TOKUGAWA PERIOD

Kikuo Noguchi wrote *Industrial History of Kyūshū* in the Kinsei (Tokugawa) period. This work was compiled by friends of the author, who died in 1985 at the age of 56. The book mainly contains the articles written in the later years of the author. The most recent article in the book was written in 1984. As the title implies, this work does not confine itself to business history alone, but "Management of Salt Sields by the Merchant and Landlord House of Ishimoto," and "The Business Activities of the Merchant House Hirose of Hida," and "The Business Activities of the Merchant House Mori of Hida" are good case studies on the history of commercial management in the Kinsei period. These were all published in journals before 1976.

Osamu Saitō's *The World of the Merchant House, The World of the Back Alleys* is mainly based on the three articles which the author wrote from 1985 to 1986. This book should be highly...

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1 *Kinsei Kyūshū sangyōshi kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan).
2 "Shōnin jinushi Ishimoto-ke no shio-hama keiei."
3 "Hida shōnin Hirose-ke no keiei."
4 "Hida shōnin Mori-ke no keiei."
praised because it presents a new perspective and also raised new questions. This book, subtitled "A Comparative Urban History of Edo and Osaka," concerns "the place and function of indentured labor (hökōnin) in society and in the life cycle of individuals before the modern period (kindai)." It clarifies that indentured labor in Edo was being employed under shorter term contracts and was moving towards day labor, while in Osaka its employment was becoming more widespread and terms were also lengthening. Saitō further suggests that the former tendency was part of a movement towards making labor incidental and temporary, while the essence of the latter movement was the formation of an internal labor market within the merchant houses. Stimulated by Kazuo Koike's arguments on the internal promotion of modern enterprise, Saitō claims that Koike's internal labor market thesis is particularly applicable to the servants of merchant houses who were in effect white collar workers, and that it is not without reason that the internal labor market appeared first among the merchant house labor of the Tokugawa period. In addition, he emphasizes that the "newness of the 'uniquely Japanese' employment system which was developed in the 1920s" was the newness resulting from "the internalization of blue-collar labor." Using the historical demography approach, this work provides a sharp spur to the field of business history on the continuity and discontinuity in employment systems.

Sumitomo, one of the large Japanese enterprises which typifies Japan from Tokugawa days to the present, has not facilitated the use of its historical records by outsiders, unlike Mitsui. But Teruaki Sueoka, staff member of the Sumitomo Historical Records Office, has published "The Establishment and Management

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5 Shōke no sekai, uradana no sekai (Riburopōto). Yasuoka Shigeaki writes a review of this book, "Indentured Servants of Merchant Houses and the Composition of Urban Population" [Shōke hökōnin seido to toshi no jinkō kōsei], Dōshisha shōgaku [Dōshisha Business Review], Dōshisha University, vol. 40, no.5.
of the Edo Money Exchange of Sumitomo in the Late Tokugawa Period\(^6\) as the twenty-first folio of the Izumiya Collection. It attempts to clarify the real nature of the business and management of Sumitomo’s Money Exchange at Chūbashi in Edo. The exchange became the main exchange only three years after its establishment in 1805 (Bunka 2), when Edo emerged the center of circulation of goods. It grew quickly and had the second largest number of staff of all exchanges at one time. With the author’s explanatory notes and documentary materials related to the Sumitomo and the Edo money exchanges, amounted to 135 pages, this work will be welcomed as indispensable to research on Sumitomo and the Edo money exchange.

In “The Commercial Loan Business of Sumitomo in the Tokugawa Period,”\(^7\) Mataji Miyamoto uses the historical documents kept by the Sumitomo family but not being available until today and reports on the financing of the House of Hōtensuke Gotō. In contrast to the above two works, Juichi Nakase’s “The Beginnings of Internal Conflicts and Managerial Politics in the Formative Years of the Sumitomo Zaibatsu”\(^8\) is based on both materials known to the academic world and the most advanced research. Stimulated by the as-yet-untranslated *magnum opus* of Assistant Professor Sutyagina of Moscow University, The Sumitomo Group, Nakase tries to “clarify the facts and realities by rectifying the shortcomings and inaccuracies” in previous research on the House Reforms by Tomotoshi Sumitomo. Nakase concludes that “the oie-sōdō (internal conflicts) of Sumitomo reveals its corruption and conservatism as a privileged merchant house, closely connected with the Baku-han system symbolized

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\(^6\) *Kinsei kōki Sumitomo Edo ryōgae-ten no sōgyō to keiei* (Sumitomo Historical Records Office).


\(^8\) “Sumitomo Zaibatsu genryū-ki ni okeru ‘Oie-sōdō’ to bantō seiji no seiritsu,” *Shōgaku ronshū* [Journal of Commerce], Chūō University, vol. 52, nos 1-4.
by the politics of bribery and corruption, and discloses the parasitism as well as extravagance, resulting from being delayed in its transformation into genuine industrial capital in spite of the accumulation of wealth by exploiting peasants and serf-like laborers.

Shigeaki Yasuoka's "Inheritance of Capital among Tokugawa Merchants and their Shihainin (Managers) System" focuses more directly on the subject of the business history itself and attempts to derive general concepts from the reality. In order to conceptualize the characteristics of large merchant houses of the Tokugawa period in as many aspects as possible, this work studies the significance of the inheritance of capital, the nature of ownership of capital, business management by employed managers, the training and treatment of managers and the creation of branches under the name of other houses. The upper stratum of the management employed by the merchant houses, such as bantō, shihainin, and motojime, were the nominal owners of shops but actually managed their business, and sometimes selected its heirs. With the heads and families of the merchant houses who relied on them, the upper stratum of management formed a group and managed those houses as family entities. In spite of his arguments, Yasuoka admits that there are many subjects for further research on the significance of the shihainin (managers) system, branches under the name of alternate houses (bekke) and such matters.

The above-mentioned research of Yasuoka deals with the large merchant houses of the so-called three major metropolises. As for the articles dealing with local merchants, we can list Jinzō Fukai's "The Creation of Alternate House and the Employment Practices of a Merchant House of Daishōji in the Later Tokugawa Period," Masahiro Uemura's "The Organization of Ōmi Merchants in the Villages: The Case of Yanagigawa Village,

9 "Kinsei shōke no shihon keishō to shihainin seido," Dōshisha shōgaku, vol. 39, nos. 2 and 3.
10 "Bakumatsu-ki, Daishōji ichi shōke no hōkōnin kōyō to bekke toritate,"
Aichi District, Ōmi Province,"¹¹ and Yōko Takeno's "Problems on the Weaving Rights in Hakata."¹²

Continuities and discontinuity in the social fabric are inevitably become problems in many aspects, not confining to the employment system discussed by Saitō, because Japan was a late-comer in capitalist countries.

Looking at the origins of the cooperative form of enterprise in his "A Survey of the Origins of the Japanese Company System,"¹³ Shigeaki Yasuoka claims that attention should be paid to the fact that among Japanese merchant houses there was a limited responsibility system, making use of the family system and family registration system. This point was raised earlier by his magnum opus, Research in the formative history of the zaibatsu (Zaibatsu keisei shi no kenkyū), but it has not gained much attention from scholars. This is deplorable for the present author as well as Yasuoka. In his article, Yasuoka argues even more important points which we should develop further. He says that "after the middle of the Edo (Tokugawa) period, the big merchants grasped the economic reins of power in the cities, but they did not gain the right of autonomy like those in the autonomous cities of Europe." Because the big merchants were politically powerless, they were obliged to rely on confidentiality and, although there had been great progress in forms of management and book-keeping, this resulted in a situation in which leaders of the Meiji government and enlightened men like Fukuzawa were unaware of the fact.

When we compare Japan with foreign countries, in particular

¹¹ "Ômi shōnin no zaison keitai: Ômi kuni Aichi-gun Yanagigawa-mura no bāi," Kenkyū kiyō, Shiga daigaku keizai gakubu fuzoku shiryō-kan [Research Bulletin, Archival Annex of the Economics Faculty of Shiga University], no. 20.
¹³ "Nihon kaisha seido zenshi no tenbō," Kokumin keizai zasshi [Journal of Economics and Business Administration], Kobe University, vol. 156, no. 3.
the Western countries, we should keep in mind such kind of historical facts. It is true that Osaka merchants let their daughters marry with good upper-stratum managers. But this took place not only in Japan but also some other countries. This is the same for the managerial paternalism. Michael B. Miller's _The Bon Marché_ clarifies this (see especially p. 75 and the following pages.)

The inception and development of double-entry book-keeping is the subject taken up from the point of view of continuities and discontinuity. In “Accounting in the Early Edo Period and the Renaissance,” Kōzō Iwabe develops further his “totally different interpretation from the commonly held view that Edo period accounting methods were unique to Japan.” He argues that Italian-style book-keeping spread to Japan and arousing our interest in historical enigmas. It is of course important to investigate the origins of many social phenomena, but we should keep in mind its relationship to the society as whole and its subsequent development after one thing is accepted and functions in a society to some extent. It is a well-known fact that the “Sanyō-chō” (Computation Books) of Konoike, the “Ōmoto-kata Kanjō Mokuroku” (Records of Settlements of the Head) of Mitsui, and the “Mise-Oroshi Chō” (Whole-sailing Books) of Nakai take different forms and represent different stages of development. Considering the merchant confidentiality discussed by Yasuoka and also the fact that accounting texts like Pacciori were not published, it seems that tracing just the origins is not enough. If we applies social science approaches to the topic, it would seem more important to consider its relationship to the unique socio-economic system and the form of enterprise, which used the preceding accounting system of multiple-book-keeping and double-entry computation.

Next, in the realm of ideas and thought, Yoshinori Jinnofuji’s “An Investigation into the Chōmindō (the Way of the Merchants)

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14 “Edo shoki chōgō-hō to Runessansu,” Shakai kagaku ronshū [Journal of Social Science], Saitama University, no. 60.
in the Tokugawa Period),

15 declares that “the Way of the Merchant of (Ishida) Baigan of Japan corresponds to the current philosophy of the West, although Baigan lived two centuries ago,” by using “the establishment of the subject” as a key concept. But this seems to be a rather hasty conclusion, especially considering the persuasive thesis presented in Hiroshi Shinpo’s *The Business Elite of the Kansei Period (1789-1800)* and also such historical facts as the national interests appeared first as the ideology of economic policy in the han (feudal state) inspired the business activities of modern Japanese entrepreneurs. Shinpo claims that Mitsui Takafusa, Nishikawa Jōken and Ishida Baigan had a quite different view on the rational understanding of market structure and price-making mechanisms from Kusama Naokata and Yamagata Bantō. On this topic, we have two more articles, Hiroshi Kitamura’s “The Philosophy and Actions of Merchants in the Later Edo Period”

16 which focuses on Osaka merchants, and Yōko Shimada’s “The Beginnings of the Artisan Class’s Work Ethic in the Tokugawa Period and its Characteristics,”

17 which introduces the wills of the Kongō family as new historical materials.

