

Historical Pictures of South China Coast in Dr. George Ernest Morrison's Asiatic Library now a part of the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library)*

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I. Introduction

With the invention and advancement of photography and video recording techniques, visual images of the South China Coast can demonstrate far superior testimony of events, accuracy of minor details of depicted scenes; which we rely more than hearsay evidence. Still, we must take into consideration how the scenes or events depicted are interpreted. In other words, to what extent did human subjectivity or objectiveness influence the particular photograph or footage presented in front of us. We must always consider how the scene or event was taken, and edited to meet the demands and taste of those involved. Contrary to this, works by amateur, as well as professional artists was not only widely practiced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it often reached high technical and artistic levels, the finished works surpasses discreteness and considered reliable historical records of South China Coast, as I have witnessed during my research in Hong Kong. These historical pictures¹⁾, often made without or to some degree of thought of posterity, fortunately survives in the Morrison collection, now a part of the Toyo Bunko 東洋文庫 (Oriental Library).

The unique collection of rare historical pictures (China Trade paintings) from late eighteenth to early twentieth century, available to serious students and scholars, particularly for those concerned with studies of late eighteenth to early twentieth century China, lies virtually unnoticed at the Toyo Bunko in Tokyo, Japan. This Collection formerly known as Dr. G.E. Morrison's "Asiatic Library" アジア文庫 was purchased by Baron Iwasaki Hisaya 岩崎久彌 (1865–1955) in August 1917 and transferred to Tokyo that same year.²⁾ Dr. George Ernest Morrison (1862–1920) was a resident correspondent for the "Times" of London, initially from November 1895 in Indo-China, Siam and the Shan States, and later from

*Due to page limitation and lack of illustrations, the author refers to other publications for visual reference.

March 1897 he was stationed in Peking 北京, reporting on the situation in the Far East with special reference to China.³⁾ From 1912 to 1917, Morrison was appointed by Yuan Shih-kai 袁世凱, the first President of Republic of China as a political adviser to the Chinese Government and eventually resigned from his post in 1920, after serving four presidents.

The transfer of Morrison's collection was made possible when a friend of Morrison, Odagiri Masunosuke 小田切萬壽之助 (1868–1941), an official of the Yokohama Specie Bank 橫濱正金銀行, stationed at the Peking branch, who fully understood the value of the materials, heard about Morrison's plan to sell the collection. Odagiri then informed the bank president, Inoue Junnosuke 井上準之助 (1869–1932), who in turn urged Iwasaki to purchase the collection. At the time, there were offers from higher institutions such as Harvard, Yale, University of California at Berkeley, and even from the Government-General of Korea. Since the first offer Morrison received came from the Odagiri, he refused the others and parted with his prize collection for £35,000 and furthermore, Morrison hoped to keep these materials on Asia, particularly China, in the Far East.

The arrival of the Morrison Library was a significant event in the Japanese academic circle of oriental studies. The Morrison collection completely covered not only all the work of European and American sinologists so far known to the Japanese, but also works which, though known to them, they had never actually set their eyes on, as well as many other publications of which they did not even know the names.

The actual number of this collection is given as 24,000 volumes including not only separate volumes or serial volumes of academic journals, but also small pamphlets, off-prints, maps and engravings counted singly. Unfortunately, various sources give different figures⁴⁾ of volumes, therefore the exact number of engravings/prints, watercolours and drawings are still being tabulated and compiled by the present author. In the Introduction of the *Catalogue of the Asiatic Library of Dr. G.E. Morrison, Now a Part of the Oriental Library, Tokyo, Japan*, (hereafter *Morrison Catalogue*) 2 vols., published by the Oriental Library in 1924, Morrison states:

Need forced me to form such a library. . . I found here [Peking] no library worthy of the name; there were only scattered collections of books, more or less scanty, in various private hands. No library was accessible to a serious student. No serious library existed. There were no books on Botany, Natural History and Geology of China; no attempt had been made to form a collection of works on any special subjects other than the missionary question dealing with China. Sir Robert Hart [1835–1911, the first Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs] had a few books-presentation copies mostly of works of travel, and a meagre collection of Blue Books and Consular Reports. At the Old Customs Mess there were few books, including a set of the Chinese Repository (cut down and cheaply re-bound), formerly

the property of General [Charles George] Gordon [1833–1885]. Some of the Missionaries had a number of books, dealing mainly with the language and with missionary enterprise in China.⁵⁾

Thus necessity and research motivation prompted Morrison to collect materials on China written in western languages. Morrison's collection was stored at his residence on Wang-fu-ching Ta-chieh 王府井大街 Peking, where he had built a splendid concrete library for the storage of his books, employed a librarian for their arrangement, and finally opened the library to the public, making it available for general use. He himself called this the "Asiatic Library", but was known to the world as the "Chinese Library of Dr. Morrison" and very highly regarded not only in China but throughout the Far East, as the most complete collection of works in European languages concerning China.

Today, 80 years after the transfer of the Morrison Collection, along with other acquisitions, the Toyo Bunko is well known for source materials for Chinese studies, but Morrison's collection of historical pictures of China has been largely ignored by scholars and deserves extensive research, as a visual medium to substantiate documents to further develop studies on late eighteenth to early twentieth century China. As mentioned in past Toyo Bunko exhibition catalogues, the collection is rarely shown to the general public and so far been known only to a handful of art historians (mostly Chinnery scholars), a few collectors and even fewer art and antique book dealers. Hopefully this paper will shed some light on the historical pictures in the Morrison collection; which other than being valuable historical visual information, can also serve as source material in the field of East-West relations or trade relations, analysis of comparative cultural studies, ethnohistory and related studies. Needless to say, this paper merely deals with certain aspects of the historical pictures dated from late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century China, specifically the South China Coastal region, found in the Morrison collection.

Early Views of China

Before discussing the content of the Morrison collection, we must first consider the significance of these historical pictures to be used as visual records for historians. As well documented in numerous sources, visual representation in the service of science began several centuries ago, but questions remain as to exactly when graphic record was first used as evidence for the occurrence of an event. The first bits of information concerning the Celestial Empire were included in sixteenth and early seventeenth century, if not earlier, descriptions of China found in travel literature. However, these travel literature can be interpreted as an early source of cross-cultural contact or material illustrating European attitudes toward non-white and non-western culture that contributed significantly to the standardization of later cultural interpretations. It was relatively common

for authors of sixteenth century travel literature to describe non-western peoples using wild-man folklore imagery such as the wild and monstrous men living in Asia.⁶⁾

In visual arts, the connotation of non-western or 'other' often had and perhaps even today, to a certain degree has implications of being exotic. As Bernard Smith points out in his extensive research of Captain James Cook's (1728–1779) travels, "it [exotic] was a category of accommodation by means of which the European perceived and interpreted the so-called 'other' according to the limits and constraints of European understanding."⁷⁾ Thus, European understanding, or specifically, previous cultural conditioning among the Europeans had been institutionalized and with such prior framework of experience, it had become extremely difficult to realistically represent the so-called 'other' as they would perceive acceptable to themselves to be seen or portrayed. Similar to what Edward Said has called 'orientalism' is but one of the ways the European has sought to come to terms with the diversities of non-European.⁸⁾ Smith further elaborates, "the sense in which exotic, as when we speak of an exotic plant or animal, simply means foreign is not helpful in understanding it as an aesthetic category or an aesthetic genre. An exotic plant originates in Europe, or at least in the European mind when it is seeking to perceive and understand the non-European. In this sense the exotic is an essential part of the parent culture: a hybrid constructed from a vision of the non-European. Consider Chinoiserie, Japonisme, orientalism. It is a fantasy bridge between the homely and the foreign. As such it has lived a discontinuous half-life as a sub-genre of European art, mainly in the decorative arts."⁹⁾

