

The Decline and Fall of the British Empire (1906)
とその抄訳『英国衰亡論』(1906)の復刻及び解題

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The Decline and Fall of the British Empire (1906) and the
Abridged Japanese Translation *Eikoku Suibo Ron* (1906) :
Introduction and Notes

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解題

The Decline and Fall of the British Empire (1906) について

本稿は、Vivian Grey, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (1906) とその抄訳『英国衰亡論』(1906)を復刻したものである。書誌と本文については凡例に記したので、ここでは、この奇妙なパンフレットとその奇妙な抄訳について簡単な解題を試みたい。

The Decline and Fall of the British Empire (以下、『大英帝国衰亡史』と略記)が出版されたのは1905年の英国である。グレイという名は、後に宰相となるディズレーリ最初の小説『ヴィヴィアン・グレイ』(1826)の主人公にちなむもので、もちろん筆名である。後述するように、この名でいくつ小冊子を執筆しているが、Elliot E. Millsという名のオックスフォード出身の歴史家というほか、詳細はいまだ不明である。

『大英帝国衰亡史』という題名からも明らかのように、これはギボンの『ローマ帝国衰亡史』を下敷きにしている。大英帝国に衰退をもたらした原因を、田園の荒廃、海運と海軍の脆弱化、娯楽と奢侈の流行、文学演劇の衰微、国民の病弱化、宗教の衰頹、増税による国政の濫費、教育の機能不全、帝国防衛の不備と九つあげて、それを各節でつまびらかにするのである。このうち教育の機能不全については、1906年の改訂第二版で付け加えられたものだが、それ以外の点は、十九世紀末に盛んに唱えられた国民退化の言説と多くを共有している。たとえば、その代表的な一つチャールズ・ピアソンの『国民の生活と性格』(1893)は、都市の成長により、国民国家が心身ともに蝕まれ、かつてのローマ帝国がそうだったように、有色人種という蛮人の侵入によって西欧文明は崩壊すると予言した¹。しかし、ピアソンが世紀末に流行した熱力学第二法則を援用して、「熱い」文明が「冷えた」野蛮へと移行するのは不可避ととらえたのに対して、この『大英帝国衰亡史』は、ローマ帝国の轍を踏まぬよう、教育を改善し、軍を整備し、若者に兵役を実施する必要を訴える。教育と軍制の改良に力点が置かれていることは、その二点を扱った最後の二節が他にも増して本文が長く、注が多いことから明らかだろう。

こういった国民と国家を退化から救おうとする運動は、エドワード朝において非常に盛んだった。

『大英帝国衰亡史』の重要性を最初に指摘した一人ハインズがいうように、そのなかで挙げられている諸問題はエドワード朝においてトーリーが抱いた懸念を見事に要約している²。この典型的なパンフレットを奇妙たらしめているのは、その設定が振るっているからだ。大英帝国が崩壊した百年後の2005年、同盟国日本の東京で、ある歴史家が日本語で国民学校の教科書として書いたものを翻訳したと記されているのである。もっとも、東洋の視点から英国を風刺するという技法は、ゴールドスミス以来、十八世紀からの伝統であり、『大英帝国衰亡史』と同時代でも、例えば1901年に中国人によって書かれたという書簡集が物議を醸していた³。ギボン風に未来の東洋人が大英帝国の滅亡を描くという手法にしても、1881年の段階で、同じ題名の『大英帝国衰亡史』というパンフレットが既に出版されている。これはラン・タン(Lang-Tung)という提灯(lantern)になぞらえられた中国の歴史家が2881年に、大英帝国の歴史について質問に答えるという一種の教義問答集の設定で書かれている。あまり話題にならなかったものの、機知と風刺に富んだ記述には共通するところも多い⁴。この『大英帝国衰亡史』の総説において、中国の歴史家が英国の没落について執筆していると記した箇所は、そのことをほのめかしているとも考えられる。

しかし『大英帝国衰亡史』は、後述するように、当時の関心に従って設定と題材が的確に組み合わせられており、先行する同様のパンフレットのどれよりも英国に衝撃を与えた。改訂第二版の表紙にある惹句を信じるなら一万六千部を売り上げ⁵、巻頭と末尾には二十五にも及ぶ各紙書評の抜粋が並んでいる。たとえば前出のハインズは、ボーア戦争の英雄として凱旋したベーデン＝パウエルがこの小冊子に深く共鳴したことを指摘し、1908年からのボーイ・スカウト運動に少なからぬ影響を与えたことを示唆した⁶。それでは、当時の風潮にあわせてどのように題材が組み合わせられているのか。次節でその要素を個別に検討してみることしよう。

ローマ帝国論の流行

ベーデン＝パウエルが従軍したボーア戦争は、その苦戦により、大英帝国の威信を大きく失墜させ、その結果エドワード朝において改革刷新運動を促進させることにもなった。アフリカの南端で小さな戦争の一つとして始めたはずが、英国は帝国の兵員を多く動員して、ようやく1901年に勝利することができたからである。『大英帝国衰亡史』第五節でも言及されているように、ボーア戦後の1904年に多くの若者の病弱化が指摘され、兵士に不適合と報告されたのも帝国維持の不安に拍車をかけた。こうして大英帝国の失速が明らかになったころから、ローマ帝国が歴史の教訓として頻繁に参照されはじめた。この『大英帝国衰亡史』は、そうした世紀転換期の流行に棹さず存在だったということができるのである⁷。

そもそもローマ帝国が大英帝国と重ねあわされたのは、実に十九世紀後半以降のことであり、それは1877年のヴィクトリア女王のインド女帝兼任と深く関係している。その点で、『大英帝国衰亡史』の著者が、スエズ運河とエジプトを押さえ込み、インドへの道を切り開き、インド女帝の冠を用意した帝国主義者ディズレーリの矚みに倣うのは、実にもっともなことといわねばならない。こうした後期ヴィクトリア朝におけるローマ帝国像の変化は、もともと古代史家であった同時代のシーリー自身も言明している。彼は、そのベストセラー『英国膨脹史』(1883)で、インド統治に関連して、ようやく最近になって、ローマ帝国が否定されることなく、むしろ大英帝国の教訓として多大な関心をもって研究され始めた⁸と述べている。その先鞭をつけたシーリーのローマ帝国についての一文が、この『大英帝国衰亡史』の九節の注十で引用されているのは同じ文脈からであろう。ほ

かにも七節の注一で言及されているJ・B・ビュアリーやディルの研究書は、そうした帝政ローマと衰亡への関心という点で、世紀転換期英国における古典研究の変化を的確に反映している。『大英帝国衰亡史』とギボンの再評価が並行していたことは、いまなお参照される浩瀚な詳注版『ローマ帝国衰亡史』が、このビュアリーによって、同時代の世紀転換期に刊行されていたことからもうかがえるだろう⁹。この点で、大英帝国とローマ帝国を重ね合わせ、そこから教訓を得ようとする『大英帝国衰亡史』はまことに時宜を得ていたといわねばならない。

ドイツとゲルマンの連動

ローマ帝国という過去へのまなざしの変化は、同時代の心象地理の変化とも連動していた。過去が教訓として召喚される一方で、異郷もまた規範として再構築されたのである。エドワード朝のキーワードであった「国民国家の効率化」について古典的な研究を残したサールは、模範としてドイツと日本がしばしば参照されたことを指摘している¹⁰。普仏戦争での勝利以降、ドイツの工業化と帝国化は大英帝国の脅威となっており、その組織、とりわけ軍事組織に学び、かつ備える必要が叫ばれたのだ。それゆえに『大英帝国衰亡史』では、南アフリカの鉱山を獲得しようとするドイツの小説が言及され、ドイツが仮想敵なのは明らかながらも(第九節)、英国はドイツの兵器に依存しており(第一節)、2005年には南アフリカは既にドイツ領となってしまった(総説)と記されている。

当然のことながら過去と異郷への視角は互いに連動しあっており、ドイツの現下の脅威はそのままローマ帝国の歴史にも影を投げかけることになる。九節の注二でローマ帝国を滅亡に追い込んだのは、“Germans”だというのはその一つである。同じことが第三節の終わりではゴート人と書かれており、ここでの意味も「ゲルマン民族」ということに過ぎない。ただローマ帝国を滅ぼした蛮族の顔は、アッティラ率いるアジア人から、ゲルマン民族まで、しばしばその当時の「敵」の顔が強調される傾向にある。「フン族」という呼称が第一次大戦においてドイツ人を指したことはよく知られていよう。『大英帝国衰亡史』は、ローマ帝国を大英帝国になぞらえ、さらに、その帝国を浸食していった敵ことゲルマン民族＝ドイツ人という図式をも踏襲していると考えられるのである。

こうした仮想敵ドイツの脅威を強く訴えた一人が、第九節でも引用されるフレデリック・ロバーツである。ベーデン＝パウエルとも関係が深いこのボーア戦争の英雄は、軍職を退いて後、「ナショナル・サーヴィス・リーグ」を設立し、徴兵制導入のために各方面に運動を行った。1942年に『大英帝国衰亡史』を初めて全訳した木村荘太は的確にも、著者ヴィヴィアン・グレイがロバーツとつながりのつながりがあったと推定し、グレイが同じ出版社からロバーツの演説を編集出版しているだけでなく、ナショナル・サーヴィス・リーグについても共著を刊行していることを理由として挙げている。もっとも木村が参照した評伝にも、後に書かれたロバーツ伝にしても、グレイことミルズについては一言もない¹¹。ただし、ロバーツはプロパガンダに積極的で、ドイツが英国と侵略するという近未来を生々しく描いたル・キューの小説『1910年の侵略』に、多大な援助協力をしている¹²。未来戦記小説ではないが、戦後の未来を描いて兵役の必要を訴えるという点で(第九節)、『大英帝国衰亡史』もまた、こうしたロバーツ周辺の反独プロパガンダ作品の副産物といっても過言ではないだろう。

極東と極西の出会い

次にドイツと並んでもう一つの做すべき対象となっていた日本との関連について触れておこう。

前述したように、ポーア戦争によって広大な帝国を防衛する無理が世界にあらわになり、極東の利益保持を目的として日英同盟（1902）は締結された。したがって、ロシアの南下という利害を共通することもあり、日露戦争は、当時の英国で好意的にとらえられていた。そのため、とりわけ旅順攻略における日本兵の猛進ぶりは、ポーア戦争の衝撃が癒えない英国において、その自己犠牲と愛国心に学ぶ風潮まで生んだのである。新渡戸の『武士道』が広く読まれ、**Bushido**や**Ju-jitsu**が普通名詞になったのもこのころのことであった¹³。

『大英帝国衰亡史』第一節の末尾で、彼らは如何に死すべきかを日本に学ばねばならなかったという記述（“**They had to come to vs to show them how to die.**”）は、そうした風潮をしめしている。それが邦訳の『英国衰亡史』では、国は「如何に死滅するかを吾人に示すに至れり」となっている。これは単なる誤訳とばかりいえないだろう。いわば合わせ鏡のように、互いに相手の国を教訓として相互に誤解した一例と解釈できるからである。しかし、このように日本を理想化する視線は、相容れない異質な国として距離をおくことも等しい。そんな模範と脅威という危うい均衡は、『大英帝国衰亡史』にもそのまま書き込まれている。冒頭で、同盟国英国の危機に際して、はるか「極西」まで艦隊を派遣できなかった「日本」の無念が触れられる一方で、「オーストラリアがミカドの保護領となった」ことが語られるのはその一例である。この冒頭は第九節注十五で、アルマダ海戦が日本海海戦になぞらえられ、日本がかつての英国のように発展することを祈念する末尾、つまり日英同盟は日本の成長をもたらしたが、英本国の危機には無益という冒頭とも呼応している。同盟に関連して興味深いのは、九節の注十四で、英国の平和はアメリカを含むアングロ・サクソンの連携によって可能になるという一節だ。このことは、日露戦争直後の段階で、早くも日英同盟に亀裂が入ろうとしていたことをうかがわせる。事実、『大英帝国衰亡史』には、日本が同盟国としては遠くにあるすぎて頼りにならないこと、そしてその急成長が将来なんらかのかたちで大英帝国の脅威となることが共に記されている。つまり、極東という空間の距離と百年後という時間の距離をおくことで、日本という潜在的な脅威の存在感をよりはっきりと浮き上がらせているのである。

