

海域史・華人史研究からみた FO17の重要性

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専門・問題関心と使用史料

- 専門：中国近代社会経済史（19世紀後半～20世紀前半）
- 現在の関心：中国の「制度」（慣習・行動パターン）の特色と普遍性
- 具体的なテーマ：貿易・税制・海賊・海難・移民
- 主な使用史料：イギリス外交文書：FO17（公使報告）・FO228（領事報告）と海関（税関）の報告・統計と漢文史料などを併用

本講演の概略

1. FO17について
2. 海域史：①海賊問題、②海難問題
3. 華人史：英籍華人問題
4. FO17を利用する事の意義



1. FO17について



The National Archives





43E

44A

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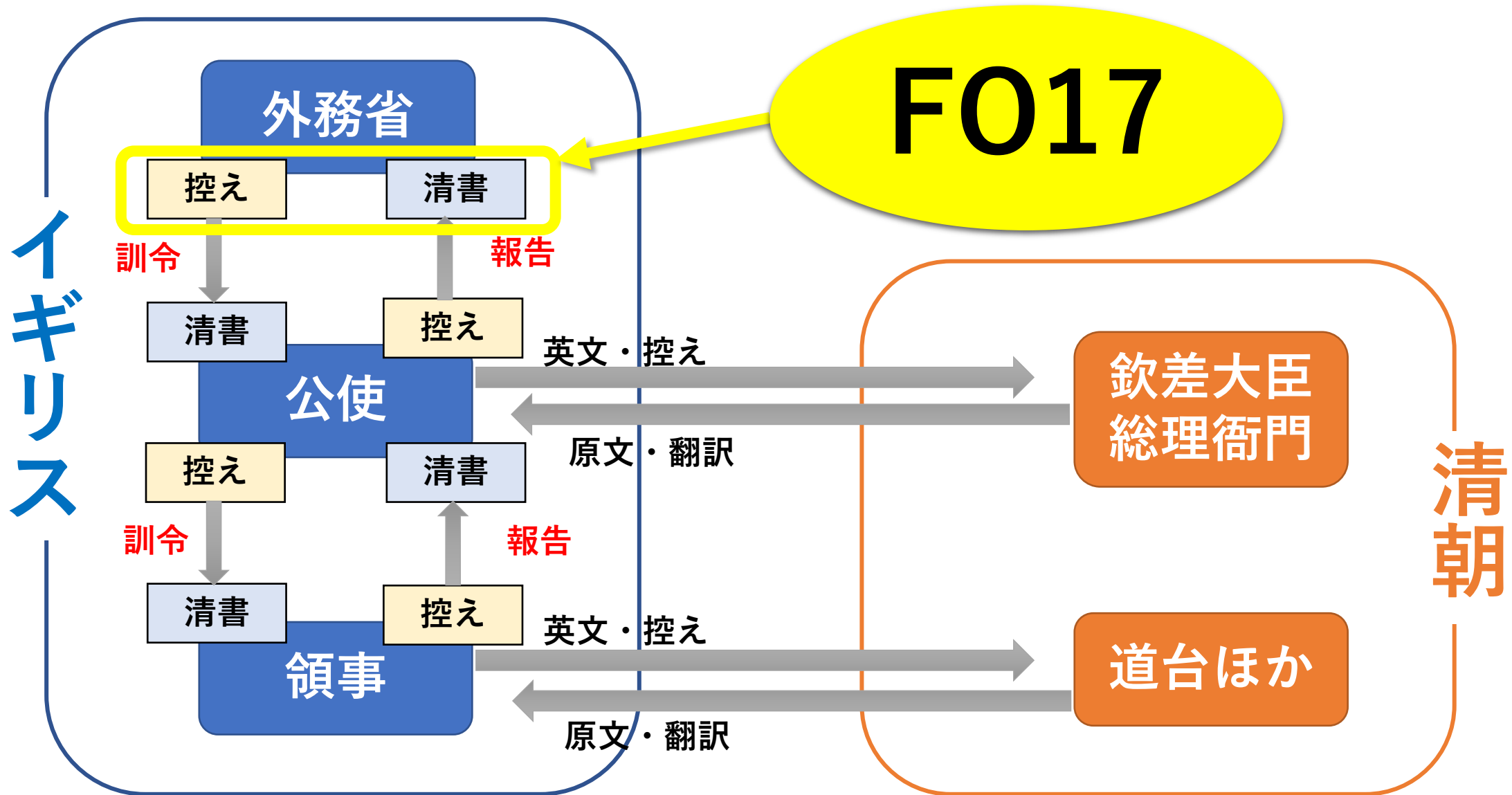
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FO17

