

# 維新史回廊だより



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◇せひぬじ◇

現在の「デジタル技術やインターネット」

の発達によって、日本国内からでも海外史料を閲覧できるようになりました。大英図書館(British Library)は、イギリス国内で発行された新聞記事の「デジタル化」を進めており、そのアーカイブ「British Newspaper Archive」をオンラインで公開しています。

今回は、そのなかでも第一次長州出兵から四境戦争にわたる記事を紹介します。解説は、大島商船高等専門学校の田口由香講師です。



大英図書館（イギリス・ロンドン）

○第一次長州出兵はどうのように報道されたのですか。

長州出兵とは、一八六四年八月二十日（元治元年七月十九日）に起つた禁門の変に対し、幕府が諸藩に長州藩への出兵を命じたものです。その結果、長州藩の四つの国境を戦場とする四境戦争が起こります。長州藩は、禁門の変において御所に向かって発砲したため、朝廷の敵とみなされました。しかし、長州藩が恭順の姿勢を示したことと、朝廷の敵とみなされた。しかし、長州藩が恭順の姿勢を示したことと、朝廷の敵とみなされました。しかし、長州藩が恭順の姿勢を示したことと、朝廷の敵とみなされました。しかし、長州藩が恭順の姿勢を示したことと、朝廷の敵とみなされました。しかし、長州藩が恭順の姿勢を示したことと、朝廷の敵とみなされました。

## イギリスから見た幕末長州藩

幕末期の日本は、諸外国からのように見えていたのでしょうか。一八六六年の四境戦争までにイギリス新聞が報じた記事をとおして、イギリスから見た幕末長州藩をみてみましょう（本文中の日付はすべて「新暦（旧暦）」と表記します）。

6 PALL MALL GAZETTE. [AUGUST 4, 1865.]

This Evening's News.  
REUTERS' TELEGRAMS.

SPAIN.

MADRID, Augt 3.—The Marquis of Molins and Prince Anglona have been appointed Spanish Ministers, the former at the Court of London and the latter at Madrid.

The Duke asserts that orders have been transmitted to General Canadas to declare war against Santa Domingo. This news is considered very doubtful.

EGYPT.

ALEXANDRIA, Augt 3.—The Viceroy of Egypt arrived here this morning, after having received some official visit from His Highness the Caliph of Medina.

CHINA AND JAPAN.

HONGKONG, Augt 3.—A cablegram has come from Peking announcing that French officials have again been assassinated. The Caliph of Medina has been killed in an engagement with the Nihilist rebels.

ZANGLAOU.

Hongkong has been captured by Amry while attempting to join the rebels. He is still at large.

The silk and tea trade have opened boldly at Shanghai and Foochow. Intelligence from Japan announces that commercial affairs are progressing rapidly.

The Tycoon had determined to attack Prince Nagata, and had reviewed 8000 troops.

It was rumoured that Prince Satsuma intended to join Nagata.

The French Government's steamer "Erida" has been lost near Point Rossella. The crew were saved.

BOMBAY AND MAURITIUS MAIL.

MADRAS, Augt 3.—The "Euryalus" with the above mails, arrived here at noon yesterday.

The ship leaves for London at 3 p.m.

The ship will be in quarantine until Sunday morning, but will start on her regular run that day from the quarantine harbour.

THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH CABLE.

The long-wanted last evening of some favourable news from the Great Lakes has now come, though somewhat tardily. The news is in substance, that with an entire absence of signs, leaving no doubt in the minds of those most sceptical, a chance of success, and only too probably an early success, was imminent. The report was first made on Augt 1st, and the impression of yesterday that air-balloons in the gauze-parchees covering may have conducted to the lack of insulation, we hear that not only one, but two double-ribbed balloons have been sent up, and were found to be well filled in the ship, and the pieces were cut off.

The permission of carelessness at Lloyd's is now apparently safe to-day.

Great interest has been taken on these terms. The new shares have further receded to a discount, and sellers at that quotation.

