

Studies on Sir James Steuart in Japan

—After the Second World War to the present (1992)—*

Kunihiro WATANABE

I. Introduction

When we review studies on James Steuart after the Second World War,⁽¹⁾ we can find the two peaks in this period about fifty years. There were considerable results in the 1960's and again in the 1980's.⁽²⁾ In the former, studies on Steuart in the Western countries were done to seek out a precursor to J. M. Keynes (*The Economics of Sir James Steuart* by S. R. Sen, 1957 was typical of these), but in this country we concentrated our attention on his concept of 'modern society' and his theory of value and reproduction in his main work "*An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy, 1767*", because traditionally we considered the concepts of 'modern society', 'civil society' used by Adam Smith and his contemporaries something that had never existed in our country, namely, a civilized, unmilitaristic and secular society with no remnants of feudalism. This was consequently an ideal state of things that had to be attained at sometime. So we regarded A. Smith as the founder of political economy and made efforts to understand the core of his economic theories, theories of value, distribution and accumulation, and therefore, the subjects of our studies on Steuart had been Books I & II of his *Principles*. These features were not only limited to Steuart; studies on the British classical economics in our country had the same angle, namely we thought that most of the economists in the history of economics should be evaluated in terms of the vision of the 'civil society' and the labour theories of value that had developed from Adam Smith through D. Ricardo and reached K. Marx at their

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- (1) Studies on Steuart until 1972 can easily be traced by a bibliography at the back of Kawashima[9]. Since then up to now we can enumerate about 140 literature. See appendix.
- (2) Yamasaki Satoshi 'Adam Smith—a forward—' (in Sugihara [24]) showed an experiment about what can be read from a bibliographical data in the fields of Adam Smith. We can get the similar results as to Steuart.

peak.

Compared to the above, Western scholars intended to rehabilitate James Steuart against Adam Smith in the 1980's. But in this country, on the solid foundation—studies on Books I & II of his *Principles*—which had been built in the earlier phase, investigations were steadily spread out to Books III, IV, and V of the *Principles*, and furthermore to other tracts and extended even further into full-scale work on Steuart's academic backgrounds.

It is not too much to say that our studies are supported by the persistent efforts to interpret the original text of Steuart. 1. The first edition of his *Principles* had already been reproduced in November 1957 by the Society for the History of Economic Thought of Japan. 2. Many Japanese translations of Steuart's works have appeared. We have three Japanese versions (Books I & II) of the *Principles*, i.e., Nakano Tadashi's (1967-80), Kato Kazuo's (1980-82) and after 1982 the (later suspended) attempt of Maruyama Hiro-ichi & Suzuki Ryo.

Moreover, studies on the other parts of *Principles* (Book III and after), Maruyama Hiro-ichi started from 1973 to 1975 (but did not completed it), and finally Takemoto Hiroshi & six other scholars not only finished the complete translation of the book III, but also have completed the translation of Books IV & V in 1993, supervised by Kobayashi Noboru. In addition, we have the Japanese translation of Steuart's *Considerations on the Interest of the County of Lanark* (1769) and *Observations on Dr. Beattie's Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* (1775). In the following sections, we will divide the history of our studies on Steuart after the second world war into two periods—the first period (1952-1977), and the second period (1978-88)—and examine the characteristics of each.⁽³⁾

II. First period (1952-77)

Our studies on James Steuart after the second world war began with the publication of Kobayashi Noboru (born in 1916) *Jushoshugi no Keizai Riron* (*The Economic Theories of Mercantilism*, 1952). His grounding for the studies was partly Marx, and partly Keynes. He tried to interpret Steuart's theory as a monetary system. Although his book was criticized as a mechanical combination of Keynes

(3) It is not because we make little of foreign literature that we do not take it up here. As every country has its own background about the studies on the history of economics, (i. e., S. R. Sen, P. Chamley, A. S. Skinner), we are influenced by them undoubtedly. Namely, debates concerning Keynes and Steuart in Japan, presented a different turn from abroad. See Miyazaki [21]. Why we did not comment on them is exactly based on the judgement that we have to make a trend in Japan clear firstly, and therefore we can draw a distinction between Japan and abroad.

and Marx, especially for lacking a treatment of the theory of value,⁽⁴⁾ he undoubtedly created the main stream of the studies on Steuart in Japan. Before his studies on Steuart had been done separately. It was he who provoked the entry of a new generation into the field, so we can regard his book as the first milestone in the history of Steuart studies in this country. It is well known that Kobayashi started his academic career as a student of Friedrich List, expanded his study field to the English mercantilism and Adam Smith, but continued his studies on Steuart tirelessly, so those three fields have formed 'delta', or a 'triangle', as it were — with Steuart, of course, at the center. As this book was his first one on Steuart, we may call it as das *Merkmal* of his studies on Steuart. In other words, the first stage of our authentic studies on Steuart began with Kobayashi.⁽⁵⁾

By this way, in this period the paradigm of Uchida Yoshihiko's *Keizaigaku no Seitan (A Study on Adam Smith, 1953)* was supported by most scholars of the history of economic thought in Japan, scholars on Steuart after Kobayashi more or less followed Uchida's approach. The second & third monographers on Steuart after Kobayashi, Tazoe Kyoji (born in 1925) and Kawashima Nobuyoshi (born in 1931), now come on the scene.

