

舊倫敦東印度會社と我國との交通貿易

ジョン・ブルース著 東印度會社年代記

武藤長藏

第一章 緒論

顧みれば、昭和三年十一月御大典記念號として、此の長崎高等商業學校研究館年報「商業と經濟」の第九年第一冊の發行さるゝに當り、私は日英交通史料(一)を掲げた。それより引續き昭和四年三月發行本年報第九年第二冊に日英交通史料(二)を載せたる後、昭和四年大阪朝日新聞社が創立五十年を記念するため同年春開國文化大展覽會を開き講演會を催さるゝに當り、同年三月二十一日夕、大阪朝日會館に於て『日英交通史概觀』と題して講演し、次で同年七月發行の本年報第十年第一冊に日英交通史料(三)を掲げ、同年十一月朝日新聞社發行の「開國文化」に前述の朝日會館に於ける講演の速記を基として改稿したる拙稿「日英交通史概觀」を載せた。私はこの改稿中暑中休暇を過し、同年秋老母を失ひ、悲みと生みの喜びのうちにあの稿を完成した。又同年十一月二十六日には、長崎高等商業學校研究館創設十周年記念講演を委囑され、『日英及日蘭交通史上に於ける平戸及長崎』と題して講演した。翌昭和五年に入り、尙私は本年報に日英交通史料(四)と(五)とを連載し、昭和六年三月發行の本年報第十一年第二冊に日英交通史料(六)を寄せ、

それには英艦フェートン號艦長 (Captain of H. B. M. Ship the Phaeton) たの Admiral the Hon. Sir Fleetwood Broughton Reynold Pellew (1789—1861) の肖像を掲げた。英國海軍大學史學教授 G. カレンダー氏 (Professor Geoffrey Callender, Department of History, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, S. E. 10) より予に提供されたものであつた。

私は同年四月所謂内地留學の爲めに上京し主として日英交通史の史料の蒐集に勉めた。而して蒐集し得た主要なるものは文化五年長崎に渡來の英船フェートン號 (H. M. S. "Phaeton" at Nagasaki in 1808) の事件に關するものであつた。私は五月九日小學大會に於てフェートン號事件の第一次報告をなしたが、それより數日の後思はざる發見をなす事が出來た。それは昭和六年五月十六日白河樂翁公松平定信の後裔舊桑名藩主松平家當主子爵松平定晴氏邸に於て、英艦フェートン號 (His Majesty's Ship Phaeton) の圖の發見であつた。依て同年八月發行本年報第十二年第一冊日英交通史料(七)に其寫眞を掲げ、又フェートン號事件をまとまりて記述せる丹治舉直著崎陽日録をも共に載せて置いた。又上京中借覽した佐賀鍋島侯爵家所藏本により、翌昭和七年二月發行の本年報第十二年第二冊に日英交通史料(八)及同年七月發行日英交通史料(九)にフェートン號事件の史料を連載し、昭和八年三月發行の本年報第十三年第二冊日英交通史料(十)に、諫早男爵家及び大村伯爵家のフェートン號史料を紹介し、昭和八年八月發行本年報第十四年第一冊所載日英交通史料(十二)に、大村及佐賀の史料を追加し、それにて一應フェートン號事件の史料を打切り、昭和九年三月發行の本年報第十四年第二冊に日英交通史料(十二)として延寶元年の英船レターン號長崎に渡來滞在の記事 (Account of the arrival and stay at Nagasaki of the English ship "Return" 1673) に就て日英交通史料(三)に掲げたる

處を補つた。

昭和九年九月發行本年報第十一年第二冊所載日英交通史料(十三)には右レターン號事件の外に東禪寺事件、文政七年の英人常陸多賀郡大津村上陸事件の水戸藩史料を載せ、本年即ち昭和十年三月發行の本年報第十五年第二冊所載日英交通史料(十四)には再び初期日英交通史料たるコックス日記(Diary of Richard Cocks)の或部分を翻譯紹介せる大日本史料第十二編之二十三、二十四、二十五、二十六、二十七、二十八、二十九、三十、三十一等を紹介批評して置いた。

又本年五月發行河津教授還曆祝賀記念「經濟學の諸問題」所載の拙稿「初期日英交通史の重要文獻」第十七世紀初期日英交通史上の重要人物、アダムス、セーリス、及びコックス等の書翰、航海記及日記等の學術史的社會史的文化的及び商業史的價值―は私が前述の昭和四年十一月朝日新聞社發行「開國文化」收稿拙稿「日英交通史概観」中に「初期日英交通史上の重要人物アダムス、セーリス、及びコックス等の書翰、航海記、日記等の學術史的社會史的文化的交通史及び商業史的價值」なる一節、又昭和八年十一月發行改造社版經濟學全集第二十八卷世界經濟史收録拙稿「日英交通史」11、初期日英交通史上の重要人物アダムス、セーリス、及びコックス等の書翰、航海記、日記等の學術史的社會史的文化的交通史的及び商業史的價值なる一節を設け、文句は多少改めたが内容は殆んど同一な事を述べて置いたのを、右河津博士還曆祝賀論文中に補充して置いた。

私は本年四月右論文脱稿後追訂正追録等を加へて河津博士記念論文集に掲載の分より幾分追加した別刷を作つた。しかし私はそれに尙満足する能はず四月末上京中入手した Ledger and Sword or The Honourable Company of Mer-

chant of England Trading to the East Indies (1599—1874) By Beckles Willson London, New York and Bombay 1903 を参考し、研究上種々のヒントを得た。例へば其卷末に掲ぐる倫敦西曆千七百八年九月二十九日附 (London, 29th September, 1708) "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies, Their Account Current" のよりの倫敦東印度會社の史料中の Account Current に就し、倫敦東印度會社史上、簿記會計學史上、研究の必要を感じた。

(附註) Account Current は總算書と Kontokorrent 又種々の語の Conto Corrente 又帳簿。Mathematik des Geld und Zahlungsverkehr von Dr. Alfred Loewy, Professor an der Universität Freiburg i. B. Leipzig und Berlin 1920. 中 § 15. Einführendes über das Kontokorrent (italienisch conto corrente) Laufende Rechnung. 參照 Kontokorrentverhältnis に就しは Ehrenberg, Handbuch des Handelsrechts, Erster Band. 法學博士松本蒸治氏著商行爲法第三章交互計算の部を參照したが歴史的説明は見出さなう。(田中耕太郎博士著商法研究第一卷第 83, 166, 167 頁の交互計算契約の説明 Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts von Eugen Ehrlich S. 281, 282 等にも歴史的説明がなう)

Handwörterbuch des Kaufmanns. Herausgegeben Von Karl Boff III. Kontokorrent 参照 A Short History of Accountants and Accountancy by A. H. Woolf. p. 138. Accounting Evolution to 1900 By A. C. Littleton 等参照

第十五章 (Chapter XV) The Mute in Leadenhall Street を讀み、東印度會社又は the India House 經濟學史のみならず、英文學史上の關係に就て一研究論文を草し度い念願も生じた。

又東印度會社關係の人に歴史家と稱すべき人々もある事を忘れてはならぬ。ブルース (John Bruce) も其一人であ

る。廣く一般の歴史でなく東印度會社史だけにても大なる仕事である。Sir William Foster も現存する歴史家である。少し舊く Sir Georg Eirwood の如きも東印度會社史上良書を出して居る。Peter Anber (The Rise and Progress of British Power in India の著者) も亦る。歴史家で經濟學者であつた James Mill の如きもある。其子 J. S. Mill も東印度會社に奉職した學者である。東印度會社に奉職し文才あるものには John Hoole の如きがある。Tasso Ariosto の翻譯者である (Boswell's Life of Johnson Edited with an Introduction by Mowbray Morris Vol. II. pp. 340-341 所載 Dr. Samuel Johnson Jan. 9, 1781 附 Warren Hastings 宛書翰參照)。

(附註) Charles Lamb (1775-1834) は東印度會社に久しく奉職して居た。彼の The Essays of Elia 中の A Dissertation upon Roast Pig 及び Old China は彼が支那と貿易した東印度會社に奉職して居た事と關聯して理解するべきではあるが、Old China に就ては東印度會社と支那及日本陶磁器との關係に就ての資料參照、例へば最も簡單なるは Porcelain of all Countries By R. L. Hobson p. 61 參照。又 The Life of Charles Lamb By E. V. Lucas 等參照。

東印度會社とは關係がないが、和蘭駐劄英國大使であつた Sir William Temple (1628-99) の事は夙に故内田銀藏博士、福田博士等も書いて居られるが、Sir William Temple 及其秘書であつた Jonathan Swift との關係には及んで居られぬ。而して英文學史の著書中何故にスワイフトが其著 Gulliver's Travels 中に江戸長崎等の記事ある乎の理由を説明して居らぬ。私はテンペルとの關係を聯想するものである。(故 Dr. J. Feenstra Kuiper 氏著 Japan en de Brittenwereld in de Achttiende Eeuw, 's-Gravenhage 1921. の第十二頁、二百十五、二百八十九頁等參照。又 Swift By Carl Van Doren London 1931. Swift By Leslie Stephen London 1927. The Nonesuch Edition of Jonathan Swift Edited By J. Hayward 等參照)。

私は東京よりの歸途神戸商業大學を訪ひ其圖書館にて不圖 John Bruce 著 Annals of the Honorable East-India

Company を其書庫に見出した。この書は英國東印度會社史研究上の重要參考書として早くその求められた手記を
得たのの書物であつた。先に述べた Bechles Will-on 氏著 Ledger and Sword の序文 (Preface) 中にもそれと實に
多きを述べ、又他の參考書を示して居る。其文に曰く Upon the Ponderous and exhaustive Annals of John Bruce I
have drawn freely; as also upon the British Power in India of Peter Auber, Ling the Company's Secretary. Other
works which have most helped me are Mr. Noel Sainsbury's Calendar of State Paper: East Indies Series; the writings
of Sir W. W. Hunter, Mr. F. C. Danvers, and that venerable lover of India and her eloquent interpreter to us all,
Sir George Birdwood; Malcolm's British Power, the histories of Gleig and MacFarlane, Wheeler's Early Records, Wilson's
English in Bengal, and Hedges' Diary as edited by Colonel Yule. To Mr. William Foster, of the India office, whose
knowledge of Anglo-Indian records is, like Mr. Weller's knowledge of London, "extensive and peculiar," I am under
much personal obligation.... 云々

以上掲げられた Bruce 以外の著者のうち India Office の Registrar and Superintendent であつた Frederick Charles
Danvers の關係せし書物の事は日英交通史料(一)の(七)に掲げし置きた。

次に W. Noel Sainsbury の書物即ち Calendar of State Papers... Edited by W. Noel Sainsbury の事は拙稿日英交通
史料(一)の(19)として掲げて置いたが實は我校園書館にも又私もまた所持して居ない。絶版で且つ高價で手に入れ
に困難である。印度博物館の整理者 (Curator of the India-Museum) であつた Sir George Birdwood の書物 Report on

the Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Note and Appendices は近頃手に入れた。

Sir William Foster の近著 England's Quest of Eastern Trade は日英交通史料(十四)に(254)として掲げて置いた。この Foster 氏の大著は The English Factories in India 及び其前之 Letters Received by the East India Company, 1615-17 The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Great-Mogul; Etc. 等の著述がある。

私はかねてより英國東印度會社其物の歴史を探りそれと我國との交渉を究めたいとの志を抱いて居る。其端緒として私は既に昭和四年三月發表の日英交通史料(一)、同年七月發表の日英交通史料(三)等に英國東印度會社史料を連載し同年十一月發表の日英交通史概觀等に不充分ながら其方針を示して置いた。J. R. McCulloch の著書經濟學文獻 (The Literature of Political Economy) 第二章商業及商業政策 (Chapter II. Commerce and Commercial Policy) (IV. Trade, History, and Condition of India, China, the Eastern Archipelago, & Co. 中東印度貿易 (East India Trade) p. 106 の部) の John Bruce の Annals が掲げてある。James Mill の英領印度史等と同じである。

しかしそれにも増して私の興味を惹起したのはブルースの他の著述がスミスの藏書中にあつた爲めに A Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith Prepared for the Royal Economic Society. By James Bonar, London 1932. p. 36 に Bruce (b. Fife, 1745, d. Fife, 1826) was Professor of Logic at Edinburgh, then King's Printer, later M. P. for a Cornish seat, Secretary to Board of Control. MacCulloch (Liter. of Pol. Ec. p. 109) mentions his Annals of the

East India Company, 1810. 又書つてある事である。私は何人の注意にも據らず Dictionary of National Biography Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee 中の John Bruce の傳を讀みたる後スミスの藏書目録を検する事を志したのである。

シエームス・ミル (James Mill) (1773—1836) の英領印度史 (The History of British India) にも Mr. John Bruce と呼んで Bruce の著述を引用して居る。ミルよりも八年前にブルースの東印度會社年代記は著せられミルより十年前に永眠して居る。J. ブルース (John Bruce) 著 Annals of the Honorable East-India Company を英國東印度會社史の参考書として第一に掲げたのはホルズレーン氏 Sir Robert Harry Inglis Palgrave) 編纂の經濟學辭典 (Dictionary of Political Economy) 第一卷 (Vol. I) に載する東印度會社 (East India Company) 1600—1853) なる項目である。其項目の終に掲ぐる少數の参考書は [Bruce, Annals of British India—Histories by James Mill and others.—Chesney, Indian Polity—Parliamentary Papers and Reports.] である。

英國經濟史の大家故 W. Cunningham 氏の名著 The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times, The Mercantile System Cambridge. 1903 以下の J. Bruce の著述が屢々引用してある。J. Bruce 編著 Annals of the honorable East-India Company は故カーマン・マン氏 (Karl Lhennann) 著株式會社法史 (Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Aktienrechts bis zum Code de Commerce) にも参考書の一として掲げ且つ屢々引用してある。 (Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Aktienrechts bis zum Code de Commerce. Von Dr. Karl Lehmann. ① Ver-

zeichniss abgekürzt citirter Werke. p. VII. 其他に引用をれてゐる。

此名著を法學士津島憲一氏は翻譯して株式會社法史として大正七年出版された。私は原著者を獨逸留學の當初ゲツチンゼン (Göttingen) に御訪ねした事がある。津島學士は同地に留學された關係もありこの書を翻譯された。私は翻譯書出版當時惠贈を得た。この翻譯書の事は拙稿日英交通史料(三)のうち(108)として紹介して置いた。

Report on the Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Notes and Appendices, By Sir George Birdwood
Second Reprint London 1841. 〇 p. 79 12

Bundle B.—“Wick's Collection.”