However, the exotic was not always to be found in remote distant lands from Europe. It could be found, within the territorial boundaries of Europe, as well as in unexplored regions outside Europe. Thus, in Europe, the 'other' may be perceived as 'savage' or 'strange', in turn 'exotic' by different social groups according to their previous cultural conditioning. But taken in the context of our experience of the visual display, its affordances enters, of course, a vital element of cultural conditioning.¹⁰⁾ This is hardly surprising because it is also true of visual experience as a whole, as the example of the chair, which might afford 'being sat on' to a Westerner but not to someone from another culture, showed.¹¹⁾ We see things not as collections of neutral properties but in terms of their uses, functions and connotations for us and this is not invalidated because our experience of them is to a greater or lesser degree culturally conditioned.¹²⁾ The romantics of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries felt an increasing need to establish new connections between the imaginative process and the strangeness of things not European. They came to realize that so-called 'exotic' objects should not only be described with truth and clarity in themselves but that they should also be represented within a credible frame of relationships.¹³⁾

It was only in the 1660s that reliable portrayals of China were published, namely by Johann Nieuhoff (1618–1672) who accompanied the Dutch Embassy

which reached Peking in 1656. His work, *L'ambassade de la Compagnie orientale des Provinces Unies vers l'empereur de la Chine* (*An Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China*), was published in 1665 at Leyden and within a few years, Nieuhoff's work went through several new editions and translations into Dutch, German, English, and Latin were published. Another is Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) who had never travelled to the Far East, but worked in Rome where he had access to the archives of the Jesuit mission and numerous opportunities to meet missionaries on their way to or from China.¹⁴⁾ His work *China Mounmentis, qua Sacris qua Profanis... Illustrata...* contains illustrations that are obviously based on heterogeneous prototypes.¹⁵⁾ In the Morrison collection there is a single print (line engraving) among original engravings of *Mounmentis, qua Sacris qua Profanis...*, the *Turris Novixonia Sinensim*, another work in convincing manner. Also, work by Olfert (Olivier) Dapper (1636–1689) who not only translated some of the time's most important geographical works into German, he also produced some essential contributions to the knowledge of the African and Asian Continents. *Gedenkweerdig Bedryf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye op de Kuste en in het Keizerryk van Taising of Sina* by Dapper, published in Amsterdam in 1670 (illustrated title page dated 1671, vellum, folio), is based on observations made during another Dutch Embassy which reached Peking in 1667. Such visual information during this period exercised significant influence on the European perception of China up until the late 18th century.

The growing interest in 'exotic' coupled with the rumours that British artists in South Pacific and India had made considerable fortunes for themselves, it probably inticed artists to try their luck overseas. Thomas Daniell (1749–1840) may also have had a first-hand account of the situation from the artist William Hodges, who returned to England in 1784 with 'a very decent fortune' after four years in India. It cannot be denied that the Daniells certainly influenced the popularization of the cult of the exotic. Furthermore, the Daniell's work was also instrumental in correcting the general misconception in the mind of the British people at the time.¹⁶⁾

Art as Information

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the supercargoes of the East India Company were trading under increasingly difficult conditions, and the Government of England under William Pitt began to favour the idea of sending an embassy to the Emperor of China in order to obtain redress for existing complaints, and, if possible, to set the Canton Trade on a proper treaty basis.¹⁷⁾ In fact an embassy under Colonel Cathcart was despatched in 1787 with Julius Ibbetson as the draughtsman, but Cathcart died of tuberculosis on the outward voyage at Java, and the expedition was forced to return home.

Also during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, a number of

British artists ventured out to India hoping to win the patronage of the prosperous servants of the East India Company (which by then had assumed broad political and administrative functions in India) and of the Indian princes.¹⁸⁾ The former, anxious to live in the same style as their relatives in England and sharing the cultivated interests of their time in the picturesque and the exotic, welcomed the opportunity to commission portraits, conversation pieces and topographical views of the countryside in which they lived.¹⁹⁾ As for the Indian princes, they no doubt found the work of British artists a novelty to add to their collections. Furthermore, the embassies to Asian countries became increasingly necessary. Their purpose was usually political and economic—the establishing of good relations which, it was hoped, would lead to an extension of trade. In other words, since 1757 when Western trade with China first became substantial the so-called ‘Canton system’ had been in operation. The foreigners were limited to living and working in ‘factories’ 十三行 outside the city walls and were subject to restrictions prompted the British commence contacts with Peking hoping to improve trade relations. This also afforded an opportunity for scientific enquiries concerning topography, natural history, geology, ethnology, antiquities, manners and customs of China. Therefore, an official artist, usually professional, was often attached to the embassy to make drawings both on the journey and during the mission’s stay in the country visited.²⁰⁾

Now, after the Cathcart embassy was aborted in 1788, the next of these embassies occurred in 1793, when, at the Company’s instigation, the British Government despatched a mission to China headed by Lord Macartney. By sending a high-powered embassy the Government hoped to make personal contact with the Emperor Ch’ien Lung 乾隆帝, and thus to establish political relations which would lead to improved conditions of trade. William Alexander (1767–1816), a young twenty-six year old artist at the time, was attached to it as official draughtsman. Although not the senior artist, his drawings were to bring the embassy alive for posterity. Outward-bound, he had already drawn and painted some 270 sketches, and he cannot have failed to look forward to the opportunities to be offered to his talent by China.²¹⁾ Throughout the voyage he made sketches of the people at every port of call or of any interesting object he noticed— a water-spout, a sucking fish, a cochineal insect, mangosteen, and others. He also drew accurate profiles of the coast-lines and of any islands passed on the journey. Alexander gives a vivid picture of the countryside and towns through which the embassy passed and of the people they saw. There are also many small drawings of boats, carts, palanquins, details of dress, weapons and numerous articles of everyday use.²²⁾

Alexander continued to make drawings from the time the ships anchored at the Grand Ladrone near Macao on 20 June 1793 until they set sail again for England from Macao in mid-March 1794. The progress of the embassy can be followed as it travelled by sea, river and land to Peking and on to the summer palace at Yuan-ming Yuan 圓明園. The Emperor had arranged to receive this

embassy at Jehol 熱河 in Tartary. Unfortunately Alexander was left with a few other members of the embassy in Peking while the rest went on to Jehol. It was the greatest disappointment to him that he did not actually witness the meeting of Lord Macartney with the Emperor nor see the Great Wall. His drawings of this part of the embassy had to be based on sketches by Lieutenant William Henry Parish (?–1798) who accompanied the mission all the way. On the journey back to Canton, however, Alexander was one of the party who made a detour from Hangchow 杭州 to join their boat at Chusan 舟山. Although diplomatically the embassy was a failure, a great deal of information about China was collected.²³⁾

With such embassies being sent to Asia or seeking commissions in India as artists in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the growth of interest in the descriptive, natural sciences created a need for competent draughtsman who could put their talent to the service of natural historians. Young men, usually of humble origin, with talent for drawing and some personal initiative, often found an opening to a modest but satisfying career as natural history draughtsmen. The usual alternative for talents of this kind was to take up apprenticeship to a portrait painter; but as such openings were few, and artistic talent began to flow in the direction of the new enthusiasm- the study and description of nature. Archer mentions that "From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, drawing from life and nature had been regarded in England as a desirable accomplishment. Men and women of the upper and middle classes had much leisure, and one of the most popular and valued ways of occupying it was by drawing. Its practice was no mere social grace, but like dancing, music or the speaking of Italian an index to social position."²⁴⁾

Furthermore, in voyages of explorations, use of draughtsmen, was a practice that persisted until their place was taken by photographers. Especially as Joseph Banks was convinced that drawings were often superior to words in the conveyance of information. But even earlier, philosopher John Locke (1631–1704) was an influential advocator of drawing. Although Locke was against youngsters pursuing a career in painting, he mentions the following in his *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693):