帝国の意識と帝国の組織

このようにして、『大英帝国衰亡史』では、ローマ帝国という過去、そしてドイツと日本という同時代の帝国が、巧みに大英帝国再生のプロパガンダとして組み合わされている。「敵」をいたずらに貶めることなく、むしろその「敵」に倣おうとし、並ぼうとすることで、来るべき危機に対処せよと喧伝するのである。こうした「敵」への相反する感情は、『大英帝国衰亡史』に感心し、愛国心あるものは何をおいても購入することを勧めたベーデン＝パウエル『スカウティング・フォア・ボーイズ』（1908）に集約されている。ここでは、大英帝国がローマ帝国のように若者の退化によって崩壊することを食い止めるため、極東日本の勇敢な兵士を讃え、現代の騎士道として武士道を賞賛し、禁煙をよびかけ、健康法として柔術を推奨する¹⁴。こうした模範としての異国は、同時に脅威の裏返しにほかならない。つまり、こうした鍛錬をおこたれば、英国民はいつかドイツ語か日本語を話さねばならない日がくるだろうというのである¹⁵。

このボーイ・スカウト運動を典型として、『大英帝国衰亡史』は、国民の身体に対する管理改良運動に功を奏した。喫煙の弊害をのべる第五節などその一例である。しかし政体としての大英帝国についてはどうだったのだろうか。『大英帝国衰亡史』冒頭の総説から、「インドはロシアに、南アフリカはドイツに、エジプトはサルタンの手落ちる一方で、カナダはアメリカという鷲の翼の下へ

避難し、オーストラリアはミカドの保護領となってしまった」という一節を引いたロナルド・ハイアムが、その直前で興味深いことを指摘している¹⁶。1907年に開かれた植民地会議で、「植民地」ではなく新語の「ドミニオン」こと自治領から、首相が集まって会議を行うと決められた事実を挙げ、1907年を大英帝国がコモンウェルスへと変貌してゆく転換点と位置づけたのである。事実、『大英帝国衰亡史』では、植民地と自治領をほとんど区別せず、むしろその境界を曖昧にしたまま、本国の軍備増強と効率化、そしてそれを可能にする若者の規律化に重点を置いている。それゆえ、政体としての帝国ではなく、帝国を支え、帝国を支配する身体の規律化を旨とするボーイ・スカウト運動に多大な影響を与えたのは当然ともいえるだろう。つまり、帝国の組織がほころびはじめたからこそ、帝国の意識が過剰に喧伝されはじめたのである。

以上のことからわかるように、『大英帝国衰亡史』はローマ、ドイツ、日本という当時しばしば参照された帝国の情報を巧みに組み込み、大英帝国の危機を訴える。しかし、そうして組み合わせられたテキストには、一方でエドワード朝における大英帝国の亀裂を、至る所に走らせてもいる。つまり、ドイツと日本という新興の帝国、そしてその脅威にさらされた植民地を統治できない英本国国民の退化という、内憂外患が如実に刻み込まれているのである。一方で、英本国の国民と植民地の臣民という深刻な亀裂、そして「自治領」への胎動については、まったく触れられていない。こうした点で、この内憂外患はあくまで英本国にとってのそれではない。それゆえ、『大英帝国衰亡史』は、エドワード朝における大英帝国の危機意識が、なにを分節化し増幅させ、なにを見落としていたかを示す格好の史料、と結論づけることができるだろう。

『英国衰亡論』(1906)と『英国衰亡史』(1942)

次に、邦訳『英国衰亡論』について付言しておきたい。『大英帝国衰亡史』は、設定された2005年の日本よりもはるかに早く日本で紹介されていた。本稿で復刻したように、1906年には、玉木懿夫により抄訳が出版されており、その節の数からこれが1906年版を翻訳したものであることがわかる。なお全訳は、木村荘太が『英国衰亡史』と題して1942年に開運社から刊行した。その行き届いた解説で記しているように、木村は勤務先の千葉の成田図書館書庫で玉木の翻訳と1906年版の原書を見つけており、そのことが全訳を出すきっかけだったようである¹⁷。

しかし、木村の全訳はほとんど人の目にふれなかったようだ。それに対して、玉木の『英国衰亡論』は、1970年には長谷川才次時事通信社社長の手で、私家版として復刻・複製された。さらに1985年には都市文化社から総合経営研究所の編集で『『英国衰亡論』に学ぶ』が出版され、その際には復刻だけでなく現代語訳まで付されている。しかし、両復刻とも解説では木村の全訳について触れておらず、『英国衰亡史』を玉木の創作と誤解しているのである。既に1981年の時点で、横田順彌の「教科書になったSF」が木村の『英国衰亡史』を引いて、そのことを指摘したのだが¹⁸、四年後に同じ誤りが繰り返されたわけである。

玉木懿夫については、1970年の私家版復刻に寄せられた高橋雄豺による解説が詳しい。それによれば、号を椿山と称し、中央新聞記者を経て実業界で活躍したという。斯界でも名文の誉れが高く、『男爵団琢磨伝』などを残しているが、あとは実業関係のものがほとんどで、『英国衰亡論』のような翻訳はこれしか知られていない。玉木がどういった経緯でこの原書を手に入れ、翻訳したかは、彼が序文で知る以上のことはわからないままである。ただ本文から察するかぎり、『英国衰亡論』の翻訳は、手すさび以上の、むしろ名訳とっていい出来栄である。ソローが「トリュー」と表記さ

れているのには驚くものの、読者の関心をひきそうにない固有名詞や事象は巧みに省略ないし編集してあり、こなれた漢文も実に読みやすい。原書では不均衡に長く具体的に書き込まれた第八節と第九節を、他の節にあわせて縮約してあるのも、その一助となっている。序文で原書を記していないせいもあるだろうが、この達文では、『英国衰亡論』を玉木の翻訳ではなく創作と誤解したのも無理がないかもしれない。

それに比して、木村荘太による『大英帝国衰亡史』の全訳は、木村についての作家研究においても、不当に評価が低い。彼は、牛鍋王・木村荘平の残した三十人の子供の一人で、十数人の妻を囲っていた父の血が流れていることに複雑な思いを抱いていた。その出自もあって、木村については一族の関連や、遺作『魔の宴』で描いた伊藤野枝との失恋といった伝記的事実に日が当てられることばかり多く、こうした『英国衰亡史』の訳業を評価した論文は、先の「教科書になったSF」以外では皆無に等しい¹⁹。たしかに1942年という発行日は、偏狭な翻訳を予測させるが、もし子息の言葉を信じるならば、木村は反戦思想の教育をしており²⁰、この翻訳がそうした時局に阿ったのか、あるいは抗ったのか、一概に判断することはできないだろう。むしろ1970年の私家版復刻の方が、長谷川才次と高橋雄豺という当時の代表的な右派言論人がかかわっていることからみて、その意図は明白といえる。こうした『大英帝国衰亡史』の邦訳をめぐるねじれは、それ自体興味深い問題ではあるが、ここでは玉木の編集の行き届いた見事な抄訳と、木村の日記りのよい訳業について特筆しておくことで、この奇妙な英国のパンフレットと、その奇妙な日本への移入についての解題を結ぶこととしたい。

付記

解題で記したように、『大英帝国衰亡史』は、帝国史研究を代表するいくつかの書物にその重要性を指摘されながらも、長くその本文は入手が困難であり、復刻もされてこなかった。一方、邦訳である『英国衰亡史』も、いちはやくミルズの翻訳であることが指摘されながらも、英国史研究とは没交渉のままであった。従って原文との比較参照もされず、全訳した木村荘太の業績も十分に位置づけられない状態だったといえる。それゆえ、科研費の交付をうけた日露戦争期英国における黄禍論文学研究の一成果として、ここに両者を復刻することにした次第である。末筆ながら、今回の調査にあたって協力をえた大英図書館(British Library)、神戸大学図書館、横浜市立中央図書館、京都大学図書館、早稲田大学図書館、そして横浜国立大学図書館図書参考係に心から感謝の意を表したい。

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- 1 このピアソンの著作に触発されて、1894年の段階で、ハーンは極東と極西による生存競争を予言した。詳しくは拙稿「東亜未来論—チャールズ・ピアソンの黄禍論とラフカディオ・ハーンにおけるその変容—」(『比較文学』43, 75-89, 2000年)を参照。なおピアソンにおいては、英本国の国民と植民地の臣民は切り離されており、あくまで植民地を統御できない国民国家の退化が危惧される。このことは『大英帝国衰亡史』でも反復されており、帝国の衰退を問題としながらも、植民地の臣民はほとんど問題にされない。
 - 2 Hynes, Samuel, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p.24-5.

- 3 拙稿「中国人からの手紙：オリヴァー・ゴールドスミスの『世界市民』にみる中国」(『英米文化』30, 117-135, 2001年)を参照。
- 4 これについては、拙稿のHashimoto, Yorimitsu, “Germs, Body-politics and Yellow Peril: Relocation of Britishness in *The Yellow Danger*” (*Australasian Victorian Studies Journal*, 9, 52-66, 2003)、とりわけ p. 57-8で論じた。
- 5 このことは、Searle, G. R., *A New England? : Peace and War, 1886-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p.302でも触れられている。
- 6 Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, p.26.
- 7 Vance, Norman, *The Victorians and Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p.234-5とRead, Donald, *Edwardian England* (London: Harrap, 1972), p.150では、両者とも当時のローマ帝国熱を指摘し、その例として『大英帝国衰亡史』を挙げている。
- 8 Seeley, J. R., *Expansion of England* (London: Macmillan, 1931), p.274-6.
- 9 この改訂を繰り返した詳注版は既に定評があり、邦訳『ローマ帝国衰亡史』もその一つに基づいている。
- 10 Searle, G. R., *The Quest for National Efficiency* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), p.54-60.
- 11 Forrest, George William, Sir, *The Life of Lord Roberts* (London: Cassell, 1915); James, David, *Lord Roberts* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1954).
- 12 Clarke, I. F., *Voices Prophecy War: Future Wars 1763-3749* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.41.
- 13 武士道の流行のような、エドワード朝におけるもうひとつの日本趣味については別稿を用意しなければならないが、おおまかな流れは、英米文化学会編『アメリカ1920年代—ローリング・トゥエンティーズの光と影』(金星堂, 2004年)所収の「失われた大陸を求めて 俳句と英詩とアトランティス」と、木村和男編著『世紀転換期のイギリス帝国』(ミネルヴァ書房, 2004年)所収の「帝国主義の文化から文化の帝国主義へ」で触れておいた。
- 14 Baden-Powell, Robert, *Scouting for Boys*, edited with an introduction and notes by Elleke Boehmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 277-8, 216, 226, 197-8, 188-9など。
- 15 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, p.289
- 16 Hyam, Ronald, “The British Empire in the Edwardian Era,” p.55 in Judith M. Brown (ed), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. IV (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). ちなみにハイアムは、『大英帝国衰亡史』の作者名がミルズであることを知らず、参考図書にあたって調べたがわからなかったと記している。なお、おそらくこのハイアムの引用に基づいて、Ferguson, Niall, *Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p.287では、『大英帝国衰亡史』がディストピア小説の一つと位置づけられている。このファーガソンの『帝国』をめぐる問題については、拙稿「英国における大英帝国史の再編成と新帝国主義論の流行—ニール・ファーガソンの『帝国』(2003)を中心に—」(『英米文化』, 34, 107-126, 2004年)を参照。
- 17 ヴィヴィアン・グレイ『英国衰亡史』(木村荘太訳, 開運社, 1942年), p.85-88.
- 18 横田順彌『日本SFこてん古典』第三卷(早川書房, 1981年), p.193-203.
- 19 北荻三郎『いろはの人びと』(文化出版局, 1978年)は、木村一族について書かれた労作だが、『英国衰亡史』については一箇所しか言及がなく、しかも『英国興亡史』と誤植している(p. 156)。また塚本康彦「木村荘太をめぐる感想」(『古典と現代』, 65, 38-58, 1997年)は、木村の随筆にみられるペダントリーに一定の評価を与えた貴重な論文だが、『英国衰亡史』については言及がない。
- 20 北荻三郎『いろはの人びと』, p. 10.

