

PHOTOGRAPHY IN CHINA AS A DOCUMENTARY OF HISTORY – AN APPROACH OF VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY, 1842–1860

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Abstract

Since the advent of photography in 1839, the image has become a very important documentary witness. After it reached China during the first Opium War (1839–1842), the world could witness a more authentic representation of its society, culture and history. The present research will focus on analyzing the images of Milton Miller and Felice Beato with the help of Barrett's *Construct for Interpreting Photographs* and the three steps to analyse their images: description, reflection, and formal analysis. The results of the present research show that Milton and Beato used different approaches to represent their photo subjects. Milton's images can be classified as interpretations and aesthetic evaluations. However, Beato's images are descriptions and explanations. Based on the eyewitness accounts on their personal details and their subjects' representation in these images, it can be concluded that each of them tried to represent China as truthfully as possible, however; their knowledge about the subjects still presented a deficiency in understanding. In addition, the distance with their subjects and the culture they were a part of represents another important stumbling block for analyzing these images.

Keywords: *photography, Milton Miller, Felice Beato, Second Opium War, visual ethnography.*

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Introduction

The years 1839–1842 and 1856–1860 were very tumultuous periods in China's history known for the first and second Opium War. During this period, China was subjugated to a multitude of foreign military campaigns and unequal treaties, such as the Tianjin Treaty. Even though foreign influence seemed mostly detrimental but the advent of photography in 1839 and its arrival to China presented a more profound overview when it comes to historical evidence. In 1839, when the French scientist Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787–1851) invented the daguerreotype – a process of recording light images through a lens on a silver compound, it served as an important medium of art, a witness of history and a crucial element that shaped photo journalism. Before long, two British army officers – Dr Richard Woosnam and Major George Alexander Malcolm – brought this technology to China at the end of the First Opium War (1839–1842). Only a diary entry by then 14-year-old English boy Harry Parkes remains,

Major Malcolm and Dr Woosnam took a sketch of the place to-day on their daguerreotype. I cannot understand it at all: but on exposing a highly polished steel plate to the sun by the aid of some glass or other it takes the scene before you onto the plate and by some solution it will stay on the plate for years. [Wu 2016: 7]

During these 20 years, China saw a significant influx of foreigners – military personnel, diplomats, business people, missionaries, and photographers. Starting from 1842, treaty ports of Tianjin, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Guangzhou were opened up to foreigners, where many of them established their own photo studios. George West, Hugh Mackay, Robert Sillar and William Vacher, just to name a few, were among the first to document China on daguerreotypes. Even though there were many foreign photographers in China, but for the most part, not many of their daguerreotypes have been preserved until the present day. The earliest surviving daguerreotypes were taken in 1844 by the French photographer; customs officer at the French embassy in China Jules Alphonse Eugène Itier (1802–1877). During his stay in Guangdong, he produced 32 known daguerreotypes of panoramas, portraits, which is the largest amount during his stay in a single location [Massot 2015: 330].

Undeniably, the early daguerreotypes possess an immense value in terms of photographic evidence by adding a lot of missing details to the course of history. The image usually embodies artist's personal experience, viewpoint, emotions, or the process of exploring aesthetic issues. However, E. Hall argues that it does not convey any new information but activates the meaning that is already held by the viewer [Hall, 1966, cited in Schwartz, D. 1988: 120].

Taking into account that the advent of photography began during the colonialism period, which could be described by hegemonic efforts to extend the foreign influence to “less developed” nations. Stereotyping and commodifying one’s culture by a means of various media including photography was a very common occurrence. The mixture of superficial glamorizing of the exotic and cultural superiority was prevalent in the mindset of the colonizers; thus, E. Hall’s argument serves as the main hypothesis for this research. This article will focus on two photographers: Milton Miller (1830–1899) and Felice Beato (1832–1909). Each photographer was chosen according to their areas of expertise – portraiture and photo journalism and the analysis of their work would provide a deeper insight in how the foreign powers represented China and its society from 1842–1860. The present research will employ the following three steps to analyse their images: description, reflection, and formal analysis.

Theoretical construct for interpreting photographs

The article published by a prominent photography scholar Terry Barrett in 1986 – *Theoretical Construct for Interpreting Photographs* is one of the most detailed systems that adds to the value to the current research of art criticism. The article emphasizes the importance of theoretical constructs and recommended practices for teaching about photography in art education and their changes from 1930s until 1986 [Barrett 1986: 52].