Uchida criticized Kobayashi for lacking a reproduction theory that should include the theory of value and surplus-value as a mainstay (Uchida [29], p.8). In his reviews on Uchida's book (Jan. 1954) Kobayashi requested some revisions concerning contemporary relevance of the *Wealth of Nations*, claiming that it was not Adam Smith but Josiah Tucker who spoke for the industrial capitalists in the age of the Industrial Revolution (Kobayashi [17], pp.16-17⁽⁶⁾). It was not Kobayashi but Tazoe who led the way for the study on Steuart proper, collecting his articles and published them in a book, *Sir James Steuart no Keizaigaku (The Economics of Sir James Steuart, 1990)*. In his view, to analyze the complete form of

(4) We can give Kimura [10] (not included in Kawashima [9]), as an example of book reviews for Kobayashi.

(5) Once the Kansai branch of the Society for the History of Economic Thought of Japan set up a common theme about the studies on the history of economics by Kobayashi (May 31, 1980, at Doshisha University, see [11], pp. 62-66). If we classify the era of the studies on Steuart in Japan, which applies to the special force in the case of Steuart only. Suppose a view on Kobayashi Noboru like that on Otsuka Hisao, Uchida Yoshihiko and the like, and it is necessary for us to take into account his studies on Friedrich List neglected here. Furthermore, although some one called his method of study "positivism", it is correct in a sense, but it may not be his real intention in another. See Kobayashi [18], p. 95.

(6) He had accomplished this task in his *Jushoshugi Kaitaiki no Kenkyu* (1955, in [13] [14] [15]).

mercantilism (Steuart) not only provides a standard for understanding the mercantilist theories, but also provides a key for establishing the Smithian system, as an antithesis of the 'non-Smithian'. This, moreover, gives us an angle to criticize modern economic theory (Tazoe [28], pp.5-10). We could say that he intended to criticize Kobayashi on behalf of Uchida. Tazoe claimed that Books I & II of *Principles* could be understood as a dual structure. On the one hand, Book I adopted a developmental (historical) method that abstracted the fundamental category of 'industry' from the growth of modern society—labour that played an important part in the reciprocal metabolism between man and nature appears as 'industry' in modern society—, and on the other, after Book II Steuart analyzed the development of modern society from a simple form to a complex —from a barter economy to a monetary one. Steuart contributed by making an approach to 'the labour in general' (typical category in Marx's *Kapital*) indeed, but he failed to complete the labour theory of value, for when he treated the value of the commodities he sometimes brought the effectual demand (Tazoe [28], pp.10-64) into the analytical process. It was a matter of course that Tazoe went on to analyze the theory of value, profits, and wages in Steuart, because he saw the goal of economic theory as that of Marx. It is properly said that he is typical of the scholars of Steuart in this country.⁽⁷⁾

Now, Kobayashi returned to his studies on Steuart in 1958 and collected his articles into a book [16]. Most of his articles might be regarded having been written as his rejoinders to Tazoe's views. He did strictly distinguish the position of each figure in the history of economic thought, so Steuart had to be situated before Smith, and especially he considered Steuart's labour theory of value less perfect than that of Smith. Kobayashi also developed a new argument. He defined mercantilism as a theory of primitive accumulation, and regarded Steuart's *Principles* as the general theory of primitive accumulation. Having decided that the nationality of the *Principles* was on the Continent, he asserted the *Wealth of Nations*' position in the history of economic thought, i.e., that Smith's theory was the general theory of capitalist accumulation. As he had already arrived at this viewpoint in his article, 'James Steuart, Adam Smith, and Friedrich List' (1966), the fifth volume of his works, *James Steuart Kenkyu (A Study on James Steuart, 1977)* stands as a landmark in the progress of Steuart studies in Japan.

(7) The point can be applied to the studies on British classical economists, or in a broader sense, to the history of economic thought.

Tazoe, who had already formed the framework for his studies on Steuart, changed his book construction from Uchida's (the former part=analysis on economic theory of the *Principles*, the latter part=analysis on its background). We can find a "gap" between both parts.

