animation and comics. Half a year later, in the same magazine's May 1949 issue, Fukui drew a pre-assembled flipbook, titled "Moving Picture Cards" ("Ugoku e kaado"), depicting girls jumping rope on one side and a boy riding a galloping horse on the other. Another six months later, in the same magazine's November 1949 issue, he drew the pictures for what appears to have been a build-it-yourself zoetrope titled "The Smiley Movie Theater" ("Nikoniko eigakan"). The road from animation to cinematic manga for Fukui was thus paved with para-animation toys.

What else did he publish in this transitional period? In the winter of 1948-49, Fukui drew a trio of single panel jokes for *Young Adults' World* (*Seinen no sekai*, February 1949), a leftist publication, though Fukui's contributions are not political. That summer, he drew the covers, title page, and table of contents for the multi-author book *Smiley Manga-anthon Classroom* (*Nikoniko manga taikai kyōshitsu*, Bun'ensha, July 1949). The other contributors are all Kōdansha regulars with careers reaching back to the prewar era: Niizeki Kennosuke, Nakajima Kikuo, Onodera Shūfū, and Yoshitani Masaru. Then, toward the end of 1949, Fukui was hired to polish a group of reader-submitted cartoons in *Shōnen Club* (December 1949). He was slowly moving up the Kōdansha ladder. (See the gallery of images following this section for more of Fukui's manga.)

While Masaoka's Japan Animator's Group presumably played a part in landing Fukui these jobs, also important was Fukui's new association with Shimada Keizō (1900-73). Though best known as the author of the colonialist classic *Dankichi the Adventurer* (*Bōken Dankichi*, 1933-39), serialized in *Shōnen Club*, Shimada also served as a key point person for new cartoonists wishing to break into the industry in Tokyo in the early postwar period. When Tezuka, for example, made his first trip to Tokyo to show publishers his work in 1947, he



Inoue Kazuo, "Bat Kid," *Manga Shōnen* (June 1948)

stopped at Shimada's studio to ask for advice (the meeting did not go well). Fukui, too, approached Shimada at some point. According to Fukui's wife, he first met Shimada after he started cartooning professionally, which would mean late 1948 or 1949. She recalled a visit during which Shimada pulled out a cartoon Fukui had submitted to a certain periodical's amateur submission pages overseen by Shimada back in the '30s. It was stamped "rejected," but Shimada had kept it because he liked it. He returned it to Fukui, to the latter's blushing delight.³² She names *Asahi Graph* as the venue, but according to Shimada it was instead the amateur manga pages of *Mainichi Shinbun* that he oversaw

and to which Fukui submitted his work.³³ It may have also been Shimada who introduced Fukui to Katō Ken'ichi (1896-1975)—the legendary head editor of *Shōnen Club* in the '20s, one of Kōdansha's top brass in the '30s, and at the time the publisher of *Manga Shōnen*, the magazine that provided Fukui his first regular cartooning job. Shimada and Katō could have also helped Fukui secure more work with Kōdansha. According to Tezuka, Fukui was part of the informal cartoonists' group that later became the Tokyo Children's Manga Association (Tokyo jidō manga kai), which was chaired by Shimada, when he first showed up at a meeting in 1950.³⁴ Fukui had, it seems, successfully infiltrated the Kōdansha old

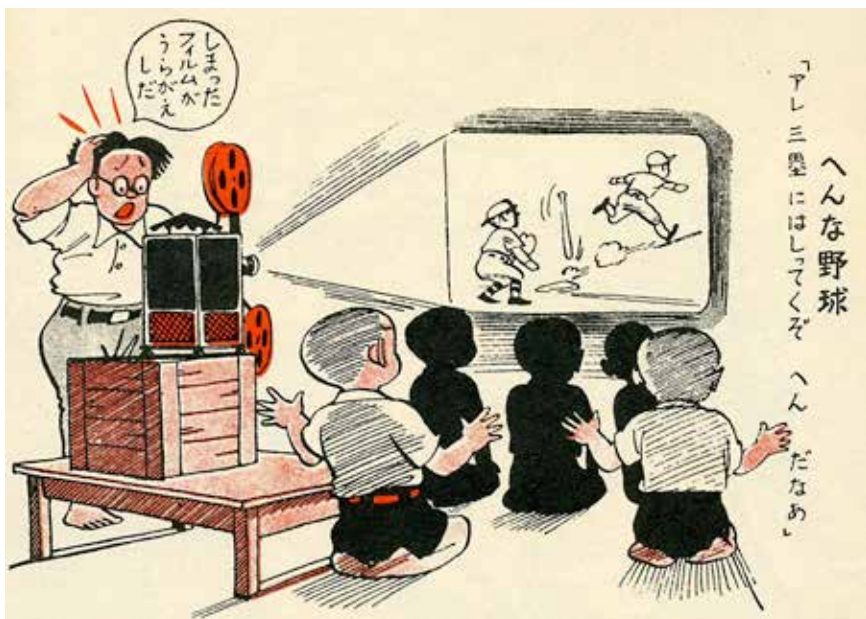


Fukui Eiichi, "Bat Kid" (circa 1950), as reprinted in *Manga Shōnen* (September 1954)

boys' network.

Fukui's initial gig for *Manga Shōnen* was essentially editorial—though portentous nonetheless. He was hired by Katō to manage the continuation of the baseball comic *Bat Kid* following the death of its creator, Inoue Kazuo, in May 1949. Published from 1948 to 1955, *Manga Shōnen* is memorialized in manga history as the host of Tezuka's *Jungle Emperor* and early chapters of his iconic *Phoenix* (*Hinotori*, 1954-55). It is also fondly remembered for its reader submission pages, where many future pros published some of their earliest work, including Ishinomori Shōtarō, Abiko Motō and Fujimoto Hiroshi of the Fujiko Fujio duo, and Tātsumi Yoshi-

hiro.³⁵ Just as important, however, was the magazine's role in helping to establish sports manga as an independent and sustainable genre for the first time after World War II, primarily as home to Inoue's *Bat Kid*. About an earnest and well-behaved middle school boy who wants nothing more than to play baseball, *Bat Kid* melded the tradition of edifying "good kid" comics from before the war with Japanese boys' love of baseball, a sport that had achieved the status of mass entertainment in Japan by the '20s and was promoted heavily by American Occupation authorities after the war. The manga's success as a serial and in book form carried *Manga Shōnen* and its publisher, Gakudōsha, for the first years of



Fukui Eiichi, "Weird Baseball" and "Glove Reader," *Manga Shōnen* (June 1950)

its existence. Thus, when Inoue suddenly died from pleurisy, there was an understandably urgent desire to continue the series in some form, which they did by asking readers to submit their own chapters for publication.³⁶

With ample experience as an animator but minimal as a cartoonist, Fukui was assigned to polish the chosen submissions by adding color for duotone printing and sometimes redrawing them. This he reportedly did for the duration of post-Inoue *Bat Kid*, from November 1949 until June 1950.³⁷ If, as noted earlier, Fukui and Inoue did actually publish their first cartoons (or just have their names listed) in the readers' submissions pages of the same issue of *Shōnen Club* in the early '30s, this was a karmic hand-off indeed. Judging from chapters attributed to his hand, Fukui's rendering of *Bat Kid*, while closely mimicking Inoue's style, is tighter and rounder, with greater dimension and movement, reflecting his years in the animation industry.³⁸

During his tenure on *Bat Kid*, Fukui also occasionally drew his own manga for *Manga Shōnen*. His first contribution to the magazine—which may also be his first published multi-panel comic as a professional—appeared in the very same issue (November 1949) as *Bat Kid*'s recommencement (see page xxx). A one-page, fourteen-panel strip about a boy who suffers a catastrophic haircut, the drawing is quite polished—surprisingly so, considering Fukui hadn't drawn many comics before, but also not so, considering that he had spent six-plus years as an animator. Among his other contributions to *Manga Shōnen* are a pair of cartooned jokes about baseball (June 1950), reproduced on the facing page. One shows kids watching a film about baseball at school, puzzled about a batter running the wrong way after hitting the ball, whereupon their teacher realizes that the film is flipped (yet another reference to movies). The other shows a boy in baseball gear asking a palmist to read his glove and tell him

his fortunes in tomorrow's game. The good-natured humor, setting, and characters all speak to Inoue's influence, while the calligraphic linework and animated facial expressions and movement show that Fukui had begun to work out a style of his own.

In the spring of 1950, Fukui commenced what appears to be his first series for a magazine: *Little Yō* (*Yō chan*) for *Taiyō Shōnen* (*Youth of the Sun*, April 1950-December 1951). Not surprisingly, it's about a baseball-loving boy and the good deeds and endearing foibles of his daily life. Unlike *Bat Kid*, however, there is an *Igaguri*-esque focus on navigating bullies, many of whom play ball for rival middle schools. A year later, in April 1951, Fukui began a similar series for *Manga Shōnen*, *The Don't-Sweat-It Kid* (*Donmai kun*). Its title comes from the protagonist's signature saying, which most chapters end with: "*donmai*," the Japanese pronunciation of the English "don't mind" (as in "I don't mind," but used to mean "don't worry about it"), possibly picked up from American servicemen stationed in Japan. With a *yoiko* baseball boy as its star, *The Don't-Sweat-It Kid* was clearly designed as a replacement for *Bat Kid*. Even many of the characters look similar, as does the general composition and breakdown of action, though rendered in Fukui's more fluid and volumetric style. The setting is more working class: the protagonist's father in *Bat Kid* was a doctor; in *The Don't-Sweat-It Kid*, he's a fishmonger. Sometimes dad has trouble choosing between his job and hobbies like shogi (Japanese chess). Sometimes he loses his temper. Appropriately, he looks like *Igaguri*'s hot-headed friend Gorilla. It's also worth noting that, unlike the pun-y Nagai Battō (Long Bat) of *Bat Kid*, the protagonist of *The Don't-Sweat-It Kid* boasts the stout, Japanese name of Kurokuma Mankichi (Blackbear Goodfortune), presaging the bombastic names in *Igaguri*. Some of the gags and scenes in *Little Yō* and *The Don't-Sweat-It Kid* were likewise recycled in *Igaguri*.



Fukui Eiichi, "The-Don't-Sweat-It Kid," *Manga Shōnen* (1951), as reprinted in *Manga Shōnen* (September 1954).



Both *Little Yō* and *The Don't-Sweat-It Kid* continued until December 1951. The serialization of *Igaguri* began in *Adventure King* a few months later—repeating the relay between baseball and judo that one finds throughout the history of modern Japanese sports culture. “It’s no coincidence that *Igaguri* was such a hit,” reflected one of *Manga Shōnen*’s editors on the occasion of Fukui’s death in 1954. “Drawing baseball manga taught him how to capture the excitement of competition”—which is an odd thing for someone with knowledge of Fukui’s work to say, since, like *Bat Kid*, Fukui’s baseball manga were less about the game itself and more

about model behavior and comedic happenings off the field.³⁹ At any rate, Fukui continued drawing standalone stories and short strips for *Manga Shōnen* until 1952, a number of which feature Inoue-type *yoiko* baseball boys, some of whom look just like Nagai Battō and carry red bats.

By that point, however, Fukui was busy with commissions from more monied publishers. In January 1950, he started drawing short comics and games and other occasional pieces for Shōgakukan’s wholesome *gakunen* magazines, so called because they were divided by “school grade.” Such *gakunen* magazines are where you find the highest



Fukui Eiichi, *Two Are Better Than One* (Tokyo: Tsuru shobō, October 1951)

density of ex-animators, with many of Fukui’s former colleagues appearing in the same issues that he did. From there he moved up to *shōnen* magazines, becoming a frequent contributor to *Shōnen*, *Shōnen Club*, *Shōnen Gabō*, *Adventure King* and others—for the full gamut of top *shōnen* monthlies, essentially. He also drew for some *shōjo* magazines, including *Shōjo* and *Shōjo Club*.

For the most part, Fukui’s work divides into two categories: stories about upright and physically strong male youths and their friends and rivals set in the postwar present, and similarly moralizing stories set in the Edo period past, usually structured around



the relationship between a boy and his father or other paternal figure. Due to *Igaguri*, his work in the former category is best remembered. However, he seems to have produced more of the latter: *jidaigeiki* (Japanese historical fiction) centered around common people, their daily life struggles, and admirable displays of virtue, courage, and strength in the face of violence and corruption. Some are designed as *shokoku manyū* (picaresque travel around Japan), a common genre in popular fiction since the Edo period. The drawing is intricate, gentle, active, and emotive, yet generally reserved. By 1953, one finds more cinematic sequences in his *jidaigeiki*



Hara Kazushi, "Kara Karahei," *Manga Shōnen* (May 1950)

work, though with far fewer moment-to-moment sequences and exaggerated effects panels than in *Igaguri*. The last chapters of *Igaguri* were about as dramatic as Fukui got.

To provide a random sampling of his *jidaigeiki* work: In the spring of 1950, Fukui began a series for *Middle School Friend* (*Chūgakusei no tomo*) titled *Two Are Better Than One* (*Tsūkai futari sankyaku*, April 1950-April 1951) about the small mishaps, adventures, and good deeds experienced by a boy and his uncle as they travel on foot from Tokyo to Kyoto and Osaka. In the summer of 1953, Fukui returned to *Manga Shōnen* with a new series about three wandering samurai, *The Three Pumpkin Musketeers* (*Kabocha sanyūshi*, July 1953-March



Fukui Eiichi, "Suzunosuke the Coward," *The Silver Chime, Third Year* (August 1953)

1954). For *Shōnen Club*, he drew a spin on the fictionalized youthful achievements of the medieval monk Ikkyū—long a part of the canon of edifying fiction for children—titled *Witty Tonkyū* (*Tonkyū san*, January 1953-August 1954). In November of 1953, he published a furoku for *Shōnen Gabō* titled *Charge, Santa's Stagecoach!* (*Susume Santa basha*, no relation to Santa Claus), which resets the basic story and famous high-speed action of John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939) in the Edo period. In the spring of 1954, he revisited stories he had drawn previously about sumo wrestlers to make *The Herculean Raiden* (*Kairiki Raiden*), a condensed bildungsroman about the 18th century sumo wrestler Raiden Tamegorō, published as a furoku for the magazine *Shōnen*



Fukui Eiichi, *Charge, Santa's Stagecoach!*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen Gabō* (November 1953)

(June 1954).

A note on Fukui's cartooning style. As pointed out by Kinoshita Toshio, when Fukui debuted in the publishing industry, he drew in a style modeled after Masaoka's. You can see this in the soft, elastically ovular heads of the playing children in his flipbooks for *Kōdansha* in 1948-49, in some of his early single panel cartoons for *Manga Shōnen* in 1950, and in some of the children's books he drew in the early '50s. When he began drawing multi-panel comics, however, he preferred, as Kinoshita put it, a "fava bean shape" (*soramame-gata*) style, referring to the way he drew heads, with set-back eyes and nose, and high cheeks and brows.⁴⁰ Some prewar *Kōdansha* artists drew in a similar style, including Inoue.



I suspect Fukui was looking most closely at the work of Hara Kazushi, who had been a *Kōdansha* regular since the '30s and whose drawings appear on the reverse side of the first flipbook Fukui drew for *Yōnen Club*. His most popular manga, *Kanra Karabei* (see image on the opposite page), was serialized in *Manga Shōnen* between 1948 and 1952, during which period Fukui began working for the magazine. Both in composition and setting, many of Fukui's early '50s serials seem inspired by this now forgotten but at the time much beloved manga about a rotund ronin and his son, set in the premodern period but devoid of swordplay in order to avoid Occupation censors. The characters of *Igaguri* are drawn in a similarly "bean-y" way, while the non-ac-



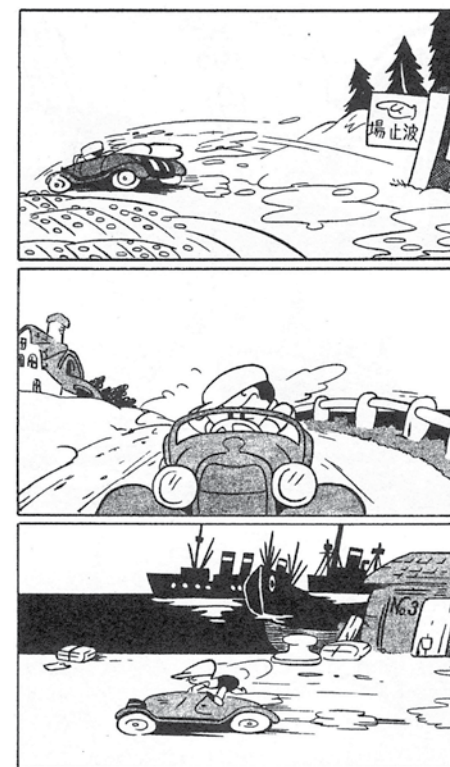
Fukui Eiichi, *The Herculean Raiden*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen* (June 1954)



tion sequences typically depict the characters fully inscribed within the panels (head to toe), as was common in Hara's work, but also most shōnen manga at the time.

