

英国公文書館所蔵アーネスト・サトウの
日本滞在自筆日記（1861－1884）の
解読と活字化

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第 1 報

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第 1 報

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はじめに

アーネスト・サトウ (Ernest Mason Satow: 1843-1929) は、駐日英国公使館付きの通訳見習生 (student interpreter) として 1861 年 11 月に上海へ到着してから、最初のうちこそ断続的でありながらも、次第に毎日欠かすことなく日記を書きつづけた。日記執筆の期間は 66 年間におよび、最後の記入が 1926 年 12 月 31 日であるのだから、1929 年 8 月 26 日、86 歳で他界する 2 年半余り前の、高齢に達するまで継続できたわけである。本研究において対象に取り上げた「英国公文書館所蔵アーネスト・サトウ自筆日記」はこれに該当する。

たえず座右に書物をおいて読書をし、外国語を学び、教会や地域社会に関心を持ち、英国と諸外国の歴史文化を学ぼうとしたサトウは、勤勉な努力家である。それだけに、45 年間の英国外務省勤務に関連して書き送る外交文書、こまめに交わした私的書簡、多くの新聞雑誌記事・序文・講演原稿と著作、それにこの日記を加えてみると、指先の間にペンを握って書いた勤勉家サトウの文書類は、想像を絶するほどの膨大な分量となるであろう。健筆家の生涯は立派な労作を残したと言える。

アーネスト・サトウの自筆日記(以下、特に断らないかぎり、「サトウ日記」と略称することがある)を私が読み始めたのは、鹿児島経済大学の助教授時代に端を発する。津曲学園の留学制度によって 1985 年 8 月から 1986 年 9 月迄ロンドンに留学していたときのことである。正確には、1985 年 11 月からロンドン市内チャンサリー・レーン (Chancery Lane) の英国公文書館旧館 (Public Record Office) に日参しては、鉛筆によるノートへの筆写を約三ヵ月ほどつづけた。当時、館内にワープロ・ノートパソコンの機械類を持ち込むことは禁止されており、昔ながらにノートを持参してそこに鉛筆で書き込み、下宿に戻ってからノートを便りにしてタイプやワープロに打ち込む。翌日には、打ち出したものを公文

書館に持って行って、原資料と比較しながらタイプミス等チェックする。そうした今日では考えられないほどの面倒な、しかし丹念な調査方法を取っていた。

薩摩藩の起こした生麦事件に端を発する薩摩と英国の交流史に興味を持っていた時期だけに、生麦事件の英人犠牲者リチャードソンのように、上海や横浜に群がった若い冒険商人たちの生態を知るうえで、サトウ日記の第1冊目はまたとない資料と思えた。上海・北京と初期横浜の部分について転写テキストを作成できたが、そのほかは、西郷隆盛やウィリス、苗代川等、薩摩藩に関連する箇所を数冊から拾い読みして、ノートに鉛筆でメモをする程度に終始した。なにしろ長期間、公務の時間的縛りもない、文字通り研究に没頭でき、しかも外国に滞在している日々である。せっかく人生で最初に恵まれたチャンスを有効に使いたいと思い、午前中は大英博物館の自筆原稿部門に入ってアーサー・シモンズの書簡をノートに筆写する、午後には近くの英国公文書館にかけつけ、サトウ自筆日記を繙く、夜は昼間のノートをワープロに打ち込む、その合間に知り合った若い外国人学生と学生寮のパブでビターの杯を傾ける、という忙しいけれど充実した数カ月であった。

その成果は「薩摩とイギリスの出会い」（高城書房出版・昭和62年）の書中に、「アーネスト・サトウの上海生活」と題した一章として実ったばかりでなく、サトウ日記第一冊（PRO/30/33/15/1）の46頁分の英文判読テキストを「アーネスト・サトウの上海滞在に関する資料的考察」と題して大学紀要に掲載できた。

その後、平成6年5月には、作家の吉村昭氏の推薦によって、英国側資料から見た生麦事件を新たに執筆する運びに発展して、サトウ日記の調査研究を更に徹底する必要が出てきた。毎年夏休みに入ると渡英しては、ロンドン郊外キューガーデンズ（Kew Gardens）の英国公文書館新館に足しげく通った。サトウの自筆日記帳を目の前にして判読する機会は、以前よりも頻繁になった。そうした流れのなかで成果としては、「幕末維新を演出した外国人 アーネスト・サトウ」を市販雑誌「歴史と旅」に発表してみたり、吉村昭氏の推薦による拙著「幕末に殺された男---生麦事件のリチャードソン」（新潮選書・平成9月刊）の出版では、「若き日のアーネスト・サトウ」という一章に纏めることができた。更に、前述第一冊目の日記に後続する英文判読テキストも、同時に完成していたから、"Ernest Satow's Early Japan Diary: 1862-1863" と題して大学紀要に発表した。

アーネスト・サトウの自筆日記を目の前に置き多くの時間を費やししながら、平成10年迄は、上記したように時々必要性から生まれた拾い読みを現地で繰り返していたに過ぎない。細々と断続してきた10年余りのサトウ日記調査を一段と徹底し前進させて、少なくとも

もサトウの日本滞在に係わる時期（第一期 1862-1869・第二期 1870-1884・第三期 1895-1900・短期訪問1906年 6月）については、はやめに解読と活字化を進めたい、と思うようになった。新潮選書の出版が契機になった。そこで自費による渡英の繰返しには限度があると判断し、科研費補助金基盤研究（C）(2) の交付を申請した。

平成11年度から平成13年度の三年継続の研究計画が、幸いなことに認可されたときに、上記の日本関係分日記の一部（1862-1884）に集中することが、私自身の当面する研究の必要性和、それになりよりも力量の及ぶ範囲と考えていた。ところが、歳月の進行とともに実際に研究計画が進展するにともない、研究意欲は膨らむ一方となった。当初計画の範囲を飛び越えて進む勢いで、解読活字化の作業が進んだ。今回も留学の際と同じ現象が起きた。チャンスを与えられたことで弾みがつき、この機会にチャンスを最大限に生かそうとする傾向にある。それはそれで結構なのであるが、その分、相当するエネルギーをつぎ込まなければ可能とならず、集中力と忍耐力が欠かせないように思われる。

この際に、アーネスト・サトウが書き残した自筆日記の一字一句を全て解読活字化してみたい。サトウ日記の全体像に迫りたい、というチャレンジ精神にいつしか襲われていたわけである。実際に、年度末ごとに提出する実績報告では、日本関係の期間を次第に越えていき、最終的には66年間の生涯にまで、研究対象を延長できたと報告することになった次第である。

ここでは先ず最終的に解読活字化できた自筆日記の数量を示しておきたい。当初計画の判読作業に該当する自筆日記（1862-1884）の頁数は約2537頁である。最終的に判読できた全自筆書簡の総頁数は約9373頁となり、当初計画の約 3.7倍の分量に達した。

アーネスト・サトウの自筆日記は、本人が一字一句を生涯にわたってペンで書いたものであり、それを後年の私どもは便利なワープロを使い、解読して活字化し転写テキスト（transcriptions）を作成する。作業形態は違っていても、サトウ本人の手書き文字を丹念に辿ることで、私はこの 3年の間に彼の66年間を生きたように思われた。タイプを打つ自分の指先から、サトウの呼吸や心の動きが伝わってきたと感じた瞬間もある。

当初計画を進展させて膨大な資料の山の山頂をきわめようとする、無謀な挑戦を自分に課したことで、今回、ようやくサトウ自筆日記の全体像の把握が、国内外で初めて達成できたことを無事報告するとともに、この稀な機会を与えていただいた科研費補助金の制度に、あらためて深く感謝したいと思う。

2) アーネスト・サトウ自筆日記の全体像

英国公文書館 (Public Record Office, Kew Gardens) が所蔵するアーネスト・サトウ日記は、アーネスト・サトウ文書コレクションの一部であり、その分類番号および日記冊数は、以下の通りであることを調査過程で確認した。

分類番号	PRO/30/33/15/1-17 :	冊数	17
	PRO/30/33/16/1-12 :		12
	PRO/30/33/17/1-10 :		10

サトウ日記全冊数 39

本研究のなかでアーネスト・サトウ自筆日記（略称サトウ日記）と呼んでいるものの他に、日記類として、旅先で記したメモ帳と、旅に携行した別冊の旅先日記帳 (Journal of Journeys) を同じ英国公文書館は所蔵している。これらを総称してここでは「旅日記」と呼んでみたい。通常の意味での日記 (diary) とは言えないものの、本研究との関連では重要な資料であることに違いない。そこで、以下にその分類番号・頁数・タイトル・執筆時期について確認した概要を述べる。

PRO/30/33/17/11/185 pp.: Travelling Notes (日本国内・旅のメモ): 1879, 1881.

PRO/30/33/17/12/263 pp.: Journal of Journeys (日本国内旅日記):

1881/7, 1881/8, 1882/2, 1882/5, 1882/8-9, 1882/11,

PRO/30/33/17/13/143 pp.: Travels in Siam Vol.1 (シャイアム日記): 1884/4-1885/12.

PRO/30/33/17/14/103 pp.: Travels in Siam Vol.2 (シャイアム日記): 1886/1-1886/2.

PRO/30/33/17/15/ 21 pp.: Travels in Siam Vol.3 (シャイアム日記): 1886/2-1886/4.

PRO/30/33/17/16/129 pp.: Chiuzenji 1895-1900 (中禅寺旅日記): 1885/8-1900/4.

サトウ「旅日記」全冊数 6

「旅日記」6冊のなかで、今回の計画進行中に解読と活字化を終えているものは、「日

本国内旅日記」(PRO/30/33/17/12)と「中禅寺旅日記」(PRO/30/33/16)、合計 400頁弱の2冊分だけである。これら 2冊はいずれも日本関係であるので、サトウ日記研究との関連で重要な資料と思えたために、英文転写テキストを作成しておいた。本報告書には、後述するように、その一部を収録する。「日本国内旅日記」(PRO/30/33/17/12)のうち、熱海滞在に該当する部分である。

「旅日記」のうちで本研究の対象から除外したものについて、以下にそれぞれの内容と除外した理由を指摘しておきたい。

第一の資料 PRO/30/33/17/11/185 (日本国内・旅のメモ) は、鉛筆書きの断片的メモであって、日記体のもつ連続性の叙述に欠けている。それでサトウ日記の範疇に入らないと判断した。

「シャイヤム日記」(PRO/30/33/17/13-15)の 3冊分は、すでに Nigel Braileyによる解読活字化が終わり、A Diplomat in Siam と題する翻刻版が1994年に出版されている。そこで、これも本研究からは除外した。

本研究の進行過程に平行して、Ian Ruxtonが解読活字化を進めていた「中禅寺旅日記」(PRO/30/33/17/16) は、後述するThe Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow---British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900) の巻末に収録されることになった。それで、ここでは研究対象から除外したが、今後、私の転写テキストとラックストン・テキストとを丹念に比較検討してみたいと考えている。

アーネスト・サトウの自筆日記の総体は、上記の「サトウ日記」39冊と「旅日記」6冊を加えた45冊で構成されている。そのうち三年間継続の本研究計画の進行過程で、実際に解読と活字化を達成できたものは、「サトウ日記」39冊と「旅日記」2冊を合わせた41冊となる。

サトウ日記39冊の解読活字化は、内外で初めてのことであろう。全体像を把握できずにいたので、最初に表1を作成してみた。「表1：サトウ日記の自筆原稿 (manuscripts)と転写原稿 (transcriptions) の概算」には、39冊の自筆日記の頁数、および私の解読活字化した転写テキスト (A4版・一行40文字・半角英字入力・一頁30行) の枚数をリストしてある。

上記表の頁数や枚数は、あくまでも概算である。というのも、サトウの自筆日記帳は、糊付けした新聞記事の切り抜き等を多く含んでおり、それらも自筆原稿の頁数に入っていない。

る。また、ワープロに打ち込んだ私の転写原稿の枚数にしても概算にならざるをえない。理由の一として、1頁30行の英文タイプ原稿の末行まで、全ての行を打ち込んでいるわけでないからである。頁によっては数行のこともある。それに日付が変わるたびに、一行の空白行を入れてタイプしてある。更に、前述した新聞切り抜き等の添付資料についても、タイプできる資料は、可能なかぎり全て打ち込むようにした。以上のような理由から、転写原稿の枚数は多少とも膨れ上がってしまった。いずれにせよそれほど多数の枚数にはならない。全体で200枚前後の膨張と推定している。

39冊分のアーネスト・サトウ自筆日記帳は、表1計算によれば、総頁数で9,373頁という計算になった。また、私の転写テキストの枚数は、6457枚になった。

本研究の報告ということで、実際にタイプ作業を終えた自筆資料の総量は、上記したように「旅日記」2冊分を加えたら、9765頁となり、ほぼ1万頁をタイプに打ち込んだと言ってよいのであろう。転写テキストの方は、6645枚の概算となる。ほぼ6500枚のコピー用紙分の文字を打ち込んだと言ってよいであろうか。A4版のコピー用紙6500枚を積み重ねてみたら、腰の高さに達した、と言えば数量的に分かりやすいかも知れず、記念に撮影した写真のコピーを本報告書に添付してみたくなるほどの分量なのである。

解読活字化の作業を終えた39冊の日記帳について、概要だけでも纏め報告しておきたいと考えた。後述するように、約1万頁近いサトウ日記分の転写テキスト約6500枚を本報告書に発表できない事情がある。単純計算しただけで6500頁の報告書になってしまうからである。また、サトウ日記の全体像を把握する手だてとしては、各日記帳についての概要説明は、有効な一つの手掛かり資料になるとも思われた。そこで、第1報巻末には、サトウ日記帳全39冊を対象として、項目にそった各日記帳の解説を行い、表のようなかたちで掲載することにした。概要の項目は以下の通りである。

各日記帳の資料登録番号・頁数

PAGINATION（日記帳での頁の付け方）

PERIOD（執筆期間）

PENMANSHIP（判読の難易度または筆跡）

EDITING（紙面の使い方）

FEATURES（主に内容的な特色）

ENCLOSURES（糊付けされた新聞切り抜きやサトウの自筆イラスト等）

上記項目のなかでも、PAGINATIONには特に注意が必要である。日記帳の整理にあたっては、日付とならんで、帳面上での記入頁については、先ず確認しておきたい枠組の事項である。いつ、どの頁に、書いているかということなのだ。

頁の打ち方には二通り見られる。一般的には書籍の場合と同じに、紙面の各頁に頁番号を記入すればよい。第1報巻末に掲載する「サトウ自筆日記の各冊概要」では、英国公文書館の資料登録番号につづく、pp. の表記の場合がそれにあたる。この一般的な方法によって原資料に頁番号が入っていることを示す。また、ff. とか leaves という表示になるものが多出する。この種の頁番号付けの方法は、手書きの書簡や自筆原稿の場合に採用されている。紙面の表紙に番号を入れ、紙面裏面には番号を入れない。それで、枚数計算による番号付けとなる。サトウ日記第2冊を例にとってみると、ff. 1-189a という表示は、1枚目の紙では裏表に、189枚目の紙も裏表に、日記が書かれていることを意味している。従って、第2冊目は通常の数に換算するとなれば、189枚の2倍378頁が総頁数という計算を示している。f. 189 は紙面の表頁にあたり、f. 189a は同じ紙の裏頁にあたるからである。

3) 第2報について――書誌的整理との関連を中心に

本研究の目的の一つは、サトウ日記の自筆原稿を解読して活字化することのほかに、その作業に基づいて、当該自筆原稿の書誌的な整理をすることにあつた。書誌リストに記載したい事項には、記入のある日毎にそつて、日記の年月日、資料登録番号、記入頁、執筆場所、キーワード等があらわれよう。本報告書では、この詳しい書誌リストの発表を断念せざるをえず、後日の機会に譲ることにした。39冊66年度分の全サトウ日記を対象に扱うには、書誌リストだけで200頁が必要になるためである。そこで、印刷頁数の節約をまければ念頭に入れた概略リストを作成した。

表2「1867年度日記執筆の日付・場所・言及内容」はその一例である。1867年度分だけをここで例に選んだ理由は後述するが、幕末最後の多忙な活動の時期にあたり、サトウの日記記入も比較的多い方の年にあたっている。簡略化したこの種のリストだけでも、全サトウ日記分を網羅したら、本報告書の100頁が必要になることが判明した。そこで今回の報告書においては、最終的に書誌的整理を更に簡略した第2報の形式を採用することに

なった。

第2報「サトウ日記の記入日リスト（1861/11/4-1926/12/31）」では、アーネスト・サトウの自筆日記帳全39冊を対象に扱い、日記を書いている年月日のリストとした。年度とともに更に月別に分けているので、いつ日記執筆が盛んとなり集中しているか、全体像を一目で概観できる。また、どの時期、どの特定日に、日記の記入があるかどうか、についても分かりやすい。今後、新たに若手研究者が原資料にあたるさいに、一種のチェックリストとして現場で使っていただけたらよい。また、右端の備考欄には、年度毎に資料番号を細かく示してあるので、必要な年月日の原資料を英国公文書館で請求する際に、活用しやすい便宜さも考慮に入れて作成した。

「旅日記」との関連性もこのリストを使って検討可能になるであろう。「サトウ日記の記入日リスト」に空白となっている日に、「旅日記」を執筆していることが、1880年年代を中心にして発生するからである。

日記を書きつづけることについて、アーネスト・サトウ本人はどう意識し、また、どんな考え方を持っていたのか。サトウ日記の中には、この点に関連する言及が数回ある。そのほか、サトウの自叙伝にも興味深い発言が見られる。1921年にロンドンで出版されたサトウの自叙伝「一外交官が見た幕末維新」(A DIPLOMAT IN JAPAN)の初版序文において、次のように述べている。

A diary kept almost uninterrupted from the day I quitted home in November 1861 constituted the foundation [of A DIPLOMAT IN JAPAN], while my memory enabled me to supply additional details. It had never been my purpose to relate my diplomatic experiences in different parts of the world, which came finally to be spread over a period of altogether forty-five years, and I therefore confined myself to one of the most interesting episodes in which I have been concerned. This comprised the series of events that culminated in the restoration of the direct rule of the ancient line of sovereigns of Japan which remained in abeyance for over six hundred years.

(p.7)

上掲引用文のなかで、「1861年11月に英国を離れた日から、ほとんど途切れることなく、書きつづけてきた日記」というサトウの発言は、この自叙伝を書き始めた頃の1880年代後半や、執筆中断の後に再開した1919年前後の感想を語っているに過ぎない。事実はそのでないことが、第2報の日記執筆リストによって確認できる。1860年代の執筆は実に散発的に終始している。1870年はわづか1日分しか日記を書いていない。とても「ほとんど途切れることなく」と形容できる状態でないのである。これも1880年代からは次第にこまめになっていき、1910年代から1920年代にかけては、ほぼ連日の執筆に発展した。

前述した「シャイアム旅日記」翻刻版を纏めた George Alexander Lensen は、サトウ日記の自筆原稿と転写テキストの膨大さについて、次のような感想を述べたことがある。後述する第3報との関連もあるので、すこし長くなるがここで引用しておきたい。

Satow kept a series of diaries throughout most of his long life. They became more detailed with time, as Satow's responsibilities increased and as his conversations gained in importance. Thus Satow's personal record of his stay in Japan and China in 1895-1906 is about twice as long as his account of the two decades that he had spent in Japan earlier. It consists of over 3,000 manuscript pages. Although handwritten, the entries, particularly during the stay in Japan, are greatly appreciated by a form of "speedwriting," so that they would total, if published in full, about the same number of printed pages. To have published the Satow diaries, even those dealing only with the period from 1895 to 1906, in their entirety would have been prohibitive. Nor would it have been worthwhile. The Satow diaries, like any diaries, are cluttered with personal reminders of passing interests and with the humdrum of office routines. Instead, it seemed best to delete trivial and to paraphrase the less significant entries. Even then the material remained too bulky, and disconnected for publication.

(KOREA AND MANCHURIA, pp.16-7)

上掲引用分では、1895-1905 年分のサトウ日記自筆原稿が、3000頁以上であると述べて

いるけれど正確さに欠けている。実際には2700頁前後の概算計算となる。サトウ日記帳の一冊分、日本語の新書版一冊分にはほぼ相当する自筆原稿 300頁の差は大きい。

以前、幕末の日本沿岸や中国海域に配置された英国軍艦、例えば第3報で取り上げるラトラ一号 (Rattler) 等の、推進から沈没か廃船するまでの動きについて、英国公文書館所蔵の航海日誌を数冊調べたことがある。そのときに軍艦にも人の生涯に似た「生きていく」ことの浮き沈みや運命がありそうに想像できた。今回のサトウ日記の研究過程においても、同様のイメージを味わった瞬間がある。これだけ膨大なサトウ日記には、人生と似た日記自体の「生きていく」物語がありそうに感じられた。日記の文面の内部だけに閉じこもり、日記執筆の過程を物語の形に纏め、「アーネスト・サトウの日記物語」と題した新書版を早めに出版できるように、目下準備を進めている。本研究の成果の一部であると明記して出版できる日まで、転写テキストを繰り返し読み直すことが、今後の課題の一つと思う。

4) 第3報について――解読活字化の作業と伝記研究に関連して

上掲引用文においてサトウが述べているように、自叙伝の執筆には第一次資料の利用が欠かせない。未刊のままの自筆日記や書簡等を含めて、それらを私的文書 (autograph personal papers) と英国伝記作家達は呼んでいるが、自叙伝に限らず、後年の伝記研究や伝記執筆においても不可欠の資料であることに相違ない。サトウ略伝を書き上げてみたいために、第一次資料の一つとしてサトウ日記の一角、日本滞在期間に限定した解読活字化の作業に取り組んだはずであるのが、すでに述べたように全生涯を対象とする伝記研究にまで作業の幅が広がってしまった。サトウ自身が上掲引用文の一つで述べているように、長い外交官生活のなかでも、若い日々を送った幕末日本のエピソードは、確かにサトウ日記のなかで光彩を放っている。表2に掲載した1867年度日記執筆のリストから明らかなように、幕末維新のなかで特に活躍の際立っているのは1867年にあたる。本報告書では、この年度を中心にして数本の転写テキストを選び、掲載することとした所以である。

掲載した転写テキストに地名を日本語で入れて区別してあるので、以下の解説では地名によって資料の区別をする。

最初の「鹿児島」では、1867年 1月12日兵庫・神戸で実現した西郷隆盛との会見模様が

白眉と言える。本研究目的の一つにあげていた故萩原延壽著「遠い崖」におけるサトウ自筆日記の読み方や使い方について、ここで簡単に言及するために、西郷・サトウ会談の箇所を選んでみたわけである。第5巻「慶喜登場」(pp.123-141)で扱われている。

サトウと西郷との一問一答を日本語に翻訳しては、その合間に適切な解説を加えるかたちで、「遠い崖」の叙述スタイルは進行する。「西郷とサトウの会話にもどろう」という言葉が差し込まれている例のように、一頁の三分の一程度か、半頁ほどにわたる長い解説もときに発生する。そのために会話や物語の流れを中断してしまうことも起きえる。また、「老中の板倉周防守」というように、サトウ自筆日記にない「老中の」という類の枕詞を頻繁に注入しているが、日本の読者を考えた親切であろう。読み方によっては、サトウ自身の口から「老中の」と断っているかのように、読者に受け取られかねない。原文に忠実に翻訳をして、訳者編者の注は〔括弧〕のなかに入れる方が、明確になりそうである。

また、「水戸家の出である自分の弟の民部大輔」にも、原文では "his relation" とあって、「弟」とは明記していない。この点も日本の読者のための親切の現れなのかも知れないが、行き過ぎであるようにも思われる。

サトウ・西郷会談のくだりでは、自筆日記の二箇所に削除訂正がある。例えば、"It is your last point" を削除して、"It is a great pity.."とサトウは訂正して書き直してものを、「兵庫問題はあなたの最後の拠点なんですね」というように、削除箇所を追加して訳出しているのは、なぜなのか理解できない。

「茶碗むし(か?)」、と疑問符をつけて訳している箇所の原文には、"ocha mushi"とある。このような場合に他の箇所では、疑問符の形をとらないケースも散見して、一貫性がないのである。例えば、人物確定ができなかったらしい、と推測される西郷の変装名 Shimadzu Sachiuにしても、「島津サチュウ」とカタカナ入りの書き方を採用している。疑問符「島津サチュウ(か?)」として統一性を持たせるのもよし、前述した訳者編者用の〔括弧〕書きの方法を終始使い、一貫性を持たせることも可能であった。

最後に、西郷との会見の始まりにおいて、寡黙がちな西郷に当惑したサトウは、"the man looked so stolid and would not speak"とする印象を書き残している。効果的な表現と思われる stolid は、西郷らしい風貌を読者の眼前に彷彿とさせる。それが訳出では、「かれはじつに鈍感そうに見えた」となっている。そのあとに続く解説にサトウ自叙伝から同じ場面を引用して、「鈍感そう」ではありえないと分かっているはずなのである。西郷隆盛は「黒ダイヤのように光る大きな眼をしていて」と解説しているのであるから、

stolidというサトウの初印象に、「鈍感そう」という感覚は混じり込んでいるわけがない。「堂々たる」「不動の」「落ちつきはらった」、大木の幹のような感触の訳語を見つけたいものと感じた。

以上のように細かい点に気づきはしても、全体的にみると、故萩原延壽著「遠い崖」は分かりやすく流れをつかんだ優れた叙述であり、大きな欠陥もなく慎重に自筆資料を判読した過程が推定できる。

本研究の当初計画で予定していたサトウ日記の時期は、「遠い崖」の扱う時期を考慮して設定したものであった。サトウ日記の自筆原稿全体のなかに、この日本滞在の時期をおいてみると、全体の 27%にあたる。また、故萩原延壽氏が、英国公文書館でサトウ自筆の日記帳を繙きながら、ノートに鉛筆で読んだ結果を書き込んでいること、それに39冊全てに目を通していること、その二点は叙述のなかから判明する。

問題は、全体の 27%部分の英文転写テキストを手書きであれ、タイプされたテキストであれ、すべて作成しているかどうかである。この点については上に述べた鉛筆書きのノートなり、あるいは他のかたちであれ、いずれにせよ手書きの判読テキストを作成していると推定できる。他のかたち、と述べたのは、「遠い崖」に頻繁に使用しているウィリス自筆書簡に関連して、鹿児島県立黎明館には故萩原延壽のものでない友人の手になるウィリス文書の手書き判読テキストが届けられているためである。

ありえない想像であるけれど、自筆原稿を読みながら、英文のメモを作るのにあわせ、同時に直接自筆原稿から日本語に翻訳してしまう、という作業も可能なのである。大きな仕事を残されただけに、「遠い崖」の執筆にあたって基礎資料となったはずの、転写テキストの実在と公表を期待している。後に述べるように、仮に本研究による転写テキストがCD出版されることになれば、「遠い崖」と原文とCDテキストとの相互比較が容易になるであろう。この比較問題はいつか論考してみたいと思っている。

「熱海」の転写テキストの方は、すでに上記したように、1867年 3月と1882年 2月の二度の熱海滞在を記した内容である。多忙な公使館勤務の間に骨休みに訪れるのに、横浜・東京から適当な距離にあったから、中禅寺とならび、熱海の湯煙や風物をサトウは愛した。活気にみちた1867年の日記にも、このように長閑な生活の一面があったことや、それに旅仲間の顔ぶれを明らかにしたい、という主に伝記的な関心があって、ここに掲載するように選んでみた。しかし、それだけではない。

1867年 3月の熱海滞在については、自叙伝において (A DIPLOMAT, p.194)、「特記する

ほどのことはない」と述べている。旅仲間のことも単に、"some friends from Yokohama"と説明したあとに、仲間の一人が女性 (a lady of our party) であると述べているだけである。転写テキストから明らかになるように、横浜の友人というのが、実はマーシャル夫人と英国商人アスピナルを含んでいることを知って驚いた。いずれも1862年の生麦事件に間接的に巻き込まれた英国人関係者なのである。拙著「幕末に殺された男」では、マーシャル夫人とアスピナルについて詳しく描いてみたことが思い出された。

幕末の英国人の生活や伝記に関心を抱く研究者にとっては、見逃すことのできない「横浜一行」の面々と考えられる。上掲引用文の一つにおいて、膨大な資料を前にしたレンセンは、"it seemed best to delete trivial and to paraphrase the less significant entries" という判断を示している。どうなのであろうか。様々な関心を持つ読者や、研究者の複数の眼を転写テキスト作成者が意識しておくべきではないのだろうか。トリビアルで重要性に欠けると思い削除したい箇所が、実は、読む人によっては興味深い一節でありえる。

その意味で、翻訳にあたっても、また翻刻版を発表するに際しても、可能な限りサトウの意向を組み、原文を丹念に読んで忠実に再現するのが、最善の策なのである。そうした考え方の根拠となる一例という観点からも「熱海」1867年テキストを選んでみた。

「熱海」1882年テキストは、ハングルを 2月23日と 2月25日の二箇所に入れている。「二人の子供 (NI AHI)」と「オカネ (OKANU)」のように読めるけれど、恐らく、武田兼と二人の男の子 (栄太郎と久吉)、それに女中を伴った親子水入らずの湯治のつもりで、熱海行きを選んだのかも知れない。そう推測する段階にあり、まだ確証はできない。この頃、ハングルを学んでいたにせよ、ここに来て急に英文の合間に登場するには、それなりに隠しておたい心理が働いている内容と思われる。サトウ日記にはこうした側面がある。それでも、後年になって読み返しているに、訂正したり削除をせずに、後世の私どもに手渡しているわけである。それにもそれなりの理由があるのだろう。ハングル語の出現は、サトウの隠された日本での私生活について、全体的に論考する際に、見落としてはならない箇所と考えられたので、1867年「熱海」テキストに追加した。

「長崎」(1867年 9月)と「大阪」(1867年12月)、これら二つの転写テキストは、上記「鹿児島」で述べたことと関連するが、サトウの情報源と懇親の場面を彷彿させる好資料であり、幕末維新に関するサトウ日記の史料性の面白さを明らかにしたい目的から、特に選んで掲載した。

「北海道」（1868年 9月）につづく数点は、これまでのテキストを1867年から選んでいたが、それ以降のものから選んでみた。英国軍艦ラトラ号に乗船したサトウは、同艦の宗谷沖座礁事故に巻き込まれている。珍しい遭難体験をしていると思うので、本報告書に掲載したわけである。それと、サトウの自叙伝では（A DIPLOMAT, p.385）、巻末近くで短い言及をしているだけであり、サトウ日記と自叙伝の関連性を考える上でも、一つの材料を提供していると考えた。自筆日記を資料に使い、自叙伝を書くにせよ、或いは伝記を書くにしても、このような取捨選択が行われるものなのだ。事実の連鎖と、物語や歴史は、べつものなのである。

以下に転写テキストと比較するために自叙伝の素っ気ない当該箇所を引用しておく。ラトラ号座礁時の体験が、サトウの生涯において伝記的に意味あるものであることは、このとき苦労とともにした船長ステファンソンの死亡記事切り抜きを後年の日記帳に糊付けしている一事を見ただけでも分かる。

From September 8 to October 17 Adams and I were absent on a wild-goose chase after the Russians who are reported to be occupying the northern coast of Yezo, in the course of which H.M.S. "Rattler," in which we had embarked, was wrecked in Soya Bay. But as this was not concerned with the progress of political events in Japan, it seems unnecessary to occupy space in narrating our experiences. We were rescued by the French corvette "Dupleix," Captain du Petit Thours.

