The Flows and Networks of Fishing Technocrats of Colonial Taiwan in Global History (1895-1912) Te-Chih Chen

Preface

Wen-hsing Wu, a Taiwanese scholar, explored the relationship between academic research and colonialism in colonial Taiwan. He respectively discussed the cases of Tokyo Imperial University, Kyoto Imperial University, and Sapporo Agriculture College. These studies showed how Taiwanese academia was established and what sort of relationship existed between academic and Taiwan Governor-General’s policy. Also, Wu argued that many graduates of Sapporo Agriculture College came to Taiwan and influenced the policies of agriculture, forestry, and sugar industry significantly.

On the other hand, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is a useful framework to observe people and the environment together and it provides a viewpoint to research the “uncertainty” in scientific activities. In fact, it inspires me to concern more actors that conclude human and non-human ones. Therefore, not only people and groups

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5 Sergio Sismondo, An Introduction to Science and Technology Studies (Massachusetts: Blackwell
but also boats and fish should be considered in the future. Also, the theory reminds us to note the uncertainty of group formation. This paper addresses how the Japanese technicians came to Taiwan, how they formed a group in Taiwan and what relationship they keep with the network in Japan.

Therefore, I think it is more critical to discuss the flows and networks of technocrats and to explore the occasional and structural factors of the flows and networks than to draw on the theory of post-colonialism for interpreting the historical phenomenon of colonial academic.

However, the studies regarding the fishing industry of Taiwan are few and the scholars are uninterested in the field of fishing technicians in colonial Taiwan, perhaps because the value of the fishing industry is insignificant for the country’s economy today. Though none of the secondary scholarship on colonial fishing technicians existed, there were some useful articles related to the background of fishing policy in colonial Taiwan. In fact, according to Xing-hua Hu’s research, the development of the fishing industry in Taiwan is divided into several periods by different regimes. Xing-hua Hu points out that fishing policy under Japanese rule was marked by modernization and exploitation. Jun-chang Wang makes discussed the fishing industry

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and fishing administration in his Ph.D. Dissertation. His research is helpful in understanding the outline of fishing policy during the colonial period. Yu-ju Lin published several articles concerning the fishermen, especially the Taiwan Governor-General’s policy of fishing immigration, and her articles focus on the success or failure of the policy. According to the studies, it is clear that 1910 is a watershed year in the development of fishing administration including fishing organization, regulations, affairs and officials. At same time, the Taiwan Governor-General was forming a new fishing policy. Before long, the “Regulation of Taiwanese Fishing Industry” was proclaimed by the Taiwan Governor-General in 1912, meaning that the situation of the fishing industry had been greatly transformed. Therefore, it is worthwhile to discuss the flows and networks of fishing technocrats in Taiwan from 1895 to 1912. Thus, this paper tries to introduce the changing social and political circumstances when fishing technocrats came to Taiwan, to analyze the structure and transformation of personnel, and to show the research they published and the activities they organized.


2. The Period of Military Administration

In April 1985, the Administrative District of Penghu (澎湖行政廳), a temporarily administrative office in war time, requested the support of fishing experts for investigating fishery, which shows, during the military operation time, the survey on fishing industry had begun. After Taiwan Governor-General officially started the military rule, the Department of Settlement and Production (殖產部), being responsible for the administration of colonial settlement, agriculture, forestry, fishery, and mining industry, was supervised under the planning of Hashiguchi Bunzō (橋口文藏) and Oshikawa Norikichi (押川則吉). They were both born in Kagoshima (鹿兒島). Hashiguchi graduated from Sapporo Agricultural College (札幌農學校) and Oshikawa graduated from Komaba Agricultural College (駒場農學校). On May 20th, 1895, Hashiguchi was appointed as the acting chief of the Department of Settlement and Production (殖產部長) and Oshikawa was appointed the acting Chief Officer of the Agricultural Affairs Division (農務課長), who was subordinate to the chief of the Department. At that point, the administrative business of Settlement and

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Production in Taiwan was officially launched. Hashiguchi was the former president of Sapporo Agricultural School, the Investigate Officer of Hokkaido Prefecture Office (北海道廳理事官), and the Chief Officer of the Second Official Sector (第二部部長); his previous experience in Hokkaido and the personal connections with Sapporo Agricultural School deserve our attention because he paved the path of the graduates of Sapporo Agricultural School to Taiwan. Also, before coming to Taiwan, Oshikawa was the official technician in the Bureau of Agricultural Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce Affairs (農商務省農務局) and the Chief Officer of the Agricultural Affair Division (農務課長), who was subordinate to the chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Affairs; his previous experience in the Bureau of Agricultural Affairs may have affected the policy in Taiwan. Neither Hashiguchi nor Oshikawa were fishing industry specialists. Therefore, it would be difficult to identify their impacts on the flow of fishing technical personnel.