By 1953, however, *Igaguri* was regularly featuring action scenes in a "cinematic" mode. They are what *Igaguri* is best known for visually: minimal dialogue within suspenseful montage-style breakdowns, using shots and counter shots, close-ups of eyes looking, faces sweating, hands gripping, and flashbacks, accentuated by visual and sound effects of tossing, slamming, and more complicated *waza* (special moves). You rarely find such things in

Inoue, Hara, or other established Kōdansha artists' work, where bodies are rarely cropped by the panel frames and visual effects are rarely isolated or exaggerated to such a degree. Tezuka was of the opinion that his own work inspired Fukui to use these techniques, and it likely did.⁴¹ But he's also talking about an artist who had many years practical experience working in the animation industry—something which Tezuka could only dream about at the time. He's talking about an artist who began his artistic career drawing animated sequences, spot animation, and overlays for newsreels—where moving arrows, flashing icons, and *waza*-like explosions were not



Tezuka Osamu & Sakai Shichima, *New Treasure Island* (Osaka: Ikucii shuppan, January 1947)

uncommon—before becoming an inbetweener and then a keyframe artist, with intimate knowledge of storyboarding, under the guidance of two directors (Masaoka and Seo) who are known in animation history for incorporating modernist montage and other techniques derived from live-action "culture films." Even things like the use of weather and signs of seasonal change for aesthetic and dramatic effect in *Igaguri* may have come from Masaoka, who has long been admired for the emotive and exquisitely-rendered rainstorms and changing flora in films like *The Spider and the Tulip*, *Cherry Trees*, and the first *Little*



Tezuka Osamu, *Crime and Punishment* (Tokyo: Tokōdō, November 1953)

Tiger.⁴² So, yes: Fukui may have been clued into the power of "cinematic techniques" within comics by Tezuka's precedent (who was influenced by Seo on this count), but he hardly needed anyone's guidance to show him how to expand on the idea.⁴³

It's important to note here that what is often celebrated as the moment when cinematic techniques broke big in manga—the wordless, opening sequence of *New Treasure Island* showing Pete racing in his car to the harbor—was created by a former animator in Sakai Shichima (who worked at Nikkatsu's animation department in the mid



Fukui Eiichi, *Iggaguri kun* (July-August 1954), pages from the last chapter drawn before the artist's death

'30s and for Masaoka's Japan Movie Science Laboratory [Nihon eiga kagaku kenkyūjo] in the early '40s) and a wannabe animator in Tezuka, under the influence of Disney comics, one of which was itself based on animation storyboards. Accordingly, some scholars prefer to describe the manga's "cinematic techniques" as instead "storyboard techniques."⁴⁴ However, as many have pointed out, *New Treasure Island* is an anomaly in Tezuka's published oeuvre. Though Sakai used similarly large, wordless, cinematic breakdowns in his subsequent work, Tezuka did not. Tezuka's cinematic passages tend to be isolated for specific scenes, arranged as a grid, and are less pure in their attempt at montage-centered visual storytelling. Furthermore, while the impact of *New Treasure Island* is confirmed by the countless knockoffs in the akahon market in the late '40s, it was not always the opening "cinematic" sequence that copycats emulated; the ocean and jungle action

sections were just as influential. Also, as an akahon manga that went through many reprints (including many pirate editions) in the late '40s and early '50s, but which had no official new book version until a facsimile edition in 2009, *New Treasure Island* was already somewhat "legendary"—that is, famous but hard-to-find, and therefore known as much by hearsay as by actual access—by the time *Iggaguri* began in 1952. History is not always shaped most by "firsts."

Though it is not usually remembered as such, one could say that *Iggaguri* represents the second major moment in postwar manga when significant aesthetic changes in paneling style was initiated by someone with experience in animation. Moreover, considering the direct and extensive influence of *Iggaguri* on magazine-based shōnen manga as well as proto-gekiga kashihon manga in the mid '50s, it arguably had a larger impact on the proliferation

of cinematic techniques in postwar manga than did *New Treasure Island*. Even within Tezuka's oeuvre, works like *Jungle Emperor* and *Crime and Punishment* (*Tsumi to batsu*, November 1953) were far more influential on that count.⁴⁵ But even there, it's important to note that the experiments in montage and mise en scène for which *Crime and Punishment* is rightly praised *postdate* the increase of "cinematic" passages within *Iggaguri* and the vituperative arbitration over such techniques' origin and proper use within Tezuka's *Manga Classroom* (*Manga kyōshitsu*, 1952-54), as detailed later.⁴⁶ *Jungle Emperor*, too, is visibly more cinematic in its second half.

The championing of *New Treasure Island* as the locus classicus of cinematic techniques by Tezuka and his acolytes is a key part of the so-called "Tokiwasō Myth," in which Tezuka and his followers are positioned as the primary if not sole progenitors of postwar manga style. As many have pointed out, the

blind acceptance of this myth as canon and the idolization of Tezuka by baby boomer fans and historians have obscured the richness and influential legacy of prewar manga.⁴⁷ It has also, however, not been kind to the memory and appreciation of Tezuka's postwar contemporaries. It has, for example, minimized Fukui's influence on shōnen manga, failed to recognize the independent origin of some of his innovations, and ignored the possibility that Tezuka's own innovations may not have spread as widely as they did without the sudden arrival of a group of talented artists—the ex-animators—who had the practical skill and independence of mind vis-à-vis the reigning styles of cartooning to expand upon and streamline his techniques. While praising Tezuka and his acolytes' watershed contributions to postwar manga, let us not forget the contributions of Masaoka and his.⁴⁸

OTHER FUKUI EIICHI MANGA



Fukui Eiichi, "Broken Clippers," *Manga Shōnen* (November 1949). Prange Collection, University of Maryland



Various authors, *Smiley Mangathon Classroom* (Tokyo: Bunensha, July 1949), cover by Fukui Eiichi. Prange Collection, University of Maryland



Fukui Eiichi, "The Friendly Delivery Boy," *Manga Shōnen* (March 1950)



Fukui Eiichi, "Little Yō," *Taiyō Shōnen* (November 1950). National Diet Library, Japan.



Fukui Eiichi, *Saru Jizō* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, April 1953)



Fukui Eiichi, "Witty Tonkyū," *Shōnen Club* (April 1953)



Fukui Eiichi, "Mini Benkei," *Shōnen Gabō* (April 1954)

3. Hot-Blooded Boys and Kings of Adventure

It was not dynamic visuals alone that made *Igaguri* popular and influential. Also important was its story: the personal growth and adventures of a middle school student whose excellence in martial arts goes hand in hand with his maturity and impeccable moral conscience. Similar stories had been common in juvenile prose fiction since at least the '20s, in a genre known as *nekketsu shōsetsu*, “hot-blooded stories”—the sanguine name expressing the burning passion and idealism of young boys. Such stories were not common in manga, however, until *Igaguri*. Its success not only ushered in a new genre of manga—*nekketsu shōnen* manga, which achieved such ubiquity as to become practically synonymous with *shōnen* manga as a whole by the mid '50s—it also helped expand the target readership of children's manga from preteen, elementary school youths to teenage, middle school readers.

To contextualize this watershed, let's look at the changing shape of youth publishing at the time, particularly the realignment of media within the pages of *shōnen* magazines. First, it is important to note that, when Fukui broke into cartooning in the late '40s and early '50s, manga were not yet hegemonic within youth publishing. As they had been in the '20s and '30s, most *shōnen* magazines were constructed around a mixed core of illustrated juvenile fiction (*shōnen shōsetsu*), *emonogatari* (“picture stories” juxtaposing equal parts image and text), and short comics (both one-offs and serials). Into the postwar '40s, illustrated prose fiction was by far the dominant medium of the three, with manga and *emonogatari* positioned as the fun and scintillating supplements to the serious business of character-building prose, which had been the pillar of youth publishing since the late Meiji period. By the early '50s, however, the balance had shifted decidedly toward the visual, with *emonogatari* and manga

not only surpassing prose fiction in volume, but also absorbing many of its themes, settings, character types, and didactic functions.

Initially, it was *emonogatari*, not manga, that led this realignment. Going back to the '20s, most *emonogatari* were drawn in a cartoony style, with fast-paced narration and comical asides similar to that in contemporary children's manga. By the late '40s, however, the majority of *emonogatari* used the naturalistic drawing, muscular storylines, and moralizing messaging of illustrated juvenile prose fiction. The medium also had a close association with the picture card-based, oral storytelling art of *kamishibai*, whose own storylines and pictorial style were likewise often modeled on those in illustrated prose fiction, while also ranging to the more fantastical and grotesque. When many of the most famous postwar *shōnen* magazines were founded in the late '40s and '50s—including *Shōnen*, *Shōnen Gabō* (*Shōnen Illustrated*, originally titled *Boken Katsugeki Bunko*), and *Adventure King*—their flagship serials were actually *emonogatari*, not manga or prose. Most famous among them were the Japanese Tarzan, Wild West, and boxing titles of Yamakawa Sōji, the baroque superheroes of Nagamatsu Takeo, the Orientalist jungle and desert adventures of Fukushima Tetsuji, and the science fiction and Westerns of Komatsuzaki Shigeru, all of whom had been active as illustrators and/or *emonogatari* artists since the late '30s.

When manga vied for legitimacy after the war, it thus had to contend not only with inherent prejudices against the medium as frivolous children's fodder, but also with the popularity and expanded purview of *emonogatari*, which had successfully taken the heroism and adventure of juvenile prose fiction and recast it in a more visually engrossing form. Since the '20s, it was not uncommon for the genre names of juvenile prose fiction to be attached to children's manga, either on their covers or title



Yamakawa Sōji, *Jungle King* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shueisha, December 1947)

pages. The most common ones were: *bōken* (“adventure,” usually connoting jungle and other exotic settings), *katsugeki* (“action”), *kagaku bōken* (“science adventure,” science fiction and space adventures mostly), *tsūkai* (“thrillers,” usually connoting swash-buckling stories set in premodern Japan), *tantei* (“detective,” encompassing mystery), and *nekketsu* (“hot-blooded” bildungsroman). Magazine names, however, rarely used them, opting instead for titles that communicated readership community: *Shōnen Club*, *Shōjo Club*, *Yōnen Club*, *New Boys* (*Shin shōnen*), *Shōnen World* (*Shōnen sekai*), and so on.

Things started to change after the war. Not only do you see genre names on the covers of most *akahon* manga, but many of the new magazines that were published included them in their titles, with a distinct emphasis on action and adventure: *Bōken Katsugeki Bunko* (*Action Adventure Library*,



Bōken Katsugeki Bunko no. 1 (Tokyo: Meimeisha, August 1948), cover by Nagamatsu Takeo depicting Golden Bat

later *Shōnen Gabō*), *Tsūkai Bukku* (*Thrilling Book*), and of course *Adventure King*, where *Igaguri* was published. The nomenclature was elastic, overlapping, and sometimes arbitrary. *Igaguri*, for example, was described as a “*bōken* manga” before editors settled on “*nekketsu*.” But more important was what you found inside. As most children's manga until the late '40s shared a common linear narrative structure, carefreely picaresque and buffoonish characters, and an emphasis on slapstick humor, these labels typically didn't describe distinct “genres” as much as they did different settings. That began to change in the early '50s as more and more cartoonists not only

adopted the character types, plots, and dramatic affect of prose fiction, movies, and emonogatari, but also consciously pursued new visual styles and techniques appropriate to them. Both Tezuka and Fukui were important figures in the early stages of this process of “genre-fication” of shōnen manga, as Tezuka and Takahashi Makoto were for shōjo manga and Matsumoto Masahiko and Tatsumi Yoshihiro were for mystery manga in the mid ‘50s.

In histories of manga, one reads often about Tezuka’s voracious consumption of visual media like comics, movies, and animation as a child and young adult. However, he was also an avid reader of prose fiction, and it shows in his early work. In the early ‘50s, hoping to tap into the energy and popularity of *Jungle Emperor*, one publisher after another commissioned Tezuka to draw serials for their magazines. The result was some of his most famous early postwar titles, including the sci-fi *Ambassador Atom* (*Atomu taishi*) for *Shōnen* in April 1951, the precursor of *Astro Boy* (*Tetsuwan Atomu*, 1952-68); the Western *Cactus Kid* (*Saboten kun*) for *Shōnen Gabō* (April 1951-December 1954); the 19th century-set *The Age of Adventure* (*Bōkenkyō jidai*) for *Adventure King* (December 1951-August 1953); and the action-detective classic *The Adventures of Rock Home* for *Shōnen Club* (*Rokku no bōkenki*, July 1952-April 1954).

All of these, in one way or another, show the influences of prose fiction—not just Japanese juvenile prose fiction, but also American and European popular fiction, as had many of Tezuka’s akahon works. But as scholar Takeuchi Osamu has argued, Tezuka’s connection to prewar juvenile fiction applies primarily to characters and settings: the precocious boy heroes and evil villains of jungle adventures, space invasions, and detective stories. “When it comes to themes and ideology,” however, “one finds a large gap between Tezuka’s postwar output and the world of prewar prose fiction for



Tezuka Osamu, “The Age of Adventure,” *Adventure King* (January 1952)

boys and girls. Old feudalistic morals, the romanticization of hot-blooded dedication among boys, and shades of nationalism are all subdued in his work, representing a recalibration of that world so that it better fit the moral sensibilities of a generation exhausted by the war.” Instead, posits Takeuchi, it was the “springboard of emonogatari” that delivered the didacticism of prewar juvenile fiction into ‘50s manga, thereby “leaping over” Tezuka.⁴⁹ Elsewhere, Takeuchi has argued that the narrative universe, dramatic construction, and certain visual elements



Tezuka Osamu, “Jungle Emperor,” *Manga Shōnen* (August 1952)

of *Jungle Emperor* reflect, in part, Tezuka’s conscious attempt to do in manga what was common in emonogatari.⁵⁰ The story’s themes of heroic awakening and self-sacrifice may have likewise been inspired by emonogatari or juvenile prose fiction. Yet, *Jungle Emperor* was an outlier in Tezuka’s early oeuvre, careening from action to comedy to suspense to tears with the turn of each page, within a general framework of fast-paced adventure and reality-defying heroism.

This is where Fukui comes in. His work was nowhere near as diverse as Tezuka’s. It was, in fact,

quite narrow, consistently plying a limited range of character types, plots, settings, and visual techniques. But for that very reason, it also more forcibly shifted shōnen manga away from Tezuka’s medley adventures toward specific genre conventions, namely, the strong and moral boys, thrilling yet didactic sports and martial arts action, and realistic everyday settings of so-called *nekketsu* fiction, more about which below. Fukui’s manga career was, thus, not only enabled by the realignment of media within youth periodicals after the war and the expanding space made for manga, it also helped expedite it—namely, by absorbing motifs, themes, and functions that had theretofore been the domain of prose fiction and emonogatari and making them common in manga, which was, by the end of the ‘50s, the only medium that really mattered in shōnen publishing. The genre-fication of manga was a key factor in the manga-fication of shōnen culture.

Adventure King, the magazine where *Igaguri* was serialized, provides an excellent case example of this historical process. The magazine’s publisher, Akita Shoten, was founded in 1948 by one Akita Teio (1909-96), who had worked as an editor at Shōgakukan in the ‘30s and then at Asahi Shinbunsha during and after the war, primarily on children’s magazines. Witnessing the explosive growth of fly-by-night publishing after the war, Akita ventured on his own into the children’s akahon market, publishing picture books, emonogatari, and manga, initially under the company name Ishihara Shoten. Success there provided the capital for the creation of *Adventure King* in 1949, the first issue of which was published that February.⁵¹ The magazine’s full title was *Shōnen Shōjo Bōken Ō*, suggesting that it was marketed to both boys and girls (this was common in contemporary shōnen publishing), though the content was decidedly masculine and modeled on the visual styles, settings, and thematic tropes that had been popular in boys’ magazines since before



Adventure King no. 1 (February 1949), cover by Fukushima Tetsuji



Fukushima Tetsuji, "Demon King of the Desert," *Adventure King* (February 1949)

the war.

To lead his new venture, Akita turned to Fukushima Tetsuji (1914-92), an artist with whom he had frequently worked at both Shōgakukan and Asahi, and whose *Kong's Rampage* (*Kongu no mōshū*, April 1948) was one of his fledgling company's first hits. For *Adventure King*, Fukushima drew one of the most-highly regarded of emonogatari, *Demon King of the Desert* (*Sabaku no maō*, February 1949-February 1956), about an omnipotent turbaned genie who aids a young colonial adventurer against greedy treasure hunters and violent savages in the jungles and deserts of Africa. Though the

story, setting, and characters hem close to those of prewar juvenile adventure fiction (which was much influenced by British colonial adventure stories and their Hollywood adaptations), the dynamic paneling, integrated use of speech balloons and lengthy expository text, and full-color printing were reportedly inspired by *Superman* and other American comics brought to Japan by the Occupation forces (and sometimes, like with *Superman*, translated into Japanese by local publishers). Miyazaki Hayao is one of a number of artists who have professed a love for *Demon King* during their childhood; the influence of its fantastic machinery and vehicles is

most obvious in his film *Laputa: Castle in the Sky* (1986).⁵² Other popular emonogatari in *Adventure King* included Oka Tomohiko's *White Tiger Mask* (*Byakkō kamen*, June 1951-December 1955), about a mysterious swordsman who wears a full-size tiger's head, and Komatsuzaki Shigeru's *King of the Plains* (*Heigen ō*, January 1952-December 1954), set in the Wild West. The magazine also included translations of American comics (including *Red Mask* and *Superman*) and a wide range of illustrated prose fiction, typically under the genre names of *tsūkai*, *nekketsu*, and *bōken*. In the early '50s, it issued bonus furoku pamphlets under these same rubrics, comprised of illustrated prose fiction, emonogatari, and some short manga.

