MASS COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

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I. MODERNIZATION OF JAPAN'S JOURNALISM

In Japanese an "underdeveloped country" or "developing country" is generally termed *kō-shin-koku* 後進國 (late-developing country.) A "developed country," on the other hand, is called *sen-shin-koku* 先進國 (early-developing country.) The controversy over the question of whether Japan belongs in the category of developed countries or underdeveloped countries has given birth to the Japanese phrase *chū-shin-koku* 中進國 (middle-developing country.) Underlying these terms is the approach which evaluates the level of cultural attainment of a nation in terms of the degree to which the nation was an early or late starter in the race of economic development.

The words *sen-shin* (early progress) and *kō-shin* (late progress) are used to refer to the moment when a nation examined itself and set forth plans and policies for modernization. That is to say, Japanese scholars tend to be preoccupied more with the question of when a given country started on the path to modernization and how long a time modernization required, than they are with the question of what level the country enjoys at present, i.e., fully modernized or not. The analysis of the nature and extent of development in any particular country may be facilitated by the use of a continuum upon which each nation may be located in reference to each other nation. Given this continuum, Japanese scholars are particularly interested in ascertaining the location of their own country along it, the more so because this enables comparison of Japan with other nations, in terms both of chronology and practical achievement.

The word *shin* 進 has various denotations that are related to the concept of "progress" in English. First, it denotes both a state of being "progress", as well as the action of creating that state of being. Second, *shin* is used as an equivalent for both "progress" and "evolution" when these words are translated into Japanese. This word is highly convenient as it enables one to be concerned only with the question of when a

country began to develop and how much it is developed, without having also to clearly distinguish the people's active or passive posture in history. Thus, by using this word, it is possible to avoid the problem of having to select, as a conceptual basis, one of two views of history—the first of which perceives history as a product of man's independent speculation and action; the second of which sees history as a consequence of the natural flow of things, with the present to be accepted and enjoyed as the product of this flow. Conceptual ambiguity, however, may also be seen in English words, for example, "develop".[1] It may, after all, be praiseworthy that Japanese scholars have had the wisdom to refer to Japan as *chū-shin-koku* (middle-developing country), equating the term with the equally vague English word "developing", for by doing so they have multiplied the ambiguity of the Japanese word by the ambiguity of the English word.

The extraordinary sensitivity of Japanese scholars to the "early-or-late" question may be explained by the fact that, in comparative studies of development, they are primarily concerned with consciousness of a time-lag between the point at which Japan began to develop and that at which Western countries began to develop, and are primarily interested in the achievements that would close the gap between the two. As is widely known, Japan's unification as a modern nation-state took place in 1868 through the Meiji Restoration, and its constitution (the Meiji Constitution) was proclaimed in 1889, while in the West both national unification and the makings of constitutions had been achieved one to three hundred years earlier.

Journalism in Japan lagged behind its counterpart in the West. Periodicals began to appear on the market in the middle of the 1860's, and Japan's first daily newspaper, *Yokohama mainichi shimbun* 横濱每日新聞, was published in 1871. It was from the end of the 1870's to the beginning of the 1880's that newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets demanded "liberty and popular rights", criticizing the government's despotism. In the latter half of the 1880's, there were born various communications media that asserted that the middle class should be the foundation of

1. American scholars, who started the discussions of modernization, did not differentiate between the significance of man's decisions and actions on the one hand, and the changing objective situation independent of the former, on the other. This is the reason why they failed to examine the question of modernization from the point of view of the history of ideas, permitting the evolutionary theory of history to dominate. See Masao Maruyama, "Patterns of Individuation and the Case of Japan," in M. B. Jansen ed., *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1965, esp. pp. 489–493.

Japan's future and these gained the support of the majority of the reading public. *Kokumin no tomo* 國民之友 (The Friend of the Nation—founded by Tokutomi Sohō 德富蘇峰 [1863–1957], in 1887) played a leading role in this; the purpose of this magazine was symbolically declared in its English title, *The Nation*. It was purported to play in Japan the rôle the magazine of the same name was playing in America. *Kokumin no tomo* enjoyed a circulation of more than 10,000, probably surpassing the size of *The Nation* at that time. Also in the 1880's the party press that had been campaigning for "popular rights" gradually lost its original vigour and newspapers that emphasized news reporting became more popular. The Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) cemented this trend. Until the first decade of the 20th century, however, newspapers were read not so much by the middle-class people as by the intellectuals, especially students and government officials.

Despite the adoption of Western mass media *per se*, the manner in which the media were reflected remained Japanese in character. The drawings of the city of Tokyo in the early 20th century show that even the neighbourhood of Ueno 上野 Station, the terminal of the major railways, was covered with one-storey wooden houses just as in the Tokugawa era. Though diplomats and other elites slipped into Western-style clothes during the day, and military uniforms were also Westernized, the majority of the city's inhabitants worked and played in traditional Japanese clothes. Even newspapermen and magazine editors wore non-functional *kimono* and *zōri* for work and rode *jinrikisha* to visit the contributors to their publications, although they had gradually replaced calligraphy brushes with fountain pens and Japanese scroll paper with Western paper.