1. Vivian Grey, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*(1906)の復刻

凡例

テキストは Vivian Grey(Eliot E. Mills), *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (Oxford: Alden, 1906)(全 60 頁)を使用した。

原文脚注の“*” “†” “‡”は、(i)(ii)(iii)に置き換えて、各節末尾にまとめた。

Thibet や Tolstoi のような今日では用いない表記、 ‘ と “” や S と Z、イタリックや大文字などの不統一も、史料という観点からそのままにしておいた。

なお、大英図書館所蔵の 1905 年版との相違を、編者の注として文末に補っておいた。

The Decline and Fall of the British Empire

A brief account of those causes which resulted in the destruction of our late Ally, together with a comparison between the British and Roman Empires

Appointed for use in the National Schools of Japan

“Men are we and must grieve when e’en the shade
Of that which once was great has passed away.”
An English Poet.

----Tokio, 2005----

PREFACE.

This little book is intended for use in the upper classes of our National Schools. It will, we hope, supply a long-felt need. Any Empire, which wishes to play a notable part in the history of the World, must realize that other Empires as proudly exultant as herself have passed away. If she wishes to avoid a similar fate, her inhabitants must from childhood be acquainted with the errors of their predecessors if haply they may avoid them.

Had the English people, at the opening of the Twentieth Century, turned to Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, they might have found in it a not inaccurate description of themselves. This they failed to do, and we know the result. In compiling this book, my thanks are therefore due to that laborious author. In numerous instances I have found those phrases in which he described the decadence of Rome singularly applicable to the England of the Twentieth Century. In all such cases I give references to Gibbon’s work in the English Bohn Edition, 7 volumes, 1853-5.

THE AUTHOR

TOKIO, 2005.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE(i)

The sudden Fall of our great Western Ally ten years ago, unanticipated as it was by the thoughtless mass of mankind, should have come as no surprise to those few persons who study the rise and fall of Empires, and are acquainted with the causes which, in every case, have brought about their dissolution. No writer who possesses a heart can however afford to look at the fall of England merely with the eye of the moralist or the calm historian. I would therefore remind my readers of the great love which our nation has always had for the English, and of our profound regret when we felt it impossible to send our Navy to the Far West. The long voyage by way of Cape Town was too great an adventure to be thus rashly undertaken. And even had we saved the British from disaster our assistance would only have afforded a brief and ineffectual respite. The sources of their weakness were too deeply rooted to be removed in a day. They had become too effete and nerve-ridden to guide the destinies of the world.

As Babylon and Assyria have left us their monuments, Egypt her pyramids, Carthage her Queen, and Rome her laws, so too England has bequeathed to posterity Shakespeare and her world-wide language. And, while these endure, so long will her history be the schoolroom of mankind, and the story of her fall a reminder to living Empires of those subtle influences which are ever present, to quicken the germs of national decay and transfer the sovereignty of the Earth.

While, therefore, India has fallen to Russia, South Africa to Germany, Egypt to the Sultan; while Canada has taken shelter beneath the wings of the American Eagle, and Australia has become a protectorate of the Mikado; all these, like the scattered fragments of Rome's mighty Empire, will yet possess traces of a common language and of a common past.

There is no written history of the Decline and Fall of England. A Chinese historian is reported to be engaged upon one, but he might spare himself the trouble, for, as I hinted in my Preface, it is all to be found in Gibbon (ii). Studying his seven volumes, as I have recently done, and comparing them with records of English life from the beginning of the Twentieth Century to its close, I have been almost startled out of my senses by the symptoms of decay common to the two epochs. The only difference, apart from the setting, is that the decline of England was far more rapid. The reason is obvious. There were far more competitors in the field.

I cannot do better than begin my account by referring to the prophetic act of a typical English statesman in the year 1905. Lord Rosebery (iii) had always been happy in his phrases but he was never so gloomily felicitous as when in this momentous year he gave the name of Cicero (iv) to a horse with which he won 'The Derby,' a great English race. And if some friend of that unfortunate people had foreseen the future, he could scarcely have done better than present every member of the British Parliament, if not with a Roman racehorse, at any rate with a little ivory statue of Cicero.

For Cicero was a great *talker*. He talked incessantly and on all subjects. He talked of old age and virtue; He talked of books and politics; he talked of Pompey, who was the Kitchener of the Italian 'man in the street'; but above all things he talked about the Roman Empire. Shortly after Cicero talked about it the Roman Empire began to decline. Empires do not ask for orators. They ask for men of action, who are prepared to do their duty.

Now in 1905 the English House of Commons slowly but surely was following in the footsteps of Cicero and his contemporaries: it was becoming a House of Talkers, and was ceasing to guide the aspirations of the people. In other words, it was becoming like nothing so much as the staff of one of our up-to-date Tokio newspapers, which is blown to and fro by every wind of popular emotion.

When he hears that the leaders of the British people were of this description the Japanese student will not be surprised to find signs of national decay scattered like ugly ulcers through the length and breadth of their land. Let us probe some of them.

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- (i) Copyright in Thibet.
 - (ii) Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.
 - (iii) The Author feels that an apology is due for this somewhat unkind allusion to a very charming personality. He earnestly hopes that all allusions to early Edwardian Politics and Letters will be read by the English with that kingly spirit in which they were written.
 - (iv) A famous Roman.

1. *The prevalence of Town over Country Life, and its disastrous effect upon the health and faith of the English People.*

The first sign of decadence in a Nation appears when it forsakes the calm delights of the country to live amid the depressing splendour of dreary towns. The decay of the upright Roman farmer was one of the first signs of Rome's weakness, and so it was with the English people. Their vigour, which they gradually ceased to renew by daily exercise in the open air, departed from them, and with it their confidence. This is seen in nothing so much as in their increasing unwillingness to emigrate. These declining townfolk, whose ancestors had sunk the galleons of Spain and flooded America with stalwart colonists, were too devoted to their Music Halls and the weekly feats of their professional athletes, to sally forth and encounter the forces of nature (i).

Boasted of as they might be, the English Colonies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were not a success. Australia ran into hopeless debt and displayed some of the worst vices of the Mother Country (ii). South Africa came to depend for its existence upon the products of imported Eastern labour. The only successful piece of colonization throughout this period was to be found in the *Salvation Army* Labour Colonies in Canada. These succeeded because, like the original American Colonies, they were founded on a practical faith in God. To colonize successfully men must go forth, not as State-aided emigrants not as solitary wanderers, but in God-fearing gangs: and the English of this sad epoch were slowly losing their faith in both God and themselves. We must not be too hard upon them. For town-life, whatever economic advantages it may possess, is bound in the end, unless vigorously counteracted, to have a blighting effect upon our sense of the sublime, that avenue through which we approach our God. Let the Japanese beware lest in their growing love for town amusements they forget this mighty truth.

With the enfeebled health and physique of the English I shall deal later. Another grave result of the decay

of Agriculture is so well described by Gibbon that I shall avail myself of his words. "Since¹ the age of Tiberius," he writes, "the decay of Agriculture had been felt in Italy; and it was a just subject of complaint that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of the winds and waves." Vol. iv, p. 104.

The same with little alteration may be said of the English. As the Twentieth Century advanced they became more and more dependent on outside help. They gathered together into ill-planned towns to shout patriotic songs, but they had to go to Germany for their guns. They had to go to Tolstoi and Wagner (iii) and Thoreau (iv) to tell them how to live. They had to come to us to show them how to die. They had to go to the past for their patriotism and to everybody for their bread.

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- (i) For the possibilities open to English emigrants at the beginning of the twentieth century, see *Africa and National Regeneration*, by E. F. Chidell. London: Thomas Burleigh, 376 Strand.
 - (ii) "Our people in Australia are unduly, and to their own detriment, given over to holiday-making, to horse-racing, to boastfulness of speech and thought, to political experiment, financial recklessness, improvidence, vaingloriousness."- An Australian writer, author of *Tommy Cornstalk*. (See *Spectator*, Aug. 19, 1905.)²
 - (iii) Author of a book entitled *The Simple Life*.
 - (iv) Author of *Walden*.

11. *Growing tendency of the English throughout the Twentieth Century to forsake the sea except as a health resort.*

Among the countless evidences of British decadence this was perhaps the most shameful. As the Twentieth Century advanced, the "Sons of the Waves," as they still continued to call themselves, became more and more unwilling to embark upon a seafaring life. Every year liners manned by Lascars and continental aliens conveyed wealthy English invalids across the ocean in quest of health. Every year the effete townfolk of Britain invigorated their languid bodies by a visit to the sea-shore. But they ceased to equip their Mercantile Marine with seamen (i), and we know how when the call came and they were face to face with a hostile Europe, they had no adequate Naval Reserves to fall back upon. We know too how their alien-manned corn-ships mutinied and played them false; we know how, in the last stages of their decline, both Navy and Merchant Service were hastily reinforced by Metropolitan policemen and Government engineers: and we know in all its ghastly details the disillusioning story of their defeat.

What the English wanted at the opening of the Twentieth Century, when these evils were becoming unmistakably prominent, was a number of Cabinet Ministers of the President Roosevelt type: men with a genius for duty, with seasoned bodies and masterful minds who would not permit the nation to slumber amid the deafening armament of Europe.

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- (i) According to Lord Muskerry the numbers of aliens in the British merchant service in 1905 were as follows: alien captains 511, alien petty officers 2,991, alien seamen 40,000; and a large number of

merchant ships were *manned solely by aliens*.³

III. *The Growth of Refinement and Luxury.*

Gibbon makes much of this, and the historian of British decadence will be equally severe. The evils in both nations were remarkably alike. We observe the same inclination in both to regard pleasure as the end of existence; the same devotion to costly banquets; the same refusal to take exercise; and the same increasing popularity of steam or Turkish Baths. We note in both Empires the growing numbers of irresponsible wealthy Capitalists who lavished large sums on menials and failed to realize that inherited leisure is only justified when it is devoted to the community.

In both Empires, as they approached the brink, the cost of living increased by leaps and bounds, and the problems of poverty became more acute. Free grants of corn and bread were among the chief corrosive influences at Rome; and the presentation of free meals to British School-children in 1910, was one of the most disastrous acts of that false philanthropy which did so much to ruin England. In both Empires too, the numbers of unhealthy parents increased, and in both the sturdy dutiful yeoman dwindled into nothingness.

Gibbon notes with dismay the increasing popularity of spectacular shows at Rome, during that epoch when it was besieged so frequently by the Goths. "The impatient crowd," he writes (Vol.iii, p.420), "rushed at the dawn of day to secure their places, and there were many who spent a sleepless and anxious night in the adjacent porticoes." The same phraseology might have been used of the English (i), whose inordinate love for the Theatre was only equalled by their ignorance of Shakespeare and the great dramatists.

(i) See Newspapers of the period.

IV. *The Decline of Literary and Dramatic Taste.*

Here again the words of Gibbon may most aptly be used to describe Twentieth Century Literature and Drama in England.

"The name of poet was almost forgotten; that of orator was usurped by the sophists. A crowd of critics and of compilers darkened the face of learning, and the decline of genius was soon followed by the decay of taste." (Vol. I, p. 76.)

