

〈資料〉

関西学院大学図書館所蔵 J.S. ミル自筆書簡

井 上 琢 智

関西学院大学図書館は、これまでの図書・資料蒐集の過程で多くの経済思想家の手稿や自筆書簡を蒐集し、それら資料を利用した研究成果を公表し、さらにそれら資料自体のデジタル化を実現し、関西学院大学図書館のデジタル・ライブラリーで公表してきた。この事業は、国立国会図書館の注目をも集め、現在では本学のデジタル・ライブラリーは国立国会図書館のホームページ (<http://porta.ndl.go.jp/>) からアクセスでき、世界の研究者にデジタル資料およびその研究成果を提供できるようになった。

関西学院大学は、文部科学省私立大学等研究設備費等補助金（2005年度）により‘A Collection of Books & Manuscripts of Economists – From Adam Smith to J. M. Keynes –’（以下、「コレクション 2005」と略す）と題するコレクションを購入した。この中には、T. R. マルサスの自筆書簡下書き 2 通、J.S. ミル自筆書簡 3 通、G. シュモラー自筆書簡 1 通、L. ワルラスの自筆書簡 20 通、J.M. ケインズの自筆書簡 2 通、自筆葉書 3 通、タイプ書簡 15 通が含まれている。すでに、マルサス自筆書簡下書き 2 通については、関西学院大学図書館館報『時計台』（No.80, 2010, pp.18-21）に紹介し、ワルラス自筆書簡については、本誌『経済学論究』（第 61 巻第 2 号、2010 年 9 月）に、御崎加代子「レオン・ワルラスからのアルベール・オブティへの手紙」として紹介された。今回、ここで紹介するのは、同コレクションに含まれていた 3 通の書簡を含めて、関西学院大学図書館が機会あるごとに蒐集に努めたミルの自筆書簡の内、これまで紹介する機会のなかった書簡も含めて合計 14 通のミル自筆書

簡および H. テーラー自筆書簡 1 通を紹介する¹⁾。

今回紹介する書簡は、オースティンの夫人であるサラ・ベルナル宛の 6 通の書簡、ベンサム著作集を編集したバウリング宛書簡 1 通、クエーカ教徒として著名であったフォックスの息子宛書簡 1 通、ミルの下院議員選出運動を支援したピール宛書簡 1 通（未公刊）、ミルの弟であるグロート・ミル宛書簡 1 通（未公刊）、書簡に宛名がないものの、その宛名を推定できる書簡 4 通、すなわちフランスのアナキストであるロバン宛書簡 1 通（未公刊）、*Fraser's Magazine* の主幹であったフルード宛書簡 1 通、ミルの『女性の隷従』の書評者宛書簡 1 通、土地保有改良協会の関係者宛書簡 1 通（未公刊）である。これらミルの 14 通の書簡に加えてミルの書簡ではないものの、彼と交際中で、後に結婚することになったハリエット・テイラーが外科医ハチソン宛に書いた書簡 1 通の合計 15 通である。

1) サラ・オースティン (Sarah Austin, née Taylor : 1793-1867) 宛書簡 6 通

これらサラ宛書簡は、それぞれ①1830 年 8 月 7 日付書簡 (No. 32)、②おそらく 1831 年春もしくは夏と推定されている書簡 (No.40)、③1837 年 4 月 28 日付け書簡 (No.204)、④1842 年 5 月 22 日付け書簡 (No.358)、⑤1842 年 8 月 22 日付け書簡 (No.369)、⑥1843 年 2 月 28 日付け書簡 (No.389) であり、これら書簡はすべて、*The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848 (Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, vol. XII-XIII, 1963)* に収録・公刊された段階では、ウォータフィールド (Gordon Waterfield) 所蔵の書簡であった²⁾。

サラは、父 J. ミルの友人でもあったロンドン大学法学教授 J. オースティン (1790-1859) と結婚した作家で翻訳家である。オースティン夫妻は、ミルの生

1) 現在、関西学院大学図書館は 34 通の J.S. ミルの書簡および 2 通のミル宛書簡を所蔵しており、すでにデジタル・ライブラリーでそのうちの 19 通を公開している。なお、本資料中 G.G. ミル宛 (1849.3.16)、J.A. フルード宛 (1861.3.4)、および J.F. クラーク宛 (1869.9.9) 書簡が「コレクション 2005」に含まれた書簡である。

2) すでに『著作集』で公表されている書簡については、解説および編集者注を付さないこととする。

涯にとって思想的にも精神的にも過渡期となるきわめて大きな意味を持った時期（1830-43年）にとくに大きな影響を与えた³⁾。

【No. 32】¹

7th August 1830

Dear Mrs² Austin

At your request I put into writing what I said to you the other night on the subject of Mr Austin's lectures. What appears to me of most importance is that he should not spend time in endeavouring to make the lectures which have been already delivered, better than they are. They stand greatly in need of curtailment, but I do not believe that there is a single member of the class who would wish them to be changed in any other respect. There is only one opinion expressed in the lectures which I have heard controverted at all; & the manner of exposition has excited the admiration of everybody. The only fault found is, that the different points are over explained; that they are dwelt upon, longer, & repeated oftener, than is necessary to a complete understanding of them. I am certain that all which the class³ would desire in respect to the earlier lectures is that they should be very much abridged & perhaps many of the historical details dispensed with altogether; not because those details are not considered useful & interesting, but because it is impossible to do everything, and because there are other things which they are much more anxious to know.

