内務省期の奨農政策;1874-1881年

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The Agricultural Policies in the Period of the Ministry of Home Affairs: 1874-1881
—The Dawning Period of the Agricultural Policies of Japan—

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1. Introduction

The agricultural policies in the modern Japan formed for the first time its full-fledged and systematic development, accompanied with the establishment of the Ministry of Home Affairs in November 1873 and the industry encouragement department (Kangyou-ryou) of the said ministry in January 1874. The momentum of the development was started with Iwakura Mission’s investigation tour throughout the United States and Europe and with Meiji Government’s participation in Vienna International Exposition. The two events provided great impact to the Meiji Government’s VIPs including Toshimichi Ohkubo, who later established the Ministry of Home Affairs and became the first minister of Home Affairs, and the bureaucrats who later came to be engaged in practical execution of the agricultural policies in a division in charge of agricultural policies in the central government. It is called the “Western Impact”. In compliance with this impact, Kangyou-ryou, which was later converted into the agriculture encouragement division (Kannou-kyoku), was established. Thus agricultural policies came to be developed by the hand of the bureau as mentioned above.

The bearers of making and enforcement of the agricultural policies were the administrative bureaucrats who were in charge of the agricultural policies in the Kangyou-ryou. Among them, the people who played pivotal roles in the individual political fields were, aside from whether they were engaged in the roles directly or indirectly, had anyhow something to do with Iwakura Mission or the Vienna International Exposition. Thus the bearer’s networks in the early period of the modern agricultural policies as pivotal members who had gradually been formed taking up the said two events as a major epoch became a strong promotive force of the agricultural policies.

Keeping such a situation in mind, this study paper intend to analyze to the agricultural policies in the period of the Ministry of Home Affairs with respect to the developmental process to the extent of duly finalized period of the said policies brought about by the establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1881 from a unified viewpoint in a corroborative manner based on the two fundamental analytical angles as the “Western Impact” and bearer’s networks in the early period of the modern agricultural policies.

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The full-fledged development of the agricultural policies in Japan started with Iwakura Mission’s touring (investigation tour) throughout the United States and Europe that was made in a period ranging from 1871 to 1873 and the Japanese Government’s participation in the International Exposition held in Vienna, Austria in 1873. The tour was virtually momentum of the development of the agricultural policies.

The scheme of the US-Europe trip of Iwakura Mission made in a period ranging from December 1871 to September 1873 was large enough in scale to be joined by almost all the staff of Japan’s new government at that time, e.g. Tomomi Iwakura as an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and Toshimichi Ohkubo, Takayoshi Kido, Hirobumi Itoh as vice ambassadors, etc. Details of those ambassadors’ experiences obtained in the tour are described in a report titled “Bei-O Kairan Jikki” (The Report of the US-Europe Trip by the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary) edited by Kunitake Kume et al. The description concerning the agriculture, agricultural systems, etc. appears everywhere in the “Bei-O Kairan Jikki”. The description to be regarded as particularly a noticeable one in the above is the 91st volume, the 5th edition of the “Bei-O Kairan Jikki”, “The Climate and General Description of the Agriculture in Europe.” From these reviews, the expectation held by Iwakura and his associates with respect to the agriculture in Japan can be explained in a summarized style as follows: Those wise men were of the opinion that Japan should since that time on revise policies of the agriculture to which deviated emphasis had been placed as seen in a scheme of maintaining firmly-cultured rice paddies and most exclusively growing rice. They furthermore expressed their view in purport that the land that had long been wasted in a style of wilderness in this country should be adequately reclaimed to be offered for farming undertakings such as wheat farming, stock-breeding, etc. to which just scantily-amounted importance had been attached for a long time. In addition the required factors to realize their projects were alignment and expansion of the agencies in charge of the agricultural policies, establishment of agricultural societies, research and education agencies for agriculture such as agricultural schools, systems for agricultural experiment stations, etc. together with opening of model factories, institutes, etc.

