

舊(倫敦)東印度會社と我國との交通貿易再論 (一)

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

私は本年報商業と經濟(第十六年第二册特輯)長崎高等商業學校創立三十周年記念論文集に「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を寄せた。本稿は同一題の再論であり、又前稿の追録補稿である。

さて私は前稿の第一章緒論中に「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。」と書いて置いた。又東印度會社關係の人に歴史家と稱すべき人々ありジョン・ブルース(John Bruce)も其一人であつた事を述べた。

第一節 東印度會社の關係者にして經濟學史上其名を留めし人々

東印度會社に關係ある人々の中經濟學史上其名の現はれて居るものは Thomas Mun (1571-1641); Sir Josiah Child (1630-1699); James Mill (1773-1836); John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) 等(の外に William Thomas Thornton

此繪圖は東印度會社が我國と交通斷絶後のものなるべし。而も茲に掲載の理由は前號所載のものと同じく屋上 Galleries に就てマコーリーの説明を予の前號の説明と照應せしめんが爲めである。



予は前號に名古屋の鯨に就て述べた、本號に於て長崎崇福寺山門の鯨に注意すべき事を一言して置く。

Plate IV. THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE, circa 1714-26.

(from William Overley's Trade Card, in the British Museum).

この繪圖は Report on The Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Notes and Appendices, By Sir George Birdwood 所載の Plate IV. を其儘複製したるものにて Birdwood 氏は西曆1714年より1726年頃のものとして推定され居るものなるがこの繪圖は Charles Harding Firth 教授編纂の Macaulay の英國史 (The History of England, By Lord Macaulay, Edited by Charles Harding Firth, Vol. V. London, 1914) にも掲げられ Macaulay の此の建物の説明文と相照應し居れども最も詳なる考證的説明は The East India House, by William Foster に載する處のもので而して其うちには Macaulay の説明文も引用してある。依て其一節をこの繪圖の裏面に引用轉載する事と

Turning next to what we have designated the "Overley" engraving, we are confronted by a still greater difficulty in the matter of dates. The view appeared, as the reader will see, on the shop-bill of a certain William Overley, "Joyner, at the sign of the East India House, in Leadenhall Street," and its most interesting feature is the representation of the joiner himself, installed in a little shop close to the entrance (the shop, by the way, appears also in the Dutch view, but is there either closed or untenanted). The print bears in general a close resemblance to the "Dutch" view; but, on looking into minutiae, we note that the ships are of later date and appear to be carrying the Union flag, first introduced in the reign of Queen Anne; further, that the royal arms are different in style, and are in reality those of George I (1714-27). The latter is a very perplexing discovery, for how can we reconcile it with the fact that the Old Company's arms are shown as still in position, and that some other features distinctly indicate that the print is considerably earlier than the "Vertue" view of 1711? The only explanation that commends itself is that Overley did at one time occupy the little shop near the entrance (though no trace can be found of the matter in the Court Minutes); that while there he had a shop-bill prepared to advertise his wares; that after a while, as the Company's needs in the matter of accommodation increased, he was dispossessed and moved to other premises in Leadenhall street, retaining the East India House as his sign; and that, at some date during the reign of the first Hanoverian, he had a fresh bill prepared, in which the artist, while copying the old one in the main, inserted the new royal arms. This view is supported by the fact that in a scarce little book entitled *New Remarks of London* collected by the Company of Parish Clerks (London, 1732) it is stated that the last house on the south side of Leadenhall Street within the bounds of the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft was that of "Mr. Ovely, a box-maker," who is no doubt our worthy joiner. This would place him a little on the east side of Leadenhall, and four or five doors from his old premises at the India House.¹ It was, by the way, the representation on Overley's shop-bill, as reproduced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1784, that furnished the materials for Macaulay's well-known description of the East India House as "an edifice of timber and plaster, rich with the quaint carving and lattice work of the Elizabethan age. Above the windows was a painting which represented a fleet of merchantmen tossing on the waves. The whole was surmounted by a colossal wooden seaman, who from between two dolphins looked down on the crowds of Leadenhall Street."

1 This has since been confirmed by an examination of the deeds relating to a house in the position indicated which was acquired and pulled down by the Company in 1826. William Overley is named as one of the tenants previous to 1747.