Barrett’s new system includes six categories of images:

- 1) Descriptions – visual recordings of empirical qualities and quantities, which are meant to be interpretively and evaluatively neutral.
- 2) Explanations – photographers attempt being objective in explaining how things are.
- 3) Interpretations – this type of images asserts photographer’s subjective understanding of phenomena and generally point out the worldviews they have.
- 4) Ethical evaluations – imply moral judgements by depicting how things should or should not be.
- 5) Aesthetic evaluations – the photographer deems that some people, places or objects are worthy of aesthetic admiration.
- 6) Theoretical photographs – they are generally made to address the issues about photography in a form of art commentary or visual art criticism [Ibid. 55–58].

However, there are still some problems in categorizing the images taken during the colonial period because of the photographers’ subjective attitude towards the colonized, which was dominated by hegemonic mindset as described in Edward Said’s *Orientalism*.

This was, of course, because Orientals were almost everywhere nearly the same. The Oriental is depicted as something one judges (as in a court of law), something one studies and depicts (as in a curriculum), something one disciplines (as in a school or prison), something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual).

[Said 2019: 38–40]

Additional difficulty in completing the above-mentioned task is answering the question of how these images, the process of taking them, their captions, commentaries, and reports on the personal details on photographers themselves are depicted in various documentary sources: eyewitness reports and journal articles.

Milton Miller

In 1859, American photographer Milton M. Miller (1830–1899) from San Francisco travelled to China and formed a partnership with Charles Leander Weed in the newly-established Weed and Howard Photographic Gallery in Hong Kong and Guangzhou, where he pioneered in Chinese portraiture mostly focusing on the portraits of Chinese officials, businessmen and women [Wu 2016: 19–20].

Milton's most notable feature is the full body photographs of his subjects where he followed the Chinese artistic tradition of ancestor paintings¹. He strictly observes this tradition where the subjects wear official clothing, accessories, imperial insignias, and hats, even the furniture – a round-backed chair with footrest, standing screen and table in the photo studio tries to imitate the elements typically present in these paintings. However, there are some inconsistencies, depicted in the following subchapters. To conduct a detailed analysis, the author of this research will use the three steps of description, reflection, and formal analysis to further investigate these images in detail.

Clothing, accessories, and the wearer's status

It is very difficult to determine the authenticity of the photos and whether the subject actually is a part of a "photo project" and not even the make-believe captions could shed light on their identities. This can also be related to Miller's personal attitude towards his photo subjects, for he never actually noted down their

¹ The ancestor painting always depicts the subject in a rigidly frontal and symmetrical pose seated in a chair while wearing a highly formal and decorated robe, hat and accessories. The emotionless expression of the ancestor is the main aspect of the portrait.

names and titles precisely². In addition, there exists an eyewitness account about his rude attitude towards hired labourers³.

The present article will use several images taken by Miller to show some of the most noticeable elements in clothing, accessories and insignias that cast doubt on the veracity of the subjects' social class represented in these images and their captions. The pioneering work on debunking the veracity of these images was done by Professor Wu Hung in his work *Zooming in Histories of Photography in China* (2016). Meanwhile, not much attention has been paid to the actual details of clothing and accessories worn by the subjects in photographs.



Figure 1. Miller, Milton, *The First Wife of the Tartar General*, 1861–1863, image, 11 1/8 × 8 3/4 in. (28.3 × 22.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art

² In different captions of different images that still contain the same photo subjects, their identity is dissimilar (see Figure 2 and Figure 3).

³ In Guangdong, Miller hired fourteen coolies to move his equipment but when they refused his offer of dollar to each, he shot one of them in the thigh and was given a four-hundred-dollar bond, however, the wound proved to be slight and, after having paid a seventy-five-dollar fine, he was released.

