

The Creation of Professional Sports Leagues in Japan: A Cultural History of Human Networks

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In this paper, the author researches the origins of Japanese baseball culture from the viewpoint of human social networks – focusing on Ichizo Kobayashi and Matsutaro Shoriki – that were used in order to establish and to build the financial support for Japan's first baseball organizations. The establishment of the pre-war professional baseball league in Japan was closely related to city planning strategies that took advantage of developing industries, such as railways, department stores and newspapers. The key persons associated with those strategies, Kobayashi and Shoriki, attracted people to baseball, by planning and implementing various events that stimulated public interest. A look at their life histories and networks of social contacts reveals that Japan's professional baseball league was established by virtue of their personal and professional connections which extended across economic, political and governmental circles. A brief assessment of the parallel development of professional football in Japan, the J-League, will also be addressed.

Perspectives on the International Diffusion of Modern Sports and the Process of Acceptance

Many scholars have analysed the assimilation and international diffusion of Western sports as forms of cultural imperialism and unilateral domination and subordination that originally began in Europe and then the United States. [1] Great importance is now being attached to more detailed understandings of the historical processes of acceptance and assimilation of Western sport in non-Western nations that use a more dynamic approach to the various power relationships in political, economic and cultural circles. That is to say, the realm of sport studies has come to be analysed

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as part and parcel of the complex arena of cultural struggles in society just as the body has been an object of scholarly analysis.

One of the first theorists to problematize approaches to the body as a site of social contestation was Pierre Bourdieu. As Pierre Bourdieu said, 'The body is not the object of consensus – it is the site of social struggles. Indeed, we can say there is a battle for the control of the body'. [2] He also conducted a sociological analysis for the social constructions of the body. [3] Based on the cultural politics of the body as advocated by Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, John Hargreaves also considers sports to be an arena of cultural struggles:

To thematize sports as an object of struggle, control and resistance, that is an arena for the play of power relations, is of course ultimately to thematize its achievements with respect to human freedom and implicitly to raise the question of the transformational potential of sport in this regard.[4]

Applying the hegemony theory advocated by Antonio Gramsci which considers the potential of social constructs such as sport being a means of control by the ruling class, Hargreaves studied the influences of bourgeois sports and physical education on the working class in terms of gender, sexuality and nationality, but also considered the intersecting effects of capitalism and media on bourgeois society. Recently Henning Eichberg has furthered the understanding of the relationship between the body and sports by studying the relationships between gymnastics, modern sports and traditional sports in terms of time and space. [5]

One of the first scholars to study the diffusion of modern sports as a 'contested terrain' on a global scale is Allen Guttman. [6] It is highly suggestive that the key term he used to describe the diffusion of modern sports is 'ludic diffusion'. [7] In order to research the history of modern sport, Guttman turned his attention to body culture (he uses the term 'physical culture') which includes gymnastics and traditional games. For Guttman, the historical traces of researching body culture can be found not only in the expressly written, systematized and institutionalized historical descriptions of sports cultures which include various sport rules, but also in the very gestures and actions of the mimicking of physical performance. The following four words were used by Guttman in his analysis: 'adopt', 'ape', 'mimic' and 'imitate'. [8]

In order to refine the global process of the ludic diffusion of modern sports, Guttman also uses the words 'reception' and 'adoption' in addition to the word 'acceptance'. He comments: 'It is also true that cultures can be resilient, adaptive and transformative – in sports as in every other domain.' [9] His intention is to show how important it is to carefully observe the process of ludic diffusion as a forum of 'contested terrain' and not a simple outright adoption.

Jay R. Mandle and Joan D. Mandle specifically address the transformative diffusion of Western sports in non-Western nations by analysing how residents in Trinidad and Tobago actively adopted basketball as influenced by the National Basketball Association (NBA). Their work identified how NBA basketball became popular

within the context of the ongoing economic development of the country and the attendant transformation of elements of gender, race and class in Trinidad and Tobago society. Their work revealed how Trinidad and Tobago locals indigenized basketball as a more grassroots activity for both men and women. [10] They describe this process of indigenization as below:

But basketball in Trinidad and Tobago does not remain foreign. It becomes indigenized by those who see in it a vehicle to create meaning in their lives. ... [1]t represents a realm of freedom and creativity, a form of their own cultural articulation, and this despite basketball's foreign origins. [11]

Here, Mandle and Mandle utilize the term 'indigenized' to express the complex process of 'embodiment' of non-native practices in specific cultural conditions. In a separate body of work that also addresses the active process of reception, Richard Cashman analyses the development of Trobriand cricket in his work 'Cricket and Colonialism'. Given that the subtitle to his work is 'Colonial Hegemony and Indigenous Subversion', Cashman critically describes the documentary film, *Trobriand Cricket*, as follows: 'The film shows in a quite remarkable way how this British colonial team game was totally transformed to reflect tribal values: – there were appropriate tribal dances at the fall of each wicket.' [12]

