

WERE THE 1899-1901 BOXERS “VIOLENT XENOPHOBES OR MAGNIFICENT PATRIOTS”?

An investigation into how both the Chinese and Westerners have portrayed and remembered the Boxers at different times to reflect social and political contexts



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Abstract

The Boxer Rebellion was a failed uprising carried out by a violent group of Chinese peasants known as the Boxers from 1899-1901. Their legacy is remembered very differently within Chinese and Western history.

This dissertation shows that the Boxers were both violent xenophobes and magnificent patriots however their true aims have been manipulated by both sides to support ideological goals. To China they are an inspirational legacy conveying the people's strength and patriotism, however to the West this strength was feared, therefore the Boxers were presented as evil xenophobes.

By exploring political aims throughout time, it is clear China has viewed the Boxers differently regarding these aims. First with Empress Dowager Cixi promoting violent support, then Chairman Mao encouraging Chinese independence and finally President Xi Jinping pursuing nationalism.

Within the West, a study into Victorian novels and 1960's adventure films clearly highlight the "Yellow Peril" concept proving that a Western fear of revenge deeply influenced their view on the Boxers as bloodthirsty fanatics.

Through comparing these depictions with the contexts at the time, it indicates that the Boxers legacy has been resurrected purely to aid contemporary ideological goals, and that in reality they were violent patriots, fighting to help their country from foreign influence any way they could.

The Boxer Rebellion was a significant point in time however their true aims have been forgotten and manipulated, therefore this dissertation attempts to discover their true depiction: violent xenophobes or magnificent patriots?

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Introduction

Within Chinese history stands the 1899-1901 Boxer Rebellion, a violent anti-imperialist, anti-foreign and anti-Christian uprising supported by the Qing Government. Organised by a peasant society originally known as the Righteous and Harmonious Fists, the Boxers represented a turning point in Chinese history as society violently revolted against foreign influence.¹ Resulting in the decline of the Qing court, the deaths of over 100,000 people, and the creation of humiliating treaties, this Rebellion was a failure for China, however it remains a legacy of martyrdom in the name of patriotism.²

In contemporary historiography, the Boxer Rebellion is significant due to the new information China have gained access to in the past 20 years, offering the Government a chance to re-evaluate their view on Boxers.³ They did not, and continued to depict them as magnificent patriots. Primarily, this shows that it is relevant to explore how their portrayals have changed over time, both by China and the West, to make a clear judgement on if they were magnificent patriots or violent xenophobes.

¹ "A Righteous Fist", *The Economist Newspaper Ltd*, 397.8713 (2010)

<<https://search.proquest.com/docview/818661678?accountid=130472>> [Accessed 4 January 2020].

² Jung Chang, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China* (London: Random House, 2013).

³ David Rennie, "China Honours The Boxers With Grisly Pictures", *The Telegraph*, 2001

<<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/1339945/China-honours-the-Boxers-with-grisly-pictures.html>> [Accessed 4 August 2019].

Journalist Jonathon Watts first coined this contrasting debate while discussing modern Chinese textbooks, commenting that “the Boxers could as easily be described as violent xenophobes as magnificent patriots”.⁴ This dissertation will hope to further Watts’s modern debate by researching portrayals during the early 20th Century, depictions in the 1960’s, and the 21st Century portrayals, forming three distinct chapters. The aim of this dissertation is to discover the differing opinions held throughout time on the Boxers and how they were used to reflect social and political contexts both in China and in the West.

To explain these three segments of time, naturally it is key to compare the early 20th Century viewpoint on the Boxers with modern day interpretations, but the 1960’s is also a key period. Anti-Asian scaremongering known as the “Yellow Peril” which began in the early 1900’s as Victorian novels was still prevalent in the West during the mid-1960’s in adventure films, as seen in the *Dr Fu Manchu* novels and later films. Additionally, the 1960’s was a major time stamp in Chinese history due to the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, in which the legacy of the Boxers was resurrected to reflect the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP’s) ideological goals of patriotism, Chinese independence and revolution. Primarily, this highlights that to explore how depictions have developed, a key linking decade is the 1960’s.

⁴ Jonathon Watts, "China Cracks Down On Critical Publication", *The Guardian*, 2006
<<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2006/jan/26/chinathemedia.pressandpublishing>> [Accessed 3 October 2019].

Additionally, this dissertation will include the analysis of sources from these three points in history. Firstly, a picture gallery entitled *The Cause of the Riots in the Yangtse Valley: A Complete Picture Gallery (1891)* is an incredibly valid source which includes 32 images made by the Boxers to portray them as violent patriots protecting China from Christianity.⁵ Another primary source is Captain's Charles Gilson's 1910 novel *The Lost Column: The Story of the Boxer Rebellion*, which saw the Boxers as, to quote, "frenzied shrieking fanatics".⁶ Using this source effectively highlights Yellow Peril and also brings up debates on the purpose of Victorian novels.

Furthermore, significant sources from the 1960's include interviews conducted with those who were part of the female Boxer group, the Red Lanterns, which conveys their violence without patriotism. These interviews will be compared to the 1963 American action film *55 days in Peking* and the 1960's series of British *Dr Fu Manchu* films, both of which depict the Boxers as bloodthirsty fanatics.⁷

In order to explore the new 21st Century portrayal, modern newspapers and television shows must be included. The case study of the *Bingdian* newspaper and the 2003 television show *Towards the Republic* will help to explore how the CCP censor any media which negatively portray the Boxers as violent xenophobes and instead allow articles in the *Beijing Youth Daily* which depicted the Boxers as patriotic martyrs to be published.⁸

⁵ Griffith John, *The Cause of The Riots in The Yangtse Valley: A Complete Picture Gallery* (Hankow, 1891).

⁶ Charles Gilson, *The Lost Column: A Story of The Boxer Rebellion in China* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909).

⁷ Nicholas Ray, *55 Days at Peking* (America: Allied Artists, 1963); Don Sharp, *The Face of Fu Manchu* (County Dublin: Hallam Productions, 1965); Jesús Franco, *The Blood of Fu Manchu* (Spain: Harry Alan Towers, 1968).

⁸ "History Textbooks in China", *Zonaeuropa.Com* <http://www.zonaeuropa.com/20060126_1.htm> [Accessed 1 February 2020]; Zhang Li, *Towards The Republic* (China: CCTV, 2003); David Rennie, "China Honours The Boxers With Grisly Pictures".

This dissertation will aim to fit into multiple historiographical debates surrounding the topic. It is important to include a gender debate while analysing the motivations behind the violence of the Red Lanterns. A religious debate will also be broached when exploring the accounts of missionaries stationed in China, in comparison to Sino-Vatican tensions in the 21st Century, proving that contrasting religion has played a large role in the developing interpretations of the Boxers.⁹

In addition, many historians have attempted to tackle this Boxer myth. Historian Cohen's book *The Boxers as an Event, Experience and Myth* is crucial as it explores how aspects of the past have become sources of energy, inspiring an exploration of the link between Maoist China and the Boxer Rebellion.¹⁰ Klein is another useful scholar for this dissertation to build upon, as he explores how Chinese historians have followed politically defined paradigms in comparison to 21st century Western sources which suggest that the event is instead forgotten about.¹¹ Both sources help to highlight how the memory of the Boxers have been manipulated by China while the West has moved on.

⁹ Alessandra Stanley, "Pope Canonizes 120 Killed in China and One American", *The New York Times*, 2000 <<https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/02/world/pope-canonizes-120-killed-in-china-and-one-american.html>> [Accessed 1 February 2020].

¹⁰ Paul A Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, And Myth* (Columbia UP, 1997).

¹¹ Thoralf Klein, "The Boxer War - The Boxer Uprising", *Online Encyclopaedia Of Mass Violence*, 2008 <<https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/boxer-war-boxer-uprising>> [Accessed 19 September 2019].

For the conclusion, initial thoughts show that China has always shown the Boxers as violent and patriotic however Western portrayals have experienced more change. Through gaining power from the Qing court, inspiring violence in Maoist China and the Government censoring negative media in the 21st Century, there is a suggestion that, to China, the Boxers were and always will be magnificent patriots. Furthermore, there is evidence which implies that Western sources have changed in opinion greatly. Foreign powers initially portrayed the Boxers as weak to encourage national pride in colonialism, however upon realising the strength of the Boxers, they cultured the “Yellow Peril” idea, which made its way from early 1900’s novels through to popular cinema and was forgotten in the 21st Century.

Chapter 1- - The Portrayal of the Boxers During the Early-20th Century

Chapter 1.1- Boxer's Patriotic Self Perception

Firstly, to explore how the depiction of the Boxers have developed it is key to examine how they were portrayed in the early 20th Century during the Rebellion itself and use this chapter to reflect back on when exploring any changes. Initially the Boxers portrayed themselves as patriots violently defending China, especially targeting Christian missionaries they blamed for China's hardships.

The text, translated as *The Cause of the Riots in the Yangtse Valley: A Complete Picture Gallery* (1891) is an incredibly useful source in seeing the Boxers as violent xenophobes as it includes 32 graphic images that were "used by the local agitators to stir up anti-Christian movements".¹² As a missionary himself, it is clear the author Griffith John publicised these images created by Boxers to call attention to the rise in anti-Christian sentiments and highlight the injustices that Christians face thusly gaining sympathy. Regardless of the motivations, this collection of images undoubtedly shows the Christian impact within a Chinese village. In fact, in one year alone the Boxers destroyed 10 churches, raided 328 homes and killed 23 converts, suggesting that although his comments on the images seem dramatic and state that the Boxers were unreasonable bullies, the Boxer's self-propaganda images of intense violence effectively support his argument.¹³

¹² Peter Perdue, "*The Cause Of The Riots In The Yangtse Valley: A Complete Picture Gallery*", Visualizingcultures.Mit.Edu, 2014 <https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/cause_of_the_riots/cr_intro.html> [Accessed 17 June 2019].

¹³ Jung Chang, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*.

Figures 1 and 2 from this collection clearly show the graphic violence the Boxers seem to be proudly presenting to the pamphlet's readers, depicting themselves as a brutal and violent group.¹⁴ Within, one pig is being sawn in half, one is pounded into a stone mortar, and then finally another has knives thrown at it. This brutal symbolism of animal sacrifice makes it apparent that religion was their enemy as Christianity was destroying traditional Chinese culture. In this picture gallery, John draws attention to the characters faintly written on the tortured pigs and goats, translated as 'Jesus' and 'Westerner'. As they use double meanings in Chinese language, such as the similar writing and pronunciation of 'Pig' with 'Jesus', the Boxers themselves created and advertised these images in a hope to be viewed as heroes, defeating the animalistic pigs that the foreigners were deemed to be.



Figure 2 – “Shooting the Hog and Decollating the Goats”



Figure 1 “The Punishment of the Hog in Hades”

¹⁴ Griffith John, *The Cause of The Riots in The Yangtse Valley: A Complete Picture Gallery*.

These images are highly important as they were an effective way for the Boxers to show the illiterate public what they stood for and encourage more to be violent xenophobes in the name of protecting Chinese traditions. This idea is counter argued by historian Perdue through the claim that the images are “only the tip of the iceberg” because they solely give a glimpse into the riotous popular culture that responded to the Rebellion.¹⁵ Perdue’s comment implies the source is not valuable which is highly untrue as it effectively explores how the Boxer’s wanted to portray themselves as both violent and patriotic. To contrast Perdue’s statement and see the importance of these images, another scholar Cohen writes that “it is impossible to explore the consciousness of the Boxers because very few were literate or left detailed accounts of their experience”.¹⁶ This primarily shows just how valuable exploring this 1891 picture gallery is, due to the brutally eye-catching and thought provoking images being a crucial method of spreading their messages to a mostly illiterate society and thus expand their group and entice people to become militant. Overall, this indicates that the Boxers were eager to be seen as willing to go to any lengths to protect traditional Chinese culture from Christians.

