

Miscellaneous References to Artisans of the Canton Trade 1700-1842

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ABSTRACT: The artisans who were active in Canton from 1700 to 1842 are some of the most elusive figures of the China trade. Despite the enormous quantity of artefacts that they produced, and which are now housed in private collections and museums throughout the world, the authors left very little information behind about themselves. It was not until the Americans entered the China trade in 1784, that we begin to have more extensive information about some of these artists and craftsmen. The omissions in the historical records have led scholars to suggest that there may have been only a few of these men operating in Canton prior to the arrival of the Americans, and that the art trade was probably very limited prior to that happening. While we will likely never be able to construct a complete picture of the artisan community in this period, new information about export art has recently emerged showing that commerce to be more vibrant than previously thought. The new data suggest there was continuity in that market from at least the early eighteenth century onwards. While many of these entries are brief, with numerous gaps in sequence, they nonetheless show an active export art market growing in unison with the tea trade.

KEYWORDS: Chinese export art; Canton trade; Paintings; Mirrors; Fans; Figurines; Glass; Cantonese artisans.

We sometimes forget that many of the craftsmen and artists in Canton who produced items for sale within and without China were also merchants. While there were shops in Canton that sold art objects and novelty items that they did not produce themselves, there were many other shops that were run by the artisans themselves. In another study I introduced a couple of the silk and wallpaper painters who were active in Canton in the eighteenth century.¹ In this chapter I bring together more information about those persons, as well as some brief

information about other artisans. Most of these men have had little or nothing written about them in the past.

Chinese artisans who were active in Canton during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been very elusive figures for historians and art enthusiasts to discuss. Aside from Spoilum, Puqua, Focqua, Lamqua, Sunqua, Youqua and Tingqua, who have had considerable information written about them, other artists remain mysteriously anonymous in the historical literature. Their names might appear at the back of a painting, on the bottom of an ornament, or as a brief entry in an account book, with nothing more said about them. Because of the dearth of information available, most of the literature dealing with Cantonese export art has focused on the objects rather than the artists.

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In this study, I pull together a number of miscellaneous references about Cantonese artists that I have run across over the years in the European and American archives. While all of these entries are brief and tell very little by themselves, each one adds a little more to our knowledge of these men and their profession. Taken together they help to broaden our understanding of the environment in which these artisans operated. A wider picture emerges which suggests that export art was a phenomenon of the Canton trade (ca. 1700-1842) from the very beginning and grew in unison with the increasing numbers of foreigners arriving in China.

Foreign persons who purchased items from the artists in Canton sometimes recorded their encounters in their personal diaries, receipts, lists of purchases, and numerous other documents, all of which provide us with tidbits of information. The East India companies sometimes purchased art objects from Cantonese shopkeepers as well. With respect to the English East India Company (EIC), the names of Chinese artists are rarely mentioned, even though there are many entries showing the items that were purchased from those men. The records of the Danish, Dutch, Swedish and French companies, on the other hand, sometimes do include the names of the artists along with the items that they produced.

While there are an endless number of art objects from Canton in museums around the world that testify to a continual strong demand for these items, we have very little evidence from the production-side of those exchanges. This outcome, of course, is largely owing to the fact that many of the Cantonese artists did not keep records or inscribe their names on the objects they produced. Carl Crossman has done perhaps more than anyone to help fill this void in his monumental work of the Chinese artifacts held in American museums and private collections, some of which do have the names of the artists displayed on them.²

We knew from previous studies that by the early eighteenth century, Chinese export paintings were a

regular item of trade.³ Michael North has shown from his study of private Dutch estates in Batavia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that paintings bought in China were among their possessions.⁴ Craig Clunas has shown from lists of private trade in the EIC archive that Chinese paintings were already a popular item of export by the late-1720s.⁵

East India companies sometimes experimented with art objects to see what their potential might be in Europe. The British ship *Dorothy*, for example, arrived at Amoy in 1694, with instructions to purchase painted silks 'of all sorts of Pictures of Men, Women, Landskips [*sic*] of Birds, Beasts, Boats, Towns, Cities, and all kind of fancys' to be packed in one large chest. In addition, they were to bring home '8 large Chests of the other Pictures, of several sorts, and great variety, done by the best hands'; 'One Chest of strong thick paper [wallpaper] painted and guilt'; and 'Fans of all the variety the Country affords, a great quantity will doe'.⁶ The EIC ships *Nassau* and *Trumball Galley* were dispatched from London to Amoy in 1697. The supercargos of the *Nassau* were instructed to acquire '20,000 Fans of various sorts' and '10,000 Pictures of various sorts', and the *Trumball Galley*, '3,000 Pictures of all sorts' and '10,000 Fans'.⁷ Both of the ships arrived at Amoy in 1698, and the art objects they were instructed to purchase were obviously intended to test the market for these items in England.

These speculative purchases of various kinds of art continued into the early nineteenth century. In 1699, the ship *Fleet Frigate* arrived at Amoy with instructions to purchase '20,000 Fans' and '10,000 Pictures'.⁸ The *Wentworth* went to Canton in 1700, and the *Darrill* to Amoy. Both of these ships were to purchase '20,000 Fans' and '10,000 Pictures'.⁹ In December 1700 the EIC ship *Eaton* was dispatched to China with instructions to purchase 'Pictures, Paints & Lacquered Ware'¹⁰; and in 1701, the EIC ship *Northumberland* arrived at Canton with instructions to purchase '2,000 Fans' and '20,000 Pictures'.¹¹ Unfortunately, we do not know how many items the ships

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actually acquired in China—we only have the amounts that they were instructed to purchase.

In addition to the entries that Clunas referred to showing EIC officers exporting art objects in the late-1720s, there are a few other earlier entries that are perhaps less known. In 1713, the British merchant John Scattergood purchased the following items from the Cantonese shopkeeper Pinquy: a red-wood box, 50 fans, a tub of green tea, 8 images, 2

tea tables, 50 plates, and a chest of tea. In exchange, Pinquy accepted some amber and sharks' fins from Scattergood.

Pinquy seems to have been a novelty shop owner who handled a variety of items and was perhaps not an artist himself.¹² Nonetheless, the fact that he was selling all of these items, shows that these objects were in demand from the beginning of the Canton trade. Scattergood may have purchased some of these items



Fig.1 Jean-Baptiste Grosier Du Halde, *Description Geographique Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*. Paris: P.G. le Mercier, 1735. Vol. 1. Title page of chapter "Province de Quang-tong", before p. 221.

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for himself, such as the eight images and the two tea tables, but he certainly would not have had a need for 50 fans. We can assume that he probably purchased them as gifts for friends and relatives, or perhaps to sell on the market in India or Great Britain.

In 1714, Captain Charles Kesar of the EIC ship *Hester* exported 540 pictures from Canton on his private account. The first supercargo aboard that ship was Philip Middleton and he also exported 380 pictures. The average cost of Kesar's and Middleton's pictures was 0.436 taels each which means these paintings must have been rather small. Between them they exported 920 pictures this year.¹³

Another letter in the Scattergood papers from 1719 shows an order for '6 China Pictures and 12 more [pictures]' that were shipped on another ship, as well as '20 fine China flow^d. papers'. The latter entry to 'papers' is probably a reference to wallpaper.¹⁴ In 1720, Scattergood purchased in Canton '176 China Pictures' which cost him 0.3 taels each, and 'a dozen & half of Picture frames' that cost 0.5 taels each. He put them in the hands of Captain White who was instructed to sell the pictures 'as well as you can in Bengale'. The proceeds from the paintings were to be delivered to Scattergood's agent in Bengal, Mr. Williamson.¹⁵ All of these items were ordered from artists in Canton.

Although these entries are few, and some are anonymous, they nevertheless show that pictures were already a popular item of trade in Canton by the early eighteenth century. Most of the paintings that

have survived from Canton are now in European and American repositories, but we see from the example above that India was the intended destination for some of these objects. Of course, Portuguese and Spanish merchants who traded at Macao were purchasing these items at Canton long before the East India companies arrived there. After the China trade was opened to other foreigners in the mid-1680s, the craze for Chinese art expanded dramatically, as is exemplified in the orders above.

Figure 1 is a print from Du Halde's *Description Geographique Historique ... L'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, which was published in 1735. It shows Chinese merchants in Canton offering foreigners paintings for sale.¹⁶ In 1720, the EIC supercargoes assembled a list of thirteen points that should be observed when conducting trade at Canton.¹⁷ The seventh-point is copied below and concerns the purchasing of art objects.

