The Development of Department Stores in Japan: 1900s–1930s

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Introduction

The department store was the first modern retailer not only for Western countries, but also for Japan. With the growth of modern cities and the industrial revolution, the department store innovated retail management. Le Bon Marché, a pioneer among department stores, introduced revolutionary managerial strategies in 1852, including the approach of using a small markup with a high volume of sales and more rapid turnover, fixed prices, free entrance, and the acceptance of returned goods.\(^1\) Two decades later, Wanamaker’s, a leading American department store, triggered a retail revolution in 1874 by introducing full guarantees, fixed prices, cash payments, and cash returns.\(^2\) After introducing these innovations, the industrialization of department stores increased with regional development, the utilization of capital, and patterns of employment.\(^3\)

Business historians have completed previous studies in this area, focusing primarily on the individual history of these innovative retailers and stressing their innovation, entrepreneurship, and economic

development. Other studies have concentrated on the social history of department stores and their creation of an entirely new form of consumption. Upon seeing Le Bon Marché and Les Grand Magasins du Louvre, Émile Zola famously described Parisian department stores as “cathedrals of modern commerce.” It was a dream world where customers could enjoy the marvelous spectacle of luxury goods on display. Michael Miller described how Le Bon Marché shaped the bourgeois way of life. The glamorous image of Le Bon Marché that spread to the middle-class masses was not simply drawn from the values and habits of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie, however. In the United States, William Leach highlighted the new culture of consumer capitalism, the collaboration between economic and non-economic institutions, and the growth of a new class of broker.

These studies suggest that the development of department stores was influenced not only by economic factors but also by the new culture of consumption. As Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain observed, department stores differed from traditional retailers in their levels of capitalization, the diversity of their merchandise, their sales methods, and their structures and styles of management, in addition to their social functions as “cathedrals of commerce”. These elements were evident on an individual basis in earlier stores, but gathering them all together constituted a major step in the evolution of European retailing. In this sense, department stores were hubs of innovation in modern history.

However, not all department stores came into the market under the same conditions as those in developed Western countries. Japan, for

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5. For example, see Bill Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995) on Fenwick.
example, was a developing country when its first department stores appeared, and it did not complete its process of industrialization until the 1900s. Japanese retailers lagged about half a century behind those in the West and sought to catch up with them. The transformations of Japanese retailers into department stores followed different paths from Western department stores, however. Japanese department stores had to break out of the traditional retailer mold through the introduction of two key innovations. One was the modernization of retailers alongside the physical transformation of the retail outlet from a dry goods store format to a department store format. The other was the westernization of retailers and their customers’ lifestyles, which were heavily influenced by the pro-Western political standpoint of the Japanese government at the time. These two factors then combined, through an assimilation of the Western retail model, to trigger the birth of a new entity: the Japanese department store.

Department stores developed in tandem with the progression of Japanese industrialization, gradually adopting a new retail management system and an advanced production system, organizing a supply chain of Western products, introducing sales innovations, and creating a new shopping culture. These changes represented not only a revolution of retailers but also of society and of the economy in Japan. This paper will shed light on the different processes that led to the retail innovations adopted by Japanese department stores between the 1900s and the 1930s, through the investigations of Mitsukoshi, Matsuzakaya, and Takashimaya, which were leading department stores at the time.

I. The Birth of Retail Modernization

The dry goods store, the predecessor of the department store in Japan, was a fashionable and prestigious store that dealt in silk draperies. It catered exclusively for the upper classes and wealthy people, who were able to buy the expensive silk draperies; these were the only people permitted to enter the store, and it was mainly men, rather than women or children, who did so. Other people could not look at the goods outside a store to be tempted inside, because there were no window displays; all that could be seen were curtains, which were hung to obscure the front of the store. Originated by Mitsukoshi in 1673, these traditional Japanese dry goods stores nevertheless introduced some innovative sales techniques,
such as cash payments and fixed-price policies.\textsuperscript{11} This was much earlier than in the West, where these measures were not introduced until the mid-nineteenth century. However, Mitsukoshi had not yet begun to develop the department store; this concept would have been very difficult to implement, considering the restrictive nature of business transactions at the time.

