

## 民衆を信頼し、文明を追い求め

—フランシス・ウェイランド著『道徳科学要論』とその影響—

### 序 説

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## BELIEF IN PEOPLE, PURSUIT OF CIVILIZATION

An Introduction to the Studies of *The Elements of Moral Science*  
and Its Influence In the Early Meiji Era

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### Abstract

In 1873 the first four translations of *The Elements of Moral Science* were published. Eleven translations in all were done of the same book in Japan during the ten years, 1873-1882. The fact, considered as a cultural phenomenon, has attracted researchers' attention.

In the essay the first four translations is discussed in terms of the social and historical situations, with particular stress laid on the attitude common to the translators. They claimed in their prefaces or introductory essays that Japan should be a civilized nation and to civilize Japan its people should be educated, giving importance to the role of its people in the nation. At the same time they seemed to have an overly idealized notion of *civilization* and to see civilized nations such as England or America as ideally moralistic ones.

In this essay the facts about the published translations are reported in section 2. And the original prefaces are shown in modernized letters in Appendices for the readers' convenience.

The aim of this essay is to introduce the first four translations, published in 1873, of *The Elements of Moral Science* written by Francis Wayland and first published in 1835 in the United States of America. This book was somehow very popular in Japan in the early years of the Meiji Era, and another three translations followed in 1874, 1875 and 1877. Eleven translations in all were done of this book during the ten years between 1873 and 1882. (See Appendix III)

These books were primarily published for school teachers to read and study in preparation for their classes. In 1872 the Japanese Government officially announced that they had worked out an educational

system and would put the educational system into operation in 1873. This educational system was the first one that Japan had ever had for its people in history. Among the subjects to be taught at schools, moral teaching was included.

The year 1873 was the sixth year of the Meiji Era. It was only five or six years since Japan underwent a great political and social change, in which the Tokugawa Government fell and the Meiji Government was established in 1868.

Why so many translations of the book were done in those years? Who did the translations? And what kind of men were they? Why and how did they find

the book and choose to translate it? How were the translators educated? Such were the questions to be answered in this essay.

## I The Spirit of the Age

The translators were YASUDA Hisanari, KOMUCHI Tomotsune, YAMAMOTO Yoshitoshi and ZEDO Noboru. And I would like to add NAKAMURA Masanao, who wrote a preface for Yasuda's translation, to the group of the four translators, as he will be the most important person, who most represents the spirit of the age.<sup>1</sup> The term that most represented the age was 'CIVILIZATION'. And to civilize Japan educating people was thought commonly to be essential.

NAKAMURA Masanao, former Professor at the Shoheiko School<sup>2</sup>, had stayed in England for about a year and a half between 1866 and 1868 with the young men who were sent to England to study by the government. He was greatly impressed at what he saw in London and at the political and social situation in England.<sup>3</sup> He fully realized the importance of people in a society and in a nation. In 1868 when the Tokugawa Government fell, he returned to Japan.

He moved from Tokyo to Shizuoka to teach at the Shizuoka School, and there he translated Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*, a copy of which had been given to him by his English friend for a present when he left England. His translation was published in 1870.

In his prefaces to some of the chapters he expressed his admiration to the civilization of England, the basis of which, he thought, must be the democratic views and beliefs held by English people.<sup>4</sup> He knew civilization of a nation depends on its people. When he found the following passage in *Self Help*, he must have felt a great satisfaction and have agreed fully to the author's view.

The noble people will be nobly ruled, and the ignorant and corrupt ignobly. Indeed all experience serves to prove that the worth and strength of a State depend far less upon the form of its institutions than upon the character of its men. For the nation is only an aggregate of individual conditions, and civilization itself is but a question of the personal improvement of the men, women, and children of whom society is composed. (*Self*

*Help*, Chap. 1)<sup>5</sup>

It will be important as well as useful to know that a political leader of the Government also had this view of people. For example, ETO Shimpei, who is thought to have played a really important role in working out the Educational Act of 1872, is mentioned in MOURI's essay and his opinion is introduced as follows:

'The wealth and the strength of a nation depends on whether or not its people can live comfortably and happily without any fears. We must treat our people as equal beings, if we will help them to live in a comfortable state.'<sup>6</sup>

The four translators, especially Komuchi and Zedo, seem to share the spirit of the age in common, which will be considered when the prefaces to their books are discussed below.

First, however, it would be necessary to have a look at the book by Wayland and know something about it and its author, and then to see how it was so popular.

## II How *The Elements of Moral Science* was Translated in Japan in the early years of the Meiji Era

### i *The Elements of Moral Science*

*The Elements of Moral Science* was written by Francis Wayland and was first published in April, 1835, and the second edition in September the same year. The revised edition was completed in August, 1865, according to its Preface, and was published in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

The author was an American clergyman and educator. He was born in New York in March, 1796, and died on September 30, 1865. He was graduated in 1813 from Union College. After medical and theological studies he was a tutor there from 1817 to 1821. He then became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston.

In 1827 he was made president of Brown University, in Providence, and stayed in office for 28 years until 1855. He was reputed as an inspiring teacher, and wrote many widely used textbooks and other works, of which *The Elements of Moral Science* is one, in the fields of moral and intellectual philosophy and political economy.

There are two versions of the book. One version is that of the original work, and the other is an abridged one. According to the Preface to the second edition, the author wished to present the more important truths of moral science, in such a form as may be useful in schools. And with this view, he not only abridged but also re-wrote the original book.

The Abridged version was also published in 1835, after the second edition was published.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted here that the first four translations were all done from the Abridged version.

The book is divided into four parts, and each part into several chapters.

Part FIRST

Part SECOND THE DUTIES OF MAN TO GOD,  
AND TO HIS FELLOW MAN, OF  
LOVE TO GOD, OR PIETY

Part THIRD LOVE TO MAN, OR MORALITY

Part FOURTH THE DUTIES OF BENEVOLENCE

Part First is not given a title. But it corresponds to Chapter I of Book First of the Unabridged edition, whose title is 'OF THE ORIGIN OF OUR NOTION OF THE MORAL QUALITY OF ACTIONS'. A characteristic common to the four translations of the book is that Part Second was omitted.

The name of Francis Wayland and the two of his books, *The Elements of Moral Science* and *The Elements of Political Economy*, have been remembered in Japan in association with FUKUZAWA Yukichi, who first found Wayland's books very important and useful.

Fukuzawa got his copy of *Political Economy* in the United States in 1867, when he visited it for the second time. He used it as a textbook at his school. As for *The Elements of Moral Science*, an episode has been told that one of his students found and bought a copy in Yokohama in around 1868. When it was shown to him, Fukuzawa knew at first sight it was a very useful book and in no time had sixty copies ordered.<sup>3</sup> He adopted it as a textbook for his school, too, and he himself taught it to his class. There is evidence to support that the book Fukuzawa read and was inspired by, as he wrote '*Gakumon No Susume*', was the Unabridged edition<sup>4</sup>.

ii How popular was the book in Japan in the early

years of the Meiji Era?

In the *Comprehensive Catalogue of the Moral Books for Schools, 1870 – 1902*<sup>1</sup>, compiled in 1961 by KAIGO, 569 moral school books are listed that were published between 1870 to 1902.

