The missing link of shōjo manga history :
the changes in 60s shōjo manga as seen through the magazine
Shūkan Margaret

Kálovics Dalma

Introduction

The worldwide success of manga can be partly attributed to the fact that Japanese comics provide a wide range of reading materials for girls. However even though shōjo manga existed for as long as shōnen manga, there are periods in the history of the genre we hardly know anything about. Shōjo manga research tends to focus on gender and due to that centers mainly on the 1970s and the manga of the Magnificent 49ers (*Hana no 24-nen gumi*), a group of female artists born around 1949 including Hagio Moto, Ōshima Yumiko, Takemiya Keiko and Yamagishi Ryōko, who became famous for their literary style and addressing gender and sexuality in their works.[1] This approach has resulted in many works being left out from the scope of research, be they from preceding periods or contemporary mainstream titles. The lack of detailed analysis of the 20 years of postwar shōjo manga up till the 70s can lead one to believe the 49ers singlehandedly created the genre out of nothing, when in reality by the time they appeared shōjo manga was a diverse and successful genre which sold over a million of its most popular magazines.[2]

In an attempt at shōjo manga historiography the first part of this paper analyzes the discourse surrounding the genre, and finds reasons in publication history for the obscuring of—among others— the 1960s of shōjo manga. The second part of the essay contrasts assumptions about 60s shōjo manga with actual facts based on findings from an ongoing project, in which I examined so far over 250 issues of the magazine *Shūkan Margaret* published between 1963 and 1970, from the collection of the Kyoto International Manga Museum and the National Diet Library. I approach 60s shōjo manga through its site of publishing, shōjo magazines for two reasons. First, because—as it will be later elaborated upon— graphic narratives from this period are for the most part only available through the magazines; second, because the media—as an environment for life[3] in the sense of Hansen, who aims "to move beyond the opposition between artifactual and transductive conceptions of the medium"[4]—contextualizes the

graphic narratives, and "expedit[s] generic compartmentalization and, in consequence, readers' segmentation".[5] Although manga magazines are on the decline now, shōjo manga of the 60s was still inseparable from this media.

1. The obscuring of 60s shōjo manga

1-1. The bias of shōjo manga discourse

Shōjo manga before the Magnificent 49ers often has the general image of 'haha-mono' (mother-and-daughter) tear-jerkers and ballet stories created by men, and is considered subpar to the subsequent 'new' shōjo manga of the 70s. The genre was hardly considered by critics before the 70s, with the exception of Ishiko Junzō, who found societal relevance in the haha-mono stories of the 60s, [6] and welcomed the age of the weekly magazines in the 60s for the emergence of a distinct shōjo manga style.[7] Later Ishiko revisited his views on shōjo manga and criticized the dominance of romance as escapism in the 70s.[8] It is nevertheless noteworthy that Ishiko praised haha-mono narratives, which were particularly looked down upon by latter manga critics.

Actual shōjo manga criticism started in the mid-70s when a new generation of critics—including Murakami Tomohiko, Yonezawa Yoshihiro and Nakajima Azusa— appeared, who were raised reading manga, and wanted "to verbalize their own personal [reading] experience".[9] They 'discovered' shōjo manga through the works of the 49ers, finally deeming it worthy of criticism,[10] as opposed to previous periods, which were considered patterned and full of mannerisms.[11] By making manga created by the 49ers the standard they ignored other—even commercially successful—narratives of the 70s, and also "omitted pre-49ers shōjo manga from the history [of the genre] as something insignificant".[12] While the 49ers are important in the history of shōjo manga for broadening the genre and for their ornate and literary style, their works are rather exceptional and do not represent the mainstream of shōjo manga; deeming them the evaluative standard for the whole genre had a long-lasting effect on shōjo manga discourse.

Regarding the visual style and grammar of shōjo manga Natsume Fusanosuke identified the 70s as the birth period of a new multilayered, decorative paneling,[13] while Ōtsuka Eiji defined inner speech appearing outside of speech bubbles and psychological depth as the characteristics of shōjo manga distinguishing it from shōnen manga, and traced these back to the 49ers.[14] Although monologue and the visual representation of the character's emotions already appeared before the 70s, Ōtsuka dismissed these instances as "explanatory at best, [merely] the 'words of the heart'".[15] This discourse, while

acknowledging complex literary representations, was invalidating most of the genre, in which the most successful works depict everyday emotions and relationships.

The next, gender-based wave of shōjo manga discourse was driven by female researchers, partially in response to the male-dominated discourse. The main representative of this 'girl as reader' discourse is Fujimoto Yukari, who examined gender and sexuality in shōjo manga through the reading experiences of her youth focusing mostly on the 70s.[16] Up to this day shōjo manga discourse tends to center around gender. Oshiyama Michiko investigated cross-dressing heroines throughout the history of shōjo manga,[17] while Ōgi Fusami examined shōjo manga's stylistic Westernization from the perspective of gender, concentrating mainly on works from the 70s. Ōgi does mention the 60s as the period when young female artists started to take over the genre from male mangaka,[18] and when the 'shōjo manga style' started to take form with Westernized character designs,[19] but the lack of distinction between the 60s and the 70s, and her notion of the style of the 60s as something yet incomplete further strengthened the central position of the 49ers in the overall discourse.

