

Title	萬延元年遣米使節と咸臨丸のハワイ寄港
Sub Title	
Author	清岡, 暎一 (Kiyooka, Eiichi)
Publisher	三田史学会
Publication year	1937
Jtitle	史学 Vol.16, No.2 (1937. 6) ,p.69(233)- 101(265)
JaLC DOI	
Abstract	
Notes	
Genre	Journal Article
URL	https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00100104-19370600-0069

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萬延元年遣米使節と咸臨丸のハワイ寄港

清岡 暎一

昨年ハワイに行つた機會に福澤先生の史料を求めたい希望からアークカイプに行き一八六〇年即ち萬延元年頃のハワイ諸新聞から日本に關する記事を寫して來た。その一部分をこゝに出す機會を得たことは「史學」に對し深く感謝する次第である。

萬延元年の遣米使節は幕府が外國へ送つた使節の第一回のものであつた。使節の一行は米國軍艦ポーハタンに乗り、一月廿二日（一八六〇年二月十三日）に横濱を出て、ホノルル、サンフランシスコに寄りパナマ地峽を汽車で渡り、別の軍艦でワシントンに運ばれ、公用をすませ、後にニューヨーク其他の町の歓迎を受け、又米國軍艦でアフ

リカの南端を廻り印度洋を經九月廿七日（一八六〇年十一月八日）に品川沖に歸着したのである。

この時使節の護衛の意味で幕府の軍艦咸臨丸も渡航することになり、この船はポーハタンより早く一月十九日（一八六〇年二月十日）に浦賀を出帆、サンフランシスコに直航し使節を待ち合せ、その無事なるを見届けてからホノルルを經て五月五日（西曆六月廿三日）浦賀に歸着した。咸臨丸には米國士官も便乗はしてゐたが航海は全部日本人の手でしたので是は日本開關以來初めての大事業であつたと福翁自傳に書いてある。福澤先生は軍艦奉行木村攝津守の從僕として咸臨丸に乗つて

居られた。先生の第一回の外國渡航である。

當時のハワイ

當時ハワイは獨立王國であつた。一七七八年に英國探檢家クックに發見されて以來太平洋の捕鯨業の發達と共に捕鯨船の寄港地として次第に重要視せられ、後には白檀材を支那に輸出して相當の取引もあつたが商賣も文化的事業も大部分白人の手中にあり、遂に一八九八年アメリカ合衆國に併合せられることになつた。日本使節の寄港した頃には既に土人も貴族は皆英語を話し洋服を着て政府も白人を大臣として出来るだけ歐洲の王國を眞似てゐた。漂流人は別として日本人のハワイ訪問はこれがはじめてであつた。

當時ハワイの定期刊行物に主なのが三つあつた。The Friend は Samuel G. Damon とハイズム
メリカ人宣教師の主宰する月刊誌で The Polynes-

ian と The Pacific Commercial Advertiser は共に週刊新聞であつた。この二つは何國人の經營したものか確證はないが共にアメリカを稱讚するところからしてアメリカ人の經營と想像される。故に以下拔萃する新聞記事はハワイ土人には關係なく在住の白人の印象といふべきである。勝安房の米行録によるとホノルルの町は十町に五六町の小さな町で外國人のうちアメリカ人が最も多く四千人ばかりとある。それでも新聞を持つてゐただけでも感心なものである。

使節到着の第一報は次の記事である。一行は一八六〇年三月五日に入港し、同十八日に出港した。

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday,
March 8, 1860.

Notes of the Week:

Naval.--The U. S. steam frigate *Powhatan*, under
command of Capt. G. F. Pearson, and bearing

Flag Officer Josiah Tattnall, arrived at this port on Monday morning, 21 days from Japan. On leaving Kanagawa, the *P.* did not purpose touching here, but finding her supply of coal would not hold out to San Francisco, she changed her course for this port. She has consequently been some days longer in coming than had she come direct. She has on board the Japanese Embassy to the United States, consisting of 72 persons. To accommodate this large number, state-rooms have been erected on the quarter deck. During the voyage, which has been rough and stormy, the Japanese guests have made themselves very agreeable, not the slightest disturbance having occurred, but on the other hand, they have invariably appeared well pleased with their accommodations and the officers of the vessel. Three interpreters accom-

pany the Embassy, so that the wants of the strangers are easily met. The *Powhatan* will remain here about two weeks, sailing we understand, on the 20th for San Francisco, where she is to be placed in the dry dock, at Mare Island, to repair damages sustained in her cruises in the Japan seas. She leaks considerably, and otherwise needs much overhauling. After repairing at San Francisco, she will receive on board the Japanese and proceed to Panama, where they will go to Aspinwall via the railroad, and embark on board the U. S. frigate *Rocmoke*, and thence to New York or Annapolis.

同時に次のやうな日本の政治組織や簡単な一般描寫が出た。この記事には明に天皇と將軍の區別が説明してあるが、この區別を書いたのは此の記事だけで、他の記事にはいつも日本國支配者を

ムペラー或はタイクンと稱し、その居城は江戸にあるなど云つて京都を全く知らずにある。同じアドバタイザーであるへ一週間の後に出した使節の國王謁見の記事に天皇と將軍の兩立する事實を全くかきつ書つてゐる。

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday, March 8, 1860.

