

REPORTS:

The Works of Japanese Business Historians in 1985: Business History of Japan

*By Toshiyuki Shinomiya
Hirosaki University*

Before discussing the results of research in business history for 1985, we should probably first mention the book *Keieishi-gaku no 20 nen: Kaiko to Tenbo*¹ ("20 Years of Business History in Japan: Retrospect and Prospect") published during the year by the Keieishi Gakkai (Business History Society of Japan"). While reviewing the development and impending problems of business history research in Japan up to that time, this book also introduces and comments on the major research results in various fields, such as "Entrepreneurs and Managers," "Management Ideologies," "The *Zaibatsu*," "Government and Enterprise," "The Company System, Enterprise Finance," and "Japanese-Style Management," all according to sector and period. Such research results include those from the era before the Second World War.

As the President of the Society, Keiichiro Nakagawa, points out in the book's preface, in the last decade Japanese research in business history has aimed at greater internationalization and greater positivism. This tendency can also be discerned clearly in 1985. And one more special characteristic of recent years has been an extension of the target period of research to the interwar period after the First World War and then to the period following the Second World War. Also, greater diversification and more detailed analysis in research have become conspicuous. Along with these, it can be said that the relationship of problem consciousness to method and verification in business history research is once again being questioned in connection with the intensifying debate about the former.

1. Business in the Tokugawa Period

Generally speaking, there is not a great deal of business history research on this period. Of it, as a coherent body of work, there is the

research of Takayuki Kagawa on the Mitsui family. Kagawa's *Kinsei Mitsui Keieishi no Kenkyu*² ("The Mitsui Family Business in the Tokugawa Period") analyzes their business activities from the 18th century to the period immediately following the Meiji Restoration in the latter half of the 19th century from the point of view of economic history, and clarifies their business trends and mode of capital accumulation. "Mitsui Ryogae-ten no Daimyo Kinyu"³ ("Loans to *Daimyo* by the Mitsui Exchange"), by the same author, examines the real state of their monetary credits to the *daimyo* (feudal lords). Yasuhiro Mori's "Bunka-ki made no Goyokin to Konoikeke"⁴ ("Compulsory Borrowings by the Shogunate before the Bunka Period and the Konoike Merchant House") also examines the loans extended to the Bakufu and *daimyo* before the 1810s, in which the Konoike, a great merchant family like the Mitsui, was involved.

Masahiro Uemura's "Omi Shonin Nishikawa Denuemon-ke no Matsumae Keiei"⁵ ("The Entrepreneurship of the House of the Omi Merchant Nishikawa Denuemon in Hokkaido") analyzes the vicissitudes of the business management of a merchant house from what is now Shiga Prefecture in the Omi region during the Edo era and the first half of the Meiji era, with emphasis on fishing and shipping in northern Japan. Kunitoshi Suenaga's "Bakumatsu no Kyoto Ryogae-sho no Tosan to Omi Shonin: Iseto to Chogin o Chushin ni"⁶ ("Bankruptcy of a Kyoto Money-Changing House and the Omi Merchants in the Bakumatsu Period: With Particular Reference to the *Iseto* and *Chogin*") takes up the financial dealings between merchants from the Omi region. Again, with reference to the activities of merchants on a local rather than national scale, we have the research of Tomihiro Nakayama, "Kinsei-koki Zai-machi ni okeru Gosho no Keisei to Hatten Katei: Bingo Fuchu Nobuto-ke no Bunseki"⁷ (The Formation and Development of the *Gosho* in Zai-machi in the late Edo Era: A Case Study of the Nobuto Family in Fuchu, Bingo), of Hiroshi Iwasaki in "Kinsei-koki niokeru Chiho-toshi Shonin no Doko: Joshu Tsuchiura-machi Daikoku-ya Tokubei no Baai"⁸ ("The Development of Regional Urban Merchants in the Tokugawa Period: The Case of Daikoku-ya Tokubei's Family Business in Tsuchiura Town, Joshu") and of Akira Hasegawa in "Bakumatsu-ki ni okeru Shoyu Jozo Keiei: Banshu Tatsuno Maruo-ke no Baai"⁹ ("An Example of the Soy-Brewing Business in the Late Tokugawa Era: The Maruo Family in Banshu Tatsuno").

Nobuhiro Miyoshi's research on the education of merchants should also be noted. Miyoshi's *Nippon Shogyo Kyoiku Seiritsu-shi no*

*Kenkyu: Nippon Shogyo no Kindaika to Kyoiku*¹⁰ ("Studies on the Formation of Commercial Education in Japan: Education and the Modernization of Japanese Commerce") clarifies the elements of continuity and disjunction between the education of merchants in their businesses in this period and the commercial education at schools on and after the Meiji era. The same author's "Edo Jidai Shoka Kaho no Kyoiku Joko"¹¹ ("Educational Clauses in the Merchant Family Codes in Tokugawa Japan") discusses the significance of the merchant family codes in the commercial education sphere. As well, Osamu Saito, in "Shoka Hoko-nin to Zatsugyo-sha: Kinsei Toshi Rodo Shijo ni okeru Niju Kozo no Keisei"¹² ("Apprentices in Merchant Houses and Men in Back-Alley Tenements: The Evolution of Dualism in Urban Employment, circa 1700–1870"), notes that the increase in the employment of apprentices over longer periods by the great merchant houses of Osaka and the adoption of seniority and internal promotion systems, spreading through their networks of branch shops to affect the employment terms of merchant apprentices in Edo (Tokyo) and other cities, brought about a dual system of separate strata of long-term employees and short-term workers in miscellaneous occupations in urban labor markets. Masaaki Kobayashi, in "Sumitomo no Tanjo: Zaibatsu Sogyo-sha to Bukkyo"¹³ ("The Rise of Sumitomo: The Founders of the Zaibatsu and Buddhism"), examines the growth of a great merchant house in terms of its relationship with the Buddhist sect of the lineage, and progress in future research from this point of view can be expected. Ken'ichiro Shoda's "Nippon Kindai to Shokubun-kan"¹⁴ ("Japanese Modernization and Attitudes toward Job Roles") discusses the distinctive attitudes toward occupational roles arising in the society of that period as a philosophical motivating force behind the Meiji Restoration, and because it is linked to an understanding of the views of occupational roles held by those responsible for business, it draws our attention.