¹⁵ Peter Perdue, *The Cause of The Riots In The Yangtse Valley: A Complete Picture Gallery*.

¹⁶ Paul A Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, And Myth*.

Chapter 1.2- Imperial Chinese Perception of the Boxers as Entertainers

While the Boxers were portraying themselves as patriots, the rest of China were also seeing them as patriotic due to their background as entertainers. Modern re-interpretation on the other hand views the Boxers use of their background as manipulation. The Boxers originated from what the historian Perdue calls the “ecologically fragile and impoverished Shandong state” whereby foreign competition damaged their markets and caused a destitute society.¹⁷ Due to this and Cohen’s previous comment on illiteracy, little textual evidence from the Boxers exists meaning there is a huge focus on the detailed images produced showing that before and during the Rebellion the Boxers were an entertainment troupe.

¹⁷ Peter Perdue, *"The Cause Of The Riots In The Yangtse Valley: A Complete Picture Gallery"*.

Figure 3 depicts a crowd watching a performance of drumming, trapeze, and gymnastics, with the close-up showing the Boxers and their martial arts.¹⁸ Drawn in 1885, it highlights that the Shandong peasants were travelling performers before the Rebellion and that the public viewed them as strong entertainers. To support this theory, one artist Zheng claimed his friend “practiced for years for his body to become as hard as steel so wherever he focused his Qi, neither knife no axe could wound him.”¹⁹ This description is a clear example of stunt tricks and further shows that the impoverished Boxers initially were part of a circus but that their skills transferred well to violence.



Figure 3- *Exhibition of Boxing and Acrobatics*” with enlarged detail of “Boxer”

¹⁸Dianshizhaihuabao, “*Exhibition Of Boxing And Acrobatics With Enlarged Detail Of Boxer*, 1885”
<https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/boxer_uprising/image/dz_v04_036_boxers28240.jpg> [Accessed 23 January 2020].

¹⁹ Thomas Green, *Martial Arts Of The World: A-Q*, 1st edn (California: ABC-CLIO, 2001).

Furthermore, during the Rebellion itself there is evidence many Boxers manipulated their employment and China's environmental disasters and created performances to encourage violence towards missionaries, showing them as manipulative rather than patriotic. Cohen comments that "drought, famine and flooding in the northern plains coinciding with a tax crisis in 1897 left the population desperate for a scapegoat".²⁰ With Shandong in the northern plains, to the ordinary Chinese the most immediate symbols of the invading western forces humiliating their nation were the missionaries stationed in China. The Boxers harnessed this for their advantage using xenophobic puppet shows to promote support for their group.

²⁰ Paul A Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, And Myth*.

Cohen's theory of using scapegoating and manipulation is incredibly valid as backed up by early images such as figure 4: "*The Boxers Inciting the People to Insurrection by a Punch and Judy Show: The Pig Represents the Missionary*".²¹ Although the plot of this traditional puppet show has been lost, the stories commonly depict conflicts in a comical fashion. This highlights that the Boxers used their entertaining background to subtly encourage violence and, alike their propaganda images, used the pig to symbolise and further target missionaries. Not only did they create puppet shows and perform martial art shows, accounts also state Boxers acted as shamans who would enter a trancelike state. Historians do not discuss this aspect to the Boxers, but it further supports the view they were manipulative, targeting the weak and impoverished for money under the guise of alleviating their suffering during their uncertain environmental times.

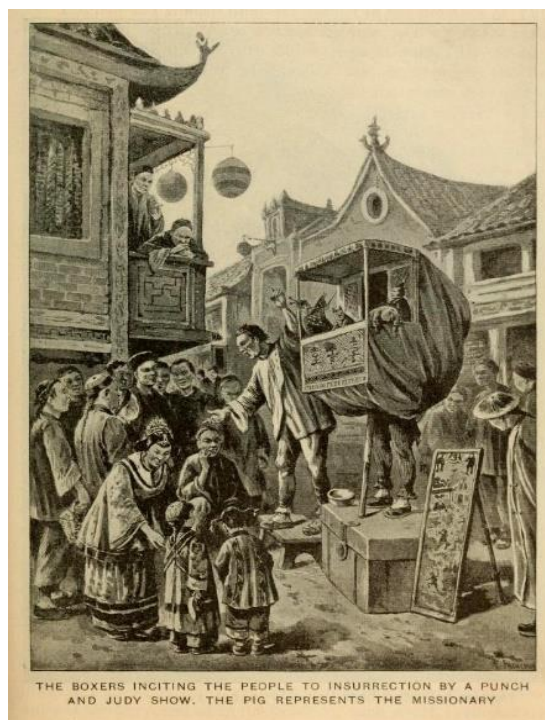


Figure 4- "*The Boxers Inciting the People to Insurrection by a Punch and Judy Show: The Pig Represents the Missionary*"

²¹ The Illustrated London News, *The Boxers Inciting The People To Insurrection By A Punch And Judy Show. The Pig Represents The Missionary.*, 1900 <https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/boxer_uprising/image/massacresofchris00clev.jpg> [Accessed 23 February 2020].

Overall, from having this pre-Rebellion connotation of an entertainment ensemble, it would have naturally influenced their support during the Rebellion. Most likely it would have led to society viewing the Boxers as patriotic saviours who put their martial arts skills to good use by violently protecting China from the evil caused by Christianity. It is clear that the Boxers promoted xenophobic violence with their puppet shows, martial art performances and shamanism therefore this does not indicate patriotism but purely manipulation. In fact, the true portrayal of them is that they were manipulative entertainers driven by their financial greed rather than patriotism, making money from the environmental uncertainty and scapegoating missionaries.

Chapter 1.3- Qing Government's Changing Portrayal

Additionally, while society's belief that the Boxers were patriotically protecting Chinese culture seems to have lasted the duration of the Rebellion, the Qing Government changed their opinion of the Boxers from magnificent patriots into violent tyrants. The most invaluable source to explore the Qing Government is Jung Chang's *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine who Launched Modern China* as it includes the translation of not only eyewitness accounts but also Cixi's private papers.²² Furthermore, Chang's previous work has been censored in China for her "honest attempt at recounting the past", which gives an extra validity to these primary sources which convey that the Government changed their perception of the Boxers from heroic guardians to riotous troublemakers.²³

Initially when Cixi declared war on the foreign powers, the 250,000 Boxers in the capital were given legal status as an army, and subsequently 100,000 of them defended the roads into Beijing.²⁴ To legally become the Government's army was significant as the Qing state already had an official army showing that the Qing court valued the Boxers as magnificent patriots who could free China from foreign powers.²⁵ Sarah Conger, the wife of the American minister in China, said she had "never seen anything like it...the Boxers and soldiers combined made a strong army... they fought bravely and put the foreign armies to a bitter test".²⁶ Effectively this highlights that the Boxers were violent yet patriotic and this decision of turning them into an army shows how they were viewed positively at the beginning of the Rebellion.

²² Jung Chang, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*.

²³ Richard Bernstein, "China's 'Most Dangerous Profession'", *The Atlantic*, 2019
<<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/10/china-writing-dangerous-profession/600688/>> [Accessed 6 December 2019].

²⁴ Jung Chang, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Sarah Pike Conger, *Letters from China. With Particular Reference to The Empress Dowager And The Women Of China* (A.C. McClurg & Co.: Chicago, 1909).

Later acts decreased the Government's approval of the Boxers as they were rewarded with silver from the courts and primitive but effective weapons from re-opened warehouses. There is a shift in how the Boxers are written about in Cixi's private letters which shows that the Boxers newfound independence and power was abused to perform more acts of violent xenophobia. With these weapons the Boxers "ran wild, looting and pillaging cities" and the "losses of one affluent street in Tianjin were estimated at tens of millions of silvers".²⁷ This clearly highlights that the Boxers were violent criminals rather than magnificent patriots, ransacking homes and stealing money. Jung Chang describes a scene whereby without official authority tens of thousands of Boxers lay siege to Beijing's legation quarter for 55 days killing foreign diplomats, thusly further suggesting the Boxers were capable of being violent troublemakers without any encouragement.²⁸ Due to this Cixi commented to her viceroys "I feel like a paper tiger... China would be plunged into peril if I use the army to crush them... I have to go along with them, be their leader and manage to control them".²⁹ This "paper tiger" analogy conveys that the Government's initial promotion of the group led to the Boxers taking violent and threatening control over China and therefore were not patriotic.

Overall, this shows that the Qing court originally perceived the Boxers as patriots who could help protect China, however after being given power they became a force even the Government could not control. Primarily this highlights that the Boxers were not patriotically following orders but instead that they took matters into their own hands and attempted to murder respected foreign officials, leading to the conclusion they were purely violent xenophobes.

²⁷ Jung Chang, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Chapter 1.4- Missionary Accounts in China

Furthermore, there is one theory that the Boxers were not violent xenophobes, but targeted select groups, such as the missionaries that were controlling China. Rev. Arthur H Smith, a missionary in China for 29 years, shows this control as he wrote that many villagers turned to Christianity as an escape from punishment for owing debts, committing robbery or murder, as magistrates always ruled in favour of converts.³⁰ To the Boxers this corruption would have threatened their legal system therefore this violence was an attempt to destroy that which was harming traditional Chinese society. E.H. Edwards, another missionary in China for 25 years, wrote it can “scarcely be conceived by foreigners the hold Christians have over the people”.³¹ As both Smith and Edwards had been missionaries in China a great length of time, they would have seen the changes that the Boxer Rebellion brought clearer than the modern historians such as Chang, Perdue and Cohen. Both these comments on religion, direct from missionaries themselves, highlight that Christianity was controlling and damaging traditional Chinese culture, thusly conveying that the Boxers were patriotic.

³⁰ Rev. Arthur H Smith, *Village Life in China; A Study in Sociology* (Chicago: F. H. Revell company, 1899).

³¹ E. H Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi: The Story Of The Martyrdom Of Foreigners And Chinese Christians* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1903).

On the other hand, some missionaries' accounts encouraged a view that the Boxers were a foolish society, but this is mainly through a misunderstanding of Chinese culture. The diary of soldier F.W.S. O'Neill of the Irish Presbyterian Mission stationed in China is hugely significant as it includes the Boxer's views of themselves. O'Neill commented that "it was said men and horses were 10 feet tall and the swords were so numerous it was impossible to resist them".³² Naturally these exaggerated rumours were spread by Boxers in encouragement for people to join their group, however O'Neill used it to portray them as ridiculous. Additionally, he also discusses the Boxer's belief that they were bulletproof, noting that the "troops were led by a maiden on horseback. She was shot in the head and died of course".³³ The use of "of course" shows the foreign aim to present the Boxers as an impractical group, that the foreign powers will easily crush. In opposition to O'Neill's comments, historian Mary Douglas sparks a religious debate as she comments that "naturally the Boxers hoped that rituals averted death as primitive magic gives meaning to existence".³⁴ Primarily this conveys that the Christian missionaries would not have seen the Boxers as ridiculous, if the noun "rituals" were replaced with "prayers to avert death". This gives the idea that the Christian missionaries were incredibly alike to the Boxers in their faith in rituals. However, the British Government's desire for colonialism influenced their diaries and led them to see the Boxers as alien for their impractical belief system.

³² Mark O'Neill, *Frederick: The Life of My Missionary Grandfather in Manchuria* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2012).