The 69 moral school books of the 569 titles listed in the *Catalogue* were published in the eight years from 1870 to 1877. The first title in the *Catalogue* is the translation by NAKAMURA Masanao of Samuel Smiles's *Self Help*<sup>2</sup>, the second MITSUKUTRI Rinsho's translation of a French moral book for schools<sup>3</sup> and the third FUKUZAWA's *Moral Lessons for Children*<sup>4</sup>, translated, as it is said in its Preface by the author, from a moral class book which had been published in Britain. (No moral school books were listed in the years 1868 and 1869.)

The number of the moral school books published in 1873 showed a remarkable increase, from 3 titles in 1872 to 21 titles. They were primarily written for school teachers to read and study in preparation for class.

Of the 69 books, about thirty were obviously based on European or American moral books. And of the thirty European and American moral books, American books were sixteen, British five and French three.

Of the sixteen American moral books, listed in the *Catalogue*, which were translated and published in the years between 1870 and 1877, six were translations of the Abridged edition of *Elements of Moral Science*. (See List I below)

List I **Translations of Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science*, 1873 – 77**

[the number in parentheses is that of the *Catalogue*.]

- 1 (13) Shakai Gyofu (tr.), 'Moral Science' three vols. (Tokyo, 1873)
- 2 (15) YASUDA Hisanari (tr.), 'An Elementary Course of Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1873)
- 3 (17) YAMAMOTO Yoshitoshi (tr.), 'Western Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1873)
- 4 (\*) ZEDO Noboru (tr.), 'The Mirror of the Heart and Mind: A Book for Teaching Moral Lessons in Schools'. (Tokyo, 1873)
- 5 (35) ABE Taizo (tr.), 'Moral Science' (Tokyo, Ministry of Education, 1874)
- 6 (44) HIRANO Hisataro (tr.), 'Moral Science'

(Tokyo, 1875)

- 7 (46) TAKAGI Makage (tr.), 'Principles of Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1877) (See Appendix II for the Japanese titles.)

The fact that the number of the translations of *The Elements of Moral Science* is remarkably large has attracted researchers' notice. ITO paid his attention to the fact and discussed it in his book, the section of which is titled '*Elements of Moral Science* was very popular and was translated by not a few men in the early years of the Meiji Era.<sup>5</sup> Ito first made a list of the translations in which five titles were listed.<sup>6</sup> Later he amended his list, in which five titles were added.<sup>7</sup> (See Appendix III for the Japanese titles in Ito's lists.)

But TAKAGI's 'Principles of Moral Science' (No.7 (46)) is somehow not found in the list. In addition, another book was found and reported by the writer of this essay which is neither listed in the *Catalogue* nor in Ito's lists.<sup>8</sup> Its title is 'The Mirror of the Heart and Mind: A Book for Teaching Moral Lessons in Schools', translated by ZEDO Noboru and published in 1873. It is listed as No. 4 (\*) in the List I above.

### III NAKAMURA Masanao (1832 – 1891) and YASUDA Hisanari (1836 – 1904)

#### i 'A person's life is heavier than the whole Earth.'

NAKAMURA Masanao was asked to write a preface by his friend YASUDA Hisanari, who gave his translation of *The Elements of Moral Science* a Japanese title meaning 'An Elementary Course in Moral Science.'

The spirit of the age as well as the writer's attitude is well shown in the Preface. Nakamura writes: 'Prosperity and stability of a kingdom lies neither in the greatness of its wealth, nor in the strength and power of its armed forces, nor in the glory of its royal house. It lies only in its people, who earnestly try to cultivate their persons and characters.' (See Appendix IV for the texts in Japanese and in English.)

He was a man with a firm belief in humanity. 'A person's life is heavier than the whole Earth'<sup>1</sup> will be one of the best known sayings composed during the past hundred and some forty years in Japan. This saying, found in his own Preface to his translation of

Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*, shows that he had a highest regard for humanity. It has occasionally been cited by leading people of Japan, when humanity is exposed to risk.

This saying also shows his view that people are very valuable, and every person of a nation is a very important being. It clearly announces that every person is equal in his or her value.

Nakamura also knew the importance of religion. He himself was baptized into the Christian faith next year, that is, in 1874. He is known to be one of the earliest Christians in Japan. He saw that Wayland's book was written based on Christian faith, and thought that it was a great advantage of the book. He writes in his Preface:

I think there are two kinds of moral philosophy; one deals with only humanity, the other both divinity and humanity. Though the book by Dr. Wayland is merely a small book, it deals truly and firmly with both divinity and humanity. It is intended to be a book for the use of school children, so that they may know the invisible and mysterious existence of God Almighty, when they are very young. I hope the book will be a gate by which young people are guided into the world of virtue. I firmly believe it is a very useful book. Why can it be a shallow one? (See Appendix IV.)

#### ii How were they educated?

Nakamura, professor of the Chinese classics, was perhaps best known to the world as a respected scholar of profound learning. He was also known to be a prominent educator, who kept his own school and taught young men and women. He was later appointed professor at University of Tokyo in 1881 and a member of the House of Peers in 1890.

He was forty-one years old when he wrote the preface, and the oldest of the five. Yasuda was four years younger, but he was also a man of learning. Nakamura and Yasuda must have been acquainted with each other for a long time. Their fathers were both lower class samurais who belonged to and worked for the House of the Tokugawas and its government. They were educated at the Shoheiko School established by the Tokugawa government in the seventeenth century for studying the Chinese classics.

They both entered the school in 1848. Nakamura studied there for about seven years and became a teacher in 1855 at the age of 23. Yasuda studied there for about twelve years and became a teacher in 1860 at the age of 24. They both became Professors at the Shoheiko School in their twenties.

It might be interesting to know that Nakamura tried to study Dutch when he was young. He said in his short biographical article that he had tried to study Dutch at the age of about fourteen or fifteen, but he was reprimanded for it by his teacher and stopped studying it.<sup>2</sup>

Nakamura was already a professor at the Shoheiko School, when he started to study English very secretly in about 1862, because studying and learning a foreign language was not so easily permitted by the government at that time. He was already thirty years of age then, and so he had to study English almost on his own. In 1866, when the Government decided to send several young men to England to study, he was appointed the leader in charge of the young men and went and stayed in England with them until 1868. They returned from England in the same year to Japan.

Nakamura moved to Shizuoka and taught at Shizuoka School there. It was then and there that he started to translate Samuel Smiles's *Self Help* into Japanese. His book 'Saigoku Risshihen' proved to be a best selling book of that year, perhaps the first best seller in Modern Japan. He also studied John Stuart Mill and published a translation of *On Freedom* in 1872.

Yasuda's life is not so well known as Nakamura's. Yasuda also moved from Tokyo to Kakegawa, Shizuoka Prefecture, and opened a private school and taught there. But Yasuda and Nakamura were both asked to return to Tokyo in 1872 to work for the New Government.

When Yasuda began to study English is not known. Perhaps he studied English at the Kaiseisho School of Foreign Languages and Cultures, which the Tokugawa government opened in 1863. Or he studied it in Kakegawa, Shizuoka Prefecture, almost on his own. Or he studied it under the guidance of his friend, Nakamura, after they came back to Tokyo to live and work there.

In 1876, SAKUMA Teiichi<sup>3</sup>, one of those whom he taught at Kakegawa, had an idea of inaugurating an

enterprise and established a printing company. He joined the enterprise and entered into business. He was made the second president of the company in 1898, after the first president, Sakuma, died.

