The Second Opium War

The Anglo-French Expedition to China, 1856 – 1860

Essay by Peter C. Perdue & Ellen Sebring

In 1856, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first Opium War, British and French forces once again invaded China, inflicting heavy destruction on China's cities and the imperial Summer Palace, which they looted and burned to the ground. Many of the same forces impelled this invasion as in the first Opium war: British demand for raw materials like tea, frustration with the limited success of exports to China, and Chinese resistance to foreign presence in the treaty ports. But the world had also changed. Great Britain and Russia confronted each other in the Crimean War in 1857: a major uprising in India challenged British control of its wealthiest colony: and internal rebellions across the Qing empire further weakened its ability to respond.

France demanded access to China not only for trade, but for missionary activity. China's defeat in this war opened the empire to greater opium trade and extensive foreign access to the interior, generating intense hostility from the local population. Some observers, like Karl Marx, predicted the victory of a mass rebellion: few thought that the Qing dynasty could last very long. Yet it endured, with many ups and downs, for more than 50 years.

New technologies of warfare and media changed the visual record of war. Photography, pioneered by Felice Beato, could now depict battlefield horrors in gruesome detail. Large guns and warships could obliterate entire districts of cities and destroy massive walls. Most of the foreign press glamorized the war and minimized the damage to China, but some truthful images still appeared. The deeply humiliated Qing government made no effort to depict or even publicly admit defeat, but Chinese artists in Canton continued to supply sketches for Western journalists, while folk prints attacking foreign barbarians circulated. The obvious penetration of foreigners deep into the country revealed the empire's weakness. China had now fully entered the world of imperial capitalism: there was no turning back.

"The Storming and Capture of the North Fort, Peiho, on 21 August, 1860," oil on canvas, by Charles Stewart, 2nd Viscount Hardinge, 1865. The caption notes: "Soldiers of 44th (East Essex) and 67th (South Hampshire) Regiments breaching the walls of the North Fort."

National Army Museum

[1860_stewart_North-Fort]

GLOBAL FORCES

> *At present the nature or our commerce with the Chinese is such that we can pay for our purchases only partly in goods, the rest we must pay in opium and in silver. (Lord Palmerston, cited in J.Y. Wong,* Deadly Dreams: Opium, Imperialism, and the *Arrow* War (1856–1860) in China, *Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 211)*

On October 8, 1856, Chinese port officials in Canton harbor arrested crew members of the *Arrow,* a small boat which claimed to be a British ship, on suspicion of piracy. British representatives in Canton and Hong Kong claimed that this action insulted the British flag, and used the incident as a pretext to launch a second major war against China. Fourteen years after the signing of the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing, the British—this time with French allies—invaded China again and proceeded to inflict another severe defeat on the weakened Qing empire.

Many of Britain's goals were the same as in the previous war: to force China to remove barriers to trade in British exports, especially opium, and to gain direct contact with Chinese officials to promote further trading relations. But the global position of both Britain and China had shifted substantially. With the industrial revolution well underway, Britain had become the preeminent global economic power, extending its tentacles everywhere in search of raw materials for industry and outlets for its manufactures.

British manufacturing needed raw materials from all over the world, and markets to sell its massive output of industrial goods. But the British faced resistance from other imperial powers and from their colonies. They successfully pushed back Russian expansion in the Black Sea in the Crimean War, but they faced a major uprising by Indian troops in 1857. British leaders knew that further expansion of trade was the only way to maintain their position as the world's dominant power.

The Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 displayed to a global audience the new technologies and manufactures in which Britain led the world.

"Crystal Palace, View from the Water Temple"
Photograph by Philip Henry Delamotte, 1854

Smithsonian Libraries
[Crystal_Palace_gen_view]

China, by contrast, had fallen in economic strength and political cohesion, challenged by major rebellions in its most productive areas. The Taiping rebellion (1853–1864), striking much of the most productive regions of south China, endangered the entire security of the empire from within. The civil war engulfed most of China and—with 20 to 30 million war dead—was among the bloodiest in history.

Facing outward, the Qing court adhered to the provisions of the Treaty of Nanjing, but it strongly resisted any treaty revision pushed by the British. The British, taking advantage of a minor conflict to launch a preconceived strategic plan for war, demonstrated their vast naval superiority: bombarding, invading, and looting Chinese cities. The outcome of the war, including the burning and looting of the Yuanmingyuan—the Summer Palace of the Qing emperors—and the imposition of heavy indemnities was much more humiliating than that of the first opium war.

The name of the war itself indicates different perspectives on it, and contradictory interpretations of its causes and significance have proliferated ever since it took place. The British usually called it the *Arrow* War, after the name of the British-registered ship whose detention by the Chinese provided the pretext for the war. The French, naturally enough, called it the Anglo-French War. But the term "Second Opium War," first used by Karl Marx, best captures its underlying causes and its continuity with the first Opium War. This war too centered on opium—the major trade good supporting British rule in India. The treaty ending the first Opium War did not mention opium, but the treaties ending the second Opium War in 1860 specifically legalized the opium trade in China.

The war's impact, however, led to many fateful results beyond the expansion of the opium trade. Continued foreign encroachment from all sides, combined with internal disorder, began the process leading to the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911. The Western powers aspired to transform not only China's trade, but its government and culture—more radically than previous foreign conquerors had done. Christianity, gunboat diplomacy, condescension, Orientalism, and racism flourished in the wake of the war much more than in the first part of the century.

The British View

In the visual imagery and illustrated press, we can see themes of a war between "civilization" and "barbarism" that would dominate Western attitudes through the end of the century.

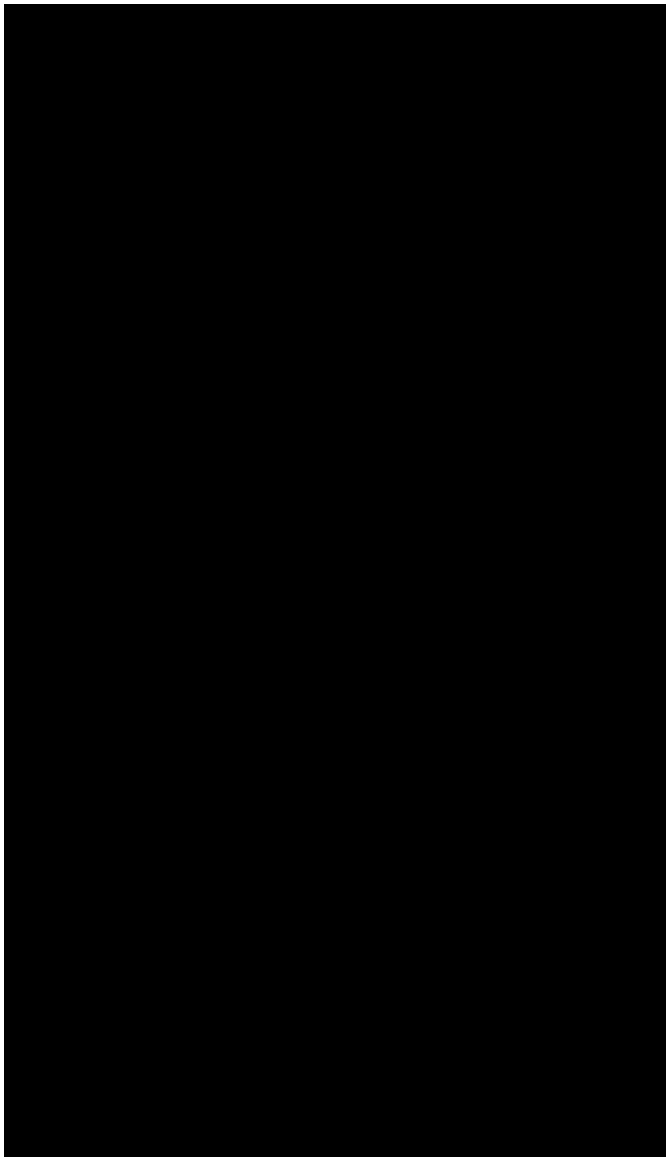
The war coincided with a rapid expansion of the popular press, in print and illustrated form. The repeal of the British stamp tax in 1855 made newspapers much cheaper, expanding their readership. Although there was no universal education in England, literacy increased as the number of salaried non-industrial workers rose. These papers spread news of major foreign events to a larger reading public, including middle and lower classes. Telegraph lines now extended as far as Trieste, providing instant communication of diplomatic events in Europe.

News from the far East took longer to arrive, but steamers reduced travel time from Asia to several months. The delay in communications between London and Hong Kong allowed British representatives to act on their own, but once news arrived in England, popular opinion reacted immediately to unfolding events.

Party alliances, stirred up by the new political press, mobilized the electorate to debate domestic and foreign affairs with intense interest. The Reform Act of 1832 had enlarged the electorate to 650,000, one-fifth of the male population of England. It was still a small percentage of the nation, but it made England a true democracy, where voters put public pressure on their representatives to follow their opinions.

The liberal leader, Lord Palmerston (foreign secretary during most of the time between 1830 and 1851, and prime minister from 1855 to 1865), advocated an aggressive policy of upholding British interests by force wherever they were challenged. He faced opposition, however, from those who feared the expense of military conflict, and liberal Victorians bothered by their consciences over the opium trade.

The Parliamentary election of 1857—called the "Chinese election" because it focused on the war in China—pitted Palmerston's vigorous advocacy of expansion in defense of economic interests against critics of the opium trade and British adventurism.



Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston.
Caricature portrait by Carlo Pellegrini, ca. 1860

National Portrait Gallery, London

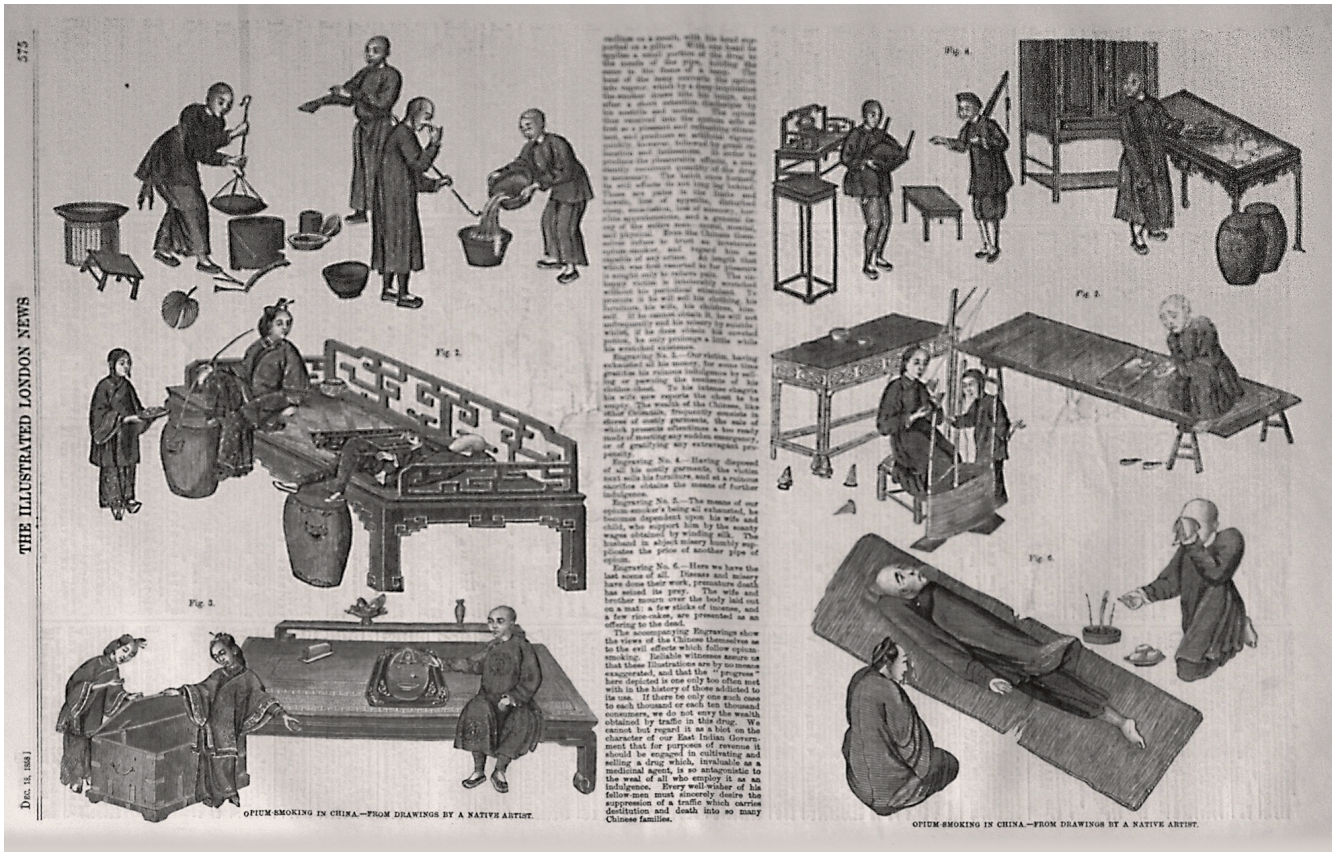
[Palmerston-by-Pellegrini.jpg]

In the debate over the China war, Palmerston denounced his critics for proposing to "abandon a large community of British subjects at the extreme end of the globe to a set of barbarians—a set of kidnapping, murdering, poisoning barbarians." (Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire,* St. Martin's Press, New York, 1995, p. 177.) In this rhetoric, the sentiment of "jingoism"—advocacy of imperial domination at any cost, and the demonization of Asian adversaries as "barbarians,"—made a strong appearance, typical of Palmerston's style.

Visual imagery in the press supported these stereotypes. Imagery and rhetoric propagated the concept of Chinese officials as monsters who failed to follow decent rules of civilized humanity, while erasing or forgiving British atrocities against ordinary Chinese. Contempt for Chinese culture turned to ridicule as China's military weakness was exposed. Missionaries, for their part, aimed to remove the "backward" customs of the Chinese people in order to lift them up to the "civilized" values of Christianity.

The Search for a Profitable Opium Trade

After the Treaty of Nanjing, the British expected great profits from the China trade, but they were disappointed. Furthermore, opium had become even more necessary to the global trade connections of the empire. Exports of woolen and cotton goods rose over the next 20 years, but not nearly as fast as imports of tea and silk. The trade gap widened to 8 million pounds sterling by 1860.



"Opium Smoking in China—From Drawing by a Native Artist," two-page spread in The Illustrated London News, *December 18, 1858 (p. 575)*

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Opium, known under the name of laudanum as the "poor child's nurse," still had a market in England but the China market was much larger. Even though the 1842 treaty itself did not legalize the opium trade, opium exports from India grew. The East India Company administration itself depended on revenue from opium exports, which paid up to two-and-one-half times the interest costs of the Indian administration's debt.

British Pressure on Canton

The city of Canton, the first to be opened to Western trade in the late-17th century, fascinated British merchants, who were confined to a small area outside the city walls. On the local level, the British found themselves blocked in efforts to enter the city of Canton. Foreigners could reside in the treaty ports, but Chinese officials restricted the foreign settlements to the port area outside the city walls. They knew of vigorous trade going on within the city's narrow streets, but they had no access to it. At the same time, just as in India, they perpetuated the classic images of the Orient as a site of confusion, dirt, drug addiction, and potential rebellion. This account of Hog Lane, a small street on the edge of the city, reveals their knowledge and prejudice:

> *… The foolish notion of fatalism which prevails among the people makes them singularly careless as regards fire, although the conflagration in 1822 went far to destroy the whole city. Hog-lane … is more narrow and filthy than anything of the kind in an European town; it is lined with miserable hovels, occupied by abandoned Chinese, who supply drugged spirits to the poor ignorant sailors; and when the wretched men have been rendered nearly insensible by their poisonous liquors, they are frequently set upon by their wily seducers, and robbed as well as beaten…* (The Illustrated London News, *March 18, 1843, p. 182*)

"East Street from the Treasury, Canton,"
photograph by Felice Beato (with Henry Hering), April 1860

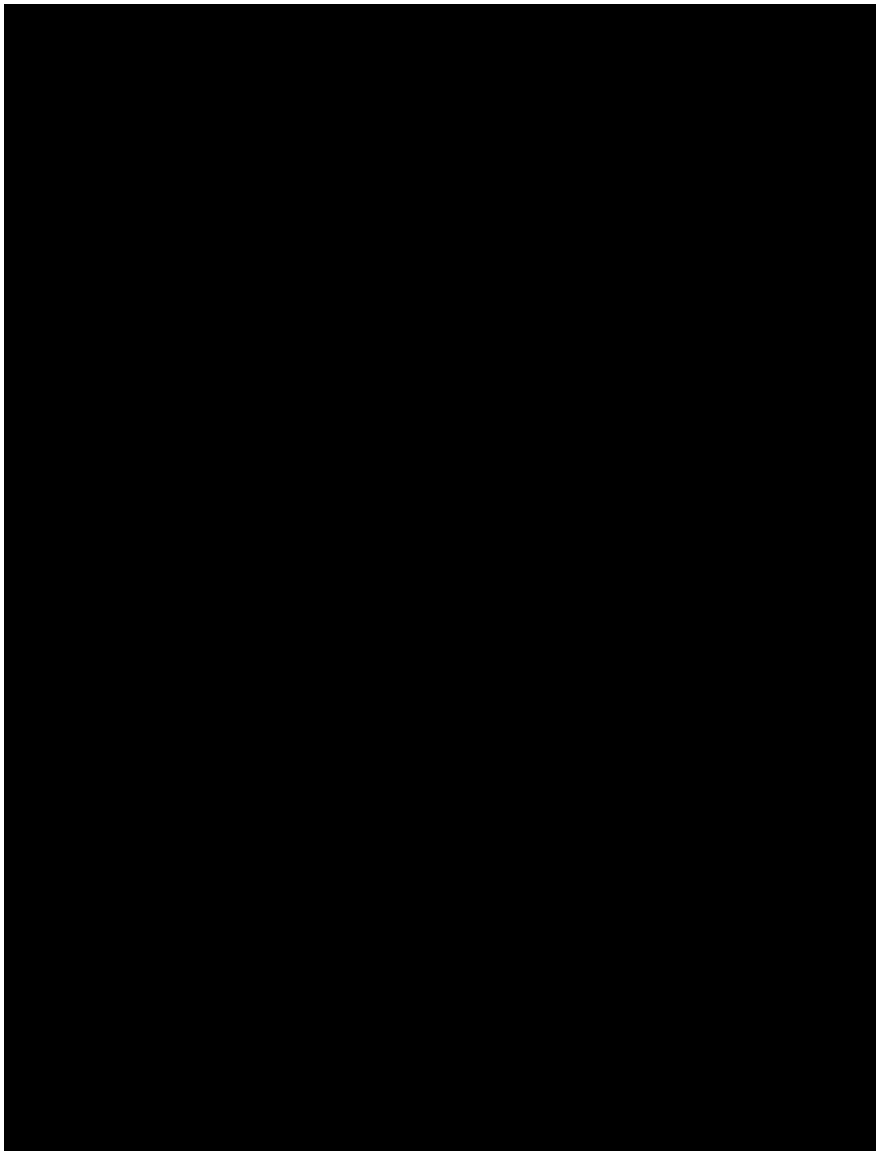
J. Paul Getty Museum

[Beato_04-01-a-east-st]

The great hostility of the Cantonese to a foreign presence in their city, provoked by the desecration of their tombs at Sanyuanli in 1842, meant that allowing foreigners into the city would instigate a riot. Yet John Bowring, the British plenipotentiary in Hong Kong—supported by Harry Parkes, the consul at Canton—became convinced that the British must enter the city. After repeated requests, the emperor promised to allow access to Canton in 1849, but local officials in Canton, fearing the upheaval it would cause, forged an edict rejecting it.

Ye Mingchen (1807-1859), governor of Guangdong province, was promoted to governor-general of Liangguang (the two provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi), and imperial commissioner after 1852 for his success in keeping the British out of Canton. He was, however, caught between the determined foreign pressure and the strong resistance of the local population to a foreign presence.

The Qing state also faced major challenges to its authority from rebellions in the 1850s: the largest was the Taiping rebellion. The Taiping originated as a sect of Christian believers who raised a large army in southwest China in the 1850s, and marched down the Yangzi river, capturing Nanjing in 1853. In Canton, also, Taiping supporters and other rebels known as the Red Turbans seriously threatened local authority. Ye Mingchen effectively organized local military forces to drive out the rebels. Although some Qing officials blamed Christian missionaries for inciting the rebellion, they were understandably far more concerned about the dangers of widespread rebellion than about free access of foreigners to the interior of China.



"Portrait of Governor-General Yeh"
Chinese artist studio, Canton, ca. 1856

Wikipedia Commons

[Yeh_Canton-artist_c1856_wp]

Seizing the *Arrow*

Faced with the failure of the China trade to meet his expectations, Lord Palmerston concluded that only radical revision of the Treaty of Nanjing could promote imperial British interests. He demanded free access of merchants to the Chinese interior, unlimited rights of navigation along the Yangzi river, prevention of transit duties on foreign merchandise, and the legalization of the opium trade. He openly advocated the use of force to make the Chinese concede. All he needed was a pretext.

On October 8, 1856, officials in Canton arrested the crew of a small Chinese boat named the *Arrow,* which claimed that it had registered in Hong Kong and had the right to fly the British flag. The boat had no papers and was clearly engaged in illegal trade. The British acting consul, Harry Parkes, claiming that the Chinese had insulted the British flag, demanded that Commissioner Ye surrender the boat and its men. Ye gave up the men, but after insisting on the right to investigate the ship's crew for piracy, Parkes and Bowring bombarded Canton, forcing entry into the city. This provoked strenuous debate in China and England.

"The Attack on the Barrier Forts Near Canton, China, by the American Squadron, Commander James Armstrong, Nov 21st 1856—Consisting of the US Sloops of War Portsmouth *and* Levant *with the Officers and Crew of the Steam Frigate* San Jacinto *— Flag Ship. The landing parties were commanded by Captain Foote of the* Portsmouth, *Capt Bell of the* San Jacinto, *and Cap. Smith of the* Levant*."*

This image depicts a later American attack on Canton, not the original British bombardment of the city, but the landscape and style of ships are very similar. Note that the image depicts Canton as a sparsely populated countryside, and not as a huge city that contained millions of people. The pastoral imagery erases the real damage inflicted on the city by the bombardment.

Lithograph by Poinsett, A and Buffords, J H, 1856

National Maritime Museum

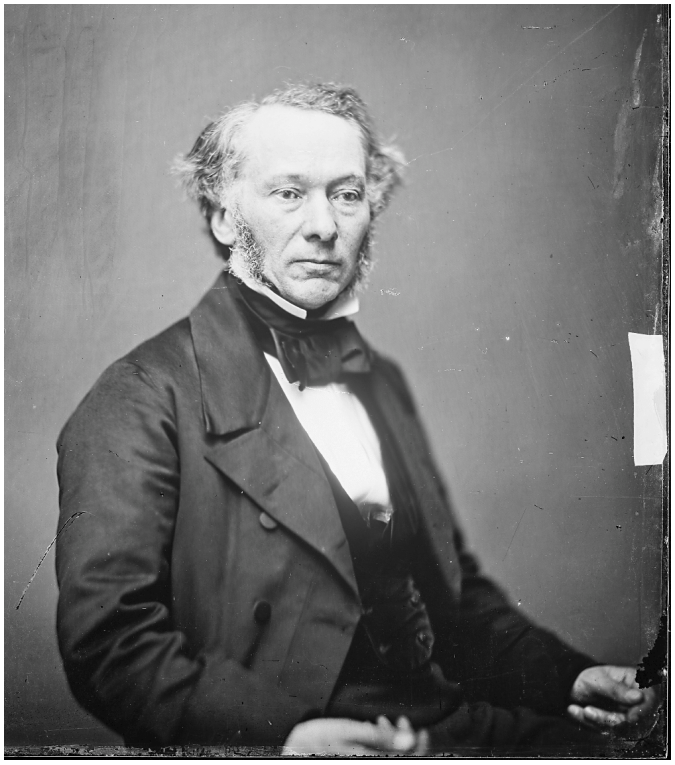
[1856_Canton-attack_nmm]

In England, Palmerston and the China merchants vigorously advocated a war against the "barbarian" Chinese. They denounced Commissioner Ye as a "monster" inflicting cruel punishments on foreigners and Chinese alike. (By contrast, Ye's best modern biographer, J.Y. Wong, calls him a "pragmatic statesman, ingenious strategist, and a resourceful financier.") The British press, calling him "obstinate and bloodthirsty," spread this demonic view of Ye to the public and to the leading politicians in Britain:

> *The present Governor-General of the two Kwang rejoices in the somewhat peaceable-sounding name of "Yeh." His predecessor, Seu, had been unfortunate against the rebels in the years 1854-5, and was, therefore, superseded by the above-named Viceroy, who, if I am not wrongly informed, is a native of one of the southern provinces and undoubtedly a man of great abilities; obstinate and blood-thirsty, however, he certainly is to a degree. He was completely successful in beating off the rebel force that threatened the city about the time of his succession to power, and during the last eighteen months has been indulging his desire for vengeance on account of the members of his own family slain by the rebels, by sacrificing whole hecatombs of the suspected people who fell into his hands, in the execution ground of Canton.*
>
> *This bloodthirsty propensity of his has at last, however, led him into a difficulty he could hardly have anticipated, or perhaps his successes against the rebels had somewhat dimmed his memory with respect to the events of 1840-41; at any rate his conduct requires some such explanation.*
>
> *The Chinese authorities have issued proclamations calling on all good citizens to resist our "un-provoked" attack, stating as a reason that we have been defeated by Russia in our late war, and have now come to squeeze the people of China, in order to defray our expenses. Has Russia any hand in this matter? ("The War with China,"* The Illustrated London News, *January 17, 1857, pp. 38-39)*

England's War Debate

Others in England, however, inspired by a Victorian moral conscience, questioned the validity of a war that violated international law, and expanded a small incident into a major war for British power and trade, opium included.