Also a list of papers collected by the Committee of Bombay, appointed in 1797 for procuring information for the Company's Historiographer, and received by Mr. Bruce in 1802. The list is copied on paper of the date of 1825. と書してある。

牛津大學經濟史講師 E. Lipson 氏の近著英國經濟史 (The Economic History of England) 第三卷 The Age of Mercantilism にも其豊富なる參考書目 Authorities 中 p. 491 以下の Bruce の Annals を舉げて居る。

以上引用した諸の書物によりてもジョンブルースの東印度會社年代記の重要な參考書である事を察する事が出来る。故に私は今我校三十周年記念論文集に於て舊英國東印度會社と我國との交通貿易に就て其歴史關係を論ずるに當り主としてこのジョンブルースの英國東印度會社年代記

の記する處を引用しそれを批判説明する事としたい。私は神戸商大所藏本を借覽してこの稿を草したのである。私は神戸商業大學當局が私に其便宜を與へられし事を感謝しつゝこの稿を草した。私は起稿中この書を倫敦より入手し得る事を確めたがそはこの稿印刷成り我校三十周年の記念舉行の頃となると思ふ。(私はこの論文原稿上京中この書が東京商科大學圖書館に近年備付けられた事を知つた。又臺灣の台北、帝國大學圖書館にも藏されて居る事を若生助教授より聞いたから校正に際し茲に追記する次第である)

要之に私は第十六世紀の最後の年即ち西曆千六百年の十二月三十一日に特許を得た所謂舊東印度會社又は倫敦東印度會社(The Old or London East India Company 或は單に Old Company と稱す)と稱すべく嚴格に云へば the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies と稱する。而してその會社と我國との交通貿易關係の歴史に就て John Bruce 氏著 Annals of the East-India Company 中に論述されて居る部分を引用紹介し説明を加へ参考文献として我史學界商業史經濟史學界に供給したいと思ふ。

ブルースの此著述を直接利用して英國會社法史を論じた我國の法律學者を私は知らない。

(津島憲一學士譯レーマン先生名著株式會社法史には引用されて居るがこれは翻譯である)

故福田博士の株式會社研究にも此書は引用してない(福田博士經濟學全集第四卷參照)。又ブレンタノー(Brentano)晩年の大著英國經濟史(Eine Geschichte der Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Englands)にもこの書を引

用して居らぬ。我國の經濟史家中にもこの書を引用利用された例を私は未だ知らない。若し本稿が多少の貢献をなすを得ば幸である。

第二章 ジョンブルース著東印度會社年代記

第一節 ジョンブルースの生涯及其著述概要

ジョンブルース (John Bruce) (1745—1826) は歴史家 (historian) でスコットランドの名家の出である。エジンバラ大學 (University of Edinburgh) に學び論理學教授 (Professor of Logic) に選ばれた事があつた。後に彼は Keeper of the state paper office となり、又 Secretary for the Latin language to the privy council、又東印度會社の修史員 (Historiographer to the Honorable East India Company) となり、又衆議員議員 (M. P.) に選ばれ、尙又短期間 Secretary to the Board of Control となつた。(Board of Control の事は Kolonialpolitik Von A. Zimmermann p. 35 にも書いてある) 彼は fellow of the Royal Societies of London, Edinburgh, and Göttingen となつた。彼は千八百二十六年四月十六日蘇國ファイフ州 (Fife) Nuthill で永眠した。彼はアダム・スミスの生れたファイフ州に永眠して居る。スミスは彼の著書二つを藏して居つた事は後に述べる。

彼は正確を期する歴史家であり、又優れたる學者であつた。彼には數多くの著述がある。其或るものは公の出版でなく政務に當るもの、祕密書類として私に印刷されたものもある。彼の出版物

は

(1) 哲學第一原理 (The First Principles of Philosophy, Edinburgh, 1780, 1781, 1785.)

(2) 自然哲學の原理に基く倫理學綱要 (Elements of the Science of Ethics on the Principles of Natural Philosophy, London 1789.) の替に Dictionary of National Biography Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee 12

4) Elements of the Science of Ethics or the Principles of Natural Philosophy 4冊をなす。此の書は
 6) 2冊をなす。

私はマダト・スミスンの蔵書目録に以上の兩書を見出し、これをかり察し訂正を加へた次第である。(A Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith Second Edition By James Bonar, London 1932, p. 36 参照)

(3) Historical View of Plans, for the Government of British India 1793. この書は Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee の John Bruce の部に其著書と云つて記せられて居るが、我が校圖書館に求めたのは Historical View of Plans, for the Government of British India, and Regulation of Trade to the East Indies, and Outlines of a Plan of Foreign Government, of Commercial Oeconomy, and of Domestic Administration, for the Asiatic Interests of Great Britain. MDCCXCIII (1793) とある大冊の書物で著者名も書つてなからず、略して Plans for the Government and Trade of Great Britain in the East-Indies. と書つてある。

(この書は應義塾大學圖書館に所藏されて居る事を、この稿脱稿後上京申聞したから校正に際し追記して置く)。又 John Bruce 著 Report on the Negotiation between the Honorable East India Company and the Public. London 1811 なる書物の目録にあり

由なれど貨物を見なかつた)

(4) Review of the Events and Treaties which established the Balance of Power in Europe, and the Balance of Trade in favour of Great Britain, London, 1746.

(5)

(6)

(7) 省略

(8) Annals of the East India Company, from their establishment by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1600, to the Union of the London and English East India Company, 1707—8. 3 vols, London, 1810. (1) の書は私に本館文に於て紹介したいと思ふ。

ブダム、スミスはこの書を藏して居らぬ。それはマックス永眠(1790)後の出版であらう爲かと思ふ。

(9) Report on the Renewal of the Company's Exclusive Privileges of Trade for twenty years from March 1794. London, 1811.

(10) Speech in the Committee of the House of Commons on India Affairs; London 1813.

尙詳なるは Dictionary of National Biography Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee Vol. III. p.p. 107—108. John Bruce の部参照。尙同姓同名の John Bruce (1802—1869) antiquary a native of London, though of a Scotch family... と混同してはならぬ。

此書の扉即ち表題紙 (Title page) には次の如く印刷されてある。

ANNALS
OF THE
HONORABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY,
FROM THEIR
ESTABLISHMENT BY THE CHARTER
OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH,
1600,
TO
THE UNION OF THE LONDON AND ENGLISH
EAST-INDIA COMPANIES,
1707—8.

BY JOHN BRUCE, ESQ. M.P. AND F.R.S.
Keeper of His Majesty's State Papers, and Historiographer
to the Honorable East-India Company.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED, BY AUTHORITY OF THE HONORABLE
COURT OF DIRECTORS,
By Cox, Son, and Paylis, Great Queen Street;
AND PUBLISHED BY BLACK, PARRY, AND
KINGSBURY, BOOKSELLERS TO THE
HONORABLE EAST-INDIA COM-
PANY, LEADENHALL STREET.

1810.

ブルーム氏著東印度會社年代記の原谷 Annals of the Honorable East-India Company……の “the Honorable East-India Company” なる名稱は “The United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies” を指すものがある。而して此の “The United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies” は舊〔倫敦〕東印度會社が新〔英國〕東印度會社と合併後の名稱である

(附註) Sir George Birdwood 著 Report on the India Office, with Supplementary Notes and Appendices p. 232 以下へ

In 1702-8-9 the “Old” (“London”) and “New” (“English”) Companies were amalgamated under the style of “The United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies;” since commonly known and officially described as, “the Honorable East India Company.”

以上 “The Honorable East India Company” の意義を知る事が出来る。(尙同書第十四頁の脚註に參照)

次に此書卷頭の獻呈 (Dedication) の辭は左の如くである

TO THE
HONORABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS
OF THE
UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING
TO THE EAST-INDIES,
THE
ANNALS
OF THE
HONORABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY
FROM THEIR
ESTABLISHMENT BY THE CHARTER
OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH,
1600,
TO
THE UNION OF THE LONDON AND ENGLISH
EAST INDIA COMPANIES,
1707—8;
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED,
BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT
AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,
JOHN BRUCE.

East-India House,
4th June, 1810.

讀書法に關する書物は Preface 又 Introduction を先づ一瞥せんを論じてある。私もそれを逸する事なく左に煩を厭はず茲に轉記する事とする。

PREFACE.

The Annals of the East-India Company, from their Establishment in 1600, to the Union of the London and English East-India Companies, in 1707-8, form a subordinate branch of the political and commercial History of England, and will unfold the rise and progress of the greatest commercial Association, which has appeared in any country, or in any age.

The evidence upon which this Review of East-India Affairs has proceeded, has been drawn from documents preserved among His Majesty's Archives, in the State-Paper Office, and from the Records of the Company, in the Indian Register Office; and, being printed under the authority of the Honorable Court of Directors, is submitted to them, to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, to the Legislature, and to the Public.

The events which this branch of commercial History ascertains, will explain the basis of the East-India Company's Rights, under their Charters, and of the Rights acquired during the early periods of their exclusive privileges of trade; and the knowledge of them may be useful to the Legislature, when these privileges shall again become a subject for deliberation and decision, and tend to fix the opinions of the Public, on a question of great national importance.

In the Introduction are traced the rise and progress of the Portuguese and Dutch establishments in the East-Indies; the leading characters of the Asiatic Sovereignties in the countries within the limits assigned to the London East-India Company; and the political and commercial relations, between England and the Maritime Powers of Europe, during the period when the direct trade, between England and the East-Indies, was first attempted and established.

Chapter I. will comprehend the rise and progress of the London East-India Company, from the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, in

1600, to the Restoration of their Charter, by King Charles II, in 1660-61; and will afford proofs of the enterprize and perseverance of this Company, in forming a valuable trade to the realm, and in preserving that trade, under the shifting and depressed aspects of the English Government.

Chapter II, after tracing the political and commercial relations of England, from the Restoration, in 1660-61, to the Revolution, in 1688-89, and the events affecting the Indian Sovereignities, in the countries in which the London East-India Company had established Factories, or seats of trade, will discover, in a similar manner, the perseverance of this Company, in maintaining their trade and privileges, and their expensive and hazardous efforts, to extend the commerce and navigation of the realm.

Chapter III, after referring to the political and commercial relations of England, from 1688-89, to 1707-8, will discover the sources and characters of the successive speculations for an open, and for a separate trade, which terminated in the establishment of a Second, or the English, East-India Company; and will bring under notice, the facts which satisfied the Legislature, and the Public, of the necessity of entrusting the East-India trade, to the exclusive management of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

To the Annals of each of these periods are subjoined Results, affording, from authentic evidence, the progressive aspects of the Company's Rights, under their Charters, to their Factories and Settlements, acquired by authorized purchase, or by grants from the Native Princes and States; and of the Rights conferred on them by the Legislature, and enjoyed as valuable privileges of trade. These real Rights of the Company, under their successive Charters, have been known, in their proceedings at home and abroad, under the general description of "Dead Stock," opposed to the large amounts vested in India Stock, in Shipping, in Exports, and in Imports, known under the opposite description of "Quick Stock."