2. Business from the Meiji Period to the Second World War

(1) The *Zaibatsu*, Family Enterprises and *Konzerns*

First, as works discussing the general characteristics of the *zaibatsu*, let us begin with an introduction of the studies of Shigeaki Yasuoka, Matao Miyamoto, and Kenjiro Ishikawa, published in *Zaibatsu no Hikakushi-teki Kenkyu*¹⁵ ("Studies on the *Zaibatsu* — Historical and Comparative"), edited by Yasuoka, et al. Among them, Yasuoka's "Zaibatsu no Hikakushi-teki Kenkyu no Sobyō" ("A Sketch of Com-

parative History Studies on the *Zaibatsu*”) undertakes a global comparison of the Japanese *zaibatsu* with the world’s *zaibatsu*-like family enterprises. Miyamoto’s “Kazoku Kigyo, Kaisha Seido, Keiei Seika: Zaibatsushi to no Kanren de” (“Family Enterprises, Company Institutions, and Business Results: In Relation to *Zaibatsu* History”) analyzes the special features of the management of family enterprises from the point of view of company types and business results. Ishikawa’s “Zaibatsu-kei Kigyo no Zaimu Tokusei Kenkyu no Ichi-sozai toshite, 1929 nen no Baai”¹⁶ (“The Ownership and Disposal of Profits of *Zaibatsu* Affiliates: The 1929 Evidence as a Resource for Research on the Financial Characteristics of *Zaibatsu* Affiliates”) examines the relation between the degree of concentration of ownership in enterprises affiliated with the *zaibatsu*, their profitability, and their profit disposition. Also, Haruhito Takeda’s “Shihon Chikuseki (3): Zaibatsu”¹⁷ (“Capital Accumulation (3): The *Zaibatsu*”) discusses the economic significance of the development of *zaibatsu* into *konzern* during the First World War.

Next, of works dealing with the powerful *zaibatsu*, at first the Mitsubishi, the series of analyses focusing on the financial mechanisms by Shoichi Asajima deserves our attention. Asajima’s “Senji Taiseiki no Mitsubishi Zaibatsu: Shushi Kozo o Chushin toshite”¹⁸ (“On the Fund Flows of the Mitsubishi *Zaibatsu*, 1937 – 1945”) makes it clear that Mitsubishi’s internal financial capabilities deteriorated in the period after 1937. “Dai-ichiji Taisen-go no Mitsubishi Zaibatsu no Kinyu: Zaibatsu Kigyo to Zaibatsu Kinyu Kikan no Kankei”¹⁹ (“The Financial Structure of the Mitsubishi *Zaibatsu*, 1918–1945: The Relation Between *Zaibatsu* Enterprises and *Zaibatsu* Financial Organs”) examines the financial interdependence between financial and other departments within the *zaibatsu*. The same author’s “Mitsubishi Zaibatsu no Kabushiki Kokai: Shikin Chotatsu-men kara no Kosatsu”²⁰ (“Public Stock Offerings in the Mitsubishi *Zaibatsu*: An Inquiry from the Point of View of Capital Accumulation”) analyzes the raising of outside funds by means of public offerings. Also, Hideo Tsuda’s “Mitsubishi *Zaibatsu* ni okeru Naibu Kansa Kiko no Hensen, 2”²¹ (“The Evolution of the Internal Auditing System in the Mitsubishi *Zaibatsu*, 2”) discusses the systematization of the indirect supervision of individual business divisions by the headquarters of the Mitsubishi *zaibatsu*. Takao Shiba’s “Showa Senzen-ki Mitsubishi Juko no Jidosha Seizo Jigyo: Sai-shinshutsu to Sono Zasetsu”²² (“Mitsubishi Heavy Industry’s Automotive Industry Before WWII: Its Re-Advance and Collapse”) examines its entry into and withdrawal from the automo-

tive industry before the Second World War.

Concerning the Yasuda *Zaibatsu*, there was Tsunehiko Yui's "Yasuda Shoten no Keiei to Shihon Chikuseki"²³ ("The Management and Capital Accumulation of the Yasuda's Early Business"). In this study, Yui argues that in the early Meiji Era Yasuda's business activities were not excessively speculative, as the common interpretation has it, but that its capital accumulation was not yet adequate. Yoichi Kohayagawa discusses the continuity in the management reforms of the two top men after the 1920s in "Yasuda Zenjiro Shi-go no Yasuda Zaibatsu no Sai-hensei: Yuki, Mori Kaikaku no Katei to Igi ni tsuite"²⁴ ("The Reorganization of the Yasuda *Zaibatsu* after the Death of Zenjiro Yasuda: The Process and Significance of the Reforms of Yuki and Mori"). The same author examines the process by which subsidiary companies tended to become holding companies financing the parent company in "Showa-ki ni okeru Yasuda Zaibatsu ni tsuite no Oboegaki: Yasuda Shoji no Mochikabu Kaisha-ka narabi ni Yasuda Hozen-sha oyobi Yasuda Dozoku e no Yushi o Megutte"²⁵ ("Notes on the Yasuda *Zaibatsu* in the Showa Period: The Process by which Yasuda Shoji Became a Holding Company and Its Financing of Yasuda Hozen-sha and the Yasuda House").

Concerning Mitsui *Zaibatsu*, Kunio Suzuki's "Senji Keizai Tosei-ka no Mitsui Bussan, II"²⁶ ("Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Under Wartime Economy Controls, 1937-1945, II") discusses the actual nature of commodity transactions by Mitsui & Co., Ltd. during the war. Jiro Obata's "Mitsui Zaibatsu ni yoru Tekkogyo no Tenkai Katei: 1913-1933"²⁷ ("The Development of the Iron and Steel Industry by Mitsui *Zaibatsu*: 1913-1933") deals with Mitsui's involvement and relinquishment of iron and steel production.