There were some disputes between Kawashima and Kobayashi.⁽⁸⁾ Since *Principles* consists of monetary economics, including the theory of money, credit, and finance, and Kawashima had already analyzed *Principles* from the standpoint of credit theory, we can learn something from Kawashima's book still now. One of the points at issue between them is concerned with the object of the *Principles*, in other words, it relates to their understandings on the stages of Steuart and Smith. Needless to say, it is also related to the nationality of the *Principles*.⁽⁹⁾ Later Kobayashi reflected on his own defects, 1) the analysis of difference between Steuart and Smith in the stage of the history of economic thought, 2) the treatment of economic development in Great Britain after Steuart left there, 3) the lack of a comprehensive view on the theories after Book III of the *Principles*. The truth of the matter is that he overcame these weak points when he wrote his book, *James Steuart Kenkyu*.

As stated above, it was Kobayashi who not only began the first period of Steuart studies in Japan, but also brought the period to a close at this time.

Looking back now, Kobayashi even in his second stage accepted such the paradigms that occupied a dominant position at this time; namely he confined his analysis to Books I & II of the *Principles*, where money, credit, taxes had not been introduced, and he treated classical economic theory as a standard of his evaluation of mercantilism.

III. Second period (1978-88)

We can point out two features of the second period of Steuart studies in Japan; first Kobayashi showed some new signs, which had not been seen before this time, and a younger generation entered the field.

Articles in the tenth and eleventh volume of Kobayashi's *Works* can roughly be divided into three fields, 1) articles on the *Principles*, 2) bibliographies and book reviews, 3) how to understand the Steuart's system as a whole. Though he had said in his first book on Steuart, "This might be the first, and probably the last one" ([16], p.xx), he returned to continue his study ([19] p. 411). But first let us look into the second field.

(8) We can guess the difference between them, in Kobayashi's review on Kawashima [9] and his supplementary comment on it (both are collected in Kobayashi [19]).

(9) After Kawashima [9], Kawashima came to emphasize considerably the Scottish nationalism in Steuart. The nationality of the *Principles* remains unsettled. Now we have too good a hypothesis to be true by Tazoe. It was neither Great Britain, a developed nation nor Ireland, a backward country, but Scotland, a semi-developed country where a foundation for making a systematism for political economy in the 18th century could be provided.

There are book-reviews about other scholars' works, and essays which can be classified as positive contributions to an understanding Steuart's *Principles*. In the former, by examining Marx's *Kritik* and some passages of *Anti-Dühring* written by Marx, he showed how to read the mercantilist literature ('A pre-history of the *Wealth of Nations* in Marx', 'K. Marx and the Mercantilist Literature', both included in [20], 1989). And he not only traced some elements about the formations of the *Principles* and the biographical circumstances about Steuart, but also created an introduction to the history of his successors in the history of economics ('From Steuart to Marx—A genealogy in the history of economic thought', 1981, 'Steuart in the 20th century, 1 & 2', 1989).

In his articles, 'The structure of Steuart's theory on credit' (1989), 'John Law's system as seen by James Steuart' (1987), 'Some structural features of the theory of taxes by James Steuart' (1987), he broke ground that had been uncultivated in the first period and gave an outline of the *Principles* for the first time by a single scholar. We should regard his second monograph on Steuart as having brought the first period to an end. In short, at first he evaluated Steuart as a monetary economist, then set forth his new view on Steuart as the general theorist of primitive accumulation.

But what is more important than these two is the following. Holding the evaluation of Adam Smith and James Steuart in his second stage, Kobayashi took a small step from his former standpoint toward a new one, saying that, "Steuart ... separated a science of political economy from the academic world of Montesquieu and built up a new system for the first time ([19], p. 12)... an alternative system of political economy that ranks with the *Wealth of Nations*... the *Principles* as a system of monetary economics". This new position may be regarded as the third stage of his views on Steuart.⁽¹⁰⁾

As we have already mentioned, he anticipated that he would not publish any book on Steuart after his first, and seemed to be convinced that his studies on the history of economic thought would have been completed with his evaluation of Steuart there. But his prediction did not come true. If we cast a casual glance at a list of his works, we can easily see that the study of List runs like a thread through his academic career.

Interrupted by his military service (1944-46) and his stay as a student in Europe (1964), he continued this work, and in this third stage he wrote articles on Steuart which would complete the remainnig three sides of the 'triangle'. After he had

(10) Is Kobayashi consistent with what he told before? He emphasized the different background of the two economics then. Furthermore, does he have the same opinion as that in the first stage? We have to read with appreciation an epigram of Uchida ([30], pp. 266-7) for Kobayashi.

completed a commentary on the whole of the *Principles*, he was well prepared to accept any comments on his papers. The task for us is to go beyond Kabayashi's work and give some new interpretations of our own.

Now let us turn our eyes to the trend of studies on Steuart by scholars younger than Tazoe or Kawashima. Here we shall neglect articles about Steuart's theories of value, surplus value, reproduction. They belong to traditional approach in Japan, so it is next to impossible to find something fresh. What is new is outlined below.