Sir Josiah Child Bart

SIR JOSIAH CHILD

From an engraving in the Sutherland Collection

この Sir Josiah Child の肖像は Charles Harding Firth 教授編纂のマコーリ-卿著英國史 (The History of England, By Lord Macaulay, Edited by Charles Harding Firth) の第五卷 (Vol. V) に掲ぐる處のものを複寫したものである。これと同一の肖像は Ledger and Sword, By Beckles Willson. Vol. I, p. 282 に面する處にも Sir Josiah Child, Bart として載せてある。しかし我經濟學史又は經濟史の著書論文等に未だこの Child の肖像を掲げて我學界に紹介されたる事無しと思はるゝが故に私は茲に轉載する事とした。

He (Josiah Child) was chosen a Director of the East India Company in 1674 and annually re-elected to the governing body with the exception of one year until his death in 1699. The exceptional year was 1676, when an intimation of the King's displeasure with both Child and Papillon (apparently arising out of a Government Contract) secured their exclusion. From that date Josiah Child turned his eyes toward royal favour, and was made a baronet in 1678, (A History of British India. By Sir William Wilson Hunter. Vol. II. p. 284)

Sir Josiah Child (1630-1699) の名著 A New Discourse of Trade (1693年版は改題後の初版也) に就ては大正六年上半期國民經濟雜誌第二十二卷第二號(二月發行)所載拙稿「ジョサイア、チャイルド著新貿易論」並に第三號(三月發行)所載拙稿「再びジョサイア、チャイルド著新貿易論に就て」に詳論して置いた。

この著述に就ては本年報掲載の拙稿「日英交通史料」(十五)中にも述べて置いた。但し其中にも述べて置いた通り此著述は直接日英交通史とは關係なく其史料ではない。たゞ彼及彼の著述は經濟學史上又經濟史上而して又東印度會社史上重要文献である。これ The Cambridge History of British Empire 第四卷の文献目録にも加へてある所以である。

Sir Josiah Child に就ては The Cambridge History of British Empire Vol. IV に次の如く書いてある。Now, however, came a change, mainly under the influence of Sir Josia Child, who after seven years' service in the directorate, became Governor in 1681, and continued to be the dominant force in the Company until his death (1699). He held firmly the view that the true line of action was follow the example of the Dutch (p. 101)

Josiah Child と John Child とは普通兄弟の如く考へ居るもの多けれど實は然らずと Mr. Oliver Strachey は論證した。(The Cambridge History of the British vol. IV p. 102)

(1813-1880) の如きがある。彼は其従兄弟 (Cousin) に當る Sir William Henry Thornton (1779-1840) the Auditor-General に従つて Malta に三年を過した。千八百三十六年八月 The East India House の書記に採用せられ、二十年後 the public works department に移り、千八百五十八年に first secretary for public works to the India Office となつた。

(附註) India Office の歴史家 Sir George Birdwood の著述中 Sir Thomas Mun に就つた如く語つてゐる。

In 1621 Sir Thomas Mun, Deputy Governor of the Company, published his Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies (Report on the Old Records of the India Office with Supplementary Notes and Appendices. By Sir George Birdwood. p. 212).

William Thomas Thornton (1813-1880) 著 Over-Population and Its Remedy; or, An Inquiry into the Extent and Causes of the Distress Prevailing among the Labouring Classes of the British Islands, and into the Means of Remedying it. London, 1846. なる各著者の私も一本を藏して居るが、其他は A Plea for Peasant Proprietors (1848), On Labour (1869; 2nd ed., 1870) 等なる也。(A History of Political Economy. By John Kells Ingram. New & Enlarged Edition. p. 137)

W. T. Thornton 宛の J. S. ミルの書簡は J. S. ミルの書簡集 (The Letters of John Stuart Mill. Edited, with an Introduction. By Hugh S. R. Elliot) に多く掲げてある。これによりて如何に両者が經濟學其他研究上又時事問題等に就て意見を交換し親交のあつた事が明である。特に J. S. ミルが晚年住んだ佛蘭西の

Avignon の家に客となりたる Thornton が Avignon に於けるミルの生活 (Mill's life at Avignon) を Henry Fawcett に書き送つた千八百六十二年十月の書翰は最も參考に價する。(Letters of John Stuart Mill. Edited by Hugh Elliot. Vol. I. p.p. 261-262)

Sir W. Foster 氏は其著 The India House. Chapter XIV. The Examiner's Department の部にて Mill Thornton との關係を次の如く書いて居る。

When, in 1873, Mill died at far Avignon, several distinguished men united to weave a wreath to his memory in a series of articles published in the Examiner (May 17, 1873). One of these was written by William Thomas Thorton, the Political economist, who had been an assistant under Mill at the India House and his close personal friend...