In contrast to the very gradual renovations in such material forms, in the area of thought intellectuals eagerly sought modern Western ideas. Rousseau and J. S. Mill provided ideas for those who participated in the Liberty and Popular Rights Movement of the 1880's. Darwin and Herbert Spencer influenced Japanese learning immensely. Henry George, whose works were translated and published in *Kokumin no tomo* after the proclamation of the Constitution, interested the Japanese in socialism. In the post Sino-Japanese War period, Nietzsche found a great admirer in Takayama Chogyū 高山樗牛 (1871–1902), who was the chief editor of the largest magazine of the day, *Taiyō* 太陽 (Sun). When the government slackened control over journalism during the Russo-Japanese War, out of consideration for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the weekly paper *Heimin shimbun* 平民新聞 (The Commoner News), which was the organ for the anti-war socialists, printed open letters exchanged with the Russian

Social Democratic Workers' Party. *Shirakaba* 白樺 (White Birch), a little magazine started by a circle of literary young men in 1910, energetically introduced Rodin and other modern European artists.

Remarkable attempts were also made to overtake Western forerunners in the technical aspects of communication. It was in 1890 that newspaper firms installed imported rotary presses, at the same time as the official gazette publishing section of the cabinet did; an event which came a half-century later than such installations in Europe and America. By 1900, all the newspapers distributed across more than one prefecture were printed by rotary presses. The halftone photoengraving was first used in 1905, and swiftly replaced the old wood-block prints. Headlines came to be printed across several columns and grew larger every year. In order to increase circulation, the newspapers in Tokyo and Osaka adopted, around the turn of the century, the method most commonly used in England and America since a few decades earlier: to offer premiums, and to run contests with prizes. The Japanese papers also discovered, like French newspapers in the latter half of the 19th century, that serialized popular novels were effective means to increase readers. Whenever these novels were dramatized, the flags of the appropriate newspaper firms were hoisted in front of the theatres, and subscribers were served free lunches. Modernization of technical aspects of papers proved to be a factor that accelerated monopoly capitalism in journalism.

The changes in the nature and function of newspapers put an end to those papers emphasizing commentaries, and transformed those emphasizing news reporting into sensational mass papers. The *Asahi* 朝日, first published in Osaka in 1879, began printing and publication in Tokyo in 1888, one year before the advent of the Constitution; and despite some obstructions by papers already in existence in Tokyo who mobilized their sales agencies, it managed to become an influential newspaper both in the Tokyo and Osaka areas. Another Osaka newspaper, the *Mainichi* 毎日, (established in 1889) attempted to make inroads into the Tokyo market. After some hazardous experiences, in 1907 it bought the *Tokyo nichinichi* 東京日日 which had been published since the beginning of the Meiji era. It set its goal at nation-wide circulation. On the other hand, the *Jiji shimpō* 時事新報, which had been started by Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉, (1834–1901) in 1882, pushed into the home-ground of the two major newspapers of the country by launching *Osaka jiji shimpō* 大阪時事新報 in 1899. (Partly in response to this challenge, the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi* in Osaka agreed on the number of extras they would issue to report the war situation during the Russo-Japanese War.) The develop-

ment and subsequent nationalization of the railroads made it a great deal easier for Tokyo and Osaka papers to obtain a nation-wide market. They made a special effort to gain local readers, following the example of the *Kokumin shimbun* 國民新聞, published by Tokutomi Sohō, that added in 1907 a section devoted to local news.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF MASS MEDIA

Yanagida Kunio 柳田國男 (1875–1962), founder of Japanese ethnology, made the following observations around the First World War.[2]

"[Even just before the First World War] one could still see children with running noses. The sleeves of my own *kimono*, too, used to be shiny from wiping my nose, even though my parents always told me not to wipe my nose with sleeves.... But, possibly due to changes of food or climate, we have ceased to see such a sight any more. Even in the country, snivelling children are not to be seen, perhaps excepting in slums.

Children afflicted with conjunctivitis or fungus infections on their heads have also ceased to be seen.... Cleanliness of children may be considered as a product of Taishō and Shōwa culture. It was also about this time that parents began to pay more attention to the clothes of their children."

After the Russo-Japanese War, fashion came to be a national concern for the first time in history. Women's traditional hair-dos were changed in a stroke when hair-dos styled after a famous hill of Port Arthur, (which by the Japanese has been called "203-Metre Hill" and noted for as one of the severest battlefields in the War,) appeared. Dress designs and accessories bearing the titles of popular novels printed in the papers or the names of such novels, flooded the country from the cities to local areas. The great war on which "the country's future was staked" made the Japanese not only more conscious of others' opinion of them, but also more aware of current fashions. Yanagida's record shows that this "awakening" touched child-rearing during the First World War.

What lay behind this new outlook? The names of the magazines that appeared in those days, especially between 1916 and 1919, indicate some of the new trends in the culture of this country:

Katsudō no sekai (The World of Motion Pictures); *Kokumin hikō* (National Aviation); *Yūran ryokō no tomo* (Companion for Sight-seeing); *Hikō yōnen* (Aviation for Youngsters); *Katsudō gahō* (Pictorial News of the Movies); *Fuirumu gahō* (Pictorial News of

[2] Yanagida Kunio, *Furusato shichijū nen* 故郷七十年 (Seventy Years of My Home Town, A Memoir), in *Teihon Yanagida Kunio shū* 定本柳田國男集 (Complete Works of Yanagida Kunio), Vol. 3, supplement, Tokyo, Chikuma-shobō, 1959, p. 158. Yanagida's main contribution was his examination of Japan's popular culture in the pre-modern era. His *Meiji-Taishō shi: sesō hen* 明治大正史世相篇 (History of the Meiji and Taishō Eras: The Phases of People's Life) is a close observation of continuity and discontinuity in Japan's popular culture in modern times. Refer to *Complete Works*, Vol. 24 or Heibonsha edition (Tokyo, 1967).