The following extracts from a work on Japan will possess some interest now:

"The government of Japan is despotic, and like some others in Asia, is shared by ecclesiastical and military sovereigns. The *mikado*, or lord of the *Dairi*, or court of *mikoko*, is the nominal head of the Empire, has almost divine honors and exerts religious rule, and was anciently invested with all the authority; but in the 12th century, a *dai siogun*, or the commander in chief was ap-

pointed, one of whose successors in 1583, assumed the rank of a second Emperor: since which period the *siogun* has maintained the actual sway, the *dairi* sovereign being consulted by him only regarding relations with foreign powers. The *siogun*, who resides at Yeddo, is assisted by a council of five hereditary princes and by a senate which forms the legislative body, and decides in all civil and criminal cases. A kind of feudal system prevails; the princes, of whom there are about 200, governing different districts, are obliged to maintain troops in readiness to move at the order of the *siogun*. The executive duties are performed by 7 boards,—those of taxation, commerce, public works, police, criminal justice, military affairs, and religion. Japan is divided into 8 provinces, 68 departments, and 622 districts, the

governors of which are termed *dairi*, "high named," and hold their offices direct from the *dairi* sovereign; or *dai-mio*, "well named," who are appointed by the *siogun*. The laws are very rigorous; many popular rights and customs, however, appear to exist, and the Japanese are certainly less corruptly governed, and less shackled by ancient usages than the Chinese. The ancient religion is the *sin-tu*, whose priests were said to be descended of the sun, but the majority of the population are adherent of Buddhism, introduced into Japan about the 6th century of our era, though, some profess the doctrines of Confucius. The Japanese are of the Mongolian race, and are stout and well made. They have a written literature, some science, and a taste for music. Their language is different from that of the Chinese."

萬延元年遣米使節と咸臨丸のハワイ寄港(清岡)

(The proof of the above entire article, has been read over in our office by Namura Gohatsiro, one of the interpreters of the embassy; who has noticed several errors and suggested alterations, which have been made. We state this fact to show that our visitors are intelligent. The interpreters can read and write English very readily.)

遣米使節のハワイ國王謁見

日本側の記録としては使節の一人村垣淡路守範正の「航海日記」に詳しく出てゐる。この日記は「萬延元年第一遣米使節日記」と題して出版せられ又英譯も出來てゐる。この日記の二月十八日(西曆三月九日)の條を見ると「此島の王、日本使節に對面の事を乞けるよし、テイロル(Captain A. S. Taylor. 世話役の米國士官)言出しが親しき國にもあらねば程能斷けれど、各國かゝる禮にて斷いふ

は禮を失ふよしなれば、領掌して、云々」とはじまり大體下に掲げるハワイ新聞と符合する。女王について「顔容色は黒しといへど品格おのづからあり」と云つてゐるが最後の印象として次の如くある。「つくづくけふの有様を考ふるに海外の事情はたまさか漂流人の咄しを聞書せるものを見し斗なりけるが、かゝる禮節もて國王妃に接對するは實に夢路をたどるばかり也、左ればたわむれに

わた津海の龍の宮ともいはまほし

うつし繪に見し浦島かさま

王は金のたすき様のものをかけて飾有、妃は前に言ふ如くあみだ佛のごとし、さればまたざれ歌を御亭主はたすき掛なりおくさんは

大はだぬぎで珍客に逢ふ

なをとりに評して笑を催し日頃のうさも忘れてふしぬ。」

この日本人の印象と女王の優美さを英國のビタ

トリア女王にも負を取らないと褒め上げたハワイ新聞とは面白い對照である。又使節の爲國歌を奏するに當り God save the King を奏したとあるは日本にまだ國歌が無かつたからであらう。

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday March 15, 1860.

Audience at the Palace.

A very interesting ceremony took place on Friday last, being the reception at Court of their Excellencies, the Ambassadors from the Emperor of Japan to His Excellency the President of the United States, which, we believe, is the first time that persons holding the rank of Ambassadors have visited this kingdom. Besides the King's Ministers and the principal officers of the government, a number of foreigners were present on the occasion. The audience was granted in response to the

request of His Excellency the Commissioner of the United States, to present the Japanese Embassy, Admiral Tattnall and the officers of the *Powhatan*.

The Honolulu Rifles, under command of Capt. Brown, turned out on the occasion, and arrived at the Palace at 1 1/4, forming in line on each side of the palace steps. A company of Hawaiian infantry was also on duty, and was stationed at the gateway. His Majesty, accompanied by His Ministers and nobles in full uniform, entered the hall about half past one o'clock, and soon after, seven carriages arrived with the officers of the *Powhatan*. In the first carriage, we noticed Admiral Tattnall, His Ex. J. W. Borden, Capt. Pearson, and Dr. G. P. Judd. As they alighted, the band of the steamer, which was stationed on the Portico, struck up the soul-enlivening national air of Ame-

rica, and the guests were conducted by His Exc. Wyllie and the Chamberlain into the awaiting room, from which they were ushered into the reception room, and presented to the King individually by Mr. Borden.

At 2 o'clock, the carriages, two of which were the King's, returned, bringing the Japanese Ambassadors and officers, accompanied by the aids of His Majesty and of Prince Lot, as a guard of honor, on horseback. With the Embassy were Capt. Taylor and several officers of the *Powhatan*. Admiral Tattnall, Mr. Borden and Mr. Wyllie, to show the highest honor to them, received the Ambassadors from the carriages and led them into the awaiting room. From this room, the first Ambassador, Sinne-Bujen-no-kami, walked with Mr. Borden, and Muragake-Awage-no-Kami, with

the Admiral, arm in arm, into the presence of the King, where they were presented to him. We noticed that not only the Ambassadors, but also each of the other Japanese, as they entered the throne room, bowed three times very low, according to their own custom on such occasions. His Majesty addressed them in substance as follows:

“I feel much pleased to welcome you to my kingdom, and it affords me great pleasure that circumstances have favored me, through the kind permission of the United States Commissioner and the gentlemen in whose charge you at present are, to receive you as Ambassadors of the great Emperor of Japan, while on your way to the friendly government of the United States of America, a nation to which my people are so much indebted. I shall feel much gratified, if your visit to these

islands is agreeable to you; and hope that when you return to Japan, you will express to your Sovereign the friendly meeting which I have had the honor of having with you, and the high esteem I entertain for His Majesty and His People.”