12 Wu Wen-hsing, "Sapporo Nougako to Taiwan Kindai Nougaku no Tenkai—Taiwansoutokuhu Noujishigenjyo wo Jyushin tosite,” in Nihontoujiak Taiwan no Sihai to Tenkai, 485.
13 Syokuinroku [Meiji 24](Tokyo: insatsukyoku), 1.
14 Wen-hsing Wu, "Zhahuangnongxuexiaoyu Taiwanzoushanxue de Zhankai—Yi Taiwanzongdu fu Nongshishiyanchang wei Zhongxin” in Riben Zibenzhuyi yu Taiwan • Chaoxian—Diguozhuyixiade Jingjibianlong. (Taipei: Bo Yang culture, 2010), 127-161; "Sapporo Nougako to Taiwan Kindai Nougaku no Tenkai—Taiwansoutokuhu Noujishigenjyo wo Jyushin tosite,” in Nihontoujiak Taiwan no Sihai to Tenkai. (Nagoya: Institute of Social Science of Chyukyo university, 2004), 479-522.
15 Syokuinroku [Meiji 27](Tokyo: insatsukyoku), 314.
However, it is important to note that the Deputy chief of the Department of the Interior (內務部長), who was responsible for the affairs regarding local administration, prison, police, construction and building activities, geography, and household register, Maki Bokushin (牧朴真). Since 1895, Maki Bokushin had been involved with the establishment of the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office (台灣總督府), and he was appointed as the Deputy Chief of the Department of the Interior when the military government was established. Although he was not responsible for fishing administration, before came to Taiwan he served as Commissioner of the Fishery Investigation Committee (水產調查委員會委員), and was entrusted with supervising the third section of the Fishery Investigation Institute (水產調查所第三部監督) in Japan. According to the Law of Fishery Investigation Institute (水產調查所官制), the Fishery Investigation Institute was set under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce Affairs for the management regarding fishing investigation. The Fishery Investigation Committee was set for the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Affairs’ consideration concerning fishing investigation. As to the commissioners of the Fishery Investigation Committee were selected based

16 “Taiwan Sōtokufu kaisetsu ni tsuki shuchōjininmeibo,” in Taiwan Sōtokufu Kōbun Ruisan, May 1\(^{st}\) Meiji 28(1895), Vol.1, No.42, Item 1.
on the criteria of education background, intelligence, and experience. Maki Bokushin was chosen to be the commissioner because he came from Nagasaki (長崎), the Prefecture of fisheries. It is easily to image that with his experience as commissioner of the Fishery Investigation Committee and his origin, Maki Bokushin’s fishery investigation experience and personal connections had a certain degree of impact on Taiwan’s fishery investigation.

During this period, surveys of fisheries were conducted mainly by junior technicians Kaburaki Yomio (鈴木余三男), Kayaba Saburou(萱塲三郎) and Baba Nōjirō(馬場納次郎). Kaburaki Yomio is the younger brother of Sekisawa Meisei (関澤明清, who had done his best to introduce the aquatic agriculture technology from Europe and America to Japan; he was also the founding administrative secretary of the Japanese Fisheries Association (大日本水産會) and the first principal of the Fishery School (水産傳習所), which built for providing the personnel of fishing investigation by the Japanese Fisheries Association. Kaburaki Yomio was the Apprenticeship Commissioner in the school and taught students in the school. From 1888 to 1892, he was dispatched by the Japanese Fisheries Association to local

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19 Katayama husakichi, Dainihon Suisanshi, 233.
22 Katō Sēgi comp., Dainihonsuisankai Suisandensyusyo Enkaku(Tokyo: Dainihonsuisankai Suisandensyusyo,1892, 5.
23 Katō Sēgi comp., Dainihonsuisankai Suisandensyusyo Enkaku, 12.
governments such as Chiba Prefecture (千葉縣), Niigata Prefecture (新潟縣), Kagoshima Prefecture (鹿兒島縣) as itinerant teacher. In 1894, according to the application from the Korean National Fisheries Corporation of Wonsan (朝鮮國元山水產株式會社), Kaburaki Yomio went to survey the fisheries of Korea with the status of absent junior technician of Ministry of Agricultural and Commerce Affairs. Even though he was only a junior technician, his experience and ability for survey is beyond question.