In parallel with dispatch of Iwakura Mission, directors and investigators were sent to the United States and Europe from the individual ministries and the Left House (Sa-in), and a variety of investigations concerning the problems including the matters of agriculture were made. The records of the investigations were retained in a style of a report titled “Riji-kotei” that was compiled by the councilors who were former attendants of Iwakura Mission and were dispatched from the individual ministries and a report titled “Shisatsu-kotei” that was compiled by the Sa-in investigators. As the Reports regarding agriculture, Takasaki’s Report, Iwayama’s Report and Finance Ministry’s Report are found. Masakaze Takasaki, who was an investigator of the Sa-in, was concurrently engaged in the survey related to agriculture. In
his report, the chapters related to agriculture are Vol. II, “The Lecture on Agriculture Vols. 1, 2, and 3” and “A System of The Washington Agriculture Bureau and An Outline of Expenditure Curtailing Methods.” Especially Vol. I, “A Method of Agriculture Encouragement” is very important, and description is included in relation to the agriculture contests, agricultural schools, agricultural experiment stations, agricultural societies, Agriculture and Commerce Ministry, etc. All of these are the factors that became important later in expanding the agricultural policies of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

On the other hand, Keigi Iwayama happened to join Iwakura Mission when he stayed as an exchange student in the United States for the purpose of investigating the US agriculture. He was later appointed as a director of the Finance Ministry. At that time, the bureau in charge of the agricultural policies was in the Finance Ministry. This compelled Iwayama to be engaged in the investigation of the agricultural systems in the United States and Europe. Iwayama’s report is a document consisting of the translated matters of the Regulations for Royal Agricultural College in Cirencester, the Regulations for Royal Veterinary College in London Students, the Regulations for Royal Agricultural Society of England, and Washington Agricultural Bureau Employment System and Secretarial Course. However attention is paid to the papers on agriculture and veterinary schools because they are related with Agricultural College in Komaba (Komaba Nou-gakkou), whereas attention is arrested to the papers on agriculture enterprises because they are in relation to Agricultural Society of Japan (Dai-Nippon Noukai). Furthermore the matters to be careful of is the documents concerning Washington’s Agricultural Bureau because they are related with the Kangyou-ryou itself. In this relation, Keigi Iwayama is a character who played a pivotal role in the expansion of the agricultural policies after the establishment of the Kangyou-ryou.

At the final stage, description is hereby made with Finance Ministry’s Report. The documents concerning agriculture are “The Prospect for Agriculture Encouragement” compiled in the 3rd Vol. by Sen Abe. In this report, Abe makes a petition concerning establishment of agriculture schools. Another petition is found in the same report with respect to caretakers (Sewagakari) for agriculture. Comparison of the description of the “Riji-kotei” with that of the “Bei-O Kairan Jikki” reveals that the former is one of the most important foundations of the latter.

The document that became very important grounds in compilation of “Bei-O Kairan Jikki” in addition to the “Riji-kotei” was the Austrian International Exposition Report (Ou-koku Hakurankai Houkokusyo).

In the said report, “The Agriculture Part,” “Sericulture Part,” “Forestry Part,” and “Mr. Wagner’s Report, the 2nd-section Agriculture and Forestry” are dealt with as the descriptions concerning the agriculture, forestry, and fisheries. In “the Agriculture Part,” “A Report concerning the Condition of the Agriculture Encouragement” compiled by Tsunetami Sano, Deputy Chairman of the Exposition and “the Articles concerning the French Agriculture” are particularly important. Tsunetami Sano’s “A Report concerning the Condition of the Agriculture Encouragement” constitutes the general description of the whole articles of “the Agricul-
ture Part,” and is comprised of the sub-parts concerning actual tasks of agriculture such as improvement of the methods for growth of the crops that have handled since earlier time, introduction of new crops, encouragement of cattle-breeding, etc. and concerning various types of systems related to agriculture such as agricultural schools, agricultural experiment stations, agriculture expositions, agricultural societies, etc. In relation to the latter, just the items are designated without making detailed observation. However this is compensated with “the Articles concerning the French Agriculture,” and detailed description concerning the agriculture schools, agricultural experiment stations, agricultural societies, and agriculture expositions in France is given.