This image (Figure 1) was taken during the time when Milton worked in Guangdong, it has several captions *The First Wife of the Tartar General* and *Mandarin's Wife*. There is still a lot of mystery surrounding this image; one of the biggest breakthroughs happened in 2006 during the exhibition *Photography of China: Ti and Yong, Essence and Innovation*, which took place at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 11–12 December, 2006, when some of Miller's images were scrutinized and it was found out that the elderly female photo subject was also a part of other images. In his famous work, Professor Wu mentions some inconsistencies in clothing and accessories that appear in these photos, such as wearing officials' attire combined with inappropriate overcoats, insignias that do not correspond to the photo subject's official rank, sharing of the same clothes by different photo subjects, and even combining Manchu and Han style clothing [Wu 2016].

Even though Miller based his photography on imitating ancestral portraits as much as possible, there is an additional difficulty posed by the dubious authenticity of the ancestors' portraits, even before photography reached China. Stuart and Rawski have noted that ancestors' portraits have been considered as a valuable documentary source of the Chinese material world, however; painters often created court costumes without having appropriate prior knowledge⁴ [Stuart 2001: 111]. The above comment could also be relevant when determining the authenticity of Miller's images. As regards the sumptuary laws in China's imperial history, Qu [Qu 1965: 154] accentuates that the sumptuary laws issued by the central government were supposed to be upheld. Nevertheless, the population tended to ignore them. As a result, the fact that Miller, who could not have been familiar with the Qing sumptuary laws and some of his photo subjects who possibly ignored them, could add to the difficulty in ascertaining their identities.

Regarding the first image (Figure 1) as an example, the author has found several more inconsistencies. The first caption *The First Wife of the Tartar General* seems to be misleading, owing to the fact that the photo subject wears a crane insignia signifying the first rank of a civil official, even though the caption states she is a general's wife. According to Schuyler Camann [1944: 71], the research of mandarin squares lacks scholarship and reliable information, there exists a considerable body of inaccurate folklore based on dealer's assumptions.

This exact problem can be seen in the present image, where the female wears a crane insignia, which is usually worn by civil officials. According to Stuart and Rawski [2001: 137], Qing military officials had 9 types of military badges (補子, *buzi*):

⁴ There are two concerns about the accuracy of the costume: the first one is whether the costume actually corresponds to the dynastic time period and the second concern is whether the status markers in the painting actually represent one's social identity.

qilin, lion, leopard, tiger, bear, panther, rhinoceros, another interpretation of rhinoceros (after 1759)⁵, and a sea horse⁶.

In addition, high-ranking military officials were more faithful to the sumptuary laws than humble citizens. The style and colour of women's court dress was also strongly regulated and included detailed particulars as regards ornaments and symbols. Furthermore, husband's rank was extended to his wife, where she had to wear an identical badge that should be positioned symmetrically facing the husband's badge [Stuart 2001: 112, 135].

Here, the elderly woman is clearly wearing a fourth-rank official's badge portraying a wild goose facing right, which adds to another inconsistency regarding her identity stated by the photographer. Supposedly if the photo female subject was the wife of a general, the position of the rank badge would still be incorrect. As stated by Garrett and Stuart and Rawski [2007: 78; 2001: 112], for a civil official, the animal's head should face the wearer's right; for his wife the badge should face left. However, for a military official the animal's head should face left and for his wife, the badge should face right.

Furthermore, images by other photographers also had subjects wearing accessories and clothing with imperial insignias that have been added on later, while they clearly had no connection with the Qing Imperial Court. Several photos of Zhan Shichai (詹世釵) (Chang the Chinese Giant) taken at the end of the 19th century at the famous *A-Fong* studio is another clear example [see Bennett 2014: 85].

Here it clearly shows that Milton did not pay attention to neither of his photo subjects and their identities. The image with the elderly female photo subject also poses additional questions about her true identity largely because of the absence of her husband. Even though his rank is mentioned in one of the captions, similarly to the custom of ancestral paintings, both husband and wife should be photographed together as a couple sitting side by side. In addition, none of the available Milton's images show the elderly female photographed with her husband, only on one instance she can be seen with two other males that could be her two sons in *Mandarin with Family*.

Another important detail is the accessories: the earrings worn by the female photo subject. According to the Machu court customs, high-ranking women should wear three separate earrings in each earlobe, however, the female photo subject had one large gold earring in each ear also in several other images, where she was wearing civilian's clothing.

⁵ Rhinoceros badges are extremely hard to find nowadays, because once the dynasty fell in 1911, soldiers were ordered to destroy them.

⁶ The sea horse should not be confused with the sea creature. Here the badge depicts a mythical horse galloping under the sea.