Cashman underscores how Trobriand interacted with the sport of cricket to create new meanings associated with a new form of cricket, *Trobiand* cricket. These works identify how the process of adopting Western sport is not just a form of unilateral domination but an active engagement with Western practices. In fact, if sport is viewed as a process of the bodily inculcation of culture, as Pierre Bourdieu has shown to be the case in his work on rugby, then the local preference for a specific sport becomes a dynamic component of their identity. According to Bourdieu's reasoning, the diffusion of modern sport is even more transformational to local, indigenous cultures, for these locals do not just play international sport, they actually *appropriate* these sports to become their habitual 'taste'. [13].

In the light of the above research on the cultural contestations embraced by the body and sports, any study into the international diffusion of modern sports and the process of acceptance should raise the following concerns regarding body culture, sport and diffusion:

1. How did the people of regions and neighbouring geographical areas accept, translate, transform, and appropriate 'sports cultures' that not only originated in England but were also introduced via the United States? Additionally, what influences have the acceptance, translation, transformation, and appropriation of such sports cultures had on the thoughts and practices of those people?
2. How have the people in those regions and neighbouring geographical areas changed their 'body cultures' into global cultures? (Guttmann expresses this as 'reverse diffusion'.) [14] As a result, how have the thoughts and actions of the people living in those regions changed?

3. What types of cultural backgrounds create bi-directionalism (interaction)? Furthermore, what power relations exist between the political, economic and cultural circles involved there?

The questions raised above inform the influence that human networks had on how baseball was introduced and diffused in Meiji Japan.

The Process of Diffusion and Acceptance of Baseball in Japan

In the study of the diffusion and acceptance of modern sports in Asia, James Anthony Mangan commented that the globalization of modern sports has progressed through three phases: imperialism, nationalism and consumerism. [15] He also commented that the acceptance and appropriation of modern sports in Asia are in a 'double helix' with the modernization of society. A book written in English by Allen Guttmann and Lee Thompson details the history of modern sports in Japan as the complex process of the diffusion of Western sports into Japan with the simultaneous 'invention' of traditional, Japanese sport. [16]

Recent studies of sports cultures in Japan have placed great emphasis on the formation of sports and body cultures in the 1920s and 1930s. Most of them deal with the 'proper guidance' policies of the former Ministry of Education, utilizing and symbolizing the Emperor and imperial family, and defining the meaning of sports as seen by the upper echelon in relation to the Olympics and the Meiji Jingu Tournament. The various power relationships based on the history of socialism and labour movements are also analysed. [17] Additionally, a study of Field Day by Shunya Yoshimi led to his perception of Japan's Field Day as a phenomenon that linked local festival cultures and the Meiji administration's policy of strengthening the discipline and training of Japanese citizens in spite of the various contradictions between local events and national goals. [18]

When it comes to historical research on baseball, Ki Kimura [19] and others have carried out a number of studies. Among them, Koichi Kiku analysed how the spirit of professionalism was established in the development of baseball from the Meiji era to the establishment of professional baseball based on the ideology established by Isoo Abe, the manager of the Waseda University Baseball Club. [20] Junya Yokota analysed a vast amount of data about sports in the Meiji era and described the beliefs and views held about sports during that time, by focusing on those individuals and groups infatuated with baseball. [21] Yokota's work revealed that in those days, Shunro Oshikawa, a novelist who wrote fiction about martial arts and adventure, had a great interest in sports, especially baseball, and contributed sports articles to the magazines *Boken Sekai* ('Adventure World') and *Bukyo Sekai* ('Martial Arts World'). He organized the 'Tengu Club', a social club consisting of avid followers of sport such as the alumni of the Waseda University Baseball Club, journalists and novelists. This club then organized the Japan Athletic Club, which came to be involved in holding the event where the Japanese athletes

for the Stockholm Olympics were selected, enabling Japan to participate in the Olympics for the first time. Headed by Jigoro Kano, the association selected Yahiko Mishima and Shizo Kanaguri as Japan's first Olympic athletes to participate in the 1912 Stockholm Olympics. By understanding the early development of sports cultures in Japan, important insights into the role of human networks on the cultural history of sport in Japan can be obtained.

