W. S. Lewis and N. Murakami, eds.,
Ranald MacDonald について

園 田 健 二

マクドナルドの友人であるマクラウド（McLeod）はマクドナルドの日本での冒険物語について4回原稿を書いている。最初は1857年で、これは1853年マクドナルドがオタワのマクラウドのところに立ち寄った際のマクドナルドの話やメモ帳をもとに書いたものである。2回目は1887年頃と思われるが、この2回目の原稿も1回目の原稿と同様タイトルは不明である。3回目は1891年で、これはノート12冊からなり、日本、with the Narrative of Ranald MacDonald, The First Teacher of English in Japan AD1848-9, with a Compendium of History &c. of JapanーOld and Newという長いタイトルがついていて、By Malcolm McLeodとなっている。4回目の原稿は1893年にできている、手書きとタイプ書きの2種類あり、いずれも4冊からなっている。褐色のノートに書いた手書き原稿のほうのタイトルはJapan, Story of Adventure of Ranald MacDonald, First Teacher of English in Japan AD1848-9, The Gates of Brass, were Openedとなっている。By Ranald MacDonald, Edited by Malcolm McLeodも書いてある。タイプ原稿のタイトルもこれと同じであるが、Edited by Malcolm McLeodの部分は消えている。これらの原稿はいずれもマクラウドの生存中には単行本にはならず、1923年にWilliam S. Lewisと村上直次郎によって始めてRanald MacDonald（以下RMと略）というタイトルで世に出ている。

このRMの中ではマクドナルドが長崎に連れてこられた様子や、長崎でどういう取り扱いをするか、どういう人物が印象に残ったかなどは、第11章や第12章で述べられているが、これらの章ではまた白井達之進、森山栄之助、奉行、植村作七郎などについても述べられている。このうち森山と奉行の井戸対馬守については少し詳しく述べられていて、森山については日本で会った最も知的な人物だとか、顔色が青白く、考え深い様子をしているとか、英語をかなり流暢に、文法的に話すということや、オランダ語が非常にたくみに
I (McLeod) asked him (MacDonald) to give me his impressions now of his old friends of Japan, and at the same time to mention any incidents to which he thought he might have omitted to state to me in giving viva voce, his narrative, when with me in 1853—nearly forty years ago. The perfect accordance, so far as his letter goes, of his own written statements now, with my notes of his story, made, in brief, so many years ago, without having ever seen, or heard my notes read, is very satisfactory to me; and may be presented as some evidence...of the truth of this story....

In answer to my request for his present impressions of his visit to Japan, he wrote to me thus, under date 24th May 1889: —(1)
As to your suggestion that I should write more fully of the treatment I received from the people of Japan while among them, the proposition is so congenial to my feelings, the only difficulty (sic) is I fear that I cannot do it full justice. Yet my sence (sic) of the obligations to them demand (sic) it, so will endevour (sic) to do it in this letter. I can only reiterate what I have already mentioned to you and other gentelmen (sic) who expressed themselves as pleased & entertainted by my relating of my experiance (sic) in Japan and the hospitable treatment accorded to me during my stay among them. Even now in the vicissitudes of life many and varied during the forty years & more since I parted from those friends at the Port of Nagasaki I have never ceased to feel most kindly & ever greatful (sic) to them for the manner of their treatment of me. From not one of them, during my sojourn of ten months or more in the strange land did I receive a harsh word or even an unfriendly look. Among all classes, a gentle kindness to the fancied cast-away, the stranger most strange, pervaded their general regard & treatment of me. From the time I first landed on the beach of the Island of Tomassey in the Straits of La Perouse when two Inos took me gently by the wrist one on each side to assist me to the dwelling of their employer, while others put sandles (sic) to my feet, to the time of my joining the U. S. Sloop of War Preble, Comander (sic) Glynn it was ever the same uniform kindness. Truly I liked them in that congenial symapthy which left to itself unmarred by antagonism of race, creed or worldly selfishness makes us all of Adam’s race, “wondrous kin”. Among them were individualities which pertcularly (sic) attracted my regard (. .) first (sic) I may mention the Governor Obigue. Surrounded by officials (sic) at the town hall he assumed all the dignity of a chief justice (. .) (b) he (sic) did not appear to be much over thirty years of
age, short of stature, with a face rather full, with wide open eyes. when (sic) presiding, he assumed as much gravity & austerity as his good sound heart would allow, for I know that through his clemancy (sic) and favor that I was so well provided with the comforts & accomodations (sic) I enjoyed. if (sic) it is not treason, I suspect that he exceeded his duty, for by the then existing laws of the Empire as unalterable as the laws of the Meades (sic) & Persians my landing on Japan soil was an offence that might consign me to a dark dungeon there to end my days. (So I was told.) at (sic) the close of my first interview he encouraged me by saying that I had a big heart without adding a sound heart. neither (sic) do I forget his last advise (sic), never to put my foot in Japan soil again, or it would be worse for me. really (sic) I do not believe that he meant it. (c) I have never been to Japan since, much against my will.