#### IV KOMUCHI Tomotsune

##### i A sweet wish to educate people

Shakai Gyofu is a pseudonym of KOMUCHI Tomotsune (1848 – 1905), who became a member of Parliament in late years. In March, 1873, he went to Yokohama with his friends, as HOSHI Tohru<sup>1</sup> was appointed the deputy manager of the Custom House in Yokohama.

It will be during the several months, from March to August, 1873, that Komuchi translated *ELEMENTS OF MORAL SCIENCE* (Abridged Edition) before he was appointed an official in August that year. He was twenty-five years old then. His friend, Nozawa, who was also an official working at the Customs, says in his recollections of his friend that Komuchi got up at five and did the work of translation until ten o'clock every morning in those days. He also says that Komuchi and his friends read and studied together *History of Civilisation in England* written by Henry Buckle. Nozawa also mentions that Komuchi translated Wayland's *ELEMENTS OF MORAL SCIENCE*, too.<sup>2</sup>

Komuchi explains in his brief preface why he wished to translate the book. His attitude toward educating people is well expressed here. The new age had begun and democracy seemed to be budding. The government announced in 1872 that they were going to have an educational system for people. People's prospects seemed now to be clearing. Even commonest people could raise their status by educating themselves.

He begins his preface by quoting a well known phrase from *the Great Learning*.<sup>3</sup> He speaks very gently to his young readers as if they had studied the great Chinese classic and as if they were so ambitious as to have a wish to be a governor of a state some day.

1 Governing your state, as well as regulating your family, begins by cultivating yourself. In every country, therefore, moral books are made much of, as learning progresses. And in our country, too, more and more moral books have been

translated and published lately. But subjects such as political philosophy, law or moral philosophy, which deal with abstract ideas, are most difficult to study and even well educated men find it difficult to understand what they really mean. I have long felt very sorry for children and young women that the subjects are very difficult to study.

Recently my friends and I have found time to meet together in the evening to read and study *Elements of Moral Science* written by Dr. Wayland, a great American scholar, and to translate it into Japanese. I am very pleased I have got a chance to publish the book for children and young women.

2 This book is intended for children and young women who can not read well, and so I have written it in plain spoken Japanese, unlike other writers. But I have not added to it any ideas or theories of my own. The ideas and theories in the book are all those of the author's.

3 You may sometimes find a statement repeated again and again. The author, Dr. Wayland, not the translator, intentionally does it, so that his younger readers may have a better understanding. I wish my readers not to consider it unpardonable. (See Appendix V for the original Japanese text.)

His intention and attitude about publishing his book is clear. At that time common people's boys and girls, especially girls, had less opportunity to have education, and many girls and women remained illiterate. He felt very sorry for them, and, he says, he tried to translate an American moral book into as easy and plain Japanese as possible.

## ii A strong wish to study

What life had he had before he became a government official?

He was born in a village in the Province of Tango, now a part of Kyoto Prefecture, in August, 1848. His father's family name was Muchi (=鞭), but what trade his father had been engaged in is not clearly mentioned in his biography. In around 1856 his father went up to Kyoto with his son to work for a firm as a manager. There his son started his education at a village school when he was six years old. It is said he

started to learn to read Chinese writings almost at the same time.

In 1859 he was employed by Fukusaya Kanbey<sup>4</sup> to work as an apprentice at the age of ten or eleven. After working there for about four years he returned to his home place in Tango in 1863, when he was fifteen years old.

He came up to Kyoto again in spring next year and stayed with and worked for a doctor. It is said that he tried to study Dutch language there. And almost at the same time he began to study Chinese classics again at Kamiyama-juku School.<sup>5</sup> He devoted himself to Chinese studies for about five years under Professor Kamiyama, who had a good reputation as a great scholar.

In 1869 he was called back to his home place to be appointed as a priest in charge of Jinguji, a mixed type temple of Buddhist and Shinto. Then he changed his name from Muchi, meaning a whip, to Komuchi, meaning a god's whip (=神鞭) and was trained as a priest for several months, studying Shinto and Japanese classics.

He became an official of Miyatsu Province in August 1869, and several months later, in January 1870, he was ordered to go to Tokyo to do his duties. He was twenty-one years old then.

Somehow he resigned the post in July and made up his mind to study English, though he was very poor and had to live in great poverty. Why did he have a strong wish to study English? It is said in the biography that he had a very fervent wish to serve and be useful for his country.<sup>6</sup>

It is said that he first began to study English under the guidance of Professor KA Reishi<sup>7</sup>. But some time later, in spring 1871, he entered Kangaku Gijuku School<sup>8</sup> and studied very hard day and night for several months and made a remarkable progress in English. It is also said that he was so poor and had such great difficulty making a living that he had to ask financial help from his father's friend.<sup>9</sup>

In late autumn next year, 1872, when he was twenty-four years old, Komuchi was asked by his old friends to help HOSHI Toru translate Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* into Japanese. (Hoshi became a powerful politician later.)

In March 1873 HOSHI was appointed deputy manager of the Yokohama Custom House. Komuchi went to Yokohama with him and continued their

work to translate the book. And in August the same year he also became an official of the Ministry of Finance to work at the Yokohama Custom House.

### iii A typical early meiji man

I have described his young days rather in details. Because he belonged, I think, to a group of young men who rose to a high position by making strenuous efforts in studying. They advanced in life through their talent and self-help efforts. They may be called self-help men, typical to the early years of the Meiji Era.

What social class did Komuchi belong to? His father was working as a manager for a firm in Kyoto, when he was a boy of seven or eight years old. He himself worked as an apprentice for a firm in Kyoto. So he seems to have belonged to the merchant class when he was a child. It is said in his biography that it was very exceptional that he was made a provincial official in 1869, though he was a common man.<sup>10</sup>

But he must have been an enormously talented boy, judging from his biography. He was given an opportunity to be educated and loved very much to study very hard. He was recognized by his friends as an excellent student as well as a very hard worker. He began to study English around July 1870 and made a remarkable progress in his English. After a year or two he was thought to be able enough to help translate Blackstone's *Commentaries*. And his English proved to be of great help for his advancement in life as a government official.

## V ZEDO Noboru and YAMAMOTO Yoshitoshi

Almost nothing is known as to what life YAMAMOTO Yoshitoshi and ZEDO Noboru had. When and where were they born? Who were their parents? There is no clues even to these simple questions. Probably because they did not become so prominent as to be written their biographies, even brief ones. But some titles are found in the Catalogue of the Diet Library that are supposed to have been written by them.

But their books, 'Western Moral Science' and 'The Mirror of the Heart and Mind', have some traits that distinguish each of them from the other books.

### i YAMAMOTO Yoshitoshi, 'Western Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1873)

Yamamoto's book 'Western Moral Science' has some traits in terms of its form.

First, it has a portrait of Dr. Wayland printed on the front page. This was very exceptional for a book in Japan in those days.

Secondly, a brief biography of Dr. Wayland is described in an attempt to introduce the author, which occupies three pages of the book. But somehow Yamamoto made some errors. For example, Yamamoto writes that in 1826 Dr. Francis Wayland became President and Great Doctor of Brown University in Rhode Island; that he stayed in office for 43 years and died in 1869. But the fact is that Dr. Wayland became President of Brown University in 1827, and stayed in office for 28 years until he resigned in 1855. What is meant by 'Great Doctor' is not known. (See Appendix VII.)