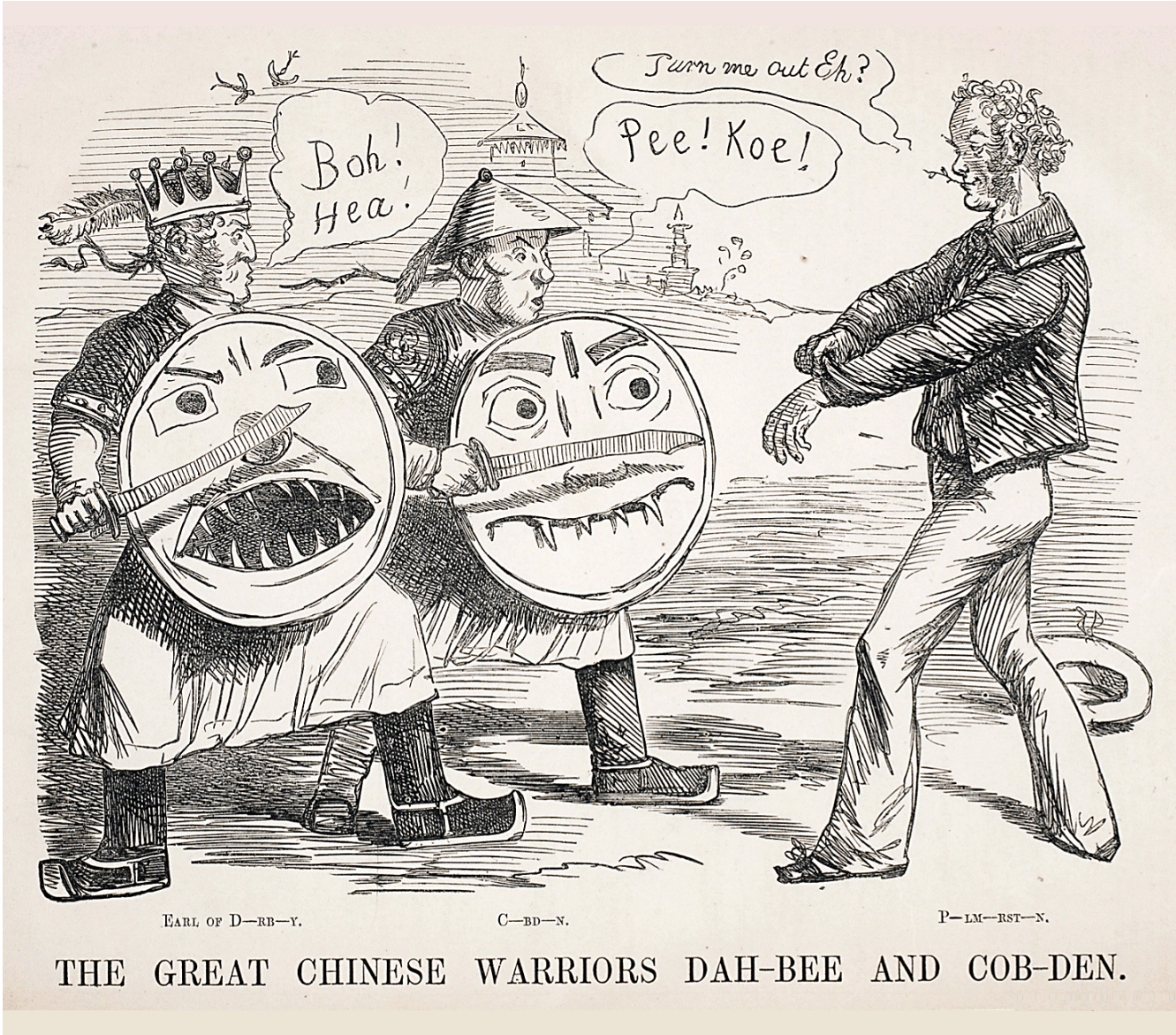


Richard Cobden (1804-1865), a member of Parliament and prolific writer on trade issues, defended the right of the British to expand their global trade, but strongly criticized the coercive methods used by Palmerston and Bowring against China. In a speech in the House of Commons on February 26, 1857, he argued that the British had no legal right to attack China, that the military action was rash and damaging, and that the British should coordinate their actions diplomatically with the U.S. and France.

left: Richard Cobden, 1865 (detail)
photographed by Mathew Brady

Wikipedia
[1865_Cobden-by-Brady_WP]

Parliament approved Cobden's motion of censure, forcing Palmerston to dissolve Parliament and call a new election. Those who rejected the warmongers were accused of being sympathetic to China due to private commercial interests. *Punch* magazine satirized the former Prime Minister Lord Derby and Richard Cobden—who criticized Palmerston's war in Parliament—as sycophantic supporters of China, only interested in promoting the tea trade ("Bo-hea" and "Pee-koe" in the image below refer to the names of the two most popular varieties of Chinese tea).



"The Great Chinese Warriors Dah-Bee and Cob-Den," Punch, *March 7, 1857*
The "Warriors" say the words "Boh! Hea!" and "Pee! Koe!" referring to the two most popular varieties of Chinese tea.

Yale University Library

[punch_1857-03-07-Dah-Bee]

Cobden's speech promoted a very different image of China and of international relations from Palmerston's. In Cobden's view, China deserved to be treated as a nation under law equal to the Americans, French, and Russians. Far from the monster depicted by Palmerston, Ye Mingchen was a reasonable, experienced official, trying to settle the conflict peacefully. China, as an ancient civilization with a culture older than—and comparable to—the Roman empire, deserved respect. War would not promote British trade interests, only damage commerce and provoke Chinese resentment.

> *Must it not be admitted—as was said by Lord Derby…that "on the one side [Chinese] there were courtesy, forbearance, and temper, while on the other [British] there were arrogance and presumption?… all the communications on the part of the Chinese authorities manifest a forbearance, a temper, and a desire to conciliate, which should put to the blush any man who asserts that they intended to insult the British representatives."*
>
> *Speaking for the people of Canton, he had them say, "you are insisting on official receptions within the city. This is doubtless with a view to amicable relations; but, when your only proceeding is to open a fire upon us which destroys the people… the sons, brothers, and kindred of the people, whom you have burned out and killed, will be ready to lay down their lives to be avenged on your countrymen, nor will the authorities be able to prevent them." (Richard Cobden, speech "on the the seizure of the* Arrow *by Chinese authorities and the subsequent shelling of Canton by British forces which led to the 'Second Opium War.' Given to the House of Commons, 26 February 1857.")*

Depictions of Ye in the popular press, however, supported the "savage monster" view of the jingoists. Palmerston dissolved Parliament, and won victory in the "Chinese election" of March 1857, taking advantage of jingoist press coverage and openly racist anti-Chinese rhetoric. He had gained support from the French for a joint expedition against China, but the Russians and Americans rejected his proposals. Although Ye offered negotiations, the allied forces bombarded Canton again, taking Ye prisoner in January 1858. Ye, after staying 48 days on the British warship HMS *Inflexible,* was brought to Calcutta and confined in Fort William. His capture was a sensational event widely reported by the British media. He died of an illness in prison in 1859.

"Capture of Yeh-Ming-Chen by the British army, in 1858"

Wikimedia Commons

[1858_Canton_capture_Yeh]

Keeping Russia out of Asia

Beside the trade deficit with China, British imperial policymakers mainly worried about Russian expansion. Russia's efforts to move against the Ottoman empire led to the Crimean War of 1853 to 1856, in which Russia was defeated by an alliance that included Britain. But Russia continued to consolidate control over Siberia, as it promoted its trade with China through the border town of Kiakhta.

The British—seeking control of Chinese trade in the south—feared Russian domination over trade on China's northern border. The high costs of the Crimean War and the fear of further Russian expansion to the east made the British more conscious of the China market's value. Expanding trade with China by getting the Chinese to buy more British manufactured goods could support British imperial projects throughout Asia, both in India and against Russia. Russia, for its part, concluded that it needed to occupy more territory in eastern Siberia to protect its trading interests.

Russia, like England, imported large quantities of tea from China, and hoped to expand trade from its existing exports, like fur, into other industrial goods. British newspapers published reports like this one, clearly recognizing the growing rivalry between the two countries over access to trade and territory in China:

> *The Russians appear to be very much alarmed at our proceeding in China. A letter from St. Petersburg of the 8th, in the* Journal des Débats, *says: "The news of the attack on Canton by the English fleet has produced a considerable sensation here. It appears certain that dépôts of goods belonging to Russian merchants have been burnt, and that their loss of property has been considerable. This act, which is perfectly unjustifiable, and for which no serious motive can be assigned, is regarded here as the prelude to the conquest which the English propose to themselves to make of the Island of Chusan." ("The War with China,"* The Illustrated London News, *January 1857, p. 86)*

In 1860, taking advantage of China's defeat, a Russian military expedition founded Russia's first major city on the Pacific coast, Vladivostok.

Chinese Sea Power

The Chinese war junks in the second Opium War were vastly improved from those of the first Opium War (1839-1842). A March 1857 article in the *Illustrated London News* commented on significant improvements in Chinese naval power, and included an image of a "Chinese Modern Junk of War: Second Class" (below). The warships had added very large guns, bigger than those of the British, and the many small ships excelled in speed and maneuverability. The text cited China's potential as "a great maritime nation":

> *… 20 years ago their ships of war were short, misshapen masses of timber, quaint and ungainly in appearance, almost unmanageable …. the progress of naval architecture in China has advanced far beyond what the people of that country might have been given credit for; and, though still carrying out their eccentric tastes in the more prominent features of their vessels, the shipping of the present day is of excellent and seaworthy character.*

…In the lorchas, snake-boats, smuggling craft, pirate junks, and other boats peculiar to the China Seas, the lines of the vessels are of the most beautiful character and they exhibit the greatest speed in all their movements and performances. The armament of war-junks, 20 years ago, consisted principally of matchlocks, mounted on the rails of the bulwarks; at the present time, the junks of the first class carry guns between decks, like our frigates, and of a caliber that has astonished the officers of H.M. ships now in their waters, many of the guns being larger in bore and weight of metal than any we manufacture …. this extraordinary people are calculated and ought to be a great maritime nation. (The Illustrated London News, *March 21, 1857, p. 259*)

"Chinese Modern Junk of War: Second Class."
The Illustrated London News, *March 21, 1857 (p. 259)*

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[co2_ILN_1857_0321_159_pg_259]

Portrait of a Chinese War Junk, ca. 1850
United Art shop at Fo-Shan, Chinese School

"Throughout China's history, junks have been used as war ships. They usually have two or three sails and each mast is made of bamboo because of its strength. This junk is shown in full sail with a large number of figures on board. The warrior's shields can be seen fixed to the side of the junk in between all the oars. Two lanterns are positioned at the stern with a small cannon in between and there are several guards visible. Small local craft can be seen near the ship, the one to the right is obviously a fishing vessel. The painting was produced for the United Art shop at Fo-Shan and is one of a pair."
(text: National Maritime Museum)

National Maritime Museum

[1850_bhc_Chinese-War-Junk]

Despite China's improved naval capabilities, British and French steamships equipped with powerful engines and guns overwhelmed the Chinese junks in battle after battle.

"The China War 1857. Junk Fleet Against Mountainous Background. Boats Pulling in River at Right"

"This watercolor depicts an action during the Second Opium War, with a fleet of Chinese junks in the middle distance" (text: museum description). Watercolor by Thomas Goldsworthy Dutton, 1857

National Maritime Museum

[1857_2nd-Opium-War_nmm]

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COURSE OF THE WAR

This chapter gives an overview of the Second Opium War (1856–1860) in the form of a timeline, with imagery drawn mainly from the British *Illustrated London News* and the French publication *L'Illustration*.

1856

February 29, 1856: Execution of a French Missionary
The French missionary, Father Auguste Chapdelaine, is arrested in December 1855 while traveling in Guangxi province, a restricted area. Accused of preaching a prohibited faith, he is tortured and killed. The incident eventually leads France to join Great Britain in an Anglo-French military alliance against China.

October 8, 1856: Chinese Authorities Seize the *Arrow*
Port officials in Canton (Guangzhou) harbor board the *Arrow*—a small boat that claimed British registration—on suspicion of piracy. The Chinese haul down the boat's ensign and arrest the crew. The British claim their flag has been insulted. More importantly, the arrests appear to violate the 1842 Treaty of Nanking, signed after the first Opium War (1839–1842). Within weeks, the "*Arrow* incident" is used by Britain as a pretext for attacking Canton. Their aim is to force the Qing court into a favorable renegotiation of the 1842 treaty, thereby gaining trade and other concessions.

October 23, 1856: Britain Attacks – U.S. Lands in Canton

Rear-Admiral Sir Michael Seymour leads British warships up the Pearl River estuary to engage the Boca Tigris forts that protect Canton. Many of the Chinese forts are subdued by bombardment, seized, and burned.

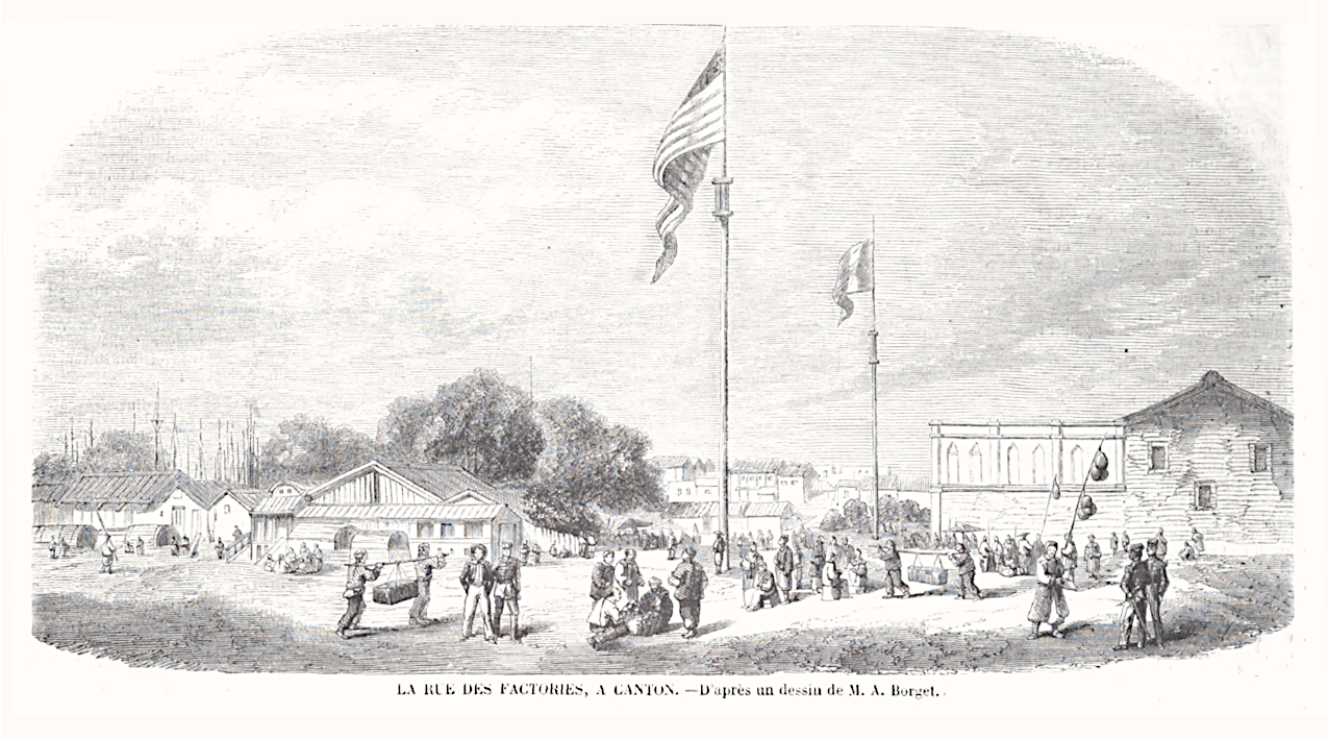
"The Boque Forts." (Boca Tigris Forts)

Illustrated London News, *January 10, 1857 (p. 4)*

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1857-01-10_04_boque-forts_BL.jpg]

At the same time, about 80 American officers, sailors, and marines from the sloop-of-war USS *Portsmouth* land unopposed in Canton. Acting at the request of Consul Oliver H. Perry, they take positions on rooftops to guard the American factory (warehouse) district. The foreign factories were all located outside of Canton's city walls.



LA RUE DES FACTORIES, A CANTON. —D'après un dessin de M. A. Borget.

Translated from French:
"Factory Street, in Canton. — After a Sketch by Mr. A. Borget."

The foreign factories that lined the Canton waterfront
were easily recognized by their nations' flags.

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris,*
May 15, 1858 (p. 309)

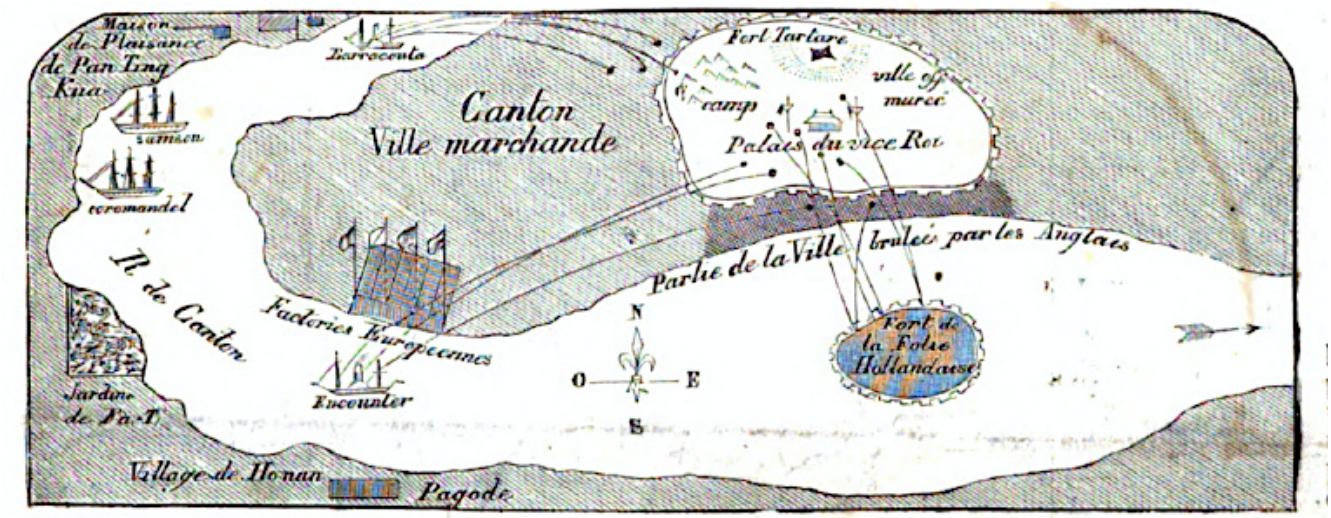
University of California

[illustration_1858-05-15_309_canton]

October 24, 1856: British Secure Factories
Royal marines occupy the British districts, and gunships easily seize Chinese defenses that could threaten the factories. Many of the foreign merchants flee.

October 25, 1856: British Warships Blockade Canton
After capturing all of Canton's defenses, Admiral Seymour sends Commissioner Ye (Ye Mingchen, governor general of Guangdong and Guangxi) a message: trade will resume when Ye agrees to negotiate. Ye sends no reply.

October 27, 1856: Bombardment of Canton
In the morning, a fresh ultimatum is issued but there is still no reply. At 1:00 pm British ships begin the bombardment of Canton by destroying Ye's official residence. Attacks like this continue through November, but the British fail to breach the city walls or enter Canton.



Plan du bombardement de Canton par les navires anglais.

Translated from French:
"Plan of the Bombardment of Canton by English Ships."

Bombing of Canton:
We receive from an eyewitness the account of the deplorable events which have just bloodied the city and the surroundings of Canton: the character of our correspondent is for us a guarantee of his perfect truth.
(L'illustration, Journal Universel, Paris, January 10, 1857 (p. 17)

University of California

[illustration_1857-01-10_017_canton]

November 15–22, 1856: U.S. Destroys Boca Tigris Forts

On November 15, a Boca Tigris fort fires on American boats in the Pearl River. In retaliation, U.S. forces destroy four of the five forts between November 20–22.

December 1856: Factories Burned in Canton

The few remaining merchants—Chinese and foreign—are driven from the city when the factory districts are burned, presumably by the Chinese. There are many skirmishes, and both sides commit aggressions. The *Illustrated London News* presents a full-page illustration of the fires with the following account, putting the blame on the Chinese, despite Ye's claims that it was the British:

> *You will have heard how the factories were burned, and how the Viceroy Yeh had the audacity to charge the English with having themselves caused the conflagration, and that he actually wrote a letter of expostulation, showing plainly enough that he knew "a day of reckoning" would come sooner or later. … Although driven from their homes, the Cantonese merchants behaved in an admirable way, encouraging the Admiral and strengthening his hands as far as they could. …* (Illustrated London News, *March 14 1857, p. 251)*

"Canton and Part of the Suburbs, Sketched During the Conflagration of the City"

Illustrated London News, *March 14, 1857 (p. 250)*

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1857-03-14_250_canton-burns_yale]

1857

Early 1857: U.S. & China Agree on Neutrality

The November destruction of the Boca Tigris forts by the Americans results in an agreement with China, keeping the U.S. out of the conflict. Both sides honor it, until U.S. warships participate in the June 1859 attack at Dagu (Taku).

January 8–17, 1857: British Forces Leave Canton
Lacking a clear military objective and short of men, the British commanders in Canton decide to retreat down the Pearl River to the Portuguese colony of Macao.