「東京」（1900年 4-5月）の転写テキストに掲載する理由は、Ian Ruxtonによる転写テキストとの比較が可能になったためである。解読活字化の研究者が共有する問題点を項目別に指摘して、本研究計画の総括にしたいためでもある。ラックストンに固有して発生した問題というよりも、私自身も侵しやすい誤読などの問題点であることは、予めお断りしなければならない。他人のアラやミスは見つけやすく、自分の侵す間違いに気づかないのが、この種の作業の特徴である。よほど慎重を期さないかぎり、ミスの回避は神業と言える、と私も日頃から実感している。

○ 省略記号の扱い方。上掲引用文の一つでレンセンは、サトウの得意とする省略法に言及し、"speed writing" の方法を話題にした。なにもこれはサトウに限られた技術でな

く、タイプのない時代にペンで多くの文書を作成する立場の人、とりわけ外交官にはよく見られる現象なのである。ラックストンは巻末付録において、「about」を「ab.」、「which」を「wh.»などとするサトウ日記に頻繁に見られる省略記号をリストした。そのうえでラックストンは、省略したものの多くを正しい元の単語に戻している。上掲引用文でレンセンが言及しているように、印刷された文字数は、当然、膨張する。

省略を正すことでのメリットとデメリットが生じるから、どちらの方法を採用したらよいか、簡単に決められないであろう。私は原文に忠実な再現を原則にして、活字化の作業にあたってきたので、本報告書では省略を原文のまま保存した。ラックストンのテキストとの比較で誰もが最初に気づく相違点は、「and / &」の扱い方であろう。巻末の略語リストにラックストンは、これ(&)を加えていない。他にも頻出する略語「thro'」や「rlwy.」「Comr.」「correspee.」など、多くのものをリストに加えていない。

サトウ流の省略は、それなりに一貫性をもっているので、読み慣れてくれば、研究者は即断できるものが多い。それに、省略した場合に、ピリオッド「.」をいつも入れている。そういう意味でもサトウは、几帳面な性格なのである。それに「correspondence」を「correspee.」と省略する場合のように、語頭と語尾の文字を組み合わせているから、英語力のある人にとって、容易に判読できるものばかりとも言えよう。

また、ラックストンは略号を正してみたり、略号のまま残してみたり、作成したテキストに一貫性がないこと残念に思う。一例は、同一頁(p.439)で「c.」と「with」に起きている。「Tea c. Mrs. Kirkwood」というように、略語「c.」を原文のままに保存した。それが数行下に移ると、「content themselves with a piece of ground」となり、「c.」を「with」に直している。

結論的に言えば、原文の略語は、保存するかたちが適切であると考える。

○ 日付の記入法。この点については第1報巻末に掲載する各日記帳の解説に詳細を述べてあるので、ここでは問題点だけを簡単にふれておきたい。日本語文書でも「以下同じ」という意味を表すのに、略号「」を用いることがある。サトウ日記の場合、同月の記載が同じ頁の紙面上で続くときなどに、「21 April」「22」のように月名を省略する傾向にある。ラックストンの転写テキストでは、変更を断らずに、略した月名をフル名に直しているが、これもサトウらしい筆致の感触や、まさにスピード・ライティングの日記らしさを多少とも削ぐ原因になりかねない。編集者用の追加記号を使えば、22 [April]と表記できたはずであり、この点も残念な編集方法の採用と思われた。

○ 誤読。解読活字化の作業にあたる研究者にとって、誤読はもっとも恐るべき事態である。多出するようであれば、致命傷になりかねない。転写テキスト作成の研究者としては失格、という評価に発展するためである。これが怖くて、丹念に何度も、自筆原稿 (manuscripts) と自分の転写原稿 (transcriptions) を読み比べ、読み直すわけである。とりわけ、私のように英語を母国語としない日本人研究者には、この点、どこまでも慎重でありたいものである。

1900年 4月11日分 (p.440)では、「Hidetada」を「Hideyoshi」と誤読し、編集者の注 [Toyotomi] まで追加してしまった。

1900年 4月17日分 (p.441)では、「to be made if」を「to be made up if」と誤読している。これは英文の読みに日頃から慣れている英米人研究者が、「if」は「up」と似て見えるので誤読した上に、自分の意識の上で「made up」という作文をした二重の誤りの結果であろうか。日本人研究者にはこの種の誤読は、あまり起こりえない。

1900年 4月18日分 (p.441)では、「missions」を「mission」と誤読しているようである。複数形の「s」の読みは、サトウ日記の場合、筆跡が明確でなく判断しかねることが多々起きる。

1900年 5月 1日分 (p.444)では、「C.H.Hay」を「C.H. Hayes」と誤読しているが、「C.H.Hay, a son of one of the Hayes」という文章の流れのなかで、英語に強いはずの英米人研究者でもこのような単純なミスを起こすのであるから、日本人研究者はよほど謙虚になって日頃から英書を読み漁り、英語力を高めておきたいものと思った。

1900年 5月 2日分 (p.445)では、「attacks on private villages」とラックストンは判読しているが、「attacks on pirate villages」と読みたい、と私は考えている。まだ決めかねており、なお慎重に文脈の中で検討してみたい箇所である。

○ 欠落。最後にもっとも避けたい見落としを扱わなければならない。この失敗の繰り返しも、転写テキストを作成する研究者には、これまた致命傷になりかねない。時間を惜しむことなく、丹念に自筆原稿と、自分の作成した転写原稿と、読み合わせさえすれば避けられるものである。ここで比較対象にしたラックストンの翻刻テキストの、わずか10頁余りのなかにも、誤読とともに欠落が発生してしまい、それも数カ所できている点から判断すれば、印刷するまえに十分な時間を注入した「見直し作業」を怠った結果と評価せざるを得なくなる。

それだけ解読活字化の作業は、慣れとともに、たえず謙虚な姿勢で原文を読み取る気持

ちが大切だと思った。

1900年 4月 4日分 (p.438)では、「he ought not to」とあるが、「ought」は、ラックストンによる勝手な読み方であり、原文では「he should tell Kuroda not to」とあるから、なぜか「Kuroda」云々を読み落としている。

1900年 4月12日分 (p.440)では、「subterfuges (he...Redensarten)」というように、丸括弧が欠けている。

1900年 4月19日(p.441)では「Shaws」の前にある「the」を読み落としている。

1900年 4月20日分 (p.442)では、「Cheetham」の後に続けて、原文では「Cheetham, Lay &」となっているのに、人名の「Lay」を見落としてしまっている。

1900年 5月 2日分 (p.445)では、起きてはならない飛ばし読みの大きなミスが発生している。一行分の欠落である。ラックストンのテキストに、「go up Yangtze, and see Chang Chi-Tung」とある箇所が、原文では「go up Yangtze as far as Ichang, giving a fortnight to Yangtze, & see Chang Chi-tung」と記されている。

発生原因は二つ考えられる。一つには、原文に同じ文字「Yangtze」が近くで二度出てくるところから、下の行の「Yangtze」の方に目移りして、中間の一行を飛ばして読んだためである。これは流れ作業のように転写していれば、誰にも起こり得るミスではある。問題は、印刷の前に原文との読み比べを慎重にしなかった点にある。

「英国」(1926年12月)の転写テキストは、サトウ日記の最後の一ヵ月分を判読したものである。書体は乱れてきて、読んでいても痛々しさを感じるけれど、最後まで勤勉に努力し、端正に生きた姿は、たとえ乱れた筆跡であろうとも、行間から読み取れる。

おわりに

学生時代に読んだ書物の中で、量から質への転換、という発想を学んだ。なにか新しさを開発できるとすれば、凡人にとってはこの方法であろうか。

途轍もなく多量の時間と精力を注入した解読活字化の作業が終わった。転写テキストは未だ粗削りな状態にあるけれども、サトウ自筆日記39冊分をこなし終えた。本報告書の段階までに、サトウ日記の全体像を眺望する地点に到達したのであるから、今後のサトウ研究と執筆のためにしっかりとした基盤を形成できたと自負している。

表 1 : サトウ日記の自筆原稿 (manuscripts)と転写原稿 (transcriptions) の概算

年号	自筆原稿 (頁数概算)	転写原稿 (A4版 30 行の枚数)	年号	自筆原稿 (頁数概算)	転写原稿 (A4版 30 行の枚数)
1861	1	1	1895	235	149
1862	158	99	1896	192	132
1863	33	15	1897	179	99
1864	57	37	1898	180	120
1865	50	35	1899	198	130
1866	12	15	1900	245	148
1867	234	118	1901	145	155
1868	189	99	1902	325	165
1869	25	15	1903	238	142
1870	2	5	1904	374	216
1871	82	41	1905	272	173
1872	105	59	1906	188	121
1873	63	30	1907	201	141
1874	11	5	1908	82	71
1875	76	42	1909	127	105
1876	93	83	1910	137	111
1877	131	91	1911	140	115
1878	105	63	1912	169	141
1879	112	83	1913	160	128
1880	71	43	1914	163	131
1881	42	25	1915	167	137
1882	23	17	1916	143	128
1883	90	69	1917	136	131
1884	142	92	1918	130	120
1885	197	117	1919	135	124
1886	142	82	1920	166	142
1887	150	81	1921	139	134
1888	85	61	1922	148	137
1889	56	48	1923	171	140
1890	90	62	1924	221	114
1891	176	102	1925	208	179
1892	197	125	1926	210	132
1893	164	110			
1894	285	176			
			合計	9373	6457

表 2 1867年度日記執筆の日付・場所・言及内容

Date (y/m/d)	Place of Visit or Writing	Remarks [encl.d.]	Date (y/m/d)	Place of Visit or Writing	Remarks [encl.d.]
1867/ 1/ 1	at sea	Argus	1867/5/ 25	Akazaka	in kago
2	Kagosima	集成館	26	Hamamatsu	on foot
3	Kagosima	Niiro	27	Kakegawa	A. Gower
4	Kagosima	Sutcliff	28	Kakegawa	3 girls
5	at sea	Uwajima	29	Shinada	stag
6	Uwajima	Prince	30	Fushima	sake
7	Uwajima	Noguchi	6/ 1	Mishima	eels
8	Uwajima	banquet	2	on the road	hayaoi
9	Mitarai	Kura	3	Yedo	no sleep
10	Shodozima	teahouse	7/23	for Hakodate	by Snap
11	Hiogo	Glover's	26	anchored	in Nambu
12	Hiogo	Saigo	27	Hakodate	Howell
2/ 7	Yokohama	to Osaka	28	Hakodate	rambled
9	Hiogo	Kerr	29	Hakodate	Sir H.P.
	[ff.1-2, 3 photos]		30	Hakodate	Butzow
			31	Hakodate	theatre
10	Hiogo	Otoyosan	8/ 1	at sea	Matsumae
11	Osaka	Cardew	2	Niigata	80 junks
12	Osaka	Komatsu	3	Niigata	Governor
13	Osaka	Mitsui	4	Niigata	Salamis
14	Osaka	pipes	5	at sea	Sado
15	Osaka	Yoshii	6	Nakawa mine	to Noto
	[ff.7-7a, 2 printes of Japanese temples]		7	Kanazawa	酒造家
			8	Kanazawa	Abe
16	Osaka	Matsuki	9	Kanazawa	Nanao
17	Osaka	to Sakai	10	on the road	Shiwo
	[f.11a, photo including Satow, Noguchi, Mitford]		11	on the road	Tsubata
18	Osaka	purchase	12	Kanazawa	my 策論
19	Osaka	Aidsu's	14	on the road	Komatsu
20	Hiogo	guards	15	Kanadzu	scissors
21	at sea	Yokohama	16	Fuchiu	Torinoko
25	Yedo	Ichikawa	17	Nakanokawachi	good inn
3/21	Yokohama	Fosters	18	on the road	sekisho
23	on board	Argus	19	on the road	Hikone
24	Atami	Toby	20	Kusatsu	Mitford
25	Hakone	the lake	21	on a houseboat	no sleep
26	Odawara	honjin	22	Osaka	Sir H.P.
27	Oiso	on foot	24	Osaka	Aston
28	Fujisawa	bette	25	Osaka	Roches
29	Yedo	in kagos	26	Osaka	Saigo
31	Yedo	Kristan	30	Osaka	舌官
4/ 1	Yedo	joroya	31	Osaka	Awaji
5/18	Osaka	in boat	9/ 1	Osaka	review
19	Kusatsu	honjin	2	at sea	Wadasaki
20	Nakasendo	Wirgman	3	Susaki	Goto
21	Shono	Shima	4	Susaki	see Goto
22	Kuwana	dealer	5	Susaki	Goto
23	Miya	namoshi?	6	Susaki	Hirayama
24	Okazaki	curious	7	at sea	Nankai
			8	Kochi bay	Goto
			9	Susaki	Nankai
			11	Shimonoseki	Inouye
			12	Nagasaki	Katsura
			13	Nagasaki	Flowers
			14	Nagasaki	Tamagawa

Date (y/m/d)	Place of Visit or Writing	Remarks [encl.d.]
1867/9/15	Nagasaki	Hirayama
16	Nagasaki	Yokobuye
18	Nagasaki	Hirayama
19	Nagasaki	Katsura
20	Nagasaki	Salamis
21	Nagasaki	Niirō
22	Nagasaki	Glover's
23	Nagasaki	林宇一
24	Nagasaki	my photo
25	Nagasaki	迎陽亭
26	Nagasaki	typhoon
27	Nagasaki	bowls
28	Nagasaki	Hirayama
29	Nagasaki	bank day
30	Nagasaki	Saigo
10/ 1	Nagasaki	my pupil
2	Nagasaki	Hirayama
3	Nagasaki	Cachon
4	Nagasaki	whist
5	Nagasaki	Flowers
6	Nagasaki	Suwa
7	Nagasaki	Hirayama
8	Nagasaki	yoriai
10	Nagasaki	Glover's
11	Nagasaki	Rionoske
12	Nagasaki	Macao
13	at sea	Straits
14	Hiogo	midnight
15	at sea	Oshima
16	Yokohama	midnight
11/ 6	Yedo	geisha
16	Yedo	Tycooon
18	Yedo	Mikado
25	Yedo	Kaneko
26	Yedo	吉井幸輔
27	Yokohama	Tetsu
28	Yokohama	wander
29	on board	Rattler
30	weighed	daylight
12/ 1	at sea	Oshima
2	Osaka	Tempozan
3	Osaka	on shore
4	Osaka	repairs
5	Osaka	Mitford
6	Osaka	Saigo
7	Osaka	Sansei
8	Osaka	curios
12	Osaka	to Hiogo
13	Osaka	festival
14	Osaka	Yoshii
15	Osaka	中江恭平
16	Osaka	Saigo
17	Osaka	Legation
18	Osaka	Taikun's
19	Osaka	no news
20	Osaka	Saigo

Date (y/m/d)	Place of Visit or Writing	Remarks [encl.d.]
1867/12/23	Osaka	oyster
24	Osaka	Chief
25	Osaka	Kasuya
28	Osaka	Hayashi
29	Osaka	Iga no
30	Osaka	Gemba
31	Osaka	£ 700

サ ト ウ 自 筆 日 記 の 各 冊 概 要

PAGINATION: 厚めの紙に leaf 0aとして片面で書きはじめたものの、巻末にき

て裏面白紙を逆向きに使って書きつづけたから、総頁数 344 pagesになる。

PERIOD: Nov.4, 1861 から Jan.15, 1866 の長い期間に渡る。

PENMANSHIP: 大きな字で丁寧に書かれているので判読は容易である。

EDITING: 小見出しのために開けた枠が全体的に狭く、日付の確認が紛らわしいのに、巻末で1863年4月の記述を再開したときには、対照的に三センチほどの広い幅を作っており、この変化は通訳見習いの傍ら、外交文書の清書をさせられたおりの正式文書の様式に学んだものと思われる。pp.149-52 は上から白紙で糊付けして隠しており、なんらかの後日編集の意図を感じさせる。

FEATURES: 異国での珍しい日々の体験を楽しそうに綴っている。

ENCLOSURES: 巻頭には Satow Castle, Middlesex と記した一枚の写真が添付されており、そこには母親と姉を思わせる二人の女性が玄関先に立っている。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-189a と枚数記入なので総頁数は378 pages になる。

PERIOD: 幕末の年1867年2月7日から1868年10月17日までの動乱期にあたる。

PENMANSHIP: 公使館での清書の仕事に精進する間に、書き慣れた小さな文字に変わってきたが、判読しやすく読んで気持ちの良い自分のスタイルを形成した。

EDITING: 日付を入れる小見出しの広い枠を取り、年月日の他、April 2, Tuesday の様に曜日も入っているので、日付の確定が容易である。但し、糊の染みが多々あったり、この日記帳は薄めの紙質であるので、裏面の文字が染みて読みにくい。

FEATURES: アーネス・サトウの名前を幕末維新史に残した記念すべき活躍が日々に描かれている日記であるので、本報告書には主に第1冊の巻末部分とこの2冊目の1867年度分の判読テキストを選択して掲載する。

ENCLOSURES: Members of the first Expedition to Osaka と記入のある集合写真 (f.11a)には、サトウ、Mitford、野口富作など七名が写っている。

PAGINATION: 枚数でなく頁数の記入になっているのは、全サトウ日記の中でも

珍しい。総頁数で 51 pages となり、薄めの日記帳である。

PERIOD: 1868年11月 6日から1871年 8月13日までを扱っている。

PENMANSHIP: インクの文字が霞んできており、判読に支障が出る。

EDITING: 年によって量的にバラバラの記入であり、1870年にはほとんど日記を書いていない。

FEATURES: 西郷、大久保、小松など薩摩藩の重臣と会見・交遊している描写が眼前に浮かぶような叙述を含んでいたりと、「五家之荘」「米良」等の人名を日本語で書き加えている。1869年までは伸びやかな書体で書いていたのが、1870年にはわずかな記述でも筆致が一変し、生活のせわしなさを感じさせる。

ENCLOSURES: 写真や新聞切り抜きなど一切の添付物、それに自筆イラストなども一切入っていない。

PAGINATION: 各頁に番号を打っており、総頁数は 334 pagesである。

PERIOD: 1871年 8月18日から1875年12月30日までの期間に該当する。但し、1875年12月30日と翌年1876年 1月 1日の二日分については、別紙 (pp.323A-323B) の四頁分を挿入してあるので、時系列の配置にならなかった。

PENMANSHIP: 濃いインクで流れるような書体で綴っていて判読しやすい。

EDITING: 日付や小見出しのために設けている左端のベースが2センチほどの幅で取ってある特別な日記帳を使いながら、なぜか本文の行頭に合わせて日付を引っ込め、確認を困難にしている Aug.21 [1871]の様な例が多々見られる。

FEATURES: 途切れがちな日記が或る期間に継続しているのは、主に小旅行の思い出を記す目的のためであろう。

ENCLOSURES: pp.237-240には小旅行の間に溪谷で遭難の危険にさらされたアトキンによって書かれたものと思われ、筆跡がサトウのものと違っている。

PAGINATION: 枚数計算によって leaves 1-203aであり、総頁数は 406 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1876年 1月 2日から1879年10月25日までの期間に相当する。

PENMANSHIP: 小さな文字で書かれてあり、多少読みにくい箇所が散見する。

EDITING: 日付の見出しをしっかりと記していない箇所も多々あったり、単に日だけを記している場合もあるので (1877年 4月18日等) 日付の確認が紛らわしい。

1878年 7月の記述に見るように、この頃から訂正や加筆が目立つようになる。

FEATURES: 鹿児島大学医学部の前身となった赤倉病院を創設した友人のウィリスや苗代川の薩摩焼「壺屋」を1877年 2月に訪問した思い出が綴られている。

ENCLOSURES: 1877年 4月17日から24日まで甲府経由で東海道に出る徒歩旅行の途中、携帯したバロメータで一日に何度も測定をして作成した各地の標高を記した詳しいリストが添付されている。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-73aに記入され、総頁数では146 pages になる

PERIOD: 1879年11月15日から1881年12月27日までの記入である。

PENMANSHIP: 大きめの字で、単語と単語の間にゆとりを置き、全体的に伸び伸びと書いているので判読しやすい。公使館で課せられた外交文書の清書作業の間に、サトウらしい綺麗な書き方が体得できたものと思われる。

EDITING: 左端に日付記入のための空白スペースを十分に取っており、また年月日の表記も分かりやすく、丁寧な書体とあいまって、全日記のうちでも最も気持ち良く読めるものになっている。

FEATURES: 夕食会に行く途中で馬車の左車輪の事故が起きて、身体を支えようとしたサトウは、右手首を捻挫してしまう。それで、1880年11月 8日の日記は慣れない左手で書いたために、丁寧なサトウの書体から一変する。

ENCLOSURES: なし。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-72aの記入法であるので、総頁数は 144 pagesになる。

P E R I O D : 1882 年 1月16日から1884年 3月22日までの期間である。

P E N M A N S H I P : ff.56a-57 には記入日の時系列に混乱が見られるものの、それ以外は読みやすい細字で綺麗に書かれている。

E D I T I N G : 小見出しの空白スペースを設けて、日付の記入に活用していたり、この頃は細字のペンを使い、流れるように気持ちの良い書き方に戻っている。但し、1884年 3月 4日と 5日は、先行する 3月 3日の月名を見出しに用いた珍しい省略形になっている。

F E A T U R E S : これまでにも時折、人名等のハングル文字が日記に登場していたのであるが、この頃にはハングル語のレッスンを受けており、長い文章も散見する。

E N C L O S U R E S : なし。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-74aの構成であり、総頁数では 148 pagesになる

P E R I O D : 1884年 3月24日から1885年 4月 3日の期間にあたり、この頃から次第に一年に一冊の日記帳というサトウの意図が推察できるようである。

P E N M A N S H I P : この頃の特徴となった細字の流れるようなスタイルである。

E D I T I N G : 薄手の紙質は判読に困難を伴うが、なんのために、と思いたいほどの広さで空白ペースを各頁左端に取っているため、日付の確認は容易である。

F E A T U R E S : Siamを中心に東南アジアに関する記述が多くなり、日々に提起される問題点を項目別の見出しと下線によって分けている。この点も、これまでに見られないスタイルである。それだけ日記執筆の目的があくまでも私的な異国生活や旅行記録であったのが、公的な仕事の私的覚書という性格を帯びた変化と言える。

E N C L O S U R E S : 添付した写真や新聞記事などは皆無に近い。唯一の例外は、1884年 7月14日バンコク発、THE FRENCH AND SIAM と題する四行の切り抜きである。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-73 の記入であり、総頁計算では 145 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 先行する第8冊の継続分1885年 4月 3日から1885年11月13日までの一年に満たない記録であり、一日分に多数の頁を費やすケースが続出する。

PENMANSHIP: 読みやすい小さな文字で流れるように書いている。

EDITING: 左端に十分な空白スペースを開けて、日付の小見出しに活用できていたり、サトウ日記らしい全体の落ちつきが感じられる。

FEATURES: 前冊と同様に項目立てをして、見出しの項目に下線を引いている。外交官としての日常的業務について私的記録に残しておき、自分の発言や指示を後日に日記帳で確認する必要があるための日頃の慎重な準備とも受け取れる。

ENCLOSURES: leaves 2-3 の四頁分は、当時の通常の書簡用紙を挿入したものである。先行する日記帳に散見したことではあるが、ここでもわずかなイラスト(壺、f.41)が描かれている。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-74aの記入であり、総頁数では 148 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1885年11月16日から1886年12月18日までの一年余りの期間にあたる。

PENMANSHIP: 細めのペンを使い、大きめな文字で書いているので判読しやすい。

1886年 6月25日分 (f.28) の日付として、25 Kobe というサトウ日記では珍しい表記がある。

EDITING: 項目別に見出しを付けているのも先行する日記帳と同じである。左端の小見出しスペースは、通常一頁の五分の一前後で十分であったものが、四分の一を占めるなど、不必要に広くなったケース(f.12)も出ている。

FEATURES:

ENCLOSURES: f.19 と番号の入っている通常の書簡用紙一枚三頁分のサトウ自筆メモ (Memorandum for Mr. French)が挿入されている。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-70aの記入であり、総頁計算では 140 pagesになる。

あまりに空白が多くて、少し間延びした感じがえ覚えるほどである。

PERIOD: 前冊 10 の最終記載1886年12月18日分を継続することから始め、巻末の記載は1887年11月18日までのほぼ一年間の日記である。

PENMANSHIP: 比較的小さな細めの文字で丁寧に書いている。判読しやすい。

EDITING: 外交文書の記述法を踏襲し、左端の小見出しスペースを十分に取り、ここでは更に一步進んで項目間を一行空きにしている。

FEATURES: 湿気のためか紙にシミが目立ってきている。

ENCLOSURES: 写真等の添付物がなくて記述本位であるものの、左端空白スペースを使ってこれまでも短い文章の追加が見られた。それが細かい文字で書けば二、三の英単語が十分に入るスペースであるところから、この日記帳では例外的に長い文章の挿入が見られる (f.16)。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-99 の枚数記入があり、総頁では 197 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1887年11月21日から1890年 9月15日までの長期間に及ぶ。

PENMANSHIP: 適切な紙質の帳面に小さな文字で流れるように書いている。部分的な例外は、英国へ帰国していた1888年の夏のロンドンで、8月11日には医師の診断を受けたり体調不良を起こしており、同年 9月の日記には多少とも荒い筆致が見える。他の箇所にもある。

EDITING: 頁左端に小見出し用の野線が縦に印刷されているので、日付はほぼ自動的にその欄に記入している。

FEATURES: 日記執筆の模範と言えそうな書き方である。小見出し、日付、行間、文字間隔、筆致、訂正や汚れの有無、等の角度から判断しての評価である。

ENCLOSURES: 礼拝資料 (S.Paul's Cathedral, 1888/10/29), ff.42-47a。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-92aの記入であり、総頁は 184 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1890年 9月16日から1891年 9月 7日のほぼ一年分である。

PENMANSHIP: 大きな文字で走り書きしており、ゆっくりと日記を書いているだけの時間的な余裕のなさを感じさせる。決して書きなぐりではないものの、荒い筆致も散見したり、記述が時系列にならず、アチコチに飛んでいるケースがあるので判読にあたっては注意が必要になる。

EDITING: 左端の空白スペースは空けてあるものの、時には日付の確認が困難になるほど、頁の端ギリギリまで書き込んでいる。

FEATURES: 年齢が進むにつれて、とりわけ引退後のサトウは、読書のほかに植物採取と観察を趣味として深化させるのであるが、この日記の段階でも珍しい植物のイラストを描いて、植物観察の趣味の一端を垣間見せている。

ENCLOSURES: 上記イラスト (f.33)

PAGINATION: leaves 1-91 の枚数記入であり、総頁数は 181 pagesである。

PERIOD: 先行する第13冊の1891年 9月 7日分を継続することから始め、最終日付は1892年 8月30日までの期間にあたり、一年に満たない。

PENMANSHIP: 全体的には大きめの字で書き流しているが、大きな字であっても、落ちついた柔らかな印象の書き方を稀に交える時もある。

EDITING: 小見出し欄に日付を表記するにも、同じシステムではない。例えば1892年 4月の分には、13 April、Apr. 14、April 16、24 Sunday、25、27 Apr. という具合で様々なのである。

FEATURES: 外交官としての多忙さは、面会、会議、夕食などについて日々繰り返している記述からも窺い知れる。

ENCLOSURES: f.88に短い新聞切り抜きが添付されている。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-107の記入であり、総頁数で 113 pagesになる。

P E R I O D : 1892年 9月 1日から1893年12月24日までの期間にあたる。

P E N M A N S H I P : 太いペンで濃く書いているが、荒い感じよりもむしろ、丁寧でやわらかな印象を全体的に与え、どこか生活の落ちつきが感じさせる。

E D I T I N G : 左端の小見出しスペースは頁幅の八分の一程度である。日付の記入等の用途にはこれが適切な空きであると思われる。きちんとしたスタイルが長い経験のなかで生まれたのであろう。追加の文章をこのわづかなスペースに入れるのに、例えば、1892年12月20日と21日の間で利用しており (f.24a)、縦書きにして五行を書き添えてもいる。

F E A T U R E S : 長文のときには段落で大きくインデントする余裕を見せている。

E N C L O S U R E S : なし。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-113a の記入であり、総頁数は 226 pagesになる。

P E R I O D : 1893年12月24日を前冊から継続して始めており、一年未満、1894年11月 2日の途中で終わっている。一年に一冊という標準的な日記執筆に定着してきているものの、書き出しが年頭でないためにズレが生じる。記述の長さも一日一頁が標準であるとすれば、ここでは一行から数頁になっており、マチマチなのだ。

P E N M A N S H I P : 前冊と同様に大きな文字でゆるやかに書いているので、判読が容易であるのは言うまでもなく、読んでいて気持ちの良い書体である。

E D I T I N G : 前冊と同様に適切に空けてある左端の余白には、追加の文章を三行にわたって入れられるだけの広さがある (f.11a)。

F E A T U R E S : 例えば1894年10月 1日から 4日の様に、一部には日付を書き直して、判別しにくくなっている箇所がある。

E N C L O S U R E S :

PAGINATION: leaves 1-178a の記入であり、総頁数は 356 pagesである。新し

い頁をめくるのに一枚頁を飛ばしてしまうことは起こりえることではある。サトウ

日記にも見受けられる。ここでは f.172a に発生して時系列を混乱させた。

PERIOD: 前冊1894年11月 2日を継続する形で始まり、1895年 4月26日で終わる。

PENMANSHIP: 太いペンで濃く流れるように書いているので判読しやすい。

EDITING: 左端空白スペースに短い語句や文章を追加することは、他の日記にも
多々あったけれど、ここでは例外的に頁上端のスペースに一日分の記述を追加記入
している (f.95, 1895年 5月11日)。

FEATURES: 最後の日本勤務のために横浜へ到着した1895年 7月28日以来、記述は
ころなしに筆致に丸みが出てやわらかな感じを与える。慣れた日本生活のなかで
味わうことのできた時間的な余裕と落ちついた生活のためであろうか。

ENCLOSURES: イラスト (f.58)。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-184a の記入であり、総頁数は 368 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1896年 4月27日から1898年 6月15日のほぼ二年間にわたる。

PENMANSHIP: 濃いインクの太い字であるが、丁寧に書かれているので判読しや
すい。但し、たっぷりとインクを付けるために、インクの乾きが遅く、時には擦っ
て紙面を汚すケースが見られるようになる。

EDITING: 頁幅の五分の一ほどの広さで左端スペースをここでも空けているので、
日付の記入や語句の追加に適切に活用できている。空白の割合は、書いている文字
が小さめであるのでかなり目立つくらいである。

FEATURES: 日本語の漢字が頻繁にまじるのも、この日記帳の特色の一つである。

君平、天主、同意、Nishi 西成一、國粹家、等である。

ENCLOSURES:

PAGINATION: leaves 1-117の枚数番号付けであるので、総頁数では 233 pages になる。

PERIOD: 1898年 6月16日から1899年 9月29日までの一年余りの期間。

PENMANSHIP: 語句の間のスペースにゆとりがあり、大きな文字で伸び伸びと書いているので、判読しやすいテキストである。

EDITING: 左端の空白スペースを十分に取っている所以、そこに記入している日付は判別しやすい。

FEATURES: Chinese mission (f.95a) のように、しばらく止めていた下線入りの小見出しを再開して、記述の内容を項目化しようとする工夫が見える。Parkesとか D'Anethan 等の外交官仲間、それに日本人旧友が頻りに訪問する公務日課を記すことが多くなり、サトウの交遊の幅の広さが手に取るように分かる。

ENCLOSURES:

PAGINATION: leaves 1-116の枚数記入法であるので、総頁数では 231 pages になる。

PERIOD: 1899年10月11日から1900年11月10日までの一年余りの期間にあたるが、この間に日本勤務を終えてロンドンに一時帰国している。生活する場の変化はあっても、習慣化した日記執筆をほぼ毎日欠かしていない。勤勉な性格の一端が見える。

PENMANSHIP: 太めのペンと濃いインクを使い、ゆったりと書いているので判読しやすい。

EDITING: 左端スペースが十分に空いているところから、これを横向きにして六、七行の長い文章を細かな字で追加しているケースが二、三ある。

FEATURES: 日記文面には、日頃から慣れた外交文書の書き方が現れている。

ENCLOSURES: 写真一葉 (f.4a) の裏面に、after a fortnight of Oxford, August 1898というメモ書きがある。人物不詳。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-147の枚数表記なので総頁数では 293 pagesである