*7^b. In relation to Manufacture, as for example Fans, Lacked Ware, Embroideries, Pictures; as these are things which take up but small Investments, and have no regard to the grand Cargo [of the ships], so we leave them to the Shopkeepers, that they also may be some gainers; but if they should pretend to meddle with the commerce [of the Company] in general, or be concerned in any other Investments, [that might impact the Company, then they] shall be punished.*¹⁸

Table 1: Reference to Painter Quouqua in 1738-1739.

Date	Description	Taels
1738-1739	for 18 painted glass with lacquered frames paid to Quouqua at 2 taels 2 maes each	39.600
	for 6 painted glass with Rosewood frames paid to Quouqua at 2 taels each	12.000

Source: University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library (JFB): Charles Irvine Papers, Accounts & Invoices, 39-4f1.

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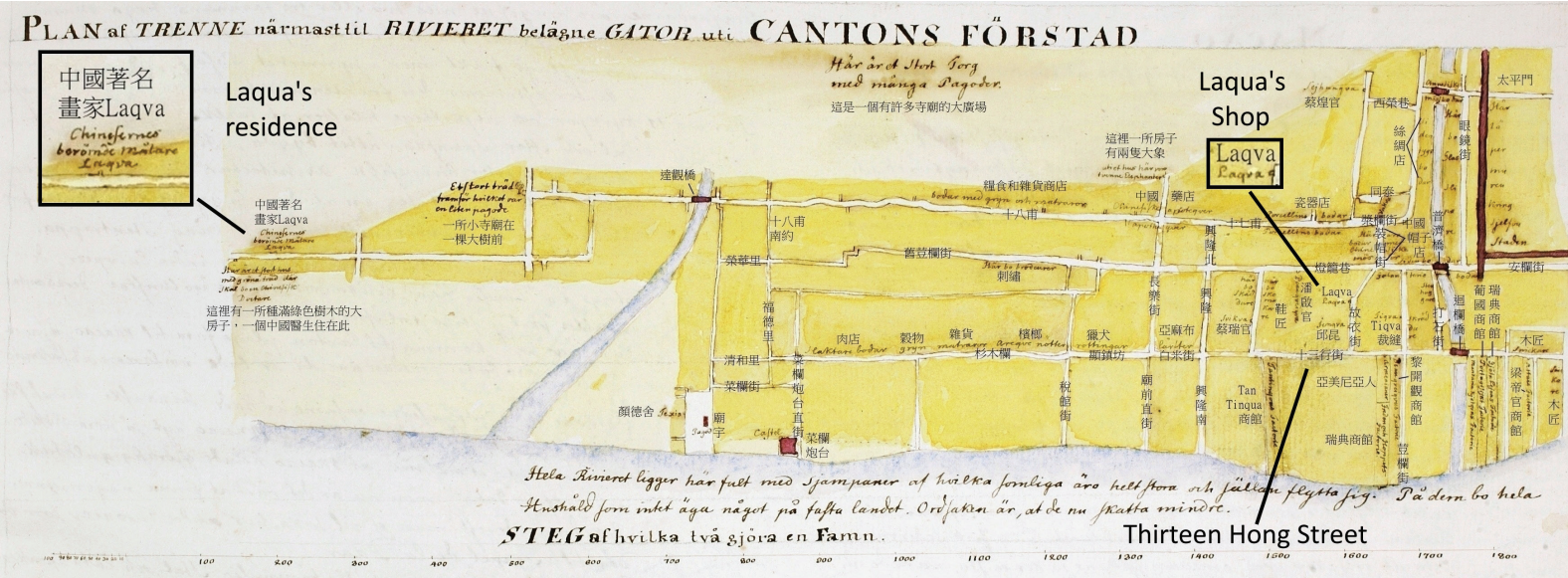


Fig.2 Map (in Swedish and Chinese) entitled "Cantons Förstad". Ms. Dalman, J.F. "Dagbok under resan från Göteborg till Canton 1748-1749". Courtesy Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences. (Full Image)

By this time, the EIC had evidently concluded that these art objects were of little importance to the Company so employees were allowed to export them aboard company's ships. There are many entries in the EIC records showing officers doing just that, but none of them mention the names of the artists or shopkeepers from whom the items were purchased. The earliest reference I have found to a Cantonese painter being mentioned by name is from 1738-1739, which is reproduced in Table 1.

The entries in Table 1 are from the Scotsman Charles Irvine, who was involved in the Canton trade from the 1720s to the 1740s. In the late-1730s and early-1740s, he was employed by the Swedish East India Company (SOIC) as supercargo. Irvine purchased 24 'painted glass' from Quouqua, which is most likely a reference to reverse glass paintings. There is no indication that the paintings were specially ordered, but rather, they seem to have been just selected out of his shop. It is interesting to note that eighteen of the paintings had lacquered frames, while the remaining six paintings had rosewood frames.

Quouqua obviously kept a variety of different frames on hand to meet the varied tastes of his customers.

As Patrick Conner has pointed out, another early example comes from the English captain Robert Bootte, who in January 1739 exported '6 Glass Pictures' aboard the EIC ship *London* on his private account.¹⁹ Besides Irvine and Bootte's examples, we know from other studies that reverse glass paintings were already popular by the 1730s. Conner has shown that the missionary Pierre-Marial Cibot, who was in Beijing in the 1740s, mentioned that this form of art had come from Canton.²⁰ The references do not always specify whether paintings are on paper, canvas or glass so it is difficult to establish an exact time that glass painting actually became popular.

In 1751, Osbeck commented on the practice of painting on mirrors and glass. He stated that it was illegal to import European glass, but other references dispute this claim.²¹ Hirth pointed out in his examination of the 'Hoppe Book of 1753' that foreign glass was actually listed as a legal item of trade and was charged import duties just like any other legal commodity.²² The Hoppos (Hubu 戶部

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or Jiandu監督) were the customs superintendents in Canton who were in charge of the trade. They were usually appointed for a term of one to three years, but a few of them stayed in office much longer. We know that the tariffs in Canton were rarely changed, and can be dated back to the establishment of the customs office in the mid-1680s.²³ Thus, Osbeck seems to have been misinformed with regard to the glass trade because it was indeed a legal item of trade.

The next reference I have to a painter by name comes from a couple entries on a Swedish map of Canton from 1748 (Figure 2). This map is written in Swedish with the names of the Chinese streets added by Van Dyke and Mok.²⁴ Thirteen Hong Street is exactly where it lies today, which was an east-west-avenue that lay to the north of the foreign factories.

Figure 2 also shows Guyi Street故衣街, which runs north and south and butts up to Thirteen Hong Street. It is also in approximately the same location today. Half way up Guyi Street, we see the shop of the reverse glass painter Laqua. To the far left of the map, we see the location of his home which is noted as being the residence of the 'famous Chinese painter Laqua' (*Chineserne berömde målare Laqua*). Dalman was obviously impressed with Laqua and may have paid a visit to his home which would account for it being marked on his map. Although I have found no references to Dalman or other Swedes purchasing items from Laqua, at this time, there are later references to him.

In 1757, William Chambers wrote in his book entitled *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, page 14: 'Siou Sing Saang, a celebrated Chinese master, whom, when I was at Canton, I employed to paint on glass all the Chinese dresses'. On the same page, Chambers also mentioned 'Lepqua, a celebrated Chinese painter, with whom I had several conversations on the subject of gardening'.²⁵ These entries in Chambers' book are very familiar to art historians, but what has not been pointed out is that the Lepqua he refers to is very likely

the same man as Laqua on the 1748 map. In some of the entries mentioned below, the Swedes spelled the latter man's name as 'Lapqua' which is close enough to Lepqua and Laqua.

The private papers of Jean Abraham Grill provide more insights into painters and the glass and mirror trade in Canton. Grill was employed by the Swedish East India Company. He stayed in Canton and Macao from 1761 to 1768, carrying out a very extensive private trade. His records, correspondences and account books have survived and are held in the Nordic Museum Archive in Stockholm. Digital copies of the collection are also available in the Macao Archive.