As commentary notes on merchant organization and enterprise forms, there were two article by Yoshio Kiseki, “Genealogies of Merchants Active in the Edo Period (2): The Case of Sumitomo”

18 and “On the Traditions of the Mitsui House and the Joint Enterprise Organization of the Nakai House.”

19 Senzō

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15 “Kinsei ni okeru chōnin-dō no ichi-kōsatsu,” *Shōgaku ronshū* [Journal of Commerce], Yamanashi Gakuin University, no. 10.

16 “Edo jidai kōki shōnin no rinen to kōdō,” *Ryūkoku daigaku kōgaku* [Bulletin of Post-Graduate Studies at Ryūkoku University: Social Science], Ryūkoku University, no. 1.

17 “Kinsei Nihon ni okeru shokunin kaikyū no shokubun rinri no seiritsu to sono tokushitsu,” *Kiyō, Bunkyō joshi tanki daigaku keiei gakka* [Bulletin, Business Dept. of Bunkyō Women’s College], no. 6.

18 “Edo jidai de katsuyaku shita shōnin keifu (Sono 2): Sumitomo-ke no bai,” *Chūō Gakuin daigaku shōkei ronsō* [Economics and Commerce Review], Chūō Gakuin University, vol. 1, no. 2
Hidemura published the introductory notes on house regulations and shop rules, "The Merchant House of Hayashida of Tanushimaru Town, Chikugo Province, in the Tokugawa Period: The House Regulations and Shop Rules of the Tezuya, (1) and (2)."\(^{21}\)

The article by Shini'chirō Hagi, "Mines Management in the Later Tokugawa Period: A Study of the Ōkuzu Gold Mine in the Akita Han"\(^{22}\) is a scrupulous case study of the Araya family's independent operation of a gold mine over the ninety years from 1779 (Anei 8) to the period of the Meiji Restoration. The author shows that Araya frequently appealed to the Han to take over his management rights or make the mine a jikiyama (directly administered mine), because of difficulties in its management and in providing adequate funds for underground construction. In their calculation of point and loss, the family was more interested in the commercial profits obtained from monopolistic supply of the product to the mineral market rather than in profits from mineral production.

On the market structure playing an important role in the progress of enterprise management, we have Akira Hasegawa's article, "Circulation Patterns of Regional Products in the Later Tokugawa Period"\(^{23}\) which analyzes the Cargo-Handling Records (Nimotsu-hikiai Chō) of soya-sauce producers Maruo of Tatsuno. Masatoshi Amano deals with the Yuasa soya-sauce industry in his article, "A Study of the Development of Soy-sauce Brewing

\(^{19}\) Ibid., vol. 2, no. 2.

\(^{20}\) "Kinsei Chikugo Tanushimaru-machi no shōnin Hayashida-ke: Tezuya no kakun, tensoku" (1), Sangyō keizai kenkyū [Journal of the Society for the Studies on Industrial Economies], Kurume University, vol. 28, no. 1.

\(^{21}\) Ibid., no. 2.

\(^{22}\) "Kinsei kōki ni okeru kōzan keiei: Akita Hanryō Okuzu Kinzan no kenkyū," Kyōiku gakubu kenkyū kiyō [Research Bulletin of the Education Faculty], Akita University, no. 37.

in the Late Tokugawa and Early Meiji Period." Masayuki Tanimoto investigates the logic of the reorganization of the cotton textile industry in his article, "The Development of the National Market for Cotton Cloth in the Late Tokugawa and Meiji Period." Tanimoto argues that "the expanding village market performed the function of absorbing pressures from the import of cotton cloth" and allowed for the possibility of development in the areas already producing cotton textiles, so that the common view is one-sided.

AFTER THE MEIJI PERIOD

Next, let us look at various fields in the period after the Meiji Restoration (1868).

TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Mitsuo Fujii produced An Investigation Into the History of the Foreign Expansion of the Japanese Textile Industry Between the Wars, a magnum opus of nearly 800 pages. According to Fujii, "we have not yet clarified the East Asian type of development, correlating it with the development of the two major sectors of the textile industry (cotton-spinning and silk-reeling) in the pre-war period and particularly between the World Wars." He claims that previous research has not clarified the problem of "investigation and analysis taking account of the correlation between the state of indigenous capital, depending on the degree of

24 "Bakumatsu Ishin-ki ni okeru shōyu jōzō-gyō no tenkai ni kansuru ichikōsatsu," in the Andō Seiichi sensei taikan kinen-kai [Association to Commemorate the Retirement of Professor Seiichi Andō], eds., Wakayama Chihi-shi no kenkyū [Studies in the History of the Wakayama Region], published by the Association.


26 Senkan-ki Nihon sen'i sangyō kaigai shinshutsu-shi no kenkyū (Mineruba Shobō). Reviews of this work have been written by Teijirō Uebayashi in Keizai hyōron [Economic Review], (April 1988), and Akio Yagi, Ekonomisuto [Economist], March 22, 1988.
colonization (such as the situation of the semi-colony in China and the full colony in Korea), and that of commercial agriculture," especially in the case of the silk industry. The author considers these problems, attempting to "shed light on the actual expansionary activities of imperialism focusing monopolistic Japanese silk-industry capital. While clarifying the real nature of that colonialistic accumulation (of capital), with concrete evidence he tries to elucidate how the accumulation effects on indigenous production and those responsible for it." Hiroshi Nishikawa is also aware of the necessity to grasp the contradictions of Japanese imperialism (the internal impetus). In his *Japanese Imperialism and the Cotton Industry*, he tries to "look at the contradictions between imperialism and the indigenous people in the situation of invasion of the Chinese cotton-spinning industry (the actual form of capital export), and to clarify the fact that domination of the Chinese market by the Japanese cotton industry was a factor in the arousal of further popular nationalist movements among the Chinese people." This work should be noted as the fruits of the two years of study in China and mobilization of materials held by the Chinese.

Naoto Kagotani defines the essence of monopoly as the "willful restraint of competition" by means of "collaboration between various sources of capital," in his "The Formation of Japanese Cotton-Spinning Monopoly Capital before the First World War." Following the Russo-Japanese War, the cotton-spinning monopoly was created. He asserts that the cotton-spinning bourgeoisie came to have an uncompromising imperialist attitude towards China, because the carterization of the cotton-spinning industry required to secure the export market in order to stabilize the price of thread.

Putting aside the imperialism which was discussed by the above three works, Tetsuya Kuwabara describes the policy of individual

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27 *Nippon Teikoku-shugi to mengyō* (Mineruba Shobō). A review of this work has been written by Hiroaki Yamazaki: *Ekonomisuto* [Economist], June 23, 1987.
managers to the Chinese market as a matter of managerial policy in his "The Strategy of Internationalization of the Japanese Cotton-Spinning Industry before the War." This work elucidates the reasons why Fusazō Taniguchi of the Osaka Joint Cotton-Spinning Co. (Osaka Gōdō Bōseki Kaisha) took the lead in having a factory built there to make twists of a middle count of 42, in a situation in which the big cotton enterprises set out to produce heavy counts of cotton yarn for the Chinese market. According to Kuwabara, this was because Taniguchi was quick to take an interest in changes in the Chinese cotton yarn market, where the market for the alternative supply of lighter cotton cloths was widening and also the market for middle counts as the raw material for the cloths was expanded with the withdrawal of British cotton goods from the world market. Taniguchi highly appraised the advantages of entering the Chinese market as a pioneering enterprises.

Rhee's "The Revival of the Japanese Cotton Industry during the Occupation" says that the cotton industry became the leader in the revival of the Japanese economy as the result of changes in Occupation policy towards Japan. This provided a large market for the cotton capitalists of the southern United States and had a significant effect on the American world strategy. This revival of the cotton industry thus becoming one element in the establishment of Japan as subordinate base of the United States in the post-War period.

MINING

Seiichi Shōda's *An Historical Treatise on the Kyūshū Coal Mining*

28 "Dai ichi-ji taisen-zen ni okeru Nihon bōseki dokusen shihon no seiritsu," *Shakai keizai shigaku* [Socio-Economic History], The Socio-Economic History Society, vol. 52, no. 5.

29 "Senzen ni okeru Nihon bōseki-gyō no kokusai-ka senryaku" *Keizai keiei ronsō* [The Economic and Business Administration Review], Kyoto Sangyō University, vol. 21, no. 4.

30 "Senryō-ki Nihon mengyō no fukko," *Hitotsubashi ronsō* [Hitotsubashi Review], Hitotsubashi University, vol. 97, no.5.
Industry, 31 brings together nine of his articles, concerning mainly the early development of the industry in Kyūshū, its economic organization, the problem of small and middle-sized mines, and coal-mining wages and unemployment.

In “The Market for the Hokkaidō Coal and Competition between Enterprises before and during the First World War,” 32 Sumihiro Matsuo argues that the market for Hokkaidō coal changed from one in which Hokutan held absolute predominance to one in which sales of Hokkaidō coal were controlled by the three groups by the cooperation and competition among enterprises, in the period before and during the the War. This change was caused by the acquisition of management rights in the Hokkaidō Coal Company (Hokutan) by Mitsui, and also by the entry of Mitsubishi and Yamashita into Hokkaidō coal mining. Because Mitsui and Mitsubishi had been the number one and two enterprises in the market for Chikuhō (North Kyūshū) coal, this process not only promoted the development of a national market for coal but linked the two companies. In his article, “Changes in the Competitive Relationship among Enterprises in the Market for Chikuhō Coal (1),” 33 Matsuo similarly attempts to clarify the changes in competition between enterprises by investigating trends in the market for Chikuhō coal around the First World War, that is, trends which led to bring a monopolistic structure in the coal market.

Haruto Takeda’s History of Japan’s Copper Industry 34 notices the special characteristics of the copper industry, played an important role in the economic development of modern Japan, as an

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31 Kyūshū sekitan sangyō shiron (Kyūshū University Press).
33 “Chikuhō-tan shijō ni okeru kigyō-kan kyōsō kankei no henyō (1),” ibid., no. 2.
34 Nihon sandō-gyō shi (University of Tokyo Press). This book is reviewed by Masaaki Kobayashi in Keieishigaku [Japan Business History Review], vol. 23, no. 3.
industry involving the two differing production processes: mining as a character of an exploitative industry and smelting as an apparatus industry. He investigates the changes in the market structure, the economic significance of technological progress, the changes in labor-management relations and the nature of competition between enterprises. And he studies how the capitalistic enterprises established themselves in the copper industry and how a monopolistic organization was created out of competition among enterprises. Masaaki Kobayashi has written a critical review on this book. But someone like me who has some reservations about the common view on Japan's industrial revolution would highly appreciate its indication of dependence on foreign technology for the development of Japan's modern copper industry (pp. 31, 99, 129, 199 and so on) and its information that foreign-made equipment lost its predominance about 1930 (p. 339).

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

Yoshio Horikiri produced A History of the Japanese Iron and Steel Industry. From the point of view of technological history and using the methodological concept of tekkō seisan kōzō (iron and steel production organization), this book provided valuable results, which following researchers should not ignore.