At its founding, the monthly per issue print run of *Adventure King* was reportedly 200,000 copies, with few returned copies from retailers. Within a few years, it was regularly selling 300,000 per month, with its special New Year's issue in 1953 reaching 550,000.⁵³ "A boys' magazine with practically no unsold copies?" asked a book covering the publishing industry rhetorically in 1955. "That would be *Adventure King*. Yes, it sells that well." Well enough, in fact, for Akita's seven-year-old company to afford the construction of a new headquarters in Kanda, in central Tokyo, to house its forty-seven fulltime employees.⁵⁴

While *Adventure King's* emonogatari offerings got things going, the company's impressive growth would not have been possible without the addition of comics. Initially, *Adventure King* included little manga, and most of what it did carry—authored by the likes of Shiramichi Tetsu, Aki Reiji, Ōta Jirō, and other artists active since before 1945—lacked the dynamism of contemporary akahon manga.⁵⁵ The only memorable title is Matsushita Ichio's sci-fi classic *The New Thief of Baghdad* (*Shin bagudatto no tōzoku*, February 1949-March 1951), a continuation of an akahon series that had commenced in

1947. Nonetheless, as with other boys' magazines, things quickly picked up in the manga department for *Adventure King* in the early '50s, beginning with the serialization of Tezuka's *The Age of Adventure* in 1951, a freewheeling, slapstick-heavy, *Treasure Island*-type adventure featuring a boy samurai, pirates, cowboys, and bumbling Arabs, set mainly in the Wild West and Orientalist desert. Many of Tezuka's most famous furoku manga were also drawn for *Adventure King*, including the sci-fi adventure *Fossil Man* (*Kaseki ningen*, February 1952), the antinuclear *South Pacific Point X* (*Taipeiyō X pointo*, January 1953), and the Western *Lemon Kid* (May 1953). The Fujiko Fujio duo's debut story, *Somewhere in the Wild West* (*Seibu no dokoka de*, December 1952), as well as their debut serial, *The Forty-Thousand-Year Drift* (*Yonmennen no hyōryū*, February-July 1953), were likewise published in *Adventure King*. Yoshida Tatsuo, Sekiya Hisashi, and Yokoyama Mitsuteru published some of their earliest work in the magazine in the mid '50s. In the late '50s, *Adventure King* was also one of the first shōnen magazines to recruit kashihon artists, among them Tsuge Yoshiharu, Mizushima Shinji, and Hirata Hiroshi.

In marked contrast to Tezuka and his acolytes' brand of manga was *Igaguri*, which began serialization in *Adventure King* in March 1952, Fukui's first comic for the magazine. Originally published at half-page size (*hansai*)—usually reserved for minor works—it soon expanded to a full-page serial, supplemented by furoku, and then reformatted and collected in a series of square-shaped books (see the opening image of this essay). The present English edition is based on the first three volumes of the book version, published between February and August 1954. The exotic fantasy worlds, hurtling adventure, incessant slapstick, and obsessive levity of Tezuka's work (even when they are dealing with serious social and historical topics) are rare in Fukui's, which instead featured relatively believable happenings



Adventure King (March 1952), cover by Fukushima Tetsuji

and amiable dialogue in everyday settings from the Edo period past or postwar present. Such traits were typical in manga published in small kids' and boys' magazines, whether they be the kind of "good kid" manga that ex-animators most often drew, baseball manga like Inoue Kazuo's, or historically set stories like Hara Kazushi's. However, Fukui took those everyday settings and their realistic characters and elevated them into something grander: more heroic, more didactic, and applicable to teenage life as well. In this he seems to have been inspired, not by animation or other manga (as he was with his visual innovations), nor directly by emonogatari, but rather by *nekketsu shōsetsu*, both in their original prose form



Nekketsu Library, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (May 1950)

and their adaptations in other media, particularly film.

Though the name might evoke the testosterone overdrive of "sports grit" manga, "hot-blooded" *nekketsu* fiction was typically quite reserved in nature. They were usually set in the present and typically featured young boys of an urban working class or rural background, forced by conditions of poverty or other family hardships to rely on their own hard work, moral compass, and passionate love of life to survive and thrive in the world, thereby serving as models for their peers and reformed foes, as well as for their young readers. Good almost always triumphs over evil, as earnest effort does over hered-

itary wealth and brute strength, while sports and martial arts—particularly baseball and judo—are regularly figured as paths for moral as well as physical perfection. The trope of *risshin shusse* (making something of yourself in the world) is common in *nekketsu* fiction, as is the figure of the young hero taking responsibility and acting on their own against forces of immorality in the world. Though related to prose fiction since the Meiji period, *nekketsu shōsetsu* are understood to have come into their own in the pages of *Shōnen Club* in the '20s, led by the work of Satō Kōroku (1874-1949), who was originally a writer of adult fiction and poetry, but turned to juvenile fiction in 1925 at the invitation of the same Katō Ken'ichi who later published *Manga Shōnen* and gave Fukui his first regular cartooning job. Satō's *Ab, Petals in a Jade Cup* (*Aa gyokuhai ni hana ukete*), originally serialized in *Shōnen Club* between 1927 and 1928—about a group of poor, working class children who learn the value of hard work and self-confidence through the medium of baseball—is usually seen as the locus classicus of the genre.⁵⁶ A number of his books, including *Jade Cup*, *Kōroku's Heroic Tales* (*Kōroku bidan*, 1928), and *A Paeon to Youth* (*Shōnen sankā*, 1929), include young judoka, sometimes as forces of good and sometimes as forces of malice—a reminder that physical prowess alone does not a proper man make. All of these books were reprinted many times in the early postwar period.

While top authors of *nekketsu* prose, including Satō, continued to publish in youth magazines into the '50s, the genre had already reshaped emonogatari by the late '40s. The most famous such work is Yamakawa Sōji's *Knockout Q* (*Nokkuauto Q*) for *Manga Shōnen* (1949-51), about a precocious young boxer and his friend in the working class neighborhoods of Tokyo.⁵⁷ Again, it's not that children's manga weren't moralizing in years prior. After all, the editorial mantra of *Shōnen Club*—the magazine most responsible for establishing manga as



Satō Kōroku, *A Paeon to Youth* (Tokyo: Myōgi shuppansha, August 1948), cover by Saitō Ioc. National Diet Library, Japan

a major commodity within the shōnen market—had been content that was not just "fun" but also "good for you" (*omoshirokute tame ni naru*). In the late '30s, publishers responded to criticisms that manga were frivolous and potentially harmful to the nation's future by filling them with good little kids who urged their readers to play well together, respect their parents, teachers, and elders, and be helpful in daily life. These were the kind of "yoiko" manga many ex-animators drew after the war. But the messages of such manga were mainly relevant to young, low elementary school children. What were older kids supposed to read? Where were they to turn for models of how to manage the turbulence



Yamakawa Sōji, "Knockout Q," *Manga Shōnen* (June 1950)

and growing responsibilities of adolescence and approaching adulthood?

Traditionally, juvenile prose fiction served that purpose. But could not manga—the medium that young baby boomers seemed to love most—do the same? By the early '50s, artists and editors were acutely aware of the changing socio-demographic landscape and the challenges it posed to manga as it had theretofore existed. In an interview for *Asahi Graph* in 1953, for example, Fukui describes the readers of many of his manga as being "*kōgakumen*," literally "upper school grade," meaning older elementary and middle schoolers. "Once you get to the upper school grades, your readers know a thing

or two, so you have to take the writing seriously," he says. "That's why I'm careful not to put anything incorrect in my dialogue."⁵⁸ By "incorrect" (*machigatta koto*) he means not only un-factual, but also morally misguided. *Igaguri* was a manga for older boys who knew—or at least should have known—the difference between right and wrong. It was designed to offer them a more perfect version of the type of young man their parents and elders expected them to be. In the adaptation of the didactic themes of shōnen prose fiction by manga in the early '50s, we are therefore arguably seeing the early stage of a phenomenon often talked about in histories of postwar manga and upheld as a major reason for the medium's national ascendancy: while previously children were expected to graduate from manga to prose fiction at a certain age (before middle school, roughly), baby boomers were the first generation of Japanese to keep reading manga beyond the point that it was "acceptable" to do so, facilitated by the fact that manga as a medium was maturing with them.⁵⁹

What happened to those other media? Over the course of the '50s, illustrated fiction found itself marginalized and allowed ever fewer pages. Its practitioners were forced to find work elsewhere or switch to writing scripts for the media that had displaced them, for emonogatari first and then increasingly for manga. The most famous such writer in this regard is Kajiwara Ikki, who aspired to be an author of juvenile prose fiction in the vein of Satō Kōroku, but in the mid '50s begrudgingly became a scriptwriter of martial arts emonogatari and manga in the vein of Fukui instead.

The same thing happened to emonogatari in the second half of the decade. As manga continued to grow in popularity and purview, occupying more pages in shōnen magazines and absorbing the themes and dramatic pictorial style of emonogatari (the latter mainly by artists working in the kashihon

market), emonogatari artists had no choice but to become cartoonists or illustrators. The abandonment of naturalistic figuration and baroque paneling methods for standard shōnen manga styles by Kuwada Jirō and Yoshida Tatsuo (who was an early collaborator of Kajiwara) in the late '50s are paradigmatic examples. By the time the first youth weeklies were published in 1959, emonogatari had pretty much disappeared from the pages of shōnen magazines. It is only really at this point that shōnen magazines became essentially manga magazines—which is usually how we still think of them today.

4. The Flexible Way of Judo

So, whose idea was it to create a *nekketsu* manga? Some say it was the publisher's, while most say it was Fukui's. His wife claimed that he had already been talking about creating something like Satō Kōroku's *Jade Cup* when Suzuki Hiroshi, the second in command at *Adventure King*, approached him about doing a serial for the magazine, working closely together on the content.⁶⁰ Ushio Sōji has written that Fukui was asked by the head editor of *Adventure King* for a comic that was "just like Satō Kōroku's *risshin shusse* [making something of yourself in the world] stories."⁶¹ Another editor at *Adventure King*, Hirata Shōhei, claimed that Fukui had voiced a desire to make something "Japanese" versus Tezuka's Disney-fied world, turning to martial arts to produce "a manga version of Satō Kōroku's *nekketsu* fiction."⁶² Former animator colleague and cartoonist Kinoshita Toshio claimed that he was the first to suggest the idea of a *nekketsu* manga to Fukui, some years before it was executed.⁶³

At any rate, the decision to do a full-blown *nekketsu* manga incited a revolution. Within months of its commencement—and before the advent of the cinematic sequences for which the manga is famed—*Igaguri* ranked top among readers' favorite

offerings in *Adventure King*, surpassing Fukushima's *Demon King* and Tezuka's *The Age of Adventure*. Reader letters tended to the personal side, asking Fukui to have *Igaguri* beat up on more bullies, like the ones who harassed them at school.⁶⁴ Soon, one magazine after another started carrying their own *Igaguri*-like martial arts serials, often about judo, but also kendo, karate, and sumo. Many of these manga were created by artists who, until then, had limited experience as children's cartoonists—a testimony to market demand, but also the familiarity of *Igaguri*'s worldview and the accessibility of his cartooning style. Fukui himself created other *nekketsu* martial arts manga, namely about sumo and kendo. Baseball manga, too, transformed into a *nekketsu* genre, replete with martial arts-type gameplay and *Igaguri*-like justice-fighting.

But why judo? Why weren't things kicked off instead by, say, sumo, which had been popular as mass entertainment and featured in various sorts of manga since the early 20th century? Why not kendo, which was potentially more exciting for its fencing and samurai-esque ways? Or why not baseball, which arguably had an even closer historical relationship to *nekketsu* within juvenile prose fiction?

Actually, the choice of judo was quite natural given the history of martial arts in Japan. The key figure here is Kanō Jigorō (1860-1938), the founder of modern judo—literally "the flexible way," the unarmed and counteractive way—a synthesis and rationalization of earlier forms of hand-to-hand combat techniques known collectively as *jujutsu*. Through his extensive proselytizing activities, political connections, and the many students who passed through his academy, the *Kōdōkan*, Kanō succeeded in getting judo adopted as the self-defense technique of choice by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police in the mid 1880s, and subsequently by other regional police departments and branches of the military. As part of his wider efforts to establish



Photograph of Kanō Jigorō, 72 years old (1932)

physical education within Japanese schools, Kanō also oversaw judo's introduction as an elective in Japanese middle/high schools in 1911; it was made mandatory in 1931 as part of the militarization of education. He also devised the modern *dan* ranking system of belts and titles, which was soon adopted by other martial arts.⁶⁵

Though other martial arts sensei had already seeded Western soil for jujutsu's acceptance—leading to its practice by such heroes as Sherlock Holmes, Arsène Lupin, and the Suffragettes—Kanō and his students were particularly successful in exporting

the Kōdōkan brand globally, counting among their students such luminaries as Teddy Roosevelt and Rabindranath Tagore. As the first Japanese representative to the International Olympic Committee, Kanō also oversaw Japan's Olympic debut in Stockholm in 1912 and secured his country's bid to host the 1940 games, though they were cancelled because of the expanding war in China. Kanō himself did not advocate for judo's inclusion in the Olympics, hesitant as he was to see it reduced to a "mere sport" versus an integrated "way." Nonetheless, in 1964, twenty-seven years after Kanō's death, it was introduced as a medal sport at the Tokyo Summer Games, the first sport of Asian origin to be so honored. Judo thus stands with baseball as the most familiar athletic activity among Japanese male children and adults through most of the 20th century, as well as a locus of national pride in the early internationalization of Japanese athletics.

As a result, judo was deeply enmeshed in modern shōnen culture. It appears frequently in boys' magazines and prose fiction beginning in the early 20th century as an expression of strength, a vehicle for decisive action, and a model for spiritual composure and ethical behavior. It was not, however, a regular part of the humor or fantasy of prewar children's manga. Once comics became standard in shōnen magazines in the late '20s and early '30s, a common themed feature was the "cartoon sports meet" (*manga undō taikai*), an omnibus of short humor strips and cartooned games usually centered on track and field events, starring kids and talking animals. Though one often finds baseball, sumo, and boxing mixed in, in my cursory perusal of these features, I have never come across any depicting judo—suggesting an implicit distinction between competitive martial arts and sports at the time. Nonetheless, with all able-bodied male middle/high school students required to take either judo or kendo from 1931 until the end of the war, it

was the rare Japanese young man who was not familiar with one or the other, or both, as practice and philosophy.

Then came Sugata Sanshirō, the quintessential judo hero and the culmination within popular culture of the Kōdōkan's decades-long social and cultural influence. Published as a novel in September 1942, *Sugata Sanshirō* is a work of historical fiction dramatizing the rise of Kōdōkan judo in the late nineteenth century. The eponymous protagonist is based roughly on Saigō Shirō, one of the "Four Guardian Kings" of the Kōdōkan, the epithet given to Kanō's leading disciples. The author, Tomita Tsuneo (1904-67), himself had a black belt in judo. His father, Tomita Tsunejirō, was another of the "Four Guardian Kings." Perhaps even more than Kanō himself, *Sugata Sanshirō* is responsible for popularizing the trope of the Kōdōkan man as a paragon of Japanese masculinity and Kōdōkan judo as the perfection of Japanese martial arts as an integrated physical and ethical "way." A best-seller as a novel, *Sugata Sanshirō* was made even more famous by its filmic adaptation by Kurosawa Akira (his directorial debut), released in March 1943, followed by a sequel in May 1945. The original novel, its sequel, and both movies were produced and promoted as wartime propaganda—a fact often downplayed in the copious hagiographic writing about the Kōdōkan and Kurosawa—offering a model of stalwart Japanese spirit against the twin decadences of reactionary antiquarianism and blind Westernization in the Meiji period. Given how desperate the war had become in these years, *Sugata Sanshirō* also reads as a masterwork of artistic nostalgia, recalling an age when national purpose and subjectivity seemed simpler and clearer, unclouded by fascism and the stresses of total war.⁶⁶

Under the Occupation, Japanese martial arts were repressed due to their actual and perceived links to militarism. In October 1945, judo, kendo,



Poster for the 1952 rerelease of *Sugata Sanshirō* (March 1943), directed by Kurosawa Akira

and archery were banned from schools as both curricular subjects and extracurricular activities, leading to the firing of nearly 2000 instructors. In November 1946, the Dai Nippon Butokukai (The Greater Japan Martial Virtue Society)—created in 1895 to promote traditional martial arts, with reactionary principles that grew only stronger under the rise of the military government in the '30s—was abolished. The following year, many of the Butokukai's members were blacklisted by Occupation authorities, barring them from holding any office of public influence in politics or business.⁶⁷ Displays of,

and often even just the mention of, swordfighting, archery, ninjutsu, and other expressions of “militarism,” “feudalistic values,” and “rightist” heroism were banned from all media, including children’s publications and manga. Emphasis was placed instead on sports that were “peaceful,” “democratic,” and “American”—most of all baseball, the long association of “America’s pastime” with conservative bushidō (“the way of the samurai”) philosophy in Japan notwithstanding.⁶⁸

Judo, however, got off relatively lightly. In the first postwar edition of *Japan: The Pocket Guide* (1946), published for US servicemen and their dependents in Japan, descriptions of both judo and kendo were removed by Occupation censors from the chapter on sports, as was mention of the Kōdōkan.⁶⁹ In April of that same year, when a publisher tried to reissue Onodera Shūfū’s *The Easy Way to Draw: A Guidebook to Making Simple Pictures* (*Yasashii e no kakikata: ryakuga no e tehon*, 1943), not only were its many images of Japanese soldiers and military vehicles banished by the censor’s colored pencil, so were those depicting judo and kendo.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, due in large part to judo’s many admirers within the US military and the positive international reputation of Kanō, the Kōdōkan was never dismantled. Though its membership numbers had plummeted, practice sessions recommenced almost immediately after the war, with Occupation GIs in frequent attendance. The institution’s association with militarism and rightwing extremism was explained away as an accident of fascism’s takeover of Japanese society; emphasis was instead placed on its status as a “sport” going back to the Meiji period. In 1948, national judo competitions were allowed again in Japan. In October 1950, judo was reinstated within Japanese school curricula—directed no longer toward the formation of military masculinities, though still closely tied to moral character building. By 1952, the Kōdōkan’s membership numbers were back at



Onodera Shūfū, *The Easy Way to Draw: A Guidebook to Making Simple Pictures* (Tokyo: Chūkōsha, April 1946), showing Occupation censor marks. Prange Collection, University of Maryland

pre-1945 levels.