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of The Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

Overall, these missionary accounts indicate a difference between those stationed in China briefly, suffering with culture shock, and those who have acclimatised and become included in Chinese legal systems. It is more reliable to use the accounts of missionaries stationed in China for a longer period as it gives a wider viewpoint of not only the Boxers but also the social context in China during the Rebellion. Essentially the accounts depict the Boxers as patriotically defending China from growing Western influence, using exaggerated rumours to increase their power, and thusly violently targeting missionaries highlighting their xenophobia.

Chapter 1.5- British “Yellow Peril”

In addition, there is the opposing argument that it was not the Boxers themselves that were xenophobic, but that other countries were prejudiced against China. This meant that any foreign perceptions of the Boxers were highly influenced by an overseas irrational fear of the Chinese, epitomised as the “Yellow Peril”.³⁵ During the Century of Humiliation it is highly likely that as the foreign powers increased their control of China, the Boxers fittingly became violent, therefore they were patriotically protecting China however they could.

³⁵ Thoralf Klein, "The Boxer War - The Boxer Uprising", *Online Encyclopaedia Of Mass Violence*.

Figure 5 is a perfect epitome of this. Taken from the American satirical magazine Puck it depicts China as a traditional dragon, chained and weak, with eight countries fighting for control.³⁶ As it was published just one day after foreign troops entered Beijing, it was most likely used to show pride in the foreign armies that they would have a swift victory as the foreign countries were superior. For foreign judgements to view China as weak it strengthens the idea of foreign cruelty and that the Boxers, however violent, they were not entirely unprovoked and were heroically attempting to save China from foreign rule. Overall, the background of Yellow Peril and the Century of Humiliation highlight that there were reasonable motivations behind the Boxers violence and that they can reliably be seen as magnificent patriots as the Chinese way of life would have soon be destroyed by the West if the Boxers had not taken action.



Figure 5- "The real trouble will come with the "wake"

³⁶ Joseph Keppler, *The Real Trouble Will Come with the "Wake"* (Washington: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs, 1900).

Chapter 1.6- Violent Victorian Novels

To further explore the foreign portrayal of the Boxers during the early 1900's, a collection of valuable sources to analyse are late Victorian novels. Examining the terminology used to describe the Boxers shows that the British writers viewed them, as literary academic Forman argues, "unruly and the animalistic".³⁷ This can be seen as hugely accurate through reading the Captain's Charles Gilson's 1910 adventure novel *The Lost Column: The Story of the Boxer Rebellion*, which states the Boxers had become "frenzied shrieking fanatics" with a "madness that spreads and holds people like the plague".³⁸ Gilson's vivid imagery of the evil Boxers was most likely created as entertainment, but also could have been inspired by his personal experience. Gilson served in the post- Boxer allied army in China, therefore although he had no direct experience of the Boxers during the Rebellion, his writing may have been fuelled by rumours or suffering from a culture shock, thusly seeing anything Chinese as alien and "madness".³⁹

³⁷ Ross Forman, "Peking Plots: Fictionalising the Boxer Rebellion of 1900", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 27.1 (1999).

³⁸ Charles Gilson, *The Lost Column: A Story of The Boxer Rebellion in China*.

³⁹ Paschal Scotti, *Out of Due Time* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2006).

To help his British readers relate, Gilson linked the Boxers to the negative social issues within Britain affecting the Boxer's portrayal. Forman also argues that, "the terminology of the mobs that appeared in narratives about the urban working class in Britain were also to describe the Chinese".⁴⁰ To support this, there is a clear correlation, in Gilson's novels, between the repeated descriptions of the "hordes" of Boxers and the "non-individualistic description of the crowds of labourers on the East End".⁴¹ Essentially, this suggests that his negative portrayals of the Boxers and how they were crushed were possibly to stop any future British rebellions and make the lower classes aware of what can happen to their revolutionary Chinese peasant counterparts. Victorian entertainment shows the "ultimate supremacy of the civilised and uncivilised", as the novels were politically motivated to tackle the ongoing social debates in Victorian Britain, such as highlighting the social class divide, discouraging discussions on working-class rights and warning off rebellious actions, rather than accurately portraying the Boxers.⁴² Overall, these novels' analogies between the Chinese peasant and the British working class makes it clear what the novels are truly about: maintaining the boundaries of the class system during the Empire and stopping any future rebellions.

⁴⁰ Ross Forman, "Peking Plots: Fictionalising the Boxer Rebellion of 1900", *Victorian Literature and Culture*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

Chapter 1.7- Conclusion

In conclusion during the Rebellion itself the illiterate Boxers portrayed themselves as violent patriots through their posters graphically torturing foreigners, showing they were willing to do anything to save their culture that the missionaries were destroying. Additionally, they used their background as entertainers to manipulate society and this, alongside evidence the Qing court gave them increased power, indicating that the group were violent brutes that even China could not control. On the other hand, foreign posters and missionary accounts neither convey the Boxers as violent xenophobes, magnificent patriots, or greedy brutes, but instead as weak, most likely to encourage the popular belief of Western superiority. Although this might have been the artist's plan to portray the Boxers as feeble, British writers linked them to violent London mobs to dissuade British rebels. These separate views clearly show the alternative responses to the Boxers and the hidden reasons behind them during the early 20th Century.

Chapter 2- The Portrayal of the Boxers During the Mid-20th Century

To further explore how portrayals of the Boxers have changed throughout time, the mid-20th Century is a highly significant time stamp. In particular, the 1960's was an important era for modern Chinese history due to Chairman Mao's Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution encouraging hostility towards foreigners and peasant lifestyles, reflecting strongly on what the Boxers, and their female counterparts the Red Lanterns, stood for. To contrast the Chinese representation of the Boxers, the mid-20th Century was also key for the Western world as cinemas built on the earlier "Yellow Peril" fear in American action movies. Primarily this chapter will show that there are common links between Chinese and American depictions of the Boxers however this is utilised for different agendas in the 1960's.

Chapter 2.1- The CCP's Ideological Goals Reflected in the Boxers

Firstly, the Boxers were remembered as a group to be idolised during the Cultural Revolution as they epitomised many of the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP's) ideological goals, through their revolutionary behaviour, class struggles and foreign enemies. These aspects of the Boxers were exactly what the CCP stood for in the mid-19th Century as historian Hevia comments that Chairman Mao strategically used the legacy of the Boxer Rebellion to highlight a clear example in Chinese history of the “heroic resistance of Chinese peasants fighting back against national humiliation”.⁴³ This would have been to entice society to his Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution movements as these movements shared many similarities to the Rebellion. Historian Brock labels the Boxer Rebellion as a “fanatical rejection of all foreign technology and products”, which is also true for the two Maoist movements.⁴⁴

⁴³ James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy Of Imperialism In Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003).

⁴⁴ Darryl E Brock, *Mr. Science And Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2013).

While the Rebellion fought back against foreign rules and imperialism, the Cultural Revolution also strove for this, burning foreign objects, encouraging Chinese global independence and increasing Chinese output to become the highest producer in the world, therefore Chairman Mao was recreating history and using the Boxers to show society that China was strong on its own.⁴⁵ Additionally, Chairman Mao introduced plain peasant clothing, cancelled education and moved all employment to agricultural and industrial sectors to promote peasant lifestyles.⁴⁶ This positive viewpoint of the Boxers would have been widespread across Chinese society due to Maoist indoctrination as those who opposed Mao's desired lifestyle and new interpretation of history incurred his wrath. Primarily this is shown in his "4 Old's Campaign", a destructive cull of any traditional elements of Chinese culture pre-communism which contrasted his balanced class system view, including the murders of historians, philosophers and teachers.⁴⁷ Primarily this indicates that the Boxer Rebellion thus created an inspirational image of martyrdom, peasant struggles and revolutionists rising up for the CCP to use, especially in the Great Leap Forwards and Cultural Revolution which encouraged these aspects.

⁴⁵ Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters Of China* (London: Harper Collins, 1991).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Chapter 2.2- The Red Guards Feminist Debate

Additionally, there is overwhelming evidence that, during the Cultural Revolution, the Boxers were remembered and idolised as a nationalistic group to promote violence, especially with Chairman Mao's creation of the student army, the Red Guards. As historian Bickers put it, the "Cultural Revolution in the 1960's resurrected the stereotype of the Boxers as uncivilised xenophobes and pinned it onto the Red Guards", however this is not correct.⁴⁸ It is true that the Communist party did resurrect the stereotype of the Boxers to form the Red Guards, however they did not perceive them as "uncivilised" but instead official statements labelled the Rebellion as a "progressive, anti-imperialist social movement".⁴⁹ This resurrection of the Boxers can be shown through the overwhelming similarities between the female Boxer group, the Red Lanterns, and Chairman Mao's student army, the Red Guards, in 1966.⁵⁰ Both groups comprised of primarily schoolgirls who conducted extremely violent acts including arson and murders, thusly it seems that the Boxers were remembered as an aggressive group and used to inspire more violence.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Robert A Bickers and R. G Tiedemann, *The Boxers, China, and the World* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

⁴⁹ Thoralf Klein, "The Boxer War - The Boxer Uprising", *Online Encyclopaedia Of Mass Violence*

⁵⁰ Darryl E Brock, *Mr. Science And Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, debates during the 1960's state that the Red Lanterns were only aggressive as the Boxers were feminists who wanted to challenge the traditional Confucian ideals, however their violence was simply misunderstood as patriotic by the Communist party.⁵² Historian Cohen strongly disagrees that the Boxers were encouraging violence to aid feminism. He states that they were discriminatory towards women and believed that women were only useful if they were incredibly young, as the Red Guards were. To back this up, Cohen writes "females, especially if they were older and had begun menstruating, were believed to undermine Boxer magic".⁵³ This theory can be supported by the primary source of a western soldier's diary that states "it was believed that many of the corpses of women were of those who had committed suicide", thus proving the Boxers were not the progressive group Mao believed them to be.⁵⁴ Additionally, Chinese feminist He Xiongning who lived through the revolution commented that "female suicides as well as foot binding and female infanticide were on the rise" meaning that the Boxer's sexist view of "female pollution" did not aid China.⁵⁵

⁵² Paul A Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Gail Hershatter, *Women and China's Revolutions* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2018).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

For both primary sources to comment on the female struggle during the Rebellion, it is clear that information which perceives the Boxers negatively was ignored during the Cultural Revolution. Cohen supports this theory by stating that the “themes from the past are identified, simplified, magnified and then highlighted to the point that they become sources of energy”.⁵⁶ Primarily, Cohen’s theory of highlighting and simplifying the past to be effective in the future sums up the Cultural Revolution’s portrayal of the Boxers: If the Red Lanterns were to work effectively as myths and inspiration to the violent Red Guards, the truth must be hidden and the group made into believable positive legends. Essentially this highlights that Chairman Mao took what he wanted from the legacy of the Boxer Rebellion, specifically young violent women, and replicated it to increase violence. He thusly used the Red Lanterns to show China was, and will be during his governing, a country of people who will violently fight for nationalism, gender inclusivity and progression, ignoring the true background of suicides, foot binding and infanticide.

⁵⁶ Paul A Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*.

Chapter 2.3- Violent Oral Histories of the Red Lanterns

Incredibly, during the mid-20th Century in China, interviews were conducted in 1960, 1965, and 1966 with those who had been Red Lanterns, highlighting the sudden interest in their personal recollections and that they were deeply violent.⁵⁷ These interviews were conducted by the Modern Chinese History Section of Shandong University rather than the Government but shows how society wanted to investigate if the Boxers really were as violent and patriotic as the Government portrayed.⁵⁸ Within these oral histories, only women and a discussion on the Red Lantern were included. After men fought in two World Wars and multiple battles with Japan, there would have been a limited sample pool remaining, therefore this focus on women was not out of a subjective political goal but does mean that it is not a reliable study on the Boxers in general.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Janet Y Chen, Michael Lestz and Jonathan D Spence, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Rana Mitter, *Forgotten Ally: China's World War II, 1937–1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014).