A new trend of opening up to shōjo manga other than that of the 70s appeared in the 2000s. Fujimoto Yukari argued that Takahashi Makoto "pioneered a distinctive shōjo manga style", as 'style picture' (*sutairu-ga*), "the 'three-row overlaid style picture' —a full-body drawing of a girl that has no direct relation to the story, stretching across three rows or the entire vertical length of the page—did not exist before [his] work".[20] The previously established shōjo manga discourse was further challenged by Iwashita Hōsei, who examined Tezuka Osamu's so far neglected shōjo manga, which are considered hard to discuss within the framework of the existing shōjo manga discourse, in which *Ribon no Kishi* is taken for the origin of the genre as the first shōjo story manga created, and the 49ers for the standard.[21] Iwashita notes that his points apply to all pre-70s shōjo manga, which were ignored due to the same levelling approach, and he calls for the reevaluation of shōjo manga history.[22]

1-2. Publication history: magazine & book editions

Aside from the discourse surrounding shōjo manga history there is another reason, why pre-70s shōjo manga was easily forgotten, which is at the same time also the biggest obstacle in researching these periods: pre-70s manga is not readily accessible. Yonezawa already realized in the beginning of the 90s, that many manga titles, even those labeled as 'classics' published before the second half of the 70s were not readily available anymore.[23] The difficulty of accessibility is mostly related to the development of manga publishing: like today, magazines serializing manga were meant to be disposed of after reading, and collected paperbacks did not exist yet.

The publishing of collected volumes under a specific label, so-called tankōbon started in 1966 with male-oriented works. The first tries were not successful due to the relative high pricing of the volumes, but the shrinking of the size of the books achieved a breakthrough.[24] Shōjo manga followed in May 1967 with the *Junior Comic* label of Wakaki Shobō, a rental publisher releasing collected serializations by other publishers,[25] which was a common practice in the early years of tankōbon publishing. Magazine publisher Shūeisha entered the market a few months later with *Margaret Comics* releasing its own collected series in December 1967, followed by other publishers. As a result most titles from the 60s (and before) were never released in tankōbon form, and even from this point on only selected popular series were collected, while most graphic narratives disappeared along with their magazine issues.

Even if a manga was released in tankōbon form, stocks did not last forever and subsequent republishing became crucial in keeping artists and their stories in the consciousness of the audience and critics. Still, in the following years the range of titles selected for rereleases got gradually smaller, and without exposure it became difficult for older artists to have their manga republished, till even a known artist like Mizuno Hideko had to resort to self-publishing.[26] In contrast, every popular title in the 70s was published in tankōbon form, and due to the constant attention of fans and critics, these manga have been regularly reprinted. While it would be desirable to have uncollected stories rereleased, it might be difficult due to the loss of manuscripts, and reproducing them from the magazine (if the magazines are available at all) results in a poor print quality. [27]

A good part of the 60s shōjo manga is accessible only through the magazines, which makes research difficult, given there is no library in Japan which carries all issues. The magazines were originally printed on low-quality paper and are deteriorating fast, which calls for urgent digitalization of these materials. In addition information about this period is also hard to come by. In 2015 the Agency for Cultural Affairs launched the *Media Arts Database*,[28] which collects information about manga, anime, games and related events. Regarding manga we can find information about mangaka, magazines with their table of contents, standalone volumes (although lacking entries on collected stories), and while the database is still incomplete, it has the potential to support various research inquires. The only handicap is that the database utilizes information collected by libraries, thus publications, which are not included in any collection, are missing from the website.

Magazine research is cited also with regard to the texts themselves, as manga serializations are edited for tankōbon publications.[29] Usually there was at least a minimum editing for replacing the advertisements of the magazines: sometimes the blank spaces were filled with flowers or *sutairu-ga* of the protagonist; panels where reorganized to balance the page out; extra panels were added or existing

panels expanded, making the additions unnoticeable. Remarkably, if we only look at paperbacks, we might get the impression that *sutairu-ga* were frequently used in the 60s, whereas in fact it was mostly a later addition for tankōbon releases.

Another often observed change in the collected releases is related to the weekly format of the original series. While longer monthly installments are easily collected into tankōbon form retaining the original subdivisions, weekly chapters of generally 15 pages need to be assembled, otherwise the rhythm of the story would be interrupted. The fluctuating length of installments and the removal of frontispieces, summaries often resulted in incorrectly positioned pages and disjointed double-spreads in paperbacks. The layout of the double-spread is considered important for manga, as "this is what readers can see at a glance".[30] As the displacement of pages in tankōbon releases from this period can be at times rather obvious, this raises questions regarding how editors of the period viewed manga layout.

2. The subject of research: *Shūkan Margaret*

Shōjo manga of the 60s is represented by weekly magazines, however these were not manga magazines yet, but general shōjo magazines with articles, photo spreads, novels and manga. Weekly magazines in general became popular in the second half of the 50s, and the first weekly magazines for boys, *Shūkan Shōnen Magazine* and *Shūkan Shōnen Sunday* were released on the same day in March 1959.[31] Due to the changing lifestyles in Japan during the rapid economic growth—the weekly rhythm of life of employees, the increased demand for entertainment, and the weekly programming of the rapidly spreading television[32]—monthly shōnen and shōjo magazines slowly declined, and during the beginning of the 60s even magazines for girls switched to the faster weekly format.