- General Correspondence: China
- 期間（1815～1905年）
- 1,768ファイル
- イギリス外務省と駐清イギリス公使の間の往復文書

中国関係のイギリス外交文書の生成



FO17を利用する理由：漢文史料の限界

- 清代地方の行政文書の残存少→研究は清朝中央政府の文書に依存
 - 地方官僚が中央政府に全て伝えているわけではない
 - ①報告できない：アヘン貿易・海外移民（第二次アヘン戦争（アロー戦争）まで禁止）
 - ②歪曲：海賊の横行、海難の際の略奪
- 清朝側の文書だけでは沿海の実態は全く把握できない！
- イギリス外交文書（FO17・FO228など）はアヘン貿易・海外移民・海賊・海難問題について詳述
- 海域史・華人史研究において必要不可欠



2. 海域史 ①海賊問題

「砲艦外交」のイメージは正しいか？

高校の世界史の教科書におけるアヘン戦争の版画

中国の在来帆船（ジャンク）の兵船が
イギリス海軍の蒸気船の砲撃を受けて
轟沈しているようなシーン

→清朝政府がイギリスの軍事的圧力を受けているイメージ



イギリス海軍の威圧対象は常に清朝政府であったのか？

イギリスの「国際公共財」と清朝の「ただ乗り」

イギリス帝国

金融ネットワーク
蒸気船の定期航路網
電信網
イギリス海軍

= 「国際公共財」

⇒ 海上の安全確保のためイギリス海軍が海賊掃討

⇒ 清朝の「ただ乗り」

※ 「ただ乗り」は清朝側から見るとどうなるか

「非公式帝国」の見方

- 清朝 = イギリスの「非公式帝国」？
「非公式帝国」= 政治的・経済的に従属するが公式の支配下にはない



イギリス帝国
清朝

中国のイギリスに対する
経済的従属→アジア経済史研究でほぼ否定
政治的従属→イギリスへの従属はない


⇒では、イギリスの影響力とは何か？

開港後のイギリスにとって予想外の事態

- ① 貿易：中国全体の不景気。貿易拡大せず
- ② 密輸：開港場とその周辺における密輸の横行
- ③ 海賊：沿海部における海賊の横行。開港場貿易への脅威

「海賊」について DBを検索すると


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1. **Mr Bonham**
Manuscript Number: FO 17/158
Source Library: The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom)
September 27-October, 1849 Correspondence
Archive: Imperial China and the West part I, 1815-1881 Collection: FO 17 Foreign Office: Political and Other Departments: General Correspondence, China
- 

2. **From Sir J. Davis**
Manuscript Number: FO 17/129
Source Library: The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom)
Aug. 1847 Correspondence
Archive: Imperial China and the West part I, 1815-1881 Collection: FO 17 Foreign Office: Political and Other Departments: General Correspondence, China

From Sir J. Davis

Date: Mar. 1847 **Manuscript Number:** FO 17/124

Archive: Imperial China and the West part I, 1815-1881

Source Library: The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom)

Collection: FO 17 Foreign Office: Political and Other Departments: General Correspondence, China