Thirdly, in his own preface to Book I, Yamamoto makes some facts clear about the book he translated and writes in what situation he carried out the work. It would be interesting to know what edition of the book he used and how he did the work.

According to his preface the book he used had been published in Boston in 1873.<sup>2</sup> And he writes in another place that he started translating the book early in April and finished late in May that year. (See Appendix VIII for the original Japanese text.)

These facts throw some light on when and where the other writers had got their books and how they did their work. Probably the book had been published early, in January or February, that year and was soon exported to Japan.

Most probably Komuchi found a copy of the book at a store in Yokohama soon after he came to stay there in March. He was interested in the book and began to translate it into Japanese soon after he had got it, while he helped his friend translate Blackstone's *Commentaries*. By the way, the translation of the *Commentaries* was published in November 1873.<sup>2</sup> The book is thought to be a landmark in the field of law in Modern Japan.

Yamamoto had published another book, a translation of a French book, in May.<sup>3</sup> He must have been working too hard for a few months. He confesses in his Preface that he became ill.

I started my work early in April and finished late in May this year. How quick I was in completing my

translation! I became sick because of this work. I had planned to work on my manuscript to improve the wording, soon after I have completed my translation, but I could not do it. I had to hand my manuscript to the printer soon after without revising it at all. So I am afraid there must be a lot of errors in my writing.<sup>4</sup>

He also comments on the difficulty in translating things into Japanese in the Preface. It will be interesting how he thought on the problem of translation, but it should be discussed elsewhere.

ii ZEDO Noboru, 'The Mirror of the Heart and Mind' (Tokyo, 1873)

Zedo's book shows two characteristics. One is that some episodes from another book are included in his book. He says in his preface that he has chosen some episodes from a book whose title may be, if translated in English, 'Outlines of Political Economy' written by Podley.<sup>5</sup> Who was Mr. Podley and what was the original title of the book? They have not been identified yet.

Another characteristic is that Zedo wrote a preface of his own and discussed the idea of *civilization* in it and showed clearly his belief in people and his intense enthusiasm for civilization. People and civilization is closely and idealistically connected in his idea.

'Civilization' was a key word of that particular age, the early years of the Meiji Era. The nationwide enthusiasm for pursuing civilization reached its peak. Zedo showed an idealistic way of viewing *civilization*, which was characteristic to some educated young men of the day. It should be noted that the importance of people in a civilized nation was keenly felt and was shown in the spirit of the age presented by prominent persons like Nakamura and Eto as well as by educated young men like Zedo.

His preface is not so long and I prefer to let him say for himself. He did not give his definition of civilization but begins his preface by posing a question how people should live in a civilized nation.

What on earth does the phrase '*civilizing a nation*' mean? If, in a country, its people study very hard and learn what humanity is, and observe carefully the laws and ordinances of the

state, do their duties and keep themselves independent and free without being restrained by others, then the country could be said to be a very civilized country.

Besides, in a country like this, people have good, happy families and go around with others as friendly as if they were members of their family; they follow others, when they see good in them and do good together; and when they see others are in the wrong, they advise them not to; they value the right people with a golden heart and behave with proper decorum.

They do not do any harm to others even when they look after their own interests. They speak well of others openly and do not speak ill of others behind their back. They believe and respect each other, and offer help when they see others in trouble.

In a country like this, when they see some do harm on others, they try and cooperate together to protect those inflicted from harm. The rich help the poor, the strong the weak, and the great are kind to the lesser. They do not envy or hate others, and do to others as they would be done by others.

It's people try to be industrious and not to be lazy. They try to behave themselves. They try very hard not to be proud and luxurious; They wish to be more and more learned, and strive to promote the national interests by trying to discover truths of things in the world as well as in the universe. And they also try to make all kinds of machines and tools. Any thing they do never fails to be useful for their fellow countrymen. Such a country as this could be said to be a most civilized country.

When people wish to make their country to be a very civilized one, how could they successfully achieve their aim, if they would not improve themselves in their learning as well as in their character by striving very hard for the aim.

This is why I have chosen and translated those chapters, which would be of importance and easy for children to learn, out of the books, *Elements of Moral Science* written by Dr. Wayland and 'Outlines of Political Economy' written by Mr. Podley. I hope this little book will be a first step for school children to teach



themselves moral lessons and improve themselves in their character.

An old saying goes that everyone, from an emperor to commonest people, makes it a rule to improve themselves by studying very hard. Is this not a very good saying in the world that will never change its value for generations? How could we not but follow what it tells us to do?

Written humbly and sincerely by ZEDO Noboru August, the 2533rd Year of the Imperial Era (1873)

(Preface to 'THE MIRROR OF THE HEART AND MIND'. See Appendix IX for the Japanese text.)

### CONCLUSION

Relations between Japan and the United States of America started officially in 1850s. Almost at the same time cultural relations between the two countries began. The four translations could be a historical landmark in the cultural relationship between the two countries. Japan began to study and learn whatever was useful to its people. We are lucky that we always had industrious and brilliant young men in every class of society in Japan.

When the brilliant and industrious young men knew that some European and American nations were civilized, they also began to think something should be done to civilize their own country. They were quite enthusiastic for pursuing civilization. But they did not separate the importance of people from the idea of civilization. We are rather surprised to find that some of the political leaders and many educated young men had in common a fervent wish to educate people.

The writer of the essay has tried to clarify what kind of men had made an ambitious attempt to import American way of moral thinking by translating Dr. Wayland's book into Japanese. The four books did not play an important role so brilliantly as was expected. But they show that there were always industrious, brilliant and sometimes quite idealistic young men who were ready to do anything useful for people.

The four young men had a wish to make some contribution to the education of Japanese people. They all thought educating people was quite essential to civilizing a nation and moral education was very

important to people in a civilized nation.

### 参考資料

#### Appendix I This passage is translated into Japanese as follows.

「品格尊キ人民ハ、品格尊キ政事ヲ以テ統治セザルヲ得ズ。蚩愚ニシテ壞悪ナル人民ハ、自ラ愚ナル政事ヲ以テ管理セラル、ナリ歴ク古今を察し、成跡ヲ案ズルニ、邦国の優劣強弱ハ、ソノ人民の品行に關係すること多くして、その國政に關係スルヲ少シ。」何ニトナレバ、邦國ハ、特ニ人民各自一箇ノモノ、合併セル總名ナレバ、所謂開化文明ト云モノハ、他ナシ、ソノ國ノ人民男女老少、各自に品行を正クシ、職業ヲ勉メ藝事を修メ善スルモノ、合集シテ開化文明トナルヲナリ。」

(「西国立志編」第1編3)

\*本文は初版による。原文ではルビは左右(上下)に適宜振られているが、ここでは右(上)に統一した。

#### Appendix II

表I ウェイランド著『道徳科学入門』翻訳表(明治6年—10年)

〔( )の数字は「修身教科書総目録」の番号〕

- 1 (13)『修身学(一名人の行道)』 3冊 謝海漁夫(訳) 東京、明治6年刊
- 2 (15)『修身学初歩』 1冊 保田久成(訳) 東京、明治6年刊
- 3 (17)『泰西修身論』 3冊 山本義俊(訳) 東京、明治6年刊
- 4 (\*)『童蒙修身心廻鏡』 1冊 是洞能凡類著訳 東京 明治6年刊
- 5 (35)『修身論』 3冊 阿部泰蔵(訳) 東京、文部省、明治7年刊
- 6 (44)『修身学』 4冊 平野久太郎(訳) 東京、明治8年刊
- 7 (46)『修身の理』 1冊 高木眞蔭(訳) 東京、明治10年刊

#### Appendix III

#### List II Translations of Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science* made by Ito.

[the number in parentheses is that of the *Catalogue*.]