In addition, the image clearly shows that the photo subject has bound feet, which was a cultural practice common for the Han women. There is a lot of room for research when it comes to the identity of the elderly female photo subject with bound feet. To reiterate the captions *The First Wife of the Tartar General* and *Mandarin's Wife* is important because there are several additional inconsistencies.

Firstly, according to Elliott and Smith [2001: 246; 2015: 59], Tartar and Manchu women usually wore boots and rode horses like men and even took part in men's hunting parties. In addition, during the late 1700s, George Staunton – a member of the Macartney embassy, also observed that it was uncommon for these women to conform to this habit.

Secondly, it can be seen from the shape of the footwear that the female photo subject is wearing lotus shoes instead of the Manchu platform shoes which only emulated the gait of the women with bound feet.

Taking this information into account, the author can deduct that she cannot be the first wife of a Tartar general, because Manchu males exclusively took Manchu women as their primary wives, while Chinese banner or Han civilian women were usually their secondary wives or even concubines [Elliott 2001: 254].

Thus, the author holds a firm belief that the elderly female photo subject is likely of Han descent and her title in the captions is misleading. Although several sources mention her as the possible spouse of the Governor of the Guangdong Province Huang Zantang (黄赞汤) (1805–1869) but no credible evidence has yet been found [Wu 2013: 30]. Yet the question still remains why is he not present in any of these images while still being alive?

Another set of images (Figure 2, Figure 3) contain a young man. However, his social status in both versos differs from one image to another, for instance, the young man in the centre (Figure 2) is described as a mandarin, however, the verso of the second image (Figure 3) presents him as a wealthy merchant, which is a more plausible explanation.

This can be explained with the absence of the imperial badge in front of the robe and the inconsistent donning of accessories, namely, the hat, which should always be accompanied with the robe. In addition, if the male photo subject wanted to accentuate his mandarin background, he would be very familiar with the strict sumptuary regulations. Another plausible explanation behind the different *merchant* and *mandarin* versos and the peculiar way of dressing could be the common practice of selling official posts and studentships during the Qing dynasty in times of need – floods, famine, and wars. According to McNicholas [2013: 109], these sales proved to be an integral part of the Qing finance and society which continued until the end of the dynastic period. Another more simplified explanation to the discrepant use

of titles in versos and captions simply lies within the photographer's reliance on translators and distance from his subjects.



Figure 2. Miller, Milton, *A Mandarin and Friends*, 1861–1864, image, 20 × 15.4 cm (7 7/8 × 6 1/16 in.), J. Paul Getty Museum



Figure 3. Miller, Milton, *Wealthy Merchant of Canton*, 1865, image, 20 × 15.4 cm (7 7/8 × 6 1/16 in.), J. Paul Getty Museum

From the perspective of Barrett's framework of interpreting photographs, Miller's images accommodate to the categories of aesthetic evaluation and interpretation. Miller's attempt to adapt the style of ancestor paintings in his images shows the amalgamation of his unique artistic approach and the longevity of Chinese cultural tradition. The distinguishing feature of Miller's images is that he is not only trying to show his subjects as mere exhibits or commodity for the foreign market but he displays every sitter's inner character – a feature rarely seen in the Chinese visual art.

Felice Beato

Felice Beato (1832–1909) can be considered the first-ever war photographer. Starting from the second half of the 19th century, Beato dedicated his life to photography and he was in the epicentre of major historical events: the Crimean War (1856), the aftermath of the Indian Rebellion (1858), the Second Opium War (1860), Shimonoseki Campaign (1864), the Korean-American War (1871), the Mahdist Uprising (1885) and the Burmese Mutiny (1886). After leaving Calcutta on February 26, 1860 Beato arrived in China, Hong Kong on March 13, of the same year [Bennett 2009: 141–147].

What gave Beato's images their immense documentary value was the fact that Beato was a member of the British expedition army and he followed everywhere until it entered Beijing.