PERIOD: 1900年11月11日から1901年12月13日のほぼ一年間にあたる。

PENMANSHIP: 太いペンで濃いインクを使い、落ちつきのある書き方である。

EDITING: 段落付けのためのインデントも適切であり、全体として堂々と書いているので安心して読み進められる。左端の空白スペースも十分に空けてある。f.106aではこのスペース一杯に、Hart said で始まる長文を横書きで追加している珍しい例がある。これも日記執筆の目的が、公務に関する私的記録という性格を持つために、細かい覚書を必要としたためと思われる。同様の例は f.146a にもある。

FEATURES: 新しい日記帳の書き出しに、Peking 1900 とあるように、在中国英国公使時代の日記であり、公務に係わる私的な覚書の意味が強い。中国語の人名、釘翼、呉仲賢 his interpreter等が、日本語に代わって散見するようになる。

ENCLOSURES: f.4 (Capt. Bingley)と f.127 (Beck) にメモの添付がある。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-134a の枚数計算なので総頁では 268 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1901年12月25日から1902年10月17日までの一年弱の期間にわたる。

PENMANSHIP: 比較的小さな字で流れるように書いているのは読みやすいのであるが、筆記体の t の横棒線を後から付けるときに余りに長く流しすぎるために、他の文字にまでかかってしまい、読みにくくしている。同じことは筆記体 i の上部に付ける点も、長く引きすぎているために汚れた文面に見えたりする。

EDITING: 左端空白スペースを広く空けて日付の記入欄として活用している。そこに文章を挿入しているケースのなかでも、1902年 4月12日と 4月14日の日付を記した空白に、日付を越した文章の継続が見られるのは誤読の原因になりそうだ。

FEATURES: 使臣平安、崇禮、無父無君、のような中国語を時に使っている。

ENCLOSURES: イラスト画 (f.106)。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-141の枚数計算であり、総頁は 281 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1902年10月18日から1903年12月21日の一年余りの期間である。また、同一紙面 (f.104)の上で、1903年 9月の24、22、23、25日という順序により、なぜか日付が合い前後して記入されている。

PENMANSHIP: 濃いインクを使い、柔らかな文字で流れるように書いている。

EDITING: 紙面左端に縦の罫線が入っていないので、見出しのための空白スペースを空けるのはよいが、横幅の五分の一のスペースを取ってしまい、その割には書いている文字は小さいのである。それでも、f.5aの Note (Oct.31)や f.26aのような場合には、外交文書と同様に、文章の追加に便利な空欄使用方法である。

FEATURES:

ENCLOSURES: ff.20-21の間にサトウを含む集合写真。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-147の枚数表示であり、総頁数は 293 pagesになる

PERIOD: 1903年12月22日から1904年 9月19日までの一年弱の期間である。

PENMANSHIP: 六十歳になった人の字とは思えないほど、大きな字で、しかも円やかな書体で気持ちよく書いているので判読になんの困難も感じられない。サトウ自筆日記のなかで最も綺麗に書かれている日記帳と言える。

EDITING: ここでも左端に空白スペースを広く空けている。頁飛ばしによる時系列の混乱が、ここでは 1902 年 1月 7日分で発生した。

FEATURES: 一日分の執筆に、一頁を当てるとというのが標準であるけれど、サトウ日記の場合には長短はマチマチであり、ここでは1903年 1月 4日 (ff.11-14a)のように、七頁半の長きに及ぶものも登場した。

ENCLOSURES: ff.42-43までは、1916年 2月21日 E.S. と日付の入った引用メモが挿入されており、後日に日記帳を読み返して編集をしたことが分かる。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-140の枚数表記であり、総頁数は 279 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1904年 9月21日から1905年 9月30日までの約一年間を扱っている。

PENMANSHIP: 太い字で濃く流れるように書かれていて判読しやすい。

EDITING: 広く小見出しの空白スペースを設けていながらも、1904年 9月23日の日付表記 Sept.23に続き、単に「" 26」と表し、しかも「26」は本文のなかに入っている状態では、日付の確認が紛らわしい。こうした場合、本文の文脈の流れから判断して、「26」が日付であると確定するしかない。むしろ次の頁にある「27 "」という省略法の方が混乱しない。

FEATURES: f.11では文末に He also brought* とあり、次の行はインデントして別の話題に転じているが、左端空白でアステリック付きの * a messageで始まる六行の長い文章を継続させている。最初から空白スペースに続きを書くというのも不思議であり、元になったメモの存在と日記での清書という仮定を推測させる。

PAGINATION: ff.1-140の枚数表示であり、総頁数は 279 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 前冊の1905年 9月30日を継続する形で始まり、1907年 1月25日で終了。

PENMANSHIP: 大きな文字で丁寧な書き方であるので判読は容易である。

EDITING: 1906年 3月21日分は頁 (f.62a)の上段空白に追加している。左端に罫線のある日記帳を使わないサトウは、そのつど空白幅を設けるが、その幅はそのまま時期的な心理傾向を映し出していると思われる。次第に狭くなってきている。

FEATURES: f.95の文面には珍しく日本語の文字「嘉永明治年間録」が見える。

f.134 の文面に注目したい。日記の記述は当日にしているのか、後日に纏め書きしているのか、たえず疑問が脳裏を走る事柄ではある。ここでは以下に挙げるインターナル・エヴィデンスを根拠に、後日の纏め執筆が明白である。1906年12月18日から19日以降の数日に移ったときの筆跡・インクの濃さ・19日の日付訂正。

ENCLOSURES: f.111 にMorley's Recollectionsからの自筆引用文がある。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-152の枚数計算であり、総頁数は 303 pagesになる。

P E R I O D : 1907年 1月26日から1909年 4月22日までの期間をカバーする。

P E N M A N S H I P : 訂正や追加した箇所もなく全体的に綺麗な書体で書いている。

E D I T I N G : 左端の空白スペースも十分にあけて、そこに日付を記入するほかには、

これまでに散見したような他国外交官との会見・会話などを後日の参考のために、空白に付記するような必要が、最後の日本赴任の折にはなかったらしい。のびやかに落ちついた書き方であるのは、そのまま最後の日本生活の姿を映し出しているのであろう。

F E A T U R E S : 1907年12月16日分 (f.93a)は、左端スペースに縦書きの追加記入をしているが、内容は地元のキリスト教慈善団体の集まりで講演したところ、恐らく雨のために聴衆が少なかったのだろうという内容に過ぎない。

E N C L O S U R E S : 新聞切り抜き (f.16, Sir Ernest Satow a Pundit) 。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-150a の枚数記入であり、総頁で 300 pagesになる。

P E R I O D : 1909年 4月23日から1911年 6月11日までの約二年余りにわたる。

P E N M A N S H I P : 引退後の田舎生活のなかで、地域活動に駆り出されることはあっても、文字通り晴天雨読の余裕ある生活模様は、こうした自筆の文面にも落ち着いたもののある書体となって現れるものであるらしい。

E D I T I N G : 1901年 1月の箇所に同年 4月 4日から 8日分の記述 (ff.53a-54)が急に挿入されているのはどうした事情での記入間違いになったのか不思議である。

F E A T U R E S : かつての同僚や友人知人の死亡をメモすることが、晩年に向かうにつれてサトウ日記の特色になるが、ここではf.56a の左端空白にThe Times of today announces the death of Eddy Morant who was with me at Tangier as hon. attache, very nice fellow. と記している。また、健脚家で知られるサトウは健筆家でもあり、1910年 5月20日には wrote 14 letters とメモ書きを加えている。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-121の枚数計算であり、総頁で 241 pagesとなる。

PERIOD: 1911年 6月12日から1912年12月 5日までのほぼ一年半の期間である。

PENMANSHIP: 細い字体であるものの鮮明に書かれてあり判読しやすい。

EDITING: 一頁に二十五行、それだけ一行の幅が広めの日記帳を使っているが、引退後の伸びやかな生活のなかで、日記は日課となって、一日も欠けていない週月が多くなる。平均して一頁に三日分、つまり一日分が八行ほどで書き進めている。

FEATURES: 唯一の例外として押し葉が添付されている (f.84a)。

ENCLOSURES: サトウらしい人物が野外でスピーチをしている姿がシルエットで浮かぶ写真 (f.14)。多くなってきた新聞切り抜き (f.41a, f.66a, f.88, f.119, f.120) には、(f.79a) Interesting Speech by Sir Ernest Satowのように、サトウに言及する地方新聞記事が大半と言える。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-119の枚数記入であり、総頁では 237 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1912年12月 6日から1914年 5月28日までの期間である。

PENMANSHIP: 小さな太い字で流れるように書いている点では、若い頃となんら変わっておらず、判読に支障はない。

EDITING: 左端スペースも紙面一頁の六分の一ほどを当てて、専ら日付の記入に使っている点でも、若い頃となんら変わっていない。

FEATURES: ほぼ毎日日記を付けている。引退したサトウはすでに七十歳を迎えており、この頃から年度末には一年の間に他界した同僚・友人・知人などの死亡日を記録する習慣ができた。

ENCLOSURES: 地元新聞の記事を中心にして、1913年にもサトウに言及のある記事の切り抜きを添付している (f.49a, f.75, f.81a, f.90, f.101a)。従って、実際の日記執筆そのものは、総頁数からその分を差し引かなければならない。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-124a の枚数表記であり総頁数は 228 pagesになる

PERIOD: 1914年 5月29日から1915年12月18日までの約一年半の期間である。

PENMANSHIP: ペン先が太いために、すこしインクが濃厚すぎる。

EDITING: 全体としては空白の多い余裕のある書き方を保っている。但し、1915年
3月10日分は、全日記帳でも唯一の例外と言えるような、一行の行間に二行分をな
ぜか書き込んでいる。

FEATURES: 年度末には一年間の死亡記録をリストするだけでなく、1914年末から
は教会関係・慈善・地域団体等への年間の献金額をリストするようになる。

ENCLOSURES: 1914年には Timesに送ったサトウの投書を含む三つの切り抜き
(f.19a, f.23a, f.25a)、1915年には (f.67a, f.76, f.79, f.89, f.91a)、在日
英国大使館前にサトウが寄付・植樹した桜に関する切り抜きもあり、f.92a には
S.A.W. Satow's visits to Ottery St.Mary のリストも添付させている。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-119の枚数表記であり、総頁数は 237 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1915年12月19日から1917年 9月11日までの期間である。

PENMANSHIP: インクの濃淡や書き方がマチマチになってきて読みにくい。

EDITING: 広い左端スペース、インデントと文末スペースなど白い空間が多い従来
の書き方から始めたこの日記帳も、四分の一ほどしてから(f.36aあたり)、左端の
スペースを空けずに書くようになる。そのために本文のなかに入ってしまう日付に、
たとえ下線を引いたにせよ、判読に不便を生じるようになる。これも戦時下の儉約
ムードの現れと解釈すべきであろうか。この傾向が一層進むと、1916年 7月31日や
8月 1日のように、前文の終わりに続けて書き込むような傾向を産み、一頁の文面
に空白が皆無という詰まった状態に陥る。

ENCLOSURES: 新聞切り抜きには、Gift to London Library---Sir E. Satow's
Papers on China (Times, 7 Jan. 1916)が f.5に添付されている。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-119の枚数記入であり、総頁数は 237 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1917年 9月12日から1919年 6月20日までの期間である。

PENMANSHIP: 細かい字で頁一面に書き込んでいても前冊よりは読みやすい工夫がある。一つには日毎に太字のペンと細字用のペンを交互に使うことで、見た目にも日にちの違いをインクの濃淡で表すことをどうやら思いついた様子である。

EDITING: 全ての余裕ある空白スペースがなくなってしまい、ペンとインクの使い分け、それに日付に二重下線を引くなどして、サトウなりに工夫して、日々の違いを図ろうとしているようだ。引退生活のなかで月日を失念することもままある。

FEATURES: ペンの調子が悪いのか、インクの量が多すぎて紙面に滲み、鮮明さに欠ける文字が多出する結果となった。引退生活のなかで話題性に欠け、日課の日記では天候に言及して、1918年11月 9日には、Mild, some rain. Walked to Chineway foot and back.と記しているだけである。それに省略記号が少なくなる。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-117の枚数表記であり、総頁数は 233 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1919年 6月22日から1920年12月20日までの期間である。

PENMANSHIP: 濃いインクが鮮明な文字を浮かばせずに、判読に苦しむ単語の場合が頻発する。次第に読みにくいテキストに変わってきた。

EDITING: 前冊と同様に一切の空白スペースを入れていない。1920年 8月 1日 (f.89a)に来て、久しぶりに左端空白のスペースを空けたのは、どうした風の吹き廻しによるものだろうか、不思議である。

FEATURES: 山野の散歩にでかけては、野草を集めたりするのが日課のようになってくるが、草花の学名をラテン語で表記している。また、漢字以外にはほとんど英語だけを書いていたのが、ここではギリシャ語が混じっている (f.112a)。

ENCLOSURES: 友人のPryke の obituary (f.51)のほか、1920年にはわずかな新聞からの切り抜きが貼ってある (f.44, f.61, f.61a, f.106)。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-120の枚数表記であり、総頁数は 240 pagesになる。

P E R I O D : 1920年12月21日から1922年 8月29日までの期間にあたる。

P E N M A N S H I P : 先行する数冊の日記帳に散見したかなり荒い書き方と比較すれば、
外交官時代に戻ったかのように丁寧で落ちついた筆致に戻ってきた。

E D I T I N G : 左端の空白スペースこそ作っていないが、段落で改行する際に文末の
空白を残している。すこしは狭苦しさを取り除いている。

F E A T U R E S : 1921年 3月30日から 4月 3日までの期間は、まとめて日記を書いてい
る。ほとんど生涯、病に伏したことのないサトウも、晩年に向かうにつれて故障が
出始め、このときは声が出ないほどの喉頭炎を患い、日記を断念した模様である。
1921年度末の死亡者リストは長いものになった。

E N C L O S U R E S : 1921年分の新聞切り抜きは地元新聞から多くあった (f.8, f.10a,
f.16a, f.46a, f.49, f.53, f.61)。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-95 の枚数表示であり、総頁数は 189 pagesになる。

P E R I O D : 1922年 8月30日から1923年11月 4日までの一年余りの期間である。

P E N M A N S H I P : 小さめな綴りであるが、やわらかい流れるサトウらしい書き方
あるので、判読はそう難しいものではない。

E D I T I N G : 左右の端ギリギリにまで紙面を使っていて、日付は本文中に入ってい
ない、しかも一本ないし時には二本の下線を用いてきた先行日記と違い、まったく日
付だけというものが発生する。それでも判読できる。一字一句を辿って進む読みの
作業では、意味の流れをたえず把握しておかなければならず、文脈の動きのなかに、
文字が浮かんでくる。本文中に置かれた下線のない日付の確定が可能になるのもそ
のためである。20. Cloudy at first [1923/9/20] が具体例の一つである。

F E A T U R E S : Masujima (f.6a)のような人名に鉛筆で後日の下線が入っている。

E N C L O S U R E S : Mrs.Satow と Mr.F.Willis 家の Ilfracombe 火災記事 (f.11a)。

PAGINATION: leaves 0a-80の枚数記入であり、総頁数は 160 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1923年11月 5日から1924年 8月19日までの一年弱の期間である。

PENMANSHIP: サトウらしい小さな字で滑らかに書いていることは以前と変わらないのであるが、インクが漏れやすいペンを使って、太字で書こうとするので、文字を潰してしまい、読みにくい箇所が発生するのは避けられない。

EDITING: 左右に空白を設けなくてギッシリと書き込んでいる。後日に追加するにもその空白はなく、1924年 1月 4日 Yesterday云々の表現が発生する。

FEATURES: 年末の慣習となった死亡者リストは月別にするほどに増え、二十名を越えた。G.E.Morrison, J.A.Pryce, Bishop Stirling等が含まれている。

ENCLOSURES: 同僚・知人・友人の他界を年末にまとめて記録する習慣ばかりでなく、日々に新聞で伝えられる obituary (f.4) の切り抜きや日記帳上の言及が晩年の進行とともに増えていく。自然の成り行きである。

PAGINATION: leaves 1-133a 枚数記入であり、総頁数は 266 pagesになる。

PERIOD: 1924年 8月20日から1925年10月27日迄の一年弱の期間である。

PENMANSHIP: 小さな文字であっても綺麗に書かれているので判読しやすい。インクで紙面を汚すことは稀であったが、ここではff.33 に大きなシミができた。

EDITING: 左右の空白はないものの、行間に加筆する必要もなくなり、日毎に濃淡分けしたインクの使用もあって全体的に読みやすい。後日に鉛筆で人名をマークしたものの中に、近くに住む Lawrie and Josephine が頻発する。

FEATURES: 引退後の規則的な田園生活のなかで記述する日記は、まず天候から始め、原稿執筆、庭は畑の作物、散歩、健康状態、読書、訪問記録、教会活動、慈善・社会的活動、親戚付き合い、隣人の生活模様、海外事情、家政、書簡等が主なテーマとなった。日記の最後まで心身ともに旺盛な活動が記録されている。

ENCLOSURES: Missionary Exhibition (f.35)や obituary 等短い切り抜き。

P A G E N A T I O N : leaves 1-121a の枚数記入であり総頁数は 241 pagesになる

P E R I O D : 1925年 9月20日から1925年12月31日迄の最後の日記である。

P E N M A N S H I P : インクの濃淡を違えているのは、最後の日記帳までに定着した慣習である。濃すぎるために文字面を潰したり、紙面が汚れる。

E D I T I N G : 左右の行端にギッシリと書き込んでいるの余白はない。細字で書くとは判読しやすいのであるが、それでも全体的に苦しそうな筆の運びを感じさせる。

Mickleham を Mickle (f.21)と訂正するような例が示すように、心身ともに余裕のある時期は過ぎてしまったかのように、痛々しい印象を受ける。

F E A T U R E S : 中山昌樹のダンテ翻訳に言及して、久しぶりに漢字が登場する。

E N C L O S U R E S : 1925年度末の他界者リストも二十五名を越えており、そのなかに兄弟のサムやチャールズも含まれており、特にサトウの屋敷を頻繁に訪れていた法律家のサムについては、my brother Sam, alas! と付記している。

第 2 報

サトウ日記の記入日リスト (1861/11/4-1926/12/31)

1 8 6 1		
JANUARY		PRO/30/ 33/15/1 p.2: Nov.4. PRO/30/ 33/15/1 p.2: Dec.30.
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MARCH		
APRIL		
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JULY		
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SEPTEMBER		
OCTOBER		
NOVEMBER	4 10 11 15 19 20 26 27	PRO/30/ 33/15/1 p.2:
DECEMBER	7 14 15 17 18 30	Dec.30.

1 8 6 2		
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FEBRUARY	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28</div>	
MARCH	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 12</div> <div>16 25 28 29 30 31</div>	
APRIL	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30</div>	
MAY	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 29 30 31</div>	
JUNE	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15</div> <div>19 21 22 23 24 27 30</div>	
JULY	<div>1 3 4</div> <div>20 27 29</div>	PRO/30/ 33/15/1 pp.152-9 : Dec.2.
AUGUST	<div>6 7</div> <div>24</div>	
SEPTEMBER	<div>2 8 9 12</div> <div>17</div>	
OCTOBER	<div>1 14</div>	
NOVEMBER	<div>3</div> <div>24</div>	
DECEMBER	<div>2</div>	

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JANUARY		PRO/30/ 33/15/1 p.192: Mar.26.
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MARCH	26	
APRIL		
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JULY	21 26 27 28 29 31	
AUGUST	1 3 6 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/1 pp.253- 258: Oct.10.
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 4 10	
NOVEMBER		
DECEMBER		

1 8 6 5		
JANUARY		PRO/30/ 33/15/1 p.258: Oct.2. PRO/30/ 33/15/1 pp.303- 307: Nov.28
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APRIL		
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p.308:
Nov.26.

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Dec.31.

1 8 6 7																
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FEBRUARY	7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 25															
MARCH	21 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 31															PRO/30/ 33/15/1 p.343: Jan.15.
APRIL	2															
MAY	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30															PRO/30/ 33/15/2 f.1: Feb.7.
JUNE	1 2 3															
JULY	23 26 27 28 29 30 31															
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OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 12 13 14 15 16															
NOVEMBER	6 7 16 18 25 26 27 28 29 30															PRO/30/ 33/15/2 ff.104-5 : Dec.31
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 23 24 25 28 29 30 31															

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JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 17 18 21 22 23 24 25 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/2 f.105a: Jan.1.																											
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 29																												
MARCH	1 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23																												
APRIL																													
MAY	15 16 17 18																												
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JULY	11 29 30 31																												
AUGUST	2 3 4 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 26 28 29 30																												
SEPTEMBER	8 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 26 27 28 29 30																												
OCTOBER	1 8 9 12 17	PRO/30/ 33/15/3 p.1: Nov.6.																											
NOVEMBER	6 7 8 9 10 16 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30																												
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JANUARY	2 5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27 28 30											PR0/30/ 33/15/3 p.20: Jan.2.
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1 8 7 0		
JANUARY		PRO/30/ 33/15/3/ pp.45-6: Dec.7.
FEBRUARY		
MARCH		
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DECEMBER	4 5 12 13 14 15 17 18 21 22								

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p.51:
Aug.13.

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p.2:
Aug.18.

PRO/30/
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Dec.22.

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JANUARY	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26	PRO/30/ 33/15/4/ p.78: Jan.17.
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MARCH	13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 29	
APRIL	3	
MAY		
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AUGUST		27
SEPTEMBER	3 4 5 6 16	
OCTOBER	22 23	
NOVEMBER		29 30
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/4/ p.182: Dec.31.

1 8 7 4		
JANUARY		PRO/30/ 33/15/4/ p.245: Sept.24. PRO/30/ 33/15/4/ pp.253-5 : Oct.4.
FEBRUARY		
MARCH		
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DECEMBER		

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AUGUST	16 27 30 31											
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NOVEMBER	2 3 4 6 28 30											
DECEMBER	6 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 30											

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July 23.

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Dec.28.

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Dec.30.

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		17						23			29
FEBRUARY			3	4	5					12	14
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MARCH		2		4						11	
			18					23	24	25	31
APRIL	1					6				12	13
				19	20		22	24		26	29 30
MAY										11	13 14 15
	16	17	18	19		21	22	24	25	27	28 29
JUNE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 12
			18							26	28 29 30
JULY	1		3		5		7		9		14 15
	16					21	22	23	24		
AUGUST		2	3	4		6		8	9	11	
							23	24	25	26	28 29 30 31
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11	13 14 15
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OCTOBER	1		3	4						10	14
	16	17	18	19		21	22	23	24	25	26 27 28 30 31
NOVEMBER	1	2	3	4		6	7	8	9	10	11 12 13 14 15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26 27 28 29 30
DECEMBER	1	2	3	4	5		8	9	10	11	15
	16		18	19		21			25	26	27 28 31

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Jan.1.

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f.1:
Jan.2.

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f.46a:
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JANUARY	1	2	3			6	7				11	12	13	14	15	PRO/30/ 33/15/5/ f.47: Jan.1.	
			17	18	19		21		23		26		28		30		31
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	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		26		28				
MARCH	1		3	4			7	8	9			12	13				
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APRIL				4					9	10	11				15		
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JUNE								8					13				
					19												
JULY		2					7	8					13	14	15		
	16	17		19					24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
AUGUST	1	2				6						12		14	15		
					20	21	22						28		30		
SEPTEMBER			3		5			9				12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
OCTOBER	1	2	3														
							21										
NOVEMBER		2	3								11						
							21						28				
DECEMBER																	

1 8 7 8		
JANUARY	<div>9</div> <div>19 24</div>	PRO/30/ 33/15/5/ f.112a: Jan.9.
FEBRUARY	<div>3 5 6 10 11</div> <div>17 20</div>	
MARCH	<div>4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14</div> <div>16 17</div>	
APRIL	<div>5 6 7 12</div> <div>21</div>	
MAY	<div>11 14</div> <div>17</div>	
JUNE		
JULY	<div>16 17 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31</div>	
AUGUST	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</div> <div>19 23 25</div>	PRO/30/ 33/15/5/ f.164a: Dec.5.
SEPTEMBER	<div>6 8</div>	
OCTOBER	<div>5 12</div>	
NOVEMBER	<div>13 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30</div>	
DECEMBER	<div>1 2 3 4 5</div>	

1 8 7 9		
JANUARY		PRO/30/ 33/15/5/ f.165: April 6.
FEBRUARY		
MARCH		
APRIL	6	
MAY	4 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/5/ f.203a: Oct.25.
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 18 22	
JULY	6 7 12 16 19 20 23 26 27	
AUGUST	7 9 10	
SEPTEMBER	2 10 19 25 26 27	PRO/30/ 33/15/6/ f.1: Nov.15.
OCTOBER	11 14 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	
NOVEMBER	15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/15/6/ ff.16a- 17: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 8 8 0		
JANUARY	1 2	PRO/30/ 33/15/6/ f.17: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	14 15 16	
MARCH	6 7 8 9 10 20 21 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	19 25	
MAY	2 12 13 15 16 20 21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 28	
JULY	15 16 17 18 19 29	
AUGUST	10 11 14 15	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 4 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 9 11 22	
NOVEMBER	8 15 16 17 18 19	
DECEMBER	1 21 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
		PRO/30/ 33/15/6/ f.52: Dec.30.

1 8 8 1		
JANUARY	1 15 16 17	PRO/30/ 33/15/6/ f.53a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	8 9 10	
MARCH	27 29	
APRIL	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 28 29	
MAY	3	
JUNE	10 11 12 16 20 22 29 30	
JULY	2 6 12	
AUGUST	21 23 25	
SEPTEMBER	6 7 8 24 25 27 28	
OCTOBER	20 24 25 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/6/ ff.73- 73a: Dec.27.
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 17	
DECEMBER	27	

1 8 8 2		
JANUARY	16 18 19 25 28	PRO/30/ 33/15/7/ f.1: Jan.16.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 9 10 11 19 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 3 5 7 9 13	
APRIL	2	
MAY	12 26 30	
JUNE	7 8 11 12 20 22	
JULY	1 5 9 10 12 15	
AUGUST	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	8 9 16 17 18 22 30	PRO/30/ 33/15/7/ ff.11a- 12: Dec.n.d.
OCTOBER	1 3 14 29 30	
NOVEMBER	6	
DECEMBER	n.d.	

1 8 8 3																	
JANUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			14	15	PRO/30/ 33/15/7/ f.12: Jan.1.		
	16		18					23	24	25							
FEBRUARY	1	2	3				7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14			15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28				
MARCH	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14			15
	16	17		19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29			31
APRIL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14			15
	16	17		19	20	21			24	25	26	27	28				30
MAY	1		3		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14			15
	16	17	18	19	20	21							28	29			30
JUNE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
		17	18	19			21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
JULY		2	3			6	7	8	9	10		12		14	15		
	16		18	19	20		22		24		26		28	29	30	31	
AUGUST	1	2	3	4					9			12					
						20	21	22			26					31	
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		13	14	15		
	16	17				21	22	23	24		26	27		29	30		
OCTOBER			3	4													
	16	17	18			21			24	25	26		28	29	30		
NOVEMBER	1	2	3	4	5		7	8	9	10		12	13	14		PRO/30/ 33/15/7/ f.56a: Dec.31.	
	16				20	21		23			26	27	28				
DECEMBER				4	5		7				11	12	13	14			
	16	17		19	20	21	22	23	24	25		27			30	31	

1 8 8 4									
JANUARY	1							13 14 15	PRO/30/
	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25							28	33/15/7/
FEBRUARY	1	4				9 10			f.57:
	18				23	25 26 27 28 29			Jan.1.
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8					10 11 12	14		PRO/30/
	17 18 19 20 21 22				24 25 26			31	33/15/7/
APRIL	2	4 5			8 9 10 11		14 15		ff.70a-
							28 29		72a:
MAY	1 2 3 4		6 7						Mar.22.
		19 20	22	24		28	30 31		PRO/30/
JUNE	1	3 n.d. 6		9		12 13			33/15/8/
	17 18				26 27				f.1:
JULY			6 7 8		10 11 12				Mar.24.
	16						29 30 31		
AUGUST				9		11 12	14 15		
	17 18	20	23		26		30 31		
SEPTEMBER	1					11 12 13 14 15			
	17 18 19 20		23		27				
OCTOBER	1 2	4	6	8	10 11 12 13 14 15				
	16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24				26		29		
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15								PRO/30/
	17 18 19 20 21 22				26	28 29 30			33/15/8/
DECEMBER	1 2 3	5 6		9 10 11		14 15			ff.54a-
	16 17 18	21	24 25	27 28 29 30 31					55a:
									Dec.31.

1 8 8 5											
JANUARY	2	4	6	7	8	9	10	12	13	14	15
	16	17	19	21		24	26				
FEBRUARY	2	3					10	11			
	16	17	18	19		24	25	26			
MARCH		3	4					12			15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
APRIL	1	3							13	14	15
	16	17		20	21	22	23	24	25	28	
MAY			5	6			9	11	12	13	14
						23	24	25	26		29
JUNE			5	7				12			15
	16	17	19	21	22		25				
JULY	2	3	5	6	7		9	10	12	14	
			19	20	21	22	23	24		29	30
AUGUST	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
			19	20	21		24		27	28	29
SEPTEMBER	1		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13
	16	17	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	30
OCTOBER	1	2	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	16	17	18			22	23	24	25	26	30
NOVEMBER			5					10		13	
	16	17		21	22				28	29	30
DECEMBER											

PRO/30/
 33/15/8/
 f.56:
 Jan.2.

 PRO/30/
 33/15/8/
 f.75a:
 April 3.

 PRO/30/
 33/15/9/
 f.1:
 April 3
 (conti-
 nued)

 PRO/30/
 33/15/9/
 ff.72-
 73:
 Nov.13.

 PRO/30/
 33/15/10
 f.1:
 Nov.16.

 PRO/30/
 33/15/10
 ff.5-6a:
 Nov.30.