Kayaba Saburou was from Hokkaido. He was a Bachelor of Agriculture and taught chemistry in the Fishery School. He also graduated from the Sapporo Agricultural College. As for Baba Nōjirō, he was from Kagoshima Prefecture (鹿兒島縣); and he graduated from Fishery School in March 1894, the sixth graduated class. He went to Taiwan for survey immediately after graduation.

In summary, the influences from Japanese Fisheries Association network were significant among the fisheries bureaucrats during the military administration period.

26 Dainihonsuisandenshūshō, Dainihonsuisandenshūshōhokōoku( Tokyo: Dainihonsuisandenshūshō,1897), 15.
28 Dainihonsuisandenshūshō, Dainihonsuisandenshūshōhokōoku, 62.
The graduates from Fishery School gradually became the main supply of fishing experts for fishing investigation in the following years.

3. The Period of Civil Administration

There were big changes of personnel management in the Department of Settlement and Production from 1896 to 1899 during the civil administration period. First, the number of technical bureaucrats had increased from 1896 to 1897. Second, the technical bureaucrats had repositioned from the Taiwan Governor-General Office to a local government office. The results are reflected in the implement of fishing investigation and experiment. The administrative organizations of fishery were downsizing and the operations were handed over to the Section of Agriculture and Commerce (農商掛) under the Division of Settlement and Production (殖產課).

Although the scale of fishing administration was seemingly shrinking in appearance, the total amount of general affairs and business in Taiwan was not decreased; in fact, the original official business was transferred from the Taiwan Governor-General Office to local government offices. Basically, the authority of executive operation was appointed to the local government office and the authority of supervision was specifically appointed to the Taiwan Governor-General Office\(^\text{29}\).

\(^{29}\) “Shokusanjimu sekōjō ni kansuru Jōkō,” in *Taiwan Sōtokuju Kōbun Ruisan*, August 18\(^{\text{th}}\) 1897 (Meiji
In addition to junior technicians as the main force for the fisheries survey, there were also junior civil officials joining the investigation team in this period. In order to prepare for the second Kobe Fisheries Expo (水産博覽會) in 1897, the Department of Settlement and Production requested all local districts in Taiwan to cooperate with the exposition, and appointed technicians to collect aquatics, purchase real objects and models, and also to investigate matters related to the fishing industry. In sum, the preparation of the Department of Settlement and Production was mainly based on local government exhibition.

From 1896 to 1897, the Department of Settlement and Production had planned for fishery investigation and appointed Chief Officer of Division of Agriculture and Commerce (農商課長) Takahashi Akira (高橋昌) to conduct a survey on fisheries in coastal waters of Keelung and Suao⁶⁰, junior technicians Kayaba Saburou and Baba Nōjirō to conduct surveys on the fishing industry and salt industry around the Hsinchu and Lukang areas (新竹鹿港);⁶¹ junior technician Takada Heizou (高田平三) was in charge of the survey on the marine products and related business in the Taipei area.

Also, technician Kayaba Saburou went to Anping (安平) and Lukang⁶², the junior civil
official of Fengshan (鳳山) Miyoshi Yoshitaka (三好義孝) went to Donggang (東港)\textsuperscript{33}, and the junior civil official Ikeuchi Isaburō (池内猪三郎) went to Xiaoliuqiu (小琉球)\textsuperscript{34} for the fishing industry condition survey\textsuperscript{35}. Kamata Yajūrō (鎌田彌十郎) went to Taipei Prefecture to investigate aquaculture and purchase the exhibiting objects for the Fisheries Expo\textsuperscript{36}. In August of 1897, the official surveys of salt farms, the salt industry and fishery were commissioned to the Hsinchu Prefecture (新竹縣), the District of Yilan (宜蘭) and Penghu. In November, the aquaculture surveys were extended to the east coast areas\textsuperscript{37}.

Technician Takahashi Akira and junior technicians Kaburaki Yomio and Kayaba Saburou were responsible for Taiwan's participation in the Expo\textsuperscript{38}. Later, Baba Nōjirō was appointed as the commissioner of Taiwan Governor-General in the second Fisheries Expo in 1897\textsuperscript{39}. Except Takahashi Akira, all commissioners were related to