Or again, "The tragic and comic muse of the Romans, who seldom aspired beyond the imitation of Attic genius, had been almost totally silent since the fall of the Republic, and their place had been occupied by licentious farce, effeminate music, and splendid pageantry." (Vol. iii, p. 420)

I have studied English writers of the Decline with some care. Few were really healthy, and, from what I can gather, the best among them were neglected by the people at large. Critics and annotators flourished as at Rome; but genius, as at Rome, seems to have been conspicuous by its absence. An unworthy imitation of the worst elements in contemporary French literature seems to have pervaded a large section of English art

and life. This was in part due to the fact that the emancipated Englishwoman of the age used her freedom for selfish rather than National ends. For one picture in the National Academy, during this epoch, that represented her as a Sweetheart, inspiring her knight to battle for God and his country, there were half-a-dozen that showed her forth as a Siren luring him to destruction. Men *boasted* that they were "Decadents." Novels dealing with the morphia or cigarette victim were more widely read than the works of Bunyan or Sir Walter Scott. Men and women of all classes purchased cheap and gaudily bound editions of the Classics to adorn their shelves, but in only a few instances were these books read with patient devotion. The flimsy Musical Comedy, the illustrated Magazine, and the Newspaper were the chief intellectual food of the Nation. I have only found one eminent writer among them during the period of their decline, and he, properly speaking, belongs to the Nineteenth Century. Robert Louis Stevenson, for such is his name, suffered from ill health all his days. His Gospel was the Gospel of trying to be cheerful, his task "the task of happiness." It is distressing to read of the thousands who asserted, throughout this sad epoch, that the only writer who really understood them was this spirited invalid. Their cry goes up to heaven like that of a people sick unto death, and the wonder is they never knew it.

V. *Gradual Decline of the Physique and Health of the English People.*

Here again Gibbon is our best guide, and his sad tale is fully paralleled among the facts of English Life in the last century. Speaking of the Roman legions of *The Decline* he writes, "The relaxation of discipline and the disuse of exercise rendered the soldiers less able and less willing to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the weight of the armour which they seldom wore: and they successively obtained the permission of laying aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword, and the formidable *pilum* which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands." Vol. iii. p. 271

Similar incidents happened in the British Army. Early in the Twentieth Century, the rifle, with which the English troops had staved off defeat in South Africa, was declared to be too heavy for them and a lighter weapon was substituted for it (i). Unlike our own, the English infantry-man was rarely able to carry his knapsack or often his greatcoat. The number of men who 'fell out' on route marches during times of peace, or were relieved of their rifles by kindly officers, was phenomenal. An eye-witness relates how he saw a dozen men of the Guards Brigade fall out during a Review at Aldershot when their only duty was to stand at attention for a somewhat trying period. About the same time the height and chest-measurement which had been the requisite standard for service with the Colours was reduced. In spite of this reduction thousands upon thousands were turned away as unfitted for the fatigues of a soldier's life, owing to the excessive smoking of cigarettes and unhealthy living in general. In 1904 a Report on Physical Degeneration appeared. Overcrowding, insanitary conditions of life, ill-conducted factories, the sweating, especially of women employees, infant mortality, impure milk, the evils of excessive indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, bad feeding, and the increase of insanity were among the subjects of this disheartening document.

As I have already noticed, the English at the opening of the last century had, in a large degree, ceased to e a

nation of active habits: this was especially true in London and the large towns. Like the Romans who assembled to watch rival teams of gladiators, they came together in roaring, and often gambling crowds, to witness the efforts of paid Athletes. Cricket and football ceased to be the sports of England. Teams representing her against Australia were composed almost entirely of professionals. Bowling, the most arduous part of what had once been an amateur's game, was left, with few exceptions, to such men. And, as they ceased to play themselves, the English insisted more and more that they were a Nation of Athletes.

It was far otherwise. Their theatres (thanks to one Barrie (ii), who seems to have had an inkling of the truth) were turned into hospitals; their newspapers and⁴ magazines were so many eyesores, for the patent drugs and supports for the emasculated with which their columns were filled. But while hundreds of thousands realized individually that they were not physically sane or happy, no one seems to have understood whither this collective misery must tend. Evolution was in the air, but few of the English philosophers seem to have left their studies and gone into the streets to tell their countrymen that God's unalterable law concerning the survival of the fittest is just as applicable to the life of a Nation as it is to the briefer existence of an animal or a human being. And hence it came about that there was no united effort on the part of the English to remedy a state of things which was bound in the end to place the British Empire among those which had ceased altogether to control the future of the world.

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- (i) It may well have been a better weapon.⁵
- (ii) Author of a witty play which exposed the disgusting habits of many who suffered from excessive devotion to the table.

VI. *The Decline of intellectual and religious life among the English.*

No one who has read the foregoing account will be surprised to hear that the English of the Twentieth Century were found wanting in religious and intellectual enthusiasm. A great deal of piety and social activity glistened upon the surface of things, it is true; for weak and effeminate minds have always sought a solace in false philanthropy or the external ceremonies of Religion. But as the Century advanced there was a noticeable absence of that practical and spiritual courage which, in former ages, had welded Cromwell's Ironsides together, or inspired Wilberforce and his compatriots to free the slave. And, while thousands were busily engaged in tinkering with Reform, few had the insight or conviction to go to the root of things, and deal with first principles. Such a line of conduct is only possible for men with vigorous bodies and unbounded confidence both in God and themselves.

Where was that calm and lofty faith which had led mediaeval Englishmen to spend three or four hundred years in building a Cathedral? Where was that undying love for lost causes which had been so characteristic of days gone by? These had departed, and with them there had gone out for ever that virtue by which men hold dominion over the hearts of their fellows, and lead them onward to unquestioned victory.

It was indeed typical of this sad era that a series of critical volumes, dealing with the religious life of London, were presented to the public in a smooth white binding, calculated to embellish a drawing-room, but

utterly unsuited for the use of fishermen or tent-makers such as the first Christians had been. Religion and sociology had indeed become, as at Rome, a kind of pastime. Thousands of well-to-do persons, who would never dream of foregoing a portion of their annual dividends to shorten the hours of their employees or give work to the destitute, talked glibly about social problems and read innumerable soothing volumes on the beauty of unselfishness. But few of them went forth to battle thoughtfully with the great problems of their age.

To do this required a grim intellectual effort and a practical imaginative fervour which was rarely discernible in Church or Chapel. The Nation required to be fanned to a white-heat of Cromwellian enthusiasm before its countless problems could be effectually dealt with; but no Cromwell arose to fan it.

Gibbon comments on the number of strange religions to be found in Rome. A careful study of the records of English life in the Twentieth Century has convinced me of the numerous and equally strange creeds which found favour in England. 'Christian Science' and Palmistry were widely popular among the fashionable crowds of London society. Positivism and a fateful Determinism provided an enervating creed for thousands of Socialists and factory 'hands,' while the rich dilettante who posed as a *litterateur* sought refuge in the sad philosophy of Omar Kháyyám, whose faith has been summed up in the words, "Let us make up in the tavern the time we have wasted in the kirk."

The Clergy of other denominations worked hard enough in their way, but they failed to deal with first principles. Nonconformity was too often a social and political society, which made little headway among the masses, while the Church of England only succeeded in doling out the threepenny bits of the rich to the pauper instead of vigorously assaulting a social system which was radically unjust. Shareholders and Directors who controlled the capital of the country were satisfied if they fulfilled the meager requirements of the law in dealing with their employees, but they cared little or nothing for their health or general well-being (i). "The highest obtainable interest for our money" was the cry that arose yearly among them. Having obtained this, a few might perhaps acquire a name for philanthropy by pauperising those who, under such conditions, refused to work. But, despite the noble efforts of a few hundred earnest thinkers and theologians, the Churches grew intellectually and spiritually effete. What Milton had written two centuries earlier had at last come true.

"It is not," he had said, "the unfrocking of a priest, the unmitring of a bishop, and the removing his from off the Presbyterian shoulders that will make us a happy nation: no; if other things as great in the Church and in the rule of life *both economical and political*, be not looked into and reformed, we have looked so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin have beacons up to us that we are stark blind" (ii).

Blind indeed were the Churches and their guides of all denominations, and in nothing so much as their refusal to co-operate, as Christians, against those evils which were rapidly dragging their country along the road to eternal shame and degradation. Misunderstandings and unkind suspicions flourished between sect and sect; and all this while there were millions upon millions of sad disillusioned folk, in lofty palace and low hamlet, in mean slums and in drab suburbs, crying unto their God for some one to tell them how to live. The supreme need of the Churches was indeed a great intellectual and religious awakening which would have swept aside the petty distinctions of rival creeds and built for the future upon the basis of a wider and more Christian patriotism. But such an awakening never came (iii). The churches continued to slumber, and

while they slumbered the Nation died.

- (i) Several notable exceptions to this state of things existed. I am speaking of Shareholders and Directors generally.
- (ii) Milton's *Areopagitica*: the italics are mine. Milton, if I understand him aright, meant that religion covers the whole field of human activity from speculative theology down to the Tokio housing problem or Korean army reform.⁶
- (iii) Why did it not come in 1905?

VII. *Excessive Taxation and Municipal Extravagance.*

Not the least of those causes which resulted in the fall of the Roman Empire, was the existence at Rome of an elaborate Civil Service which crushed private enterprise (i). The disorganization of this Civil Service during a period of storm and stress resulted in the most hopeless confusion. As we know, it was precisely the same in the case of England. Her citizens came to look to the State for everything. It educated, fed, whipped, and in some cases even clothed their children. It lit their houses and lent them light literature (ii): it carried them to and fro on tramcars; it gave them cheap lodgings, and conducted scores of similar costly undertakings on principles which will be recognized by the smallest office-boy in Tokio as ignoring the mere elements of political economy.

For as early as the year 1900 we find the State entrusting local bodies with the right of spending more than a hundred million pounds a year upon municipal objects. Of this vast sum a large portion was spent in municipal trading, and as the century advanced the money thus employed increased enormously. Of the enterprises which were thus undertaken many were avowedly run at a loss. Of the remainder a few were sound business concerns, but the mass of those which claimed to be making a profit did so by allowing a quite inadequate sum toward yearly depreciations. It followed that every year increasing loans had to be issued to meet those additional source of expenditure, and the increasing interest on such loans grew with the general expenditure, until life in al large town became a burden for any but millionaires or paupers. This state of affairs was the more extraordinary in that the English prided themselves above all things on their business qualities. Strange as it may seem, they took no business interest in electing those who were to control municipal trading, with the result that men conspicuous as Talkers or Party Politicians became the leaders of Municipal affairs. Knowing full well that they were trading with other people's money, these talking or political Councillors paid the barest attention to the common laws which condition success in commerce. Smitten with a false philanthropy, or desirous of winning cheap esteem, they succeeded only in pauperising the masses and plunging local and national finance into a state akin to bankruptcy.

Mr. Gladstone was a man upon whom many aspersions have been cast, but few would deny that he was a master in the art of finance. Now it was a maxim of Mr. Gladstone's that "*it is the business of a government to govern and not to trade.*" Well had it been for England if her citizens had realized the profound truth contained in this crisp sentence. For government in England meant talking; it meant placing the interests of

one's party before the interests of one's country; it meant fishing for votes and baiting one's hook with other people's money. Business cannot be run on these lines; it is, like war, a grim affair, and should only be undertaken by men who fully understand the complex laws which govern modern commerce, and who will incur the loss of their private fortunes if they disobey them. For while to conduct a few enterprises at a loss, or a small profit, for the public good, is quite justifiable, to do so on a vast and increasing scale is to court financial ruin.

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- (i) In addition to Gibbon, see Bury's *History of the Later Roman empire*, vol.i, chap. iii; also *Roman Society in the last Century of the Roman Empire*, by Samuel Dill, Book iii, chap.1.
- (ii) Large sums were spent by the State on Public Libraries, but the investment in serious books was a financial loss as they were inadequately used.