> *The harrying tactics of the Chinese, who seldom left the squadron alone for many hours together, annoying it almost every night with rockets, fire rafts, and all sorts of devilments, led Rear-Admiral Seymour to doubt the possibility of keeping the river communication open with the small force at his disposal; and, learning from India that no troops could be spared thence, he was disposed partially to withdraw from his position. … it was finally determined to hold Macao Fort, and to keep at least the lower reaches of the river open. (Clowes, William Laird.* The Royal Navy, A History From the Earliest Times to the Death of Queen Victoria, vol. vii. *London, Sampson Low, Marston & Company 1903, pp. 93-136.)*

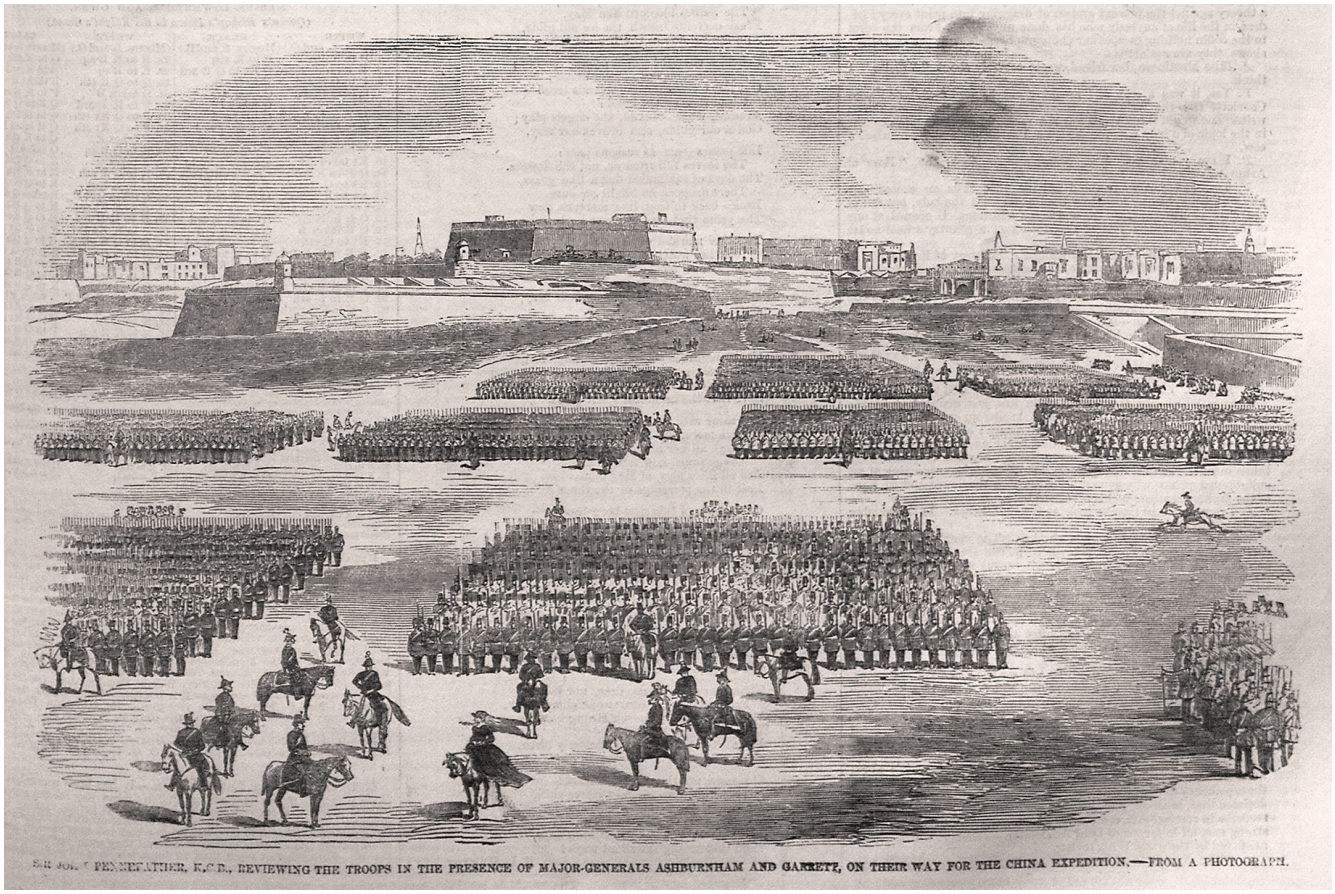
March 3, 1857: Parliament Votes Against China War
Prime Minister Palmerston advocates new military action against China, but the House of Commons considers the attack on Canton unjustified. Member of Parliament Nicholas Kendall points out: "The hostile acts committed by Admiral Seymour … could not be justified on the plea of necessity, and were worthy of the heaviest censure."

April, 1857: New Government Reverses Course
After a snap election, Palmerston has the votes in Parliament to defeat what he calls the "anti-English" opposition. Britain invites the U.S., Russia, and France into an alliance against China. Only the French—who stand to gain from renegotiating the 1842 treaty—accept, using the execution of Chapdelaine as the cause. The Anglo-French alliance becomes central to British war plans in China.

May–November, 1857: Allies Plan Joint China Expedition
The *Illustrated London News* reproduced from a photograph a scene of British troops mustered in Malta preparing for the campaign in China, which is described in patriotic tones:

> *The War in China. We have to thank Captain Inglefield, R.A., for the original of the accompanying Illustration, a photograph, taken by him of the garrison of Malta, when upwards of 7000 troops were reviewed by Sir John Pennefather, K.C.B., in the presence of Major-General Ashburnham, and Major-General Garrett, and staff en route to China. … The parade of so large a body of fine troops beneath the walls of the noble fortress is a scene of no ordinary interest.* (The London Illustrated News, *Supplement, May 16, 1857, p. 471)*

By October, Allied war planners decide that Anglo-French forces will first re-take Canton, then attack Beijing.



"Sir John Pennefather, K.C.B., reviewing the troops in the presence of Major-Generals Ashburnham and Garrett, on their way for the China Expedition—from a photograph."

The Illustrated London News, *Supplement, May 16, 1857 (p. 471)*

Visualizing Cultures

[co2_ILN_1857_0516_471s_pg_b]

May 10, 1857: Indian Uprising Begins

In India, an uprising against the British East India Company preoccupies Great Britain for most of 1857. Britain's control of India will not be fully regained until the following year.

June–July, 1857: China War Delayed

In June, High Commissioner Lord Elgin (James Bruce, son of Thomas "Elgin Marbles" Bruce), learns of the uprising in India: he diverts many reinforcements intended for China to the uprising. On July 15th, Admiral Seymour orders two warships with 300 marines aboard from China to Calcutta (Kolkata). By November the British will have held down the "mutiny" well enough to send a large force from India to join the war in China.

The French also suffer logistical problems. In July, Minister-in-Command Baron Gros is ordered to China to meet with Lord Elgin, but Gros will be delayed until October. The French naval squadron will not reach the mouth of the Boca Tigris until December 10th, too late to take part in the blockade of Canton.

Mouillage de la division française à Boca Tigris, le 11 décembre 1857. — D'après un dessin envoyé par M. Deslandes.

Translated from French:
"Mooring of the French division in the Boca Tigris, December 11, 1857.
— From a Sketch Sent by Mr. Deslandes."

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris, February 6, 1858 (p. 82)*

University of California

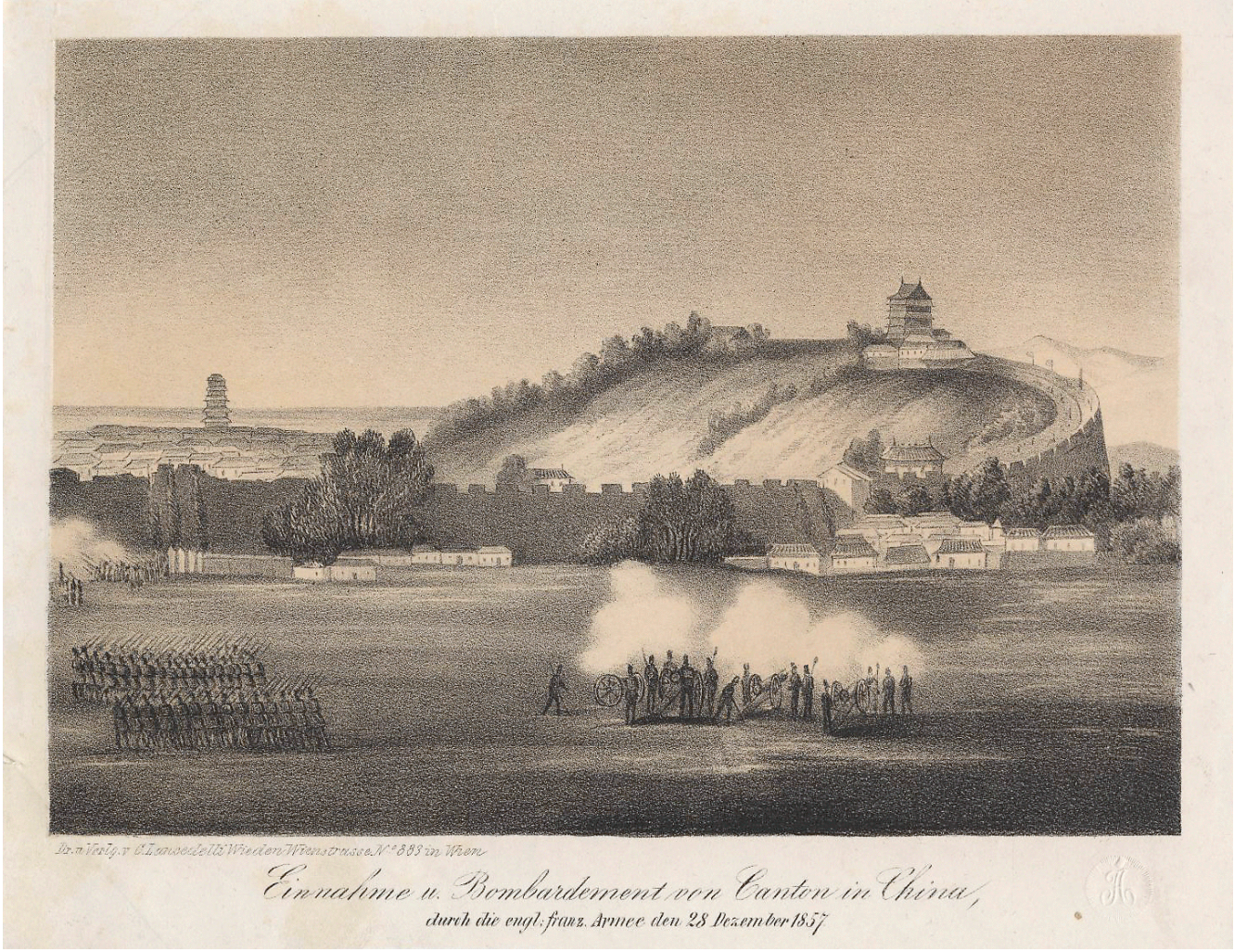
[illustration_1858-02-06_082_macau]

December 10, 1857: British Warships Blockade Canton

On December 10, Canton is blockaded. New demands are made, among them compensation for the *Arrow* incident and the murder of Chapdelaine. Commissioner Ye refuses. Hesitant to be the bearer of bad news, he writes to the emperor and assures him that things are under control: "The English barbarian is now begging us for peace, trading should be allowed to resume soon."

December 28–29, 1857: Anglo-French Forces Enter Canton

On the morning of December 28, the city is bombarded by British and French warships. Allied troops land about two miles from Canton. The following morning, they bring ladders to the city wall: the French beat the British over the ramparts by minutes. The north-east gate is opened and the main city is occupied. On December 30, flags of truce appear but Ye refuses to discuss terms with the Allies.



Translated from German:
"Conquest and Bombardment of Canton in China, by the English and French Army, December 28, 1857"

Published by Carl Lanzedelli, Vienna, ca. 1859

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

[1857_12-28_conquest-canton]

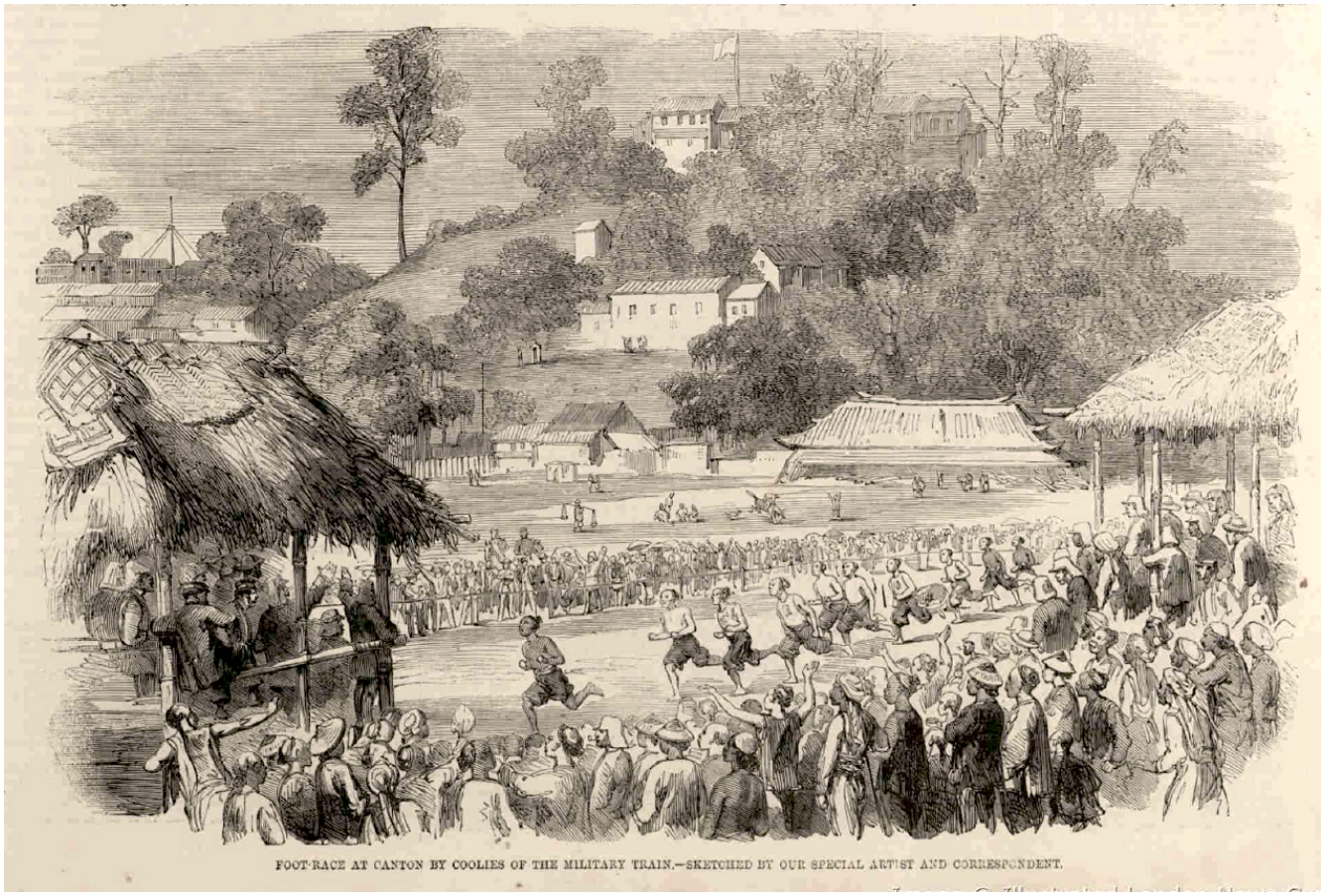
1858

January 5, 1858: Allies Abduct Chinese Officials

At daybreak in Canton, French troops capture the Tartar general Muh, while the British kidnap the governor and Ye, who is designated as a prisoner of war. The general and the governor are released: both agree to help the Allies maintain order in Canton, and the blockade is lifted on February 10. Ye dies imprisoned at Fort William in Calcutta in 1859.

1858–1861: Anglo-French Occupation of Canton

The Allies face considerable resistance in Canton and its suburbs for the length of the occupation. In reports from *The Illustrated London News,* Europeans in Canton keep a stiff upper lip as they go about the daily task of political and military control.



FOOT-RACE AT CANTON BY COOLIES OF THE MILITARY TRAIN.—SKETCHED BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST AND CORRESPONDENT.

"Foot-race at Canton by Coolies of the Military Train — Sketched by our Special Correspondent."

In honor of Queen Victoria's birthday, British occupiers held a military review and sporting events.

THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY KEPT IN CANTON.
On the Queen's birthday the English at Canton had a review in the morning, and wrestling matches, footraces, &c. Among others, the coolies of the Bamboo Regiment (Military Train) had a run. (*Illustrated London News,* August 14 1858, p. 143)

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1858-08-14_143_attack-canton_BL]

"The 'Sanspareil' Naval Brigade Landing at Canton"

The Allies faced frequent attacks by "braves"
in the suburbs of Canton.

LANDING BY THE NAVAL BRIGADE.

Writing in reference to this subject, our Correspondent says – Yesterday (July 3) above a hundred men of the Naval Brigade landed, and marched up to strengthen the position of the besieged head-quarters, which is becoming more unpleasant every day. Sharp work this! We pitched shell and rockets the other day from headquarters into the midst of an army of Braves who were advancing with lanterns. What a rich notion to fight with lanterns!(*Illustrated London News,* September 18 1858, p. 267)

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1858-09-18_267_fire-canton_BL]

"The Burning of Telesio's Store"

In the following account, Telesio's store, where Europeans in Canton bought familiar food and sundries, has burnt down in the night. Arriving at the scene in small boats, the French swiftly retaliate:

BURNING OF TELESIO'S STORE

Last week his old store was set fire to, and it burned quite splendidly … [Telesio] arrived at the scene of destruction in time to witness the lively Frenchmen with drawn swords, running about in the red glare, making havoc of all Celestial tails that came in their way, and firing every house near the store, which operation haring been performed they returned, leaving the fire to go out when it liked. (Illustrated London News, September 18 1858, p. 267)

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1858-09-18_267_fire-canton_BL]

"Demolishing Houses in Canton"

"Bamboo Rifles" push down the remains of burnt houses in Canton.

DEMOLISHING HOUSES

An orderly is saying "Figtee, figtee" (make haste!), and and they are singing out "Ly, ly, ly: ly, ly, ly!" by way of keeping time. The dust of the falling wall, the smoke of the yet smoldering rafters, the glare of the white-hot sun, and the unpleasant footing of loose brick render this task rather an unpleasant one.(*Illustrated London News,* September 18 1858, p. 354)

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1858-09-18_267_fire-canton_BL]

April 14, 1858: Lord Elgin Arrives—China Plays for Time

Lord Elgin anchors his squadron in the mouth of the Peiho River (Hai He) on April 14th. After meeting with a local commissioner, Elgin decides the Chinese aren't serious about negotiating. Allied warships prepare to attack the Dagu forts that guard access to Beijing.

May 16, 1858: Russia & China Accord on Manchuria
In the 1858 Treaty of Aigun, China cedes to Russia over 600,000 square kilometers (231,660 square miles) of Manchuria (north-east China). The treaty stipulates that only Russian and Chinese vessels will be permitted to navigate certain rivers. It takes until 1860 for China to ratify the treaty, which it does in exchange for Russian diplomatic intercession at the end of the Second Opium War.

May 20, 1858: Allies Take Dagu Forts, Threaten Beijing
British forces under Lord Elgin, backed by French troops, capture the Dagu forts. They destroy many of the forts and river defenses, exposing Beijing to attack.

June, 1858: China Signs the Treaties of Tianjin
Negotiated under the threat of overwhelming force, the Treaties of Tianjin give the Allies many concessions. Signed by Russia (June 13), the U.S. (June 18), Britain (June 26), and France (June 27), the provisions include new treaty ports, foreign travel in the interior, and missionary access. Kowloon is ceded to Britain. Though the Dagu forts are returned to China after the signing, the Qing court refuses to ratify the treaties.

LE BARON GROS SE RENDANT A LA PAGODE DE HAI-KOUANG POUR LA SIGNATURE DU TRAITÉ AVEC L'EMPEREUR DE LA CHINE, LE 27 JUIN 1858. (Voir l'Histoire de la semaine.)

Translated from French:
"Baron Gros Visiting Hai-Kuang Pagoda for the Signing of the Treaty With the Emperor of China, June 27, 1858.
(See the Story of the Week.)"

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris,*
October 2, 1858 (p. 213)

University of California

[illustration_1858-10-02_213_baron-gros]

SIGNATURE DU TRAITÉ. — D'après les croquis apportés de Tien-Tsing par M. G. de B.

Translated from French:
"Signing of the Treaty. — According to the Sketches Brought From Tine-Tsing by Mr. G. De B."

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris, October 9, 1858 (p. 233)*

University of California

[illustration_1858-10-02_213_baron-gros]

November 8, 1858: China Legalizes Opium Trade

Further negotiations legalize importation of opium, with an 8% tariff. The British support legalization in order to regulate the trade: at the time, opium is legal and sold openly in Britain. China gives in. A Chinese commissioner later explains,

> *China still retains her objection to the use of the drug on moral grounds, but the present generation of smokers, at all events, must and will have opium.* (Friend of China. The Organ of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, *vol. xi, no. 3, July 1889. London, Samuel Harris & Co.)*

Chinese Opium Smokers

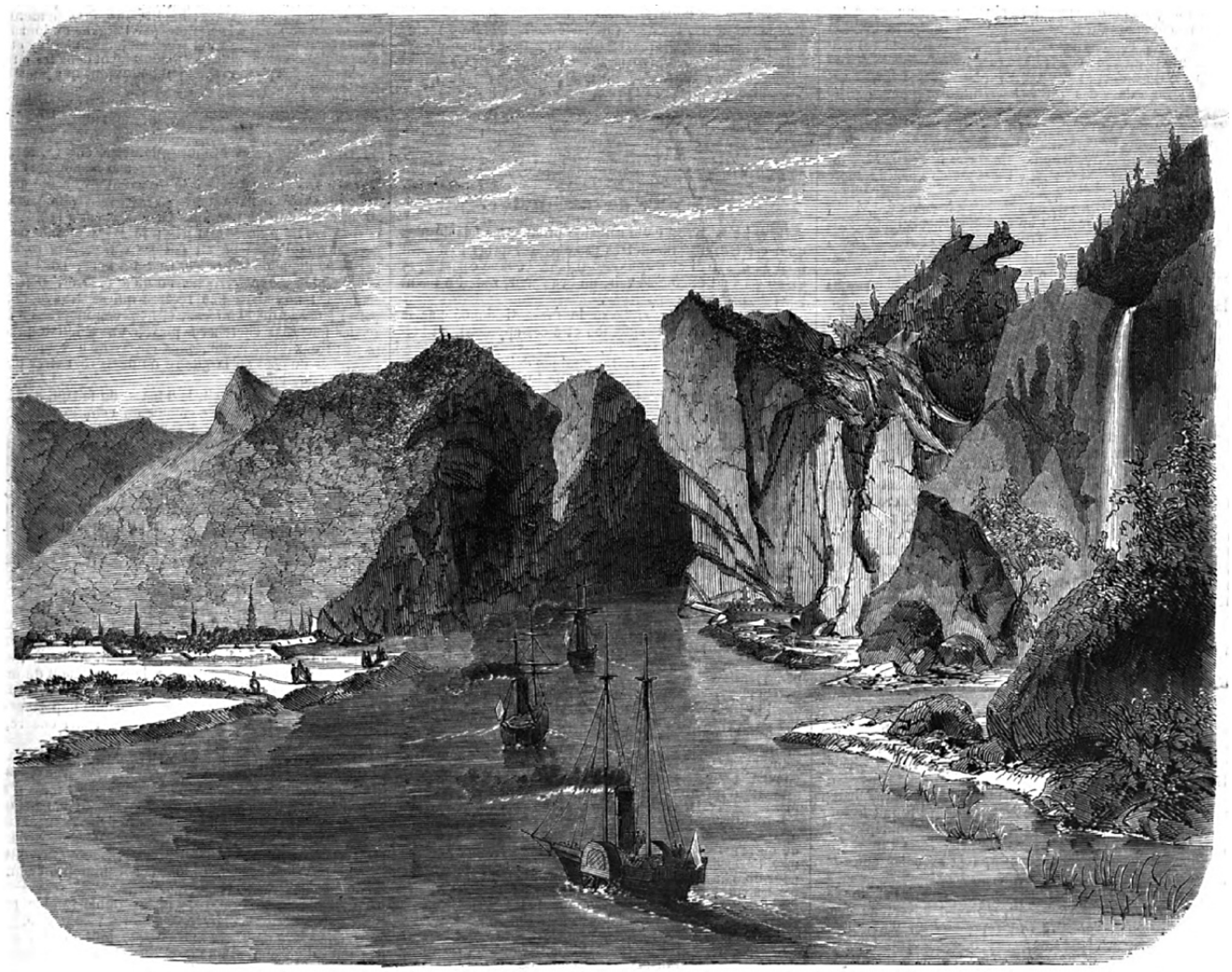
Illustrated London News, *September 20, 1858 (p. 483)*

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1858-11-20_483_opium_BL]

November 9, 1858: British Reconnaissance Mission in the Yangtze

To ascertain the state of the interior, Lord Elgin commands a two-month fact-finding mission up the Yangtze (Chang Jiang) River. There are altercations, including a two-day bombardment of the forts at Nanking (Nanjing), sparked by a cannon fired at the British by mistake.



PASSAGE DES DEUX PILIERS DANS LE YANG-TZE-KIANG.

Translated from French:
"Passage of the Two Pillars in the Yang-tze-kiang."

Leaving Shanghai on November 9, the squadron of three steamers and two gunboats went up the Yangtze as far as Hankow (Wuhan).