Research on provincial or local *zaibatsu* also made progress. Hidemasa Morikawa, long in the forefront of such research, caught our attention with a study, based on a clear-cut business history problem consciousness, of the development of business activities aimed at turning non-monopolistic regional family enterprises into *zaibatsu* through diversification and exclusive ownership and control by the families, in *Chiho Zaibatsu*²⁸ ("Provincial *Zaibatsu*"). Concerning local propertied families, including those in the nation's main cities, like Tokyo, that were excluded by Morikawa, Ryuichi Shibuya deals with them comprehensively as local *zaibatsu* in "Shihon-shugi no Hatten to Chiho Shisan-ka (*Zaibatsu*)"²⁹ ("The Development of Capitalism and Local Families of Wealth and Property (*Zaibatsu*)"). Hideki Hatakeyama traces the development of the businesses and the

zaibatsu nature of the Kaijima and Aso families, powerful proprietors of collieries in Western Japan, in four articles, “Chikuho Tanko Kigyo-ka no Keisei to Hatten, 2”³⁰ (“The Development of the Coal-Mining Entrepreneurs in Chikuho, 2”), “Chikuho Aso-ke no Kaho”³¹ (“The Family Constitution of the House of Aso in Chikuho”), “Kaijima-ke no Kaken”³² (“The Family Constitution of the Kaijimas”), and “Aso-ke Tankogyo no Hatten to Kaho”³³ (“The Development of the Coal-Mining Business of the House of Aso and its Family Constitution”). Hatsu Murakami’s “Nakano Zaibatsu no Keisei”³⁴ (“The Formation of the Nakano *Zaibatsu*”) investigates the activities and investment connections of a local *zaibatsu* in the middle region of Japan. Takashi Kato’s “Shigeta-ke ni okeru Kagyo (Shoyu-jozo) no Tenkai to Kurosu Ginko”³⁵ (“The Development of the Business (Soy Sauce Brewing) of the Shigeta Family in Conjunction with the Kurosu Bank”) deals with the limitations on provincial family enterprises.

Among other studies on *zaibatsu*, or family enterprises, Kensuke Hiroyama made the Konoike house enterprises his subjects in “Konoike-ke no Shintaku-gyo e no Shinshutsu, 1: Konoike Shintaku Kabushiki Kaisha no Gaikan to sono Jinteki Kosei”³⁶ (“The Konoikes’ Entry into the Trust Business in the 1920s, 1: An Analysis of the Investors and Directors of the Konoike Trust Co., Ltd.”) and “Konoike-ke no Meiji 20-nendai no Sanyo-cho”³⁷ (“The Konoike Balance Sheets in the Meiji 20s”).

On the “new Konzern” (or new *zaibatsu*), about which in recent research there have been increasing doubts as to their classification as *zaibatsu* on the grounds of the deficiencies of exclusive ownership and control by specific families, there was the series of studies by Takeshi Oshio on Nihon Chisso Hiryo (Japan Nitrogenous Fertilizer Co., Ltd.). Oshio, in “Chosen Chisso Hiryo Kabushiki Kaisha no Shueki ni Kansuru Ichi Kosatsu”³⁸ (“A Study on the Revenues of the Chosen Nitrogenous Fertilizer Co.”) and “Choshinko Kaihatsu o Meguru Nichitsu to Misubishi no Tairitsu ni tsuite”³⁹ (“On the Confrontation between Nichitsu and Mitsubishi concerning the Tangjinkang Project”) investigates the industry in Korea from about 1930, and in “Nichitsu Kankei Kaisha no Setsuritsu to Ido”⁴⁰ (“The Creation of and Changes among the Subsidiaries of the Nichitsu *Konzern*”), outlines the genealogies of all the related companies. And on the Nakajima Aircraft Co., Ltd., which grew rapidly into a huge military enterprise during the Second World War and was called the Nakajima *Konzern*, Shoichi Asajima, in “Senji Taisei-ki no Nakajima Hikoki”⁴¹ (“The Nakajima Aircraft Company During World War II”), points

out that the Nakajima group of enterprises was neither a *zaibatsu* nor a *Konzern*, and in "Dainiji Taisen Makki no Nakajima Hikoki"⁴² ("A Study of the Nakajima Aircraft Company Near the End of World War II"), clarifies the real nature of its business during the latter part of the War.

(2) Manufacturing

Looking at the subject beginning with the cotton-spinning and weaving industry, Matao Miyamoto's "Osaka Boseki no Seihin Shijo Senryaku: Osaka Boseki Keieishi e no Dansho"⁴³ ("Product and Market Strategies of the Osaka Cotton-Spinning Company, 1883-1914: A Contribution to the Management History of Osaka Boseki") and Yukihiro Kiyokawa's "Nippon Men-Bosekigyo ni okeru Ring-boki no Saiyo o megutte: Gijutsu Sentaku no Shiten yori"⁴⁴ ("Concerning the Choice of the Ring-Frame Technique in the Japanese Cotton-Spinning Industry: From the Viewpoint of Technological Choice") are noteworthy. Miyamoto's study looks at the weakening of the competitiveness of Japan's first full-scale, modern cotton-spinning enterprise after the mid-1890s. Kiyokawa's article deals with the adoption of ring spinning frames, which by about 1889 had become common in the industry, as a technical choice based on the leadership of Japanese engineers.