To Thornton, Mill was always a kind and considerate friend. When the Examinership was offered to him he would only accept it on condition that Thornton was made an Assistant (The East India House. By William Foster)

第二節 東印度會社 East India House, India Office 關係者中の歴史家

Sir W. Foster 氏其著 The India House 第十五章 (XV) The Staff in the Nineteenth Century に次の如く書いて居る。

Putting aside those whose works dealt mainly with India and were in a sense professional — Orme, Eruce, Auher, and Kaye in the domain of history; Halked and the two Librarians, Wilkins and Wilson, in that of Oriental learning; Alexander Dalrymple in nautical matters; Edward Thornton in both geography and history — we have still a noteworthy list. Lamb, the two Mills, and Peacock must be placed in the first rank; next, perhaps, may come John Hoole and James Cobb (Secretary from 1814 to 1818 and another of many plays very popular at the time); and below them a number of lesser men not yet entirely forgotten. Such were Thomas Fischer and Thomas Rindall, the former of whom devoted himself to antiquarian research, and the latter to the editing of early voyages. . . . (The East India House. By William Foster. p. 238)

(1) Peter Auher

It is said that Peter Auher, who was Secretary from 1829 to 1836, entered the Office at sixteen, quitted it at sixty-six on a pension of £2,000 a year, and lived until he was ninety-six, thus drawing from the Company £60,000 in the shape of pension, besides what he had received as pay during his long period of service. (The East India House, by William Foster, XV. The Staff in the Nineteenth Century. p.p. 227-228)

Auher の 著 述 に 於 っ て W. W. Hunter 著 印度 帝國 史 論 中 Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, by Peter Auher, Assistant Secretary to the Honourable Court of Directors 云 々 云 々 (The Indian Empire: its peoples,

history, and products; by Sir William Wilson Hunter. p.p. 427-428)

(2) R. Orme

The Oxford History of India. By Vincent A. Smith. Book VII. The Rule of the East India Company to 1818. の終の文獻目錄 (Authorities) 中に Orme の著書に就て次の如く述べて居る。

Copious details of the Anglo-French wars in the peninsula will be found in R. Orme, A History of the Military Transactions, &c. (London, 1763, 1773);

Orme was corrupt and extortionate; see vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. ii, especially p. 519.

(3) Sir John William Kaye

の著書中東印度會社に關する著述は The Administration of the East India Company; a history of Indian progress. がある。これは我校園書館に備付て置いた。同氏は其外に歴史に關する著述がある。次にそれ等を紹介して置く。

故 Vincent A. Smith 氏著 The Oxford History of India. Book VIII. The Rule of the East India Company from 1819 to 1858. Chapter 3. の終に載する参考文献目錄 (Authorities) の中ひめに歴史家としての J. W. Kaye の著述に就て次の如く解説して居る。

The leading authority is the History of the War in Afganistan, by J. W. Kaye (publ. in 1851; 4th ed., 3 vols., Allen,

1878) ; it is so carefully documented that little material change was made in the later editions.

同じく故 Vincent A. Smith 氏著牛津印度史第八篇 (Book VIII) 東印度會社の支配時代 (The Rule of the East India Company from 1819-1858) の終の參考文獻目錄 (Authorities) に J. W. Kaye の他の著述に就て次の如く述べて居る。

The huge work by Kaye and Malleston, 6 large vols, is too big and detailed for most people. Its bibliography is complicated. The whole was published by Allen. Vols. i-iii, entitled, A History of the Sepoy War, 1857-8, are by J. W. Kaye, who died in 1876. The remaining vols. are by G. B. Malleston. But his first vol. deals with the same period as Kaye's third, seen from a different point of view. Malleston's other two vols. finish the story. Details are: Vol. i, 9th ed., 1880; ii, 5th ed., 1881; iii, 4th ed., 1880. Vol. iv (=Vol. i of Malleston's History of the Indian Mutiny, 2nd ed., 1878 = Vol. iii of Kaye); Vol. v, 1st and 2nd ed., 1879.

前述の Robert Orme の著書 History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from MDCCXLV [Anno] 2nd ed. 2 vols. 4 to, Cal. London, 1775. シムズ・トランスミスが所蔵して居た書也 A Catalogue of The Library of Adam Smith. By James Bonar. Second Edition, p. 124 に明じある。

(4) John Bruce (1745-1826)

John Bruce の事は次の第二章に於て述べる事とする。九州帝國大學附屬圖書館所藏エヂンバラ

大學圖書目錄により彼の著述の比較的正確なる題名を知り得たから前稿第二章中彼の著述目次を改訂し更に彼の著述 Report on the Negotiation, between the Honorable East-India Company and the Public, respecting the Renewal of the Company's Exclusive Privileges of Trade, For Twenty Years from March, 1794. By John Bruce, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. Historiographer to the Hon. East-India Company. London, 1811. を慶應義塾圖書館より借受けた。而も其書の藏書票は Northbrook とありし印度の Governor-General and Viceroy であつた Baron (Earl of) Northbrook の舊藏書であると私は判定する。1876年に就任した Baron (Earl of) Lytton の前任者で千八百七十二年に就任した人である。