In popular culture, judo had an even easier time. New editions of Tomita’s *Sugata Sanshirō* and its wartime sequel were already being printed in 1946, with many more to follow in 1947 and 1948. In this same period, one of the most important installments in the expanding Sugata saga, *Shōnen Sugata Sanshirō* (January 1948–August 1950), commenced serialization in *Tōkō Shōnen* (*Boys of the Eastern Radiance*), a boys’ magazine with prewar roots. In line with the times, Tomita also wrote baseball fiction, including *The Boy who Shot a Rainbow* (*Niji o iru shōnen*, 1947–48) for *Yakyū*

Shōnen, a baseball magazine initially run by Katō Ken’ichi, who, as editor of *Shōnen Club*, had overseen Tomita’s debut as an author of *nekketsu* prose in 1923. (The Kōdansha network was tight, indeed!) In March 1949, a new filmic adaptation of Tomita’s novels was released by Daiei Studios, *Remembrances of Sanshirō* (*Omokage Sanshirō*). The rerelease of Kurosawa’s *Sugata Sanshirō* had to wait until the end of the Occupation—but only barely, screening in theaters in April 1952, the very month sovereignty was returned to Japan. I have not been able confirm when the sequel was rereleased, but it was presumably soon after that.

With its first chapter published in the March 1952 issue of *Adventure King*, *Igaguri* could not have been conceived at a more symbolic moment. The San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed in September 1951 and went into effect in April 1952, thus officially bringing the Occupation to a close. The manga was clearly designed to reframe the drama and ethics of *Sugata Sanshirō* for the postwar present—shedding the historical costumes and the association between judo and soldier-manufacture, while maintaining the essential links between character-building and nation-building via the crucible of martial arts training. It’s important to remember that, when *Igaguri* began, the first *Sugata* novel and movie were not even a decade old. Fukui, who himself worked on propaganda newsreels during the war, would not have had to reach too far back in his memory to recall the movie’s basic tropes or famous scenes. At the same time, it’s also important to note that the famous cinematic sequences of *Igaguri* do not occur at the manga’s beginning. You see a few cinematic shots (rear shots with depth, low angles) here and there starting with the chapter “Operation Sweet Red Bean Soup” (originally published in the summer or fall of 1952), but only in earnest beginning with “The Battle in the Snow” (February–March 1953). Between 1951 and 1954, Tōei,

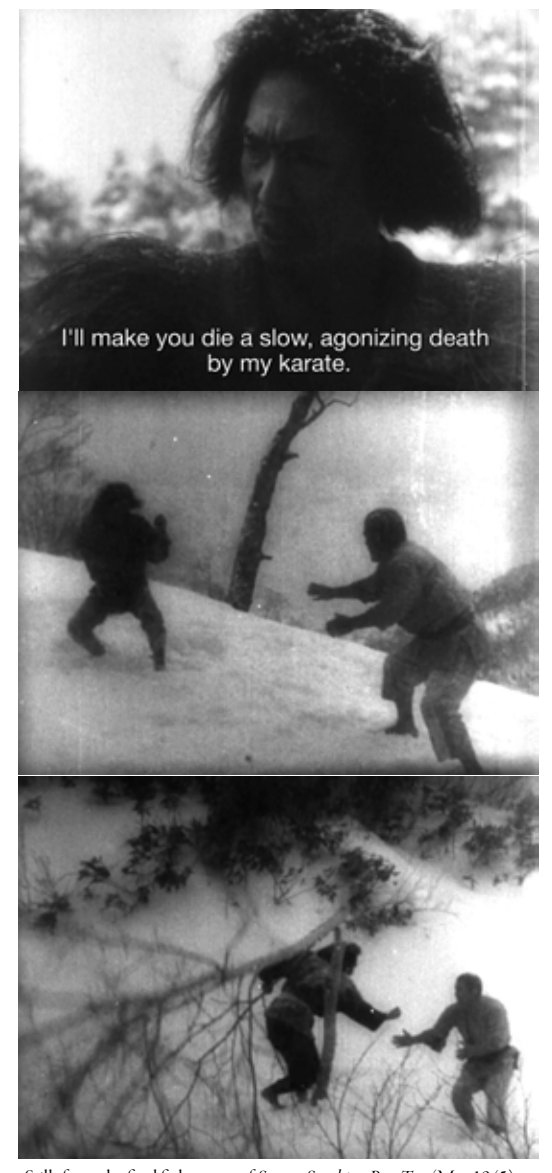
Daiei, and Shōchiku studios all released new judo films, some based on Tomita’s various novels.

If the ideological inheritance wasn’t obvious enough, some of the manga’s characters and waza clearly derive from the *Sugata* novels and movies, as well as from general knowledge about the Kōdōkan. Most obvious, of course, is the name of the handsome representative of the National Judo Association, Sugata Hachidan, literally “Sugata Eighth Degree Black Belt,” though “Sugata” is written with different kanji. Mifune Kyūzō, the Kōdōkan’s principal instructor after Kanō’s passing and a leading promoter of judo internationally after the war, appears in the manga as Gofune Jūdan (Tenth Degree Black Belt), wizened head of the Judo Association. Also, Saigō Shirō’s (the real-life Kōdōkan wrestler who inspired the character of Sugata) most famous move was an improvisational technique called the “*yama-arashi*” (mountain storm), which involved grabbing the opponent’s right lapel with the left hand, or vice versa, then turning and flipping them over your shoulder. It is said that Saigō’s successful use of the technique at a contest in the mid 1880s secured Kōdōkan’s supremacy over other schools.⁷¹ Though reportedly no one used the move in competition after Saigō, it lived on in fiction as the original, invincible *hissatsu waza* (finishing move) of judo. Sugata Sanshirō’s special move is likewise called the “mountain storm,” while one of Igaguri’s friends is named Yama-arashi. The technique itself informs Kumakawa’s cheekily named “a-bomb throw” (*genbaku-nage*). Another member of the “Four Guardian Kings” of the Kōdōkan, Yokoyama Sakujirō (1864–1912), went by the nickname of Oni Yokoyama (Yokoyama the Demon); this is presumably where the name of the evil karate master in *Igaguri*, Oniyama (Demon Mountain), comes from.

While the large number of judo films made in the early ‘50s make it hard to trace potential influ-



Stills from the final fight scene of *Sugata Sanshirō* (March 1943), directed by Kurosawa Akira



Stills from the final fight scene of *Sugata Sanshirō, Part Two* (May 1945), directed by Kurosawa Akira

ences with any certainty (especially because they are not readily available to watch), a number of scenes in *Igaguri* seem inspired by Kurosawa's films. When Yama-arashi chucks his new teammates through the dojo wall (pages 82-84), he is exaggerating a motif that occurs more than once in the Kurosawa movies. When Kumakawa strangles Igaguri with his coat in a cross grip (156-7), he is reprising the climatic scene of the first Kurosawa film, which similarly ends with the hero flipping his foe after a vision of moonlit clouds in the sky. But most obvious is Igaguri's battle in the snow with Oniyama (59-65), which is clearly modeled after the climax of Kurosawa's sequel—not just the snow setting, but also the tense showdown between “good” judo and “evil” karate, and small details like Oniyama felling a tree with this hand. One often comes across mention of *Seven Samurai* (1954) in histories of manga, especially in relationship to gekiga. But given their impact on *Igaguri* and the many judo and martial arts manga that followed, it is likely that *Sugata* and its sequel have been the Kurosawa movies of greatest consequence in the development of Japanese comics.

It's worth reiterating Tezuka's appraisal of *Igaguri*, partly cited at the beginning of this essay: “Until then, boys' magazines had kept their distance from anything nationalistic. They were particularly careful when dealing with judo, kendo, or karate, so much so that the results were dull and turned off readers. Fukui tore aside that veil and tackled martial arts manga without any reservations. Whether he was drawing black belts battling upon dry grass fields or karate masters, Fukui couldn't care less how anachronistic his manga were. He drew his characters as cool as could be, reigniting a flame that had gone out in young boys' hearts.” Tezuka continues, “He also had apparently been secretly studying how I constructed my story manga, putting to liberal use my cinematic techniques. The result was a huge hit.”⁷² Revived nationalism via martial arts

plus Tezuka-style cinematic techniques: such was Tezuka's gloss of a work that, much to his surprise and chagrin (as we will see), became his greatest competition. Tezuka described Fukui himself in similar terms: "He was boorish and single-minded, but also genuine and incorruptible of character. He wrote in *kaisho* [block script, connoting strictness and conservatism]. He called bus stations *teishajō* and buses *noriai jidōsha* [when English loanwords were the norm for both]. That was how much of a through-and-through nationalist he was."⁷³

Keep in mind the era. Whether it was emongatari or Tezuka's manga, the content of boys' entertainment in the early postwar period tended to be set (as had most children's adventure manga and prose of the prewar period) in distant and fantastic settings: the Edo period past, Tarzan's jungle, the colonial South Pacific, the Wild West, even Mars. In *nekketsu* prose fiction, in contrast, "hot-blooded" boys usually exercised their impeccable morals on the schoolyard, in familiar urban and rural neighborhoods, in dojos, and on baseball diamonds. Tezuka's exotic foreign and science fiction fantasies had made the most of dreams unleashed by the Occupation. But by the early '50s, heroes no longer needed to venture so far afield to exercise their Japanese spirits. With the shuttering of the Occupation's censorship bureau in 1949, the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, and the official return of sovereignty to Japan in 1952, Tezuka's Americanized preeminence was susceptible to challenge by the return of clean-cut boys from the past, supported by a new, simpler, but no less effective visual aesthetic.

In this sense, we might describe *Igaguri* as the first "post-Occupation manga," one whose style and content symbolically marked the end of one era and the opening of a new. Given his military background (however limited), his involvement with propaganda newsreels, and his reportedly conservative

personality (at least according to Tezuka), Fukui cuts an ideal candidate to have initiated this "reverse course" of Japanese comics. That judo served as the vehicle for this transition seems not only natural, but also somewhat inevitable, given its central role in Japanese social and cultural history. Judo was also an astute choice from both a marketing and ideological perspective. Kids knew judo in both practice and fiction. Adults respected judo as both a practice and philosophy. And through judo—the most quickly rehabilitated of all Japanese martial arts—the teachings of budō ("martial arts" as an integrated physical, psychological, and moral practice) could be reintroduced into Japanese youth culture without the distancing trappings of historical settings. Though Fukui also wrote historical fiction, his biggest ideological contribution to shōnen culture was situating martial arts action and philosophy in contemporary postwar Japan, thereby offering young male readers characters and situations they could readily identify with and apply to their daily lives—via the medium they loved most.

JUDO MANGA OF THE 1950s



Arikawa Asakazu, *Igaguri kun*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (May 1956)



Arikawa Asakazu, *Igaguri kun*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (September 1956)



Takeyama Noboru, *Igaguri kun*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (May 1957)



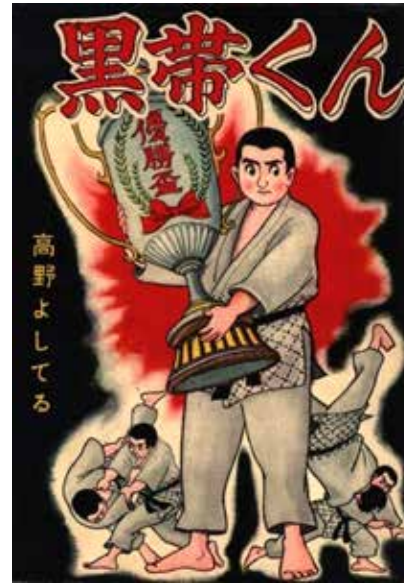
Arikawa Asakazu, *Igaguri kun*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (November 1958)



Nakai Yanosuke, *Sugata Sanshirō: Judo Training Rumble* (Osaka: Enomoto hōreikan, circa 1950)



Matsumoto Masahiko, *Kaidanji* (Osaka: Hinomaru bunko, September 1955)



Takano Yoshiteru, *Black Belt Kid* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Akashiya shobō, circa 1958)



Takano Yoshiteru, *Black Belt Kid*, furoku pamphlet, *Omoshiro Book* (May 1956)



Tatsumi Yoshihiro, *The Demon of Civilization* (Osaka: Hinomaru bunko, October 1955)



Tsuge Yoshiharu, *One-Armed Sanpei* (Tokyo: Wakagijō shobō, October 1955)



Tanaka Masao, *Daruma kun*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen* (January 1956)



Tanaka Masao, *Daruma kun*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen* (December 1958)



Takeyama Noboru (artist) & Kajiwaru Ikki (writer), *The Four Guardian Kings of the Kōdōkan*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen* (February 1956)



Yūasa Rihachi (artist) & Kajiwaru Ikki (writer), *Kōdōkan Tempest*, furoku pamphlet, *Omoshiro Book* (February 1956)



Nagamatsu Takeo, *Flowers and Storms*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (November 1955)



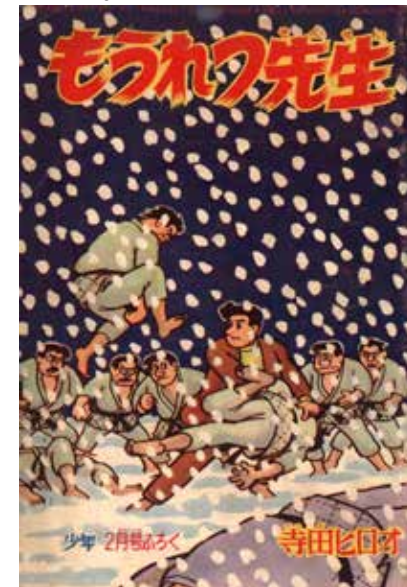
Takeuchi Tsunayoshi, *Black Belt Sanpei*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen* (June 1956)



Sakurai Hajime (artist) & Kajiwaru Ikki (writer), *Fuji Ichpei*, furoku pamphlet, *Yōnen Club* (November 1957)



Yamakawa Sōji, "Judo Peaks," *Shōnen Gabō* (May 1958)



Terada Hiroo, *The Passionate Sensei*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen* (February 1959)



Terada Hiroo, *The Passionate Sensei*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen* (March 1959)

5. Tezuka Osamu and the “Igakuri Incident”

As *Adventure King*'s sales climbed high enough to furnish Akita Shoten with a new headquarters, judo heroes à la Igakuri spread like wildfire across the landscape of shōnen culture. Whether one was drawing for magazines, akahon, or rental kashihon, it was the rare cartoonist or emonogatari artist who didn't produce a judo work at some point in the '50s. And those who didn't still likely had characters capable of judo moves and who spoke in the moralizing tone of Fukui's star, presented in visuals inspired by Fukui's exaggerated waza and cinematic aesthetics. Among the artists who drew judo manga in the mid and late '50s were Fukui's former animator colleagues Kimura Ichirō, Kinoshita Toshio, and Furusawa Hideo, drinking buddy Takano Yoshiteru, shōnen manga stalwarts Tanaka Masao and Takeuchi Tsunayoshi, Tokiwasō leader Terada Hiroo, and kashihon artists Matsumoto Masahiko, Tatsumi Yoshihiro, and Tsuge Yoshiharu—not to mention the many judo emonogatari and manga scripted by Kajiwara Ikki. Many more judo manga followed in the '60s and early '70s.

Most of these countless judo titles stuck to the contemporary setting of *Igakuri*. Others, inspired by *Sugata Sanshirō*, opted instead to set their stories in the Meiji period. Some of them have the name “Sanshirō” in their titles. Some star young judoka from the Kōdōkan. Some bootleg akahon even have “Igakuri” in their titles. Meanwhile, baseball manga frequently included judoka-turned-ballplayers and waza-inspired pitching, batting, and fielding techniques. “The frontier that Fukui pioneered with *Igakuri* was taken up subsequently by other judo, baseball, and professional wrestling titles, as well as by manga set at schools, giving birth to endless variation and novelty,” wrote Tezuka in his autobiography. “From *Jajauma-kun* [1958-63, a baseball manga by Sekiya Hisashi], *Chikai's Super Pitch*

[*Chikai no Makyū*, 1961-62, a baseball manga by Chiba Tetsuya and Fukumoto Kazuya], and *The Storm of Harris* [*Harisu no kaze*, 1965-67, a multi-sports manga by Chiba], to *Star of the Giants* [*Kyojin no hoshi*, 1966-71, a baseball manga by Kawasaki Noboru and Kajiwara Ikki], the depiction of the joys and stresses of boyhood, the competition with one's respected rivals, and the specific shape of friendship and inspiration may be unique to each manga, yet they all represent an evolution of the pattern created by Fukui.”⁷⁴

This was Tezuka in a more gracious mood. At the time of the manga's serialization, the popularity of *Igakuri* and the sea change it initiated drove Tezuka bananas. If an artwork's success can be measured by the positive influence it had on its contemporaries and successors, it might also be confirmed by the discomfort and jealousy it caused among its competitors. By either standard, *Igakuri* was a blockbuster, with the latter reflected most glaringly in Tezuka's potshots at his colleague and rival, culminating in the so-called “Igakuri Incident” (“Igakuri kun jiken”). By turns silly and tragic, this famous episode marks an important turning point in the evolution of Japanese comics. It also provides a crystal example of how the future “god of manga” was no angel.