\textsuperscript{32} (Tokyo: unknown, 1898), 131-261.
\textsuperscript{33} “Gyogyō ni kansuru torishimari no ken (moto Tainanken),” in Taiwan Sōtokufu Kö bun Ruisan, August 1\textsuperscript{st} Meiji 30 (1897), Vol. 121, No. 9780, Item 23.
\textsuperscript{34} “Ryūkyūshō he suisanbutsu chōsa no tame shutcho no ken (moto Tainanken),” in Taiwan Sōtokufu Kö bun Ruisan, May 1\textsuperscript{st} Meiji 30 (1897), Vol. 121, No. 9780, Item 20th.
\textsuperscript{35} Taiwan Sōtokufu minsēbu bunshoka comp., Taiwan Sōtokufu jimusēsekiteiyō (2), November Meiji 31 (1898), 84, 85.
\textsuperscript{36} “Suinanchōsa oyobi suisanhakurankai shuppinbutsu baishū no tame taihokukan kannai he shutcho Kamata yajūrō fukumēshō,” in Taiwan Sōtokufu Kö bun Ruisan, June 1\textsuperscript{th} Meiji 30 (1897th), Vol. 4, No. 4518, Item 5.
\textsuperscript{37} Taiwan Sōtokufu minsēbu bunshoka, Taiwan Sōtokufu jimusēsekiteiyō(3), November Meiji 33 (1900), 136.
\textsuperscript{38} “Gishi Takahashi Shō hoka nimei [Kaburaki Yomio Kayaba Saburō] Dai nikai suisanhakurankai iin wo meizu,” in in Taiwan Sōtokufu Kö bun Ruisan, June 14\textsuperscript{th} Meiji 29 (1896), Vol. 2, No. 120, Item 7.
\textsuperscript{39} “Minsēkyoku gishu Kaburaki Yomio Dai nikai suisanhakurankai iin wo menzu Minsēkyoku gishu Baba Nōjirō Dai nikai suisanhakurankai iin wo meizu,” in Taiwan Sōtokufu Kö bun Ruisan, February 5\textsuperscript{th} Meiji 30 (1897), Vol. 3, No. 194, Item 31.
the Japanese Fisheries Association network. During the period, there were other staff members who attended the investigation, such as junior technician Kamata Yajūrō and junior civil official Ikeuchi Isaburō, who were graduated from the fifth and sixth classes of Fishery School respectively. Also, when they were assigned to Taiwan as fishing technocrats, they only graduated no more than five years and they were so young. Although Ikeuchi Isaburō was only the lower ranking assistant civil official in the local district, he was promoted to the junior technician in the Division of Settlement and Production, Department of Civil Affairs (民政局殖產課) in 1901 because of his accumulated experiences involving local fishery investigation. At this point, we can see that connections to the Japanese Fisheries Association network occupied a large proportion of the Taiwan Fishery investigation, and played an important role for Taiwan's participation in the Fisheries Expo.

In terms of the graduate students from Fishery School, in addition to the above figures, there were the first session graduate students, Yamada Yoshimasa (山田良政) and Sano Junsuke (佐野純亮), the third session graduate student Hata Kaneyasu (波田兼晏) the fourth session student Shimada Kakuji (島田覺治), the sixth session graduate student Ōsako Seichi (大迫精一), the seventh session graduate student Gotō

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40 Dainihonsuisandenshūsho, Dainihonsuisandenshūshohōkoku, 60-61
Giichirō (後藤義一郎), the eighth session graduate student Sakai Suejirō (酒井末次郎), and the tenth session graduate student Itō Sukeo (伊藤祐雄) coming to Taiwan later after graduation, and working in central, local government offices and corporations. In other words, during the first five years of Japanese rule, there were 11 graduates traveling to Taiwan successively. The total number of graduates was 436 in ten sessions, which is not a significant amount. However, for Taiwan, it is undeniable that the students graduated from Fishery School had certain influences on Taiwan’s fishery administration.

At the same time, there were members of the Japanese Fisheries Association (大日本水産會) advancing in Taiwan, and their activities in Taiwan had measurable impacts. Among them Kaburagi Yomio and Kayaba Saburou had the greatest influence on Taiwan. They wrote articles about fisheries in Penghu, the salt industry and aquiculture pool in Tainan, and fisheries in Lanyu, which were published in the *Journal of Great Japanese Fisheries Association* (大日本水產會報). These articles were effective in promoting the Japanese people’s understanding of Taiwan’s fisheries. Additionally, the instructor of Fishery School, Takashima Shin (高島信),