Meanwhile with “Mr. Wagner’s Report the 2nd-section Agriculture and Forestry,” investigation is first made for various kinds of craft products required for development of the Japanese agriculture in future. Secondly problems of science of agriculture and agricultural technology are referred to, and furthermore description is made with agriculture schools, agricultural experiment stations, agriculture expositions, etc. in Germany. The various systems of agriculture of France or Germany hereby taken up have exercised great influence on the expansion of the agricultural policies in the period of the Ministry of Home Affairs since that time on.

From this viewpoint, the pivotal figure that ordered these investigations to be executed was Tsunetami Sano, Deputy Chairman of Japan’s Exposition. However the actual executors of the investigations were Yoshio Tanaka in charge of natural history and agriculture, Chohjun Sasaki in charge of sericulture, Akekiyo Sekizawa in charge of fisheries, Michihei Ogata in charge of forestry, etc. These officials later became bureaucrats and played pivotal roles in a variety of the fields of forestry and fisheries after they returned to Japan. In addition, Sen Tsuda, one of the officials, is widely known as an activist who vigorously exerted endeavors in promotion of agriculture in the private sector after he returned to Japan.

The results obtained from the observation in “Bei-O Kairan Jikki,” “Riji-kotei,” and “Ou-koku Hakurankan Houkokuuso” can be summarized in a brief style as follows: Iwakura Mission and directors together with Austria Exposition officials were shocked with “Western Impact” through their tour of Europe and the United States. However there remained a concept behind the impulse to the effect that: It was just after 1800 AD that the European nations became as wealthy as they are today, and it was just in these 40 years that such wealthiness became especially remarkable (Bei-O Kairan Jikki). The concept still prevails in purport that the European agriculture, industry, and commerce became as prosperous as they are now just in these several 10 years, and it might be possible to imagine that Europe of 40 years ago was greatly different from her today in its shape (ibid). Thus based on such a concept, it might be probably concluded that the difference between Europe/US and Japan in power can be overcome. Provided that a period as short as 40 years in case of the whole power or as short as 20 years in case of agriculture, it will be possible for Japan without doubt to catch up the level of the western nations. It remains however to be seen in what a method Japan will be able to catch up the west. That will be done through development of
“mightiness.” This is nothing less than the agricultural policy that was later to be developed by the Home Ministry, where a road to develop the “mightiness” in agriculture is selected by Japan to comply with the occidental impulse of the “mightiness.” The fundamental directions of the agricultural policy development of the Home Ministry can be determined as (1) import protection and export encouragement and (2) reclamation of wasteland and introduction of western agricultural methods, taking up them as 2 pillars. Furthermore as agriculture encouragement systems for realization of the above, the following 5, i.e. (1) agencies in charge of agriculture policies, (2) agricultural experiment stations, (3) agricultural schools, (4) agricultural societies, and (5) agriculture expositions can be designated as major factors. In this viewpoint, it is agriculture bureaucrats as bearers of the period of inauguration of modern agricultural policies and their networks that became a very important key in making investigation pragmatically by taking up agricultural experiment stations, agricultural schools, agricultural societies, etc. in relation to the development of the agricultural policies in the Ministry of Home Affairs. In the people who were directly concerned with Iwakura Mission or Vienna International Exposition, the names of Keigi Iwayama, Yoshio Tanaka, Nobutsura Yamataka, Akekiyo Sekizawa, Michihei Ogata, Masana Maeda, Kenzo Ikeda, Shozo Inoue, etc. were noted. They all became a key person of the networks of the agricultural bureaucrats since that time on. Accordingly it can safely be affirmed that Iwakura Mission’s US/Europe Touring and the Japanese Government’s participation in Vienna International Exposition offered for the first time a spot where the people who later became bearers of the Agriculture Policies of Home Ministry met each other and started to form their networks.