Business at the dry goods stores always took place in an exclusive space, and customers could purchase goods only under tightly regulated conditions: they would never enter a store without a clear intention of making a purchase, nor would they ever browse the store by themselves. In fact, it was difficult to know exactly what kinds of products were for sale and how many were available, as the goods were not displayed at all, but remained out of sight in a back room. Once inside, customers would inform the clerk of their requirements, and the clerk would use his own knowledge and expertise to select and fetch items that satisfied the customer’s needs. Clerks took great pride in their work, as they were incredibly knowledgeable about the products they sold and were highly adept at providing their customers with exactly what they were looking for.

This prohibitive form of shopping was forever transformed when Mitsukoshi’s Nihonbashi branch was refurbished in 1895 and completely converted into a sales area with display cases in 1900. Sample patterns for new silk draperies were displayed in showcases and rotated regularly to attract customers and encourage them to enter the store. For the first time in Japan, customers were able to view products freely. Customers (including women and children) were invited to browse the store and inspect the product displays at their leisure, and were given complete freedom to select products without being disturbed by clerks. Retailers had the opportunity to increase customer demand through marketing techniques such as point-of-sale advertisements and shop window displays. Customer demand was stimulated through their being able to view a wide range of products and seeing the latest fashions on display. This style of store naturally attracted a vast amount of potential customers, as well as paying customers. As a result, dry goods stores were able to offer their customers an entirely new, liberating, and enjoyable shopping experience.

\textsuperscript{11} Mitsukoshi, Kabushikigaisha Mitsukoshi 100-nen no kiroku [Mitsukoshi: A 100-year history] (Tokyo: Mitsukoshi, 2005), 24–25.
Mitsukoshi had good reason to introduce this new strategy, since profits had sharply declined toward the end of the nineteenth century due to the Meiji Restoration. During this time Japan became more outward-looking, and this led to the demise of the Samurai Class, who were Mitsukoshi’s greatest patrons. In 1895 a Mitsui Bank manager, who had studied at an American business school, was transferred to Mitsukoshi in order to restructure the company. He introduced some sales innovations common among American department stores, such as Western-style double-entry bookkeeping and point-of-sale displays, and specifically followed Wanamaker’s business model.\textsuperscript{12} Then, in 1904 Mitsukoshi decided to transform itself completely into a Western-style department store, which it had seen examples of in the West. This decision became a formal declaration of its intention to make this transformation, and was announced in newspapers in 1905; it came to be known as the “Mitsukoshi’s department store declaration.”\textsuperscript{13}

While Mitsui Bank sent new professional managers to Mitsukoshi to implement its transformation into a department store, Takashimaya and other dry goods stores had to rely on their own motivation to make the necessary changes. It was more difficult for them to make the decision to become a department store and convert their business format to that of a department store. However, they needed to modernize their stores if they wanted to remain competitive with Mitsukoshi, whose development of new sales strategies was working well. Their best option was therefore to take the plunge and follow Mitsukoshi’s successful model.\textsuperscript{14}

After Mitsukoshi, two other established dry goods stores, Matsuzakaya and Takashimaya, also sent managers to the West to learn about modern retailing and advanced technology from Western department stores and other retailers. Matsuzakaya dispatched one of its founding family members (who later became the managing director of its first department store) to the United States in 1909 in order to expand his own store’s merchandise to include household goods, haberdashery, and cosmetics in addition to silk draperies. The new department store in Matsuzakaya was completed the following year, having already started to modernize its

\textsuperscript{12} Takahashi Yoshio, \textit{Hōki no ato} [After sweeping] (Tokyo: Shuhouen, 1933), 251–254.
\textsuperscript{13} This announcement had some press coverage on January 3, 1905; see, for example, Osaka Asahi Shimbun.
business model.15 Similarly, a grandson of the founder of Takashimaya traveled to Europe in 1889 to learn about the latest textile technology at the Universal Exposition in Paris and visit the newest department stores in Paris and London. This knowledge allowed Takashimaya to develop its textile skills to create higher-quality fabrics for its silk draperies. Takashimaya’s new textiles were displayed in subsequent world expositions, and their unique styles and designs were very appealing to Western consumers. Japonism soon became popular and regular trade between Takashimaya and the West was firmly established. In 1907, the Takashimaya Osaka branch went on to introduce a modern Western-style sales display that was inspired by the Universal Expositions in the 1880s and 1890s.16

Retail innovation began with Mitsukoshi encouraging its Japanese customers’ shopping habits. In their original format amidst a strongly patriarchal society, the main customers of traditional dry goods stores were men, who did not particularly enjoy shopping. After sales displays were adopted, every customer (male or female) was able to purchase a product at a fixed price, without having to bargain for it. Customers were free to leave the store if they did not find anything they wanted; they often purchased attractive goods they saw on display, even if they had come into the store without intending to buy anything. Customers gradually realized the pleasure of shopping, and in this new modern era women and younger customers eventually outnumbered male customers, signifying changing roles within the family and in the social division of labor in Japan.