While Tezuka and Fukui were personally close, they couldn't have been more different as people. They came from different cities and had very different upbringings. Tezuka was seven years Fukui's junior and grew up in a liberal, upper middle class household, surrounded by all the best entertainments that money could buy. Judging from the school he attended, Fukui also grew up in relative affluence, though one hard won by the sweat and toil of a conservative, working class father who thought that military service was the proper antidote to fine art ambitions. Fukui never fought in the war, though he ended up making propaganda



Tokyo Children's Manga Association (early 1951), with Shimada Keizō front center, Tezuka back top right, Fukui standing far left

instead. Tezuka experienced military training at school, worked in a factory making slate roof tiles during the war, and drew Allies-bashing cartoons, but only privately. After the war, Fukui labored at animation studios under the constant threat of budget cuts and work stoppages, and was involved in union activities. Meanwhile, Tezuka toiled away on his own for the akahon market in the comforts of his capacious family home in the affluent suburb of Takarazuka. And last but not least, Fukui drank a lot, Tezuka rarely.

Nonetheless, because the manga industry was still quite small in the early '50s, the two artists traveled in the same social circles and had frequent

contact with one another. As mentioned earlier, both belonged to the Tokyo Children's Manga Association, an informal but influential group of cartoonists created in January 1951 to better their position within the publishing industry. Chaired by prewar veteran Shimada Keizō, the Association counted among its members many of Japan's leading children's cartoonists, including Baba Noboru, Takano Yoshiteru, Yamane Hifumi, Furusawa Hideo, and Ushio Sōji—some of whom, like Fukui, had previously worked for animation studios. For young fans, they hosted manga festivals, public drawing demonstrations, signing events, and talks. For themselves, they organized research groups,



"A Roundtable of Laughs," *Adventure King* (early 1950s), showing right to left: Tezuka, Ota Jirō, Fukui, Baba Noboru

trips to hot springs, and drinking parties. After the release of Kurosawa's famous film in April 1954, the core members, including Fukui and Tezuka, took to calling themselves "The Seven Samurai."⁷⁵ They contributed to many of the same magazines; they even coauthored some furoku pamphlets, with different artists contributing their own stories. They had fun together, and they respected one another—sometimes to the detriment of getting things done.

On one occasion, the editors of *Shōnen Gabō* locked Fukui, Tezuka, and Baba inside a hotel room together to force them to finish their respective

deadlines. But work devolved into play as the three artists took turns mimicking Orson Welles laughing and smiling in the dark in *The Third Man* (1949), flipping the light switch off and on for dramatic effect. Never again were they allowed to work in the same room together when deadlines were at stake.⁷⁶ As a sign of their friendship, characters with Fukui's visage frequently appear in Tezuka's work, and vice versa. For example, at the beginning of Tezuka's *The Monster of the 38th Degree* (*38-dosenjō no kaibutsu*), a furoku for *Shōnen Gabō* (March 1953), Fukui, Baba, and Takano appear (unnamed) as a trio of cartoonists who work too hard and drink too much (see image on page lxviii). In *Igaguri*, Kongu and Yama-arashi face off at a place called Tezukahara (pages 90-93). The Tezuka Clinic is run by a doctor who wears glasses and has a big nose like Tezuka did (107). When Igaguri and his friends arrive in F city for the National Middle School Championship (120), on a billboard at the train station is an advertisement for Tezuka's *My Songokū* (*Boku no Songokū*, 1952-59), which was concurrently being serialized in *Manga King* (*Manga ō*), another magazine published by Akita Shoten.

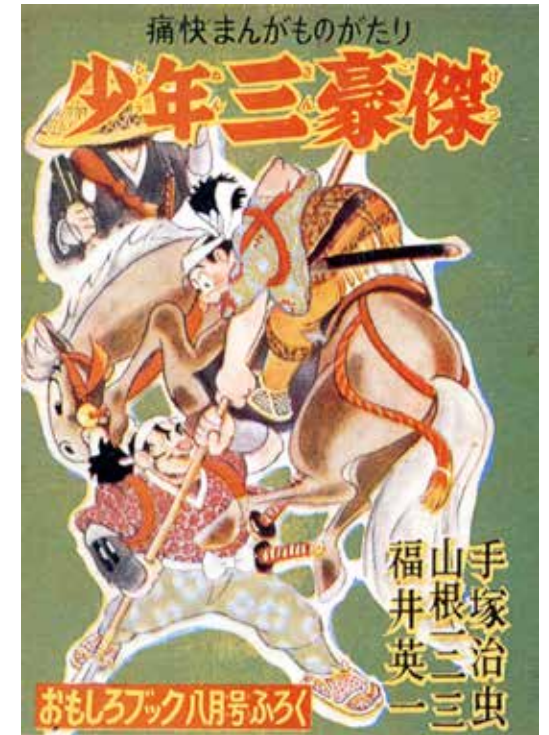
Tezuka clearly wanted his senior Fukui's approval. In his autobiography, he fondly recalls Fukui being impressed by his first magazine era attempt at *jidaigeki*, his *Benkei* for *Omoshiro Book* (February 1954). It was, Tezuka claims, the only time Fukui ever praised his work—a memorable moment for an artist who was used to everyone applauding him as a genius. "Benkei's guileless sense of loyalty may have appealed to Fukui's hardheaded purity," added Tezuka, incapable of honoring his rival's memory with anything but backhanded compliments.⁷⁷ Later that same year, Tezuka and Fukui, joined by Yamane Hifumi, contributed stories to the same *jidaigeki* furoku, *Three Young Brave Heroes* (*Shōnen san gōketsu*, *Omoshiro Book*, August 1954). Tezuka's repeated forays into the genre in the mid



Tezuka Osamu, *Benkei*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen Gabō* (February 1954)

'50s were of course supported by market demand. But considering that Fukui was (aside from *Igaguri*) primarily known for his *jidaigeki* work, they were presumably also inspired by Tezuka's compulsive need to challenge his main rival on the latter's home turf. In 1953, Tezuka and Fukui also collaborated on a flipbook furoku for the magazine *Shōnen* (April 1953) titled "Manga Television," featuring Astroboy in a scene reminiscent of the opening of *New Treasure Island* on one side and a boy playing with a model airplane by Fukui on the other (see next page).

Alas, as in any competitive field filled with egos,



Tezuka Osamu, Yamane Hifumi, Fukui Eiichi, *Three Young Brave Heroes*, furoku pamphlet, *Omoshiro Book* (August 1954)

there was friction. One cause was differing work ethics and production speed. Curious about how his rival operated, Fukui once invited Tezuka to draw at his studio in Fujimidai (northwest Tokyo) and was reportedly floored by what he saw. While Fukui worked in the traditional manner, doing pencil underdrawings before inking his pages, Tezuka usually went straight to pen, enabling him to draw far faster and more voluminously than his peers.⁷⁸ Some sources suggest that Fukui was diligent to the point of being slow. In his autobiography, gekiga author Satō Masaaki shares the following anecdote about the Shōryūkan, an inn in Ochanomizu



Tezuka Osamu, “Astroboy,” and Fukui Eiichi, “Little Gan’s Airplane,” *Manga Television*, furoku flipbook, *Shōnen* (April 1953)

(central Tokyo) where he and other manga artists stayed to focus on deadlines. (This is also the name of the inn where Igaguri and friends stay while in F City.) One day, he noticed hanging at the inn a *shikishi* (autograph board) signed by Fukui, learning that both Fukui and Tezuka used to work there. “Fukui was a very serious worker,” explained one of the housekeepers. “He obsessed over his pencils until he was completely satisfied with them, drawing and drawing until the paper turned black. And then, if things still weren’t perfect, he’d go at the page with an eraser. He was just as bad when it came to inking. He’d ink his pages slowly and carefully, ignoring any deadline-pressed editor who might be looking over

his shoulder. His editors always looked put out.”⁷⁹ Fukui’s colleagues often noted that his cartooning abilities came, not from inborn genius, but old-fashioned hard work.

It apparently did not sit well with older Tokyo cartoonists that the bourgeois whippersnapper from Osaka was doing so much better than they were. That many of them had artistic careers going back to the ‘30s, sometimes as cartoonists but more often as animators, didn’t help. Nor did the fact that they liked to drink and argue. Ushio remembered parties during which Tezuka, as the industry’s top-grossing artist, was teased as “*zei roku*,” a derogatory name used by Edo-ites for money-hungry Osaka merchants. If

enduring abuse was not enough, Tezuka was also often pressured to pay an entire night’s bill.⁸⁰ Tezuka recounts a particularly ugly episode in his autobiography: “One night, as usual, a fight began. Fukui, his face bright red, took me by the lapels. ‘Hey, Osaka,’ he said, ‘what’s the big idea making so much money?’ Taken aback, I replied, ‘What’s wrong with making money?’ ‘Talent’s not all about making money, y’know. Don’t forget about the kids! How about caring about them for a change?!’ ‘Are you saying my comics aren’t right for kids?’ ‘Yeah, Osaka! I think money’s the only reason you make comics!’” Tezuka had heard rumors of people thinking similar things about him. He also recalled the popular journalist Ōya Shōichi tweaking the term “*kakyō*” (overseas Chinese) to label him “*hankyō*” (overseas Osaka-ite), implying that Tezuka had moved to Tokyo only to mine it for money to send back home. “But there was a reason I was saving money,” claimed Tezuka many years later, still sore. “I wanted to set up an animation studio.” Fukui’s attack was reportedly the first time anyone had confronted Tezuka on this count to his face.⁸¹

Tezuka retaliated in his own way. Though generous to his fans and generally warm with his peers, Tezuka was not above letting professional jealousy get the best of him. The first time this trait reared its head in public was in 1953, when, in a series about comics-making and comics aesthetics for *Manga Shōnen*, the new prince of manga took an ill-advised swipe at Fukui. It is one thing to razz someone privately, and quite another to do so in print—and yet another to do so in full view of fans, particularly in a place like *Manga Shōnen*. The magazine did not have high sales, but it was beloved by aspiring cartoonists. Tezuka knew, as did his peers, that kids hung on to his every word there. It was thus the perfect place for Tezuka to build allegiances—and to make enemies.

The series in question, *Manga Classroom*

(*Manga kyōshitsu*), had begun serialization the previous year, in April 1952. It was partially modeled after *Manga College* (*Manga daigaku*), the best-selling tutorial Tezuka had drawn in 1950 for the Osaka publisher Tōkōdō. Tezuka’s avatar and narrator for the series is a rotund, elderly man with a bushy mustache named Professor Anything and Everything (Nandemo kandemo hakase). He offers simple instruction about basics like what pens to use, how to structure jokes, how to express emotion and movement, and how to apply color. He also provides jocular commentary on what makes a good or bad comic in the four-panel and multi-page formats. Some amateur cartoons submitted to *Manga Shōnen* appeared directly in the pages of *Manga Classroom*—though this was not necessarily a blessing for the child whose work was so honored. Professor Anything and Everything did praise some selections for their good drawing and clear structure, but he was more likely to single out a neophyte’s ham-fistedness as an example of how *not* to cartoon.

Kids, of course, were in no position to fight back. But when Professor Anything and Everything cast his critical and often dismissive eye upon the work of his peers, he was courting trouble. The inflammatory segment of *Manga Classroom* is titled “New Modes of Expression” (“Atarashii hyōgen”), published in the autumn of 1953.⁸² It opens with the Professor striding across the page demonstrating what manga used to look like before the war, how “like on a theater stage . . . manga characters simply walked into a panel from one side and exited out the other.” “Pretty boring, eh, kids?” he adds. He then states (in what has since become a truism within explanations of postwar manga’s development) that what guided cartoonists toward new and more dynamic breakdowns was the movies. The main such cinematic techniques adopted were, according to Tezuka, close-ups, cropping, tilted ground planes, images of pure darkness, and super-planar effects



Tezuka Osamu, "Manga Classroom," *Manga Shōnen* (Fall 1953), "New Modes of Expression" chapter 1

inspired by 3D movies. To these "new modes of expression," the Professor also adds reflexive slapstick jokes literalizing the representational conventions of comics, dramatized filmstrip-like breakdowns, isolated shorthand renderings of sky and clouds, and "pictures that don't make any sense," represented by a panel filled with whirling speed-lines.

"But beware, kids," warns the Professor, depicted from below in extreme frog's-eye distortion. "Think twice about copying these kind of pictures." With an editor and an assistant peering over his shoulder, the Professor then states what he thinks is the root problem: "In most cases, they are nothing more than

dishonest shortcuts for cartoonists to carelessly dash off things like *bessatsu furoku*. If a technique serves no other purpose than to pad out page counts, then you should just draw something shorter instead." By *bessatsu furoku* (literally "separate pamphlet attachments"), he is referring to the 32 to 128-page bonus insert booklets that (as detailed later) many manga and emonogatari artists took on for extra money on top of their monthly serial obligations. He is, in other words, talking about his peers.

Though Tezuka could hardly have known it at the time, what we are seeing here is a line being drawn in the historical sand between the type of

compressed, anarchic, "anything and everything" cartooning that Tezuka had been practicing and the simplified and expanded, breakdown-oriented comics that would come to dominate manga in a couple of years, eventually under the name of gekiga. The preceding chapters of *Manga Classroom* detail Disney-style personification of animals, plants, and inanimate objects, and the inner workings of animated movies. Stuck in between is a tale about how the Professor became a professional cartoonist, modeled on Tezuka's own career. The suggestion seems to be that the newness of "new modes of expression" is to be judged by their distance or proximity to the Japanized Disney tradition that Tezuka represented. Throughout *Manga Classroom*, the Professor repeatedly instructs kids, often overtly, to draw like Tezuka. None too subtly, he also warns them *against* drawing too much like Tezuka's competition, naming as the practitioners of such "new modes of expression" Fukui, Baba, Ushio, Takano, and (unable to pass up an opportunity for a self-deprecating joke) himself. The Professor does not say which artists employ which techniques. Yet, the three panels that receive the most flippant treatment—sequences showing the same face in increasing close-up, the panel with "nothing but sky or clouds or smoke," and the effects-filled "pictures that don't make any sense"—would have been immediately identifiable at the time, by both young fans and fellow professionals, as coming from *Igaguri*. The example of the close-up, after all, depicts Fukui's burry-headed hero.

Fukui did not take the jibe in *Manga Classroom* lightly. According to Ushio, who heard about the matter second hand, Fukui was chafed so badly that he marched to Baba's home, yanked him outside in the cold rain, and marched him to *Shōnen Gabō's* offices, where Tezuka was working. He barged through the publisher's doors and demanded an apology for the insult, or else a thorough throttling

outside. Baba intervened and suggested that they talk things through over *niku dōfu* (meat and tofu stew) in Ikebukuro. Upon being confronted with the evidence, Tezuka demurred, "That wasn't your work I was referring to. That manga was just made up"—which only angered Fukui more, as it was all too obvious whose work Tezuka had skewered. Thus cornered, Tezuka finally apologized. "I searched in my heart like a coward for a way out of the situation," he recalled in his autobiography. "Truth be told, at the time I was extremely jealous of Fukui's work. That ended up bleeding unconsciously into *Manga Classroom* in the form of slander against an *Igaguri*-like manga."⁸³ Unconsciously? He names Fukui explicitly a few panels before the one depicting *Igaguri's* unmistakable visage.

Tezuka's lame attempt at an apology did not end in Ikebukuro. It continued in the follow-up installment of *Manga Classroom*, where we get to see how Tezuka never intended on taking real responsibility. In the series' header, Professor Anything and Everything is usually depicted as cheery. This time, he is wincing from being hit over the head with a pen. He begins by rereading the closing remarks of his last lesson, where he explains that such "new modes of expression" are a lazy expedient for artists under deadlines. Two panels later, he is waylaid in the street by two shadowy figures carrying giant pens. "I don't have any money on me!" the Professor cries preemptively. "We're not thugs, we're cartoonists. We've come to put you on trial," says one. "B-b-but have I done something to offend you?" "Yeah, your lecture today offended us!" "You said that cartoonists are dishonest and lazy!" "We ain't drawing like that for show! It's all carefully calculated to produce the best reading experience!" Though the figure's faces are in shadow, they are easily identifiable from their clothing and silhouettes as Fukui and Baba. They tie the Professor up by his neck and drag him off to teach him what's to be gained from the maligned "new



Tezuka Osamu, "Manga Classroom," *Manga Shōnen* (Fall 1953), "New Modes of Expression" chapter 2

forms of expression."

On the next page, three comparisons are presented to the Professor for consideration. The first shows a rabbit praying to the moon, so that his mother might recover from her illness. The first panel is in that flat view associated with prewar manga, while the second is dramatized with shadows, immersive perspective, and a tilted plane. The second comparison, conducted by Fukui's avatar, shows a judo toss. Exhibit A shows the body thrown toward the viewer, creating depth within the panel. In Exhibit B, tosser and tossed are positioned laterally on the same plane. The last comparison shows a boy detective (resembling Tezuka's char-

acter Rock Home) spotting a pearl-like jewel on the street. The correctly dramatic panel features a close-up of his hand, a glimmering star on the pearl, and a frame of vibrating visual effects to focus the view and express the surprise of discovery.

"See?" conclude the two shadowy artists, now seated at a bar topped with sake and *niku dōfu*. "If they're artistically effective, then simple pictures are perfectly fine." The Professor concedes and is made to dance in punishment—which makes one wonder what forms of hazing young Japanese cartoonists experienced during outings with their hard-drinking seniors. The next day, the hungover Professor stands before his class and says, with palpable hesita-



Tezuka Osamu, "Manga Classroom," *Manga Shōnen* (Fall 1953), "New Modes of Expression" chapter 2

tion, "So, uh, kids . . . make sure you use lots of new expressions to create new types of comics." But then, what does the last panel show? Chaos: too many visual gimmicks crammed next to one another in an oversize panel. "Oof, I said use lots of them," says the exhausted Professor in closing, "not go crazy with them!" At the end of the day, in other words, "new modes of expression" for Tezuka constituted an anti-cartooning tableau. Sorry for having offended you, he is effectively saying, but I still meant what I said.