The monthly shōjo magazine *Shōjo Club* exited the market at the end of 1962 and was replaced by the weekly *Shūkan Shōjo Friend*, while *Shōjo Book* ceased publication a few months later in 1963, and *Shūkan Margaret* was launched instead. To make up for the belated start 650,000 so-called PR copies were printed of the first issue of *Shūkan Margaret*—compared to *Shūkan Shōjo Friend's* 282,000[33]—, which were handed out for free. *Shūkan Margaret* soon became the leading weekly for girls: the magazine overtook *Shūkan Shōjo Friend* by 1967 and achieved a since unbroken record in circulation among the shōjo weeklies with 1,170,000 copies in 1969.[35] The only other weekly for young readers with a circulation over a million was *Shūkan Shōnen Magazine* at the time.[36] If we also take the proliferation of shōjo weeklies and monthlies, as well as the steady growth of magazine print-runs during the second

half of the 60s into account, it is clear that shōjo magazines and thus shōjo manga were by far not as second-rate, as critics have previously implied. However as opposed to shōnen magazines the weekly format did not prove to be successful for shōjo magazines: *Shūkan Shōjo Friend* switched to a semi-monthly publication schedule in 1974 and *Shūkan Margaret* followed suit in 1988. [37]

Since the manga industry was in the state of a magazine rush in the 60s it is impossible to fully grasp 60s shōjo manga based on a single magazine, but with its immense success *Shūkan Margaret* can be considered representative of mainstream shōjo manga of the decade. In the following section I will contrast the assumptions to be discussed in the following about the shōjo manga of the 60s with the material found in *Shūkan Margaret*.

2-1. From general magazine to manga magazine

Manga magazines spread in the 70s, however it is a less discussed topic that the changes leading up to this innovation mostly took place in the 60s. *Shūkan Margaret*, like all the others at that time, started out as a general magazine with visual entertainment becoming gradually more important. While shōnen magazines decorated their covers with detailed graphics of airplanes and ships, *Shūkan Margaret*—just like *Shūkan Shōjo Friend*—continued the tradition of the preceding monthlies by putting the photograph of a girl on the cover. In accordance with the dream of the Western lifestyle
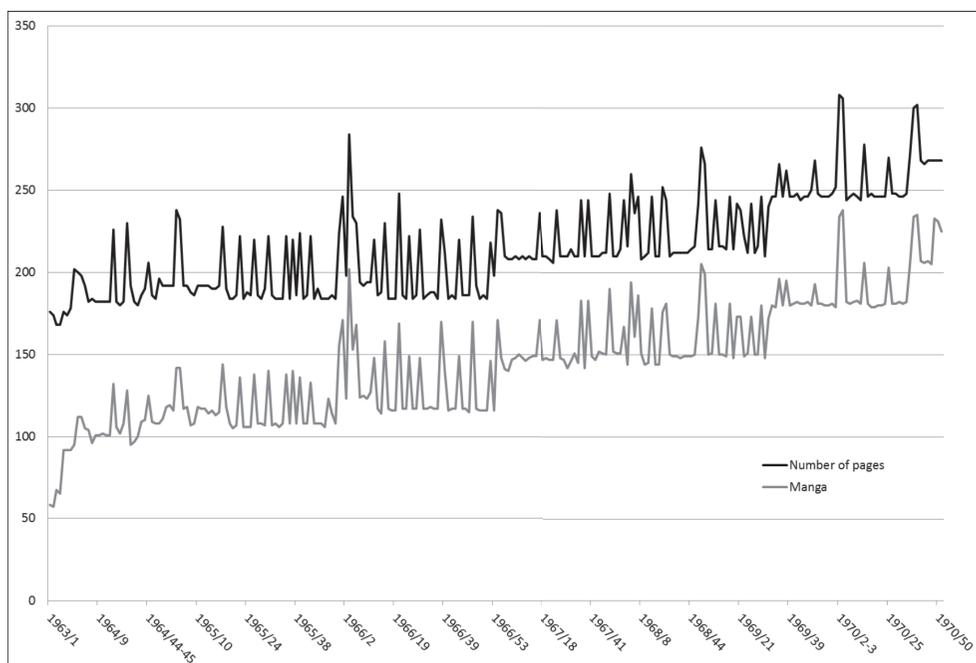

Diagram 1. The number of pages and the ratio of manga in *Shūkan Margaret* during the 60s

they popularized in articles, *Shūkan Margaret* initially employed Caucasian cover girls, but switched to Japanese girls during 1964, with the foreign content decreasing as well. Covers with manga illustrations appeared only on special occasions from the second half of the decade onwards, though their numbers did increase every year.

The average number of pages for the magazine was around 180 in the beginning, however this would increase to 200-220 pages for special or double issues. *Shūkan Margaret* became gradually thicker, and in 1970 the number of pages exceeded 240, with special issues reaching 280-300 pages. First only 30% of the magazine was occupied by manga with around 60 pages, but special editions always meant additional manga content in the form of oneshots, and the ratio of manga grew in regular issues as well reaching over 50% of the magazine with 90-100 pages already by the end of 1963 and around 75% with over 180 pages by 1970. (Diagram 1)

The one thing that did not change, however, was the number of pages dedicated to a single installment of a story manga series in one issue: 15 pages (14 plus frontispiece), with occasional cases of 13 to 23 pages, 22-23 pages becoming more and more frequent by 1970. For some editors a good storyteller was someone who was able to confine herself to 16 pages,[38] however, the length of oneshots was in fact gradually increasing from 15 pages in 1964 to 27-31 pages by 1970, occasionally even reaching lengths of over 50 pages. Although the magazine length and the ratio of manga in shōjo weeklies were quite similar to shōnen weeklies throughout the 60s, the chapter lengths are not comparable, as they were not consistent in the latter. This makes it hard to draw any conclusions regarding genre-specific storytelling, however the increase in lengths in shōjo manga as well as the subsequent decline of shōjo weeklies seem to imply, that fast-paced storytelling—which requires a cliffhanger every 15 pages—might have been unsuitable for shōjo manga.