Films); *Ze supīdo* (Speed); *Ryūkō sekai* (Fashion World); *Poketto katsudō shashin* (The Pocket Magazine of Motion Pictures); *Opera* (Opera); *Mūbī nyūsu* (Movie News); *Pairotto* (Pilot); *Kinema gahō* (Pictorial News of the Cinema); *Opera hyōron* (Opera Review); *Katsudō sekai* (The World of Motion Pictures); *San-esu* (The Three S's: Screen, Speed, Sex).

One of Tokyo's amusement centres, Asakusa 淺草, was another name for popular culture at that time. Hitherto, Asakusa had offered people a place for recreation, comprised of a Buddhist temple, inexpensive restaurants and equally inexpensive shows. But it was transformed into a representation of the mass culture of a new age whose great interest was opera—in fact, operettas, and movie theatres, one of which, constructed towards the end of the Meiji era, was called Denki-kan or the "House of Electricity" symbolizing the new age. At the same time, airplanes and cars attracted the general public's attention as a means of transportation for the new age. The "Three S's", that is, screen, speed, and sex, that coloured the names of the magazines of the day reveal how, in the unique Japanese cultural climate, new manners and fashions of the world were eagerly accepted as values in themselves. It was also this period that saw the coming of magazines such as *Uindō taimusu* ウインドータイムス (Window Times, a magazine about window displays, 1917), *Kamera* カメラ (Camera, 1921) and *Shashin bunka* 寫眞文化 (Picture Culture, 1922), covering new genres in art. On the other hand, magazines like *Katsudō to kōdan* 活動と講談 (Movies and Story-telling, 1917) and *Eiga to engei* 映畫と演藝 (Movies and Entertainment, 1924) were intended to combine new fashions with the more traditional activities in popular culture, namely story-telling and *Kabuki*.

The more important trend in connexion with the nation's everyday life was the appearance of magazines at this time that aimed at setting some standards for education and cultural life at home. During the years immediately preceding 1915, the following magazines were published:

Fujin gahō (Pictorial for Women); *Onna no sekai* (Women's World); *Shojo* (Maiden); *Shukujo gahō* (Pictorial for Ladies); *Fujin zasshi* (Women's Magazine); *Fujo kai* (Feminine World); *Shōnen kurabu* (Boys' Club); *Shōnen sekai* (Boys' World); *Kibō* (Hope); *Shōjo sekai* (Girls' World); *Shōjo no sono* (Garden of Girls); *Joō* (Queen).

The titles of other magazines founded in and after 1916 seem to indicate nature of the role they were purported to play in a new age, namely to present new ideas and ideals.

1916: *Fujin kōron* (Women's Review); *Shin jogaku* (Modern Learning for Women); *Otome* (Young Lady); *Gendai fujin* (Today's Women); *Yūai fujin* (Women's Companionship); *Gendai no fujin* (Women of Today); *Teikoku shōnen* (Boys of the Empire); *Shin*

shōgaku (New Children's Learning); *Hinomaru* (The Sun Flag); *Shōnen en* (Boys' Garden); *Shōnen shōjo shimpō* (News for Boys and Girls); *Ryōyū* (Good Company); *Yōnen* (Children); *Yōnen ebanashi* (Picture-books for Children); *Yōnen furendo* (The Children's Friend).
1917: *Shufu no tomo* (Housewives' Companion); *Saien bundan* (Accomplished Women of Literary Circles); *Katei seiwa-oshie* (Refined Stories and Moral Teachings for the Home); *Fujinkai* (Lady's World); *Kodomo to kagaku* (Children and Science); *Kaikoku shōnen* (The Boys of a Sea-Faring Nation); *Jidō* (Children); *Jidō shimbun* (Children's Newspaper); *Shōgaku sekai* (The World of Grade-school); *Shōnen shōjo shin bungei* (True Literature for Boys and Girls); *Shōjo ebanashi* (Picture-books for Girls); *Chirudoren* (Children); *Yōjo ebanashi* (Picture-books for Little Girls).
1918: *Joshi bungei* (Women's Literature); *Katei komon* (Home Counselling); *Katei* (The Home); *Jidō gahō* (Pictorial for Children); *Rika shōnen* (Boys' Science); *Rōmaji shōnen* (The Latin Alphabet for Boys); *Shōnen kōdan* (Tales for Boys); *Kodomo kurabu* (Children's Club); *Yōjo kurabu* (Little Girls' Club); *Akaitori* (Red Bird); *Kodomo ponchi* (Children's Comics); *Botchan* (Sonny); *Jōchan* (Little Miss).
1919: *Fujo shashin* (Photography for Women); *Josei* (Women); *Shōgaku shōnen* (Schoolboys); *Poketto shōnen* (Boys' Pocket Magazine); *Kodomo zasshi* (Children's Magazine); *Shōgaku dansei* (Grade-school Boys); *Shōgaku josei* (Grade-school Girls); *Shōgaku shōjo* (Girls of Grade-school); *Otogi yōnen* (Fairy Tales for Children); *Yōnenkai* (The World of Children); *Yōjokai* (The World of Little Girls); *Nakayoshi* (Good Friends); *Otogi no sekai* (World of Fairy Tales); *Otogi gahō* (Fairyland Picture-book); *Kin no fune* (The Golden Boat).