There are several references in Grill's papers to Laqua and other painters which are reproduced in Table 2. A couple of the entries make no mention to the artist's name, but the 1764 entry shows four reverse glass paintings that were specially ordered from Laqua. The motifs were selected by the Swede Jacob Hahr and include Chinese and Manchu women and Mandarins as well as landscapes and junks. Hahr also requested that mother-of-pearl be added to the mirrors, which was done by the Chinese craftsman Lauschin. The mirrors, and the painting of them, were ordered from Laqua, which shows that he evidently had plain mirrors in stock of various sizes. Notice that half of the labor for painting the mirrors was paid up front, and the other half paid on delivery. This was a common practice in Canton, among not only picture painters but silk and wallpaper painters as well.²⁶

The ten painted mirrors in Table 2 that were purchased in 1770 were supplied by Quiqua. Unfortunately, I have found no other entries to a painter with this name. There were several merchants who had a name similar to his so it is unclear whether he was actually an artist himself, or whether he simply sold painted mirrors in his shop.²⁷

The records show that a lot of European glass was imported to Canton, which was sold to Chinese artists and merchants. While there was locally pro-

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Table 2: Miscellaneous Purchases of Paintings by Swedes 1761-1770.

Date	Description	Piasters	Taels
1761.11.10	for 3 Chinese paintings (3 <i>Chinesiska målningar</i>)		1.600
1763.01.19	4 large and 6 small Chinese paintings (4 <i>stora och 6 små Chin: Målningar</i>)		
1763.02.03	to Laqua for a sample painting		0.370
1763.02.15	to Laqua for a painted mirror		7.400
1764.05.20	2 mirrors from Laqua at 16 piasters each on Jacob Hahr's account	32	23.680
	2 mirrors from Laqua at 11 piasters each, and 26 taels for ½ of the labour to paint them. The two smaller paintings were to have Chinese and Manchu women and Mandarins, and the two larger were to be painted with landscape and junks.	48	35.520
	to Lauschin for mother-of-pearl	10	7.400
	to Laqua for ½ of the labor to paint to mirrors	26	19.240
	Total for 4 mirrors purchased by Jacob Hahr	116	85.840
1770.10.15	to Quiqua for 10 painted mirrors	20	14.800

Source: Jean Abraham Grill Papers, Godegårdsarkivet F17, Nordic Museum Archive (NM), Stockholm: digital page numbers T1_00669, T1_01937, T1_06275, T1_06691, T1_07334, T1_07341, T1_07349, T1_07356, T1_07389, T1_07391.

duced glass as well, Europeans often preferred their own glass.²⁸ In fact, they sometimes brought glass panes from Europe to use as windows in their residences (factories) in Canton. In 1775, for example, the Danes imported four chests of glass panes to be used as windows in their factory, which were charged to the owner of the building Poankeequa (Pan Zhencheng 潘振承).²⁹ In 1780, the Dutch ordered 200 panes of glass from Europe, some of which were also used as windows in their factory.³⁰

The Hong merchants were often eager to get their hands on European glass and mirrors, as they could be sold fairly easily in China. The following reference from the 1810s shows that the craze for European glass continued into the nineteenth century: 'Glass shops abound in the streets of Canton, but are chiefly filled with European goods, excepting only those of the mirror makers'.³¹ We know from numerous sources that Chinese mirror painters often purchased European glass so it is unclear why they were exempted in this entry.

In 1759, the Danes brought 239 mirrors to Canton, of various sizes. They sold the mirrors to two Hong merchants: 120 mirrors to Suqua (Chen Shouguan 陳壽觀) and 119 mirrors to Swetia (Yan Ruishe 顏瑞舍).³² Some of these mirrors were undoubtedly used as gifts to superiors. In fact, it was common for local government officials to instruct Hong merchants to purchase these items for them.³³

A couple other examples from 1771 show a French ship and several English company ships importing 'window glass' and/or 'looking glass' to Canton.³⁴ In 1773, the Dutch mentioned that English company's ships had imported glass panes that year. The EIC records confirm this and show that several ships this year and in 1774 brought both 'window glass' and 'looking glass'.³⁵ These are just a few examples out of many showing a lively market for European glass in Canton some of which was turned into art objects and exported.

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Figure 3 shows a list of 77 mirrors that the Swede Michael Grubb sent to Canton in 1766, with the prices that he was expecting for them.³⁶ Table 3 shows the breakdown of the buyers and the amounts they paid. Although Figure 3 shows that they were hoping to get 1,093.5 piasters for the 77 mirrors, Table 3 shows that they only realized 864.4 piasters on the sale.

The calculations in Figure 3 do not take into account the import duties that had to be paid on the mirrors. The second to the last entry in Table 3 shows that six of the mirrors were sacrificed (probably to customs officers) to cover the cost of the duties on the entire lot. The Swedes received no money for the six mirrors, but then they did not have to pay duties on the rest of the lot.

As the Hoppo's tariff books stipulate, duties were paid in money (sycee silver), not in kind, which makes this entry suspicious. What probably happened is that the Canton customs officers accepted the six mirrors as a bribe in exchange for allowing the remaining 71 mirrors to be landed duty-free.³⁷ This was a common practice by local customs officers who essentially cheated the emperor out of his duties to benefit themselves.³⁸ Foreign mirrors were a highly sought-after item by all

officials in Canton, because they were not only useful for everyday purposes, but they also made excellent presents to superiors.³⁹ Customs officers were expected to give presents to superiors just like everyone else in government and the six mirrors would serve that purpose very well.

Note that four of the mirrors in Table 3 were purchased by the Dutch supercargo Marten Wilhelm Hulle. Hulle may have bought the mirrors so that he could have them painted in Canton and then taken home as souvenirs. Laqua purchased 21 of the mirrors, which he undoubtedly used in his reverse glass painting business. The Chinese silk man Jauqua purchased the largest number, 46 mirrors. During the 1760s, the Swedes traded regularly with a Hong merchant named Jauqua (Cai Yuguan 蔡玉官, also spelled Yokqua or Tjobqua) and he may have been the same person who purchased the mirrors.⁴⁰

An entry in the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) *dagregisters* has another entry to a mirror painter in the 1760s. While I have published this entry before in a translated monograph (Dutch to English), I think it important to repeat it here, because the man in question (Avou), is mentioned again in another reference concerning Cantonese wallpaper (see below).⁴¹

Table 3: 1766-1767 Sale of 77 Imported Mirrors in Figure 3.

Date	No.	Description	Piasters	Taels
1766.10.14	9	9 mirrors to Laqua, 5 at 17 and 4 at 15 piasters	145.000	107.300
1767.01.04	12	12 mirrors to Laqua, 11 at 14¼ and 1 at 13 piasters	169.750	125.615
1767.02.24	4	4 mirrors to the Dutch supercargo Hulle	60.000	44.400
1767.03.13	46	46 mirrors to Jauqua the silk man	621.000	459.540
	71	Subtotal (this is a mistake, as the total should be 995.750 piasters)	995.555	736.855
	6	mirrors offered in place of paying the duties on the mirrors, which amounted to 94.468 taels at 0.72 taels per piaster is said to be 131.148 piasters (which does not compute)	(131.148)	(94.468)
	77	Total (the total should be 864.602 piasters)	864.407	642.387

Source: Jean Abraham Grill Papers, Godegårdsarkivet F17, Nordic Museum Archive (NM), Stockholm: digital page numbers T1_00052, T1_05120, T1_06062, T1_06072-3, T1_06353, T1_06355, T1_06561, T1_06569, T1_07417.

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1763, Sep 30: *Several days ago, there was a lot of excitement, because it was said that the Tsjonton [governor-general] had given persons, who were not part of the Co-Hong, permission to trade with the Europeans. If this is true, this will absolutely mean the long anticipated end of this society in the near future.*

In the meantime, our merchants have always told us that it was just hot air that a painter, who paints for the Tsjonton and the Court in Peking, had taken the opportunity to say to the Tsjonton that he had a much better living when he also worked for the Europeans, but that the Co-Hong now denied him access to them. Wherefore, out of consideration, the Tsjonton had given him a chop to set up a factory where the Europeans could go in and out to have him paint something. Meanwhile this painter and his partner, Avou⁴² (who is mentioned in the books of 1758/59) are spreading around that they could ship off tea and other things.

Today I went around to these people and I found out for myself that the matter is as follows: they do say that the Co-Hong must permit them to sell and to ship tea etc., but from their secretiveness in this case I understand that they will do this in the name of one of the small Co-Hongists, such as the practice has been before.