(The Oxford History of India. By Vincent A. Smith 附錄 Appendix B 參照)

(5) Thomas Rundall

Thomas Rundall, the Chief Assistant Examiner は初期旅行記の編纂出版 (editing of early voyages) に従事し Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West, in search of a Passage to Cathay and India. 1496 to 1631. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613, Edited from Contemporary Records. By Sir Ernest M. Satow の卷末の廣告に The Hakluyt Society の出版物中 A Collection of Documents on Japan. With a Commentary by Thomas Rundall. (out of print) Issued for 1852 とあるが、これは私は見た事がなく、*Memorials of the Empire of Japan in the XVI and XVII Centuries*, London, 1850. を指すものと認めらる。

これは我校圖書館に求めて利用して居る。

(6) William Noel Sainsbury, Frederick Charles Danvers,

Sir George Christopher Molesworth Birdwood 及

Sir William Foster

William Noel Sainsbury (1825-1895) は歴史の著作家 (historical writer) として Assistant-Keeper of records, 1887-91 を勤めたる事あり、次の Documents を出版して居る。

Calendars of State Papers, East Indies, 1513-1634. By W. N. Sainsbury. 5 vols. London, 1862-92. These give abstracts of documents in the Public Record Office, India Office (Court Minutes and Original Correspondence only), and (to 1616) British Museum, relating to all parts of the East.

久しく印度省 (India Office) に奉職し修史の業に従事した Sir William Foster (1863-) は、自千九百〇七年至千九百二十三年間 Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office の職にあり、自千九百二十三年至千九百二十七年間 Historiographer の任にあつた。この William Foster 氏は Frederick Charles Danvers 氏 (of Her Majesty's Indian (Home) Civil Service) が先きに其第一卷を編纂された Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East の續卷即ち第二卷より第六卷までを編纂出版された。即ち次の如くである。

Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East. Ed. by F. C. Danvers (vol. I) and W. Foster (vol. II-VI). (This series gives the text of the first portion of the Original Correspondence.) 氏はまた Joint Editor of the Register of Letters of the E. India Co., 1600-19 である。

Foster 氏はまた次の著述がある。The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Great Mogul, Etc. 及び前述の Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East. Vol. II. 1613-1615. With an introduction. By William Foster. London, 1897. p. 217 所載 Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham, aboard the Sea Adventure, at Cochi in Firando, in Japan, the 3rd of December, 1614. と相照應する日本文の文書が、英京倫敦印度事務省 (India Office) 記録課の Original Correspondence 中に綴込まれて居る事は、史學雜誌第十四編附録としてプロハンムの日本古文書と題し村上直次郎氏の記述されて居る通である。

Sir William Foster (1863-) 氏の單獨の大部の編纂物は次の著述である。

The English Factories in India, 1618-69. By W. Foster. 13 vols. Oxford 1906-27. Down to 1654 this series calendars the documents to be found in the India Office, Public Record, Indian Record Office, and British Museum; from that date it is in narrative form, based on similar materials. A supplementary volume covering the period 1600-40 has been published (London, 1928).

勿論 Mr. H. G. Eull, of the Record Department of the India Office. 其外 Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C. I. E. the Registrar

and Superintendent of Records 其他多くの人々の助力を得たる事は其 Preface に書いてある。ちつこの Sir William Foster 氏は次の Documents を出版した Miss E. B. Sainsbury の爲めに序文を書いて居る。

Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1635-79. By Miss E. B. Sainsbury, with introductions and notes by W. Foster. 8 vols. Oxford, 1907-29. (In progress.) 又 The Cambridge History of the British Empire Vol. IV の 文献目録に書いてあるが予が近頃入手したものは 9 vols で最近の九冊目のものは 1671-1673 間のもので With An Introduction and Notes by W. T. Ottewill 又 M. B. E. である即ち W. Foster の序文註釋を附したのではない。

尚 W. ノオスター 氏は The East India House. Its History and Associations. By William Foster, C. I. E. with Thirty-Seven Illustrations. London, 1924 なる通俗的趣味的の著述がある。今は九州帝國大學支那學研究室よりこの書を供覧して居るが實に趣味津津たる著述で多くのヒントをこの書に得た。本稿に多くこれを引用する次第である。又 England's Quest of Eastern Trade, London 1933 を出版した事は先に日英交通史料(十)に紹介した。

Report on the Old Records of the India Office with Supplementary notes and Appendices. By Sir George Christopher Molesworth Birdwood, M. D., K. C. I. E., C. S. I., L. L. D. Second Reprint, London, 1891. を出版した Sir George Christopher Molesworth Birdwood 氏は W. Foster と共に次の書物を出版した。

The first Letter Book of the East India Company. Ed. by Sir George Birdwood and W. Foster. London, 1893. A printed version of the Miscellaneous Court Book, 1600-19.