Women's magazines and magazines for boys and girls continued to be founded in the 1920's.

In those days, in order to publish a magazine, one did not need much more than a reception-room or a study at home, renovated to accommodate a few desks and chairs for the editor and publisher. The rest was taken care of by the sales agent who sent the magazines to shopkeepers and collected bills for the publishers. Advertisement was not always necessary. The writers and businessmen that took notice of the new trend ventured to publish magazines for women and children. Most of them published only a few issues and disappeared within a year. Those that emerged successfully from the competition grew to be leading publishers in Japan. They came to control distribution, too, so that in the 1930's it became difficult to establish a publishing house with a small amount of capital.

In the period after the Russo-Japanese War, too, it was business and commerce that occupied the central position among periodicals and came to symbolize the aspirations of the society. In the first place, *Jitsugyō no Nihon* 實業之日本 (Business Japan) managed to surpass the review and literary magazines. It was followed, until the First World War, by *Jitsugyō no sekai* 實業之世界 (World of Business), *Jitsugyōkai* 實業界 (Business World), *Jitsugyō shōrei shimpō* 實業奬勵新報 (Business Promotion News),

Jitsugyō kōron 實業公論 (Business Review), and *Jitsugyō shinron* 實業新論 (New Views on Business). They analysed economic trends, printed stories of successful men and reported news of business management and investment. The future of Japan, which had now become an imperialist nation, was believed to be "a nation sustained by industry." Business was considered as the best road to success for young men who did not have the privileges inherent in membership in an established class. But the honeymoon of "business" was soon over. Already during the First World War, this word lost its magnetic appeal, and was replaced by the phrase *juken* 受験 (to take an examination) as indicating the way to success for young men. Very few of the successful men of big business in Japan had started as apprentices or artisans. Those who controlled *zaibatsu* were the *seishō* 政商 (politically privileged merchants) of the former samurai class, who had combined political control and industrial development since the Meiji Restoration. The majority of those who reached the seat of power after stabilization of the Meiji state were also the highly educated elite of society. Japan's rapid transformation into a modern state especially necessitated the development of higher education as a state policy. It became a built-in nature of power to recruit intellectuals to its support as experts in government and industry. The *daimyō* that forfeited their feudal privileges by "returning their fiefs" at the time of the Restoration formed organizations to support students from their former territories, taking advantage of their local reputation and real estates whose possession was permitted by the new government as a special act of benevolence. In doing so, they hoped that their protégés and elites of the new era would someday make great contributions to their "home countries." For classes without privileges, the surest way to success was to have children who were able enough to study at famous educational institutions and be regarded as worth financial support of such organizations. *Shimin byōdō* 四民平等 (the equality of four classes), which was the national ideal of the Restoration, thus came to be understood by the people of modern Japan as the "equality of opportunity" to sit for an examination for higher education.

At the time when the new fashions and manners of the 20th century world were infiltrating into Japanese life, the Japanese allowed themselves to be caught up in an examination fever which almost reminded one of the *chin-shih* examination of the Chinese dynasties. Around the 1920's, a new genre of periodicals appeared which were published for the benefit of examinees of one sort or another. In 1917, two magazines appeared; *Juken zasshi* 受験雑誌 (The Examinee's Manual) and *Juken kai*

受驗界 (Examination World). The title *Katei to gakkō* 家庭と學校 (Home and School) suggests that the Japanese were vaguely aware that hope lay in education, which was linked with the new current of the world, i.e., seeking higher status through high education. In the same year, a magazine called *Ei sū kan* 英數漢 (English, Mathematics, Prosody) appeared; these were the important examination subjects at the middle-school level. *Bunken no kenkyū* 文檢の研究 (Research on Civil Service Examinations), which was first published in the following year, addressed itself to those young men who hoped to qualify for civil service through self-education. *Ei gakusei* 英學生 (Students of English) and *Ei gakusei no tomo* 英學生の友 (The Companion of Students of English), published in 1919, indicate that students preferred to study English after the First World War. The next years saw the publication of *Jukensei* 受驗生 (Examinees) and *Jogakusei* 女學生 (Coeds). This type of magazine for students of middle and higher educational institutions became an important branch of the publishing industry of this country, and until today, the publishing houses that grew from this branch are among the leaders in the field. The nation-wide progress in child-rearing, which prompted Yanagida Kunio to record his observations, was inseparable from the changed attitudes towards children induced by the intense interest in examinations.

Although the contents of the periodicals reflected brave ventures to cope with changing situations of the times, publishers' life was that of writers rather than of businessmen. Ishikawa Takeyoshi 石川武美 (1887–1961), who was later to build the Shufunotomo-sha 主婦之友社 into a publishing firm housed in a several-storey building complete with a wedding reception hall and floors to sell daily necessities, was in those days still an independent publisher who used his home for business, had a signboard saying Shin seikatsu kenkyūkai 新生活研究會 (Meeting-house for Studying the New Life) in front of his one-storey house, and his work was to hurry about visiting contributors. Noma Seiji 野間清治 (1878–1938), who would be nicknamed the king of publishers ten years later, was yet seen proof-reading speeches of scholars, with whom he had been acquainted when he worked at a university as a clerk, while at the doorway of his house the signboard Dai Nihon yūbenkai 大日本雄辯會 (Great Japan Oratory Association) was to be seen. Iwanami Shigeo 岩波茂雄 (1881–1946), whose publications would later be crowding the bookshelves of Japanese intellectuals, was the shopkeeper of a modest secondhand bookstore.