1 8 8 6													
JANUARY													PRO/30/ 33/15/10 f.6a: Mar.13.
FEBRUARY													
MARCH	13 15 21 24 26 28 31												
APRIL	1 2 3 4 7 10 11 12 16 21 24 26 29 30												PRO/30/ 33/15/10 ff.73a- 74a: Dec.18.
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 8 10 18												
JUNE	7 15 19 23 25 27 28 29 30												
JULY	2 3 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31												
AUGUST	1 2 5 6 7 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 24 25 26 27 28 29 30												PRO/30/ 33/15/11 f.1: Dec.18 (con- tinued)
SEPTEMBER	1 5 6 7 8 9 10 15 16 24 25 28												
OCTOBER	1 7 9 10 11 13 15 23 27												
NOVEMBER	n.d. 8 13 22 23 29												PRO/30/ 33/15/11 f.2a: Dec.30.
DECEMBER	1 5 6 7 11 12 15 18 21 22 23 24 30												

1 8 8 7																
JANUARY	1		4	5			9	10	11	12		14	15	PRO/30/ 33/15/11 f.3: Jan.1.		
	16	17	18	19				25		27						
FEBRUARY	2					7	8			12						
				20		22										
MARCH	2					7		9		12						
					21	22		24		26			30			31
APRIL		3				7		10			13		15			
	16	18	20		22	23	24	25			28	29				
MAY	2	3		5			9	10	11	12	13					
		18	19	20	21											
JUNE			4	5			8		10		13	14	15			
	16				21	22	23				28	9	30			
JULY	1	2		4	5		9			12	13	14	15			
			18	19	20	21	22			26	27	28	29			
AUGUST	1			5				10								
					22		24	25	26			29	30			
SEPTEMBER		2	3		6		8				13	14	15			
	16	18	19	20	21	22	23					29	30			
OCTOBER	1	2	3		5	6		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
NOVEMBER		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		11	12	13	14		
	16	17	18			21	22	23	24	25	26	27		29	30	
DECEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23							30	

1 8 8 8															
JANUARY	2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 26 27 28 29 30 31														PRO/30/ 33/15/12 f.8: Jan.2.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29														
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 15 16 17 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 31														
APRIL	2 3 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 30														
MAY	1 4 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31														
JUNE	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 26 28 29														
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 19 20 21 22 23 26 27 28 29 30														
AUGUST	4 5 6 7 11 13 14 20 22 30 31														
SEPTEMBER	1 3 4 5 7 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29														
OCTOBER	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 19 22 23 24 25 26 27 29 31														
NOVEMBER	1 2 7 9 10 11 12 14 15 21 28 29														PRO/30/ 33/15/12 f.50: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 3 4 5 7 8 9 14 17 18 24 27 31														

1 8 8 9															
JANUARY	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 25 26 27 28 30														PRO/30/ 33/15/12 f.50: Jan.3.
FEBRUARY	2 3 4 5 6 7 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 26 27														
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 11 12 14 16 17 18 22 27 28 29 30 31														
APRIL	2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 27														
MAY	1 8 9 16 17 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31														
JUNE	1 3 5 10 11 12 13 14 15 17 18 19 20 21 22 25 26 27														
JULY	1 2 4 8 10 13 14 15 17 18 23 24														
AUGUST	6 7 8 21 22 23 29 30														
SEPTEMBER	5 8 9 10 12 16 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 30														
OCTOBER	9 10 11 19														
NOVEMBER	5 6 7 8 9 13 27 28 29 30														PRO/30/ 33/15/12 f.77a: Dec.27.
DECEMBER	1 2 4 11 15 16 17 20 25 27														

1 8 9 0														
JANUARY	1	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12					
	16	17	18	20	21	24								
FEBRUARY	3												26	
MARCH		4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12					
	16												31	
APRIL				7				11						
		18	19			24	25			28	29	30		
MAY			5	7	8		10							
					23	24								
JUNE				6		9	10		12	13	14			
	16	17			22	24	25					30		
JULY	1													
		19	21	23				26	27	28	29	30	31	
AUGUST	1	2												
		17	18	19	20	22		25	26		28	29	31	
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	15	
	16	17	18	19	20		23	24		26	27	28	29	30
OCTOBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11			14	
	16							24			27		29	30
NOVEMBER	1		4		6	7	8	9		11		13	14	15
	16	17	18	19	20	21			25		27	28	29	
DECEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
													30	31

PRO/30/
33/15/12
f.78:
Jan.1.

PRO/30/
33/15/12
ff.98a-
99:
Sept.15

PRO/30/
33/15/13
f.1:
Sept.16

PRO/30/
33/15/13
f.24:
Dec.31.

1 8 9 1		
JANUARY	1 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 22 24 26 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/13 f.24: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 16 17 18 19 20 23 24 25 27 28	
MARCH	2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 24 25 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	2 3 4 6 7 8 11 12 13 14 15 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 29 30	
MAY	1 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 15 19 20 21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/15/13
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 27 28 29 30 31	ff.91a- 92a: Sept.7.
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/14
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 7 8 9 11 14 18 23 24 26 27 28 29 30	f.1: Sept.7. (con-
OCTOBER	1 2 5 6 7 8 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 27 28 29 30	tinued)
NOVEMBER	3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 19 21 22 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/15/14 f.19a:
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 22 24 25 26 28 29 30 31	Dec.31.

1 8 9 2																	
JANUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	PRO/30/ 33/15/14 f.20: Jan.1.	
			18		20			23					28	29			
FEBRUARY	1		3			6	7	8									
		17		19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29			
MARCH	1	2	3	4	5			8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
		17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31
APRIL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
MAY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14			
	16	17	18	19	20	21		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31
JUNE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
JULY	1	2	3	4	5		7		9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
			18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		27	28	29			
AUGUST	1	2		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		15		
	16	17		19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6											
				19		21	22	23	24		26	27	28	29	30		
OCTOBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22			25	26	27	28	29	31		
NOVEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				14	15		
	16	17		19	20	21	22		24	25	26		28	29			
DECEMBER	1	2			5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	31		

1 8 9 3		
JANUARY	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/15 f.28: Jan.2.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 7 8 9 10 13 14 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 27 28 31	
APRIL	1 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 26 27 29	
MAY	2 3 4 5 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19 23 24 25 26 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 12 13 14 15 16 19 20 29	PRO/30/ 33/15/15 ff.106a- 107: Dec.24.
JULY	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 24 25 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 8 9 10 12 13 14 21 22 23 24 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/16 f.1: Dec.24 (con- tinued)
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 12 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	
DECEMBER	1 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 8 9 4		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19 20 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/16 f.3a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 6 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 27 28 29	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 21 23 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/15/16 f.113a: Nov.2.
JULY	2 3 4 5 6 8 9 11 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 26 27 28 30	
AUGUST	1 3 4 5 7 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 27 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 8 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	PRO/30/ 33/15/17 ff.30- 31a: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 6 9 10 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 27 29 31	

1 8 9 5																
JANUARY	1			5	6	7	8		10	11		13	14	15	PRO/30/ 33/15/17 f.31a: Jan.1.	
	16	17		20	21		23		25		27	n.d.		30 31		
FEBRUARY		2	3				7	8			11	12	13			15
		17	18	19			21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		
MARCH		2	3		5	6		8	9	10	11	12	13	14		15
	16		18	19	20	21		23	24	25	26		28		30 31	
APRIL	1	2		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
	16	17	18	19	20		22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
MAY		2	3	4	5	6			9	10	11	12	13	14		
	16	17	18			21	22	23	24	25		27	28	29	30 31	
JUNE	1			4	5	6		8		10	11		13	14	15	
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29		
JULY					5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		15	
													28	29	30	
AUGUST	1				5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
	16	17	18	19	20	21								29	30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1	2			5	6	7			10	11	12	13			
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		29	30	
OCTOBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			10			13	14	15	
		17	18	19		21	22	23	24	25	26			29	30	
NOVEMBER			3		5	6	7	8			11	12	13	14	15	
	16	17	18			21	22			25	26	27	28	29	30	
DECEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
			18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30 31	

1 8 9 6		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/15/17 f.148: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/15/17 f.178a: April 26
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/1 f.1: April 27
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 8 9 10 11 13 16 17 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 28 29	
JULY	1 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 13 14 15 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 11 12 13 14 15 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 29	PRO/30/ 33/16/1 f.65a: Dec.30.
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 21 22 23 24 29	
OCTOBER	2 3 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	

1 8 9 7		
JANUARY	1 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/1 f.66: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 10 12 19 24 25 26 27 28	
JUNE	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
AUGUST	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/1 ff.134a- 135: Dec.31.
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 7 8 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 8 9 8																
JANUARY	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 27 28 29															PRO/30/ 33/16/1 f.135: Jan.3.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28															
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31															
APRIL	1 3 4 5 6 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30															
MAY	1 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 30 31															PRO/30/ 33/16/1 f.184a: June 15.
JUNE	1 3 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30															PRO/30/ 33/16/2
JULY	1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 23 24 25 26 27 29 30 31															f.1: June 16.
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 13 14 15 16 17 18 19															
SEPTEMBER	3 5 6 7 8 9 10 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30															
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 20 21 25 26 29 31															
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28															PRO/30/ 33/16/2 ff.40-
DECEMBER	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 29 30 31															40a: Dec.31.

1 8 9 9		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/2 ff.41: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 30	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 4 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 28 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/2 f.117: Oct.5.
JULY	2 3 4 5 6 7 16 17 19 20 21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 9 17 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 29	
OCTOBER	2 5 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/3 f.23: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 4 5 6 9 10 11 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 0 0		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/3 f.23a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 5 6 8 9 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 8 15 16 19 21 22 23 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/3 ff.114a- 116: Nov.10.
JULY	2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 20 23 28	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 6 7 8 9 10 24 25 27 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/4 f.1: Nov.11.
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 21 22 23 24 26 27 28 29 30	
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 26	PRO/30/ 33/16/4 f.29a: Dec.26.

1 9 0 1																
JANUARY	10 12 14 15 16 18 19 21 22 24 25 27 28 30															PRO/30/ 33/16/4 f.29a: Jan.10.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 5 6 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 21 22 23 25 26 27 28															
MARCH	2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 31															
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 7 8 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 24 26 27 29 30															
MAY	1 2 4 5 6 8 9 10 11 16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31															PRO/30/ 33/16/4 ff.146a- 147: Dec.24.
JUNE	1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 17 18 19 20 23 24 25 27 28 29															
JULY	2 3 4 5 6 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 30 31															
AUGUST	1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 17 18 19 20 21 22 24 27 28 30 31															
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 18 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 30															PRO/30/ 33/16/5 ff.1: Dec.25. PRO/30/ 33/16/5 ff.3a- 4a: Dec.30.
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 12 13 17 20 25 26 27 28 29 30 31															
NOVEMBER	2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 15 16 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30															
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 12 13 15 16 17 20 22 23 24 25 27 28 29 30															

1 9 0 2																
JANUARY	2 3 4 5 6 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 29 30															PRO/30/ 33/16/5 f.4a: Jan.2.
FEBRUARY	1 3 5 6 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 24 25 26 27 28															
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 8 10 12 13 14 15 17 18 19 21 22 23 26 27 30 31															
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 14 15 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30															
MAY	1 2 3 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 26 27 28 29 30 31															
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 23 24 25 26 28 29 30															
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 15 16 18 22 23 24 29 30 31															PRO/30/ 33/16/5 ff.133a- 134a: Oct.17.
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 28 29 31															
SEPTEMBER	1 3 8 9 11 12 13 15 16 22 23 25 26 27 28 29 30															PRO/30/ 33/16/6 f.1: Oct.18.
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 13 14 15 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 30 31															
NOVEMBER	3 4 5 6 9 10 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 30															PRO/30/ 33/16/6 ff.31- 31a: Dec.29.
DECEMBER	1 2 5 6 11 12 13 18 19 25 29															

1 9 0 3		
JANUARY	<div>5 10 14 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31</div>	PRO/30/33/16/6
FEBRUARY	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 9 10 12 13 14 15</div> <div>18 19 20 21 22 23 24 26 27</div>	f.31a: Jan.5.
MARCH	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 11 13 14 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 26 27 28 29 30 31</div>	
APRIL	<div>1 6 9 13</div> <div>16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30</div>	
MAY	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30</div>	
JUNE	<div>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 12 13 14 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 23 24 25 28</div>	
JULY	<div>3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 28 30 31</div>	PRO/30/33/16/6
AUGUST	<div>1 6 7 8 11 12 13 14 15</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 29 31</div>	ff.140-1 Dec.21.
SEPTEMBER	<div>1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 11 12 14 15</div> <div>16 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30</div>	PRO/30/33/16/7
OCTOBER	<div>1 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 12 14</div> <div>17 19 20 21 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31</div>	f.1: Dec.22.
NOVEMBER	<div>1 3 4 5 6 7 9 11 12 13 14</div> <div>16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 30</div>	PRO/30/33/16/7
DECEMBER	<div>1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14</div> <div>17 18 19 21 22 24 26 28 30 31</div>	ff.8-9: Dec.31.

1 9 0 4														
JANUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15
	16	17	18	19	21	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	31	
FEBRUARY	1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	12	13	14	15	
	16	17	18	19	20	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
MARCH	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	17	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	28	29	30	31		
APRIL	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
	16	17	18	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	30		
MAY	1	2	4	5	6	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	19	20	23	24	25	26	27	28	30	31		
JUNE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	10	12	13	14	15	
	16	17	18	23	25	26	27	28						
JULY	2	4	5	7	8	9	11	12						
	16	25	26	27	28	29								
AUGUST	2	3	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15			
	17	18	20	22	23	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15
	17	18	19	21	22	23	26	27	30					
OCTOBER	1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11	12	13	14		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	24	26	28	30	31		
NOVEMBER	1	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	14	15			
	16	17	18	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	30	
DECEMBER	1	2	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	18	19	21	22	23	25	26	27	29	30	31			

PRO/30/
33/16/7
f.9a:
Jan.1.

PRO/30/
33/16/7
f.147:
Sept.19.

PRO/30/
33/16/8
f.1:
Sept.21.

PRO/30/
33/16/8
ff.43-44
Dec.31.

1 9 0 6																			
JANUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9	12	15	PRO/30/ 33/16/9 f.41: Jan.1.								
	17				21	22	23	26	27	29					30	31			
FEBRUARY	2	3	4	5	7	8	10	11	13	15									
	16	17	18	19	22	23		27	28										
MARCH	1	2	3	5	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15						
	16	17	18	21	22	23	24	26		29	30								
APRIL	1	3	4	6	7	9	10	12	13	14	15								
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26					27	28	29	30
MAY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14					
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29					30
JUNE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9										
	17	18							24							25	26	27	28
JULY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15				
	16	17	18	19	20			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31				
AUGUST	1	2	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	14	15								
	18	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29					30	31		
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11	12	13	15						
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29							
OCTOBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	10	11	12	13	14	15						
	16	17	18	19	20	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30						
NOVEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13						
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	29	30						
DECEMBER	1	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	12	13	14	15	PRO/30/ 33/16/9 f.134a: Dec.31.						
	16	17	18	19	21	24	25	26	27	28	29	31							

1 9 0 7		
JANUARY	1 2 5 6 7 8 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/9 f.135: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	PRO/30/ 33/16/9 ff.139a- 140: Jan.25.
MARCH	1 2 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 14 15 16 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27	PRO/30/ 33/16/10 f.1: Jan.26.
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 21 22 23 24 26 27 28 29 30	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 21 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 21 22 23 25 26 27 28 29 30	
NOVEMBER	1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/10 ff.95- 95a: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 0 8		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 27 28 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/10 f.95a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
APRIL	1 2 3 5 7 8 9 10 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 27 28 29	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 11 12 13 14 15 16 18 20 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 12 13 14 15 16 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JULY	1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 21 22 23 24 25 26 29	
AUGUST	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 14 15 17 18 21 22 23 24 25 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 13 14 15 16 17	
NOVEMBER		PRO/30/ 33/16/10 ff.136a: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	7 11 12 18 21 25 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 0 9		
JANUARY	1 2 5 6 7 8 9 12 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/10 f.137: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/10 ff.149a-
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 26 27 28 29 31	152: April 22
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/11 f.1:
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	April 23
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/11 ff.51-
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	51a: Dec.31

1 9 1 0		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/11 f.52: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/11 ff.119a- 120: Dec.31.
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 1 1		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/11 f.120: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/11 f.150a: June 11.
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/12 f.1: June 12.
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/16/12 f.39a: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 1 2		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/12 f.40: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/16/12 ff.119a-
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	121: Dec.5.
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/1 f.1: Dec.6.
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/1 f.4:
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	Dec.31.

1 9 1 4		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/1 f.84a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/1 f.119: May 27.
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/2 f.1: May 28.
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/2 f.47: Dec.31.
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 1 5		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/2 f.47a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/2 ff.120- 124a: Dec.18.
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/3 f.1: Dec.19.
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/3 ff.2a- 3a: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 1 6																	
JANUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	PRO/30/ 33/17/3 f.4: Jan.1.	
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31
FEBRUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29			
MARCH	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31
APRIL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
MAY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31
JUNE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
JULY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
AUGUST	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
OCTOBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
NOVEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	PRO/30/ 33/17/3 f.75: Dec.31.	
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
DECEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	

1 9 1 7		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/3 f.75a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/3 f.119: Sept.11.
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/4 ff.23a- 24: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 1 8																	
JANUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	PRO/30/ 33/17/4 f.24a: Jan.1.	
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31
FEBRUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28				
MARCH	1	2	3	4	5	6	n.d.	9	10	11	12	13	14	15			
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31
APRIL	1	2	3		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
MAY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31
JUNE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
JULY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
AUGUST	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
SEPTEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
OCTOBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		28	29	30	31	
NOVEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	PRO/30/ 33/17/4 ff.87a- 88: Dec.31.	
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
DECEMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	

1 9 1 9		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/4 f.88a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/4
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	f.119: June 21.
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/5
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	f.1: June 22.
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/5 ff.36a- 37:
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	Dec.31.

1 9 2 0		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/5 f.37a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/5 f.117: Dec.20.
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/6 ff.2a-3: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 2 1		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/6 f.3a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/6 ff.72- 72a: Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 2 2		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/6
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	f.73: Jan.1.
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/6
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	f.120a: Aug.29.
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/7
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	f.0a: Aug.30.
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/7
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	ff.25a- 26: Dec.31.

1 9 2 3		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/7 f.26: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/7 f.95: Nov.4.
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/8 f.0a: Nov.5. PRO/30/ 33/17/8 ff.15-6: Dec.31.
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	
DECEMBER	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 2 4		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/8 f.16a: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/8 f.80: Aug.19.
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/9 f.0a: Aug.20. PRO/30/ 33/17/9 ff.45a- 46a: Dec.31.
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 2 5		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/9 f.47: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/9 f.133a: Oct.27.
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/10 f.0a: Oct.28.
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/9 ff.16-17 Dec.31.
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

1 9 2 6		
JANUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	PRO/30/ 33/17/10 f.17: Jan.1.
FEBRUARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
MARCH	1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
APRIL	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
MAY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
JUNE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	PRO/30/ 33/17/10 ff.121- 121a: Dec.31.
JULY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
AUGUST	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
SEPTEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
OCTOBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	
NOVEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
DECEMBER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

第 3 報

アーネスト・サトウ自筆日記の一部転写テキスト

鹿児島 1867 January

熱海 1867 March, 1882 February

長崎 1867 September

大阪 1867 December

北海道 1868 September

東京 1900 April-May

英国 1926 December

Jan. 1.

Started from Nagasaki in the Argus. Comr. H.L. Round. Breeze blowing, rough weather.

" 2.

At half past one anchored in front of Kagosima. Some officers pulled off from shore, bringing a flag with them for us to hoist whilst firing a salute in answer to theirs on our dropping anchor. Matsuoka Juidayu was sent on board to explain that Shiuri no Daibu & Osumi no Kami were in retirement on account of the death of the latter's mother a short time previously. As neither of them cld. show themselves, the duty of receiving the Admiral's letter would be performed by the Prince's second brother, supported by two Karos.

Went on shore & stopped at the Shiu-zei-kuan (集成館) at Iso; J. Sutcliffe, H. Harrison & N. Shillingford are the names of the three foreigners stopping here; the two former[s] being here on spec. to pick up what they can, and the latter having a year's engagement. Waters is the name of the engineer in Liu Kiu who is engaged in putting up sugar mills. E. Holme is a cotton spinner, and like S. has also an engagement on the cotton mills which is going to be erected at Iso.

Jany. 3rd.

Captain Round went on shore with a party of officers to hand over the Admiral's letter; I accompanied him to interpret. We were received by Shimadzu Dzusho, 2nd son of Osumi no Kami, Niro Giobu a Karo who has been to England, and Shimadzu Ise, another Karo. In handing over the letter I read out to Dzusho the meaning of the letter. After this ceremony, which occupied not more than five minutes, we sat down to a feast, commencing with a few courses of Japse. cookery, & ending with a long succession of European dishes, with European wines & beer. Very little conversation of importance took place. Once Niro said something about the way in which he had been dogged by Custom house officials on his late visit to Yokohama, but as this was to open a very long subject of conversation, I merely said so, and the subject dropped. After the banquet was over the party dispersed to walk about the town, and I remained behind to assist in translating the Admiral's letter. Niro Giobu came in now & then to talk but our conversation was much interrupted. He told me that the meeting of Daimios at Kioto had been put off, that he did not know when it

would take place &c. That he had heard when passing thro' Hiogo, about 3 wks since, that a French steamer was expected there with a letter which Itotsbashi was to receive in person, and he surmised that an English ship, perhaps the Argus, would be going there too; told him I knew nothing about the matter. In the course of conversation I praised the composition of a letter which had been presented to the Mikado by Satsuma in the 7th month.

G. Did you see that; what a stupid document it was.

S. No, I thought a good one & the phraseology was very much praised.

G. Was it not about Higo &c.

S. No, I mean the letter about not sending auxiliary troops against Choshu.

G. Oh, yes. Shimadzu Ise who sat next to me today wrote that letter by the commands of the Prince; Ise was in Kioto at the time.

S. How is the Choshu affair getting on; the Tycoon has withdrawn a great part of his troops.

G. Choshu is very strong, and he has the right on his side, & therefore none of the Daimios will support the Tycoon; and the latter has no chance now of beating him.

S. Well, I think that if he had sent his best troops and attacked Choshu energetically at first, he must have conquered him.

G. No, never; he had not the right on his side.

S. You appear to be very friendly with Choshu.

G. No, not friendly, but we have a natural fellow feeling for one of our own class.

S. Katsura Kogoro is here; I should like to call on him to inquire after some friends of mine who live at Shimonoseki.

G. Kogoro is going to have an interview with Osumi no Kami at ten and a meeting on business with some of my colleagues at three, and I don't when he will be at liberty. He is not at home now but if you particularly wish to see him, you can go & sleep there.

This last offer I declined, and was unable to manage to see Kogoro at all. Returned on shore from Argus whither had gone to inform Round of tomorrow's intended arrangements, & found that Sutcliffe & Co. had gone to dine on board.

Jan. 4.

Went on board to assist Round in receiving answer to Admiral's letter. Niro Giobu came about twelve o'clock to say that the answer was not quite ready, but that it should be delivered at Iso. At two p.m. landed at Shiu-zei kuan and inspected glass factory, shot & shell foundry, gun foundry, pot & kettle foundry; & then as Matsuoka had arrived, the letter was delivered, after which a large party sat down once more to a European banquet. It was

considerably shorter than that of the previous day, much to the delight of all parties; tho' the food was eatable. It was pronounced very nice. I rather think that it was a great stretch of indulgence on our part which induced us to say so, for in reality the dinner was bad & ill-arranged.

After it was over about 5 o'clock Sutcliffe & I started to call on Niro Giobu, who had not appeared since the morning. After an hour's walking or more, we came to his place, when it was already quite dark. Giobu received us very cordially, and recognized Sutcliffe at once as an old friend. Tea, oranges, beer & small cakes were produced over which we sat talking till half past seven. Niro told me that the letter which the French ship was to bring was one from the French Emperor had written to the Tycoon; that it was expected at Hiogo that the English Minister would go there too; in fact that there would be a general gathering there of the R.R. Giobu again referred to the hindrances thrown in their way by the Custom house officials at Yokohama, and told a story of what occurred on one occasion when he went to visit Sir Harry at Yokohama; how Siebold abused the men who had dogged his steps & then fell upon two Guaikokubugio who were at the Legation at the time & abused them frightfully also. The remembrance appeared to delight old Giobu a great deal. We then abused the Custom house officials for a short time, & talked a little about books, after which the lateness of the hour warned us that it was time to depart. Giobu presented each of us with a leg of wild boar. Slept again on shore at Iso.

Jan. 5.

Got up at 7 to go on board; was obliged to miss the usual walk up & along the hills at the back. Matsuoka was on board to say good bye. Weighed anchor at a quarter to nine. Fine weather; slight breeze.

Jan. 6.

Fine weather & calm. Arrived at Uwajima in Iyo at 11.a.m. Territory of Date Totomi no kami; 100,000 koku. Country very mountainous. Uwajima Bay is difficult to find, it is completely landlocked and surrounded by hills of heights varying from 500 to 2000 ft. A very high hill called Onigashiro or Onigajo lies close behind the town, i.e. on its east side. The Castle is built on a small wooded hill close to the seashore; consists as usual of a donjon keep (otenshi) in the centre (omaru) surrounded by two circles of fortification (ni no maru and san no maru). The Tenshi is three stories high & neatly whitened but almost hidden by the trees. The town is long & straggling as the hills come down to nearly to the water's edge, half of it being composed of officials' dwellings, this half lies south of the castle, and the citizens'

quarter is to the east & north. The Bay is very shallow close to the shore & this has been taken advantage of to form a saltern & some paddy fields, by embanking part of the bed of the sea. There are two small batteries one on each side of the bay; that on the north side mounts 6 guns & is just under the yashiro called Sumiyoshi; from Sumiyoshi towards the town is a double row of soldiers' (ashigaru) houses.

About an hour & a half after the ship anchored a boat was seen hovering about the stern with an individual in it busily engaged in surveying us thro' an opera glass. Some of the Uwajima people on board said he was the Prince. Took a boat and brought him on board. He excused himself by saying that he had come incog. After some conversation had taken place, a man named Tatei was announced; he had been captain of the Hiogo before she was sent to Nagasaki to be exchanged. He came to ask what was our business. The admiral's letter wishing him a happy new year was read out & handed over. Matsune Kura, son of Matsune Dzusho, a young man of about 20 came down into the cabin and whilst the Prince was being shown over the ship I conversed a little with him. He said Uwajima & Satsuma were on very friendly terms. Shtotsubashi had not yet been appointed Shogun, & not known when he will be; perhaps never will be; hope not at least. Ogasawara had been dismissed fr. the Gorojiu for cowardly behaviour at Kokura, not for being beaten but for running away. When the Prince went on shore in the Captain's gig, accompanied him; a number of his jochiu were waiting on the bank with his children; the eldest of whom is a little boy of 7 years of age; the others were children in arms, and attended by girls bearing small swords wrapped up in nishiki. The Prince was very polite & affable and promised to come on board next day with the Inkio.

After leaving him, went for a walk about the town, & purchased a fine piece of red lacquer very cheaply; evidently they don't know the appetite of foreigners for curiosities. Everywhere surrounded by a crowd of people asking questions & examining our clothes (I had met three officers of the Argus).

Jan. 7.

Rained violently all day & blew. The Prince & the Inkio Date Iyo no Kami came on board nevertheless about one o'clock. Stopped for a couple of hours taling & drinking some Moselle which I had bought at Nagasaki for 26 boos a dozen, & looking all over the vessel. The Inkio seized hold of me & began to talk about the French & their great intimacy with the Bakufu, but old Matsune interrupted him by saying that if he did not go away soon it would be too late to fire the salute; so the boat was ordered alongside & as it cleared away from the side of the ship a salute of 17 guns was fired, which was returned from the battery on the south side. Noguchi had brought me an invitation from Iriye,

the captain of the battery, to dine with him, so in spite of the wind & rain we took a boat and went ashore. Iriye was not at home, but his wife asked us to walk in, and in about a quarter of an hour he himself appeared. Soon afterwards Mori, and the artillery officers came in, & then two others of junior rank and dinner was ordered. It consisted of the usual Japanese courses, & lasted from six o'clock till 11. We talked, drank sake, and sang, and I had to answer all sorts of questions. I took every opportunity afforded me of uttering appropriate wise saws & proverbial sayings, which gave them unbounded delight, and I flatter myself inspired them with some small degree of respect for foreign oshie. Iriye wanted to come to Yokohama, but I persuaded him that he would not like being on board ship. At half past eleven the last guest retired, and after we had eaten a little rice, we went to bed & slept very comfortably.

Jan. 8.

The morning was fine and at nine o'clock after making a good breakfast a la Japonaise we returned on board. At ten o'clock we landed, that is Round the captain, Wright & Dunn of the 9th & myself to go to the rifle range in accordance with engagement made the previous day. Some of our small arms men were landed to try their skill in shooting, but they did not come up to the Uwajima picked men, who really shot very well. The range was across a deep valley some 700 yards wide, & the view was a very good one. The Inkio, his son, & the Prince were all present. The former is a tall man, of very marked countenance & a very big nose, altogether rather ugly than otherwise & very imperious in his manner. The Prince who defers to the Inkio in all things is about the middle height with a slightly aquilin nose and aristocratic cast of countenance. His age is 32; that of the Inkio 49. There is still another inkio somewhere, who does not show up at all.

About half past one the shooting was finished & the two Princes mounted their horses to return and we followed about five minutes afterwards to the Goten, where we were to have a Japanese banquet. We did not enter at the front gate, but at some temporary steps added to the verandah on one side of the entrance. Old Matsune received us and conducted us into the inner room which was shut off as usual on such occasions by gold screens. At the end of the room was a very big screen, which the Prince told me his ancestor had received from Taikosama. Round & the other two left about a quarter past three & I stayed behind to talk to the Inkio by his own desires.

The first thing he spoke of was Hiogo, which he said he had already conversed with Sir Harry about; he now wishes to open the place & Stotsbashi does also. He understood that it was to be opened in Septr. of this year, and that the French were carrying on the negotiations. If Hiogo was to be opened,

we had much better do it than the French, whom he did not like.

I explained the reason of the French policy to be in my opinion that they thought it necessary that there should be a recognized head in the country and that as they had a Treaty with the Shogun and he had the greatest apparent power they wished to exalt him & give him all the assistance in our power. That the English policy was different; we had a treaty with Japan, not with the Shogun in particular; for if we had, why then as there is at present no Shogun, the treaty would have no force; we did not wish to interfere, but would let the Japsee. fight it out, and settle it among themselves.

Inkio. But if war becomes a chronic thing, trade will suffer, and you had better assit to put an end to it for the sake of trade.

S. No, for it we interfer[r]ed, matters would become ten times more difficult of settlement & trade would come to an end altogether.

The Inkio then expressed his idea that Japan must become a confederated empire, with the Mikado for the head; & that Sats & Cho thought so too.

I said I thought there would be no other way out of the difficulty, & that I had written an article in a Yokohama newspaper to that effect.

Inkio. Oh, yes, I read it. Kokura is in a bad case.

S. Will he get back his land.

I. Yes, if he can show a good reason for its being returned; he has lost half his territory. I have brought his [sic.] all his rice this year, as we have had a bad harvest.

S. Indeed, I am sorry to hear it; & I suppose you pay the money to Choshu.

[I.] No, to Kokura; he has still half his territory.

Here the conversation was interrupted by the entrance of the ladies of the harem; music was introduced and a great quantity of sake drunk, much to the increase of friendliness and conviviality, but not to the advantage of political discussions. In fact the Inkio now gave himself up to enjoyment & would talk no more.

He afterwards said. You must not let it appear on the papers that I went on board the Argus, because I have declined attending at Kioto on the plea of illness, and I should not like the Kogi to hear that I did so. I should not like to be at Kioto just at present.

After drinking a great deal of sake with the princes and their harems, I was led off by old Matsune to his house, where he produced more sake, and we talked for a bout an hour. A young girl about eleven years old intended to be Kura's wife was produced, as well as Toyo the sister of Kura; she is now in the Goten, and her eyebrows are shaved; no doubt as concubine to one of the two princes. Old Matsune presented me with a fine bamboo carving, and after Toyo

had returned, we all went to bed. Hayashi Kenzo, a Tosa ronin by report, who has been taken into Sats' service & lives on board the Argus, Shinzo, who married Itoku's daughter, Kura & myself slept together in one room. With shame I confess it, I was badly screwed, but as it was in such good company, who were none of them any better, I did not regret it. The Inkio & the Prince were both worse than I, and it was after only 'konshin wo fukaku suru tame.'

Janr. 9.

Got up at half past five, dressed & came on board. Kura accompanied me & I presented him with my opera glass as a souvenir. Yasu & Noguchi did not come on board, where they stopped I cannot tell. I asked Kura to send them to Yokohama & lend them any money they might want, which should be repaid to the Yashiki in Yedo. At 1/2 past 6 weighed anchor & went to sea; with great regret.

As examples of how man is deceived in thinking that his will is free, & not guided by externals. Suppose he says I will jump from the top of the mast straight down; if he jumped as he intended he would fall astern when the vessel is in motion, but the onward motion communicated to this body when on the mast has its full effect, & he falls at the foot of the mast. He does not see this, but imagines he has fallen as he intended; and his consciousness of free will in that case at least is wrong. Secondly. The advocates of free will say: I know I might have left it alone if I had chosen, but I preferred to do it. I might have done it this way, but I thought preferable to do that. I could have written so, but I did not. Now it is quite certain that it does not lie within the power of everyman to write or compose well; he composes or writes as his capacities not his will directs.

anchored [sic.] at Mitarai in the Inland Sea after a splendid run all day, going over eleven knots. No Japanese came on board. Very pretty anchorage between.

Jan. 10.