His Excellency Simme, first Ambassador, replied, his words being translated into Dutch by Namura, and then into English by Mr. Banning:

“I am greatly obliged for the friendly reception with which your Majesty has honored us; and I beg to express my thanks, for the trouble you have been pleased to take on our behalf, and shall not forget the kindness with which we have been received in this city, not only by your Majesty, but by the inhabitants of your capital.”

At the conclusion of the addresses, the Censor, Vice-Governor, and others of the Embassy, were

presented, and after them a number of the officers of the Embassy. Each of them recorded his name in the autograph-book of the Palace, which already contains those of many dignitaries of foreign countries; few, however, of them will be examined with more curiosity than these.

His Majesty having retired, the Queen soon after appeared, accompanied by the Princess Victoria, and some ten or twelve foreign ladies. The Ambassadors, as well as the Admiral and officers of the *Powhatan*, were presented individually to Her Majesty, and we must say that her bearing on the occasion was graceful, and left but one impression on all—that she nobly filled the high place she occupies. Queen Victoria never entertained a royal Embassy with more grace and suavity than did Queen Emma on this occasion. His Majesty also

appeared to be in the best spirits, and certainly received his royal visitors, the Japanese, in a style which must have given them favorable ideas. The special attention and kindness which he has shown them during their stay will not pass unnoticed.

It was a spontaneous impulse of the generous heart of our Sovereign, and can only be construed as a mark of respect not only to the President of the United States, but to the Emperor of Japan.

After viewing the apartments a short time, the Japanese Ambassadors and officers were conducted to the carriages with the same respect as on their arrival, and escorted back to their apartments by the guard of honor as before.

The whole ceremony was conducted with credit to all concerned. When the Ambassadors reached the Royal standard, the band struck up, in honor

of the Emperor of Japan, "God Save the King." During the proceedings it also played some national airs. The Rifles never appeared in better trim. There were some thirty-five turned out, and they fully sustained the reputation so long enjoyed of being the star corps of the Pacific.

ハワイ王は最上の禮を盡した

日本使節はハワイに寄港する豫定ではなかつた。石炭が足りなくなつて入港したのであつた。しかしハワイ國王は非常に喜んで、あたかも自分に對する使節であるかの如く最上の儀式を以て宮廷に迎へたのであつた。是は日本皇帝に對するのみならずアメリカ大統領に對する禮であつたと記事に見える。それでポリネシアンは歐洲に於ける外交上の慣例及び謁見前の經緯に就て次の如く書いてゐる。

Polynesian. Saturday, March 17, 1860.
(OFFICIAL) We publish, by authority, the official correspondence previous to the reception, on the 9th instant, by their Majesties the King and Queen, of their Excellencies the Princes Ambassadors of the Emperor of Japan, sent by his Imperial Majesty, with credentials to his Excellency the President of the United States.

We further publish the particulars of their reception, in which our Sovereign, with that tact and high courtesy which is so characteristic of his Majesty, received their Excellencies, with the same grand honors, as if they had been accredited to himself, thus happily combining with the highest honors to them, the highest respect to the Emperor who sends them, and to the President of the United States to whom they are sent.

This being quite an event in the history of this Kingdom, the public will read with interest the extract which we subjoin, showing the formalities with which ambassadors coming accredited to the sovereign, are received at the highest of imperial and monarchical courts, and showing what treatment they are entitled to while only passing through the dominion of a friendly sovereign.

Translation, by Mr. Willie, from the Baron Charles de Marten's Diplomatic Guide, Vol. I, P. 127.

Extract from Elliot's Diplomatic Code, Section 60, page 398, Vol. 2, under the head of Ambassadors and Public Ministers.

(These extracts are not reproduced here)

この抜萃はあまり長いので、寫さなかつたのは残念である。然し國王は是等の本にある通りの儀式

をしたらしい。

次に出すのはアメリカ公使から外務大臣（英國人）に送つた手紙である。

Legation of the United States, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, 8th March, 1860.

To His Excellency R. C. Willie, Minister of Foreign Relations, &c., &c., &c.

Sir:-- I have the honor to inform your Excellency that on Monday, the 5th instant, the United States steamer Powhatan arrived at this port.

This frigate is commanded by the Honorable Joseph Tattnall, U. S. Navy, who is conducting an Embassy sent by His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan to the president of the United States.

Admiral Tattnall has signified to me that accompanied by Captain Pearson, the officers of the Powhatan, and the Ambassadors with their suite, he

would be pleased to have an opportunity, with them, of paying his respect to His Majesty the King.

I have, therefore, respectfully to ask you to make known this request to His Majesty, and to assure him that an audience at such time as will suit his convenience will be the occasion of sincere gratification to the officers of the Powhatan, to the Japanese Ambassadors as well as to

Your Excellency's

Most obedient servant, James W. Borden

アメリカ人の感想

アメリカ人の日本人に對する第一の印象はその強い好奇心と研究心でキューリオシチーといふ言葉は各新聞の隨所に現れてゐる。

禮儀正しく紳士的態度をもち智的にも決して劣等な國民でないことは確に認めてゐる。斯る國民

と親交を結ぶのは各新聞の大いに祝するところであるが、ポリネシアンが下にある如く此の擧を以てアメリカの獨立宣言以來の一大平和的業績なりと云つてゐるのは面白じと思ふ。

Polynesian, Saturday, March 10, 1860.

The Japanese Embassy……Quick, intelligent and inquisitive, the curiosity of these visitors is constant and vivacious. Every object that is new to them is inspected, inquired into, described and sketched for a draughtsman of very superior ability accompanies the Embassy for the purpose of furnishing the Official Report with the necessary illustrations; a curious counterpart, no doubt, if ever made public, to the splendid official edition of Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan. Polite, affable and patient with the curiosity of our people in their regard, they draw freely upon the

same good qualities in others.

That the Japanese Empire has rescinded its policy of seclusion and entered once more into the family of nations, is one of those peaceful achievements that will redound more lasting glory, more solid profit to the United States, more widespread benefits to the world in general, than any other of its public acts beyond the borders of the Union, since the Declaration of Independence.