Tezuka's pseudo-recantation was not limited to this last panel. Note how, on the previous page, the scintillating-versus-boring panel comparisons

have practically nothing to do with Fukui's manga. The things that Tezuka had denigrated in the previous chapter of *Manga Classroom*—the simple effects panel, the cloud-only panel, the sequential close-up—none of them appear here. Even the judo comparison looks more like Tezuka's work than Fukui's. What the Professor is essentially being forced to admire, in other words, are types of dramatic staging used frequently in *Tezuka's own work*. Urged by his peers to rethink his public opinions, Tezuka takes the opportunity to promote himself by showing how things could be done better. It takes real cheek to put self-praise in one's competitor's mouth. The extra rub here is that Tezuka himself had started using such "new expressions" more frequently since *Igaguri's* breakout popularity.

While the "Igaguri Incident" marked a collision between Tezuka's anything-and-everything cartooning and a new, more streamlined mode of comics-making centered on extended breakdowns, it also expedited a shift in Tezuka's own practice towards what might be termed a form of "cartooned breakdown," in which the sort of "new expressions" exploited by Fukui and his followers were reincorporated into Tezuka's home turf of animated caricature and zany action. That is what one is seeing in the apologetic second installment of "New Modes of Expression." It is also what one finds in *Crime and Punishment* (November 1953), which is often upheld as one of Tezuka's greatest experiments in cinematic techniques, but which I think can more accurately be seen as an elaboration of the controlled anything-and-everything approach promoted in *Manga Classroom*. It was also, I suspect, Tezuka's attempt to put a more "cosmopolitan" spin—i.e. more sophisticated, pluralistic, and learned spin—on the cinematic storytelling and literary references that *Igaguri* was getting credit for.

But let's look instead at Tezuka's *Earth 1954* (*Chikyū 1954*, subsequently rereleased as *Devil of the*



Tezuka Osamu, *Earth 1954*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (January 1954)

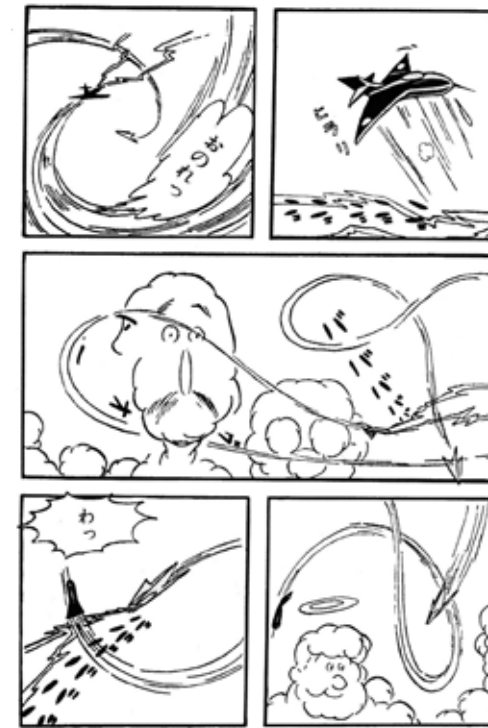
Earth [*Chikyū no akuma*]), which was published as a 128-page furoku (the very format that is supposed to have resulted in lazy comics) for *Adventure King* (the same venue as *Igaguri*) in January 1954, which means Tezuka must have drawn it soon after his *Manga Classroom* misadventure in the fall of 1953. Considered a highlight in Tezuka's antiwar oeuvre, *Earth 1954* centers on a rural village fighting the construction of a monstrous subterranean city. The underground city is advertised as the future habitat of a civilization under the constant threat of nuclear annihilation, though it is actually being built as an impenetrable fortress for the purpose of world domi-

nation. The significant features of the manga for our purposes lie in its collateral details. In a move that—given interpersonal tensions at the time of the manga's creation—can only be called ingratiating, Tezuka names three supporting characters after irritated friends: Baba, Takano, and Fukui. The sons of the fictional Fukui are the manga's heroes: Eiji and Eizō (Hero-2 and Hero-3 in kanji), riffing on the real-life Fukui's own first name, Eiichi (Hero-1). Some images of the heroes' home village clearly come from Baba's world, while those of exaggerated fighting broadly evoke Fukui's work. *Earth 1954* might be science fiction in Tezuka's typically apoc-

alyptic vein. But the rural Japanese setting and the average schoolboy heroes (versus Tezuka's preference for robots, animals, and upper-class prodigies) were probably introduced to make amends with his colleagues.

In the first third of *Earth 1954*, Tezuka deploys each of the "artistically effective" panels and a number of the criticized "new expressions" from *Manga Classroom*. In a driving scene, one Doctor Takano appears behind the wheel in extreme frog's eye view. In a fight scene, a body careens toward the viewer before crashing through the panel frame. In another fight scene, less-effective lateral action is juxtaposed with the more dynamic configuration of a body flying backward into space (embellished with some Popeye-esque action and effects). And then, the clincher, the page in which Mr. Moustache (Hige Oyaji) finds and picks up a pachinko ball, first shown from the side as he spots it on the street, followed by a close-up of it in his hand. Taken together, along with the gratuitous casting of Fukui, Baba, and Takano in supporting roles, it's hard not to read these images in relationship to the "lessons" of *Manga Classroom*. One suspects, given the course of events, that they were meant particularly for Fukui's eyes. However, as these particular techniques were associated more with Tezuka's work, their assembly here becomes a demonstration of how "new expressions" might be more effectively used in the furoku format by someone else—that is, by Tezuka, a.k.a. Professor Anything and Everything, versus the various Misters Only This or That who populated the manga industry.

What was easy artistic performance for Tezuka, however, was literally a matter of life and death for Fukui. If this tale already boasts a number of unfortunate turns, its next chapter is patently unhappy.



Tezuka Osamu, *The Destroyer of the World*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (October 1954)

6. The Furoku Wars and Canning

Tezuka's peers came once again in another furoku for *Adventure King*, the World War III comic *The Destroyer of the World* (*Sekai o horobosu otoko*, October 1954). As two futuristic jets zoom about in a dogfight—in a sequence of effects panels that exceeds in easy-to-draw-ness anything in Fukui's oeuvre—first Baba's face appears in the clouds, then Fukui's. The latter not only has the pudgy mug and bushy hair common to all of Tezuka's caricatures of Fukui, it is also crowned with a halo.

A few months prior, on June 26, 1954, Fukui unexpectedly died. The purported cause was *karōshi*, that notorious Japanese affliction of “death by over-work.” He was only thirty-three. He had been a fulltime cartoonist for just five years. But as Fukui’s short but prolific career reshaped the content and style of manga, so his death urged the industry to change for the benefit of its artists and its own long-term sustainability.

In manga history, one often comes across the term “*kanzume*,” a transliteration of the French word “consommé,” written with kanji characters to mean “stuffed in a can.” Meaning “canned” as in canned food, it signifies canning as a process not for facilitating transportation and preservation, but rather for containment and pressurized reduction inside a small space. When used metaphorically to describe labor conditions—as it has been since at least the ‘20s—*kanzume* expresses extraction by incarceration. It has been used in that context in the manga industry since at least the ‘30s, describing the sequestering of artists in hotel rooms or publisher offices until they finish their deadlines. The practice faced its first serious blowback amidst the explosive industry growth of the ‘50s following its first casualty, Fukui.

Youth magazines, it’s important to note, were rarely sold as just magazines. Since the early 20th century, Japanese publishers had enticed kid consumers by stuffing their periodicals with bonus inserts (*furoku*), sandwiched inside the magazine and held in place with paper wrappings, string, or (later) rubber bands. Originally, most *furoku* were either toys—paper model kits of battleships and castles, sugoroku gameboards, kamishibai frames, cardboard cameras, et cetera—or small pamphlets ranging from manga and flipbooks to who’s who photo collections, how-to guides, and quiz books. Major manga titles of the ‘30s, including *Norakuro* and *Dankichi the Adventurer*, were issued as both

serialized chapters in the magazine proper and as *furoku* booklets. Though the production of *furoku* were dampened by material controls and content censorship in the early ‘40s, they made a roaring comeback not long after the war. You may recall that Fukui’s first jobs for children’s magazines were *furoku* flipbooks and other para-cinematic toys for *Yōnen Club* in 1948-49.

In April 1951, Japanese National Railways changed its rules about what kind of items could be mailed via its cheap, bulk printed matter rate for periodicals. Burdened with increasing numbers of youth publications with increasing page counts, jammed with increasing numbers of bulky *furoku* (which were sometimes larger than the magazines themselves), National Railways moved to ban items that included components made of metal, cloth, or rubber—thus effectively eliminating most toys. In 1954, the Transportation Ministry, major publishers, and distributors came to an agreement that allowed some toys with non-paper components to be included as *furoku*, though strict limits were put on their number and size. Bound printed matter, however, was still allowed, leading to a sudden increase in the number of manga and emonogatari *furoku*. These are known collectively as *bessatsu furoku*, the “bonus pamphlets” blamed by Tezuka in *Manga Classroom* for undermining quality in manga. Akita Shoten, the publisher of *Adventure King*, where *Igaguri* was serialized, was one of the first to act, stuffing its issues with multiple 32 to 128-page *bessatsu furoku* every month. Many magazines followed suit. A single issue might have up to nine such booklets, rivaling the page count of the magazine itself. Successful cartoonists were thus not only pressured to produce more work for the increasing number of magazines being published, but also to do so more quickly in order to keep up with the double demand of monthly serialization and semi-monthly *furoku*.⁸⁴

Understand what a violent shift this was. When Tezuka began drawing for Tokyo magazines in 1950, serials were typically four to eight pages per month, before climbing to sixteen for the top artists. Many cartoonists had additional commissions from book publishers, typically 64 to 128 pages in length, though usually with more flexible deadlines. Now, with the rise of *bessatsu furoku*, an artist had to create an entire “book” in the same amount of time as a single installment in a monthly serial, though it could be anywhere from four to fourteen times as long, and with little wiggle room for delays. Needless to say, this posed a real challenge to artists, especially those who were accustomed to the slower pace of short serials and occasional children’s booklets. In the short span of a couple of years, what had been a fairly relaxed, bohemian environment was transformed into a grueling, non-stop, hyper competitive, proto-industrial field. Tezuka probably made things worse for his peers by setting the bar so high, by drawing at a superhuman speed while maintaining quality. Eventually studio practices of divided labor across multiple assistants developed to absorb and disperse the impact of these changes. But that was still a few years off.

In the meantime, publishers resorted to “canning” their artists. This was not a pleasant experience. A publisher rented a room at a local inn or designated one at their company offices for the purpose of sequestering the artist and keeping them shielded from the requests of competing publishers. The artist was provided with whatever food and refreshments they required, but they were not allowed to leave the room until the job was complete. Though a canned artist typically worked alone, *kanzume* was not strictly speaking solitary confinement, as an editor would often sit by the artist’s side to make sure they stayed focused. If sleep was required, the editor saw to it that it lasted no longer than ten or fifteen minutes. Sometimes

the editor expedited work by filling in the blacks (known as *betanuri*). Sometimes a helping hand in the form of a younger acolyte would be called in. But generally, canning was employed as a means to force a single artist to do a multi-day job in a single sitting. And since popular cartoonists worked for multiple magazines simultaneously, being released from one “can” oftentimes only meant being free to be stuffed into another.

It was, thus, only natural that artists should seek ways to ease their burden by devising methods to fill pages more easily. As noted above, it is specifically *bessatsu furoku* that Tezuka blames for too many visual gimmicks and degraded artistic quality in *Manga Classroom*. In the first segment of “New Forms of Expression,” he shows the Professor desperately churning out comics pages with an assistant looking on anxiously over one shoulder and a magazine editor over the other. The visual aesthetic of *Igaguri* may not have originated in canning, but part of the reason his extended cinematic breakdowns and exaggerated effects were so widely embraced was because they made drawing simpler and faster. Their near-ubiquity was both an expression of and antidote to untenable labor conditions.

The pressures of overwork sometimes spilled over into the pages of manga. Take, for example, the aforementioned *The Monster of the 38th Degree* (*Shōnen Gabō*, March 1953) by Tezuka, a medical sci-fi *furoku* similar in conceit to the much later movie *Fantastic Voyage* (1966). It begins with a depiction of a young author who is so hounded by back-to-back deadlines that he ends up in the hospital. The “38th degree” of the title refers both to the line that divides North and South Korea (the Korean War being a contemporary event) and the broken author’s feverish body temperature in Celsius (equal to 100 degrees Fahrenheit). Though the young author is shown writing prose, it is clearly a reference to the manga industry: the three



Tezuka Osamu, *The Monster of the 38th Degree Parallel*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen Gabō* (March 1953)

colleagues who fret over his health resemble Fukui, Baba, and Takano. Burned out as well, they vow to ask their boss to lesson everyone's workload. Yet, when they meet him, not only do they fail to muster the courage to voice their demands, they give into his guiltig pleas to work harder to take up the slack created by their friend's hospitalization. Rebuffed, they instead relieve their stress over flasks of sake.

In real life, however, it was not the youngest and most prolific of their cohort—Tezuka—who ended up laid out; it was Fukui. *Kanzume* killed Fukui. It did not help that he was overweight, a chain smoker, and a heavy drinker—the last a habit he took up

after becoming a cartoonist. He also had an underlying heart condition that neither he nor his family or peers knew about. In reminiscences about the artist, Fukui's physical constitution comes up repeatedly. Standing 175 cm (5'7") tall and reportedly weighing 82.5 kg (181 lbs) at his heaviest, he would not be considered particularly obese by today's standards.⁸⁵ However, he was invariably described as embarrassingly and dangerously so by his peers. Kinder friends cast him as a "gentle elephant," but such voices were rare.⁸⁶ "Only a gang of juvenile delinquents or gangsters could make him run," said one colleague after his death. "Igaguri was the realization of dreams

he himself could not fulfill," said another.⁸⁷ Fukui apparently agreed. In a furoku in 1953, he names a character that is clearly meant to be a self-caricature Tonda—"Pork Paddy."⁸⁸ Responding to fan questions in *Shōnen Gabō* in 1954, he described himself as "very fat" (*taihen futotteiru*) and inept at sports—except for the pseudo-sport of arm wrestling.⁸⁹

According to fellow cartoonist and drinking buddy Takano Yoshiteru, they would often head to the movies together on their days off—typically between the 20th and the 23rd, after they had met their deadlines for the month—and then go out drinking afterwards. Sometimes they would do so for three days straight.⁹⁰ The morning after one such binge, Takano and Yamane Hifumi received identical letters from Fukui. "I had great fun with the two of you," they read. "So much fun, in fact, that I neglected my work and have greatly inconvenienced the people who count on me. It is thus with tears in my eyes that I hereby end our friendship." When one of them went to check on Fukui to make sure he was okay, Fukui laughed and pretended like nothing had happened.⁹¹ Sugiura Shigeru, who hadn't seen Fukui since they crossed paths immediately after the war in the animation industry, recalled Fukui looking poorly upon running into him in Kanda in the spring of 1953. "He was with two young men and had gotten so fat that I barely recognized him. His skin color was off too. I recommended that he lay off the booze a bit, when he grabbed me by both arms as if he were about to execute a judo move and told me, 'I'm fine, I'm fine.'⁹²

Eventually, the pattern caught up with him. According to Ushio, the tragedy transpired as follows: "On June 26, 1954, right after completing a night of canned work, Fukui went out drinking with an editor until dawn. After briefly returning home, he was put back into a can. His head started hurting, so he called a doctor and had himself examined. 'It's probably from working too much and

drinking all night,' the doctor said and then left. He died suddenly right after that."⁹³ Though also recounting hearsay, Sugiura reported the incident as follows: "One June night in 1954, he and an editor went drinking at some restaurant then said their goodbyes. It sounds like they drank a hell of a lot, but what did him in was what transpired afterwards. According to a neighbor who happened to pass by on the street, Fukui had his arms wrapped around a utility pole and was shouting at it, and then rammed his body into it repeatedly at full force. He then stumbled home, where he collapsed in the doorway and died...and Igaguri along with him."⁹⁴

In the days before Fukui's death, Ushio remembers his face looking "the ugly color of cadmium yellow mixed with permanent green pale."⁹⁵ Tezuka similarly recalls him "growing more gaunt by the day, looking as harrowed as a self-portrait by Van Gogh."⁹⁶ On the occasion of a commemorative roundtable about Fukui in *Manga Shōnen* after his death, a number of colleagues recall him being so fatigued and out of shape that even a long walk made him lose his breath. One participant claimed that you could tell that work had gotten to be too much for him because characters in his manga were getting sick and dying.⁹⁷ According to his wife, Fukui spent as many days canned in hotel rooms as in his bed at home. With their newborn daughter (b. 1952) strapped to her back and their son (b. 1949) in tow, she'd have to make the rounds of publishers and hotels to figure out where he was and make sure he was eating properly.⁹⁸ Tezuka likewise recalled that Fukui frequently complained about being so busy that he never got to spend time with his kids.⁹⁹