Got up anchor at 6 1/2 a.m., & steamed thro' the narrows; fair wind all day going 11 knots. At three o'clock anchored at Kamanoura in Shodzoshima belonging to Tsuyama in Mimasaka. Went on shore for a walk & had a hard pull up a hill. Some people in a tea hosue told us that the compensation money had never been received by the surviving relatives of the man who was killed accidentally by a marine of the Conqueror on her return from Shimonoseki in 1864. Mimasaka troops had returned from Geishiu. People possessed a very correct idea of the thrashing we gave Choshiu.

Jan. 11.

Got up anchor at 6 1/2 & sailed over the Harimanada with a fair wind. Anchored at Hiogo to get coal, beef & vegetables. Coal in the town very dear \$21 a ton. Government coal \$12. Doshiu promised to send some on board if possible; obliged to send to Osaka to get permission of the gunkanbugio; beef & vegetables can do. Walked about the town & bought some Arima saiku or baskets of fine bamboo work. People evidently quite accustomed now to the sight of foreigners. Met three two-sworded men who declared they would not allow the opening of Hiogo, but evidently they were only joking. Met a Hizen man who declared he had met me at Glover's in Nagasaki; he apologized when I pointed out that he must be mistaken as I had not been there at the time he mentioned. On coming on board heard that there was a Satsuma steamer going to Osaka. Went with Hayashi Kenzo on board the Kaimonmaru (Viola) another steamer of Sats' & made the acquaintance of Inouye Shinzaemon the captain. Made arrangements for going to Osaka to meet Komatsu & Saigo, who are to be called down from Kioto, if they will. Hayashi & Inouye wrote letters to Godai Saiske who is at Osaka, to arrange the matter. The Viola brought up Komatsu.

Jan. 12.

Waited on board till about 12 o'clock, when Inouye sent a note to say that the answer had not yet come back from Osaka. Hayashi accordingly proposed we should go on board & see Inouye, wch. we did. The latter told us that a letter had come informing him that Saigo was in Osaka; also the [sic.] a Geishiu steamer lying there was to come down on Sunday morning. The inference being that Saigo would come down by said steamer, we deferred our departure for Osaka until the answer shld. arrive from Godai. In the meantime we went on shore to a small Satsuma Honjin to have a bath & lunch. As I got out of the bath the Osaka messenger arrived, with a letter saying that Saigo would be down in the course of the day. We had only just sat down to eat, when it was announced that Saigo had arrived, & so after the rice had been hurriedly swallowed we sallied forth to the other Satsuma Honjin on the shore towards Neuter Point. Saigo was indeed the same as Shimadzu Sachiu, and laughed heartily when I remembered him of his alias. After sitting down & exchanging the ordinary topics, I felt rather at a loss; the man looked so stolid and would not speak, so I began about the employment of foreigners by Satsuma, & the difficulties which would arise from Brit. subj. living outside Treaty limits & consular jurisdiction. After harping on this point some time, it struck me that the French Emperor's letter would be a good find. So I commenced.

S. Is there not a letter from the French Emperor which Shtotsbashi received in person.

Sai. Yes; a short time ago Shtotsbashi memorialized the Mikado to the effect that there was a letter from the French Emperor to the Tycoon to be read, the reception of wch. had been delayed on acct. of the Choshu expedn., that he now intended to summon all the foreign R.R. to Osaka, & would take advantage of the occasion to receive the letter. Shtotsbashi is to come down to Osaka on the 17th (Jap.) & expects the R.R. there. We sent up a copy of the Mem: to Sir H. Parkes by the hands of Yoshii, but his reply was that he did not know whether he shld. go to Osaka, as he had heard nothing more abt. the subject.

S. But how can Shtotsbashi receive a letter addressed to the Shogun; he is not Shogun, is he?

Sai. Yes; he got his commission the day before yesterday, the 5th (Jap.)

S. Well, that is very unexpected; I thought he had to settle Choshu's affair first. But his influence must have greatly increased for him to have managed it.

Sai. Yes, indeed; a man who was yesterday a beggarly ronin daimio, is to day Sei-i-tai-sho-gun.

S. Who managed it.

Sai. Itakura Suwo no kami. Shtotsbashi is in great favour now with the Mikado, & he could become Kuambaku if he chose. He has made his relation Mambu no Taiyu, a scion of the Mito family, successor to the Shimidzu family, which has been extinct lately; and he is going to send him as ambassador to France.

S. On what business?

Sai. We have not the least idea.

S. And what is he going to summon the R.R. to Osaka for?

Sai. We have not the slightest idea of that either.

S. How odd, that Shtotsbashi should be able to do these things without consulting the daimios.

Sai. The Daimios ought to be consulted, & we expected they would be henceforth consulted on all matters of Govt. The Bakufu has got on so badly of late years that my Prince thought it should not be left to ruin the country by itself. And when certain of the Daimios were summoned by the Mikado to Kyoto they expected to have a share in the Government. Now they perceive that such is not the intention of the Bakufu, & as they don't intend to be made fools of they have one & all refused to attend. Echizen sama stopped there as long as he could, but went away at last.

S. Then everything is over for the present.

Sai. Well we shall be able to find him out in the next three years, I suppose.

S. Three years is a long time. But this council at Kyoto, was it not connected with the latter part of the document giving permission to Treaty-

making, in wch. the Mikado says, there are points in the Treaties hitherto existing which I wish you to rectify in concert with the daimios?

Sai. Oh, no! You are quite wrong there. It was as I have said before for the Daimios to consult with the Bakufu about reforming the Government.

S. Well, I suppose amongst other questions you had to discuss, there were Choshu's affair & the opening of Hiogo. How abt. the Choshu business. We foreigners can't comprehend it.

Sai. It is indeed incomprehensible. They commenced without reason & they have come to end equally without reason.

S. Is it peace or what?

Sai. No, simply that hostilities have ceased & the troops withdrawn; and there the matter rests.

S. With us foreigners it is a great puzzle why the Bakufu attacked Choshu at all. It was not because he had fired on foreign ships. If he really has offended the Mikado, surely your Prince, with his deep love for the Tenshi, would have assisted.

Sai. Well, I believe the Bakufu hated Choshu all along.

S. It is a great pity this Council did not take place, because it is highly important that the country should come to a settlement with this year. We have a Treaty with Japan, not with any particular person, and we don't intend to interfere with any way you may choose to settle your disputes. Whether Japan is governed by Mikado, Bakufu or becomes a confederation of states, we don't care; only we want to know who is the real head. I confess to you we have serious doubts about the Bakufu, we have seen that it was not supreme or rather not omnipotent when it asked us to let it off the opening of Hiogo; then the murder of Richardson & the impotence of the Bakufu to punish the murderers showed us its power did not extend as far as Satsuma. Then when the ships of war of friendly nations were fired on by Choshu, we had to go & punish him because the Bakufu couldn't do it. And we see now that Choshu has got the best of the late war. These things make us doubt the supremacy of Bakufu thro'out the country, & we hoped to see a settlement come to. And the Bakufu [削除: It appears to me also that] will again be in a difficult position next year when we demand the opening of Hiogo as we intend to do, if the daimios oppose it.

Sai. My master does not oppose the opening of Hiogo, but objects to its being opened after the fashion of other ports. We want it to be opened so as to be a benefit to all Japan & not solely for the private advantage of Bakufu.

S. But how would you open it?

Sai. By placing all matters connected with it in the hands of a committee of five or six daimios, who would be able to prevent the Bakufu from acting entirely for its own selfish interests. Hiogo is very important to us. We all

owe money to the Osaka merchants & we have to send the productions of our provinces to them every year in liquidation. Our affairs will be much thrown out of order if the place is opened on the plan of Yokohama.

S. I see now why you make so much of Hiogo. [削除箇所: It is your last point.] It is a great pity you can't settle everything in the next year, before the port is opened. Pray could you give me a copy of Shtotsbashi's memo.

Sai. I have it not about me; but I'll send you a copy if possible. Sir Harry has one; Yoshii gave it him, and told him if he came to Osaka to ask for us, for we can't go to see him first for fear of incurring suspicion; & Sir Harry replied not only Sats but all the Daimios.

S. That was rather in accordance with your Prince's views I should think.

Sake & sakana were now introduced & served out by a handmaiden whom old Inouye said belonged to Godai. Saigo excused himself & returned with Hayashi for a few moments, after which he came back & partook of a dish or two. On my rising to go he prevented me, & I therefore requested him not be ceremonious on my acct., but to leave when he chose, as I knew he had a long way to go. After a few moments he rose, & saying "In case Sir H. wants to communicate anything to us, he has only to send a message to the Yashiki (in Yedo) & we will despatch any one he likes from Kioto to see him", departed. I thanked him very much for having taken all the trouble to come so far &c. After he was gone we indulged in a variety more dishes, of wch. ocha mushi was particularly noticeable as being good, & returned on board at half past seven.

Jan. 13.

Sailed at daylight. Windy.

Jan. 14.

Rough & windy, lay in my cot till half past four.

Jan. 15.

Smoother & little wind. Got up to breakfast.

March 21. Thursday.

Sir H.P. went on his expedition to Hakone with a large party. I went down to Hama in consequence of an invitation from Locock to join a party he was getting up to go to Atami. Met a procession on the road of Yura no Jijiu, but passed without any mishap; when I afterward heard that the other party had had an encounter with this retinue, and put their noses considerably out of joint, I was surprised rather at my escape. Stayed at Fosters.

March 23. Sat.

Started early this morning for Atami in the "Argus". Our party consisted of the Lococks, Mrs. Marshall & Aspinall. The weather was very rainy & windy, and got at last so bad that we had to anchor in Kaneda bay and pass a night on board ship, much to the discomfort of everybody.

March 24. Sunday.

Arrived at Atami & landed about two o'clock. Bad anchorage, only a small cove, inside which the ship could not venture. Atami lies at the mouth of a valley and is shut in by pretty high hills. The town is small & wretched. Contains two good inns; one is close to the hole whence the hot water issues, and is the honjin. Sir Rutherford stopped here in 1860, & left behind him memorials of his visit in the shape of a stone monument to his dog Toby and another recording his name and titles in a lot of far fetched Chinese characters. The spring was in full action just as we came up; blowing forth an immense cloud of steam with a sulphureous [sic.] stink. The heat of the water as it issues forth must be very great, tho' I cannot believe the assertion of those who say that it comes forth in steam which only condenses at a distance of two feet from the hole. This is on one side of a basin, and the stream [sic.] bursts forth horizontally, & after breaking its force on the opposite side, runs away under ground. The hotel had half a dozen sitzbaths, besides a vapour bath & shower bath built by the foreigners who have visited the place at different times. Had a bath.

Mar. 25. Monday.

Walked in the morning to Idzusan, a place two miles north of Atami on the coast. Here is a delightful warm douche, issuing out of the cliffs close to

the beach, called Takinoyu. I stripped & went into the basin above to warm myself & then went out on the beach & got under the spouts. The feeling was very pleasant, conveying warmth all thro. the body. At twelve o'clock we started to climb the mountains called Ishibashiyama, wch. intervene between this and Hakone. The baggage was slung on the backs of coolies, who were paid 1 3/4 boos each for a short walk of 10 miles. Verily travelling Japan is expensive. The sun shone bright & warm, but there was a high wind, especially on the tops of the hills, where it became difficult to keep one's footing. A climb of 36 cho or two and a half miles brought us to the shoulder of the hill, whence we caught a first glimpse of Fuji, almost denuded of snow. A little further on is a temple embosomed in a grove of pines, & well protected from the north wind by the summit of the mountain. Here we all stopped and had a drink of water, which the priests said was brought up from below with incredible labour. Directly after leaving this place we rounded a corner and came out on the summit, whence we could see Fuji, the bays of Totomi, Sagami & Yedo, the Promontories of Awa (Cape King), Sagami, Kishiu and the back of Idzu, with Vries in the distance; below on the left in the plain the Tokaido was distinctly visible, winding its way amongst the fields, while to the left all the ground was hilly. Descending the hill again, we got nearly half way down, then rounding another thro' a dense forest finally climbed the highest mountain of all, from the further side of wch. the Lake of Hakone, pent in by mountains on all sides, burst on our view. The lake must be at least four thousand feet above the level of the sea, but still was far below. Descending quickly over the muddy road, we reached the mountain town of Hakone, where we took up our quarters in the honjin or official inn, pleasantly situated on the brink of the lake. The length of this piece of water is about 7 1/2 miles, but about one half is hidden by the mountains amongst which it loses its way. There was nothing to enliven the surface but a few wild fowl, boats not being permitted to any great extent on the lake, lest use shld. be made of the [sic.] them to pass round the barrier wch. is at the lower end of the town.

Mar. 26. Tuesday.

Rose pretty early & prepared for the journey by walking about the town. All the hotels have their woodwork stained red, a colour not much seen anywhere else. The barrier consists of two roofed-in gates enclosing a courtyard thro' which the road passes with guard houses on each side. The notice board says amongst other things, dead bodies, wounded persons, and suspicious individuals will not be allowed to pass without passports, from which it is to be inferred, that a dead body is regarded with considerable distrust. A grove of cryptomerias envelopes the whole establishment. After leaving the gates, the

road passes thro' an avenue of magnificent trees, all cryptomeria, & then commences to descend along the left side of a valley enclosed by a barren mountain on one side and hills covered with woods to the top on the other; a brawling stream runs on the right hand side far below, hidden entirely from view by the trees. After a mile or so, the road becomes very steep, being composed of huge stones roughly arranged so as to form steps, down which a horse can with great difficulty go, and taking turns from side to side like a cork screw. Five miles from Hakone is the post town of Hatajiku, where the first shops for the sale of Hakone saiku, or boxes all sorts of fancy articles in camphorwood are found. In a garden behind one of the inns are charming banks of grass and little cascades falling over stones carefully cut to preserve the continuity of the sheet of water. Soon after leaving this place the road takes a little turn to the left crossing a stream descending from the hot springs of Yumoto, which are hidden [左端空白に加筆: wrong] three or four hundred yards up a valley. Two miles to Kawabata, and another town for making camphorwood articles, after which the road descends to the bottom of the valley, and from Imoto, which is two miles further, it becomes almost level. The hills which now tower high above our heads were below our feet when we started.

Odawara lies on the seashore at the end of the valley, close to the end of the hills on the right hand side, those on the left trending up far into the interior. Along street of peasants houses, succeeded by another of soliders barracks leads into the town, while lanes of exceedingly pleasant aspect inhabited apparently by the higher officials stretch away on the right. The castle of Okubo Kaga no Kami is just like that at Amagasaki, being a large area surrounded by a moat & white plaster walls with a lofty white tower, particularly hidden by trees rising in the centre. The honjin was about half a mile inside the gate; a straggling one story building with the usual big entrance hall and crowd of little rooms of eight mats. Just opposite was an apothecary's shop in white plaster remarkable for having three gables towards the streets. We did the eleven miles from Hakone in 4 1/2 hrs fr. 1 p.m. to 5.30.

Mar. 27. Thursday.

Rained all the morning. At 2.30 cleared up. We therefore packed up & set out for Oiso & starting on foot at 4 o'clock & reaching that place at 6.30. From this place (Odawara) we took coolies at the Govt. prices, i.e.

1 horseload	464 cash
1/2 do.	312
1 coolie	233

Fr. Odawara the road lies along the sea shore, being level & sandy,

delightful to walk on & overshadowed by splendid pinasters.

Odawara to Kodzu	3 miles
" Maegawa	2 "
" Umezawa	1 "
" Koshinshiki	2 "
" Oiso	2 "

Walked the whole distance in 2.40 min.

Mar. 28. Thursday.

Started at 9 for Fujisawa.

Hiratsuka is about 2 miles fr. Oiso.

From a hill just above the town of Oiso there is a splendid view of Fuji and the Hakone range. The two high mountains just to the north of the pass are Hachisobe toge & Otomi toge. Kintokizan is a very sharp crested mountain near the base of Fuji. About 6 miles from Oiso crossed the river Baniu at the town of the same name, in boats. Road same as before Fujisawa about eleven miles. This walk did me up, and I had to take an ordinary kango, of the kind called shik-kango, the shape & size necessitating my putting my knee in my mouth. An hour and a half to Totsuka, where we changed kangos & coolies. No charge is made for the former. At a quarter past seven we reached Hodogaya, where the rest of the party and the baggage turned off the Tokaido to go to Yokohama. I went on with Noguchi to Kanagawa, a journey which took two hours as it was in the dark. One of the better gumi who had joined us at Odawara, being detached from Sir Harry's party went ahead in a kango preceded by a big lantern on a pole, then came I followed by a coolie with the boxes (riogake) & then another better. The chair bearers amused themselves with much grumbling to each other in loud & unmusical voices. Slept at the honjin in the jo'dan or upper dais, and ate jo'hatago. The whole expense of swell lodging, sake, dinner & breakfast as well as present of 1 bu to the hotel keeper (chadai) amounted to six boos.

The charge for hatago includes rice, tea, sleeping accommodation, fuel, candles, bath &c. and the fish & sake are all extra. We had a very fair dinner for the money & were very swell.

March. 29. Friday.

Started from Kanagawa at 7 in kagos. 1st takeba at Nagamugi no kuriya; 2nd at the teahouse just on this side of Tsurumigawa bridge. Walked from the toiyaba at Kawasaki to M'meyashiki in 3/4 of an hour; rode in kago to Shinagawa and walked in...R

Feb. 23.

Started from Yedo by the 8 train with OKANU [ハングル] and NIAHI [ハングル] and Saburau for Atamin. At Kanagaha got into a four horse trap from Cobb's, driven by a man who may be a Chinese, but speaks very good Japanese and English. Lunched at Umegaha, and got to Wodawara at 2.40, having been actually only about 5 hours on the road, about 37 miles. Horses changed at Fujisaha. It was good travelling for so bad a road. Brilliantly clear sky, but a cold wind from the mountains. The views of Fuji and the Hakone range at intervals along the road were very fine. Vries was seen sending out clouds of smoke. Stopped at the Wodohara inn Nakamatsu-ya: price of 2 kagos and 2 baggage coolies 4 yen 35 sen, owing to the lateness of the hour.

h

Hayakawa

Ishibashi

Komekami

Nebukaha

Yenoura

The first four are insignificant little vill.s, without accommodation for the night, and at Yenoura there is only room for a party of two persons to be comfortable. Ishibashi lies in front of a picturesque little dell, the sides of which are dotted with plumtrees, nearly over blossoming. At Komekami there is a neat teahouse. The new road now begins to climb a rather steep hill, where two men would be needed for a kuruma. About here one sees a good deal of the so-called Nebukaha stone, which is so much used in gardens. Here and there are daidai trees among the mikan oranges which are planted in every convenient spot. Camphor-trees of no great size are pretty numerous. Passed Akazayama, a little temple behind wch. there was until 25 years ago the camphor tree in wch. Yoritomo concealed himself after his defeat on Ishibashi yama; must have been on the Atami side of Enoura. The mikan trees have wide spreading trunks, which divide into half a dozen just above the ground, forming wide spreading bushes, which sometimes cover a circle 25 to 30 feet diameter, or even more. The daidai is a real tree. The fruit of the latter is said to remain several years on the bough, turning red in autumn, and green again in the spring. It is a charming walk for the most part, overlooking the sea until shortly before reaching Nebukaha. At Enowa come in sight of it again, and then leave it to cross low

undulating hills at the back of Manadzuru point. Enowa exports paving stone, and from Yoshihama a hard building stone of a dark brown colour. Strata of volcanic scoriae in several places intersected by the road. Enoura has large plantations of oranges.

Got to Yoshihama on the seashore at 10 to 7, having left Wodahara at 3 and rested 15 min. at Enoura, and as this is the time of kagos, I doubt its being much over 4 ri, of wch. 2.12 to Enowa, wch. place we reached at five.

At Yoshihama only one inn at present, Suzuki-ya, but the framework of another has been put up at the other end of the vill. towards Atami, and it will be ready for occupation by midsummer.

Feb. 24.

Started at 8.10, through Mongaha, a vill. at the conjunction of two valleys, and extending over a considerable stretch of paddy fields. Then gradually climb the excellent new road along the face of the cliff, wch. though on a much smaller scale reminds one of the Cornice road between San Remo and Bordighiera, a most delightful walk, with view of Vries & another island, Amagi san, the Ohomuero and Omuro Mts wch. resemble Fuji in shape. Got to Inamura, a tiny little hamlet perched above the sea in a cosy nook, surrounded by orange and Japanese medlar about 20 past nine. The new road passes above Idzusan, also prettily situated on the slope of the hill down to the shore. Reached Atami at 10.30, and put up at Suzuki-ya, opposite the intermittent spring, as the big Shin-sei-Shiya was full. The house I stopped at with the Lococks in 1867 has been burnt down, and the people gone away. When we got to Atami a small hole at the upper end of the enclosure round the spring was bubbling up with hot water, and a little steam was issuing from the larger ones, but the real eruption did not begin till noon, when water began to flow with varying volume into the larger basin for a quarter of an hour in a very mild style. Then it ceased for a few minutes, and began to flow again, at first feebly, at last increasing to a violent rush, shooting out right across to the piled up boulders at the lower end of the basin a distance of 8 or 10 feet, the steam so thick that I could at last hardly see the water, and I notice that the little pool is at work again. After 35 min. the water ceased its flow completely, and nothing came but a fierce cloud of steam, but all this while the little pool keeps on bubbling away. Then the steam gave way to hot water again, at first less violent than before, but then increasing again in force & volume, then again the roar of the steam is heard, and this alteration is repeated once more till I get tired about 1/4 to 1, and went off to lunch, leaving Saburau to note the time of the final termination, which was 1/4 past 1. At about 4 it began again, and went on for at least an hour. It seems to be a little irregular in

its proceedings, and sometimes omits to show for a whole day, but that is rare. From all I can hear it has nothing to do with the tides.

Feb. 25.

Started in about 8 for Itou, put into Azhiro for an hour, left OKANU [ハングル], AHI [ハングル], and the servant-girl behind, and so reached my destination, Matsubara at 11.30 and went at once to the Baths of Shishido, where I lunched at the house kept by Kashihagi & got a guide for Ohomuro san. My first idea was to ascend Komuro san as well, but as it appeared much lower, and a mere cone, I abandoned that intention. Started with the guide up the valley by the l. bank of the bridge, crossed a bridge & over a hill to Ogi. Turning here to the r. ascended by the side of a stream to Totari, and passing thro' it by the path to Ikomura, found a toriwi on the W. side of the cone, under wh. passes a track to the top. From this side the shape is hemispherical, it is quite covered with short kaya grass and bare of trees. On the road to it are blocks of lava spread about, and the [sic.] a bed of ashes of strata of diverse thickness covers the whole of the moorland country round, as is seen in the excavations here & there thro' wh. the paths run. Ascent to the summit took abt. 20 min. from the base, wh. was reached in 1 hr. 40 min. from Shishido. There was a fine view of Amagisan [稜線図] in this shape, and Yahadzu yama to our right, in front of it, a dark sharp peak covered with trees, Fuzhi, Futago yama of Hakone, Tan-zaha, Ohoyama and the sea covered to the E with fishing boats, the furthest at least 6 ri out. The vills. of Yahatano & Ikemura, r. & l. on the S. side, and then all the islands from Ohoshima down to Kandzu shima. All around is nothing but mountain moor or sea. The distance across from Yahatano to Ohoshima is about 7 ri. The path up the cone is composed of scoriae, with here & there lava exposed. Saw a dwarfed scabious in flower. The crater is about 250 yds. across and some 80 feet deep; the bottom covered with grass & loose blocks of lava. On the E. side is a small shrine to Sen-gen surrounded by some very large allters and what I take to be Eurya jap. On the E. side adjoining is a circular elevated platform with very irregular surface of lava blocks, looking like a volcanic hill which has fallen in upon itself. We descended on the E. side, where there was no path, a very easy operation, got by mistake to the mere, crossed it where a narrow neck divides a small sheet from the larger one, then came out by the vill. of Yoshida, and so into the Shimoda road, which brought us finally to Waka, & so back to the inn by 1/4 to 6, having lost an hour on the way. It wld. be an easy excursion for one day, by leaving at 7 in boat, so as to return by 5, or 6 o'clock at the latest.

At dinner the waitress says that at Kahana & Futo, two fishing vills. on the coast S. of Wada, the women are separated from the rest of the family during

the period of menstruation, and have to cook for themselves at another fire; they may not partake of the food cooked for the rest of the family. At the expiration of 7 days they take a bath, and are then clean again.

The bath at Kashiagi's are just of a pleasant temperature, neither too hot nor too cold; the house is good and has plenty of room. Food excellent. The spring rises in the middle of flat ground in the middle of the valley, and is surrounded by houses; in fact there seem to be several small springs, wch. are caught in boxes.

Feb. 26.

Left a little after 8, and walked back to Atami in about 4 hrs. or rather less, including 1/4 hrs. rest on the hill above Usami, wch. commands a magnificent prospect of Fuzhi, Hakone, Higane san, Tan-zaha, Ohoyama, the whole coast from Idzusan, Yoshihama, round by Ohoiso, Misaki and Mera Head. To seaward lies Ohoshima smoking away. Descended into Ozhiro Bay, and coasted along it to Kami Toge, where the path ascends another hill, and got to the top of this by 11.30. In the afternoon called on me Minami Tamotsu, once a protege of mine and recently consul in London. Having not seen or heard anything from him since he left my house with a letter of introduction to Itou, wch. was the starting point in life for him, I was unwilling to see him, but he forced his way in, and could not be got rid of for half an hour. I showed him by my manner that my feelings were not cordial towards him, and we talked only of indifferent matters.

Find the baths veryn exciting if taken just before going to bed.

Feb. 27.

Spent the whole day in the house, reading, bathing, talking & lounging, till the afternoon when we went to the shop of the joiner En-Shiu-ya, of whom I ordered several pieces of furniture, bookcases and chest of drawers in camphorwood. Got up at half past six and spent two hours in watching the intermittent spring.

Feb. 28.

Left Atami at 1/2 past seven, and got to the top of Higane san by 9...

Sept. 9.

Spent the day on board the "Hiogo" with nothing to do. In the afternoon returned to Susaki in the Nankai; a wretched little gunboat of about 40 horse power, and wch. goes perhaps five knots. Of course we were to start at once, but we did not get off till half an hour after midnight.

Sept. 11.

Arrived at Shimonoseki about 8. a.m. Everyone went on shore on some supposed business or other. I went to ask after old friends and saw Inouye, who is as impenetrable as ever. No news whatever. No appearance of guns or men of war, everything peaceful & flourishing. Left about half past six in the evening.

Sept. 12.

Arrived at Nagasaki at half past four. Put up at Flowers'. Ito & Katsura came to dinner; the latter is not a bit like the portrait in the first page of this book. He is of a very gentle & suave demeanour; we had a little argument after dinner, which there was not time to finish. They asserted the perfect honesty of Choshu in all his doings & denied that he had ever formed the idea of overturning the Taikun.

Sept. 13.

Flowers & I went to meet Hirayama at the custom house. The two of Sir Harry much abused Governors did not seem particularly unhappy. The Yokobu has left, in fact left the harbour just after Sir Harry in the Basilisk. It appears that on the 19th as the vessel was going to leave for Kagoshima she was stopped and an examination held which lasted all night till the afternoon of the 20th. The crew & officers were then entrusted to the charge of Tosa's Kiki-yaku Iwasaki Yataro, who undertook to produce them when they shld. be wanted. She sailed the same eveng. in defiance of Yataro's orders, acc. to the Tosa people. Of course nothing has yet been discovered, & the Governors appear to have done absolutely nothing.

Sept. 14.

Spent the day with Ito & Katsura at a tea-house called Tamagawa away up at

the back of the town by the stream. Discussion about Japse. affairs, ending in the belief that Europeans & Japse wld. never mix, at least not in our time. On the way back called on Hikocho, who lives in Gower's Folly. He has a story about a document signed by Satsuma, Tosa, Geishiu, Bizen & Awa having been presented to the Shogun, requiring him to retire from his office & allow the Government to be reconstituted.

Sepr. 15. Sunday.

Took tiffin with Hirayama. He says Sasaki Sanshiro, the Tosa metsuke is over-ruled by the kai-yen-tai (海援隊), who will not allow him to carry out the Prince's orders about searching for the criminals.

Sepr. 16.

Examinn. of the Yokobuye case at the C.H. It appears certain that the Nankai did not sail from Nagasaki till ten in the evening of the 6th. Two of the Kai-yen-tai, one of whom was the capt. of the Yokobuye were in a teahouse opposite where the sailors were murdered up to twelve o'clock at night. This looks suspicious. Still I tell the mestukes that if they don't disbelieve the statements made, neither do I. The Tosa people don't want the Yokobuye to return, & the Govt. does not appear to insist upon it. My policy being to throw the responsibility of discovering the men upon the Govt. I do not urge it, but leave it to Flowers to do so if he likes.

Sepr. 18.

Called on Hirayama in the eveng. I state my suspicions of Sugano Kakubei, a young fellow of forbidding countenance who was with the capt. of the Yokobuye at the Kagetsuro on the night of the murder. I suggest that his companion shld. be sent for; also the four men stated to have gone to Karatsu in the Nankai & landed there. Advise examination of the keeper of the Kagetsuro. Asked for copies of all depositions made & especially by Sasaki Sakae & the other.

Sepr. 19.

Katsura came in the mornng. He offers me a steamer to Osaka, if I like to return to Yedo that way. I promise to let him know in a day or two whether I can accept. The two Governors came to the Consulate in the afternoon to discuss plans for defence of Nagasaki streets against ruffians; they propose a force of 600 men, to be raised & armed with short spears besides swords. They have at last sent the depositions. Discrepancy in statements of Sasaki Sakae & Sugano Kakubei. The former is to be sent for.

Sept. 20.

Translated depositions all day. Salamis arrived in the eveng. Letter from Sir Harry, advising settlement to be cleared of two sworded men after dark.

Sept. 21.

Called on Satsuma Karo Niuro Giobu. Asked him to make an inquiry into the murder case amongst his own people. He says such an examn. has already been made, & offers even to give me a copy. Nothing suspicious has been discovered. I hint at the possibility of all two sworded men being excluded from the settlement unless the men are discovered & delivered up by all the clans; for if the Govt. discovers first it must be taken as proof of the complicity of that clan at least. He does not like my idea. From him to Sasaki Sanshiro, who says the Govt. has lent the Nagasaki maru to go & fetch the Yokobuye's capt. & one other man. Grumbles at Hirayama's suspicions of his lukewarmness; he has given money to all the spies in Nagasaki (me-akashi) & promised a reward of 4000 boos for the murderer. Thence to Hirayama; propose to order all the clans in Nagasaki to examine as strictly as the Tosa people are doing; for as we have been ten days at work without being able to fix the guilt on them, it is not unreasable to admit the possibility of some one else being the guilty; & therefore I propose that every two sworded man be ordered to give acct. of his doings that night. Also the whole of the teahouses shld. be examined for lists of guests that night. There is no reason why the men shld. not be discovered. I don't believe Iwasuke's statet. about thirteen men; think he had better be re-examined.

22. [Sept.] Sunday.

Tiffined at Glover's, they have the prettiest place in Japan. Rowed to head of the bay, where passes the bridle path to Tokitsu. Wax tree very like a mountain ash, with bunches of seeds shaped like beans.

23. Sept.

Nose Osumi no Kami called in the afternoon. We proposed that two sworded men shld. be excluded from the settlement after dark. He is delighted & adds by way of amendment that if they have business which takes them there in the evening, they must be escorted to & fro. I also hint that it would serve the clans right to be excluded fr. the settlement in the day also, unless they would lay aside their swords. Reurged examin. of all the clans & of all the people in Hikidaya that night. Three guard houses to be erected for the settlt.; one in Naminohira, at the extreme end, one close under the Consulate & one just at the entrance to Shinchi.