That which of all others would please me best, would be a Painter, were there not an Argument or two against it not easie to be answered. First, ill Painting is one of the worst things in the World; and to attain a tolerable degree of Skill in it, requires too much of a Man's Time. If he has a natural Inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more useful Studies, to give way to that; and if he have no inclination to it, all the Time, Pains, and Money shall be employ'd in it, will be thrown away to no purpose. Another Reason why I am not for Painting in a Gentleman, is, Because it is a sedentary Recreation, which more employs the Mind than the Body. A Gentleman's more serious Employment I look on to be Study; and when that demands relaxation and refreshment, it should be in some Exercise of the Body, which

unbends the Thought, and confirms the Health and Strength. For these two Reasons I am not for Painting.²⁵⁾

Contrary to Locke's view on youngsters pursuing a career in painting, his thoughts on drawing was much more favourable, as he mentions:

When he can Write well, and quick, I think it may be convenient, not only to continue the exercise of his Hand in Writing, but also to improve the use of it farther in Drawing, a thing very useful to a Gentleman in several occasions; but especially if he travel, as that which helps a Man often to express, in a few Lines well put together, what a whole Sheet of Paper in Writing, would not be able to represent, and make intelligible. How many Buildings may a man Man see, how many Machines and Habits meet with, the Ideas where of would be easily retain'd and communicated, by a little Skill in Drawing; which being committed to Words, are in danger to be lost, or at best but ill retained in the most exact Descriptions? I do not mean, that I would have your Son a perfect Painter; to be that to any tolerable degree, will require more time, than a Young Gentleman can spare from his other Improvements of greater Moment. But so much insight into Perspective, and skill in Drawing, as will enable him to represent tolerably on Paper any thing he sees, except Faces, may, I think, be got in a little time, . . .²⁶⁾

Locke thought that the mind's ideas could be communicated or reproduced more precisely by drawings than by language, which always contains an element of confusing imprecision. Drawings, in fact, possess an almost mathematical certainty: 'Diagrams drawn on Paper are Copies of the Ideas in the Mind, and not liable to the uncertainty that Words carry in their Signification'.²⁷⁾

Locke was promoting two of the important ingredients that contributed to the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century by recommending drawing and the development of a sense of perspective. During the Renaissance, painting and sculpture turned away from a slavish imitation of classical forms toward a new emphasis on acute reproductions of reality. The Renaissance artists, among them Durer and da Vinci, were profoundly well versed in both the theory and practice of Euclidean geometry as an essential aid to the attainment of realistic perspective and proportion in their work.²⁸⁾

Thus during the eighteenth century, art in the service of exploration or travel, began to institutionalize itself. Drawing became increasingly useful and a prerequisite for direct pursuit of scientific knowledge and expansion. What Locke sought from drawing was simply to convey accurate visual information. In order to achieve this kind of drawing, it had to be developed as a skill acquired as part of a general education. It is not surprising therefore, that the teaching of drawing for such practical purposes developed first in institutions whose graduates were professionally concerned with the security and imperial expansion of the state,

essentially in the military academies.

Art as Visual Record

From the military standpoint, topography came to exercise a commanding influence upon landscape as a fine art. As early as 1693 a drawing school was established in the Mathematical School of Christ's Hospital, which trained its boys for the navy. Artists with the topographical skills were in great demand when military and naval information was required. For this purpose, drawing schools were established at the military academies at Woolwich, Marlow, Sandhurst and Addiscombe. The importance of drawings for the military is mentioned by Archer as:

Skill in drawing was a great asset to the military, and to engineers and gunners in particular. Their work frequently involved surveying and the making of maps and diagrams. Topographical drawing for showing the lie of the land and the position of forts or military installations was important. Plans, elevations and sections of these buildings had also to be made. Engineers were called upon to design and erect military buildings and until the mid-nineteenth century civil buildings as well. Infantry and cavalry also were often required to make neat diagrams and maps to illustrate route marches and indicate their positions.²⁹⁾

Thus, it is not unusual to see plans, elevations and sections of the Great Wall drawn during the Macartney embassy to China, either drawn by Parish or Alexander, and the French Folly Fort in the Canton River and other strategic installations.

Furthermore, Archer continues, "In the case of the British Army, engineers and gunners learnt military and architectural drawings at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, which had been founded in 1741, and after 1812 the Royal Engineers were given more advanced courses at Chatham. After 1799, certain officers undergoing staff training, usually between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one, were instructed at the Military College, High Wycombe, and from 1802 younger boys were trained in the junior department at Great Marlow."³⁰⁾

Thus, the schools in which drawing was taught for the purpose of recording information provided the traditions and background for the drawing that was encouraged and finally implemented by Captain Cook during his voyages to the Pacific, especially those aspects of the schools' drawing lessons devoted to charting and the taking of coastal views for navigational purposes. Furthermore, the drawing schools raised the status of drawing and sketching in the community and did much to create a class of amateurs artists who drew both for the practical purposes adverted to by Locke and others, and for their own pleasure. Therefore, drawing came to serve the needs of science and technology.

Although visual records had been advocated by scientists and travellers in England for over a century, after the Macartney's embassy to China, the value of visual records was for the first time fully recognized. An early advocate was the Royal Society itself, which with the Admiralty had joint responsibility for sponsoring Cook's first voyage³¹⁾ so that the 1769 transit of Venus³²⁾ might be observed at Tahiti. From its first years the Royal Society had encouraged travellers to make accurate reports of everything notable or unusual observed during a journey. In 1665 it published *Directions for Seamen, Bound for Far Voyages* to tell them what the Society stood for, and to enlist their help.³³⁾ The fourth instruction required them "to make plotts and draughts of prospects of coasts, promontories, islands and ports marking the Bearings and Distances, as near as they can."³⁴⁾ The purpose of Cook's three voyages round the world was discovery; and discovery meant not merely the charting of new continents and islands and their seizure in the King's name, but also the collection, as systematically and scientifically as possible, of any facts about them which might be interesting, relevant or useful.³⁵⁾ So, alongside the preparations for botanical, geological and ethonological research, provision was made for an artistic record of the new lands. The Admiralty were explicit about this in their secret instructions for the first voyage as:

You are also carefully to observe the nature of the soil and the products thereof, the beasts and fowls that inhabit or frequent it, the fishes that are to be found in the rivers or upon the coast and in what plenty; and in case you find any mines, minerals or valuable stones, you are to bring home specimens of each, as also such specimens of the seeds of trees, fruits and grains you may be able to collect, and transmit them to our Secretary, that we may cause proper examination and experiments to be made of them.

You are likewise to observe the genius, temper, disposition and number of the natives. . .

You are to send by al proper conveyances to the Secretary of the Royal Society, copies of the observations you shall have made of the transit of Venus; and you are at the same time to send to our Secretary, for our information, accounts of your proceedings, and copies of surveys and drawings you shall have made.³⁶⁾

Such instructions, however, were at first more often breached than observed. The first visit to China of a British Government fleet under the command of Commodore (afterwards Lord) George Anson (1697-1762), who left England, September 18, 1740 on the *Centurion* (60 guns), and, rounding Cape Horn, arrived at Macao, November 12, 1742, having spent a considerable time on the Mexican coast with the intention of intercepting Spanish galleons bound for Manila.³⁷⁾ Then on April 19, 1743, the *Centurion* left Macao, having informed the authorities that he was bound for Batavia and returning to England, but his objective was to intercept a Spanish galleon from Acapulco, and the meeting took

place, north of the Philippine Islands³⁸), during the famous voyage of seizure and plunder against Spain in the South Seas (1740–1744), was one of the first to seriously take note of these instructions.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, greater emphasis being placed on biological sciences, led by botany brought changes in the perception of visual records and acquired acceptance among the general public. The change occurred when the crucial relationships between scientific method (which involved careful and systematic observation, accurate description, controlled experiment and the publication of results) and the utility of science for the improvement of agriculture and technology began to be understood. This, as is well known first occurred in England, but the status of science and its developing connections with industry was coming to be realized throughout Europe. According to Smith:

The encouragement of science was seen as the fundamental basis for the growth of trade and industry; it could assist the search for new markets, adapt and exploit new products found in distant and little-known lands. The support of science, therefore, became an increasingly important aspect of civic polity and attracted support from both the public and the private purse. This was the situation prior to the onset of the Industrial Revolution. Cook's three voyages, it must be emphasized, occurred in the decade that immediately preceded the full 'take-off' of that Revolution. Cook, in the event, provided a global stage for its ultimate operations.³⁹

Yet until recently, the visual information brought back by expeditions or embassies have been largely ignored by historians or simply used as visual effects. Considering the impact and grand scale of European exploration, in some cases exploitation and colonization of Asia, during the past two and a half centuries, emphasis placed upon visual records seems unbelievably small.