Informed by the above analysis of how human networks can clarify the establishment of baseball culture in Japan, this paper focuses on the people, organizations and networks that first systematized the National High School Baseball Championship Tournament and later organized professional baseball. The purpose of this study is to underscore the role that 'over-determination' may play in understanding the complexities of historically lived situations and practice. [22] The author also analyses the process of diffusion and acceptance of modern sports in the cultural context of Japan by determining the role played by sport in the lives of various key individuals.

As Mangan [23] pointed out, it is critical to focus on the relationship between the formation of consumer societies and the establishment of sports organizations in Asian countries, including Japan. In this paper, the organizations involved in the establishment of sports organizations in Japan were identified, and the history of the human networks formed to build the financial bases for those organizations were analysed. The analytical framework used to emphasize the role of key people in establishing the foundation of baseball culture in modern Japan is also used to comment on the establishment of the J-League, Japan's professional football league.

Several established works on the cultural history of modern Japan indicate the need for a more nuanced history that incorporates the role of human networks and affiliations. The seminal work on the history of Japanese culture remains the scholarship by Masao Yamaguchi, who problematized the legitimate flow of history in the Meiji era. [24] His work revealed the powerful imprint made by the initiatives of private networks – those Japanese citizens who worked outside of state-centred organizations – during the Meiji period of modernizing Japan. Henning Eichberg also referred to the possibility of biographical research in cultural studies. [25] Satoshi Shimizu analysed the historic role played by Jigoro Kano, who was not only the creator of judo, an educationalist, the first International Olympic Committee member in Asia and a key leader in Japan being successfully chosen for the 1940 Olympics (not held), by using the concept of cultural capital as outlined by P. Bourdieu. [26]

The private networking efforts to establish sports culture and baseball in Meiji Japan will be detailed in order to better understand the complex process by which these Western practices were adopted by specific individuals in order to create a meaningful and successful sporting culture for Japan. The following are considered as key individuals or organizations related to the development of sports cultures in Japan in general: Jigoro Kano (1860–1938); Ichizo Kobayashi (1873–1957); Matsutaro Shoriki (1855–1969); Yasujiro Tsutsumi (1889–1964); and his son

Yoshiaki Tsutsumi (1934–); the leaders of professional wrestling; Rikidozan (1924–1963), the most famous wrestler; and Saburo Kawabuchi (1936–), who was the central figure who founded the J-League professional football organization. This article is the fruit of the author's researches into the origin of Japanese baseball culture from the viewpoint of human networks, and focusing on Ichizo Kobayashi and Matsutarō Shoriki

Ichizo Kobayashi – 'Takarazuka Strategy' and the National High School Baseball Championship Tournament

It is historic lore that the Japanese began playing baseball for the first time in 1873. A foreigner, an American educator by the name of Horace Wilson who was at Kaisei School (at Kanda Hitotsubashi, or the present-day University of Tokyo), taught some of the students how to play baseball. In the initial period, as the baseball culture began to take root in Japan, the game was essentially promoted by junior high schools, high schools and universities, with schools at the same grade levels playing against each other. In the 1910s, joint baseball tournaments began to be held in various local areas. It was in these circumstances that Yoshizo Takayama and Sakutarō Konishi, both students at the University of Kyoto [27] discussed the idea of having a junior high/high school championship game in Kyoto and of having the winning team compete with the junior high school champions of other prefectures.

They initially asked the Kyoto branch of the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* to present the championship flag, but the branch manager was not very receptive to the idea. Next, they approached the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*. Shozo Tamura, a sports reporter in the head office of Osaka Asahi, agreed to their request and began a plan to actively promote holding the first championship tournament in Kyoto, and then a national championship finals tournament with all the regional champions [28].

At that time, Minoo Arima Electrical Railway Company (the present-day Hankyu Railway Company) was planning to host events at the Toyonaka ground it built in 1913 along with a housing development project. It was reportedly said that when Jyuzaburo Yoshioka, the general manager of the Takarazuka New Hot Springs, and then-president of Toho Film Company, visited *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*. He spoke with Tamura and was delighted to hear of the plan for the championship games. He commented 'That is wonderful. I do hope that the plan will materialize under Asahi's sponsorship.' [29]

The executive managing director of Minoo Arima Electrical Railway Company was Ichizo Kobayashi. Kobayashi was born in Yamanashi Prefecture in 1873, entered the Mitsui Banking Corporation after graduating from Keio University and then participated as a member of the establishment of Minoo Arima Electrical Railway Company in 1907. Since he had been a student, Kobayashi had a deep interest in literature, was well versed in plays and wrote as a drama critic for newspapers. He entered Mitsui Banking Corporation in 1893 and was later transferred to the

Osaka branch. At Mitsui he worked under and was influenced by Yoshio Takahashi, who was both a senior classmate from Keio University and the first man in banking to employ women, and he also worked with Kiyochika Iwashita, the branch manager.