II. The Establishment of the Department Store

When dry goods stores started the process of transforming themselves into department stores and received a good response from customers to their new sales methods, they reformed the standard corporate structure from a family-owned business to a modern organization, a limited company, to develop it further. In this way, they were able to go public and sell stocks, thereby receiving huge cash infusions that they applied

toward erecting new Western-style buildings for their new department stores. Mitsukoshi converted its organization into a limited company in 1904 and then built a new six-story Renaissance-style building (including one subterranean level) with a sales area of 13,210 m² as its anchor store in Nihonbashi, Tokyo, in 1913. The store was a showcase of the latest Western technology, boasting everything from elevators, heating, and ventilation to a sprinkler system in case of fire and Japan’s very first escalators. In addition to its grand main entrance and impressive five-story-high central hall, the Mitsukoshi store also had a roof garden and tea ceremony room. Takashimaya similarly became a limited company in 1919 and built a new eight-story Gothic-style anchor store in 1922 (also including one subterranean level) in Nagahori, Osaka, with a sales area of 10,000 m². These two stores were extremely modern and highly fashionable with Western-style façades and the latest department store technological features; these new department stores marked Japan’s first step into the world of modern retail. Japanese customers were very excited to be in these luxurious new atmospheres, which provided many shoppers with their first experiences of Western-style buildings and technology.

During this time, the leading retailers modernized not only their corporate structures but also their management structures and personnel systems. Before Mitsukoshi transformed into a modern limited company, went public, and sold stocks in 1904, it had maintained a traditional system of clerk apprenticeship where all employees, including the most senior managers, had begun their careers at the very lowest level clerk. When professional managers from Mitsui Bank were brought in to reform Mitsukoshi, however, they felt that the apprenticeship system was too old to transform and therefore introduced a completely new personnel system under which Mitsukoshi would hire staff according to their education and competence. In 1895, the first successful candidates who had graduated from university or business school began to be appointed directly to positions of responsibility within the store. In 1900, Mitsukoshi then began to hire female employees, with a total of 26 female clerks employed by 1903, whose training was very strict. This female recruitment was revolutionary in Japanese society at the time, as women had not traditionally been part of the workforce in Japan.

Mitsukoshi also modified the clerks’ training program, which had adhered to the Japanese tradition of housing trainee clerks in dormitory-
style rooms at the store, where they slept communally after long days at work: from 1910 onward, these dormitories were located off-site, and trainee clerks had to commute to the store each day. Takashimaya also changed its personnel systems at its Kyoto branch in 1909, its Osaka branch in 1914, and its Tokyo branch in 1916 by building off-site dormitories for its employees to commute from. Furthermore, its trading division separated its business from Takashimaya in 1916, and the division of these roles was formally clarified when the latter offered its stocks and shares to the public as a limited company in 1919. All of Takashimaya’s store managers were members of its founding family, although they expanded this sense of “family loyalty” by gradually providing more and more services to its staff, such as introducing a medical office to monitor employee health at its Osaka branch in 1925.

Japanese department stores thus introduced new sales innovations and developed their management structures. This process of becoming a modern retailer, also undergone by Western department stores, was crucial for the development of the department store. Department stores in the West furthermore succeeded in expanding the range of their merchandise, which enabled ‘one-stop shopping’ at these stores. In addition to introducing a low-profit-margin, high-turnover model that resulted in an increased volume of sales, this diversification into new lines of products to cater for a mass market boosted their sales even further. Although Japanese department stores also adopted a diversification strategy, this process proved to be very different in Japan.