The author says:

The production structure of the modern iron and steel industry is composed of three sectors: pig-iron production, steel production and steel-commodity production; and technological links have been established between these three sectors, in other words, forming two productive technology systems: one involving low-phosphate pig-iron production, production of steel in oxygen open-hearth furnaces and converters, and steel casting and forging; the other involving low-silicon iron production, production of steel in basic open-hearth furnaces and converters, and steel rolling and plate production. The establishment

of these productive technology systems is the basic condition for the existence of the industry.

From this perspective, he criticizes the view, expressed in such works as the Nihon kagaku gijutsu-shi taikei (Japanese science and technology history series), that an integrated system of production of iron and steel was formed after the Russo-Japanese War. Further, he argues that the establishment of such a system at the Yawata Iron-Works took place in 1924 (Taisho 13) (pp. 45 and 84).

Osamu Nagashima's Structural Analysis of the Pre-War Japanese Iron and Steel Industry, attempts to reveal the special structural features of the pre-War Japanese iron and steel industry, while taking the special characteristics of the modern iron and steel industry into consideration from the three basic perspectives of the nature of productive organization, the determinants of late (and middle) development and military determinants.

In “On the Establishment of the Yokohama Ironworks,” Akira Nishihori introduces documentary materials related to the Yokohama Ironworks which was built as a predecessor to the Yokosuka Ironworks. The establishment of the Yokosuka Ironworks is an important example of cooperation in the history of relations between Japan and France covering the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods. But this paper is a serious work making use of newly discovered materials remaining in France and dealing separately with a subject of research, the Yokohama Ironworks, which has only been dealt with hitherto in studies of Yokosuka Ironworks.

Since the work by Yasuji Tsuruta, “The Rise of Monopoly in the Japanese Iron and Steel Industry (5),” was still in progress, it will not be described further here.


**SHIPBUILDING**

In “An Examination of Funding for the Construction of Warships and Other Vessels by Private Shipbuilders in the Late Meiji Period,” Hisatomi Naruse chose the Kawasaki Shipyards as his object of investigation. He criticizes the recent appraisals, saying “it is foolhardy to conclude that they had reached international standards as a shipping industry because shipbuilding enterprises were managerially sound.” According to Naruse, the operating profits of Kawasaki Shipyards were not always the result of the construction of new vessels involving mainly commercial ships, but until about 1907 (Meiji 40) were more often ensured by relying on repair work. In contrast to this, Yôichirô Inoue’s “The First World War and the Shipbuilding Industry,” takes the view that the shipbuilding industry had achieved some success as a modern industry by the end of the Russo-Japanese War. His article deals with the shipbuilding activities of the three major companies: Mitsubishi, Kawasaki and Osaka Ironworks.

**AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY**

Masachika Shinomiya published “The Development of the Automobile Industry in Manchuria (2 final).” To clarify the process of planning and implementing a policy of the automobile industry for the economic control over “the Manchurian state” is, he perceives, an essential work for understanding the history of Japan’s automobile industry. He investigates the activities of

38 “Nihon tekkō-gyō ni okeru dokusen no keisei - 5,” *Keizai-gaku kenkyū* [Studies on Economics], Kokugakuin University.

39 “Meiji kōki no minkan zōsen-gyō ni okeru kansen kenzō-hi ni tsuite no ichi-kōsatsu,” *Chiba Shōdai ronshō* [Chiba University of Commerce Review], vol. 25, no. 1.

40 “Daiichi-ji sekai taisen to zōsen-gyō,” *Hikone ronshō* [Hikone Review], Shiga University, no. 245.

41 “Manshū ni okeru jidōsha kōgyō no tenkai (2 kan),” *Keiei-gaku kenkyū ronshū* [Graduate Studies in Business Administration], Seinan Gakuin dai-gaku daigakuin [Graduate School, Seinan Gakuin University], no. 8.
the Manchurian Automobile Production Co. (Manshū Jidōsha Seizō K.K.) and the Dōwa Automobile Engineering Co. (Dōwa Jidōsha Kōgyō K.K.). It is a painstaking pioneering work.

**ELECTRIC POWER INDUSTRY**

In “The Shōwa Economic Crisis and Japan Electric Power (Co.),”42 Tetsuo Watari traces the state of management of the Japan Electric Power Co. (Nihon Denryoku) in the period from 1927 to 1930. He investigates the special characteristics and origins of the management crisis which assaulted the company in this period. Masaaki Takashima’s “The Formation of Regional Capital in the Electric Power Industry”43 clarifies the process of the spread of electrification in rural areas through a case study of Wakayama Electric Co. (Wakayama Dentō) and Wakayama Hydro-Electric Co. (Wakayama Suiryoku Denki). He further takes note of the fact that electric light and power companies were significant elements in the composition of regional capital, while sketching the locus of growth in the industry.

**CHEMICAL INDUSTRY**

Katsumi Shitano’s The post-War Japanese coal-based chemical industry44 does little more than correct some simple mistakes in the work by the same title published in 1984 as the second volume of the Okayama University series of research on economics (Okayama Daigaku Keizai-gaku kenkyū sōsho), in order to make the book marketable. This work will not be discussed here. Yūzo Biba’s “The Production and Distribution of Sulfates and Soda in the Meiji Period”45 aims to consider the fundamental conditions of the establishment of Japan’s capitalist economy, and concludes:

> By providing the basic ingredients for many kinds of production, sulfate industry gave rise to many related industries, and

42 “Shōwa Kyōkō to Nihon Denryoku (Kabu),” Hannan ronshū [Hannan Journal], vol. 23, no. 2.
43 “Denryoku-gyō ni okeru jiba-shihon no keisei,” in Wakayama Chihō-shi no kenkyū (See n. 24).
44 Sengo Nihon sekitan kagaku-kōgyō shi (Ochanomizu Shobō).
these in turn induced many other types of production. We could say that in this way the various industries became organically linked and developed further, promoting modernization.

**SUNDRY GOODS PRODUCTION AND TRADE ASSOCIATIONS**

In the fields of sundry goods production and trade associations, we have Minoru Sawai's "The Development of the Sundry Goods Export Industry in the 1910s." The production of matches, knitted upper-garments, pottery and sanada string was well-established as the general merchandise sector of export industry before the First World War. The War was an important launching point for the subsequent development of sundry goods production as an important industry. Sawai's article is a factual case study of the brush, button and miscellaneous scrap iron products industry. In connection with the problem of prevention of careless production of sub-standard goods, Sawai refers to the trade associations among the industrial groups.

The business groups such as the trade associations and regulatory bodies were set up during a shake-up movement after the break-up of the licensed trading groups (Kabunakama) of the Tokugawa period. The comprehensive and systematic work on the groups can rarely be found in scholarship following the Second World War down to the present, because the influence of the critical approach of the Kōza group (of historians) was insurmountable. Some works have dealt with them as a subordinate study in the history of small and medium industry, such as Tsunehiko Yui's "A Historical Study of Policies towards Small and Medium-Sized Industry." Some researchers studied them in the connection with the policy for promoting export industry after the Sino-Japanese War. A good article, attempting to grasp the overall picture on the trade association policies from such angles, is Iori Takeuchi's "The Historical Place of the Trade

45 "Meiji-ki ni okeru ryūsan sōda no seisō to ryūtsū," Ōsaka shōgyō daigaku ronshū [Journal of the Osaka University of Commerce], no. 78.
46 "1910 nendai ni okeru yushutsu zakka-kōgyō no tenkai," Hokusei ronshū [Hokusei Journal], Hokkai Gakuin University, no. 24.
Associations, with Particular Reference to the Relationship between Industrial and Trade Organization."^47 But the consideration of the trade associations and regulatory bodies in modern Japan should not mean to study them merely as part of the history of small and medium industry nor as part of export promotion policy. We must study them, emphasizing the fact that they controlled the domestic commerce as the trade associations. As an example of this approach, we have Yoshimi Uekawa's "The Membership of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce in the Meiji Period"^48 and Teiichirō Fujita's "Two or Three Documentary Sources Concerning the Trade Associations."^49 Soon or later, research into the trade associations and regulatory bodies as business groups must be placed along with post-Second World War cooperative associations as subjects for research. Yasuaki Nagasawa points out that A. H. Cole has already discussing the role of the trade associations as stabilizing the activities of enterprise under his theoretical framework "the entrepreneurial stream." In "Local Economy and Business Groups (1),"^50 Nagasawa reports the example of the Association of Hiroshima Shoemakers, considering 1955 as the turning point in the shoe industry of Matsunaga in Hiroshima Prefecture.

In order to determine the historical significance of the trade associations and regulatory bodies, it is necessary not only to look at them out of interest in the history of small and medium enterprise, but also to establish the Kabunakama and associations themselves as subject for research. As result of doing so, I expect that we would come to understand the history of the Japanese

^47 "Dōgyō kumiai no rekishi-teki ichi: sangyō bōeki kōzō to no kanren o chūshin to shite," in Kindai ikō-ki ni okeru keizai hatten (See n. 23.)
^48 "Meiji-ki Osaka shōgyō kaigisho no giin kōsei," Shakai kagaku [Social Science], Institute for the Study of Humanities, Dōshisha University, no. 38.
^49 "Dōgyō kumiai ni kansuru ni, san no shiryo," ibid.
^50 "Chiiki keizai to gyōkai-dantai (1)," Fukuyama daigaku ningen kenkyū sentā kiyō [Bulletin of the Center for Research in the Social Science of Fukuyama University], no. 2.
labor union movement in the same depth as G. Unwin who
found the forerunners of the labor unions in The Dissolution
of the Guilds, and also to understand why the trade unions
resulted in the form of company unions in Japan and to clarify
the the shortcomings of the union movement in Japan.

Unwin pointed out that “many of the labor struggles of the
18th century which characterized the start of the labour union
movement originated in the efforts of these bankrupt small bour-
geoisie, standing on common ground with their employees as
wage labour, to organize themselves.” But it would seem appro-
priate to keep in mind that the reconstructed trade associations
and regulatory bodies after the dissolution of the Kabunakama
in Japan had strong commercial interests, and had the same
interests as employers in regulating employment and the level
of wage, and actually sought to retain those regulations for a
long period.

RAILWAY INDUSTRY

In “The Managers and Owners of Railway Companies in the
Meiji Period as Seen in the Middle Stages of the Movement to
Reorganize the Kyūshū Railway Co.),”51 Tadashi Tōjō reveals the
special character of managers and stockholders and the mana-
gerial problems of the share-holding form of enterprise in its
initial stages, using the railroad industry as a typical one in the
Meiji period. From reviews in the journals such as Jiji and
Tōnichi concerning the struggle on the reorganization movement,
Tōjō notes that the press was aware of the fact that the con-
servative opinions of the small and medium-sized investors who
were essential to the broad accumulation of social capital in the
stage of adoption of the company system was now becoming
counter-productive. The reorganization movement sought not
temporary investors but ones who would want to nurture their

51 “Kyūshū Tetsudō Kaisha kaikaku undō no chūki-dankai ni miru Meiji-ki
tetsudō kigyō no keiei-sha to kabunushi,” Keiei to keizai [Journal of Business
and Economics], Nagasaki University, vol. 67, no. 2.
assets from a long-term point of view. The press also recognized that it was necessary to solve these critical problems if the system of joint-stock company would develop further in Japan.