2-2. Shōjo manga as the realm of female artists

The increasing ratio of manga brought upon an increased need for mangaka, and this triggered an important change with respect to shōjo mangaka. It often appears as if shōjo manga before the 70s had been ruled by male artists. While this was true for the 50s, a change occurred during the 60s. In the first issues of *Shūkan Margaret* in 1963 the manga content drawn by women was around 50% and it reached 90% by 1969, resulting in the birth of media for girls by girls, as shōjo manga has come to be defined.[39] (Diagram 2)

In the beginning—aside from male mangaka—artists of the 50s, Watanabe Masako, Mizuno Hideko and Maki Miyako defined the magazine. Since they were active both in the 50s and the 60s, it
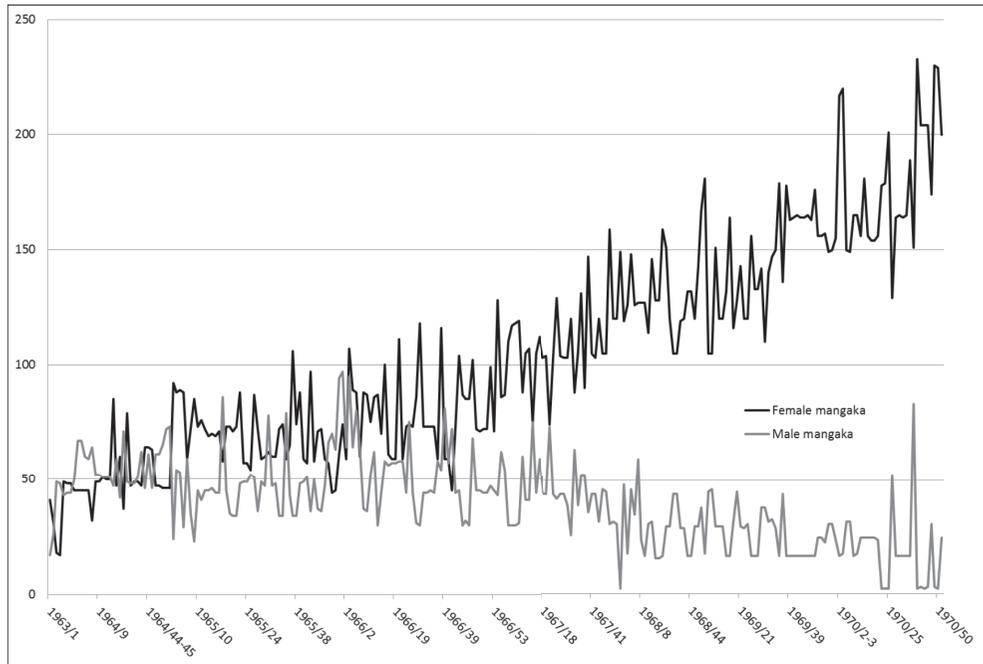
Diagram 2. Number of manga pages drawn by female and male artists in Shūkan Margaret during the 60s

seems convenient to describe both decades through their example, however many changes of the 60s were driven by a new generation of female artists. The three veterans moved on to create more mature stories by the end of the decade, for example in *Shūkan Seventeen*, which was established as a sister magazine of *Shūkan Margaret* for older readers in 1968.[40]

During the first years the most important source of fresh talent was rental manga publishing. Rental shōjo manga boomed in 1958, when the rental short story periodicals appeared,[41] and despite their declining significance in the second half of the 60s, it was an important media for young artists, helping them to make their debut, and providing a place for experimentation.[42] Many young mangaka switched from rental to major magazine publishers during the 60s from Takeda Kyōko through Motomura Miyoko to Ikeda Riyoko,[43] and sometimes this transition was even encouraged by rental editors for instance in the case of Hanamura Eiko, because working for major publishers was more profitable.[44]

With their growing demand for new manga shōjo magazines had to find a new way to recruit artists. *Shūkan Margaret* started its *Manga University* (later *Manga Classroom*) column in 1966; in which they educated readers about drawing tools, styles and simple paneling. Later the *Margaret Manga Prize* was established for newcomers; this is where Matsuzaki Akemi, who became an

important artist of *JUNE* and *Allen* debuted in 1970.[45] In 1969 the newcomer prize was complemented by the *Manga Research Student* initiative, which was recruiting and judging manuscript submissions in the magazine—this is how Ariyoshi Kyōko was discovered in 1971.[46]

The *Manga Research Student* program was very similar to *Bessatsu Margaret's Shōjo Manga School* (later with the prefix Betsuma), an institutionalized system for raising new talent. Inspired by the new talent column of the magazine *COM*, it was introduced at the end of 1966 as a platform for interaction with potential artists.[47] Noteworthy enough applicants received detailed evaluations, and the best works were published in the magazine, making the *Shōjo Manga School* the shortest route to becoming a mangaka—as it was advertised. The same system was later adopted by other Shūeisha magazines like *Shūkan Margaret*, and further publishers followed suit.[48] Artists like Tadatsu Yōko, Miuchi Suzue, Kihara Toshie, Mihara Jun debuted in the *Shōjo Manga School*, and some of them published in *Shūkan Margaret* as well.