It was Ōno Magohei 大野孫平, a chief sales agent for magazines, who saw in the potentiality of the new age a key to successful publishing. Sales agents in the Meiji era had simply received orders from retail shops

and forwarded books to them for publishers. Once or twice a year, books were sold at low prices to retail shops to clean out the stock of publishing houses, or shopkeepers in turn resorted to a discount sale. But the significance of such measures to the publishing business seems to have occurred to nobody at the time. Shopkeepers were content to earn enough to support themselves by receiving customers' orders and relay them to sales agents.

When *Jitsugyō no Nihon* rapidly increased its readership, it dawned on Masuda Giichi 増田義一 (1869–1949), its founder, that he could publish the magazine in greater numbers if he turned the old business practice upside down. He started a consignment system: to consign to a retail shop a certain number of books which could be returned at wholesale prices to the sales agent in case they were not sold out within a certain period of time. Ōno, who was the *de facto* manager of Tokyodō 東京堂, a sales agency, recognized that this system was worth being adopted on a greater scale. Tokyodō had been established by Hakubunkan 博文館, which by mid-Meiji was one of the largest publishers in Japan. But by the time under discussion Hakubunkan's planning ability had declined so much that Ōno considered it more profitable to deal with the books and magazines of other publishers in order to maintain connexions with local retail stores. In giving support to young Noma, Ōno suggested that he should adopt the consignment system. Its success so encouraged Ōno that in 1914, he organized the city's main sales agencies and publishers into the Tokyo Magazine Union and proprietors of retail shops into the Tokyo Magazine Dealers' Union. Among the parties concerned in these unions, the sales agencies assumed leadership. The Tokyo Magazine Dealers' Union drew up a pact which in part read: "all the magazines should be sold at a set price." Although the Union was obliged to overlook the practice of price reductions for the time being, the amended covenant of 1921 had provision for penalty, creating a committee to study cases of violation. The amended covenant also restricted new membership to the Tokyo Magazine Dealers' Union, and retaliated against violations of the covenant by suspension of delivery. Consequently, the union became in fact the only channel of distribution in the publishing business.

Although the competition among publishers was not eradicated by the above system, retail shops lost any power to set prices on their own. Through prior consultation concerning price and circulation with sales agencies, publishers could expect a profit at almost monopoly prices. The consignment system and the fixed price policy were united inseparably

and grew to be standard practice in the publishing business of Japan. Even today, a price reduction at a retail shop is not seen in this country except when a publisher turns over surplus stock to stores that specialize in discount sales at the risk of bankruptcy. Owing to this system, a publisher who found a market for novel ideas was able to expand business rapidly. Shufunotomo-sha, for instance, increased circulation by adding to a women's magazine a booklet concerning cooking, hygienics, and hobbies. Kōdansha 講談社 developed by publishing entertainment magazines and mass magazines, while Shōgakukan 小學館 owed its success to magazines for grammar school children, one for every grade; and Ōbunsha 歐文社 specialized in books and magazines for examinees. Despite the near-compulsory policy of a fixed price, the number of the retail bookshops over the country increased from 3,000 in 1914 to 6,000 in 1919, reaching over 10,000 in 1927.

The fact that the circulation of magazines increased immensely, thanks to the consignment system and the fixed price policy, proves, too, that readers of the magazines increased at this time. Influx of population into cities, especially Tokyo and its vicinity, was particularly noticeable before and after the First World War. The population of Tokyo increased by 94% from 1901 to 1920, and the population growth in the regions that were later annexed to the city of Tokyo reached 183% during the same time. Local industrial cities and prefectural capitals saw an equally rapid rise of population. Everywhere in the world, the new inhabitants of the cities which are undergoing an industrial revolution are forced to depart from the habits and customs of their former rural life. In Japan in those days, the new city-dwellers were facing the problem of habituating themselves to a new way of life and a new system of values. The demand for journalism exploded in this social context.

Publications for intellectuals also increased circulation, though not in a degree comparable to the expansion of publications for the general public. Of special interest was Yamamoto Sanehiko's 山本實彥 announcement in 1927 of a plan to publish a cheap edition of the *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* 現代日本文學全集 (Anthology of Modern Japanese Literature) on a subscription basis. This led to a change which was later to be called "revolution in the publishing business." Yamamoto started a review magazine *Kaizō* 改造 (Reform) immediately after the First World War. Soon, however, he fell into financial trouble and, as a way out, he ventured to break the practice of the day by the novel idea of publishing cheap editions, in addition to adopting a deposit system which was widely used in the serial publications. His project started a rage for

"*zenshū*" (anthology), causing almost all the well-known publishers to try to obtain readers by printing dozens of *zenshū* on economics, for grammar school children, and what not. The keen competition soon brought an end to the practice of receiving a deposit prior to publication. But the Japanese publishing industry developed a means to stabilize the management of publishing houses as well as to secure profit for both retail shops and sales agencies, by issuing each month another volume of a *zenshū* which ran to dozens of volumes. It has been the standard policy in the Japanese publishing world up to now to sell, in the same manner as monthly mass magazines, collections of essays or other genres, under the name of *zenshū*.