For more than a century, or from 1707-8 to the present time, the East-India Company have been recognized, by a series of Acts of the Legislature, to have a real property in their Chartered Rights, which are perpetual, and with succession; though it will again be

for the wisdom of Parliament to decide, whether their exclusive privileges, founded on the solid basis of the experience of two centuries, shall be prolonged to them, or whether they must give way to exploded, or to specious, but hazardous, theories of commerce. In submitting this Work to the Honorable the Courts of Directors and Proprietors of the East-India Company, I embrace this opportunity to express my acknowledgements to the Right Honorable the Earl of Liverpool (late His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department) for his permission to connect such information as could be collected from the State Papers, with that which has been preserved in the Records of the Honorable East-India Company.

I have, also, to express my obligations to Mr. Jackson, the keeper of the Indian Register Office, from whom I have received the most valuable communications; and to Mr. Lemon, of the State-Paper Office, who, from his facility in reading and transcribing ancient Manuscripts, has afforded me important assistance in the examination of the numerous Documents on which this work has been founded.

次に緒論 (Introduction) として歐洲海國民と東印度との交通の發達に關する序論 (Preliminary Dissertation on the Rise and Progress of the Intercourse of the European Maritime Nations with the East-Indies) と題する其目次を合せて七十六頁に亙る長論文を掲げて居る。茲にはたゞ其目次のみを次に掲げて置く。

INTRODUCTION.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION ON THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE INTERCOURSE OF THE EUROPEAN MARITIME NATIONS WITH THE EAST-INDIES.

CONTENTS.

Ancient commercial Intercourse between Europe and the East-Indies:..... Modern commercial Intercourse between Europe and the

East-Indies..... Immediate Effects of the Discoveries of the Portuguese on Indian Trade..... Historical Information required to unfold the Sources of the English East-Indian Trade and Settlements..... Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Portuguese Commerce and Power in the East-Indies, before the Union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal..... The Union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal the Source of the Fall of the Portuguese Trade and Power in the East-Indies..... Portuguese Settlements and Trade in the East-Indies, at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century..... The Separation of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, not an Event which revived or restored the Trade and Power of the Portuguese in the East-Indies..... Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Dutch Commerce and Power in the East Indies..... Establishment of the Dutch East-India Companies, and Progress of their Armaments, to the Truce of Antwerp (1609)..... Their Oppressions of the English and Portuguese the Source of the extensive Commerce and Power of the Dutch Companies, in the East-Indies..... Their Measures, from the Expiration of the Truce of Antwerp (1621) to exclude the other Maritime States in Europe, from Power or Trade in the East-Indies..... Their Measures, with the same Object, after the Treaty of Munster (1648)..... Sketch of the political and commercial Characters of the Native Powers in the Countries within the Limits assigned to the London East-India Company..... Sketch of the political and commercial Relations of England with the European Maritime States, from 1600, when Queen Elizabeth established the East-India Company, to the Restoration of King Charles II, 1660..... During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth..... During the Reign of King James I..... During the Reign of King Charles I..... During the Interregnum.

第三節 ブルース氏著東印度會社年代記第一卷(本論第一章)

西曆千六百年エリサベス女皇の特許による倫敦東印度會社の設立より西曆千六百六十一年チャールズ第二世の王世復古時代迄の年代記概観及千六百十三年に於ける倫敦東印度會社の日本との交通貿易の開始の記事。

次にブルース著東印度會社年代記第一巻の本論に入り第一章 (Chapter I) は第七十七頁より始まり第五百七十二頁まで四百九十五頁に亙る長文で、其の第一章のみで第一巻を終つて居る。第二巻 (Vol. II) は第二章 (Chapter II) のみにて其巻を終り、第三巻 (Vol. III) は第三章 (Chapter III) のみにて終つて居る。

この本論第一巻第一章 (Chapter I) 西暦千六百年エリザベス女皇の特許により設立されたる倫敦東印度會社が西暦千六百六十一年チャールズ二世の特許により復興するに至りし迄の年代記概観(評論)とも譯すべし Review of the Annals of the London East-India Company, from its establishment by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth (1600), to the Restoration of its Privileges by the Charter of King Charles II (1601) (P. 165 1661) の誤植なる事明也、1660年には英國史上 Restoration 即ち王政復古の行はれたる年也)なる長文の一章の内容目次 (Contents) がある。これ亦比較的長文で二十四頁に亙つて居るから、私は茲に引用を略し、第一章本文中日本に關する最初の記事たる第六十八頁の終の部分より第六十九頁 (P. p. 168—169) に亙る西暦千六百十三年 (1613 A.D.) の部に記する次の記事を引用し、然る後説明批判を試みたい。

Trade opened with Japan. Captain Saris, who commanded a ship in the Seventh voyage, endeavored, in the year 1610, to open a trade, in imitation of the Dutch, with the empire of Japan:—for this purpose he had gone to Firando, and, by presents, obtained from the King permission to trade, without payment of customs, and to establish a house, or factory, at that port; and a licence to proceed on a voyage of discovery to Yeddo.

(Jesso), or to any other part of the Japanese empire. The factory at Firando was, in consequence, established; and in June 1613, Mr. Peacocke, one of the Company's factors, arrived at Firando, and proceeded to the Emperor's court to solicit protection; but he reported, that the prospect of sales of English goods was uncertain, and recommended rather the plan of opening a trade with Siam.⁽¹⁾

(1)—MSS. in Indian Register Office, marked A, bound, page 7. Letter from Mr. Peacocke to the Court, dated Firando, 2d December 1613, No. 104.
Bruce 著 Annals of the Honorable East India Company Vol. I. pp. 168—169.

以上の記事に誤ある事は西暦千八百二十二年頃既に英國東印度會社の Register Department of the Library に屬し書記 (Clerk) である Peter Pratt の指摘した處である。

亦て M. Paske-Smith 氏編纂の History of Japan Compiled from the Records of the English East-India Company at the Instance of the Court of Directors By Peter Pratt 1822 Edited by M. Paske-Smith H. B. M. Consular Service, Japan, Kobe 1931. In Two Volumes Vol. I. Book I. p. 25 以下に右ハルースの著書と對照して誤りある處を
指摘して居るのを見出した。

Extract from Bruce's Annals.¹

Remarks.

Captain Saris, who commanded a ship in the Seventh Voyage, As this passage occurs under the proper year, 1613, the date endeavoured, in the year 1610,* to open a trade, in imitation of “1610,” here assigned to Capt. Saris's first visit to Japan, might

* See Adams' Letter to Bantam, abstracted above, P. 17, par. ult, in which he says, that owing to the Dutch intercepting intelligence, he was in Japan till the year 1611, without even knowing that our ships traded to the East Indies. (P. P.)

the Dutch, with the empire of Japan.—

—for this purpose he had gone to Firando, and by Presents, obtained from the King permission to trade, without payment of customs, and to establish a house, or factory, at that port;

and a licence to proceed on a Voyage of discovery to Yeadzo (Jesso), or to any other part of the Japanese Empire.

The Factory at Firando was in consequence established; and in June 1613, Peacocke, one of the Company's Factors, arrived at Firando, and proceeded to the Emperor's Court to solicit protection; but he reported, that the prospect of Sales of English Goods was uncertain, and recommended rather the plan of opening a Trade with Siam.

Bruce's Annals.

1 John Bruce was Historiographer to the English East India Company.

be deemed an error of the press, did not another mistake, namely, that of the "Seventh Voyage," instead of the Eighth Voyage, accompany this; and did not the date "June 1613," which is the true date of Capt. Saris' arrival, appear in the same Paragraph as the time when Mr. Peacocke arrived; and this is represented as a subsequent occurrence in which Peacocke acted as a Principal; whereas he was merely one of the Factors under General Saris.

He went up to the Emperor's Court, performing that Journey which in a subsequent passage is attributed to Mr. Peacocke alone. The King of Firando, who was separate personage, seems to be here confounded with the Emperor.

See documents abstracted under Japan, *supra* et *infra*.

This was a mere Subject for future Speculation, never intended to be pursued by Capt. Saris personally. See a Conversation between Mr. Adams and the Emperor respecting the North-West Passage. P. 34, *infra*.

It has been already remarked, that this is the date of General Saris' Arrival, and that Mr. Peacocke was one of his Factors.

This is a mere obiter opinion of Mr. Peacocke given after the Privileges were obtained. See it extracted under "Firando Factory," below p. 50.

With regard to Siam, a Settlement had been made sometime before (in Sept. 1612) by Messrs. Floris and Anthemes.¹—See Book (Blank), "Patania and Siam."

The First Voyage 及び第十二回航海 The Twelfth Voyage に至る各航海と其年次人名船名等を記する表を前述の Beclies Willson 著 Ledger and Sword に據り示すに次の如くである。但しこれは他の史料と一致せざる部分がある。誤なきを保し難い。現に明に誤りある個處は訂正して置いた。

Of the twelve "Separate Voyages"—

"The First," 1601, under James Lancaster, consisted of the Red Dragon, Hector, Ascension, Susan and Grift;

"The Second," 1604, under Henry Middleton, consisted of the Red Dragon, Hector, Ascension and Susan;

"The Third," 1607, under Keeling, consisted of the Red Dragon, Hector and Consent; and William Hawkins, who commanded the Hector, left her at Surat and proceeded to Agra;

"The Fourth," 1608, under Sharpeigh, consisted of the Ascension and Union;

"The Fifth," 1609, was under David Middleton, in the Expedition, the only ship sent;

"The Sixth," 1610, under Sir Henry Middleton, consisted of the Trade's Increase, the Peppercorn, commanded by Nicholas Downton, and the Darling;

"The Seventh," 1611, was under Anthony Hippon in the Globe, the only ship sent;

"The Eighth," 1611, under John Saris, consisted of the Clover (Clove の誤), Hector and Thomas;

"The Ninth," 1612, was under Edmund Marlowe in the James (James I.), detached from the "Tenth Voyage".

"The Tenth," 1612, under Thomas Best, consisted of the Hoseander, Solomon (i. e., James I. again) and Red Dragon.

"The Eleventh," 1612, under Best in the Solomon, detached from the "Tenth Voyage," and

"The Twelfth," also in 1612, was under Christopher Newport in the Expedition, which was commissioned chiefly to carry Sir Robert Shirley (brother of Sir Anthony), Ambassador from Shah Abbas to King James I., back to Persia, where he died in 1628.

Of the "Joint Stock Voyages" "The First," 1614, under Downton, consisted of the New Year's Gift, Merchant Hope, Hector and

Solomon, and is the only one on the Joint Stock account of any general interest. The fleet which sailed in January, 1615, under Keeling, took out Sir Thomas Roe on board the Lion, as ambassador from James I. to the "Court of the Great Mogul" (Jehangir, 1605 to 1627) at Agra. Another, under Benjamin Joseph, consisting of the Charles, Unicorn, Globe, Swan and Rose, sailed in February, 1616, with Edward Terry on board the Charles, as "chaplain to the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Roe, Knt.". William Baffin served in the fleet consisting of the London, Hart, Roebuck and Eagle, which sailed in February, 1620, under Shillinge. The latter was killed in an encounter with the Portuguese fleet in January, 1621, off Ras Jask, and was buried near the town of Jask; while Baffin died in January, 1622, of a wound received at the siege of a Portuguese port on the island of Kishm, where he lies buried. John Davis, who sailed as pilot on board the Tiger in Sir Edward Michelbourne's independent voyage in 1604, was slain in December, 1625, in an encounter with a Japanese junk in the Straits of Malacca, and there found a watery grave within sight of the island of Bintang.—First Letter Book; Introduction, P. XIV.

(Ledger and Sword By Beckles Willson Vol. I Chapter IV. p.p. 102—103)

Report on the Old Records of the India office By Sir George Eirdwood 220 First Voyage 211 記述 220
 p. 209 2

In 1613, Captain Saris, Commanding the "English Voyage" [Sailed 1611], established an agency at Firando in Japan
 220 記述 220 其 210 220 記述 220

In 1614 an agency was established by Mr. Edwards of the Surat factory at Ajmere.

It was in this year the Dutch Government proposed to the English Government to put an end to the rivalry between the English and Dutch companies in the East by amalgamating them, on the basis of their capture of the Moluccas

from the Spaniards and the subscription of a joint capital stock of 1,200,000 l. But the English ["London"] Company rejected the tempting offer, on the ground that war was a state business, and contrary to the course to be pursued in commercial enterprises, and intended to be pursued by them, and that it was opposed to sound commercial principles for two nations to join in monopolising a trade to the exclusion of others, and more-over impracticable.