1763, Oct 8: *Avou's whole business, which was mentioned on the thirtieth of last month, has collapsed. Up to this hour, he has not dared to come to the Europeans, and all he is free to do is nothing more than painting mirrors, etc.*⁴³

We will probably never know whether the mirror painter that the Dutch mentioned above was in fact employed by the emperor at one time. The rumor may have been as the Hong merchants suggested 'just hot air'. All of this information was second or third-hand knowledge to the Dutch and they had no way of checking its credibility. The reason the incident was recorded is probably because Avou (spelled Awue) had previously been a Hong merchant and a person with whom the Dutch had done business in 1758. If Avou had not been connected to this mirror painter, the Dutch probably would not have mentioned this incident.

Table 4 shows a more complete list of pictures, paintings, images and wallpaper (paper hangings) that were exported from Canton on the private accounts of EIC officers. All of the EIC Diaries and Consultations have now been indexed from 1700 to 1776, which has made possible the assembling of these entries.⁴⁴

There are many EIC records missing from the 1740s to the 1770s, so the figures in Table 4 should not be considered exclusive.⁴⁵ In 1760, for example, the Dutch listed all the products that were being exported from Canton on British ships that year, and among the items were 4,760 paper paintings (*pampiere schildereijen*).⁴⁶ These paintings do not appear in Table 4. There were ten English ships at Whampoa that year, eight EIC and two private ships. The Dutch did not specify which ships the paintings were on, but they were most likely sent on EIC ships, on the private accounts of EIC officers. Private ships were not allowed to trade between the United Kingdom and Asia, and

5 Bedasos Jpeglar	18 1/2	92 1/2
5 s	16 1/4	81 1/4
16 fuf	14 1/2	232
2 fuf	14 3/4	29 1/2
10 -	14	140
14 -	14 3/4	206 1/2
13 -	13 1/4	172 1/4
3 -	13	39
7 -	11	77
2 -	11 1/2	23 1/2
77		1093 1/2
Laqua Cap. N. 1.	217 1/2	
4 s	2 1/2	10
11 s		
1 s		

Fig. 3 Calculation (in Portuguese and Swedish) of the Sale of 77 Mirrors in Canton dated 12 October (1766). Courtesy of Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm (NM: F17 pp. T1_05162).

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Table 4: Pictures, Paintings, Images and Wallpaper (Paper Hangings) Exported from Canton on the Private Accounts of EIC Officers 1727-1776.

Date	Owner	Description	Source BL: IOR	Page
1727.12.20	Captain Francis Gostlin	4 cases of pictures	G/12/26	38
1729.01.18	Captain Samuel Martin	10 bundles of pictures	G/12/27	138
1730.01.12	Captain Edward Elliston	1 box of 400 pictures	G/12/28	70
1735.02.04	Mr. Wessells	2 bundles of 300 pictures	G/12/36	155
1735.02.04	Captain Samuel Martin	a bundle of pictures	G/12/36	157
1736.01.26	Richard Martin	1 box of pictures or prints	G/12/39	37
1736.06.17	John Butler	Several parcels of pictures	G/12/38	118
1737.12.14	Robert Osborne	8 bundles of pictures	G/12/42	46
1737.12.14	Thomas Best	8 bundles of pictures	G/12/42	47
1738.01.05	Captain Francis Gostlin	3,000 pictures	G/12/43	73
1739.01.12	Captain Duncan Backwell	1,000 pictures	G/12/45	105
1739.01.19	Captain Robert Bootle	6 glass pictures	G/12/44	155
1739.01.19	Captain Duncan Backwell	1,600 China pictures	G/12/45	113
1739.01.19	Captain Charles Hudson	2 boxes of paper pictures	G/12/45	114
1739.01.19	Supercargo (unspecified)	1 chest of pictures	G/12/45	115
1739.01.19	Supercargo (unspecified)	1 deal case with 12 large pictures	G/12/45	115
1739.12.06	Pigou	15 pictures	G/12/47	40
1739.12.27	Captain Philip Worth	3,100 pictures	G/12/46	73
1739.12.27	Mr. Draper	2 boxes of images	G/12/46	74
1739.12.27	William Bignoll	1 box of pictures	G/12/46	75
1740.12.22	Foster Joshua Pearkes	6 small boxes of pictures	G/12/48	69
1740.12.22	Thomas Love	1 box of pictures	G/12/48	70
1740.12.22	Captain Richard Pinnell	8 chests and boxes of pictures	G/12/48	70
1740.12.22	Officers of the ship <i>Princess Amelia</i>	1 box of pictures	G/12/48	71
1741.12.27	Jon Scarth	2 small boxes of images	G/12/49	33
1751.01.18	Officers of the ship <i>York</i>	4 chests of pictures	G/12/53	112
1751.01.18	Henry Revell	1 box of pictures	G/12/53	114
1751.01.20	Robert Macket	1 box of images	G/12/54	67
1751.01.20	Thomas Smith	1 box of images and 1 box of pictures	G/12/54	67
1751.11.10	Captain Charles Foulis	1 bundle of 40 pictures	G/12/56	62
1751.12.18	Captain George Jackson	220 pictures	G/12/55	35
1751.12.18	Tullie	1 box of pictures	G/12/55	36

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1751.12.18	Captain Matthew Court	1 box and 20 bundles of pictures	G/12/55	37
1751.12.22	William Fead	1 box of pictures	G/12/56	93
1753.12.18	Captain George Cumming	2 boxes of pictures	G/12/57	35
1753.12.18	Hillary Torriano	2 boxes, 5 bundles and several loose parcels of pictures	G/12/57	35
1759.12.31	Alexander Hume	1 box of painted glass	R/10/4	178
1765.03.17	Captain Thomas Baddison	3 boxes of paper hangings	R/10/5	136
1772.03.07	Alexander Hume	1 box of paper hangings	R/10/9	55
1772.11.20	Captain John Johnston	2 boxes of paper hangings	R/10/9	113
1772.11.20	Nat. Florence	1 box of paper hangings	R/10/9	113
1772.11.20	William White	1 box of paper hangings	R/10/9	113
1772.11.20	J. Carrick	1 box of paper hangings	R/10/9	113
1772.11.20	James Hardie	1 box of paper hangings	R/10/9	113
1772.11.20	Captain John Webb	5 (boxes?) painted glass and 1 box of images	R/10/9	113
1772.11.20	Daniel Webb	1 (box?) painted glass and 1 box of images	R/10/9	113
1773.01.09	Captain Alex. Todd	2 boxes of painted glass	R/10/9	158
1773.01.09	James Todd	1 box of painted glass	R/10/9	158
1773.01.27	Captain John Lennox	2 boxes of painted glass	R/10/9	186
1773.01.27	James Rattray	1 box of painted glass	R/10/9	186
1773.01.27	Charles Lennox	1 box of painted glass	R/10/9	186
1773.01.27	J. Buchanan	1 box of painted glass	R/10/9	186
1773.02.15	James Bradshaw	1 case of paper hangings	R/10/9	206
1775.12.04	Captain George Kent	2 cases of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1775.12.04	Lloyd	1 case of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1775.12.04	G. Fletcher	1 case of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1775.12.04	R. Burrington	1 case of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1775.12.04	G. Burg	1 case of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1775.12.04	J. Hitchman	1 case of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1775.12.04	J. Burk	1 case of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1775.12.04	William Duncan	1 case of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1775.12.04	J. Mills	1 case of paper hangings	G/12/58	133
1776.01.29	John Stable	1 box of paper hangings	G/12/58	179
1776.01.29	David Lance	1 box of paintings on glass	G/12/58	180

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these paper paintings were probably intended for the European market.

The figures in Table 4 are also not inclusive. I ended the list in 1776, not because the references stopped that year, but because that is as far as the indexing of the EIC records has been completed. There are many more entries to pictures and wallpaper after 1776, but until those later documents are indexed, it remains a very tedious and time-consuming task extracting all of the entries.

As historians of Chinese wallpaper have shown, that item had already found a market in Europe by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴⁷ As figures in Table 4 show, Chinese wallpaper gained

widespread popularity in Great Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, as well as in other European countries. In 1753, for example, the VOC purchased 200 pieces of wallpaper (*geschildered papieren*) in Canton, perhaps as an experiment or as a special order.⁴⁸ Entries in Table 5 show the Dutch purchasing more wallpaper in 1775, which left China on the Dutch ships in early 1776. From 1778 onwards, wallpaper became a regular item of the VOC trade at Canton.⁴⁹

In 1756, the Danish Asiatic Company (DAC) also began experimenting in wallpaper. Figure 4 shows a contract dated 31 October 1756 that Avou (spelled Avue, who is the same man mentioned above) made with the DAC for 1,530 pieces of wallpaper (*skilderd papierer*). Avou operated as a Hong merchant at this time, but his license was revoked when the Cohong was created in 1760. Thereafter he traded as an outside merchant. Examples below show that the DAC did not begin ordering wallpaper on a regular basis until 1776.