Takahashi was a tea ceremony instructor, a supporter of arts and crafts circles and a 'man of refined taste and talent' as the head of a school of *yokyoku* and *noh* masters. [30] After being promoted from Mitsui Banking Corporation to Mitsui Gofukuten Co. Ltd., some time around 1895, Takahashi began introducing a new style of sales displays, transforming them from conventional sitting displays to standing displays, setting up display corners and show windows. In 1904, Mitsui Gofukuten Co. Ltd. announced its transition to a department store, and was gradually transformed into the present-day Mitsukoshi department store chain. This was the starting-point of the consumer society in Japan, where mass-produced goods are displayed to stimulate consumers' buying interest. [31]

Kobayashi's strategy was first to develop housing land along the company's railway lines, and then build department stores near train stations in urban areas to make it easier for people to buy goods and consume more affluent lifestyles, and lastly to provide easy weekend commuting to zoos, amusement parks, hot springs, opera houses, theatres and sport facilities that were managed by the company and located along its railway lines in the suburbs. His concept was a leading development strategy among the private railway companies in the twentieth century. Known as the 'Takarazuka Strategy', it set the stage for a new family lifestyle image, by anticipating the increasing number of white-collar worker families at the time and their ensuing demand for coordinated housing, railways, department stores and family entertainment.

Kobayashi started out by publishing a public-relations pamphlet entitled 'The Most Promising Train' in 1908 as a means of announcing that railway lines would be developed in specific areas beginning in 1910. It stated that urbanization and people's lives were being rethought with the aim of realizing more affluent lifestyles in areas rich with nature. In line with this, the Mino Zoo opened in the same year as the Takarazuka and Mino Branch lines. In the following year, 1911, the Takarazuka New Hot Springs was opened, land for housing was put on sale and a children's forest exposition was held. In 1912, the New Hot Springs added Western-style buildings, an indoor swimming pool and various amusement facilities. In 1913, a women's exposition was held at Takarazuka New Hot Springs, the Toyonaka ground was completed, and the Takarazuka Vocal Ensemble – later changed to the Takarazuka Girls Opera and then to Takarazuka Revue Company – was formed. The indoor swimming pool was closed in 1914, and the first public performance of the Takarazuka Vocal Ensemble was staged in the reconstructed Paradise Theatre. The first national junior-high/high-school baseball championship tournament was held in 1915. [32]

Kobayashi's strategy of focusing on city construction and land development along railway lines continued to prosper. After the company name was changed to Hanshin

Kyuko Railway Co, Ltd. in 1918, the first Hankyu Building was built in Umeda in 1920. When it opened, the Shirokiya department store sold sundries on the first floor, the second floor accommodated restaurants and the third, fourth and fifth floors were commercial space for offices. In 1924, the Takarazuka Grand Theatre, with a seating capacity of 4,000, was built. In 1925, a zoo and Takarazuka Luna Park was opened as an amusement park, and the Hankyu building at Umeda Station was reconstructed to become the first terminal department store in Japan.

In 1922, the Takarazuka Baseball Stadium was built, replacing the old Toyonaka ground, and in 1924 the Takarazuka Undo Kyokai (i.e., the Takarazuka Athletic Association), the oldest professional baseball team in Japan, was established. Atsushi Kono (1884–1946), who pitched for the Waseda University baseball club, pitched 24 games consecutively in the first baseball tour to America in 1905. He later became manager of the Japan Athletic Association when the professional baseball team was formed in 1921. Subsequently, he was manager of the Takarazuka Athletic Association professional baseball team and also joined the Nagoya Association, a professional baseball team, as a coach and general manager. However, the association was disbanded 1929 after professional baseball failed to attain the stature of an established organization. [33]

As described above, Kobayashi's 'Takarazuka Strategy' of building leisure and sports facilities in the suburbs alongside planned urbanization worked well. Various events such as expositions, operas and sports tournaments were held in the facilities, and terminal buildings were constructed in urban areas in order to sell goods that promoted the new lifestyles closely aligned with the era in which people started to enjoy a total-lifestyle culture. Sports events, in this instance, the National Junior-High/High-School Baseball Championship Tournament (the present-day Koshien Baseball Tournament), were included in the strategy for developing a consumer society that fully utilizes railway lines, department stores and newspaper companies. This shows that, from the very beginning, baseball events were closely connected to the development of a consumer society and business strategies to increase profits.

Matsutaro Shoriki – The Yomiuri Shimbun, Professional Baseball and the Road to Politics

Ichizo Kobayashi applied the Takarazuka Strategy in the Kansai region, approximately 300 kilometres from Tokyo. Simultaneously, in Tokyo, Matsutaro Shoriki, the president of a newspaper company, was attempting to attract people through media-sponsored events.