Tadashi Uda’s “The Establishment and Development of a Railway System Connecting Nagoya and Osaka in the Early to Mid-Meiji Period” follows the historical development: the creation and completion of a system of main lines which linked the urban areas of Kinki and Chūkyō. Uda describes in detail the construction as public railways in the early Meiji period and the belated entry of the private Kansai Railways in the mid-Meiji period, which brought the competition between private and public railways enterprises. Kyōzō Takechi’s “One Trend of Osaka Private Railways before Nationalization” introduces rel-

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52 “Meiji zenki chūki Meihan renraku tetsudō taikei no seiritsu to tenkai,” in Ōtemon gakuin daigaku 20 shūnen kinen ronshū [Essays to Commererate the 20th anniversary of Ōtemon Gakuin University], Keizai gaku-bu hen [Economics Faculty Volume].
evant historical materials about the wages and personnel composition of the Kansai Railways, including the Osaka and the Naniwa Railways, and the Nishinari Railways.

Megumi Kita’s “A Study of the Management Plan of the Daibu Railroad Co.”\textsuperscript{54} considers several plans for the construction of new railways to link Fukuoka and Hakata with the Chikuhō region in the Meiji and Taishō periods, in connection with the construction of a port of Hakata Bay.

**MARINE TRANSPORT**

Masaaki Kobayashi has written “The Osaka Shipping Co. and the Shipping Operations Association during the War.”\textsuperscript{55} This article deals with the period between December 8, 1941, and August 15, 1945. It describes the facts on the establishment of the Shipping Operations Association and ship personnel under the War. It also tells how the system of personnel reserves was applied to ships other than the company’s own. Kobayashi also suggests how the system has spread to other companies by adding a social welfare-type character and resulted in high wages for Japanese seamen, which became the cause of decline of the marine transport industry.

It would seem necessary to conceive of the rail and marine industries not only as means of transporting people and materials but as industries which produce and sell the commodity of “transportation,” which could be considered to be “leisure” products. It is desirable that business history research on this industry would be done from this point of view in the future. The aforementioned article of Hitoshi Watanabe uses materials which hint at the possibility of this.

\textsuperscript{53} “Tetsudō kokuyū-ka mae Zaihan shitetsu no ichi-dōkō,” \textit{Rōdō mondai kenkyū} [Research in Labor Problems], Kinki University.
\textsuperscript{54} “Daibu Tetsudō no keiei keikaku ni tsuite no ichi-kōsatsu,” \textit{Daigakuin ronshū} [Journal of the Graduate School], Fukuoka University, no.1.
\textsuperscript{55} “Senji taisei-ka ni okeru Osaka Shōsen to Senpaku Un’ei-Kai,” \textit{Keizai kei} [Quarterly Journal of Economics], Kantō Gakuin University, no. 150.
LEISURE INDUSTRY

Although the leisure industry is being more important in today's society, there has been little research on the industry. Perhaps Fumio Shōbayashi's "Japan's Movie Enterprises" \(^{56}\) is the only example. A major work are expected from this research.

FOOD INDUSTRY

In the period after Meiji, and especially after the second World War, research on the flour-milling would seem to be of considerable importance, considering the spread of bread-eating habits in Japan. But even today we do not see much of such research. This, too, is a field which probably should be opened up. In other fields, we have Akira Osaki's "The Management of the Bonito Fishery at Yaizu in Shizuoka Prefecture in the Meiji and Taishō Periods." \(^{57}\) In his previous research, the author has already pointed out that the Yaizu bonito fishery was carried out under the "Senchū" system consisted of the same family's fishermen, which was derived from the Tokugawa unjōō system paying fees for fishing rights; that the fund for the modernization of motive power for fishing boats was paid by landlords, fish merchants and processors, along by the fishermen themselves; and that through the period of modernizing motive power, the Senchū were the foundation of organization to finance fishing boats and of the industry as a whole. His new article considers the method by which costs were borne and profits shared in the business organization, a combine of the commercial capital and the family organization of the Senchū. The article by Norio Tominaga, "The Canning Industry in the 1930s," \(^{58}\) looks at the causes of this industry's rapid progress in the period. This concludes that the most important factor was

\(^{56}\) "Nihon no eiga kigyō," Keiei ronshū [Journal of Business], Asahi University, vol. 1, no. 1.

the lowering of export prices in conjunction with the decline in the exchange value of the yen. The lowering prices were made it possible to develop new products and new sources of material.

**COMMERCE**

Yoshio Katsura has put out a book titled *The Original Image of the Kansai-Type General Trading Companies*. This book subtitled *The Management History of Suzuki, Nisshō Iwai, Itō-Chū Shōji, and Marubeni*, is made up of papers already published between 1971 and 1984. Therefore I confine myself to giving its title. The work on the business history of trading company, as reviewed by Makoto Seoka below in the section of "works published in English," is one of the most noteworthy achievement of this review of 1987. While skilfully digesting the results of the Fuji Conference of 1986, Yoshihara's "The Business History of the General Trading Companies in International Perspective" defines the general trading company. Previous works defined them as the following two points: 1) trading companies which are comprehensive in the commodities they deal with, territory of their dealings and their functions; 2) large-scale trading companies. He further adds its definition the following two points: 3) trading companies which demonstrates the characteristics of modern enterprise; and 4) trading companies which form the foundation of the Japanese economy. We could assume that such results could only come out of the Business History Association which had a broad-minded character. Yamazaki's article, "The Logic of the History of General Trading Companies in Japan," appends a section, outlining the conditions for developing as specialized trading companies in the cases of Nihon Menka and

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58 "1930 nendai no kanzume sangyō," *Shakai keizai shigaku* [Socio-Economic History], The Socio-Economic History Society, vol. 53, no. 4.

59 *Kansai-kei sōgō shōsha no genzō* (Keibun-sha, Kyoto).

60 "Kokusai-teki ni mita sōgō shōsha no keiei-shi," *Kokumin keizai zasshi* [Journal of Economics and Business Administration], Kobe University, vol. 156, no. 6.
Gōshō (Ōmi Trading Co.), to the same article as reviewed below in the section on research achievements in English. Here Yama-
zaki says that the three cotton companies created their own separate links between big spinning-companies and the powerful trading companies, because the cotton companies had to co-exist. Concentrating raw cotton buying and jiki-gai (direct buying from remote areas, they brought about the integration of the marketing process right back to cotton harvest with horizontal concentration at the trading company level, and even came to have a certain power to control the market in India. As the overall result of raw cotton dealings of a highly organized nature, the three companies were able to purchase raw cotton on advantageous terms and to absorb the risks involved in the process. And the three cotton companies, moreover, had the Yokohama specie Bank financing their activities.

On individual trading companies, further we have Masako Sakamoto's "The Historical Development of the First Trading Company, Mitsui Bussan into a General Trading Company, Part 1." Kazuo Yamaguchi's "The Mitsui Trading Co. and Mitsui Bank" clarifies trends in Mitsui Bussan's raising funds from Mitsui Bank and other institutions in the pre-War period. Masanao Kasai's "The Import of Weapons and the Trading Companies in the Early Meiji Period" traces the trends in imports of weapons in relation to the equipping of the Army. This article defines the characteristics of various stages in domestic production of weapons, by establishing the relationship between

63 "Mitsui Bussan to Mitsui Ginkō," Sōka keiei ronshū [Sōka Business Review], Sōka daigaku keiei gakkai [Business Association of Sōka University], vol. 11, no. 2.
64 "Meiji zenki heiki yunyū to bōeki shōsha," Keizai kagaku [Economic Science], Nagoya University, vol. 34, no. 4.
changes in the import of weapons and the development of the Army’s Arsenals. It analyzes the trading companies which imported the weapons, and tries to clarify changes in the trading companies in the early Meiji period while Army gained “independence” in weapons.

In society which organizes human relations on the basis of naturally evolving the division of labor, the circulation of daily necessities is quite important. But there are few articles on this theme: “The Big Wholesalers of Processed Foods in Japan”[^65] by Tatsuo Itozono; “An Analysis of Factors in the History of Our International Marketing”[^66] by Yoshiaki Watanabe, and “The Commercial History of Hokkaidō: A Study of the Big Stores”[^67] by Nobunari Fujinami. This is still a field into which we would like to have young scholars enter.

**COMMERCIAL EDUCATION**

There are Tamotsu Nishizawa’s “Concerning the Movement for Higher Commercial Education at the Turn of the Century”[^68] and Takashi Nakagawa’s “The Establishment of the Training Center for Commercial Law and Arinori Mori,”[^69] which introduces new historical material.

As an article not reviewed in any other section, I will record Akira Nagano’s “The Promotion of Production by Samurai in the Saga Region in the Early Meiji Period.”[^70]


[^68]: “Seiki tenkan-ki ni okeru kōtōshōgyō kyōiku undō o megutte,” *Keizai-gaku zasshi* [Economic Studies], Osaka City University, vol. 88, no. 1.

[^69]: “Shōhō Kōshū-Sho no sosetsu to Mori Arinori,” *Ajia daigaku kyōyō-bu kiyō* [Bulletin of the General Studies Dept. of Asia University], no. 35.
FINANCIAL INDUSTRY

In the field of finance, ambitious and major works were published. First, *History of Policy in Japan's Financial System in the Taishō Period* edited by Ryūichi Shibuya, was compiled as a continuation of *History of Japan's Special Financial Legislation in the Meiji Period*. Like the previous work, it gives importance to the relationships of economics, politics and law, and analyzes the special character and the process of change in financial system and policy from after the Russo-Japanese War to the Shōwa Depression. The book recognizes the special characteristics of Japanese capitalism in this period as the development of the export of capital, the acquisition of colonies and the intensification of social problems. It deals with the financial institutions and system which embodied these characteristics. The parts of this book and their authors are as follows: “Introduction: Topics and Methods” by Ryūichi Shibuya; “Part 1: National Financial Institutions” contains “Reform in the Accounts Dept. of the Finance Ministry” and “The Establishment and Development of the Post Office Life Insurance System,” by Yurio Mukai; “Part 2: Financial Institutions Dealing with Overseas” is comprised of “The Evolution of Policy Concerning the Foreign Exchange and Trade Systems” by Toshihiko Saitō and “Changes in Policies Concerning Colonial Banks” by Akikazu Namigata; “Part 3: The Strengthening of Supervision over Traditional Popular Financial Institutions,” by Ryūichi Shibuya; “The Systematic Progress of the Farm Production (Credit) Unions,” by Osamu Chiba; and “The Expansion of Small and Medium-Sized Popular Financial Institutions,” by Shibuya. The first section of each part is a joint effort of the people in charge, titled “Overview,” and

70 “Saga chiiki ni okeru Meiji shoki no shizoku jusan,” *Chiiki bunka kenkyū* [Studies in Local Culture], Saga University, no. 1.

the whole book is summed up in a “Summary” (sōkatsu) by all of the authors.