Sir George Birdwood の單獨の出版物に次の如きものがある。氏は 8 Dec, 1832 年に印度に生れ 1917 年頃に永眠された如くである。Who's Who 1916 には氏の名が掲げてあるが Who's Who 1918 には見當らない。Who's Who 1917 年分は生憎我手に欠本中にて確める事が出来なかつた。

The dawn of British trade to the East Indies. Ed. by Sir George Birdwood. London, 1886. This contains the text of the first volume of the Court Minutes.

第三節 東印度會社員にして英文學史上其名を

留めし人々

私は前稿に東印度會社史は英文學史研究家も看過してはならぬ事を指摘する爲めに Charles Lamb 及び John Hoole 等の事を一言した。依て今茲に再び兩人に就て又其餘の人々に就て極めて簡単に述べる事とする。

(I) Charles Lamb (1775-1834)

東印度會社の會計課 (the Accountant's Office 又は Accounts Department) に在勤かつ Charles Lamb (1775-1834) に就て William Foster 著 The East India House 第十三章 (XIII) Mr. Lamb, of the Accountant's Office の

はじめに次の如く書いてある。

Every one knows that the author of the *Essays of Elia* was for the greater part of his life a clerk in the service of the Honourable East India Company. Many references to his employment, some clear and unmistakable, others naturally or wilfully obscure, are found in his writings, especially in the numerous letters which have been collected with such painstaking zeal by his various editors.

Several of the most charming of his letters are based upon incidents of office life, or addressed to his colleagues there; and one of the best known of his essays—that on the *Supernannated Man*—deals directly with his retirement from the East India House. (The East India House. By William Foster XIII. Mr. Lamb, of the Accountant's Office. p. 175)

私は前稿に東印度會社史は簿記會計學史研究の必要あるべきを述べ Account Current に就て一言した。而して東印度會社の會計課 (the Accountant's Office, Accounts Department) の研究又 Auditors の制度の研究が必要である。(The East India House. By William Foster. p. 8) それに就ては今茲に述べない。たゞ英文學史に著名な Charles Lamb が會計簿記に關係ある事を一言し彼が東印度會社に採用された當時の事を W. Foster の著述より左に引用する。

Lamb's formal petition to the Company for employment has not been preserved; but we know from other documents of the like nature that in it he would probably assure "Your Honours" that he had been "educated in writ-

ing and accounts" and would promise to behave "with the greatest diligence and fidelity."

It is amusing to note that in one case the teacher could say no more than that it was his belief that the applicant understood the theory of book-keeping with some degree of accuracy. (The East India House. By William Foster. p. 176)

ラムの書翰集中より交通貿易史的商品史的史料を探り得る事は William Foster の次の記述によつて察する事が出来る。

The nature of the work which thus harassed him is clear from the references in his letters. At the period of Lamb's service the Company was still a vast trading concern. Tea and indigo, drugs and piece-goods, poured in a great stream into its warehouses, and were disposed of periodically at the auctions held in the Sale Room of the East India House. The accounts relating to this multifarious business passed through the department of which Lamb was a member. Hence his references to auditing warehouse keeper's accounts: to "doing" the deposits on cotten wool; to making out warrants, to the "indigo appendix"; and to a tea sale which he had just fallen, as usual, mostly to his share. (The East India House. By William Foster. XIII. Lamb, of the Accountant's Office. p. 182)

(II) John Hoole

John Hoole の事 是 William Foster 著 The East India House, Chapter XI. Mr. Auditor Hoole の経歴について 189。

茲にはたゞ最初の一節のみを引用する。

In point of literary excellence, "The great boast and ornament of the India House," Lamb tells us (he was writing in 1797), was Mr. John Hoole;

この John Hoole も東印度會社の會計課 (Accountant's Office at the East India House) に就職したものである。Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* を千七百六十二年に出版し Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* の翻譯を千七百八十三年に完成した。John Hoole と Dr. Johnson との関係又シモンソンが Warren Hastings にフールを推薦した事は前稿に述べた。

(附註) 私はスミス藏書目録に Tasso の *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, 4 vols. 4 to., Calif London, 1724 を見出したが John Hoole の英譯は見出さなかつた。

Ariosto *Orlando Furioso*, 4 vols. Parigi 1746 を見出したが J. Hoole の英譯は見出さなかつた。

(III) James Cobb (1756-1818)