L'illustration, Journal Universel, Paris, March 12, 1859 (p. 161)

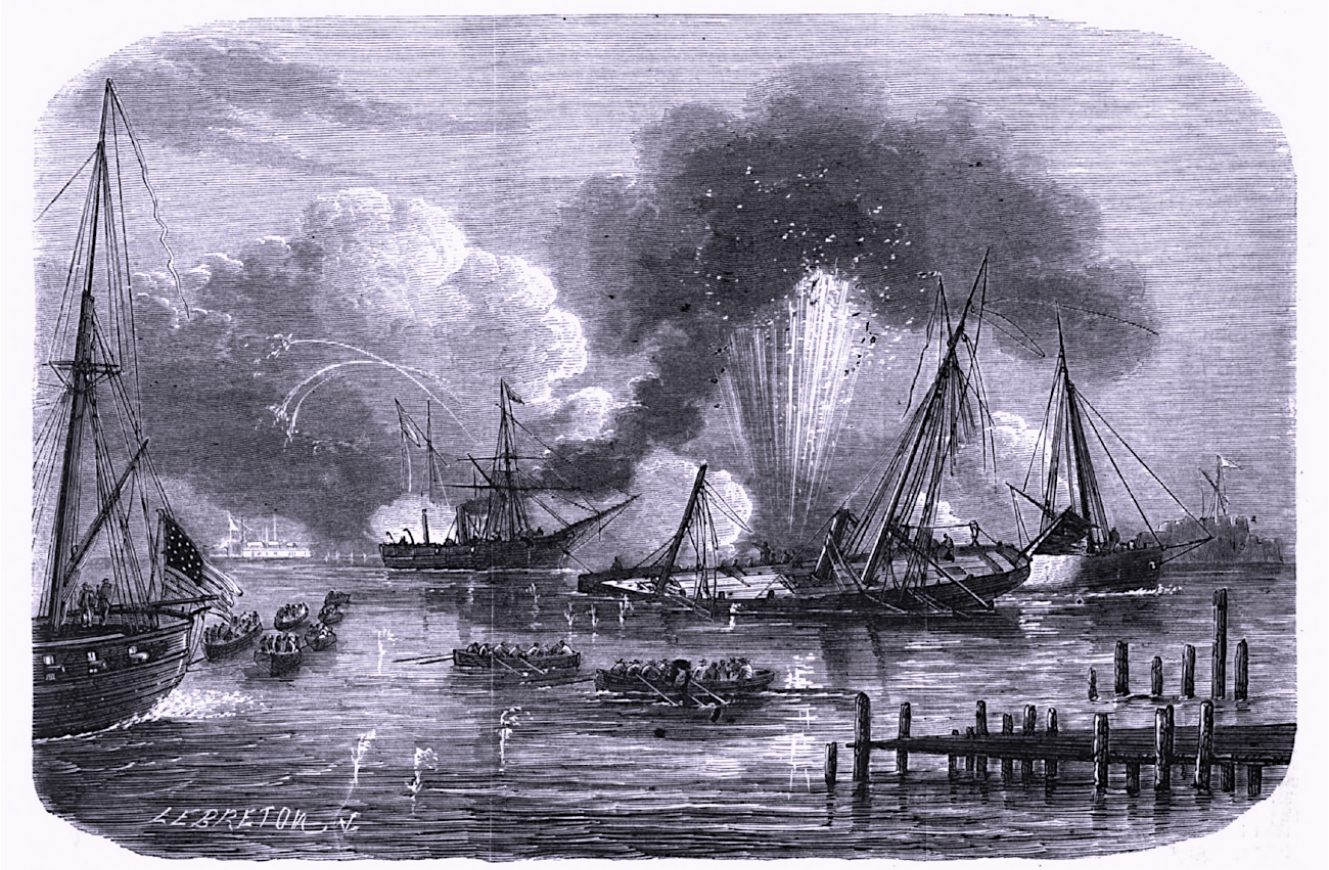
University of California

[Illustration_1859-03-12_161_yangtze]

1859

June 25, 1859: Hostilities Escalate – Chinese Victory at Dagu

When British and French envoys are sent to exchange treaty ratifications in Beijing, they find the Pieho River defenses—destroyed in 1858—have been rebuilt and improved, making the river impassable. Demands for free passage go unanswered and on June 25, British gunboats and a landing force of 350 royal marines attack the Dagu forts, the second such attack in the war. Having underestimated the strength of Chinese forces, they're driven back, losing three ships and taking many casualties. The incident fuels animosity on both sides, and stiffens the resistance of the Qing court.



SURPRISE, PAR LES CHINOIS, SUR LA RIVIÈRE DE PEI-HO, DE LA FLOTTILLE ALLIÉE CONDUISANT LES AMBASSADEURS DE FRANCE ET D'ANGLETERRE A PÉKIN.

Translated from French:
"Surprise, by the Chinese, on the Pie-Ho River, of the Allied Fleet Conducting Ambassadors from France and England to Pekin."

Spurious reports of an attack on the diplomatic mission, like this one in L'illustration, *were often repeated as fact.*

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris, September 24, 1859 (p. 228)*

Hathi Trust Digital Library

[illustration_1859-09-24_228_surprise-peiho]

November 13, 1859: France Appoints a Commander-in-Chief

General Cousin Montauban is selected as French commander-in-chief of the China expedition by Napoleon lll, who later grants him the title of Comte de Palikao (after the Battle of Palikao).

LE GÉNÉRAL COUSIN MONTAUBAN, commandant en chef du corps expéditionnaire français envoyé en Chine. D'après une photographie de M. Moulin.

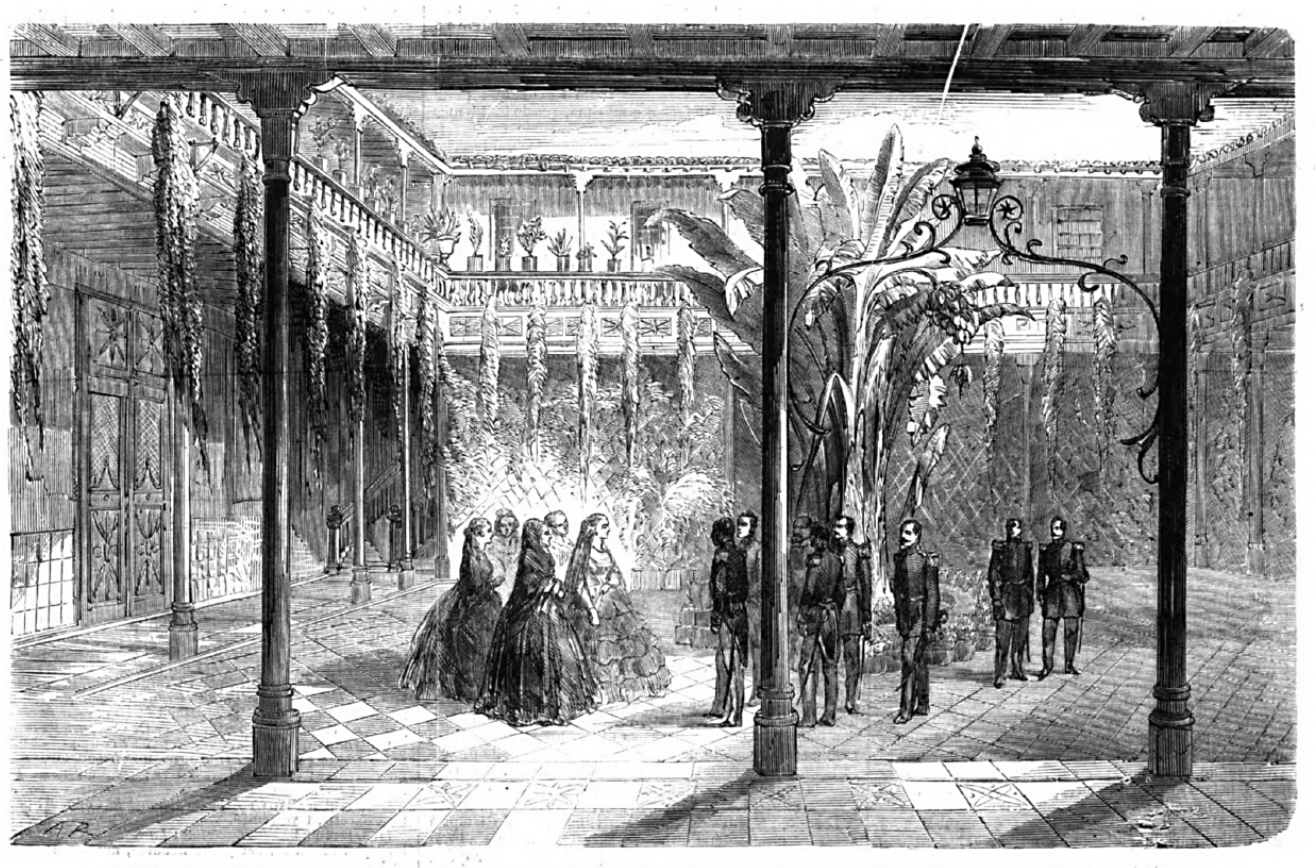
Translated from French:
"General Cousin Montauban, Commander-in-Chief of the French Expeditionary Force sent to China. From a photograph by Mr. Moulin."

University of California

[illustration_1859-12_36a525]

Late 1859–mid 1860: Allies Move Resources Into Place

As the Allies plan a major offensive, the French assemble convoys of ships. These include warships destined for China via Spain, and transports freighting cannons from Toulon.



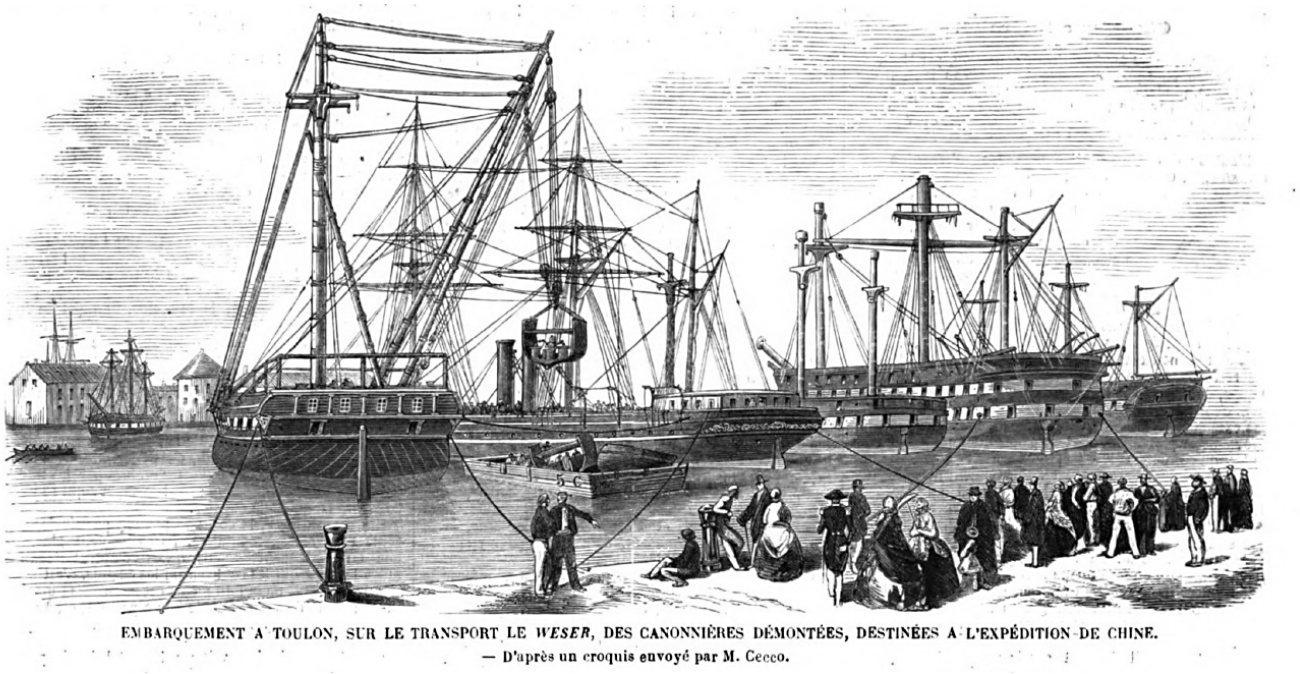
RECEPTION D'OFFICIERS DE L'EXPEDITION FRANÇAISE EN CHINE DANS L'INTERIEUR D'UNE HABITATION A SAINTE-CROIX DE TENERIFE.
(D'après un dessin de M. A. T., officier de la Marine Impériale.)

Translated from French:
"Reception of Officers of the French Expedition in China Inside a House in Sainte-Croix de Tenerife. (From a drawing by Mr. A. T., officer of the Imperial Navy.)"

… The first evening of our arrival, we went naturally to the theater, which was quite well stocked with some young and pretty Creoles who looked at us curiously … their parents struck up a conversation with some officers and asked them for information on the expedition to China. … I deeply regretted that I had only one day [in Tenerife] to complete my observations.
(*L'illustration, Journal Universel,* Paris, February 4, 1860, p. 69)

Ohio State University

[illustration_1860-02_36a527]



EMBARQUEMENT A TOULON, SUR LE TRANSPORT LE *WESER*, DES CANONNIÈRES DÉMONTÉES, DESTINÉES A L'EXPÉDITION DE CHINE.
— D'après un croquis envoyé par M. Cecco.

Translated from French:
"Boarding at Toulon, on the Transport the Weser, *Disassembled cannons, Intended for the China Expedition. — From a Sketch Sent by Mr. Cecco."*

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris, March 3, 1860 (p. 133)*

Ohio State University

[Illustration_1860-03-03_133_ship-departure]

1860

February–May 1860: War Photographer Felice Beato Joins the Expedition
Finished with documenting the uprising in India, Felice Beato sails from Calcutta on February 26 with General Sir Hope Grant, commander of the British army in China. They arrive in Hong Kong on March 13. Beato soon befriends Charles Wirgman, a sketch artist for the *Illustrated London News.* Bored with waiting, on May 20 they are at last berthed on a British troop transport heading toward Beijing.

June 5, 1860: Allied Commanders Embark for China
Lord Elgin and Baron Gros leave Ceylon (Sri Lanka) for China on the mailboat *Pekin.*

LORD ELGIN ET LE BARON GROS PARTANT DE CEYLAN POUR LA CHINE A BORD DU PAQUEBOT *LE PEKIN*, LE 5 JUIN 1860.
D'après les dessins envoyés par M. F. L. Roux.

Translated from French:
"Lord Elgin and Baron Gros leaving Ceylon for China on Board the Mailboat Pekin, *June 5, 1860. From drawings sent by Mr. F. L. Roux."*

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris, July 14, 1860 (p. 17)*

University of California

[Illustration_1860-07-14_017_cover-ships]

August 14–21, 1860: Anglo-French Forces Re-Capture Dagu Forts

Further up the Peiho near the forts, Tang-Ku (Tanggu) is taken on August 14. Tang-Ku will serve as a staging area for an overwhelming assault on the forts, the third such attack of the war. On August 21 over 17,000 British and French troops re-capture the Dagu forts.

"Attack and capture of the Forts at the Entrance of the River Pei-ho, China, on the 20th May 1858. By the Allied British and French Gun Boats and Boats of the Squadron in the Gulf of Pechili," chromolithograph by Frederick le Breton Bedwell

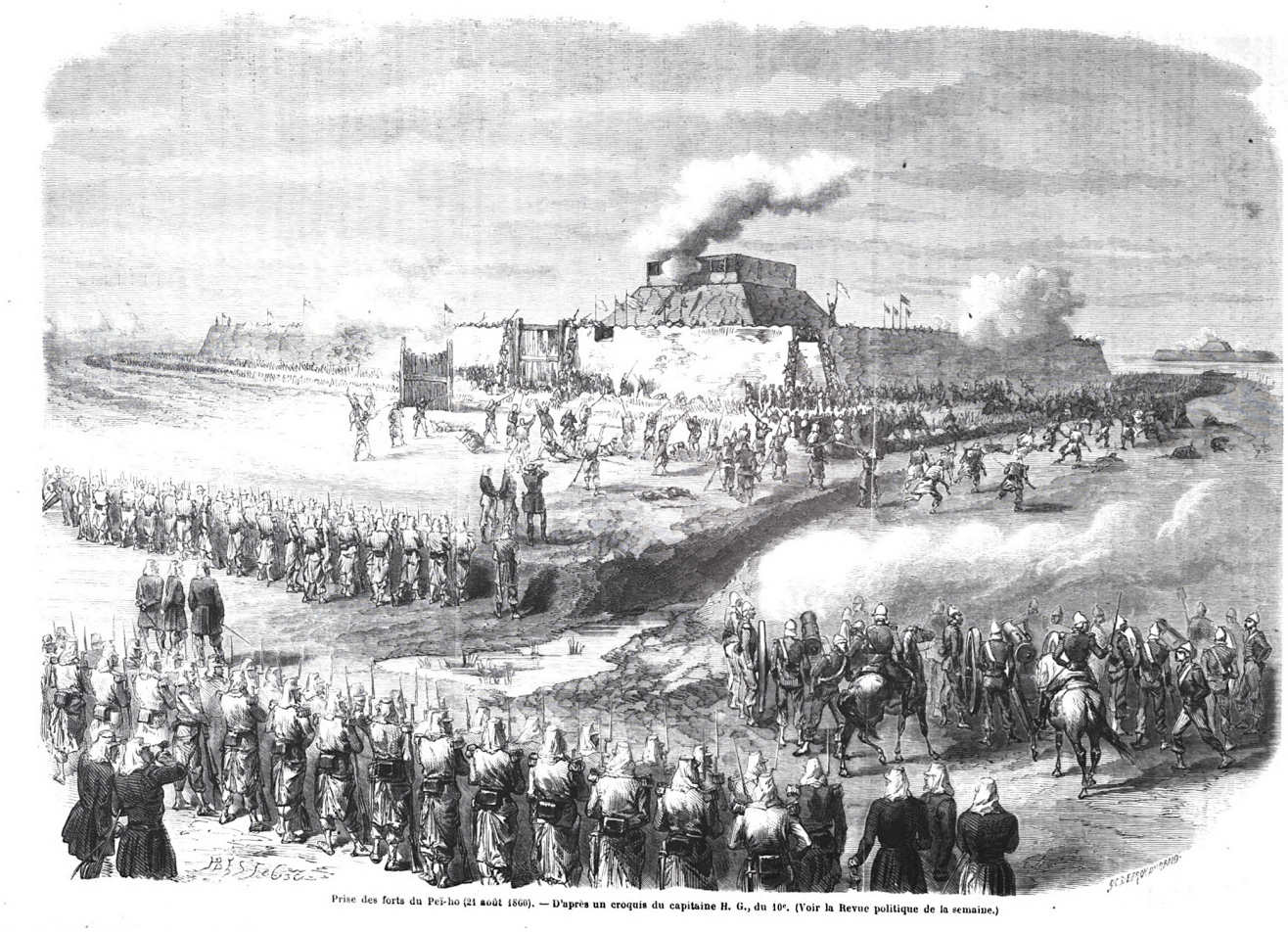
National Maritime Museum

[Pei-ho_PAH8282_n1510_py8282_nmm]

"The Storming and Capture of the North Fort, Peiho, on 21 August, 1860,"
oil on canvas, by Charles Stewart, 2nd Viscount Hardinge, 1865. The caption notes:
"Soldiers of 44th (East Essex) and 67th (South Hampshire) Regiments
breaching the walls of the North Fort."

National Army Museum

[1860_stewart_North-Fort]



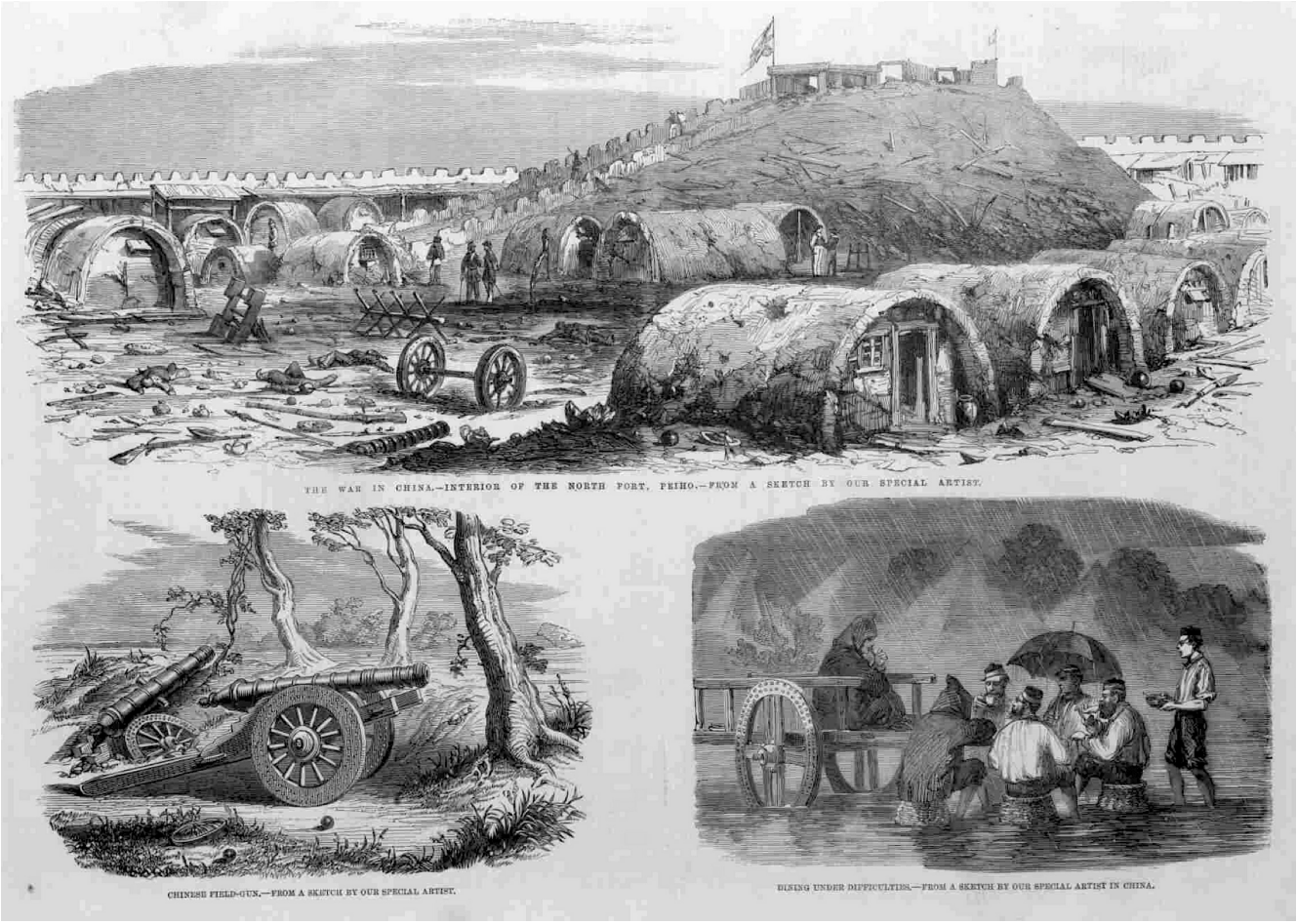
Prise des forts du Pei-ho (21 août 1860). — D'après un croquis du capitaine H. G., du 10e. (Voir la Revue politique de la semaine.)

Translated from French:
"Capture of the Pei-ho Forts (August 21, 1860).
— A Sketch by Captain H. G., From the 10th.
(See the Political Review of the Week.)"

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris,*
January 19, 1861 (p. 40)

University of California

[illustration_1861-01-19_040_forts-peiho-1860-21Au]



top: "Interior of the North Fort, Pei-ho"

bottom, left: "Chinese Field Gun"

bottom, right: "Being Under Difficulties"

Illustrated London News, *January 8 1860, p.547*

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1860-12-08_547_fort-beato_horiz_BL]

August–September 1860: Allies Advance – Chinese Imprison Negotiators

After garrisoning the forts, British and French troops march upriver toward Beijing—each nation on opposite banks of the Peiho. The Chinese agree to talks, but then ambush the Western negotiators and imprison them in Beijing.

September 18, 1860: Large Chinese Force Routed

Reaching Chang-Kia-Wan (Zhangjiawan), Allied troops meet a 30,000-strong Chinese army, said to be five miles wide, and quickly defeat it. Qing commander-in-chief Senggerinchen decides his remaining cavalry will make their last stand at the Tonghui River, eight miles from Beijing.

September 20, 1860: Anglo-French Forces Invade Beijing

In the battle at the bridge named Palikao (Yongtongqiao), which spans the Tonghui River, the Allies scatter Senggerinchen's elite Mongolian cavalry and entrap the infantry defending Beijing.

"The French Attack on the Bridge Pa-Li-Chian, Eight Miles From Pekin — Form [sic] a Sketch by our Special Artist in China"

BATTLE NEAR PEKIN.