Primarily, the oral histories depict the Red Lanterns were mythical beings, magical and violent. Red Lantern member Hu Yunze, age 82, recollected that “when bullets were shot at them, they waved their fans and the bullets were caught in their baskets”, which is naturally unconvincing however the Maoist context would have encouraged them to exaggerate their heroic stories.⁶⁰ Within these interviews with the Red Lanterns, it is unknown what the questions were but in transcripts every woman freely admitted to their violence and there was no mention to patriotism. One interviewee, Li Mingde, age 74, reciting their song “*Learn to be a Boxer, study the Red Lantern. Kill all the foreign devils and make the churches burn*”, effectively showing their violence and xenophobia.⁶¹ In addition, another Boxer, Dong Yuyao, age 86, remembers that the Red Lanterns “took their spears and knives to the county seat to register and report their names and villages to the county magistrate”, further conveying their unnecessary threatening behaviours even towards their own nationals.⁶²

⁶⁰ Yunze Zhu, Interviews with individuals recalling the Shining Red Lanterns movement (Yenguantun Commune, 1965). Included within Janet Y Chen, Michael Lestz and Jonathan D Spence, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*.

⁶¹ Mingde Li, Interviews with individuals recalling the Shining Red Lanterns movement (Liuli Temple Commune, 1966). Included within Janet Y Chen, Michael Lestz and Jonathan D Spence, *The Search For Modern China: A Documentary Collection*.

⁶² Yuyao Dong, Interviews with individuals recalling the Shining Red Lanterns movement (Chengguan Commune, 1966). Included within Janet Y Chen, Michael Lestz and Jonathan D Spence, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*.

Furthermore, each testimony reflected a xenophobic and violent angle with no mention of protecting Chinese traditions, thusly conveying that either the Red Lanterns focused on violence, or that in time they forgot the true meaning behind the violence they took part in. One limitation of exploring these interviews is, as Cohen says, “however honest we try to be in our recollections, we cannot help falsifying them in terms of later knowledge”, highlighting that Mao’s idolisation of the Boxers as brutal thugs affected their recollections.⁶³ Primarily this means that the dramatically heroic stories of “catching bullets” were made up to promote the myth, especially as the interviews were held during Mao’s leadership in the 1960’s. For ex-Red lanterns to have only been found and interviews only conducted in the 1960’s it further shows that the Boxer Rebellion and it’s ideological goals of revolution, Chinese independence from foreign powers, and peasant lifestyles mirrored Maoist China and thusly was used by the CCP to reflect on their past in a way never done before. Overall, the interviews suggest more violence with xenophobic intent rather than patriotism however as they were conducted in the 1960’s their memories may have changed, only remembering the exciting segments of their youth or the interviewees were heavily swayed by Chairman Mao’s encouraged obsession with the Boxers.

⁶³ Paul A Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*.

Chapter 2.4- Films on the “Yellow Peril”

Furthermore, upon comparing this Chinese perception of the Boxers as violent with the Western portrayal, there is evidence that there are similarities as they both depicted the Boxers as violent but with different intentions. China idolised the Boxer’s violence and independence whereas the West feared the violence and attempted to destroy them, especially presented in popular American cinema in the 1960’s.

American epic, *55 days at Peking*, as shown in Figure 6, depicts the adventures of Major Lewis who was in charge of defending the foreign legation in Beijing which the Boxers besieged.⁶⁴ Upon watching this film, it is clear that with its dramatic action shots of explosions, a love interest side plot and an infamous cast, this was a stereotypical Hollywood epic focused on exaggeration and entertainment rather than history.

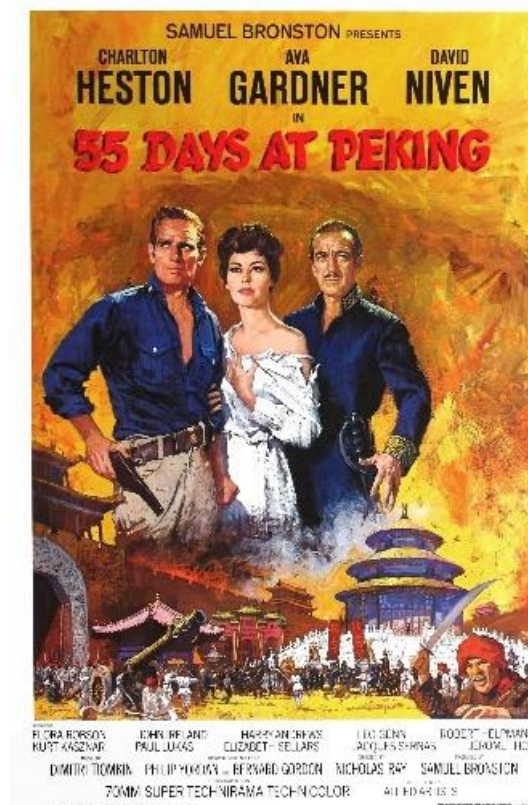


Figure 6- *55 days at Peking* (1963)

⁶⁴ "55 Days At Peking", *Dr. Macro*

<<https://www.doctormacro.com/Movie%20Summaries/A/55%20Days%20at%20Peking.htm>> [Accessed 4 January 2020].

In one scene, Major Lewis takes a young Chinese girl to travel with him back to America and another scene depicts heroic Americans rescuing starving Chinese children and giving them their army rations.⁶⁵ Both scenes perfectly epitomise the main theme of the film: America's military conquest and distressed China needing to be rescued. When released in 1963, the film had the tagline: "A handful of men and women held out against the frenzied hordes of bloodthirsty fanatics!", echoing Captain Gilson's Victorian novel of Boxers as "frenzied shrieking fanatics", this time to promote Yellow Peril rather than discourage British working class revolts.⁶⁶ Overall, this indicates that foreign opinion of the Boxers as fanatic hordes did not change much from the early 1900's. Western films were xenophobic and also viewed the Boxers as extremists for protecting their country and culture, similar to the Victorian novels released.

⁶⁵ Nicholas Ray, *55 Days At Peking*.

⁶⁶ Geremie Barmé, *Forbidden City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

When exploring how *55 days in Peking* shows the Boxers as bloodthirsty fanatics, it is clear media did not reflect society's viewpoints. Hevia argues that one of the main worries of the 1960's audience was that China would take revenge against the West for their previous mistreatment and therefore the media attempted to encourage a view that China was weak and in need of rescuing to ease this fear.⁶⁷ Primarily these subtle meanings did not work as the film was a commercial failure clearly highlighted in their profit of \$1 million, showing its unpopularity possibly due to its historical inaccuracies, overdramatisation and moral judgements. One 1963 critic wrote in the New York Times that it had "rousing, sometimes exciting, action fare that should keep the customers alert and entertained, even if their intellects are confused".⁶⁸ This conveys that even society realised that the portrayal of the Chinese as murderous xenophobes was purely for entertainment as there was little plot to the film. The 1963 New York Times review of this film is an incredibly valuable source proving that the media's opinions of the violent Boxers were not mirrored in American society indicating Yellow Peril was over. It was written that *55 days in Peking* would "remain in viewers memory for its flashing movement and fireworks" additionally showing that rather than the audience realising and acting upon any dialogue which suggested a hidden message, the true meaning of the plot was unimportant to the dramatic action.⁶⁹ Overall, *55 days at Peking* is a clear example of Yellow Peril attempting to influence society still into the mid 1900's and encouraging the view of Chinese "fanatics", however this did not have the desired effect on the public highlighting that the audience had forgotten the Rebellion and thusly cared more for history rather than dramatic dramatisations.

⁶⁷ James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy Of Imperialism In Nineteenth-Century China*.

⁶⁸ The New York Times, "55 Days At Peking' Is Drama Of The Boxer Rebellion In China", 1963
<<https://www.nytimes.com/1963/05/30/archives/55-days-at-pekings-is-drama-of-the-boxer-rebellion-in-china.html>>
[Accessed 17 January 2020].

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, another film which showed how Yellow Peril continued to have a negative viewpoint on the Boxers is the British *Dr. Fu Manchu* series, whereby a Chinese doctor seeks revenge on the foreigners that killed his family during the Boxer Rebellion.⁷⁰ Figures 7 and 8 are just two out of five British films released between 1965 and 1968.⁷¹ These films focused on the negative Dr Fu Manchu character accurately conveying popularity and how early 20th Century short stories by Western author Rohmer still highly influenced Yellow Peril views of the Chinese and Boxers almost half a century later.⁷²

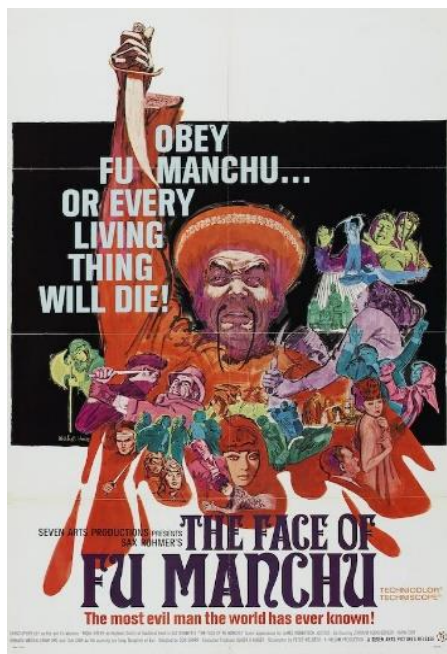


Figure 7- *The Face of Fu Manchu* (1965)

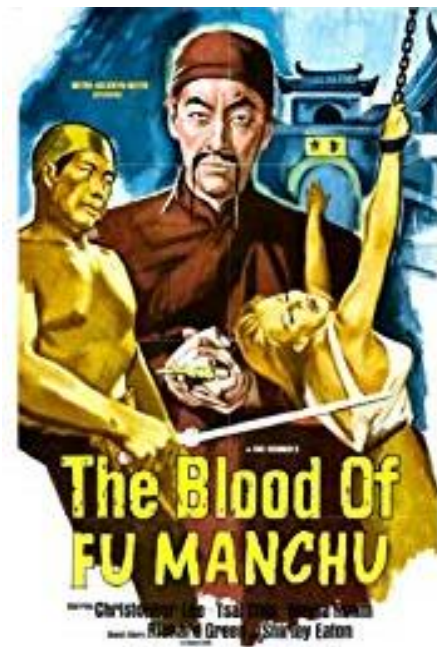


Figure 8- *The Blood Of Fu Manchu* (1968)

⁷⁰ Alan Burton and Steve Chibnall, *Historical Dictionary Of British Cinema* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2013).

⁷¹ MoviePosterDB, *The Face of Fu Manchu*, 2007 <https://www.movieposterdb.com/movie/59162/the_face_of_fu_manchu> [Accessed 28 January 2020]; MoviePosterDB, *The Blood Of Fu Manchu*, 2007

<https://www.movieposterdb.com/movie/62741/the_blood_of_fu_manchu/f18fba58> [Accessed 28 January 2020].

⁷² Don Sharp, *The Face Of Fu Manchu*; Jesús Franco, *The Blood Of Fu Manchu*.