VIII. *False systems of Education prevalent in Britain.*⁷

The object of any true system of education is twofold. Firstly, it seeks to produce good and earnest men, that is to say good citizens—secondly, it seeks to give a boy such knowledge as will enable him to earn his own living, or, supposing this is unnecessary, such knowledge as will make him a capable and unselfish leader in politics, art, or commerce. These two aspects of education are however inseparable, and it is often impossible for a man to be a reliable citizen if his education has not fitted him to follow some definite calling.

Now the English of the Twentieth Century quarrelled mightily about the first of these two aspects of education. Every religious denomination had its peculiar view on the subject of religious training, and every one was vastly exercised in his mind as to what his neighbour's child ought to be taught in the National Public or private school which it might happen to attend. What all failed to realize was that there are certain sacred truths in regard to life which a child can only learn in its own home the lips and from the lives of its parents. What young man will go out into the world with an instinctive reverence for women unless he has learned to reverence and respect his own mother? What girl will make a good wife if she has not learned to respect and trust her father or her brothers? The home and not the class room is the best school in which to educate an Imperial Race. The schoolmaster may do much with the raw material entrusted to him; but dealing as he must, with boys or girls *en masse*, he rarely finds their hearts and minds opening to him with that frank confidence which a child intuitively feels towards those who brought it into the world. This is such a natural and obvious truth that it might seem unnecessary for me to emphasize it here. I do so because there is a growing tendency among us for young parents to follow the English and send their children to a seminary before they have even learned to walk. Excellent as such institutions may be, they can never supply the place of home, and the parent who acquits himself of the responsibility of educating his children in the fear of God and in a reverent love, not for lists of Jewish Kings or Apostolic chronology, but for the simple narrative of the New Testament, does so at the risk of its lifelong happiness. Denominations may clatter and theologians may hold disputations, but the eternal struggle between inclination and duty is ever

with us, and the life of Christ is a surer guide than the changing beacons of the churches.

Let us now turn to the more practical side of Education which, under modern conditions, must often be dealt with by the Schoolmaster. Here the English were equally to blame. It is indeed ludicrous to read of the vast sums they spent upon education and the hopelessly inadequate returns which they got for their money. Let us first consider the National Schools, which were supposed to educate the masses. The largest proportion of the children in these schools were destined, presumably, to cultivate the land or to follow a handicraft; but neither agriculture, carpentry, engineering, nor anything associated with practical industry, was taught them. The curriculum was, with few exceptions, a literary one. Young men from Oxford and Cambridge who had never ploughed a field nor even learned to mend their own bicycles, were appointed as inspectors and generally controlled the education of Britain's future agricultural labourers and artisans, with the result that the few farm labourers who existed took but little real interest in their work, and to sell newspapers or to do odd jobs was the sole ambition of millions who should have been skilled mechanics.

Few persons could be more devoted to books than the writer of this humble volume, and he would be the last person in the world to deny a literary education to any one who desires it. But books are not the sole means of conveying instruction to the mind of youth. To love agriculture as a science or to understand the poetry of a steam engine is for thousands a truer source of inspiration than tales of bygone kings and the whisper of fairylands forlorn. It is futile to teach a farmer's boy a thousand and one facts of history against his will, and yet leave him ignorant of the nature of the earth, and the soil which he will have to plough. Teach him to read and to write by all means, and if he has a taste for good literature encourage him, in every possible way, to indulge it; but if you wish him to be an intelligent son of the soil do not, in heaven's name, leave him ignorant of the laws which condition man's success in his great struggle against the forces of nature.

This is to court disaster; for the children of such a limp education will inevitably despise manual labour and the crafts, and persist in thinking that to sit on an office stool in Tokio and read *Scrappy Bits* at lunch is nobler than to be an intelligent farmer or artisan.

This is precisely what happened in England. The children of the masses grew to despise labour, and to think that a gentleman was one who was ashamed to use his hands. It followed that far too many young men, forsaking the sea, forsaking the land, and forsaking the handicrafts, entered upon a business career; till the increasing competition which ensued led to widespread commercial dishonesty (i) and the general stagnation of trade.

If the education of boys in the National Schools of England was unpractical and contrary to the primitive laws of nature, that of the girls was equally wanting in common sense. The Report on Physical Degeneration, referred to above, makes it clear that the girls trained under the system were in the majority of cases ignorant of cooking, of hygiene, and of domestic economy. How the English fancied that they could establish a lasting Empire on the basis of a literary or commercial training alone, will always remain a mystery. Books are excellent things, and the fact that humanity has discovered the art of printing and can study the wisdom of past ages is a high tribute to modern civilization; but a civilization under which men find it dull to plough the fields and women do not suckle their offspring is a delusion and a sham.

When we turn to the Public School and University system which was supposed to equip young Englishmen

for public life we find that, if not quite so unpractical, it was very far from being a success. It presented the nation with thousands of genial athletes, but did very little to promote among her gentlefolk *the study of present day problems*. All such study was undertaken by young men apart from the general curriculum appointed for them by masters and professors. Numbers of Oxford youths, for instance, served in the South African war, but on returning to read so-called Modern History, including strategy, at their University they were not permitted to study for the B.A. degree any campaign which could have the slightest bearing upon modern warfare (ii). Questions were set them upon the disposition of troops at the battles of Bannockburn or Crecy, and they were expected to be able to draw sketch maps to illustrate the Wars of the Roses, but such books as *Stonewall Jackson* and such campaigns as the American Civil War or the Indian Frontier afforded were considered to be too near the unpoetical present to be studied by future leaders of their country. Can we be altogether surprised that statesmen trained under these conditions knew more about golf-sticks than rifles, and more about Parliamentary tactics than the military requirements of an Empire? In the same way, too, the valuable study of the Classics was in few instances turned to practical use, and thousands of educated Englishmen read how Athenian democracy perished at the hands of demagogues without ever dreaming that political, municipal, and working-class demagogues were destined to be among the most salient causes of the future downfall of England. There was, in fine, among the gentlefolk of England as a whole, a great absence of that spirit which animated Sidney Smith, when he cried, "*I care not what political party be in power, but I have a passionate love for common justice and for common sense.*"

- (i) See newspapers of the period.
- (ii) See *Oxford University Examination Statutes*.

IX. *Inability of the British to defend themselves and their Empire.*

The last phrase in the life of a dissolute fellow who dwells among hostile neighbours and has lost both his faith in God and his confidence in himself, comes when he is unable, nay even unwilling, to defend his home and the honour of his womenfolk against the onslaughts of stronger men. For such an one we have little pity, and yet such, if the truth be told, is the state of those great Empires which fail to realize God's law concerning the survival of the fittest and lose their faith and pristine virility.

This is the fate which befell the Roman Empire at the hands of vigorous barbarians. It was of no avail that it claimed to be a Christian Empire. God, if we read history aright, seems to have no regard for those who call him "Lord, Lord," but fail to obey His laws of health and manly duty (i). The Romans, I say, fell because they had ceased to obey these primitive laws, and it was so with the English. Let us weep for them, yet, even as we weep, determine resolutely that such a terrible vengeance from the offended Majesty of Heaven fall not upon ourselves.

The English had a far harder task before them than the Romans. In the first place they had to meet the civilized armies of Europe. The opponents of Rome were in many instances unskilled barbarians (ii). In the second place, the Roman Empire, stretching as it did from Asia Minor to Cornwall, was locally more

compact than those scattered Colonies and Dependencies which owned Britain as their Liege Lady. And yet, shout about it as they might, the English never realized how vast, and how easily assailable, their Empire was, nor what a duty was incumbent upon each citizen if it was to be held together and promote the spread of justice throughout the world. Like some invalid, who cannot defend his home, they put their trust in mercenaries and native troops, and were surprised when these suddenly proved inadequate.

At the opening of the Twentieth Century only fifty years had elapsed since the Indian Mutiny, and the South African war was showing them what a large number of troops were necessary for the defence of a mere fragment of their Empire (iii). But they seem to have thought that a fleet was their sole need (iv).

Let us observe for a moment a few aspects of this wide Empire at the close of the South African war. In the first place the blacks in South Africa, to say nothing of the Boers, were as five to one. Most of the natives in Basutoland were armed with Martini-Henri rifled and possessed an adequate supply of cartridges. The mere numbers of these uncivilized barbarians, and their knowledge of the grave Native problems in the United States, should have put the English on their guard, even if they had never learned the lessons of the Indian Mutiny (v). To the South West lay German West Africa, and to judge from a novel which appeared in Germany (vi) about this time, the Germans appear already to have meditated the possibilities of acquiring the goldfields of Johannesburg and Kimberley to replenish their Treasury. In India and Egypt the Native problem was equally urgent. Who could foretell what effect the sudden lowering of British prestige might have in the Soudan, in Somaliland, or among the frontier tribes of India? (vii)

How came it that the English failed to realize their needs? Surely they might have guessed that the Anglo-French *entente* in 1905 would draw closer the bonds of sympathy between Germany and Russia. Surely they might have suspected that, before the century was out, some plot would have been contrived for their destruction. Surely they might have guessed the possible coercion or bribery of the Sultan (viii). They might have known that their commercial and literary ally, France, was too deeply interested in Russia's finance to join them in a war against her. They might have known that it would be mere child's play for a revolutionary Russia, having seized Persia, to hurl 600,000 men against India by no less than three distinct routes. They might have realized that such an attack would be accompanied by a raid from German West Africa and an attempted invasion of England. They might have guessed that alien-manned corn-ships would not prove the most reliable of provision agents. They might have guessed that the strain on their navy would demand vast reserves of trained naval officers and bluejackets. They might have guessed that for the adequate defence and garrison of Africa, Egypt, and India during a state of war, to say nothing of London, several millions of disciplined civic riflemen would be necessary to support their mercenaries and native troops. Above all things they might surely have realized the need of a large supply of Reserve Officers (ix), who, though civilians, had made the study of war their pastime, instead of cards.

All our Japanese experts are agreed that if, in her struggle against Russia and Germany, England had added such officers and armed citizens to an adequate supply of hardy seamen she could have laughed at defeat. As it was she was crippled for want of men (x). Her fleet was unable to adopt an aggressive attitude. It lay encircling an Isle of trembling nerve-ridden townsmen, who had forgotten how to play the man for their hearths and homes.

Happy is the man who calmly and reverently loves his country, her smiling pastures and time-clad hills; the

sturdy frames of her men, and the bright glances of her noble women: for him the fields never lose their freshness and village pleasures never pall. But such an one is no idle talker; he is prepared to make sacrifices for what he professes to love. Above all things, he is one who looks ahead, who spends time, money, and quiet forethought, that nothing may happen against which adequate preparations have not been made. And these are greater things than to die.

Why should I tell again the shameful story that is known to each of us: of the possessions that were stripped from England because she had slumbered; of the Isle denuded of troops; of the corn-ships that never came; of the fleet that grew weary with watching; of the dark night, and the crowded transports; of streets that lay sodden with the blood of those who ran because they had never learned to shoot; of the women who cursed them for cowards when the foreigner was quartered in their homes?

How came it that a hundred years ago, in 1905, when Earl Roberts, who had saved them from defeat in South Africa, told them in unmistakable language (xi) the needs of their Empire, these poor townfolk failed to play the man and realize the dangers which surround an empire whose inhabitants cannot defend it? How came it that in this sad year they told one another tales of Nelson (xii), who had left them an ideal that *every man was to do his duty*, but made not the slightest effort to find out what that duty was? We can only conclude that they were ceasing to love their country. They were too busy with their commerce and their cargoes, their professional athletes and their race-horses, to study the past and the unalterable decrees of Heaven.