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43 Dainihonsuisandenshūshō, *Dainihonsuisandenshūshōhōkoku*, 54.
taught illustration study\textsuperscript{45} and visited Lukang for field research based on notes and interviews. He gave a speech titled “Taiwanese Fishery” (臺灣水產業) in the monthly gathering of the Japanese Fisheries Association, which was also published in the \textit{Journal of Great Japanese Fisheries Association} \textsuperscript{46}. One member, Kurikawa Gō (栗川轟) \textsuperscript{47}, who served as junior civil official of Penghu District, was the contributor of “The coastal condition around Penghu Islands,”(澎湖列島沿海狀況) which was also acclaimed by the publication editor because the article was written by an author living in Penghu island, conducting authentic field surveys on fisheries; it was worth reading for people attempting to work in fisheries locally\textsuperscript{48}. Accordingly, the people in the Japanese Fisheries Association network not only went to Taiwan to conduct the fisheries survey in person, but also wrote articles for the publication \textit{Journal of Great Japanese Fisheries Association} as feedback, which had promoted the flow of fishery information communication between Taiwan and Japan and was quite efficient for Japanese people grasping Taiwanese fishery information from Japan domestically.

Not only were these individual articles published, but the fishing technicians’ reports were published. As they referenced the fishing investigation from 1895, the

\textsuperscript{45} Illustration study is one of subjects in the Fishery School. Other subjects were math, bookkeeping and English. Illustration study was including freehand drawing, mechanical drawing, and real object sketch. See Nōshōmushō Nōmukyoku, \textit{Suiseidenshūshō sēto yōse shokutaku sēki}(Tokyo: Nōshōmushō Nōmukyoku, 1897), 20; and Dainihon suisan denshūsyō, \textit{Dainihon suisan denshūsho hōkoku}, 18.


\textsuperscript{47} Unknown Author, \textit{Kyū Shokaiminjījisōran Taiwan Vol. 1}, 54.

reports were called *The Reports on Settlement and Production* (殖產報文) and were published respectively in 1896, 1898, and 1899. However, it is worthy to notice that *The Reports on Settlement and Production* published in 1898 and 1899 were published by the Taiwan General-Government but the first *The Reports on Settlement and Production* published in 1896 was published by the Great Japanese Fisheries Association, again reflecting the great influence of this association on fishing investigation during this period.

According to the contents of *The Reports on Settlement and Production* published in 1896, the reports on the fishery and salt industry in Tamsui, Hsinchu, Lukang, Penghu, and Tainan were published and the authors were Kaburaki Yomio, Kayaba Saburou, and Baba Nōjirō. Unsurprisingly, they were all the members of the Great Japanese Fisheries Association. In fact, the Great Japanese Fisheries Association was engaged in hosting many kinds of conventions and exhibitions of fishing production and commodities; established the Fishery School; published multiple reports and books on the fishing industry; and promoted the local fishing industry\(^9\). For example, by 1895 the serial numbers of the *Journal of Great Japanese Fisheries Association* came to 150 and its volumes numbered more than 230,000. At the same time, it published a compilation of members’ writings and some publications.

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of the Bureau of Agriculture, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, the Bureau of Fishery, and the Institute of Fishing Investigation. In other words, the Great Japanese Fisheries Association published any information and books on the fishing industry. According to the materials of the *Journal of Great Japanese Fisheries Association*, the association started to report on the salt industry of Taiwan when the Japanese army was occupied in fighting in the island. Subsequently, the information about the fishing and salt industry in Taiwan and Penghu were introduced in the journal to Japanese reader, indicating that the association had quite a demand for information on the Taiwanese fishing industry. We can see that Kaburaki Yomio and Kayaba Saburou then contributed their articles to the journal for introducing the fishery of Taiwan. Therefore, after confirming the authors of *The Reports on Settlement and Production* published in 1896, it is not surprising to understand that the Great Japanese Fisheries Association wanted to publish the reports by authors who were also their members, Kaburaki Yomio, Kayaba Saburou, and Baba Nojiro. As to the evaluation of *The Reports on Settlement and Production*, a contemporary gave a positive review, saying the fishing investigations were complete and detailed. This

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50 Dainihon suisan jimu, *Dainihon suisakai seiseki*, p. 20.
51 "Taiwan no engyō," Dainihonsuisankaihō 155 (May 1895), 68-69.
54 Hujii Komechirō, "Kako jyūnenkan niokeru hontō sangyō no hattatsu," *Taiwan nōyūkai kaihō*
comment is meaningful to the flows and networks of fishing technicians in colonial Taiwan.

In summary, the Japanese Fisheries Association network in Taiwan was an important factor to make the flows and networks of fishing technicians in colonial Taiwan. There were three major categories of people that can be identified in this network. First, the administration or technical bureaucracy in the Taiwan Governor-General Office, such as Maki Bokushin, Kaburagi Yomio and Kayaba Saburou et al. Second, the graduates from the Fishery School, such as Ikeuchi Isaburō and Sakai Suezirou et al. Third, the members of the Japanese Fisheries Association, Kurikawa Gō and Takashima Shin et al. Of course, there also were people with three overlapping identities, such as Ikeuchi Isaburō.