In 1924, Seinosuke Go transferred Shoriki to the *Yomiuri Shimbun* when its circulation was only 40,000. It is well known that Shoriki expanded the company to rival the circulation of its mainstream competitors, the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Mainichi Shimbun*. He made immense efforts to obtain new subscribers, including measures such as collecting full subscription rates, reducing printing errors and

reducing personnel, while at the same time introducing radio and other new programmes one after another. The greatest feature of his strategy to conduct large-scale spectacles such as live events.

In 1924, Shoriki held an exposition aimed at enjoying cool evening weather at the Kokugikan (National Sports Stadium). Ghosts and monsters were displayed, in addition to various cool-looking exhibitions using water and ice. It was an extremely popular event because free admission tickets were distributed to the general public in all downtown areas. Then, in 1926, Shoriki arranged a spectacular *go* match between Shusai Honinbo and Junichi Karigane, a 7-dan level professional. Prior to the match, Shoriki attracted people's interest in it via the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and during the match he had such famous writers as Hekigoto Kawahigashi, Kendo Yokoyama, Shofu Muramatsu and Kan Kikuchi write first-hand accounts of the game action. Each move was also displayed on a large *go* boards – approximately 3m x 3m square – set up in Ueno and Hibiya parks, with comments on the moves given by professional *go* players. This type of business tactic would later be adopted by the on-street television broadcasts of professional wrestling matches after the Second World War, where large numbers of excited people would gather to watch the action. [34]

Shoriki also succeeded in attracting many people to various events promoted by the media such as a chrysanthemum figurine exhibition at Tamagawa Park and a rare treasures exhibition, both held in 1929. But what he considered to be the most effective and powerful spectacles were sports events such as boxing, baseball, tennis and professional wrestling. The Japan versus France boxing event, sponsored by the Yomiuri Shimbun Company, commanded great popularity owing to a match-up between the bantam class ex-world champion Emile Pladner and Tsuneo Horiguchi, which resulted in a draw. (Following the match, Horiguchi became well known as 'Piston Horiguchi'.) The tennis matches involving American professional superstar players such as Bill Tilden, Ellsworth Vines and Jane Sharp also attracted large numbers of spectators. [35]

Shoriki was interested in baseball and considered it a 'business of national and international and cultural significance that appealed to the sentiments of the greatest number of people'. [36] In 1931 and 1934, he invited major league baseball players from the United States to Japan. George Herman 'Babe' Ruth was one of the superstars on the team that came to Japan in 1934. On that occasion, partly due to the guidance of the former Ministry of Education, it was decided that the Japanese team players should not be students, and an all-Japan team was formed. This became the foundation of professional baseball in Japan. In effect, the visit of an American major league team became the catalyst for the establishment of a professional baseball league in Japan in 1936. [37]

The following is a brief review of Shoriki's life. He was born in 1885, the second-eldest son and fifth sibling of ten brothers and sisters. Although he was skinny and weak physically in elementary school, he made efforts to become physically rather than intellectually strong by devoting himself to swimming and kendo when he was

in junior high and to judo whilst at high school. After graduating from Teikoku University (now University of Tokyo), Shoriki worked in the Cabinet Statistics Bureau and then for the Metropolitan Police Department for ten years. On 8 August 1918, when he was the first district inspector, he managed to control a gathering of 2,000 people calling for the government to be impeached. [38]

By virtue of his career at the Metropolitan Police Department, Shoriki became acquainted with many key persons in political and financial circles, as well as with members of the imperial family. He resigned from the Metropolitan Police Department, accepting responsibility for an incident known as the 'Toranomon Case'. He became acquainted with Shinpei Goto and Yusuke Tsurumi while serving as the director for the Cabinet Secretariat (1921-3). Goto held many prominent positions such as the first president of South Manchuria Railway Company, being a member of Prime Minister Terauchi's cabinet, mayor of Tokyo, chairman of the Imperial Metropolitan Reconstruction Board following the great Kanko earthquake in 1923, and senior managing director of Keisei Electric Railway Company. Shoriki was intrigued by Goto's ideas to implement large-scale city planning in Taiwan, Manchuria and Tokyo, [39] and expressed special appreciation to Goto as his lifelong benefactor for supporting his business and dream of becoming a politician. Tsurumi married Goto's daughter, supported the formation of the Tokyo Senators when professional baseball was established, and raised 100,000 yen for Shoriki, with which Shoriki bought the *Yomiuri Shimbun* from Seinosuke Go.