3) 『自伝』によれば、「彼〈オースティン〉は、私と同様に、功利主義者でなくなることは全くなかったし、あれほどドイツ人を愛し、ドイツ文学を教授したにもかかわらず、生得的原理の形而上学にはいささかも妥協することはなかった。……政治については（私が彼と最も違っていたのはこの点であった）、民主主義的な諸制度の進展に対して、ほとんど軽蔑に近い無関心を示すようになった」と書き、その妻サラについては「彼女は、私を子供の頃から知っていたので、私に一種の母親のような関心を持つそぶりを公然と示した。……彼女は相当読書家であって、知識も豊富であったが、私から見ると、意見という名に値するようなものは何ももっていなかった」（このサラについての文章は『自伝』最終稿で削除された。山下重一訳注『評注 ミル自伝』御茶の水書房、2003、334頁、250-51頁）。

– Though the class were extremely delighted with the course as far as it went, they certainly were very much disappointed that Mr Austin did not get through a greater portion of the subject; & they anticipate with great pleasure the completion of it in the lectures on⁴ which he has obtained for them the privilege of attendance, at the conclusion of the next year's course. The only thing which in my opinion could at all endanger the permanent success & utility of the professorship, would be his not being able to include a view of all the essential parts of the science in his next series of lectures. Now the present class very well know that next to his health, the great cause of his getting through so little was his being obliged to prepare his lectures as he went on, not having them ready written. If he spends any time in improving his present lectures, more than is necessary for sufficiently shortening them, he will be in precisely the same difficulty, with the remainder of his subject, as he was this year with the whole of it. On the contrary, if he contents himself with using the scissors abundantly, & sets about the preparation of the subsequent lectures immediately, he will be several months in advance, & will be able, without that fatigue & harassing excitement which destroy his health, to prepare the lectures carefully, include a large portion of the subject in each, & avoid repetition & over explanation.

I would not recommend his continuing the Tables at present, as those which are printed embrace the entire field of law, & it is of so much more importance that he should complete his course of lectures next year.

From the very high opinion which has been expressed of the last course by those to whom I have lent my notes, I have considerable hopes that the class next year will be satisfactory in respect of numbers. But I should not be at all discouraged even if the number was small, because it is only a complete course, which can do much to spread the reputation of the lecturer. If he should be able to complete the subject next year, I have not

the least doubt that he will have a numerous class the year after.

I deem it however of the greatest importance with a view to his class next year, that he should deliver an interesting introductory lecture. I knew his well grounded aversion to vague generalities, & I know as certainly as he does, that it is impossible to teach any thing⁵ that is worth knowing of a whole science, in a short general view. But it is not necessary that an introductory lecture should be an abridged view of the science. The best introductory lectures extant are not so: Brown's introductory lecture to his course of metaphysics for example. The proper notion of an introductory lecture seems to be that it should resemble the preface to a book; which gives the reasons for writing the book & the reasons for reading it. Especially on the moral sciences, whose rank as sciences or where scientific character itself is not generally recognized, there seems to be an ample field for remarks of a most useful description in opening a course of lectures. He might explain, what is meant by general jurisprudence: in what respect a course of jurisprudence differs from a course of lectures on the law of any particular country, & also from⁶ lectures on the science or art of legislation: the grounds of the opinion, that there really is a science of general jurisprudence, & that it is worth studying: proof of the perverting & confusing effect of the⁷ study of law as it is commonly pursued, without being accompanied by the study of jurisprudence: examples of the erroneous notions usually formed as to what jurisprudence is, & the silly talk of Blackstone, & others of our lawyers, when they erect the technical maxims of their own law into principles of jurisprudence. All these topics, with a hundred others of the same kind, which will occur⁸ Mr Austin himself, would afford ample materials for a highly useful introductory lecture, & one which need not be chargeable with vagueness or generality. I am satisfied, & so are several others of the class, that if his introductory lecture of last year had treated of these topics, in the manner in which we

all know he would have treated them if at all, his class would have been twice as numerous as it was. I am quite convinced that if he delivers a lecture of this kind next year, he will have a numerous class, & that if he does not, he will have a comparatively small one.

But if he will not write such a lecture as this, let him not think of writing another but deliver the first lecture of the course itself,⁹ as his introductory lecture. The general remark last year in his class room after the close of his lecture on Law in general, was, that it was very unfortunate that he had not delivered that very lecture instead of his introductory one.

Yours affectionately J. S. Mill

P.S. The one opinion which, as I mentioned in the letter, has been contraverted, is this: that every right of action must be founded on an injury. Excuse bad penmanship, as I write unavoidably in haste.

1. Address: 'Mrs John Austin 26 Park Road' with a read wax seal.
2. Mrs] printed as 'M^{rs}' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
3. the class] rewritt 'they' by J. S. Mill.
4. on] rewritten 'to' by J. S. Mill.
5. The two words are crossed out by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
6. The one word is crossed out by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
7. the] rewritten 'a' by J. S. Mill.
8. to] crossed out by J. S. Mill, but printed in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
9. itself,] printed as 'itself' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)

[No. 40]

[Spring or summer 1831]¹

How I wish I were by your side, and could speak to you instead of writing. You may lay down your anxiety, my dear Mütterlein, I hope never

to resume it.

In the first place, the shutting up the University for a year is a cock-and-bull story. Romilly tells me that it was talked of by one or two of the members of council among themselves, but never was proposed to the Council, & R. is firmly persuaded it never will be proposed, & would have no chance of being carried.