III. The agricultural policies in the Ministry of Home Affairs and bearer networks in the early period of the modern agricultural policies

In December 1873, the Ministry of Home Affairs was established by Toshimichi Ohkubo who was deputy ambassador of Iwakura Mission and was one of the most influential high-ranking officials of the government at that time. In January of 1874, Kangyou-ryou was established in the said ministry. Concurrently with the establishment of the ministry, commission for screening the hierarchical system were appointed in the system bureau of the Regular House (Sei-in). The commission were engaged in the investigation of the personnel affairs, supervision, hierarchical systems, etc. In investigating the mechanism or hierarchical system of the ministry, “A Draft for the Private Plan of the Hierarchical Systems in the Ministry of Home Affairs” was regarded as one of the test cases. The compiler of the draft was Masaharu Ijichi, vice chairman of the Left House (Sa-in) and concurrently a member of the screening commission.

In connection with the person known by the name of Masaharu Ijichi, none of attention has been paid at all to him in the study of the modern Japanese agriculture history. However examining Ijichi’s letters addressed to Toshimichi Ohkubo or scrutinizing the documents such as “Advice for the Current Affairs (Jim-kengen-sho),” “Advice for Agriculture Encourage-
These are not the "Riji-kotei" itself, but are the documents dealt with in "the Iwayama’s Report." It is probable that Ijichi obtained something informative relating the Report, and there is a high possibility that he offered the said information to be utilized for the draft. In any way, the Kangyou-ryou was established in a style close to the “Draft” itself.

In the bureaucrats of the Kangyou-ryou in the early inauguration period established in such a manner, Yoshio Tanaka, Nobutsura Yamataka, Akekiyo Sekizawa, Chohjun Sasaki, Kenzo Ikeda, etc., in addition to Keigi Iwayama, played the most important roles. As described before, all of them are the persons who had something to do directly or indirectly with Iwakura Mission and Vienna International Exposition. Those people were shocked by strong impulse when they traveled abroad as members or participants of Iwakura Mission or Vienna International Exposition, or when stayed in the United States. They came to make acquaintances with each other, and gradually came to form networks as bureaucrats of agricultural policies. Yoshio Tanaka, Nobutsura Yamataka, etc. played an important role mainly in the field of policies of exhibitions or museums, whereas Akekiyo Sekizawa played important roles in the field of administration of fisheries. In the meantime, Chohjun Sasaki played an important role in the field of the policies of sericulture, filature, etc. They were genuinely pivotal bureaucrats in the respective fields. Keigi Iwayama and Kenzo Ikeda are, as it were, pivotal bureaucrats in the agricultural fields in a narrow sense. In the periphery of their networks, personal contacts with great width gradually came to be formed ranging from lower- or middle-class bureaucrats of the central government to bureaucrats in charge of agricultural policies together with employees of private enterprises.

On the center of the human networks with the bureaucrats in charge of agricultural policies as pivotal personnel, Keigi Iwayama was seated. Since he was appointed as the virtually highest-ranking official of the division in charge of establishment of the Kangyou-ryou in 1874 in charge of and agricultural policies, Keigi Iwayama who is from the domain of Satsuma assumed the important posts in succession in the Kangyou-ryou, Kannou-kyoku, and the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry (Noushoumu-shou) until he left from the ministry in 1874. During his stay on these positions, he played very important roles as a pivotal bureaucrat in the expansion of the agricultural policies in the 1st-half period of the Meiji Era. In Iwayama’s achievements, the most important one in the 1st-half of a decade between 1865 and 1875 is the management in Shimofusa Sheep-breeding Farm (Shimofusa Bokuyou-jiyou). Keigi Iwayama, who had been keenly aware of necessity for sheep breeding through an intercourse with Ryokichi Sagane, English teacher of the domain of Satsuma in the last period of the Tokugawa Shogunate, filed a petition for sheep breeding in 1870. This became
momentum of establishment of *Shimofusa Bokuyou-jyou.*