Also during the time he served as the director of the cabinet secretariat, Shoriki maintained a close relationship with Go, who organized the 'Koseikai House of Peers' faction together with Yoshiro Sakatani, who once served at the Finance Ministry and successively held chairman posts in various companies. [40] In addition, Shoriki organized a group called the 'Banchokai (Group of Leaders)' together with such young financial experts as Yoshinari Kawai, Ataru Kobayashi, Mamoru Nagano and Kunihiro Goto. (Kawai and Shoriki were classmates from junior high through university.) [41] Kawai later served as the manager of the Tokyo Stock Exchange following the advice of Go, then became the managing director of Japan China Life Insurance, worked in the General Affairs Bureau of Manchoukuo, became the deputy mayor of the city of Tokyo, a position in which Go was again closely related, and later on held the position of president at Komatsu Ltd.

Ataru Kobayashi became the president of Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. and then the president of Fukoku Life Insurance Company following the recommendation of Kaichiro Nezu. Nezu was involved in Nakajima Aircraft Industries Ltd. and Nisshin Milling Corporation. Kobayashi worked together with Shoriki, Munehide Tanabe and Keita Goto to construct a racetrack in Kawasaki. [42] Mamoru Nagano worked as a secretary for Eiichi Shibusawa, and then held director posts at Toyo Refineries Co. Ltd., Kanda Banking Corporation and Teijin Ltd. His younger brother, Shigeo, was one of the so-called *zaikai shitenno* (i.e., four leaders of financial circles, consisting of Ataru Kobayashi, Takeshi Sakurada, Naruo Mizuno and Shigeo) and became the president of Fuji Steel Corporation and the chairman of Shin-Nippon

Steel Corporation. Kunihiko Goto was the senior managing director of Keisei Electric Railway Co. Ltd.

Men of influence from financial circles were deeply involved in the aforementioned networks and were among the group of people invited by Shoriki to invest in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. They included Zenjiro Yasuda (Yasuda Bank Co. Ltd.), Kishichiro Okura (Imperial Hotel etc.) and Soichiro Asano (Asano Cement Co. Ltd.); all of whom had a very close relationship with Eiichi Shibusawa. Prominent figures in the electric and power generation industries were also among the investors. [43] All of the people involved were members of Shoriki's networks. Kaichiro Nezu, mentioned above, was also one of the investors.

Ryuji Suzuki gave the following comment regarding the establishment of a professional baseball league in Japan, with Shoriki as its central figure: 'The Tokyo Giants of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* have been organized under the support of individuals in financial circles such as Seinosuke Go, Ichizo Kobayashi and Kunihiko Goto. In essence, the Tokyo Giants were born based on the sponsorship of the main leaders in financial circles.' [44] The list of promoters involved in the establishment of the 'Tokyo Giants' (i.e., Dai-Nippon Baseball Club Co. Ltd.) includes names such as Jinnojo Hayashi, senior managing director of the Tokyo Bay Steamship Company, who worked with the *Yomiuri Shimbun* to develop a sightseeing boom for Oshima Island; Kunihiko Goto; and Yoshichiro Shimizu and Shoji Hayashi, both directors at Toshiba Corporation. It can be said without doubt that the establishment of professional baseball in Japan was supported by networks of financial leaders in which Shoriki was widely known and had great influence.

At the time of the establishment of the Nihon Shokugyo Yakyu Renmei (Japan Professional Baseball Association) in 1936, a total of six teams registered for participation. Shoriki, who believed that the prosperity of professional baseball was contingent upon having many teams to compete with one another, supported the establishment of the Tokyo Senators with the support of the House of Peers through Yoriyasu Arima, a central figure and man of influence in the house. The successful establishment of the 'Osaka Tigers', 'Hankyu', 'Nagoya' and 'Nagoya Golden Killers' teams in a short period of time was also due to the fact that Shoriki had close connections with Ichizo Kobayashi and people in newspaper circles, including the *New Aichi Shimbun* and *Nagoya Shimbun*. Additionally, in the autumn of the same year, Shoriki positively supported the establishment of the 'Tokyo Lions', which was promoted by governmental circles including strong support from the Metropolitan Police Department and the *Kokumin Shimbun*. [45]

In the post-war period, Shoriki organized a professional baseball game to which he invited the Emperor and Empress in 1959. This game added more fuel to the rising nationwide popularity of professional baseball. After that, Shoriki became a member of the House of Peers and then a member of the House of Representatives, and successively held the posts of chairman of the Nuclear Energy Committee and director of the Science and Technology Agency.