Of course there were other ways to debut : some applied directly, others were assistants like Fujiwara Eiko, who first published as a member of Yokoyama Production headed by Yokoyama Masamichi.[49] There were also dōjinshi groups, who self-published original manga only. One such dōjinshi was Ishimori (later Ishinomori) Shōtarō's *Bokujū Itteki*, which was followed by the shōjo manga centric *Bokujū Niteki*, with future *Shūkan Margaret* artists Shiga Kimie and Nishitani Yoshiko among its creators.[50]

By the end of the decade the generational and gender shift was mostly over, there were hardly any men among the new debutants, and the female artists were all young girls, barely older than the readers. This was used as a marketing tool as well, and the magazines stressed the fact every time, when a high school student debuted. By the end of the 60s shōjo manga as a media for girls by girls was born.

2-3. The expanding of the thematic range of subject matter

It is a common belief, that shōjo manga did not develop before the 70s, however there was in fact a thematic broadening within the genre. Continuing from the 50s family dramas were still present: classic search-for-the-mother narratives like *Mizuiro no hitomi* (1963-64) by Maki Miyako and Matsumoto Akira (later Reiji) were gradually replaced by stories with a twist indicating that being together with the desired parent might not lead to a happy ending—like in Takeda Kyōko's *Ashita no niji* (1965) where the protagonist almost destroys her mother's new family—, while Hanamura Eiko's *Kiri no naka no shōjo* (1966-67) stood out with its highly developed representation of complex

relationships and emotions.

Alongside comedies centering on everyday life like Imamura Yōko's *Hustle Yū-chan* (1964-67) Hollywood-style romances by veteran artists also became popular, which were in some cases in fact adapted from movies: Mizuno Hideko's *Suteki na Cora* (1963) is a remake of the 1954 movie Sabrina, and *Akage no Scarlet* (1966) the adaptation of the 1952 movie *The Quiet Man*. Mizuno was a very versatile artist: she created one of the first historical dramas in shōjo manga with *Shiroi Troika* (1964-65), and worked with themes like acting and racism in *Broadway no Hoshi* (1967-68).

As a result of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, especially the success of the female volleyball team, sport stories became very popular in shōjo manga. In *Shūkan Margaret* Urano Chikako stood out as a master of the field with several sport series about softball and volleyball; her most well-known manga, *Attack No.1* (1968-70) was adapted into an anime in 1969. Further examples include Shiga Kimie's popular tennis manga *Smash o kimero!* (1969-70); or Fujiwara Eiko who created stories about swimming, skiing and even female basketball.

The genre was further expanded with thriller and horror themes, mostly by male artists like Ebara Shin and Koga Shinichi; however the most important innovation at the time was the emergence of school romances, pioneered by Nishitani Yoshiko. Her first big success, *Mary Lou* (1965-66) still used a foreign setting, but her next hit, *Lemon to sakuranbo* (1966) brought romance and teenage issues to Japanese schools.[51] This combination soon became the main trend in the genre and has remained so until today. While many artists set their stories in Japanese schools from here on, the most popular artists of the new love comedy genre still preferred foreign settings: Motomura Miyoko and Tadatsu Yōko drew stories about the turbulent adventures and first love of mostly American girls, but these narratives were already much closer to the readers than Hollywood romances. Motomura's most successful manga, *Okusama wa 18* (1969-70) and Tadatsu's *Bijin wa ikaga?* (1970-71) were both adapted into live-action TV series.

The importance of male characters also grew during these years: one-dimensional brother and friend characters were soon replaced by potential love interests, who gained depth of character on par with the female protagonists by the end of the decade. In the second half of the 60s there were already stories with a male lead, like Abe Takako's *Alps no tenshi* (1966) or Nishitani's *Gakuseitachi no michi* (1967-68), which provided in-depth insights into the souls of its male protagonists; and even in lighthearted love comedies like Tadatsu's *Natsu no hi ni kanpai* (1969) the feelings and thoughts of the male character were just as important as that of the girl's.

Gender appeared among the themes of shōjo manga by the end of the 60s, first regarding the

physical changes of puberty and the differences from boys. Many of these works conveyed a conservative view, like Oka Keiko's *Hana hiraku koro* (1969) where the frustrated female protagonist laments whether girls are essentially less intelligent than boys, but in the end gives up all her ambitions for love. The same artist also penned *Akuma ni mesu o!* (1970) about a female medical intern, who ignores the dismay of her grandmother regarding her career, indicating the possibility of gender progressive representations as well.

At the end of the 60s the innocent romantic comedies also took a slightly riskier step: after the success of Nagai Gō's *Harenchi Gakuen* (1968-72) and the subsequent 'skirt-flipping' trend among children *Shūkan Margaret* started to thematize boys' sexual attention in articles and manga. Stories included peeking, slight touching from boys and underwear scenes by girls, and while these were mostly comedic, male-centric perspectives were quite dominant—like in Nakamori Kiyoko's *Ufun Sensei-ttara* (1970)—, which will require further examination in future.