Just as the characteristics of the Japanese publishing industry were formed during the few years following the First World War, so the structural peculiarities of the newspaper industry were cast definitively during this period. The two Osaka newspapers, the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi*, reached an agreement over prices in September of 1914, as a measure against the increase in expense due to reporting of the war in Europe and Asia. In 1915, upon agreement they published simultaneously evening papers to be distributed in Osaka and its neighbouring areas. Until today, many Japanese newspapers are sold on a monthly subscription basis, with both morning and evening editions. This practice originated in the success of these two Osaka papers. The fact that the risk that would otherwise accompany the publication of a new evening paper was avoided by the formation of a cartel between the two big papers created a basis for their monopoly, as well as fostering the idea that a newspaper was to be delivered twice every day.

With regard to their content, these two papers emphasized political news and commentary in the morning paper and features in the evening paper. Although the general public came to be more interested in the news from abroad, especially after the 1930's, and in time difference between Japan and other parts of the world necessitated reporting of foreign news in the evening papers, the original editorial policy has not changed fundamentally up to the present times. Despite the fact that for all practical purposes the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi* had formed a monopoly, they remained keen rivals in regard to the content of their papers. They not only competed in news reporting and feature articles, but also in sensational projects which were called *jigyō* 事業 (publicity activities) among the newspaper world. The *Asahi*, for instance, eagerly financed the two latest fads, namely airplane shows and baseball. After the First World War the *Asahi* sponsored many of the exhibition flights performed

by Americans, as well as stunt shows by Japanese. It also took notice of baseball which was introduced in the late 19th century from America by college students, and sponsored baseball games between Japan and America as well as among business enterprises. The All-Japan Middle School Baseball Tournament started by the *Asahi* in 1915 has been and still is one of the big annual sports events. The *Mainichi*, on the other hand, financed swimming and field games in the beginning. Later, however, encouraged by the *Asahi*'s success, the *Mainichi* began to sponsor its own Invitational Middle School Baseball Tournament, which has been handed down to the present generation as an important event in the sports world. Prompted by the popularity of the American professional baseball games, the *Mainichi* set up a professional baseball team, Dai-mai, in 1920, though this team was bested in popularity by the *Yomiuri* Giants, whose team was manned by the star-players of the day, and which was owned by the *Yomiuri* 讀賣 of Tokyo, which tried to break the monopolistic domination of the two Osaka papers. In the field of aviation, the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi* competed for record-making flights in the middle of the 1930's, using their own airplanes called, respectively, Kamikaze and Nippon-gō.

In an attempt to modernize their facilities, both papers constructed several-storey buildings, the *Asahi* in Osaka in 1916 and in Tokyo in 1920, and the *Mainichi* in Osaka in 1922. The Great Earthquake in Tokyo in 1923 brought, ironically, good fortune to the *Mainichi* which was trying to gain grounds in Tokyo against the *Asahi*. The Great Earthquake and the subsequent big fire occurred just at the time the *Mainichi* was planning to publish an evening paper for the *Tokyo nichinichi* which was under its management. The *Tokyo nichinichi* was one

CIRCULATION FIGURES FOR THE *OSAKA MAINICHI* AND *TOKYO NICHINICHI* (unit: 1,000)

	Osaka mainichi	*Tokyo nichinichi*
1914	320	150
1915	390	230
1916	450	270
1917	490	310
1918	540	360
1919	510	360
1920	600	370
1921	670	380
1922	820	350
1923	920	370
1924	1,110	710

of the three dailies in Tokyo which were not destroyed by the fire. Like the *Asahi*, the *Nichinichi* invested capital acquired in Osaka in improvement of facilities and in restoration and expansion of the market in Tokyo. In gaining readers, the *Nichinichi* immensely benefited from the preparations it was making for publication of an evening paper prior to the earthquake, while other papers born in Tokyo were struggling to recover from the calamity. According to the annual records of the number of circulation on January 1st, the *Tokyo nichinichi* doubled its readers during 1923–24. It is worth noting that the rate of increase from 1923 to 1924 is comparable to that during the first three years of the First World War (see Table).

The *Asahi* and the *Nichinichi* fought a more decisive battle than the Tokyo papers. Compared to the latter, the former had long since evolved into a paper that prided itself on prompt reports and features. They now defied the old sale practices of the Tokyo papers. While their rival Tokyo papers kept readers by price reductions determined by individual sales agencies, the Osaka papers organized the League to Sell Papers at a Fixed Price among their distributing agencies, and asked other publishers for a suspension of discount sales. On the surface, this step was similar to the fixed price policy adopted in the publishing business. Viewed, however, as sales competition between two Osaka papers and thirteen others in Tokyo, the method differed from that used in the publishing business, because the two Osaka papers resorted to excessive price reduction to control the market in chosen regions. The hard battle which was fought over a year with whatever weapons were available ended in the victory of the Osaka papers. Looking back upon this, Nanaumi Matasaburō 七海又三郎, who was the operations chief and sales manager of the *Nichinichi*, wrote as follows: "Had there not been the financial support of the head office in Osaka, our management would have fallen into a great difficulty."