(Report on the Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Notes and Appendices, By Sir George Birdwood, p. 210)

これは實に重要な記事で、ブルースの著書其他内外の専門的の著述中私の讀んだもの、中にはこの記事を見出さない珍しい記事である、即ち和蘭東印度會社が舊英國東印度會社即ち倫敦東印度會社と合同せんと發起したもので英國側が反對したもの、如くである。和蘭側にこれと照應する史料ありや否乎をたしかめたい。これは後年の英蘭防禦同盟と對比して實に感慨深きものがある。英蘭防禦同盟の事はブルースの著書に書いてある、それは後に第六節で紹介する。

第四節 平戸英商館の營業成績

日本に於ける平戸英國商館は、我國との貿易を開始し試賣をなしたのであるが、營業成績は良好ではなかつた。其理由に就て Bruce の著書に説明されて居る記事を紹介したい。

ブルース著 *Annals* 第一卷第一章第 186 頁西曆千六百十五年 Chap. I 1615 の條に「日本に於て」at Japan

なる見出の下に次の記事がある。私に M. Paske-Smith 編纂の History of Japan By Peter Pratt Vol. I. Book I. pp. 130—132 に據り Pratt が批評註釋したる處と對照したるものを示したい。

Extract from Bruce's Annals.	Remarks on comparing it with the Document cited.	Information from Collateral Documents.
<p>1615.—The experiment which had been tried to open a trade with Japan had not been productive; for the <i>peppers, lead, and quicksilver, brought from Bantam, did not sell to advantage; and Mr. Coppindale, the Factor who had been left at Firando,*</i> recommended to the Court, that if a settlement could be obtained at the <i>Spice Islands</i>, it would be preferable to try a trade between them and China, or Siam, though the Factory at Firando might be kept open as a depot for stores and provisions. Bruce's Annals, vol. I.</p>	<p>Any capital subjects are involved in this paragraph; which must be viewed distinctly, to decide, whether what is predicted of <i>Japan, China, the Spice Island, and Japan</i>, agrees with what Coppindale says:</p> <p>1. Speaking of <i>this Voyage only</i>, Coppindale complains that no profit is to be made on any of the commodities brought by him on the Hozeander from <i>Bantam and Patany, viz. Pepper, Wax, Lead, Quicksilver, Fowling-pieces, and India Piece Goods</i>: but he specifies some articles</p>	<p>All the other Papers, detailing Transactions of our Factory in the year 1615, are overlooked in the Annals. They are too numerous to specify here. Abstracted above and below, PP. 125-163.</p> <p>There is only room to give here a few Passages treating of the same points as Coppindale's Letter, namely: R. Cocks, Chief at Firando, to J. Gurney, Agent in Siam, 1615-16, Feb. 26. R. Wickham, a resident Factor to Capt. Jourdain, Agent at Bantam, Feb. 28.</p> <p>Most of the Goods which came in the</p>

* Note Coppindale was not a resident Factor, as stated in the Annals, but Captain and Chief Merchant of the Hozeander, despatched from Bantam to Firando. He arrived on 4th Sept. and departed on 25th February following. Below, PP. 145, 145.

p. 180, citing Letter from Mr. Coppindale at Firando to "the Court," O. C. No. 223.

Note—The Letter thus cited is *not to the Court*, but to the *Company's Agent at Siam*.

Further, the paper thus selected to the exclusion of all the rest extend, is written by a Captain confining his views to the sales effected in three months after his arrival; and he staid in all six. Compare with Volume 3.

which yield a profit. Below, PP. 119, 120.

2. He is *not addressing the Court*, but *Siam Factory*. See note in Column I.

3. Coppindale goes on to say:

The expense of presents and charges consumed the small profit made on some articles. He therefore anticipated nothing but loss from the Japan trade, *except trade was obtained with China, the raw silk of which is always ready money in Japan*. "Eiher," he adds, "We must Remarks on comparing it with the Document cited.

(Continued)

procure a peaceable trade in China, or else, as the Hollanders do, trade with them per force." Next to the profit expected from the China trade, the *Commerce between Siam and Japan* is looked to, as the chief source whence charges of Japan are to be borne. Further as the Company intend, if they do not join with

Hozeander were sold; some for money, and the rest at time, whereof the King of Firando took to the amount of 3000 Tael at a year's credit. Below, PP. 143, 149, 152.

In agreement with the Sentiments of Coppindale, Wichham expresses a decided opinion, that except the English were allowed to trade with the Moluccas—or, opened a trade with China,—or, resorted to the system of Information from Colateral Documents.

(Continued)

spoliation and plunder pursued by the Dutch against the Chinese Junks, the Japan trade was not worth continuing. Below, P. 151.

the Dutch, to watch for an opportunity of settling at the *Moluccas*, it is conceived they must continue the Factory in Japan whether the trade were advantageous or otherwise; as from hence *Men, Provisions, and all kinds of Munition* might be obtained cheaper than from any other place, which is the principal inducement to the Dutch to continue a Factory in Japan. Below, P. 146.

John Bruce was the official historiographer to the East India Company appointed before the present work was entrusted to Peter Pralt, who however never received the official title of historiographer.

第五節

西曆千六百十七年(我元和三年)に於ける東印度會社の東印度及日本に於ける貿易及居留地狀況

西曆千六百十七年(我元和三年)に於ける東印度會社の東印度及日本に於ける貿易及居留地狀況に就て、ブルース著書第一卷第一章 1617年 (p. 188—189) の條を示さば次の如くである。

1617. Review of the following interesting survey of the English establishments in the East-Indies was transmitted to the Court of Committees, in the year 1617, or at the conclusion of the Joint Stock of 1613.

ments of the
East-India
Company in
the East-Ind-
ies, in 1617.
At Surat.
—at Acheen
and Tekoo.

Surat was the most commodious station in all India, at which, though English goods were not in great request, all the eastern parts of India could be supplied with cloths; but those articles could only be procured by exchanges of China goods, spices, and money.

At the two factories of Acheen and Tekoo, on the Island of Sumatra, large Quantities of Cambaya and Masulipatam goods might be disposed of, and, in return, gold, camphor, pepper, and benjamin, could be obtained.

—at Bantam.

Bantam was the greatest place of trade in the Indian Seas, where Cambaya and Masulipatam goods, estimated at fifty or sixty thousand rials, were annually imported, and, in return, in good years, one hundred and fifty thousand sacks, and in bad years, sixty thousand sacks of pepper could be exported:—the price of pepper, however, had been raised treble, in the last few years, from the competitions in the market, between the English, Dutch, and Chinese.

Jacatra yielded arrack, rice, and fish, for shipping; but a settlement at that place would be difficult, from the exorbitant sum demanded by the King, for ground on which to build a factory.

Jambee had been recently settled as a factory, at which there was an increasing demand for Cambaya and Coromandel cloths, and, in return, it would afford about ten thousand sacks of pepper.

At Potania, about ten thousand rials of Surat and Coromandel cloths might be sold; but it furnished few articles of export, and trade was on the decline.

At Siam, if the country were in a state of peace, Coromandel cloth might be sold to the amount of forty or fifty thousand rials per annum; in return, it would yield gold, silver, and deer skins, for the Japan market.

At Japan, English cloth, lead, deer skins, silks, and other goods, would find a considerable market, and in return, it would furnish silver, copper, and iron; but the English cargoes hitherto sent to this place had been ill assorted, and the trade was on the decline.

(Bruce 著 Annals Vol. pp. 188—189)

CHAP. I.
1616.

—at

Jacatra.

—at Jambee

—at Potania

—at Siam.

—at Japan.

Extract from Bruce's Annals.

Remarks.

1617. The following interesting survey of the English establishments in the East Indies was transmitted to the Court of Committees, in the year 1617, or at the conclusion of the Joint Stock of 1613.

.....At Japan, English cloth, lead, deerskins, silk and other goods would find a considerable market, and in return it would furnish silver, copper, and iron; but the English cargoes hitherto sent to this place had been ill assorted, and the trade was on the decline. Bruce's Annals, Vol. I. PP. 188, 189, citing Bantam to the Court, 1617-18 Jan. 19. O.C. No. 296.

This alternative expression for the Time, is an explictive position which embarrasses the meaning. In plain terms, the Letter of Bantam to the Court, dated 1617-18 Jan. 19, comprises a particular view of the Company's Factories.

The original specifics, among the imports, "Sapan-wood:" and among the exports, the articles of "Yrictralling." Whether the spirit of the passage is given, may be seen by comparing it with a fuller citation of it. Above, P. ult.

Numerous Documents for this year, of much higher importance, are overlooked in the Annals, Abstracted above, PP. 234-271.

Among the events preserved, are: The ship Advice arrives from Bantam; and Agent Cocks goes up to the Emperor's Court, to solicit a renewal of the former privileges.

第六節 西曆千六百十九年締結の英蘭防禦同盟

西曆千六百十九年に締結された英蘭防禦同盟(The Union of the English and Dutch Companies "Treaty of Defence between the English and the Dutch")の事は、拙稿「日英交通史概観」10「英蘭兩國の東印度會社の競争と聯合中、又改造社版世界經濟史收録拙稿「日英交通史中にも同様述べて置いた。それに就てブルース氏著書第一卷第一章1619—22等に書いてある。

先づブルースの東印度會社年代記第一章西曆千六百十九年—二十年の部、即ち Chap. I. 1619—20 の

部に Council of Defence, the treaty of 1619 に對し 著す 邦文 (Bruce, Annals. Vol. I. p.p. 212—215)° なる
も 日本に就て次の記事がある。

CHAP. I.
1619—20.

The factors in Japan, at this crisis, after receiving information of the capture of two of the Company's ships, and of the distressed situation of the English settlements in the Moluccas, purchased a junk at Nagasaki, and dispatched her with provisions, for their relief; these factors, notwithstanding all their hardships, in this manner endeavoured to keep a hold on the Japan trade, and requested a supply of sapan-wood, deer skins, broad-cloths, and lead, which would sell well in the Japan market.

Mr. Coocks, one of the factors, had been at Meaco, to solicit the Emperor's protection; but, even here, was opposed by a Dutch agent. As no ships from England had arrived, for three years, the English factors were distressed by the Dutch captures of the junks:—the Dutch, at this time, had been defeated by the Spanish fleet from the Manillas, and therefore turned their depredations on the Chinese junks;—this event checked the indirect trade with China, which the factors had been endeavouring to support, who, therefore, represented, that unless the Company could open a direct trade with the Chinese empire, or establish a settlement in the Moluccas, the Japan trade ought to be abandoned, because it was only with a view to the China and Molucca trade, that the Japan trade was worth keeping, as it furnished provision of all kinds for the Company's Shipping and factories; under these circumstances, they had resolved to remove from Firando to Nagasaki, as this last port had an excellent harbour, favorably situated for trading, either to China, or to the Spice Islands. (1)

(1)—Letters from the Factors at Nagasaki and Firando, in Japan, to the Court, 10th March 1619—20. (Nos. 521, 522, 523)

次に英蘭防禦同盟に就て英蘭對葡西との關係其他に就て次の記事がある。

The Council of Defence employ the combined English and Dutch fleet to make captures of the Portuguese and Spanish ships at Manila, against the opinion of the English Factors.

The efforts of the Company's servants at Jacatra, to continue the trade to the Spice Islands, and to Japan, were in the same manner, obstructed by the Dutch, who employed every expedient to exclude the English, not only from any participation in trade, but from the islands or coasts in the Southern Seas:—the English agents, therefore, reported that if the English and Dutch fleets, under the Treaty of Defence, had acted for the Common interest, there could have been no doubt but they might have got possession of Macao, and ruined the Spanish and Portuguese trade to China, the Manillas, and Malacca; this fleet, However, instead of acting up to the treaty, had proceeded against Manilla, where they had acquired a considerable share of plunder, but the English ships had, from the overbearing conduct of the Dutch, been obliged to separate, and to allow the Dutch to retain almost the whole of the prizes, having only received such a proportion as would scarcely cover the expences of equipment:—the President and Council, therefore, recommended that the fleets of the two nations, in any future expedition, should act separately, and each be authorized to derive such benefits from conquests, or captures, or from the establishment of seats of trade, as they might acquire by their own efforts:—the factories at Japan and Siam had become so expensive and unprofitable, that it was intended to withdraw both; but Mr. Towerson, one of their number, had been sent to Amboyna, to endeavour to preserve the English factories on that island. (*)

CHAP. I.
1621-22.

(1)—Letters from the President and Council at Batavia to the Court, 10th December 1621. 22 Nos. 688, 639.—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked F. I, unbound, page 109.—Letter from the Factors at Pirando, in Japan, to the Court, 20th September 1621. (No. 689)

これと對照すべき平戸英商館長リチャード・コックスの説其他の史料を掲げて居る。左方の餘白ある部分に前に引用したブルースの著書の一節が Fiske Smith 編纂のブラットの日本史には印刷され居る事を想像されたい事を私は讀者に御願する。

(Fiske Smith 編纂ブラット日本史第一卷第三百七十六頁より第三百七十九頁参照)

Remarks.

All the arrangements at Jacatra, and all the transactions at Firando, for the current year, were prepared and effected in concert with the Dutch. Below, PP. 379? 385.