Beginning in 1771, the EIC began assembling lists of all exports from Canton per ship. These figures were obtained from the Hoppos' books. The Hoppos did not separate private trade from company trade, but simply assembled all figures for each ship that traded at Whampoa. Thus, from this year forward, we have the cargos that were exported from Canton assigned to ships rather than individuals.

As we can see from the entries in Table 5, by the mid-1770s British, French and Dutch ships were all carrying wallpaper from Canton to Europe. In 1771, the SOIC ship *Adolph Frederick* also carried 276 pictures to Europe. However, as noted above, because these figures came from the Hoppos' books, they do not tell us whether officers of the companies were purchasing these items, or whether the companies themselves were now trading in these art objects. For those companies that have surviving records, we can show that most, if not all, of the items in Table 5 were being shipped to Europe on private accounts.

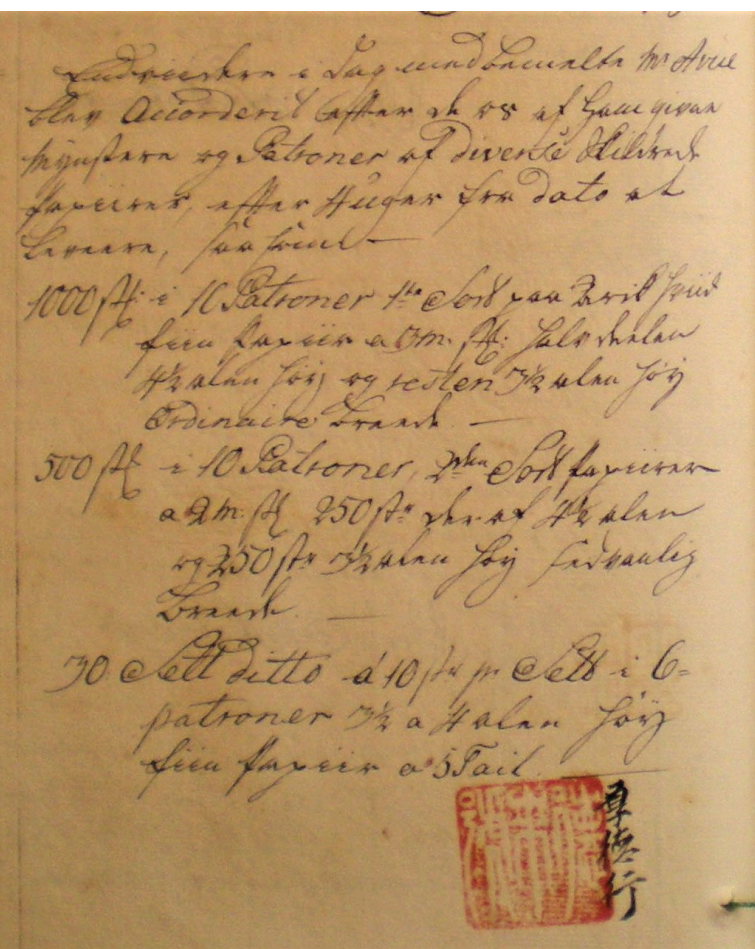


Fig. 4 Contract (in Danish) dated 31 October 1756 from the Hong merchant Avue of the Houde Hang 厚德行, to supply 1,530 pieces of wallpaper (*skildred papierer*) to the DAC. Courtesy of the Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, Ask 1136, p. 147v.

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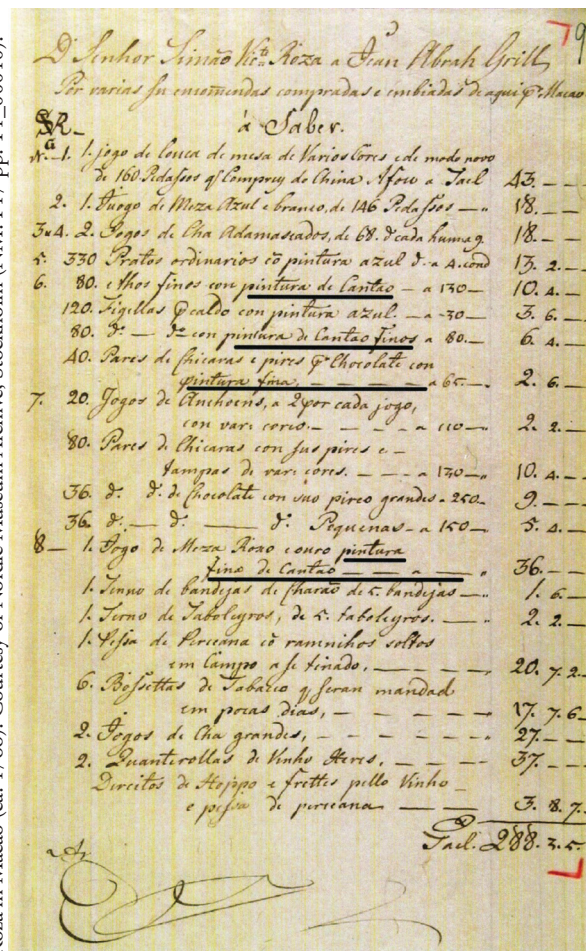
Table 5: Pictures, Images and Wallpaper (Paper Hangings) Exported from Canton European Ships, 1771-1776.

Date	Owner	Description	Source BL: IOR	Page
1771.12.00	SOIC ship <i>Adolph Frederick</i>	276 pictures	R/10/9	67
1771.12.00	Private English ship <i>Elizabeth</i>	17 images	R/10/9	70
1773.02.15	French ship <i>Duras</i>	1,712 paper hangings	R/10/9	223
1773.02.15	French ship <i>Massiac</i>	698 paper hangings	R/10/9	224
1776.01.29	EIC ship <i>Morse</i>	3.98 piculs of pictures	G/12/58	Exports
1776.01.29	EIC ship <i>Rochford</i>	22 images	G/12/58	Exports
1776.01.29	EIC ship <i>Grosvenor</i>	2,188 paper hangings	G/12/58	Exports
1776.01.29	EIC ship <i>Queen</i>	48 paper hangings	G/12/58	Exports
1776.01.29	Private English ship <i>Rumbold</i>	500 paper hangings	G/12/58	Exports
1776.01.29	VOC ship <i>Morgenster</i>	2,000 paper hangings	G/12/58	Exports
1776.01.29	VOC ship <i>Europa</i>	756 paper hangings	G/12/58	Exports
1776.01.29	Private French ship <i>Alexandre</i>	150 paper hangings	G/12/58	Exports

The British entries in Table 5 cannot be matched with those in Table 4, because the former entries are given as boxes and cases, whereas the latter entries are given as pieces. The entries do not show up in the EIC's ledgers so we can assume they were all part of the privileged private trade. Between the British examples in Table 4, the VOC and DAC examples above and below, and the examples shown in Table 5, we can see that the craze for Chinese wallpaper expanded substantially across Europe in the 1770s.

We often think of Cantonese export art objects as being produced and sold in Canton. While they do seem to have been made primarily in that city, it was possible to purchase art objects in Macao as well. Figure 5 shows a list of items that the Swede Jean Abraham Grill purchased from Simão Vincente Roza in Macao in 1766. It includes several entries (underlined> to 'fine painting of Canton' (*pintura fina de Cantão*). Some of these paintings were obviously very tiny, because they were just 0.065 to 0.080 taels each. The fine leather Canton painting of the 'Jogo de Meza Roko', on the other hand, sold for 36 taels (50 piasters).

Fig. 5 Invoice (in Portuguese) of Items Purchased by the Swede Jean Abraham Grill from Simão Vincente Roza in Macao (ca. 1766). Courtesy of Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm (NM: F17 pp. T1_00010).



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Table 6: Paintings Ordered from Puqua on 5 September 1776 by the DAC.

Pieces	Description	Piasters per painting
10	depicting Chinese furniture, ornaments, fruit and flowers	4.0
10	flowered pieces	3.0
10	bird pieces	3.0
5	depicting Whampoa Road	4.0
5	depicting the 13 Hongts along the river in Canton	5.0
10	Chinese landscapes	3.5
	To be delivered in 75 days	

Source: Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen (RAC): Ask 1176, 1776.09.05, p. 74r.