And the confidence as well as the preference shown by the Emperor of Japan, in selecting the United States as the first country with which, and through which, to introduce his Ambassadors to that unknown world which clamored for his acquaintance, will not be lost upon a people so sensible to their own interests, so sensitive to the point of honor as the Americans.

次にアドバタイザーの日本人評を出して見る。

是によると日本人は比較的自由に外國人と交つたと見え「愉快な人達」とか「話し好き」だとか書いてある。蓋し萬延元年頃には未だ攘夷運動がそれ程盛でなかつたからであらう。翌年歐洲各國に使節の派遣された時にはお目附の監視が厳しくて外國人と談話するのはそれ程自由でなかつたやうに福翁自傳に見えてゐる。(二一三頁)

一行の中に繪師がゐて見る物は何でもスケッチしてゐたと云ふことは日本の文獻には見ないことであるが次の記事には非常に面白く書いてある。又其の繪師が寫眞を取つてやらうと云はれた時に、鬚を剃るまで待つてくれと云つたなど微笑ましい情景である。

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday, March 8, 1860.

It must be remembered that the Japanese, as

well as the Chinese dignitaries, think that high rank demands a large retinue. The same ideas prevail with our native nobility, as well as with most semi-civilized people. Before starting, the Japanese were assured that a train of servants would be annoying in traveling through the United States. But they were unable to comprehend the argument, and demanded that they should be allowed to travel according to their custom.

Whatever we may think of this people, comparing them with ourselves, they are by no means ignorant, and those who compose this embassy, and who are probably a fair representation of their countrymen, appear to be educated and communicative, and compare well with foreigners. Their costumes are novel to us, it is true, but they are skillful and intelligent for all that. A steam pro-

pellor of 300 tons, is being constructed by the Japanese, similar to that recently presented to them by the Dutch, and in which Capt. Brooke, late of the *Fennimore Cooper*, took passage for San Francisco, for which port he had left before the *Powhatan* sailed from Japan. This circumstance shows that the arts among them are well advanced, and that they are capable of doing what foreigners can do, if rightly directed.

We have met some of these officials on several occasions, and have found them very pleasant, and exceedingly inquisitive. In fact, this appears to be their most noticeable trait, *extreme curiosity*, and a desire to see and examine everything. One of the ambassadors, accompanied by the censor, an interpreter and eight or ten others, visited our printing rooms and examined the presses, etc.

Then in the bookstore, they were much amused with the large and neatly printed books, as well as the pictures, and many curious objects in the stationery line. Proceeding into the Post Office, they were shown the style of letters passing to foreign countries and the various stamps used, and when informed that any letters they might wish to send to Japan, would be forwarded via Hongkong, procured some stamps and promised to write.

An artist also accompanied the above, who appeared intently observant of everything. Before entering, we found he had sketched the outline of the arched gateway before the Post Office. We requested the privilege of looking over his sketch book, which he cheerfully allowed. His sketches consist mostly of outline etching. In his book we found parts of the steamer's machinery, scenes on

deck, individual portraits, outlines of the islands and our harbor. The portrait of old Kamehameha the Great, hanging in the Hall of Representatives, has been transferred to his book. There we found, too, Kinney's hay cart and horse all in motion, also a loaded dray. In the printing office, he sketched a compositor setting type with the stand, cases, etc. all done in one minute. But one of the finest of his pictures was that of "serving grog" on board the *Powhatan*. Here he represents a group of fifteen or twenty tars, each with a cup, some drinking, some dipping into the container, some smacking their lips,the expressions perfectly natural and life-like. Frank Leslie or Harper would give a day's receipts of their illustrated papers for this artist's sketch-book. Next he visited Howland's Ambrotype rooms, where he was re-

quested to sit for his portrait. This he declined, saying that when he had shaved, and put on another suit of clothes, he would return and sit for it. Looking over the pictures which were lying on the table, he spied the likeness of Mr.

Kern, artist on board the *Ferrimore Cooper*. This he instantly recognized, and was perfectly delighted to find that that gentleman had been here. He had met him in Japan, and became acquainted

with him. If our Japanese visitors are so taken up with the ordinary sights of Honolulu, what will become with them when they witness the splendid views and sights of Broadway? 一週間の後、又次のやうな記事が出た。

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday, March 15, 1860.

We have been favored with several interviews

with Ambassadors, and with most of the other officers, and have found them all communicative, and ready to give us any desired information in reply to our interrogatories, made through the interpreters. There are several of the embassy who can speak broken English, but probably the one most conversant with our language is Namura, who is iso familiar with Dutch.

日本使節と題する説教

三月十八日の日曜日、フレンドの編輯人 Samuel C. Damon と云ふ牧師が Honolulu のある教會で Japanese Embassy to Washington と題して説教した。その全文（或は一部分——終の方がかけてるやうに思はれる）が四月の *The Friend* に載つてゐる。全文を寫して來るには來たが、あまり修飾の言葉が多く長過ぎるから、こゝに轉載するの

はひかえるが、色々の點から興味深いものである。

聖書のダニエル書十二章四節の Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased といふ句から説き起して今、新時代が來らんとしてゐることを説いたものである。

人々の run to and fro の目的としては四つ擧げることが出来る。即ち商業上の目的、科學的發見と研究の目的、政治上の目的及び宗教布教の目的である。今日の如く running to and fro の劇しかつたことは歴史上に未だない。その結果として日本の國が開かれるやうになれば、それこそ日本國內のみならず世界全體に大影響を及ぼすであらうといふ説教である。ハワイは交通の岐路に立つところから宣教師も世界狀勢に敏感であつたのであらう。このデーモンと云ふ人は咸臨丸の通辯官中濱萬次郎の恩人である。中濱はもと土佐の漁夫で暴風の爲漂流し、アメリカの捕鯨船に助けられて

アメリカへ連れ行かれ教育を授けられた人であるが、彼が日本へ歸國するに當りデーモン氏が大いに盡力した。それはペリーの來朝以前のことであり通信の便は何もない時代であつたから中濱の歸國後十年間も音信不通であつた。それが卒然咸臨丸の士官として來たのであるからデーモン氏は我子に會つたやうに喜んだのである。但し此の説教をした時は咸臨丸の入港以前であるから中濱の生死も知らずにゐたのである。中濱に關する資料は澤山あるが割愛する。昨年中濱東一郎氏の著された中濱萬次郎傳を參照されたい。

日本使節名簿とその説明

目附の役を説明して使節及びその隨員の振舞を監視するスパイであるとしてゐる。

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday, March 8, 1860.