[表2] ウェイランド著『道徳科学入門』翻訳表<sup>(8)</sup>

〔( )の数字は「修身教科書総目録」の番号〕

- 1 (13)『修身学(一名人の行道)』 3冊 謝海漁夫(訳) 東京、明治6年刊  
Shakai Gyofu (tr.), 'Moral Science' three vols. (Tokyo, 1873)
- 2 (17)『泰西修身論』 3冊 山本義俊(訳) 東京、明治6年刊  
YAMAMOTO Yoshitoshi (tr.), 'Western Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1873)

- 3 (35) 「修身論」 3冊 阿部泰蔵 (訳) 東京、文部省、明治7年刊  
ABE Taizo (tr.), 'Moral Science' (Tokyo, Ministry of Education, 1874)
- 4 (44) 「修身学」 4冊 平野久太郎 (訳) 東京、明治8年刊  
HIRANO Hisataro (tr.), 'Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1875)
- 5 (70) 「威氏修身学」洋本2冊 大井鎌吉訳 文部省発行 明治11-12年刊<sup>9)</sup>  
OHI Kamakichi (tr.), 'Dr. Wayland's Moral Science' (Tokyo, Ministry of Education, 1878-9)
- 6 (15) 「修身学初歩」 1冊 保田久成 (訳) 東京、明治6年刊  
YASUDA Hisanari (tr.), 'Elementary Course of Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1873)
- 7 (74) 「啓蒙修身談」 1冊 神頼知常 明治11年  
KOMUCHI Tomotsune (tr.), 'Moral Talks for School Children' (Tokyo, 1878)
- 8 (127) 「通俗修身学入門」 1冊 大井鎌吉 明治13年。  
OHI Kamakichi (tr.), 'Elements of Moral Science for School Children' (Tokyo, 1880)
- 9 (146) 「修身論略」 2冊 吉見経倫 明治14年。  
YOSHIMI Tsunenori (tr.), 'Elementary Course of Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1881)
- 10(218) 「初学修身学」 6冊 千村五郎 明治15年。  
CHIMURA Goro (tr.), 'Elementary Course of Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1882)

\*追加5点(6-10)、『福沢諭吉論考』 76-77頁

\*Nos. 6 to 10 are added in the Amended List. ITO, *Ibid.*, pp.76-7

伊藤があげている10点は明治10年以後のものも含まれている。しかし、表1(A)の14(46)「修身の理」(1冊 高木真蔵)は入っていない。さらに「修身教科書総目録」にも収載されていないし、また、伊藤の表にもふくまれていないウェーランドの翻訳が存在する。表I、4(\*)『童蒙 修身心廻鏡』(1冊 是洞能凡類著訳 東京 明治6年刊)である。

The number of the works in the list that Ito made is 10, and the works published after 1878 are also included.

But TAKAGI's 'Principles of Moral Science' (Tokyo, 1877) somehow is not found in the list. And ZEDO's *Mirror* is neither included in the *Catalogue* nor in Ito's List. So the number of translations, done in the first ten years of the Meiji Era, should be corrected from 6 to 7, and the 'List of the Translations of Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science*, 1873-77' should be revised as in the List I above.

## Appendix IV

### 修身學序

路<sup>ルター</sup>傷者新教之唱首也。其言曰。國之福祉昌盛。不在干財賦之富。不在干砲台之強。不在干宮室之大。唯由干人民脩身心立品行者之多也。如此人民之中。一國之利益存焉。勢力存焉。權能存焉。有味乎其言之也。吾人眼孔小。見識卑。不能察西國富強之原。而徒求之於形似之末。近雖稍悟其謬。而獨悲堂下人不能辨堂上人曲宜。曰是曰非。終屬孟浪。嗚乎何時而得見日光破幽暗乎。頃保田子道譯衛蘭德修身學。乞余題一言。余躍然喜曰。豈哉茲舉。夫修身學有二種。一止論人倫。一首論神人之倫。衛氏之茲書雖僅僅小冊子矣。而二者骨備。以此為幼童課業之書。使其夙知有無形而妙有之神。入于修身之門。其為益豈淺淺哉。余亦欲譯修身書之類。名曰西國崇行編。未竟功緒。而君譯先成。四方人早得知有此學。余烏得不喜乎。嗚呼今日從角之童子。至壯強之年。為修身砥行之人。吾邦福祉昌盛之國。日光圓滿。揚輝海內。如茲書者。亦不為與無力矣。

明治六年十月

中邨正直撰  
關 雪江書

### 修身學序 Prefce to 'Elementary Course of Moral Science'

Luther was a German leader of the Reformation. According to him Peace and Prosperity of a kingdom lies neither in the greatness of its wealth, nor in the strength and power of its armed forces, nor in the glory of its royal house. It lies only in its people, who will try to cultivate their persons and characters.

In its people lies Prosperity of a kingdom, its strength and greatness and its power. You should appreciate that there is truth in this statement.

Our eyes are very small; our knowlege is not always profound; and our views and opinions are not always right. We do not always know correctly why and how European and American countries are so wealthy and strong. Even though we try to know why from what we see, and think we have found an answer, we may realize later that we have made an error.

I only deplore that we common people can not tell if the people of high ranks speak right or wrong. Some say what they say is right, and some say wrong. But we can not tell definitely whether it is right or wrong. Ah! I cannot but ask myself when the sun will defeat the dark; that is, when truth will be out?

Recently my friend Yasuda has translated Dr. Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science*, and has asked me to write a preface. I danced for joy and said what an ambitious enterprise it was!

I think there are two kinds of moral philosophy; one deals

with only humanity, the other divinity and humanity. Though the book by Dr. Wayland is merely a small book, it deals truly and firmly with both divinity and humanity. It is intended to be a book for the use of school children, so that they may know the invisible and mysterious existence of God Almighty, when they are very young. I hope the book will be a gate by which young people are guided into the world of virtue. I firmly believe it is a very useful book. Why can it be a shallow one?

I myself have had a wish to translate a book of moral philosophy, too. I think I will give the book a title 'Respectable Deeds in European Countries'. But I have not finished it yet and Yasuda's translation was done sooner.

Very soon people of our country will know the existence of the moral philosophy. How can I not but be glad? Ah! I feel I could see as if many people, from young children to grown-up people, were trying assiduously to cultivate themselves to be virtuous persons.

Our country is a very prosperous and peaceful country. The sun shines gently over the land and the sea. I do not doubt at all that a book like this will be very useful.

Preface written by Nakamura Masanao in October 1873  
Calligrapher SEKI Seckou  
(脩身學序 Translated into Japanese by YAMAGUCHI Takao.)