Tetsuya Kuwahara, in "Zaika Boseki-gyo Seisei ni kansuru Seihin-Shijo Kozo-teki, Kigyo-sha Seino-teki Bunseki: Fuji Gas Boseki Kaisha to Wada Toyoharu"⁴⁵ ("Product and Market Constitutional, Entrepreneurial Analysis of Japanese Cotton Spinners' Direct Investment in China before the Second World War: Fuji Gas Cotton-Spinning Co. and Toyoharu Wada") examines the strategy of one powerful cotton-spinning enterprise and the advance of its factories into China in terms of the president's awareness of his leadership in the industry. Naoto Kagotani's "Dai-Nippon Boseki Rengokai"⁴⁶ ("The All-Japan Spinners Association") is interesting as an article that discusses organizational disturbances and attempts at reorganization in the activities of the cartel in the cotton-spinning industry during the 1920s. Masao Nagae, in "Kyushu Boseki Kabushiki Kaisha to Mitsui Zaibatsu"⁴⁷ ("The Kyushu Spinning Company and the Mitsui Zaibatsu: A Change in the Relationship as a Result of the Osaka Branch Affair"), deals with the failure of the speculative transactions of a regional enterprise in western Japan about 1900 and its subsequent absorption into the *zaibatsu*. Naosuke Takamura's "Shihon Chikuseki (1) — Kei-Kogyo"⁴⁸ ("Capital Accumulation (1) — Light Industry")

looks at management trends in the cotton-spinning and silk industries after the First World War and their advance into other countries.

Next, looking at the silk industry itself, Atsushi Hiramoto, in "Goshi Okaya Seishi Kaisha no Seiritsu: Suwa Kyodai Seishi Shihon no Keisei, 1"⁴⁹ ("The Establishment of Okaya Seishi & Company, Ltd.: The Growth of Big Enterprise in the Suwa Silk-Reeling Industry, 1") and "Goshi Okaya Seishi Kaisha no Shihon Chikuseki: Suwa Kyodai Seishi Shihon no Seisei, 2"⁵⁰ ("Capital Accumulation by Okaya Seishi & Company, Ltd. 1897–1903: The Growth of Big Enterprise in the Suwa Silk-Reeling Industry, 2"), investigates developments in capital accumulation and a unique expansion process by one prominent enterprise. Concerning weaving, we have Eiko Oshima's "Ken-Men Koshokubutsu Sanchi no Keisei Katei: Manshu Sakusan-shi to Chinbata ni yoru Koshin Kigyochi Mitsuke no Sanchi Keisei"⁵¹ ("The Emergence of Areas Specialized in the Production of Silk and Cotton Fabrics: The Use of Manchuria Tussah under the Putting-out System in Mitsuke, Niigata Prefecture") and Masamichi Mizuhara's "Ryotaisen-kan ni okeru Kinu-Orimono Kaisha: Shiga-ken Yokaichishi no Shiga Shokuhu Kabushiki Kaisha no Baai"⁵² ("Silk Textile Companies Between the Two World Wars: The Case of the Shiga Textile Company in Yokaichi City, Shiga Prefecture").

Concerning the iron and steel industry, research has been concentrated on the 1920s and '30s. Tetsuji Okazaki, in "1930 Nen-dai Zenpan no Nippon Tekkogyo to Seitetsu Godo"⁵³ ("The Japanese Iron and Steel Industry, 1929–1933, and the Establishment of the Nippon Steel Co."), examines connections between proposals for amalgamation and changes in economic conditions preceding the large-scale amalgamation of iron industry enterprises in 1934, and in his two articles, "Sentetsu Kyodo Kumiai"⁵⁴ ("The Pig-Iron Cartel") and "Kanto Kozai Hanbai Kumiai to Kozai Rengokai"⁵⁵ ("The Kanto Steel-Marketing Association and the Steel Federation"), discusses the stabilization of market prices for pig-iron and steel materials by the cartel after the late 1920s, with emphasis on market analysis. Nobuyuki Fujii, in "Showa-Shoki Yawata Seitetsu-sho no Seisanhi Doko"⁵⁶ ("Trends in Production Costs at the Yawata Iron Works in the Early Showa Period"), examines the early reduction in production costs at the Yawata Iron Works, a leader in the large-scale amalgamation of iron industry enterprises, and contends that lower production costs was not the reason it participated in the big merger. Another work that questions the effectiveness of cartels in the 1920s is Takatoshi Kimura's "Ryotaisen-kan Nippon Tekkyogyo Bunseki"⁵⁷ ("An

Analysis of the Japanese Iron and Steel Industry in the Interwar Period"). As well, Bunji Nagura's "Kyu-'Manshu' Anzan Seitetsusho no Keiei Hatten to Seisan Gijitsu: Genryo Shigen Joken to no Kanren o Chushin ni"⁵⁸ ("Business Development and Production Technology of the Anshan Ironworks in "Manchuria:" With Particular Reference to the Supply of Raw Materials") examines the business of the Japanese iron-producing enterprise in China's Northeastern region after the 1920s in relation to sources of raw materials and production technology.

In the metal-processing industry, first we have the work of Hoshimi Uchida, *Tokei Kogyo no Hattatsu*⁵⁹ ("The Evolution of the Watch Industry"), published by Hattori Seiko Co., Ltd. This book clarifies the historical development of the business and production technology of the largest indigenous enterprises, such as Seiko-sha (Precision Instrument Co.), as well as the international history of the watch and clock industry. In addition, Kenji Kojima, in "Meiji no Tokei Sangyo, 1: Moho no Jidai"⁶⁰ ("The Clock and Watch Industry in the Meiji Era, 1: The Period of Imitation"), examines the import, distribution, production and export of timepieces. Minoru Sawai's "Senzen-ki Nippon Tetsudo Sharyo Kogyo no Tenkai Katei: 1890 Nen-dai-1920 Nen-dai"⁶¹ ("The Development of the Japanese Rolling-Stock Industry from the 1890s to the 1920s") is a study which clarifies the formation of this business from an industrial history point of view. Yutaka Taniguchi's "Senkan-ki ni okeru Nippon Boshokuki Kogyo no Tenkai: Menboshoku Kikai Kogyo no Kenkyu Kaihatsu"⁶² ("The Development of the Japanese Spinning and Weaving Machinery Industry in the Interwar Period: Research and Development in the Cotton-Spinning and Weaving Machinery Industry") takes up the problems of industrializing and systematizing the inventions and research developments in the industry. We also have Shinji Ogura's "Nippon Denki Kogyo ni okeru Chusho Kigyo Mondai Seisei ni kansuru Ichikosatsu"⁶³ ("A Study of the Appearance of Small Business Problems in the Japanese Electric Manufacturing Industry") and Susumu Honda's "Kei-Kikai Kogyo no Hatten to Buhin no Kikaku Hyojunka: Sekiyu Hatsudoki to Mishin no Jirei"⁶⁴ ("Development of the Light Machine Industry and Standardization of Parts: Kerosene Engines and Sewing Machines").