Within these films he has an “unusually large head and emerald eyes”, argued as “central signs of a mutation”, however not only does his figure incite fear, but also his wide breadth of knowledge.⁷³ As a character, Dr Fu Manchu is the perfect copy of the imperial upper-class Mandarin: clever, cunning and convinced of China’s superiority and his fusion of all knowledge, Eastern and Western, modern and traditional, creates a threat of a “yellow dominating empire”.⁷⁴ All this negative character construction was made credible to the film’s audience due to their anxieties over possibilities that China would seek revenge, like Manchu does, for the opium trade and western aggressions in the Boxer Rebellion. His character helps to support the Chinese argument that the Boxers were patriotically attempting to protect China from the murderous invading foreigners, thusly showing a justification for future conflicts. One critic argues that this film “reflects the 1960 external threat of Chinese takeover and control”, therefore the view that the Boxers were “powerful, dispassionate, and autonomous agents” was truly created to spark fear and distrust without evidence.⁷⁵ This link with Manchu reflecting the external threats can be seen further with the coincidence of China’s first explosion of an atomic bomb in 1964 during the Cold War, just before the quick succession of *Dr. Fu Manchu* films with his intense modern knowledge of science.⁷⁶ Primarily all this conveys that during the 1960’s there was a fear of a modernising China seeking revenge against the West for the violent suppression of the Boxer Rebellion which furthered the scaremongering Yellow Peril idea and the representation of China as manipulative and mutated.

⁷³ James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism In Nineteenth-Century China*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Shanyin Fiske, "Modelling Masculinity: Engendering The Yellow Peril In Fu-Manchu And Thomas Burke's Limehouse Nights", *BRANCH: Britain, Representation And Nineteenth-Century History*, 2017

<https://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=shanyin-fiske-modeling-masculinity-engendering-the-yellow-peril-in-fu-manchu-and-thomas-burkes-limehouse-nights> [Accessed 17 January 2020].

⁷⁶ James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy Of Imperialism In Nineteenth-Century China*.

Chapter 2.5- Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear the 1960's was a defining point in both Western and Chinese history with their remembrance of the past. Importantly, there are similarities between the Western and Chinese portrayals of the Boxers as both depicted them as violent and anti-foreign however the Chinese used this as inspiration compared to the West who became afraid. Although in the early 1900's foreign powers initially portrayed the Boxers as weak, when they realised their true strength and power, they created the "Yellow Peril" scaremongering idea which became incredibly prevalent in the 1960's. In Britain, this media portrayal reflected fears of revenge, especially shown in *Dr. Fu Manchu* films, but primarily this did not transfer well to society who most likely had forgotten this Rebellion, highlighted in *55 Days in Peking*. In summary of the Chinese viewpoints, there are clear signs of indoctrination into violence during the Cultural Revolution as the Boxers reflected the CCP's own ideological goals of rejecting foreign influence, being independent and being revolutionary; aspects the West feared. Chairman Mao saw the Rebellion as inspirational for rejecting foreign influence. Overall, this indicates an overlap in portrayals and that the Chinese and foreign competing myths about the Boxers were compatible with each other during the mid-1900's.

Chapter 3- The Portrayal of the Boxers in 21st Century China

Since Mao's creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, politics and global positions have had a huge impact on social history. Historian Klein states that "Chinese historians have felt themselves obliged to follow politically defined paradigms".⁷⁷ Primarily this means that it is beneficial to explore what happened after Chairman Mao, who was the main reason the Boxers were viewed as a progressive, anti-imperialist patriots, died in 1977. This chapter will argue that the CCP still views them as this, yet now is controlling television and newspapers to stop the public viewing the Boxers as violent xenophobes. Additionally, it will also use international relations with the Vatican to debate that China wants to portray the Boxers as patriots protecting traditional Chinese culture from new threatening religions. To link these sections together there are the CCP's ideological goals mirrored in the Boxers, their strong desire to control the remembrance of their humiliating past and to encourage citizens to be loyal to the state. From examining these, this chapter will identify whether the revolutionary interpretation of history that dominated the Maoist era developed during the 21st Century.

⁷⁷ Thoralf Klein, "The Boxer War - The Boxer Uprising", *Online Encyclopaedia Of Mass Violence*.

Chapter 3.1- The CCP's Modern Ideological Goals Reflected in the Boxers

Regardless of the political and social changes since Maoist China, the CCP still deem the Boxers as magnificent patriots as they represented the new ideological goals of the 21st Century: remembering their past humiliation, encouraging loyalty to the state and achieving global independence.

Evidence shows that to the CCP what the Boxers stood for was more important than the violence they did to achieve it, as the Boxers focused heavily on their loyalty to the state. For the 100th anniversary of the Boxer Uprising, one county spent \$1.2m building a Boxer museum as a monument to Boxer history and it was opened in 2003 by leading military officers.⁷⁸ Most importantly, the authorities later had second thoughts. The bust of the county's best-known Boxer leader, Zhao Sanduo was moved to a less prominent position and the name was changed from "Boxer Memorial Hall" to "Hebei Province Patriotic Education Base".⁷⁹ Primarily, this conveys that the CCP no longer want to flaunt violence as they did during the mid-1960's but instead focus on the shared ideological goals between the Boxers and the 21st Century CCP: Patriotically protecting their country from a humiliating past.

⁷⁸"A Righteous Fist", *The Economist Newspaper Ltd.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

During the 21st Century the CCP have attempted to explore the Century of Humiliation in the name of what Xi Jinping called “patriotic education” and a “fear of losing one’s identity”, therefore conveying their negative view of foreign powers and their focus on nationalism, both traits held by the Boxers.⁸⁰ This focus on the Century of Humiliation displays a positive legacy of the Boxers, encouraging people to limit Western involvement in the name of patriotism. In 1997 the CCP unveiled commemorative structures and heroic paintings of soldiers hurling themselves against superior foreign weapons with the title “Never Forget National Humiliation” alongside texts on foreign imperialism.⁸¹ None of these are images specifically show the Boxers but it is very likely these soldiers were indeed supposed to be Boxers as a reminder that when China was entering the new millennium, society should focus on their own country again. Additionally, as “China still reveres to the Rebellion as a heroic resistance to imperialists”, this aspect of them as patriots against foreign influence is especially prevalent in a time of modern globalisation, where China is attempting to become a global superpower and surpass western technologies.⁸²

⁸⁰ Neil Connor, "China's Xi Jinping Recalls National 'Humiliation' To Britain As He Seeks To Stir Patriotism In Hong Kong", *The Telegraph*, 2017 <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/07/01/chinas-xi-jinping-recalls-national-humiliation-britain-seeks/>> [Accessed 29 March 2020].

⁸¹ James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy Of Imperialism In Nineteenth-Century China*.

⁸² *Ibid.*

Historian Hevia commented that in the 21st Century China “rushed towards integration into a global economy that a generation ago was the archenemy of all it stood for... there is a nostalgia for the clarity and purity of a time when moral certitude was more easily defined.”⁸³ Primarily, this quote highlights that China has struggled with how to remember the Boxers now they are thrust into economic power battles, however this is incorrect. Upon research, their “moral certitude” can be easily defined: The Boxers were, and always will be, remembered as patriotic heroes who fought for China against foreign influence. Essentially, this means that the Boxer Rebellion was used once again in the 21st Century as a clear example of humiliating foreign influence and that the Boxers highlighted China’s strength, patriotism, and power.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Chapter 3.2- Portrayal and Censorship of the Boxers in *Towards the Republic*

One example of how the CCP are encouraging this positive view of the Boxers is through the censorship of negative media, primarily the 2003 television series translated as *Towards the Republic*.⁸⁴ Klein accurately comments that the episodes portray “the Boxers as superstitious country bumpkins who are no match for the Allied troops”.⁸⁵ Muller’s book of scene by scene descriptions supports this idea with the stage direction: “Screaming crowd of Boxers holding hay forks come running unprotected towards the positioned soldiers”.⁸⁶ Klein must be referring to this scene because the peasant’s farming implements would certainly have been “no match for allied troops”.⁸⁷ Primarily this shows that *Towards the Republic* did indeed see the Boxers as a pathetic, however patriotic, peasant army fighting desperately against foreign influence.

⁸⁴ Zhang Li, *Towards The Republic*.

⁸⁵ Thoralf Klein, "The Boxer War - The Boxer Uprising", *Online Encyclopaedia Of Mass Violence*.

⁸⁶ Gotelind Muller, *Representing History In Chinese Media: The TV Drama "Zou Xiang Gonghe"* (Germany: Lit Verlag, 2019).

⁸⁷ Thoralf Klein, "The Boxer War - The Boxer Uprising", *Online Encyclopaedia Of Mass Violence*.

Although some episodes reference the Boxers specifically, the writers may be using additional scenes which portray Empress Dowager Cixi in a negative light to subtly explore the Boxer's restricted strength. As previously commented, Empress Cixi gave the Boxers legal status as an army and funding however the show portrays she was unable to support them effectively.⁸⁸ Out of six episodes, two include Cixi discussing at great length her desire for a large garden to be built in her honour, and many others include her long manicured nails fiddling with her fancy embroidery.⁸⁹ As an audience we realise this is money not wisely spent during the Boxer Rebellion, therefore these scenes help to badly portray Cixi and her advisors who agree to her materialistic ideas. Primarily this subtly comments on the Boxers as an underfunded, badly governed and disordered society who were inevitable failures due to bad governance.⁹⁰

Overall, this case study is an important example of how the CCP have taken desperate measures to halt the public viewing the Boxers as “country bumpkins”. For instance, cancelling the show despite immense popularity and a successful viewing figure of millions indicates that the media has been manipulated to serve the CCP's ideological goal of promoting nationalism and anti-foreign attitudes.⁹¹ Although it is unsure what specific aspect caused this show's cancellation, primarily *Towards the Republic's* negative portrayals of the Chinese Government were not as important compared to the bad depiction of the Boxers. In summary, this censorship depicts how the CCP control the Boxer's legacy to support China's own 21st Century goal of being strong nationalists, fighting off foreign influences to be independent and thusly encourage their citizens to also be patriotic like the 1900's Boxers.

⁸⁸ Jung Chang, *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*.

⁸⁹ "Towards The Republic. Ep 2 - English Captions And Annotations", *Youtube*, 2020 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7xuo8hpeTI>> [Accessed 1 February 2020]. (YouTube is the only source that has the full, and uncensored first series uploaded in case Muller missed scenes, key information or mistranslated in her book).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Gotelind Muller, *Representing History In Chinese Media: The TV Drama "Zou Xiang Gonghe"*.

Chapter 3.3- Portrayal and Censorship of the Boxers in the *Bingdian* newspaper

Additionally, the CCP's censorship of negative portrayals of the Boxers can also be seen through the shutdown of the newspaper *Bingdian* in 2006.⁹² Historian Hinton argues that with the popularity of the newspaper and China's attempt to improve its openness with the upcoming Beijing Olympics, the paper's offence must have been serious enough to shut it down regardless.⁹³ This theory can be further supported as it was a newspaper well known for "routinely printing in-depth investigative stories and broaching delicate topics".⁹⁴ These include criticising Communist Party reforms and party leaders, so it is surprising that it was shut down after Professor Yuan's article titled "Modernisation and History Textbooks", where he argued that school textbooks were misrepresenting the Boxers.⁹⁵ Official grounds for censorship from the Central Propaganda Department stated it "attempted to vindicate the criminal acts of the imperialist powers invading China and seriously distorted historical facts".⁹⁶ As the article and the entire newspaper have been removed it is impossible to find the full original content, but extracts from the original source, interviews with the Professor and transcribes of the Government's official letters are available online. From reading extracts from the original article, it is clear Professor Yuan's work did not include "distorted" facts as the Propaganda Department stated. This can be highlighted by this extract below:

⁹² "History Textbooks In China", *Zonaeuropa.Com*.

⁹³ Isabel Hilton, "Surfing The Dragon", *Index On Censorship*, 35.4 (2006), 33-42
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/03064220601048086>>.