The arrival in our harbor of the Japanese Embassy to the United States is a matter of no ordinary interest. This embassy consists of two ambassadors plenipotentiary, who are nobles or princes of the highest rank. With these are two others of nearly equal rank, a censor and a vice-governor. The use of these latter officers is to act as spies, or reporters of the conduct of the ambassadors and others employed in the commission, and also to report anything that may pass under their observation. The number comprising the embassy may be thought by foreigners to be very large, consisting as it does, of seventy-two persons, viz.: two ambassadors, one censor, one vice-governor, sixteen under officers and secretaries, and fifty-two servants or soldiers.

この下に使節四人及び部下の役員十六人の名が

出てゐるが、それは單に不思議な綴りで日本名を書いただけのものであるから省略する。

次の週、もう少しくわしい説明と日附に關する記事が出た。

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday, March 15, 1860.

From all that we can gather the chief Ambassador is among the highest in rank in the Empire. As we stated last week, there are over 200 princes or nobles in Japan. These vary somewhat in rank, according to the size and importance of the province over which they preside, or which may be theirs by hereditary right. Some provinces can muster 60,000 soldiers; others again not 6,000. The rank of the four principal dignitaries we find as follows:

1. *Ambassador*... Simme-Bujen-no-kami, (Simme,

Lord or Prince of the province of Bujen.) Simme is the hereditary name of this prince, who ranks a little higher, or is more powerful in Japan, than the following:

2. *Ambassador*.....Muragake-Agawe-no-kami, (Muragake, Lord or prince of the province of Agawe.)

3. *Censor*.....Ogure, Lord or Prince of the province of Bungo.

These three are hereditary princes or rulers of provinces, and about equal in rank. The proper title of each in England would be *His Royal Highness*, and in the United States, *His Excellency*, being the highest titles under the sovereign or ruler.

The office of the Censor has been misinterpreted. He acts as Secretary to the Embassy.....it being his duty to record everything for the information

of the Emperor. He leaves a copy of his journal to be forwarded to the Emperor of Japan by the first vessel which may sail from this port. The same will probably be done by him at San Francisco and other points of the journey.

The fourth dignitary (Morita Okataro) appears to be not so high in rank. He is sent out to act as treasurer, and on account of his sound judgment and prudence, it is his province to advise and counsel. He is the Lord Palmerston of the embassy, and nothing can be done without his approval. He appears to be clothed by the Emperor with very high powers. All these four officers are from the nobility.....the advisors and the councillors of the Emperor.

將來の事

此頃には開國後、日なほ淺きに拘らず日本の外國貿易は次第に盛大となり日本の産物等に關する智識も次第に正確になつて來たので各國ともに日本の貿易國としての將來に大いに囑望してゐた。次の文には日本は支那に匹敵する顧客となるであらうと云ひ、日本の人口は四千萬でアメリカよりも大きいとある。今更ながらアメリカの新興國なるを思はせられる。なほ附録に掲げる日本主要輸出物の記事を參照せられたい。

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday, March 8, 1860.

There can be no question but that visit of this embassy will result favorably in opening Japan to foreign intercourse, though it may be years before it has that effect. It will be impossible for these ambassadors to return to their country without obtaining new ideas about foreigners, and perhaps

reporting favorably of the knowledge, wealth and skill of the American people, as compared with their own. And it is more than likely that they will recommend the removal of every obstacle in the way of trade and travel with the United States, and perhaps Europe. This must rapidly increase the trade with that people, which is now springing up, and which meets many obstacles. The Empire of Japan has a population of 40,000,000..... one-third larger than either the United States or England. To supply this population with the products of European manufacture, will in time create a trade as extensive, perhaps, as that now existing with China.

咸臨丸の歡迎

日本使節の寄港後二ヶ月ばかりして咸臨丸が來

て一八六〇年五月廿三日より同廿六日まで碇泊した。しかし歓迎といふものは一番先に來た者が最も盛大に受けるもので二度目からは興がさめられない。咸臨丸の木村攝津守や勝麟太郎は國王に謁見はしたが其他、大して歓迎も受けず新聞にも大して書き立てられずに濟んだ。

サンフランシスコでは反對に咸臨丸が先に入つたので其の歓迎も盛大を極め、後に來た使節の方が却つて歓迎されなかつたと云ふ。

福澤諭吉の名

さて今度の國王謁見も使節の謁見と大同小異ではあるが我々に取つて特別に興味のあるのは随員の一人として福澤諭吉の名の出てゐることである。故に記事の全文を出して見る。次の文の中の Commander Brooke (John M. Brooke) は測量船 Fenimore Cooper の船長で日本沿岸にて難破し咸

臨丸に便乗して歸つたアメリカ海軍士官である。

Polynesian. Saturday, May 26, 1860. (Vol. XVII, No. 4)

Court News.....On Thursday the Admiral of his Imperial Majesty of Japan visited officially the King's Ministers, by a special delegation of two officers of rank, the Admiral himself being unable to come on shore, owing to the necessity of his superintending the arrangements for the prompt despatch of the steamer "Candin-marruh." The officers he delegated, after their visit to the King's Ministers, were specially charged to express the Admiral's great desire to pay his personal respects, and present his officers to his Majesty before his departure, if the King, taking into consideration his limited time, could so arrange as to receive his visit.