Next, Kazuki Okada’s book, *The Historical Development of Deposit Agreement*,\(^{72}\) tries to put the development of local banking in its right place in the formation of savings banks and competition between banks, by investigating the actualities and history of deposit agreements centered in the Shizuoka Prefecture region. Concerning this book, see the review in *Japan Business History Review*, volume 23 number 3, by Masaaki Takashima. Kazuo Tatewaki’s *History of Foreign Banks in Japan*\(^{73}\) clarifies the activities of the foreign banks in Japan in the period of the Ansei Treaties (1859-99). First, this scrupulously describes the historical facts what kinds of foreign banks entered and withdrew from the country’s treaty ports centered on Yokohama, and also the timing and nature of their entry. Then the nature of their business activities is clarified, focussing on their foreign exchange business. The relationship between their issue of foreign currency and the achievement of Japan’s monetary sovereignty is investigated. This also studies the roles of these banks for the beginning of minting, as well as for the import of foreign capital in the case of constructing the railways. Finally, the real nature of the activities of the foreign banks in Japan is analyzed, focussing on the strategies of each bank with regard to Japan and the jinmyaku (personnel connection) of the top echelons who pushed them forward. In the late Tokugawa and Restoration periods, the foreign banks were generally well-disposed and cooperative towards Japan. This is note-worthy. This book reminds us the importance of critical interpretation of previous works, recalling that primary sources are dispersed.

Kazuo Yamaguchi’s “The First National Bank and Mitsui in the Meiji Period”\(^{74}\) verifies the relationship between Eiichi Shibusawa and the First National Bank on the one hand and Mitsui

\(^{72}\) Yōkin Kyōtei no shi-teki tenkai (Yūhikaku).
\(^{73}\) Zainichi gaikoku ginkō-shi (Nihon Keizai Hyōron-sha).
\(^{74}\) “Meiji-ki no Daiichi Ginkō to Mitsui,” Mitsui bunko ronsō [Journal of the
on the other, and clarifies the process of withdrawal of Mitsui from the Bank after the establishment of Mitsui Bank. Makoto Kasuya’s “Mitsui Bank before and after the Entry of Nakamigawa”\(^75\) investigates the nature of Mitsui Bank’s management crisis and their advances in 1890 and 1891. This article also analyzes its subsequent recovery and redemption of bad loans and repayment of advances from the bank of Japan. Atsushi Abe, in “The Creation of a Modern Trust System and the Internal Exchange System,”\(^76\) deals with the reconstruction of the national correspondence network which was organized around the major national banks after the inception of the Bank of Japan. Yoshikazu Yagi’s “The ‘1881 Incident’ and the Bank of Japan”\(^77\) examines the loan advances of the strongly political Kyōdō Unyu Shipping Company and analyzes the character of the Bank of Mitsui in its early days. Kinji Ueda’s “Bank Consolidations and Big Loans”\(^78\) investigates industrial finance, focusing on large loans in the period of inauguration of the Tōkai Bank which resulted from the merger between 1932 and 1941 of the Nagoya and Aichi Banks. The author attempts to determine the historical significance of bank mergers in the wartime, which included the affiliates of different capital groups. His article, “‘Real Estate Finance’ and the Real Estate Banks between the Wars,”\(^79\) analyzes the origins of mechanisms for the expansion of real estate finance in the 1920s and the reason for its curtailment in the first of the 1930s. He points out that the

\(^{75}\) Nakamigawa nyūkō zengo no Mitsui Ginkō, Keieishigaku, vol. 22, no. 3.

\(^{76}\) Kindai-teki shinyō no seiritsu to naikoku kawase seido, Keizaigaku [Economics], Ehime daigaku hōbun gakubu [Law and Arts Faculties], Ehime University, no. 20.

\(^{77}\) Meiji Jūyonen Seihen’ to Nippon Ginkō, Shakai keizaishigaku, vol. 53, no. 5.

\(^{78}\) Ginkō gappei to ōguchi kashidashi, Kinyū keizai [Journal of Financial Economics], no. 221.

\(^{79}\) Senkan-ki ni okeru ‘fudōsan kinyū’ to fudōsan ginkō, ibid., no. 222.
entry of ordinary banks into real estate finance, the establishment of a fixed loan system by local banks, and efforts by the agricultural and industrial bank to liquidize private citizen’s arrears, all accelerated the expansion. Hiroshi Shindō, in “The State and Influence of Bank Closures and of Banks Open and Closed in the Shōwa Depression,” makes abundantly clear the financial implications of the Shōwa Crisis, in which major banks in every prefecture went bankrupt. As articles which deal with the formation and development of local banks, there were Kenjirō Saitō’s “The Process of Establishment of Influential Regional Banks in Fukui Prefecture” and Akio Iida’s “Banking in the Meiji Period and the Early Capital (last instalment).”

Two articles by Shōichi Asajima, “The Establishment and Limitations of the Trust Business in Nara Prefecture” and “The Establishment and Management of the Trust Business in Shiga Prefecture,” are parts of the author’s research into regional trust companies. And his “The Deposits of Life Insurance Companies Related to the Zaibatsu” adds a painstaking investigation into the “deposits” of the twelve main life insurance companies. The article by Yōtarō Sakudō and Kensuke Hiroyama, “The Subjects of Research in the Financial History of Kansai,” delves into research topics and trends on the basis a review of the history of research dealing with financial history. I should also record that the volume compiled by the Association for Research

80 “Shōwa Kyōkō-ki ni okeru kyūgyō ginkō kaiten kyūgyō ginkō no jittai to eikyō,” Chihō kinkyū-shi kenkyū [Historical Studies of Local Finance], no. 18.
81 “Fukui-ken-ka yūryoku chihō ginkō no seiritsu katei,” Fukui ken-shi kenkyū [Historical Studies of Fukui Prefecture], no. 5.
82 “Meiji-ki no ginkō-gyō to zenki-teki shihon (ge),” Kokugakuin daigaku Tochigi tanki daigaku kiyō [Bulletin of the Tochigi College of Kokugakuin University], no. 21.
83 “Nara-ken shintaku-gyō no seiritsu to sono genkai,” Shintaku [Trusts], no. 149.
84 “Shiga-ken shintaku-gyō no seiritsu to sono keiei,” ibid., no. 151.
85 “Zaibatsu-kei seimei hoken kaisha no azuke-kin,” Senshū keieigaku ronshū [Business Review of Senshū University], no. 44.
into the History of the Bank of Korea, History of the Bank of Korea,\(^87\) was an important achievement of this year.

**CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND INVESTMENT**

Takeji Abe’s “The Accumulation of Capital by Local Entrepreneurs in Pre-War Japan”\(^88\) looks at trends in assets and profits margins, based on the Inventory Records (Tanaoroshi-chō) of the Maruyama family, weaver house (Orimoto) at Nishiwaki. Terumasa Kawamura’s “A Study Concerning the Composition of Income in the Loom Putting-Out Business in the Meiji Period”\(^89\) looks at income structure and asset mobilization, based on the Records of Income and Expenditures of a putting merchant, the Akima of Ashinaga. It deals with the problem of the transformation from wholesaler to manufacturer. As works dealing with aristocrat (Kazoku) capital, there were Toshimitsu Imuta’s “The Assets and Investment Activities of the Kazoku,”\(^90\) which considers the problem of the investment activities of the military aristocrats from the 1890s through the pre-War period; and also Minoru Senda’s “The Rise and Progress of Marquis Hosokawa’s Family as Aristocratic Capitalists.”\(^91\)

Ikuji Kurose’s “The Introduction of Foreign Capital by the Far East Development Co. in the 1920s and its Foreign Investment”\(^92\) analyzes the nature of the management crisis in the Far Eastern Development Co., which was caused by the expan-

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87 Chōsen Ginkō-shi (Tōyō keizai shinpō-sha)
89 “Meiji-ki motoki keiei ni okeru shūshi kōzō ni kansuru ichi-kōsatsu,” Senshū shōgaku ronshū [Commerce Review of Senshū University], no. 43.
90 “Kazoku shihai to tōshi kōdō,” Chihō kinyū-shi kenkyū, no. 116.
91 “Kazoku shihon toshite no Kōshaku Hosokawa-ke no seiritsu tenkai,” Tochi seido shigaku, no. 116.
92 “1920 nendai ni okeru Tōyō Takushoku Kaisha no gaishi dōnyū to kaigai tōshi,” Kagoshima keidai ronshū [Economic Review of Kagoshima University], vol. 27, no. 4.
sion and contraction of its investment in China. It also clarifies the changes in capital and investment structure by which it planned to escape from the crisis. The company was being driven out of China by the popular resistance of the Chinese people and financial dependence on the United States. The company found a way out through Korea and the South Pacific, its colonial sphere and particularly through Korea, where the company was attracted by the renewal of the “Plan to Increase Rice Production” (Sanmai Zōshoku Keikaku). Yutaka Kataoka’s “The Stock Market and the Beginning of Stock Pricing in the Meiji Period”\(^{93}\) inquires into the reasons why most investors held stocks as assets; the process how they came to take an interest in changes in the value of their assets, that is, in changes in share prices; and how this process developed.

**ACCOUNTING**

In the field of accounting, *The Progress of Japan’s Accounting Systems: Pre-War*, edited by Kiyoshi Kurosawa;\(^{94}\) and Hideo Kuno’s *A Study of the History of the Creation of the Accounting Systems of Japan*\(^{95}\) were published.

(Reviewed by Yoshimi UEKAWA)

**ZAIBATSU**

In the connection with the zaibatsu, first mention could be given to the book edited by Shōichi Asajima, *Comparative Studies of the Zaibatsu Financial Structure*.\(^{96}\) The contents of this book and the authors are follows: “Introduction: Topics and Methods,” by Asajima; “Part 1: Comprehensive Zaibatsu” (sōgō zabatsu) includes “Mitsui Zaibatsu” by Yutaka Kasuga, both “Mitsubishi Zaibatsu” and “Sumitomo Zaibatsu” by Asajima; “Part 2: The New Konzern”

\(^{93}\) “Meiji-ki no kabushiki shijō to kabuka keisei,” *Shakai keizai shigaku*, vol. 53, no. 2.

\(^{94}\) *Waga kuni zaimu shōhyō seido no ayumi: senzen-hen* (Yūshōdō Shuppan)

\(^{95}\) *Waga kuni zaimu shōhyō seido seisei-shi no kenkyū*.

\(^{96}\) *Zaibatsu kinyū kōzō no hikaku kenkyū* (Ochanomizu Shobō).
consists of “Nissan konzern” by Masaru Udagawa, “Nitchitsu konzern” by Takeshi Ōshio and “Riken konzern” by Satoshi Saitō; and “Conclusion: Summary and Overview” by Asajima. In the first section of “Conclusion,” Asajima compares the financial control among the three comprehensive zaibatsu, the three new konzern, and also between the zaibatsu and konzern. In the second section, he compares the financial structure in the same way. We can say that this work realize a substantial broadening and deepening of the perspective, based on the original analytic method developed in editor Asajima’s great works, Business history of Sumitomo Zaibatsu in the inter-war period and The financial structure of Mitsubishi Zaibatsu.