A despatch has come to hand which lets Victoria and Madras, stating that about four hours ago a cablegram had been received from the Great Eastern.

The report which we published yesterday of the arrival of Sirs of Mo. F. Fullerton, who has requested, and that he will be succeeded by Mr. Hugh Corfield, has been fully confirmed.

To the south of Mt. Marsh and All Angels, in the parish of Hornby-le-Wold, the foundation stone of which was laid by the Constable of Ellerton on the 8th of September last, was consecrated today by the Bishop of York. His Lordship, the Rev. Dr. B. W. Newton, the Vicar, Mr. W. E. Phillips, and the Rev. Mr. T. J. Rawlins, and a large body of the local clergy. The church, however, was not open for service, as the Rev. Mr. D. H. White, the India Doctor, who live in the district, and all the attendants are to be unprovided, and entirely free.

It is said that no persons have been discovered in Haarvest, and capital is being rapidly reharvested in England to raise the oil from them, which are reported to be enormous.

Yesterdays death of Mr. C. H. Edye, the Recorder of York, died rather suddenly, at his residence just over the city, at advanced age. He held the office of Recorder of Richmond, Judge of the Court of Record at York, and Clerk of the Pleas, and the King's Bench, Vice-Chancellor of the University of York, and the Queen's Prothonotary.

A select committee was appointed on the 28th of February last to inquire into the constitution of the Committee of Council on Education, and the system under which the business of the office is conducted, and also the practice of making grants to the various Governmental agencies and the particular mode of disbursing them.

【図1】1865年8月4日Pall Mall Gazette（出典脚注1）

り、幕府は支那の「征撫撫臺」の内閣に轉換された。それで支那へ、一八六五年五月十一日（英治元年四月十八日）、幕府は再び空軍の進発を朝廷に申上した、十一月二十一日（十一月廿日）、海軍の諸艦は嶽州藩の軍隊を駆逐した（第一次嶽州出兵）。

幕府が第一次嶽州出兵を決定したのは、イギリス国内に報じられたのである。その記事の一文が、一八六五年八月四日（慶應元年六月十二日）発行の Pall Mall Gazette に掲載されたのである<sup>1</sup>。その範囲が【図一】である。“CHINA AND JAPAN” のターミナル十～三月四日の範囲で、次の如き欄に記してある。

The Tycoon had determined to attack Prince Nagato, and had reviewed 100,000 troops.

It was rumoured that Prince Satsuma intended to join Nagato.

將軍は長門（長州）藩主を攻撃するのを決定し、十万の軍隊を閲兵した。薩摩藩主は長門に与するつもりであるといふ噂が流れだ。

IJの記事では、第一次嶽州出兵の情報と回路は、薩摩藩が長州藩を支持するにかかると報じられておりである。薩摩藩は、一八六五年（慶應元年）に組立ねども、町の盛衰の回路の動向が書かれていたもの、イギリス国内に記載されているところだけはわからず。

○第一次嶽州出兵の立場を示したのが【図二】。

IJのものは日本の情報がイギリス国内に記載された経緯を、「図一」の Pall Mall Gazette の範囲からおろす形となる。しかも、IJの記事が発行されたのは、IJの記事が発行されたの後一日（英治元年）の二月二日（慶應元年）である。This Evening's News のタイテルは「REUTER'S TELEGRAMS」として、東洋社のローマ字が配された標題である。たゞ、五一年、ローマー通じて、日本へハーバーベースを開設した英國の The Daily News は、横浜発行の The

JAPAN.” のターミナルで“SHANGHAI, June 22.” とあるが、IJの記事の情報源は上海だ。IJの記事が上海を長門に発送してこられるから、五月十一日（四月十八日）の空軍進発を幕府の長州藩攻撃決定としたが、五月十一日（四月十八日）の空軍進発を幕府の長州藩攻撃決定としたが、上海に回った日本新聞はイギリス新聞に掲載されたので、おそらく一ヵ月半かかるだけだとわかる。

