Yukichi Fukuzawa, 1835-1901: The Spirit of Enterprise in Modern Japan by Norio Tamaki
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because Japan lacked developed trade associations. Instead, the zaibatsu emerged as direct channels for government-business interest intermediation (Lehmbruch, p. 67). This sounds implausible because the zaibatsu are more accurately described as cooperative oligopolies in the various industries in which they operated (see, for example, Eleanor Hadley, *Antitrust in Japan* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970]). What is more, it has been shown that Japan’s economic development since at least the fourteenth century was based on trade associations (first the za, then the nakama of the Tokugawa period). The first large-scale modern trade association was founded by the banking industry in 1876, paper followed in 1880, cotton spinning in 1882, and so on. Also, at that time the Chambers of Commerce and, with them, associations for small firms were already established nationwide (see chap. 7 of Ulrike Schaede, *Cooperative Capitalism: Self-Regulation, Trade Associations, and the Antimonopoly Law in Japan* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000]). Clearly, a lack of horizontal association through trade groups (if there was such a lack) is not the reason why Japan did not turn corporatist but company centered.

Finally, at the end, one looks in vain for a conclusion. Revisiting the introduction for hints at the overall message, one finds that now the big words flow more easily, evoking a comforting sense of achievement. The model is interesting, even if one doubts the validity of the “ie vs. corporatist” model. But, the reader is still left wondering what the findings are. We understand that the Japanese and German systems of capitalism have different origins, but what do these differences mean? The editors promise a second volume on contemporary system comparison, so we have to be patient. But, the authors also avoid some of the core questions that they raise: Is it politics, sociology, or economics—or what kind of combination thereof—that has and is driving different systems of capitalism? Are the differences across systems going away, and if not, why not? In a way, the authors set out to ask an economic question (development) and answer it with a historic social concept (ie). Neither discipline will be fully satisfied. This book brings us a lot closer to a better understanding of the patterns and developments of German and Japanese capitalism, but we are still trying to figure out what these differences in organization ultimately mean for the functioning of economic systems.

_Ulrike Schaede_

_University of California, San Diego_


This is a difficult work to characterize. The subtitle (“The Spirit of Enterprise in Modern Japan”), the jacket notes, the credentials of the author (professor of Japanese economic, social, and banking history at Keio University), and his comments at various points in the text would lead the reader to expect a work focused on the business activities of Fukuzawa Yukichi or perhaps the role of Keio graduates in the business world. There is certainly something of this, but much of the text is a rather conventional biography of Fukuzawa.

Drawing heavily on Fukuzawa’s *Kyūbanjō* but supplying much supplementary material, Norio Tamaki provides a quite vivid and readable account of the late Tokugawa society in which Fukuzawa grew up. It is also an account that shows the degree to which Japanese scholars still feel obliged to style even late Tokugawa society
as "feudal" and "repressive," even though the people whom they describe do not seem particularly repressed and their behavior and concerns seem to be more those of modern bureaucrats or academics than they do those of a "feudal ruling class."

At numerous points, Tamaki's narrative is at odds with the claims made by Fukuzawa in his well-known Autobiography, and in some instances he does note and comment on the differences. Nonetheless, a rather more direct comparison of what Fukuzawa claimed in his Autobiography with what other sources show would have made for a much more usable book, especially in terms of undergraduate teaching. Indeed, there are more than a few points in this book that are less than clear at first reading even for someone reasonably well versed in Tokugawa-Meiji history.

To the credit of the author, this book is not a simple hagiography, as is so much writing on Fukuzawa. Tamaki is quite critical of Fukuzawa's late writings on China and Korea, especially those in the Jiji shinpō that he founded and controlled. This criticism is not, however, particularly satisfying because the later conservative and xenophobic Fukuzawa is essentially written off and disconnected from the earlier liberal and cosmopolitan Fukuzawa. My own demonstration of reactionary and elitist tendencies in the "early" Fukuzawa (Earl Kinmonth, "Fukuzawa Reconsidered: Gakumon no susume and Its Audience," Journal of Asian Studies 37[4][1978]:677–96) is listed in the bibliography but is otherwise ignored in Tamaki's conventional and stereotypical treatment of Gakumon no susume (pp. 90–91).

The sections on Fukuzawa as a businessman and the role of Keio graduates are not without interest but generally lack any analytical framework and essentially avoid discussion of personal or business failings. Moreover, in treating the Keio contribution to the "spirit of enterprise," the author appears to define "enterprise" as bureaucratic firms operating in highly regulated or protected markets with founders and executives whose personal connections to government officials are at least as important as their business acumen. Although this may indeed be the "spirit of enterprise" associated with Fukuzawa and Keio graduates, a more critical approach would have produced a more substantial contribution to our understanding of Meiji business.

This book is marked by a number of editorial and stylistic peculiarities. Despite the use of a fair amount of Japanese terminology in the text and notes coupled to a substantial bibliography of mostly Japanese-language sources, there are no diacritical marks. Furthermore, considering the relatively academic and in some cases quite arcane content of this work, it must also be counted as odd that personal names are given following Western European conventions, rather than in their natural Japanese ordering. The same may be said for the choice of endnotes over footnotes. Contemporary software easily calculates footnote placement "on the fly." The marginal cost of footnotes versus endnotes should be nil. Given the amount of material in the endnotes for this work, footnotes would have been a better production choice.

Doubtless, it is perhaps somewhat churlish to complain about grammatical and stylistic points, given that the author is not writing in his native language. Nevertheless, someone who buys a premium-priced book in English is entitled to a bit more than this publication provides. From time to time, errors of tense or dropped articles indicate insufficient proofreading. Furthermore, there are cases in which stylistic intervention to eliminate overly literal English renderings would have been warranted. The repeated use of "dear old master" to refer to Okudaira Masataka, the fifth lord of Nakatsu, produces an amusing although doubtless unintended effect, conjuring up, as it did for this reader, images of a DPRK-style personality cult.

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