In the field of zaibatsu history, the next noteworthy item is Satoshi Saitō’s Research into the New Konzern: Riken. Its business and entrepreneurial history analysis of the Riken industrial group, led by Masatoshi Ōkōchi, is in a high standard throughout its seven chapters: the first chapter titled “The Establishment of the Physics and Chemistry Laboratory”; the second, “The Formation of the Business Ideology of Masatoshi Ōkōchi; the third, ”The Industrialization of Innovation”; the fourth, “The Creation of the Riken Industrial Group”; the fifth, “The Implementation of the Scientific Engineering Thesis”; the sixth, “The Financial Structure of Riken”; and the last, “The Reorganization of Riken.” In particular, the originality of the fourth chapter is eminently praise-worthy.

Mitsubishi Zaibatsu and the Second World War, by Yasuo Mishima, Yasuaki Nagasawa, Takao Shiba, Nobuhisa Fujita and

97 Shinkō kontsuern Riken no kenkyū (Jichōsha). For reviews of this work, see Hidemasa Morikawa in Shukan tōyō keizai (Far Eastern Economics Weekly), March 14, 1987; Masaru Udagawa in Shakai keizaishigaku, vol. 54, no. 2; Yasuaki Nagasawa in Keiei shigaku, vol. 22, no. 3; and Masanori Satō in Chihō kinyū-shi kenkyū, no. 18.

Hidetatsu Satō, evolved as a basic work intended to “put zaibatsu business history of the Second World War period in the blank between the pre-War and post-War periods.” It is a magnum opus which painstaking investigates on a theme, largely ignored in business history, from a superbly fact-finding approach. Mishima writes the introduction and Chapter 6, “The Rapid Transformation of the Petrochemical Sector”; Nagasawa authors Chapter 7, “The Role of the Parent Companies” and Chapter 8, “The Raising of Capital”; Shiba does Chapter 1, “The Shipping Sector in Wartime,” Chapter 3, “Changes in the Production of Tanks” and Chapter 4, “The Expansion of Steel-Making”; Fujita deals with “Management in the Aircraft Industry” in Chapter 2; and Satō writes Chapter 5, “The Expansion of the Light Metal Sector.”

Masaaki Kobayashi’s The Birth of the Political Merchant,99 as can be discerned from the subtitle, Another Meiji Restoration, is an ambitious work which comprehensively analyzes the life histories of the zaibatsu founders from an entrepreneurial history perspective. It is composed of an introduction, “The Circumstances of the Birth of the Political Merchants”; Part 1, “The Privileged Merchants”; Part 2, “The Boys of the Far East”; Part 3, “Merchant of Death”; Part 4, “Fortune, Doggedness, and Energy”; Part 5, “The Organizers”; Part 6, “The Guardian Spirits of the Political Merchants” and the Conclusion, “From Political Merchants to Zaibatsu.” It presents the entrepreneurs: Takatoshi Mitsui, Masatomo Sumitomo, Yatarō Iwasaki, Seizō Kawasaki, Denzaburō Fujita, Kihachirō Ōkura, Ichibei Furukawa, Zenjirō Yasuda, Sōichirō Asano, Eiichi Shibusawa and Tomoatsu Godai, and the bureaucrats like Kaoru Inoue and Masayoshi Matsukata. The depth of Kobayashi’s interest in entrepreneurial historiography and religious sociology and his fact-finding efforts regarding the “political merchants” are truly amazing.

99 Seishō no tanjō (Tōyō keizai shinpō-sha). Yōichi Kobayakawa writes a review of this work in Keizai kei, no. 154.
As articles related to zaibatsu history, Shōichi Asajima wrote "The Finance of Sumitomo Zaibatsu after 1920" and "The Opening of Sumitomo Zaibatsu Shares to the Public." In the former, Asajima elucidates the role of the financial institutions within the Sumitomo Zaibatsu (that is, the relationship between the enterprise and the financial institutions of the zaibatsu), by his own analytic method. In the latter, he analyzes the problem of opening share-holding to the public while dealing with the way of Sumitomo's fund raising.

With its special issue on "The Development of the Regional Zaibatsu and the Regional Banks in the Pre-War Period," the Association for Historical Research in Regional Finance gave great impetus to research into the history of the regional zaibatsu. In the issue, Ryuichi Shibuya deals with the actual state of wealthy money-lenders and regional zaibatsu and their changes in his article; "The Evolution of Money-Lending Regional Zaibatsu and the Banks." While analyzing the creation, development and decline of the Saga Zaibatsu, Yasuo Honma investigates the applicability of the concept of regional zaibatsu itself in "Regional Banks and the Formation and Demise of the Saga Zaibatsu." (The Imuta article has been discussed above.)

Yasuo Mishima's "Was the Ozone a National Zaibatsu?" is attempt to investigate the "problems" raised by Hidemasa Morikawa's definition of regional zaibatsu, while analyzing the Ozone Zaibatsu which developed in Kobe. There have been some responses to this article. Mishima's "The Acquisition of the Takashima Coal Mine by Mitsubishi" elucidated the development of the business strategy of the mining sector of Mitsubishi by focusing on the purchase of the Takashima Coal Mine. It reveals

100 "1920 nen ikō no Sumitomo Zaibatsu no kinyū," Senshū daigaku shakai kagaku nenpō [Social Science Annual of Senshū University], no. 21.
101 "Sumitomo Zaibatsu no kabushiki kōkai," Senshū keizaku ronshū, no. 43.
102 "Senzen ni okeru chihō zaibatsu no tenkai to chiho ginkō," Chihō kinyū-shi kenkyū, no. 18.
103 "Ozone Zaibatsu wa chūō zaibatsu ka?," Kokumin keizai zasshi, vol. 156, no. 6.
the role played by the acquisition in the formative years of
Mitsubishi Zaibatsu.

In “Characteristics of Recent Research in Zaibatsu History and
the Role of the Japanese Zaibatsu in the Second World War,”\textsuperscript{105} Juichi Nakase stresses that the actual states of capital export by
the zaibatsu would be clarified by discovery and analyzing the
concealed data and that the figures of the capital export would
prove to be much larger than have been believed hitherto.

Satoshi Matsumura’s “The Katakura Zaibatsu between the
Wars,”\textsuperscript{106} is an magnum opus of 160 pages. This analyzes the
Katakura Zaibatsu, a notable gap in Japan’s business history.
Matsumura carries out a detailed positive study from the per-
spective that “in order to properly understand the special nature
of the expansion and capital accumulation of the Katakura Silk-
Spinning Co., it is not enough to carry out a business analysis
limited to the company itself,” but that it is important to “analyze
the whole structure of the Katakura Zaibatsu, that is, the diverse
business structure of the Katakura group with the Katakura
family at its head, and to determine the place of Katakura
Silk-Spinning in it.”

Yōichi Kobayakawa’s “A Study of the Asano Zaibatsu after the
Death of Sōichirō Asano,”\textsuperscript{107} is part of a major work forming
“An Analysis of the Period from the Manchurian ‘Incident’ to
the Second World War.” Its completion is anxiously awaited.

Shigeru Takeuchi’s “The Movement of Graduates of Keiō
University in Mitsui and the Mitsui Engineering Dept.”\textsuperscript{108} dem-
onstrates a further refinement and adaptation of the method

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Kōnan keizai kenkyū} [Kōnan Business Review], Kōnan University, vol. 27, no. 4.
\textsuperscript{105} “Saikin no zaibatsu-shi kenkyū no tokuchō to dainiji taisen ni okeru
Nippon zaibatsu no yakuwari,” \textit{Ōsaka sangyō daigaku ronshū (shakai kagaku)}
[Osaka Sangyō University Review (Social Science)], no. 67.
\textsuperscript{106} “Ryō taisen kan-ki no Katakura Zaibatsu,” \textit{Shakai kagaku kenkyū}, vol. 38,
no. 5.
\textsuperscript{107} “Asano Sōichirō shigo no Asano Zaibatsu no kenkyū,” \textit{Keizai jōhō} [Eco-
nomic Report], Chūbu University, vol. 6, nos. 3 & 4.
which Takeuchi has used in the study of the movements of graduates of Keiō Gijuku in Mitsui Bank and Mitsui Trading Co. This contributes many suggestions to the study of “the supply of entrepreneurs.”

Hideki Hatakeyama’s “The Inception and Development of Sumitomo Ringyō Co.”\(^{109}\) attempts to clarify “the peculiar historical characteristics of Sumitomo’s forestry business.” It is a highly positive article.


Yutaka Kasuga’s “Zaibatsu Reorganization in the Move towards a War-Based Economy”\(^{111}\) is a major work, dealing with the reorganization of the Mitsui Partnership. After analyzing in detail the history of the reorganization and the content of the reform plan, it reveals the “historical significance of the reorganization” as a “conclusion.” One should refer to Kasuga’s article in the already-mentioned *Comparative Studies of the Zaibatsu Financial Structure* as a comparison.
Masaaki Kobayashi’s “The Change from Public to Private Organizations in Japan’s Industrialization”\(^{112}\) is composed of three sections: the place of private industry in 1884; the transfer of the Government-owned Hyōgo Shipyards to private ownership; and the similar transfer of the Nagasaki Shipyards. It scrupulously analyzes these “transfers” as major elements in the formation and development of the Kawasaki and Mitsubishi Zai-batsu. Being related to “privatization,” it can be said to have current significance. Shin’ichirō Hagimoto’s “Supervision and Control in Zaibatsu Enterprises”\(^{113}\) considers Mitsubishi Ltd. (Mitsubishi Gōshi Kaisha) in its divisionally organized days. In order to clarify the nature of its multi-divisional structure, he analyzes such things as its financial control, the control by specialized staff and the incentive system.

Isao Ogawa’s “Osaka Life’s Buy-Up of Life Insurance and the Response of Japan Life”\(^{114}\) investigates the correctness of the thesis that controlling shares in Japan Life were transferred from the Kōnoike Zaibatsu to the Yamaguchi Zaibatsu in the early years of the century. He analyzes the background to the transfer of share-holding in 1906 and the Osaka Life Incident, and provides a careful analysis of the life history of Hiroshi Okabe.

**PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT**

Among articles related to personnel management, Ten’itsu Yō wrote “Japanese-Style Management.”\(^{115}\) This studies Japanese-style management in relation to the economic, social, and cultural background. Its first chapter “Japanese Enterprise and the Warrior Element,” grapples with the theme of the supply

\(^{112}\) “Nihon no kōgyō-ka ni okeru kangyō soshiki no mingyō soshiki e no iten,” *Keizai kei*, no. 152.

\(^{113}\) “Zaibatsu kigyō ni okeru kanri to tōsei,” *Meiji daigaku daigakuin kiyō* [Bulletin of the Graduate School of Meiji University], vol. 24, no. 6.