⁹⁴ Joseph Kahn, "China Shuts Down Influential Weekly Newspaper In Crackdown On Media", *The New York Times*, 2006
<<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/25/world/asia/china-shuts-down-influential-weekly-newspaper-in-crackdown-on.html>>
[Accessed 1 February 2020].

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ "History Textbooks In China", *Zonaeuropa.Com*.

“The Boxers’ criminal actions brought unspeakable suffering to the nation and its people! The textbooks did not mention anything about how the Boxers were hostile to modern civilization or how they blindly rejected foreigners. The textbooks did not condemn the Qing dynasty and the Boxers for killing the innocent and their barbaric and cruel crimes in burning, killing, and looting. Overall, during the Boxer incident between June 24 and July 24 of 1900, 231 foreigners were killed, of which 53 were children. Most of them died at the hands of the Boxers.... Furthermore, butchering foreigners is anti-humanitarian and anti-civilization!”⁹⁷

This extract chosen shows a focused, opinionated, and well researched argument that the Boxers were violent xenophobes backed up by historical facts and statistics. This Department’s official explanation proves discovering that the Boxers were anti-humane barbaric criminals was deemed by the CCP as a significant enough accusation to force the papers closure in 2006.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Essentially, the *Bingdian* case study reveals that even in the 21st Century, the CCP still want the Boxers remembered as a vigilante society fighting against “the criminal acts of the imperial powers” and controls the media to promote this. Furthermore, this idea that the CCP have still not changed their stance on the Boxers being wholly magnificent patriots can be reflected in Professor Yuan’s comment that he “was shocked to see that so few things had changed since the Cultural Revolution”.⁹⁹ In essence this conveys that from the mid-20th Century to the early-21st Century, even with the death of Mao and the creation of the World Wide Web, the CCP still limits the public’s resources to follow its ideological goal of patriotism and controlling the recollection of humiliating history.

⁹⁹ Isabel Hilton, “Surfing the Dragon”, *Index On Censorship*.

Chapter 3.4- Encouraged Portrayal of the Boxers in the *Beijing Youth Daily* newspaper

After exploring what has been censored, it is also key to explore what has not been censored and thusly what the Government approved stance is, for example, the *Beijing Youth Daily* newspaper depicting the Boxers as patriots fighting to protect China. As Beijing's largest newspaper, they included a 4-page spread devoted to graphic photographs without text explanations depicting allied troops supervising public executions of Boxers which most importantly were not censored.¹⁰⁰

One photo included is figure 9 depicting the south gate of Tianjin immediately after foreign powers entered the city.¹⁰¹ This image captured the most violent battle of the Rebellion but is not a limit to the newspaper as the Tianjin invasion was most likely a micro history which reflected what the rest of China faced. For the paper to include this image it effectively argues the violence from foreigners, predominantly seeing the Boxers as heroic martyrs who attempted to protect citizens from this cruelty.



Figure 9- The Battle of Tianjin, Boxer Rebellion, China, 1900, the south gate immediately after the allies entered the city

¹⁰⁰ David Rennie, "China Honours The Boxers With Grisly Pictures", *The Telegraph*.

¹⁰¹ Underwood & Underwood, *Battle Of Tientsin, Boxer Rebellion, China, 1900*, 1900

<<https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/battle-of-tientsin-boxer-rebellion-china-1900-the-south-news-photo/463957291>> [Accessed 1 March 2020].

Another photo included is figure 10 highlighting the punishments conducted by foreigners to the Boxers.¹⁰² This image shows that the Boxers were not just executed, they were first humiliated which reflects the articles heading: “never forget the insults we, the Chinese nation, went through” and the CCP’s ideological goals.¹⁰³ This highly emotive image of torture causes the public to feel pity towards the disgraced Boxers which links to the theme of this chapter as both images encouraged an anti-foreign agenda, the CCP’s ideological goals of patriotism, and depicted the Boxers as heroic martyrs sacrificing their lives to protect China.

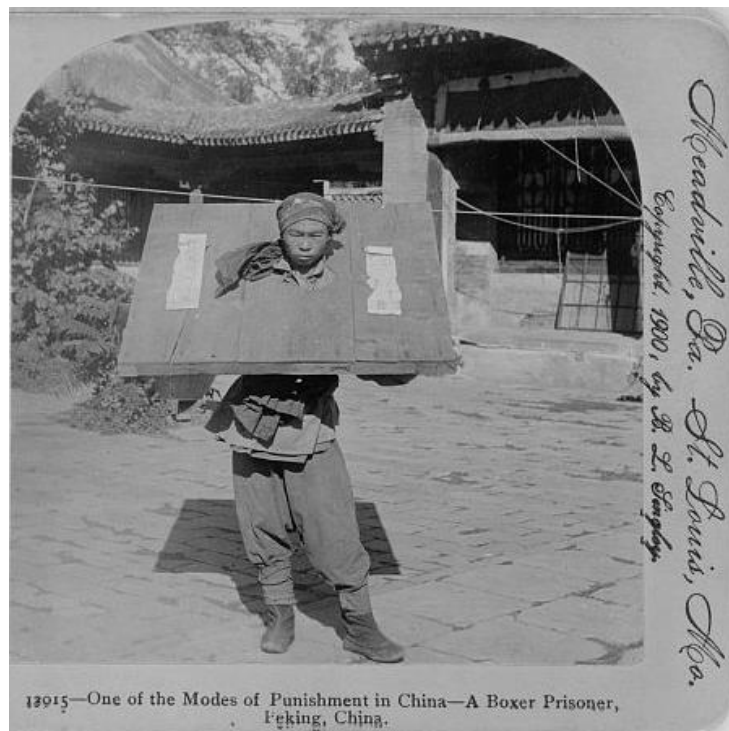


Figure 10- One of the modes of punishment in China - a Boxer prisoner

¹⁰² Sean Reveron, "Grim & Brutal! Boxer Rebellion Execution And Torture Photos", *Cvltnation.Com*, 2017 <<https://cvltnation.com/grim-brutal-boxer-rebellion-execution-torture-photos/>> [Accessed 3 March 2020].

¹⁰³ David Rennie, "China Honours The Boxers With Grisly Pictures", *The Telegraph*.

All images published, including these were drawn from a private British collection only presented to China in 1996 and shows violence from foreigners directed to the Boxers, therefore the newspaper used this new information to their advantage to portray the Boxers as patriotic martyrs murdered by violent foreigners.¹⁰⁴ With English captions to these gory images, it is evident they were taken by the West but film historian Bottomore states that photographers focused on “Chinese daily life as well as the foreign troop departures and the aftermath of war”.¹⁰⁵ As a well-respected writer who has published 103 articles analysing the early film industry Bottomore’s comment of the wider variation of images taken during the Boxer Rebellion is reliable. Additionally, it helps to depict *Beijing Youth Daily* as being incredibly subjective as they only included images of beheadings, corpses and torture methods to convey the Boxers as patriotic martyrs. One theory not yet explored by historians is that the *Beijing Youth Daily* did not get the full choice of images for their article and that the images included were the only ones given to them from the larger private governmental collection. This idea, although unprovable, would mean that the CCP are not only controlling the media through censoring already published newspaper articles but also in restricting the availability of sources newspapers have access to. Primarily, this conveys that whether it is *Beijing Youth Daily* or the CCP, China had searched through the images given to them and purely selected the goriest ones to show the Boxers as martyrs who died to protect China from violent foreigners.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Bottomore, *Filming, Faking And Propaganda: The Origins Of The War Film, 1897-1902* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, 2007).

In conclusion, this *Beijing Youth Daily* article is a useful source to analyse as it clearly highlights that the CCP are encouraging the media to portray the Boxers as patriotic martyrs. As none of the images incorporated Boxers burning churches, killing Christians or even depicted the Chinese traditional way of life, the source is limited which helps represent the power of the CCP in controlling both the sources given to newspapers and what can be published. Essentially, *Beijing Youth Daily* further shows how the Chinese media are encouraged by both the CCP and a fear of censorship to focus on the Boxers being heroic martyrs facing violent xenophobic foreigners rather than how they were violent and xenophobic themselves as represented in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3.5- The Canonisation Controversy

Not only does the CCP promote the view that the Boxers were patriots to further their own goals of exploring their humiliating history and promoting nationalism, Sino-Vatican relations highlight that they would do this to the detriment of international relations. In 2000, Pope John Paul II canonised 120 Roman Catholics killed in China, 87 of which were Chinese killed by the Boxers, however China argued that they were “imperialist spies” and “traitors”, rightly executed for breaking the law.¹⁰⁶ These dramatic words shows the offence the Chinese Government took at this portrayal of villainous Boxers, which journalist Rennie accurately says plunged “Sino-Vatican relations into a new freeze”.¹⁰⁷ The CCP further condemned this canonisation as an “insulting reminder of colonial imperialism”, thusly meaning the Boxers were deemed heroic for intensely protecting traditional Chinese culture from foreign influence, further reflecting the CCP’s ideological goal of exploring the past.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Alessandra Stanley, "Pope Canonizes 120 Killed in China and One American", *The New York Times*.

¹⁰⁷ David Rennie, "Pope Angers China with Canonisations", *The Telegraph*, 2000

<<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/1368589/Pope-angers-China-with-canonisations.html>> [Accessed 14 August 2019].

¹⁰⁸ Alessandra Stanley, "Pope Canonizes 120 Killed in China and One American", *The New York Times*.

Within China there is a long-standing history of ancient religions and philosophy, such as Daoism and Confucianism which never canonised saints supporting the interpretation that for Rome to make those “traitorous” Chinese Catholic converts into saints, it was yet another foreign invasion. Alessandra Stanley’s comment that “the official rhetoric of the Party praises the Boxers for their “resistance against Christians”.¹⁰⁹ Reading between the lines this could mean the CCP are encouraging citizens to act like the Boxers in order to be truly loyal to the state. Essentially this sparks the theory that it is patriotic, both then and now to reject Christianity and support Chinese traditional ways. From exploring the Chinese Governments’ indignant attitude that the Christians were not murdered by brutal xenophobes, but rather “traitors” executed by a nationalistic resistance group, it is clear that that they were willing to endanger relations with other countries to protect the portrayal that the Boxers were nationalistic vigilantes.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ David Rennie, "Pope Angers China with Canonisations", *The Telegraph*.

Wider historiographical debate surrounding Sino-Vatican relations depicts a strategic manoeuvre by the Vatican, further showing that the CCP felt threatened by this new portrayal of history and the Boxers. Economist journalist states that “China refuses to recognise the Vatican because of its insistence on retaining the right to appoint Chinese bishops, which China regards as an infringement on its sovereignty”.¹¹¹ Primarily, this canonisation was the Vatican’s way of taking control over their martyred Catholic citizens as they felt they could not control many modern religious aspects, as all Chinese “church leaders must be first vetted by the CCP”.¹¹² Therefore, this highlights that as a powerful religious administration, for China to take away the Church’s control, the Vatican tried to reassert their power through a new portrayal of the Boxers. Primarily this also shows that the intense reaction towards the canonisation was not due to the negative portrayal of the Boxers but mostly because of the insult that the Vatican could attempt to control China. Overall, this event was seen by the CCP as running parallel to the Boxer Rebellion as both of which involved a nationalistic society overthrowing intense foreign influence and consequently was perceived as a large threat to the CCP who remember the Boxers as magnificent patriots.

