

## Lujo Brentano and Social Sciences in Japan between 1890s and 1940s

### Social Statistics, TAKANO Iwasaburo and FUKUDA Tokuzo

9 December 2021

ONUZUKA Tomoji

The University of Tokyo

#### I Introduction

In recent years the EBPM (evidence-based policy making) comes into popular fashion among economists in Japan. We can find its origin in the nineteenth Century political economy or Nationalökonomie. One of the most leading academics in this field would be Lujo Brentano (18 December 1844 Aschaffenburg – 9 September 1931 Munich), succeeded by two Japanese academics, TAKANO Iwasaburo (高野岩三郎, 15 October 1871 Nagasaki - 5 April 1949 Tokyo) and FUKUDA Tokuzo (福田徳三, 2 December 1874, Tokyo - 8 May 1930 Tokyo).

Their common interest is social statistics as a means of national economics for policy making. They stressed the importance of statistical evidence when they observed situations of national economy, foreign trade, and labor problem or industrial economics, thus they prepared necessities for scientific policy making.

How did they pursued the way of positivist manner of economics in the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries, and what emerged in Japan by succession of such academic manner from Germany, and further what reaction to Germany can be found after the First World War.

#### II Lujo Brentano and Social Statistics

Just after the Austro-Prussian War in 1866 Lujo Brentano met Dr. Ernst Engel, the Director of the Royal Prussian Statistical Bureau, and deepened his interest in statistics, a new and important tool for recognition of actual circumstances and policy settling. Brentano visited Britain with Engel in early August in 1868. They made a thorough research at the Board of Trade, Chambers of Commerce in various industrial towns, many factories and workshops in the North. They also met many persons in Britain including industrialists, trade union leaders, and Christian Socialists, particularly John Malcolm Ludlow, Thomas Hughes, Vassitart Neale, Lloyd Jones, Frederick Harrison, and Henry Crompton. Brentano became completely attracted by the mighty statistics of various trade unions including Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Friendly Society of Iron Founders, etc. Through their muted statistics of financial conditions of these trade unions and mutual benefit functions, Brentano could make ever clearer images of trade unions in very positivist manner. After coming back home in Aschaffenburg in early summer of 1869 he started to write a book on British trade unions. That was *On the History and Development of Guilds and the Origin of Trade Unions*, Trübner, London, 1870, and its German version, *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart* (1.Bd., *Zur Geschichte der englischen Gewerkvereine*,

1871, und 2.Bd., *Zur Kritik der englischen Gewerkvereine*, 1872, Duncker und Humblot, Leipzig). These are the first academic works in empirical history of British trade unionism, which description was strengthened with full of statistical data of the ASE. And his observation of the origin of trade unionism in modern guilds shows quite keen penetration into the nature of workers' combination, though the Webbs hated and neglected Brentano's insight because they wanted to insist that trade unionism can be compatible with liberalism which denies any kind of guild, cartel or monopoly. Though Brentano was liberal in his academic and political attitude, he vindicated trade unions because they were not so unjust as accused as illegal monopoly by the classical economists and individualists. In this point he showed keen difference from the establishment of the German Empire and many staatzsozialistischer or kathedersozialistischer members of the Verein für Sozialpolitik.

### III TAKANO Iwasaburo

TAKANO Iwasaburo was born in poor family, so his elder brother Fusataro went to the USA to work, make money and send it to his family in Japan. And Fusataro also introduced trade union movement and socialist ideas from America.

Iwasaburo entered the First High School in Tokyo, and progressed into the Law School of the Imperial University of Tokyo. A few years after his graduation from the University in 1895 he started to organize an academic association for social policy with his friends, KANAI Noburu, ONOZUKA Kiheiji, and FUKUDA Tokuzo etc., then they founded the Verein für Sozialpolitik Japans in 1897 in Tokyo. TAKANO Iwasaburo felt not so strong fear against socialism, partly because of his brothers influence that make a fixed belief that labor movement can go with socialism to some destination on passage, and TAKANO was more influenced by modified liberalism (to which I give a name of interventionist liberalism including the New Liberalism in the early twentieth century Britain, and "solidarité sociale" in France) and a kind of notion of "evidence-based policy making", rather than German Historicism.

He studied abroad in Munich from 1899 to 1903 under Lujo Brentano. Back to Japan in 1903, He was appointed as an associate professor in statistics. He is the first Japanese teacher that taught statistics at the Imperial University of Tokyo. He realized that the significance of numerical data when an academician recognizes the real social situations. And statistical effort would be helpful in order to make policy plausible and persuasive.

He gave lectures on statistics at the Law School of the Imperial University of Tokyo, but he came to feel it inadequate to teach economics and statistics in the frame of the Law School. Gradually he reached the idea that the study and education in economics should be at the independent department of economics from the Law School. Co-operated with a German Professor, Heinrich Eugen Waentig (21 March 1870 – 22 December 1943), TAKANO had been actively pursued a possibility to reform economics education in the University and make it independent department from around 1910. He drawn a draft of an independent faculty of economics in 1914. And his idea was finally realized in April 1919 when the Order of the Imperial Universities was fundamentally revised, and each schools of the Imperial Universities were reorganized into new Faculties.