Romilly is in better spirits about the University than he has long been – he says that he and my father & Mr W^m Tooke met together yesterday & looked over papers &c to &c to see what could be done to reduce the expense, & the result was such as to convince Romilly that by the end of next year the receipts will exceed the disbursements.

So much for the University. Then Romilly tells me that it is now certain or nearly certain that a Professorship of Jurisprudence will be endowed by subscription for three years. I do not know whether I ought to have told you this as long as there could be ever the slightest doubt: but I do not think there can be the slightest, from the manner in which he spoke of it, and besides I could not help telling you. However let us keep our joy to ourselves for the present. I never could bring myself to believe that we should lose you ; and now I am sure we shall not.

Now you must write me a joyful note to make amends for your sorrowful one.

Ihre Söhnchen, J.S.M.

1. In the upper right corner of this letter, '1827?' in another and later hand.

[204]¹

I[ndia].H[ouse].

28th April

1837

My dear Mütterlein.— I have written to you by Henry Reeve's parcel, but I have something to say which induces me to write again.

Would Mr Austin like to be the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow ? The chair is vacant, & it is worth £700 a year, but so long as old Mylne lives (he is 83 years of age) it will only be worth £300. It is in the gift of the Professors, & one of them, my friend Nichol², who is an admirer of Mr Austin has written to me to ask if he would like it & to say that he could perhaps carry Mr Austin's election to the chair with such testimonials as it would be easy to get. If Mr Austin declines, he has nobody better than Bailey of Sheffield, & means to try for him.

Pray answer this as soon as you are able.

Your Söhnchen

1. Address: 'Mrs Austin, Malta H. Tayler' with a black wax seal.
2. Nichol] rewritten the word 'Nicholl' by J. S. Mill.
3. with] rewritten the word 'of' by J. S. Mill

[358]

India House

22^d May

1842¹

You are now² probably at Bonn & the agonies of the article for the Edinburgh are over. I know what those agonies must have been but I think I also know what must be the relief from them & from that relief conjointly with the coming of a German summer, so much warmer³ & dryer & less variable than ours, one may hope good results for his health: but above all⁴ from the consciousness of having achieved something, & he is sure to find by its reception that he has not toiled in vain, for he never wrote anything which did not satisfy all whom he would wish it to satisfy,

except himself. I suppose there is something physical & organic in that incapacity of persuading himself that anything he does is done sufficiently well. Everybody who hears him talk on any subject in which he is interested would be quite satisfied if he would write the very words which he talks; almost any framework would serve to hold them together & that is exactly what Stephen expressed to me about the article now in question, he wished that the two lectures⁵ as he called them which he heard could be merely put on paper. By the bye I have no reason to believe that Mr Stephen was in any misapprehension about the subject of the article, although I was. About your own literary projects—⁶ I hope the article or articles for the Edin[burgh]. have come zu Stande as I think it is a kind of writing which suits you, & which is likely to be a better speculation than translating. For a translation to succeed, unless it be of something merely trumpery & gossiping there must be some peculiarly English interest involved in it, as ⁷ in the case of Ranke the interest of Protestantism. If those German relations have done no more than pay their expenses I do not know what on the score of intrinsic merits⁸ could have any better chance. Of the books you mention I should think those on Rome, Naples & Venice would have the best. Are they by Otfried Müller? His name is known here, which is seldom the case with any Germans not of the very first rank but I fancy I was wrong in concluding as I did as first from your letter that these books were by him. I know how much better suited the business of translating must often be to the state of your occupations & spirits than the more continuous exertion of even a review article & it is very desirable that you should have something of the kind in hand. You might finish Egmont which would not take very long & then offer it to Maccreadey⁹ he is from what I hear, exceedingly on the alert for any new theatrical speculation which has even a chance of taking & surely that would have a considerable chance. At any rate it might be published either alone or as part of a little volume

of dramatic translations. – It is very dreary to think of your remaining in exile – the only thing which could make it not exile¹⁰ would be your having friends near you, in the sense of real intimacy & that I thought it possible you & even he might have in Germany, but it seems not at Dresden: & although the German people are much more to your taste (as to mine) than the English, you seem to have fallen upon a time when all sorts of odious feelings are rife among them & besides as one grows older one is less & less capable of taking the species in general as an equivalent for the two or three whom one knows well enough to value them most in it. But I doubt if you would be better off in this respect anywhere in England, except London & its immediate neighbourhood, than in Germany. You ask me about cheapness of living. The experience of all whom I am able to speak of, is that in such places as Dorking there is no advantage whatever in cheapness, over London, but rather a disadvantage. Of Selborne & such little places off the high roads I am unable to speak, but that would be a still more complete isolation than you are in at present. There is cheapness in remote parts as for example in Wales or Cornwall. The best place I know,¹¹ of the kind,¹² is Falmouth, because there are really interesting & superior people there, even without counting Sterling who is now fixed there. Whether this would be better or worse than the Continent you can best judge. I have very little to tell you about myself. My¹³ book is to be published by Parker who has in every respect behaved as well about it that I really begin to care a little about its chances of sale, as I should be sorry that he lost any money by the speculation. It is some encouragement to know that Deighton, the Cambridge bookseller (whom Parker very much consults) thinks that a book of the kind if competently executed may sell. I am sure I do not expect any such opinion from any publishers¹⁴. Murray's procrastination lost the present season & Parker proposes to publish the book about Christmas & to begin printing it in July. You have I suppose

more news of most of your friends here through other channels than I could give. The Grotes are just returned from Italy – Sterling was obliged to go there two months ago on account of ¹⁵ his usual spring symptoms but they went off before he reached Gibraltar & he will soon I suppose return. The black seal of my letter indicated no death that I care about. George has had to pass the winter at Clifton but ¹⁶ his state has greatly ¹⁷ improved – he has been with Dr Carpenter the physiologist, son of Dr ¹⁸ Lant Carpenter & a man whom I have a great esteem for ¹⁹ & I have no doubt he will have been much improved by it.