James Cobb は千七百七十一年東印度會社の秘書課 (the Secretary Office) に入り千八百十四年より千八百十八年まで東印度會社の Secretary を勤めた人であるが劇作家 (dramatist) で多くの戯曲を遺して居る。この人の事は W. Foster の *The East India House* に其肖像を掲げて書いてあるが交通貿易史に直接關係がないからたゞ其名を指摘するに止めた。

(附註) James Cobb (1756-1818), dramatist, entered in 1771 the secretary's office of the East India Company, in which he rose to the post of secretary (1814). (Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. IV. 參照)

文才ある彼が劇作に費せし彼の精力を修史に費せしならば交通貿易史の文献として私共の參考となつたと思ふ。祕書であつた彼は東印度會社祕史を書く資格を有して居つたと思ふ。しかしそれは書く事を許されなかつたと見るべきであるかも知れない。彼は海賊 (The Pirates) と稱する Comic Opera を草し其他多くの戯曲を草して當時倫敦の演劇場裡に有名であつたかも知れないが、彼の名は今知る人は少ない、たゞ十八世紀の英文學史研究家又戯曲研究家のみが僅に彼の名を知るのみではあるまい乎。

(附註) Jonnes's Biographia Dramatica, (Jonnes's Account of the English Stage, Outton's History of the Theatres of London 等を彼に關する參考文獻と) Dic. of National Biography に掲げてある。

前稿に述べし如く William Temple は東印度會社に關係なく、又 Jonathan Swift も同様であるが、Swift の書いたものゝ中に東印度會社の事があり史料と見る事も出来る。

(附註) William Foster 著 The East India House, Chapter III. The Purchase of Craven House, p. 49 v November 1, 1711 附

○ Dr. Swift の書簡を Journal to Stella 中より引用して居る部分參照。前稿に Swift 參考文獻の一として掲げた Swift, Edited by John Hayward for the Nonesuch Press は生憎其書簡を省つて居る。

× William Foster 著 The East India House, p. 109 の脚註 (foot notes) に Journal to Stella を引用して居る。

Dr. Jonathan Swift の著述千七百八十四年倫敦版十七卷はアダム・スミスの藏書目録に見え又スミス

の名著 Theory of Moral Sentiments 及び其大著 Wealth of Nations に Swift の著述が引用されて居る。

スマスの名著道徳感情論第四編第一章中に引用されて居るのは Gulliver's Travel 中の大人國 (Ebro-dingnag) の部 The Old English Proverb, that he doubted my eyes were bigger than my belly, for he did not observe my stomach so good, although I had fasted all day..... なる一節を參考し "The homely and vulgar proverb that the eye is larger than the belly" と書いて居る。其他の引用は茲に省略する。

(A Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith, Second Edition, London 1932, p. 182)

私は前稿に Swift の Gulliver's Travels に就て一言して置いたが、其書物又は其話が和蘭東印度會社の人々により我長崎より我國に傳へられし事なき乎。Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) の著述 The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York (1619) は我徳川時代我國に傳はつた事は既に新村博士著「典籍叢談」所收横山由清の魯敏遜漂流行紀略其他の研究により明であるが、其 Defoe の著述の世に出でしより七年後に Dean Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) の Gulliver's Travels (1726) が初めて出版された。

(Everyman's Library の Gulliver's Travels の Editor's Notes, 齋藤勇博士著思潮を中心とする英文學史第二〇四頁等參照)

Gulliver's Travels の書物又は其話が徳川時代に長崎に傳へられしにはあらざる乎との私の推測は未だ確證はないが平賀源内の風流志道軒傳(平賀源内先生顯彰會より昭和七年發行の平賀源内全集上收録及帝國文庫校訂風來山八傑作集收録)又別人の作にて安永三甲午年の序文ある異國奇談和莊兵衛(私江九州帝國大學附屬圖書館現所藏故理學博士寺尾壽氏舊所藏本を參考した其後長崎圖書館所藏練早文庫に異國奇談和莊兵衛のある事を増田館長より聞き借)

覽したるに卷四の奥付に安永三甲午正月吉日とある)或は馬琴戯編夢想兵衛胡蝶物語等と對比する事により推測出來ざる乎。この早く着眼したる人は外人にして前稿に引用した故蘭人コイヘル(Dr. F. Kuiper)氏の外に其前に獨事逸人文學博士フロンツ氏がある。即ち同氏著日本文學史(Geschichte der japanischen Literatur von Dr. Karl Florenz. Zweite Ausgabe. Leipzig, 1909. S. 553)中に早く此點に就て論じてある。しかし私は此事を後に知つた。Astonの日本文學史(A History of Japanese Literature)にはこの比較研究を看過して居る。(The Musogyo Kocho MonogatariがL. Nordwin氏により千八百八十一年横濱にて英譯出版され居る事をマヌトン氏は脚註に書いて居る)