In developing the agricultural policy in the 1st-half period of Meiji Era, the roles imposed on *Shimofusa Bokuyou-jyou* were as follows: The 1st role is protection of import of wool clothing. The 2nd is designated as a role of a model farm in management of sheep-breeding, which shortly came to be changed into a model farm for livestock raising management and furthermore changed into a role of seed-cattle breeding farm. Thirdly the role to be played as a model of reclamation in accordance with western agricultural methods is taken up. The importance was gradually transferred successively from the 1st role to the 3rd via 2nd role. Furthermore in the 2nd role, the importance was transferred from sheep breeding to cow breeding, and from a model farm to a seed cattle breeding farm. The expected roles were continuously changed as mentioned above, but the business was at the first stage a huge national project comparable to the state-run reclamation business.

The above description is made in relation to the roles expected for *Shimofusa Bokuyou-jyou* from a point of view of the state authority. However apart from this, the matter that came to possess great significance in the history of agriculture in the 1st-half period of the Meiji Era was formation of the human networks accomplished by sheep-breeding students or sheep-breeding farm clerks. This is, for example, symbolized by the act of an agricultural society (*Touyou Noukai*). The undertaking of providing sheep-breeding education by inviting one each student from the individual prefectures in the whole country is concerned with the second role of *Shimofusa Bokuyou-jyou.* That is to say, every sheep-breeding student was expected to return to his native prefecture to take leadership in promoting the undertakings of sheep breeding. In that meaning, the project found itself in a position to accept a huge concept to achieve prosperity of the undertakings of sheep breeding. The number of the sheep-breeding students who were provided with sheep-breeding education in 3 years ranging from 1876 to 1879 amounted to 54. However the sheep-breeding management itself was utterly inadequate for Japanese climate. For this reason, a schedule to establish sheep-breeding farms in the individual prefectures was not realized. This compelled most of the sheep-breeding students who finalized acquisition of this kind of education to look for their jobs in the other society except for sheep-breeding business. Referring to the result, almost all of the former sheep-breeding students became officials of the agriculture encouragement. After they returned to their native provinces, they were engaged in mainly the livestock industry in the individual divisions of the agricultural policies of the prefectures. Ikkei Iijima who became section chief of agriculture and commerce in Miyagi Prefecture and Masahiro Tamura who became section chief of agriculture and commerce in Shiga Prefecture are the examples. Meanwhile other than the prefecture officials, some of the former sheep-breeding students were engaged in the agricultural work including stock-breeding. Shunkichi Tamai who worked for *Kaishin-Sha,* Hokkaido, Chikamoto Honda who became owner of sheep-breeding farm, etc. are designated as good examples of the activists of the agricultural business in the private sector. Furthermore in *Shimofusa Bokuyou-jyou,* the people who are anxious to learn agricultural methods are provided with technologies and techniques of
The agricultural society synthesized by those concerned with agriculture and cattle breeding in addition to regular sheep-breeding education regardless of whether the period of instruction is long or not. Kataro Takahashi of Iwate Prefecture, Kitaro Araki of Tottori Kaikon-Sha in Asaka Reclamation, Sadanoshin Shinagawa of Nasu Kaitaku-Sha in Nasunogahara Reclamation, etc. were the learners of the sheep-breeding farm.

Shimofusa Bokuyou-jyou was established as part of a national project, and therefore a large number of the bureaucrats and officials of the Ministry of Home Affairs participated in the undertakings of the farm as personnel. These bureaucrats and officials as personnel can roughly be classified into 3 groups. The first group consists of the bureaucrats who were placed themselves in the center such as Kannou-kyoku of the Ministry of Home Affairs and thoroughly participated in execution of the agricultural policies. Seisuke Oku who was later promoted to the post of chief of the fisheries division of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry is its representative. The second group consists mainly of technological bureaucrats who were transferred from the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry to the Imperial Household Ministry accompanied with the transfer of Shimofusa Seed-cattle-breeding Farm (Simofusa Syuchiku-jiyous) to the Imperial Household Ministry in 1885 and were later continuously engaged in the instruction of the cattle breeding. Masaaki Tsuji and his associates who are well known by their books titled “Questions and Answers of Japanese Sheep Breeding,” “A New Book of Japanese Pasture to Be Served for Practical Use,” “A New Book of Japanese Cultivation by Horses,” etc. are the group’s representative. The third group consists of business leaders who were once governmental officials and left posts to find new jobs in the private sector. In the third group, names of Toshizo Niihara, Yaichi Katsura, Makoto Funaki, etc. are found. T. Niihara became owner of cultivating and farming houses for milking. Y. Katsura was appointed as acting chief for the farm master of Toyoura Farm (Mohri Farm), Nasunogahara. M. Funaki started an agricultural company called Hatoh Noh-Sha. in Ibaraki Prefecture. This exhibits wideness of the network of the people who are concerned with Shimofusa Bokuyou-jyou with Keigi Iwayama as a pivotal personality.