²⁰Mrs Taylor is no better, but she means to try all remedies that are practicable here before going abroad.

Yours ever affectionately

J.S.Mill

1. 22^d May/1842] printed as ‘22d May 1842’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
2. now] printed as ‘most’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
3. than ours] inserted in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
4. The one word is crossed out by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
5. lectures] printed as ‘lectures,’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
6. –] rewritten a period by J. S. Mill.
7. the] crossed out by J. S. Mill.
8. merits] printed as ‘merit’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
9. Macreadey] printed as ‘Macreadey,’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
10. exile] printed as ‘exiled’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
11. knows,] printed as ‘knows’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)

12. kind,] printed as 'kind' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.*)
13. My] printed as 'The' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.*)
14. publishers] printed as 'publishers' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.*)
15. J. S. Mill crossed out several words, but we cannot read these words. But 'a return of' printed in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.*)
16. that] crossed out by J. S. Mill.
17. greatly] printed as 'neally' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.*)
18. Dr] printed as 'Dr.' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.*)
19. for] printed as 'for,' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.*)
20. Here no paragraph in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.*)

[369]

India House

22^d August

1842

I write to you today without having much to say, in order to tell you what I have done or rather¹ tried to do respecting your commissions. Senior never viewed your note, as he had set off before it reached me. He could not therefore have taken anything to you. I could have sent through Mr² Klingemann but I found that Laing's book was out of print & a bookseller whom I employed was not able to procure me a copy. There is to be another edition soon, & when it comes out I will send it to you if you think fit. But I would rather recommend your making Napier get it, as he certainly ought to do. I have no doubt a copy was sent to him. – I could not send

any sheets of my Logic because I have not yet begun to print it. The delay is not with me but with Parker who talked of beginning to print in July but has given no notice of being ready, & as the thing really does not press & he has behaved very well I do not chuse to urge him on the subject. It is very satisfactory that Napier has consented to take an article on the book from Mr Austin & I am particularly glad to hear of two articles on the stocks. It is a sign at least that Napier is not displeased with the reception of the former article, & he is likely to hear whatever complaints there are. As for dryness it is a fault belonging to the matter rather than the manner which was considerably more lively than I expected it to be though a little surcharged with classification in the first few pages.

³I had heard of that offer & of Mr⁴ Austin's refusal of it. Though I did not know the grounds of the refusal I felt that he was the best judge – & that no ⁵ bystander can possibly judge for any person in such a case, especially for⁶ a person of his peculiarities & of his superiority of intellect. The expression of regret, however,⁷ at his determination, has been by no means confined to the persons whom you mention. I have not heard any of them speak of it but I have heard, & heard of several others, of whose friendship for you & Mr Austin you have less doubt, & who expressed, not dissent, much less had they the presumption to express disapprobation, but rather ⁸ seemed to feel discouragement, from an idea ⁹ of its being very unlikely that anything should offer itself which would be liable to fewer objections than this Malta plan. Now however when I know his reasons I do not think so : & at all events if you are better as you are than with this, you are better as you are than with anything only as good as this.

I hope you will write other things like Steffens both for Kemble & for Napier. I am sure they would be successful & profitable. I should have thought just the same of that article if it had been written by anybody else – it tells people with elegance & in an amusing garb & lively manner

a number of the things which they most need to be told.

Thanks for your copious list of German books on Rome : I wish there was a chance of meeting with half of them,¹⁰ without buying chat en poche¹¹ – there are too many of them for such an experiment, nor is the occasion worth it. I shall read Wachsmuth & one or two others if I can borrow them. I have already read to weariness about Rome for if one is particular about writing only what is true one has enough to do. I could have written a dashing article on the Romans such as Macaulay would write (though of course not so brilliantly) in a week, with the knowledge I had when I began to read up the subject. In the meantime I have been writing again for the old Westminster. Bailey of Sheffield has published a book to demolish Berkeley's theory of vision: & I have answered him¹² feeling it my special vocation to stand up for the old orthodox faith of that school. I will send the article to Mr Austin for it will have a chance of interesting him, though few people else. It is the first fruits of my partial recovery from a two¹³ months illness, or rather out-of-health-ness, & it at least helps to pay my debt to Hickson who used to write for the review without pay when I had it.

It will be some comfort to get a real philosophical account of Prussia as the result of your winter in Berlin & I hope to hear from yourself¹⁴ somewhat more at about the Berlinische Aufklärung from personal knowledge. From what you say I imagine it to be rather an un-German thing without the simplicity, cordiality, & above all the quietness which are¹⁵ so agreeable in German life & ways to a person wearied with discontented, struggling, (Benthamicè) devil-by-the-tail-pulling England. But my notion of it is quite vague & may be all wrong.

adieu

J. S. Mill

1. rather] not printed in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
2. Mr] printed as 'Mr.' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
3. Here no paragraph in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
4. Mr] printed as 'Mr.' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
5. The one word is crossed out by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
6. The one word is crossed out by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
7. , however,] printed as 'however' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
8. The one word is crossed out by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
9. that] crossed out by J. S. Mill.
10. which] crossed out by J. S. Mill.
11. poch] printed as 'poch,' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
12. him] printed as 'him,' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
13. two] printed as 'three' in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
14. yourself] rewritten 'you' by J. S. Mill.
15. are] rewritten 'is' by J. S. Mill.