As is shown in Table 6, many Canton paintings could be purchased in 1766 for 3 to 5 piasters. This was equal to two to three months' wages of a common laborer in Canton or one to two months wages of a skilled worker.⁵⁰

Another well-known painter in Canton was Puqua. Table 6 shows a list of paintings that the Danes ordered from Puqua in 1776. The Danes referred to these paintings as *dørstykker* which are paintings that are traditionally placed above doors or windows (for an example, see Figure 6).

In January 1780, the Danes engaged Puqua again and this time referred to him as 'the most famous painter here in Canton named Puqua' (*den berømteste Maler her i Canton, navnlig Puqua*).⁵¹ Ever since George Henry Mason published a series of Puqua's paintings of 'Trades and Occupations' in a book entitled *The Costume of China* (1800), the celebrated artist has been the subject of much discussion.⁵² Clunas, Crossman, Wilson, Jiang, Shang and numerous other scholars have devoted space to Puqua.⁵³ Crossman has shown from American sources that Puqua was also a 'painter on glass'.⁵⁴

Some of the paintings in Table 6 may have survived in Denmark, but to date, none of them have

been identified. These paintings were specially ordered from Puqua and he had 75 days to complete them. He delivered the paintings on 27 November 1776, which was actually 83 days later. The Danes packed the *dørstykker* into one chest and sent them home on the ship *Kongen af Danmark*.⁵⁵

Whether the pieces were ordered for specific clientele or simply as an experiment to test the market in Denmark, is unknown. I have found no references in the DAC records to other such orders in later years, so this seems to have been a one-off purchase. If they were indeed used as *dørstykker*, as suggested and as is shown in Figure 6, then they may still exist somewhere in Denmark in private homes or mansions.

I have already discussed silk and wallpaper painters in another study, but since publishing that book, I have found more references, which I present here.⁵⁶ In 1776 and 1777, the DAC hired the Chinese painter named Matheus to paint some of their silk fabrics.⁵⁷ The Danes also considered ordering canvas paintings from Matheus so he apparently did not restrict his business only to fabrics.⁵⁸ As far as the records reveal, however, the Danes did not actually purchase any paintings from Matheus this year. The reason for this is un-

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known. But they did order canvas paintings from Puqua (as shown in Table 6).

In 1776, the Danes also hired painter Lo Thunqua to paint silk fabrics and wallpaper.⁵⁹ In that year, they ordered painted wallpaper from Syqua and Fouqua as well.⁶⁰ In 1777, Fouqua was hired to paint silk fabrics.⁶¹ Matheus, Lo Thunqua, Syqua and Fouqua are all new names connected to the painting of silk and/or wallpaper in Canton, who were unknown to me previously.

Unlike the other three men, Syqua seems to have been more like Pinquy above, in that he was more of a merchant than an artist-merchant. Even though the Danes ordered a variety of painted wallpaper from him in 1776 and purchased 60 paintings on paper from him in 1781, they did not mention whether or not he had actually painted those items himself.⁶² In 1776,

the Danes purchased fireworks and mother-of-pearl from Syqua.⁶³ In 1778 and a couple years thereafter, they purchased Nanking raw silk from him.⁶⁴ In 1778, the Danes also mentioned that Syqua supplied raw silk to the French ship *le Duguesclin*.⁶⁵ In 1779 and 1781, he sold tea to the Danes.⁶⁶ In 1780 and 1782, the Danes referred to him as *Silkehandler Syqua*.⁶⁷

Syqua appears to have been an opportunist who dealt in whatever product happened to come his way and could produce a profit. Even though he dealt in painted wallpaper and paintings on paper, and may have painted those items himself, he does not appear to have been devoted to that profession like other Cantonese artists. All of the artists who sold their own paintings were, of course, also merchants, which is why I refer to them as artist-merchants. Their main staple was selling their art. This was not the case with Syqua.



Fig.6 Room in Bernstorff Slot, Copenhagen.

[https://www.google.co.jp/search?q=3129df6283c347348a7ebcb3a35cd584&rlz=1T4ASUT_enMO445MO450&ctbm=isch&ctbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiwJICH_sHWAhUCu7wKHxKIDwoQsAQIjw&biw=1366&bih=589&gws_rd=cr&cdr=0&cei=sdPJWaM0hjzBazTkogF] [accessed 2017.09.26]

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Table 7: Entries in John Bower's Account Book from Canton 1797.

Date	Description	Dollars
1797.10.30	Mewaa a painter in China Street. 1 box containing 4 ps. paintings on Canvass viz he to pay the duties. 1 view Factories at Canton 1 ditto Whampoa 1 ditto Bogue Tigris 1 ditto Macao	 6.75 6.75 6.75 6.75
1797.11.00	Focqua a Painter in the City of Canton (# 官) [he sold paintings, landscapes, and frames]	n/a
1797.11.00	Young Spilum (Spoilum) Painter China Street (Shi Bei Lin 士卑林). 12 ps. paintings Canton	n/a

Source: Brown University, John Carter Brown Library, Brown Papers, Box 1131, F1 Account Book of purchases made in China by John Bowers, Supercargo, 1797.

I have already discussed the silk and wallpaper painter Anthony and the wallpaper painter Seequa in another study, but a few new references have emerged since then.⁶⁸ In 1781, the Danes ordered wallpaper from both of these artists, and another man by the name of Assing.⁶⁹ There was a silk dealer by this name who sold silk to the Danes from 1782 to 1790, and again in 1799, and could very likely be the same person who shows up in those records in 1781 dealing in wallpaper.⁷⁰ If this is true, then Assing was probably a merchant similar to Syqua, who sold painted wallpaper but may not have actually painted it himself.⁷¹

In 1782 the Danes purchased some figurines from an artist named Lapqua, which were packed into three chests.⁷² There is no mention of whether this Lapqua was the same person as the reverse glass painter mentioned above. If they were one and the same, he would certainly be in his senior years. In 1786 and 1787, the Danes bought many more figurines, but this time from the artist Tyun. Tyun's prices were very consistent at 20 taels per pair. The DAC ordered pairs of Chinese children, teenagers, elderly couples, a pair of Manchus, a pair of Mandarins, and an

emperor and empress. They ordered the figurines in September and Tyun delivered them three or four months later, in December and January.⁷³ As Crossman has pointed out, Americans also purchased figures from Tyun (spelled Thune or Tyune) in the 1780s.⁷⁴

Table 7 shows a few more references to Cantonese painters in the American John Bower's account book from 1797.

Mewaa and Spoilum were both located on China Street, which in 1797 was like a huge shopping mall where anything and everything could be found for sale. China Street was not created until 1760 so it does not appear in the 1748 map in Figure 2.⁷⁵ Focqua's address is given as 'City of Canton', but he was probably located somewhere near the factories where foreigners were free to roam. The three men appear to have been competitors. Crossman, Conner and others have discussed Focqua and Spoilum at length, as they were two well-known painters of their time.

Other Americans, of course, also purchased objects from Cantonese artisans, and most of those entries can be found in Crossman's book.⁷⁶ I just list a couple more here which I ran across and which I have

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not seen published before. In 1826, Samuel Archer mentioned a ‘Fatqua Miniature Painter and Handsome Face Modeller’ in Canton.⁷⁷ In 1830, Nathan Dunn mentioned the Cantonese painters Lamqua (Lin Ji 林記) and Fuiqua.⁷⁸ These two artists are very well-known as well so I only provide these entries to add to their historiography.

The following reference shows that Cantonese artists could be encouraged to make house calls.