There was another dignitary, a high official (sic) at Nagasaki whoses (sic) name I now forget (.) he (sic) was the tallest official or citizen I have seen in Japan (.) he (sic) frequently visited my quarters with books, maps &c (sic) accompanied by my particular (sic) friend Mr Murayama (.) he (sic) shewed great interest (sic) in me & appeared to be anxious to learn something of the outer world, soft and gentle in his conversation with the refinement of a gentleman (sic) (.) to (sic) him, I suspect, I owe the inspection & regularity of the establishment (.) he (sic) deserves my thanks for lighten-ing many hours of my prison life. (d) The next individual that impresses on my mind is the distinguished venerable Mr Sherrei, one of the chief, if not the chief interpreter. he (sic) was aged. If I remember rightly, he told me he was then seventy-four years of age, of dark face, features good with the exception of nose & chin, long & eyes weak & dim with the habit of mum-bling his words in speaking, or rather sucking his words before speaking (.) he (sic) was frequently the medium (sic) of conversation between officials (sic) & myself (.) his (sic) manner toward me was always kind and considerate.
To the officials & interpreters in charge of my quarters, it would be needless to name each individually (sic), for their unceasing attention to my wants and comfort. Each and all were willing to do something to please me, so far as it lay in their power, so I am under great obligations to them, for they deserve it and I hope they have their reward in the approbations of their superiors. They certainly have my thanks & kind memories. The same of my friends at Matsmy particularly (sic) the Comandent (sic) & the gentleman (sic) who made a sign of passing his sword across (sic) his throat.

The next I will endeavour (sic) to describe is the brilliant (sic) earnest & noble Murayama Yeanoske. (f) I have a distinct remembrance of him, for he made a lasting impression on me, leaving an indelible mark not to be effaced as long as I live—of mediam (sic) height among his people, delicate and finely cut features with signs of great inteligence (sic). Eyes black and brilliant and penetrating, yet mild and loving of very light complection, much lighter than the general average of the people of Japan (sic) his (sic) countenance when in repose was a mild dignity observable in our clergemen (sic). (g) when (sic) in deep thought, he had that peculiar habit of nibbling his fingernails. whatever (sic) may be thought of such characteristics, to me my friend appeared to derive inspiration after mature reflection. suddenly (sic)his countenance would beam with animation. when (sic) speaking to me before officials (sic) it was aways (sic) with a smile as if to give me encouragement and confidence. he (sic) shewed a great desire to learn English and much aptitude in doing so. (h) his (sic) greatest difficulty (sic) was in pronouncing words with th as in thought, thunder, the, &c (sic) &c. it (sic) was always amusing after many attempts and knowing his failure he would again and again renew it, untill (sic) he thought he had mastered it. he (sic) was very fluent in dutch (sic) for he was one of the official (sic) interpreters of that language and I take for granted he must be well ground (sic) in the history and musty traditions of his country. his (sic) general appearance was that of a studious & earnest scholar and a refined gentleman.
he (sic) was my favorite. Whatever influence a European resident might have had with the Govt (sic) I don’t know. it (sic) was evident to me in this case that that influence was given in my favor for I had the assurance of Mr John Livessohn (sic) who was the Dutch chief Factor & resident at the time at the Port of Nagasaki (sic) that he would give me a passage in the next annual ship, of course, subject to the permission of the Authorities of Japan. (i) he (sic) supplied me with some newspapers and on leaving the Island (his home) he was very kind to me (sic) so (sic) was the Doctor of the Establishment. (i) I am sorry I have forgotten his name but those Dutch names are hard to remember. he (sic) took great interest (sic) in the grounds. The Island was small & laid out more like a garden, ornamented with trees which he appeared to take great pride in shewing me. They were all good and clever and we all esteemed each other. In my old age while living out the fast falling evening of life in the homeland of myself and my people of the Columbia & after having in my many wanderings I may say I girded the Globe itself & come across people many, civilized and uncivilized, there are none to whom I feel more kindly than my old hosts of Japan. Of their wonderful (sic) progress in social life and Government within the last few years I am not surprised. From what I saw of them, their aspirations scarce concealed though studiedly covered (were) in that direction. I felt at the time that some such change would at some time come, but I must say I did not expect it so soon nor in such a manner without a civil struggle. In this regard they are truly a lesson to the nations who boast of a higher civilization.