[389]

India House

28th Feb. 1843²

I should have answered your letter much sooner, if only an account of the proposal to Parker, but that he told me he would himself write & no doubt you have long since received an answer from him, more explicit as to details than the answer he gave me. The History of the Reformation he thought would not suit him, but the other book you mentioned, he thought would, & was quite willing to close with the project, but did not seem confident as to the sufficiency of such pecuniary terms as the state of the market

in his opinion allowed him to offer. And as your doing the thing at all would of course depend upon his making it worth your while,³ it is for him to make his proposition. Au reste, everything I have seen of him is in his favour: pretending to no character but that of a tradesman, he has in every respect in which I have had to do with him acted like a gentleman, which Murray who sets up for a gentleman & a patron of letters seems to me in reality a⁴ mere tradesman & not a good one. I believe however this is not the same with the Oxford Parker, so that there may be a chance there if this fails. This one is bookseller to the University of Cambridge. – In the meanwhile I am glad you are going on writing for the Edinburgh which I suspect is more lucrative work than even your translating & which you are so well qualified for. I liked your article on Mad. Schopenhauer very much, both as pleasant reading & for the tone of its remarks, which are of a kind very much wanted here, & now likely as far as I can judge to be well received⁵ for the eyes of a great number of English people are decidedly opening to much of what is wrong in their own country & comparatively right elsewhere. I hear your article underwent much excising from Napier, & that he wants more painting of manners & less general reflection. I think him wrong, & as he always is, arriéré⁶, for the Edinburgh review & the Holland-house set who preside over it are the last refuge of the ideas & tastes of a generation ago,⁷ but I suppose his mandates must be complied with, & he has left quite as much of valuable remark in this article as is needed & more than is in all the other articles taken together which he published along with it in his exceedingly poor extra number.

What you tell me about Grote does not surprise me though I am sorry for it both on his account & on yours. As for Mrs Grote⁸ you know her, & would not expect either good feeling or good taste from her. But Grote has always seemed rather a sensitive person – however he is a disappointed man, & has come to the time of life at which people generally fold their wings

& take to their comforts. At that stage very few men, in my experience, retain their sympathies at all strongly towards those with whom they are not in habits of daily intercourse. Perhaps too, half of the evil in Grote is shyness; & not knowing how to express sympathy; especially being perhaps in some degree conscious of having already shewn less of it than you had reason to expect. – As to the calamity itself, I could have told you months before, all that he can have had to tell, but I thought you would know it quite soon enough. The concern⁹ has declared itself insolvent & is in the hands of trustees, but from what I hear I do not believe it to be hopeless that something may be saved for the shareholders, though in any such case the probabilities are of course against it. Grote¹⁰ as you know, habitually looks at the gloomiest side of things. The Mississippi matter however is of much more importance really, as you were deriving no income from the money in the company before, so that in regard to present exigencies & interests the loss of the principal is only minimal. The Mississippi bonds I feel satisfied must ultimately be paid though I fear not quite so soon as I once thought. In the mean time I cannot help reverting to the idea I once threw out in a letter to you & which you promised to take into consideration at a proper time, & there seems none so proper as now. I really believe something might be done, though it is not very easy to hit upon the exact shape which would be best.

I have sent the remaining sheets of my book, addressed to Mr Austin, in the parcel from Asher's, correspondent here (Nutt of Fleet Street) which was made up yesterday. The book is to be published tomorrow. But do not let Mr Austin suppose because the sheets are sent that he is under any engagement to make the use of them which he so kindly proposed. I should of course have sent the book to him in any case & though he would be the best of all reviewers for it he must not plague himself about it. It must take its chance.

I inclose a line from my sister Clara –¹¹ I have neither encouraged nor opposed her project, of the feasibility of which nobody can so well judge as you. If it be otherwise feasible of course the “cannot” in her note is not to be taken literally, as long as there are others who “can”.

Yours affectionately

J.S.Mill

1. 28th] printed as ‘28th’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
2. DEAR Mrs AUSTIN] printed in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
3. The two words are crossed out by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
4. to] crossed out by J. S. Mill.
5. recieved] printed as ‘recieved,’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
6. arriéré] printed as ‘arriére’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
7. ,] printed as ‘;’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
8. Grote] printed as ‘Grote,’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)
9. Two words are crossed but by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
10. The one word is crossed by J. S. Mill, but cannot be read.
11. Clara –] printed as ‘Clara.’ in *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*.)

2) バウリング (John Bowring, 1792-1872) 宛書簡

このバウリング宛書簡は、おそらく 1834 年と推定できる 7 月 1 日付け書簡 (No.105.1) であり、*Additional Letters of John Stuart Mill* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. XXXII, 1991) に収録・公刊された段階ではアムステルダム大学の Arnold Heertje の所蔵の書簡であった。バウリングは外交官であり、東ヨーロッパの言語・文学の研究者であり、多くの著作を残す

一方、下院議員（1835-37）を務めた。パウリングは、J. ベンサムと J. ミルが『エジンバラ・レビュー』や『クオータリ・レビュー』に対抗して急進派の雑誌として創刊した『ウエストミンスター・レビュー』の主筆となり、後に *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, 1838-43, 11 vols. の編集者となった⁴⁾。

【105. 1】¹

India House

1st July [1834]

My dear Sir

Would you oblige me by letting me know by 2^d post as soon as your second Report is procurable, as my friend Mr Nichol of Montrose has written to me to send him a copy as early as possible.