The agricultural society synthesized by those concerned with Shimofusa Bokuyou-jyou such as sheep-breeding students, employees of sheep farm, etc. is Touyou Noukai. The said society together with Tokyo Dannou-kai became one of the origins of Dai-Nipponn Noukai established in 1881. In relation to the agricultural societies in the European countries, reports have already been released in “Bei-O Kairan Jikki,” “Riji-kotei,” “Ou-koku Hakurankai Houkokusyo,” etc. The first agricultural society in Japan is Kainou Gikai established in 1875. Then Touyou Noukai was associated in 1879. Furthermore in 1880, Tokyo Dannou-kai was associated. Kainou Gikai was an association established by middle-class bureaucrats of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Finance Ministry as pivotal members. These bureaucrats concurrently constituted the learned class who studied western and national science and technology in a period ranging from the last period of the Tokugawa Shogunate to the beginning of Meiji Era. Kainou Gikai published “Kainou Zappou” as their newsletter. Shortly the society joined Tokyo Dannou-kai. Tokyo Dannou-kai hereby referred to was inaugurated with Kyoudou Nouji-kai established by Zenbei Ozawa and his associates who were merchants exclusive for Mita Seed
Breeding Field (Mita Ikusyu-jiyou) as an origin by the effort of Kenzo Ikeda who was chief of the Mita Ikusyu-jiyou in a style of a agricultural society. In the said society, just a single piece of a pamphlet called "Noudann Zakki" was published. Compared with Kainou Gikai, the society features involvement of relatively a large number of members in comparison with the case of Kainou-Gikai. Seed-breeding dealers such as Zenbei Ozawa and his associates, Rikinosuke Ishikawa and his associates are members of the society. In this connection, Touyou Noukai was, as described previously, was a agricultural society associated with those concerned with Shimofusa Bokuyou-jiyou as pivotal members. However the society was anxious to multiply its members, which allowed, as a result, the number of the members to reach 100 or more. Thus in establishment of Dai-Nipponn Noukai, the said society became the biggest origin of the Dai-Nipponn Noukai. The Touyou Noukai's bulletin is "Touyou Noukai Shiki-Houkoku."

In such a manner, Dai-Nipponn Noukai was associated as the first nationwide agricultural society in Japan in 1881. Thus in the Society, almost all of the special members having a voting right are comprised of the bureaucrats in charge of agricultural policies in the central authority and local agencies. This is explained also from the process of the inauguration. In this sense, association of Dai-Nipponn Noukai in 1881 was one of the consequences of the agricultural policies in the period of the Ministry of Home Affairs which have been started from 1874.