(i) Before concluding this letter I must tell you that I am also under great obligations to Capt (sic) Glynn of the U. S. Sloop of War Preble, also to the commissioned officers, warrent (sic) officers and men of the man of the war for their kindness to me. It seems strange that I should now after the laps (sic) of time be acknowledging benefits rendered over forty years ago. It was my intention when on arrival at Hong Kong to have done so but not
understanding the ways & means I allowed the opportunities to pass. I have however expressed my thanks verbally (sic) to Captain Glynn & to Mr Wilson who took my deposition to be placed in the Archives in Washington [..] he (sic) also promised that mention would be made of me in his book which he contemplated (sic) publishing. In all this I falatter (sic) myself that I have broken the seal that made Japan a Sealed Empire to the West, at all events cracked it so bad that it made it easy for Commodore Perry to do the rest of the business and secure a comercial (sic) treaty. I in the mean time (sic) to wait for my reward from Govt. I hope the foregoing will meet with your approbation, and with due form

subscribe my self (sic)

Your humble and obedient servant and friend

Ranald Macdonald (sic)
英学史研究第22号

ている。マクラウドはこのことがあっても省いたものと思われるが、ルイスや村上には白井と植村の区別もつかず、マクラウドの3番目の原稿を読んで興味深かったので、何の疑いもなくRMに収録したものと考えられる。この(d)の部分に限らず、上の手紙のアンダーラインのところについてはいくつか注釈が必要であるのでそれをみてみよう。

(b)の部分で出てくる人物は井戸对馬守であり、この奉行は後、ベリー来航の際に交渉にあたった人物の一人である。また(h)の部分で、森山が“th”の発音がうまくできず、何回も何回も発音練習をしたというくらいは、昔も今も同じだという感じがして極めて興味深い。(i)のところでもマクドナルドが言及している出島のオランダ商館医はオットー・モーニケ（Otto Mohnike）というドイツ人で、モーニケは嘉永元年（1848年）6月出島に来て、ここで医学や気象学などを教えたが、気象の面ではオランダ商館内に気象観測所を設立し、これが日本における気象観測所の始まりということになっている。モーニケはまた、聴診器や牛痘接種法を日本に最初に取り入れたことでも有名であり、日本の医学等について数編の論文があるという。(j)のところにあるMr Wilsonという人物は、Henry Wilsonで、プレブル号のpurserをしていて、グリン艦長や副官代理のサイラス・ベント（Silas Bent）と共に1849年4月30日、プレブル号上でマクドナルドの宣戦布告に立ち会っている。サイラス・ベントは後、ベリーと共に日本にやって来ている。また黒潮の研究でも有名である。

このようにマクラウドの原稿とルイス・村上のRMを比較すると、ルイスと村上のRMでは削除されているが、極めて興味深い箇所がある。本稿ではその例をさらに織田純一郎の手紙と、あと別の一か所のところでみてみよう。