… At daybreak on the 21st I marched from Chang-Tsin-Wan. and, parking the baggage in a village two tram to front, was there joined by the French, who advanced on the right. Soon after passing Tang-Chow the French troops got under fire of the Chinese works thrown up to protect a fine bridge over the canal, and on the Imperial high road to Pekin. At this point the enemy's infantry appeared in considerable force. On the left the Tartar calvary showed in large masses, and and advanced rapidly until within 200 yards of our guns, which, hastily unlimbering, threw them off with a fire of canister … — J. Hope Grant, Commander of the Forces. (*Illustrated London News,* December 22 1860, p.582)

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1860-12-22_582_battle_horiz_BL]

"The King's Dragoon Guards closing With the Tartar cavalry in the Engagement Near Pekin on the 21st of September — From a Sketch by our Special Artist in China"

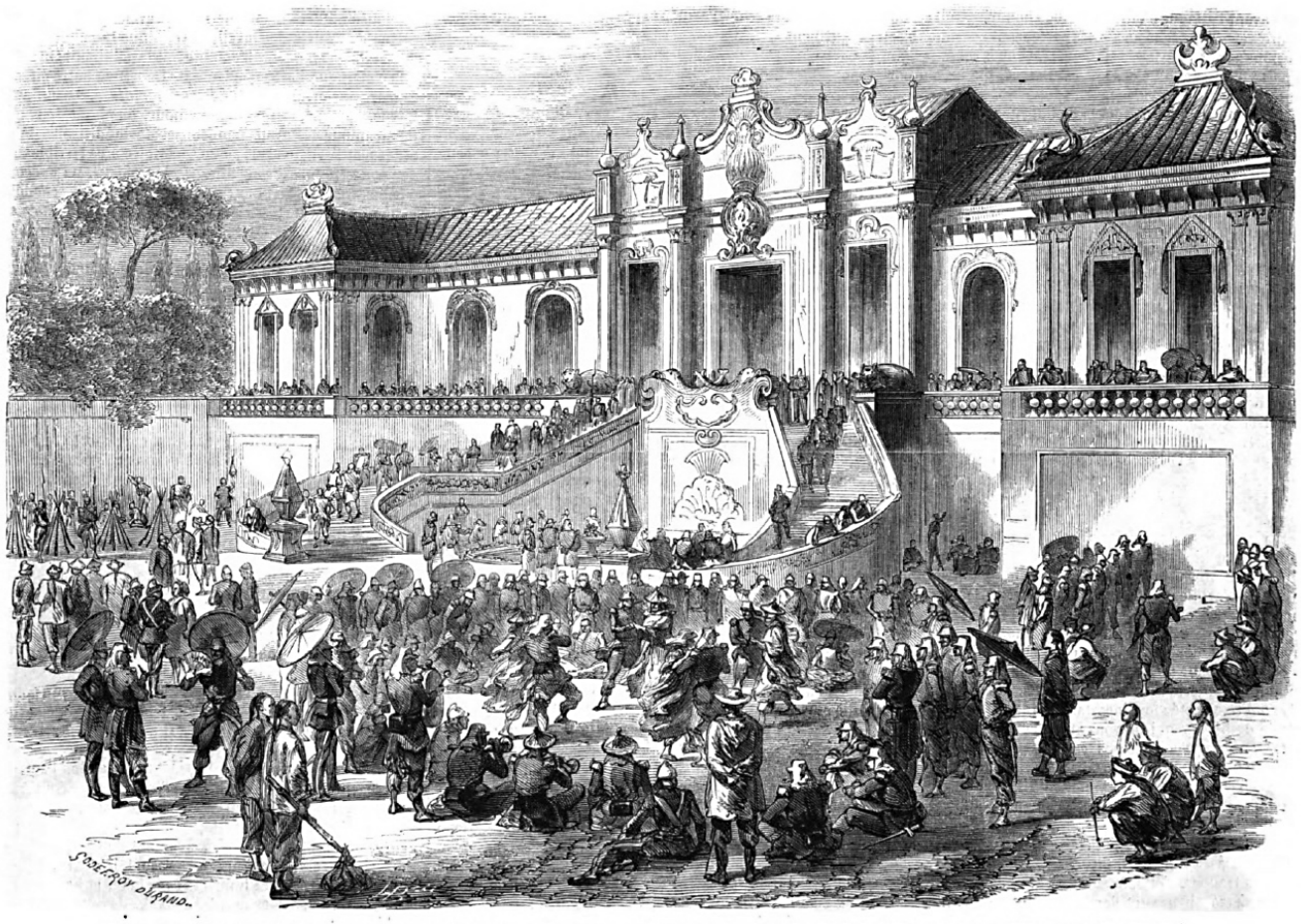
… At this time I had with me the cavalry, the 4th Infantry Brigade and three Armstrong guns … We fired occasional small single shots on their thickest masses. These shots, fired singly, at slow intervals, served admirably to illustrate the good qualities of the Armstrong gun: not one failed to strike the thick masses of the enemy, at once driving them from the spot. … — J. Hope Grant, Commander of the Forces. (*Illustrated London News,* December 22 1860, p.583)

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1858-09-18_267_fire-canton_BL]

October 6, 1860: Capture & Looting of the Yuanmingyuan

In pursuit of Senggerinchen's retreating forces, French troops enter the grounds of the Yuanmingyuan (summer palaces). The following day troops begin looting, at first against direct orders, but later supervised by their officers. Joined quickly by the British (and a small number of Chinese), three days are spent stripping much of the complex of silks, jewels, bullion, and objets d'art, all considered by the Allies to be "spoils of war."



Occupation du palais de Yuan-nineg-yuan par les troupes françaises. — D'après les croquis de M. B. J., officier de l'expédition, et de M. Marchal.

Translated from French:
"Occupation of the Yuanmingyuan palace by French troops.
— From the sketches of Mr. B. J., expedition officer, and Mr. Marelle"

University of California

[illustration_1860-12-02_413_ymy]

"A Portion of the Emperor of China's Summer Palace"

Illustrated London News, *April 27, 1861 (p. 390)*

This image is based on a photograph by Felice Beato, titled "The Great Imperial Palace (Yuan Ming Yuan) Before the Burning, Pekin, October 18, 1860."

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1861-04-27_390_summer-palace_BL]

October 11, 1860: Beijing Truce Declared

Demands for the release of the captured negotiators having failed, British engineers prepare to demolish the walls of Beijing. At 11:30 pm the two sides agree to a truce, and the Chinese open the city gate.

Entrée des troupes alliées dans Pékin par la porte Tchâo-yânt, le 22 octobre 1860.

Translated from French:
"Entry of the Allied Troops Into Pekin by the Tchao-yant Gate, October 22, 1860."

The pitched battle portrayed in L'illustration *may have been dramatized, or repurposed from other events. Agreeing to a truce, Prince Gong opened the Andingmen gate: Allied forces remained camped outside the city walls or in the Andingmen. (Beato took the first photographs of Beijing from atop the gate.)*

L'illustration, Journal Universel, Paris, December 2, 1860 (p. 412)

University of California

[illustration_1860-12-02_412_pekin-22Oct]

October 18–19, 1860: Yuanmingyuan Destroyed on Elgin's Command

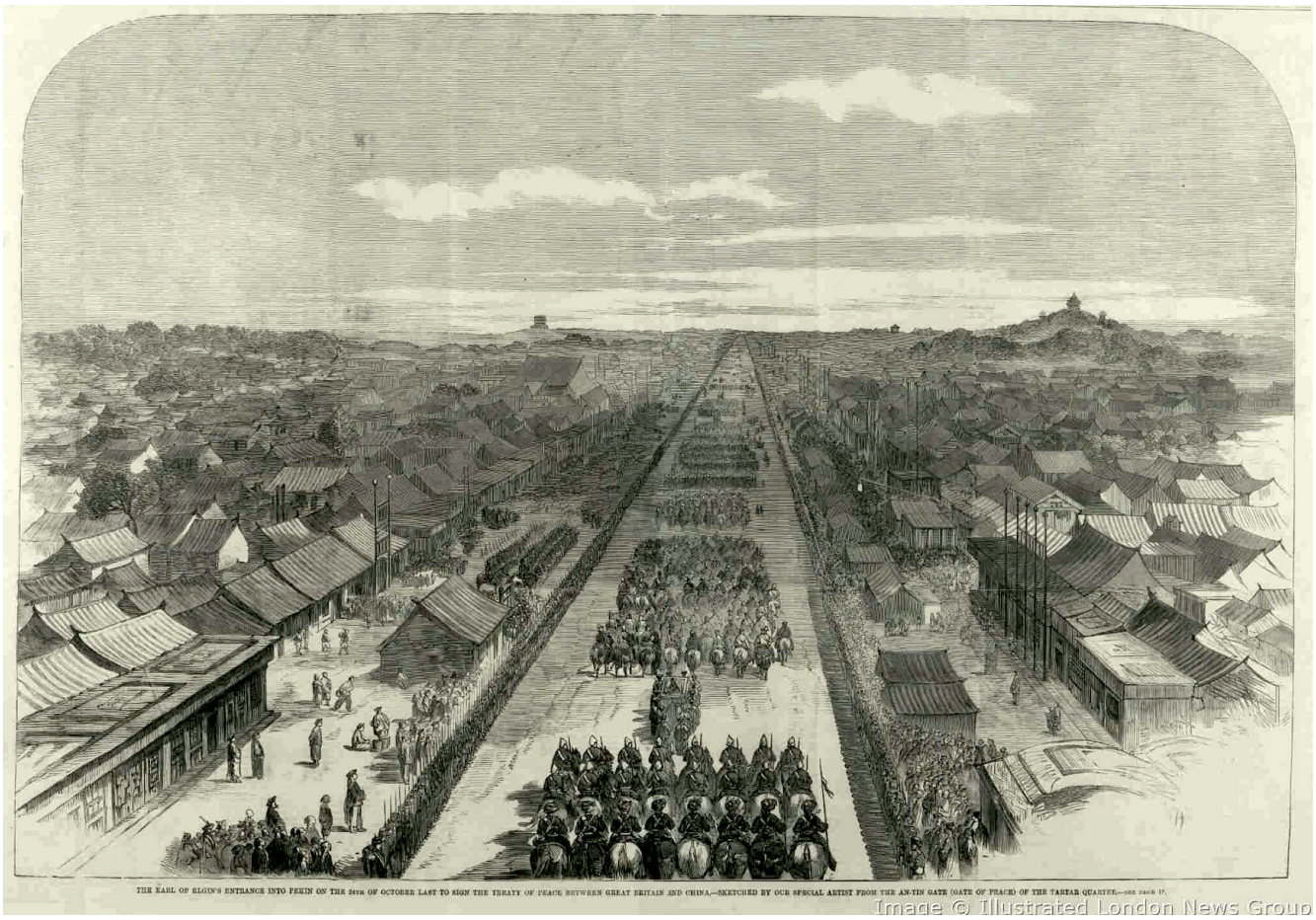
Upon learning that some of the imprisoned negotiators are dead, Lord Elgin considers the destruction of the Yuanmingyuan, "not for vengeance, but for future security." At a meeting with Baron Gros, he claims some prisoners were tortured there:

> *To this place [the emperor] brought our hapless countrymen, in order that they might undergo their severest tortures within its precincts. Here have been found the horses and accoutrements of the troopers seized, the decorations torn from the breast of a gallant French officer, and other effects belonging to the prisoners.* (Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin. *London, 1872, pp. 365-366)*

Gros demurs, but doesn't stand in Elgin's way. On October 18–19, British troops led by Hope Grant demolish and burn most of the roughly 200 palaces, gardens, and pavilions.

October–November 1860: Second Opium War Ends

China signs the Beijing Convention and ratifies the Treaties of Tianjin and the Treaty of Aigun, ending the Second Opium War.



"The Earl of Elgin's Entrance into Pekin on the 24th of October, Last to Sign the Treaty"

Illustrated London News, *January 5 1861, p.20*

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1861-01-05_21_elgin-pekin_BL]

"The Peace With China — Street Scene in Pekin: a Crowd of Celestials Contemplating the Barbarians"

A STREET SCENE IN PEKIN.

… before the gate was an enormous crowd of wonder-struck inhabitants gazing with open eyes and mouths at the European soldiery in the gate, as the Trojans may have gazed on the wooden horse when it had passed their impregnable walls. To keep back this curiosity-stricken mob was a task of some difficulty to the sentries, and so far from fearing us were they that several adventurous spirits brought with them supplies of fowl, fruits, and sweetmeats, with width they drive a good trade with the soldiers on guard. (*Illustrated London News,* January 5 1861, p.143)

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1861-01-05_12_street-Pekin_BL]

Théâtre du Cirque-Impérial : *la Prise de Pékin*, acte 3me. (Voir le précédent numéro, Causerie dramatique.)

Translated from French:
"Theater du Cirque-Imperial: The Capture of Peking, *act 3. (See the previous issue, Dramatic Talk.)"*

L'illustration, Journal Universel, *Paris,*
August 10, 1861 (p. 92)

The Capture of Peking

The crowd runs to the marvels of *The Capture of Peking,* a convenient means of making the expedition to China. The drama is enlightening. Patriotism dominates there … The staging is splendid: opium and dreams serve as an excuse for shimmering scenery that the pen would try in vain to describe. (*Revue Artistique et Littéraire,* Paris, 1860, p. 276)

Ohio State University

[illustration_1861-08-10_092_theater-pekin]

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SOLDIERS AND THE "OTHER"

Troops and Western Views of the Asian "Other"

Photographs and drawings made during the campaign reveal, in part, the makeup of the invading forces in China. The defending Chinese soldiers were not captured in posed images, though photographs of dignitaries were made. Chinese soldiers were depicted in drawings and watercolors.

Felice Beato accompanied the British campaign and his photographs rarely show the French or other troops. They capture the colonial troops from India that, as in other British Empire wars, played a major role. Beato's photograph, "2nd Belooch Regiment of Native Infantry, Bombay, outside the Ning Po Joss-House, China," shows the Indian Belooch Regiment mustered by English commanders and sent to China to fight the Taiping Rebellion.

"2nd Belooch Regiment of Native Infantry, Bombay, Outside the Ning Po Joss-House, China," photograph by Felice Beato, 1860

National Army Museum

[Beato_04-01-a-2nd-Belooch]

The British commanders of Indian colonial regiments at times adopted aspects of Indian military dress. For example, Dighton MacNaghten Probyn (1833-1924), pictured at right, served in the Indian Mutiny and led a cavalry unit during the second Opium War. Sir James Hope Grant (1808-1875) is portrayed wearing a "poshteen sheepskin coat from the north-west frontier of India," according to the National Army Museum. Grant led British forces in India, fought in the first Opium War, and in 1859 became commander of the British Army in China, which he led to rapid victory. Beato photographed him in Beijing in 1860.

"Dighton Probyn, 2nd Punjab Cavalry, in Indian dress," photographed in India, ca. 1857 (from an album previously owned by General Sir Sam Browne VC, 1857–1870)

National Army Museum

[1857_Dighton_Probyn_Punjab]

"His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in Winter costume," Sir James Hope Grant, ca. 1862, engraving after Henry Hope Crealock, published by J. Hogarth, January 1, 1862

National Army Museum

[1862_Crealock_Hope-Grant]

General James Hope Grant
photographed by Felice Beato
in Beijing, 1860

National Galleries Scotland

[Beato_04-01-c-hope-grant]

In a traditional studio view that would be marketable to his clientelle of soldiers, Beato photographed a group of officers called from India to China to serve in the Second Opium War: "Officers of the 99th (Duke of Edinburgh's) Regiment of Foot."

"Officers of the 99th (Duke of Edinburgh's) Regiment of Foot,"
photograph by Felice Beato, 1860.

The regiment, posted in India, was called to China to join the forces of General Sir Hope Grant fighting the Second Opium War, and was part of the "Sack of Peking." The officers are identified in the handwritten text under the image.

National Army Museum

[Beato_04-01-b-Officers-99]

Illustrations—which supplemented reports and news of battles—included maps of battle sites, portraits of leaders, troops in formation, imagined images of military attacks, and pictures of foreign cities under military occupation.

"Camp of the Sikh Cavalry at Cowloong opposite Hong Kong: Probyn's Horse and Fane's Horse.—from a sketch by our special artist in China." Notice the reference to the cavalry under Probyn's command.

The Illustrated London News, *October 6, 1860 (p. 311)*

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[iln_1860-10-6-Sikhs-Cowloon]

During the First Opium War, engravings and other publications outnumbered the images in the newspapers, but during the Second Opium War, the illustrated papers produced abundant images of the war. They also proliferated stereotypes of Chinese, agitating and shaping public opinion about alien Oriental races. Very few images indicated any respect for the military abilities of the Chinese, and illustrations of Chinese culture focused on curiosities and archaic symbolism.

The term "jingo," for a blustering patriot who advocates aggressive military action against foreign powers, originated in 1878 with British efforts to provoke a war with Russia. But very similar attitudes had already appeared in the 1850s, first in the Crimean War, and then in the Opium War that followed. The rising influence of the illustrated press allowed writers and artists to create convincing caricatures of foreign peoples, reducing them to stereotypes. These caricatures reached a wide audience in Western countries and generated popular pressure on foreign policy.

Many aspects of the second Opium War echoed those of the first one. All the imperial powers used troops from their colonies, and the British especially employed troops from India's martial castes, like Sikhs and Pathans.

"Tent of the 19th Punjabis at Beitang"
Charles Wirgman, artist

The Illustrated London News, *October 27, 1860*

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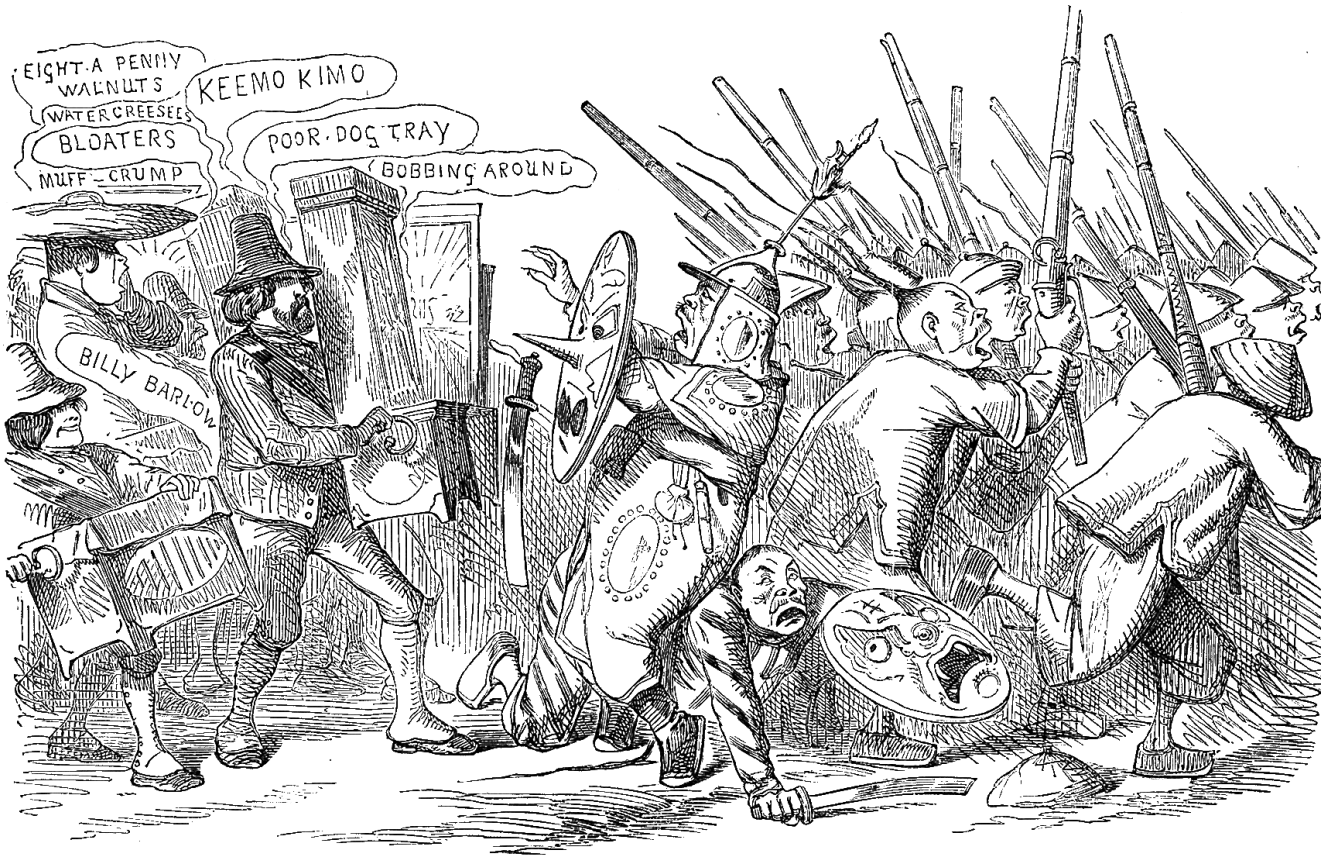
[co2_ILN_1860_Oct27_pg394]

British illustrations of the Chinese military forces ranged from satyrical to dispassionate to sympathetic. The humor magazine *Punch* depicted Chinese forces fleeing from a British regiment made up of "frightefully ill-looking Young Men," put "to flight by the repulsiveness of their looks." (*Punch,* November 21, 1857, p. 207)



"A New Force in the Army," Punch *magazine, November 21, 1857 (p. 207)*

Yale University

[punch_1857_11-27-new-force]

British views of the Chinese military forces also portrayed the imperial forces as orderly, tall, and well armed with spears and shields.

"Chinese Soldiers," The Illustrated London News, *January 17, 1857 (p. 39)*

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[co2_ILN_1857_0117_089]

"Chinese Mandarin and Soldiers,"

The Illustrated London News, *February 21, 1857 (p. 151)*

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[co2_ILN_1857_0221_151]

Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), a British artist based in Japan, published and drew cartoons for the humor magazine *Japan Punch.* Wirgman covered the Second Opium War for *The Illustrated London News.* His series of watercolors (reproduced in *The Cosmopolitan,* vol. xvii, October 1894) presents a sympathetic, close-up view of Chinese soldiers—in particular the Manchu bannermen, the cavalry forces of the Qing army.

"18 September 1860 Ho ko chisang"

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Libraries

[wirgman_1860-09-18_ho-ko]

"The first entrenchment (at Taku): 12 August 1860"

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Libraries

[wirgman_1860-08-12_taku]

"Tartar Cavalry" (1860)

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Libraries

[wirgman_1860-04_cavalry]

"Chinese Sentry" (1860)

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Libraries

[wirgman_1860-03_sentry]

"Tartar Cavalry near Peking" (1860)

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Libraries

[wirgman_1860-06_peking]

"Tartar Cavalry" (1860)

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Libraries

[wirgman_1860-07_cavalry]

Justifying the War: Chinese Justice as Oriental Barbarism

The British and French invoked stories of atrocities committed by Chinese officials and the people to justify their armed intervention. Foreign missionaries were not allowed into the Chinese interior, and the province was in chaos due to the Taiping rebellion.

The French concentrated on the torture and execution of Auguste Chapdelaine (1814-1856), a French missionary who had entered southwest China illegally to preach Christianity and was executed in Guangxi province in 1856. The French had not reacted to the arrest of other missionaries, but they took advantage of the impending British invasion to demand reparations and join the military expedition. Chapdelaine was canonized as a martyr of the faith, and his story was portrayed in stained glass windows in the Eglise de Saint-Pierre de Boucey, where he had served. His canonization by the Pope in 2000 provoked a severe protest by the Chinese government.