III. Diversity of Merchandise in Japanese Department Stores

Japan’s new department stores needed to provide a much wider range of merchandise than before to fill their spacious sales floors. Western department stores had been through a similar process: Le Bon Marché, for example, had two avenues of diversification. The first was through the expansion of existing dry goods and clothing lines: in the 1860s, Le Bon Marché added a ready-to-wear department that was initially only for cloaks and overcoats; it then expanded its menswear lines such as shirts and ties substantially and later introduced a children’s section in the 1870s. The second was through the expansion of new product lines: in the 1850s,
the store introduced beds; in the 1860s, products included rugs, umbrellas, hairbrushes, stationery, and ribbons; and in the 1870s, it added tables and chairs and created a travel-goods counter and a perfume department.

Japanese department stores also diversified their merchandise after incorporating the new display format into their converted sales areas. When Takashimaya renovated its Osaka branch in 1907 into a modern style, for example, the store commenced dealing in cosmetics, imported clothes, and a wide variety of household goods in addition to silk draperies. It also expanded into accessories such as kimono belts and Japanese pouches. The store imported all of its European products, including bags, blankets, cameras, shirts, shoes, and socks, from Britannia plc (a British trading company) through Takashimaya’s own trading company and thereby attracted upper-middle-class customers.

However, it was not always easy for these Japanese retailers to maintain such a diversity of merchandise. At first, expanding their lines of products was difficult, as they needed to expand their merchandise to include Western products in order to meet the new demand from the upper-middle classes. However, when Japanese retailers started importing these Western products, staff soon began to notice an overflow of clothing stock, due to a lack of consideration about the differences between Japanese and Western body sizes. They therefore subsequently reduced their imports of Western merchandise that was difficult to sell in Japan.\(^{18}\) Although demand for Western products was increasing, it was unrealistic to import so many products. The issue of body size was just one problem; more crucial were the differences in lifestyle between the two completely contrasting cultures of the East and the West. Western products simply did not fit into the Japanese way of life without some sort of modification. Furthermore, Japan’s production system was not sophisticated enough to handle such large quantities of high-quality manufactured products. Japanese retailers therefore ended up having to create Western-style merchandise themselves.

To establish its own production systems, Mitsukoshi hired Western clothing manufacturing staff in 1906 to create clothing that would better fit Japanese customers. It also started to sell private labels of eau de cologne in 1917 and of refrigerators and butter in 1918, which were produced by its associated manufacturers in Japan. Takashimaya’s managers went to

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Europe with their manufacturers to inspect Western goods at expositions in Vienna, London, and Paris, and they learned Western engineering and production skills from European manufacturers that would enable them to create their own merchandise. They also procured Western materials and machinery, such as looms, through their trading companies, and then supported their associated manufacturers in their efforts to develop Western products. This management of the wide-ranging merchandise required a new distribution system, a need that spurred the modernization of these related industries.

In addition to modifying Western products for the Japanese market, Japanese department stores also worked to encourage consumers to begin adapting to Western products. Aiming to enhance the Japanese understanding of Western lifestyles, they hosted many events at their stores, such as the Western furniture show at Takashimaya in 1922 and the American doll exhibition at Mitsukoshi in 1927. Through these efforts, the stores provided plenty of information about the Western lifestyle and showed how Japanese consumers could modify their own lifestyles to be more Western and thereby achieve more convenient, comfortable life. The Japanese market responded very positively to this strategy and began to demand new types of products in addition to the products already available. For example, department stores started out selling decorative goods such as tablecloths, but their customers eventually expressed needs for sets of Western-style tables and chairs to go with the tablecloths. Stores discovered that if their customers accepted one product, they would then quickly accept other products, making it possible for the department stores to succeed in their goal of diversification.

When Japanese department stores first began diversifying their product lines, many of them understood little about merchandising and sourcing, and so most of the sales in their stores were initially for silk draperies. By 1931, however, Takashimaya’s sales in new lines such as accessories, bags, cosmetics, shoes, and household goods had grown to 32 percent compared with the sales of silk draperies, which stood at 42.3 percent.\(^19\) Japanese department stores had accomplished a major diversification of their merchandise with Western products before the onset of the Second World War. Both Western and Japanese department stores had striven

\(^{19}\) Fujioka, *Hyakkaten* [The development of department], 90–91.
to expand their merchandise for further development, but the fact that Japanese department stores had to westernize their customers’ lifestyles and build their own production systems first marked a massive difference between the approaches in the West and in Japan. The reason that Japanese department stores were able to achieve such tremendous development between 1900 and 1930 was because this strategy of westernizing and modernizing Japanese culture worked extremely well.