織田純一郎はマクラウドの原稿ではすべてOda-Jan-Icki-Roと書かれている。織田はロンドンから3通の手紙をマクラウドに出したと思われるが、このうち現在わかっているのは2通で、1通は9月27日付けのものであり、他の1通は10月13日付けのものである。この2通のうち現物が残っているのは9月27日のものだけで、この手紙は青インキで書かれている。他の1通は現物は残っていないが、マクラウドが原稿に載せているので内容は全部わかる。また3通の手紙のうち、現物もなく、原稿にも掲載されていない残る1通の手紙の内容は、イギリスから日本に帰る途中カナダのオタワに立ち寄るという趣旨のものであったと思われる。これは10月13日の手紙の内容から察せられることである。マクラウドの4番目の原稿には手書き、タイプ双方共9月27日の手紙は載せてないが、10月13日の
W. S. Lewis and N. Murakami, eds., *Ranald MacDonald* について

手紙は掲載されている。しかしルイスと村上はこの手紙を *RM* には掲載しなかった。

織田は1888年8月末オタワのマクラウドのもとを訪ね、3日か4日滞在した後、汽船で St. Lawrence川を通ってリバプールを行っている。9月27日の手紙はカナダのカナダ・太平洋鉄道でカナダ太平洋岸迄行き、そこから汽船で日本に帰りたいということを伝えて来たものである。なお、この手紙の第2節にある the Empire とあるのはカナダのトロントの新聞の名前で、この新聞にマクドナルドの日本冒険の話や織田のカナダ訪問の記事が掲載され、この記事がアメリカのワシントン州のコルヴィル（Colville）の新聞であるコルヴィル・マイナー紙（the Colville Miner）に転載され、この地に移り住んで来ていたマクドナルドがたまたまこの記事を見て長らく音信がとどえていたマクラウドとの手紙のやりとりが始まったという極めていわくつきのものである。(4) 9月27日の手紙をみてみよう。

149 Ledbury Road  
Bayswater  
London W.  
Sep.27th 88

My dear Mr. MacLeod (sic)

I have just received your kind letter of the 9th inst., but having been in the Continent, I was very sorry that I could not be able to (sic) answer you before this, and hope you will kindly excuse me for the delay.

I read throughly the article in the Empire you sent to me and I am not only pleased with it but acquired such an honour as was never given to me before. I am, yet, afraid myself that whether I am capable to (sic) deserve it or not. But still that was all through your kindness and I must try to deserve the honour, and hope I will in the future.

Having seen all I wanted here and in the Continent, I think I shall leave Europe on the 11th of next month, not directly for Asia, but for North America. I thought at first I would go back to Japan by Indian Ocean(sic), but beside (sic) there is not much see, I had been in that direction three times before, so I decided to go through Canadian Pacific railway. I believe it is

— 41 —
not the time to travel in Canada—being cold and perhaps the snow already—but I want to see the land which I have never seen before and with which we, Japanese, shall have much connection in future. I see in the Times advertisement S. S. Vancouver of the Dominion Line leaving Liverpool on the 11th next, and also S. S. Abyssinia from Vancouver B. C. for Japan on the 13th of November, so if I take a passage in the former, I shall be at Montreal about 21st next and hence to Vancouver by the rail in 7 days, so as to get there before the latter will start. Of course there are many days before the departure of the “Abyssinia” which is on the 13th November; I want to see all round Vancouver and if it is possible and convenient to take the train from Ottawa, I may again have the honour of seeing you. Anyhow, I shall send telegram to you when I arrived at Montreal. Meantime I must say here Good bye to you.

I remain
Your (sic) very truly
J. Oda

P. S. Give my kind regard (sic) to your sisters.

また10月13日の手紙は次のようなとなっている。(5) この手紙は健康が悪化したのでカナダには立ち寄ることが出来なくなったことを伝えているものである。文中Messagerie Maritime Company とあるのはフランスの海運会社の名前である。

Ledbury Road
Bayswater
London
Oct. 13th 1888

My dear Mr. McLeod

I believe my two letters informing you of my intention to visit again on my way to Japan will have reached you before this letter will.