Fukui's death was a shock to everyone. Its perceived cause, however—*kanzume* and *bessatsu furoku*—had been a source of contention in the industry for some years. Not long before Fukui's death, according to Ushio, a number of cartoonists had petitioned publishers to increase pay for furoku

so that they could make a living without taking on so much work. The response: nothing. Ten days after Fukui's death, a meeting of the Tokyo Children's Manga Association was held at Baba's house to discuss the matter of *kanzume*. One attendee compared editors' police-like behavior to the scene in John Houston's *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948) where Humphrey Bogart refuses to sleep in order to safeguard his riches.¹⁰⁰ The Association's decision, however, was not to force a reduction of work, but rather reiterate the demand for higher pay. Formerly receiving 80,000 yen for a furoku of anywhere from 64 to 128 pages, they now wanted 120,000 yen, an increase of fifty percent. Under the shadow of Fukui's death, the publishers quickly agreed. It took a tragedy to get capital to budge. Reflected Ushio, "On the train ride home [from the Association's meeting], I found myself thinking about how arbitrary and self-serving it had been for us to harness Fukui's death to the demand for 120,000 yen per furoku. Maybe we had exploited his death. But since it had the positive effect of helping future cartoonists, I too came to accept it."¹⁰¹ In 1956, overwork in the manga industry was still such a problem that the popular economics magazine *Weekly Sankei* ran an article about the furoku wars, canning, and the lack of artists to fill the exploding demand for comics. Its title: "Cartoonists Killed by Kids? Children's Manga Deluge!"¹⁰²

Since *kanzume* was a function of too much work in too little time, why didn't cartoonists simply refuse jobs they couldn't handle? First, remember that, until that point in the postwar period, drawing manga had been a highly tentative occupation. Publishers vanished as fast as they appeared. Publishing formats changed rapidly. Younger artists were coming up in droves. Who knew what the future held? The early '50s boom was the first chance for many cartoonists to make real money, and knowing that their popularity wouldn't

last forever, they probably wanted to cash in when they could. Another explanation, however, might be construed from something Ishinomori Shōtarō wrote in his autobiography while looking back at the subsequent stage of mass production in comics, that is, the advent of the weeklies at the end of the '50s. "The primary reason [I rarely said no to a commission] was that I was bristling with curiosity and loved having my hands occupied with lots of work. However, the market for manga was expanding too quickly for the available number of qualified artists, so I also felt a sense of responsibility, if not duty, to provide my services," Ishinomori wrote, comparing the situation to Japanese baseball, which used to have a bad habit of disregarding pitchers' health and wearing through their arms in pursuit of team victory.¹⁰³

It's important to add that, while more money might have meant more disposable income, it was also business capital. Now overworked artists could hire help. Assistants and studio practices of different sorts had existed in manga since at least the early '30s. But it was only in the mid to late '50s that they started to become common and formalized into a system, with regular employees, defined tasks, and (for bigger artists) fixed and specialized workspaces. Isolated cases of *kanzume* at hotels and company offices continued for many years, but once multiple hands were involved in the production of a single work, it made less sense to separate artists from their usual desks. Extended sit-ins by taskmaster editors at artists' homes and studios became more the norm. Not allowed to leave until they had the finished artwork in hand, sleepless editors were now the ones who were most often canned.

Kanzume also arguably lived on in spirit through norms of artistic credits in manga. Even after the rise of studio practices in the mid '50s, typically only the studio head's name was listed on title pages, without acknowledging even the existence

of assistants, let alone their individual names. This changed to some extent in the '60s, but only for some artists and only temporarily. Most manga today are published under a single author's name no matter how many people are involved in their creation. The former reality of a lone, canned Hercules was turned into the fiction of a one-man drawing factory.

7. Post Mortem and the Media Mix

While the Tokyo Children's Manga Association was advocating for better pay in the wake of Fukui's death, his colleagues and publishers busied themselves with finding ways to fill the holes that his passing had left in their lives—and in their magazines.

Promptly after Fukui's passing on June 26th, *Manga Shōnen* set about organizing an extended feature dedicated to his memory. Published as their September 1954 issue, it included a variety of material that collectively provides the single richest trove of information and items related to the author. There are reprints of three of his manga, a handful of his single panel cartoons, one of his *Bat Kid* chapters, and a story he wrote that was illustrated by another artist. A collage of photographs spanning his life show him as a chubby baby, as a teen in military uniform, as an animator, relaxing in the grass, cartooning at his desk, with his wife and son, dressed as Kintarō for Boys' Day, in a judo gi wrestling kids, and as a framed portrait at his own funeral. There is also a group of commemorative manga by members of the Tokyo Children's Manga Association, including a handful of judo manga. In a roundtable, Tezuka and multiple animators-turned-cartoonists reminisce about their late colleague, providing valuable details about his animation career and personal life. The issue's cover, by Sawai Ichisaburō, depicts Fukui dancing with animals against a full moon, a reference to the *tsukimi* ("moon-viewing") festival



Fukui Eiichi memorial issue, *Manga Shōnen* (September 1954), cover by Sawai Ichisaburō and title page

思い出のアルバム
さよなら福井先生



11



12



13



14

"Farewell Fukui Sensei: A Memorial Photo Album," *Manga Shōnen* (September 1954)



Arikawa Asakazu, "Iga-guri kun," *Adventure King* (December 1954)

of the autumn harvest. But business must go on. With one of the industry's most popular authors suddenly gone, publishers had to scramble. Wont to abandon its most lucrative property, Akita Shoten quickly settled concerns about whether it was right to continue a series beyond the death of its creator, gained the blessing of Fukui's widow, and set about to find someone to continue *Igaguri*. They first tapped one Shimizu Haruo, who had been drawing for various magazines under the penname Doya Ippai. His first



Arikawa Asakazu, *Igaguri kun*, furoku pamphlet, *Adventure King* (November 1958)

installment of *Igaguri* was published in September 1954. But, according to an editor at *Adventure King*, Shimizu soon began shirking deadlines and disappearing, "probably because he was suffering from the stress of taking on such a heavy inheritance and felt uncomfortable walking in someone else's shoes."¹⁰⁴ Fortunately, just then a new artist who drew like Fukui, named Arikawa Asakazu, came knocking on Akita Shoten's door. Asking him to draw even more like Fukui, they put him to work on *Igaguri*, his first chapter published in December 1954. Except for a



Ads for *Igaguri kun* TV show, *Adventure King* (March 1960)

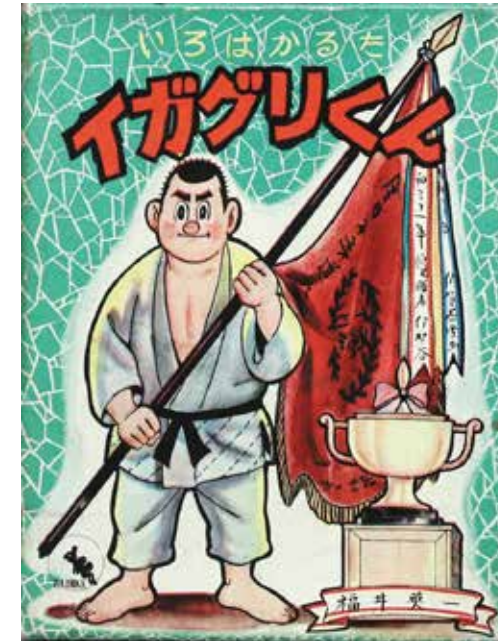


Fukui Eiichi & Arikawa Asakazu, *Igaguri kun*, furoku pamphlet, *Manga King* (July 1964)

hiatus between October 1956 and September 1957, when the series was drawn by two minor artists, Kobayashi Kazuo and Takeyama Noboru, Arikawa drew the series until its conclusion in December 1960, comprising more than five times as many pages as Fukui's original chapters. Over time, the artwork became broader and rougher, reflecting a feedback loop between the *nekketsu* genre Fukui had established and the *kashihon gekiga* artists who had built on Fukui's visuals. Igaguri's foes grew more farfetched, including professional wrestlers and gentleman thieves. His *waza*, too, became more fantastic. Under the influence of Edogawa Ranpo's *Youth Detective League* (*Shōnen tantei dan*, 1935-

62), Igaguri assumed the role of a crimefighter in line with the many other boy detectives who were galivanting about in *shōnen* manga. Fukui's realistic role model had become a borderline superhero—and it paid off. While Fukui's *Igaguri* sold copies and influenced other cartoonists, Arikawa's was turned into a serialized radio drama in 1956, a live-action movie from Tōei that same year, a live-action TV series in 1960, and a wide variety of toys and other goods sporting his stout and burry visage. A redraw by Arikawa of some of Fukui's early chapters was published as a furoku for Akita Shoten's *Manga King* in 1964.

Igaguri was not the only progeny Fukui



Igaguri kun karuta card set (Tokyo: Suzuki shuppan)
bottom right: *Igaguri Adventure King* reader's pin



orphaned. The artist had just begun a new series for a rival magazine, *Shōnen Gabō*, titled *Red-Breasted Suzunosuke* (*Akadō Suzunosuke*). Between 1952 and 1953, Fukui had drawn a serial titled *Suzunosuke the Coward* (*Yowamushi Suzunosuke*) for the children's magazine *The Silver Chime* (*Gin no suzu*). Set during the Edo period, it is about a scaredy-cat boy who, by a mix of luck and pluck, manages to navigate *yokai* and ghosts, real and fake (see image on page xxiv). *Red-Breasted Suzunosuke*, set in the 19th century, instead stars a teen kendo prodigy. His father, a master swordsman, died when the boy was still young, leaving him with precious but hazy memories, impeccable fencing skills, and a





Fukui Eiichi, announcement of new serial "Red-Breasted Suzunosuke," *Shōnen Gabō* (July 1954)

suit of gleaming red kendo armor (thus the title). Approaching manhood, Suzunosuke travels to Edo to continue his training and seek out his long-lost mother, setting the stage for a horizon of action and melodrama. However, before the first chapter of *Suzunosuke* was published in August 1954, Fukui died. It was the only chapter he finished. It was just four pages long.

Like with *Igaguri*, the host magazine quickly began looking for a replacement. Eventually they settled on an ex-kamishibai artist and novice cartoonist named Takeuchi Tsunayoshi (1926-87),

who had initially refused the offer, being busy with his own work and nervous about inheriting the newest title by one of shōnen manga's top talents in one of the industry's top magazines.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Takeuchi not only drew the manga to its conclusion in 1960, but became one of the most fondly remembered artists of '50s shōnen culture because of it. *Suzunosuke* regularly ranked number one in surveys of children's favorite reading material, particularly among boys but also girls. By the end of the decade, it was said that some 90% of boys and 80% of girls knew the name "Akadō Suzunosuke," though that



Fukui Eiichi, "Red-Breasted Suzunosuke," *Shōnen Gabō* (August 1954)

was in large part due to aggressive cross-merchandising. In 1957, *Suzunosuke* was adapted as a radio drama, running until 1959. It was also made into a series of nine movies for theatrical release as well as two different live-action television dramas, with an animated series to follow in the early '70s. The theme song was also a smash hit. Plastic swords, armor, masks, clothes, menko, notebooks, gum, and countless other *Suzunosuke*-themed products flooded the market, priming the industry for the cross-platform "media mix" that would explode with the tie-up between Tezuka's *Astro Boy* and Morinaga Candy in



1962, and its TV anime adaptation in 1963. *Suzunosuke*'s success is also sometimes cited as the final nail in the coffin of prose fiction and emonogatari in boys' magazines.¹⁰⁶

What *Igaguri* was to judo, so *Suzunosuke* was to kendo. According to his wife, Fukui had learned a bit of kendo in school—the only form of exercise he reportedly ever did—but only because it was mandatory.¹⁰⁷ Along with judo, kendo was introduced into Japanese middle/high schools in 1911 as one of two martial arts male students could choose as an elective. Philosophically, it was infused with



Takeuchi Tsunayoshi, "Red-Breasted Suzunosuke," *Shōnen Gabō* (November 1955)

much of the same "spiritual education" as judo was. Its association with reactionary politics and groups, however, was much stronger, due in large part to the backing of the Dai Nippon Butokukai, founded in 1895 to promote traditional martial arts as compatible with modern sports and physical education, but which by the '30s was directed at forging patriotic martial spirits for the Japanese Empire. In 1931, as mentioned earlier, all male middle/high school students were required to take either kendo or judo. In 1941, kendo alone was made mandatory

for able-bodied male children even in elementary schools and was offered to girls as well.¹⁰⁸

Due to its origin in techniques derived from the use of lethal metal swords, kendo kept its distance from competitive sports and was more deeply enmeshed within the ideology of bushidō. During World War II, some soldiers put their kendo training to practice by wielding actual swords on the battlefield. Shinai (bamboo kendo swords) were also a typical accoutrement in police stations, where they used for interrogating and beating crim-



Takeuchi Tsunayoshi, *Red-Breasted Suzunosuke*, furoku pamphlet, *Shōnen Gabō* (December 1954)

inals, Communists, and other socially undesirable elements. Kendo was, thus, primed for focused targeting during the Occupation, where it was denounced and banned for its ties to militarism, soldiering, and "feudalistic" values. So, while judo and archery returned to Japanese school curricula in 1950 and 1951 respectively (while the GHQ was still in power), kendo was not offered again until July 1953, more than a year after the Occupation officially ended.

Suzunosuke began serialization a year later. As *Igaguri* had with judo manga, *Suzunosuke* inspired



Ad for Daiei's movie version of *Suzunosuke*, *Shōnen Gabō* (July 1957)

a large number of manga featuring either shinai or hard wood bokutō swords. Many children were reportedly motivated by the manga and its adaptations to try kendo. As more famously with sports like baseball, soccer, and basketball, so with martial arts, the manga-centered "media mix" shaped not only fantasy and consumer habits in Japan, but also athletic practice and physical culture. At least one scholar of Japanese juvenile prose fiction has described *Suzunosuke* as a revival of bushidō after its banning after the war, referring presumably to its idealization of loyalty, filial piety, chivalry, personal dedication and improvement, moral purity, and righteous justice, embodied in a young male protagonist. The manga was, after all, during Takeuchi's tenure, modeled directly on juvenile prose fiction about vigilante swordsmen from both before and after the war.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, sports and martial arts manga served as one of the primary vehicles for the popularization of conservative and reactionary ideologies in

postwar Japan. Though this is most obvious with writer Kajiwara Ikki's "sports grit" titles of the '60s and '70s, which often wear their hyper-masculinist and fascist legacies on their sleeve, it originates with the more conscientious and less aggressively ideological *nekketsu* martial arts manga boom of the '50s.

Interestingly, when anti-comics campaigns heated up in Japan in the mid '50s—known as the *akusho tsuibō undō*, the "movement to purge evil books"—martial arts manga were a frequent target. To my knowledge, Fukui's name never appears in related broadsides, but that is not surprising, considering that he had already passed away by the time the attacks got serious in 1955. However, other judo manga made under *Igaguri's* influence do, as does *Suzunosuke* and other kendo, bokutō, and chanbara (samurai "sword fighting") manga, which are blamed for gratuitous scenes of fighting and promoting violence under the guise of justice, as well as the lesser sins of cookie-cutter narratives and historical inaccuracies. Such traits were, in fact, seen as problems within *nekketsu* fiction as a whole, whether in prose or comics form.¹¹⁰ While most of the critics were liberal and leftist educators and PTA leaders, who were understandably sensitive about the return of the militarist past into the pacifist present, even conservatives were wary of martial arts manga. For example, in a roundtable conducted ostensibly in defense of children's manga in 1956, Shimada Keizō names judo manga alongside pro wrestling manga (another spin-off of *Igaguri's* popularity) as genres that have ignored the "true essence" of children's manga, which should be "filled with dreams and humor, fun to read, and positive."¹¹¹ Shimada was still serving as Chair of the Tokyo Children's Manga Association at the time; talk about throwing your juniors under the bus.

But all in all, it didn't matter. Under the influence of the gekiga movement, which grew in a market (kashihon publishing) less susceptible to

public pressure, martial arts and samurai manga were readying to turn in radically different directions, with Shirato Sanpei subverting the mythology of bushidō from a leftist perspective, Hirata Hiroshi dramatizing the decadence of martial masculinity, and Kojima Gōseki penning melodramatic samurai romances for a young female audience. Fukui's *nekketsu* spirit would have to reinvent itself to survive within shōnen manga, which it did in the form of "sports grit" manga—but that is a story for another time.

Let me close with another quote from Tezuka, this essay's co-star and foil. Though shocked and saddened by Fukui's passing in 1954, Tezuka also breathed a sigh of relief. "For Fukui to have died when he did, at the height of his fame, was a great loss to everyone," he wrote in his autobiography. "But gradually my melancholic state of mind was led astray by a dark and evil thought—'Thank god he's dead.' How could I think that?! How shameful of me! I hated myself. Still, on the inside, I was relieved that he was gone, for now I would no longer have to break my back trying to compete with him. The 'popularity contest' that had lorded over my soul like a monster had completely burned me out."¹¹²

But not so fast, jealous sensei! At Fukui's wake, Tezuka recalled people saying that the coming age was bound to belong to his erstwhile rival.¹¹³ Indeed, *nekketsu* martial arts manga did not die with Fukui. Not even *Igaguri* died with Fukui. The genre only grew, proliferating in numbers and widening its influence, such that by the mid '50s it was the rare manga in the shōnen magazine or kashihon market that did not reflect its influence. With "hot-blooded" heroes, marital arts, and sports being so fundamental to modern shōnen culture since the early 20th century, did Tezuka's liberal fantasies ever really stand a chance?



Thank you Tatsuzawa Satoshi, Takeuchi Osamu, Kana Jenkins and the Gordon W. Prange Collection, Kajiya Kenji, Kondo Jun (SIZEKOTE), Lance Gatling, Eric Shahan, Aaron Gerow, Marc Steinberg, Matthew Hayes, and Brian Baynes.