There was no need for them to adopt the lengthy Conscription of Europe, but it was absolutely essential for the defence of their scattered possessions that they should spend three or four months of their youth in learning the duties of a soldier's life (xiii). Their boasted liberty had become only another name for license. 'Hooligans,' as they dubbed the undisciplined sons of English slums, ran riot in their streets. There existed among them no respect for parents, no reverence for old age, nothing but an insane insistence that every sorry child of sloth and ignorance had an unreasoning right to do exactly what he pleased. Four months under canvas, a rigid discipline, and a sound education in the most bracing of all schools, the school of war, would have given a new tone to the community, and compelled every man to realize what it meant to be the citizen of an Empire which strove to direct the aspirations of the world. But further, and beyond all this, such a training would have crushed for ever the spirit of Jingoism and unchristian militarism in which the English crowded over their petty triumphs against native princes, or alternately deified and damned their generals; and would have substituted for it that soldierly and statesmanlike frame of mind which is based on a knowledge of what grim war really means. Acquainted with rifles and realizing only too well the ghastly possibilities of the bayonet, the English 'man in the street' would have ceased to be a war-poet and have become the most peaceful of beings. It is the strong and disciplined nature which is merciful and just, which is tender towards women, and pitiful to the weak. It is the bragging but ignorant mind which has never been disciplined or trained, that takes delight in torturing dumb beasts and talks cant about the glory of an Empire for which it is unwilling to make the slightest sacrifice.

Girt about with a race of disciplined civic riflemen, linked as one by a fleet which was adequately supplied with reserves, the British Empire might have realized at last the dreams of her Roman predecessor and *British Peace* (xiv) might have been an everlasting tribute to that ideal of sober Christian discipline which was set

forth by St. Paul.

Where is the man so dull of heart that he fails to conceive the daring possibilities of such an Empire,—a duty-loving, disciplined Empire, sober, and self-reliant, sworn together for the protection of the weak, resolute in its mighty determination to preserve the peace of the world and hand on to its children the tradition that an Englishman was not one who shrieked about Imperialism, but a strong man armed who kept the palace of Justice and Peace secure and inviolable?

And now I would remind my countrymen, and particularly those youths and maidens for whom this book has been written, that such a task has fallen to Japan. Let us realize the profound nature of that ideal which we must now set before us. In many points we resemble the English: we have the same sturdy physique which was theirs in the days of Queen Elizabeth (xv); the same faith in God and ourselves. Like them we are an Island race on the verge of a great Continent with an increasing trade and a boasted Navy. Let us read the history of past Empires and beware. Let us study the Decline and Fall of England, as the English should have studied the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

FOR THE GOOD OF THE RACE (xvi).

Tokio, 2005.

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- (i) See the remarkable passage in which Jeremiah prefaces his account of the destruction of the Jews at the hands of a healthier nation with the words “Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?” Chap v. 9
 - (ii) I make this statement with considerable reservations. Many of Rome’s most formidable opponents were those Germans who had served as mercenaries in her armies. See Oman: *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*. Chap. i.
 - (iii) “In January, 1900, I found it difficult to assemble a force of men and guns large enough for the march on Bloemfontein, and I should have been relieved of many anxieties if I had felt justified in calling on the Government to send me immediate reinforcements of Regular units. At the time, however, the Regular Army in England (excluding the recruits at the depôts) had *dwindled down to nine battalions and eighteen field batteries*, and I was reluctant to put forward demands which would have caused a still further reduction.”—Earl Roberts’ statement before the *Royal Commission on War in South Africa. Minutes of Evidence I.*, page 433.⁸
 - (iv) I would here ask the reader to remember how, till the very night to their doom, the English never realized that, through the increased speed of the modern steamship and the submarine march of the torpedo,⁹ the English Channel had virtually become a moat, and *Britain was rapidly ceasing to be an island*.
 - (v) My attention has been drawn to the Ethiopian movement, which was only nipped in the bud by the dispatch of the South African Constabulary to the North of the Transvaal, In Oct., 1904, to check the meeting of native chiefs. Vide *Lehlo*, the native paper published in Pietersburg.¹⁰
 - (vi) Alluded to in the English House of Lords, July 11th, 1905.
 - (vii) e.g. South Africa was fought to save India. “Ye cannot in one place rule and in another place bear service.”—See *Traffics and Discoveries: A Sahib’s War*, by Rudyard Kipling.

- (viii) The English were warned of this by an anonymous letter from Alexandria, which appeared in the *Spectator* as long ago as July 29th, 1905. The author of this letter, who had private sources of information, pointed out the military possibilities of the railway which was being built by the Sultan from Damascus towards Hedjaz. "The real originator of the scheme," he writes, "was General von der Goltz, whose plans for the defence of the Ottoman Empire included the construction of great strategical lines, which would enable the Turkish armies to be mobilised and concentrated with great rapidity for the purpose of defence against invasion or rebellion. . . . German hostility to Great Britain," he continues, "is no new thing. With Turkey hostile to the first Moslem Power in the World (viz., England), German ambitions might contemplate the possibility of using the Turkish forces to make a formidable diversion during an Anglo-German conflict at Koweit (on the Persian Gulf) and on the Egyptian border. . . . The Suez Canal could be blocked with ease. Ma'an is only fifteen marches from Ismaila, and though the Sinai peninsula and the desert of El Tih are inhospitable enough, large armies have entered Egypt from the north-east since the dawn of history, and the Turkish soldier requires little but bread and water and cartridges." It seems strange, in the light of after events, that the English should have taken no notice of this sinister forecast of events, which were really destined to happen.
- (ix) Their terrible loss of officers in South African should have taught them this. It was a want which Earl Roberts and Lord Kitchener fully realized; but how could this want be supplied unless wealthy leisured gentlemen came forward to supply it?
- (x) Compare J. R. Seely's account of reasons for the fall of the Roman Empire: *Roman Imperialism*: "Whatever the remote and ultimate cause may have been, the immediate cause to which the fall of the Empire can be traced is a physical, not a moral, decay. In valour, discipline, and science the Roman armies remained what they had always been, and the peasant Emperors of Illyricum were worthy successors of Cincinnatus and Caius Marius. But the problem was how to replenish these armies. Men were wanting; the empire perished for want of men." *Lectures and Essays*, page 52 of Macmillan's Edition (Eversley Series).
- (xi) Speeches in the House of Lords, July 11th, and at the Mansion House, Aug. 1, 1905.
- (xii) Their noble admiral who died at Trafalgar in 1805, 200 years ago.
- (xiii) For the fact that they had been told this see Earl Roberts' statement concerning the inefficiency of the Volunteers and Militia. "It is impossible under the present system to rely upon the Volunteers as they are now, or upon the Militia. Some change must be made; either they must have more training, or we must use some means to *create an Army*."—*Royal Commission on War in South Africa. Minutes of Evidence I.*, page 437.^{1 1}
- (xiv) This daring dream would of course have been best realized by a joint union of the Anglo-Saxon race, including America.
- (xv) The Queen under whom they defeated the Spanish Armada, a victory which has been compared to the Battle of the Sea of Japan.
- (xvi) This is the nearest translation of the original Japanese *nom de plume* which I can find.—
[TRANSLATOR.]

編者注

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- ¹ 1905年版ではここから改行して新段落となっている。本文に変更はない。
 - ² この注と本文は1905年版にはなく、1906年版で追加された。
 - ³ この注の全文は1905年版にはなく、1906年版で追加された。
 - ⁴ 原文ではこのあとに “and” が続くが、明らかに誤字なため削除した。
 - ⁵ 1905年版ではこのあとに語句が続いていて “It may well have been a better weapon in other respects; I do not know.”となっている。
 - ⁶ 1905年版では末尾が “down to the housing problem or army reform.”となっている。
 - ⁷ この第八節全体が1905年版にはなく、1906年版で追加された。
 - ⁸ この注の全文は1905年版にはなく、1906年版で追加された。
 - ⁹ 1905年版には“and the submarine march of the torpedo”がない。
 - ¹⁰ 1905年版では、この “Pietersburg”が、“Pietermaritzburg”となっている。
 - ¹¹ この注の全文は1905年版にはなく、1906年版で追加された。

2. 玉木懿夫訳『英国衰亡論』(1906)の復刻

凡例

テキストは玉木懿夫訳『英国衰亡論』(明治39年3月12日発行、東京、新橋堂書店)(全44頁)を用いた。

各段落の最初の文章には一字を空け、各章の題目の前後には一行を空けた。

旧漢字については、常用する新体字のある場合にのみ改めたが、「耻」のような異体字や今日では使わない漢字などは史料という観点から原文通りとした。

「>」のような記号は仮名に置き換え、「子」は「ネ」としたが、句読点や旧仮名遣いはそのままとした。

明治百三十八年日本高等小学校教科書

英国衰亡論 全

叙

英国衰亡史、題何ぞ奇なる、此頃一書を得たり、題して英国衰亡史といふ、我同盟国たる英国は其領土に太陽の没することなく其商工業の繁栄世界に冠たり、英国には隆興史こそあれ、豈に不古なる衰亡史あらんや、訳者が之を手にしたるは夢か、イナ夢にあらず、現に書は我手中に在り。

尚ほ驚くべきは此書の表紙に見るに此書は紀元二千五年(明治百三十八年)我東京に於て発兌され、日本の小学校の教科書たりとの事是也、百年後の我子孫が我同盟国の衰亡を語りて自家の教訓となすを今日に見る、夢か、夢にあらず。

是の書実に昨年^{オックス、フォルド}牛津に於て発兌されたる英国未来記にして名を百年後日本にての発兌に藉り、時弊を痛責して隆昌繁栄に酔へる英国人を覚醒せんとせるなり、倫敦タイムズ之を評して此小冊子は誇張の迹はあれど亦健全なる思想を含めりといへり、然れ共訳者は此書を読んで英国の時弊よりも日本の時弊に適中せるもの多きを念ふを禁ずる能はず、一頁、二頁、五頁と読み往くに随つて、此書日本の未来記たるにあらざるやを疑ふこと屢々なりき、日本の未来記たるか、英国の未来記たるか、何れにするも両国ともに百年の後他人によりて其衰亡を語られざること是れ吾人の至願也、此願の為に訳者は不思議なる此書を訳して我国を愛する諸君に示すこととなしぬ。

訳者識

緒言

此小冊子は我小学校の上級生に用うる為めに著せり、其長く教科書として用ゐられんことを望む、凡そ邦国の世界歴史に冠たるを欲するものは、復た他の邦国が其繁栄を權花一朝の夢と化したるを知らざるべからず、若し帝国にして同一運命に陥るを避けんとならば、国民は小児の時より先人の

過を識り、避け得べきは之を避けざるべからず。

二十世紀の初頭に於て英国民にしてギボンの羅馬衰亡論に注意したらんには今日此かる過誤に陥ること無かりしなるべし、彼初に其注意を怠れり、其結果知るべきのみ、此の書を編するに当り、余は羅馬衰亡論の著者に感謝せざるを得ず蓋し羅馬の衰亡を論じたる多くの辞は直に移して二十世紀の英国に応用さるるを以つて也、余は悉く之をギボンの著書に引用したり。

明治百三十八年 東京に於て

著者識

英国衰亡論

英国 某憂国者著

日本 椿園居士訳

総論

十年前我同盟国の突然の凋落は醉生夢死の徒には予想されざりしも、邦国の興亡を学び、其衰亡に至る原因を知れる少数の識者には敢て驚愕を与ふることなかりしなるべし、心ある者誰か単に道德眼若くは冷静なる歴史眼のみを以つて英国の凋落を觀るを得んや、余は我國民が英国に注ぎし愛惜の情と我海軍を極西に送る能はざりし痛嘆の意の読者に在るを知る、喜望峯を繞る長航海は此の如き急激なる国難に趣くには、余りに冒険たり、仮りに一時英国を此の不幸より救ひ得たりとするも、帝国の助力は唯だ暫時のものにして且つ不結果のものたるべし、英国民の弱点は、一朝に之を拯はんには余りに根底深し、英国民が世界の運命を左右せんことは最早沙汰の限りなり。