*1836, Feb 8: I have a Chinese painter in my room Copying your Sweet Miniature. I would not let him have it at his own house, as it would be exposed to every one who visited his Store. He calls every morning at 11 o'clock and works until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. He has not yet finished it, but so far I am Satisfied that it will be a true Copy, and the painting is very Superior.*⁷⁹

Unfortunately, the author of the letter did not mention the name of the Chinese artist or how long it took to finish the painting. “He calls every morning” and worked about five hours each day, which suggests that this was a job that could not be done in just a couple of days. The reference is important because it is additional evidence showing the willingness of these men to do whatever was needed to please their customers. Because he was just copying from a miniature, he could have insisted on doing the work in his shop, as was usually the case with these types of special orders. This entry adds another small footnote to Maria Mok’s argument that Cantonese export artists were, on the whole, intensely focused on satisfying their customers.⁸⁰

There are numerous other entries to Canton painters in published travel journals, China coast newspapers, and other publications such as the *Chinese Repository*, all of which are well-known to art historians and provide nothing new, so I will not discuss them here.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I list some miscellaneous references to Chinese artists that I have run across over the years, and which, for the most part, have remained unknown. Some of these citations come from documents written by private individuals who travelled to China. Although the entries are brief in nature and few in number, they nonetheless show that export art had been part of the trade since the early eighteenth century. This is especially true with reverse glass paintings. Although there are gaps in the historical narrative, the evidence suggests that artisans were at work in Canton painting images for export as early as 1700. Considering that Portuguese and Spanish merchants were already trading at Canton through Macao, a century and a half before other Europeans began to arrive, it is very likely that some of these Cantonese artists were exporting their art much earlier than what the evidence presented here suggests.

The fact that the export cargos from 1699 to 1701 were to include tens of thousands of pictures, strongly suggests that there was already a strong demand for these items in Europe. Unfortunately, the records do not reveal the actual number of fans and pictures that were acquired. The fact that the EIC did not repeat these orders in later years, and instead, left that commerce to private individuals, suggests that the Company’s directors did not see mass marketing of these types of art objects to be a viable business.

From 1699 to 1701, it was probably very unrealistic to find enough artists who could produce such a large number of fans and pictures, especially when we consider that the ships were usually only in China for about three or four months. We can imagine that word about these huge orders probably spread throughout the artisan community very quickly producing rumors that export art in Amoy and Canton was about to become a much larger industry. Eventually the European ships stopped going to Amoy and just concentrated on Canton, which gave rise to a unique genre of Cantonese

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export art. But as we can see from these examples, this form of art was probably already being experimented with by the late seventeenth century.

While we only have bits and pieces of information from the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the data nonetheless testify to the presence of a thriving export art market. It is unlikely that painter Quouqua sold his 24 paintings in 1738, and then moved on to do something else. He had already learned his trade to the point that he could produce items that were in demand. He undoubtedly had been producing paintings for many years by this time. He was very likely one of the suppliers of the pictures listed in Table 4.

One should not go away thinking that the examples above are the only references to Cantonese export art in the early eighteenth century. It makes no sense that artists in Canton would produce paintings in 1700 and 1701, then nothing until 1713 and 1714, then nothing until 1719 and 1720, and then nothing until the late 1720s. Rather than disconnection, what these disparate references are showing is that there was continuity. Artists could not have supported themselves by simply selling a few paintings every five or ten years, especially when we look at the prices they were getting. Obviously, some of the artists were practicing their trade all along. As Table 4 shows, from the late 1720s onward the EIC officers exported pictures from Canton quite regularly. Some of the other companies' officers and private traders were likely doing the same, but records of those transactions have not survived. As more documents emerge from the China trade, we will hopefully be able to fill in more of these gaps in the chronology.

There were a number of artists active in Canton long before *Spoilum* emerged in the 1770s.⁸¹ *Spoilum's* work was a continuation of what had been going on as far back as 1700, and maybe earlier. The demand for Canton export art continued

to grow in popularity and by the late eighteenth century was supporting several workshops. As Maria Mok has recently shown, competition helped to keep prices down, and shopkeepers intensely focused on gaining repeat customers, all of which is evidenced in the examples presented here. These tidbits of information by themselves show us very little about the trade in art objects. But when we assemble them together, and then fill in the blanks as best as we can, we begin to see a much larger picture of a thriving art market in Canton as is suggested in the scene in Figure 1. From the early years of the eighteenth century to the end of the Canton trade in 1842, the export art market grew decade after decade in parallel with the growth in the numbers of foreigners who arrived.

Cantonese export art was indeed a key component of the commerce, which undoubtedly added greatly to the increased attraction of the China trade in general. While the monetary value of the art market was miniscule at best, the intrinsic value of Chinese export art is incalculable. As far as longevity is concerned, the great China tea trade of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has come and gone, with nothing left behind except a huge tome of papers to explain to us what happened. In contrast, the tiny shops and miniscule operations of the Cantonese artists, which barely registered as a viable part of the commerce in the eighteenth century, has now, in effect, outlived, and possibly outgrown in value, the mighty tea trade. The monetary and aesthetic value of Chinese export art objects from the period has expanded far beyond what any of the Cantonese artists could have dreamed would happen. While the great tea merchants from the period are now just passing footnotes in history books, the once forgotten faces of the Cantonese artists are increasing in their fame and popularity, which makes all of these tidbits of information that much more important. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* Vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016) (hereafter MCM 2), Chapter 10.
- 2 Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade. Paintings, Furnishings and Exotic Curiosities* (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1988).
- 3 Chinese export paintings, also called Chinese trade paintings, emerged in Canton during the era of the Canton trade (ca. 1700 to 1842).
- 4 Michael North, 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', paper presented at the Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference in Honolulu, 2011.
- 5 Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), 10. The private cargo lists that Clunas refers to show paintings being exported in 1727 and 1729. The original source is: British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR), G/12/26, p. 38 and G/12/28, p. 70.
- 6 BL: IOR G/12/4, pp. 515-6.
- 7 BL: IOR G/12/5, p. 610.
- 8 BL: IOR G/12/5, p. 641.
- 9 BL: IOR G/12/5, p. 643.
- 10 BL: IOR G/12/6, 1700.12.30, p. 815.
- 11 BL: IOR G/12/6, 1700.10.30, p. 826. This list is from October 1700, but the *Northumberland* traded at Canton in 1701 (BL: IOR L/MAR/A/CLII, entry dated 1701.07.25). These entries appear in a list entitled 'Abstract List of Goods proper to be invested on the Northumberland at Canton in China'.
- 12 National Archive, London (NAL): C/106/171 Scattergood v Raworth. There are no page numbers in this collection, and it has many different types of documents. See the untitled booklet that has the purchases in Canton for 1713 and look for the entries under 'Acc'. of Goods bought of Pinquy' and 'M'. Jn° Scattergood'.
- 13 Earl H. Pritchard, 'Private Trade between England and China in the Eighteenth Century (Concluded)'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1: 2 (April 1958): 221-256. See p. 241.
- 14 NAL: C/106/171 Scattergood v Raworth. There is no date on this letter, because these are just copies of the originals. The letter appears in a booklet with other letters, some of which are dated May 1719. Unfortunately, this booklet also has no page numbers. The letter is addressed anonymously to "My Dear" and is not signed, but is assumed to have been written by Scattergood.
- 15 NAL: C/106/171 Scattergood v Raworth. There is no date on this letter, but it is grouped with other letters from 1720.
- 16 Jean-Baptiste Grosier Du Halde, *Description Geographique Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de L'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise* 4 vols. (Paris: P.G. le Mercier, 1735). Vol. 1. Title page of chapter 'Province de Quang-tong', before p. 221. Thanks to Ann Waltner at the University of Minnesota for bringing this reference to my attention.
- 17 BL: IOR G/12/8, pp. 1375-1380.
- 18 BL: IOR G/12/8, p. 1377.
- 19 Patrick Conner, "Mysteries of Deeper Consequences" Westerners in Chinese Reverse-Glass Painting of the 18th Century', *Arts of Asia* (September-October 2016), 124-36. The Bootte reference can be found in BL: IOR G/12/44, 1739.01.17, p. 155.
- 20 Patrick Conner, *The Hongs of Canton. Western Merchants in South China 1700-1900, as seen in Chinese Export Paintings* (London: English Art Books, 2009), 46-7; and Conner, "Mysteries of Deeper Consequences", 126.
- 21 Pehr Osbeck, *Dagbok öfver en Ostindisk Resa åren 1750, 1751, 1752* (Stockholm: 1757. Reprint, Redviva Publishing House, 1969), 150.
- 22 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preuischer Kulturbesitz: 'The Hoppo-Book of Canton' (1753). See the "The Book of Comparison", p. 36. http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN3346157598&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&DMDID= [accessed 2017.09.24]
- 23 Huang Chao and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Hoppon Tang Ying 唐英 1750-1751 and the Development of the Guangdong Maritime Customs', *Journal of Asian History* 51: 2 (2017), 1-35. See page 10.
- 24 For a comparison of Figure 2 with a later map, see Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760-1822: Reading History in Art* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 93.
- 25 William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese buildings, furniture, dresses, machines, and utensils* (London: 1757).
- 26 MCM 2: section entitled 'Silk Painters and Embroiderers', pp. 201-4.
- 27 For several examples of merchants called 'Quiqua', see the indexes in MCM 2 and Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*. Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011) (hereafter MCM 1).
- 28 For a more extensive study of European glass in China, see Emily Curtis, *Glass Exchange between Europe and China, 1550-1800* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2009).
- 29 Rigsarkivet (National Archives), Copenhagen (RAC): Ask 1173, fol. 51, 1775, Jan 15: Pr "Glas Ruder til Winduer 4 kister" (four chests of glass panes for windows). These chests were charged to the owner of the building, Poankeequa, amounting to 225.18 taels. See also, Van Dyke and Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories*, 15.
- 30 National Archives, The Hague (NAH): Canton 224, *Eijsch* dated 1780.01.14, p. 218.
- 31 Clarke Abel, *Narrative of a Journey in the Interior of China, and*