But, whether it was exoticism or not, if Eastern glamour drew some professional artists to visit China for a limited stay, the lure of the country and its people had, for others, more lasting consequences. In the eighteenth century, some of the British went to the Orient and stayed there for life. The East 'caught' them, and they ended their days in the land of their adoption. As Maurice Collis mentions:

So great was the fascination which Macao exercised over some of those who during their active career as Canton merchants lived there in summer, that when the time came for them to retire to England, they could not bear to leave their houses upon the ridge and stayed on for the rest of their lives. But it is well known that many places in the East have this power of overcoming in British hearts nostalgia for home. All over the South Seas and Oceania, Burma, Siam and China you find Englishmen growing old and who yet

cannot tear themselves away from an unhurried life of soft wind, rich sunsets, sweet scents and black-haired beauties, and would rather be buried in a palm-grove within sound of the surf and mourned by their progeny of half-bred sons, than face English cold, English haste and English women.⁴⁰⁾

Morrison's Collection of Historical Pictures

George Ernest Morrison was definitely fond of his prize collection of historical pictures. In a private and confidential letter to Ijuin, the Japanese Minister in Peking, he wrote; "...In the library also are many MSS., as for example the MS. Journal of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China, and I have also catalogued my prints and engravings of personages and scenes and views in China, a collection which has been described as unique..."⁴¹⁾ Considering Morrison's profession as a political adviser at the time, unique is an understatement to describe such a collection. Needless to say, the entire collection was unique but prints/engravings, watercolours, pen and ink sketches of late eighteenth to early twentieth century China is a vast resource of visual records or documents. Furthermore, Morrison made a point of gathering prints/engravings as well as other publications in complete or a full sets, which is often referred to as Morrison's systematic method of collecting and anything lacking from its total is mentioned in the *Morrison Catalogue* as an incomplete set.

Now, before the introduction of the camera in the 1860s to the Far East, the only means available for capturing the sights and scenes of its people and places was by means of drawing and painting which was no different with other regions.⁴²⁾ Unfortunately, paper and canvas being perishable, many of the drawings by amateur and professional artists have vanished. Fortunately, many of the original images of South China were reproduced in prints in forms of copper engravings, lithographs, aquatints, mezzotints and woodblocks, and primarily those mediums are represented in the Morrison collection along with watercolours, pen and ink sketches. As an example of this, in the *Morrison Catalogue* (Vol. II), pages 540-551, there are approximately 400 single prints/engravings listed from late seventeenth to late nineteenth century. Of the 400 single prints/engravings, I have classified them as to approximately 344 related to China and 56 (42 caricatures and 14 views) as to other regions. Of these 344 prints related to China, 27 are works by Missionaries while the remaining are works of artists familiar to those interested in the China Trade or paintings of Pearl River Delta. As to the materials related to so-called China Trade or the Pearl River Delta area, there are 317 with 47 being portraits, 244 views and 26 battle scenes.

Aside from this particular prints and engravings section devoted to historical pictures in the *Morrison Catalogue*, a large number of bound lithographs, aquatints, watercolours, pen and ink sketches are scattered throughout the *Morrison Catalogue* vols. I and II.

Visual Records in the Morrison Catalogue

In the *Chater Collection: Pictures relating to China, Hongkong, Macao, 1655-1860* (hereafter *Chater Collection*), James Orange refers to the George Morrison Library in Tokyo on several occasions. The first such notation is made in the original engravings of *Battles and Military Scenes of the Emperor Ch'ien-Lung*⁴³), Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), an Italian Jesuit served the three Chinese emperors K'ang-hsi 康熙 (1662–1722), Yung-cheng 雍正 (1723–1735), and Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (1736–1795); under the Chinese name Lang Shih-ning 郎世寧 he waited upon the Imperial Court exclusively with painting. His paintings, through of Western style, teeming with the Chinese technique, enjoyed popularity both in China and abroad,⁴⁴) and this work was completed with three other Jesuit priests, namely Jean-Denis Attiret (1702–1768), Ignatius Sichelbarth (1708–1780) and Jean Damascene (?–1781) serving the Imperial Court. The second reference in the *Chater Collection* is to the original watercolours of *The Costume of China* by William Alexander. Mentioned as “The book contains forty-eight coloured engravings all of interest and cleverly drawn (the original beautiful water-colour drawings are in the George Morrison Library, Tokyo).”⁴⁵) The original watercolours of *The Costume of China* by William Alexander, watercolours and pen and ink sketches by George Chinnery, are often referred to by prominent Chinnery scholars⁴⁶), and publications of aquatints of William Alexander (*The Costume of China, Picturesque Representations of Dress and Manners of the Chinese*), lithographs by Sir Harry Darell (1814–1853) (*China, India, Cape of Good Hope and Vicinity*, total of 13 lithographs), Auguste Borget (*Sketches of China and the Chinese* and another copy *La Chine et les Chinois*, 32 lithographs), one of most often reproduced prints in Hong Kong by Murdoch Bruce (*Hong Kong illustrated in a Series of Lithographs, delineating the architecture of Victoria, the villages, temples and picturesque scenery of the Island-The whole intended to convey to the eye and mind, a complete picture of Hong Kong*), George Mason's *The Costume of China* (illustrations by Puqua), Thomas Allom (*The Chinese Empire Illustrated*, 4 sets), William Snow (*Sketches of Chinese Life and Character*), Thomas and William Daniell's *Picturesque Voyage to India; by the Way of China* (50 aquatint plates of which 24 are scenes from the Pearl River Delta) just to name a few are all entered in Volume I of the *Morrison Catalogue* with other English publications. Also, the French version of William Alexander's *The Costume of China* is entered in Morrison Catalogue Vol. II (section under French Books) and the German edition of Thomas Allom's *The Chinese Empire Illustrated* is entered in this same volume (section under German Books). Although merely an assumption, since the above mentioned materials were bound, classification by Morrison was probably a result of entering materials under separate languages as they were entered in *Morrison Catalogue* Vol. I, rather than under the separate title of prints/engravings. Aside from the above mentioned publications, a large number of drawings such as Chinnery and Alexander, in some instances still bound as

sketch books or pasted scrap albums might have been another reason why Morrison had entered valuable visual records in the different sections of the catalogue.

Views of the Pearl River Delta Region

Both professional and amateur artists are well represented in the Morrison collection. For the professional artists their objective was to explore the country and its people, to draw and sketch scenes, lifestyle and incidents that caught their eye and information gathering, to complete oils and watercolours, and then to return home hoping to market their work. For the amateur artists major objective perhaps can be stated as information gathering. Some of the finished pieces were translated into aquatints or other forms of engravings. Later, in the nineteenth century, as the 'exotic' yielded to 'documentary', both professional and amateur artists sought to interpret scenes of valour, or to record historical occasions. Except for George Chinnery, in both cases these incursions followed the same pattern: they travelled to China; sketched, drew and painted; and then returned to England.