\(^{114}\) “Osaka Seimei no seiho nottori to Nihon Seimei no taitō,” *Hoken-gaku zasshi* [Insurance Magazine], no. 156.

\(^{115}\) “Nihon-teki keiei,” *Keiei ronshū* [Business Review], Asia University, vol. 23, no. 2.
of entrepreneurs. The second and third chapters are interesting if we consider the earlier proposal on a “group-oriented entrepreneur” by Gustav Ranis. In the fourth and fifth chapters, the “marginality” of Japanese-style management is minutely analyzed.

Satoshi Sasaki writes “The Process of Introduction of Scientific Management Methods at Mitsubishi Electric.” This purposes to “investigate the process of introduction, application and propagation of scientific management methods, particularly the time-study method of the Taylor System’s essence characterized as by task management, at the Kobe Manufacturing Works of Mitsubishi Electric,” and “to clarify the unique features of its application and to evaluate its significance in the history of Japanese business management.” He brilliantly elucidates the influence which the introduction of the time-study method had on the modernization of personnel relations, based on the production control.

Yukio Yamashita’s “Japan’s Internal Sub-Contracting System in the Coal-Mining Industry” clarifies the historical character of the internal sub-contracting (oyakata) system from his original perspective of business management history. From the case study of the first chapter, it goes on to deal with the nature of the system in the coal-mining industry with the naya and hanba (bunkhouse) systems in the second chapter. The third chapter analyzes the progress of its decline, the response of the mine owners and also the conditions of its growth and so on. Looking at the system from the point of view of the history of management development, the author gives evidence to support his logical argument that “as a transitional phenomenon, it played a definable historical role.”

In the following three articles, Masanori Matsumoto creates

\[ 116 \] “Mitsubishi Denki ni miru kagaku-teki kanri-hō no dōnyū katei,” Keiei shigaku, vol. 21, no. 4.
\[ 117 \] “Tankō-gyō ni miru Nihon no naibu ukeoi seido,” Shōgaku ronshū [Com-merce Review], Chūō University, vol. 29, no. 1.
definitive work arising from his own grand plan for Japanese personnel management history: “One Chapter in the History of Japanese Labor Management (2),” 118 “One Chapter in the History of Japanese Labor management (3),” 119 and “The Prototype and Function of Japanese-Style Mechanisms for Cooperation between Capital and Labor.” 120 In the first two articles, the “hanba system and indirect labor management” and “mining labor and the tomoko (friendly association / company-sponsored) system” are analyzed. In the third, the conditions for turning the so-called cooperative mechanisms of capital and labor effectively into “bourgeois pragmatism” are clarified, by studying “the One-Heart Union” (Issin Kumiai) of the Hokkaidō Colliery and Steamship Co. (Hokutan).

Haruto Takeda’s “The Record of the Gang Bosses at Metal Mines” 121 is also a significant study which delves into the lives of the hanba-gashira gang bosses whose existence was uniquely marginal in the labor management relations of the mines, although this article is just an introduction to historical materials. Materials related mainly to the Ashio Copper Mines and the Kosaka (Silver) Mines are introduced. Such topics as the movements of the hanba-gashira, the timing of their entry into the mines, the number of years until their assumption of the posts of chief artisan and their ages are all clarified.

Yutaka Nishinarita’s “Historical Study of Labor-Union Legislation between the Wars” 122 undertakes an historical study of trade-union legislation. This focuses on the activities of the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie in the following three periods when the proposal and enactment of trade-union legislation be-
came a major problem: the immediate aftermath of World War I, the mid-1920s and the Great Depression. In “Japanese Fascism and Labor-Capital Relations,” Nishinarita makes his topic “the clarification of the special features of labor-capital relations under Japanese fascism by means of an historical analysis of the Patriotic Production Society (Sangyō Hōkoku Kai),” and analyzes the formation, reorganization and its loss of functions of Sangyō Hōkoku Kai.

Mikio Sumiya’s “The Reconstitution of the Theory of Japanese-Style Labor Relations” is composed of five chapters, concerning the development of Japanese sociology and the discovery of “Japanese-Style Labor Relations,” post-War enterprise unions, extension of length of service and life-time employment, questions about “the theory of Japanese-style labor relations,” and the revision of that theory. Sumiya’s “slanted, communalistic, dependent relationship” is explained.

In Shinji Sugayama’s “Lower Echelon Staff in Heavy Electrical Industry Management in the 1920s,” he tries, to clarify the actual content of changes in the lower echelons of staff with as much evidence as possible at the Hitachi Engineering (Hitachi Factory of Hitachi Seisaku-sho), in the 1920s, particularly in the latter half, and also to deal with its changes in both internal and external conditions arising from reaching a watershed in the First World War: the bureaucratization of enterprise management and the expansion of middle and higher education.

Yukio Wakabayashi’s “The Evolution of Labor Relations at the Kure Naval Works during the Sino-Japanese War” concerns

122 “Ryō taisen kan-ki rōdō kumiai hōan no shiteki kōsatsu,” Keizaigaku kenkyū [Studies in Economics], Research Annual of Hitotsubashi University, no. 28.

123 “Nihon fashizumu to rōshi kankei,” ibid., no. 25.


the growth of a “factory town,” personnel management and the situation of labor at the Kure Naval Works in the period of the Sino-Japanese War.

Yukio Okamoto “investigates the historical nature of regulations limiting the movement of workers which were adopted to prevent their abduction, and attempts to find the reasons why the peculiar nature of Japan’s labor market, its immobility and vertical discreteness came about,” in “The Problem of Competition for (Abduction of) Cotton-Spinning Workers in the Second Decade of Meiji (1880s) (1): The Plan to Prevent Raiding and the Competition for Workers.”¹²⁷ First, he deals with the controversy over strategy to prevent competition for workers (abduction) in the early phase of the Japan Cotton Spinners Association (Bōren), then discusses the characteristic development of the policy, focusing on the formation of the Southern Settsu (northern Osaka) Spinning Industry Association (Setsunan Bōseki-gyō Dōmei) and the “Bylaws” of Bōren, revised contracts and rules for the employment of workers.

“Organization and Management in Big Manufacturing Enterprises”¹²⁸ by Tsunehiko Yui, Reiko Okayama and Etsuo Abe, is a comparative historical study of Japan and England. In particular, Yui’s article in English, “The Progress and Organization of Japan’s Big Manufacturing Enterprises” elucidates the special overall characteristics of these enterprises within the framework of their organizational structure and strategy, while focusing on the difference in organization in the large-scale manufacturing of Japan and the United States. Yui tackles the process of organizational development of big manufacturing enterprise from the point of view of the nature of technology and markets and

¹²⁷ “Meiji niju nendai menshi bōseki shokkō sōdatsu (yūin) mondai (1): shokkō sōdatsu taisaku to sōdatsu jittai,” Shōgaku ronshū, vol. 34, no. 3.
the creation of an echelon of managers. While appraising the institutional approach of A. D. Chandler, he says that interpretations relying on a one-way movement from strategy to structure are not applicable to the cases of England and Japan. He emphasizes that it is necessary to consider the various differences seen in the institutional development of Japan and America which are revealed in the nature of the activities of entrepreneurs, the timing of development and the unique value systems and social structure of each country. In Part 1, “The Appearance and Development of Modern Manufacturing Enterprises,” and in Part 2, “The Formation of Large Manufacturing Enterprises in the Years between 1920 and 1940,” are discussed.

It should be noted in connection with this paper by Yui that the translation of R. P. Dore’s superb British factory - Japanese factory by Yasushi Yamanouchi and Koji Nagai is an accurate and superior work, as a comparative sociological study of labor relations. According to translator Yamanouchi, Dore deploys a reliable field survey and a superior analytic power concerning the diversity of each country’s historical and cultural conditions by which this process was ordained, while clarifying the change and transformation in capital industrial society from the stage of a “market-oriented employment system” to that of an “organization-oriented employment system.” Though this is a translation, because not only its content but also the standard of translation is so high, it has been introduced here. The “translator’s postscript” is also worthy of attention.

TECHNOLOGICAL HISTORY

In the field of technological history, the book compiled by Ryōshin Minami and Yukihiro Kiyokawa, Japan’s Industrialization and Technological Development is a comprehensive study dealing with the “phenomenon” of technological progress from the point of

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129 Chikuma Shobō. This work is reviewed by Yōko Sano in Shukan tōyō keizai, Feb. 6, 1988; and Yoji Takahashi in Shukan dokushojin [Readers’ Weekly], March 28, 1988.
view that "technological transfer and diffusion were the essence of Japan's progress in industrial technology, and major elements in economic development." In the first chapter, Minami discusses Japan's technological development and the condition for it. Factors of business and entrepreneurial history and dealt with effectively in the form of the development of the financial industry, the fostering of human talents, the development of managerial systems and information networks, and the role of government. Chapters 2 to 5 are concerned with tea-manufacturing (by Masahiko Aratani), silk-reeling (Minami and Fumio Makino), weaving (Osamu Saitō and Takeshi Abe), and cotton spinning (Yukihiko Kiyokawa), and Chapters 6 to 9 study spinning-machine manufacture (Keijiro Ōtsuka), power-loom production (Tadashi Ishii), shipbuilding (Katsuo Ōtsuka), and the machine tools industry (Minoru Sawai). Then in chapters 10 to 13, the elements of technological development are analyzed. In Chapter 10, Yoshio Sugiura analyzes the influence of the regional distribution of entrepreneurs on the dispersion of technological innovation with electric power technology as his reference datum. In Chapters 11 to 13, the roles played by craftsmen (Kōnosuke Odaka), engineers (Kenji Imazu), and the company and factory systems (Yoshio Matsuda, Fumio Arita, and Masahiro Sato) in the development of technology and industry are studied across the whole range of manufacturing industry. Then in the epilogue, Kiyokawa sums up the special characteristics and significance of Japan's technological development, and suggests topics for further study. As "remaining topics which have not been dealt with adequately in this book," he argues convincingly that the analysis of factors of business and entrepreneurial history is necessary. In other words:

[Technological development] should be analyzed in detail in terms of changes in productive and business organization, in particular, matters related to the role of technology managers and entrepreneurial spirit should be investigated further, as

\[130\] *Nihon no kōgyō-ka to gijutsu hatten* (Tōyō Keizai Shinpō-sha).
well as methods of acquisition and storage of real technological information.

This book does not deal with institutional factors such as "the zaibatsu," "the life-time employment system" and "cartels" highlighted by Okawa and Rosovsky, although confirmed as "important factors" by Minami. Even greater progress from interdisciplinary research can be expected.

Focusing on technologists, the history of technology from the early modern period to the present is analyzed, as Part 1, "A Genealogy of Japanese Technologists," in Toshio Kuroiwa's An Historical Discussion Of Modern Technology.\textsuperscript{131} Important men in research on zaibatsu history are dealt with in considerable numbers: Saihei Hirose, Kōtarō Honda, Shitagau Noguchi, Namihei Kodaira, Masatoshi Ōkochi, Yasujirō Niwa, Kenjirō Takayanagi and others. The first three sections are of deep interest: "Technologists in the Period of Disruption at the End of the Tokugawa Period"; "The Foundation of the Works Ministry and the Era of the First Japanese Engineers"; and "The Japanese Industrial Revolution and the Technologists."