Conclusion – Cultural Histories of Baseball from 1910~30s and Football from 1980~90s in Japan

The establishment of a professional baseball league in Japan was closely related to city planning strategies that took advantage of the development of other industries such as the railway, department store and newspaper industries. The key individuals concerned with such strategies, Ichizo Kobayashi and Matsutaro Shoriki, attracted people to baseball, by planning various events through the print media in order to stimulate public interest. A look at their life stories and social contacts reveals that Japan's professional baseball league was established by virtue of human networks that extended across economic, political and governmental circles.

This same analysis of social contacts and human networks can also be used to document the cultural history of the leisure industry in Japan. Such power relationships often exist in the background; such as the strategies of the Seibu, Odakyu, Keio and Tobu railway companies. The concept also exerted a great amount of influence on Japan being invited to host the Winter Olympics and World Cup ski events.

The analysis could also be applied to the establishment of the J-League, the professional football association in Japan, the operation of which began in 1993. [46] Amid ongoing trends to develop mega-events such as the Olympics and FIFA World Cup as businesses, the relationships between media business, client business and sports organizations/federations have all been substantially systematized in the post-war era. The football culture has been developed into a large-scale global business based on such systematization. Under such conditions, how has Japan's professional football league been nurtured? What ideas did Saburo Kawabuchi (a central figure in Japanese football circles) have regarding the process utilized to establish a professional league? Different from the development described in this paper, there were visions of a professional league, and regulations and contractual provisions as prerequisites.

'*The J-League 100-year Plan*' is believed to be a very important document which guided the principles used to establish the professional football league in Japan. The original plan is revealed in a report from the Second Activation Committee (October 1988 – 13 March 1989), which was established to confirm and make tangible the ideas: [47]

1. To incorporate an organization (commercialize club operations);
2. To establish a franchise system (pursue the transformation from company teams to teams united with local residents and municipalities);
3. To ensure stadium availability (own a stadium with sufficient lighting equipment and seating capacity of 15,000 or more, or ensure the availability of such a stadium);
4. To establish a consistent training system with sub-organizations (consisting of under-18, under-15 and under-12 teams);

5. To maintain 18 or more professional players, and have managers and coaches obtain the Class-A licence;
6. To contribute to a portion of expenses (¥140,000,000 to be used for promotional activities to support the inauguration of the professional league and other expenses as necessary);
7. To abide by the instructions and decisions of the Japan Football Association.

As mentioned above, the document indicates that the J-League was initially planned to be an independent business organization from the beginning. Therefore the plan covered matters concerning uniform contracts on salaries, player transfers, matches played by best members every time, merchandising rights, broadcasting rights and J-League visual management and usage rights. There is no doubt that the plan's provisions were decided by referring to the contractual provisions of European football leagues and American professional sports leagues.

Regarding the process of establishing professional football in Japan, more detailed analyses and studies are required concerning business and private networks, and early research indicates that the focus should be on Saburo Kawabuchi as the central figure. However, in comparing the two professional leagues in Japan, baseball and football, large differences can be found between the two because of their different historical backgrounds. The professional league systems in Japan have been established thus far through human networks which involved various individuals from a wide range of economic, political and governmental circles. How will they change, and can they be maintained in the future? It is necessary to keep studying the historical changes in professional leagues amid the waves of economic turmoil and globalization. This is certainly a very important theme concerning the diffusion and acceptance of sports cultures.

Notes

- [1] Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism; The Games Ethics and Imperialism*; Bale and Maguire, *The Global Sports Arena*; Guttmann, *Games & Empires*; Eichberg, *Body Cultures*.
- [2] Bourdieu, 'Sport and Social Class'
- [3] Bourdieu, *La Distinction; Choses Dites*.
- [4] Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, 14.
- [5] Eichberg, 'Body Culture as Paradigm'; 'A Revolution of Body Culture?'; 'The Body as Identical'; 'Nationalism and the Culture of the Body'; *Body Cultures*. As for influence on Eichberg's thought, Allen Guttmann and others refer to Brownell, 'Thinking Dangerously'.
- [6] Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, 6.
- [7] *Ibid.*, 4.
- [8] *Ibid.*, 177.
- [9] *Ibid.*, 185.
- [10] Mandle and Mandle, *Grass Roots Commitment*.
- [11] *ibid.*, 20.
- [12] Cashman, 'Cricket and Colonialism', 261.
- [13] Bourdieu, *Choses Dites*, 209.