The King was pleased to appoint Friday, at II A. M. for the reception of the Admiral.

At IO A. M. on that day, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, for himself and colleagues, returned the visit of the Admiral. He was received with the most marked courtesy, the Admiral explaining that as the Candinnarruh was lying at the wharf he could not salute.

Commander Brooke, of the U. S. schooner "Fenimore Cooper," had the courtesy to inform the Minister of Foreign Affairs, by the previous mail, of the intended visit of the "Candinnarruh," and of the high rank of the Admiral on board, as well as of the rank of the other officers.

On Friday it pleased his Majesty the King to grant an audience at II A. M., to Kim-moo-rasetto-no-cami, Admiral of his Imperial Majesty of

Japan, and Commander-in-Chief of his Imperial Majesty's Naval Forces in the Pacific Ocean.

The Admiral was presented to the King by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who afterwards presented to his Majesty, Yeo-se-oea-uwo-hae and Na-cano-ma Mungere, Officers of his Staff, and Hooko-soya, Ukeokei and Si-tow Tomasau, Officers of his Household.

The Admiral expressed his thanks to his Majesty for the honor of the audience, and for the kindness and courtesy with which his Imperial Majesty's steamer Candinnarruh had been treated, and his hope that a treaty might be made regulating the friendly intercourse of two nations so contiguous to each other.

The King assured the Admiral that his policy being peace and friendship with all nations, he

was glad to see the flag of his Imperial Majesty of Japan in his waters, and to welcome the Admiral and his officers to his kingdom. He requested the Admiral to inform the Emperor that he desired the most friendly relations with his empire; that from the contiguity of the two nations, he looked forward to a mutually profitable commercial intercourse between them and desired a treaty to regulate the intercourse and perpetuate friendly relations of mutual respect, friendship and advantage forever. The King added that all Japanese subjects thrown upon the shores of his islands by misfortune at sea, had been treated with utmost kindness, and that his wish was to treat them all in future with the kindness and hospitality extended to the subjects of the most favored nation.

The Admiral and the Officers of his suite, see-

med much pleased with these sentiments of his Majesty. The Admiral expressed much regret having to sail so soon, he could not receive his Majesty on board in a proper manner, but expressed the hope that he would soon make another visit to this kingdom.

After the Admiral with his suite had taken leave of the king, the Captain of the steamer, Kats-lintaro, with his chief officers, arrived, and were presented to his Majesty, who received them in the most courteous manner. After some friendly conversation with the King, they were shown over the Palace.

At the reception the King was attended by the Chancellor and Chief Justice, Mr. Allen, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and David Kalakaua.

上の記事の中に日本人の名が六つある。その第一番目は勿論木村攝津守、次は公用方の吉岡勇平で、

といふのがあるから多分それであらう。最後の名は勝麟太郎である。

次は通辯官の中濱萬次郎である。是は中濱萬次郎傳と對照してわかつたのである。その次が福澤諭吉であらうと思ふ。是を證明する日本文獻はないやうであるが、咸臨丸乗組員名簿の中に福澤とま

この謁見の記事を木村攝津守の日記と對照して見る。随分な相違であるがその相違が又面白いところであらう。この日記の原本は塾圖書館にある。

ぎらはしき名の見當らないこと、又彼が木村家の人と書いてあるところから、まづ間違はないと信ずる。Dkeoketを諭吉とするのは一見無理なやうであるがokをonの誤りと考へればユキチに近い發音になる。又ハワイ語にはチの發音がないらしい。少くとも今日用ひてゐるハワイ地名の中にチの發音は見當らない。故にonをokと誤るのはハワイとしては有り勝ちなことと想像される。又ここに不必要なコンマがあるが是は單なるミスプリントと信ずる。

次の名は咸臨丸乗組員名簿の中に鼓手齋藤留藏

奉使米利堅紀行。四月六日、晴、此日ミニス

トル某英國人なりといふ人衣冠を着船に來て余の安

寧を賀懇に國王の口上を陳たり、其去るに及で

余と俱に王城に至らん事を請へり乃士官五六輩

を伴ひ此人と共に上陸せしにミニストルは先此

由を王城に報せんとて早足に去行けり折しも俄

に雨降ればあたりなる一官舎に立寄れば内より

亞人一兩人出來て懇に余を迎堂上に入れり、此

家は官局と見へ机案に書物など取ちらし屬吏な

ども見ゆ、此亞人余にすゝめて己の乗來りし車

を貸乘らしめたり、やがて王城に至れば門内に

銃卒六十人列をなし指揮官劍を取て禮をなせり
余は車上より默禮して過ぬ彼ミニストル堂下に
迎引て國王に面會せしむ、其儀極めて簡易とす
王名カメガメヤ齡三十四計土人の種なれども自
然儀容見るべきあり、予を引て上坐に就しめ頗
恭敬を表せり。

使節と國王の對話と木村攝津守と國王の對話と
を比較し又各の日記を比較して見るに使節はその
重い地位を感じてか常に間違ひのないやうにと引
込み思案で又外國のよきものを見てもあまり感心
しては威嚴に拘はるとて、常に遠慮勝ちな批判の
目で見えてゐる。しかし木村はよきものを見れば心
から感心し、外國人とも自由に勝手な對話をし、
この航海を充分に楽しんで來たやうに思はれる。
咸臨丸來航の前觸れとして次の記事がある。是
によつて見ると咸臨丸もハワイ宛の郵便物を運ん
だものであらうか。勿論確證はない。

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday, May 17,
1860.