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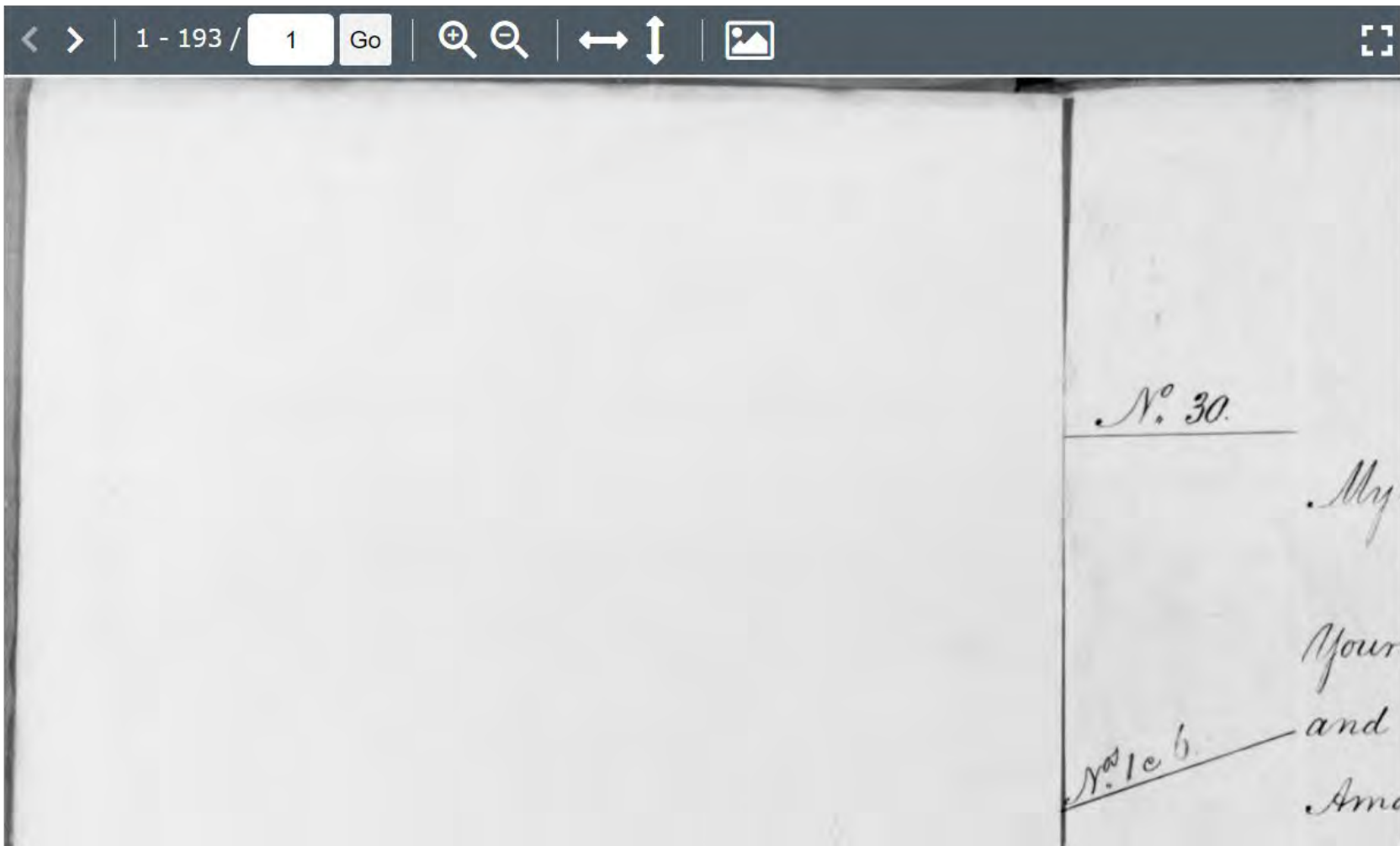
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> Related Subjects

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Items:

1. Despatch Number 30: Shipment of Chinese Coolies on Board the "Duke of Argyle" for Spanish Colony of Cuba. Opinion of Attorney General upon the Subject. Page 1. [View Item](#)

2. Despatch Number 31: Final Account of the Receipt & Disposal of the Whole Chinese Indemnity & Closed Account of That Portion Sent to India. Page 29. [View Item](#)

3. Despatch Number 32: Comparative View of British Trade at Five Ports of

the government from the heavy financial pressure, none however is yet adopted. The evil is increased by a great scarcity of bullion, felt grievously by all classes, but more so by the Mandarins.