Appendix V

啓蒙脩身談凡例

一 國を治め家を齋るも其元は皆身を脩るより始る故に萬國でも文學の進歩に隨て脩身の書を尊び本邦に於ても亦晩近脩身書の譯出頗る多し然れども政典法律脩身等の如く無形の心志に係る學問は最も

〔一丁左〕

むつかしきものにて大人と雖も其真意を悟ること甚だ難し余童蒙婦女子の爲に之を遺憾とする久し頃者少く聞を得たるを以て夜々二三の學友を會し米國の鴻儒「ウェイランド」氏の著せる「モラル、サイエンス」と云える脩身書を意譯し童蒙婦女子の爲に梓に上す

〔二丁右〕

一 此書は素より全く童蒙婦女子の多く書を読み得ざる者に話し聞かむの趣意なれば他の譯書と大に文意を異にし勉めて里俗の談話文を用ゆ然れども更に一点の私意自論を加へしにあらづ皆原書の意を採りしものなり  
一 書中往々一事を繰返し々々再三述る

〔二丁左〕

事有りて大に重複に似たれども元と童蒙に示すものなれば洋人の勉て丁寧に會得し易き様意を用ひたるものなり乞ふ看客の厭ふ勿れ

明治十一年九月 譯者再誌

注 和装本の頁指示。和本の二つ折りにした、Rは右面、Lは左面、をあらわす。以下同じ。例〔5丁-R〕は「5丁右面」の意。

\* The Preface is translated into English by the writer of this essay.

\* Another Preface (Appendix VI) by Komuchi would also be interesting to the readers.

Appendix VI

〔一丁右〕

啓蒙脩身談序

凡そよるつものに、首頭と尻のなきものはござらぬことぢやが、其尻といふものハ、何時でも何に付てあつても、賤しく首頭といふものハ、其かはりにも、又何時でも何に付てあつても、一番貴きものぢや、何故にといへば、この首頭といふものハ、何のかしらでも皆其物の中の一歩大切なる物を集めて居る処ぢやからでござる其処で人間といふものハ鳥でも獸でも、およそ余外のもの持て居らぬ、こころといふものを所有して、これが千萬年たつても、朽ちもせぬもので、又

〔一丁左〕

物事のよしあし筋道の直き曲れる迄、髪の一毛一本なども間違へば、に、明々瞭々と見はける様なる、奇妙奇代のはたらきを備て居る故に、何如に考へても、萬物の中では、人か首頭に相違ないぢや、しかしながら、人間の中に、また尻と首頭とがあつて物を知らぬ、行為の善なき、私のごときものは、何時でも人の尻に廻るぢや、若し夫れがくやしければ、學問といふことをして物事を能く弁知るより外の仕方はないぢや、又、これさへ骨於(オ)れば、子供でも女中でも、牛でも、金でも、売りもせねば、買ふことも出来ぬ、人間一番の貴きものを得ることが、間違なくできるぢや、其故に皆さん、人間の爲るよるづ

〔二丁右〕

の仕事の中でも、又此學問を第一の貴き仕事ぢやといふてあるじや、而してこれが又大日本國だけではござらぬ西洋の國々のよく開化せし処へ行けば往ほど此學問といふことを貴むこととてござる、夫に付此頃私其西洋のくらしや其國人の本の起りより、政府の体裁、歴代の沿革りに至るまでの事を稽古致して居ることなれど、この學問のみにてハ同じ學問の中にも、今ひとつ人に取りて肝要なる一番貴き學問がよそよそなる故にこれより重米利加合衆國の人にて近頃の大學者なる「ウェイランド」といふ人の著述されたる夫の學問の中にも最も貴重なる「モラル、サイエンス」といふて、人間の萬物に首頭たる所以の人のこころといふものを脩め人の身を脩むる於きての學問を前々よりの稽古に取りませて、勉強いたすでござるふことぢや、然し皆さん私の稽古は、子供衆だちや女中方に聞てもらふこころを故に少しなりともわかりやすきやうに、さとことばの賤しきもいとはず、かざりなしに話たてまするほどに、ことばの賤しきはゆるしたまひて耳をすましこころを落付け、話の趣意をよくあじはゑて、首頭の首頭に皆さんなつてくだされませと神鞭知常まをす、

Second Preface (『啓蒙脩身談序』) (Translated by Yamaguchi.)

Everything has its head and tail. Tails are always base, to whatever they may belong. Heads are most valuable, on the

contrary, to whatever they may belong. Because in heads are collected the most important things of those they belong to.

Human beings possess hearts and minds which birds, animals and other things do not have, and which will not rotten even after ten million years have passed. Hearts and minds have a wonderful ability with which you judge clearly whether things are good or bad or whether your views and opinions are right or wrong, however small the differences may be. As human beings have hearts and minds, we cannot but admit they are the lord of creation.

But some people are called heads, best people, and some tails, very bad people. Those who are ignorant and behave badly like me are always considered as tails. If you do not like to be classed in the group of tails, you will have nothing to do but study very hard and try to have good judgement.

My readers! Children and Young Women! If you study very hard, you will surely be rich enough to get most valuable things for you, which you will not have in possession if you do not sell your cows or pieces of gold.

For this reason I suggest that learning is most important for you. Not only in Great Japan but also in very civilised countries in Europe and America, learning is thought to be very important.

I have been studying for several years how people live their lives in European and American countries, their history, how their governments are formed and what history their governments have. But, I am afraid, moral philosophy, one of the most important subjects for you, would be neglected, if I study only these subjects.

So I think I will read and study *Elements of Moral Science* alongside with those subjects that I have been studying. The book was written by Dr. Wayland, one of the greatest scholars that the United States of America has ever had in recent years. It deals with how you rectify your mind and how you cultivate your person.

But, Readers, my lessons will be given in plain and simple spoken Japanese without any embellishments, so that children and women can understand easily. Forgive me for using plain spoken language, if you do not like it, and please try to listen calmly and appreciate what I mean. I wish each of you to be head of heads, that is, leader of the people.

## Appendix VII

[5丁-R]

淮 蘭 德 小 傳  
 淮蘭德名ハ弗蘭西<sup>フランド</sup>期<sup>キ</sup>・合衆国<sup>アメリカ</sup>ニウヨルク<sup>ニューヨーク</sup>ノ人也 \*斯の誤りならん  
 一千七百九十六年ニ生ル幼ニシテ聡敏好テ生理ノ學ヲ脩ム弱冠ニシテ試ミラレハ<sup>試ミラレハ</sup>ブチストト云職ヲ奉ス【<sup>試ミラレハ</sup>】是以テ愈神學ニ名アリ。千八百十三年<sup>ユニオン</sup>ユニオン<sup>コルレ</sup>ニ<sup>ニ</sup>チ【<sup>試ミラレハ</sup>】ニ於テ學業試問<sup>ニ</sup>ノ時大ニ名譽ヲ顯シ \*原文ノママ  
 因テ其身ノ等級ヲ昇進シタリ其後<sup>ア</sup>ンド<sup>エ</sup>ル<sup>ト</sup>云フ地方ノ神學教導所ニ於テ益勉勵刻苦ヲ極メ遂ニ此學ノ蘊奧ニ詣レリ淮氏ノ學述日ニ  
 [5丁-L]  
 新ニ言行日に純ニ人ノ矜式スル所名望ノ属ス

ル所終ニ一千八百二十六年<sup>ロード</sup>島<sup>ニ</sup>在ル<sup>ズ</sup>ロ<sup>オ</sup>ント云ヘル大學校ノ主宰兼大博士ニ任ゼラレタリ戰ニ在ルコト四十三年一千八百六十九年病ヲ以テ没ス]此人ノ著書中最モ著明ナルモノハ一千八百三十五年ニ述作シタル脩身論一千八百三十七年ニ述作シタル經濟書一千八百四十年ニ述作シタル返答書一千八百四十五年ニ述作シタル奴隸の務及ヒ汚班ヲ摘潔スヘキコトヲ戰トナシ而タ借債ヲ負タル人ニ就テ論シ  
 [6丁-R]