2-4. Interrelated magazine contents

As previously mentioned shōjo magazines of the 60s were still far from being the manga specialty magazines we are used to now. Examining the thematic trends of articles can provide context for understanding the shifts in the themes of the graphic narratives. In the beginning of the 60s *Shūkan Margaret* published illustrated fairytales, articles about real live princes and princesses or other famous girls from all over the world like Caroline Kennedy or Anne Frank, as well as compilations commemorating the Japan tours of the popular Vienna Boys' Choir. This trend was gradually replaced by stories about Japanese stars, actors, and eventually boy bands, so called 'group sounds' from 1967 onwards. Over the course of the 60s the unreachable and unreal foreign dream was replaced by a much closer Japanese dream. Articles also shifted from slightly educational and school-related content to beauty and fashion, and arrived to the 'how to get the boy' guides by the end of the decade, corresponding to the shift in manga's focus on teenage romance. The same change can be observed in the advice column for readers, where issues with family, school and illness were complemented by problems with the opposite sex by the end of the 60s.

The thematic changes of the magazine were interrelated with the shifts in the themes of manga throughout the decade, as editors often suggested young artists to find inspiration in different forms of entertainment or real life.[52] While manga about princesses was a heritage of the monthlies, soon the Vienna Boys' Choir appeared on the comics pages, as well. Some of these narratives were influenced by Western movies, like Abe Takako's oneshot *Alps no Tenshi* (1966), which adapted the Austrian

movie from 1957 *The best day of my life*,[53] while Watanabe Masako's *Aoki Donau* (1967) only borrowed the Japanese title of the 1962 film *Almost Angels*.[54] These stories also suggest that the Vienna Boys' Choir played an important role in making girls interested in male characters in shōjo manga.

An overarching thematic thread of 60s articles and non-graphic narratives was scary and dramatic stories, often inspired by real life events. Children losing their lives due to illness or accident provided heartbreaking drama in the first half of the 60s: widespread diseases like leukemia and polio often appeared in articles, which was mirrored in manga. Through leukemia the atomic bombing of Hiroshima was thematized such as in Takeda Kyōko's *Mika wa ikita!* (1964-65); stories and articles about the Second World War and the Vietnam War were sending a clear anti-war message. It is noteworthy that tragedies were always depicted from the perspective of suffering girls, inviting empathy from the same aged readers.

Stories about car accidents provided opportunity for dramatic and educational stories like in Mochizuki Akira's *Isso shinitai* (1963); while Kanai Shigeko's *Kanashimi no dai 3 hodōkyō* (1970) depicted the complex emotions of the negligent offender and the victim's sister. Plane catastrophes were turned into manga for instance in Urano Chikako's *Kyōfu no Yodogō* (1970), inspired by the *Yodogō Hijacking Incident* in March 1970, when members of the Red Army Faction hijacked a plane to cross over to North Korea.[55] Some accidents appeared several times in the magazine, like the *Kyōhoku Junior High School Drowning Incident*,[56] where 36 female students drowned in the sea in 1955. There were at least two articles about this, for instance one in the 1963/12 and another one in the 1965/34 issue, and in 1967 Oka Keiko wrote a short manga series based on the tragedy with the title *Umi wo mamoru 36-nin no tenshi*. Unsurprisingly, manga based on real life events was always adjusted to have a female protagonist, and expanded with popular elements of the time like mother-daughter relationships or romance.

2-5. The changes in style

As mentioned above the 49ers are generally considered the peak of shōjo manga style. According to Ōtsuka shōjo manga was originally a subcategory of shōnen manga, and they shared visual styles,[57] which might be true for the early years of the genre in the 50s, however, by the 60s shōjo manga had already found its distinct style. To illustrate this we need only take a look at the manga *Watashi no Eru* (1964) co-created by Maki Miyako and Matsumoto Akira, a rare case where we can directly observe the differences between shōnen and shōjo manga style: within the same manga action-oriented, cinematic pages reveal the hand of a shōnen manga artist, which contrast with the by then customary

decorative and emotional style of shōjo manga used elsewhere in the story.

The so-called 'shōjo manga style' with big eyes, Westernized character designs, flowery decorations, multilayered panels and inner monologue—the latter two results of the 'uncertainty of the frame' described by Itō Gō[58]—had already existed from the very beginning of the shōjo weeklies but also developed further over the years. In the early years of *Shūkan Margaret* Maki's fashionable doll-like character designs and sensitive representations were popular, continued by Matsuo Mihoko and Takeda Kyōko.[59] Although Mizuno Hideko's starry-eyed characters found followers as well, the next creator to truly impact the style of shōjo manga was Nishitani Yoshiko with her characteristic big eyes and huge reflections within, and her use of curly hair and frilly clothes. She also drew her characters with great care for details, which had an impact on future artists like Sasaya Nanae.[60]

Love comedies required straightforward, exaggerated, bouncy representations, like the ones found for example in Mizuno's *Konnichiwa Sensei* (1964) or Tadatsu Yōko's *Okane tamemasu!* (1970). Sport series on the other hand, as well as action-oriented stories like Shiga Kimie's *Ojika no kuru mine* (1969) or *Ōkami no jōken* (1970-71) used dynamic sequences similar to shōnen manga. As opposed to these styles emotional, lyrical stories and scenes strived to open up the space and illustrate the emotions of the characters as in Nishitani's *Watabōshi* (1966) or Motomura Miyoko's *Oniisan* (1967). While initially the characters' thoughts were related to the reader through the use of authorial narration as in Watanabe Masako's family dramas, monologues quickly became general, and the reader was granted 'direct access' to the characters' inner worlds. With romances and coming-of-age stories becoming increasingly popular the depiction of the inner feelings of the teenage characters turned out to be all the more important.