4. From the Fishery School to the Institute of Fishery (水産講習所)

The social network built by the Japanese Fisheries Association’s interpersonal relationships stated above, and the phenomenon that some graduates from the Fishery School came successively to Taiwan continued in the following years. Subsequently, the Fishery School was abolished in 1897, and the Institute of Fishery (水産講習所) was established in the same year. In fact, the two had a very close relationship. At
first, the Japanese Fisheries Association considered the need to promote fishery science education, and suggested that the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce (農商務大臣) establish Fishery School. Later, the Japanese Fisheries Association established the fishery education program in 1889. Soon, in 1893, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce appropriated funds of 6,500 yen annually to the school for nurturing students and making improvements on new facilities and programs. In 1896, the Ministry of Education (文部省) announced the Fishery School’s level of education is equal to middle school, and requested that the school cultivate teachers for the fishery program. In the same year, the House of Representatives (眾議院) recommended that the government establish an official Fishery Training Institute; accordingly, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce requested the appropriation of official funds for establishing the official Institute of Fishery in the tenth Parliament, achieving the establishment purpose. It can be seen that both of the two schools had the context to trace and follow in terms of funding, instructors and students. In 1898, there were three people who first graduated from the manufacturing program (製造科): Takamatsu Katsushige (高松勝重), Kenichi Okamoto (岡本賢一), and Hongo Masuo (本郷益雄), and they all went to Taiwan after graduation.

The annual An outline of Institute of Fishery (水產講習所一覽) detailed all the graduates during the Meiji Period. Because the number of the graduates were no more than 28, in order to analyze the trend and feature of the graduates, now the name, their major, and the year they graduate are to be listed below: Ichiro Shouji (庄司與一郎)57 graduated from the fishing program (漁撈科); Takamatsu Katsushige (高松勝重), Kenichi Okamoto (岡本賢一), Hongo Masuo (本郷益雄), and Hirose Tsunehachi (廣瀬常八)58 graduated from manufacturing program (製造科) in the Meiji 31th. And, in Meiji 32nd, Kobayashi Otohachi (小林音八)59 graduated from the fishing program (漁撈科), Kitano Usakichi (北野宇佐吉), Kimotsuki Kanemasa (肝付兼昌)60 and Ichihashi Tyōmaru (市橋丁丸)61 graduated from the manufacturing program (製造科). Also, Kindaka Kiichirou (金高喜一郎)62 graduated from the Meiji 33rd manufacturing program (製造科) and Suda Gijirō (須田義二郎)63 graduated from the Meiji 34th fishing program (漁撈科). Moreover, there were Kubota Shinzi (久保

57 Unknown author, Suisankōshōshoichiran –from April of Meiji 34th to March of Meiji 35th (Tokyo: Suisankōshūho, 1902), 111.
58 Unknown author, Suisankōshōshoichiran –from April of Meiji 34th to March of Meiji 35th (Tokyo: Suisankōshūho, 1900), 114.
59 Unknown author, Suisankōshōshoichiran –from July of Taisho 3th to June of Taisho 4th (Tokyo: Suisankōshūho, 1915), 93.
60 Unknown author, Suisankōshōshoichiran –from April of Meiji 32th to March of Meiji 33th (Tokyo: Suisankōshūho, 1900), 104.
61 Unknown author, Suisankōshōshoichiran –from July of Meiji 36th to June of Meiji 37th (Tokyo: Suisankōshūho, 1904), 83.
62 Unknown author, Suisankōshōshoichiran –from July of Taisho 2th to June of Taisho 3th (Tokyo: Suisankōshūho, 1914), 97.
63 Unknown author, Suisankōshōshoichiran –from July of Meiji 42th to June of Meiji 43th (Tokyo: Suisankōshūho, 1910), 132.
田信治64) of the Meiji 35th manufacturing program (製造科), Matsunami Toranosuke (松波虎之助65) of the Meiji 36th aquaculture instructor training program (水産教員養成科), Itou Zirou (伊東二郎66) of the Meiji 38th manufacturing program (製造科), Kimiyo Eiichirou (喜美代榮一郎67) of the Meiji 39th manufacturing program (製造科), and Adachi Seizou (安達誠三68) of the Meiji 40th fishing program (漁撈科). Also, Ishii Teizi (石井悌二69) graduated from the fishing program (漁撈科) and Taguchi Ichirou (田口寧一郎70) graduated from the manufacturing program (製造科) in Meiji 41st; Kokan Yoshiyasu (古閑義康71) graduated from the fishing program (漁撈科) and Aoki Takeo (青木赳雄72) graduated from the aquaculture program (養殖科) in Meiji 42nd; Ochi Shou (越智章73) graduated from the fishing program (漁撈科) and Tokunaga Morio (德永盛雄74) and Iisawa Okori (飯澤發75) graduated from the manufacturing program (製造科) in Meiji 44; Tanaka Shuuzirou (田中修次