上海に回った日本新聞はイギリス新聞に掲載されたとみないと、それがわかる。



IJの Pall Mall Gazette は、内閣の記事を、十七都府の二十一の新聞社が掲載しているのである。IJの新聞社の所在地と記事の掲載日を記したのが【図二】である。八月四日から十一月九日までの九日間のうちに、北陸・東北・関東の内、北海道・東北地方・関東地方・近畿地方・中国地方・四国地方・九州地方の各新聞社に配達され、イギリス新聞に掲載されたとみないとわかる。

○新聞はイギリスの立場を示したのが【図二】。

新聞はイギリスの立場を示す記事がみなである。IJの一つの例として、次の記事をみてみよう。一八六六年にたぬく、イギリス新聞には、卯月横浜で発行された英伊新聞の記事が必ず掲載されたものだった。一八六六年四月二十七日（慶應二年四月十六日）発行の The Daily News は、横浜発行の The

## JAPAN.

Yokohama advises to the 28th June contain a summary of the convention concluded on the 26th between the English, French, American, Dutch, and Japanese plenipotentiaries. A system of bonded warehouses has been consented to, though the details have yet to be arranged. The system of monetary exchange is to be revised, and all foreign coin or bullion in gold or silver exchanged value for value. Art. 7 guarantees complete liberty to any Japanese subject to trade with foreigners, either in Japan or abroad, subject in the latter case, to the grant of a passport under the proclamation recently issued by the Georgio. The duty leviable on silk is fixed at 75 bobs, and on tea at 3.50 per hundred carats.

The Japan Times contains the following items of news:

The position of affairs in the South is without importance. Her Majesty's ship Conqueror arrived yesterday from Nagasaki, and by her we have news from Shimabara. Our informant, who has lately been at that port for some time, reports that Chosiu, considering the demands of the Shogun about the cession of a large part of his territory, and his own difficulties, had determined to entirely release them, and is perfectly ready to maintain his power over foreign vessels. He is, it is now well known, supported by Satsuma. The following document, purporting to be addressed by that prince to the Shogun, has been placed in our hands, and though we cannot vouch for its authenticity, the source from which we obtain it renders it difficult for us certainly to discredit it. It runs thus:—“Some years ago, on the occasion of a bad harvest, my dominions, I bore with, to purchase, in all ports and harbours convenient places, 3,000,000 bags of supplementary rice (rice to supplement my wants) from China. I also sent 300,000 bags of rice to the Straits, and the Daimyo of Nagasaki was now to allow himself to be taken in by the shallow artifice, and must suffer much inconvenience. We do not, in the least degree, believe that Satsuma ever had any of the above-mentioned rice, but the document is interesting as a specimen of Japanese diplomacy. The Shogun has already paid a million and a half dollars as a penalty for the fault of Chosiu in firing on foreign ships.

We do not know whether the Prince of Nagasaki has been captured by the Chinese, who beat the intruders, not understanding their apology, and the latter drew their swords and killed five of their officers. In Nagasaki we learn that the steamer Ottento-sama has been sold to the Japanese for 50,000 dollars—it is reported, to Chosiu. If so, some ill-feeling is likely to be caused, as he is at war with the Tycoon, and to sell him vessels is clearly to afford him aid.

Reports have been received from Hakodai of a collision between the Japanese and British steamship, in which several of the crew were killed. It appears that a dredging party of Japanese were excreted by the crew of their vessel into a Russian encampment. The troops began to beat the intruders, not understanding their apology, and the latter drew their swords and killed five of their officers.

The Yedo is also reported to be captured by the Chinese, as he is at war with the Tycoon, and to sell him vessels is clearly to afford him aid. The Yedo has been sold for 40,000 dollars, but no compensation does not appear to have been made.

The rate of 3 ita for 1 dol. Rice, 54 cents per picul at custom-house, and about 4 tempos a day in the town. Our correspondent suggests that the import of rice from China would prove remunerative if it were retailed in Nagasaki, instead of being disposed of in a lamp.

