

## 一個關於領土主權的問題： 英、法兩國對太平天國之役的軍事干預

金山森 (Jonathan Chappell)

英國布里斯托爾 (University of Bristol) 大學歷史系博士候選人

漢學研究中心獎助訪問學人

1860 至 1862 年間，英、法兩國為保衛上海通商口岸，防禦太平天國的進攻，而在上海派駐了軍隊。這次軍事干預被視為 19 世紀帝國主義多次在中國直接干預的一幕。英、法以自身利益為考量，協助少數民族滿洲人政權，壓制了民眾反抗運動。但我認為實情更為複雜，正如 Robert Bickers 和其他學者所言，列強在中國的各種作為難以簡化為單純的殖民者和被殖民者的關係。當時中國內部主權分裂，又存在多數的利益團體，外國的政府因此很難維持一個長期一致的對華策略。在此種背景下，外國勢力介入中國的範圍很難確知。

若從國家主權的問題來理解外國對太平天國的軍事干預，所顯示的當時各國在中國的權力關係之性質與發展，較好的方法是從國家干預的角度切入。現代國家與領土結合的主權觀念，並非清朝所熟知的。對清朝而言，在同一地區中主權可以分為多數包裹式的權利，由不同權威者所持有。這些主權包括對土地、人民和財產的。中國的主權在給予外國居民治外法權時已經分裂了，因為那意味著外國人居住於中國土地時不受清朝法律約束。Eileen Scully 認為治外法權對在華外人的財產、租界甚至受他們雇傭的華工而言，彷彿童話裡的點石成金術一樣。因此當太平軍進逼上海時，情勢便因此緊張。

當太平軍攻進江蘇省和浙江省之際，蘇、杭一帶的富商紛紛逃往相對安全的上海。不僅打破了殖民地和中國城市之間的分界，外國人亦發現自己難以在太平軍的攻勢下保持中立。經過與各城市中的清朝政府協商，並得到受益於外國勢力的中國商人的幫助，上海的外國官員放棄了中立的原則。從干預行動的時間長度和空間廣度上都相當節制看來，其目標應為維護外國勢力在上海的利益，而非決定內戰的最後走向。

## **A Question of Territorial Sovereignty: British and French Military Intervention in the Taiping Civil War**

Jonathan Chappell

Ph.D. Candidate

Department of Historical Studies

University of Bristol

In 1860 and 1862 British and French military and naval forces were deployed in defence of the treaty port of Shanghai against an attacking Taiping army. This intervention has been seen by many historians as just one in a series of episodes of blunt imperialism that characterised the foreign presence in nineteenth-century China. The British and French helped to put down a popular rebellion against minority Manchu rule in pursuit of their own interests. The reality was far more complex. As Robert Bickers and others have pointed out, the foreign presence in China cannot be reduced to a simplistic relationship between coloniser and colonised. Multiple interest groups were at work in China in an environment where sovereignty was divided and foreign governments rarely had, or were able to deploy, a coherent strategy. In this context the extent of foreign power in China was far from clear.

The foreign military intervention against the Taiping and what it reveals about the nature and development of power relations in China can be better understood as a question of sovereignty. The bounded territorial sovereignty of modern nation states was foreign to the Qing regime which saw sovereignty as divisible into a package of rights that might be held by different sovereign authorities within the same area. These included sovereignty over territory, sovereignty over people and sovereignty over property. Sovereignty in China was already divided by the granting of extraterritoriality to foreign citizens, meaning that they were no longer subject to Qing laws while in Chinese territory. Eileen Scully has suggested that this extraterritoriality took on a 'midas touch' and was extended to foreigners' property, territory and even to their Chinese employees. This created tensions which were brought out by the Taiping advance on Shanghai.

As the Taiping armies advanced through Jiangsu and Zhejiang, the wealthy merchants of Suzhou and Hangzhou fled to the relative safety of the foreign settlement at Shanghai. This broke down the divide between the settlement and the Chinese city and led the foreigners to realise that they could not maintain neutrality in the face of a Taiping attack. Following negotiations with the Qing authorities in the city, aided by Chinese merchants who benefitted from the foreign presence, foreign officials in Shanghai abandoned their policy of neutrality in the conflict. The limited extent of the intervention, both in terms of space and duration, suggests that its ultimate aim was the defence of foreign interests at Shanghai rather than determining the final result of the civil war.

## 主講人簡介：

金山森 (Jonathan Chappell)，英國籍，英國布里斯托爾大學 (University of Bristol) 歷史系博士候選人。金先生今年獲得漢學研究中心「外籍學人來臺研究漢學獎助」，來臺灣研究主題為「The Taiping Intervention: The Understanding and Practice of Foreign Relations in Mid-Nineteenth Century China」。