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- of a Voyage to and from that country in the Years 1816 and 1817; containing an account of the most interesting transactions of Lord Amherst's Embassy to the Court of Peking, and observations on the countries which it visited (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), 213.
- 32 RAC: Ask 2213, see entries dated August 13 under the headings: Speyle, Suisia and Secqua and the *Factum* in Ask 1139, pp. 153r and 160v.
- 33 MCM 1: 111, 208; MCM 2: 115. For a complicated example of the problems that could arise when officials pressured Hong merchants to purchase foreign novelty items, including mirrors, see Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Canton Linguists in the 1730s: Managers of the Margins of Trade', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong* 57 (September 2017): 1-29.
- 34 BL: IOR R/10/9 'Imports. Canton 1771/2', p. 64, 'Imports per the Company's Ships', pp. 71-8.
- 35 NAH: VOC 4411 and Canton 283 'Lyst der Aanbreng te Canton'; and BL: IOR R/10/9 (1773) pp. 212-20 and (1774) pp. 113-22.
- 36 Although it is not obvious, Figure 3 is written in Portuguese and Swedish. The first entry mentions 'Pedazos Speglar'. Pedazos is Portuguese for 'pieces' and speglar is Swedish for 'mirrors'.
- 37 For further elaboration of this sale, see Jean Abraham Grill Papers, Godegårdsarkivet F17, Nordic Museum Archive (NM), Stockholm: digital page numbers T1_06072-3, T1_06275, T1_06353, T1_06355, T1_07417.
- 38 For a discussion of the various ways the customs officers could be bribed in Canton, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), Index entry 'connivances'.
- 39 For several examples of Chinese officials purchasing and ordering mirrors from foreigners, see MCM 1: 111, 155, 208, 482n3 and MCM 2: 115 and 150. In 1731, the Hoppo in Canton requested the Dutch to bring 20 mirrors from Europe, for him, on their next voyage to China. NAH: VOC 4376, *dagregister*, 1731.12.29.
- 40 MCM 2: Appendix 1B, pp. 222-3.
- 41 Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*. 1763 (Macao: Macao Cultural Institute, 2008), 129-31. This reference is also mention in MCM 1: 155.
- 42 Avou (also spelled Awue) was one of the twelve sons of Yan Deshe 顏德舍, who was a Hong merchant and owner of the Taihe Hang 泰和行. For Avou's (Awue) story, see MCM 1: 153-5.
- 43 Van Dyke and Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*. 1763, 129-31.
- 44 MCM 2: xxvii.
- 45 For a brief discussion of the missing records in the EIC collection, see MCM 2: xxvii, 70, 341n5, 342n22.
- 46 NAH: VOC 4384, trade report dated 1761.01.11, p. 630.
- 47 Emile de Bruijn, Andrew Bush and Helen Clifford, *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*. (Swindon, Wiltshire, UK: CPI Anthony Rowe and Tangent Snowball, 2014), 3-5. See also, Emile de Bruijn, *Chinese Wallpaper in Britain and Ireland* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, Ltd., 2017).
- 48 NAH: Canton 316, trade report dated 1753.11.09.
- 49 MCM 2: 204.
- 50 Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Operational Efficiencies and the Decline of the Chinese Junk Trade in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Connection', pp. 223-246. In *Shipping Efficiency and Economic Growth 1350-1800*, ed. Richard Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2011), see page 238.
- 51 RAC: Ask 235, letter no. 35, dated 1780.01.10, 2nd page.
- 52 George Henry Mason, *The Costume of China, Illustrated by Sixty Engravings with Explanations in English and French* (London: S. Gosnell, 1800).
- 53 Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours*, 32-3. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts*, 185; Ming Wilson and Liu Zhiwei, eds. *Souvenir from Canton. Chinese Export Paintings from the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2003), 12; Jiang Yinghe 江澄河, *Qing dai yang hua yu guang zhou kou an* 清代洋畫與廣州口岸 (Western Painting and Canton Port During the Qing Period). (Beijing: 中華書局, 2007), 215; William Shang, 'Picturesque Representations: The Influence of a Chinese Artist in William Alexander's Drawings', *Orientalism* 45, no. 8 (November/December 2014), 82-6.
- 54 Crossman, *The Decorative Arts*, 40.
- 55 RAC: Ask 1176, 1776.11.27, p. 101v.
- 56 MCM 2: 201-4.
- 57 RAC: Ask 1175, 1776.12.04, p. 98r and Ask 1177, 1777.10.25, p. 98v.
- 58 RAC: Ask 1175, 1776.09.05, p. 66v.
- 59 RAC: Ask 1175, 1776.08.26, p. 61v, 1776.11.23, p. 87v, 1776.12.04, p. 98r, 1776.12.09, p. 102r.
- 60 RAC: Ask 1175, 1776.08.16, p. 55v, 1776.08.17, p. 56r, 1776.11.23, p. 88r.
- 61 RAC: Ask 1177, 1777.10.02, p. 68v, 1778.01.02, p. 144r,
- 62 RAC: Ask 1175, 1776.08.17, pp. 56r, 61v, Ask 1185, 1781.12.15, p. 86r, Ask 1187, 1781.12.16, p. 46r.
- 63 RAC: Ask 1175, 1776.12.06, p. 99r, Ask 1176, 1776.08.18, p. 62v.
- 64 RAC: Ask 1179, 1778.09.26, p. 83r, 1778.10.10, p. 86r, 1778.11.24, p. 99v, 1778.12.25, p. 115r, 1778.12.28, p. 117v, Ask 1180, 1779.10.13, p. 100r, 1779.10.15, p. 101v.
- 65 RAC: Ask 1179, 1778.12.17, pp. 108-9.
- 66 RAC: Ask 1180, 1779.11.30, p. 129r, Ask 1185, 1781.12.25, p. 93v, Ask 1187, 1781.12.25, p. 53v.
- 67 RAC: Ask 1181, 1780.01.06, p. 140v, Ask 1186, 1782 May, p. 39r.
- 68 MCM 2: 201-4.
- 69 RAC: Ask 1187, 1781.12.10, p. 39r, 1781.12.16, p. 46r, 1782.01.24, p. 80v, 1782.01.29, p. 82r.
- 70 MCM 2: 200.
- 71 For other references to the Danes and the Dutch ordering

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- wallpaper from Seequa and/or Anthony, see MCM 2: 201-4.
- 72 RAC: Ask 1186, 1782.12.18, p. 112v.
- 73 RAC: Ask 1201, 1786.09.29, p. 56r, 1786.12.21, p. 97v, 1787.01.04, p. 107r, Ask 1202, 1787.09.21, p. 66r, 1788.01.12, p. 123r.
- 74 Crossman, *The Decorative Arts*, 289.
- 75 Van Dyke and Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories*, Chapter 9.
- 76 Crossman, *The Decorative Arts*, 54.
- 77 Independence Seaport Museum, Philadelphia, Samuel Archer Letters, Letter No. 17, undated, but these letters are from 1826.
- 78 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, John W. Rulon Papers, 1807-1861, Collection #1691, Series 2b: Bills & Receipts, 1807-1837, Box 9. These two entries are from receipts of items purchased by Nathan Dunn in Canton in 1830.
- 79 Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Sword Family Papers, Box 1, letter to Miss Mary Parry, dated 1836.02.08.
- 80 Maria Kar-wing Mok, 'Trading with Traders: The Wonders of Cantonese Shopkeepers'. *Review of Culture* 54 (2017), 103-115.
- 81 Crossman, *The Decorative Arts*, idem and list of Chinese painters on pp. 406-7.