Happy events are often accompanied by difficulties. If he had remained the University as professor in statistics, he might become one of most influential scholars in social science in his age of Japan, but the situations of Japan after the First World War did not allow him to do so. Japan was one of victors of the First World War, and that lead her to take a leadership position in the process of afterwar settlement. But Japan had not yet be fully ready for that role, which happened to be two incidents for the newly founded Faculty of Economics, and changed the fortunes of TAKANO utterly.

The Peace Treaty of Versailles lead two international organizaitons, the ILO and the League of Nations. The International Labour Organization was the first and still only instance in which each member nation shall select four Representatives that stand for employers, labour and the government (two Representatives each nation) respectively. As Japanese government, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was not accustomed to such tripartite system, they failed to take due process to select labour Representative, and asked directly three persons including Professor TAKANO to take role of labour Representative without consult any due workers' organization. In that time Japan had no legislation to permit workers to combine for industrial relations matters, and no one knew what was the due workers' organization that could represent labour. Possibly the Yuaikai (友愛会, Fraternal Federation founded in 1912 by SUZUKI Bunji, a Christian trade unionist) seemed the first labour national centre, and the Yuaikai claimed that they deemed to be a due workers' organization of Japan, and the manner of selection of labour Representative by the Government was illegal. In this conflict Professor TAKANO once accept the position of the labour Representative, and Professors YAHAGI (member of the Association for Social Policy), YOSHINO (democracy advocator), and KAWAI (new liberalist at the Faculty of Economics, IUT) supported his decision. But other Professors FUKUDA, MORITO, and KUSHIDA, all of them empathized with Yuaikai, made strong objection against TAKANO's accepting the position without consent of the Yuaikai. Professor TAKANO was placed in a dilemma between the two justifiable opinions, and finally he decided to reject the offer of the position and resign from the Professorship at the Imperial University of Tokyo, taking the moral responsibility of this conflict and confusion.

TAKANO had accepted the part-time task at the Ohara Institute for Social Research (大原社会問題研究所, Ohara Institut für Sozialforschung in German) founded by OHARA Magosaburo earlier in this year 1919, then in 1920 he moved fully to this Institute after resignation from the Imperial University. Under TAKANO's directorship the Institute made a lot of valuable empirical researches specially in labor and social issues. But his move from the University and the City of Tokyo to Osaka weakened his leadership at the Association for Social Policy in 1920s, resulted the dormancy of the Association, substantially disassembling and dissolution of the Association. The 1924 Annual Conference was the last opportunity the members assembled in one hall until the resumption of the new Associatiton for Social Policy Studies after the end of the Second World War, in 1950. Therefore, the ILO Representatives incident brought to the weakening not only of the Association of Social Policy in Japan, but also social policy itself in Japan.

The relation between OHARA Magosaburo and the Institute had become worse as the official

suppression over socialist/communist movement and liberal opinions since the late 1920s, and Ohara's financial assistance to the Institute was finally stopped in 1936. The Institute was obliged to move to a small house in Tokyo in the next year. In May 1945 the Institute was bombed and lost almost documents and books in fire. After the War it kept a weak activities, at last in 1949 a financial difficulties obliged the Institute to be merged into the Hosei University.

#### **IV FUKUDA Tokuzo**

FUKUDA Tokuzo, three years younger than TAKANO, graduated from the Tokyo High School of Commerce in 1894, and became a teacher at the Kobe High School of Commerce. With an Order of the Ministry of Education, he studied abroad under Lujo Brentano at the University of Munich from 1898. He also received instruction by Karl Bücher at the University of Leipzig. Bücher was one of the most brilliant economists who specialized in statistics, and one of most liberal academics besides Brentano in the German Empire.

FUKUDA followed acutely after Brentano in the field of Social Statistics, National Economy and Economic History. He was a liberalist in trade policy and sympathized with workers' conditions, so he was sometimes treated as a dangerous academics by conservative business persons and the Japanese Government, as was Lujo Brentano by German industrialists and the German Government.

FUKUDA introduced many books and papers written by Brentano to Japanese readers, including *Über das Verhältniss von Arbeitslohn und Arbeitszeit zur Arbeitsleistung*, 1893, into 『労働経済論』 (1899), in which Brentano and FUKUDA argued about economy of shorter working hours with full of statistical evidence.

Many letters written by FUKUDA to Brentano from 1898 until 1931 when FUKUDA died, were stored at the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz (N1001 Nachlass Lujo Brentano, NL 1/76, fol.1-136), and reprinted and translated into Japanese by Nodoka (Yanagisawa) Nagayama in 2006.