¹¹¹“A Righteous Fist”, *The Economist Newspaper Ltd.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

Additionally, as this canonisation was such a modern event, limited scholarly articles exist which has led to a heavy reliance on newspaper sources. Most articles are flawed because they contain no more than a descriptive day by day account of the heightening official statements but most importantly, they ignore the planned date for canonisation.¹¹³ Analysing October 1st is valuable as it would have highly influenced China's indignant reaction on viewing the Boxers as a patriotic society. Although October 1st is the feast day of St. Theresa of Lisieux, patron saint of missionaries, to China it is their National Day: the biggest celebration of nationalism, teaching society cultural security and how best to be patriotic citizens.¹¹⁴ Exploring this date of the canonisation shows, even though it cannot be proven, it is likely that China would not have had such a staunchly angry response which threatened Sino-Vatican relations if the date was better chosen. The CCP strongly protect their ideological goals of remembering their humiliating past, therefore they would have possibly let the Boxers be portrayed as violent xenophobes in Rome if this was censored to Chinese citizens.

Overall, this canonisation highlights that the Chinese Government has a fierce urge on an international level to see the Boxers as magnificent patriots and not violent xenophobes. Regardless of this argument which shows that the date was the cause for their intense desire to see the Boxers as patriots, taking sources such as *Towards the Republic* and the *Bingdian* newspaper into account, the bigger picture distinctively indicates that the CCP hide the Boxers' true violence from their citizens. In summary the Chinese Government encourages the public to remember the Boxers as vigilantes in order to protect their long-standing history of celebrating nationalism and are willing to sacrifice good international relations to achieve this.

¹¹³ David Rennie, "Pope Angers China with Canonisations", *The Telegraph*.

¹¹⁴ William A Callahan, *China: The Pessoptimist Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); David Rennie, "Pope Angers China With Canonisations", *The Telegraph*.

Chapter 3.6- The Modern Western Portrayal of the Boxers

Although there is a comparison between the Chinese and the Western portrayals in earlier chapters, most Western sources from the 21st Century re-analyse previously seen information and no new research has been released governmentally, suggesting that the Boxer Rebellion has been forgotten by the West. Klein supports this reason for limited official statements by arguing that due to the Boxer Rebellion being over 100 years ago “events such as the two World Wars, and the mass violence connected with them, have shifted to the centre of Western collective memory and personal recollections of the Boxer War has faded”.¹¹⁵ This is all the more accurate through the fact that there are no interviews conducted with soldiers stationed in China during the Rebellion, but rather interviews exist with veterans from World War Two to explore and preserve social history before their memories are lost forever.¹¹⁶ While exploring the lack of Western sources which add to the Boxer portrayal, it is useful to note is that China is still receiving new information in the 21st Century whereas the West is not. Taking *Beijing Youth Daily* as an example, it is clear that the West has already had access to information to investigate the Boxers, and were satisfied enough with their conclusion that they were violent xenophobes to give the images and information to China in 1996.¹¹⁷ Naturally this would have sparked a discussion in China, as seen in previous paragraphs, but primarily highlights that the West have moved beyond the Boxer Rebellion in light of other conflicts.

¹¹⁵ Thoralf Klein, "The Boxer War - The Boxer Uprising", *Online Encyclopaedia Of Mass Violence*.

¹¹⁶ R. E. Walton, "Memories From The Edge Of The Abyss: Evaluating The Oral Accounts Of World War II Veterans", *Oral History Review*, 37.1 (2010), 18-34 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ohr/ohq040>>.

¹¹⁷ David Rennie, "China Honours The Boxers With Grisly Pictures", *The Telegraph*.

Chapter 3.7- Conclusion

In conclusion, the Chinese portrayal of the Boxers has not changed throughout time and even today they still portray the Boxers as patriotic. The only difference now is that rather than encouraging idolisation and admiration, the Communist Party is instead controlling the media to stop citizens from seeing sources which portray the Boxers as violent xenophobes. Aside from media censorship, exploring international relations shows that the Chinese Government are now also focusing on remembering the Boxers as patriotically protecting traditional religions from foreign influence, most likely to promote their ideological goals of loyalty to the state and controlling the recollection of their humiliating past. A huge shift can be seen in the Western portrayals of the Boxers as little new information has been released and other conflicts are deemed more significant to explore. In essence, the Boxers and their Rebellion are but footnotes in Western history but to China it was and still is, an important part of their past.

Final Conclusion:

In conclusion, evidence highlights that the Chinese portrayal of the Boxers did not develop dramatically throughout history. China has continually depicted the Boxers as patriotic, and instead it is the Western portrayal which has shifted more dramatically throughout time to reflect differing contexts.

Self-perceptions of the Boxers from their posters convey that they were both magnificent patriots and violent xenophobes, who resorted to violence towards missionaries to protect China during the Century of Humiliation. Predominately, their true aims have been manipulated by the West and China alike with both perceiving them in relation to their political and ideological goals.

In summary of the Chinese viewpoints, during desperate times, the Qing Court used the Boxers for their own purpose as an army, encouraging them to behave as violent brutes even the government could not control. Additionally, this view did not change as there are clear signs of the legacy of the Boxers being resurrected for the CCP's own ideological goals. Maoist China highlights this resurrection as they remembered the Boxers as violent patriots to encourage peasant lifestyles, Chinese independence and conveying the Communist ideal of revolution, predominately through the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards.

Furthermore, this viewpoint of the Boxers as magnificent patriots protecting China continued into the 21st century, without focus on violence. Through the censorship of the media and international relations, the CCP have attempted to stop citizens from viewing sources which portray the Boxers as violent xenophobes. Again, this is due to the Boxers representing the CCP's modern ideological goals of controlling the recollection of their humiliating past to encourage loyalty to the state.

Compared with China, research shows that Western portrayals developed much more throughout history. Initially, foreign posters and missionary accounts neither conveyed the Boxers as violent xenophobes or magnificent patriots, but instead as weak to encourage the popular belief of Western superiority. Additionally, Victorian novels chose to view them as violent xenophobes easily crushed for their own goals of dissuading British uprisings.

Although early 1900's sources initially portrayed the Boxers as weak, when society realised their true power, the "Yellow Peril" scaremongering became prevalent. Violent Victorian novels portray this, however it is key to mention that it continued well into the 1960's in the form of films. *55 days at Peking* and *Dr Fu Manchu* are clear examples of the media reflecting a new fear of bloodthirsty Chinese craving revenge.

In addition, analysis has shown that for the West, there seems to be a decrease in attention on the Boxer Rebellion which began in the 1960's and became more significant in the modern day. As a commercial failure, *55 days in Peking* indicates that society had begun to forget the Boxer Rebellion and crave historical knowledge rather than dramatic action. This theory can be seen in the 21st Century Western portrayals of the Boxers as little new information has been released or discussed and other conflicts, such as the two World Wars, are deemed more significant to explore.

In summary, there are similarities between the Western and Chinese portrayals of the Boxers as both depicted the Boxers as violent xenophobes. The Chinese used this as inspiration as their patriotic violence related to the CCP's ideological goals, however the West were fearful and thusly coined "Yellow Peril". Overall, this indicates an overlap in portrayals and that the Chinese and foreign competing myths about the Boxers were compatible with each other, primarily during the 1960's, therefore it is this point in history which was a defining decade to how both the West and China remember their past.

Overall, Watts was correct that the “Boxers could as easily be described as violent xenophobes as magnificent patriots” however research shows that the Boxers were violent patriots, a merge of both of these.¹¹⁸ The Boxers fought against foreign influence to protect Chinese society from further humiliation the only way they knew how; through intense violence, targeting the missionaries they blamed for China’s hardship. This dissertation therefore highlights that the Boxers were both violent and xenophobic yet for patriotic motivations, however their legacy has been manipulated throughout history for selfish political agendas by both their own country and by foreign powers.

¹¹⁸ Jonathon Watts, "China Cracks Down On Critical Publication", *The Guardian*.

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Appendices

Appendix 1- “Shooting the Hog and Decollating the Goats”

Appendix 2- “The Punishment of the Hog in Hades”

Appendix 3- “Exhibition of Boxing and Acrobatics” with enlarged detail of “Boxer”

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Appendix 9- “The Battle of Tianjin, Boxer Rebellion, China, 1900, the south gate immediately after the allies entered the city”

Appendix 10- “One of the modes of punishment in China - a Boxer prisoner”