As for the chemical industry, Tsuneo Suzuki's *Nippon Ryuan Kogyo Shiron*⁶⁵ ("A Historical Treatise on the Japanese Ammonium Sulfate Industry") is noteworthy for its analysis of the process of achieving industrial independence after the First World War while

taking into account international relations of the industry. Haruhito Takeda, in "Karinsan Dogyosha-kai"⁶⁶ ("The Superphosphate Industry Association"), emphasizes the effectiveness of the cartel's control in the industry of the 1920s. As well, Shigeru Suzuki's "Senji-ka Sekitan Ekika Kogyo Seisaku to Teikoku Nenryo Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha"⁶⁷ ("Japanese Coal Liquefaction Policy During the War and the Imperial Energy Co."), and "Nippon ni okeru Denki Kagaku Kogyo no Seiritsu to Denki Gijutsu"⁶⁸ ("The Formation of the Electrochemical Industry and Electric Engineering in Japan"), by Yasushi Iwata and Satoshi Ihara, can be singled out.

Concerning other manufacturing industries, Kazuo Motomiya's "Ryotaisenkan-ki ni okeru Seifungyo Dokusen Taisei"⁶⁹ ("The Oligopolistic Structure of the Japanese Flour Milling Industry During the Interwar Era") examines the consolidation of dominant positions by large enterprises and the formation of oligopolies. And Juro Hashimoto's "Semento Rengo-kai"⁷⁰ ("The Cement Association") is noteworthy for its discussion of the effectiveness of the controls of the cement cartel in the interwar period. With regard to regional businesses in other fields, we have Yoshinobu Oikawa's "Kawaguchi Imonogyo to Nagase Shokichi no Kigyoka Katsudo"⁷¹ ("The Kawaguchi Casting Industry and the Business Activities of Shokichi Nagase").

(3) The Electric Power and Mining Industries

Concerning the electric power industry, while Takeo Kikkawa's "Denryoku Renmei"⁷² ("The Electric Power Association") describes the effectiveness of controls by the industry cartel in the 1930s, his "Denryoku Kokka Kanri Kenkyu no Shin-Shikaku: Denryoku Kokka Kanri, Denki Jigyo Sai-hensei Kenkyu, 1"⁷³ ("A New View in the Study of State Control of the Electric Power Industry of Japan: Research on the State Control and Reorganization of the Electricity Business, 1") surveys trends in research on wartime state control after 1939. As case studies, we have Shigeki Koike's "Dai-Ichiji Taisen Zengo no Gumma-ken Denryoku Sangyo"⁷⁴ ("On the Electric Power Industry in Gumma Prefecture Around World War I") and Ryuzo Tanaka's "Hanshin Dentetsu no Meiji, Taisho-ki ni okeru Dento, Denryoku Jigyo"⁷⁵ ("The Electric Light and Power Industry of the Hanshin Railway Co. in the First Quarter of the 20th Century").

In mining, Sumihiro Matsuo's "Sekitan Kogyo Rengokai to Showa Sekitan Kabushiki Kaisha"⁷⁶ ("The Coal Mining Association and Showa Coal Co., Ltd.") discusses the effectiveness and strengthening of the controls of the cartel in the industry during the 1920s and '30s.

(4) Finance and Insurance

In these fields, research into previously unstudied cases has made major progress. As for the banking industry, Kazuo Tatewaki's "Senzen-ki Nagasaki ni okeru Gaikoku Ginko to sono Tokushitsu"⁷⁷ ("The Foreign Bank Presence in Nagasaki Before World War II"), which deals with the business activities of foreign banks in Nagasaki, and Kenji Kimura's "Keihin Ginko no Seiritsu to Hokai: Kindai Nippon Imin-shi no Ichi-sokumen"⁷⁸ ("The Establishment and Collapse of the Keihin Bank (1898-1906): A Study of Modern Japanese Emigrant History"), which deals with a special bank devoted to the needs of Japanese emigrants, stand out. And Takeo Kikkawa, in "Senkan-ki no Shasai Hakko to Ginko, 1"⁷⁹ ("The Role of Japanese Banks in the Issuance of Corporate Bonds During the 1920s and '30s, 1") and "Senkan-ki no Shasai Hakko to Shintaku Kaisha, 1-3"⁸⁰ ("The Role of Japanese Trust Companies in the Issuance of Corporate Bonds During the 1920s and '30s, 1-3"), deals with the business of issuing bonds of the banks and trust companies. With regard to the trust business itself, Shoichi Asajima has examined the regional trust business of the area around Nagoya in "Aichi-ken Shintakugyo no Futatsu no Michi"⁸¹ ("The Two Paths of the Trust Business in Aichi Prefecture").

Concerning the insurance business, Tadashi Kobayashi, in "Meiji-ki Nippon ni okeru Gaikoku Seiho Kaisha no Eigyo Jokyō; Meiji Seimei no Hoken Moshikomi-sho no Bunseki"⁸² ("Activities of Foreign Insurance Companies in the Japanese Market in the Meiji Era: A Study of the Insurance Applications to the Meiji Mutual Life Insurance Co.") and "Hikaku Seiho Keieishi ni kansuru Ichi Kosatsu: Meiji-ki Nippon ni okeru Gaikoku Kaisha to Naikoku Kaisha no Keiei Hikaku"⁸³ ("A Study of the Comparative Business History of Insurance: Comparison of the Management of Foreign and National Companies in Meiji Japan"), considers the business activities of foreign enterprises in Japan in connection with their later withdrawal. Also, there is Shoichi Asajima's "Seimei Hoken Kaishashi no Ichi Kosatsu"⁸⁴ ("On Life Insurance Company Histories in Japan"), which reviews company history literature on indigenous enterprises.