Agent Coels merely expresses a *speculative opinion*, that the Fleet of Defence might take and sack Amacan. In the first voyage against Manilla, the English Commander was Admiral of the Joint Fleet. Below, PP. 357, 362.

On proclaiming the Treaty at Jacatra, the *English and Dutch Presidents there, in a Joint Council, ordered this Fleet to proceed against Manilla.* Above, PP. 330—342.

The amount of captures off Manilla and China, fall far below the expectations of the two Allied Companies; and our Chief in Japan consumes the capacity of the Mariners of both nations, who interpreted a part of the booty before it could be brought to account. The Prize Goods entered in a Joint Inventory, were brought to Firando, and equally divided between the two factories. Below, PP.

With two exceptions, namely:—the assertion above that the

English ships had been obliged to separate, which is incorrect; and the word "therefore," which assigns a false cause; this representation corresponds with the tenor of the letter from Batavia. Abstracted below,

Nevertheless, in the next year, the English Presidency, reviewing a subsequent course of combined operations, acknowledge that in the Second Voyage there was better concord between our people and the Dutch than they had anticipated. Below, PP. 412.

Meanwhile the separation from the Dutch which they had contemplated in 1621 they carry into effect in 1622, and the Manilla Fleet of Defence is dissolved by mutual consent in a Joint Council. Below, P. 406.

English (in) Batavia contemplate withdrawing the Factory in Japan for the causes assigned. Below, P. 363.

The third Paper cited has nothing to do with Japan: it is a treaty between the English and Dutch Residenten at Jacatra, for regulating a joint trade at Pulicat.

Among the important subjects omitted under this year, are: *The operations of the Combined Manilla Fleet, and our relations with the Emperor of Japan and the King of Firando.*

(History of Japan By Peter Pratt 1822 Edited by M. Paske Smith Vol. I. p.p. 376-379)

平戸英商館の閉鎖其他に就てブルースに次の記事がある。

CHAP. I. The President and Council, at the same time, intimated, that they had withdrawn the factory, from 1623-24. The Factory at Japan rando, to recover debts due to the English, amounting to 12,821 taels.—The factories at Siam and Potamia, were also withdrawn.

(John Bruce, Annals of the Honorable East-India Company Chapter I. 1623-24 p. 250)

第七節 西曆千六百六十一年—千六百六十二年葡萄牙領ボンベイ (Bombay) を英國に讓渡した The Treaty of Marriage between Charles II and the Infanta of Portugal に就て

私は日英交通史概觀の14として英人東印度會社の日本通商復活の計畫に就て述べ、その内に千六百七十三年六月二十九日(我延寶元年五月二十五日)長崎入津の英船リターン號事件を述べ、日英通商復活不許可拒絶の理由は英國王チャールス二世(Charles II)の皇后がポルトガルの女王カザリン(In-fanta Catherine)であつたと云ふ事であつた事、この英葡兩國王宮の結婚はReturn號の我國に來航よりも約十年前の千六百六十二年五月二十一日に行はれたものではあるが、英葡兩國の政治的、外交的意味の加はつたもので、前年六月二十二日には英葡同盟條約が調印されて居る事も述べて置いた。

其の條約に於てこの John Bruce 著 Annals of the Honorable East-India Company Vol. II. Chap. II. 1661-62. pp.

103—105 に書いてある。即ち次の如くである。而して次に引用した文中にも記する如く印度のボンベト島及港 (the Island and Harbour of Bombay) は、この葡萄牙前國王ジョアン四世 (João IV) の女即ち葡萄牙國王 Alfonso VI の妹 Infanta Catherine の婚姻持參物 (dowry) として Tangier の要塞 (fortress) と共に英國に渡されたのであった。其事は拙稿日英交通史料(三)にも述べて置いた。

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE ANNAIS OF THE LONDON EAST-INDIA COMPANY, FROM THE RESTORATION OF THEIR PRIVILEGES BY KING CHARLES II, IN 1660-1, TO THE REVOLUTION, 1688-9.

1661-62.

Having traced the political relations between England and the maritime states of Europe, as preliminary subjects, required to explain the transactions of the London East-India Company, after they had their Charter and exclusive privileges renewed by King Charles II, and having prospectively followed up those relations, during this, and the subsequent reign, that reference might be made to them, in explaining the annual proceedings of the Company, during the second period of their progress; and having, also, with the same object, traced the political and commercial relations of the principal kingdoms and states in the East-Indies with which the London Company were to have connexion, not only during this period, but during the long reign of Aurungzebe, which continued nearly to the Union of the London and English East-India Companies, we are prepared to resume the Annals of the

CHAP. II
1661-62.

Bombay ceded by Portugal to England, by the Treaty of Marriage between Charles II, and the Infanta of Portugal.

CHAP. II
1661-62.

London East-India Company, and to connect their proceedings with those of the government, on which they were dependent in Europe, and with those of the powers, at whose ports and dominions they were to revive and carry on the direct trade between England and the East-Indies.

The Charter of King Charles II. to the London East-India Company had scarcely been recorded when their affairs assumed a new aspect, by the event of the Island of Bombay, (within their limits,) having been ceded by the Crown of Portugal to the King, as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine, whom the King married, in June 1661, two months after he had granted to the London East-India Company the renewal of their Charter.

This acquisition of the King, was held to be an extension of the dominions of his Crown, which would afford to the English a port, at which their trade could be in security, and more immediately under the royal protection:—this was viewed with jealousy by the States General, as calculated to connect, more strictly, the London East-India Company with the Crown, and to revive the rivalry of the two European powers in the East-Indies, by assimilating the Company's interests with those of the State, in the same manner as the Dutch Companies had been with the States General, and therefore to render the rivalry of the two nations in the East-Indies, more immediately connected with the relations which subsisted between them, in Europe.

By the eleventh article of the Treaty of Marriage between King Charles II. and the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, dated 23d June 1661, the Crown of Portugal ceded and granted to the Crown of England, the Island and Harbour of Bombay, in full sovereignty; and it was understood, that this grant would enable the two Crowns to maintain their respective dominions in the East-Indies, against any future aggressions and encroachments on their subjects and trade, by the Dutch Company.

By the Secord Article of this treaty, the King of England obliged himself to guaranty to the King

CHAP. II.
1661—82.

Terms of the
treaty with
Portugal, re-
lative to the
cession of
Bombay.

of Portugal, the possessions of that Crown, in the East-Indies; and to mediate a peace between Portugal and the States General, with the object, that the respective possessions of the two nations, in that quarter, might be ascertained; and then explained, that should the States General refuse to accept of such mediation, the King would employ his forces and fleets, to compel the States to accede to these conditions, and to obtain restitution to the Crown of Portugal, of such Portuguese settlements in the East-Indies, as the Dutch might, subsequent to this treaty, become possessed of.⁽¹⁾

(1)—Original Ratification by the King of Portugal, of the Treaty of Peace and Commerce, between England and Portugal, and of Marriage, between Charles II. and the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, concluded at Whitehall, 23d June 1651, with the Secret Article, dated the same day, (Preserved in the State Paper Office).

CHAP. II.
1651—62.

The Earl of Marborough and Sir Abraham Shipman sent by the King, with an armament to take possession of Bombay.

On the basis of this treaty, and to render Bombay an immediate dependency on the Crown of England, the King, in March 1661-62, dispatched a fleet of five men of war, under the command of the Earl of Marborough, and embarked on them five hundred troops, under the command of Sir Abraham Shipman, who was appointed to be General on shore;—on board this fleet also proceeded a Viceroyn of the King of Portugal, authorised to deliver the ceded island, and its dependencies, to the King of England.

Sir Abraham Shipman's particular instructions were, to take under his command the forces raised in England, for the King's service in the East-Indies, and, on his arrival at Bombay, to receive possession of the island and its dependencies, from the Portuguese Governor, with the view of "gaining a" free and better trade in the East-Indies, and to enlarge the "King's dominions in those parts;"—he was farther directed to encourage the King's subjects, and strangers, to settle, and carry on trade at Bombay, and to administer to the inhabitants of the island the oath of allegiance to the King.⁽¹⁾

・ 尚チャールズ二世の私的生活を記する千九百一十七年の序文ある *The Private Life of Charles the Second* By Arthur Irwin Dasent p. 93 12

A year later, when the King married the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, solely for reasons of State and the large dowry brought him by his bride, Barbara had him firmly in the toils. Even Catherine's dowry, which Charles had been led to expect would amount (in addition to the acquisition of Bombay and Tangier) to two million cruzados (over #800,000 sterling), proved a bitter disappointment. To the King's disgust a large proportion of it was paid over in dribblets of sugar, spices, raisins, and foreign securities which it was found difficult to negotiate at home, Charles remarking in his most cynical vein, that he would have preferred fewer currants and a little more cash.

と書いてある。又此書には Queen Catherine が魚釣を愛好せし事 her (Queen Catherine) passion for fishing に就て

Throughout his life the King was passionately fond not only of hunting but of fishing. The Queen Consort was equally fond of fishing and of those impromptu water picnics, for which the Court was long famous. (The Private Life of Charles The Second By Arthur Irwin Dasent p. 240)

と書いてある。しかし私はこの皇后 Queen Catherine がポルトガルの王女の時より茶を嗜みし爲め英國王に嫁して後茶が英國に流行したと稱せられて居る事は拙稿日英交通史概観 15 日英交通と英

支文通との關係に就て中に述べて置られたが其事に就つて、(1) The Private Life of Charles The Second by Arthur Irwin Dasent 及び (2) 茶の歴史

(附記) 私は次の書物を参照したが、それ等は、(1) Two Visits to the Tea Countries of China. By Robert Fortune London 1853. (2) The Encyclopaedia Sinica 中華 (Tea) の條? (3) China as a Tea Producer. By Boris P. Torgashoff Shanghai 1926. (4) Tea and Tea Dealing. By F. W. F. Steavacre London 1929. 但し矢野博士が引用された Tea Trade by Martin は私は見ることが出来なかつた(矢野博士が近代支那の政治及文化十、茶の歴史に就つて参照) 然るに The World's Commercial Products. By Freeman and Chandler の Tea の條には Infanta Catherine の事が次の如く載つてゐる。

Whatever may be said as to the probability of this story, it is definitely known that tea was introduced into Europe from China late in the sixteenth century, and that in 1657 a regular tea-house was opened in Exchange Alley, London. From this date tea began to be a regular beverage in England.

It is mentioned by Pepys in his Diary; under the date 28th September, 1660, we read: "I did send for a cup of tea (a China drink), of which I had never drunk before," and, "Home, and there find my wife making of tea, a drink which Mr. Pelling the Apothicary tells her is good for her cold and defluxions."

It was at about the time of its earliest introduction into England that tea first became known in Russia, an embassy to the Court of Peking bringing back some green tea to the ancient capital, Moscow. In 1664 the famous English East India Company made a present of two pounds of tea to the queen of Charles II, Catherine of Braganza, and the product was still regarded as a rare delicacy. Fourteen years later the Company imported from China nearly 5,000 lbs. and towards the end of the century tea had

ceased to be a rarity.

(The World's Commercial Products By. W. G. Freeman and S. E. Chandler p. 148)

但し右引用した一箇中 Peyps in his Diary; under the date 28th September, 1660 に誤り Peyps in his Diary; under the date 25th September, 1660 と改訂 Peyps in his Diary of Samuel Peyps F. R. S. Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II and James II, With a Note by Richard Garnett, (Everyman's Library Edited by Ernest Rhys Vol. I. p. 97)

25th I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I never had drank before.....

とある事により明である。後に引用する Report on the Old Record of the India Office By Sir George Birdwood にも同様九月二十五日とある。

私の調べた處によれば茶は十六世紀の後半に支那より歐洲に輸入され千六百五十七年に既に regular tea house が Exchange Alley, London に開店され英國に茶の輸入された記事は千六百六十年九月二十五日附の Peyps の日記 (Diary) に記載されて居る。即ち葡萄牙王女のチャールス二世と結婚せざる以前である。しかしチャールス二世の御代千六百六十四年、チャールス二世に東印度會社は茶を仕入れて献上して居る。これは葡萄牙王女と結婚後である。これはチャールス二世の皇后と關係がある、即ちこの皇后に献上されたのである。

私の調べた事實の出典は前掲 Freeman and Chandler の書物 'Diary of Samuel Peyps 等の外 Birdwood の Report on the Old Record of the India Office p. 26 の脚註に精細に書いてあるものに據つたのである。

Tea had been introduced into England some years previously. The first mention of it by any English writer, so far as I can find, is in Pepy's Diary, 25th September 1660,—“I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I had never drunk before.” In the same year, by Act 12 of Charles II., chh. 23 and 24, a duty of 18d. is imposed on every gallon of chocolate, sherbet, and tea, made for sale; coffee being charged only 4d. Waller's lines,—

“The best of Queens, and best of herbs, we owe. To that bold nation which the way did show”

—to India, are well known. The East India Company purchased and presented 2 lbs. of tea to King Charles II. in 1664, and 23½ lbs. in 1666. The first order for its importation by the Company was in 1698.....