The harvest of 1846 was abundant, trade flourishing, but the land filled with robbers, the sea with pirates, so that there is no longer safety of property either on shore or afloat. The physical strength of government since the war being much reduced, the people have in many places been obliged to arm in self defence. A spirit of independence and contempt of the constituted authorities has gone forth, which threatens serious consequences, since demagogues

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陸上の盗賊と
海上の海賊の猖獗

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4. Despatch Number 33: Copy of Consular Ordinance No 1. 07 1847 Respecting Judicial Authority of British Consuls in China. Print. Page 39. [View Item](#)

5. Despatch Number 34: Inclosing a Paper by **Mr. Gutzlaff on the State of China in 1846.** Page 43. [View Item](#)

6. Despatch Number 35: Letter from Admiral Cecille Announcing His Departure from China & Introduces His Successor Captain Sapierre. Page 52. [View Item](#)

7. Despatch Number 36: Correspondence between Consul McGregor & Keying Related to the Public Accommodation of Foreigners at Canton. Page 56. [View Item](#)

8. Despatch Number 37: Correspondence with Keying as to

Autograph Copy of Consular Ordinance No 1 of 1847.

N^o 34

Victoria, Hongkong, 16th March, 1847.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit herewith an abridgment of a Paper which Mr. Gutzlaff presented to me on the state of China in 1846. The facts appear to me generally correct.

A much longer memorandum was written by Mr. Gutzlaff in the first instance, but I drew to his attention Your Lordship's despatch on the necessity of condensation and brevity, and this is the result.

The Right Honorable,

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ギュツラフ (Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff) による
1846年の中国についての記述が典拠

イギリス海軍の海賊対策

- アヘン戦争中にイギリス海軍は海賊を掃討
- アヘン戦争後、中国沿岸において海賊を識別するのは困難
(中国の商船・漁船が武装、海賊船が商船を偽装)
 - イギリス海軍が海賊掃討の際に民間人を誤射する事件
 - イギリス海軍は海賊問題に介入しないことを決定

深滬湾事件（1847年2月7日）

- 場所：福建省泉州府の深滬湾
- イギリス商社所有のアヘン貿易船キャロライン号とオメガ号を海賊が襲撃
- 積み荷のアヘンと売り上げ代金強奪、船員30人以上殺害
- 清朝側が珠江デルタで搜索、漁民ら逮捕
 - 香港の裁判で海賊船に清朝武官が搭乗していたことが判明
 - イギリス側は清朝武官と海賊との関係に不満
 - イギリス海軍が海賊掃討を開始

※イギリス海軍の相手は清朝政府ではなく中国人海賊に

Victoria, Hongkong, 5th March, 1847.

On the 2nd instant I wrote to Your Excellency a reply concerning an attack by Pirates on the two small vessels 'Caroline' and 'Omega'.

Two men named Kwokamang and Isowche, who were concerned in this piracy, have been apprehended at a village called Chun Chuen in Shuntih district. The former of these men when seized had in his possession 322 dollars, 10 rupees, 2 Foreign flags, and some Foreign clothing - the latter 162 dollars, and 4 balls of opium. They both confessed, when questioned, that they were concerned in

Excellency,

Peking, High Imperial Commissioner,

Yc Yc Yc

デーヴィス公使→欽差大臣耆英

深滬湾事件に関係して、広東省順徳県における容疑者2名の逮捕。盗品と覚しき品々（銀貨・外国旗・外国の服・アヘン）を所持。2人の自白。

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the attack and begged to be allowed to give evidence of other parties.