Ken'ichi Iida's The Personnel in the History of Iron and Steel Technology\textsuperscript{132} is worthy of note from the perspective of entrepreneurial history. It is made up of three parts: "Prelude to the Modern History of Iron and Steel"; "The People who Led the Way in the Establishment of Modern Technology"; and "The People who Led the Way in the Development of Current Technology." Iida dealt with from many people from his original point of view: Takao Ōshima, Kurt Netto, Adolf Ledebur, Kageyoshi Noro, the Chōbei Tanaka family, Koroku Kōmura, Kaichirō Imaizumi, Chōbei Dobashi, and Tsunesada Samukawa, Kōtarō Honda, Kunikazu Tawara, Tokushichi Mishima, Taizo Kuroda, Chōbei Asada, Takeshi Yamaoka; Yatarō Nishiyama, Kōsuke Iwasaki and others. All the engineers who are dealt with in the book committed deeply to the self-generation and natu-

\textsuperscript{131} Gendai gijutsu shiron (Tōyō Keizai Shinpō-sha).
\textsuperscript{132} Jinbutsu tekko gijutsu-shi (Nikkei Kōgyō Shinbun-sha).
ralization of Japan’s own technology, and took the attitude the advanced technology of Europe and America should be adapted to the situation in Japan. This book analyzes in detail, for example, the life histories of Yatarō Nishiyama (leader of the post-War revolution in iron and steel technology, “the iron innovator”) who became quite unusual “engineer-like businessmen,” and emphasizes their “creative intellects” and “organizational productivity.”

The Employment, published as a comprehensive work of research on the foreigners employed by the Meiji Government, is composed of papers read at the International Symposium held in Fukui City in October, 1985, and others. There are many articles in it, such as Noboru Umetani’s “The State and Direction of Research on Government-Employed Foreigners,” Takashi Utsumi’s “The Yokohama Foreign Settlement and W. E. Griffis,” Kenji Imazu’s “Concerning Government-Employed Foreign Engineers and the Technical Bureaucrats of the Works Ministry,” and Masami Kita’s “The Principal of the Works Ministry Engineering School, Henri Dyer.” All are noteworthy for their theories on the fringe type of innovator.

Hoshimi Uchida’s “The Distribution of the Engineer Graduates of Universities in 1920” is based on Uchida’s series of statistical surveys. This reveals the ten-yearly distribution, according to specialization and field of activity, of graduate engineers who came to the fore in the process of Japan’s industrialization after 1880. As is well known, Uchida has a unique perspective on technological history, particularly with regard to the history of technological policy. His statistical series research does not only elucidate the formative process of Japan’s modern technological but may be considered to contribute to research in zaibatsu history as well.

The article by Takeji Abe and Takeo Kikawa, “The Motive

133 Za yatosi (Shibunkaku Shuppan).
Power Revolution and Small and Medium Enterprise in Japan,"\textsuperscript{135} critically examines Ryôshin Minami's claim that in the pre-War period, Japan's small and medium enterprises moved from a non-mechanized state at one leap into the era of electric machines without real experience of a steam-engine era." This is based on a study of the evidence concerning the cotton-weaving industry in areas of cotton production. As well as carefully investigating the progress of the motive-power revolution in the cotton-weaving districts, it painstakingly analyzes the factors which led to the so-called "Second Motive Revolution."

In "Mining Engineer: Monnosuke Shiono,"\textsuperscript{136} Masatake Sasaki discusses attractively the "marginality" of an engineer who was sent to France by Saihei Hirose in April of 1876, studied mining at the St. Etienne Mining School, returned to Japan in December of 1881, and made a great contribution to the modernization of Sumitomo (Mining).

\textit{IDEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY}

First we should mention Toshimitsu Asano's "Modern Japan's Business Ideology."\textsuperscript{137} Pre-War business ideology can be divided into three periods: those pertaining from early to mid-Meiji (1870s–90s); from late Meiji through the Taishô period (turn of the century to mid-1920s); and the period of mobilization for the War till the end of the War (1927–1945). He also divides the post-War business ideology into the three periods: the period from reconstruction to independence; the period of high economic growth; and the period of stable growth. The same author's "The Inspiration and Nature of 'Business' Philosophy in Modern Japan"\textsuperscript{138} analyzes the background of the creation of

\textsuperscript{135} "Nihon ni okeru dooryoku kakumei to chûshô kōgyô," \textit{Shakai keizai shigaku}, vol. 53, no. 2.
\textsuperscript{136} "Kôzan gishi Shiono Monnosuke (Jô)," \textit{Shisô} [Historical Journal], Nihon University, no. 39.
\textsuperscript{137} "Kindai Nihon no keiei rinen," \textit{Asahi daigaku keiei ronshû} [Journal of Business of Asahi University], Asahi University, vol. 1, no. 1.
business vocabulary in early Meiji and the formation of a business philosophy in mid-Meiji.


A book edited by Noboru Kawazoe and Yoshinori Yamaoka, *Japanese Businessmen and Social and Cultural Projects: The Philanthropy of the Taishō Period*, is an interesting work, using the sociological approach to entrepreneurial history. It is composed of an Introduction, “The Taishō Period as Background” by Kawazoe; Chapter 1, “Ichizaemon Morimura and the Morimura Service-Awards Society” by Ikuo Fukunaga; Chapter 2, “Jirō Harada and the Harada Loyal Service Society” by Yoshinori Yamaoka; Chapter 3, “Zen’emon Saitō and the Saitō Recompense Society” by Yamaoka; Chapter 4, “Zenjirō Yasuda and the Society for the Study of Tokyo Administration” by Mitsugu Kaishin; Chapter 5, “Magosaburō Ōhara and the Three Ōhara Research Institutes” by Kōji Terade; Chapter 6, “Kōkichi Morimoto and the Society for the Dissemination of Culture” by Terade; Chapter 7, “Keizō Shibusawa and the Attic Museum” by Kenji Satō; Chapter 8, “Imperial Grants and Zaibatsu Family Donations” by Yoshinori Yamaoka; Chapter 9, “The Social and Cultural Activities of the Newspaper Companies” by Satō; Chapter 10, “The

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138 “Kindai Nihon ni okeru ‘jitsugyō’ kan no seiritsu to tokushitsu,” *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 2.
139 “Nihon keiei no kindai-ka to keiei tetsugaku,” *Tōyō daigaku sōritsu 100 shūnen kinen ronbun-shū* - 4 [Essays Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Founding of Tōyō University, no. 4.], Tōyō University.
140 *Nihon no kigyō-ka to shakai bunka jigyō: Taishō-ki no fūiransorōpi* (Tōyō Keizai Shinpō-sha).
Study of Economics in Kansai and Social and Cultural Projects" by Tadashi Imada; "Popular Cultural Exchange between Japan and America" by Toshikazu Doi; and the Conclusion, "The Search for the Japanese Model of Philanthropy" by Yōjirō Hayashi. The philosophy of entrepreneurs in the Taishō period (1912-1926) and their philanthropic endeavors in the social and cultural fields are scrupulously analyzed.

In The Thrift and Diligence of Japanese People, Shigeru Toyama deals with Suzuki Shōzō as the founder of a Buddhistic work ethic in Chapter 1; Ishida Baigan as originator of popular ethical education in Chapter 2; Ninomiya Sontoku as formulator of the philosophy of diligence and thrift in Chapter 3; the Ōmi merchants as practitioners of diligence and thrift in Chapter 4; and Ishikawa Rikinosuke as a pragmatic farmer's leader in Chapter 5; and in each explores the basic elements of the unique "ethos" of the Japanese people. The theory of the "frontier spirit" devoted in Chapter 6 is certainly not without relation to the theory of marginal man.

WORKS PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH

The Business History of General Trading Companies, edited by Shin'ichi Yonekawa and Hideki Yoshihara, starts with an Introduction by Yonekawa. While discussing the points which should be considered as the conditions for the emergence of general trading companies, he particularly emphasizes that economic factors such as financial support from banks and a degree of dependence on foreign trade are necessary conditions for the emergence of general trading companies, but they are not the sufficient conditions. Therefore, he stresses, the internal organization and business policy of each company should be considered, dealing with their emergence. In his "Some Questions on Japan's General Trading Companies," Yoshihara questions why Japan's general trading companies developed and why similar

141 Nihon-jin no kinben chochiku kan (Tōyō Keizai Shinpō-sha).
142 University of Tokyo Press.
enterprise did not develop in Europe and America and emphasizes the importance of comparative research on Japan and other countries. He says that functional equivalents would be useful as an analytic concept in such comparative research. It is his basic understanding that a unique foreign trading organization has been developed for the country, corresponding to the social, economic and historical conditions unique to each country. In "The Business History of the General Trading Companies in International Perspective," Yoshihara also discusses, first, on the special character of the period in which Japanese general trading companies emerged. Then, while following A. D. Chandler, he pays particular attention to the modern management system and the pool of highly qualified personnel as important explanatory variables in clarifying the reason why the general trading companies developed in Japan, and also particularly at the turn of the century. Second, Yoshihara notes the importance of the nature of the products exported, as a factor in the explanation of why manufacturing enterprise did not export their products directly in Japan. That is, he gives due attention to the fact that there was a tendency which manufacturing enterprises themselves directly exported the commodities produced with advanced technology and also differentiated products.

In "The Logic of the Formation of General Trading Companies in Japan," Hiroaki Yamazaki reveals that there were two types of foreign trading companies in pre-War Japan: the general trading companies and the specialist textile companies. Among the former, Mitsui Bussan (Mitsui Trading Co.) was far ahead of the others, in terms of scale, degree of diversification, and establishment of foreign branches. Among the factors which contributed to the great development of Mitsui Bussan as a general trading company, he listed the preeminent leadership of the founders; the Government's aid in the early stages of development; the creation of an organization for risk management; and the relationship with its zaibatsu. Nobuo Kawabe's "Development of Overseas Operation by General Trading Companies, 1868-1947" considers the development of the foreign business of the
general trading companies as one of the most important areas of their business activities. On the basis of actual data, he analyzes the function which their foreign branches and overseas subsidiary companies fulfilled and the relationship of these with the overall development of the general trading companies.

G. Porter, in "Economics, Politics, and Culture: Roots of the Decentralized Organization of Foreign Trade in American Industrialization," says that the kind of general trading companies and zaibatsu found in Japan did not exist in America, and that the reason can be found in the economic, cultural and political conditions unique to America. That is, in the period of America's industrialization from 1815 to 1940, the concern with foreign trade was not as high as in Japan or England, and what absorbed the interest of privileged merchants and manufactures was the existence of a huge internal market. It is conclude that the widely-accepted tradition of individualism and the political ideology of democracy and opposition to monopoly, combining with conditions of comparatively passive role-playing by Government, brought about the pattern of development of America-style foreign trade which was so different from that of Japan.


(Reviewed by Makoto Seoka)