But I am very sorry to say that, although against my wish, I shall not
be able to go round that way; as I have got a bad throat through the London weather, & Doctor tells me not to travel in the cold climate which I am most likely to find in Canada.

I am therefore obliged to take passage by the Indian Ocean, and have decided to sail from Marseilles on the 21st inst. by the steamer “Caledonien” of the Messagerie Maritime Company. As I find in the Company’s book that the steamer will arrive at Hiogo in Japan (nearest port to Osaka, only 20 miles by railway) on the 1st December, I may have the first opportunity to write to you soon after my arrival so that you will have, by the end of this year, my letter which will contain all that I may tell Murayama of you, & the impression which he will no doubt have by the news I intend to give gim.

Although thus I have made up my mind, I am still sorry that I cannot see the Continent of Canada this time, which will be the most important land with regard to Japan; but I think I may have again an opportunity, not only of seeing it but you at Ottawa. I hope you will give good wish (sic) to all whom during my short stay I met, and to yourself as well.

I remain

Your’s (sic) most truly

J. Oda

P. S. Please give my best regards to your sisters.

J. O.

織田は上の手紙でカナダを日本に関して最も重要な国だといっているが、本気か冗談半分かは知らないが彼はマクラウドと。British Columbiaが日本人の生活、産業等に適しているので、自分を含めて日本人が土地を買って産業をおくしらいいというような話をしたと思われる。この箇所は4番目の原稿には載っているが、RMでは削除されている。次の文中、Mと出て来るのはマクラウドのことであり、“me”というのはマクラウドのことである。

In connection with the above expression of interest in Canada, Mr. McLeod
informs me, that in conversation, latterly, when thoroughly imbued with the idea—idea strongly inculcated by my old fellow Columbian M—of the peculiar adaptability of British Columbia to Japanese life and industry, especially in agriculture, horticulture, commercial fruit raising for both continents, fisheries, mining, and mechanical arts adaptable to the wants of the people, he (Mr. Oda) spoke earnestly of looking out for a block of land—one or more—in the Country for purchase by himself, and probably others, and settlement thereon of his countrymen, by way of experimental investment: and that he spoke on the subject as if there would be no difficulty as to necessary capital in such a project. He seemed to be thoroughly seized with the idea, and to carry it out, had resolved—as he states in his letter—to visit the Country.

Had he lived to do so there is no doubt but that the effort would have been made. Why others have not done so seems strange; for Japan is densely overcrowded, underfed, and sadly in need of such further field to work in.

（注）

（1）3rd M. S., IV, pp. 265-266. アンダーラインは原文のまま。
（2）Ibid., IV, pp. 266-279.
（4）3rd M. S., IV, p. 264.
（5）4th M. S. (Typed), IV, p. 212.
（6）Ibid., IV, p. 213.
In W. S. Lewis and N. Murakami’s *Ranald MacDonald* such names as Sherrei Tachachien (Shirai Tatsunoshin),Wirriamra Saxtuero (Uemura Sakuhichiro), Obigue (Ido Tsumimano-kami), Murayama Yeanoske (Moriyama Einosuke) and the descriptions of them appear in Chapters 11 and 12. But in the same book, we see their names and the descriptions of them again in Chapter 17, the last chapter: we read approximately the same thing twice in the book. Why did the editors of the book do such a thing? The fact is that Malcolm McLeod wrote Chapters 11 and 12 in 1857, making use of both the memos MacDonald gave him and what MacDonald told him when he visited McLeod in Ottawa in 1853. Yet in later years when the two resumed correspondence, McLeod, thinking that what he described in Chapters 11 and 12 might be a little simple, asked MacDonald to write him what he had forgotten to tell and what he wanted to tell about his old friends in Japan. The letter is now extant and we can see which parts of the letter McLeod and the later editors tried to publish and which parts of it they tried to eliminate.

There are also other parts Lewis and Murakami did not publish in their book, although these parts appear in McLeod's manuscripts. Oda Junichiro’s letter to McLeod dated October 13th, 1888 and a part of Oda’s conversation with McLeod about settlement in Canada are among them. Probably they did not interest Lewis and Murakami and they had to eliminate these parts.