Ito was here this morning to say goodbye and introduces a young fellow whom he wants me to take as pupil to Yedo. Katsura's present name is Kido Jiunjiro (木戸準二郎); Inouye is Takada Harutaro (高田春太郎) & his own is Hayashi Uichi (林宇一). Pupil's name is Yamamoto Jiuske. My old friend Yamagata Keizo has been adopted by Shishido Bizen. His father Yamagata Taiga it was who wrote the "Ima no shoko o shiu ni arazaru ron", & not Nagai Uta as generally stated. Ito's master Yoshida Torajiro wrote several books combatting the views of Yamagata & Nagai. There were two schools of philosophy, those of Teishi (程子) and O yomei (王陽明) one of which inculcates the duty of resisting tyrants, the other the duty of reforming oneself. Yamagata belonged to the latter. Hence his arguments against any attempts to disturb the present state of things.

24. Septr.

Had my photograph taken & ate a European feed [sic.] at Fujiya, right at the end of the town, beyond Teramachi; they call it tafuru riori.

25. Septr.

Nose Osumi no Kami calls. He proposes that foreigners should be ordered to give up going to the teahouses in the Yama in the evening except on Sundays; on Sundays the guard there should be doubled so that the foreigners might enjoy themselves at peace. Also to build a fresh set of teahouses in the Shinchi. The order agst. two-sworded men going into the settlet. at night will be made. Apparently the Authorities are highly pleased by this strengthening of their hands on our part. Dined with Niro Giobu at Koyotei (迎陽亭) in Chikugomachi. He says there is a report that the sailing of the Nagasaki maru was delayed on acc. of the Tosa man who was to have gone in here absconding at the last moment. She left on Monday mornng. the 23rd. Niuro says he knows nothing whatever of the engagement of Frenchmen by Iwashita and that he is anxiously awaiting the latter's return. He wrote to annul the engagement directly he heard of it, but his letter was too late. I said we of course could not object to their employing Frenchmen, but that as French views of Japanese politics & ours differed so much, & it was well understood that ours coincided to a certain extent with those of Satsuma, it naturally caused us to ask whether this engagement meant a change of views in Satsuma clan. He said that such an idea was quite natural, but that no change had taken place. Since Osumi no Kami had decreed the adoption of English methods, the whole province had become enthusiastic in their favour, and objected very much to the advent of Frenchmen; he was afraid he shld. have to send them back. With regard to the report that the two Satsuma steamers which came in lately from Osaka had gone down to

Kagoshima to embark troops for Kioto, he said there was not a word of truth in it. Osumu no Kami is lying ill of a dropsy at Osaka where he has gone for his health. Echizen is reported to have returned to his province. Uwajima is also expected to leave soon. So apparently they have made up their minds to give in. Hara Ichinoshuu, an ometsuke in high favour & repute has been murdered in his house at Kioto by his own party.

Septr. 26.

Violent typhoon during the night. Two cargo boats sunk in the harbour, & the Kaitenmaru landed high & dry at Akunoura.

Septr. 27.

A blank day of billiards & bowls.

Septr. 28.

Hirayama and the two metsukes came to dinner. It is a false report abt. one of the Tosa people having absconded and so caused a delay in the sailing of the Nagasaki Maru. They had asked Sasaki Sanshiro or Saedaui to go, but the latter were too busy. It is pleasing to note what little authority the Govt. has over Tosa.

Septr. 29. Sunday.

Another blank day.

Septr. 30.

From nine o'clock to the C.H. to examine Sasaki Sakae and Hashimoto Kindayu who have been brought back in the Nagasaki maru; the Yokobuye will follow in a few days. The true history of that vessel is that she was bought by one of Odzu officers named Tamae, & that pending the application to his Prince for leave to hoist the flag he put her in charge of Saedaui, who placed officers & crew of his own on board. Sasaki when interrogated said he went alone with Sugano to the Kagetsuro. Here was the point. To my great astonishment the Governors & the metsuke declared that the previous examination was wrong & not to be relied upon; & that we must believe him when he denied going with Gohachi. Here was a pretty state of things and I pitched into them pretty strongly. Also Mr. Saedaui had to be sat up for laughing at the questions put by us, evidently with the object of ridiculing us out of our case, but he got a flea in his lug and shut up making most diabolical faces. At the end the Governors stated that they saw nothing to criminate anybody either in the Yokobuye & Nankai; they considered the Tosa people to be freed from the suspicion as far as

those two vessels were concerned. After some discussion amongst ourselves, we replied that on the contrary we entertained very strong suspicions, not founded on any ocular evidence against them, but on the circumstantial evidence. That this evidence would be sufficient to condemn them at a criminal court in England. 1st. It is almost certain that the murder was committed by men in white foreign garments a little after twelve at night. 2nd. Sasaki & Sugano were close to that spot at that moment dressed in that way. 3rd. That no one else had been shown to have been in the Yama at that hour dressed in that manner. We then left, but in the afternoon I proposed to Flowers to write a letter demanding their arrest on the above grounds. It will prove a difficult nut for them to swallow; they will of course answer in the negative. Niuro came to dinner with us at Robertson's place; we had a French cook to cater. No conversation of any importance, except that Saigo is Osumi no Kami's confidential man and Komatsu one of the 7 Shissei of Satsuma. Shiuri no Taiyu is 29 years of age & Shimadzu Dzusho 28. Ten brothers & sisters, besides the late Satsuma no Kami's 3 girls. The Dumbarton arrived in the afternoon.

Octr. 1.

My pupil that is to be, Yamamoto Jiuske, came to ask for assistance in getting a passport to go to Yedo. Wrote an application. Hear they very much object to giving passports & that people have to take their adherents away without leave. Noguchi begins to suspect Jiuske of being a Choshu man.

Octr. 2.

At ten o'clock to C.H. to meet Hirayama & the rest of them. Discussion turned first upon the examinations held in the case of the Yokobuye. We stated our opinion, upon which they produced records of examinations etc. We declined to argue as we had not come prepared, but would forward our views in a letter from the Consul, which wld. be the result of our deliberations from our point of view. The Govr. will then have to answer. I anticipated a refusal to arrest the two men, but am curious to see the grounds on which they will put it. As to protection of the settlement I think patrols all about it at night would be irksome & perhaps not effectual.

The number of men available for such a duty must be calculated, & I think it will be found impossible to patrol the settlet. & Japanese town in a thorough manner. I adhere to the Govr's proposal of three guard-houses, one at Namenohira, one just under the British Consulate and one opposite to the Chinese residence close to the old prison. Thence to patrol the outside of the settlement. Guards of three or four men to be placed at every point leading into the settlement, to keep out samurai; to prevent their going in during the

day & remaining, they shld. be made to leave their names at the Shinchu gate on entering & leaving. Marcus thinks this will not please the foreign merchants. I do not think it will be any great hindrance to trade, & will annoy the two-sworded men, whom I am desirous of annoying. Hirayama & the rest think it will be going too far in the direction of restriction. We can't help that. If the murderers are discovered and executed I would then relax.

Octr. 3.

Borrowed a copy of Cachon's French English Japanese dictionary; it is chockful of mistakes. I am busy making notes to review it.

Octr. 4.

Did nothing at all, but play whist with a dummy. Fortune favours me.

Octr. 5.

Kimura, personal name unknown, of Tsugaru clan & belonging now to Tosa's vessel the Yugawo called. That is, as I believe he came after Noguchi and was induced by him to pay his respects. Winnings at whist tonight make my gains up to 96 boos at 600 points. Poor Mrs. Flowers is dismayed at the prospect of debt & ruin & says they have only \$300 to carry them on to the end of the year. But I am happy to feel that my stay here will put an extra hundred in the pockets.

Octr. 6. Sunday.

Today the festival of Suwa, a Shinto god, being the 9th day of the 9th month. Invitations had been sent round to all the Consuls to go to the Nishiyakusho & sit in the shed prepared there for the high & mighty of Nagasaki. Proceeding thither with Noguchi & a fellow clansman of his named Sagawa Tadasu, I found a crowd standing before a bamboo fence or gate. I pushed thro' along with a huge model of a double white cherry tree & took up a standing position in front. An invitation was speedily sent to me to join the party in the shed & I found the Vice Governors there very polite & kind. The great cherry tree was followed by a dozen children dressed in green satin who performed a dance & then made way for the next company. This was preceded by a large round basin edged with red cloth & filled with bullrushes amongst which were perched two white paddybirds, not stuffed, but made of cloth. It was carried on a strong pole, the lower end of which was weighted with cash. The dancing was performed on platform 6 ft. by 12 or 9 ft. by 12 composed of broad benches carried by coolies from place to another. One of the most remarkable performances was the o satsuma, or satsuma odori, in which there were ten hoko,

one with a tiger plunging down through bamboos, another of a wild boar, one with two large masks of an old man & Otafuku, another with a suit of armour &c. These were accompanied by boys carrying brass basins which they chinked upon with mallets, while the hoko bearers beat the drums which they supported before them. The other was the Chinese court, all in real dresses. About thirteen of these representations took place before twelve o'clock, at which hour we sat down to fowl soup & beef steak prepared by the hospitality of the Governor and presided over by the Vice Governors. I found these individuals disposed to treat me as an inferior, but Rowlands for Olivers soon changed that. About two o'clock came the jin-yo or mikoshi (sacred cars) of the god preceded by huge banners on large black heavy poles which the bearers could hardly support, and a host of smaller banners. They were followed by three Kannushi on horse back with long broomlike poles, which are called gochisoyari. Lots of bows and spears and shields were carried in the procession by men in white dresses called hakucho & black caps shaped like a paper bag. Talked a great deal to the vice Governor about the Tosa affair & the means of restoring order to the settlement & native town. With regard to the Tosa people, I thought they tried to throw obstacles in the way of discovery instead of courting inquiry in accordance with the expressed wishes of Yodo. That the Government had lost a great deal of ground with foreigners in this matter. Firstly, the possibility of the murder taking place in such a manner showed the Government's incapacity to keep order, & secondly it was not fit that a body calling itself a Government should allow daimios to have the right of extraterritoriality to so great a degree as was shown by the late examinations held at the Custom house. I suggested that some regulations should be made to restrict the daimio's retainers from freely resorting to Nagasaki. Vice Gov. replied to all this that he had nothing to do with these matters, so I told him that was the precise reason I spoke to him about them.

Octr. 7.

Ninomiya the Kurume doctor whom I saw at Robertson's house one day at the end of last year called with his son to request permission to bring some of his fellow clansmen to see me. Yui, the Tosa captain of the Yugawa also came and wanted to appoint a day for a little dinner. I agreed to the dinner & told him to send me a note of the day place & time.

In the afternoon called on Hirayama, and the two metsukes to urge the sending of the reply to the letter demanding the arrest & detention of the two Tosa men Sugano & Sakae. It had been already sent & crossed me on the way, but they showed me a copy. It was of course in the negative but not attempting to disprove the three points laid down. I suggested to them an alteration which

they promised to adopt. The police regulations were also ready and should be forwarded at once. I suggested that these semimilitary precautions could not be continued for ever; it was too irksome a state of things to last. They must strike at the root and keep the daimios' men in order. They replied that if all ships coming & going out had to report and if all men coming to reside or leaving had to send in their names, they would be able to find out where any one ran away. I should like to restrict the number, and to impose the necessity of reporting their names on going in and out of the foreign settlet. They replied that the rule that none should go into the settlement at night would be sufficient & that it would not do to adopt severe restrictive measures all at once; the measures now adopted would prevent any daimio's retainers coming to Nagasaki but those who had legitimate business.

Hirayama told a good story of a certain old priest and a-satte shinu.

Octr. 8.

This morning Flowers, his wife & I went again to the shed in front of nishiyakusho to see the processions which came up from the o hatoba & then proceeded thro' the town to Suwa no Yashiro. The Maruyama Machi lot were first abt. 7.30; two little girls of 13 & 14, but so diminutive that they looked only 6 or 7, dressed up in swellest yujo garments, who performed a most dignified measure to the accompaniment of that mournful recitative the utai; from today these tiny morsels of humanity who have been kamuro hitherto are to become yujo. Yoriai machi showed a similar lot. None of the hokos were different, but most of the dances were new. While we were looking on we heard that a couple of foreigners had been wounded in the town, but the Vice Govr. could give no particulars. As soon as the performances were over we went home. I found the following Kurume people waiting for me. Imae Sakae, a man who is said to have to do with the govt. of his clan, Nagata Chiuhei, a man visiting Nagasaki for the first time and Tanaka Konoye who is a machinist & constructed boilers & engines for a couple of Japanese steamers. He was originally a clockmaker at Kioto. After drinking a bottle of champagne together we went out to a rioriya on the hill overlooking the hospital called Arima and had a small feast & a great deal of political talk. The reason why they objected to Hiogo being opened was that their tea came mostly from chiugoku & was made up in Kurume. About internal affairs, I said that I did not see how they could be settled without a war, as the daimios can't agree among themselves; a civil war would perhaps last twenty or thirty years & greatly impoverish the country, while it would give a great opportunity for foreigners to seize bits of the country by aiding one party agst. the other. But a foreign war, in which Kioto was the object of the attack would invite all their internal differences and when peace

came we could have treaties with the Mikado in which the Taikun's position could be defined. Nagata who was already drunk shouted out, you must not attack Kyoto, but destroy the Bakufu. So they also it wld. appear share the general feeling. About four o'clock we went down to the Kamaya in Maruyama machi where I met the fair Mitsunashi last winter, and had a grand feast. More Kurume people came in and the room was gradually filled with yujo, kamuro & geiko. Most of the men got drunk. I left abt. 6.30 & the party broke up. Found the story of the wounding to be correct. One Englishman very drunk was cut on the head and on the arm, and the American slightly on the arm. The man who wounded them belonged to Tosa, and gave himself up to his own people who reported the matter.

Octr. 10.

Hosokawa Rionoske, younger brother of the Prince of Higo came to call on the Consul. He is fat-faced and about 25, healthy fat & intelligent. Tried to pump me about the Tosa affair but failed; then went on politics I held my tongue; so he expressed a wish to see me and have a lengthened conversation, & asked me to Glover's to dine. I said I had no invitation.

Octr. 11.

Townsend & I called on Rionoske by appt. but he was not on board; not exactly polite.

Octr. 12.

Endo turned up first. Like a fool he sent in his card by Noguchi who read it and discovered him at once. He goes in the Coquette with me to Yokohama. He was followed by Iwai & Nagata of Kurume who came merely to say goodbye. Niiru Giobu came while they were still here. He says that besides the people of Urakami there are some inhabitants of one of the Omura villages next to that place also converted, who are now in prison in Omura; hitherto the Omura people have followed the practice of the Nagasaki Government in punishing their criminals and wished to do so also in the present case; but it is reported that the Governors do not intend to punish those who will abjure, because there are so large a number. This offends the Omura people, who say that the crime of believing in Christianity has hitherto been a very grave one, & think that letting the criminals off on the pretext that they are a large number is revolutionary & subversive of good govt. & they are trying to get all the Kiushiu daimios to join in a representation to that effect. This of [sic.]

Went to say goodbye to Hirayama. He and the metsukes leave on the 18th. All the Xtians of Urakami have been forgiven on promising not to do so again,

but they are permitted to believe what they like. He thinks the Omura people are going to forgive their Xtians also. Very like a whale. Left Nagasaki in the Coquette at 11 p.m. Matsui of Tosa and Endo Kinske of Choshu on board, the latter disguised a Macao Portuguese.

Octr. 13.

Passed thro' the Straits of Shimonoseki at 5 p.m. 3 guns mounted on a small bluff at the extreme east end of the town.

Octr. 14.

Passed Mashima strait at 8.30. Shodzu shima at 5 p.m. Arrived at Hiogo at midnight.

Octr. 15. Passed Oshima Island at 5 p.m.

Octr. 16. Arrived at Yokohama at midnight.

Decr. 1. Sunday.

At sea; rounded Cape Oshima at 4.30. P.M.

" 2 Monday.

Strong N.W. wind; cld. only do 2 knots agst.; anchored before Tempoan at Osaka by 4.30 p.m. Bar evidently impassable as no boats appear.

[Dec.] 3. Tuesday.

Get on shore about noon & call on the Governors, Ogasawara Ise & Shibata Hiuga. We go & look at Iga no Kami's former lodgment, the yashiki behind the Tamatsukuri gomon; suggest some alterations. Old Seare writes a funny dignified letter under a misapprehension that I had sent a verbal message for him to come to the bugiosho. Larks. What a horrid bad interpreter he must have got to translate our chaff about him with Shibata into a summons.

4 Dec. Wed.

Arranged for repairs of Tamatsukuri yashiki and adjacent small houses, and for building a temporary barrack for 50 men of the 9th who are coming down as a guard. To be ready if possible by the 18th of Decr. Expenses to be paid could not say how. Perhaps in form of a rent or the whole sum might be re-paid at once. (Either alternative being very far from the chief's thoughts, but one needn't let him be dishonest if it can be helpted). Lots of two sworded persons about. Wrote letters to Goto & Yoshii. The former has gone down to his country, & the latter is in Kyoto reply severally the rusui; but the little man will come down at once I expect.

5. Decr. Thur.

Walked down to the settlement before breakfast. It is nearly finished as far as levelling & bunding goes, but of course no drains. They are building bonded godowns, Custom house & guard house & a big palisade at the back, all highly objectionable proceedings. After tiffin came a messenger to say that Inaba Hiobu Taiyu & Matsudaira Nui, Nagai Hizen & Kawakatsu Bingo will be down tomorrow to see Mitford & myself. Thereafter walked over to Tamatsukuri & gave orders about repairs & fitting up of buildings for the detachment of foot.

Decr. 6. Fri.

Called on the Govr. & arranged that the Warehouses in course of construction at the N. End of the settlement should not be further proceeded with until the arrival of the Ministers. In the afternoon recd. letter from Yoshii Koske saying that he was too busy at Kioto & recommending to wait until Saigo arrived. Sent off letters to Yedo.

Decr. 7.

Went early this morning to meet Rojiu & Sansei! They are on their way to Yedo. Had orders fr. the Taikun to stop at Osaka & see us. Gave us no information except that the Taikun had long ago been intending to take this step. For all that I don't believe it to be his intention, but merely, that, tired of being badgered by the 4 clans & to give unity to his own party, he has resolved to call a general council; & it is not impossible that the Council will reinstate him by a majority of votes & that his power will be more strongly established than it was before.

Decr. 8. Sunday.

A Blank day, spent in wandering about in the pursuit of curiosities. Seare dined with us. Talk of nothing but 'curios' in Japan, China & Europe; also acting & singing.

Decr. 12. Thurs.

Started at a quarter to nine in kagos for Hiogo. We were obliged to go thus because the machikata refused to lend us horses and couldn't procure them at less than 18 boos! It was 1/2 past twelve when Mitford who walked got to Ama(gasaki) and I reached it at a quarter to one. Three o'clock brought us to Nishinomiya, just half way; thence had to get out and walk or we shld. never have arrived. Poor little Nagazawa & the escort had to trot in order to keep pace with our footsteps, and only one of them turned up at the end. Got on board the Rattler at 6.15. Dined with Swann & then went ashore to sleep at the Sokuaisho.

Decr. 13. Fri.

Went to see Shibata Hiuga no Kami, at the Kuai sojo, now become the English Consulate & discussed various details of business with him. He says there were 7 days of feasting in Kobe in honour of the expected opening of the port, and processions of red crape dressed people with carts, supposed to convey earth for the filling up of the settlet. site. Fetes also to be in Hiogo Site of Settlement splendid. Foolish and Parkesian idea of a public garden, much

calculated to increase his popularity (!?). Apparently there is great good will towards us on the part of the Japanese Govt. & people, and it is to be hoped that there will be some real konshin no kosai this time. Started from the settlet. at Kobe at 11.15 in a boat. Noel, 1st lieut. of Rattler with us. Arrived opposite foreign settlement of Osaka by a different mouth to the usual Ojikawa by half past six. Walked at a great rate thro' crowds of festival makers, dancing and singing ijanai ka, ijanai ka, ijanai-i ka. Houses decorated with cakes in all colours, oranges little bags & straw, & flowers. Dresses chiefly red cape, also blue & purple. Many people carrying red lanterns on their heads, & dancing. The whole in honour of the shower of pieces of paper bearing the names of the two gods of Ise, which has lately taken place. It took us a hour to walk up.

Decr. 14. Sat.

Yoshii Koske came & we talked. The coalition, which is determined to push things to the last extremity to gain their points consists of Satsuma, Tosa, Uwajima, Choshu & Geishu; Higo & Arima are inclined to join, Chikuzen & Hizen are indifferent; all the Western daimios in fact are pretty much of one mind. Osumi ni Kami is too ill, & so Shiuri no Daiyu comes up instead. He is expected to arrive in a few days. Saedani Umetaro, whom I knew at Nagasaki, a Tosa man, was murdered at Kioto a few days ago in his lodgings, by three men entirely unknown. The Taikun has about 10,000 men at Kioto; Satsuma and Tosa about 5000 between them at Kioto & Osaka. The other daimios such as Geishu will bring up troops also. The Choshu question will be a difficult one to settle, as the Taikun's party includes a large number who will try to force on a war again with a view to the destruction of that clan. I took occasion to say that the Nagasaki murder was by no means settled, and that one of the first questions proposed to the new Govt. would be the punishment of the murderers; that no money compensation would be accepted; & that the Japanese if they wished to be on good terms with foreigners and to avoid disaster, had better prevent the reoccurrence of such affairs. He replied to this by saying that if the internal affairs were not settled this time at Kioto, the daimios' men would wreak their wrath upon the foreigners, in order to get the Taikun into bad relations with the Treaty Powers. I responded that they would fail of their object then, for we could no longer hold the Taikun responsible for the acts of persons over whom he had no real control.

Decr. 15. Sun.

Two Uwajima men 須藤但馬 Suto Tajima apparently a karo, and 西園寺雷江 (雪江 Yukiye was his correct name, 20/4/10) Saionji Raiye a metsuke whom I saw at

Uwajima when I went there in the Argus. They did not say very much. They have come as precursors of Iyo no Kami who will arrive early in January. They expressed the prince's delight at the prospect now existing of the establishment of the parliament he had spoken of to me in the spring at Uwajima & at our interview in Osaka last May. We did not discuss politics much. I mentioned the Nagasaki affair in the same sense as to Yoshii yesterday, and assured them that the question was not abandoned but only lying in abeyance for the present. I explained also that we are on as good terms with Tosa as before.

No sooner had they retired than in came 中江恭平 Nakae Kiohei of Tosa, with a message fr. Goto, who arrived at Osaka last night & is too busy to come and see us. We made a proposition therefore to go and see him instead which was joyfully accepted. We met him in front of the Tosayashiki by the Nagabori & turned in with him. Our first move was to speak to him about the Nagasaki affair & say that altho' the particular suspicion caused by the false report of the Yokobuye & Nankai going out together was removed from then, the fact that Japse. had murdered our people still remained, & that we shall not rest until reparation was made, not by the payment of an indemnity, which some people appeared to suppose would satisfy the Engl. Govt. but by the punishment of the criminals; & that we were content to wait until the arrangement of the new constitution gave us an opportunity for making the demand with effect. He replied that the murder which had just taken place of two of his own subordinates inspired him with sympathy for the feelings of Englishmen with regard to the murder of our sailors, & that both Yodo & he felt no stone shld. be left unturned to track the criminals in the latter case. I then asked him to take charge of a gun which I wished to present to Yodo as a return to his kindness, tho' in itself not of any great value or beauty. He promised to do so. We then proceeded to talk about the constitution of the new Govt. which he proposes & of the senate to be formed. It was agreed that he shld. come down & see the chief again & that at the same time he shld. remain a few days in Osaka to learn further particulars fr. Mitford & myself about the Engl. form of Government. We gave him a little information about the present cabinet & the method of putting a question through parliament. He wants to employ the services of a foreigner, such as myself, to consult with and obtain information. I replied that I was content to serve my own government & could not take service under that of any other state, but that if they wished for the services of an officer, they should apply to the Minister for the loan of an officer. The idea of becoming a recipient of pay from a Japanese is not one which suits me, & if I left H.M. service, I would not seek another career in Japan. Yodo is much better of his illness. He will embark on the 18th instant & arrive in Osaka on the 20th or thereabouts, whence he will proceed at once to

Kioto. In the eveng. we projected a dinner on ville, and Tokaku in the Namba Shinchii was the place I had in my mind's eye. I wished to start about dusk for these places close early to the influx of fresh guests, but Noel had gone out for a walk with old Seare and it began to be late. I despatched a messenger to Tokaku to engage a room for us, and as Noel came in about half past six we mustered our forces & started. As the streets were expected to be full of merry makers Matsushita & Yokoi proposed that the rest of my bette shld. be summoned to attend us to the place of festival; I placed the burden on their shlders by telling them I thought they two would be enough for anything. We started, driving thro' all sorts of backlanes to find a shorter cut than by the Dotombori. My instincts told me the way, but once the bette triumphed, & took us by what turned out to be a circuitous road after all. We found some difficulty in forcing our way thro' the crowds of merrymakers dressed in red flaming garments & shouting 'ija naika, isn't it nice. They were so occupied with their dancing & their lanterns that we were unnoticed, and I was afraid that the escort provoke a quarrel by the violent manner in which they thrust the people aside to let us pass; on the contrary however they made way for us without offering the slightest rudeness. Arrived at Tokaku, we found the chief rooms occupied by festival makers and the rest of the place shut up; our messenger had just been turned back to decline receiving us. Whilst we stood here trying to persuade them to give us a room, a herd of young boys & men trooped in shouting & dancing, & bearing tossed about in their midst a kago with a fat doll most gorgeously dressed. All the feasters in the house came to meet them on the thresholds of the various entrances, and after a violent dance on both sides in concert, the troop disappeared again. The number of pretty girls who appeared as dancers was much larger than our previous experience had led us to think Osaka could contain. We could not prevail on Tokaku to take us in, but they gave us a guide to a house about 'five minutes' walk distant called Tsuii or something of that sort. Arrived there the doors were found locked, & the explann. guessed by some one was that the inhabitants had all gone out to the dance. We began to despair, & to think of returning to Honkakuji to sup on whatever cold food the philosopher could give us. Luckily for our purposes, the guide, a little man on sturdy legs, knew of a house called 松翁亭 Sho o tei which as it was on the road back we might as well call at. So in we turned and after ten minutes waiting got a capital room upstairs. As the object of our expedn. was to make the acquaintance of certain o Une and o Masa we did not engage geiko, but the female attendants of the house took up the conversation and passed the wine cup. The total absence of fear or dislike on the part of the Osaka women is remarkable after the cold & often hostile reception that one is accustomed to meet with in Yedo. Curiosity apparently

triumphs over every other feeling; and then the attendants are generally black toothed instead of white toothed, which makes a great difference. Sobriety & early return was the order of the evening.

Decr. 16. Mon.

Today Noel returned. We moved over fr. Hongakuji in spite of the rain which fell in torrents. It was half past seven before all the baggage arrived. We are settled down at a place called Tamatsukuri go mon no yashiki, originally occupied by the Joban & since Iga no Kami in his descents to Osaka last spring. It is 50 yrs. old & much fallen into decay, but repairs have been made & it is now comfortable. The main building will accomodate Sir Harry & three or four others. Mitford will share an attached building or koya with some other fellow. I have seized on one, the officers of the 9th detachment are to share a third, guests a fourth, and the escort a fifth, whilst there is a great building or kariya for the detach. Sent off the Spencer rifle for Yodo to Goto, who had despatched a messenger to fetch it, tho' without being asked to take that trouble. Went to visit Saigo Kichinosuke (西郷吉之助). Found there (岩下左治右衛門) Iwashita Sajiemon, just returned fr. Europe with his friend Comte de Montblanc. Conversation much on murders. Saigo paid me the compliment of saying that I gave little hits but very hard ones. Opinion seemed to be divided as to the probability of more murders; I always find that men who wish for the advancement of Japan & are themselves actuated by friendly feelings, maintain that it will cease, but unprejudiced men don't give one much encouragement to leave off revolvers. We gave them pretty strongly to understand that the Icarus's murder would not be settled by an indemnity. They were all very anxious to disprove the possibility of there having been a plot of the Tosa & Satsuma men to murder Mitford and myself when we passed thro' Otsu last Aug. (Fortunately we were turned out of the way by other conversations). Now I have no doubt myself. Noguchi told me at Osaka that he had overheard some men, whom he imagined to be Tosa men, regretting that they had not been able to accomplish their project; and when I told Goto at Susaki that I had heard this story, he said that he being in Kioto heard such a report himself; and took measures to prevent the scheme, if there were one, from being carried out. Saigo tries to make out that this cld. not have been true, and says that Goto was not in Kioto at the time. We reassured him that we did not think it probable that either Satsuma or Tosa shld. wish to murder foreigners, but that the clans contained ruffians who sometimes took such ideas into their heads, independently of their chief. Satsuma has bought Chapman's ship the Kiangsu for \$155000 dollars, & Shiuri no Taibu came up in her; a very good 'buy'.

Decr. 17. Tues.

Visited the other two places offered to Sir Harry for a Legation; situated just behind the barracks opposite the o te; small, dirty & out of repair.

Decr. 18. Wed.

Ishikawa Kawachi, Commander of F.A. called upon us. We talked about affairs. No date has been fixed for the daimios to assemble, & therefore no one can be blamed if he shld. be late. Supposing that the few daimios now in Kioto or about to arrive should discuss & come to a decision, now are they to enforce it. Objections will surely be raised. In this view it appears to me that war is not unlikely after all, & that the non-appointment of a date is part of the Taikun's plan for embarrassing his opponents.

Decr. 19. Thurs.

We began to expect the chief, but no news of him came at all.

Decr. 20.

Letters arrived overland fr. Yedo. The impression at Yedo appears to be that the Taikun has shut up altogether & is nobody; so much does distance and report by word of mouth change the appearance of affairs. The chief is to be here on the 22nd. Hada talk with Ito Shunske, who says that war will commence at once, with the object of depriving the Shogun of parts of his domains, which are far too large for the peace of the country. There are only 7 battalions of Taikun's troops in Kioto, all reinforcements having been imperatively forbidden under the idea that there was no cause for war. Of course Hiogo & Osaka will not be the most peaceful residences for a foreginer for a foreign when war does break out; especially our Legation just at the back of the castle, which is sure to be object of a pretty severe tussle. Ito evidently has his eyes too on the Kaiyo-maru. He wants to know whether the arrival of the chief & the opening of these places can't be put off, & whether Saigo has not written to the chief about it. I reply No of course, & I suppose I told the fact. Then the great object will be to open the place & so keep foreigners quiet whilst they go on with their private plans for the reformation of the country. Some one must be appointed therefore to represent Japan at these places. I suggested the Governors. Ito says they will be turned out at once. Well so long as the rebels do not attack the residences of the foreigners, they may do as they like with the Taikun, but if they touch us they will have a couple of English regiments & many ships to fight in addition to the Shogun's troops. Ito does not think they would wish to do so. He promised to let me know again before

the actual day comes. A body of Choshu men are coming up under the command of Mori Heirokuro & Fukumoto Shiima, Katsura & Kikkawa not being able to leave the interval Govt. of the province.

23rd Decr.

The chief was to have arrived but didn't. We went down to Tempozan in expectation of meeting him & were disaptd. Eat oyster & drunk sake with a fat red faced hard teahouse girl of appararently much knowledge of the world.

24 Decr.

Chief arrived. Looked at the house & then ran away again. Splendid confusion all day. Letter from Shinosaki Yataro comparing the present state of the country to an eggshell held in the hand, & begging me to persuade Komatsu & Saigo to keep the peace. He sends me the M.S. Hankamfu, all but the vols 1 to 5.

25 Decr.

Kasuya Chikugo no Kami, gaikokubugio, came & called on me. Says that Hikone, Bizen & young Geishu are in Kyoto. Does not appear to feel certain what's going to happen.

28 Decr.

Visit from Hayashi Kenzo my old friend of the Argus. He says 1500 Choshu men landed at Nishinomiya under the leadership of Mori Takumi on the 23rd instant. He too does not know whether there is going to be any fighting, but thinks Goto & Saigo are trying to keep the peace. Endo goes down tomorrow to Nishinomiya. The Choshu people are encamped in a temple they have there. Takumi is reputed to be a man of capacity, who became inkio very early in life. I shall try to get down there and see what is going on, after the port is opened. Iga no Kami was expected down today, but has not turned up, & Nagai Gemba no Kami has gone to meet him. It looks strangely as if Iga got some precious difficult work on his hands and had sent for Nagai to help him; for he is persistent at first in refusing to come, and afterwards taking no notice of messages.