IV. Quantitative Expansion since the 1920s

Having transformed their retail businesses into department stores, Mitsukoshi and Matsuzakaya increased their sales and expanded their workforces, as shown in Figures 1 and 2. When Mitsukoshi announced its intention to transform into a department store in 1905, its gross profit was 537,000 yen; this increased to 1,689,000 yen in 1910, 2,365,000 yen in 1915, 9,604,000 yen in 1920, and 14,000,000 yen in 1930. Mitsukoshi’s number of employees also increased from 323 in 1905 to 1,407 in 1910, 5,101 in 1925, and 8,464 in 1935. The main reason for this steady increase in sales and employees was the great success of its new building in Nihonbashi, Tokyo, which was an extremely modern and thoroughly Western-style department store. Mitsukoshi went on to establish more of these stores in other big cities such as Osaka in 1907, Kobe in 1920, Shinjuku in 1925, Dalian (China) and Seoul (Korea) in 1929, and Ginza in 1930.

Similarly, Matsuzakaya had 147 employees in 1900, which increased to 233 in 1910 after it built its new flagship store in Nagoya; when Matsuzakaya renovated its branch in Ueno, Tokyo, into a Western-style building in 1916, the number of employees increased rapidly to 1,764 employees by 1922. Its sales also increased by a factor of 1,419 between 1914 and 1922. Matsuzakaya then refurbished its Osaka branch in 1923, and these new stores in big cities became the driving force behind booming sales, as shown in Figure 2.

New department stores soon also became common in smaller cities. Yamagataya opened its store in Kagoshima in 1916; Tenmaya launched its store in Okayama in 1918; and Tanakamaru transformed into a department store in Sasebo, Nagasaki, in 1920. The department stores were the only Western-style buildings in these cities and were very difficult to construct
Figure 1: Mitsukoshi’s Development between 1905 and 1940

Note: There are no data about the number of employees in 1906, 1909, 1916, and 1920. Source: Mitsukoshi, 100-nen no kiroku, 380–384.

Figure 2: Matsuzakaya’s Increasing Sales between 1916 and 1930

due to Japanese inexperience of Western building techniques; builders had to import all the elevators and shelves from European countries as no local firms had the expertise to manufacture these items. Everything was new to customers when these department stores opened, and it was an exciting experience for shoppers to visit such a store and walk around buying new products that they had never seen before. As a result, department stores became tourist attractions for visitors and residents in these cities.

When these new Western-style department stores first opened, they introduced innovative sale methods and expanded their merchandise to include Western products. The first waves of shoppers were mainly upper and upper-middle-class consumers because the products on sale were largely exclusive and expensive. When the Great Kanto Earthquake struck in 1923, however, the business model of Japanese department stores changed dramatically. The earthquake and subsequent large-scale fires inflicted catastrophic damage on department stores in Tokyo: Mitsukoshi’s, Matsuzakaya’s, and Takashimaya’s stores were completely burned down. Matsuzakaya and Takashimaya had located their main stores in other cities, so they were able to transport vital goods from these stores to Tokyo to provide relief to the devastated city population. They sold essentials such as soap, basic clothing, dishes, cans of food, and rice at temporary stores that were erected for this purpose. Soon Mitsukoshi also began to ship essentials from its Osaka branch to sell at a temporary store in Tokyo.

This triggered a new strategy for department stores whereby they began to target a wider, lower economic class of consumer than before. After the Great Kanto Earthquake, stores expanded their scope to cater for middle-class consumers through their sales of food and other essential items. The incomes of these new middle-class consumers had steadily increased during Japan’s period of industrialization, and this combination of factors therefore prompted the popularization of department stores and the beginning of mass consumption in Japan.

In 1924, Matsuzakaya opened a new store in Ginza, Tokyo, which was a symbol of recovery from the earthquake for the people of Tokyo and which also introduced a new entrance policy.20 Many of the streets in Japan at the time were still unpaved, so all stores asked customers to remove or cover their shoes at the entrance in order to prevent the floor from getting

dirty. However, Matsuzakaya decided to allow its customers to enter in their own shoes in order to avoid inconveniencing shoppers at the door and thereby draw more people in. This strategy worked, and many more customers began to visit Matsuzakaya’s stores; when other department stores followed suit and quickly adopted the Matsuzakaya concept, they then needed to expand their infrastructures to meet the demands of this new mass market.