The earthquake cost the *Kokumin* its building and a sum of two million yen, resulting in part from the sales competition with the Osaka and other Tokyo papers. In 1926, it was forced to seek funds from among financial circles, which led to the latter's interference in the contents of the paper. The new backers even asked at times to modify the writings of Tokutomi Sohō, the editor-in-chief. Tokutomi himself resigned three years later, and got a post with the *Nichinichi*. The *Jiji shimpō*, too, underwent an ordeal. Not only was its venture to publish a paper in Osaka obstructed by the afore-mentioned cartel; it also went into debt of half a million yen for reconstruction after the earthquake and

another half a million yen over the price-war. Consequently, its management, too, shifted to the hands of men of the financial world from those of the students of Fukuzawa, who had founded the paper. Even the *Hōchi* 報知, which was spared the calamities of the earthquake, suffered financial difficulties due to underselling, though it doubled circulation by so doing. As a result, its owner, the Ōkuma family, had no choice but to sell this time-honoured paper—financed by Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信 (1838–1922), a statesman and publicist of the Meiji and Taishō era—to Noma Seiji who then reigned over the country's publishing business.

The only exception was the *Yomiuri*. At one time, during the Meiji era, it had been a literary paper with a number of followers among young people. In the 1890's and after, it lost its former individuality and maintained only a negligible circulation. When it was bought by Shōriki Matsutarō 正力松太郎 (1885–) in 1924, however, it found a new vigour. As the stormy competition for sales abated, it made inroads into the relatively poor segments of Tokyo by printing the city's sensational news as well as by producing numerous shows. During the period after the Manchurian Incident, when the other two big papers were no longer able to depend on aggressive commercialism, the *Yomiuri* steadily increased readers, to become eventually Japan's third largest newspaper.

III. FROM TAISHŌ DEMOCRACY TO FASCISM

With the commencement of radio broadcasting in this country, the Japanese government created a unique method to "control without financing." It was the newspaper firms that first saw in radio potentiality for future development. Papers like the *Asahi*, the *Nichinichi* (the *Mainichi*) and the *Hōchi*, broadcasted on experimental bases before the Ministry of Post Office established laws regulating radio broadcast. While the government feared that the new medium of communications would get out from under its control by being placed under private management, it was not willing to risk a large investment on a venture whose outcome could not be predicted. The government adopted a policy in 1925 to license three broadcasting stations, one each in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya 名古屋; the stations were supported by groups of local sponsors who had applied to the Ministry. Consequently, radio broadcast was started by the co-operation of newspaper firms and producers of electric appliances in Tokyo; by newspaper firms in Osaka, and by the Chamber of Commerce and other institutions in Nagoya. The Ministry of Post Office brought these stations under the supervision of its local offices on the

one hand and integrated them into the Nippon hōsō kyōkai 日本放送協會 (Japan Broadcasting Corporation : N.H.K.) on the other.

All the radio programmes were censored by the Ministry of Post Office. Not only were both the Shimbunshi-hō 新聞紙法 (Newspapers Law) and the Shuppan-hō 出版法 (Publication Law) applied to broadcasting ; but much more strict regulations were imposed upon it, especially upon news programmes. In examining news, the censorship office of the Ministry operated with the co-operation of officials of all the government ministries. When such co-operation was not available due to the temporary absence of the official of the ministry concerned, the Ministry chose to veto broadcasting of any news under question. One of the Home Ministry's censors, who was in charge of papers, magazines and books, made some sarcastic comments on the Post Office Ministry's inability for independent judgement, saying that "[the officers of the Post Office Ministry] must be asking the governments of foreign countries to determine the authenticity of foreign news." The Post Office Ministry also took extreme caution against broadcasting any unfavourable news about matters under its jurisdiction, so much so that it ruled out news of damage to telephone and telegram networks from typhoons. Increase of the number of the Ministries undertaking censorship resulted in greater restrictions on the content of programmes. The greater the authority of timid censor officials became, the more the regulations grew beyond the bounds of any dictates of fair and objective judgement.

Rapid reporting of the Manchurian Incident in 1931 promoted diffusion of radio sets. When the Osaka Broadcasting Station produced unique educational and entertainment programmes, and the Nagoya Station emphasized news programmes, the Ministry of Post Office brought pressure on the content of these programmes, and the pressure grew heavier as their success was assured. In 1933 the Ministry directed the Corporation to establish a commission to "examine important issues concerning radio programmes." This commission was to consist, in the main, of vice-ministers of the Ministries of Post Office, Education, and Home Affairs. In May of 1934, the Post Office Ministry ordered the Corporation to change its statute, thus not only depriving each station of operational independence under the control of the Corporation itself, but also forcing it to surrender more than half of the membership of its standing committee and the position of director to ex-officials of the Ministry. The authority of the original investors was made nominal, and the N.H.K. became a station to help the government to pursue its policies.