It is interesting to note that during the end of the 60s the paneling became slightly crowded again, which might be related to the dynamic and comedic trends at the time but also the short length of series chapters. Although the given number of pages for series did not grow significantly, the amount of information conveyed within one chapter grew over the years, which occasionally resulted in crowded paneling—Nishitani produced extreme examples of overwritten stories at the end of the 60s for example in *Class ring wa koishiteru* (1970) and *Hōkago atsumare* (1970). Further examination would be required to decide, whether this change was a result of the weekly format, or whether it was magazine or artist specific, but it is nevertheless clear that the utilization of existing genre-specific visual elements in shōjo manga depended mostly on the narrative.

Conclusions

This paper introduced the various aspects of development of the neglected 60s shōjo manga through the media of weekly magazines. In the first part I attempted to find reasons for how the creators of and works from the 60s ended up being obscured within the history of shōjo manga: I provided an overview of the critical and scholarly discourse on shōjo manga, which came to focus on the shōjo manga of the 70s throughout its course from the actual start of manga criticism all the way through to the incorporation of questions surrounding visual style and gender; at the same time the publication history and format of these early works also poses a problem when trying to access them. On closer inspection of the magazine *Shūkan Margaret* from the 60s, I found, that important changes regarding magazine structure, artists, themes and style took place during this period. With this project I aim to forward the recognition of this often overlooked period's true merits, and contribute to the foundations of a revised and more thorough shōjo manga history.

Notes

1　Monden 2015

2　*Shūkan Margaret* reached over a million copies in 1969 and *Bessatsu Margaret* achieved a similar rate of circulation in 1972. (Konagai 2001: 38-39).

3　Hansen 2006: 300

4　Hansen 2006: 301

5　Berndt 2014: 263

6　Ishiko 1994[1975]: 124

7　Ishiko 1994[1975]: 119

8　Ishiko 2011[1976]: 213

9　Berndt 2008: 304

10　Yonezawa 1995[1991]a: 4

11　Murakami 1978: 54

12　Fujimoto 2009: 170

13　Natsume 1995: 181

14　Ōtsuka 1994: 61

15　Ōtsuka 1994: 68

16　Fujimoto 1998

17　Oshiyama 2007, revised 2013

18　Ōgi 2004: 526

19　Ōgi 2010: 119-120

20　Fujimoto 2012[2007]: 24

21　Iwashita 2013: 44

22　Iwashita 2013: 273

23　Yonezawa 1991b: 6

24　Eshita 2006: 73-74

25　Eshita 2006: 98-99

26　Mizuno Hideko's official website: http://mizuno.x0.com/

27　Mizuno's *Kurosuisen* (1963) was reprinted for the first time in *Suteki na Cora* in 2000, and there is a visible difference between manuscript and magazine reprinted pages.

28　https://mediaarts-db.jp/

29　Tezuka Osamu was famous for constantly revisiting his manuscripts for new editions. (See: Tezuka Production 2006)

30　Natsume 1995: 170

31　Ōno 2009: 60

32　Asaoka 2012: 148

33　Kōdansha 2001: 325

34　Shūeisha 1997: 84

35　Konagai 2011: 38

36　Ōno 2009: 221

37　Yonezawa 1991b: 147, 150

38　Konagai 2011: 52

39　Fujimoto 2009: 168

40　Yonezawa 1991b: 72

41　Yonezawa 1995[1991]a: 114

42　Yonezawa 1995[1991]a: 116

43　Yonezawa 2007[1980]: 134

44　Hanamura 2009: 114

45　Matsuzaki Akemi is also known for her blog where she posts images and comments mainly about shōjo magazines from the 50s and the 60s: http://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/tamatyannanatyan

46 Watashi no Margaret-ten Project 2014: 59

47 Konagai 2011: 44

48 Konagai 2011: 48-49

49 Gendai Manga Hakubutsukan 2006: 61

50 Ishimori 1986: 149-150

51 Yonezawa 1991b: 30

52 Konagai 2011: 56

53 Originally Der Schönste Tag meines Lebens, released in Japan in 1958 under the title Nobara (http://eiga.com/movie/47698/)

54 Released in Japan in 1963 (http://eiga.com/movie/41898/)

55 Yodogō Hijacking Incident (https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/ よど号ハイジャック事件)

56 Kyōhoku Junior High School Drowning Incident (https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/橋北中学校水難事件)

57 Ōtsuka 1994: 62

58 Itō 2009[2005]: 225

59 Yonezawa 2007[1980]: 107

60 Sasaya 1991: 36

Biography

Aoshima, Hiroshi, 2015. *Shōjo manga kōkyōshi*. Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha

Asaoka, Takahiro, 2012. Kōdo keizai seichō no tōrai to shūkanshi dokusha. In: Yoshida Noriaki & Okada Akiko, eds. *Zasshi media no bunkashi*, Tokyo: Shinwasha, pp. 129-162

Berndt, Jaqueline, 2008. Considering Manga Discourse: Location, Ambiguity, Historicity. In:Mark MacWilliams, ed. *Japanese Visual Culture: Explorations in the World of Manga and Anime*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, pp. 295-310

Berndt, Jacqueline, 2014. Skim as Girl: Reading a Japanese North American Graphic Novel through Manga Lenses. In: Chiu, Monica, ed. *Drawing new color lines transnational Asian American graphic narratives*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 257-278