In addition to the department store format that evolved from dry goods stores, a uniquely Japanese type of department store also emerged. After an initial trial in Osaka in 1925, the Hankyu department store was firmly established in 1929. It mainly sold food, toys, books, household goods, cosmetics, stationery, shoes, and silk draperies, all of which were slightly cheaper and more practical than the more fashionable products sold at Mitsukoshi, Matsuzakaya, and Takashimaya.21 The real uniqueness of the Hankyu department store approach, however, was in its location: while other department stores were located on main streets in city centers, Hankyu department stores were located at major train station terminals. Their target customers were urban commuters traveling to and from work between the city center and its outskirts. The founder of Hankyu had shrewdly anticipated that locating stores at train terminals would eliminate the need for advertisement of any kind, since the potential customers were already there; indeed, the slightly lower prices and convenient locations of these department stores proved to be very popular with customers, and Hankyu’s success grew rapidly.22 Keen to take advantage of this newly discovered market, other department stores soon began to open at train station terminals: Takashimaya launched its new store in Osaka in 1930, Toyoko opened its first store in Shibuya in 1934, and Iwataya established its store in Fukuoka in 1936.

In this way, department stores developed and spread throughout Japan. The first and biggest step in the development of Japanese department stores came in the period from 1900 to 1930, during which they improved their methods of retailing and realized qualitative and quantitative expansion.

Although this rapid development created numerous problems for small, traditional retailers, it contributed greatly to the modernization of Japanese retailing and the westernization of Japanese life.

**Conclusion**

The qualitative and quantitative expansion of department stores brought the modernization and industrialization of retailing to Japan. Department stores developed their sales techniques and expanded the size of their individual stores’ sales areas, the number of stores, and their target market to include a broader, lower economic class of consumer. However, department stores had an extremely negative impact on small retailers due to their increasing purchasing power; they even affected retailers in cities where there were no department stores because customers could mail-order department store products or purchase them from travelling sales representatives, who rented public or private venues as temporary sales spaces. As a result, the sales share of Japanese department stores grew to 32 percent of all retail sales in the Tokyo metropolitan area by 1930, while the share of the number of department stores was just 0.03 percent. The government subsequently devised a policy in 1937 to control the amount of new store openings and to limit the development of department stores.

By that time, Japanese department stores had become truly modern, large-scale retailers. They had grown powerful for several reasons: they had forged a supply chain with manufacturers that created new Western-style products, implemented sales innovations to catch up with Western department stores, and introduced Japanese consumers to the Western lifestyle, teaching them how to adapt their traditional ways of life to become more modern and fashionable. In other words, department stores in Japan had not developed purely by themselves, but had needed the collaboration of manufacturers and customers; this process represented not only the economic development of the modernization of retailing but also, importantly, the westernization of Japan itself. This was the major difference between the development of department stores in Japan and the West.

By examining the development of three large department stores in Japan, we can gain a deeper understanding of how these stores contributed to the modernization and industrialization of retailing. One such store is Wako, which was founded in 1907 as a small family business but quickly grew to become one of Japan’s leading department stores. Wako’s success was due in part to its innovative sales techniques, which included the introduction of “branch stores” and the development of a robust distribution network. Another store, Yurakucho Department Store, was established in 1913 and quickly became known for its high-end fashion and cosmetics departments. The third store, Mitsukoshi Department Store, was founded in 1873 and is considered one of the oldest and most prestigious department stores in Japan. Mitsukoshi’s success was due in part to its strong relationship with manufacturers and its ability to offer a wide variety of Western-style products.

Japan, this study emphasizes the strong impact that the stores had on Japan’s economic and social development, specifically in terms of building Western-style clothing and constructing industries, and changing the lifestyle and shopping habits of its consumers into more Western modes; this topic has rarely been the subject of studies in this field, which tends to focus on Western department stores. From this perspective, further research is still needed to analyze the role of department stores in the industrialization and urbanization of Japan: specifically, how department stores fueled the growth of other westernized and modernized industries such as cosmetics and furniture, which went on to implement innovations gradually and develop their industries based on the advancement of department stores, between 1900 and 1930. Although the main focus of this paper was on department stores located in large cities in Japan, department stores in smaller cities also contributed to industrial development and modernization. Both of these areas will be the topics of forthcoming works.

**Bibliography**