## ○國境戦争せうじのものと號ひたのじゆか。

一ハ六六年七月四日（慶應）一年六四七日（慶應）終し國境戦争が大島口に終し國境を定めた。ヤキコス因内ドモ次のもとに詳しく述べてある。

ルの詳説は日本紙の「日本新聞」（一八六六年七月四日）に記載される。

Japan Times の記事によれば、大島の戦争が【図3】の如く。略後の大島の始まり、略記する。

From Nagasaki we learn that the steamer Ottento-sama has been sold to the Japanese for 50,000 dollars—it is reported, to Chosiu. If so, some ill-feeling is likely to be caused, as he is at war with the Tycoon, and to sell him vessels is clearly to afford him aid.

長崎から、蒸気船オテント（太田、ムー）が五万ドルで日本人に売られたという情報を得た。長州藩に税いたる報知もあつてある。もしやうなれば、長州藩は将軍と戦争中であり、蒸気船を売るゝれば明らかに長州藩に援助をしてくることになるので、不信感が生じる可能性がある。

The Japan Times Overland Mail の記事によれば、ヤキコス因内ドモ黒崎は詳説が詳しく述べてある。ルの記事が【図4】の如く。The Japan Herald もルの記事が詳説を以て、概要欄の「JAPAN」の下に「大島口の戰い」として、概要欄の「三撃戦」の大島口に詳説する。

On Saturday, the 4th August, intelligence had reached Yokohama from Osaca, to the effect that in three engagements the troops of the Tycoon had prevailed against those of Choshiu. The scene of action was Oshimagoori, in the province of Soowo, one of the two provinces composing the estate of Mori. The troops engaged on the side of the Tycoon were 5,000 or 6,000 men, under command of Matsdaira Okino-kami, and some infantry and artillery (about 1,200) drilled in the European style.

八月四日の土曜日（大元一十一日）大坂からの横浜に、三つの戦闘に於いて我軍の軍が長州の軍に打た勝つたとの情報が届いた。戦闘の現場は、毛利の領地を構成する11つの地域の一つである周防の大島郡のものが、ヤキコス政府は大島の戦いの戦場をひととて

JAPAN.

From the *Japan Herald* we learn that war has commenced between the Tycoon and Chosiu. The following particulars are given:

On Saturday, the 4th August, intelligence had reached Yokohama from Ossima, to the effect that in three engagements the troops of the Tycoon had prevailed against those of Chosiu. The scene of action was Oshinangoori, in the province of Sowoo, one of the two provinces composing the estate of Mori. The troops engaged on the side of the Tycoon were 5,000 or 6,000 men, under command of Matsudaira Okino-kami, and some infantry and artillery (about 1,200) drilled in the European style. It appears that Simonsaki was occupied by the Tycoon's troops before the war began. Subsequent advices confirm this news, and add:—The Tycoon's troops occupy Ossima, and Chosiu's forces have made an attack on the side of the Straits. They were, however, repulsed, but not before they had destroyed several towns. In the operations Chosiu lost two ships.

Later intelligence in the same paper is as follows:

News has arrived that a body of the Tycoon's forces, under Sakakibara and Ikanomono Kami, has been attacked and defeated by Chosiu's troops at Tsurugashima near Oshinangoori. Details are not given. One of the most important facts arising out of the war is that the Gorogio has requested the foreign ministers to prevent the closing of the Inland sea, until the war is over and the blockade raised. So far as British ships are concerned, her Majesty's minister has power to do—according to the terms of the "Order in Council." But what answer he and his colleagues will give has yet to be decided. On being pressed to say what was intended by the interdiction of Japanese vessels through the Straits of Simonsaki for awhile, the Gorogio has replied that they are not very particular as to the mere passage through. There is yet no chance of the war terminating, as the terms offered by the Tycoon to Chosiu are not agreeable to the latter's followers, and were therefore rejected.