[Dec.] 29.

Iga no Kami appeared after all today & we talked Hiogo & Osaka business only. All the Governors of the two places were present & Nagai Gemba no Kami, who has the credit of being the almost sole adviser of the Taikun at present, tho' of course Iga no Kami is admitted into their secrets.

[Dec.] 30.

Iga no Kami & Gemba came again. Discussion abt. Nagasaki murder, in which no satisfaction is to be had apparently. Hirayama is to go to Nagasaki after all, in spite of Gemba's attempts to get him off. The F.O. writes out approving the chief's action in the matter, & he seems inclined to keep it over them as a perpetual nightman. At all events he told them today in pretty strong terms that we wld. never give the matter up until the murders were seized & punished. They asked a lot of questions about the Engl. Constitution, so that it would appear as if both sides were desirous of taking our advice. Evidently they are hard pressed by the daimios & do not like their hanging such a number of troops up. Sir Harry told them unless they get the troops away from Osaka where they may get into collision with foreigners he will send for a couple of regiments. A great shame of him to meddle thus & increase the Taikun's embarrassments.

[Dec.] 31.

Went this morning to see Koba Dennai the Satsuma Rusui & explained to him why the chief wished their troops removed. He replied that they had only 250 men here, but doubtless they cld. be sent elsewhere & he would write to Saigo. Thence I went & saw a Choshu man named Nagamatsu Bunsuke, who has come over from Nishinomiya. He stops with the Geishu people. A proclamation is up that the Choshu forces having been ordered to come up are allowed to borrow the use of the Geishu yashiki & the Nishihonganji. Nevertheless he told me they did not wish to come to Osaka, & thought it a great piece of luck that the Engl. Min. had proposed to the Taikun what they happened most particularly to desire. Mori Heirokiuo has not yet arrived. I cannot find out the reason of their coming. Iga no Kami says they were told by a messenger which left Geishu on the 15th. of Decr. [空白] not to come; this messenger went by sea. On the 16th a messenger arrived by land to say that they were starting in compliance with the order given prviously. On the 20th three of the their steamers came to Mitarai in Geishu territory & asked Geishu officers to accompany them. The latter refused & advised them to go back. They declined alleging their prince's orders, & without a recall from him they could not return. This is the Geishu story, but one can't believe it. They planned it together no doubt. In fact it is part of the general plan. That the Taikun shld. have sent orders countermanding is pretty clear proof that when the original order was given, the present change was not contemplated as pretended by Iki no Kami, but in reality lately forced on them by the confederation. Having seen this Choshu man & learnt his news, I was relieved from the necessity of going to

Nishinomiya. Today arrived the letter about the new appointments. I am to be Japanese Secretary with £ 700 a year, so there is no need for my kicking up a row, or cutting the service as I had thought of doing.

Sept. 8.

Embarked on board the Rattler commanded by Stephenson, nephew of Ad. Keppel with Adams for a political trip northwards. Noguchi & Yokichi with me. It appears probable that the Russians have taken possession of two of the Kurile group, namely Kunashiri & Itorup & we are to go up there to find out the truth of this report & to look for a port in that neighbourhood which may be opened to foreign trade and Yezo thereby secured fr. Russian aggression. We are also to go down the west coast to Niigata & Nanao. What may be our reception at the former of these two places is uncertain.

Saty. Sept. 12.

Arrived at Hakodati in the evening after abt. 84 hours steaming. Landed Inouye Iwami and his baggage & went with Adams to call on little Eusden, who of course was perfectly ignorant of everything & could give us no information about Yezo. In fact, we had already got out of Inouye all we wanted to know abt. the principal places on the coast.

Sun. Sept. 13.

Went to call on the governor a kuge named Shimidzudani Jiyiu with Stephenson & Adams. There has been some difficulty abt. this individual refusing to see the consuls, but that is being got over as far as Eusden is concerned thro' the influence of negotiations conducted by Sir Harry Parkes at Yokohama with Komatsu Tatewaki the Sanyo. We have therefore had no trouble in arranging that we shld. be properly received. We walked out to Kamida & arrived there at half past two. Chairs had been placed in a circle in the interview room used by the former governors, & Shimidzudani came into the room the instant after we entered it. Adams was placed in the seat in honour & after the ordinary compliments had passed we had some conversation abt. our expedition to Kunashiri & Itorup. Inouye is to start on the 16th at latest & to go round by the east coast; we on the same day by the west coast to call at Iwanai & other places. Shimidzudani is a rather good looking young kuge of abt. 25 with a wellshaped nose but heavy jaw & open mouth, & his teeth being blackened made this a bad leather. He is evidently intelligent & not shut up as we shld. have imagined from his proposal to see the Consul's three rooms or 4. That was doubtless a dodge of his busy subordinates.

Sept. 14.

Shimidzudani came off to make a call, with Inouye, Ono and a man named Sauto Ichiro of Kishiu. Very friendly & cordial. It was settled that we should start on the morning of the 16th the Rover also starting coaling at Iwanai. There is a report in Hako-date that Niigata has been taken by Southern troops and burnt. Kaga no Kami an old American gunboat has been sold to the Daimio of Akita for 67,500 rio (exc. 295) and Rice the American Consul before whom the transfer takes place gets 4500 rio or dollars as his share; prob. rather as a bribe to keep it quiet. One thousand Chasseport rifles have been sold in Hakodate by the Agent of Societe Generale.

Sept. 15.

Spent last night at Howell's a la Japonaise. A lot of machinery has to be put on board the Rover for the mines at Iwanai and departure consequently delayed. My advice is to throw over the Japse. altogether and to go up to Itorofu and make inquiries on our own hook.

Sept. 16.

We were to have started this morning at daylight but put it off on acct. of the Rover not having left. Dined with Howell. The Capt. of the Filipino was there, who said he had brought up the old Prince of Hizen and his followers from Hiogo to Akita; & that the Osaka another steamer was to bring 800 troops more to the same place. He had also been to Takata, the castle town of Sakakibara Shikibutaiyu, occupied by the Southerners. Report there was that the Satsuma troops had been severely defeated outside Niigata with great loss in officers. Nigata is still held by the northerners. Weuve, formerly Fr. Vice Consul at Hakodate, is living at Takata agent to Sakakibara.

Sept. 17.

Left Hakodate about 9. a.m. Fine weather but contrary breeze. Passed close in front of Matsumae about 5 p.m. Large town situated on seashore with Daimio's castle in centre, towering up above the other houses. Hills covered with wood to east & north. Grassy downs on the west.

Sept. 19th.

Reached Kayanoma near Iwanai in Yezo at 6.30 p.m. Distance from Hakodate 175 miles. Much head wind all the way had kept us back; the Rover which left at noon on the 17th arrived on the evening of the 18th, having crept up inshore. The Bay is enormous, being enclosed by the headland of Sanenai on the

N. & by the numerous capes stretching out one after the other to the S. A huge volcano called Shiribetsu appears to overhang the valley at the mouth of which Iwanai lies, and another called Raitendake shows its head just above the hills which run southward of Iwanai. The valley which lies at the back of Iwanai is apparently very available for agriculture. Hills all round covered with wood. Kayanoma lies on the seashore some 5 miles by sea fr. Iwanai. It is a purely Japse. settlement of fishermen. Gower's coal mine lies about two miles up a winding valley, & is not visible fr. the anchorage. The Rover brought up some trucks, iron rails &c. for the tramway which is intended to connect the mine with the beach and other machinery, under the superintendence of a man named Scott brought out here for the purpose. The climate of this place is very cool even in summer; the thermometer falling to 50° Fahr. at night. In winter the cold is intense, to -8° and the ground is covered with snow. Bears abound in the neighbouring hills. Salmon, salmontrout are taken in the river Ishibetsu half way between Iwanai & Kayanoma, & cod, rockcod, iwashi & other fish abound in the bay. Seaslug, awabi and fish manure are exported in large quantities fr. Iwanai.

Sun. Septr. 20.

Horrid bad weather, raining & blowing, so bad to give up the idea of going to Iwanai, but as there are only abt. 30 or 40 Ainos there. The word Aino is the name those people give to themselves & is said to mean man. Japse. are called shamo. A party of us visited the coal mine in the afternoon under Gower's guidance. Sleepers & longitudinal wooden rails have been laid down from the seashore for a distance of about two miles up the valley, & now that the iron rails have arrived in the Rover the tramway will soon be completed. Half a mile from the seashore on the side of the railway stands Gower's house, built & furnished in European fashion of wood. The entrance to the mine is halfway up a very steep hill, up which the tramway cannot be conducted. From the bottom of the hill therefore (three) several gradients have been cut of very steep grade, especially the middle one, and smaller cars are to be run down these by a rope round a drum. The main gallery of the mine 12 ft high by 7 wide already extends some seventy yds. into the hill, & a good deal of coal has been taken out already in making this tunnel; but the beds, of which there are 4, seven feet thick each, have not yet been commenced upon. Gower talks of supplying the whole of China & Japan with coal at \$4 a ton. When the works in progress are finished will be able to extract 200 or 300 tons a day. Very sanguin man. Talks of bringing the coal down in sledges over the snow in winter time. The sides of the valley are gentle inclines, covered with tall impenetrable grass, bound together with the lacquer vine so poisonous to the blood. No Japanese has

ever been five miles from the sea coast, so dense is the jungle. But the soil is rich & easily brought under cultivation; population alone is wanted.

Septr. 21.

Left Iwanai at seven in the morning for Otarunai, distant by the charts only 75 miles. The weather was bad, rainy & easterly breeze, so that when we got abreast of Cape Novosiltsof, it became impossible to continue our course; so ran into Shakotan a little bay on the west side of this cape. Seven Ainos, whom little Harris, a midy, called Indians, came off to the ship. A party of us went on shore about one o'clock. Very rocky place, situated at the mouth of a very narrow valley, with a path up it by the stream leading over the hills. The village contained a big house called an unjoya, and some dozen or two of aino huts, besides a small temple on an island some few yds. fr. the shore; population not exceeding 150, of whom ainos 60. In the centre of a district which is estimated to contain about 2500 souls altogether. In the evening weighed anchor & stood out to sea under a light breeze with the hope of seeing Otarunai, of which we have heard so much, tomorrow morning.

Septr. 22.

Vain hope. Violent wind has sprung up during the night which drives us westward or north westward across the Gulf of Tartary. Otarunai thereby becomes an impossibility. Very rough sea, & sickness as a consequence.

Septr. 23.

Weather moderated this morning & we steamed towards Soya, at about 2.30 p.m. Came in sight of Riishiri, island on the west of Soya, close to entrance of La Perouse straits.

Septr. 24.

Going into Soya bay at six in the morning, fine and water smooth, the ship ran aground about two miles off the village of Soya. Various attempts were made to get her off by laying out anchors at the stern, but one having broken its shaft under the strain, and another having dragged, further experiments were abandoned as futile, especially as the sea began to get up, preventing the pinnace from taking out the best bower anchor. Highwater being about three o'clock violent efforts were made to drive her off by reversing the engines, but all proved of no avail. In the hopes of getting the ship off four of the 32 pr. were thrown over board & 5 more guns landed in the pinnace & a shore boat, but the approach of night put an end to this very soon. I went on shore to endeavour to get some pilots (?) to assist us in landing the ship's stores & to

hire a godown in the village. Before I left the ship, Stephenson confided to me his belief that the vessel would never be got off, and that we shld. all have to sleep ashore the next night. With some difficulty I obtained an interview with an official who happend to be delayed here in his voyage to Sagalin named Hotta Gorozaemon; and tho' he appeared at first inclined to be impudent & refer me to the local officials, I gained the victory over him & he did all that was asked. Rain becoming very violent, I returned to the ship, where I found everybody apparently prepared for the worst, & after dinner everybody began packing up his goods. With the wreck of the Racehorse near Chefoo fresh in my memory, I hardly thought it worth while to make any such preparations but Noguchi did for me. About 9 o'clock a petty official of Soya, accompanied by two Japanese sailors & an Aino came off. Their opinion as inhabitants well accustomed to these waters, was worth listening to, & was certainly not encouraging. The chief boatman declared that he doubted whether the vessel could possibly hold together during the night, & that if the N.W. wind should spring up, her existence wld. be speedily terminated. As this differed slightly fr. our own view of the case, & moreover no boats could be procured to land our baggage, we determined to make the best of it, & try to get off everything early in the morning. The ship bumped heavily all night, breaking both arms of the rudders yoke & springing the jibboom; still she made very little water, not more than a foot per hour, but towards five o'clock in the morning the bottom began to give way under the engine room & speedily split the whole length of that part of the ship. As early as three o'clock the biscuit was all passed up from the breadroom & deposited under tarpauling in a Japse. lighter which had been brought off about 8 o'clock the previous evening; but as the heavy rain obscured the sky, it was judged more prudent to putt off the start till daylight. In the meantime the cutter, which was to have towed this boat in got loose & drifted away fr. the ship to our great anxiety, but luckily she was recovered before seven o'clock. The headman having been landed, the bedding of the crew followed. At six o'clock the engine room was quite full of water, nearly over the cylinder. I went on shore with my own baggage, Noguchi & Admas' teacher about seven. The officials had allotted to us a large house to live in & keep all our stores &c. in, but as it was too small for all of us, I obtained the loan of barracks, situdated in a little gully at the back of the village, at 5 min. walk from the shore. It rained fearfully all day, and we have to remain huddled up in the Unjoya on the wooden floor, round a great fire of logs over which the aino cook was constantly cooking rice & soup for the natives. Everybody was landed by the early part of the afternoon with bag & baggage. On inspecting the barrack which I had borrowed, Stephenson found it too far off to be convenient, & we therefore

applied for other quarters; & had the satisfaction of getting a capital building close to that in wch. the men were lodged. The paper slides were in very bad condition, & could not be mended before the evening; so that most of the officers remained in the Unjoya, lying where they had spread their mattresses [sic.] round the fire. Whilst we were smoking round the fire in the afternoon there came in the young damsel whom we saw yesterday morning. Without the least shyness she sat down by me & commenced to talk. Her father's name is Nozaki & the family has been stationed at Tonnai in Aniwa bay for 8 years; having been previously four years at Hakodate. They are now on their way back to Yedo, & the daughter with her mother & yg. brother are awaiting here the arrival of their father, who is still at Tonnai. Last night few of us had even a wink of sleep, but we all sat up in the wardroom & cabin smoking, feeling not quite at ease in our minds at every bump on the rocks; and I never waited for the dawn with so much impatience or welcomed it so gladly before. By the first boat which went ashore Stephenson despatched a letter to Eusden informing him of the wreck and that all hands were saved; this is to reach Hakodate about the 2nd Octr.; & in the afternoon we sent off a messenger to Shibetsu with letters to Du Petit Thomas of the Duplex and Inouye Iwami to inform them of our disaster; these letters shld. reach their destination about the 3rd or 4th Oct.

Septr. 26.

This morning I climbed the down at the back of the village & walked some distance northwards towards Cape Soya; the surface of the ground is covered with broad leaved bamboo grass (sasa) and dwarf oak, with here & there a juniper tree; paths concealed almost by the grass leading various directions, evidently little frequented; the seashore being used here as in most other parts of Yezo as the ordinary route for travelling. The sea was too rough to allow of any boats putting off to the ship, and the day was spent chiefly in arranging our quarters & pasting up the windows. The centre room of about thirty two mats formed by throwing three into one, is occupied by the wardroom officers as sleeping room & mess quarters; the mats being taken up in the middle for the table at which nine of us can sit and eat. To the left as you enter the house are the storeroom & steward's quarters; then two rooms of 8 mats each occupied by Stephenson, Adams & myself for sleeping quarters. The remainder of the house to the right of the entrance is occupied by the gunroom & engineers messes, with a kitchen in the Japanese style at the end. A verandah enclosed with papered slides runs along the whole of the front & at the back of the rooms are numerous little cupboards & washing places. In the afternoon little Harris the middy went out round the north point & shot three teal, & Adams who went westwards along the beach before breakfast killed some uneatable animal between

a rabbit & a weazel. Salmon are scarce in consequence of the wind. After dinner as we were sitting smoking the steward rushed in & reported the robbery of a cask of beer whiwch had been left in the unjoya by a bluejacket; the executive turned out & arrested the man accused of being the culprit & the whole ship's company was mustered in the moonlight before the unjoya, to the great astonishment of the Ainos, who collected in a crowd and squatted on the ground opposite. There was small inducement for sitting up late & I went to bed before ten like the rest.

Septr. 27.

This morning the thief of beer had three dozen admonished to him on the parade ground in the presence of the ship's company & the assembled population. 'Isowl was horgans!' After breakfast we went along the beach in the direction of Samai towards Cape Soya, Adams with his gun, the produce of which was one solitary gull. The weather was fine and bright, but too windy for any operation on board the wreck. A reef runs along the seashore inside of which the water is extremely shallow. The Downs come quite down to the edge of the water in some places; in others receding a few hundred yards and leaving the path room to run along a solid ground. Off C. Soya is a large rock about a mile from the shore, shaped like a lion couchant. A few Aino huts in one or two places along the shore.

Septr. 28 & 29th.

First day bright & fine. Landing gear from the ship all day long; great excitement on the part of the boatmen &c. because our people had taken possession of the junk in wch. Hotta was going over to Sagalien. Following day confoundedly cold with violent rain; nevertheless landing gear went on at a great rate. Begin to feel anxious about provisions & relief; unless we make arrangements at once for a supply of rice, we shall have nothing to eat during the winter.

Septr. 30.

Walked along the beach eastward with Adams in pursuit of game this afternoon, with bad success. Seeing some ducks on the water a good way from the shore, beckoned to an Aino who was sculling a canoe along to take us out in order that Adams might have a shot; but as soon as we got on board the wretched craft it began to fill, and the poor Aino was put to a great deal of trouble to plug up the holes in the sides thro' wch. the water was rushing in. The canoe was made of very light planks fastened together with iron nails at the stern, but along the sides with stringt passed thro' an infinite no. of holes bored at

the edge of the planks. So we judged it safer to get out & proceed on foot again to the point, where we lay down in the grass, & Adams told stories of diplomatic life in Paris & Washington.

Octr. 1.

This morning I met the damsel & saluted her as usual & had just passed her train, when a little boy rushed after me & said he was brother to her; that she was slightly out of her mind & begged me not to take any more notice of her. I said "very sorry for you" & promised to say no more to her. At first I thought this only a dodge to prevent our becoming intimate, but a Japse. who came to talk to me while I was basking on the steps of the temple of Benten in the afternoon confirmed the story of her insanity, which he said had commenced abt. a year previously. Probably nymphomania. My resolution was tested very strongly a few hours later, when she came to the temple & sat down by my side; but I answered her as shortly as I could & continued to read. She made a bow as she moved away, with a look as if she did not comprehend my silence. After that was over, I went into the unjoya & talked to a fellow there abt. the Ainos. He said that they are very docile & that the number of bad characters is but small. Nearly all the fullygrown males work willingly at the fishery for the sake of the allowance of rice, the tobacco, pipes & pipe cases & clothing wch. they get. The quantity of rice exceeds what a man can consume, being 7 1/2 per diem of hulled rice; the old & infirm are fed gratis, but the women & children have to be supported on the surplus of the men's allowances. Snow lies to the depth of four feet in winter time on the seashore, & sledges are then put in requisition as a means of carrying; leather shoes and snow shoes are worn, the former over hard snow, the latter over drifts.

Octr. 8.

The weather during the last week has been splendid; hot suns and little wind; & calm seas which facilitated much the landing of ship's gear &c. Snipe & Plover have been shot in sufficient numbers to give us a dish of game at dinner two nights out of three. The seine has been drawn every day at the mouth of the little stream which runs into the sea on the western side of Soya, supplying the table with abundance of flatfish and other varieties. But all these resources have been quite eclipsed by the discovery of the salmon fishing at Koetoi ten miles across the bay. A visit was paid to this place about the 5th by the cutter and dingy, and these boats returned late at night with about 150 large salmon, weighing up to 20 lb. according to the acc. of the sub. lieut. accompanying the boats; about half of these fish were caught in our seine & the rest obtained from the Ainos by the payment of three boos; but the truth seems

to have been that only 24 were caught by our people, & those even were taken inside the Ainos' nets. But as the Japanese at the factor's house here had concealed the existence of this fishery and refused to supply us tho' we offered to pay for the fish, no great wrong was done. The Ainos were no losers, as they were only fishing for their master the factor. Yesterday morning the cutter & dirgy started before dawn & Stephenson, Adams & myself followed abt. 1/4 to ten in the whale boat. It took us an hour & three quarters to get across, with five men pulling. We steered in a direct line fr. Soya with the point where the southern limb of Riishiri comes down to the hills of Cape Nosshap. On our arrival at Koetori, the wreck was no longer visible, her hull being entirely hid by the dip, and the lowermasts, all what remains still standing, invisible against the hills of Soya. There is a factor's house at Koetori and over a dozen Aino huts. A river some 30 yds. broad issues into the sea from behind a sort of sandy spit; it is navigable for 5 miles in boats, to where it issues from a large marsh, wh. is also said to be navigable for about four miles in a direct line. Two fishing boats lay about five hundred yds. off the mouth, busily engaged in hauling in the salmon, of which large quantities were being salted in stacks in a warehouse or hanging out to dry in the sun on frames. From information obtd. on the spot we found that the fishing season has already lasted for 10 days, & that 10,000 fish have been already taken; and as the fishery still continue abt. 10 days, at least 15000 will be the entire product. Most of these are cleaned & salted for the Yedo market, and the kippered salmon finds its way to Hakodate & Matsumae. There are two other places this side of Cape Nosshap called Yamuwakkanai (or Yamakanai) and Tobennai, at which the fishery is stated to be equally productive. Round the headland is a herring fishery. Our seine was dragged in the river, & brought in a large quantity of flatfish and a fish called ugoi by the Japanese, besides a few of the ugly animals called toad fish, which of a truth are like toads with a tail. They have the power of inflating their bellies enormously, & bite like sharks. We provided ourselves with salmon in the same manner as on the previous occasion, & left a little before two. The return voyage was about three hours, owing to an abortive attempt at sailing and a headwind.

Octr. 9.

We had just finished breakfast this morning, when a shout was heard outside that the smoke of a steamer was visible. Everybody ran out to look in great excitement, and we perceived with gr. difficulty a little puff of smoke on the horizon, now showing itself & then dying away. Gradually it came closer & closer. Someone from the wreck had seen from the maintop a large steamer rounding the point. Various conjectures. Adams & Stephenson set off in a boat

to meet it as soon as it was made out for certain to be the Dupleix. She came nearer and anchored abt. 2 1/2 miles off the shore as I shld. judge. Dupetit Thouars came ashore with Stephenson, and it was arranged after a little discussion that we shld. all embark by night & start next morning. Which we did, to my great joy and relief, for I had resolved to offer to remain if only a part of us went. Dupetit Thouars's kindness extreme. He gave up his stern cabin to Stephenson & ourselves; 4 wardroom officers accommodated in the wardroom &c &c. More than anything English captain cld. or wld.

Octr. 12.

Arrived at Hakodate at 7 a.m. Stephenson, Adams & I going to visit the Chifuji; met him on the road coming to us on board; so we all turned into the Consulate & took possession thereof for the space of an hour. Niigata is taken by the Imperialists & the foreigners there have had to leave without bringing anything away. Some say that their loss amounts to between 3 & 400,000 dollars. Don't believe it! Tabre told me this. He advises me to get a letter of introduction fr. Grenet at Yokohama to his brother-in-law in Paris, Mr. Chauvin of the Ottoman Embassy in Paris.

Octr. 17.

Returned [to] Yokohama. Arrived at 2 p.m. Ocean already sailed for Hakodate with letters & clothes on board for us.

1 April.

Lunched with the Ottleys. Ambro' came. He said Leyden had told him he need only write his name on the princes, & asked me what had to be done. I said that when I came people said I must ask for an audience of the Princes, thro' their respective grand masters.

2 April.

Miss Weston brought an American girl named Anna Northend Benjamin, on the apparent pretext that she wanted to know abt. the early Christians in Japan & their rediscovery in 1867. So I talked freely to them, took them upstairs, showed them books, & lent them Stewart Rose's Loyola & Coleridge's Xavier. As they were going, Miss B. asked for information abt. the Japanese army, for which I referred her to Col. Buck. This made me suspect her to be a news paper correspt.

Lunched at the Keys. Mrs. Bruce left cards on the Awdrys, we then went to Visctess Aoki's reception, and then to Uyeno, where we found half a dozen blossoms of higan-zakura. There has been fine warm weather since March 31, consequence the buds of the cherrytrees are almost bursting.

Stone came, and gave me some information about telegraphs, to be used confidentially.

Dinner, at wch. Justice & Mrs. Chubb of Townsville came.

3 April.

Bonar & Warrender came to call after lunch. W. thinks the Japanese can only carry out a fixed plan, & are not equal to a sudden emergency, e.g. Battle of Yalu. They had got up a chapter of naval tactics, which they used on the Chinese, the latter being obliging enough to stay in one spot to have the chapter applied to them. Bonar says that the Japanese are very hard up. They have to find 32,000,000 yen, & do not know where to turn for the money.

Took Mrs. Bruce to call on Mrs. Buck.

Dined at Leydens to meet Ad. Bendemann & Capt. von Usedom, the former with a face like a fox, the latter a good fellow.

Leyden says Aoki told him the news fr. Corea in the papers abt. the Masanpho affair being settled is not correct.

Bruces went down by 11.25 train.

d'Anethan brought his circular about Kuroda and his Sugawara Michizane affair. I said I wld. speak to Yoshida Yosaku and suggest that he should tell Kuroda not to bother about the diplomats joining.

Okuma came to call. Said that there was no trouble abt. the Masanpho affair, but the Japse. people, the army & navy would not allow the Govt. to stand quietly by & see Corea fall into the hands of Russia; the historical interest of Japan in Corea. Japan cld. carry on for a year without exhaustion, & it wld. cost her abt. 150,000 000 yen, to Russia 5 times as much. He said also that Japan wld. have to go into the market again 2 or 3 yrs. hence. So I told him the reason of the partial failure of the last loan, it being entrusted to Banks without any standing in the financial world, & 2ndly the annoyance on the part of fianciers connected with the Eastern Trade by the action of the Govt. in the matter of leases in perpetuity. As to this he remarked that the Treaties being outside & above the Codes, it was a mistake to try & apply them, when an administration order wld. have been enough. Japan ought to allay all apprehension on the part of foreigners, encourage capital, & not think to get the latter without foreign superintendece.

I talked abt. beef-eating & substitution of alphabet for Chinese characters, & found him in agreement. It wld. seem as if he had been reading all the newspapers & absorbing all the best ideas he found in them.

One remarkable statement he made was that the Legislation Bureau was full of jo-i-ka.

Dined at the Whiteheads. Tea c. Mrs. Kirkwood.

5 April.

To Aoki. Talked abt. Ad. getting inside the breakwater, and Formosa tea-duty, as to wch. he alleged 'geographical considerations'. Told him the diff. made was quite contrary to Treaty, that he certainly could not show any similar action on the part of the Gr. Britain, & that its motive was to favour Osaka Kisen Kaisha at the expense of an English line of steamers from Tamsui to Amoi.

Masanpho. The question is not quite settled. The Russians have undertaken to content themselves c. a piece of ground within Treaty limits, but wish to couple it with a condition that the island they had previously demanded shall not be given to any one else. The negotiations were being kept very secret. I remarked that agreements of the nature proposed by the Russians were often construed into a right of pre-emption or refusal in the behalf of the party to whom the declaration was made.

Called on Mme. Guhler.

6-9 [April]

At Chiuzenji with Ottleys & Cheetham, returning to Tokio on morning of 9th.

10 "

Churchill started off on his tour to the western military districts.

11 "

Asina came. No particular news, brought photographs of Iyeyasu & Hidetada from original portraits in the possession of the head of the Tokugawa house.

12 "

To Aoki. He talked abt. difficulty of persuading Ad. Mori, harbourmaster at Yokohama, to let "Barfleur" in; the principal pre-occupation of the latter being lest too many men of war shld. come to Yokohama if things were made pleasant for them. I told him the refusal had first been made on the ground of want of space, then on that of weakness of buoy-cables, now he told me the obstinacy of the harbour master was in fault. These were mere subterfuges (he himself said they were made Redensarten), the motive at bottom was mere refusal; this was in such marked contrast with the facilities afforded in England to Japse. men of war that the Ad. & I felt surprised. When I recd. his final reply, I wld. send the whole home. I did not suppose that our people wld. retaliate, but they wld. have much less pleasure in according these facilities than hitherto.

Consular convention. Asked whether he was ready to sign. Thereupon he said that Uchida had been instructed to let me know that effect, & he understood had informaed Lay. I replied that all he had told Lay was that the Cabinet had approved the draft. Asked whether telegraphic full powers wld. suffice, he said yes. So I said I wld. teleg.

India. The Hosei Kioku still objecting. Wanted to know whether Germany & Belgium had accepted the reservations. So he telegraphed to London to inquire, & found the treaties had not been negotiated. I rejoined that the delay had nothing to do with the Indian reservations, but was a question of commercial advantages. As I was leaving in three weeks, it seemed unlikely that we cld. sign, but whenever he informed Whitehead that he was ready to sign, we shld. be prepared. I let him know clearly that we wld. make no further alteration, & manifested complete indifference.

Audience of Emperor before leaving. He says Emperor is to leave for Kobe abt. 22nd. So agreed to send in a Note at once asking for audience of T.M.M.

Masanpho. He feigned to know very little of what is being done betw. Koreans & Russians, the negotiations being secret, but he understood Pavloff had asked for the exclusive right to carry on mining, wch. wld. mean a monopoly opposed to the interest of other nationalities.

Dined at Gembei con tutti e tre.

14 April.

The Bruces came up to lunch, and I drove them about the town to see the cherry-blossoms, wch. were at their best a week earlier. Showed him my correspce. with Aoki abt. "Barfleur" being admitted inside breakwater, and promised him copies.

Buck brought Ad. J.C. Watson U.S.N. and my old Montevideo friend James McQueen Forsyth of the "Tallapoosa", now commanding the cruiser "Brooklyn", to call.

15 April.

Japse. dinner given by Kondo Rempei of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, to d'Anethan, Harmand, Orfini, Buck & myself previous to his taking a trip to U.S. & Europe. Brinkley & Glover there also. A really pleasant entertainment. His new house is a beautiful example of Japanese domestic architecture.

Lunched with the d'Anethans, a party. Aoki and Katsura have given Leyden satisfaction in regard to his recent affair at Oji with a cadet, and declared that no official report was addressed to the Ministry of War by the latter. The rlwy. people ar enow very polite to L.

16 "

A Mr. Randolph Berens with a letter fr. Thomas Blow called after lunch, and sat an hour and a half talking politics: tall man of abt. 50, member of Boddles'.

Returned cards of American Admiral, Forsyth & officers, and left cards for the Miyaokas. Called on Mrs. Lay.

17 "

Went to Yokohama. Ordered photos of Japanese scenery at Tamamura's for Rein & icho at Kamakura for Mitford, to be made if they can get permission. Lunched with Wylie at the Club. To C.P.R. office about my passage, and to Bank abt. money. Dined at the Kagawas.

18 "

Rev. Mr. Scott & Borden of Canadian mission came about income tax, to ask my

opinion on various points. Their own salaries - the portion retained at home for the education of their children - on rents of houses belonging to the mission & not occupied by missions - Borden as engaged in educational work thought his salary would be exempt as 'educational funds.' Whitehead was present.

Lunched with Cheetham. Tea with Mrs. Kirkwood and ball at Chinese Legation.

19 "

Called on the Shaws & Awdrys to say good bye.