Vessels Due Soon. By the *Comet* we learn
that the Japanese steamer *Kandimawrah* was to
leave San Francisco about the 6th inst., to touch
at this port. Also the clipper ship *Flying Mist*,
to leave about the 10th or 12th. Unless one of
them sails later than the above-named dates, we
shall not receive our mail of April 20 by either.
The Japanese steamer is about the size, or a little
smaller than the *Leicaea*, and may be mistaken
for her when signaled.

咸臨丸乗組員の國王謁見をくわしく書いたのは
ポリネシアンだけで、アドバタイザーは咸臨丸は
あまりセンセーションを起さなかつたと明白に書
いてゐる。

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Thursday May 31,

1860.

The steamer *Kandimmarah* arrived on the 23d, from San Francisco, just after our edition issued, The steamer sailed again on the 26th for Kanagawa, Japan.

The Steamer *Kandimmarah*. This Japanese steamer which had been looked for for some time, arrived on the morning of the 23d, fifteen days from San Francisco. She is bark-rigged, and after the recent thorough overhauling which she received at Mare Island, presents a specimen of naval architecture of which any nation might be proud. She was not built by the Japanese, as is currently believed, but by the Dutch, (probably in Holland,) and presented or sold by them to the Japanese.

The latter are, however, building a steamer of about the same size and model; but, with all

their expertness, before they get it done, they will find the difference between *newm* and *teum*. Aside from the arrival and one or two subordinate officers, the retinue presented a very ordinary appearance compared with the Embassy on board of the *Powhattan*. The crew numbers among it four or five American seamen, who accompany the vessel to act and perhaps instruct in the various departments. During the stay here, the Admiral and suite were presented to the King, but as we have stated before, their presence created little or no observation. The steamer remained in port but three days, during which time she took on board a full supply of coals and sailed again for Japan on the 26th.

木村攝津守は國王謁見の時、日本帝國太平洋艦隊司令長官として紹介されたのであるが其頃の日本海軍について下に掲げる通りポリネシアンが書いてゐる。汽船五隻に帆船四十五隻となつてゐるが勝安房の海軍歴史二十三卷の船譜を見ると萬延元年以前に幕府が外國より得た蒸汽船は四隻にて觀光丸（オランダより獻貢）、朝陽丸（オランダより買入）、咸臨丸（オランダより買入）、蟠龍丸（英國より獻貢）である。その外、長崎で建造した先登丸といふのがあるが建造の年が明記してない。安政四年建造の帆船と共に表にのつてゐるから同年のものではないかと思はれる。但し「慶應元年解船」とあるから或は不成功に終つたものであるかもしれない。その他、肥前藩に電流丸といふ汽船がある。安政五年の買入である。是等が全部あつたものとして合計すれば當時日本國中に六隻の汽船があつたことになる。

萬延元年遣米使節と咸臨丸のハワイ寄港（清岡）

なほ同船譜によると洋型帆船には幕府に鵬翔丸といふ外國製の船のほか日本製洋型帆船が九隻あり、又肥前藩にも晨風丸といふのがあつた。ポリネシアンの云ふ四十五隻は洋型船のみを云ふのか日本型の船も含むのか解らないが甚だあやしい數字である。

この後、幕府も各藩も盛に汽船帆船を買入れ建造し明治維新の頃には洋型の船は百數十隻に達してゐたが、それは多く文久以後の事で萬延元年には洋型の船は日本に甚だ少なかつた。

又同船譜によると咸臨丸は原名をジエツパンといひ蒸氣内車、百馬力、砲十二門、長さ二十七間半、幅四間、一八五六年和蘭カンデルクにて製造、受取りは一八五七年（安政四年巳年九月五日）長崎にて、價十萬弗とある。噸數は書いてないがポリネシアンにある四百七十二噸は誤りであるらしく中濱萬次郎傳の中に「海軍中將木村浩吉君（木

村攝津守令息)の直話によれば三百頓内外ならんとのことなり」(二六三頁)とある。又下の文に corvette とあるは小型の巡洋艦の稱で、大型の巡洋艦は Frigate と稱する。又數名のアメリカ水兵が乗つてゐるが日本海軍に雇はれてゐるのでなくアメリカ政府が貸してゐるのだとあるのは興味ある記事である。是について日本側には殆んど記すところなく單に奉使米利堅紀行に水夫を神奈川にて米國領事に引渡したとあるのみである。なほ此頃にハワイ王國に軍艦が一隻もなかつた。

Polynesian, Saturday, May 26, 1860.

Naval.....The Japanese steam Corvette Candin-marruh, Capt. Kats Cintaro, left San Francisco on the 8th inst. Had good weather on the passage down; steamed only three days. She is a pretty, bark-rigged propeller, of about 472 tons measurement and 100 horse power, was built by the Dutch

for the Japanese Government, and mounts twelve guns; four long 32s, six 32s carronades, and 2 swivels. She has 14 officers, (besides the Admiral and Captain,) and 60 petty officers, seamen and marines. In addition to her crew there are 4 American quartermasters and their cook, it being the duty of the former to take the weather wheel, or to con the ship. They are still in the U. S. service, having been wrecked in the Fenimore Cooper, and will leave the steamer on her return to Japan. They draw their pay from the U. S. Government and have their own provisions on board. The navigating, engineering, and in fact all other duty is performed by Japanese alone, who have shown themselves capable of rapidly acquiring our western civilization. All orders relating to the working of the vessel are in Dutch. As near as

we can understand, the Japanese Navy now comprises 45 sailing vessels and 5 steamers. The latter were built, 4 by the Dutch and 1 by the English. The Kandimarruh is the flag ship of Admiral Timurah-Seto-no-Kami. (Timurah, Prince or Lord of Seto.)

附 録

日本主要輸出物とその相場

歐米人の日本智識は貿易商としての必要智識から始まつたと云ふべく、次に出す長崎のフレーザ―商會の報告は開國當初ながら随分くわしいものである。それに對し日本の國狀、政治組織、思想等に關する智識は甚だ幼稚なことは前行の諸記事に見る如くである。

Polynesian. Saturday, June 16, 1860. from

Commercial News.