タルモノニシテ「キリスチアニチー、エンド、スラベリー」ト名ケタル書及ヒ一千八百五十四年ニ述作シタル生理書等ノ五部ナリ」<sup>達利士烏爾德</sup>ト云フ道德有セル人此返答書を稱嘆シテ曰ク都テ返答スルノ際ニ當リ考思ヲシテ他徑ニ迷ハズ一向ニ善良ノ道途ニ進歩セシムベク指教シタル一大益書ナリト

●在職期間 1827-1855  
 ●それぞれ28年、1865年が正しい

## Appendix VIII

[7丁-R]

泰西修身論卷之一

凡例 (Preface to the 'Western Moral Science' Part I)

一 此書原名「エレメンツ、オフ、モラアール、サアイーンズ」トイフ即チ身ヲ脩ル學問ノ義ナリ、今稱呼ノ辨ナラサルニ因リ之ヲ顔シテ泰西脩身論ト名ク即チ合衆国伯拉荷<sup>アラバマ</sup>大學校ノ督學兼脩身學博士<sup>フランド</sup>弗蘭西<sup>ス</sup>淮蘭德<sup>ニ</sup>の著述ニシテ西曆紀元一千八百七十三年保斯頓府ノ刊行ニ係る

一 此書ハ淮氏天縱ノ俊オヲ以テ脩身學習スル  
 [7丁-L]

所ヲ大中學校ノ此學ヲ脩メントスル生徒ノ為ニ積年苦慮シテ編集シタルモノナリ奚ヲ以テ字々皆金玉の如ク敢テノ厥語贅章ナシ故ニ世ノ泰西脩身學の門竊ヲ窺ント欲スル者ハ之レヲ以テ金科玉條トナシ須ク反覆玩味スベシ

一 モラアール、ト云フ語ハ漢ニ心學正經端正善良勤善等ノ數譯アリ然レトモ皆一概ニシテ悉ク其義を盡スコト能ハズ因テ今暫ク心學ノ字ヲ假テ之レヲ填ム蓋シ心學トハ猶人ノ行フ

[8丁-R]

所人ノ當ニ為スヘキ所人ノ固ヨリ為サマル可ララサル所ト謂フガゴトシ

一 古ヨリ翻譯ノ体ニアリーハ直譯トイヒ一ハ襲譯トイフ而シテ今世間翻譯家の著ス所ヲ觀ニ大抵体ハ原書ニ倣ヒ文章ハ漢ニシテ和ナル者畢竟是直譯ニアラス襲譯ニアラス其斯ヲ何トカ謂ン參譯ト謂ンノミ今僕等ノ譯スル所モ亦タ之レニ同シ

一 此書を譯スルニ佛經中ノ熟字ヲ用フルコト頗ル多シ此人口ニ膾炙シテ其意義了然タレハ

[8丁-L]

ナリ即チ懺悔罪業破戒應報ノ類之レヲ謂フ其他米利堅龍動ノ如ク亦タ人目ニ慣ル、モノハ之レヲ襲用ス余ハ盡ク假字ヲ以テ之レニ當ツ蓋

シ准氏自ラ云ヘルコトアリ曰ク我此書ヲ著スニ只、平生日用ノ語ヲ以テス庶幾ハ讀者ヲシテ速ニ其意義ヲ了解セシメント今僕等此書ニ於ル亦タ唯、文字ハ達意ヲ主トシ譯ハ穩當ナランコトヲ務ム且漢字ニ綱ハス焉ソ文辭ヲ彫琢スルコトヲ得ンヤ由テ竊ニ謂ラク不文ノ僥倖暗ニ作者ノ微意ニ吻合スト

[9丁-R]

一 此稿當歲四月ノ初ニ起リ五月ノ末ニ卒ル何ソ倉卒編ヲ成ノ急ナルヤ僕等之レカ為ニ胸問ノ薇恙ヲ覺フ且ヤ卒業ノ上之レガ剛潤ヲ為ニスルノ志アリテ之レヲ果スコト能ハス俄然トシテ以テ制厥氏ニ附ス故ニ其謬誤純訛必ラス多々ナラン是他ナシ寒牛牧士ノ鞭ニ先テ汗ヲ出スノ類ナリ由テ看官ニ請フ疾行ハ善容ニ違アラスト謂フコトヲ知ランヲ昔シ英人理各谷氏支那ニ遊ヒ易ヲ觀テ之レヲ英語ニ譯シ其本國ニ傳播ス後理氏或ニ謂テ

[9丁-L]

曰ク我易ヲ譯スルハ易シ然レトモ其意義を噬碎スルコトハ我之ヲ能セスト蓋シ理氏ノ宏學鉅才ヲ以テ猶然リ今僕等此書ヲ譯ス何ソ自ラ措ラサルノ甚シキヤ夫脩身學ハ所謂形而上ナルモノニシテ畢竟是仁義性理ノ説ナリ故ニ其議論文章深奥高尚ニシテ固ヨリ思ヒニ深キモノニアラズンバ之レヲ解スル能ハズ然シテ僕等僅ニ一ニ洋書ヲ讀ミ今俄ニ此大業ヲ擔負ス豈卑語ニ譬者蛇ヲ懼レスト謂モノニアラザルヤ是故ニ伏テ大方ニ望ム火輪車

[10丁-R]

中ニ山ヲ看ルガ如キ觀ヲ為サズ勉メテ謬誤ヲ摘發シ之レカ斧正ヲ下サンコトヲ  
明治六年五月 譯者識

Appendix IX

童蒙 脩身心適鏡序

所謂世の文明開化は何ぞや曰ク人々學問を強めて人道を知り國の法令を守りて職分を務め人乃ために束縛 控制せらる、ことのない獨立自由を得る是れ其要なり而して一家親睦の心を擴めて世間に交接し人の是を觀てハ共ニ之を行ひ人の非を觀てハ切に之を諫め義氣を崇び禮讓を厚ふし己れの利を圖りて人を害することなく陽に督めて陰かに毀らず相信じ相敬して他人の憂 苦を旁觀することなく害を作す

[序1丁左]

者あれば協力同心して之を防禦し富者ハ貧者を救ひ強は弱を助け大は小を恵みて相嫉ミ相怨むの心なく我が欲するところを以て人に施こし専はら其産業を 勵んで遊惰浮食の風を脱し強めて謹慎を事として驕奢 傲慢の弊を破り智識を開き國益を謀り事物の理を究め百般乃器械を作り其所為一つとして人民の益に非ること無きが如きは是れ文明開化の盛なるものなり此くの如く文明開化に進むの本ハ人々先つ身を脩むる乃一事に在り然らずんば其れ何そ之

[序二丁右]

に至らんや故に余ウエーランド、ボードリー兩氏の脩身書并に經濟說略の中より其說の要にして了解し易く且つ記憶し易き數章を鈔譯し

て以て兒童の輩をして身を修免事を慎むの道を訓ゆるを初階となす古語に曰ク天子より庶人に至るまで壹に是れ皆な身を脩むるを以て本となすと是れ字内 普通 萬世 不易の良言なり其れ諸を愆にすべけんや

紀元 二千五百三十三年八月

是洞能凡類謹誌

\*行によってルビが左右(上下)にふられている場合がある。(筆者)

NOTES

\*The books discussed in this essay are all rare books and some materials would be necessary for the readers to have better understanding. For their convenience some of the texts or other materials are shown in Appendices above.