#### **V In place of conclusion: 1920s and 1940s**

The end of the First World War accelerated the development of social sciences, particularly scientific method and Marxist theory all over the World. Such were observed both in Japan and Germany. Ohara Institute of Social Research (they call themselves "Ohara Institut für Sozialforschung" in German) founded in 1919 by OHARA Magosaburo as fund raiser and TAKANO Iwasaburo as the first Director. It looked as if it were a refuge for Marxist, socialist, and anarchist academics, including MORITO Tatsuo (who was imprisoned and lost a post of Associate Professor at the newly founded Faculty of Economics, the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1919 only because he wrote and published an academic paper on Kropotkin and anarchism), KAWAKAMI Hajime, KUSHIDA Tamizo, OHUCHI Hyoe, and KURUMA Samezo.

In Germany Felix Weil (1898-1975), a son of rich trader, and Marxist himself, projected to found an institute for the research of Marxist theory in around 1922. Weil, Karl Albert Gerlach (1886-1922), and Friedrich Pollock (1894-1970) efforted to conceal the original purpose to study through Marxist theory. Some day in early 1920s they heard a news that a new Institut für Sozialforschung

in the similar character was founded in an Far Eastern country, and they finally thought up an Aesopian term of "Institut für Sozialforschung" in order to deceive their true wish from cautious eyes of capitalists and anti-Marxists (Felix Weil, 'Erinnerungen'(Fragment, draught of his self-biography), in the Institut für Stadtgeschichte der Stadt Frankfurt am Main, [CHRONIKEN S5/421]). Frankfurt Institut für Sozialforschung was founded in 1923, funded by Felix Weil, under directorship of Carl Grünberg who succeeded the role of Gerlach who died a sudden death in 19 October 1922. The Institute's name was borrowed from the the similar institute in Japan. The two liberal and Marxist-sympathized institutes could hardly exist in the era of National Socialism, militarism and totalitarianism. They both experienced many deep distresses in 1930s and 1940s. The two institutes made re-start around 1950, after five year interval from the end of the Second World War.

### References

- Lujo Brentano [1870], *On the History and Development of Gilds and the Origin of Trade Unions*, Trübner, London.
- Lujo Brentano [1871-72], *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart* (1.Bd., *Zur Geschichte der englischen Gewerkvereine*, 1871, 2.Bd., *Zur Kritik der englischen Gewerkvereine*, 1872), Duncker und Humblot, Leipzig (島崎晴哉・西岡幸泰訳『イギリス労働組合史』日本労働協会、1985年、『イギリス労働組合批判』日本労働研究機構、2001年).
- Lujo Brentano [1931], *Mein Leben im Kampfum die soziale Entwicklung Deutschlands*, Jena, E.Diederichs Verlag (石坂昭雄・加来祥男・太田和宏訳『わが生涯とドイツの社会改革 —1844-1931—』ミネルヴァ書房、2007年).
- Carl-Erich Vollgraf, Richard Sperl, Rolf Hecker, Hrsg. [2000], *Erfolgreiche Kooperation: Das Frankfurter Institut für Sozialforschung und das Moskauer Marx-Engels-Institut (1924-1928). Korrespondenz von Felix Weil, Carl Grünberg u. a. mit David Borisovic Rjazanov, Ernst Czobel u. a. aus dem Russischen Staatlichen Archiv für Sozial- und Politikgeschichte Moskau* (Beiträge zur Marx-Engels-Forschung, Neue Folge, Sonderband 2). Argument, Hamburg.
- 小野塚知二「東京帝国大学経済学部の創立と社会政策学」『大原社会問題研究所雑誌』第734号、2019年12月、pp. 3-28.
- 清水多吉[2014]『柳田國男の継承者 福本和夫：「コトバ」を追い求めた知られざる師弟の交遊抄』ミネルヴァ書房.
- 住谷悦治[1934]『日本経済学史の一齣——社会政策学会を中心として』大畑書店(1948年、日本評論社).
- 高野岩三郎[1935]「社会政策学会」創立の頃— 私の最初の外遊まで」『帝国大学新聞』第 602号、1935年12月4日、創刊15周年記念特輯、6-11頁.
- 高野岩三郎／鈴木鴻一郎編 [1961]『かっぱの尻— 遺稿集』法政大学出版局.
- 福田徳三／ルーヨ・ブレンターノ [1899]『労働経済論』同文館.
- 『福田徳三ルーヨ・ブレンターノ書簡 1898-1931年』(翻刻・翻訳：柳沢のどか、校閲：西沢保)、一橋大学社会科学古典資料センター、2006年.
- 福田徳三先生記念会編集[1960]『福田徳三先生の追憶』福田徳三先生記念会.
- 法政大学大原社会問題研究所編[2020]『大原社会問題研究所100年史』法政大学出版局.
- 八木紀一郎[2021]『20世紀知的急進主義の軌跡：初期フランクフルト学派の社会学者たち』みすず書房.