64 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Meiji 36th to June of Meiji 37th (Tokyo: Suisankōshū, 1904), 85.
65 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Meiji 37th to June of Meiji 38th (Tokyo: Suisankōshū, 1905), 103.
66 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Meiji 47th to June of Meiji 411th (Tokyo: Suisankōshū, 1908), 107.
67 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Taisho 4th to June of Taisho 5th, 99.
68 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Meiji 43th to June of Meiji 44th (Tokyo: Suisankōshū, 1911), 124.
69 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Meiji 43th to June of Meiji 44th, 124.
70 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Meiji 43th to June of Meiji 44th, 130.
71 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Taisho 4th to June of Taisho 5th (Tokyo: Suisankōshū, 1916), 92.
72 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Taisho 4th to June of Taisho 5th, 105.
73 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Taisho 4th to June of Taisho 5th, 93.
74 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from July of Taisho 4th to June of Taisho 5th, 101.
75 Unknown author, Suisankōshūshoichiran –from April of Taisho 6th to March of Taisho 7th (Tokyo: Suisankōshū, 1918), 94.
graduated from the aquaculture program (養殖科) in Meiji 45th. If adding Yogi Yoshinobu (與儀喜宣) who had worked as an intern in Ryokai-maru (凌海丸) of the Taiwan Governor-General Office (台灣總督府), there were at least 28 related graduated specialists who came to Taiwan from the late Meiji period to the early Taisho period.

As was the case with graduates from the Fishery School, the graduates of the Institute of Fishery were distributed between the Taiwan Governor-General Office, local government offices, and corporations. In view of their job position, they were mostly graduates engaged in the salt production program in the early period. The graduates of fishing and aquaculture programs mostly came to Taiwan in significant numbers after 1909. This phenomenon resulted from the guidelines of the Taiwan fisheries policy. After 1909, the Division of Commerce and Industry (商工課) established the positions of fishing technicians for developing Taiwan’s fishing industry, and subsequently stipulated the "Regulations of Taiwan Fishing Industry" (台灣漁業規則). The fishery companies were set up one after another, generating more demand for technical talents; thus there was a trend that more and

76 Unknown author, *Suisankōshūshōichiran – from July of Taishō 2th to June of Taishō 3th*, 104-105.
78 Unknown author, *Suisankōshūshōichiran – from July of Meiji 43th to June of Meiji 44th*, 120.
more specialists graduated from fishing and aquaculture programs. Accordingly, the
factors affecting the flow of technical talents during the period of the Institute of
Fishery were revealed. Not only the social network of the Japanese Fisheries
Association continued, but also the magnetic pull of Taiwan’s fishery industry
reinforced, attracting the school’s graduates coming to Taiwan for future career
development one after another. There were 583 graduates\textsuperscript{79} from the Institute of
Fishery during the Meiji period; among them there were 26 graduates coming to
Taiwan. Compared to the Fishery School, the Institute of Fishery did show relative
higher growth of graduates’ number.

It is also worthy to discuss how the graduates went to Taiwan. In this part, the
change of fishing policy should be introduced first. For example, in 1909 Shimo
Kēsuke (下啟助), the chief of Division of Fishing industry in the central government,
and Seo Hidemi(妹尾秀實), a fishing technician at the Institute of Fishery, came to
Taiwan for the investigation of bonito because they noticed that the bonito swan in the
same oceanic current passing by Tosa (土佐), Kagoshima (鹿兒島), Okinawa (沖繩),
where were famous for the production of dried bonito. This water current also passes

\textsuperscript{79}Unknown author, \textit{Suisankōshūshōichiran –from July of Meiji 36th to June of Meiji 37th}, 112-113.
According to the list of graduates in \textit{Suisankōshūshōichiran}, from Meiji 30\textsuperscript{th} to Taisho 3\textsuperscript{rd} year, the total
programs graduates were 640, deducted the 57 from Taisho 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} year, we got the total graduates
in Meiji period were 583. The programs included fishing, manufacturing and aquiculture programs.
by Taiwan, presenting a good possibility for producing high quality dried bonito.  