Notes for Chapter I

- 1 保田久成 YASUDA Hisanari ;  
神鞭知常 KOMUCHI Tomotsune ;  
山本義俊 YAMAMOTO Yoshitoshi ;  
是洞能凡類 ZEDO Noboru  
中村正直 NAKAMURA Masanao

When Japanese names are mentioned for the first time, the family names will be written in capital letters, as YASUDA or YAMAMOTO. And after the family name comes the personal name, like NAKAMURA Masanao or KOMUCHI Tomotsune according to the Japanese way. Later in the essay their family names alone will be mentioned, like Nakamura or Zedo.

- 2 昌平饗 Established in 1690.
- 3 See especially the Prefaces to the First and the Second Chapter of his translation of *Self Help*, which was given a Japanese title 'Saigoku Risshihen' (『西国立志編』).  
『西国立志編』第一編序および第二編序参照。但し、講談社学術文庫版では、第二編 序は「諸論」と題されて、51-4頁に印刷されている。
- 4 *ibid.*
- 5 See Appendix I for the Japanese text.
- 6 「國の富強の元は國民の安堵にあり。安堵の元は國民の位置を正すにあり。」(毛利敏彦『学校教育は「西洋丸写し」で一初代文部大輔江藤新平の運命的決断』(『学士会報』2002-III, No. 836, 52-57頁))

Notes for Chapter II

- 1 Prefaces to *THE ELEMENTS OF MORAL SCIENCE* (1877).  
\* The book referred to in this essay is the Unabridged edition published in Boston and New York in 1877 and is in the collection of the Diet Library, Japan.  
In this essay the unabridged edition will be referred to as the Unabridged edition, and the abridged edition as the

Abridged edition. The Abridged edition referred to in this essay was published in 1859 and is in the collection of Brown University Library.

- 2 Preface to the second edition, August 1835. *THE ELEMENTS OF MORAL SCIENCE* (1877).
- 3 「福翁自伝」および伊藤正雄著『福沢諭吉論考』（東京、1969年）においても言及されている。（6頁）
- 4 In an essay Fukuzawa writes: 'This passage, which I translated into Japanese, is on page 366 of *THE ELEMENTS OF MORAL SCIENCE* written by Mr. Wayland, an American author.' (Preface to the Complete Works of FUKUZAWA Yukichi)

The page reference in the quotation above is that of the Unabridged edition.

「この一段は重国ウェーランド氏修身論第三百六十六葉の抄訳なれば、今原文の続きを訳しその意の足らざる所を補うてこれを示さん。同書第三百六十七葉の文に云く...」（福沢全集緒言「学問のすすめ」五九楼仙万記）（岩波文庫165頁）

#### Notes for Section ii, Chapter II

- 1 「修身教科書総目録」（『日本教科書大系 近代篇 第三卷 修身三』）（東京 昭和36年）  
*Comprehensive Catalogue of the Moral Books for Schools, 1870-1902* (Tokyo 1961) is to be abbreviated as *Catalogue*.
- 2 「西国立志編」 14冊 中村正直（訳）（東京 静岡、1870（明治3年））  
Samuel Smiles: *Self Help* (London, 1867)  
\* The book Nakamura was given was published in 1867.
- 3 「泰西 勸善訓蒙」 15冊 箕作麟祥（訳）（東京 1871（明治4年））  
前編 3巻 原著者：Bonne；原著書名 不明（Paris, 1867）  
後編 8冊 原著者：Winslow；原著書名「道徳哲学」  
Moral Philosophy (1866, USA)  
続編 4冊 原著者：Hekock；原著書名「道徳科学大系」  
System of Moral Science ( )
- 4 「童蒙教草」 5冊 福沢諭吉（訳）（東京 1872（明治5年））  
原著者：チェンバー Robert Chamber [Chambers]；  
原著書名：「道徳教科書」 Moral Class Book（英国、1860）
- 5 ITO Masao, *STUDIES ON FUKUZAWA YUKICHI* (Tokyo, 1969)  
〔伊藤正雄著『福沢諭吉論考』7頁〕
- 6 *Ibid.* P.7.
- 7 *Ibid.* PP.76-77.
- 8 YAMAGUCHI Takao, 'ABSTRACT OF RESEARCH PROJECT, GRANT-IN-AID FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH 1994' (1995)  
〔山口隆夫「平成6年度科学研究費補助金実績報告書」（平成7年3月）〕

#### Notes for Chapter III

- 1 「一人之命。重於全地球。」（『西国立志編』第一編序）
- 2 「中村敬字先生自序千字文」（『西国立志編』 講談社文

庫 33頁）

- 3 佐久間貞一（1846-1898）

#### Notes for Chapter IV

- \* As the original edition of Koumuchi's book is not available, the edition used is the one published in 1878. (No.7, List II)
- 1 星亨（1850-1901）
  - 2 「野澤鷄一氏談」（橋本五雄編『謝海言行録』東京 昭和六三）（明治四二年刊の複製）134頁
  - 3 「大学」 「修身齊家治國平天下」。
  - 4 服紗屋勤兵衛 「神鞭先生伝」（橋本五雄編『謝海言行録』2頁）
  - 5 「神山塾」神山鳳陽が主宰した漢学校。「神鞭先生伝」（橋本五雄編『謝海言行録』3頁）
  - 6 「神鞭先生伝」（橋本五雄編『謝海言行録』7頁）
  - 7 何 禮之（1840-）明治4年岩倉大使に隨行して欧米回遊
  - 8 「勸学義塾」（『神鞭先生伝』8頁）
  - 9 「神鞭先生伝」（橋本五雄編『謝海言行録』7頁）
  - 10 *Ibid.*

#### Notes for Section i, Chapter V

- 1 「泰西修身論」卷之一凡例 第1項（〔7丁-R〕）  
（Section 1 of the preface. See Appendix VIII for the Japanese text.）
- 2 猊刺屈斯的（ウィリアム・ブラックストン）著 星亨（君徳）譯『英国法律全書』（東京、明治6年11月）
- 3 フローリ著 山本義俊訳 『修身学訓蒙』 東京 詠誠堂 明治6.5 2冊  
'Moral Science for School Children' 2 vols. (Tokyo, May 1873)  
（The author is noted as 'フローリ' (=Flori?). In the *Catalogue* it is noted that the book was published in Paris.）
- 4 「泰西修身論」卷之一 凡例 第6項（〔9丁-R〕）  
（Section 6 of the preface.）

#### Notes for Section ii, Chapter V

- 5 In his Preface to 'The Mirror of the Heart and Mind' he writes in Japanese as follows.

「故に余ウェーランド、ポードリー両氏の修身書并に經濟說略の中より其說の要にして了解し易く且つ記憶し易き數章を鈔譯し」

[This is why I have chosen and translated those chapters, which would be of importance and easy for children to learn, out of the books, *Elements of Moral Science* written by Mr. Wayland and 'Outlines of Political Economy' written by Mr. Podley.]

But as to Mr. Podley and his book in the phrase 「ポードリ氏の『經濟說略』」, nothing is yet known who Mr. Podley was and what this book was.