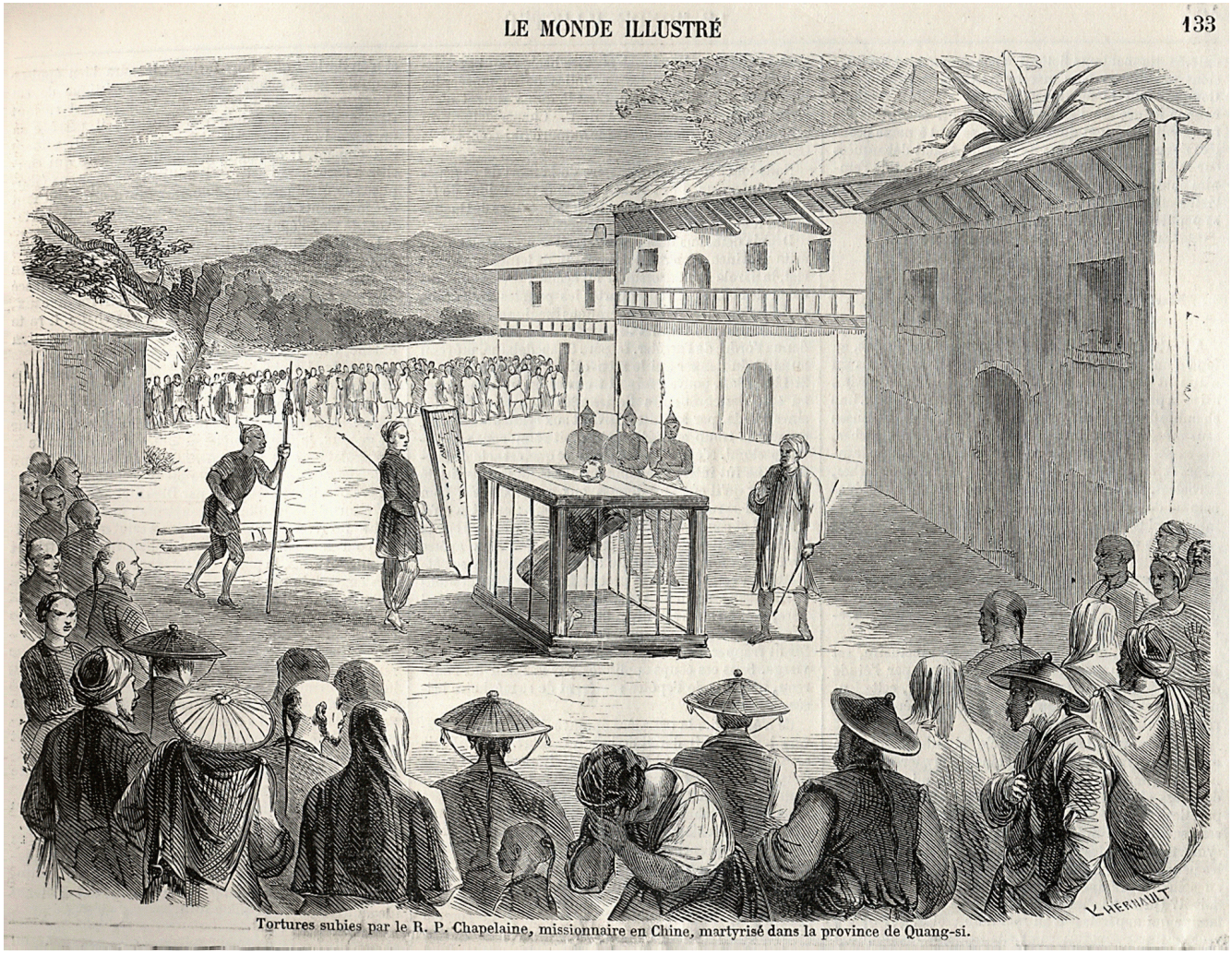
Caption: "Interrogatoire du Bienheureux Auguste Chapdelaine, M.E.P. décapité au Kouang-si (Chine), le 29 Février, 1856"

MIT Visualizing Cultures

[interrogatoire-Chapdelaine]

Accounts of Chapdelaine's torture and death vary, but the following description explains some of the confusion:

> *His time in China proved difficult from the beginning, being robbed of his possessions shortly after his arrival in the country, and later being arrested, in 1854, spending two to three weeks in prison before being released. Chapdelaine would be arrested for a second time in February 1856, on the orders of a local mandarin, along with several other Catholic missionaries. During his latest incarceration, he was tortured and locked into a small iron cage that was suspended near the gate of the prison in which he was being held. While in the cage, Chapdelaine died, and his body was allegedly later taken out of the cage and beheaded. (Mark Simner,* The Lion and the Dragon: Britain's Opium Wars with China 1839–1860, *Fonthill Media, 2019, pp. 272-273)*



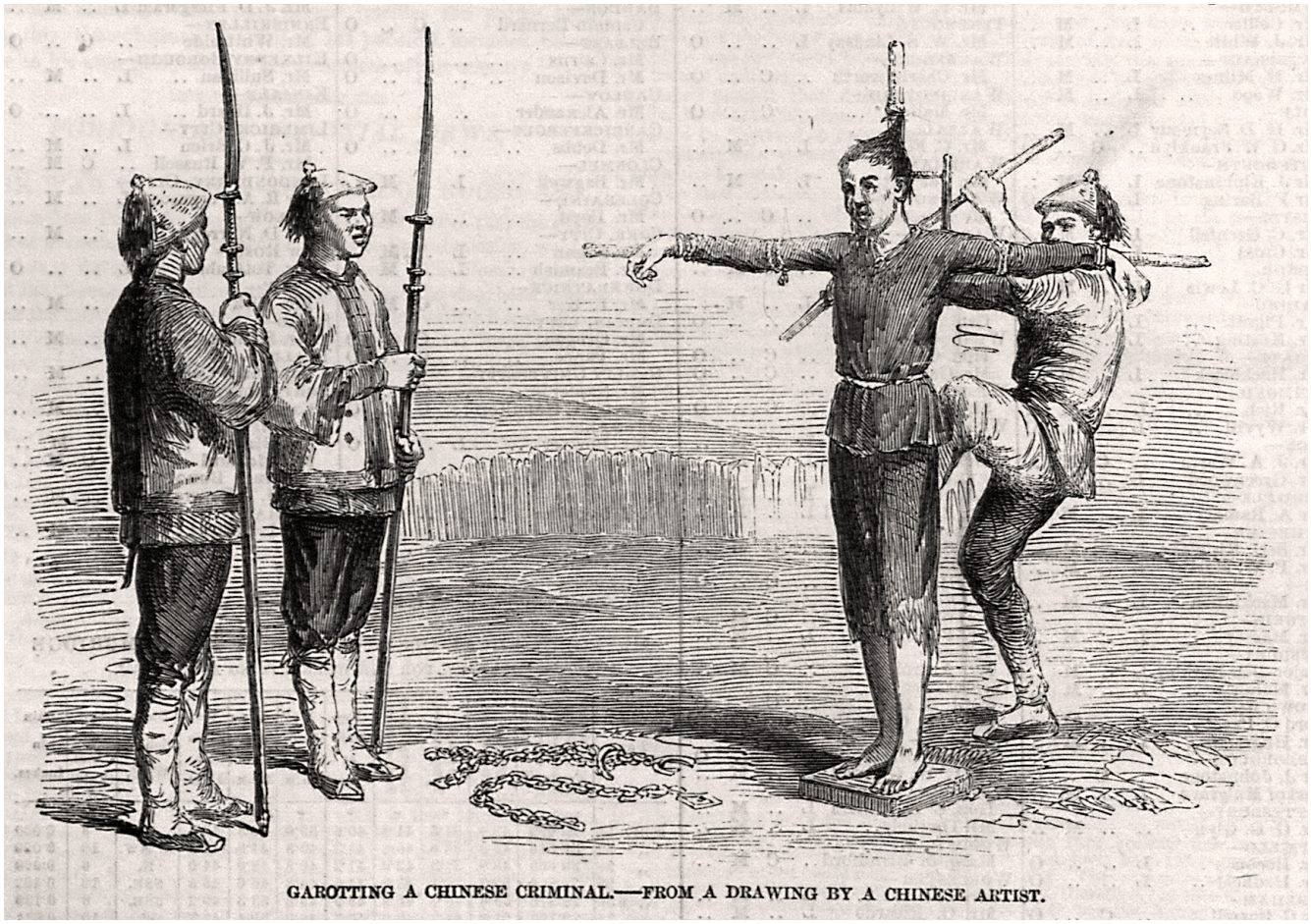
Translated from French: "Tortures suffered by R. P. [Révérend Père] Chapelaine [sic], missionary in China, martyred in the province of Quang-si"

Le Monde, *February 27, 1858 (p. 133)*

Wikimedia Commons

[1858_02-07-monde-illustre]

The British promoted gruesome pictures of punishments inflicted by the Chinese legal system, including garroting and beheading. In the 18th century, Jesuit missionaries had praised the systematic appeals allowed under Chinese law, and noted the rarity of capital punishment—at a time when British courts hanged people for poaching. But now, the predominant tone was excessive attention to the most extreme punishments, many carried out in the public square.



"Garotting a Chinese Criminal. — From a Drawing by a Chinese Artist"
The Illustrated London News, *April 4, 1857*

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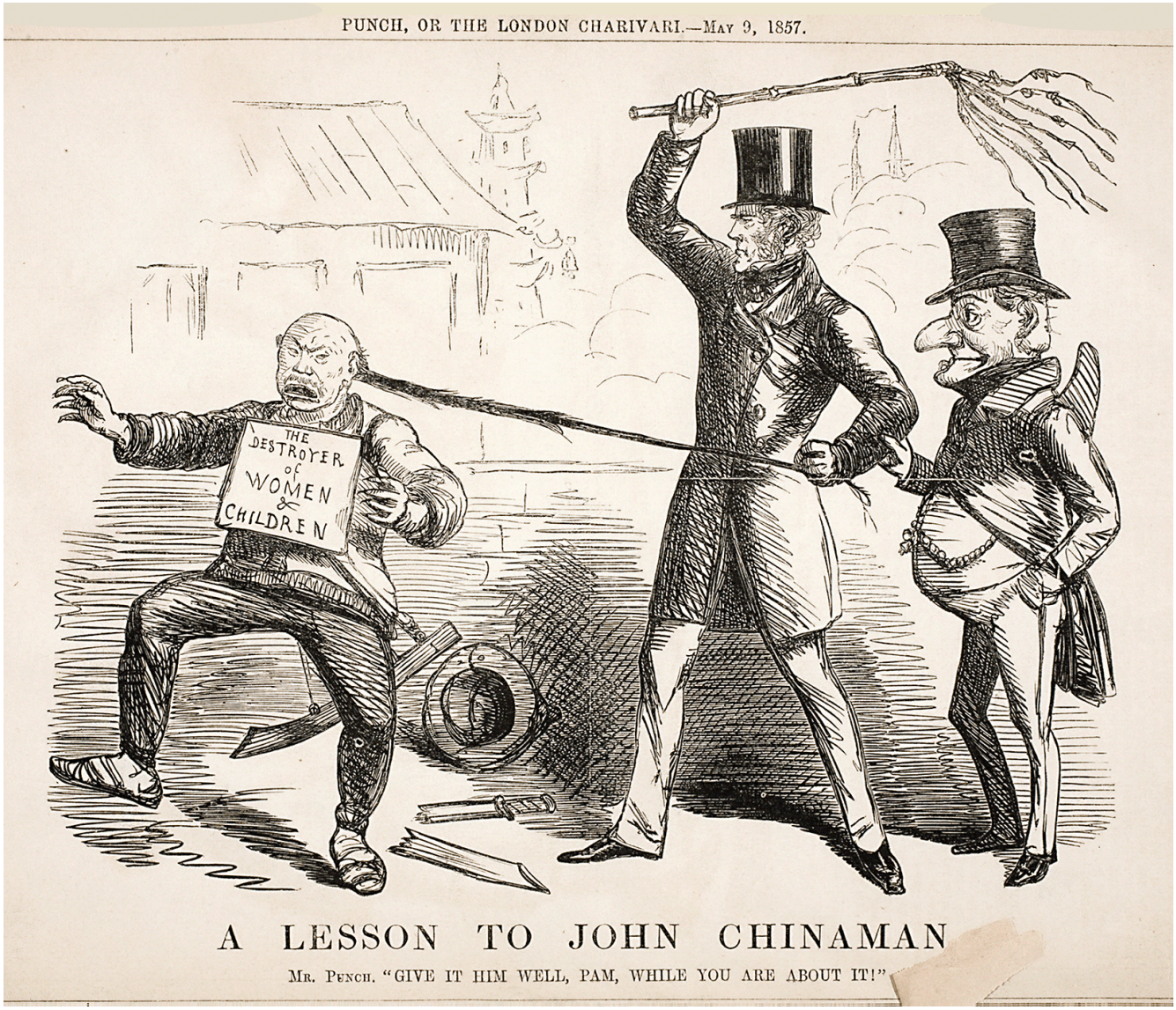
[co2_ILN_1857_0404_306]

These preconceptions about Oriental cruelty strongly shaped the Western responses to Chinese policy during the outbreak of the war. Ye Mingchen was accused of having committed atrocities when he led the suppression of the Taiping rebels in Guangdong and Guangxi. Newspapers like *Punch,* supporting Palmerston's invasion, argued that Ye, the "destroyer of women and children," deserved punishment.



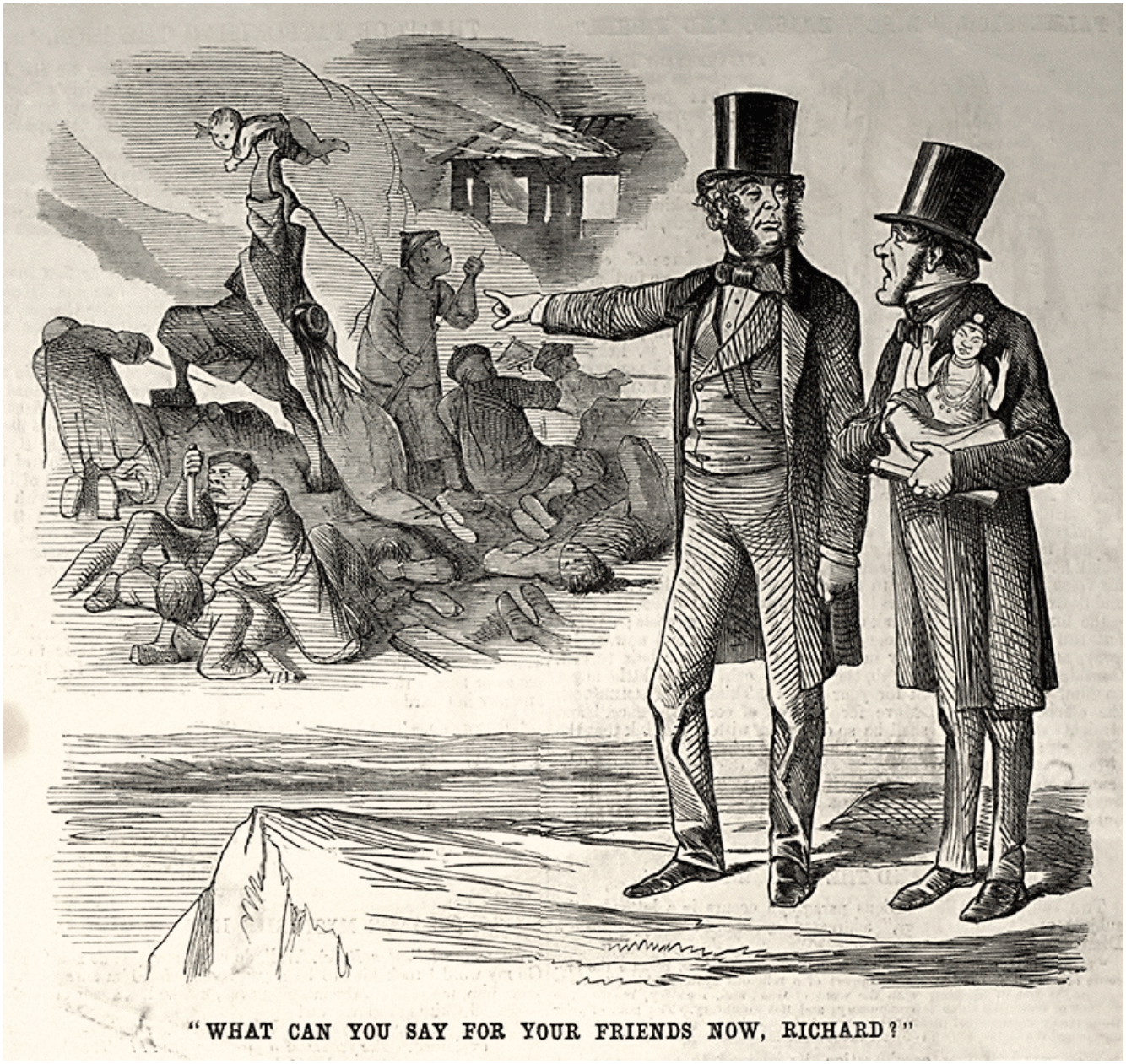
Caption: "A Lesson to John Chinaman.
Mr. Punch. 'Give it him well, Pam, while you are about it!'"

Lord Palmerston threatens Commissioner Ye with a cat-o'-nine-tails, while "Mr. Punch" looks on. John Leech cartoon, Punch, *May 9, 1857 (p. 185)*

Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

[punch_1857_05-09_lesson]

A cartoon on the opposite page (below) depicts Lord Palmerston pointing at Chinese atrocities and saying to Richard Cobden, the anti-war, non-interventionist polititon who opposed the Opium Wars, "What can you say for your friends now, Richard!" The violent scene with raging fires and killing of women and children is a trope that will be repeated to imply barbarism—on both sides—during the third "China war," the Boxer Uprising in 1900.

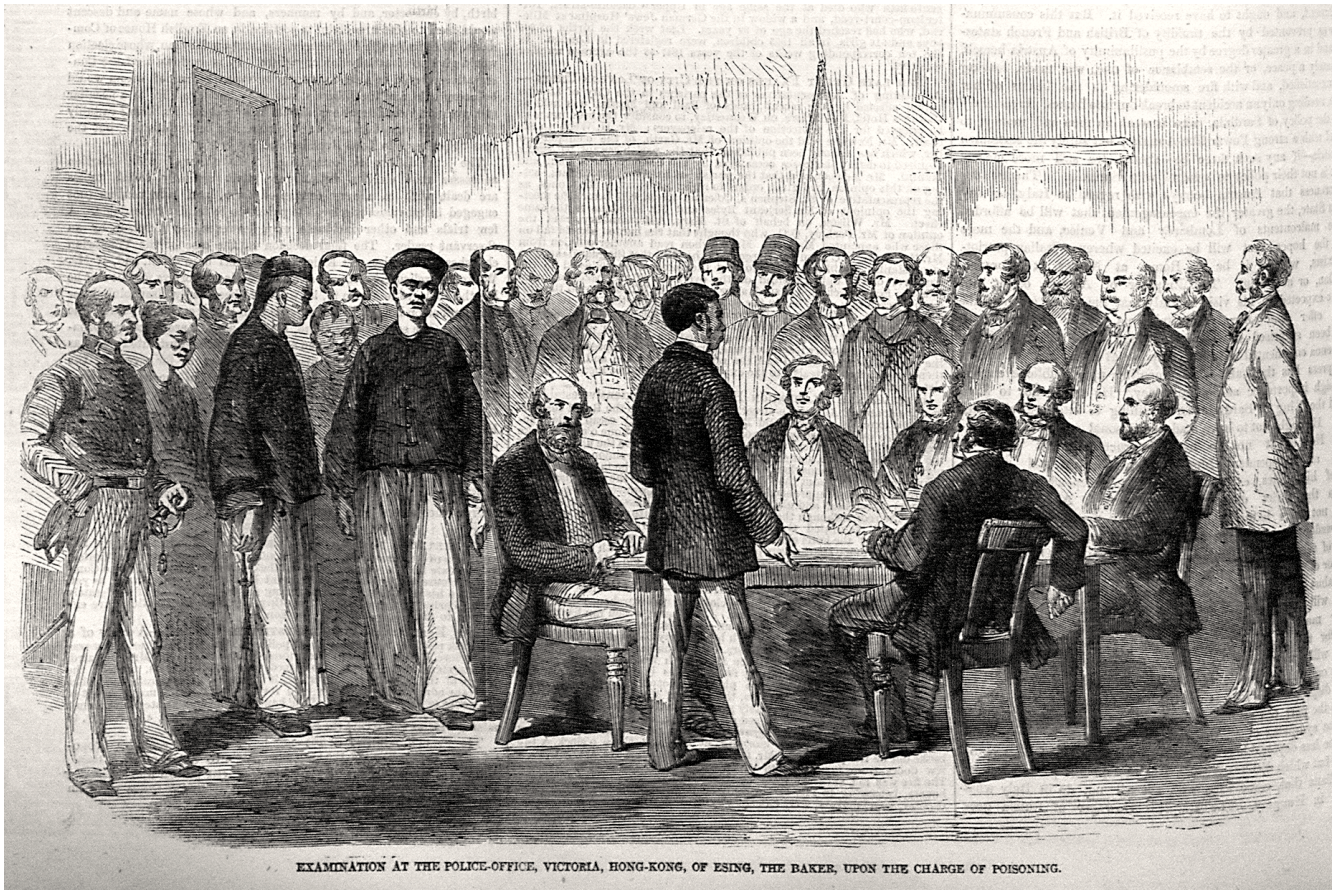


"What Can You Say for Your Friends Now, Richard!"
Punch, *May 9, 1857 (p. 184)*

Archive.com

[punch_1857_05-09_friends]

Another curious story spread throughout the foreign community in Canton during the conflict over entry to the city. Someone tried to poison foreigners by putting arsenic in loaves of bread. Several people vomited, but no lives were lost. A baker named Esing was examined in court, and newspapers blamed Governor Ye for having incited the attack, but no proof was ever found. Palmerston used this incident to rouse support for his election campaign, and Karl Marx, in his analyses, repeated this claim as evidence of Chinese popular hostility.



"Examination at the Police-Office, Victoria, Hong-Kong, of Esing, the Baker, Upon the Charge of Poisoning."

The Illustrated London News, *March 28, 1857 (p. 286)*

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[ILN_1857_03-28_286_c.png]

In the growing use of a civilization-versus-barbarism motif, British patriotic imagery stressed China's backwardness and savagery, while exalting Palmerston and the supporters of war as heroic representatives of a superior civilized power. An 1840 sketch envisions Palmerston as Cupid driving a chariot pulled by the British lion into a heroic encounter with the Chinese dragon. An 1860 *Punch* cartoon entitled "What We Ought to Do in China" also invokes the imagery of the Roman emperor punishing the Chinese dragon, rendered as a raging defeated beast.

"Cupid Taming the Elements," after West, by John Doyle. Study for a satirical print in the series "Political Sketches," published by Thomas McLean in 1840.

"Palmerston as Cupid, driving a chariot drawn by the lion and the unicorn among the astonished Powers. Russia laughs but China is horrified, in a reference to England's hostility with China over the opium question." (Description: British Museum)

British Museum

[1840_Palmerston_cupid]

WHAT WE OUGHT TO DO IN CHINA.

"What We Ought To Do In China"
Punch, *December 22, 1860*

Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

[punch_1860_12-22_yale]

Ridicule & Cartoon Caricatures

While portraying Chinese officials and people as dangerous and violent, the press also enjoyed ridiculing Chinese culture. The duality of racist imagery, as John Dower has shown in regard to American images of Japan, includes both the fear of the alien demon and the comic portrayal of the weak, small Asian man.

> *The Japanese, so "unique" in the rhetoric of World War Two, were actually saddled with racial stereotypes that Europeans and Americans had applied to nonwhites for centuries ... which had been strongly reinforced by 19th-century Western science. In the final analysis, in fact, these favored idioms denoting superiority and inferiority transcended race and represented formulaic expression of Self and Other in general: and this was the case on the Japanese side as well. (Dower,* War Without Mercy, *1986)*

For Western satirists observing China, the queue was an irresistible target. This strange Chinese hairstyle made the Chinese male vulnerable to ridicule. Ironically, the two principal conquerors of the Han people, the Manchus and the British, exhibited strange parallels in their treatment of the queue. The Manchus, as a conquering warrior caste, had enforced this military haircut on all Chinese men to demonstrate their submission. The British, for their part, also viewed it as a symbol of weakness. Only in the 20th century did Chinese nationalists, by deliberately cutting off their queues, stand up for Han masculinity.

Stereotypical views of China, such as the pigtail, proliferated in British popular publications that lampooned the world at large. *Punch* magazine, like the French cartoonist Daumier, specialized in humorous illustrations, satirizing all their subjects.

A January 31, 1857 cartoon (below) accompanies a discussion of differing opinions in Britain's foreign office on the Chinese bombardment. One faction calls for an investigation, claiming that:

> *… Admiral Seymour has unnecessarily and unlawfully destroyed innocent life: that we therefore resolve to proceed against Admiral Seymour for murder at the Central Criminal Court.* (Punch, *January 31, 1857, p. 42*)

Punch, *January 31, 1857 (p. 42)*

Sterling Memorial Library, Yale Universitys

[punch_1857_12-31-p42_yale]

Another *Punch* story condemns Commissioner Ye, his queue flying in "the whirlwind," with text that attacks him for "mad acts," claiming he planted salt in the earth remaining where he burned down the foreign factories.

YEH'S HUSBANDRY.

SURELY among the many mad acts of COMMISSIONER YEH, that recorded in the following newspaper paragraph, may, for one, be regarded as simply absurd; as ridiculous without being likewise horrible :—

"Accounts from Canton say that, under YEH'S direction, the ploughshare had traversed the site of the late factories, which the Commissioner had sown with salt."

What sort of crop MR. YEH expected to raise from his salt it is not easy to imagine, unless he may be supposed to have had an eye to the sort of harvest that old CADMUS got by sowing dragon's teeth. Whilst he was about playing the fool with salt in this manner, he might as well have salted the junk, as the soil of his country. If, in sowing saline matter, he intended to symbolise the dissension which he has sown, he should have chosen saltpetre in preference to common salt for that purpose; for in saltpetre is condensed the blast of gunpowder, and in sowing the wind as it were, MR. YEH might have intimated the apprehension that he was likely to reap the whirlwind.

"Yeh's Husbandry," Punch, *London, April 18, 1857 (p. 154)*

Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

[punch_1857_04-18-p154_yeh]

Honoré Daumier, "En Chine" 1858–60

Though artist Honoré Daumier (1808-1879) had never travelled to China, he produced two series of cartoons in response to France's involvement in the second Opium War. His caricatures reflect contemporary French stereotypes of the Chinese, but more closely emulate his scathing satires of France's bourgeois society, politics, manners, and mores. Under constant pressure to make a living, Daumier remained a prolific commercial artist into old age when, although a renowned artist, he slipped into poverty and lost his eyesight.

The following shows a sampling of lithographs from cartoonist Honoré Daumier's second series on China. Titled "En Chine," the series includes 27 prints published in *Le Charivari* between December 1858 and April 1860.

> *"In these images, Daumier played with familiar 19th-century visual stereotypes that the French held about the Chinese and their culture. At the same time, many of the activities satirized by Daumier are typically French. Thus, in many respects, these prints convey more about 19th-century France than about China."*
> *("Through the Chinese Looking Glass," exhibition at the Hammer Museum, 2004)*

Images courtesy of the Benjamin A. & Julia M. Trustman Collection of Honoré Daumier Lithographs, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections Department, Brandeis University. Warning: these period cartoons and caricatures can be offensive.

After sharing wine with a Chinese man, a Frenchman tells him that wine is better than opium. In a drunken stupor the Frenchman tells the Chinese man that he will civilize him.

Caption: "Eh! bien… camarade… est-ce que ça aut pas mieux que l'o… l'o… l'o… l'opium…. j'te ci…. ci… civiliserai… va!…!"

Translation: "Hey! well …comrade … isn't that better than o … o … o … opium. … I'm here …. here … will civilize … go! …!"

December 17, 1858

Brandeis University

[Daumier_1858-12-17]

Among the most often-reproduced images from the series are those dealing with opium. Here, a depraved-looking French officer forces opium upon a Chinese man as payment in lieu of cash. The caption reads,

"Profitant de la circonstance, pour engager les Chinois á se payer pour deux cent millions d'opium..."

Translation: "Taking advantage of the moment, to engage the Chinese to be paid two hundred million in opium..."

December 29, 1858

Brandeis University

[Daumier_1858-12-29]

A French soldier feels confident that he is promoting trade as he watches a line of Chinese men smoking opium. Chinese exports were paid with opium imports with the intention to corrupt the Chinese society with drugs.

Caption: "Passant la revue des fumeurs d'opium. (Histoire de faire aller le commerce.)"

Translation: "Passing the review of opium smokers. (History of making trade go.)"

January 17, 1859

Brandeis University Libraries

[Daumier_1859-01-17]

Caption: "Je voudrais pouvoir me faire promener comme ça dans les rues de Brest, on m'prendrait pour un mandarin!"

Translation: "I would like to be able to be walked like that in the streets of Brest, I would be taken for a mandarin!"

January 22, 1859

Brandeis University Libraries

[Daumier_1859-01-22]

The proprietor of a liquor store mocks the two Chinese for collapsing after drinking only two bottles of wine.

"So let's see, let's see friends ... two poor little bottles ... if you are not stronger than that on your legs ... I will not commit you to me any more pay to drink!"

January 24, 1859

Brandeis University Libraries

[Daumier_1859-01-24]

Caption: "Tiens, regarde cette caisse, elle renferme les envoyés Américains qui se rendent a Pékin!"

Translation: "Here, look at this box, it contains the American envoys who are going to Beijing!"

October 4, 1859

Brandeis University Libraries

[Daumier_1859-10-04]

Chinese Images

Images from the Chinese side are rare, but Chinese artists participated in the production of imagery for the Western powers. Many of the newspaper images are designated as "by a native artist." Although the production of paintings by Chinese artists for the export trade was not as lively as it had been in the era of the Canton trade, the practice still continued. In this landscape of Canton, the Western illustrator probably copied one of the Canton export artists' paintings.

"The Dutch Folly Fort, Canton River.—From a drawing by a Chinese artist."

Illustrated London News, *January 17, 1857 (p. 38)*

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[co2_ILN_1857_0117_038a]

The newspaper illustrators also depended on Chinese painters for their depiction of cultural phenomena, like marriages and opium smoking, and large-scale portraits of urban scenes in Canton, including the foreign factories.

"Form of a Treaty of Marriage in China.—From a Drawing by a Chinese Artist."

Illustrated London News, *February 14, 1857 (p. 134)*

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[co2_ILN_1857_0214_134_a]

"The Foreign Factories at Canton, Recently Destroyed.—From a Drawing by a Chinese Artist."

Illustrated London News, *April 18, 1857 (p. 367)*

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[co2_ILN_1857_0418_367s_a]

Chinese folk artists and woodblock printmakers distributed simple caricatures of foreign invaders to rouse up the anger of the local population. Two images which appeared prominently in the Western press were clearly done for a Chinese audience. One is a schematic picture of a battle scene, and the other is a famous caricature of an English sailor, portrayed as a grotesque monster spewing tobacco smoke.

This image, entitled, "A True picture of the Great Bandits and Demons," is a simple woodblock print intended to inspire resistance to foreign invasion. The caption states:

> *The rebel barbarians are truly hateful*
> *They disturb the lives of the common people*
> *Heaven sends down crimson rain*
> *Causing everyone to become greatly angered*
> *We rouse the braves to kill countless numbers*
> *Until all evil is eliminated*
> *The Great Peace will soon arrive*
> *Giving everyone his just rewards.*

Chinese woodblock print depicting the Second Opium, or Arrow, *War*

The Print Collector/Heritage-Images

[1856_60_2ndOpWar_Britannica]

This portrait of the English sailor draws on analogies to a classic Chinese text on monsters and mythical beings. This beast—a cannibal, indestructible by bows and arrows, spewing black smoke—transformed the image of the British sailor from human into animal and encouraged both military men and common people to destroy them. This kind of rhetoric, the counterpart to British jingoism, spread widely through the Chinese population in the decade after the war. The target shifted from military men to Christian missionaries, but the notion that foreigners were like animal demons remained the same.

"Chinese Caricature of an English Sailor"

Illustrated London News, *April 25, 1857 (p. 397)*

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[co2_ILN_1857_0425_397_pg397]

The image was published with an extended caption in *The Illustrated London News:*

> *The accompanying is a Chinese caricature of an English sailor issued during the last war with China in the province of Zhejiang. It describes the British Tar in much the same style as the mythological and other monsters are spoken of in an old Chinese work, called the "Shanhaijing," or "Book of Hill and Stream." The descriptive text proceeds—*
>
> This creature appears in the Qingtian xian district of Zhouzhou fu of the capital of Zhejiang. Several troops of men surrounding it, it then changed into blood and water. Soldiers should shoot it with fire-arms, for bows and arrows are unable to injure it. When it appears, the people and troops should be informed that whoever is able to destroy or ward it off will be most amply rewarded. If the monster find itself surrounded by soldiers, it turns and falls into the water. When it meets any one it forthwith eats him. It is truly a wonderful monster.
>
> *As a specimen of caricature, and as showing the terms and exaggerated notions which prevailed on the east coast of China, it is a curious illustration of the immense self-immolation of the Chinese which prevailed at the capture of Jingguangfu. The smoke from the mouth is probably meant for fumes of tobacco.* (Illustrated London News, *April 25, 1857, p. 397*)

Oddly, a similar monster image appears in the companion to this unit, "The Opium War in Japanese Eyes," and is worth a comparison. Author John W. Dower wrote:

> *A similar graphic demonization of the Western foe in the first Opium War of 1839–42 appeared in an illustrated Japanese account of that earlier conflict published in 1849. Captioned simply "The Monster," the body of this frightful figure is scaly and clawed, while the head is a typical ostensibly realistic rendering of a "hairy barbarian". Atop this, belching smoke, rests a grotesque second head that seems to resemble the severed head of a pig. (Dower, "The Opium War in Japanese Eyes")*

怪獸圖

"The Monster," Kaigai Shinwa, vol. 2

This supernatural creature—covered with scales and possessing two heads, one on top of the other—is mentioned only in passing in the narrative. Poisonous smoke billowed from the mouth of the upper head.

University of British Columbia

[Monster_Kaigai-Shinwa]

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MIT VISUALIZING CULTURES

BATTLEFIELD VIEWS

Felice Beato and Battlefield Photography

Advocates of the new technology of photography claimed that it brought an objective description of reality, but the ideology of imperialism still prevented an honest exposure of the human damage of war.

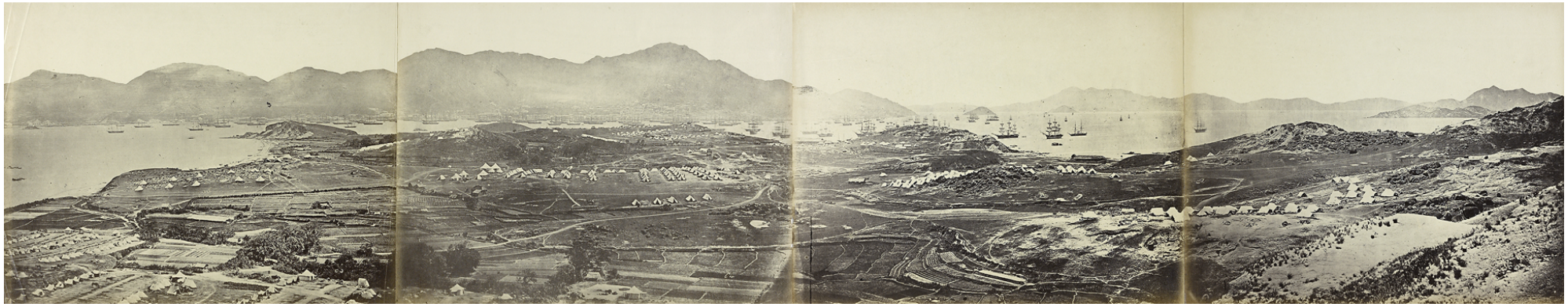
Felice Beato (1832–1909) was one of the first to photograph war on a large scale. Several early photographers had gone to wars in India, and the first official British war photography, depicting the Crimean War, was published in the *Illustrated London News.* Beato went first to the Crimea, then photographed the aftermath of the Indian rebellion of 1857 in Calcutta, including the first photographs of corpses.

Beato arrived in China along with Charles Wirgman, correspondent for the *Illustrated London News,* in 1860.

> *The formidable Lieutenant General Sir James Hope Grant, who had distinguished himself in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, had been appointed commander of the British land forces in China. … Somehow Felix Beato had managed to get himself informally appointed as photographer to the expedition and sailed in the same ship as Grant. (Terry Bennett,* History of Photography in China, 1842-1860, *Quaritch, 2009, 147)*

During the months before the military campaign departed, Beato took photographs of Guangzhou and Hong Kong. Beato produced multi-plate panoramic views, including the arrival of the British forces in Hong Kong: "First Arrival of Chinese Expeditionary Force—Encampment, Kowloon, Hong Kong," photographed March 18-27, 1860.

Nearly all of Beato's photographs depicted the massive scale of Western imperial power: its large guns, its fleets of ships, its large encampments, and the destruction inflicted on Chinese military defenses.



"First Arrival of Chinese Expeditionary Force—Encampment, Kowloon, Hong Kong, March 18-27, 1860 (caption, Harris, p. 48)."

Felice Beato, photograph taken in China during the second Opium War, March 18–27, 1860

J. Paul Getty Museum

[Beato_03-18-a-arrival-exp.]

Beato accompanied the armies when they moved north in June. Troops faced little resistance through Pehtang (Beidang) and Tangkoo (Tung-Ku). The battle for the Taku Forts resulted in a British victory. There, Beato made his most famous war photographs.

"Interior of South Taku Fort and showing the place of Landing / 25th June 1859," shown below, typifies the largely deserted panoramas. These landscape views were sent back to England by British officers. While lengthy exposure times accounted, in part, for the lack of people in the photographs, many encampments had been abandoned by the time British troops arrived. Devoid of soldiers and civilians, the eerily deserted landscapes give a skewed impression of the war.

"Interior of South Taku Fort and showing the place of Landing / 25th June 1859"

Photograph by Felice Beato, August 22 or later, 1860.
From the volume Second Opium War

US National Gallery of Art

[Beato_08-22-a-South-Taku]

Beato staged a rare scene with multiple figures in the photograph of the "Head-quarter Staff" at Pehtung Fort. The British flag flies overhead and British troops pose in small groups at various outlooks of the fort. The company includes Indian British colonial forces represented by Sikhs. The Chinese flag is lowered on the left, and a Chinese man, possibly of the "Chinese Coolie Corps," carries water.

"Bastion of the 'Pehtang' Fort. Surrendered 2nd Augt. 1860, Head Quarters English Army," Photograph by Felice Beato, between August 2–12, 1860

Typewritten caption in bottom left corner: "Head-quarter Staff, Pehtung Fort, August 1st, 1860"

Wikipedia

[Beato_07-02-a-Pehtang]

David Harris' analysis of the photographs in *Of Battle and Beauty* (1999) suggests that Beato treated the armaments and other elements in the scene as props that he rearranged for another photograph (below), "Interior of Pehtang Fort":

> *We find the same spoils of war as in the related view—the cannon, a pair of cannon wheels, a large cannon barrel, the shell box, various cannon balls, and even the coils of rope—but these have now been arranged to form a frieze across the foreground of the image. In addition, Beato posed a member of the "Chinese Coolie Corps" against the building, and reclining in the background shadows is one of Lord Elgin's private secretaries, Henry Loch, who later became first Baron Loch of Drylow (1827-1900), shown seated by the cannon in the foreground of the related photograph. (Harris, p. 29)*

"Interior of Pehtang Fort, Showing the Magazine and Wooden Gun (caption, Harris, p. 56).

Photograph by Felice Beato, August 1, 1860

U.S. National Gallery of Art

[Beato_08-01-a-Pehtang]

Harris commented on the appearance of the Chinese in Beato's photographs:

> *In the majority of the photographs Beato made of Canton and Beijing, the Chinese are largely absent and their culture is represented by the mute presence of their architecture … they occupy a passive and incidental position, hovering at the edges. (Harris, p. 27)*

Deep mud, which can be observed in some photographs, was a problem for the invading army, slowing the advance of both men and carts to a crawl. The perils of retreat for the Chinese resulted from the sharpened wooden stakes they had installed as a defense. Elgin's secretary, Henry Loch (pictured in the photos above), described these in his memoir, *Personal Narrative of Occurrences During Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China, 1860.*

> *The principle of the construction was the same in all the forts. They were surrounded by a thick mud wall, pierced, about ten feet from the top, for artillery; jingles were mounted on the upper parapet, which was also loopholed; surrounding the walls, on the inside, were covered buildings resembling in some degree case mates, but they were not shell proof; a high cavalier rose in the centre of the fort, mounting three or four very heavy guns, the embrasures facing seaward, but the guns could be slewed round in any direction: around the outer wall were two, in some cases, three, mud ditches, from twenty to thirty feet broad, full of water, the ground between the ditches being protected by sharp-pointed bamboo stakes driven deep into the earth, and placed so close to each other as not to admit of a person standing between them. The south side of the northern forts rested on the Pei ho, which flowed at the base of the wall. (Loch, p. 82)*

"Exterior of North Fort on Peiho River showing English and French entrance, Aug[u]st 21st 1860, Dagu (Taku), China"

Photograph by Felice Beato, August 21 or later, 1860,
The Second Opium War *(volume), 1860*

Wellcome Collection

[beato_1860-08-21_North_a]

Only a few of the campaign photographs reveal the devastation of human life that war inevitably brings. Beato's documentation of the Second Opium War includes the only photographs of dead soldiers by any Western source at the time. The cumbersome camera he had to transport was too slow to photograph the battles themselves. Instead, Beato photographed battlefield scenes where the dead lay, and even rearranged the corpses to enhance the composition. Warning: these battlefield images can be disturbing.

"The North Taku Fort on the day of capture from the Chinese by the English and French armies during the Second China War. Wooden spikes made retreat perilous. t, A and Buffords, J H, 1856"

Photograph by Felice Beato, August 22 or later, 1860

Wellcome Collection

[Beato_08-21-b-North-Fort]

"Interior of angle of North Fort immediately after its capture on 21st August 1860. Taku, China: the North Fort: Chinese corpses on the day of the fort's capture by the English and French armies during the Second China War."

Photograph by Felice Beato, August 21, 1860

Wellcome Collection

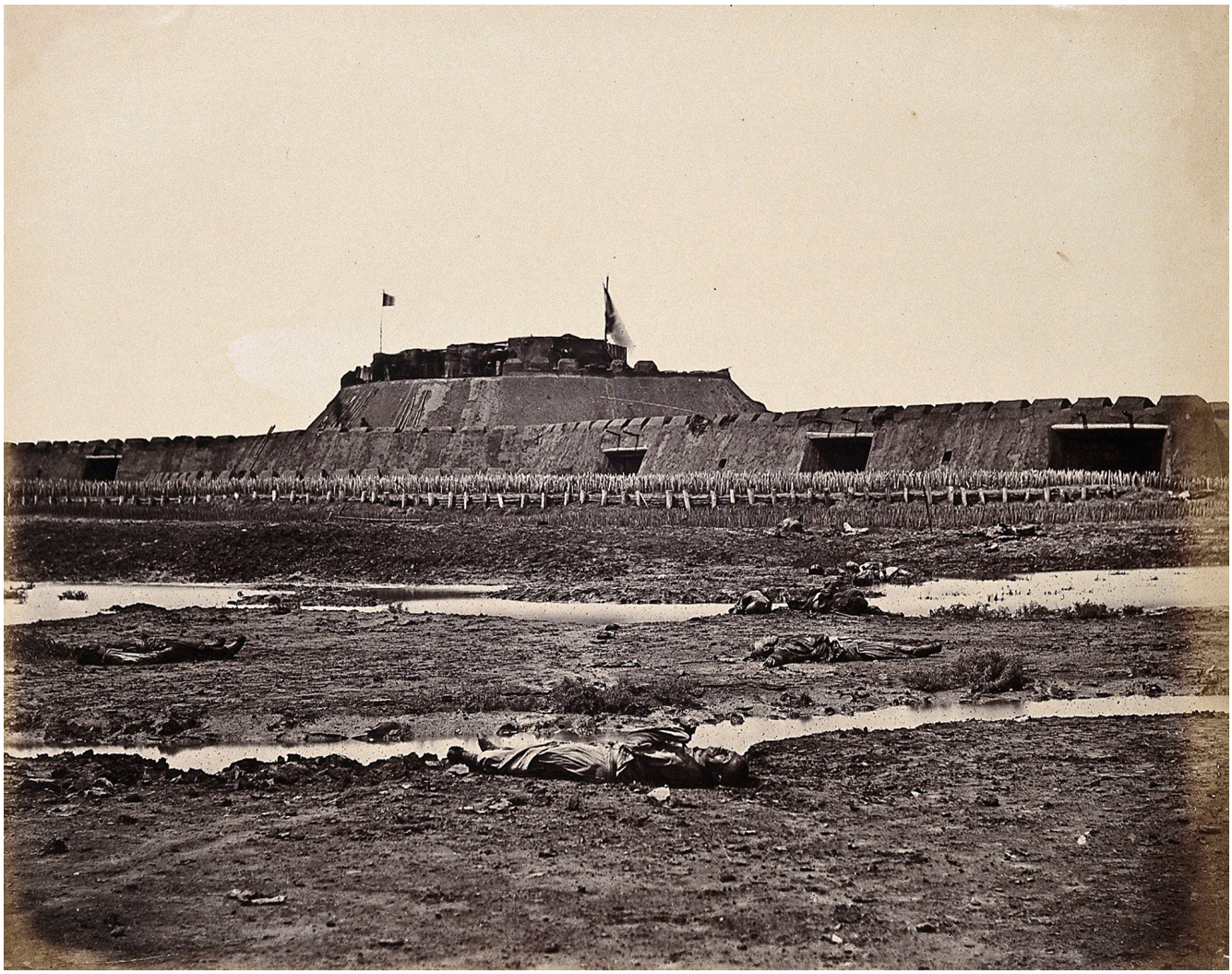
[Beato_08-21-a-Taku-corpses]

"The North Fort, Dagu (Taku), Chinese corpses following the capture of the fort by the English and French armies on August 21st 1860, during the Second China War."

Photograph by Felice Beato, August 21, 1860

Wellcome Collection

[Beato_08-21-b-Taku_corpses]



"Rear of the North Fort after its capture, showing the retreat of the Chinese Army on 21st August 1860. Dagu (Taku), China: the North Fort bearing raised British and French flags, corpses in the foreground, on the day of the fort's capture by the English and French armies during the Second China War."

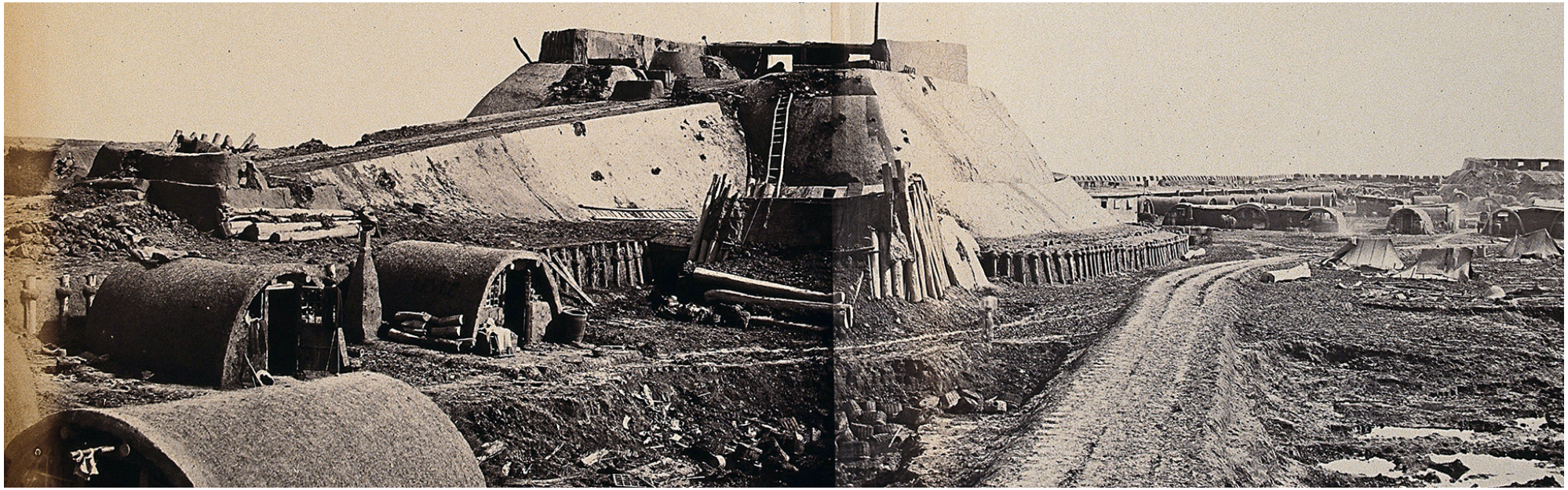
Photograph by Felice Beato, August 21, 1860

Wellcome Collection Scotland

[Beato_08-21-c-Taku_corpses]

Beato's battlefield photographs expose the horror of war, the lethal dangers of retreat, and the logistical perils of taking strategic locales such as the fort at Dagu. In the 2010 book, *Felice Beato: A Photographer on the Eastern Road* (Anne Lacoste, editor), Fred Ritchen wrote of their reception:

> *The viewer, simultaneously shocked at and reassured by the faraway violence, is aware of photography's temporal discretion: whatever is depicted, at least for that specific incident, belongs to the past. Of course, any reflective viewer must also grapple with the photographs partial vision, knowing that whatever has been revealed is insufficient and also informed by biases. (Ritchen, p. 119)*



"Interior of the 2nd North Fort, after Its Surrender on August 21st, 1860, Wherein 2,000 Prisoners Were Taken, August 22 or later, 1860" (caption, Harris, p. 66)

Photograph by Felice Beato, August 22 or later, 1860

US National Gallery of Art

[Beato_08-22-a-Taku_North.jpg]

The British and French armies advanced toward Beijing in early September: by the end of the month they were at the city gate. China would be forced to surrender.

"Top of the wall of Pekin taken possession of on the 21st October 1860 showing the Chinese guns directed against our batteries, Beijing, China: Chinese army guns on the city wall, after capture by the English and French armies during the Second China War"

. Photograph by Felice Beato, 1860

Wellcome Collection

[Beato_10-21a-guns-Beijing]

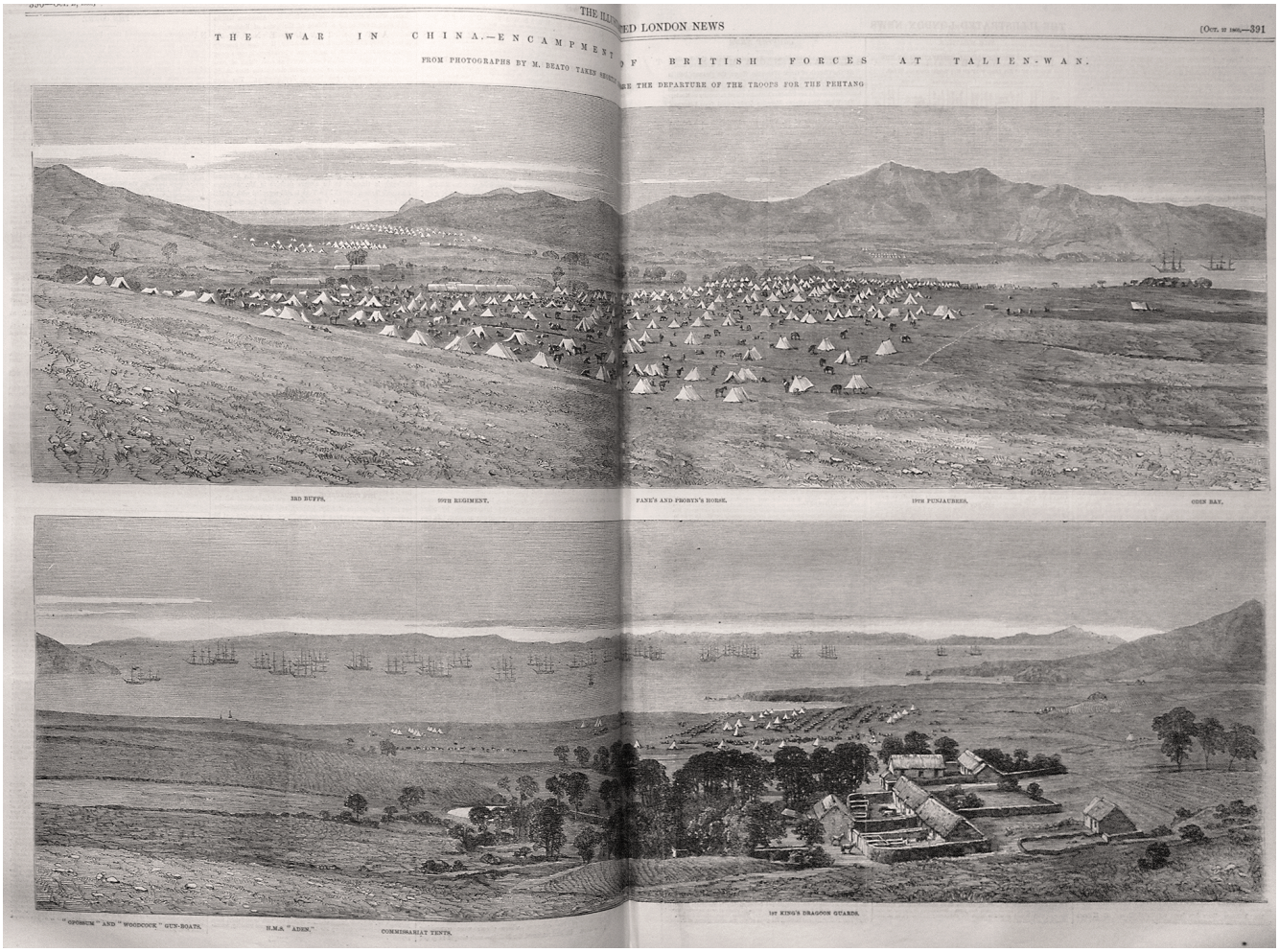
As the military campaign drew to a close, Beato busied himself by photographing Beijing, taking portraits, and pasting prints of his battlefield scenes and panoramas into folios and albums. These volumes include the earliest photographs of the Yuanmingyuan, places along the invasion route like Canton and Beitang, and many images of temples, tombs, and pagodas, taken mostly in Beijing.

"Panorama of Pekin, Taken from the South Gate Leading into the Chinese city, after October 24, 1860" (caption Harris, p. 54)

J. Paul Getty Museum

[Beato_10-24-a-south-gate.jpg]

Photographs could not be reproduced in newspapers at the time, but Beato's images were the basis for drawings that appeared in print.



"The War in China.—Encampment of British Forces. From photographs by M. Beato taken shortly before the departure of the troops for the Pehtang,"

The Illustrated London News, *October 27, 1860, 391*

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[ILN_1860-10-27_p391]

Beato was a master photographer, but his enterprise was a business. Photography shops, focused mainly on portraiture, had sprung up in Hong Kong and other Chinese cities. Many were operated by Chinese photographers such as Lai Afong, John Hing-Qua, and others. Beato sold his pictures to the soldiers on the expedition, and gathered them into albums for sale. Many of these ended up in the homes of the soldiers' families: they wouldn't have wanted to see grisly pictures of the dead. Instead, they gazed at souvenirs of exotic travel and reminders of the tremendous power of the British Empire. Beato's photographs are "thinly veiled propaganda," not realistic depictions, and the "ideology of empire permeates the photographs at all levels" (Harris 1998, p.19). But they remain the primary archive of visual sources of the war.

> *Photographing the final stages of the Second Opium War ensured that Felix (born Felice) Beato would be remembered as the most significant war photographer of the nineteenth century. … No other war photographer of Beato's time could boast of such a portfolio. He assiduously cultivated his connections with the military, relationships which would serve him well throughout his colorful life. (Bennett, p. 141)*

Later, Beato established himself in Yokohama, where he produced popular albums depicting a peaceful, traditional Japan.

Sanitizing the War

The popular press in Britain did not emphasize the terrible destruction and loss of life by Chinese. While the Western powers had very few casualties during a war that lasted four years, thousands of Chinese soldiers and civilians died: in the bombing and occupation of Canton, the repeated destruction of the Taku forts, and the remorseless march to Beijing.

The papers produced many images of massive British ships bombarding heavy Chinese forts, and they sometimes indicated the destruction of housing alongside the fortress walls. The *Illustrated London News* lamented the burning of the foreign factories by the Chinese as the foreign merchants stood by helplessly. It didn't metntion deaths of Chinese due to British bombardment.

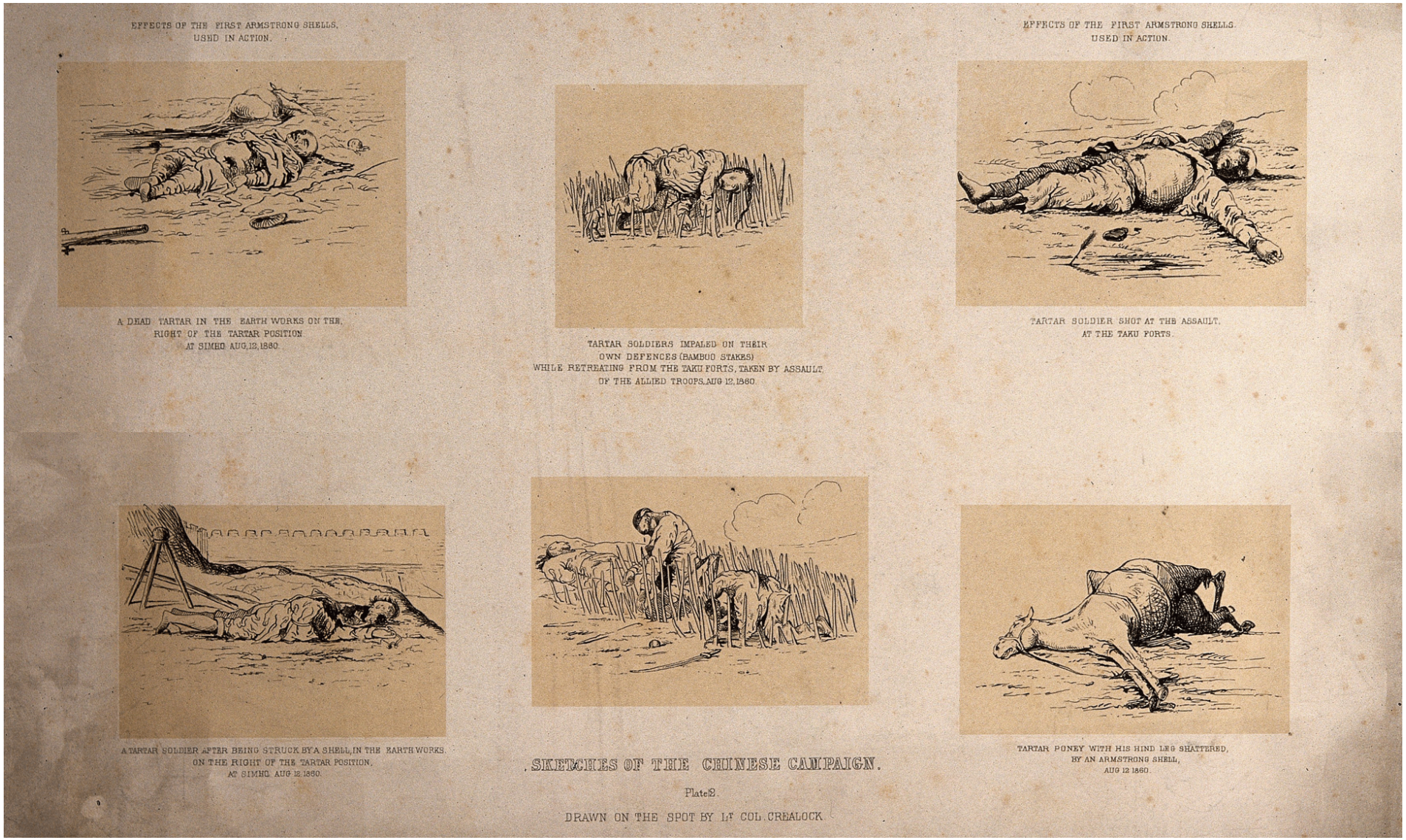
"Chinese Mode of Carrying the Wounded"

The Illustrated London News, *March 14, 1857, p. 238*

MIT Visualizing Cultures

[ILN_1857-03-14_p238_b]

Lieutenant-General Henry Hope Crealock (1831-1891), who accompanied Beato, made rare sketches of Chinese victims of the war. The annotations to the grim series include "Tartar soldiers impaled on their own defenses (bamboo stakes) while retreating," "shot at the assault," and "being struck by a shell in the earthworks," apparently "drawn on the spot" by an eye witness to these war horrors. These images can be disturbing to view.



"Sketches of the Chinese Campaign. Drawn on the spot by Lt. Col. Crealock"

A sheet of sketches showing war defenses and victims during the Chinese Campaign, 1860, China. Tinted lithograph after Lt. Col. Crealock, August 12, 1860

Wellcome Collection

[1860_Victims_LtColCrealock]

Erasing Destruction: Other Victims

Besides the soldiers defending China, many Chinese civilians perished in the war, but they were mostly invisible in the visual record. The city of Canton, heavily bombarded from the outset, suffered destruction of houses and major fires. The British artist who viewed the destruction of Canton wrote of the "destroying, looting, and burning" by British troops in "Sketches in Canton," in the *Illustrated London News:*

> *In the sketches I send you, taken on the spot, I have illustrated (says our artist) the leading events of the past fortnight. The first is, "The Return of the Avengers." They have been destroying, looting, and burning, and are loaded with all manner of property, and all are delighted with their morning's fun, as everything in the fighting or destroying line is humorously called. You see the creek is not very large; and from the edge the Braves threw their rockets at the houses where the sailor and the China boys are standing on …*
>
> *(The Illustrated London News, Oct. 9, 1858, p. 335)*

"The Return of the Avengers,"

"Sketches in Canton," Illustrated London News, *October 9, 1858 (p. 335)*

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1858-10-09_335_canton]

"Appearance of a Busy Street in Canton after a Visit from 'Ye Barbarians.'"

"Sketches in Canton," Illustrated London News, *October 9, 1858 (p. 335)*

Illustrated London News Group

[ILN_1858-10-09_335_canton]

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A DESTRUCTIVE CONCLUSION

The Summer Palace of the Qing Emperors & its Destruction

The wanton looting of the Yuanmingyuan by French and British forces, and its October 1860 destruction by fire, were decried by many, including the renowned French novelist Victor Hugo, who framed it in terms of civilization and barbarism, terms commonly used in the West to justify overseas wars.

> *This edifice, as enormous as a city, had been built by the centuries, for whom? For the peoples. For the work of time belongs to man. Artists, poets and philosophers knew the Summer Palace; Voltaire talks of it. People spoke of the Parthenon in Greece, the pyramids in Egypt, the Coliseum in Rome, Notre-Dame in Paris, the Summer Palace in the Orient. If people did not see it they imagined it. It was a kind of tremendous unknown masterpiece, glimpsed from the distance in a kind of twilight, like a silhouette of the civilization of Asia on the horizon of the civilization of Europe. This wonder has disappeared. One day two bandits entered the Summer Palace. One plundered, the other burned. … We Europeans are the civilized ones, and for us the Chinese are the barbarians. This is what civilization has done to barbarism. Before history, one of the two bandits will be called France; the other will be called England. (excerpt from letter, Victor Hugo, November 25, 1861)*

"The Main Audience Hall," where the emperor received officials and guests, at the Yuanmingyuan (Garden of Perfect Brightness): first in a set of 40 paintings commissioned by the Qianlong emperor in 1744. Two court artists, Shen Yuan and Tangdai (a Manchu), and a calligrapher, Wang Youdun, undertook this work. In 1860, the album was seized by French troops, taken back to France, and held at the Bibliothèque Nationale, where it remains to this day.

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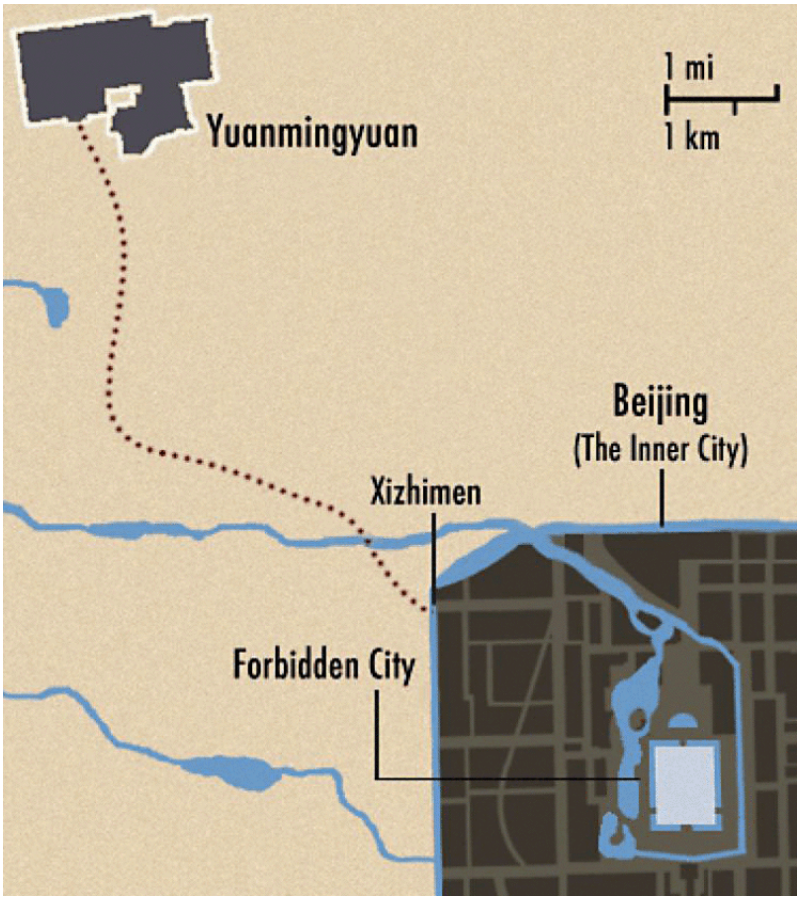
[ymy1001_Zhengda_detail-31]



Yuanmingyuan (the Summer Palace) was an 18th-century complex of pavilions and gardens located about 9.3 kilometers (5.8 miles) from the northwest gate (Xizhimen) of Beijing's city wall.

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[ymy_map2]

Translated from French:
"China. Taking of the summer residence of the Emperor of China—The Allies commanded by General Montauban, attack the Yuengminyuen Garrison (a town 2 leagues from Beijing) put the Chinese on the run and seize the Palace (September 5, 1860)"

Lithograph print by L. Scherer, undated

Bibliothèque Nationale de France

[1860_Chine_prise_residence]

While Allied troops looted the Yuanmingyuan (October 7–9, 1860), forces under Lord Elgin camped outside of Beijing, waiting for the Qing to accept the 1858 Treaty of Tianjin. The treaty had, among its provisions, opened eleven new treaty ports, three of them deep in the interior, and allowed foreign ships in the Yangzi river. Officials would have to welcome and protect foreign missionaries, diplomats, and merchants. Taxes on foreign imports, including legalized opium, went to pay an indemnity for the cost of the war. Official communications were to be written in English, and the character *yi,* or "barbarian," was forbidden in reference to the British. The emperor had refused to ratify the treaty or recognize any of its terms: hostilities ensued over its enforcement. By the 1860 siege of Beijing he had fled, leaving Prince Gong in charge. Elgin and Gong agreed to a truce on October 11.

On October 15, Elgin was told by his colleagues that China must sign a new treaty before winter. Allied equipment shortages, and fears that the French would abruptly quit the alliance, threatened the expedition. He also learned of the deaths of European prisoners, and wished to punish the emperor personally. An attack on the Forbidden City, however, could violate the truce and frighten off the Qing's negotiators. "… The destruction of Yuen-ming-yuen was the least objectionable of the several courses open to me," Elgin later wrote (*Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin.* London, 1872, p. 366).

On October 18 and 19, General Sir Hope Grant's men, including engineers skilled in demolition, burned most of the Yuanmingyuan to the ground. In the words of one British observer,

> *By the evening of the 19th October, the summer palace had ceased to exist… some blackened gables and piles of burnt timbers alone indicating where the royal palaces had stood. …When we first entered the gardens they reminded one of those magic grounds described in fairy tales; we marched from them upon the 19th October, leaving them a dreary waste of ruined nothings.* (G. J. Wolseley. *Narrative of the War with China in 1860,* London, 1862, p. 280)

He thought that this "Gothlike act of barbarism" would give an "unmistakable reality to our work of vengeance," impressing the Qing court with British power (Wolseley, cited in Hevia, pp. 107, 109). Prince Gong was forced to accept the treaty, pay an even larger indemnity, and give up the Kowloon peninsula to Hong Kong.

Photographic Record

Beato took rare photographs of the Yuanmingyuan prior to its destruction. In "Romanticizing the Uncanny," Maureen Warren notes that there is some ambiguity to the photographs' labels:

> *In October 1860, Felice Beato made 32 photographs of Beijing and the surrounding area, six of which are labeled "Yuan Ming Yuen." However, at least four of them depict the Wanshou Shan (Hill of Imperial Longevity), a nearby imperial garden that was also referred to as the Yuanmingyuan in the nineteenth century. … Thiriez* [Barbarian Lens, *9] notes that perhaps the clock tower and airy pavilion … might be in the Yuanmingyuan proper and speculates that Beato arrived when they were destroyed. (Warren, pp. 233-250)*

Imperial Summer Palace, before the burning, Yuen-Ming-Yuen, Peking. Photograph by Felice Beato & Henry Hering (British, 1814-1893), between October 6–18, 1860

J. Paul Getty Museum

[Beato_10-06-a-before-burn]

Though his memoir justified the burning of the Yuanmingyuan, Loch also expressed regret and resignation. He described the subsequent arrangements for the treaty signing:

> *During the whole of Friday the 19th, Yuan-Ming-Yuen was still burning; the clouds of smoke, driven by the wind, hung like a vast black pall over Peking. On the morning of Saturday the 20th, Lord Elgin received Prince Kung's absolute submission to all the demands of the Allies, and the Prince requested that an early day should be named for the signature of the Convention and exchange of the Ratifications of the Treaty of Tien-tsin.* (Loch, *Personal Narrative of Occurrences During Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China, 1860.* p. 4)

"The earliest known photographs of the ruins of the European section of the Yuanmingyuan were taken by Ernst Ohlmer in 1873, just 13 years after the looting and destruction of the site. 12 of the original glass negatives were collected for an exhibition at Beijing's China Millennium Monument in 2011. This depicts the north side of the Xieqiqu, one of the main palaces." (Lillian M. Li, "The Garden of Perfect Brightness lll," MIT Visualizing Cultures)

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[1873_ohlmer_EuPav_ChMM]

Legacies of the War, Forecasts of China's Fate

The burning of the Yuanmingyuan was designed as a deliberate punishment by the forces of "civilization" of a backward people who refused to succumb to British power. Lord Elgin called it a "solemn act of retribution" in revenge for Chinese treatment of Western captives. As soldiers exulted in carrying off precious furniture, porcelain, and silks to their regimental halls, these "imperial lessons" taught the Chinese that they were powerless to stand up to British demands for free trade, spheres of influence, and religious penetration of Chinese society. Civilization, in Western eyes, entitled the victors to loot, humiliate, and inflict atrocities on others who would not bow to imperialist demands.

The treaty ending the war not only pried open more of China's ports, but also opened the empire to missionary activity. France gained access to the empire's interior for Catholic missionaries to proselytize: this generated more hostility in the countryside than any other intrusion. Anti-foreign mobilization beyond the court's control flared up soon after the second treaty was signed, and increased through the end of the dynasty. Attacks on Christian missionaries and their followers would be part of all the succeeding confrontations of China and the West.

Other rising powers took notice. Russia, without paying the cost of an alliance, gained a large amount of territory in Siberia and Manchuria. The United States, engaged in pressuring Japan to open its ports after Commodore Perry's expedition in 1854, stood by as a neutral power, but gained all the trading benefits achieved by the other Western powers. Japanese activists, seeing China's fate, determined on a rapid, violent response to foreign imperial pressure, ultimately leading to the overthrow of the shogunate in 1868.

Karl Marx (1818-1883) wrote a series of articles on the second Opium War as a correspondent for the New York *Daily Tribune.* His main sources were the London newspapers and the accounts of Parliamentary debate over the war. Like Cobden, he rejected in scathing invective the pretexts offered by the British for the war. Marx stated that the real cause was Bowring's "monomania" about forcing entry into Canton, and the expansion of British trade. He denounced the "atrocities" inflicted on China by the bombardment of Canton, the opium trade, the coolie trade, and the "bullying spirit often exercised against the timid nature of the Chinese."

He predicted that:

> *…the smothered fires of hatred kindled against the English during the opium war have burst into a flame of animosity which no tenders of peace and friendship will be very likely to quench. (Karl Marx:* Daily Tribune, *April 10, 1857)*

He argued that the masses of Chinese in the south had now begun a "fanatical … struggle" against the foreigners, even poisoning the bread of the English in Hong Kong.

> *We had better recognize that this is a … popular war for the maintenance of Chinese nationality, with all its overbearing prejudice, stupidity, learned ignorance and pedantic barbarism if you like, but yet a popular war. (Marx:* Daily Tribune, *June 5, 1857)*

He also predicted:

> *…the death-hour of Old China is rapidly drawing nigh…. Before many years pass away we shall have to witness the death struggles of the oldest empire in the world, and the opening day of a new era for all Asia. (Marx:* Daily Tribune, *April 10, 1857)*

Conclusion

The second Opium War, while brief in duration, set the basic course of China's modern history for the rest of the century. The war unleashed the full force of Western imperialism against the weakening Qing empire. China became a true semi-colonial state, threatened by internal rebellion and foreign encroachment at the same time. The core structures of Chinese civilization—its palaces, its cities, and its borders—had been violated by foreign invaders.

Large audiences in the West, informed by the new technologies of photography and illustrated mass media, celebrated this demonstration of imperial victory over a backward Oriental people. The hapless Qing court, like the masses of ordinary Chinese, seemed to be mere disorderly rebels, or victims of irresistible force. Yet the Qing empire survived, and in the 1860s to 1880s launched an impressive campaign to strengthen its economic and military forces: removing the foreign presence from China so that it could "stand up" as an independent nation would become the primary goal of nationalist movements for nearly a hundred years.

Marx certainly exaggerated the degree of popular mobilization against the foreigners during the war, and the Qing dynasty lasted much longer than he—and most other observers—expected. However, he captured an important element which many others missed: the arousal of masses of ordinary Chinese against foreign invasion. This led to major rebellions like the Boxer Uprising, and then full-fledged Chinese nationalism: the dynasty would be overthrown in the early-20th century, and the People's Republic established in 1949.

A panorama by Felice Beato.

"Tangkoo Fort after its capture, Showing the French and English Entrance, August 10th, 1860"

Felice Beato, photograph taken in China during the second Opium War, August 10, 1860

J. Paul Getty Museum
[Beato_08-10_Tangkoo-Fort]

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