The *Japan Times Overland Mail* says:

It would appear that the Prince of Nagato is carrying the war beyond his own frontiers. In the south Matsudaira Okino-kami another of the Shogoon's generals had seized the island of Oshima, intending thence to make a descent upon Chosiu's territory, but troops were sent to expel him from his position, and he fled at their approach. Satsuma has 25,000 men now in Mikado, and the Shogoon's Gorogio, it is reported, have at last publicly recognised the fact of his hostility to their master. The Prince of Hizen, whose dominions lie between those of Satsuma and Chosiu, and who has long been known as favourable to foreigners and the scheme of confederation, is believed to be on the point of uniting with his neighbours, when the whole of the touch and go will be in the hands of the party of progress. We publish this review with great satisfaction, and with great satisfaction it will doubtless be received by our mercantile readers, as bringing rapidly very near the day when the destruction of the system of monopoly which has hitherto so crippled our trade with Japan.

その場所（大島）からの追出に因る（長州藩の）軍隊が送られ、松山藩主はその進攻によりて退去した。  
このものに、イギリス新聞は、詳細な日本の情勢を伝へる記事を掲載している。マキシス国内における、新聞報道によつて、島嶼出兵から四境戦争開始の情勢が認識わたつたことかわからず。このものには、海外からの明治維新史が唱へかれたものと、史森の短冊によるものと、この二つは根本から明治維新史が唱へかれたものと、が期待された。

- 1 This Evening's News. Pall Mall Gazette, Friday, August 4, 1866; 153. British Newspapers 1600-1900. Gale. Oshima National College of Maritime Technology. 23 June. 2012 <<http://infotrac.galegroup.com/fitweb/oshima?db=BNCN-2>>

- 3 THE INDIA AND CHINA MAILS. Daily News, Monday, August 27, 1866; 6337. British Newspapers 1600-1900. Gale. Oshima National College of Maritime Technology. 22 June. 2012 <<http://infotrac.galegroup.com/fitweb/oshima?db=BNCN-2>>

- 4 摘稿「長州出兵下における長州藩とイギリスの関係—イギリス側の視点を中心とする—」『大島商船高等専門学校紀要』第四四号、110—11年。

- 5 THE OVERLAND MAIL. Daily News, Monday, October 15, 1866; 6379. British Newspapers 1600-1900. Gale. Oshima National College of Maritime Technology. 22 June. 2012 <<http://infotrac.galegroup.com/fitweb/oshima?db=BNCN-2>>

- 6 摘稿「幕長戦争期におけるイギリス新聞の分析—イギリス国内の認識を視点とする—」『大島商船高等専門学校紀要』第四五号、110—11年。

It would appear that the Prince of Nagato is carrying the war beyond his own frontiers. In the south Matsudaira Okinokami another of the Shogoon's generals had seized the island of Oshima, intending thence to make a descent upon Chosiu's territory, but troops were sent to expel him from his position, and he fled at their approach. Satsuma has 25,000 men now in Mikado, and the Shogoon's Gorogio, it is reported, have at last publicly recognised the fact of his hostility to their master. The Prince of Hizen, whose dominions lie between those of Satsuma and Chosiu, and who has long been known as favourable to foreigners and the scheme of confederation, is believed to be on the point of uniting with his neighbours, when the whole of the touch and go will be in the hands of the party of progress. We publish this review with great satisfaction, and with great satisfaction it will doubtless be received by our mercantile readers, as bringing rapidly very near the day when the destruction of the system of monopoly which has hitherto so crippled our trade with Japan.

approach.

長野（長州）藩主は自分の国境を越えて攻勢してゐる所である。南部では、将軍の一人の将官である松平隱岐守（松山藩主）が、長州藩の領土を急襲するやうに大島を占拠したが、松山藩主を

維新史回廊だよりは、県内各地の文化振興担当課や博物館・資料館、県政資料館に置いています。既刊記は、維新史回廊ホームページ（「維新史回廊だより」で検索）で御覧いただけます。

次回は今年の円発行の予定です。お待ち御期待ください。