- [14] Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, 174.
- [15] Mangan, 'Asian Sport', 5–9.
- [16] Guttmann and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*; 'Educators, Imitators, Modernizers'.
- [17] Irie, *Showa Supōtsushi Ron; Taisho Jiyu Taiiku no Kenkyu*; Kozu, *Nihon Kindai Supōtsushi no Teiryu*; Sakaue, *Kenryoku Sochi toshiteno Supōtsu*; Tsuganezawa, *Kindai Nihon no Media Ibento*; Furukawa, *Koki, Banpaku, Orinpikku*; Collins, *The 1940 Tokyo Games*; Shimizu, 'Synchronizing Body States'; Sakaue and Takaoka, *Maboroshi no Tokyo Orinpikku to sono Jidai*.
- [18] Yoshimi *et al.*, *Undokai to Nihon Kindai*, 8–53.
- [19] Kimura, *Nihon Supōtsu Bunkashi*.
- [20] Kiku, 'The Japanese Baseball Spirit and Professional Ideology'. For studies on baseball culture in Japan written in English, refer to Whiting, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat; You've Gotta Have Wa; The Meaning of Ichiro*; Moeran, 'Individual, Group and Seishin'; Guthrie-Shimizu, 'For Love of the Game'; Kelly, *Fanning the Flames*; 'Japan'; Gordon, 'Japan'.
- [21] Yokota and Aizu, *Kaidanji Oshikawa Shunro*; Yokota, 'Tengu Kurabu' *Kaiketsuden*.
- [22] Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 89.
- [23] Mangan, 'Asian Sport', 5–9.
- [24] Yamaguchi, 'Zasetsu' *no Showashi*; 'Haisha' *no Seishinshi*.
- [25] Eichberg, 'The Narrative, The Situational, The Biographical'.
- [26] Shimizu, 'The Body Envisioned by Jigoro Kano'.
- [27] Yoshizo Takayama graduated from Kumamoto Prefecture Fifth Junior High/High School and became a lawyer and then the mayor of Kyoto City. Sakutaro Konishi graduated from the Kyoto Third Junior High/High School and became a baseball umpire for the First National Junior High/High School Baseball Tournament and then a director at Asahi Shimbun Company.
- [28] Takayama, 'Taikai no Yurai', 122–3.
- [29] Tamura, 'Tanjo made', 99.
- [30] Kobayashi, *Itsuo Jijyoden*, 40.
- [31] Yamaguchi, 'Haisha' *no Seishinshi*, 14–29, 35–39, 43–56.
- [32] Hankyu Dentetsu Kabushikigaisha, *75 nen no Ayumi: Kijutsu hen*, 8–15; *75 nen no Ayumi: Shashin hen*, 4–14.
- [33] Hankyu Dentetsu Kabushikigaisha, *75 nen no Ayumi: Kijutsu hen*, 25–8. Shimizu, *Koshien Yakyu no Arukeoroji*, 200–6.
- [34] Mitarai, *Denki Shoriki Matsutaro*, 131–77.
- [35] *Ibid.*, 207–15.
- [36] *Ibid.*, 217.
- [37] *Ibid.*, 218–224. Sano, *Kyokaiden*, 210–20.
- [38] Mitarai, *Denki Shoriki Matsutaro*, 66–9.
- [39] *Ibid.*, 123–8.
- [40] Yoshiro Sakatani's wife was the second daughter of Eiichi Shibusawa, and his first son, Kiichi, married the first daughter of Yataro Mishima, former president of the Bank of Japan. Yataro Mishima was the first son of Michitsune Mishima, former commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Department.
- [41] Mitarai, *Denki Shoriki Matsutaro*, 120–5, 192–3. Noda, *Ningen-Go Seinosuke*, 128–32.
- [42] Munehide Tanabe held a position at Tokyo Dento Co. Ltd. and became the president of Korakuen Stadium (home stadium of Shoriki's Tokyo Yomiuri Giants) following the advice of Ichizo Kobayashi.
- [43] The investors included people such as Jiro Masuda (Shinpei Goto's secretary and the first president of the Japan Electric Generation and Transmission Company), Kisaburo Yamaguchi (later became the first president of Toshiba Corporation), Kunizo Hara (Tokyo Gas Co. Ltd,

Tobu Railway Co., Ltd., president of Meiji Sugar Manufacturing Co. Ltd., first president of Metropolitan Transportation Corporation, first president of the Power Development Organization), Yasuzaemon Matsunaga (who oversaw the top management of Kyushu Electric Power Co. Inc and Chubu Electric Power Co. Inc and called the 'Power Demon').

- [44] Suzuki, *Suzuki Ryuji Kaikoroku*, 11.
[45] Mitarai, *Denki Shoriki Matsutaro*, 224–8; Sano, *Kyokaiden*, 273–80.
[46] From the viewpoint of consumption, refer to Watts, 'Soccer Shinhatsubai'.
[47] Kawabuchi, *Niji wo tsukamu*, 86–91.

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