We are indebted to B. F. Snow, Esq., for the accompanying Circular of Messrs. Frazer & Co., from Nagasaki, Japan, which, although not giving us as late dates as those received per *Zoe*, from Kanagawa, contains the fullest market report of Japanese trade we have yet seen. It is the first number of a series of which we hope to see continuance.

Nagasaki, Japan. February 20th, 1860.

“We have the pleasure of waiting on you with a copy of our *first* Japan Circular, which we intend despatching in future *monthly*, as regularly as conveyance between this port and Shanghai will admit.”.....

“Business with us, owing to the derangement of the currency, is still much restricted, and the

transactions, both in Imports and Exports continued at present on a moderate scale.

“The Treasury now exchanges moderate amount of Mexican Dollars per day, giving Japanese silver itzebus about two and one half to the dollar, to foreigners, with which to buy goods of the Japanese merchants.

“We hear from good authority that great hopes are entertained of our being able soon to exchange any reasonable amount of money daily; such becoming the case, we have but little doubt but that business will increase in due ratio.

“The Japanese are daily becoming more accustomed to foreign intercourse, and we confidently expect a speedy improvement and demand for American and English manufactures, as soon as the currency will admit of free and unrestricted

trade with the Japanese.”.....

“There has been considerable business done in manufactured goods within the past six months, till within a short time. and woolens, gray shirtings, drillings, camlets, chintzes, handkerchiefs, &c., have been disposed of at fair profits over Shanghae prices. A better business has been done in exchanging our imports for the products of the country, for shipment to Shanghae, instead of taking Japanese silver coin as payment.

“The Chinese have imported large quantities of their medicines, sugars, sapan wood, &c., from China, and have realized good profits, until recently the market has been over-stocked with most descriptions, reducing prices very materially.

“The goods required for the Japanese are very similar to those sought for by the Chinese.....their

wants being much the same.....and therefore shipments made to our Shanghai house will give them the advantage of two markets, to be used with discretion for the interests of shippers.

“We have as yet hardly had a fair trial for introducing our manufactures and creating a demand among the Japanese, as the state of the currency has been a great check on operations; but we feel convinced that with due perseverance and patience, Japan will eventually offer good inducements for shipments from the United States and Great Britain.

“Already a large and remunerative trade has been carried on from Japan, principally with China, and the chief articles of export have been green teas, silk, copper, vegetable wax and coal, together with edible sea-weeds, fish, furs, &c.

“At present all goods are bought of the Japanese with silver itzebus, which have averaged 1225 @ 300 ₪ 100 Mexican dollars; but as their value fluctuates, quotations will be given monthly in Mexican dollars.....the rate of itzebus being noted at the time.

“GREEN TEAS..... have been exported quite freely to Shanghai, where they are refined and prepared for shipment. The quality compares with the common sorts of Twankay's and Young Hysons'. Prices have averaged from \$ 15 to \$ 18, Mex., per picul of 133lbs.

“RAW SILK..... has been purchased as freely as the market would admit, prices averaging \$ 260 @ \$ 300, Mex., per picul.

“Some of the fairer sorts compare favorably with China Taysoams and Tsalties. The export from

all Japan amounts to about 3000 bales, shipped principally to England via Shanghai.

“COPPER.....The Chinese have had government contracts for some time for supplies of about 2000 piculs per year, at prices, we hear, equal to \$ 15 Mex., per picul, but these contracts have now expired. By orders received from Yeddo, copper is now given free, but it has advanced to \$ 21 to \$ 24, on account of the demand from foreigners. It is exported in wire, spikes, pans and shovels, and is said to be the purest in the world.

“We anticipate a regular demand and export for this article, together with teas and silk, as soon as the currency is satisfactorily arranged.

“WHITE VEGETABLE WAX.....was largely exported from here eight or nine months since; the ships *Florence* and *Versailles* loading direct

for London, and several vessels loaded for Shanghai. Latterly good wax has become very scarce, and small lots only obtainable at \$ 8 @ \$ 10, previous price ruling \$ 7 and \$ 8 per picul. The Japanese require another year to produce further supplies.

“COALS.....The quality compares with English coals, being bituminous, but somewhat inferior. It can be had in any quantity at \$ 4,50 per ton on board. At present they are mostly surface coals, but will improve in quality as the mines are worked.

“SILK PIECE GOODS.....are made of almost every pattern. The texture is heavier, as a general thing, than the Chinese, and prices vary from \$ 3,50 to \$ 5,00 per piece of 10 and 12 English yards.

“The following articles are exported largely

(mostly to China), and we give the present current quotations:

“Export duty 5 ₯ . ad valorem.

“Gall nuts, large, \$ 4 Mex., per picul; small, \$ 2 do. Camphor, none in the market. Seaweed, No. 1, \$ 4; No. 2, \$ 3. Cut seaweed \$ 6. Flat fish, No. 1, \$ 9; No. 2, \$ 5 @ \$ 6. Shrimps \$ 12 @ \$ 13. Mushrooms, or Seducky, \$ 25 @ \$ 28. Sharks fins, No. 1, \$ 13. Isinglass, square and small, \$ 24 @ \$ 27. Vermicelli, \$ 3 @ \$ 4 per picul.

“The last seven articles enumerated are used extensively as food by the Chinese.

“Within the past eight months about 60 vessels have left Nagasaki alone, with assorted cargoes, for Shanghai.

“The business has been carried on quietly, and

we believe that up to the present time but little has been known at home of the extensive trade that has been carried on for the past year between the ports of Nagasaki and Shanghai.

.....

“Argonaut, Dutch, sold to the Japanese government for 2000 Kobangs.

“P. S. Itzebus quoted to-day at 233 @ 235 ₯ 100 Mexican dollars.

Frazar & Co.”

- ¹ last figure uncertain owing to indistinct type
- ² last 2 figures uncertain