フロンツ氏は平賀源内(Hiraga Gennai)の作風流志道軒傳(Das Fūryū Shidō ken-den. Leben des eleganten Shidōken.)に就て述べられし部分に

Die Übereinstimmungen mit dem in Kap. 32 behandelten Wasogyo werden keine zufälligen sein, Hiraga war vielleicht die Mittelperson, durch die sich einige oberflächliche Kunde von Gullivers Reisen verbreitete, und er mag davon in Nagasaki gehört haben. (Geschichte der japanischen Literatur. Von Dr. Karl Florenz. S. 553)

平賀源内は長崎に二回来遊した。第二回目は明和七年(1770 A.D.)に來遊した如くである。然らば「和莊兵衛」が安永三年(1774 A.D.)に出版された前四年の事である。異國再見和莊兵衛後篇は安永八年正月吉且と奥附に記し更に五年後の出版で其續編卷二に長足國とあるは風流志道軒傳卷之四と比較すべきである。圖書刊行會發行徳川文藝類聚第三卷例言に和莊兵衛前後八卷の説明に和莊兵衛は「馬琴夢莊兵衛胡蝶物語」の種本なり著者遊谷子の倣夫だ詳ならずと記す。平賀源内長崎來遊に就ては拙稿「電氣に關する知識の我國に傳はりし門戸としての長崎(電氣評論十周年記念號所載)參照。

尙同氏著書第五百四十五頁馬琴 (Bakin) の部参照。私は最後に和莊兵衛 (Was'byōe) Wasabyauwe に就て故 B. H. Chamberlain 氏が Transactions As. Soc. Vol. 7 (1879) に書かれたのを見た。然るに私の想像の如く B. H. Chamberlain 氏は早く和莊兵衛と Swift のガリバー旅行記を聯想して Wasabyauwe, the Japanese Gulliver. なる標題で述べたもの。

故小泉八雲氏 (Lafcadio Hearn) は東京帝國大學に於ける講義に於て次の如く Swift の Gulliver's Travels に就て述べて居る。

Now he took for his subject, not one class or country, but all humanity, and produced one of the most awful books that ever was written—"Gulliver's Travels". You know something about that book,—because in an expurgated edition, part of it has been made into a boy's book; and I suppose that you must have read part of it when you were still young in English studies. The full text is not so similar; and I may therefore make some remarks about it. You know that a book, very much of the same kind, as to mere story, was written in Japanese by a clever Japanese author long ago. But although the resemblance in idea between the Japanese work and the work of Swift is very great, the tone and meaning of the English author is entirely different from those of his Oriental brother. (A History of English Literature. By Lafcadio Hearn. Vol. I. p. 313)

(附註) 私が前稿第二章緒論附註中に述べた Dr. Jonathan Swift の Gulliver's Travel 中の大人國 (Brobdingnag) と我國の安永三
甲午年 (1774) の序文ある異國奇談和莊兵衛 (Wasabyōe) 中の大人國 (The Land of the Giants) と比較すべきものである。又
それより三十五年後曲亭馬琴戯編文化六年 (1809 A.D.) の自叙のある強想兵衛胡蝶物語の少年國 (Land of Childhood) 即
慾國 (The Land of Lust) 強飲國 (Land of Drunkenness) 貪婪國 (The Land of Avarice) 等々である。彼の馬琴の夢想兵衛

胡蝶物語前編卷之二に少年國があるのは Swift の Gulliver's Travell の小人國 (Lilliput) と比較すべきではあるまい乎。しかし前に引用した Lacerdo Hearn も述べし如く區別法其名稱は同一又は類似しては居るが、思想は東西相異なるものがある。

尙又莊子俚諺鈔養生主第三と和莊兵衛と比較すべきである。B. H. Chamberlain 氏は和莊兵衛の脚註として次の如く書してある。和 Standing for Japany and 莊 for the Name of the Philosophen Chwang Tsy, while the two remaining characters form, as it were, a termination indicating a name, the author indicates by his title the nature of the work, a Japanese adaptation of Chwang Tsz's method of teaching by Parable and simile, simile. [Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol VII Yokohama 1879, p. 285. Wasanbyanwe, the Japanese Gulliver By B. H. Chamberlain, (Read April 10, 1879)] 馬琴が莊子の影響を受けし事は周知の事柄である。莊子に就つては Chwang Tzu Mystic, Moralist and Social Reformer. Translated from the Chinese. By Herbert A. Giles, Second Edition, London 1926. Chapter XIX. The Secret of Life 又同氏著 A History of Chinese Literature に莊子を論じて居る。しかしそれは比較的新しく歐洲に紹介したものであるが、第十七、八世紀莊子が早く歐洲に傳へられし事なき乎。それが Swift に影響なき乎、これ東西交通史文化交流史上の面白き問題である。