(5) Railways and Shipping

In this field also, there were many studies of cases not covered before. On railways, Tadashi Tojo's "Meiji-ki Tetsudo Kaisha no Keiei Funso to Kabunushi no Doko: Kyushu Tetsudo Kaikaku Undo o megutte"⁸⁵ ("The Controversy Over the Management of a Railroad

Company and Stockholder Movements During the Meiji Era: On the Movement to Renovate the Kyushu Railroad Co.") investigates the conflict after 1898 between stockholders and the management group in a prominent railroad company linked to the coal mining industry in western Japan. Sadao Kondo's "Tetsudo Genka Keisan Seidoshi Kenkyu Josetsu: Kanei Jidai ni okeru Kokutetsu Genka Keisan Seido no Tenkai"⁸⁶ ("Introduction to the History of Railway Cost Accounting Systems: The Development of the Railway Cost Accounting System for the National Railways Before the Second World War") is an article dealing with attempts to systematize methods of cost accounting for the railways after 1926. As case studies on the private railroads, including those facing nationalization, we have Mitsuhide Imashiro's "Kobu Tetsudo Kaisha no Seiritsu to Tenkai: Chiho Koeki Kigyo no Keisei Katei"⁸⁷ ("On the Establishment and Development of the Kobu Railway Co.: The Process of Formation of Regional Public Service Companies"), Jiro Saito's "Tawaramoto Tetsudo no Keisei Katei to Keieisha no Rinen"⁸⁸ ("On the Process of Creation and the Entrepreneurial Spirit Behind the Tawaramoto Railway Co., Ltd."), Masaho Noda's "Seibu Konzern no Keisei ni tsuite"⁸⁹ ("On the Formation of the Seibu Business Group"), Kyozo Takechi's "Nankai Tetsudo no Denka to Romu Mondai Ippan"⁹⁰ ("Electrification of the Nankai Railway and an Outline of the Labor Problem"), Hidetatsu Sato's "Meiji-makki Ichi Chiho Tetsudo no Keiei Keikaku to Sono Zassetsu: Onsen Kaiyu Tetsudo no Jirei"⁹¹ ("The Management Program of a Regional Railroad in Late Meiji and Its Failure: The Hot Springs Resort Railroad"), and Teiichiro Fujita's "Kojaku Tetsudo no Seiritsu to Otsushi"⁹² ("The Establishment of the Kojaku Railroad and Otsu City"). And as surveys of historical materials and research, we should note Eiichi Aoki's "Wagakuni no Tetsudo-shi Kenkyu ni okeru Gaikokugo Bunken no Igi to Seikaku"⁹³ ("The Nature and Significance of Foreign Literature and Documents on Japanese Railway History") and Yasutaka Takahashi's "Minami Manshu Tetsudo Kabushiki Kaisha (Mantetsu)-shi Kenkyu no Genjo to Kadai"⁹⁴ ("Recent Trends in Research on the History of the South Manchuria Railway Company, *Mantetsu*").

Concerning shipping, Yoshitaro Wakimura's "Ryo Taisen-kan no Yusosen: Sekai no naka no Nippon"⁹⁵ ("Tanker Business in the Interwar Period: Japan's Position in the World") is noteworthy because it clarifies not only the history of the rise of the business but also the low level of enthusiasm on the part of the powerful indigenous shipping companies and the aid from the Navy. Yukio Yamashita's

“1930-Nen-dai no Kaiun-gyo: Fukyo no Kaifuku kara ‘Ogon-ki’ e”⁹⁶ (“Japanese Shipping Business in the 1930s: From Economic Recovery to the Golden Age”) examines mainly the business activities of Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK — The Japan Mail Steamship Co.). Ryushin Makino’s “Kitamaesen-shu no Shisan Keisei”⁹⁷ (“Shipowners of Kitamae-bune and Their Asset-Gathering”) deals with the survival policies of traditional operators of Japanese-style sailing vessels that still existed in the Meiji Era. As well, there are Takamoto Sugisaki’s “Senkan-ki ni okeru Osaka Shosen no Koro Seisaku: Nichiei Kaiun Kigyo no Hikaku Keieishi-teki Oboegaki”⁹⁸ (“The Shipping Route Policy of Osaka Shosen Kaisha — The Osaka Commercial Shipping Co. — Between the Wars: A Memorandum in Comparative Business History on Japanese and English Shipping Enterprises”), which deals with the development of Osaka Shosen’s policy for expanding its regular overseas shipping services, and Yoichiro Inoue’s “Kyodo Unyu Kaisha no Keiei”⁹⁹ (“The Business History of Kyodo Unyu”), which singles out an important indigenous shipping firm in the 1880s.

(6) Businessmen and Business Education

The number of studies dealing directly with businessmen was not large. Makoto Seoka’s “Zaibatsu Keieisha no Junkyo Shudan: Suzuki Masaya no Baai”¹⁰⁰ (“The Reference Group of *Zaibatsu* Managers: The Case of Masaya Suzuki”) and “Hayakawa Senkichiro no Rinen to Kodo: Sono Junkyo Shudan Kodo”¹⁰¹ (“Senkichiro Hayakawa’s Thoughts and Behavior: The Activities of His Reference Group”) discuss in biographical terms such matters as devotion to national prosperity of two members of the brain trusts of the Sumitomo and Mitsui *zaibatsu* in relation to psychological and ideological reference groups with which they were affiliated from an early age. Masaaki Kobayashi’s “Seishoron: Yamaji Aizan ‘Gendai Kinkenshi’ ni yosete”¹⁰² (“Businessmen Connected with Government: As in Yamaji Aizan’s Modern History of the Power of Money”) examines entrepreneurs and *zaibatsu* who ventured into businesses intimately linked with politics and classifies them into three groups.