You have been in communication with Mr Nichol recently & are aware of the purpose for which he is anxious to see your report as soon as may be, & therefore you will, I know, excuse my troubling you with my present request –

Believe me

yours ever

J.S.Mill

1. Address and other with a red post mark.

July 1. 1833 / J. S. Mill

Bowring / 1 Queen Square / Westminster

The post mark as follows

· 2 · A · Noon · 2 / JY · 1 / 1834

And the following words on the other leaf with a red wax seal.

J. S. Mill / 1 July 1833

2. 1st] printed as ‘1st’ in *Additional Letters (Collected Works of John Stuart Mill)*

4) *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848*, p.23, n.1. Keitaro Amano, *Bibliography of the Classical Economics*, [1964]1980, vol.4, p. 508.

3. 2^d] printed as ‘2d’ in *Additional Letters (Collected Works of John Stuart Mill)*

これらのことから判断すると、記述は 1833 年 7 月 1 日であるが、投函は、翌年ということになる。なぜ、記述と投函との間に 1 年間もあるかは現在のところ不明である。

3) フォックス (Robert Barclay Fox, 1817-1855) 宛書簡

このおそらくフォックス宛書簡は、1840 年 6 月 14 日付け書簡 (No.290.3) であり、*Additional Letters of John Stuart Mill (Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, vol.XXXII, 1991)* に収録・公刊された段階ではアムステルダム大学の Arnold Heertje の所蔵の書簡であった。フォックスは科学に関する著述家で著名なクエーカー教徒であった R.W. フォックス (1789-1877) の息子であり、コーンウォール (Cornwall) 州のファルマス (Falmouth) にミル一家が滞在した時にフォックス一家と知り合った⁵⁾。

[290. 3]

I[ndia]. H[ouse].

Monday

[about 14 June, 1840?]

My dear Sir

Nichol bids me “tell Mr Fox that he will do me a great service by taking the construction of that instrument entirely into his own hands & making it what he thinks it ought to be. I do not at all care for a few pounds.”

Calvert is staying near Sevenoaks with his convalescent sister, & bids me tell you that his absence there prevents his calling upon you.

ever yours truly

J. S. Mill

5) *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848*, p. 425, n. 1.

4) ビール (James Beal, 1829-91) 宛書簡

このビール宛書簡は、1866年1月28日付け書簡であり、未公開の書簡である。ビールは競売人、地所管理人 (land agent) であり、ミルをウェストミンスター選挙区の下院議員として立候補させようとする擁立運動の指導者の一人であった⁶⁾。ミルはこの選挙で下院議員となり「著述家としての静かな隠遁生活とはうって変わった下院議員としての、私にとって余り性分に合わない生活に立ち入った時期に差しかかった」と『自伝』に書いた⁷⁾。その内容は以下の通りである。

Blackheath Park

Jan. 28 1866

Dear Sir

As I have an engagement in your neighbourhood at six on Friday, it would suit me to call on you on that afternoon at five, or earlier if more convenient to you. If I do not hear from you, I will call at five. I am

Dear Sir

yrs very truly

J. S. Mill

James Beal Esq.

5) George Grote Mill (1825-1853) 宛書簡

このグロート・ミル宛書簡¹⁾は、1849年3月16日付け書簡であり、未公開の書簡である。その内容は以下の通りである。

16th, March

1849

Dear George [Grote] — We have not a word from you later than the letters by the Brilliant. The extreme uncertainty of the packets is a very great nuisance connected with Madeira as with all other places with which

6) *Additional Letters of John Stuart Mill*, p. 168, n. 1.

7) 山下重一前掲書『評注 ミル自伝』、365頁。

the communication is by sailing packets. I expect every day when I arrive at the I[ndia] H[ouse] to find letters & I often wish that I could go over to you some Saturday & return on Monday. I told you that Clark is rather in favour of your coming to England but not till Midsummer. I have not seen him since, having nothing fresh to tell him, & I do not know where in England he will think it best for you to remain – but doubtless not in London, it may be as near as the Sussex coast perhaps, but more probably westwards. The Spectator⁸⁾ which I hope you now receive regularly will have told you quite as much as is worth knowing of what is going on. I never remember a duller time for English politics & literature nor do foreign matters seem to get on much — they are all apparently very much “in status quo they were before” as Roebuck⁹⁾ used to say, meaning in this case as before, some three months ago. I am able to walk ten miles at a stretch & have had two hunts for the fritillaria in the meadows between Kew & Mortlake having been told by two young men whom I found hunting for violets, that there was plenty of it & that it was in flower, but I am sure there is none of it visible yet, at any rate. My sight continues weak & dim but I am tolerably well otherwise. I am passing the 2^d edition of the Pol. Econ,¹⁰⁾ through the press. Although we have a very mild season here & sometimes very bright days (though none very lately) still I am always

8) *The Spectator* は、Robert S. Rintoul (1787-1858) により創刊され編集された雑誌である。1835 年当時、ミルはこの雑誌を「私たちのもっとも優れたジャーナルの一つ」と高く評価していた (*The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848*, p. 254)。

9) ロウバック (John Arthur Roebuck, 1801-1879) は、インドのマドラス生まれで、カナダで教育を受けて後の 1824 年にロンドンに来て、ミルとの親交を深め、功利主義者協会の熱心な会員となり、下院議員 (1832-37) となった。ミルの「精神的危機」以来、ミルは彼との思想的相違を痛感するようになった。ミルとテイラーとの親交に忠告して以来、両者は会わなくなった (山下重一前掲書『評注 ミル自伝』144 頁)。

10) 『経済学原理』の第二版は、「1848 年の初めに刊行され、1000 部の初版は、1 年もたない中に売り切れてしまった。類似の別の版が 1849 年の春に刊行された」(山下重一前掲書『評注 ミル自伝』335 頁)。

envying the Madeira climate as well as scenery. I hope you do not annoy yourself about future prospects. You will be sure to get into some way of life that will do tolerably well, & a fine climate compensates for much —
yours ever affectionately, J. S. M.