According to Wu [2016: 54], Beato's China series consists of two subseries *From Hong Kong to Peking* and *From Peking to Canton*. Each group relates to specific period with a particular theme:

- 1) The build-up of the British expeditionary army in Hong Kong (March and June 1860);
- 2) Architecture and the urban environment of Guangzhou (April 1860);
- 3) The northbound expedition of the Allied forces (July to September 1860);
- 4) Views of Beijing (October 1860);
- 5) Portraits of two British and Chinese officials (November 1860)

Beato's portfolio of China images consists of 38 photographs in total. The present research will focus on the second subseries of images – the northbound expedition of the Allied forces.

Photo narration of the northbound expedition of the Allied forces

On 8 April 1860, China rejected the unequal Treaty of Tianjin designed by the Anglo-French allied forces, as a result, the Second Opium War resumed with a full force. In addition, the humiliating defeat by the Qing forces led by the Qing

Imperial Commissioner Sengge Rinchen (1811–1865) in 1859 was the decisive moment when the Anglo-French army gathered their naval forces in Hong Kong to retaliate. In the early 1860 Lieutenant-General James Hope Grant arrived from India with Felice Beato on board. Beato's main task was to document the British military presence. *Panorama of Hong Kong, taken from Happy Valley* – a 180-degree panorama of five separate images was the first image that Beato documented in his northbound expedition series. According to Wu and Lacoste (2016: 70; 2010: 9), Beato's unique narrative approach to documenting British military campaigns against China served as a celebration of Allied forces' victorious advance to Peking.

The present research will concentrate on several images that Beato took during the occupation of *Tanggu* (塘沽口炮台) and *Dagu* fort (大沽口炮台) from 1 August to 21 August 1860. According to Wu [2016: 67], Beato took 32 images during his China sojourn – three at the Dalian Bay, seven at Beitang, two at Tanggu, twelve at Dagu and eight in Tongzhou area.

Major-General George Allgood in his book *China War, 1860: Letters and Journal* meticulously describes the campaign against China during and after the major battles. The first image in the sub-series was taken in 1 August 1860, when 4000 troops landed at the town of Beitang and seized two forts near the river. Beato's photograph shows the fort taken over by the Allied forces flying the British flag and soldiers' tents on the top of the fort. Beato's photographic narrative usually begins with an image of the outside of the fort after it's capture and the respective entrances of French and British armies. The process of taking over the city by the British and French forces is also described in Allgood's letters to General Henry Eyre dated 6 August 1860,

The town and fort were evidently abandoned as not a shot was fired. The next morning, we occupied the town, the French occupying one half, the English the other. [Allgood 1901: 43]

Beato's photographic narrative closely coincides with Allgood's correspondence to his mother and general Eyre, because the images taken in and outside the Beitang fort (北塘口炮台) from 2–12 August only show the buildings and weapons captured without any Chinese war casualties.

However, on 21 August, when the Allied forces conquered the Dagu fort, which was the crucial waypoint for advancing to Tianjin and later to Beijing, Beato's photographs contained more explicit images – corpses of Chinese soldiers, fort walls and interior ruined by cannonades (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Beato, Felice, *Interior of the North Fort Taken by Storm, 21 August 1860*, image, 25.1 × 30.8 cm (9 7/8 × 12 1/8 in.), J. Paul Getty Museum

There also exist several eyewitness accounts about Beato's zealous, sometimes even morbid, actions when documenting the carnage. According to J. Allgood's report,

Beato the famous photographer has got several views of the fort with heaps of dead. [Allgood 1901: 45]

Another eyewitness account states that Beato did not allow any intervention when it came to ruining the photo composition,

I walked around the ramparts on the west side. They were thickly strewn with death – in the north-west angle thirteen were lying in one group around a gun. Signor Beato was here in great excitement, characterizing the group as 'beautiful', and begging that it might not be interfered with until perpetuated by his photographic apparatus, which was done a few minutes afterwards.

[Rennie 1864: 112]

There is a lot of speculation behind Beato's motives for his battlefield images. One of the dominant ideas is the colonialist narrative. According to Lacoste [2010: 5], even though Beato tried to create vivid images of the local people, his photographs also supported the colonialist discourse. Beato's images from Burma – one of the British colonies – represented its people as passive. However, in the images of Japan, which preserved its hegemony, the people are represented as confident and sometimes even defiant.

Even though this is a very reassuring argument, however; it only favours the visible aspects represented in an image as such by completely disregarding people's cultural background, worldview and values aligning with the theoretical frameworks of Geert Hofstede and Shalom Schwartz, that would require additional research.