The earliest mention of tea in the Old Records of the India Office is in a letter from Mr. R. Wickham, the Company's Agent at Firando, in Japan, who writes, 27th June 1615, to Mr. Eaton at Miacoo, asks for a pot of the best sort of Chaw.”

右ノ節ニ Hobson-Jobson By Yule and Burnell の Tea の節ニ引用スル也。

トリスロ日記 (Diary of Richard Coe's) ニハ第一卷 (Vol. I) p. 202 ニ Nov. 3. 1616. I bought 3. chaw cups covered with silver plates.....次卷ノ節 (Vol II) p. 11 ニ This man brought me a chaw cup covered with silver for a present, being worth some 3 tals. 又書クニ也也。 Leopold von Ranke の英國國史ニハ Infantin Katharina (Infanta Catherine) の傳ニ於テ云ク也也。後々ニ茶ノの圖説ニ於テ云クニ也也。 (Leopold von Ranke's Historische Meisterwerke, Englische Geschichte, Band 5/6. Vierzehntes Buch, Siebentes Kapitel.) 最後ニ印度ノ支那及日本等ニ於テ云クニ茶 (Tea) の歴史ニ就テの一ノの纂考文讀ニテ也也。 The Commercial Products in India By Sir George Watt, London 1908 〇 p.p. 209-249 及 A Dictionary of The Economic Products of India In Six Volumes Vol. II. p.p. 65-83 一ノ The Tea plant Camellia の節ニ也也。其ノ事ヲ詳述スル也也。

第八節 西曆1671—72年の東印度會社

佛蘭西和蘭及英國等の國際間に戰爭開始の豫想スリット(Surat)バンタム(Batam)等の交通貿易上の重要性、東印度より支那東京(Tonquin)臺灣(Tywan)日本等との貿易に就て東印度會社の根本史料に據りブルースの東印度會社年代記第二卷第二章1671—72年の條に次の如く書いてある。

EAST-INDIA COMPANY

1671-72.

CHAP. II. 1671-72.

Instructions of the Court to Surat, on the probability of a war in Europe, and equip-

ments and stock limited, in expectation of that event.

The measures of the Directors for their trade, in the season 1671-72, were affected by the preparations of France, Holland, and England, which threatened a war in Europe:—these appearances necessarily obliged the Court to vary their equipments and stock, as they were unable to conjecture, either what were the objects of the war, or of the maritime alliances or oppositions by which their trade might be affected.

At the opening of the season, it was intimated to the Presidency of SURAT, that the Court had resolved to extend their trade, by trying exchanges between India and the countries bordering on the China Seas; and with this view, they had taken up sixteen hundred tons of shipping, exclusive of two vessels, which were to proceed, first to Surat, and then to Bantam, to make an experiment of trade with Tonquin, Formosa, and Japan;—the vessel intended for Japan was to be furnished with a stock, estimated at £14,000, and to take in a part of her assortment at Surat, for the place of her ultimate destination.

After the events in Europe assumed that aspect, which impressed the Court with the opinion, that

1670-71.
CHAP. II.

war was probable, they limited the equipments to Surat to four ships, with a stock, in goods (chiefly cloths) and bullion, estimated at £85,000, and postponed the plan of dispatching a ship from England, direct to Bantam, and thence to the China Seas, till the relations of the European nations should be positively ascertained, or the war become certain, for it would not have been prudent to detach a vessel, with a valuable stock, from the Surat trade, on a speculation liable to so many hazards. On reviewing, also, the information from Surat, of the relative circumstances of the Mogul and of Sevegee, it was resolved, as the most effectual means of conciliating this Chief, to resettle the Factory at Rajahpore.⁽¹⁾

(1)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council at Surat, 23d June 1671, and 15th March 1671-72.

Court's re-
gulations for
Bombay.

The Court, on examining the report on the plans for rendering the Island of Bomnave sufficiently strong to resist any enemy, approved of the appointment of Mr. Gyfford to be Deputy Governor, and of Captain Hernan Bake to be Engineer and Surveyor General, and instructed the President and Council of Surat to examine and approve of all plans, before they should be carried into execution:—and to strengthen the garrison, one hundred and fifty soldiers had been embarked, and a proportion would annually be engaged. As it had been found difficult to arrange the duties and customs exacted at Tannah and Caranjah, with the Crown of Portugal, it was left to the discretion of the President and Council of Surat, to adjust, this business, if possible, by offering concessions, on the part of the Company, and requiring reciprocal concessions from the Viceroy of Goa.

The Company's four regular ships were to be dispatched as a fleet, with orders not to touch at the Cape of Good Hope, and to be on their guard, on approaching St. Helena, to prevent any risk of capture.⁽²⁾

(2)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council at Surat, 15th March 1671-72.—Letter from the Court to the Deputy Governor at Bombay, 15th March 1671-72.

From the distracted state of the government of Persia, at this juncture, and from the probability of a war with the Dutch, the President and Council of Surat were instructed to limit the trade between Surat and that country, to appearances only, that the Company's rights of trade, which had formerly been granted to them, and their moiety of the Customs at Gombroon, might be preserved; but not to engage in any commercial speculation, or expect profit from this trade. (3)

(1)—Letters from the Court to the Chief and Factors at Gombroon, 23d June 1671, and 15th March 1671-72.

CHAP. II. 1671-72.

The Court, on reviewing the information on the state of their affairs at Fort St. George, and particularly of the strength of the garrison, authorised the Agent and Council to engage from the ships, as many men as would fill up the complement of the troops, which would save the expence of sending recruits from England:—This expedient was the more necessary, from the expiration of the covenants of some of the soldiers, and from the misconduct of others, which required that both of these descriptions of men should return on the ships of this season.

On reviewing the report of the Commissioners, who had investigated the long subsisting disputes between the Agent and Council, Sir Edward Winter, and Mr. Jearsey, the Court decided, that the enquiry had not been properly conducted, and ordered, that what remained of Sir Edward Winter's goods should be sold, and credit given to him for the amount, to be paid on his arrival in England.

The equipments for the Coast, this season, amounted to nearly two thousand tons; and the stock, consisting of a small proportion of British produce (broad-cloths, lead, and copper) but chiefly of ingots of gold and foreign coins, was estimated at £160,000, of which £133,700 was in gold and coins. Of this large stock, £30,000 was intended for the Factory at Masulipatam, and £40,000 for Bengal, and, in addition to the £14,000 ordered to be sent from Surat to Bantam, £5,000 was, annually, to

Directions
for increas-
ing the gar-
rison at Fort
St. George.

be provided in Coast commodities, for the trade to Japan. (1)

(1)—Letters from the Court to the Agent and Council at Fort St. George, 18th December 1671, and 15th March 1671-72.

The instructions for the subordinate Factory at MASURIPATAM required, that this trade should be extended, and that one-half of the goods sold at this station should be English woollens; but, in providing accommodation for the Factors, on this increased scale of trade, the sum, to be annually expended in buildings, should not exceed six hundred pagodas. (2)

CHAP. II.
1671-72.

(2)—Letter from the Court to the Chief and Factors at Masulipatam, December 1671.

The separate instructions to the Factory at HUGURJ ordered that £ 5,000 should be annually invested in silk, for the Japan trade; but the principal assortment should be of taffeties and Bengal muslins, for the home sales. (3)

(3)—Letter from the Court to the Chief and Factors at HUGURJ, 28th June and 18th December 1671.

The Court, on taking into consideration the report which they had received from BANTAM, during the season 1671-72, decided that this port should become the centre of trade for the exports from Europe, from Surat, and from the Coast; and, as such, enable the Company to prosecute schemes of a circuitous trade to Tonquin, Formosa, and Japan, the equipments and stock were therefore formed on a more enlarged scale, and, for the first time, we discover the intentions of the Court to open an indirect, if it should not be practicable to establish a direct trade to CHINA. Excluded from the Spice Islands by the Dutch, and rivalled and frequently borne down by them, in the pepper trade at Java and Sumatra, it was resolved to establish a traffic in the farther Indian Seas, by consigning shipping

Equipments
and stock for
Bantam, and
instructions
to attempt
trade at Chi-
na, Tonquin,
Tywan, and
Japan.

to Bantam, to the amount of not less than 2,800 tons:—three of the ships were to proceed to Tonquin, Tywan, and Japan, with Europe, Surat, and Coast goods, suited to those markets, and, in return, to obtain Japan produce, for the Indian and Europe markets. In this way, the Court projected to bring China produce into their trade, or into the circuit of their exchanges, and, subsequently, to acquire a share in the China trade. (3)

(1)—Letter from the Court to the Agent and Council at Bantam, 23d June 1671, and 2d February 1671-72.

On the basis of these principles, the Court resolved to fix Factories at Tywan and Tonquin, and appointed (but with discretionary powers to the Agent at Bantam) civil servants from England, to be Factors and writers at those statiods; and, in like manner, writers and Factors for Japan, who were to be accredited with letters from the King and from the Company, to the Emperor, soliciting his permission to re-establish a trade between his dominions and the English Factories in the East-Indies. The instructions were introduced with references to the former connexion of the English with Japan, as the reason of the Company for again offering to open this trade; and to obviate the difficulties which had prevented its continuance, the Agents were to declare, that their only view was trade, and, on no occasion, to interfere in matters of religion: and that, in the use of their flag, they were particularly to explain, that the cross on it was not a badge of their being Catholics, but only the characteristic mark of their nation to distinguish English ships, and ought not to excite any alarm in the Japanese, that the English had any scheme for detaching them from their established belief:—should the Agents be permitted to erect houses of trade, all attempts to fortify, or to land guns, were to be avoided; but, if possible, they were to endeavour to evade the ancient requisition, that the guns of the ships should be landed, and the rudders unhung, during the time of their being in Japanese port:—the Company's

Agents were always to wear dresses of English cloth, with gold and silver lace, that their appearance might convey to the Emperor, and to his officers, impressions of their rank. Three vessels were destined for this commercial speculation, with cargoes chiefly consisting of English broad-cloths, and an assortment of glasses, &c. for presents, and such Indian articles as would sell:—the imports expected were gold, silver, and copper, and cabinets of lacquered work, china jars, &c.; and, on the return of the ships, they were to touch at Bantam, the Coast, and at Surat, for goods to fill up their tonnage, that they might come to England with full cargoes.⁽¹⁾

(1)—Letter from the Court to the Agent and Council at Bantam, 21st September 1671.

(Bruce, Annals, Vol. II, p.p. 293-299)

第九節 英船レターン號事件

英船レターン號 (English Ship “Return”) 及其の事件に關する史料に就ては日英交通史料十二及日英交通史料十三等に橋本辰二郎氏所藏屏風に描かれたる「えけれす船がそのレターン號 (the “Return”) なるべしとの推定を下したる考證を試み其屏風の寫眞と共に掲げて置いた。其際レターン號の船長 (Captain) Simon Delboe 等の日本日誌 (the Japan Diary) をケンベルの日本誌より引用して置いた。

又 Pa-ke-Smith 氏編纂のブラットの日本史よりもレターン號に關する記事を引用して置いた。それ等とこの John Bruce の Annals に記する處と對照すればこの事件が一層明となる。

Unsuccessful result of the project for opening a trade with Tywan.

The projected trade to Tywan, in Fornosa, for which the ship Experiment had been dispatched from Bantam, was found, on trial, to be impracticable, and the information on which this speculation had proceeded to be fallacious. On the Experiment's arrival at Tywan, the captain discovered that the sugar and hides, which were the principal articles that would admit of profitable exchanges at Japan, were engrossed by the King, exclusively, and that the returns, by his junks, from Japan, which brought silver, copper, &c., were the funds with which he paid his army; the Company's ship was therefore obliged, after losing the monsoon, to take in such Tywan goods as she could procure, and to return to Bantam, and on her voyage (being ignorant of the breaking out of the war) fell in with eight sail of Dutch ships, in the Straits of Banca, and was captured, on the 9th December 1672, and Captain Limbrey, and his crew, carried prisoners to Batavia.⁽¹⁾

(1)—Letters from Captain Limbrey to the President at Bombay, dated Batavia, 16th September 1673, (vol. xxix, No. 2768.)

The other vessel, the Return, which, with the Experiment, had been sent from England, to open a trade at Tywan, and at Japan, after touching at Bantam, and getting produce and instructions, proceeded to Tywan, where, on consultation, it was found advisable that the Experiment's goods should be shipped in the Return, and that the former should be sent to Bantam, as has been detailed, and the latter to proceed for Japan:—the Return reached the port of Nagasaki, on the 29th June 1673; but her commander also was ignorant of the existing war between Holland and England:—Mr. Delboe, the chief factor on board, intimated to the Governor of the port, that he had come to renew the ancient trade between Japan and England, which had been interrupted for forty-nine years, and was answered, that, in the first place, he must deliver up his guns and ammunition, till the Emperor's pleasure could be known:—after complying with this hazardous condition, and undergoing the strictest examination, re-

CHAP. II.
1673-74.