バビロン及アツシリアが其記念碑を残し、埃及が三角塔を、カーセージが女王を、羅馬が法律を残したるが如く、英国は沙翁と世界通用語とを其子孫に残したり、而して英国の歴史は長く人類の教科書とのみなり、又其衰亡史は炫耀せる繁華が国家衰亡の萌芽となり、竟に世界の覇権を喪失せしむるものたる事を現在の邦家に知らしむる教訓者とのみなれり。

印度は既に露国の手中に帰し、南アフリカは独逸に埃及は土耳其に帰し、加奈太は米鷲の翼の影に庇はれ、濠洲は日本の保護国となれり、是等の諸邦は羅馬大帝国の分裂したる諸邦の如く、唯だ共通の国語と共通の過去とを有するのみ。

未だ英国衰亡史の著されたるなし、支那歴史家の之を著さんとせるありと聞けど、別に其労を取るの必要なし、蓋し余が緒言に述べたる如く、総てギボンの羅馬衰亡論に於て之を知るを得べければ也、ギボン著第七卷を学び、二十世紀初頭より其末尾に至る英国の記録を対比して余は其衰亡の徴の両時代全く相同じきに一驚を喫したり、而かも其異れるは唯だ英国の衰亡の非常に急激なりしこと是のみ、理由は明瞭也、英国は非常に多くの競争者を有したれば也。

余は千九百五年当時の英国大政治家の預言的挙動によりて筆を起すの可なるを思ふ、ローズベリ一卿は英国の大競馬に捷ちたる馬にシセロの名を与へて得意満面たりしが、シセロは一の大演説家たりき、彼は間断なく又総ての問題を語れり、彼は古を語り、道德を語り、書籍を語り、政治を語り、ポムペーを語れり、彼の語るや悉く羅馬帝国に就いてなりき、彼が羅馬帝国に就いて語りて後、幾もなく帝国は衰亡を始めたり、邦国は口の人に頼る能はずして、手の人に待たざるべからず。

千九百五年於て英国議会は漸次シセロ及び其時代を追へりき、議会は弁者の会となりつつあり、而して与論の指導者とはならずなりぬ、換言すれば世の風潮のまにまに漂へる、当時流行の某東京新聞紙と異なる所なきに至りつつありき。

英国々民の領袖にして既に此の如きを知らば日本の学生は其国土の縦横を通じて所在に醜き癰腫の如き国家衰亡の表徴を見るも敢て驚くことなかるべし、以下吾人をして之を推究せしめよ。

第一 田舎生活よりも都会生活を好みて其結果英国人の健康と信仰に及ぼせる悪影響

邦家衰亡の第一徴は国民が田舎の静穏なる歓楽を棄てて滲憊たる都市の、人を圧する壯麗の中に住まんことを欲するに在り、正直なる羅馬の農夫の衰頹は実に羅馬衰亡の第一徴なりき、而して英国民亦是と同一なりき、農夫の体力は外気に練ることを止めて以来漸次衰へて其自信力を随つて衰へたり、是れ外国移住を嫌ふ者の増加によりて之を見るを得べし、其祖先は西班牙の無敵艦隊を滅ぼし、亜米利加の強健なる殖民たりしに、悲むべき都市の人民は唯だ音楽堂と遊戯に、余り多く一身を任ねたりき。

英国の爲めに弁護せんにも十九世紀及二十世紀の英国殖民は成効せるものにあらざりき、濠洲は堪え難き負債を荷ひ且つ母国の悪しき欠点を表はし、南アフリカは其存立唯だ東洋労働者の生産力に待つこととなりたりき、此時代に於て一の成効したる殖民は唯だ加奈太に於ける救世軍労働殖民ありしのみ、是れ米国最初の殖民の如く其成効一に神を信じたるに由る、殖民の成効は国家補助の殖民にあらず、孤独的遍歴者にあらず、唯だ神を恐るる群隊の邁往直進するにあるのみ、此悲しむべき時代に於ける英国民は漸次其神と其身を信ぜざるに至りき。英国民の身体健康の衰弱に就いては余は尚ほ後に之を説くべし、而して農業衰頹の他の悲むべき結果に就いてギボン氏善く之を言へり、曰く、『チベリアスの時代より農業の衰頹を伊太利に見たり、而して是が為羅馬帝国民は其の生命を風と波とに托するの危険を訴へたり』と、此事少しの変更を加へて英国に応用せらるべし、二十世紀に於て英国は層一層海外の輸入に待つに至れり、英国民は不整頓なる都市に集合して国家を謠ひつつあるに其砲は之を独逸より輸入したりき、彼等は如何に生存せんかをトルストイ、ワグナー、トリユーに示さんとして、今は却て如何に死滅するかを吾人に示すに至れり、国を愛するは過去の事也。今は国よりも麵麩を愛せり。

第二 保養の爲めの外、海を顧みざる二十世紀英国民の趨勢

英国衰亡の原因無数なるが中に恐くは是れ最も耻づべきものたるべし、二十世紀の進み行くまに、自ら称して『濤の子』とせし英国民も漸く水夫生活を敢てするを好まずなりぬ、印度水夫と欧大陸人により乗組まれたる船舶は海上に健康を求むる弱き英国の富者を乗せ、衰憊せる英国都人士は海浜に遊びて其柔弱なる身体を健にせんとせるも、其の水夫を以つて其商船を躡ふことは止みにき、其の一朝事あり歐洲諸国と干戈を把つて起ちし時には相当の予備海軍なかりし也、外国船の穀物を英国に運ぶ者も亦彼に背きたりし也、其衰亡の最後に於て其海軍と其商船とは都府の巡查と政府の技師とにより補充せられたり、吁、是れ皆な其敗亡の真事情を知るに足らずや。

此かる災禍の来るとは明白となりつつありし二十世紀初頭に於て英国に欠乏せるものは何ぞや、蓋し大統領ルーズヴェルト式の内閣員是也、職務に剛毅にして強健の身体と蓋世の意気とを持し、国民をして歐洲諸国の軍備に汲々たる中に醉生夢死せしめざる人こそ、即ち当時英国に欠乏したる者たれ。

(千九百五年マスカリー卿英国海員調査によれば英国海員中外国人船長五百十一人、運転士二千九百九十一人、水夫四万人ありて多くの英国商船の乗組員は全く外国人なりと)

第三 優美と贅沢の増加

ギボンは特に此点を論じたるが、英国衰亡史を著す者亦之を忽諸に付せざるべし、両国民の罪過は酷しく似かよひたりき、吾人は其快樂、贅沢なる宴会、体育の嫌厭、土耳其湯の流行に両国民が同一帰趣あるを看過する能はず、吾人は又た両国に無責任なる資本家の其僕婢には巨額の金を浪費するも、其社会に対して何等盡すことを知らざる者増加したりしを知れり。両帝国が危機一髪の断崖に達せし頃は其国民の生活費は一足飛に増加しつつあり、又貧民問題は益す切迫したりき、穀物と麵麩の施与は羅馬国自衰の重なる原因なりき、而して千九百十年英国の学校児童に食物を施与したることは英国を荒廃せしめたる最も不幸なる偽善的行為の一なりき、又両国に於ては不健康なる父母増加し、強健なりし農夫も衰弱して其用を為さざるに至りき。

ギボンは羅馬が屢々ゴツス人に侵されたる当時、羅馬人の為す遊覽好となれるに驚愕したり、曰く『熱心なる群集は毎日詰旦其場所を得んが為めに押し掛け、中には夜を込めて其附近の家々の戸口にイミ、眠らず場所の明くを待構ふる多し』と、此辞亦之を英国人に用うるを得べし、彼等はシェークスピアを解せず、大俳優を識らずして、訳もなく演劇を好みたり。

第四 文学及劇の趣味の衰頹

茲に又二十世紀の英国の文学及劇に付き最もよく適するギボンの語あり、曰く。

『詩人の名は殆んど忘れられ、演説家は詭弁家に圧せられ、批評家、学を罔みし、天才亡びて、趣味の衰頹となれり』

又曰く

『羅馬の悲劇、喜劇は其共和政斃れて後殆ど聞く所無く、之に代りて放肆なる道化、柔弱なる音楽及燦爛たる粧飾盛なるに至れり』

余は英国人にして其衰亡に付いて少しく書く所あるを見たり、而かも健全なる思想を持てるは稀にして、多少價ある者も其国民には顧みらるること無かりき、批評と註釈とは羅馬の如く盛なるも、天才は亦羅馬の如く欠乏を以つて顕著なり、好ましからざる仏蘭西小説の拙き模倣品が英国を通じて到る所に行なはるるは自由を得たる英国婦人が其の自由を国の為めならずして自己の為に用ひたること一原因たり、当時倫敦美術館に美人が其情人たる騎士をして神と国との為めに戦はしむる一画あれば之れに対して美人が男子を誘惑墮落せしむる六画あり、人々見て無心に得々として曰く『是れ衰亡なり』と、モルヒネや煙草の犠牲者を仕組みたる小説はバンヤンやスコットの作よりも広く行はれ、上下男女の区別なく其書架を飾る為めに古書の廉にして飾りあるものを購ふも、之を読むことは勉めて稀なりき、而して卑近なる演劇、絵入雑誌及び新聞紙は国民の智識上の食物たりき。

第五 英国国民身体健康の漸衰

此問題に付いてもギボンは吾人の最善の指導者たり。其悲むべき物語は悉く前世紀の英国国民の繰返す所なりき、其羅馬の衰頹せる地方に付き述べたる中に曰く『紀律の弛廢と練習の停止は兵卒をして勤勞に従事するに適當ならず、又之を欲せざらしめたり、彼等は甲冑の重きを訴へ、竟に鎧と

兜を脱するを許され、其の祖先が世界を征服したる重き武器、短き剣、恐ろしきピラムは漸々柔弱なる手より離れたりと。

同一事情は亦英国軍隊に起りたりき、二十世紀の初頭、英国軍隊が南阿の敗亡を取返したるライフル銃は其兵卒に重しとせられ代ふるに軽銃を以つてせられたり、我軍隊と異なり英国歩兵は其背囊を荷ふに苦しみ中には外套を荷ふに堪へざるあり、平時の行軍に際して落伍する者多く、又親切なる士官によりて其銃を肩にするを赦さること多し、アルダーシヨツトの観兵式にすら堪へずして列を外づす近衛兵あり、其頃体格検査は漸次其合格資格の身長と胸囲を短くせしが、而も煙草の喫み過ぎ及不衛生なる生活の爲めに不合格とせらるるもの益す多きに至れり。

余が既に述べたる如く、二十世紀の初頭に於て英国国民は最早活動性の国民にはあらずなりぬ、殊に倫敦及其他の大都市に於て其然るを見る、羅馬人が撃剣に集合したる如く英国人は賭に集合し、クリケットやフットボールの如き野外遊戯は英国の遊戯とはならずなりぬ、而して但だボーリング(球転し)の行はるるを見るのみ、而かも英国国民は自らは行はずして称して競技好の国民といへりき。

尚ほ甚しき事あり、劇場は病院(居常余りに室内に在りて陰鬱病に罹れる者の爲めに)となり、新聞雑誌は虚弱治療の売薬広告を以つて充たされぬ、其身体の強弱が其身の幸福に関することを知るも国民一般の虚弱が竟に如何に成り行くかを知らざりき、国民の進歩既に根底を失ひぬ、但だ識者の少数が慨然書冊を抛つて大声疾呼、優勝劣敗の大法国民生活の上にもあることを告げたるを見たるも、既に世界の覇者たるを得ざる英帝国は戮力協心して之を匡救せんとする者を出だす能はざりき。