20 "

Luncheon at Yamagata's Mejiro villa. Besides Whitehead, Cheetham, Lay & myself, there were Baron Hayashi the new Minr. to London, Kirkwood, Baelz & Loenhohm, Aoki, Takahira, Uchida & Col. Fukushima. Cherry garden party. In the morning it was very sunny & hot, temperature 70 °, but it clouded over in the afternoon and the thermometer fell to 55 °, but there was no rain.

Dined with Barreras.

21 April.

Lunched at the Bucks to meet Admiral Watson who was out here in 1871 and knew Hoffmann Atkinson, C.T. Shepard, & Elliot the dentist. He asked abt. probabilities of war betw. Japan & Russia. I said that in my opinion there was no danger from this side, and that the idea of Japan desiring to forestal the completion of the Siberian railway had been exploded by the results of the war of 1894-5. Took in a Mrs. Roswell Skeek, who with her husband, is travelling, a very bright & clever talker, of a literary family.

Dined at Gembei for the last time con tutti e tre; said nothing about possibility of not returning, as in fact since the last teleg. I have heard nothing.

22 "

Heavy rain all day till afternoon. Lunched with the d'Anethans. Cholmondeley & the Whiteheads to dinner.

23 "

Left a card on Barrera. Parlett & Crowe to dinner.

24 "

Farewell audience of the Emperor and Empress. They both sent messages to

the Queen, and expressed a hope to see me back soon. I said I should faithfully report their messages to the Queen, and that I should be glad to come back soon. They did not ask me 'when' I should return.

Called on Mrs. Buck and said good bye to her. Left a card on Cholmondeley. Dined at Oyamas, a farewell to myself; Whiteheads, Ottleys, Okura Kihachiro who is also going on the 4th May, Baelz, Dr. Ariga the international law professor.

25 "

R.J. Kirby came; at his request I gave him a letter of introduction to Furuichi, the Vice Minr. of Communications.

Consular convention. Took teleg. reed. this morning fr. F.O. authorizing me to sign, and arranged that the signature should be tomorrow afternoon with Aoki.

Deposit of costs. Upton's case. Uchida came in & asked Aoki to explain how it had happened. A. seem rather vexed, and told U. to write to the Minr. of Justice and say that it ought not to have been done. Uchida talked some rubbish abt. reciprocity, wh. I told him had nothing to do with the question. Agreed that it wld. be all right if on appeal the judgt. of the Court below was upset.

India. Same objections on part of Bureau of legislation, very strong. But A. thought we need not feel any anxiety at the delay, as we shld. see later on when German or Belgian Treaty was signed.

I said I was not very desirous of signing. Only if the German or Belgian Treaty were signed first we shld. then not care to sign our exchange of notes, but put the reservations into the protocol, just as in the other Treaties they wld. form part of the main instruments.

He reflected & said tht wld. not matter, as he had only suggested the exchange of notes as a way out of the difficulty.

Masampho. Has nothing certain, but believes that in return for Corea promising not to cede Kojedo to any other power, the Russians give a 'self-denying' undertaking never to ask for anything in connexion with the island for themselves. Pavloff has asked for 300,000 tsubo of land.

Called on the Keys.

Aoki said the Emperor remarked to him that I had seemed uncertain whether I shld. come back or not. I said I had merely replied that I hoped to, as indeed I shld. much prefer to do, but had heard nothing certain. It had occurred to me that perh. he had mentioned his proposal to make Embassies in Lond. & I had said to Lord S. that I placed myself at his disposition if he wished to make a change. A. replied that nothing had been done, but he had heard from Paris that Harmand had been writing home greatly pressing it. He intended to instruct

Hayashi to mention the subject to Lord Salisbury. He added that I seemed to be just the man suited for Japan.

The Ottleys to dinner.

26 "

Dined with the d'Anethans, and went with them to the amateur performance of Charlie's aunt.

Sined with Aoki the convention for protection of the property of deceased persons.

27 "

Went to Yoko. Stirred up Tamamura about my photographs. He said they went to Tokio yesterday.

Lunched on board "Barfleur" with Ad. Bruce, and met Ad. Sir Ed. Fremantle. Cradock, Comr. of "Alacrity" was at Bangkok in the "Linnet" when I was there, then udner Marrack's command, dined with me and played whist. Went to "Centurion" to see Sir Ed. Seymour, who was bad with a cold in the head. Showed him my despatch about "Barfleur" coming inside the breakwater during repairs, with which he agreed.

In the forenoon I had recd. a note from him based on imperfect information, in wch. he expressed a good deal of dissatisfaction at my sending the correspondence home, but that misunderstanding was entirely cleared up. We discussed other matters, & then I went ashore with Ad. Fremantle to call on Lady Pelly, who has just arrived fr. England. A. Michie is writing the life of Sir Rutherford Alcock, and she asked me to look through the chapter on Japan, wch. I did & made some corrections, returning it to her this morning.

Brought Ad. Fremantle up. He sleeps here and has his meals with the Whiteheads, she being his niece.

Dined at the Aokis, a farewell dinner to Orfini and myself.

28 "

Randolph Berens to lunch. He brought some bits of Japanese tapestry and other curios to show. Began leaving p.p.c. cards on colleagues and cabinet ministers. Asaina 300.

29 "

Lunched with d'Anethans, and went with her to the Perrys, for music by Junker, Crusen and Miss Koda. Dined with the Whiteheads.

Last Sunday at St. Andrews. The Bishop preached a striking sermon on the 139 Psalm. The hymns were Rock of Ages, Thro' the night of doubt & sorrow, &

the King of Love my Shepherd is.

30 "

Luncheon at Okuma's with a diplomatic party. Called on Lloyds and Mrs. Kirkwood. Dined with Baelz.

May 1.

David Peacock, Ch. Engineer of the "Alacrity" called. Then young C.M. Hay, a son of one of the Hayes who was here two years ago called, and, Leyden coming in, did not know how to take leave. Leyden came to speak about the surgeons in charge of the different naval hospitals at Yokohama being called on to pay income-tax. Told him I had heard nothing about it. Roger C. Parr, a young man who has just left Oxford, came with a letter from Allen Shand, to lunch. In the afternoon continued calls. Dined with the Whiteheads.

May 2.

Little Y. Fukai called to try and find out whe[ther] I am coming back to Tokio. Told him nothing was certain.

Capt. Begbie-Steward Late 1st Sherwood Foresters called. Said I had been kind to him in Tangier.

Asaina came to say good bye. Does not think any change in Cabient immediately impending.

Ad. Seymour came to lunch, and the Whiteheads. I told him of the proposal of Lord Salisbury to send me to Peking, and that I planned reaching Hong Kong about beginning of October to visit Canton, coast & river ports. He wld. be able to give me a man of war if it were made official. He told me of the arrangements for patrolling West River; the launches requiring protection to keep to one strictly defined route. Cooperation of the Chinese required, any kind of vessel to carry their flag and so give a colour of legality to repressive attacks on piraate villages. Seems to doubt the likelihood of a general insurrection. Li Hung chang cannot be got to take any steps, & the Chinese Admiral, who seems an honest man, declares they have neither men, money nor gunboats. Reorganization of Chinese navy. E.H.S. thinks we shld. try to secure this by all means, and suggests Mris Bay as headquarters: or else Foochow, but the former preferred, on acct. of French at the Foochow arsenal. Foochow is strongly fortified impregnable if defended by a few resolute men. Samsa wld. cost an immense sum. Hope's Inlet wld. excite Russian jealousy, as they have their eye on the Miaotas Isl. He thinks I ought to go up Yangtze as far as Ichang, giving a fortnight to Yangtze, & see Changchitung, also Lin Kun-yi if possible. Naval demonstration off Taku happily at an end. Lying there,

practically out of sight of land & invisible from it, he does not think it can effect much impression.

Capt. Callaghan & Lt. Hulbert of the "Endymion" called. The latter was at Montevideo in "Sirius."

Went to see Ito. He said in reply to my observation that all seemed quiet in the Far East, that one could not tell how long it wld. last. Anxious to see the war in South Africa brought to a close. As to war, I said no one cld. suppose it was to the advantage of Japan to fight Russia. Yet many people talked abt. it. Japan & Russia as to Corea like England & France as to Siam, a pretty woman with two suitors; no need however to come to blows. One thing however seemed clear, Russian regarded Japan as the only obstacle to her designs in the Far East. All this he agreed with, but seemed to imply that there was a strong sentiment in Japan in favour of fighting among the non-responsible classes.

He said he hoped I was coming back. He talked Japse. most of the time. I told him there would be several vacancies this year & a general post, so that I was not of certain as to the future. Altogether he was cordial, but seemed to think nothing mattered much, and the land agitation at Yoko. he regarded as a trifling. I said the Custom house was sometimes vexatious.

Shaw, who came in the morning to say good bye, told me that I was well spoken of by all classes of Japanese, from the highest to the lowest, who thought I was better able than others to understand and sympathize with them. It was however different in the case of the B.Ss. at Yoko. who always expected the Minister to adopt all their views. I explained to him the land question, & he agreed that from an outsider's point of view, the building tax cld. not be escaped.

Demand on Doctors in charge of hospitals for income tax. Ad. Seymour had not heard of it. Doyne had said nothing to him. He thought the demand indefensible, as they pay income tax at home.

Called on Baroness Sannomiya.

Dined at d'Anethans, a farewell to Orfini & myself.

May 3.

Sannomiya called. He was looking rather ill and bent, but otherwise quite himself. He wished particularly to be remembered to Aston & the Jerseys. Spoke with apprehension abt. the possibility of my not coming back, to wch. I replied that I shld. never ask to be removed, but that I cld. not say for certain, & shld. not know till I got home. He confirmed Ito's language abt. everything being quiet at present, but impossible to say when the situation may change, & he told me a story of a letter from Lord Jersey written after their

great successes in 1895, and advising Japan not to ask for territory but to exact a large indemnity, as the former wld. cause trouble fr. other PP. This letter arrived when the negotiations had already begun, but he took it off to Mutsu & Ito; unluckily it was too late, as the negotiations had already begun for the cession of Liaotung Peninsula.

Lunched with Princess Arisugawa, her husband being with the Emperor. Orfini, the Hayashis, Todas, Mayedas, Tanakas. She was very gracious, spoke a great deal about the kindness of Prince and Princes of Wales to Arisugawa when he was last in London, & begged that I wld. say so if I had an opportunity; that he was always talking abt. them. Tanaka said he had been talking to Ito yesterday about me, and they had both agreed that my not returning here was much to be deprecated on Japan's account. I said that there were several vacancies, & I did not know whether I shld. be sent back here or not, but I was only the faithful representative of the friendly feeling of England, and whether I came back or not, would make no difference. He also regretted that I cld. not stay for the Crown Prince's wedding, but I explained that I had already put off my departure on acct. of it, and then the wedding had been postponed, so that I cld. not help myself, all arrangements having been made. If I had again put it off, I shld. lose my opportunity, and not be able to get away for another six weeks.

Matsugata came to say good bye. Cannot get away to the French Exhibition. The loan was made just at the right time; three days more delay, and they would not have got it.

Went to Fujimi cho to say good bye.

Dined with Cheetham.

4 May.

By 9.25 to Yokohama along with Orifini. Lots of people to say good bye. d'Anethans and the Legation with us. Saw Gubbins for a few moments; he went off in the "Centurion" to Wei-hai-wei, no time for any talk. Told him abt. Peking, of wch. he evidently had not heard. Lunched with Bonar and went off in the "Endymion" barge. Left a quarter to five, the Endymion & an Italian man of war firing salutes as we passed. "Empress of India", Marshall.

1 Dec. Bright clear morning. Wrote a letter early & took it to G.P.O. for the 9.50 post. Read the rest of Psalm 102 in the Russian Bible. Lighted the furnace. Read some of Grey's book. Sent to Hugh Luce's St. Mark for the twins. After lunch walked up West Hill to Oaklands and back, 1 1/4 hr. and had a nap. After tea fin[ished] vol. 1 of Grey's book. At 6.15 a planet (? Mars) and seven big stars shining brightly. Then began vol. II, and read his speech of Aug. 3, 1914 in the House of Commons. Two nights ago began "The Fortunes of Nigel" in bed. Abandoned the Six old English Chronicles and William of Malmesbury, which I do not find interesting. Started Tommy Case's edition of The Advancement of Learning and The New Atlantis. 2 Dec. Hard frost. Read Psalm 103 in the Russian Bible. Received Asquith's "Genesis of the War" from the London Library. Went on reading Grey's vol. II, which is excellent. There was a wren in my bedroom this morning, but when I opened the window it flew away; it must have been there all night. Lawrie & Josephine brought over Mabel Ching to lunch. We motored afterwards to Sidmouth, where L. & J. went to call on Miss Thornton, formerly of Chriselhurst, which [sic.] Mabel & I had a chat with Mrs. Mills formerly of Kenandy. Then we came back. It was a cloudy afternoon, with a little drizzle. Reveiver from Hatchard vol. XI of British Documents on the Origins of the War. Mabel and I exchanged greetings on the esplanade with Mary D. who is stay[ing] at 4 York Terrace. After tea read a chapter of Grey and had a nap till 6 o'cl. Read some chapters of Grey and skipped several. A cloudy and dark evening. After dinner began Asquith's Genesis of the war, and read to Chap. XV; the account of the work of the "Committee of Imperial Defence." is admirable. Dedication of the Advancement of learning to King James I in very flattering terms. 3rd Dec. Cloudy and damp, mild. Read about half of the 104 Psalm in the Russian Bible. Received from Commin 1607 Venice editionof Arioste, and Pickering's edition of Bacon's Essays and Wisdom of the Ancients. The Novum Organum in English and The Advancement of Learning. Miller & Lilley delivered 2 tons of coke, and I carried in a basketful of fire-wood. Cloudy afternoon. Walked past Black Hill Cottages to Pitham Lane & back in 55 min. and then had nap. Sidebotham came about six & found my temperature and pulse quite normal, also my heart in good order. About 6.30 finished Asquith's "Genesis of the war.["] He quotes a good deal that one has already read elsewhere. Before going to dress began "British documents on the origins of the War[", vol. XI, by Headlam Morley. After dinner took up

Bacon's Advancement of learning. At 10 o'cl. Orion and other constellations and a planet shining brightly. 4 Dec. Cloudy morning, mild. Finished Psalm 104 in the Russian Bible. Sent cheques for subscriptions payable in December, but none to All Saints, Detchingham as Evie has left there. Brought in a basket of firewood. Took three Literary Supplements to Stallard. Went on reading Headlam-Morley till lunch. Afterwards walked to Pitt Farm and back in a little over an hour, very mild temperature, a good long nap when I returned. Went on reading Headlam-Morley till I had to dress for dinner. After dinner went on reading "The Advancement of Learning." A cloudy and dull night, not a single star visible. 5 Dec. Rainy, foggy & mild. Walked home after the communion service with Farmer Lawrence & his good looking daughter, discussing apples. Humphrey was to have lunched here today, but telephoned thro' the police that his car broke down yesterday, and he had not been able to get it right. Took two letters to the post, one before mattins, one after lunch. Prought in some King of Tompkins County, also Duke of Devonshire. Then slept on the sofa for nearly an hour. After tea continued reading Headlam-Morely till 6 o'clock. A cloudy and dull evening. Went on with the Advancement of Learning, Bk. II, very difficult and obscure. 6 Dec. Clear morning, but clouded over at breakfast time, cleared again later on in the morning. Read Psalm 105 in the Russian Bible. Brought in a basketful of fire-wood. Read some of Headlam-Morley. After lunch walked up Rill Lane to Cold Harbour lane, back by Long dog-lane and up past thje church home, in 1 hr. 10 min. Sunny and mild. Headlam-Morley till six o'clock. At 7 o'clock. a clear sky. 2 planets and some stars shining. Till dinner-time occupied with the Advancement of Learning. After dinner got down Lavengro, and began to read it again after the lapse of over twenty years, or five more, when Dr. Poole of the Legation, read it to me as I lay in bed suffering from pneumonia; and now it all seems quite new to me. 7 Dec. A white frost. Cloudy morning & some mist. Read Psalm 106 in the Russian Bible. Brought in a basketful of firewood as usual. Went on reading Headlam-Morley till 3.30 when Maud was announce[d]. Walked to Sidling Field from 2.30 to 3. So we had tea at 4, and I escorted Maud to the station to catch the 5.21 train. Left off reading Headlam-Morley at 6.15. Skipped over the latter part of "the advancement of learning," then looked at "Essays" and "Novum Organum", which have a tiresome appearance, so put all three volumes away on a shelf. After dinner went on with Lavengro, truly a most delightful book. 8 Dec. A fine dear morning. Moved into the drawing-room, in order to have the study chimney swept. Read Psalm 107 in the Russian Bible. After lunch walked to Pithing Lane and back. A bright sunny cloudless afternoon, mild. Headlabm-Morley's book, omitting the appendixes, finished by six o'clock. At 7 o'clock several planets and a host of stars shining. Before dinner finished vol. 1 of

Lavengro, and afterwards rapidly read a large part of vol. 2. Then embarked on Coupland's "Raffles", an excellent piece of work, lent me by L.B. Cholomondely, a friend of the author. 9th Dec. Cloudy and mild. Wrote letters & took them down to the P.O. Went on reading Coupland's "Raffles". After lunch went down town and walked round the Hilly Field to North Street. Got back into the study at 3.30, feeling rather feeble. After tea finished Coupland's "Raffles", a very remarkable man. At 9.30 finished vol. 2 of Lavengro, and began vol. 3. A great deal of this book I had forgotten, and no wonder, as it is five and twenty years since I last read it. A cloudy dark sky, no stars to be seen. 10th Dec. A cloudy morning, very mild. Read Psalm 108 in the Russian Bible. Walked up to Sidling Field and back. Brought in a basketful of firewood. Jasminum nudiphylltum beginning to blossom. After lunch walked to Aflington Inn & back, about 1 hr. 20 min., and then had a good nap. After tea wrote a long letter to Temperley and taking it to the box in the wall fell in with Basil who had come by the 5.21 train. So he came up with me, and after an hour's chat, he left to catch the 7.19 to Sidmouth. A dull, cloudy night. After dinner went on with Lavengro. 11 Dec. Grey cloudy morning. Read half of Psalm 109 in the Russian Bible. Went to Manley and got a big bottle of Swan ink. Catalogue came from Elkin Matthews out of which I cut some items which I possess of rare books. Afternoon, up to the lane, Sidling Field, past Holcombe Barton, by the road, down to Yonder Street and home, a little over 1 hr., then a nap. Book prices from a catalogue of E. Hector Birmingham, noted. Made out a list of vegetable and flower seeds to be sent to Suttons. Went on reading Lavengro. Night cloudy and dull. Finished Lavengro at 9.25. The book ends quite abruptly. Then began "The Romany Rye." 12 December. Morning sky overcast and East Hill wrapped in fog. Finished Psalm 109 in the Russian Bible. Wrote a letter to Humphrey and took it down to the post, later on walked up to Sidling Field with the vicar whom I fell in with on the way. When I got home found that Humphrey had arrived on a motor-bicycle, so gave him tea, and sent him off a little after five, his distance back is 55 miles along the high road. Read a couple of chapters of the Romany Rye, and then started a re-perusal of G.M. Trevelyan's History of England. Humphrey is a very good looking fellow; he tells me that he is learning Spanish at the Engineering College, and that he can speak French fairly well. Read more of Borrow till bedtime. Dull cloudy night, no stars nor moon. 13 Dec. Morning overcast, mild. Posted Freese's Russian dictionary to Maltby of Oxford to be repaired. Went to hunt up Mary D. at Paxford House but did not find her. Ozanam came back from Maltby, very neatly bound. Brought in a basketful of firewood. Copied out from Horace the references to the Britains and gummed the slip into Trevelyan. Read a couple of chapters of The Romany Rye before lunch. After lunch walked to Sidling Field and back, and when I got

back had 1/2 hr's nap on the sofa. Walked to the station to meet Olga who was coming from Oxford, & was due here at 5.21. Read the rest of vol. 1 of the Romany Rye, and after dinner began vol. II. The sky at night was overcast, neither moon nor stars visible. 14 Dec. Morning sky overcast. Brought in some Adams' Pearmain, King of Tompkins County, Ellison's Orange, Cox's Pomona. Read Psalms 110 & 111 in the Russian Bible. Cut four Iris stylosa from the front of the study window. Lawrie & Josephine came to lunch, and afterwards we all motored together to Escot vicarage to a sale got up by Miss Kennaway. After we got back Olga and I walked up to Sidling Field and back. After tea read a great piece of ["The Romany Rye." The sky overcast at night, neither moon nor stars visible. 15 Dec. Bright sunny morning, frosty. Read Psalms 112 & 113 in the Russian Bible. Before lunch walked up to Sidling Field and back, calling at Mary D's site on the way, whom I found planting apple trees. After lunch I finished the appendix to "Romany Rye". Very frosty morning. We went to a tea party at Egland given by Mrs. Randall Johnson, where we met her brother Admiral Russelle, a Mrs. Crawford from Hawkchurch, Mr & Mrs Wingfield of Heavifree (he is a member of the Blind Institution committee.) Mrs. Hext, Lady Sidmouth, her mother Lady Johnstone, Mrs. Hext, Miss Monteath, Rev. Sanders of Whimble. A lovely afternoon, gorgeous sunset, very cold. Got home at 5.30, a bright full moon and a planet. Began to read the Prelude. At dinner time stars, planets and moon shining brightly. After dinner went on with The Prelude. When I went up at 10 o'clock. Orion was showing thro' the staircase window. 16 Dec. White frost, sunny morning. Wrote & posted 3 letters. ice [sic.] 1.2 in. thick. Brought in some firewood. Read a little of The Prelude. After lunch Olga and I walked to the station to meet Norah, who came by the 2.20, & we drove up, but Olga walked. Before tea I walked up to Sidling Field and back, having fallen asleep over the Prelude. Mary D. came to tea. There was a great deal of talk about house-planning and knitting jumpers and bed-socks. At 6 o'clock. the moon, three planets and some stars shining, but at 10 o'clock. the sky overcast. After dinner more of the Prelude. At dinner we had some Ry[e] vita crispbread, Swedish Ryebread. 17 Dec. Overcast morning, mild temperature. Read Psalms 114 & 115 in the Russian Bible. And the paper on the Prelude in Falloden Papers. Then walked up to Sidling Field & back. Some firewood brought in from the coachhouse. After lunch we walked to Pitham Lane & back, one hour. Maud and Ernest Allen walked over to tea, and left for Sidmouth by the 5.41 train. Began Seton-Watson's Sarajevo, very complicated history of Balkan affairs till dressing for dinner. Sky overcast at ten o'clock. Finished the Prelude before going to bed. 18 Dec. Sunny morning. Read Psalms 116 & 117 in the Russian Bible. Olga went off to Sidmouth by the 11.15 train. I walked back home, and went on with Seton-Watson's "Sarajevo."

After lunch we walked up the lane round by Holcombe Barton into the road, and as far as Sadler's to see whether my watch was right. After tea read *The Recluse*, which I hardly understand. At 6 o'clock the moon nearly full, risen above East Hill. Read Trevelyan till dinner-time. Moon & planet but no stars visible. After dinner read Trevelyan's chap. IV. At 10 o'clock bright moonlight, planets & stars. 19 Dec. Foggy morning. Read Psalm 118 in the Russian Bible. After mattins picked a flower and four buds of *Iris stylosa*, three of the latter opened out after they were brought into the warm study. After lunch we walked to Four Elms and back in 3/4 hr. and after I got back I had a comfortable nap on the sofa. Took a walk round the lower garden, temperature extraordinarily mild. At 6.45 the full moon high above East Hill. Besides the moon, the planets shining, but no stars visible. Finished Seton-Watson's "*Sarajevo*" after dinner after dinner, and then continued with Trevelyan. 20 Dec. A bright morning. Read 24 verses of Psalm 119 in the Russian Bible. N. wind. Picked a half-open bud of *Iris stylosa*. Till lunch went on reading Trevelyan. At 2 o'clock we motored over to Sidmouth and walked along the Esplanade, and came back by Woolbrook, getting home at 3.15. N. went down town, and I walked up to Sidling Field and back. It was a beautiful afternoon, and the coast view as far as Bear Head very lovely. After tea read Trevelyan's chapter VII on the Norman Conquest. At 6.30 the moon rose over East Hill. A couple of planets and a big star shining brightly. After dinner went on with Bk. V of Giraud: *l'Apologie*. 21 Dec. A fine clear morning, white frost, earth hard. Wrote to Hatchard to get me Victor Giraud's edition of the *Pensees*. Read 24 vv. of Psalm 119 in the Russian Bible. Went to Percy Harrison to have teeth attended to. After lunch we walked to Aflington Inn & back, 1 1/4 hr. I had a nap. Maud has sent me a box of sweet meats as a Christmas present. After tea read Pritchett's "*Observations on Egypt, Palestine, and Greece*" being No. 225 of "*International conciliation*, December, 1926.["] At 7.15 moon risen, planets and stars shining brightly. After dinner looked at vol. 1 of Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*. At 10 o'clock Orion and other constellations shining. 22 Dec. A cloudless sunny morning. Read 24 vv. of Psalm 119 in the Russian Bible. Walked up to Sidling Field & back. There had been a hard frost, and the mud in the lane was frozen. Picked an *Iris stylosa*, and brought in a basketful of firewood. After lunch we walked by the lane to Knightstone, and back home by the high road, in 1 hr. The Faculty Board of History at Cambridge have asked [me] to act as a referee on the work of Professor C.K. Webster, who is applying for the Degree of Doctor of Letters. At 7 o'clock two planets & several stars shining. Read some of vol. 1 of Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*. Percy & Helen with their dog Peter arrived at 20 to 8. At 10 o'clock Orion & accompanying stars brightly shining. 23 Dec. White frost & E. wind. Norah left for Shenfield by

the 10.27 and I took her down to the station in a motor. Percy & Helen walked down and the three of us walked up again. Read 24 vv. of Psalm 119 in the Russian Bible. Received a picture post card from Erna at Benthen. Walked up to Sidling Field & back. After lunch Helen & I walked to the Alfington Inn, & on the way back met Percy who had been trying to overtake us. While we were at tea Sir Francis Newbolt was announced. He having been at school at Clifton, like Percy, under Dr. Wilson, they easily got into conversation and he continued talking for nearly 1 1/2 hr. Received from Hatchard Seton-Watson's Sarajevo. Went on with vol. 1 of Carlyle's Frederick the Great until time to dress. At 7.30 all the stars, Orion, Pleiades, Aldebarans, Hyades & the rest all shining brilliantly, promising a bitter frosty night. After dinner Carlyle's Frederick again. 24 Dec. Hard frost, and thick ice. A sunny morning. Read vv. 97 to 120 of Psalm 119 in the Russian Bible. Walked up to Sidling Field and back; keen E. wind. Percy & Helen went to Sidmouth by the 9.41 train, and returned to lunch. In the afternoon we walked as far as Cadhay gate and back. A present of "Mocha" chocolate from Olaga, and a packet of short bread from the Johnstons of Moffat, to whom I sent a letter of thanks. After tea Carlyle's Frederick vol. 1. At dinner time Orion and other stars shining brilliantly, cold wind. 25 Dec. East wind driving clouds across the sky. Percy & Helen have given me Bryce's posthumous volume "Memories of Travel" as a Christmas present. Lawrie & Josephine came to stop after matins, Maud and Olga walked over from Sidmouth to midday dinner and Ernest brought Mary Wilkin over in a taxi, so we were nine altogether to eat the turkey and plum pudding. After the others had gone off to Sidmouth, Josephine & I walked to Sidling Field and back. Helen, Percy & Lawrie went on further. Read Bryce's description of Iceland after tea. Then went on with vol. 1 of Carlyle. A great deal about the Emperor Karl VI and his Pragmatic Sanction by which his daughter Maria Theresa was recognized as his heir. Dull cloudy night. 26th Dec. No frost, some drizzle during the night. Read 24 vv. of 119 Psalm in the Russian Bible. Picked two buds of Iris stylosa. Percy & I walked to Pithing Lane & back after lunch in 55 min. Lawrie & Helen went up East Hill, and Percy met them on their way back down Rill Lane. Finished vol. 1 of Carlyle's Friedrich at 7.10. A dull, cloudy night. Began vol. 2. After dinner began to read again Tristram Shandy. 27th Dec. A bright cold morning. Seeds from Suttons having come, I sent them a cheque. Finished the 119th Psalm in the Russian Bible. Spent most of the morning over Carlyle's vol. II. Afternoon Lawrie took Josephine, Helen and me up Chineway, by Obed Dare's, Silford & the road left of the Siddown to the esplanade, & past the railway station home to Beaumont. Then Josephine & I walked the best way up Ridgeway Lane before tea. After tea more of Carlyle's vol. II. Devon Express & Echo published today, but no "Times". At 10 o'clock.

Orion & other constellations, besides planets, shining brightly. After dinner read a good deal of Tristram Shandy. 28 Dec. Cloudy morning, hoar frost, fog on East Hill. Read Psalms 120 to 122 in the Russian Bible. The morning spent with Carlyle. Lawrie & Josephine took Helen & me as far as the turning up to Knightstone on the Sidmouth road, from where we walked back. Later on Percy & I walked to the station to meet Kenneth Forbes, arriving by the 4.11 train from Lacock Abbey. After tea occupied myself with Carlyle's Frederick the Great vol. II. The Emperor of Japan died in the early morning of Christmas Day. The Epilogue to the Westminster Play is reproduced in the "Times" of Dec. 23. After dinner went on with Tristram Shandy. A dull, cloudy night. 29th Dec. Fine morning and mild. Read Psalms 123 to 125 in the Russian Bible. Wrote and posted letters to Erna Satow and Harold. Brought in firewood. After lunch went down to the barber's to get shaved, but his shop was shut. Came home & tried to get a nap, but no success. Walked to Sidling Field and back, & down to the post in the walk. Read some of James Bryce on Palestine. Clear afternoon, and a brilliant sunset. Engaged Mrs. Filt as a cook, at £38, Ellen Lovell to have the same. At 6 o'clock planets and stars shining. Till went to dress for dinner worked at Carlyle's vol. II, & after dinner more Tristram Shandy. At 11 o'clock the sky was clouded over. 30th Dec. Morning cloudy & mild. Read Psalms 126 to 126 [sic.] in the Russian Bible. After breakfast I had an attack of giddiness which frightened me, and I was afraid to go down town alone. After lunch Percy, Helen & I walked up the lane, through Sidling Field to Holcombe Barton, by the lane into the high road, up Furzebrook lane, through the fields home. Then I had a comfortable nap till tea-time. Went on with Carlyle till dinner, and with Tristram Shandy afterwards. At bed time sky overcast. 31 Dec. Morning sky overcast. Read Psalms 129-131 in the Russian Bible. Had my hair cut after a long interval. Wrote letters & posted them. Helen & Percy went to Watton to lunch, leaving Kenneth & me alone. Afternoon some sunshine, so we walked to Pithing Lane & back. After tea read on in Carlyle vol. II. At 7 sky overcast. Vol. XI of British documents on the origin of the War came back this afternoon from Basil to whom I had lent it. At 10 o'clock planets & stars shining brightly. Tristram Shandy after dinner.

Subscriptions, gifts to Lucy Satow, Fedor's wife & loan to Parlette.

712.11.8.

People I knew, who died during the year.

Mrs. Charles Allen	15 Jan.
Arthur Brent	21 Jan.
Wm. Haggard	22 Jan.
Mrs. Martin of Sandrock	24 Jan.
Admiral Marrack	26 Jan.

Maurice Pryke	31 Jan.
J.C.S. Davis	12 Feb.
George d'Arcy Adams M.D.	20 Mar.
Mrs. Huyshe of Sid House Sidmouth	25 Mar.
Montague Kirkwood	28 Mar.
John Macleavy Brown	April 6
Mrs. Lionel Birch	April 13
Harold Spender	April 15
Mary Satow	April 15
Kawamura	April 28
Ralph Hine Haycock	Aug. 12
Hiram Shaw Wilkinson	Sept. 26
G.W. Knox	Nov. 13.

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