この書簡の宛先は、おそらくミルの弟（四男）ジョージ・グロート・ミルであろう。彼は結核静養のため、1848年にマンデラ島に移り住んでいた。ただ、1851年4月21日にミルとハリエトとの結婚によって、ミルと母や弟妹との間に深い溝が出来き、ミルと弟妹との間でミル批判の書簡が交わされた¹¹⁾。

1. In the upper left corner of this letter, there is ‘J.S. Mill’ in another and later hand.

6) 受取人不明書簡 2 通

a) ロバン (Paul Robin, 1837-1912) 宛書簡¹

このおそらくロバン宛書簡は、1870年10月21日付け書簡であり、未公開の書簡である。その内容は、以下の通りである。

[Blackheath Park,
Kent]²
le 21 octobre 1870

Monsieur

J’au rais grand plaisir à être utile à un ami et collaborateur de M.Littré, mais je crains fort que mon pouvoir ne suit pas au niveau de mon inclination.

Si vous vouliz bien m’indiquer les genres de travail que vous vous proposez de rechercher je serais plus à même de juger si j’ai le moyen de vous

11) *The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill 1849-1873*, p. 6, n. 1. 山下重一前掲書『評注ミル自伝』401頁。この書簡の直前の1849年1月31日付け書簡およびミル＝テイラーの結婚直前の1851年4月8日付け書簡、結婚後の1851年8月4日付け書簡が *The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill 1849-1873* に収録されている (pp. 6-7, 59-60 and 73-75)。

aider ou de vous conseiller.

Agrééz, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

J. S. Mill

ロバンは¹²⁾、フランスのアナキスト、教育者であり、フランスの新マルサス主義運動の指導者であった。第一インターでバクーニンとともに閉め出される前まで、マルクスとエンゲルスの支持者であった。1869 年ベルギーを追放され、スイスに移り、そこで彼はバクーニンから援助と影響を受け、1870 年にロンドンへ移った。書簡中に登場するミルが「友人」「協力者」と書くリトレ (M.P. Emile Littré, 1801-1888) は、哲学者で辞書編集者であり、A. コントの後期の理論を拒否したものの、もっとも熱心な弟子の一人であり、*Auguste Comte et la philosophie positive* (1863) の著者¹³⁾ であり、ミルとの間で書簡の往復があった¹⁴⁾。

1. In the upper left corner of this letter, there is 'Letter à Paul Robin' in another and later hand.
2. This address is sealed.

b) James Anthony Froude (1804-1861) 宛

このおそらくフルード宛書簡は、1861 年 3 月 4 日付け書簡であり、未公刊の書簡である。その内容は以下の通りである。

Blackheath Park

March 4 1861

Dear Sir,

12) <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/>

13) *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848*, p. 647, n. 4.

14) 現在公表されている書簡は、二通である。 *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848*, pp.741-42 (Letter 534 [22nd Dec., 1848]) and *The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill 1849-1873*, pp. 1046-47 (Letter 814 [11 May 1865]).

Your note gave me much pleasure. I have written to Professor Leslie who will, I have no doubt, send his article to you immediately. It will probably suit me best to publish the first instalment of mine in the July number, but of this I shall be able to speak more positively some time hence. I presume you will have published the last (for the present) of my friend Professor Bain's series of articles long before that time. I should not like mine to interfere with his.

I am, dear Sir,
yours very truly,
J.S. Mill

フルードは、イギリスの歴史家でオックスフォード大学に学び、初め高教会派に属したが、カーライルの影響のもとこれから脱した。1892年から94年までオックスフォード大学近世史欽定講座担当教授を務めた。*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (12 vols., 1856-70) の著者であり、1860年から74年まで *Fraser's Magazine* の主筆であった¹⁵⁾。書簡中にある「第一回分 the first instalment of mine」とあるのは、おそらく *Fraser's Magazine* に1861年の10月・11月・12月に分載文され、1863年の出版された『功利主義』のことであろう¹⁶⁾。

これらのことから、この書簡の宛先が、この *Fraser's Magazine* の編集者であったフルードであると推定できる。

15) 『岩波西洋人名辞典』増補版、1981、1255頁。

16) *The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill 1849-1873*, p. 743, n. 2. なお、この『書簡集』に収録されている1861年9月20日付けフルード宛書簡もまたこの『功利主義』の分載に言及している。また、書簡中に登場するレズリーとは、経済学者 Thomas Edward Cliffe Leslie (1826-1882) であり、彼の論文とは、“Income-Tax Reform,” (*Westminster Review*, n.s. XXI (Jan., 1862)) であろう。また、ペインとは、心理学者・哲学者で、ミル父子の伝記を書いた Alexander Bain (1818-1903) であり、彼の論文とは *Westminster Review* に掲載された書評 *A System of Logic* by John Stuart Mill (vol.39, May 1843, pp.412-456) であろう (*The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill 1849-1873*, p. 746, n. 1 & n.2)。

c) 1869 年 6 月 15 日付けの書簡

この受取人不明の書簡 (No.1447A) は、*Additional Letters of John Stuart Mill* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol.XXXII, 1991) に収録・公刊された段階ではアムステルダム大学の Arnold Heertje の所蔵の書簡であった。