IV. Conclusions

The document of "The Synopsis of Agriculture Encouragement (Kannou-Youshi)" presented by Masayoshi Matsukata in 1879 is believed to imply conversion of the agricultural policies in the period of the Ministry of Home Affairs. In fact, a way of dealing with the government-run business is greatly subject to change since around that time on. Import protection and export encouragement are the first fundamental direction of the expansion of the agricultural policies, which is regarded as major state-run business for that purpose. Thus Shimofusa Bokuyou-jiyou, Senju Woolen Manufacturing Facility (Senju Seijyu-sho), Shinmachi Spinning Factory (Shinmachi Bouseki-sho), etc. into which a huge amount of expenses were poured were degraded to the extent of temporary undertakings. In connection with the reclamation of wasteland and introduction of the western agricultural methods as the second fundamental direction, the plans at first were gradually altered. The project for introduction of the western agricultural methods were, aside from reclamation of wasteland, gradually abandoned, and the pivotal point of the agricultural improvement came to be replaced with betterment of the conventional agricultural schemes. However from "Kannou-Youshi," it is deduced that none of more drastic change in the fundamental concept relating to the Japanese agriculture is effected so much in comparison with the conventional one. The fundamental concept of "Kannou-Youshi" is rather than the one to deepen the former by continuously succeeding that of the conventional one. Standing on the said deepened concept, conversion into more effective policies in order to comply with the present affairs
was being intended.

"Kannou-Youshi" attached importance to a plan to allow people to start enterprises independently of others. This is not the criticism for the governmental bureaucrats to help people start enterprises independently of others or to guide the people, although that is the criticism for the government to extend its hands to the private enterprise, i.e. the government-run business. In the duties to be done by the government, the most important was association of agricultural society. Before and after 1879 the same time when "Kannou-Youshi" was publicized, movement of association of Touyou Noukai or Tokyo Dannou-kai was noted for the first time. However this is not coincidence by any means. The fact that in Dai-Nipponn Noukai, the special members having voting right accounted for almost all the proportion of the bureaucrats of agricultural policies, was also a result brought about as a matter of course in such political conversion. With conversion of the agricultural policies, proper finalization was to be seen by establishment of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry and association of Dai-Nipponn Noukai.

With the trunk of the networks of the bureaucrats of agricultural policies, none of fundamental change can be noted even when the period of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry arrives. It can rather than safely be affirmed that accompanied with establishment of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry and association of Dai-Nipponn Noukai, the networks of the bureaucrats of agricultural policies were placed on a threshold of starting expansion. The matter to which attention should be paid at this stage is Yajiro Shinagawa’s entrance. Y.Shinagawa was located on the pivotal point of the contacts of the pro-German faction, and came to exhibit great influential power almost as soon as he assumed the post of the Kannou-kyoku in 1880. Shinagawa’s entrance was connected with invitation of German scholars of agriculture such as Max Fesca, Oscar Kellner, etc., and new supporters of the Japanese agriculture and new bearers of the networks come to manifest themselves one after another.

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内務省期の勤農政策：1874～1881年
——日本農政の草創期——

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わが国近代の農業政策は、1873年11月における内務省の創設と、翌1874年1月における同省勤農寮の設置をもって、はじめて本格的かつ系統的に展開されることになった。その契機となったのが、岩倉使節団の米欧回覧とウィーン万国博覧会への明治政府の参加である。この二つの出来事は、のちに内務省を創設し、初代内務卿となった大久保利通をはじめとする明治政府の要人や、その後中央政府の農政担当部局で勤農政策の実務を担当することになる官僚たちに大きな衝撃を与えた。いわゆる「西洋の衝撃」である。この衝撃に対する対応として、農業の部面における「力」の開発・増進の模索が、内務省勤農寮の創設であり、また同寮（のちに勤農局）を中心とする内務省勤農政策の展開であった。勤農政策の担い手は、内務省勤農寮（のちに勤農局）で農政を担当した実務官僚たちであった。彼らのうち、毎分野において中核的な役割を果たした人々は、直接的であるか間接的であるかは別として、岩倉使節団あるいはウィーン万国博覧会とは密かの関連を有していた。そして、この二つの出来事を重要な契機として徐々に結成されていった農政実務官僚たちを中心とする人的ネットワークこそが、勤農政策の強力な推進力となった。本稿では、以上の点をふまえ、内務省期における勤農政策について、「西洋の衝撃」と「近代農政草創期の担い手ネットワーク」という二つの基本的な分析視角から、1881年における農商務省の創設と大日本農会の結成をもって一応の終焉を迎えるまでの展開過程を、統一的な視点から実証的に考察した。