第六 英国国民宗教心の衰頹

人若し前に述べたる諸項を読まずんば二十世紀英国国民の宗教上精神上の熱心の欠乏に驚くなるべし表面には信心慈善の見るべきものありと雖も是れ弱き心が偽善と宗教上の儀式とによりて慰藉を求めたるに過ぎず、二十世紀の漸次進むに従つて人の実用的精神的勇氣は痛く欠如となりき、而して多数は宗教改革によりて時弊を匡正せんとせしも、時弊の基く所を洞察して、根本的に之を匡救せんとせるは頗る少数なりき。

宗教と社会研究は羅馬に於ての如く英国に於ても一の時過しに過ぎずなりぬ、恒産ある者も自己の利益分配の一部分を犠牲に供して労働者の時間を減ずることはせずして、徒らに社会問題を縦談し犠牲の美に関する浩瀚の書籍を読みつつありしのみ。

ギボンは多くの迷信の羅馬に行はれたるを指摘せしが、二十世紀の英国を見るに亦迷信の盛に行はれしを見るを得たり、禁厭(クリスチアン、サイエンス)及び手相は倫敦上流社会に流行し、唯物主義、天命主義も労働者及社会党に柔軟なる律條を授けたるに過ぎざりき、而して資産ある道楽者はオーマー、カイヤムの哲学に其遁路を求め寺に失ひたる時間を酒場に戻すてふ教儀を其安心立命の條目となしき。

僧侶牧師は其分に従つて努力はしたれど、其根本に於て過ちたりき、国教外の者こそ却て多く社会上政治上に国民進歩の爲に盡す所ありたれど、英国々教は常に社会組織の非常に不可なるを極力攻撃せる富者より貧民の爲に僅に三片宛許を醸出せしめたるに過ぎざりき、国の資本を左右する会社の株主や取締役は其労働者の取扱に関して法律を要求したれど、労働者の健康、幸福に関しては何等考慮する所あらざりき、『資本に対する最高利得』とは彼等の毎年の叫なりき而して其利益分配を

受くるや、其少数者は労働嫌の労働者に施しを為すことによりて慈善家の名を博したりき、国教は熱誠ある有数の識者によりて高尚なる盡力ありたるに拘はらず、国民の信仰上既に其勢力を耄したりき。

基督教徒の盲目なる、其国を挙げて墮落に陥りつつありしに拘らず、之に対して基督教として一致して事に当る能はず、各派の間には感情の衝突無益なる邪推盛に行はれたりき、各基督教に対する最上の要求は実に寛宏と熱誠の基礎の上に立ちて、悲むべき教儀の衝突を抛擲し、宗教上精神上に覚醒する外無かりし也、寺院は永く睡りつつありき、而して其睡りつつある間に国民は死滅したりき。

第七 租税の増加及市府の濫費

羅馬帝国を滅亡せしめたる是等の弊竇は常に私人の企業を圧迫したる官府の存在に原因せり、外侵屢々到れる時官府の瓦解は憐れなる混乱に陥りたり、而して此弊竇の英国に於ても亦同様なりしを見る、英国民は万事国家に依頼し来り、国家は其国民を教育し、養育し、鞭撻し、場合によりては其小児に衣服までも給せり、国家は又其国民の家屋に燈火を給し、文学を貸し（公共図書館を意味す）電車を与へて、往復を便せしめ、安下宿を給し、其他此類の多費濫費甚だ多し。

千九百年既に国家が市の事業の為に一年十億万円以上を費すの権利を地方団体に与へたるを見る、此の如き鉅大なる金額も、其大部分は市が営業する為に費され、而かも年を逐ふに従つて其金額非常に増加したり、此かる市の事業は多くは損失に陥り其收支相償ふが如く見ゆるものも其実年々之に補給を為して表面上利益あるを装ふに過ぎざりしといへり、是の故に此附加的支出に當つる為め発行されたる公債年一年に増加し、其年々に増加する負債に対する利子は經常支出に於て年々に増加し、竟に市に於ての住居は負擔の重きに苦しむに至れり、此かる事態は自ら事業経営の才能を誇りとせる英国民に取りては異常格別の事なりき、蓋し市民が市の事業を管理する当局者を選ぶに、事業観を以つてせず却つて之を演説家として名ある者、若くば政黨員として名ある者に取り、以つて市の事務に当らしめたるに由る、是等の演説家政黨員は市の事務に當る他人の金を以つて事業を営むことを知れるが故に、其事業経営には輕微なる注意を払ふに過ぎざりき、彼等は偽善を行ひ、僅かなる名声を博さん為めに恩を公衆に売り、結局市と国家とをして破産に等しき状態に陥らしめたり。

グラツドストーン氏は種々の誹謗を受けたる人なるも其大財政家たりし事は之を否認するもの少なるべし、其箴言に曰く『政府の事務は政治するに在り、商売するにあらず』と、若し英国にして此片言に蔵せる深奥なる真理を悟了したらんには英国の幸たりしならんも、如何せん英国の政府当局者は演説を能事とし、国家よりも政党を第一に置き、投票を釣ること、及び他人の金を餌に投票を釣ることを勉めたり、事業なる者は此くては成効すべき様なし、事業は猶ほ戦争の如く怖るべきもの也、唯だ近世的商業を支配する複雑なる法則を全く了解せる人によりてのみ処理されざるべからず、若し此法則に従はざらんか、唯だ自ら其運命の覆滅を招くあるのみ、由来公共の為に盡す或事業は利益少なく若くは多少の損失ありとも、寧ろ之を可とせんも、之を大規模にして而かも漸次之を膨脹せしむるは財政上の衰亡を招くものたるを知らざる可らず。

第八 不忠実なる英国教育制

教育の真目的に二あり、一は忠良なる国民を造るに在り、一は兒童に生活を為すに適當なる智識

を与ふるに在り、而して彼等に政治、美術、商業上の大家たるに足るべき智識を与ふるを不必要なりとす、此教育の二目的は之を分離するを得ず、蓋し職業を得るに適當なる教育無き者は往々信用すべき国民たること難ければ也。

人は児童に対する家庭の勢力を認識するを謬れども児童は其両親の唇より及其生活より感化すること多し、誰か青年が始め其母を尊敬するを知らずして社会に出でて婦人を尊敬せんや、誰か少女が其父及兄弟を尊敬し信用するを知らずして人の良妻たり得るあらんや、学校の教室ならぬ家庭は帝国民を教育する最良の学校也、而して学校教師は此粗製品を受取りて之を精製するも、児童は其世に出づるまでに陶冶したる教師に対して其精神を傾倒すること稀也。

請ふ吾人をして英国教育の實際問題に入らしめよ、英国の教育制は到底非難を免るる能はざる也、其教育に費すこと鉅大にして其効果の之を償ふ能はざるや寧ろ滑稽なり、第一其小学校を見よ、其児童の大部分は成長して耕作若くは手工を事とせざるべからざるに、学校に於ては農業も木工も機械も其他実業に関して一切教ゆる所無く、課業は重に文学的なりき、会て土地を耕やさず自己の自転車すら修理することを知らざる牛津及キヤムブリッジの卒業生が視学に任命され、英国初等教育を監督するが故に、其児童は竟に耕作を嫌ひ手工を嫌ふ結果を生ぜり。

由来書籍は少年に教ゆる総ての手段にあらず、而して學術として農業を愛し、蒸汽機の詩を理解せしむるは古代王の話や神話よりも感化の真淵源たり、農夫の子に土地や土壤の性質を教えずして、歴史の千百を教ゆるは無用の事なり、跛的教育の結果は憐むべきものにして、其子弟が労働を嫌ひ手工を嫌ふは当然の成行たり、我教育に於ても之を鑑みずんば我東京の子弟も官庁や銀行会社の椅子に腰を掛くることを智能ある農夫及職工よりも高尚なりと思惟するべし。

斯かる事實は明に英国に起れり、多数の児童は生長して労働を嫌ひ、紳士とは其手を役するを耻づる者なりと考ふるに至れり、次で起りたるは是等多数の子弟が海を棄て、土地を棄て、手工を棄て、商売に走りたりこと是也、商売は是が為めに競争を烈しくし結局商業上に不誠実と商業の不振を招けり。

英国小学校の教育法は男生に不実用不自然なると同様に女生に対しても常識を欠きたりき、多くの場合に於て女生は料理法、育児法、家事経済を教えられざりし也、誰か英国が文学と商業とのみの上に其帝国を築き得べしとせしことを不思議とせざるあらんや、男は田を耕すを怠り、女は其子に哺乳せしめざるが如き文明は虚偽の文明也。

吾人更に英国の中学、大学を見るに、必らずしも実用的ならずといはざるも成効には遠しといふべし、学生は競技に熱心するも現実の問題を研究すること少し、例へば牛津の学生南阿戦争に従事したるも、帰つて近世歴史を学ぶに、大学は近世戦争の戦略に及ぶを許さざりき、バンノツクバーンの戦争や薔薇戦争は図を引きてまで之を説明するも米国南北戦争や、印度境界戦の如きは余り近過ぎて詩的趣味を欠くとせられたり、誰か此かる状況の下に教育されたる政治家がライフル銃よりも多くゴルフ杖を識り、帝国の軍備よりも多く議会政略を識れるに驚かんや。

第九 英国防備の無力

英国は羅馬よりも至難至艱の場合に遭遇したりき、第一英国は歐洲文明国の軍隊と戦はざるを得ざりしが、羅馬の敵対者は多く不熟練なる野蛮人なりき、第二羅馬帝国の領土は英国の植民地、属国ほど全地球に散在せざりき、而して英国民は其領土の如何に攻撃され易き位置に居るかを自覚せず、其の一致協力の義務を自覚せざりし也。

南阿戦争は英国の一部を防ぐにすら如何に多くの軍隊を要するかの実例を英国民に示したるに拘らず、英国民は尚ほ軍艦さへあらば顧慮する所無しとしたるが如く見えき。

百年前千九百五年、南阿戦争を敗亡より救ひしロバーツ元帥は英国民が其邦家を囲める危険を知らず、自ら之を防禦し能はざる事情を識らざるを指摘したる以来如何になりしぞ、国家危急存亡の秋、『各自其本分を盡す』てふ理想を残せしネルソン提督の歴史を互に語り合ひつつも盡すべき本分の如何なるかを少しも知らんとはせざりき、吾人は唯だ言ふを得べし、曰く英国民は其国家を愛するを忘れたりと、彼等は過去邦家衰亡の迹と優勝劣敗の大法を学ぶよりも其商業、其貨物、其競馬の為に余りに多忙なりき。

英国は必らずしも徴兵法を採用するの要なし、全国の壮丁悉く三四個月を軍隊生活に委せしむべきこと、全地球散布の領土を防禦するに絶対的必要なりし也、彼等の所謂自由なるものの弊は、其父母を尊敬せず、其年長に信頼せず、妄りに我儘を押通すに在りき、是等の壮丁を駆りて四個月間規律厳正なる軍隊生活を為さしめば、以て社会に新なる風潮を与へ、国民各自をして国民の義務を自覚せしむべかりし也、南阿戦争の後ロバーツ元帥の英国志募兵及国民軍の無能なりしを説いて曰く『現在の組織にては英国は其志募兵及国民軍に信頼する能はず、或る改革は必らず之に施さざるべからず、尚ほ多くの訓練を之に与ふるか、其の軍隊を創造するの手段を執るか何れかの改革を施さざるべからず』と。

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却説、吾人は我国人特に我少年に向つて注意すべき事あり、蓋し我帝国は多くの点に於て英国に類せり、吾国民は英国エリザベス時代の如く頑強なる体格を有し、大陸の外に立ちて貿易は増進し、海軍は誇るに足るべき島国民たり、是の故に吾人は過去の邦国の歴史を読み自ら戒むる所無かるべからず、英国人が羅馬の衰亡を学ばざりしに鑑みて、吾人は深く英国の衰亡に学ばざるべからざる也。

英 国 衰 亡 論 終