Thus, in Europe and America, images of the southern coastal regions of China from the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century came in paintings and decorative arts such as furniture, dinnerware, silverware, and wallpaper, but the artists who visited the East were on the whole less prominent and therefore largely unnoticed by the world's major galleries and museums. Artists such as John Zoffany, William Hodges, Thomas and William Daniell are known for their works and success in India; the Daniells also produced some remarkable depictions of the Pearl River Delta region, as did William Alexander, who accompanied the Macartney embassy in 1792–1794 with China proper. Although, John Webber (1750–1793), at times criticized for ethnographical inaccuracy in representations who are half native and half European⁴⁷⁾ in the engravings which illustrate the journal of Captain James Cook's third and last voyage around the World, that arrived at Macao, December 1, 1779 and stayed until January 12, 1780 having obtained, through the East India Company, the stores and victuals required.⁴⁸⁾ He still did much to highlight the exploration. Aside from the possibility of Chinnery they were not to be compared with the great artists of their day such as Reynolds, Gainsborough, Constable, Lawrence, Turner and Whistler, who found enough to employ their talents in Europe.

Moreover, it is known that some of the mid-eighteenth century Chinese painters for the West learned to paint in the style of Castiglione and other Jesuit missionaries, but this probably refers to watercolour painting and drawing rather than to painting in oil on canvas.⁴⁹⁾ A number of European artists were in Canton and Macao before 1815: Thomas Hickey (1741–1824), John Webber, William Alexander, and Thomas and William Daniell, as well as the marine draughtsmen and architects so often found on English ships together with others who were either fully fledged artists on official voyages or simply very competent amateur



Plate 1. New China Street (Chinese artist, 1839, Ink and wash, 29.25×47.25cm)

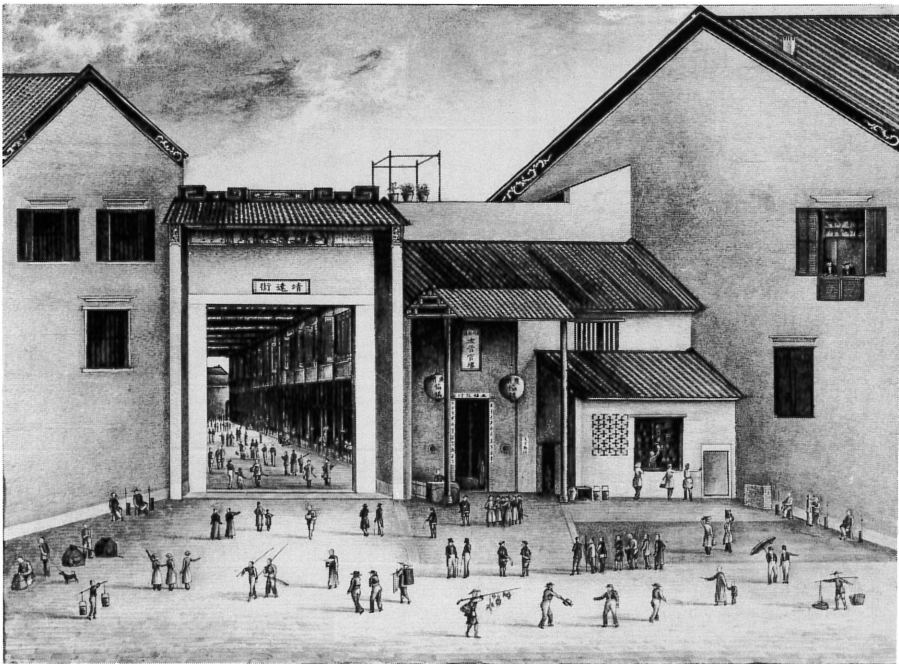


Plate 2. Old China Street (Chinese artist, 1839, Ink and wash, 29.25×47.25cm)

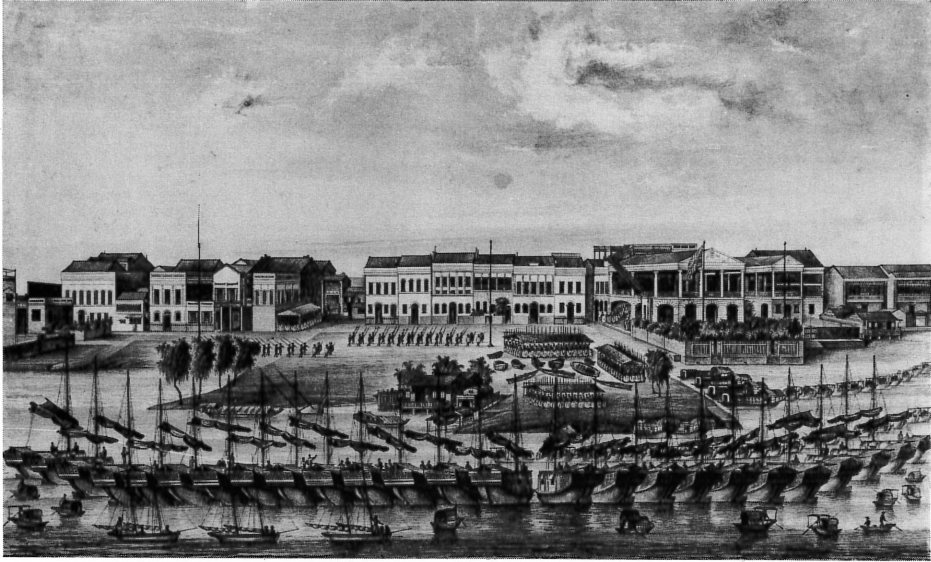


Plate 3. Canton blockade of March 24 to May 21, 1839 (*Chinese artist, 1839, Ink and wash, 29.25×47.25 cm*)

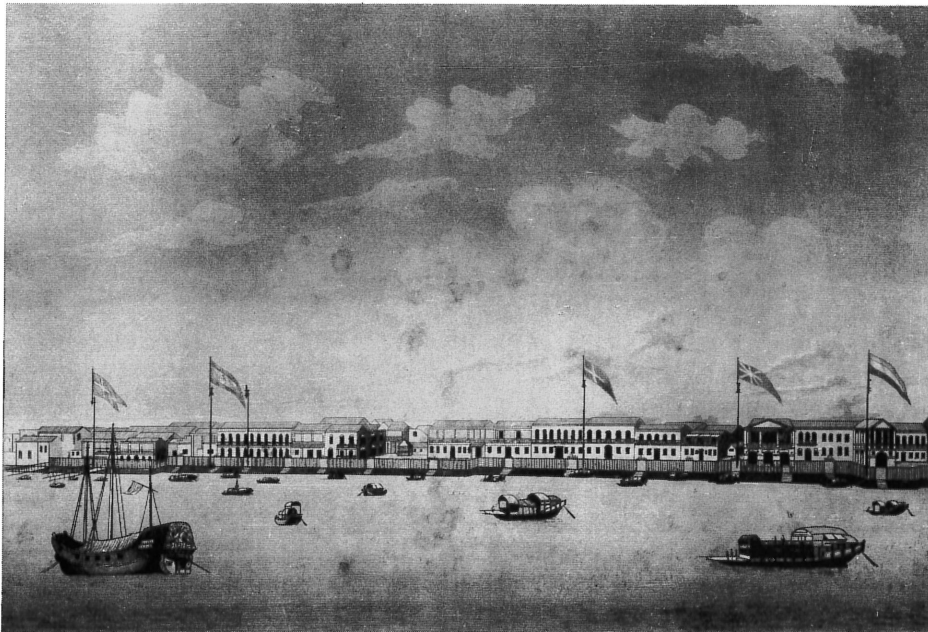


Plate 4. Foreign Factories, Canton (*James Moffatt, 1802, Aquatint, 30.4×45.0 cm*)