岩波講座日本文學第十六回、文學博士青木正見氏稿日本文學と外來思潮との交渉(三)、支那文學及京城帝國大學法文學會編日本文化叢考所載麻生磯次氏稿「支那文學の馬琴の作品に及せる影響」等を参考したが、私は本稿に論じた事柄に就て解決を與ふべき材料を見出し得なかつた。

私が Dr. Swift に就て前稿に次で本稿に繰返して論じたのは、和蘭東印度會社史英國東印度會社史が英文學史支那文學史及日本文學史等と交渉あるべき事を一言し、其例として述べたもので詳細に

立證する事は夫々専門學者の研究を期待しなげばならない。即ち東西交通史東西文化交流史上の重要な事柄と信ずる。

(訂正)

尙私が前稿第一章緒論中(附註に)

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 と其祕書であつた Jonathan Swift との関係には及んで居られぬ。

と書いて置いたがそれは脱稿を急ぎ記憶で書いた爲め内田博士が Swift に就て一言して居られるのを忘れて福田博士と同列に書いたのは私の粗忽であつたから茲に謹で訂正して置く。但し内田博士は Gulliver's Travels の事は一言も書いて居られぬ。故内田博士の原文は次の如くである。

Swift が此のムアール・パーク莊に來りて寄住し、テムプルの記事を助けたるは一六八九年よりの事なり。(内田銀藏講論集第三編人物サー・キルリヤム・テンプル第三百八十九頁參照)

私は前稿に倫敦東印度會社の史料中の Account Current に就て倫敦東印度會社史上簿記會計學史研究の必要を感じたと書いて置いたが Account Current に限らず Accounts, Book-Keeper, Auditors 等の立場から倫敦東印度會社に關する舊記録が如何に多く研究すべき史料に富むかは The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599—1603. By Henry Stevens of Vermont with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood の夫等の項目並に Warrants に關する卷末の索引

(Index)を檢し本文を讀まば明である。即ち私が主張する如く舊(倫敦)東印度會社史は簿記會計學の歴史を研究するものゝ看過すべからざる重要性を持つて居る。又倉庫 Documents等の發達史上も東印度會社は重要である。

私はまた慶長イギリス通商の朱印 (The Original privileges granted A. D. 1613) の條項とそれより前に Queen Elizabeth が Sumatra の the King of Dachein (Acheen, Achin) との間で締結した條約 (treaty) 即ち Articles set down by the King of Dachein and delivered to Sir James Lancaster とを比較對照する事が通商條約史研究上重要であると信ずる。未だ西洋及我國の歴史家、商業政策を研究する内外の經濟學者、國際法學者等の此點を指摘したる學者なきを遺憾とし敢て先鞭をつけんとする次第である。慶長イギリス通商の朱印の條項は拙稿「日英交通史料」(十四)の挿繪に之を掲げた。これは村上博士譯註増訂異國日記其他 Thomas Rundall の Memorials of the Empire of Japon 等に載する處であり、英國ハリザヘン女王と Sumatra の The King of Acheen との條約也 Letters received by the East India Company from its Serewants in the East Vol. I 1602-1613. The Original Correspondence Section of the East India Company's Records. のために掲げる處である。又 The East India Company A Study of its Early Trading Organization and Commerce By J. D. S. Paul, p.19 に其重なる條項を掲げて居る。

しかし私の主張する日英間の朱印 (Privileges) の條項と英國と King of Dachein との條約 (treaty) と

の比較に着眼した人は未だない。私は英國と King of Dachen との間に締結したものが一つの標本 (Model) となつて日英間の朱印の條項が定められたものではあるまいかと思ふ位類似點を見出すものである。詳しくは後章に條項を對照して論じたいと思ふ。

次に又 John Bruce 著東印度會社年代記を史學研究法に所謂史料の等級と云ふ立場より後章に於て論じたいと思ふ。

(附註) 私は英國と King of Dachen との條約 (treaty) なる文字を使用した。それは Letter received by the East India Company なる書物の索引に條約 (treaty) なる文字を使用して居るからそれに従つたのであるが原文には果して treaty なる文字が使用してある乎否乎を私は疑問とする。Privileges なる文字を使用して居るのではない乎と思ふ。