Mr. Delboe's report on the attempt to renew the trade with Japan.

CHAP. II.
1673-74.

specifying the causes of the interruption of the trade, (or the civil wars in England, and two successive wars with the Dutch,) he was, at last, informed, that no trade would be allowed by the Emperor, to a people so nearly allied to the Portuguese, as the King of England had been married to a Princess of that country; and though it was explained, that this circumstance did not alter the character of the English nation, who were Protestants, as well as the Dutch, this explanation was doubted, from so trifling a circumstance as the English flag having the St. George's Cross on it, which was considered as resembling the Portuguese flag:—after, therefore, being permitted to remain at Nagasaki, but not to trade, till the monsoon changed, and the wind became favorable for his departure, though several Dutch ships had arrived with intelligence of the war, the guns and ammunition were re-delivered, with an exactness which could not have been expected; and the ship, attended by the Japanese boats out of the harbour, allowed to depart, on the 25th August 1673, under assurances, that the Dutch ships should not be permitted to follow her for two months, that she might have time to reach Bantam unmolested by an enemy.⁽¹⁾

(1)—Mr. Delboe's narrative of the attempts to open a trade in the Empire of Japan, June to August 1673, (vol. xxx. No. 2829.)

ブルース氏著東印度會社年代記第二卷第二章1673—74年の條第349頁に「ター」號船長 Delboe 等に就て次の記事がある。

Mr Delboe, and the Factors and officers, on getting to sea, held a consultation, respecting the place to which they should proceed:—the difficulties which had been experienced at Tywan in Formosa, had rendered that speculation unprofitable;—the prohibition, by the Spaniards, of trade to Manilla, made

CHAP. II.
1673-74.
Mr. Delboe suggests establishing a Factory at

Macao, to the
trade of the
sale of Eng-
lish goods in
to China.

it unsafe to attempt that port;—the return to Bantam, from the Dutch naval power, and the uncertainty, even there, of the safety of the ship and cargo, rendered this destination hazardous;—the voyage to Surat, through the Straits of Malacca, and along the coast of India, equally so;—it was therefore resolved, to make for the port of Macao, at which, from the amity between the King and the Portuguese, it was hoped, at least, the ship and cargo would be safe, and the prospect of finding a market for part of their goods not improbable. This ship reached Macao on the 13th September 1673, and though, by the Portuguese intrigues with the Governor, a Factory was not allowed to be established, the vessel was careened, and the goods landed, but under such restrictions, that trade could only be attempted through the Portuguese; and, from it having silver on board (the only medium which the Chinese would accept), the sales of goods were partial, and the purchases inconsiderable. This incident, however, was the basis of an important speculation, suggested by Mr. Delboe and the Factors, that the Governor of Bombay should endeavour to negotiate with the Viceroy of Goa, for permission for the English to have a Factory, and liberty of trade, at Macao, because a considerable quantity of the Company's goods might be disposed of to the Chinese; and Chinese produce obtained in return, which might find a profitable sale, both in India and in Europe; and, probably, to this incident may be traced the origin of the China trade of the East-India Company. (1)

(1)—Consultation held on board the Return, 1st September 1673, (vol. xxix, No. 2758.)—Letter from Mr. Delboe to the Governor of Bombay, dated Macao, 2d December 1673, (vol. xxx, No. 2829.)

第三章 結 論

一

John Bruce 氏著東印度會社史第三卷 *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company Vol. III. Chapter III. Review of the Annals of the Honorable East-India Company, from the Revolution, in 1688-89, to the Union of the London and English East-India Companies, in 1707-8.* は六百九十三頁に互り重要な記事史料に富んで居るが最早本論文豫定の頁數を超過せんとし又日本との關係を見出さなから本稿には省略する事とする。

The Governor and Company of Merchant of London trading into the East Indies 於千七百〇八年より九年に互り English East India Company に合併し The United Company of Merchant of England trading to the East Indies を組織した (W. R. Scott 氏著 *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720, Vol. III. p. 465 p. 478* 參照所謂新英國東印度會社 (The New English East India Company) 即ち The English Company trading to the East Indies 於千六百九十八年の創立である。) の會社が我國とは關係がなから。

又し前述の John Bruce 著 *Annals of the East-India Company Vol. III* 卷末の第 672 頁 Chap. III 1707-8 の “The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, their Account Current. London, 29th September 1708. 於第一卷終言中 211 頁に Lodger and Sword By Deckles Willson. Vol. II. 卷末 Appendix p.p. 436-137 に掲ぐるものと内容同一である。”

次に Bruce の Annals Vol. III. p. 678 に掲ぐ、⁹ The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, their Account Current. “London, 22d March 1708-9. は前の Account current (Account は舊を綴字法)と同様簿記史、商業算術史上重要な一史料である。私は茲に之を研究説明する時間がない。

東印度會社史が簿記史上重要なものは河津暹教授還曆祝賀記念經濟學の諸問題所載拙稿初期日英交通史上の重要文獻中に指摘した處であるが、Report on the Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Notes and Appendices By Sir George Birdwood, London 1861. の Second Davidson Trading and Shipping, and General Commercial Affairs of the Company I.—Sales and Deliveries.—の部には Warehouse book, Sale book (現今では Sales book と稱す) Accounts of Sales Invoices 等商業帳簿又は商業書式等に就て其例を示してある。私は稿を改めて英國東印度會社史又は日英交通史料に現はれたる簿記史料に就て論じて見たいと思ふ。

二

ブルース氏著東印度年代記が株式會社法史研究上如何に參考史料に富む乎は、第一章序論中に引用した獨逸商法學者故カール・レーマン教授の名著 Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Aktienrechts bis zum Code de Commerce, Berlin 1895. に如何に屢々引用され居る乎を數ふる事によりても察する事が出来る。

しかしブルースの觀察も必ずしも盡く正しきものと斷定する事は出来ない部分もある。その例は
 ハーマン氏が指摘せし如くブルース著書第一卷第一章西曆 1913 年の條に First Joint Stock, in 1612-13, for
 four successive Voyages なる見出の下に

The inconveniences which had been experienced, from separate Classes of Adventurers, Partners in the East-India
 Company, fitting out equipments on their own particular portions of stock, induced the Directors, or Committees, to
 resolve, in 1612, that, in future, the trade should be carried on by a joint stock only;.....
the transition, therefore, from trading on separate adventures, which has been
 described as an imitation of the Dutch, to trading on a joint stock, arose out of the good sense of the English nation,
 which, from experience, had discovered the evil consequences of internal opposition, and had determined to proceed
 on a system, better calculated to promote the general interest of the East-India Company.

なる一節が即ち夫れでハーマン教授の批判と對照すべきであらう。

Jetzt erst also war man zu einem Zustande gelangt, wie ihn Holland seit dem Jahr 1602 in der Ostindischen Com-
 pagnie besass, denn wenn Bruce es als eine That der englischen Nation preist, die Idee des joint stock aufgebracht
 zu haben gegenüber dem trading on separate Adventures der Holländer, so ist ihm die Organisation der Niederländisch-
 Ostindischen Compagnie nicht klar geworden, welche zwar eine grössere Dezentralisation aufweist, als die der englischen

Compagnie, aber das Princip des joint stock deutlich proclarnit. Im Gegenheil, man möchte fast annehmen, dass die holländische Idee vorgeschwebt hat, denn wie dort ein Kapital für drei Reisen, so wird hier die Summe für vier Reisen, die Zehnte bis Dreizehnte, gezeichnet.¹

1) Bruce I pag. 166, 167, Macpherson, History pag. 193 ff.

(Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Aktienrechts bis zum Code de Commerce Von Dr. Karl Lehmann S. 41-42)

ブルースの著述を忠實に紹介し學術的批判を下したるものは獨逸商法學者故ローマン先生である。

私は Bruce の書物にも千六百年より千六百十二年までの倫敦東印度會社が Regulated Company なりし乎否乎を述べて居ない。ローマン先生亦然りたゞ Bruce は 1613 年の條に 1613. First joint stock, in 1612-13, for four Successive Voyages 又それより前の 1610 年の條に Seventh Voyage, on a limited joint stock と見出して居る。私は Encyclopedia of the Laws of England Second Edition Vol. III p. 239 以下 Chartered Companies の部を讀んだが別に参考すべき記事を見出さなかつた。

第十六世紀の最後の年即ち西曆千六百年に設立の舊英國東印度會社 (Old English East India Company) 即ち倫敦東印度會社 (London East India Company) は Regulated Company であつたと稱されて居る。而してそれは千六百十二年まで同様 Regulated Company であつたと傳へられて居る。James Mill 著英領印度史

(The History of British India) 第一卷 (Book I) 第二章 (Chap. II) From the Change of the Company into a joint stock company, in 1612 till the Formation of the third Joint-Stock in 1631-2. の部 p. 27 (第二版に於て) 參照

別に Regulated Company に就ての最良の参考書ではないが便宜上ハルズレーン編纂經濟學辭典第三卷 Regulated Companies の部を検するに

The East India Company from 1600 to 1612 was a regulated Company, and in 1698 the "General" East India Company was formed on the same basis. The Old "London East India Company" joined as one of its members, but ten years later the two combined on a joint stock as the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." (Dictionary of Political Economy Edited By R. H. Inglis Palgrave Vol. III. p. 275)

とある。これ亦前に述べた説を採るものの一例である。

第十六世紀の最後の年即ち千六百年設立の所謂ロンドン東印度會社は Regulated Company である。た事は英國經濟史の大家であつた故 W. Cunningham 氏大著英國商工業發達史 (Growth of English Industry and Commerce) 近世 (Modern Times) の部一、メルカンチルシステム (Part I. Merchantile System) の第二頁五十五頁に

The Company had indeed been founded in 1600 as a regulated Company.

と書いてある。而して私は既に拙稿日英交通史概観 5. 中に引用して述べて置いた。

(附註) 但しこの5.の見出しは、第十七世紀の最初の年(西暦千六百年)の春に蘭船初めて我國に着し、また英人初めて渡來せり、即ち日蘭の交通史及日英交通史上記念すべき年也、而してその歳末は倫敦東印度會社(商會)設立特許の日也。」とあれ共最初の部分「第十七世紀の最初の年」とあるは「十六世紀の最後の年」と改む。

改造社版世界經濟史收錄拙稿「日英交通史4.」には改めて4.西暦千六百年の春に蘭船初めて我國に着し、また英人初めて渡來せり。即ち日蘭の交通史及日英交通史上記念すべき年也。而してその歳末は倫敦東印度會社(商會)設立特許の日也。」と改めて置いた。但し2.日英交通の起原の終の節に「第十七世紀のはじめ即ち西暦千六百年」とあるは「第十六世紀の最後の年即ち西暦千六百年」と改むる事が忘れてあつたから茲に改めて置く。

アダム・スミス(Adam Smith)は其大著諸國民の富の性質及原因に就ての研究(An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations)第五編君主又は國家の經費に就て(Of the Revenue of the Sovereign or Commonwealth)と題する第三部 Of the Expence of public works and Public Institutions の部に於て

Article I. Of the public works and Institutions for facilitating the Commerce of the Society. And, first, of those which are necessary for facilitating Commerce in General の次に Of the public works and Institutions which are necessary for facilitating particular Branches of Commerce

なる一節中に Regulated Company に就て述べ西暦千六百年創立の舊倫敦東印度會社は最初の十二回の航海は制規會社 (Regulated Company) として貿易した如くであると書いてある。これは書き方が幾分明確でない如き感じもあるがこれは東印度會社は後に Joint Stock Company となり、スミスが富國

論を著す頃存した海外貿易を目的する制規會社として Hamburg Co. the Eastland Company, the Turkey Company, and the African Company の五つを挙げ東印度會社は加へて居らぬのは正しい。スミスが最初千六百年に創立の東印度會社に就ての記事は次の如くである。

The Old English East India Company was established in 1600, by a Charter from Queen Elizabeth. In the first twelve voyages which they fitted out for India, they appear to have traded as a regulated Company, with separated stocks, though only in the general ships of the Company. In 1612, they united into a joint stock. (The Wealth of Nations By Adam Smith Edited By Edwin Cannan Vol. II. p.p. 237-238.)