Firstly, there are two features of the work on particular parts in the *Principles*, ① the attempt, based on a disagreement with Kobayashi's view that "Book III is the one most lacking in theoretical power" ([16], p. 432)... basic treatise on money, particularly on the monetary system ([19], p. 254)", to set these on a satisfactory theoretical basis (Takemoto [26]).

② The view that though the *Principles* has been distinguished by a system of macro-economic non-equilibrium, it can be regarded as a Schumpeterian 'rudimentary' equilibrium theory (Omori [22]).

Secondly, studies have started on how his various works were compiled (Watanabe [32] [33]), and studies on his essays other than those in *Principles* (Watanabe [31], Kawakubo [8]).

Thirdly, alternative interpretations about the *Principles* have appeared. Though Adam Smith premised that societies were composed of homogeneous individuals, Steuart thought in terms of decentralized societies where the functions peculiar to every individual were recognized. Both of them tried to analyze modern society through the concept of political economy and succeeded in building different systems of political economy (Takemoto [27]). The *Principles* can be regarded as a reciprocal monetary economic theory, not only because they surmounted the so-called dichotomy of the real and the monetary economy, but also because they succeeded in framing an integrated theory which joined macro-monetary economics to micro-price analysis, so it is not an exaggeration to call it an alternative system to the *Wealth of Nations* (Omori [23]). By contrast with unprecedented achievements of the studies on Steuart in this second period, studies on Smith have at the same time become dispersed and diverse. We cannot conclude whether scholars have only shifted their target from Smith to the other figures, or whether they wanted an alternative framework for their studies on the history of economic thought, so for the time being we shall have to wait and see what happens.⁽¹⁾

(11) Sugihara pointed out the influences of Marxism upon our studies of Adam Smith before 1970's and thought it important to determine the qualitative change behind their transitions.

IV. A survey of the subjects.

Papers on Steuart hitherto have been somewhat over-concentrated on his main work (*Principles*), but his *Works*,⁽¹²⁾ collected together with his other publications and published in 1805 by his relatives, contain many treatises besides the *Principles*. At least we have to examine the following.

1) *Principles*. The outline given by Kobayashi does not necessarily provide a definitive interpretation. We have to understand the last three Books—Books III, IV & V—of the *Principles*, of which studies have only recently started; we must also read the first two Books again, so as to obtain a new perspective for the *Principles* as a whole. We will then be able to set Steuart up against Adam Smith. This is the orthodox method for us to grapple with what is regarded as a major current issue, “the formation of political economy in Adam Smith and James Steuart”.

2) Works written before the completion of the *Principles* and collected in the fifth volume of his *Works*.

“*A Dissertation on the Policy of Grain*” (1759). This theme is not only important for understanding Steuart, but is also related to the Corn Law debates in the early 19th century, because (to say nothing of the *Principles*) Steuart had been interested in the policy of grain from the time of publication of this pamphlet and continued his concern until *Considerations on the Interest of the County of Lanark* (1769). Moreover we do not know why this pamphlet was published by his son in 1783 after his death. This book is very brief, but we have to investigate it from this kind of perspective.

“*A Plan for Introducing an Uniformity of Weights and Measures over the World*” (1759). This pamphlet was also published in 1790 after Steuart’s death. Although referred to briefly in some biographical descriptions (for example, *Andedotes*), its details and significance are still unknown. We hope that some new points for the study of Steuart will come to light.

“*A Dissertation upon the Doctrine and Principles of Money, applied to the German Coin*” (1761) and “*The Principles of Money applied to the present State of the Coin in Bengal*” (1772). Questions of money and coinage were Steuart’s forte. Immediately after writing Book III of the *Principles*, he dealt with this problem in Tübingen, and engaged in a controversy after 1771 with the persons concerned at the request of East India Company (on this subject S. R. Sen is unrivalled). In addition, he added a new chapter on the British coin to the first part of Book III of the *Principles* (However, his plan for the revision of the *Principles* never

(12) For the details of Steuart’s works, see Watanabe [33].

saw the light of day.). Significant results can be expected from an elucidation of this theme.

3) "*Observations on the New Bill for altering and amending the Laws which regulate the Qualifications of Freeholders*" (1775) in the fifth volume of his *Works* (1775). According to G. Chalmers, Steuart was caught up in a law suit because he had lost his franchise in case of an election in Edinburgh-shire. Whether this essay has something to do with that suit or not has not been ascertained.

4) On the chronological, metaphysical articles (in the sixth volume of his *Works*). In this field, there are four articles since his maiden work, "*Apologie du Sentiment de Monsieur le Chevalier Newton sur l'ancienne Chronologie des Grècs*" (1757), so if we want to decipher their substance, we have to expect a contribution from outside the field of economics.

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