After their investigation, Shimo Kēsuke talked with the Miyao Shunji, the chief of Bureau of Settlement and Production, Taiwan’s General-Government, and Miyao Shunji decided to build a new institute of fishery and create a new experiment ship. It should be pointed out that Shimo Kēsuke and Seo Hidemi presented the force from the Japanese government just like the mentioned Japanese Fisheries Association. But this time the force of government in Japan and Taiwan appeared clearly and seemed more powerful than the Japanese Fisheries Association.

In order to implement these goals, Miyao asked the Japanese government to dispatch a fishing technician to Taiwan. Thus the first fishery technician KashiTani Masatsuru, who graduated from the Fishery School, was placed in charge of the new fishing policies of Taiwan and began his work in Japan. He employed three junior technicians, Itō Sukeo (伊藤祐雄), Suda Yoshijirō (須田義次郎), and Adachi Seiji (安達誠二), all of whom graduated from the Institute of Fishery and majored in production, aquaculture, and fishing respectively. Moreover, he ordered an

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83 “Suisan yō no shōrě,” in Taiwannichinichishinpō, August 19th Meiji 43rd (1910), No. 3695, p.3.
experimental fishing ship made in Japan, Ryōkaimaru (凌海丸).\textsuperscript{84} According to the investigation of the junior technician Itō Sukeo, after arriving Taiwan, KashiTani Masatsuru was engaged in investigating the fishing industry of Taiwan. When drafting the fishery regulation document, it was written that the reason for submitting the draft was the development of the fishing industry, so the necessity of legislating regulations arose.\textsuperscript{85} As a result, the emperor proclaimed the Regulation of Taiwan Fishery in 1912.

Here we can not only see the continuity between the Fishery School and the Institute of Fishery, but also the formation of a fishing technician network. In fact, the network initially consisted of the members of Japanese Fisheries Association but later consisted largely of the graduates of Institute of Fishery. The trend shows that the profession of fishing was developing and the education of professional fishing technicians became influential after the Institute of Fishery came under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Therefore, in the process of forming the flows and networks of fishing technicians in colonial Taiwan, the force of the civil association was being substituted for the force of the official administration.

\textsuperscript{84} “Suisan shikensen Ryōkaimaru oyobi Hōmaru no kenzō,” in \textit{Taiwan no Suisan} No.1 (Taihoku: Taiwansōtokufu minsēbu shokusankyoku, Sep. 1914), p.6.

\textsuperscript{85} “Ritsurē Daiichigō Taiwan gyogyō kisoku,” in \textit{Taiwan Sōtokufu Kōbun Ruisan}, Nov. 1\textsuperscript{st} Taisyō 1\textsuperscript{st} (1912). Vol. 127, No. 2039, Item 6.
Conclusion

This article explored the flows and networks of fishery technocrats in colonial Taiwan and made three main points.

First, the Great Japanese Fisheries Association was influential at the beginning of Japanese rule. Three major categories of people can be identified in this network: first, they directly worked in the administration or technical bureaucracy in the Taiwan Governor-General Office. Second were the graduates of the Fishery School. Third, the members of Japanese Fisheries Association automatically came to Taiwan for investigation.

Secondly, the force of influencing the flows and networks of fishing technicians in colonial Taiwan was shifting from a civil association to the official school. Especially after 1909, when the fishing policy changed, government needed to recruit new junior technicians and it chose to select new graduates directly from its own school. On the contrary, the Great Japanese Fisheries Association became less important.

Thirdly, the development of modern fishery and education in Japan and the demand of fishing technicians in Taiwan were the main forces to make the flows and networks of fishing technicians in colonial Taiwan. If we only focus on the
colonialism of the Japanese empire, we can miss the fact that many fishing
technicians came to Taiwan because of the efforts of the Great Japanese Fisheries
Association and the effects of modern education and the profession on the graduates.

In conclusion, these fishing technicians’ stories tell us that the truth is always
more complicated and charming than fiction or theory. Though Taiwan became a
colony in 1895, Taiwan was not in a simple dream of successful modernization or a
nightmare of miserable exploitation. Actually, those people who have been Taiwan
composed one part of an orchestra in a symphony. To know each part of the orchestra
is helpful in understanding the whole symphony. This article provides an approach to
figuring out the formation of fishing technicians in colonial Taiwan. Also, it points
out that to disclose the flows and networks of other Japanese technicians or officials
in the colony is essential to comprehending the historical meaning of colonial Taiwan.