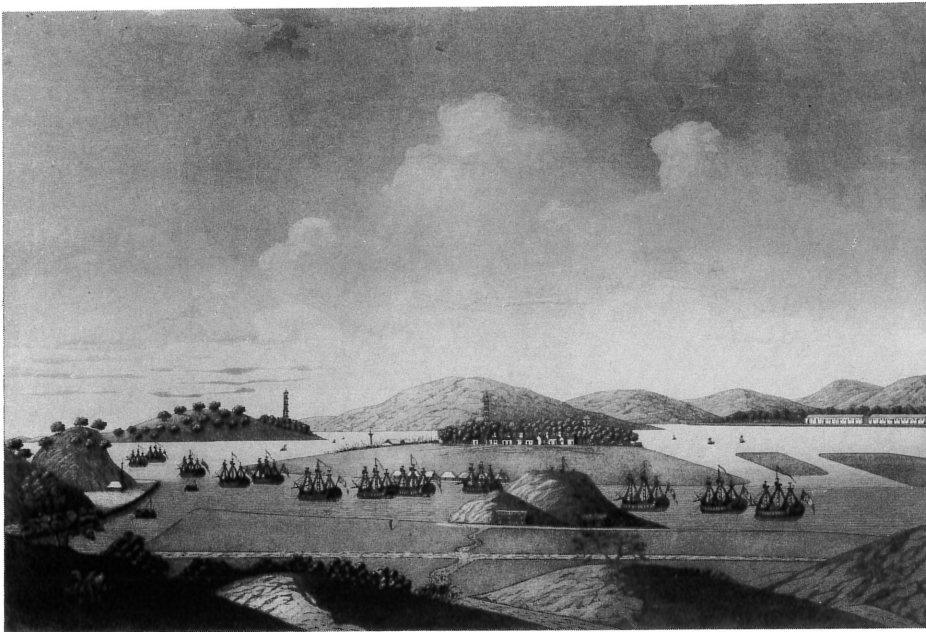


Plate 5. Whampoa and Bankshall, China (*James Moffatt, 1802, Aquatint, 30.4×44.3cm*)

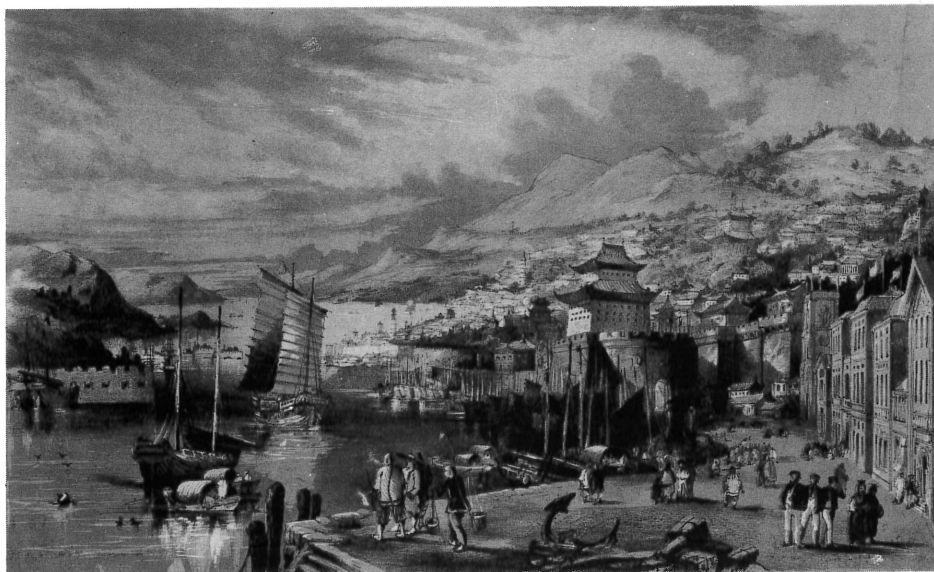


Plate 6. The River and City of Canton (*Lieutenant Emerson, 1857, Lithograph [tinted], 20.1×32.6cm*)

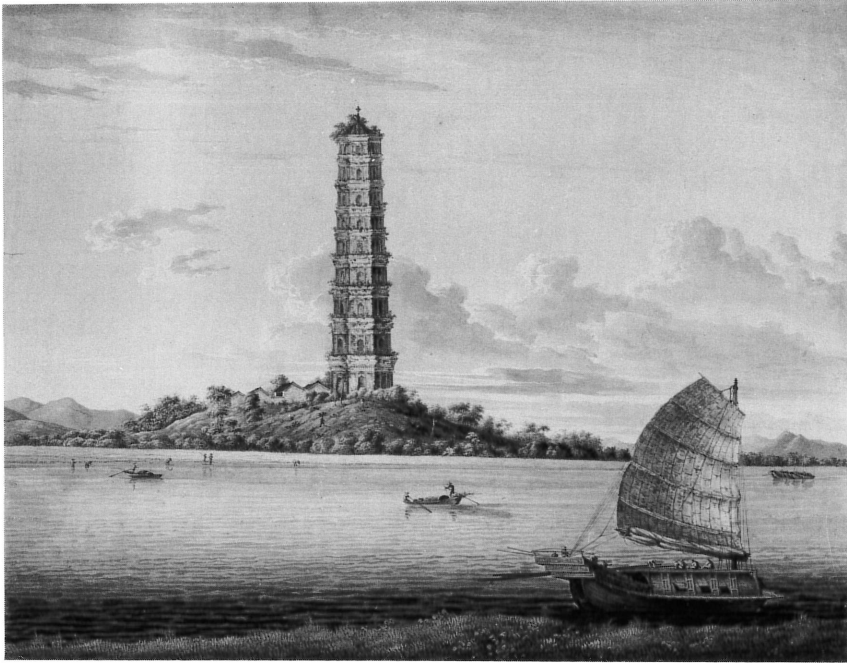


Plate 7. Whampoa Pagoda: river scene with boats (*Chinese artist, c. 1830, Watercolour, 37.8×48.4cm*)

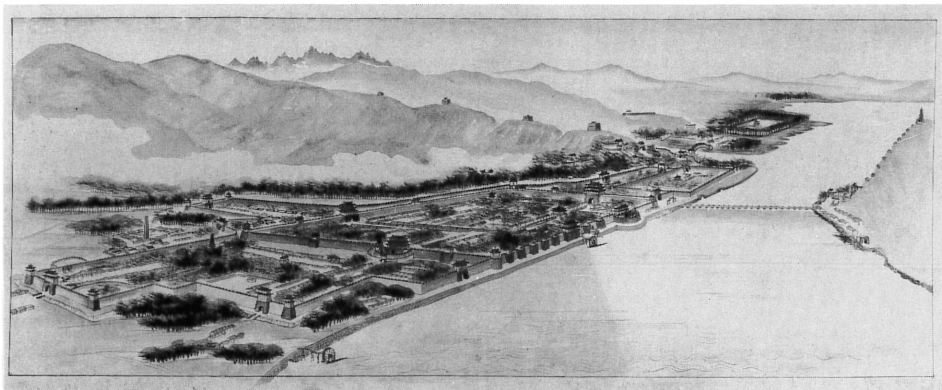


Plate 8. Panorama of Lanchow (*Chinese artist, Watercolour, 25.7×66.4cm, [Purchased by Morrison in 1910]*)

painters.⁵⁰⁾

The relationship between the Chinese student painter and the western painter who could have taught him how to develop a western style is unknown before the arrival of Chinnery. It would seem, however, that after Spoilum 史貝霖 (active 1774–1805) had learned to paint he was the artist to pass on his methods to the next generation of Foeiqua, Tonqua Jr., Fatqua and Lamqua.⁵¹⁾