(附註) アダム・スミスの富國論の邦譯者竹内謙二氏は其譯本に(註)を附し「ギョーテツド、コムンニーの譯語は特許會社 Com-pagne Privileges を充つ」ロ氏獨譯は組合會社、座會社若くは仲間會社 Innungs Gesellschaft なる語を當てる。ロ氏は之に該當する獨名なきも、こはインメンツ(仲間、座、組合若くはツンフト(工業ギルド、座、組合)を組織せる同類商人の營利組合に全く他ならずして、手工業者の座、職人組合制度の商人に移れるものと解すと言ふ。(ロ氏獨譯第二卷二四六頁) されば氏に従へば、商人組合會社と言つて可ならんか。制規會社は復一に調整會社、規約同盟會社、又は監理會社と譯さる云々と説明して居られる。(大正十二年有斐閣發行竹内氏譯アダム・スミス富國論第五十五頁參照)

私に手近にあるスチルネンの獨逸譯スミス富國論 Der Reichtum der Nationen von Adam Smith nach der Übersetzung von Max Stirner und der Englischen Ausgabe von Cannan (1904) Herausgegeben von Heinrich Schmitt (Jena) Leipzig 1924 Zweiter Band, S. 328. を檢むと regulated Companies を regulierte Gesellschaften と譯してある。私の所藏するスミス富國論の佛譯本 Recherches sur la Nature et les Causes de la Richesse des Nations, Traduites de l'Anglois d'Adam Smith; par J. A.

Rouher. Deuxième Edition に於て Regulated Companies を Les Compagnies réglées と佛譯してある。

マックファースン (MacPherson) は其著書商業年代記に次の如く書いて居る。

1601.—The patentees of the English East-India Company immediately raised the sum of £72,000, (though not in one joint stock or common capital, as in succeeding times, there having been no joint stock in this Company till the year 1613 (Annals of Commerce, by MacPherson vol. II p. 217)

Regulated Companies に於ては瑞典ストックホルム大學の Eli F. Heckscher 氏原著 Gerhard Mecklenroth 獨譯 Der Merkantilismus 第一卷 (Erster Band) 第一編 (Erster Teil) 第七章 (Siebentes Kapitel) 外國貿易及企業の組織 (Die Organisation des Aussenhandels und der Unternehmungen) 中 V. England: Die regulierten Kompagnien. の部に精細なる説明がある。

私は今茲に Regulated Companies の研究をなすものではない、たゞ千六百年に設立の倫敦東印度會社が Regulated Companies であつた事を述べたに過ぎない。然るに私は Bruce の Annals に明瞭に Regulated Company であつた事が示してあるのを見出さないのである何故かと思ふ。これは法律史上又經濟史上重要な問題であるから一言する次第である。

Joint-Stock Companies の歴史に就て大著を夙に著した W. R. Scott (著述當時は St. Andrew 大學講師、現にグラマンヒウ大學教授) よりも新しく E. リップスン (E. Lipson) 氏は其近著英國經濟史 (The Economic History of Eng-

land) 第二卷 (Voll. II) The Age of Mercantilism, Chapter II. Foreign Trade ㊟

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|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| i. The Merchant Adventurers | vi. The African Company |
| ii. The East India Company | vii. The Hudson's Bay Company |
| iii. The Eastland Company | viii. The French Company |
| iv. The Russia Company | ix. The Spanish Company |
| v. The Levant Company | x. The South Sea Company |

に區分し最初の外國貿易の概論的の部分に於て會社の形式 (Types of Companies) なる見出の下に次の如く述べて居る。

The chief regulated companies were the Merchant Adventurers, the Eastland, the Russia, and the Levant; the joint stock companies were the East India, the African, and the Hudson's Bay. Some of these companies—the Russia, the Levant, and the African—alternated between the two types; and, in addition, there existed for a brief period companies such as the French, the Spanish, and the Canary. Of the various companies two stand out pre-eminent—the Merchant Adventurers, the greatest of the regulated companies, and the East India Company the greatest of the joint-stock companies. (Lipson, The Economic History of England Vol. II. pp. 195-196)

前述の W.R. スロウ 氏 著 Regulated Companies 及 Joint Stock Companies との比較を次の如く述べて居る。
While there are these and similar resemblances between the regulated and joint-stock companies at the beginning of

the seventeenth century, the most interesting and important aspect of the latter is that which is peculiar to itself—namely the management of the common capital of the undertaking. (William Robert Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* Vol. I. Chapter VIII The Organization of the Joint-Stock Company from 1600 to 1650 p. 153)

牛津大學經濟史講師 (Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford) リンズマン氏は東印度會社史が joint-stock system の進化史上二つの段階を示すものなる事を左の如く述べて居る。

The history of the East India Company thus illustrates the two principal stages in the evolution of the joint-stock system. In the first the capital was provided for a single venture, and when the object was achieved the capital was returned to its owner; in the second the duration of the joint stock was extended to include several ventures until finally it became permanent.

(The Economic History of England by Lipson II. The Age of Mercantilism. p. 274)

英國の東印度會社 (The East India Company) の研究の重要性に就ては同じく牛津大學經濟史講師 (Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford) Ephraim Lipson 氏の近著英國經濟史 (The Economic History of England) 第二卷メルカントリズム時代 (II. The Age of Mercantilism) 第二章 (Chapter II) 外國貿易 (Foreign Trade) 第二節東印度會社 (The East India Company) の部に極めて簡結によく要領を説明してある。

The East India Company was the greatest of joint stock companies. Its political achievements are writ large in the history of the British Empire. Its economic significance is twofold—first, as a source of national wealth; secondly, as the organization around which centred most of the economic controversies of the seventeenth century. The Company won early recognition of the 'extraordinary benefit' derived from its trade; and its ability to raise loans at 4 per cent, when the Government of the Restoration paid at least 12 per cent, explains its description as 'the great fund of Europe.' (pp. 269—270)

Sir Josiah Child 著 A New Discourse of Trade, The Fourth Edition を檢するに第三章商人會社に就て (Chap. III. Concerning the Companies of Merchants) と題するはじめに商人會社に二種あり、合本(株式)の會社 (Companies in joint stock) と非合本の會社即ち制規の會社 (Companies who trade not by a joint stock, but only are under a government and regulation) と二種ある事を次の如く例を擧げて述べて居る。

Chap. III.

Concerning the Companies of Merchants.

Companies of Merchants are of two sorts, viz. Companies in joint stock, such as the East-India-Company, the Moresa-Company, which is a branch of the Turkey-Company, and the Greenland-Company, which is a branch of the Mascovia-Company; the other sorts are Companies who trade not by a joint stock, but only are under a government and regulation, such are the Hamborough-Company, the Turkey-Company, the Eastland-Company, the Moscovia-Company.

即ち合本株式會社の例として東印度會社 (East-India Company)、トルコ會社より分派したるモレア會社、グリトランド會社等を挙げ、合本株式會社にあらざる支配及制規の會社の例としてハンブルク會社 (Hamborough-Company)、トルコ會社 (Turkey-Company)、イーストランド會社、モスコビア會社等を擧げて居る。即ち東印度會社は Regulated Company ではなく Joint Stock Companies の一として數へてある。

英蘭防禦同盟 (The 'Treaty of Defence' between the Dutch and the English) に就て前章第五節に紹介したブルースの所説と The English Factories in India 1618-1621 By William Foster Editor of 'Letters Received by the East India Company, 1615-17', 'The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Great Mogul' Etc., Oxford 1906 に Treaty of Defence に記する處と對照して論じたいと思つたが今は其餘裕がない。

英國經濟學史上又英國東印度會社史上の重要人物 Sir Josia Child の名著 Discourses on Trade を參考して學術的研究を試みんとせしが今は其餘裕がない。(Report on the Old Record of the India Office By Birdwood p. 47)

西曆千六百十五年舊英國東印度會社の取締役 (A director of the East India Company) となつた Thomas Mun (1571-1641) の千六百二十一年 A Discourse of Trade from England into the East Indies 又 1664 年出版の England's Treasure by Foreign Trade を著し英國經濟學史上有名である。この Mun の著述と對照して東印度會社史に就て論ずる豫想もあつたがそれも今餘裕がない。特に The Petition and Remonstrance of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies, Exhibited to the Honourable the House of

Commons assembled in Parliament なる千六百二十八年東印度會社總裁及び會社の名にて下院に請願したる請願書にして其起草者はトマス・マン其人であつて其内に日本 (Japan) との關係に就ても論及して居る事は高橋誠一郎教授の著述「重商主義經濟學說研究」にも一言してある。(同書第一編貿易論第九十九頁參照)

L. Brentano 著 Eine Geschichte der Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Englands Dritter Band Zweite Hälfte 卷末の參考文獻目錄 (Literaturverzeichnis) 12 Mun, Thomas : Petition and Remonstrance of the East-India Company. Verfasst 1628, veröffentlicht 1641 とあるは正確なる名稱を傳へるものとしては如何。又この目錄には Bruce 著 Annals を逸して居る。

私は The Expansion of England By Sir J. R. Seeley を通讀し東印度會社史上に就て史論を試むる最初の豫定を有して居つたがこれもこの稿は第十七世紀に限りたるが故に他日に譲る。

フエー氏 (C. R. Fay) の新著帝國經濟 (Imperial Economy) に次の如き概括的記述がある、參考の爲めに引用する。

1600, December 31. The East India Company is chartered with a monopoly of commerce for fifteen years from the Cape of Good Hope to Magellan. This was England's version of the papal division of the New World between Spain and Portugal : in the West Colonization, in the East monopoly of commerce : in the West a free fight for the body of

Colonial Spain, in the East penetration, by trade and treaty, into Portugal's tenuous hold on the islands and mainland of India. Treaties with Portugal (1635, 1642, 1654, 1661) permitted the process of taking over to proceed peacefully. In 1661, by the marriage treaty between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, England guaranteed the Portuguese possessions in India against the encroachments of Holland and France, and received Bombay, which was transferred to the East India Company to hold and use. (C. R. Fay 著 Imperial Economy pp. 96-97)

右の如き概括的記述のみには不充分である。

又 Disraeli と印度問題との關係其他を調べる爲めに Benjamin Disraeli 傳を倫敦より取寄せ其中に左の一節を見出した。

At this period Disraeli wanted all the sympathy of his admirers, for the India Bill, now the principal measure before Parliament, brought out into the open the dissatisfaction of many of his followers. The Government of India at that period rested with three powers: the Governor-General in India; and at home the Court of Directors of the East India Company on one hand, and on the other the Board of Control, a department of the British Administration with a Cabinet Minister the President, at its head. (The Life of Benjamin Disraeli Earl of Beaconsfield By William Flavelle Momypenny and George Earle Buckle New and Revised Edition in two volumes vol. I. 1904-1859 p. 1326)

しかし本稿は第十六世紀末より第十七世紀末に限ったから茲には利用されない、他の十九世紀に

於ける印度問題日英交通史に就て更に研究する際参考したい。拙稿日英交通史概観15日英交通と英支交通との關係16英艦フェートン號の長崎港侵入17ラツフルスの長崎出島蘭館讓受計畫等に就て英國側の史料を利用して他日再論したい。茲にはたゞ範圍を第十六世紀末より第十七世紀末までに限つたから論及しない。

P. J. Thomas 氏著 Mercantilism and the East India Trade の第一章 Mercantilism The Seventeenth Century I The Mercantile System のはじめに

The Seventeenth Century witnessed the birth of Modern England.

と論じて筆を起せし如く第十七世紀は實に近世英國の生れたる時期である。又株式會社の起原其他商法上の諸制度の歴史上海商の研究は必要である。(田中耕太郎氏著會社法概論第二百二十頁參照)

故福田博士の賞揚されたシユモラーの大論文 Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Unternehmung 中特に XIII. Die Handelsgesellschaften des 17—18. Jahrhunderts hauptsächlich die großen Kompagnie を讀み私も老大家の史筆を讚美するものではあるが其該博なる参考文献にこの Bruce の大著を逸しあるを遺憾とするものである。

そは兎も角私はシユモラー先生の史眼の炬の如く其研究法の備はれる實に師として仰ぐべきを感ずるものであり。私のこの拙なき論文が研究の不充分なるを痛感するものである。

(追記) 又前に僅に二行のみを引用して置いたW・R・スコット教授の大著 The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720. の Regulated Companies の Comparison with joint-stock bodies だけでも前に引用した p. 153 の外に pp. 152. 243. 273. 303. 443-5 等に就て詳論してある。この大著は私が曾て拙稿「日英交通史料(三)」並に「社會經濟史學」第一卷第一號所載拙稿牛津大學經濟學教授候補者としてのW・J・アツミンレー中にも述べし如く氏が Lectures in Political Economy in the University of St. Andrews 時代の著作で Cambridge: at the University Press 1912 の出版である。氏は其後グラスゴー大學のアダム・スミス記念教授 (Adam Smith Professor) となり現に President of the Economic History Society である。私は同教授の講師時代の名著と對比してもこの拙なき論文を恥づるものである。たゞ私が曾て此研究館年報に掲載の拙稿「日英交通史料」(Bibliography of Anglo-Japanese Relations) と其英譯並に拙稿「アダム・スミスの生涯及其著作」を同教授に贈りに對して答へられし好意と獎勵の辭(社會經濟史學第一卷第一號所載拙稿參照)に就て私は感謝し、今後引き続き日英交通史の研究、英國東印度會社の研究に精進しこれまでの研究の不足を補はん事を期するものである事を茲に追記したい。