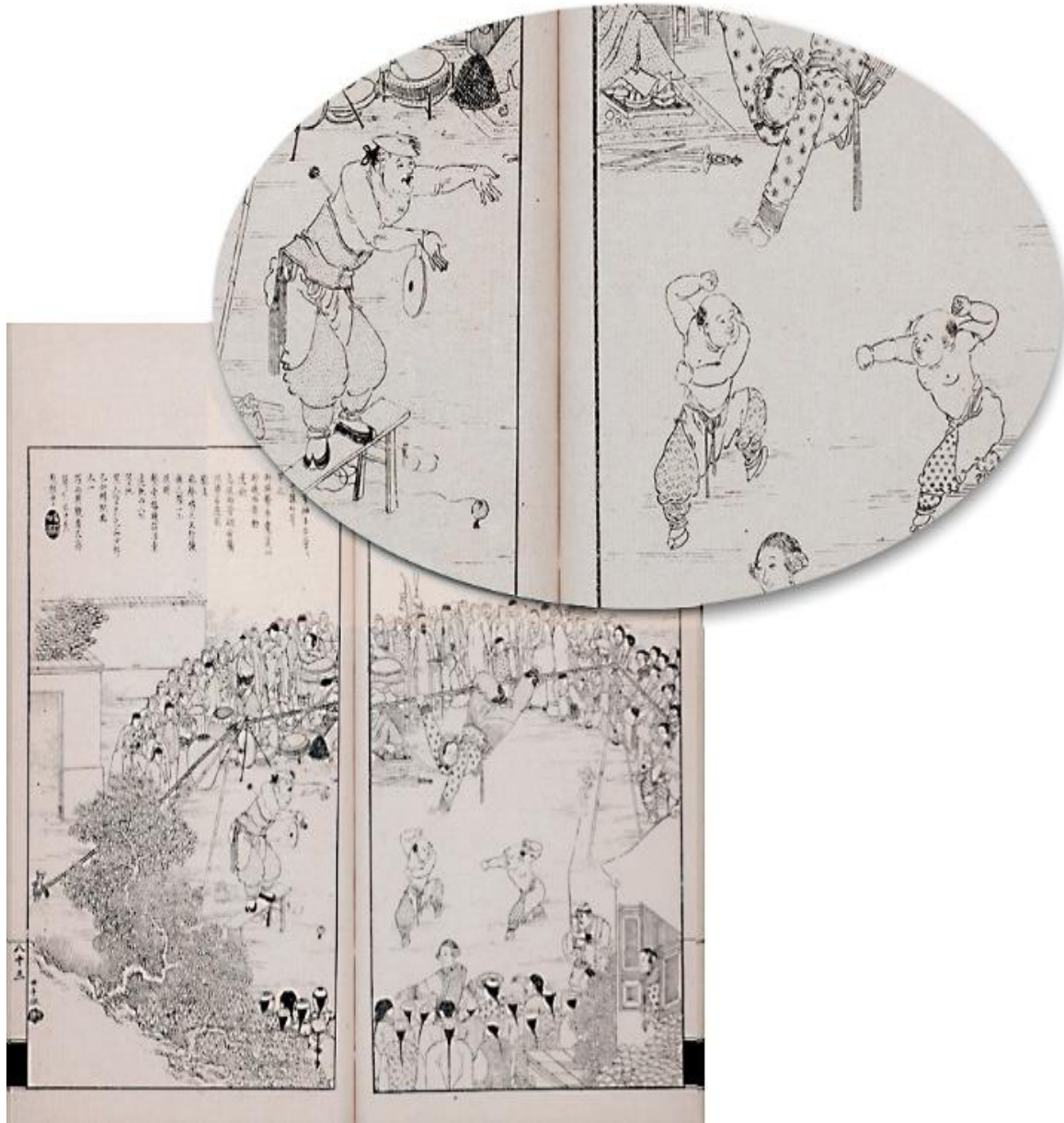
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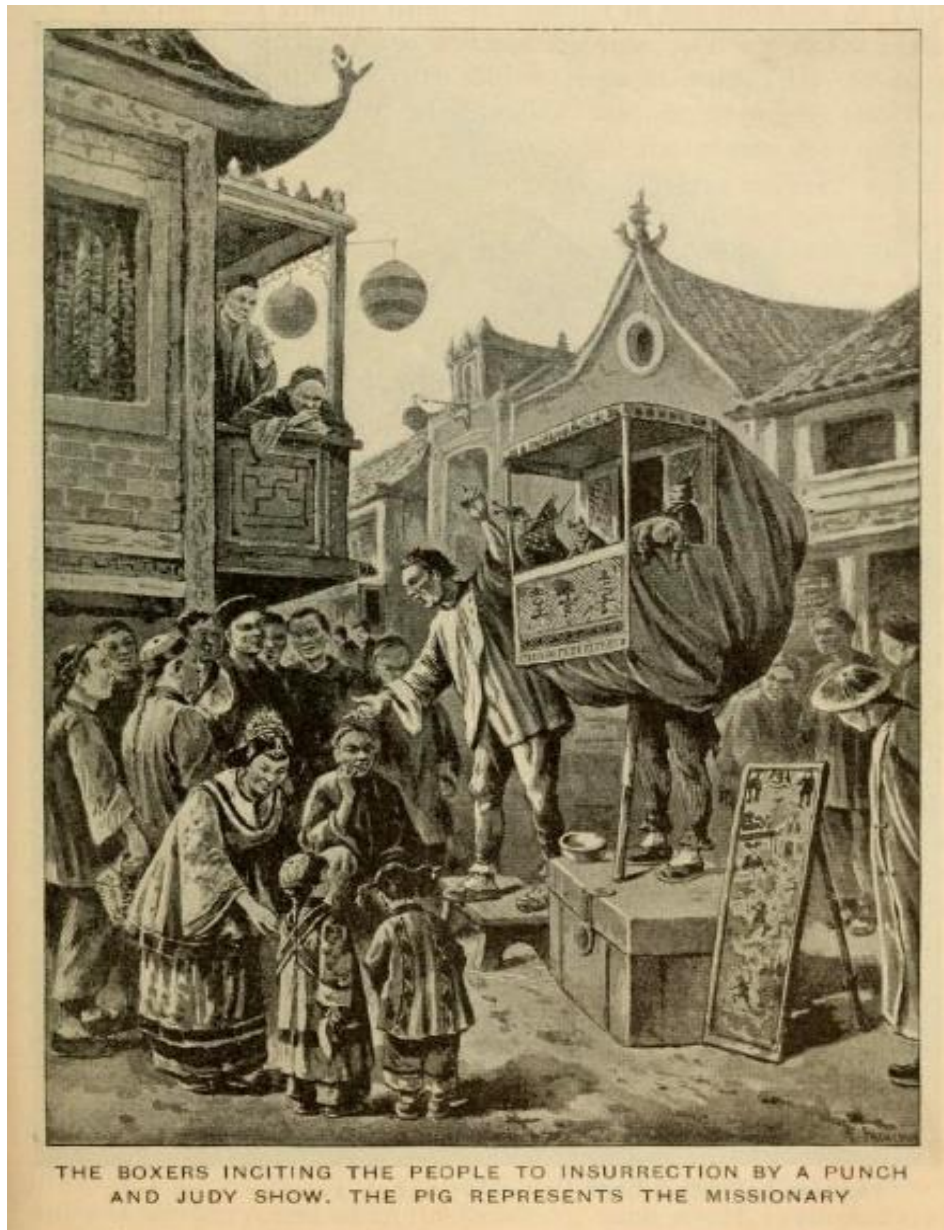
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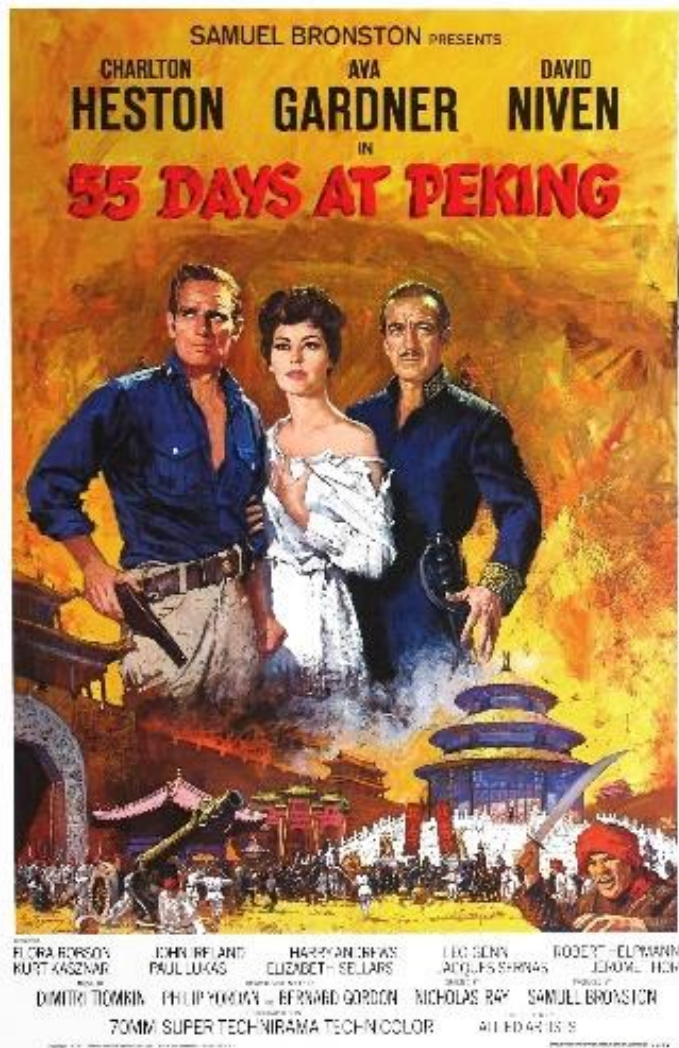


THE BOXERS INCITING THE PEOPLE TO INSURRECTION BY A PUNCH AND JUDY SHOW. THE PIG REPRESENTS THE MISSIONARY

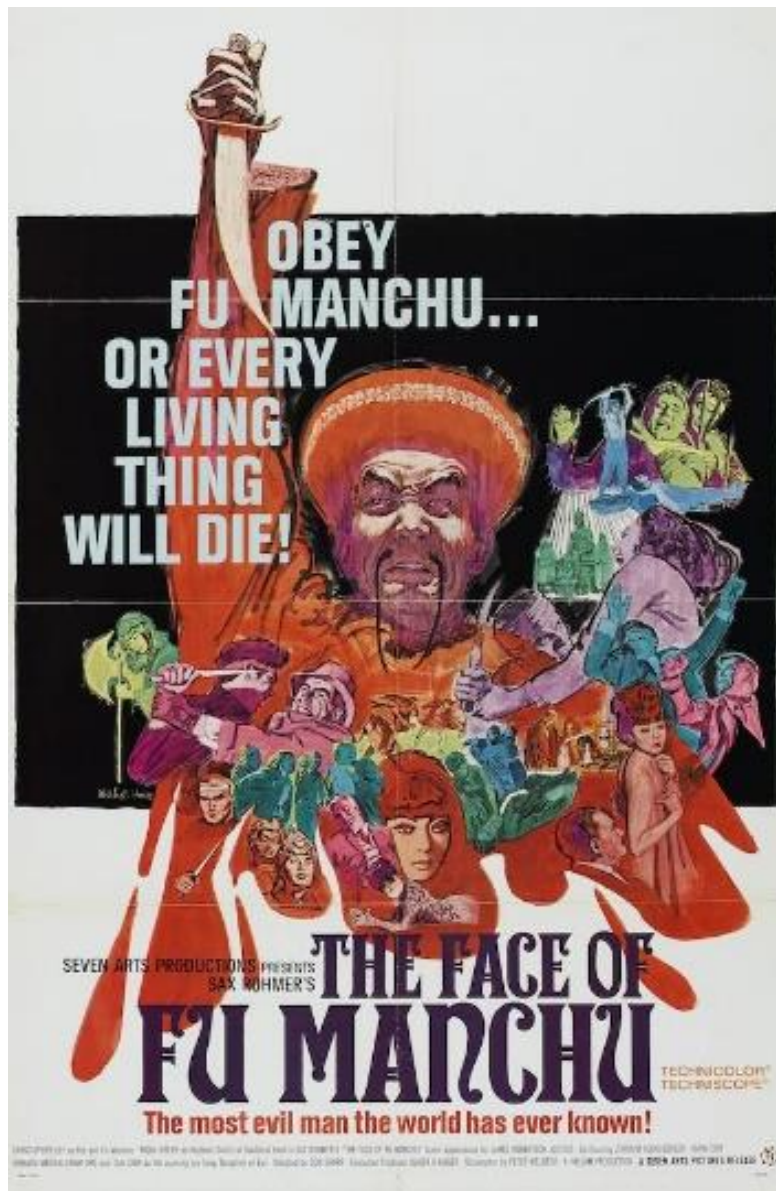
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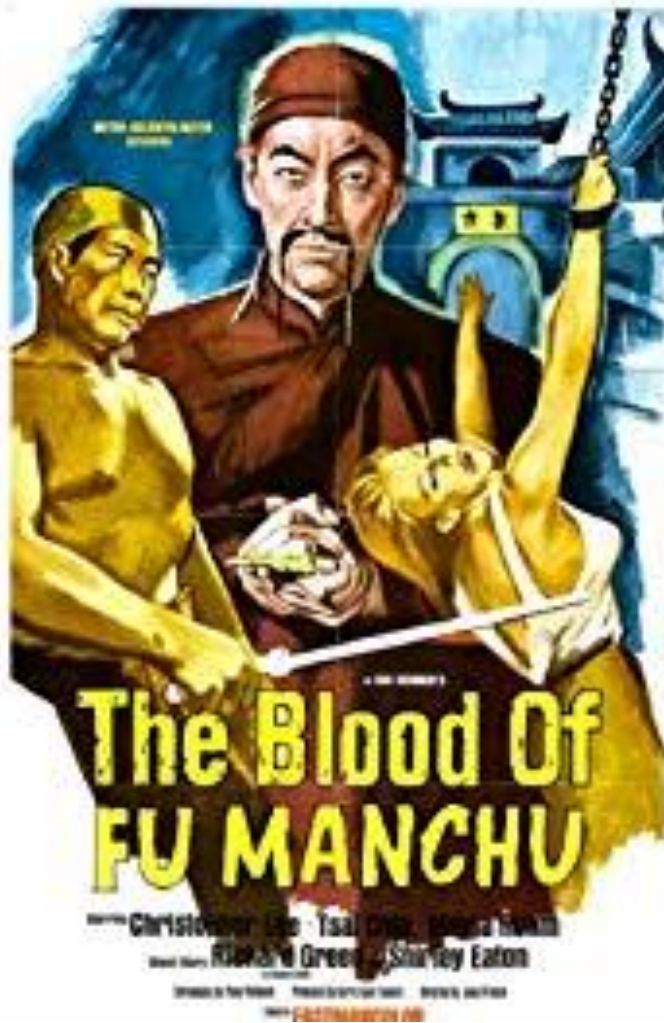
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