The discussion in this section will be limited to the drawings of Macao, Canton, and Hong Kong in the Morrison Collection. Generally, the most popular of the port scenes prior to 1840 consisted of a set of four showing Macao, Canton, Whampoa 黃埔 and Bocca Tigris 虎門. After that period, Hong Kong becomes part of the set and usually replaces the Bocca Tigris view, or the set is expanded to six to include Hong Kong and Shanghai. Gradually fuller sets emerged, towards the end of the century, in which all the Treaty Ports and Macao were usually included.⁵²⁾ The individual paintings of Bocca Tigris, Whampoa, Canton and Macao in private and public collections were undoubtedly originally parts of sets of four.⁵³⁾ As Crossman mentions, “The four views made perfect sense as an early trader’s purchase: Macao was the first Chinese landfall after the trek from the West to the China coast; Bocca Tigris was the impressive entrance to the Pearl River; Whampoa the anchorage for the ship while doing business in China; and Canton the ultimate destination.”⁵⁴⁾

This usual set of four paintings of Macao, Bocca Tigris, Whampoa and Canton by the same unknown Chinese artists are well represented in the Morrison collection. Moreover, series of unique drawings depicting Canton or events that took place there in circa 1840 are found. A set of four aquatints in sepia by an unknown Chinese artist (1841?) has a). *Destruction of the Bogue Forts*, b). *Macao passage and British shipping previous to attack on Canton*, c). *Attack on Canton from the heights* at the back of the city which clearly has the city gates and walls surrounding the city and d). *Burning of the Foreign Factories*. Another set of six original drawings in European style (Chinese ink and wash) by a Chinese artist depicts streets such as a). *New China Street* 同文街 (Plate 1) and b). *Old China Street* 靖遠街 (Plate 2) of the Canton Foreign Factories, and views of c). *Whampoa Anchorage* seen from Danes Island with the French Island to the left of the drawing, town of Whampoa is seen on the island beyond and the famous nine storey pagoda in the middle, Junk Island and Junk River which separates the island from Whampoa is seen in the far right. d) most probable this is the western extension of the drawing depicting the *Foreign Factories*. The flag of the Customs House is seen to the left and godowns stretching from the centre to the right of the drawing seen from Honam island. The last and most intriguing drawing in this series is the e). *Canton blockade* of March 24 to May 21, 1839 (Plate 3). This painting is identical to Carl Crossman’s *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: paintings, furnishings and exotic curiosities*, page 433, No. 17, which Crossman explains as follows:

Canton, artist unknown. Sepia ink on paper. Between March 24 and May

21, 1839. This rare drawing shows the blockade of the factories by the Chinese during the Opium Crisis of 1839. The elaborate staircase leading to the observation platform on top of the British factory is seen in a Chinnery drawing of 1838. Note that there is still no fencing in front of the central area. The flags have been removed, confirming the cessation of business and occupancy (although some merchants stayed on). Collection of the Peabody Museum of Salem.

The drawing in Morrison Collection is identical except for very minor details of small boats along the Pearl River, but the British flag is raised. Whether the British flag being hoisted has any significance would be at best left to individual interpretation. Perhaps the few merchants who braved the danger to stay on had raised the flag as a symbol of their residence or it might have been the artists' personal preference.⁵⁵⁾ Regardless of the objective, the one fact that can be stated is that another depiction of Canton blockade has been confirmed.

Another panorama of the Foreign Factories in the Morrison Collection is the work by an unfamiliar China Coast artist, James Moffatt (1775–1815) entitled *Foreign Factories* (Plate 4) (aquatint, Calcutta: July, 1802), and *Whampoa and Bankshall, China* (Plate 5) (narrow buildings used by the visiting traders for storage) (aquatint, Calcutta, Jan. 1802). According to Archer, "James Moffatt, a Scotsman who produced views of places in Bengal-Calcutta, the ruins of Gaur and the towns on the Hooghly-reached Calcutta in 1789 and died in India in 1815. He appears to have learnt his profession of painting and engraving in India. In 1798 and from 1805 to 1810 he produced sets of view of towns on the Ganges and Hooghly, and in 1808 engravings from Henry Creighton's drawing of Gaur."⁵⁶⁾ Moffatt is not listed in the *Chater Collection*, nor have I come across his work in Hong Kong.

Another depiction of Canton entitled *the River and City of Canton* (Plate 6) is a tinted lithograph made from a drawing by Lieutenant. Emerson of the United States Navy, published January 26, 1857 by Read & Co. The projection seems almost allegorical, depiction more like one from the 17th century rather than from the actual date of publication. It seems to lack the details otherwise known at the time. Included are the Fifty Gun Battery, wall of Canton, Chinese vessels, Governor Yeh's Palace, Temple of Honam, English Church and European Factories. The projected scene is a concoction of the Bocca Tigris Fifty Gun Battery, while the Temple of Honam should be located across the Pearl River from the English Church and European Factories.

A record of events, entitled *Operations in the Canton River in April 1847* under the joint Command of Major-General D'Aguiar, and Captain McDougall of the Royal Navy is composed from drawings made on the spot by Lieutenant Martin of the 42nd Madras Native Infantry, acting engineer (London Henry Graves & Co., 1848) is another example of scenes from the Pearl River Delta (exhibited at the Hong Kong Museum of Art). Operations in the Canton River, known as the

famous 'raid' staged by Sir John Davis (1795–1890). Within thirty-six hours a British force of 900 men in three steamers and a brig had captured the Bogue forts, spiked 827 cannon, and occupied the Canton factories. By an agreement of April 6, 1847, Ch'i-ying 耆英 met a long series of British demands, and promised to permit entrance to the city at the end of two years.⁵⁷⁾

One of the most frequently depicted man-made landmarks is the Whampoa Pagoda and there is a beautiful watercolour entitled *Whampoa Pagoda: river scene with boats* (Plate 7) similar to Whampoa Pagoda painting by a Chinese artist illustrated in *Fan Kwae Pictures: Paintings and Drawings by George Chinnery and other Artists in the Collection of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation* (no. 86, gouache, 14×19 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins., p. 76). Unfortunately details of this watercolour drawing is nowhere to be found except for the fact that it was executed by a Chinese artist and is a depiction of c. 1830s.

A large number of these paintings by Chinese artists exist, but few are properly documented as to artist and date, while even fewer give any clue to as to what may have been their stylistic influence or how the painter might have learned to paint in western manner. The earliest paintings of Canton (oil on canvas), which are some of the best port paintings ever produced, usually have no labels or signatures and offer little if any stylistic indication of the artist. Bills of lading and historical references to the exportation of paintings list few definite names, studios or addresses. Only a dozen or so artists' names of the period from 1780 to 1825 are known and these may be positively associated with only a few paintings.⁵⁸⁾

As to the once popular belief that Chinese artists initially thought to have worked primarily in Canton, had in fact left works of China proper such as Peking.⁵⁹⁾ Not only Peking but even as far inland as Lanchow 蘭州 (Lanzhou) of Kansu 甘肅省 (Gansu) province. This watercolour entitled *Panorama of Lanchow* (Plate 8) was purchased by Morrison in Lanchow in 1910. Whether the projected image is of the 1900s still awaits further research, but with the wall surrounding the city which can be confirmed in early photographs, should provide a clue to its date.

Other than the well-known watercolours by George Chinnery and Auduste Borget's prints, in the Morrison collection are two aquatints entitled *View in Macao* (one includes the Residence of Camoens [both published April 1809 by Boydell & Co.]) by John Webber depicting late eighteenth century Macao. The earlier depictions of Macao, are seen in three main views (Porto Interior, the Praya Grande from the sea, and bird's eye views) often served strategic, as well as artistic purposes.⁶⁰⁾ But Webber's drawing illustrates views and sites such as the Ma Kok temple 媽閣廟 which becomes common in the nineteenth century, giving a wider range of motifs.

As in Edward Hildebrant's (1818–1869) four chromolithographs of a series of eleven from the 1860s in the Morrison collection illustrates some of the popular sites of Macao in closeup.⁶¹⁾ Thus Macao was depicted not only from usual after,

frontal and lateral viewpoints, but artists also explored it from unusual angles from mountaintops or promontories.⁶²⁾ But more significantly they explored it and studied it from within, its picturesque churches and squares, its mansions temples and inhabitants.⁶³⁾ The popular panoramic view of Macao is so far only identified with Hildebrandt's *Scene of the Praya Grande* (1863).