I accordingly send up an English Inspector of Police, together with the Chinese Informant who knows these men. This Chinese can conduct the district officers to the village and point out the two men. When the men have been brought to Canton and examined, it may lead to the detection of others - and they may then be sent to Hongkong in custody, with a view to elicit further information.

I tender to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) J. F. Davis.

True copy.

A. R. Johnston

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イギリス海軍の介入

- イギリス海軍の海賊掃討の成功

- 開港場の中国人商人・清朝側官僚の歓迎

- 清朝側官僚がイギリス領事に情報を提供し、

- イギリス領事から連絡を受けたイギリス軍艦が海賊掃討というパターン成立

- 中国人海賊掃討の進展

- 開港場における貿易の安全確保

清朝側から見たイギリス海軍の海賊掃討

- 清朝の海賊鎮圧の手法：武力による鎮圧と招撫（降伏）
 - 降伏させた海賊は海賊鎮圧に利用（海賊に海賊鎮圧を業務委託）
 - 清朝の水師の指揮官は海賊出身者が多数

※清朝の「ただ乗り」とは？

清朝はこれまで行ってきた業務委託の手法をイギリス海軍にも適用
海賊に委託するよりも安上がりで確実に海賊を掃討

2. 海域史 ②海難問題

日本近世史から提起された「漂流民送還制度」

- 東アジアの漂流民送還制度（17～18世紀）
中国・日本・朝鮮・琉球の間で成立
外国人漂流民を出身国に送還
- 近世東アジアは同じような沿海管理体制か？
- 近世東アジアの海上貿易を担い、圧倒的大多数を占める中国船が
中国沿岸で遭難した場合は？ 生命・財産の保護は？

Larpent号事件（1850年9月）

- 台湾に漂着したイギリス船ラペント号の乗員23人のうち20人が先住民によって殺害
- 外国船の被害について駐廈門イギリス領事が情報入手（1851年5月9日）
 - 駐上海イギリス領事オールコックにより、
外国船がイギリス船のラペント号であることが判明
 - イギリス軍艦サラマンダー号の台湾への派遣

Ms. 67.

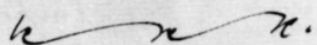
Victoria, Hongkong.

20 June 1851.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose
to Your Lordship copies of Depo-
sitions taken before Consul
Alcock, which will place Your
Lordship in possession of the
particulars connected with the
wreck of the British Ship
Larpent, of Liverpool, on the
East coast of Formosa, in Septem-
ber last

The Right Honorable
The Viscount Palmerston G.C.B.



ボナム公使→パーマストン外相

台湾東海岸におけるラペント号事件の発生に関して、オールコック領事のとった証言の写し同封

Victoria, Hongkong.

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On receiving the above intelligence, I at once addressed the Senior Naval Officer for the purpose

アメリカ船による船員3人の救出と先住民による残りの乗員殺害

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purpose of requesting the services
of the Steam Sloop "Salamander",
stationed at Amoy, to proceed to
the scene of the shipwreck, with
a view to institute enquiries on
the spot, and to rescue any
others of the crew who might be
found on the Island. But I
have little hope that any other
survivors will be discovered.

No: 4.
I also transmit, herewith,
for your Lordship's information,
copy of a despatch which I
addressed on this subject to
Mr. Backhouse, Vice Consul in Charge
at

イギリス軍艦サラマンダー号の遭難現場への派遣

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海難問題とイギリス

- 開港場からイギリス軍艦を派遣→イギリス人の生命と財産保全を試みる
- イギリス側の影響力は海上 + 沿海の一部分に限定
→沿海住民の統制は清朝側の対応が必要
→清朝側による沿海住民の統制困難
→難破船略奪問題継続
- 外国側はインフラ整備による航路安全確保・蒸気船の運航拡大によって対応

※イギリスの影響力の限界

清代における海難

- 清朝の規定では略奪を禁止していたが機能せず
- 難破船の漂着物は多くの場合、現地住民の所有物に
→外国船の難破の際に、難破船に武装した地域住民が押し寄せ、財産略奪、生命の危険
- 記録にほとんど残っていない中国船難破の際も、
生命・財産は保護されなかった可能性大
→外国人「漂流民送還」は例外
- 難破船略奪慣行は世界的に普遍的。中国は例外ではない。

近世日本の沿海管理体制は例外

- 豊臣政権による海運保護（16世紀末）
 - 江戸幕府による漂流物・沈没品に対する荷主の権利認定（17世紀後半）
- 近世日本の厳格な沿海管理は世界的にも例外的
- 日本：日本人漂流民も外国人漂流民も保護されることが多い
 - 中国：外国人漂流民のみが十分な保護をうける可能性があるものの、中国人漂流民は保護されない可能性大
-
- 日本の「常識」と中国の「常識」の違い
 - 「東アジア」内の違いを意識する必要



3. 華人史 英籍華人問題

近代におけるヒトの管理の厳格化？

- 近代における人の移動の管理厳格化？

「国境」の成立

人の管理の厳格化：「国籍」の出現

→社会管理の進展？

- 前近代とは比べものにならないほど多数のヒトの移動

→流動性は高くなったのでは？

華人史研究と華人の「保護」

- 移民先での華人「保護」に注目
 - 華人労働者の待遇
 - 移民排斥問題
 - 清朝・中華民国政府の対応
- 中国における華人「保護」

※誰が「保護」の対象なのか？

※「華人」は保護されるだけの存在なのか？

開港と華人の保護問題

- アヘン戦争による五港開港
 - イギリス植民地生まれの華人は中国においてイギリス臣民として扱われる可能性
 - 東南アジアのイギリス領から中国の開港場に渡来した華人はイギリス領事館で登録せず、普段はイギリス臣民であることを隠して現地の人びとの間で生活
- 清朝地方官僚や現地の人びとの間でトラブルになるとイギリス領事館に駆け込んでイギリス臣民であることを主張

開港と華人の保護問題

- 清朝地方官僚の権威を認めない英籍華人の存在は脅威
 - 清朝地方当局の英籍華人に対する弾圧
 - 英籍華人をリーダーとする秘密結社小刀会の反乱の勃発（1853年）
 - その後も紛争継続
 - 保護対象を明確にする必要性
- イギリス公使オールコックによる布告（1868年10月7日）
 - 服装・身なりによって区別

オールコックの回状（1866年10月7日）



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CIRCULAR No. 10.

PEKING, October 7, 1868.

SIR,—Pursuant to instructions from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have issued the enclosed Notification regulating the conditions under which Persons of Chinese descent, who are British Subjects, may reside or travel in China under British protection.

You will observe that it is left entirely optional to such persons to claim the status of British Subjects within the Chinese territories, or not, as they may see fit. But in the event of their electing to sink their British nationality, and reside or travel as Chinese among Chinese, they cannot claim any exemption from the jurisdiction and laws of the country they adopt of their own free will, and after due notice of the consequences.

You will give all due publicity and effect within your jurisdiction to the enclosed, in conformity with the provisions of the Queen's Order in Council of 1865.

Your obedient servant,

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

To
Her Majesty's Consul,
S c, S c, S c,
Shanghai.

Circular No. 10, October 7, 1886.

Sir, Pursuant instructions from Her Majesty's Secretary of state for Foreign Affairs, I have issued the enclosed Notification regulating the conditions under which Persons of Chinese descent, who are British Subjects, may reside or travel in China under British protection.

You will observe that it is left entirely optional to such persons to claim the status of British Subjects within the Chinese territories, or not, as they may see fit. But in the event of their electing to sink their Chinese among Chinese, they cannot claim any exemption from the jurisdiction and laws of the country they adopt of their own free will, and after due notice of the consequences.

You will give all due publicity and effect within your jurisdiction to the enclosed, in conformity with the provisions of the Queen's Order in Council of 1865.

NOTIFICATION.

Whereas many persons of Chinese descent, who are or claim to be British Subjects, go to reside or travel in the dominions of the Emperor of China, and whereas serious difficulty exists in distinguishing such British subjects from natives amenable to Chinese laws only, and accordingly great practical inconvenience frequently results to the parties themselves and to the authorities of both countries; and whereas it is desirable, with a view to the maintenance of order and good Government of British Subjects of Chinese descent resorting to China, and for the maintenance of friendly relations between British subjects and Chinese subjects and authorities, that a remedy should be provided for such inconveniences. Therefore by the authority and power vested in me by the 85th Section of the China and Japan Order in Council 1865, I do declare and order that all British subjects of Chinese descent shall, while residing or being in Chinese territory, discard the Chinese costume and adopt some other dress or costume whereby they may readily be distinguished from the native population. And I do further warn all British subjects of Chinese descent so residing or being in the Chinese dominions as aforesaid, that in the event of their infringing or not observing this Order and Regulation, they shall not be entitled to claim British protection or interference on their behalf in any Court of Justice or elsewhere in the Chinese Dominions.

And I do further order that every British subject of Chinese descent who shall sue in any Chinese Court of Justice, or appear in public before the authorities of the Empire, shall be, and he is hereby required to pay all due respect to the Chinese authorities according to the customs and usages of the country, save and except that such British subject shall not be bound or required to observe any custom or ceremony whereby he would admit that he is a subject of His Imperial Majesty.

Given under my hand and seal at Peking this sixth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK,

*Her Britannic Majesty's Extraordinary,
Minister Plenipotentiary and
Chief Superintendent of Trade.*

服装規定

中国系のイギリス臣民が中国領内に滞在する間は中国服を捨て、現地の人々と容易に区別可能な服装・身なりをすべきである

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英籍華人に対するイギリス・清朝の対応

英籍華人の服装規定無視：領事館内のみ洋装、領事館外では中国服

→イギリス籍を利用した脱税問題などの紛争拡大

→英籍華人は清朝・イギリスの当局を翻弄

→イギリス側は制度を整備するが、その保護には限界

清朝側は大清国籍条例（1910年施行）で統制を図る

→華人は台湾籍民、租界や植民地への拠点移動で対応

近代とヒトの管理

- 移民の増大

→複数の「国籍」を利用する人びと

→国家によるヒトの管理は困難に

※流動性の高まりと選択肢の増大により、社会管理は一律に進展せず

※人びとの活動によって社会管理のための新たな制度が必要に

複数の選択肢

- 清代の中国における紛争の際の様々な選択肢
 - 近隣の人々による仲裁
 - 村落の世話役
 - 地方エリート（郷紳）
 - 宗族集団の長
 - 地方の役人に訴え→訴訟

※中国人（華人）にとってはイギリス領事（日本領事）も選択肢の一つ
→従来の行動パターンの反映

イギリスの影響力

- 海軍力の限界：1860年代以降、本国・地中海に海軍力集中
- 東アジアにおけるマンパワーの限界⇔日本
- 経済活動は開港場租界内
- イギリスの代理人候補（英籍華人・買辦）の保護は限界
←清朝政府側の警戒・中国ナショナリズムの批判の対象

※清朝が危機に陥る19世紀末から20世紀初頭にイギリスの影響力低下
「非公式帝国」？



4. FO17を利用する意義

FO17を利用することの意義：現代からみて

- 建前でないリアルな中国を理解できる
- 清末の面白さ：変動期
- 現代との共通性：既存の秩序の動揺・崩壊。先の見えない状況
- 多様な言語の史料を併用可能
- グローバルな視野：「東アジア」限定の枠組みでは見えてこない視野
- 外からの視点で現代につながる中国の「制度」が見えてくる

FO17を利用することの意義：日本の中国研究

- 中国側の史料にない視点
- イギリス史研究・日本史研究とは別の視点から利用
- 日本における中国史研究の議論の応用
- 日本から独自の中国史理解、中国理解へ