Eshita, Masayuki, 2006. *Manga kosho mania*. Tokyo: Nagasaki Shuppan

Fujimoto, Yukari, 2008[1998]. *Watashi no ibasho wa doko ni aru no? Shōjo manga ga utsusu kokoro no katachi*. Tokyo: Gakuyō Shobō

Fujimoto, Yukari, 2009. Shōjo manga to jendā. In: Natsume Fusanosuke & Takeuchi Osamu, eds. *Mangagaku nyūmon*. Kyoto: Minerva Shobō, pp. 168-172

Fujimoto, Yukari, 2012[2007]. Takahashi Macoto: The Origin of Shōjo Manga Style (trans. Matt Thorn). In: Frenchy Lunning, ed. *Mechademia 7*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 24–55

Gendai Manga Hakubutsukan, 2006. Takeuchi Osamu, Yonezawa Yoshihiro, Yamada Tomoko, eds. Tokyo: Shogakukan

Hanamura, Eiko, 2009. *Watashi, mangakka ni natchatta!? Mangaka Hanamura Eiko no gagyō 50-nen*. Tokyo: Magazine House

Hansen, Mark B. N., 2006. Media Theory. In: *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 23 no. 2-3. pp. 297-306

Ishiko, Junzō, 1994[1975]. *Sengo Manga shi Nōto*. Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten

Ishiko, Junzō, 2011[1976]. Aa, shōjo manga yo, omae wa doko e?. In: Ishiko Junzō, *Manga/Kitchu: Ishiko Junzō sabukaruchā-ron shūsei*. Tokyo: Shogakukan, pp. 212-217

Ishimori, Shōtarō, 1986. *Tokiwa-sō no seishun: Boku no manga shugyō jidai*. Tokyo: Kōdansha

Itō, Gō, 2009 [2005]. *Tezuka izu deddo*. Tokyo: NTT Shuppan

Iwashita, Hōsei, 2013. *Shōjo manga no hyōgen kikō—hirakareta manga hyōgenshi to Tezuka Osamu*. Tokyo: NTT Shuppan

Kálovics, Dalma, 2015. Manga Studies #8: Shōjo Manga History: The Obscured Decades, https://comicsforum.org/2015/06/11/manga-studies-8-shojo-manga-history-the-obscured-decades-by-dalma-kalovics/ (accessed 2016/04/01)

Kōdansha no 90-nen, 2001. Kōdansha Shashi Hensan Iinkai, ed. Tokyo: Kōdansha

Konagai, Nobumasa, 2001. *Watashi no shōjo manga-shi*. Tokyo: Nishida Shoten

Watashi no Margaret-ten Project, 2014. Love and…—*My Margaret exhibition visual book—Margaret 50th anniversary*. Shūeisha Kikaku & Caramel Mama, eds., Tokyo: Shūeisha

Monden, Masafumi, 2015. Manga Studies #7: Shōjo Manga Research: The Legacy of Women Critics and Their Gender-Based Approach, http://comicsforum.org/2015/03/10/shojo-manga-research-the-legacy-of-women-critics-and-their-gender-based-approach-by-masafumi-monden/ (accessed 2016/04/01)

Murakami, Tomohiko, 1978. Seinen manga toshite no shōjo manga. In: Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai, ed. *Shisō no kagaku* 1978/9. Tokyo: Gendaishi Shuppankai, pp. 54-59

Natsume, Fusanosuke, 1995. Koma no kihon genri o yomitoku. In: Inoue Manabu, ed. Manga *no Yomikata*, Tokyo: Takarajimasha, pp. 168-183

Ōgi, Fusami, 2004. Shōjo manga to 'seiyō' —shōjo manga ni okeru 'Nihon' no fuzai to seiyōteki imēji no hanran ni tsuite. In: Tsukuba Daigaku Bunka Hihyō Kenkyūkai, ed. *'Honyaku' no keniki: bunka – shokuminchi – aidentitī*. Tsukuba: Isebu, pp. 525-554

Ōgi, Fusami, 2010. ʻEkkyō suruʼ shōjo manga to jendā. In: Ichiki Masashi, Motohama Hidehiko & Ōgi Fusami, eds. *Manga wa ekkyō suru!*. Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, pp. 110-134

Ōno, Shigeru, 2009. *Sandē to magajin: Sōkan to shitō no 15-nen*. Tokyo: Kōbunsha

Oshiyama, Michiko. 2007[2013]. *Shōjo manga jendā hyōshōron: "dansō no shōjo" no zōkei to aidentiti*. Tokyo: Seiryūsha

Ōtsuka, Eiji, 1994. *Sengo manga no hyōgen kūkan—kigōteki shintai no jubaku*, Kyoto: Hōzōkan

Sasaya, Nanae, 1991. Mittsu no shōgeki. In: Yonezawa Yoshihiro, *Kodomo no Shōwa-shi—Shōjo manga no sekai II*. Tokyo: Heibonsha

Shūeisha 70-nen no rekishi, 1997. Shashi Henshūshitsu, ed. Tokyo: Shūeisha, not for sale

Tezuka Production, 2006. *Tezuka Osamu genkou no himitsu*. Tokyo: Shinchōsha

Yonezawa, Yoshihiro, 1991b. Kodomo no *Shōwa-shi—Shōjo manga no sekai II*. Tokyo: Heibonsha

Yonezawa, Yoshihiro, 1995[1991]a. *Kodomo no Shōwa-shi—Shōjo manga no sekai I*. Tokyo: Heibonsha

Yonezawa, Yoshihiro, 2007[1980]. *Sengo shōjo manga-shi*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō