

THE BOXER REBELLION IN CHINA 1898–1900



CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The Boxer Rebellion of 1898–1900 is one of the best known but least understood aspects of Chinese history. It is an excellent introduction to the historian's craft. The Boxers were not in fact 'boxers'; they were a semi-religious peasant group. The name came from the ritual gymnastic-like movements that were part of their preparation for battle. Boxers came to believe that these rituals made them invulnerable to bullet or sword.

B

The Boxer uprising was not actually a rebellion. The term ‘rebellion’ implies that they wanted to overthrow the Qing (Ch’ing) or Manchu government of China. The Boxers, in fact, wanted to support the Qing, but were opposed to foreign influence in all forms and wanted to drive the foreigners, their works and their Christian religion out of China. The Boxer Rebellion was almost entirely limited to northern China. The event that gained worldwide attention during the Boxer uprising was the siege of the western legations, when the Boxers surrounded the diplomatic residences of the Western powers in Beijing (formerly Peking). Eight foreign nations combined to lift the siege. Although the Boxers failed to drive out the foreigners, the uprising remains ‘an important episode in the emergence of mass nationalism in China’ (Esherick 1987, p. xiii).

A range of sources can be used to enhance the study of this topic. The two classic studies about the Boxers are Victor Purcell’s *The Boxer Uprising*, published in 1963, and more recently the brilliant study written by Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, published in 1987. Esherick in particular draws upon a great deal of original material, showing how the historian works. On a completely different level is Samuel Bronstein’s 1963 film *55 Days at Peking*.

A PRELIMINARY NOTE ABOUT CHINESE NAMES

Transliteration of Chinese names to English is a complex process. Two systems are currently in use, the most widespread of which is the Wade–Giles system. It is found in the older books on Chinese history as well as in some of the newer ones. The other system of transliteration is the Pinyin system, which came into general use in 1979. To make the reader’s task easier this chapter will use the Pinyin system, but the Wade–Giles version will follow the first instance of each name in parenthesis. For example, the famous Dowager Empress of China at the time of the Boxer Rebellion was Ci Xi in Pinyin, or Tsu Hsi in Wade–Giles. The first instance of her name, like all others, will be written as Ci Xi (Tsu Hsi).



Figure B1 Rebellion in China

Timeline

1793	The Chinese Emperor Qian Long (Ch'ien Lung) informs the British representative Lord Macartney that the Chinese possess 'all things'; therefore China has no need of the goods offered by the British in trade. Qian Long has little knowledge of the outside world, or of the growing economic and industrial power of the West. He shares this quality with many of China's rulers and it continues to be a factor in the relationship between China and the outside world to the time of the Boxer Rebellion.
1839	The First Opium War. The war is used by Britain to open up China to trade. The issue is the right of the Chinese government to stop the British importing opium into China. The quick British victory reflects the level of corruption and military backwardness in China. The war ends in 1842 with the Treaty of Nanjing (formerly Nanking).
1857	The Second Opium War. The cause of the second conflict is similar to the first. Westerners want to exploit the markets and raw materials of China and the Chinese government is powerless to stop them. The war ends in 1858 when China signs separate treaties with Britain, France, Russia and the USA. Collectively these are the Treaties of Tianjin (formerly Tientsin).
1884	The war between China and France is another typically one-sided affair. The French use the war to secure control of the area known as Indo-China.
1894–95	The Sino (Chinese)–Japanese War. Unlike its larger neighbour, Japan has been quick to recognise the technological superiority of the West and has become modernised. The result is a crushing defeat for Chinese forces as the Japanese take control of Korea and look for the same trading privileges in China as the Western powers.
1897	Two German missionaries are killed. The German government uses this as an excuse to occupy part of the Shandong (formerly, Shantung) peninsula. Britain and Russia demand more territory as well.
1898	The '100 Days of Reform' begins in January. Following the defeat by Japan and the growing territorial demands of the Western powers, Kang You-wei (K'ang Yu-wei), a minor court official, convinces the Emperor Guang Xu (Kuang Hsu) of the need to reform and modernise China. The reform period is brief; it challenges the existing social and military order too much. The emperor's aunt, the powerful Dowager Empress Ci Xi, stages a coup and takes over with the support of conservative nobles and generals. From this point on she holds the power in China.
May 1898	The first mention of the Boxers in an official government report. The report makes mention of anti-Christian violence in Shandong province. This violence is directed toward churches, European missionaries and Chinese converts.
1899	The local governor of Shandong, one of the conservative allies of the Dowager Empress, recruits Boxers as militia in an attempt to oppose more German expansion in his province. This action is seen by historians as evidence of the Qing government using the Boxers to drive out the foreigners. When the Western powers protest, the Governor is replaced and the Qing government appears to take action against the Boxers. The Boxers, however, simply move to the neighbouring province of Zhili (Chihli).
June 1900	Boxer violence increases. The Dowager Empress Ci Xi prevents the Imperial army from controlling the Boxers as they attack any foreign outpost, foreigner or Christian. Large numbers of Boxers attack Western homes and businesses in Beijing and Tianjin. Westerners are besieged inside the legation in Beijing. By this time, Imperial troops side with the Boxers. The Western powers respond by sending in troops to crush the Boxers and the Imperial army.
Sept 1901	The Western powers impose the Boxer Protocol. The Qing calls the attacks a rebellion in order to limit the penalty imposed by the West. They manage to keep the foreign troops out of southern and central China, but it is still a harsh peace treaty that further expands Western power and influence in China.

Timeline exercise

Study the timeline, then match a clue from List A with an answer from List B.

List A

- *September 1901*
- *1884*
- *1842*
- *Guang Xu*
- *Two German missionaries are killed*
- *Sino-Japanese War*
- *Ci Xi*
- *100 Days of Reform*
- *May 1898*

List B

- *1897*
- *Boxers referred to in official government report*
- *Boxer Protocol*
- *Dowager Empress*
- *the French gain Indo-China*
- *1894–95*
- *Treaty of Nanjing*
- *January 1898*
- *nephew of the Dowager Empress*

THE ORIGINS, AIMS AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE BOXER SOCIETY

China has a long history of peasant rebellion and tradition of secret societies (Chesneaux 1973). The Boxers are part of both. Their background is obscure (Keown-Boyd 1995). An early historical reference to the Boxers can be found dating back to 1808. They were at that time linked to one of the larger secret societies, the 'White Lotus'. The Boxers also appear to have had links to the 'Big Sword Society', an anti-Christian group that had rituals similar to those of the Boxers. There are different translations of the Boxer name, including 'Fists of Righteous Harmony', 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists' or 'Boxers United in Righteousness'.

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOXERS

The Boxers were mostly peasants from Shandong and Zhili in northern China. The Boxer homeland was 'a poor agricultural region, densely populated, but particularly prone to both natural and human disasters' (Esherick, 1987, p. 17). Almost all the Boxers were adolescents, with local leadership provided by Chinese monks, peddlers and soothsayers, many from the class who had led local peasant uprisings in the past. There were female Boxers known as Lanterns.

The Boxers were either illiterate or semi-literate. They appeared to get some of their ideas from travelling operas and sensational stories. Their outlook was, nevertheless, 'part and parcel of the Chinese ethos' (Purcell 1963, p. 223). They were fiercely anti-Christian and anti-foreign; whether or not they had been at one time anti-Qing is open to debate. They were told that their Boxer rituals made them invulnerable.

After 1898 Ci Xi provided them with Imperial support in their attacks on Christians and foreigners.

THEORIES ABOUT THE BOXERS

There is a range of opinions among historians about the origins and aims of the Boxer movement. The two main points of view relate to whether the Boxers originally were formed to oppose the Qing dynasty or to support it.

The most widely held view is that the Boxers began as an anti-Qing movement; in other words, they were opposed to the existing government of China. This was linked to their early association with the

White Lotus society. By the 1890s they had changed from opposing the Qing to supporting them. The Boxers did, however, retain their opposition to the foreigners.

The alternative view is that the Boxers were recruited by the Qing as a militia to help oppose the foreigners. The events in Shandong in 1899 when the local governor recruited some of the Boxers seem to support this view.

Since opinion among historians is divided, we need to consider both the alternatives. The difficulty in deciding between these two quite different points of view arises because of the sources available to historians. Many of the sources we have about the Boxers come from Chinese officials, some hostile to the movement, others sympathetic to it. Other information comes from the European missionaries, who were among the Boxers' prime targets. Still more information has been gained from oral histories taken from the peasants of Shandong. We need to be aware of the biases of each of these groups. Victor Purcell (1963) made an excellent attempt to draw all these threads together, but Joseph Esherick (1987) wrote the best study. Esherick gained access to the historical archives of the Qing and records from the provincial government of Shandong.

There is another question about the Boxers. Was the anti-foreign, anti-Christian Boxer uprising of 1898–1900 inspired from below, or was it created from above? In other words, did the Qing dynasty and in particular the Dowager Empress Ci Xi use simple peasants in her war with the foreigners, or was the whole movement born in the hearts of the peasants and Ci Xi with the Imperial government simply following along? Historian John Fairbank suggests, 'In the sequence of events, each side aroused the other' (Fairbank 1994, p. 231).



Figure B2 Chinese soldiers employed as peacekeepers during the Boxer Rebellion

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1 Would the official Qing records contradict the second theory that the Qing recruited the Boxers to fight against the foreigners?
- 2 Would the missionaries provide a fair account of the Boxers?

Write a brief preliminary response to these questions and review them as you read the rest of the chapter. As you read on, decide whether or not the Chinese peasants of Shandong would have reason to be biased for or against the Boxers.

ESHERICK'S VIEW

Historian Joseph Esherick disagreed with the view promoted by Victor Purcell that the Boxers were originally opposed to the ruling Qing dynasty, but then changed from an anti-Qing position to one of support for the Imperial government. Even though Purcell's research has found its way into most of the standard textbooks, Esherick presented a very different view. Esherick argued that 'recent evidence, and especially the oral histories, leave no doubt that from the very beginning the Boxers were a loyalist movement, and there never was an anti-dynastic phase' (Esherick 1987, p. xvi). This does not mean that Esherick thinks the Boxer uprising was inspired from above; it simply means he believed that the Boxers were distinct from the White Lotus society and were pro-Qing and anti-foreign from the start.

Esherick focused his research on the social and economic conditions in Shandong province, which contributed to the emergence of the Boxers. He also examined the religious background of the movement.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1 In what period did the Boxer Rebellion occur?
- 2 Why is it better described as an uprising rather than a rebellion?
- 3 How did the Boxers get their name?
- 4 Who was Ci Xi?
- 5 What connection did the Boxers have with the Big Sword society?
- 6 What were the main characteristics of the Boxers?
- 7 Summarise the two conflicting theories about the Boxers.
- 8 What is the key disagreement between Victor Purcell and Joseph Esherick?

THE EMERGENCE OF THE BOXERS

A range of factors contributed to the emergence of the Boxers:

China had suffered over fifty years of foreign exploitation and humiliation (Hsu 1995, p. 387.) By 1898 foreign countries had sliced off bits of China and there appeared to be a real risk that China might be broken up and shared out as colonies among the foreign powers.

There was strong anti-Christian feeling in China The Western missionaries and their Chinese converts challenged all the old traditions. These challenges were not simply a matter of religious belief—China had a long tradition of tolerating and adapting foreign beliefs—but the Christians defied many of the local social and political conventions, therefore, challenging the very fabric of Chinese society. For example, missionary doctors threatened local practitioners and the foreigners insisted on building their churches in such a way as to challenge traditional spiritual beliefs.

Foreign encroachment caused economic difficulties Imported foreign cotton was cheaper than the Chinese product. Local handicrafts also suffered. Both these factors led to growing unemployment. 'By the end of the 19th century, the country was beset by bankruptcy of village industries, decline of domestic commerce, rising unemployment, and a general hardship of livelihood' (Hsu 1995, p. 389). The foreigners were blamed for many of China's ills.

Natural disasters The Yellow River dominated the vast plain that is the macro-region of north China. It had shifted its course in 1852 and flooded regularly from 1882. A major flood in 1898 affected more than a million people. This was followed by a severe drought in 1900. The Boxers blamed the foreigners, saying that Western technology and the construction of Christian churches had angered the traditional spirits.

It was in this atmosphere of superstition, economic depression, extreme privation, public anger over foreign imperialism, and resentment of the missionaries that a major antforeign riot broke out in 1900. (Hsu 1995, p. 390.)

DOCUMENT STUDY

Source B1

Below you will find a Boxer Notice.

Attention: all people in markets and villages of all provinces in China—now, owing to the fact that Catholics and Protestants have vilified our gods and sages, have deceived our emperors and ministers above, and oppressed the Chinese people below, both our gods and people are angry at them, yet we have to keep silent. This forces us to practise the I-ho magic boxing so as to protect our country, expel the foreign bandits and kill Christian converts, in order to save our people from miserable suffering. After this notice is issued to instruct you villagers, no matter which village you are living in, if there are Christian converts, you ought to get rid of them quickly. The churches which belong to them should be unreservedly burned down. Everyone who intends to spare someone, or to disobey our order by concealing Christian converts, will be punished according to the regulation when we come to his place, and he will be burned to death to prevent his impeding our program. We especially do not want to punish anyone by death without warning him first. We cannot bear to see you suffer innocently. Don't disobey this special notice!

S. Teng & J. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West*, 1968, p. 190.

DOCUMENT STUDY QUESTIONS

- 1 Whom do the Boxers claim are their enemies?
- 2 What do they want the villagers to do?
- 3 What is the purpose of the notice?

DOCUMENT STUDY QUESTIONS

Look carefully at Source B2, which records Boxer violence between 5 May 1899 and 5 January 1900 in rural areas of Shandong.

- 1 Who were the most common victims of Boxer attacks?
- 2 What was the most typical form of attack?
- 3 What conclusions can you draw about the Boxers from these figures?

Source B2 Shandong Boxer attacks by date and type, May 1899 – January 1900*

Type of incident	Date							County totals
	May 5– Oct. 4 (148 days)	Oct. 5–18 (14 days)	Oct. 19 –Nov. 2 (15 days)	Nov. 3–14 (12 days)	Nov. 15–27 (13 days)	Nov. 28 –Dec. 7 (10 days)	Dec. 8 –Jan. 5 (29 days)	
Vandalism								
Christians	4	–	–	1	2	1	19	27
Non-Christians	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ALL per day	0.03	–	–	0.08	0.15	0.10	0.66	–
Theft (all)								
Christians	6	24	–	79	48	21	62	240
Non-Christians	4	1	–	–	4	1	9	19
ALL per day	0.07	1.78	–	6.58	4.00	2.20	2.45	–
Theft: grain								
Christians	4	24	–	11	5	16	18	78
Non-Christians	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	5
ALL per day	0.03	1.79	–	0.92	0.38	1.60	0.62	–

DOCUMENT STUDY (CONTINUED)

Extortion

Christians	4	–	2	12	47	5	12	82
Non-Christians	–	–	–	–	9	–	4	13
ALL per day	0.03	–	0.13	1.00	4.31	0.50	0.55	–

Kidnapping

Christians	–	–	–	6	4	–	3	13
Non-Christians	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	4
ALL per day	–	–	–	0.50	0.31	0.10	0.21	–

Arson

Christians	–	–	–	20	92	–	9	121
Non-Christians	–	–	–	1	9	–	1	11
ALL per day	–	–	–	1.75	7.77	–	0.34	–

Injury

Christians	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	3
Non-Christians	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	6
ALL per day	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Deaths

Christians	–	–	–	1	2	1	1	5
Non-Christians	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	3
ALL per day	–	–	–	0.17	0.23	0.20	0.03	–

TOTALS

Incidents

Christians	18	48	2	130	203	44	124	
Non-Christians	8	2	–	2	23	3	23	

Incidents per day

Christians	0.12	3.43	0.13	10.8	15.6	4.4	4.28	
Non-Christians	0.05	0.14	–	0.17	1.77	0.3	0.79	

* For each time period and type of incident, the first row records the number of Christian victims; the second row, non-Christian victims; the third row, the total number of victims per day. When any attack is recorded as affecting 'XX Christian [or commoner] and others', the attack is counted as affecting two victims, that being the median number of victims in the sample. Often after enumerating the number of victims of a major action (theft, arson, etc.), the document will note 'and kidnapped Christian[s]' or 'and robbed Christian[s]', with no specification of number of victims. In such cases, only one victim of the second action is counted.

J.W. Esherick, *Origins of the Boxer Uprising, 1987*.

THE ROLE AND MOTIVATION OF THE EMPRESS CI XI IN ENCOURAGING THE BOXERS

The Boxer uprising was a peasant movement, but the entire affair would have been different had it not been for the Dowager Empress Ci Xi. She had taken power from her nephew in a palace coup in 1898 as part of a reaction against the reforms that were attempted during the famous 100 Days of Reform. It is fair to say we will never know Ci Xi. Her rise to power was based upon plots, lies, half-truths, bluff, murder, sexual favours and sexual blackmail. According to Henry Keown-Boyd, 'To describe this extraordinary

woman as an enigmatic figure is to understate the case' (Keown-Boyd 1995, p. 4). She supported the Boxers as they attempted to kill all the foreigners in Beijing, but the Western armies arrived and defeated the Boxers. Nevertheless, Ci Xi, in later years, had no trouble convincing some of the women she would have happily seen butchered that she was a kind and tender person. The modern 'super bitches' of television soap operas could only dream of one day being in the same class as Ci Xi.

As the Boxers began their attacks, the Western powers were slow to realise that the Dowager Empress intended to support the Boxer raids. Ci Xi hoped to use the Boxers to either drive out the foreigners or at least loosen their grip on China. Her decision was influenced by a number of hard-line, anti-foreign conservatives at court, notably Prince Tuan (T'uan). With hindsight, support for the Boxers was the greatest single political miscalculation of Ci Xi's life. Nevertheless, it proved to be a typically devious tactic and even though the Boxers failed, she survived. If the Boxers had failed badly from the outset, she could have turned on them instantly and denounced them as local bandits; yet when the Boxers had some early success, causing the foreigners to complain, she replied that they were outlaws and she was trying to control them. If the Boxers succeeded she would take the credit; if the Boxers failed they would take the blame.

Even though the Dowager Empress was manipulative in the extreme, Ci Xi also genuinely responded to the feelings of the people, according to both Joseph Esherick and John Fairbank, who wrote: 'The Manchu princes, and even the Empress Dowager for a time, felt they heard the voice of the common people, the final arbiter of Chinese politics' (Fairbank 1994, p. 230).

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1 What were the four main factors that led to the emergence of the Boxers?
- 2 When and how did Ci Xi gain power?
- 3 Give an example of Ci Xi's ability to deceive others.
- 4 How was Ci Xi's plan to use the Boxers devious?
- 5 What opinion do historians John Fairbank and Joseph Esherick offer about the Boxers?



Figure B3 The Dowager Empress, seated, receives the wives of foreign diplomats in 1903. Ci Xi is holding hands with Mrs Sarah Pike Conger—one of the survivors of the Boxer siege of the Beijing legation.

CASE STUDY

THE EUNUCHS

Eunuchs were among the Dowager Empress's key attendants. They made a considerable sacrifice in order to gain a powerful position in government—their genitals were cut off. Most of the eunuchs attending Ci Xi were volunteers. Eunuchs had been part of the Chinese Imperial system since 1100 BC.

The operation to castrate the volunteers was performed by a specialist called a 'knifer'. Before the cutting began, tourniquets were applied to limit the bleeding. The genitals, referred to as the

'Thrice Precious,' were then painted with a hot sauce of chilli peppers hopefully to numb the area and reduce the pain. The candidate was given doses of opium to relax him, but he remained conscious throughout. He was held down on a wooden bed and asked one last time by the 'knifer' if he was sure he wanted to become a eunuch. If the answer was yes, the genitals were removed with one stroke of a curved knife.

The 'Thrice Precious' were cut off as close to the body as possible to avoid leaving a stump. A pewter plug was

then inserted in the urethra and the wound bandaged. The new eunuch was made to walk around to prevent blood clots. For three days he was denied anything to drink to prevent urination. After that the bandages were removed and the plug taken out. If the urine flowed like a fountain, the operation was declared a success. Complete recovery took three months. The genitals were preserved in a jar as proof of the eunuch's status (Seagrave 1993, p. 121).



Figure B4 The Dowager Empress Ci Xi and her Imperial court eunuchs. Each man made a sacrifice to be this close to power in China.

THE NATURE, EXTENT AND IMPACT OF THE REBELLION

From May of 1900 Boxer raids increased. As a response, 2100 foreign troops under the British admiral, Seymour, moved towards Beijing from Tianjin by rail to help defend the diplomatic legations. They came under attack by Boxers and only got half way; they had to fight their way back to Tianjin. Between June 13 and 14 the Boxers attacked Christians and foreigners in Beijing and Tianjin. The Qing government told the foreigners that their diplomats in Beijing were well-defended by Imperial troops and there was no need to send troops. On 20 June Clemens von Ketteler, the German minister in Beijing, was killed by Boxers. The following day the Dowager Empress declared war on all the foreign powers. According to Purcell, the Imperial court authorised the Boxer attack on the foreign diplomats in Beijing, suggesting four possible motives for this action. The court wanted to:

- *vent anger against the foreigners*
- *stir up patriotic feeling among the Chinese people*
- *remove the foreign military presence from the Qing capital*
- *perhaps eliminate foreigners as possible witnesses to Imperial involvement (Purcell 1963, p. 253).*

The siege of the diplomatic legations in Beijing lasted from 29 June until 14 August, when Indian troops, part of the British Army, broke through to relieve them. There were 475 civilians inside the diplomatic compound, with 450 troops from all nations and 3000 Chinese Christians. There were also 150 racing ponies. The ponies were important because they provided the defenders with a supply of fresh meat. During the course of the siege sixty-six foreigners were killed and 150 wounded.

As with all of China's other clashes with the West, the Boxer uprising was crushed by superior foreign weaponry and technology. The Boxers, despite all their rituals, were not invulnerable to bullets. By the time the uprising was brought under control, however, 250 missionaries across China had been killed.



Figure B5 The Boxer Rebellion was aimed at the foreigners, but most of the victims were Chinese. Christian converts often suffered the most. (AWM/P0417/37/17)

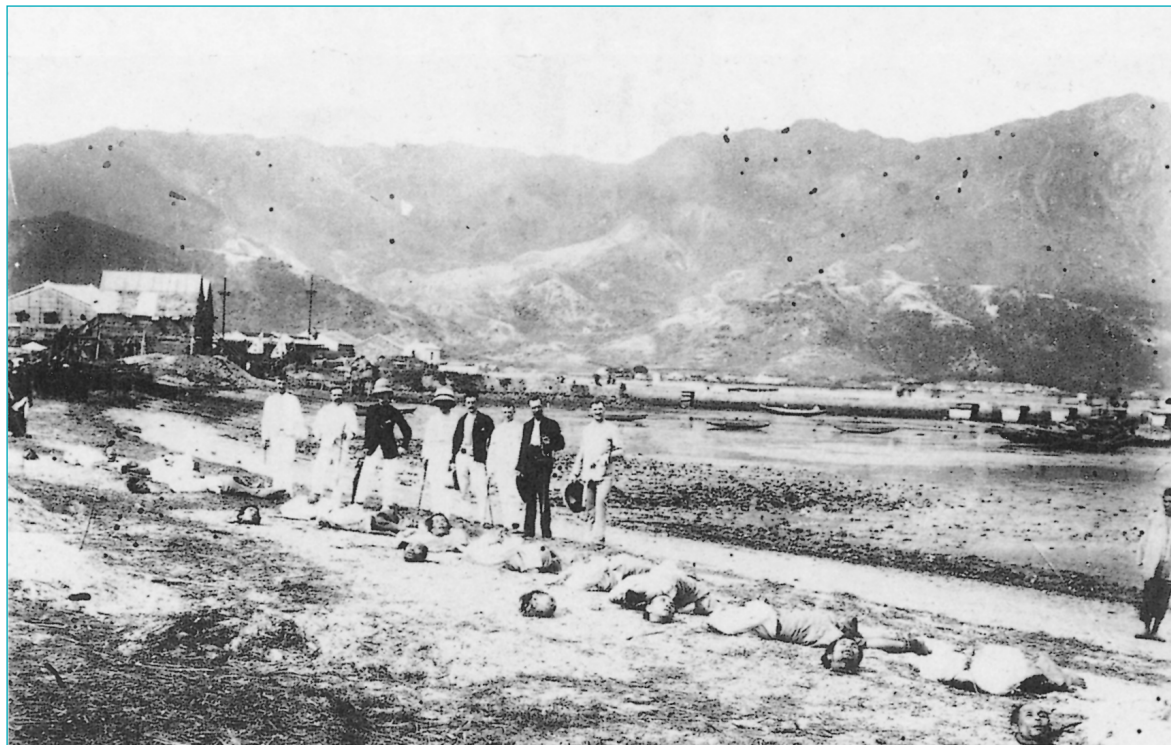


Figure B6 Japanese troops, part of the international force that crushed the Boxer uprising, behead Boxer prisoners. (AWM PO417/37/17)

When the foreign troops arrived in Beijing, Ci Xi was smuggled to safety. After the peace terms were arranged she returned to the capital. Qing officials promoted the myth that the uprising had been a rebellion, with the hope of limiting the penalty the Western powers might impose. The Qing propaganda was only partly successful. The terms of the settlement, known as the Boxer Protocol, were that ten high Qing officials were executed and 100 others were punished. The area of the legation in Beijing was enlarged and more troops brought in to defend it. An indemnity or fine of \$333 million was to be paid by China over forty years.

It could have been worse. The Boxer uprising was limited to northern China. Chinese officials in other parts of the country had managed to ignore Ci Xi's call for war. As a result, a peace treaty was made that kept foreign troops out of key regions in central and southern China.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE REBELLION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR CHINA AND THE QING DYNASTY

The Boxer uprising has been described as a catastrophe, based on the fact that despite the loss of life the Boxers appeared to change very little. The uprising seemed to be a desperate and fanatical response by peasants to forces beyond their comprehension or control. It resulted in the Chinese people facing an even greater tax burden, as the Imperial government raised the money to pay the massive indemnities imposed by the foreign powers. In the short term it was a catastrophe; however, in the longer term the Boxer Rebellion triggered some major historical changes. The Boxers did have a victory of sorts. Their action prevented the foreign powers from going through with the partition of China; without the Boxers, China may well have been carved up in 1900.

The Boxer uprising was also a clear reflection of an emerging nationalist movement, which transformed China in the twentieth century. The decisions made by Ci Xi and her court during the uprising indicated that the Qing dynasty was incapable of ruling China. The Boxer Rebellion accelerated demands for reform and revolution. The overthrow of the Qing in 1911 can be traced back to the uprising of 1898–1900.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1 What key events led to the siege of the foreign legations in Beijing?
- 2 What are the suggested motives behind the decision of the Imperial Court to make war on the foreign diplomats?
- 3 What were the key terms of the Boxer Protocol?
- 4 Why was the Boxer uprising described as a catastrophe?
- 5 What positive things for China came out of the Boxer uprising?

REVIEW TASK

Review the factors that led to the Boxer uprising, and explain why it is incorrect to call it a rebellion.

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