The government, then, turned its attention to the news agencies. When diplomatic isolation was forced upon Japan after the Manchurian Incident, (which was carried out largely by the independent action of the Military,) the Ministry of Foreign Affairs tried to vindicate this failure by asserting that the isolation was caused by the weakness of propaganda activities abroad, that is to say, by the absence of a unified national news agency. Its Information Committee, which was holding regular briefings with the Ministries of the Army and the Navy, decided to found a news agency to represent the state. Rengō tsūshinsha 聯合通信社 (United News Agency), which was receiving an annual subsidy of ¥300,000 from the Foreign Office, complied with this decision. But Dempō tsūshinsha 電報通信社 (Telegram News Agency), which was influential among local newspapers, vigorously opposed it. There were talks about merging the two agencies with financial help from the secret service funds of the Ministries of the Army and the Navy. In the end, however, a national news agency called Dōmei tsūshinsha 同盟通信社 (Federated News Agency) was established in the autumn of 1935 with funds from the N.H.K.

State-controlled mass communications were strengthened when, immediately after the Lukuoch'iao Incident, the Cabinet Information Department was established in 1937 staffed by twelve full-time information officers. It was expanded and reorganized into the Information Bureau in 1940, and was assigned the responsibility "of attempting to build up a nation-wide uniform public opinion" for a "total war." The Information Bureau was not only in charge of censor and propaganda activities, but also was authorized, by the Kokka sōdōin hō 國家總動員法 (National Mobilization Law) of 1938, to allocate materials such as film and paper. Utilizing this authority, the Bureau promoted business mergers of papers, magazines, publishing houses, and movie production companies, with the help of the prefectural police. The Shimbun jigyō rei 新聞事業令 (Decree Concerning Press Business) issued in 1941 gave the government the right to order a merger and a transfer of business. It also provided for a registration system of newspapermen, disqualifying those who "have been a member of either a political or thought association."

Establishment of the Information Bureau, however, did not bring about the hoped-for unified control of communication; it rather resulted in organizational complexity. Both the Security Bureau of the Home Ministry that had been censoring papers and other publications, and the Special High Police Department of each Police Office that was in charge of "thought police" continued their former duties. Supervision of the

Post Office Ministry over radio broadcast and control of the Education Ministry over educational institutions including universities also continued. As the war against China developed, the newspaper section of the Army Ministry, the Navy Ministry's Department to Disseminate Military Affairs, and the Foreign Ministry's Information Department, acquired authority to prohibit printing of any newspaper articles deemed undesirable. When the Imperial Headquarters was created in 1937, its Army Information Department and Navy Information Department acquired similar authority over papers, magazines, and broadcasting.

As the control machinery grew more complex, interference into the manner of expression and presentation inevitably outstripped legal regulations. Already during the First World War, some local theatre groups had voiced their discontent over the fact that the plays permitted in Tokyo were forbidden by the local police. In practising censorship, minor government officials were apt to stretch the rules in interpreting them. If there were more than one censorship section, it was natural that each should intensify censor for fear of recrimination over another's failure to perform its duty.

Moreover, the Japanese government used a special method called "guidance from inside" in controlling communication. It began to be used sometime around 1937, and was accomplished through monthly conferences between the managerial and editorial staffs of magazines and the government officials and military officers responsible for control. In such conferences, the former were given informal instructions from the latter. For the managers of magazines, this had the advantage of stabilizing their business as they learned in advance the policies of both the government and the military. From the point of view of those in power, it enabled them to show the communications media the correct approach so as to avoid unnecessary troubles. From the viewpoint of the editors, however, it could not be said that such a "guidance from inside" was not humiliation for them.

During the undaunted march of the control policy, however, the mass media were not always on the defence. When business mergers were forced on the pretext of scarcity of materials, not one opposed to the last, though some tried to postpone their implementation. So, when the Japan Newspapers Association and the Japan Publishers Association obtained the right to allocate paper, the Fascist machinery for control of the communication media was completed in the name of "voluntary control."

Before the Fascist atmosphere became as overwhelming as mentioned

above, a number of thinkers fell victims to oppression through jurisdictional means. In 1920, Morito Tatsuo 森戸辰男 (1890–), who published the article, "Kuropotokin no shakaishisō no kenkyū" クロポトキンの社會思想の研究 (Studies in the Social Ideas of Kropotkin), in *Keizaigaku kenkyū* 經濟學研究 (Economic Studies, published by the Department of Economics, Tokyo Imperial University), was pronounced guilty under the Newspapers Law. The government established through this case that scholarship could not plead to be an exception to the rule. The Peace Preservation Law which was enacted in exchange for universal manhood suffrage in 1925 was to penalize those who were members of associations that aimed at "changing *kokutai* 國體 (national polity)" and "repudiating private property" as well as "instigators" of such ideas. This law became the deadliest weapon against leftist activists and thinkers after 1928.

When in 1933 the Minister of Education forced Takikawa Yukitoki 瀧川幸辰 (1891–1962), scholar of penal codes at Kyoto University, to resign, it was obvious that the wave of the "red purge" hit liberals, too. Two years later, Minobe Tatsukichi 美濃部達吉 (1873–1948), who laboured all his life to bring to light liberal aspects of the Meiji Constitution, was expelled from both the university and the House of Peers of which he was a member. In 1936, the Shisōhan hogo kansatsu hō 思想犯保護觀察法 (Thought Criminals Protective Observation Law) was enacted, bringing under police protection, i. e., supervision, those who were suspected of violating the Peace Preservation Law, even if they were exempted from prosecution. It may be said that the individual resistance of liberal journalists against comprehensive oppression of thought and its expression before and during the Second World War did some honour to the Japanese. And yet, it will remain an everlasting source of regret that such individual instances of resistance were far removed from an effective measure against Fascism.