In addition to the above-mentioned work by Nobuhiro Miyosi, *Nippon Shogyo Kyoiku Seiritsu-shi no Kenkyu*, Nobuyuki Kataoka’s “Meiji Chuki ni okeru Shogyo Kyoiku Seido”¹⁰³ (“Business School Systems in the Mid-Meiji Era”) deals with commercial business education in the Meiji Era.

(7) Personnel and Labor Management and Labor Relations

In this field, Shin'ichi Yonekawa's "Meiji-ki Dai-boseki Kigyo no Shokuin-so"¹⁰⁴ ("Employment Conditions of White-Collar Employees in Japan: A Case Study of Large Cotton-Spinning Companies in their Formative Period") is noteworthy. Yonekawa considers the conditions of hiring and the roles of middle managers with advanced education records taken on in the Meiji Era in relation to the growth of their enterprises. As well, Akiko Chimoto's "Zaibatsu no Shiyonin Seido: Keisei-ki no Mitsubishi Zaibatsu"¹⁰⁵ ("The Employment System of the *Zaibatsu*: The Formative Period of the Mitsubishi *Zaibatsu*") examines the hiring conditions and systematic control of employees by the Mitsubishi Steamship Company (Mitsubishi Kisen Kaisha) between 1875 and 1878, with special attention to middle management.

Besides, Toshiaki Chokki's "Nippon ni okeru Kojo Kanri no Kin-daika"¹⁰⁶ ("The Modernization of Factory Management in Japan") discusses the modernization process and the organization of factory management as non-clerical work from about 1900, with emphasis on the aspect of labor management. Investigating the introduction of scientific management principles to Japan are Mamoru Takahashi's "Taisho, Showa-shoki ni okeru 'Kagakuteki Kanriho' no Donyu, 1, 2"¹⁰⁷ ("The Introduction of 'Scientific Management' in Japan, 1911-1930, 1, 2") and Takenori Saito's "Nippon ni okeru Kagakuteki Kanri no Keisei: Ueno Yoichi to Kagaku-teki Kanriron-sha no Koryu o megutte"¹⁰⁸ ("The Evolution of Scientific Management in Japan: With Reference to the Friendly Relations between Yoichi Ueno and Early Foreign Scientific Management Advocates"). And Shinji Sugayama's "1920-Nen-dai no Kigyo-nai Yoseiko Seido: Hitachi Seisakusho no Jirei Bunseki"¹⁰⁹ ("Corporation Apprenticeship in the 1920s: Analysis of Hitachi Manufacturing Works") considers the establishment of labor-training systems within the enterprise by Hitachi, Ltd.

In the field of industrial relations, however, no major studies from the business history approach were uncovered. But if we look at research that is somewhat related, Akiko Chimoto's "Shokko Mondai Taisaku kara mita Meiji-ki Koyo Kankei: Tenkan no Keiki toshite no Dogyo Kumiai Junsoku no Seitei ni Chakumoku shite"¹¹⁰ ("Industrial Relations in the Meiji Era from the Perspective of Labor Policy: Noting the Establishment of Regulations by Employers' Associations in Changing Times") examines changes in employment relationships from the transition of problems with hiring regulations. Hiroshi Ichihara's "Senkan-ki Hokutan no Roshi Kankei no Henyo Katei"¹¹¹ ("Changing Industrial Relations of the Hokkaido Coal and Shipping

Company in the Interwar Period") argues that the industrial relations of the 1920s based on harmony and conciliation were transformed about 1930 by the spread of labor disaffection and management emphasis on nationalistic doctrine. Yutaka Nishinarita's "Manshu Jihen-ki no Roshi Kankei"¹¹² ("Industrial Relations During the Manchurian Incident") considers changes in industrial relations in the 1930s. And as studies that deal with government regulation of industrial relations during the Second World War, there were Makoto Sakurabayashi's *Sangyo Hokoku-kai no Soshiki to Kino*¹¹³ ("The Structure and Function of the Industrial Patriotic Associations") and Tsunehisa Kojima's "Sangyo Hokoku Undo no Keisei to Henyo"¹¹⁴ ("The Formation and Changes of the Industrial Patriotic Associations").

In addition, there were Nisaburo Murakushi's "Nippon Kozangyo no Kakuritsu Katei ni okeru Tomoko Seido no Kosatsu, 1, 2"¹¹⁵ ("Study of the Miners' Guild in the Formative Process of Japanese Mining in the Meiji Era, 1, 2"), "Meiji-ki ni okeru Tomoko no Soshiki to Kino, 3"¹¹⁶ ("A Study of the Miners' Guild, Its Organization and Function, in the Meiji Era, 3"), and Kyoza Takechi's "Osaka Shiei Kotsu Jigyo no Tenkai to Rodo Mondai: 1920-Nen-dai no Doko o Chushin toshite"¹¹⁷ ("The Development of Municipal Traffic Management in Osaka and Labor Problems: Concentrating on Trends in the 1920s").

(8) Other Fields

The book edited by Kaichiro Oishi, *Kindai Nippon ni okeru Jinushi Keiei no Tenkai*¹¹⁸ ("The Transition of Landowner Enterprises in Japan") has been lauded for its analysis by fourteen authors specializing in management of business activities, particularly real estate, lending and negotiable securities investments, of a typical big land-owning family of western Japan, the Nishi Hattori House, from the Meiji Era to the Second World War, linking these activities to a unique family business system. Also on landowner enterprise in western Japan, there was Kumiko Kimura's "Koryu, Suitai-ki ni okeru Jinushi Keiei no Tenkai: Kagawa-ken Okawa-gun Sano-ko o Jirei toshite"¹¹⁹ ("Landowning Enterprises During the Rise and Fall of the Jinushi System: The Sano Family of Okawa, Kagawa Prefecture").