Endnotes

1. Natsume Fusanosuke, *Kieta makyū: nekketsu supootsu manga wa ikanishite moetsukita ka* (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1991), p. 152.
2. Tezuka Osamu, *Boku wa mangaka* [1979] (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 2000), pp. 166-7. Part of this quote also appears in Ban Toshio and Tezuka Pro, *The Osamu Tezuka Story: A Life in Manga and Anime* [1992], trans. Frederik L. Schodt (Berkeley, CA: Stone Bridge Press, 2016), pp. 338-9. While the research for this essay and translated quotes are based on Japanese sources, parallel episodes in *The Osamu Tezuka Story* are also noted below, as it is the most accessible and detailed version of Tezuka's early career currently available in English.
3. Unless otherwise noted, information about Fukui's early life and career come from the following sources: Fukui Miyoko, "Omoide no ki," *Igaguri kun* (Tokyo: Tōgensha, 1976), pp. 270-2; Fukui Miyoko, interview, *Dainatsuman'ō* no. 1 (November 2000), pp. 28-37; and "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," *Manga shōnen* (September 1954), pp. 136-41.
4. Fukui Miyoko, interview, p. 29; Shimada Keizō, "Waga tōsho jidai," *Manga kenkyū* no. 2 (December 1954), p. 20.
5. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," pp. 136-7.
6. Sakamoto Saburō, "Fukui Eiichi sensei: omoide no hōmonki," *Manga shōnen* (September 1954), p. 143; "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 137.
7. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 137.
8. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, p. 62.
9. *Shōnen gabō* (July 1954), rpt. in *Shōnen gabō taizen: 20 seiki bōken katsugeki no shōnen sekai* (Tokyo: Shōnen gahōsha, 2001), p. 8.
10. See R.W. Purdy, "The Creation of the Nippon Newsreel Company: Personal Rivalry and Profit in Wartime Japan," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 36:3 (2016), pp. 352-72.
11. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," pp. 136-7.
12. The stills reproduced here come from *Nihon nyuusu eigashi*, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1980).
13. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, p. 60.
14. Sugiura Shigeru, *Sugiura Shigeru: jiden to kaisō* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2002), p. 49.
15. Unless otherwise noted, the following information about Occupation era animation comes from Tatsuzawa Satoshi and Kayama Takashi, "Nihon manga eiga kabushiki kaisha jittai kaimei: senryōki ni okeru animeeshon seisaku jigyo no shikin chōtatsu" (Tokuma kinen animeeshon bunka zaidan josei ronbun, 2019-20): <https://www.ghibli-museum.jp/docs/2019-2020bessatu.pdf#page=19>. A giant thank you to Tatsuzawa for helping me parse this complicated and understudied era and find further information on Fukui's activities as an animator. On this era, see also Watanabe Yasushi and Yamaguchi Katsunori, *Nihon animeeshon eiga shi* (Osaka: Yūbunsha, 1977), pp. 46-56; and Hagihara Yukari, *Masaoka Kenzō to sono jidai: 'nihon no animeeshon no chichi' no senzen to sengo* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2015), pp. 167-98.
16. Kinoshita Toshio, interview, in Nakano Haruyuki, ed., *Shōnen manga ōgon densetsu* (self-published, 2002), p. 43; Kinoshita and Komatsuzawa Hajime, interview, "Kinoshita Toshio shi sokuseki o kataru," *Rekishi bukai tsūshin* no. 19 (September 1999).
17. "Kinoshita Toshio shi sokuseki o kataru."
18. Fukui Miyoko, interview, p. 30.
19. Kimura Ichirō, interview, in *Shōnen manga ōgon densetsu*, p. 36.
20. "Kinoshita Toshio shi sokuseki o kataru."
21. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 136.
22. On the Tōhō Labor Disputes, see Kyoko Hirano, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema under the American Occupation, 1945-1952* (Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), pp. 205-40.
23. Tatsuzawa and Kayama, pp. 22-3.
24. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 137.
25. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, pp. 62-3.
26. On Tōhō film staff, see Hirano, p. 226. On animators and children's publishing, see Hagihara, *Masaoka Kenzō to sono jidai*,

- pp. 180-95; Hagihara Yukari, "Animeeshon to chon, jidō zasshi no ōrai," in Nakamura Miharu, ed., *Eiga to bungaku: kōkyō suru sōzōryoku* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2016), pp. 63-85.
27. The book in question is Masaoka Kenzō and Washisu Tomio [Ushio Sōji], *Suteneko tora chan* (Tokyo: Mahiru shobō, 1947). For Ushio's account of the Tōhō strikes, see Ushio Sōji, *Tezuka Osamu to boku* (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2007), pp. 25-41. See also Hagihara, *Masaoka Kenzō to sono jidai*, pp. 182-3.
28. Hagihara, *Masaoka Kenzō to sono jidai*, p. 181; "Kinoshita Toshio shi sokuseki o kataru," Watanabe and Yamaguchi, p. 53.
29. Toyoda Kiichi, "Tezuka Osamu ra o kanban ni Shōgakukan karaa manga o kangaeta," Matsumoto Leiji and Hidaka Bin, eds., *Manga dai hakubutsukan* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan kurieiteibu, 2004), p. 367.
30. "Kinoshita Toshio shi sokuseki o kataru."
31. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 137.
32. Fukui Miyoko, interview, p. 29.
33. Shimada, p. 20.
34. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, pp. 158-62.
35. See Ryan Holmberg, "Manga Shōnen: Katō Ken'ichi and the Manga Boys," *Mechademia* 8 (2003), pp. 173-93.
36. On *Bat Kid* and transwar baseball culture, see Ryan Holmberg, "Bat Kid: Inoue Kazuo and the Origins of Baseball Manga," in Inoue Kazuo, *Bat Kid* (Richmond: Bubbles Publications, 2020), pp. iii-lxii.
37. Katō Takeo, *'Manga Shōnen' monogatari: henshūsha Katō Kenichi den* (Tokyo: Toshi shuppan, 2002), pp. 39-40. According to Tezuka, Fukui saw the call for new chapters of *Bat Kid* in the pages of *Manga Shōnen* and submitted his own, leading to an invitation from Katō to work on the series in the described fashion. However, it's hard to imagine that Fukui's existing Kōdansha-related connections didn't also play a role in getting him the job. See Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, p. 117.
38. See, for example, the chapter reprinted in *Manga Shōnen* (September 1954), pp. 144-7, part of an extended feature dedicated to Fukui's career on the occasion of his death.
39. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 137.
40. Kinoshita Toshio, interview, *Shōnen manga ōgon densetsu*, p. 46.
41. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, pp. 166-7.
42. On rainstorms and other seasonal motifs in Masaoka's work, see Hagihara, *Masaoka Kenzō to sono jidai*, pp. 132, 212-4, and passim.
43. On Tezuka and animated "culture films," see Ōtsuka Eiji, *Tezuka Osamu to senjika medeia riron: bunka kōsaku, kiroku eiga, ki-kai geijutsu* (Tokyo: Seikaisha, 2018). In English, see Ōtsuka, "An Unholy Alliance of Eisenstein and Disney: The Fascist Origins of Otaku Culture," *Mechademia* 8 (University of Minnesota Press, 2013), pp. 251-77.
44. See Nakano Haruyuki, *'Shin takarajima' no hikari to kage: nazo no mangaka Sakai Shichima den* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan kurieiteibu, 2011); Ōtsuka, *Atomu no meidai: Tezuka Osamu to sengo manga no shudai* (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 2003); Ryan Holmberg, "Manga Finds Pirate Gold: The Case of *New Treasure Island*," *The Comics Journal* online (October 2012), and "Tezuka Osamu Outwits the Phantom Blot: The Case of *New Treasure Island* cont'd," *The Comics Journal* online (February 2013).
45. See, for example, Ryan Holmberg, "The Eye and the Storm: Speed Lines and Gekiga FX," *The International Journal of Comic Art* (Fall 2013), pp. 389-419; and Asakawa Mitsuhiko, "Gekiga's New Frontier: The Uneasy Rise of Yoshiharu Tsuge," in Tsuge Yosiharu, *The Swamp* (Montreal: Drawn & Quarterly, 2020).
46. On Tezuka's *Crime and Punishment* as an experiment in adapting cinematic montage, see Ōtsuka, *Tezuka Osamu to senjika medeia riron*, pp. 133-77.
47. On these debates, see Miyamoto Hirohito, "Manga to norimono: *Shin takarajima* to sore izen," Shimotsuki Takanaka, ed., *Tanjō! Tezuka Osamu: manga no kamisama o sodateta bakkuguraundo* (Tokyo: Asahi sonoroma, 1998), pp. 67-98; Ōtsuka, *Atomu no meidai*; Itō Gō, *Tezuka izu deddo: hirakareta manga hyōgenron e* [2005] (Tokyo: Seikaisha, 2014), pp. 181-292; Miwa Kentarō, *Manga to eiga: koma to jikan no rowri* (Tokyo: NTT shuppan, 2014).
48. It is worth noting that Matsumoto Leiji's debut work, "The Adventures of the Honeybee," ("Hachimitsu no bōken," *Manga Shōnen*, February 1954), is clearly inspired by Masaoka's *The Spider and the Tulip*.
49. Takeuchi Osamu, *Manga to jidō bungaku no 'aida'* (Tokyo: Dai nihon tosho, 1989), pp. 42-4. On Yamakawa Sōji, see also Takeuchi, *Kodomo manga no kyōjin tachi: Rakuten kara Tezuka made* (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1995), pp. 150-72.

50. Takeuchi Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu wa 'Janguru taitē' ni donna omoi o kometa no ka: 'sutoorii manga' no tenkai* (Tokyo: Miner-va shobō, 2012), pp. 73-85. In the same book, see also Takeuchi's discussion of the relationship between the nascent term "story manga," genre consciousness, and prose fiction in the mid '50s, pp. 277-311.

51. For a period account of Akita Shoten's founding, see Yamazaki Yasuo, *Chosha to shuppansha*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Gakufū shoin, 1955), pp. 183-95. For a survey of *Adventure King's* content until 1960, see F. M. Rokkaa, "Shōnen shōjo bōken ō no bōken," *Biranji* vols. 16-18 (2005-6).

52. On Akita shoten and Fukushima Tetsuji, see Nakano Haruyuki, "Sabaku no maō tanjō hiwa: Fukushima Tetsuji to Akita Teio," in *Sabaku no maō: kanzen fukkōkuban dokuhon* (Tokyo: Akita shoten, 2012), pp. 3-5. On Miyazaki's debts to Fukushima, see Kanō Seiji, "Miyazaki Hayao kantoku sakuhin to *Sabaku no maō*," *ibid.*, pp. 10-3.

53. Ushio, p. 125; Nakano, "Sabaku no maō tanjō hiwa," pp. 4-5.

54. Yamazaki, p. 183.

55. Ushio, p. 101.

56. For a thoughtful selection of essays on the history and themes of pre-1945 juvenile prose fiction for boys in Japan, see Futagami Hirokazu, ed., *Shōnen shōsetsu no sekai* (Tokyo: Chūseikisha, 1991).

57. For a synopsis of Yamakawa Sōji's *Knockout Q*, see Holmberg, "Manga Shōnen: Katō Ken'ichi and the Manga Boys," pp. 184-8.

58. *Asahi gurafu* (June 10 1953).

59. Nakano Haruyuki, *Manga sangyōron* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2004), pp. 20-43.

60. Fukui Miyoko, "Omoide no ki," p. 271.

61. Ushio Sōji, *Tezuka Osamu to boku*, p. 125.

62. Hirata Shōhei, "Soshite nagare ga kawatta," *Shōnen manga gekijō* vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971), p. 305.

63. Kinoshita Toshio, interview, *Shōnen manga ōgon densetsu*, p. 45.

64. Hirata, p. 305.

65. Of the many overviews of judo's history that exist in English, I have found most useful John Stevens, *The Way of Judo: A Portrait of Jigoro Kano and His Students* (Boulder: Shambhala Publications, 2013). On modern Japanese martial arts more generally, see Inoue Shun, *Budō no tanjō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2004). For an integrated history of martial arts and sports in Japan, see Allen Guttmann and Lee Thompson, *Japanese Sports: A History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001). Thank you to Lance Gatling for his feedback on this section.

66. On Tomita Tsuneo and *Sugata Sanshirō*, see Yoshida Masashi, *Sugata Sanshirō to Tomita Tsuneo* (Tokyo: Hon no zasshi-sha, 2006).

67. See Yamamoto Reiko, *Beikoku tainichi senryō seisaku to budō kyōiku: dai nihon butokukai no kōbō* (Tokyo: Nihon tosho senta, 2003); and Sakaue Yasuhiro, "GHQ senryōka ni okeru kendō: kisei, sonzoku, supootsuka, geinōka no shosō," *Hitotsubashi supootsuka kenkyū* 35 (2016): 3-17.

68. On the censorship of sword-touting manga and children's books during the Occupation, see *Senryōka no kodomo bunka 1945-1949: Merirando daigaku shōzō Purange bunko Murakami korekushon ni saguru* (Tokyo: Nichimai, 2001), pp. 60-1, 130-4.

69. *Japan: The Pocket Guide* (1946) and attached censorship notes. Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland.

70. Onodera Shūfū, *Yasashii e no kakikata: ryakuga no e tehon* (Tokyo: Chūkōsha, 1946), p. 134. Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland. About this book and its censorship, see Tani Eiko, *Senryōka no jidō shuppanbutsu to GHQ no kenetsu: Goodon W. Purange bunko ni saguru* (Tokyo: Kyōdō bunkasha, 2016), pp. 250-4.

71. Stevens, pp. 28-30.

72. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, pp. 166-7.

73. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, pp. 62-3.

74. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, p. 172; Ban and Tezuka Pro, p. 372.

75. Ban and Tezuka Pro, p. 336. For an official chronology of the Tokyo Children's Manga Association, see that published in the inaugural issue of the group's self-published periodical, *Jidō manga* (August 1958), p. 36.

76. Fukumoto Kazuyoshi, *Tezuka sensei, shimemiri sugitemasu!* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2009), pp. 29-32.

77. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, p. 167; Ban and Tezuka Pro, pp. 365-6.

78. Fukumoto, pp. 29-32.

79. Satō Masaaki, 'Gekiga no hosbi' o mezashite: dare mo ga kakanakatta 'gekiga naimaku shi' (Tokyo: Bungei shunju, 1996), pp. 33-4.

80. Ushio, pp. 128-9.

81. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, pp. 164-5; Ban and Tezuka Pro, pp. 361-3.

82. Tezuka Osamu, *Manga kyōshitsu* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan kurieiteibu, 2010), pp. 97-101.

83. Ushio, pp. 129-34; Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, pp. 168-70.

84. Takeuchi Osamu, *Sengo manga 50-nen shi* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1994), pp. 54-58. Akita Shoten's role in normalizing manga and emonogatari as the furoku of choice is noted in texts as early as 1955, in Yamazaki, pp. 193-4.

85. Hirata, p. 305.

86. Sakamoto, p. 143.

87. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 140.

88. Fukui Eiichi, *Susume Santa basha, Shōnen gabō* furoku (November 1953), p. 2.

89. *Shōnen gabō* (July 1954), rpt. in *Shōnen gabō taizen*, p. 8.

90. Udagawa Takeo, *Manga zonbi* (Tokyo: Ōta shuppan, 1997), pp. 132-3.

91. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 138.

92. Sugiura, p. 52.

93. Ushio, p. 113.

94. Sugiura, pp. 52-4.

95. Ushio, p. 120.

96. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, pp. 167-8; Ban and Tezuka Pro, p. 370.

97. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," p. 140.

98. Fukui Miyoko, interview, p. 35.

99. "Zadankai: Fukui sensei o shinobu," pp. 138-40.

100. Ushio, p. 123.

101. Ushio, p. 124.

102. "Kodomo ni korosareta? mangaka: jidō manga hanran jidai!," *Shūkan sankei* (January 15, 1956), pp. 18-21.

103. Ishinomori Shōtarō, *Kizuna: fushō no musuko kara fushō no musukotachi e* [1998] (Tokyo: Chōeisha, 2003), pp. 237-8.

104. Hirata, pp. 306-7.

105. Takeuchi Tsunayoshi, "Suzunosuke to Kagoshima no take" [1976], rpt. in *Manga bihyō taikai* vol. 4, Takeuchi Osamu and Murakami Tomohiko, eds., (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), pp. 78-81.

106. Honma Masao, *Shōnen manga daisensō: 'Shōnen gabō' henshūchō, Kaneko Kazuo no kizuita ōkoku* (Tokyo: Sōmasha, 2000), pp. 76-9; Honma, *Shōnen manga daisensō*, pp. 76-9; *Shōnen gabō taizen*, pp. 6-15; Marc Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. 70-5, 102-6, 229. See also the essays included in Takeuchi Tsunayoshi, *Akadō Suzunosuke* vols. 1-5 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan kurieiteibu, 2007-8).

107. Fukui Miyoko, interview, p. 37.

108. My synopsis of kendo's history follows G. Cameron Hurst III, *Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery* (Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 147-76; Yamamoto, *Beikoku tainichi senryō seisaku to budō kyōiku*, *passim*; and Sakaue, "GHQ senryōka ni okeru kendō." On kendo and judo's association with "bushido," see Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushido in Modern Japan* (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 123, 132-4, 166-7.

109. Futagami Hirokazu, "Bōken katsugeki roman no henbō," in *Shōnen shōsetsu no sekai*, p. 95.

110. "Kyōikusha no hihan to sakusha no iiwake," *Eikaku* 6 (February 1956), p. 4. Thank you to Takeuchi Osamu for introducing me to sources related to the anti-comics campaign.

111. "Shōnen shōjo no yomimono ni tsuite," *Eikaku* 7 (March 1956), p. 1.

112. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, p. 171; Ban and Tezuka Pro, p. 371.

113. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, p. 171; Ban and Tezuka Pro, p. 371.