According to Cody and Terpak [2010: 52], another motive behind Beato's battlefield images was to make financial profit with the aim to catch British officers' attention who might buy these photographs as a memento. In addition, for the European audience that was already accustomed to a fixed representation of China in exported works of art, Beato's imagery evoked a powerful and realistic representation.

There are several sources that portray Beato's individual characteristics that provide a more holistic view to the motives behind his images. One of these sources is *Spunyarn from the strands of a sailor's life afloat and ashore* (1924) – a memoir by Admiral Sir Henry Woods, where he writes about an encounter in 1861 with a photographer named Beat[o] in Japan⁷. He seems to have made some fortune from the spoils of war after the looting of *Yuanmingyuan* (圓明園) by selling them in Constantinople. Further on, he describes Beat[o] as an opportunist who sold portraits and albums of views as a "side-line" [Woods 1924: 194].

According to Lieutenant-Colonel Gother Frederick Mann (1817–1881), Beato told him:

he [had] very numerous applicants [for his photographs] and [would] probably sell some thousands between Off[ice]rs of the force & Hong Kong people.

[Wu 2016: 69]

There is a lot of colonialist discourse in the modern academia, when it comes to the representation of Asia during the colonial era. It cannot be denied that the commodification of cultures and catering to the current social beliefs, values, and norms for the sake of artist's fame or financial gain is another important element that requires additional research. This was evident almost in every eyewitness account

⁷ Beato's work in Japan concentrates more on the social and occupational elements instead of battlefields and war.

when it came to interaction with Beato, thus it can be concluded that Beato's leading motive was financial gain. Furthermore, there is a lack of eyewitness accounts about his interaction with his native photo subjects, that could only mean he kept distance between him and his subjects.

In contrast to Milton's approach of aesthetic evaluation and interpretation, Beato's images can be categorized as descriptions and explanations, especially the images from the subgroup of the northbound expedition of the Allied forces, which strictly follows a narrative sequence. Even though Beato's professional approach at times was perceived as cold and calculating, his images and their captions hold immense documentary value.

Conclusion

According to Bonnell [1988: 39], since 1853 the documentary value of photography has become equivalent to that of eyewitness accounts or chronicles. This was also the case for Milton M. Miller and Felice Beato – their images were the first actual photographic proof that the West had of China. Each photographer had a different approach and motivation behind their art but there was one thing in common – an attempt to establish a connection between two cultures.

Milton's photography focused on the portraits of Chinese officials and businessmen. Many of his portraits depict his photo subjects wearing official's attire but sometimes there are some inconsistencies when it comes to the style of the clothing and accessories. In addition, some of the photo subjects appear in other images with different captions. This can have two explanations:

- 1) Milton did not pay special attention to his subjects' identities;
- 2) the photos that he took during his sojourn in Guangzhou was his art project.

From Barrett's theoretical framework of photo analysis, Milton's images can be defined as an aesthetic evaluation and artist's own interpretation of China. Even though Milton tried to imitate ancestors' portraits and their aesthetic as much as possible without being culturally biased, there were some accounts of ridicule of the Chinese photographic peculiarities. One of them was the caricature and a fictitious interview by another photographer John Thomson [Wu 2016: 34]. In addition, Milton's unfamiliarity with the sumptuary laws at the time could serve as another reason.

However, his contribution to portraiture in China is undeniable and has had a great influence on future generations.

As regards Beato, he was not as focused on aesthetic evaluation and interpretation, but instead placed emphasis on description and explanation. Beato focused on narrative exposure of an important historical event, in this case it was the battle of Dagu Forts, entering the capital and all the subsequent events at the end of

the Second Opium War, which culminated with the signing of Treaty of Peking on 16 October 1860. Beato can be considered as the first western photojournalist and war correspondent who documented explicit images of war casualties that added to the realism and created a sensation and novelty in Europe. The motivation behind Beato's wide selection of images was financial profit, which he made through various channels – selling his battlefield images to the British officers and the cooperation with Henry Herring – a London-based commercial portrait photographer, who sold Beato's images to the Western public.

Even though both photographers came to China lead by different motives with conflicting eyewitness accounts about their actions throughout their sojourn there, it is undeniable that their images are credible documentary witnesses of the time that still pose many challenges and need to be researched further.

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