Major business history research on commercial activities, leaving aside general trading companies, even including marketing, are as scarce as ever. Takeomi Nishikawa's "Meiji-Shonen no Yokohama

Kiito Urikomisho: Yoshimura-ya no Keiei Bunseki o Chushin to-shite"¹²⁰ ("Yokohama Silk Merchants in Early Meiji: An Analysis of Yoshimura-ya's Management") examines the management of a representative consignment merchant during a depression in export silk markets about 1870 through private letters. Masami Harada's "Senkan-ki Oroshiuri Shijo o meguru Seisan-sha, Tonya, Kourisho: Nagoya Seika Sogi Bunseki"¹²¹ ("Producers, Wholesalers and Retailers Involved in Wholesale Markets Between the Wars: An Analysis of the Nagoya Vegetable and Fruit Conflict") deals with the struggle of the retailers and producers against the control of the wholesale dealers in the vegetable and fruit wholesale market of Nagoya City. Jun'ichiro Miyake's "Dai-niji Taisen-zen no Chusho-Kigyo Undo to Kigyosha Ishiki"¹²² ("The Political Motion and Awareness of Medium and Small Traders and Manufacturers before World War II") takes up the movement against the tax system and for the protection of small and medium-sized enterprise after the 1910s.

In addition, among works touching on activities related to foreign aggression by Japan before the War, we have Yuji Kurose's "Dai-ichiji Taisen-ki ni okeru Toyo Takushoku Kaisha no Saihen-sei"¹²³ ("The Reorganization of the Oriental Development Company in World War I"), Tsutomu Abe's "Nanyo-cho no Setchi to Kokusaku Kaisha Toyo Takushoku no Nanshin: Nanyo Gunto no Ryoyu to Shokumin Seisaku"¹²⁴ ("The Establishment of the South Seas Board and Southward Expansion of the National Policy Company, the Oriental Development Company: The Occupation of South Sea Islands and Colonial Policy"), and Asobu Yanagisawa's "1920-Nendai Zenpan-ki no Chintao Kyoryumin Shokogyo"¹²⁵ ("The Commerce and Industries of Japanese Residents in Tsingtao in the Early 1920s").

And among studies overlapping the field of accounting history, Hideo Hisano's "Wagakuni Zaimu Shohyo no Seisei ni kansuru Jirei Kenshyu: Senku-teki na Sho-Kabushiki Kaisha no Kokajo ni yoru Jissho"¹²⁶ ("A Case Study of the Early History of Financial Statements in Japan, after 1879: Evidence from the Business Records of Pioneering Joint-Stock Companies") and Fujio Yamaguchi's "Nippon Yusen Soritsu-ki (Meiji 19-26-Nen) Zaimu Shohyo no Ichi Kosatsu"¹²⁷ ("A Study of the Financial Statements of the NYK Line during its Early Years, 1886-1893") may be picked out.

3. Business History of the Post-World War II Period

In research on the history of enterprise management since the war, no clear-cut line has yet been drawn between historical research and analysis of current affairs. I would venture to say that the difference may be concerned ultimately with the degree to which a consciousness or understanding of historical continuity with the past is present or absent in dealing with such matters as the periods during or before the war as preludes to the postwar period, or with the period of high economic growth as a consequence of the preceding economic revival.

Looking from this point of view and at research on postwar business history, we may note Hisashi Masaki's *Nippon-teki Keiei Zaimuron*¹²⁸ ("Financial Problems in Japanese-Style Management"), which argues that the financial management of Japanese enterprises put too much emphasis on indirect financing in their accumulation of capital because of the immaturity of capital markets from the prewar period to the 1960s, and that the postwar period was a continuation of the prewar period. Yoshinobu Sato's "Keiei Rinen ni tsuite no Ichi Kosatsu: Toyota-ism o Chushin nishite"¹²⁹ ("A Note on Managerial Philosophy: With Particular Reference to Toyota-ism") examines the relationship between successive managers and the management philosophy of the Toyota Motor Co., Ltd. since its founding before the war, and the evolution of Toyota-ism to the present. And Masaaki Kobayashi's "Sengo Nippon no Keiei Rinen: Seifu to Kigyo, 1, 2"¹³⁰ ("Business Ideology in Postwar Japan: Government and Business, 1, 2"), examining the business ideology of Japanese enterprise after the war from various views related to activities made public by influential business groups, that is, the *zaikai*, notes such things as the disparity of attitudes among the business groups and their unprecedented cooperation with government administration of industry. A study in English by Tadahiko Kawai, "A Tentative Analysis of Business-Government Relations in Japan: The Case of the Federation of Economic Organizations, 2"¹³¹ deals with the history of one of these business groups.

In addition, as outstanding case studies, we see Tetsuya Kuwahara's "Sengo Nippon Sen'i Kigyo no Kaigai Shijo Senryaku: Toyo Boseki Kaisha no Jirei o Chushin ni"¹³² ("The Overseas Market Strategies of Japanese Textile Firms in the Postwar Period: The Example of the Toyo Cotton-Spinning Company"), Susumu Mizukawa's "Kasen Taisei no Seiritsu Katei: Sanrin-sha Maker o Chushin nishite"¹³³ ("An Inquiry into the Formation of an Oligopolistic Regime: Focusing

on Three-Wheeler Makers”), and Ichiro Hirachi’s “1959-Nen Sogi to Tekkogyo Roshi-Kankei no Anteika: Nippon Kokan Tsurumi Seitetsu-sho Rodo Kumiai no Jirei”¹³⁴ (“The 1959 Struggle and the Generation of Stable Industrial Relations in the Japanese Steel Industry: The Case of the Labor Union at Nippon Kokan’s Tsurumi Iron and Steel Works”). Finally, we have Takeo Kikkawa’s “Sengo Denryoku Kaishashi no Ichi Kosatsu”¹³⁵ (“On Company Histories in the Electric Power Industry in Postwar Japan”), which reviews company history literature.

Notes

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