この書簡の受取人について、*Additional Letters of John Stuart Mill* は、二人の人物を推定している。書簡ではミルの *The Subjection of Women* への書評への謝辞が書かれているからである。同書の書評を書いた女性として挙げられるのは、*Blackwood's Magazine* (vol. CVI, Sept., 1869, pp.309-21) に掲載された書評を書いた Anne Mozley (1809-91) と、*Edinburgh Review* (vol. CXXX, Oct., 1869, pp.572-602) に掲載された書評を書いた Margaret Oliphant (1828-97) とである¹⁷⁾。

【No. 1447A】¹

Avignon

June 15. 1869

Dear Madam

Your letter has been forwarded to me here, and I beg to thank you for your kind intentions in regards to reviewing my book. What you have seen announced is not a Congress, but a meeting of the London Women's Suffrage Society, at which only members will be present. I am¹

²Dear Madam

yours very faithfully

J. S. Mill

1. In the upper of this letter, there is 'John Stuart Mill. Novelist and friend of W. M. Thackeray' in another and later hand (see *Indexes to the Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. XXXIII, p.375.)

2. Here no paragraph in *Additional Letters* (*Collected Works of John Stuart*

17) *Additional Letters* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*), p. 208, n. 1.

Mill.)

d) 1869年9月9日付け書簡

この受取人不明の書簡は、1869年9月9日付け書簡であり、未公刊の書簡である。その内容は以下の通りである。

Avignon

Sept. 9, 1869

Dear Sir

I have had great pleasure in sending in your name as member of the Landed Tenure Reform Association. The Association is only in process of formation, and I am not Chairman of it, but only Chairman of the Provisional Committee.

Many thanks for the information respecting the health of Sir James Clark, to whom I beg to be kindly remembered. I am Dear Sir

yours very truly

J. S. Mill

ミルの晩年の社会的活動として注目すべきは、書簡中にあるように1869年秋に設立準備が行われた土地保有改革協会¹⁸⁾への参画であった。ミルはその設立時に「臨時委員会の議長となり、翌年7月に決定された綱領の起草に参画し、次いで同協会の会長になったことである。この綱領は、長子相続法の廃止、地代の大部分の課税による取用、国有地の共同組合への貸付、自然美の保護など、ミルの持論を大幅に反映するものであった」。¹⁹⁾

この書簡の宛先であるが、書面にある James Clark 卿の一人息子である J.

18) 書簡中には、the Landed Tenure Reform Association とあるが、のちにその名称は the Land Tenure Reform Association と変更された (*Indexes of the Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, 1991, p. 582)。

19) 山下重一前掲書『評注 ミル自伝』430頁。

F. クラークの可能性が高い。というのは、ミルの主治医であった父クラークからミルは、1840 年以降しばしばアドバイスを受けているからである (Michael St. John Packe, *Life of John Stuart Mill*, pp.335, 366)。

7) ハリエット・テイラー (Harriet, Taylor, 1807-58)

テイラーがミルのために書いた友人ハチソン ([James?] Hutchinson) 宛の 1847 年 6 月 26 日付け書簡 (No.508.2) であり、*Additional Letters of John Stuart Mill* (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol.XXXII, 1991) に収録・公刊された段階ではアムステルダム大学の Arnold Heertje の所蔵の書簡であった。

テイラーは、ミルと 1830 年 8 月に出会い、夫ジョン (John Taylor, 1796-1849) と別居後、娘ヘレン (Helen Taylor, 1831-1907) とともに Keston や Walton に住み、ミルと共同論文を書いた。テイラーは、夫の死後の 1851 年 2 月 22 日にミルと再婚し、『自由論』などを共同執筆したミルの理想の女性であった。アビニヨンで死去し、そのサン・ヴェラン墓地に埋葬。その後ミルはこの地に自宅をかまえ、養女ヘレンとともに年の半分を生活し、この地で死去した²⁰⁾。

外科医であるハチソンには、*A Report of the Medical Management of the Native Jails throughout the Territories Subject to the Governments of Fort William and Agra* (Calcutta, 1835) の著書がある²¹⁾。

【No. 508. 2】

73 Eccleston Square

Jun 26.

¹1847

Mr Mill presents his compliments to Mr Hutchinson, & begs to mention

20) 山下重一訳注『評注 ミル自伝』御茶の水書房、2003、索引 (20 頁) を参照のこと。

21) *Additional Letters of John Stuart Mill*, p. 73, n. 1. なお、本書は 1845 年に *Observations on the General and Medical Management of Indian Jails* として再版された。

that he is much obliged by his interesting work having been transmitted to him, but that Mr Mill's department being wholly unconnected with the subject, Mr Mill did not immediately direct his attention to Mr Hutchinson's communication for which he begs that he will have the goodness to excuse him.

1. Here no paragraph in *Additional Letters (Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.)*

[追記] ロバン宛書簡の翻刻に際しては、阪南大学大田一廣教授にお世話になりました。記してお礼を申し上げます。