Views of mid-nineteenth century Hong Kong are well represented in the Morrison collection. Although the panoramic view of Hong Kong Island in oil are not found in the collection, there are several works worth noting in terms of its rarity. An early view of Hong Kong entitled *Hongkong from the Gap, looking into the Valley of Wong Nei Chong* (Western artist, pencil sketch dated November 23, 1841) is one of the earliest drawing of Hong Kong island and quite a contrast in the projection angle from the well-known lithograph entitled *View of Happy Valley* (English School c. 1845).⁶⁴⁾ Another work entitled *Hong Kong* by a Chinese artist and later by J. C. Bourne (aquatint, 1846) is a view of western Victoria and lastly *Hong Kong and the Town of Victoria*, by Walford Bellairs (lithograph, published 1851 by Ackermann & Co.) depicts a scene before major reclamation was carried out.

Conclusion

Although the historical pictures in the Morrison collection are not as complete as other collections of institutions found in Hong Kong, they still exemplify the stature of Morrison's penchant for gathering information of late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries South China. Furthermore, this illustrated Morrison's objective of collecting materials in full sets, sometimes every edition, unique pamphlets, as well as duplicates of historical pictures. The collection is an asset for scholars and serious students as a documentary of events, and people who contributed to the development of the area.

As we have seen, the development of visual records in Europe between 1750 and 1890, give or take a few years either way, can best be understood as the steady, relentless and continuing triumph of documentary over exoticism. And at the starting point of that triumph there is no single more significant factor to be found than the programme that was implemented to develop visual records in the course of Captain Cook's three voyages and the discussions that attended the publication of its results as stressed by Bernard Smith. During the twelve years from 1768 to 1780 something in the order of three thousand original drawings were made of things, mostly from the Pacific of unknown peoples, their arts and crafts, religious practices and styles of life, not seen before by Europeans.

If Cook's voyages set a trend for scientific explorations from the 1760s onwards, it can be assessed that numerous results in drawings are yet to be found and researched. Whether the visual records are works conducted by professional artist, skilled amateur draughtsman, or an anonymous artist, studies of late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries South China coast will greatly benefit from

the Morrison Collection.

Notes

- 1) Different terms have been used to categorize or classify paintings and drawings of South China coastal region from late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries. Throughout this paper, the term “historical pictures” will be used according to the term used at the Hong Kong Museum of Art 香港藝術館, denoting visual records such as China Trade Paintings, Port Scenes, and paintings of South China Coast, records of diplomatic embassies, and drawings by military personnel from this era.
- 2) See Enoki Kazuo 榎 一雄, *Dr. G.E. Morrison and the Toyo Bunko: In Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Transfer of Dr. G.E. Morrison Library to Baron Hisaya Iwaski (1917–1967)*. The Toyo Bunko, 1967. Also, “The Place of the Toyo Bunko in World Asian Studies: A Retrospect and prospect at the Fiftieth Anniversary of Its Foundation (1924–1974)”. *Memoirs of the Research Department of Toyo Bunko*. For other references concerning Dr. George Ernest Morrison’s career, see Pearl, Cyril, *Morrison of Peking*, Angus & Robertson Ltd., Sydney, Australia, 1967.
- 3) See Enoki, Kazuo, *Dr. G.E. Morrison and the Toyo Bunko: In Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Transfer of Dr. G.E. Morrison Library to Baron Hisaya Iwaski (1917–1967)*. The Toyo Bunko, 1967, pp. 30-31. As for the transfer of the Dr. G.E. Morrison’s “Asiatic Library”, see Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, “Toyo Bunko ga umareru made 「東洋文庫が生まれるまで」.” *Toyo Bunko Nenpō* 『東洋文庫年報』, Parts 1–4, 1957–1960, pp. 1–15, 1–18, 1–18, 1–48. This serial article tells in detail how the collection was purchased by Baron Iwasaki, how it was transferred to Japan and initially opened to the public at No. 26, Mitsubishi Building, he establishment of the Toyo Bunko with Morrison’s collection being the core of the institution in 1917. Also refer to Enoki, Kazuo, *The Sixtieth Anniversary of the Toyo Bunko* 『東洋文庫の六十年』. The Toyo Bunko, 1977. This publication deals with the history of Toyo Bunko, transfer of the Morrison Collection and gives an insight of materials in the Morrison collection as well as the Toyo Bunko.
- 4) See F. A. McKenzie, “Four Hundred Million Chinamen Awaken”. *The London Magazine*, February 1911, pp. 695–707. McKenzie reports that Dr. Morrison’s collection numbered nine thousand volumes. Also see *Toyo Bunko Jūgonenshi* 『東洋文庫十五年史』. Toyo Bunko, 1939, pp. 2–3.
- 5) *Catalogue of the Asiatic Library of Dr. G.E. Morrison: Now a Part to the Oriental Library Tokyo, Japan. Part First English Books*. Published by the Oriental Library, Tokyo, 1924, pp. 1–2.
- 6) See *Morrison Catalogue* p. 2. Furthermore, Morrison mentions, “From the catalogue an estimate can be formed of the completeness of this collection. Eleven languages are represented by considerable numbers of books, namely, English, French, German, Russian, Dutch, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish and Danish, while the[re] are a few works in Norwegian and some in Hebrew, Finnish, Polish, Turkish, Hungarian and Welsh.”
- 7) Richard Cole, “Sixteenth-Century Travel Books as a Source of European Attitudes toward Non-White and Non-Western Culture”. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 116, 1972, The American Philosophical Society, p. 62.
- 8) Bernard Smith, *Imaging the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992, p. 10.
- 9) See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*. Vintage Books edition, Random House, New York, 1979.
- 10) John Steer, “Art History and Direct Perception: A General View”. *Art History*, vol. 12, no. 1, March 1898, p. 104.
- 11) *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 12) *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 13) *Ibid.*, Smith, p. 28.
- 14) See Lothar Ledderrose, “Chinese Influence on European Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries”. Thomas H. C. Lee, ed., *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Institute of Chinese Studies The University of Hong Kong Monograph Series (12), The Chinese

- University Press, Hong Kong, 1991, pp. 224–225.
- 15) Ibid., p. 224.
 - 16) See Jane Pickard, "The Daniells in India". *Arts of Asia*, vol. 5, no. 1, January–February 1975, Hong Kong, p. 64.
 - 17) J. L. Cranmer-Byng, "Lord Macartney's Embassy to Peking in 1793". *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. IV nos. 1 & 2, 1957 & 1958, Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 1960, p. 117.
 - 18) Ibid., Pickard, p. 63.
 - 19) Ibid., p. 63.
 - 20) Mildred Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library Vol. I, Amateur Artist*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1969, p. 24.
 - 21) Aubrey Singer, *The Lion and the Dragon: The Story of the First British Embassy to the Court of the Emperor Qianlong in Peking 1792–1794*. Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1992, p. 13.
 - 22) See Archer, pp. 24–25.
 - 23) Ibid., Archer, p. 24.
 - 24) Ibid., p. 4.
 - 25) James L. Axtell, *The Educational writings of John Locke: A critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*. Cambridge University Press, London, 1968, p. 315.
 - 26) Ibid., p. 265.
 - 27) Ibid., p. 265.
 - 28) Ibid., p. 265.
 - 29) See Archer, pp. 5-7. Archer elaborates the situation on the arrangement with the East India Company's own forces as:
 "As the end of the eighteenth century, the Company realized the need for its artillery and engineer cadets to learn military drawing. The large-scale annexation of territory that followed the fourth Mysore War (1799), with the resulting survey-work and map making, led to a rapid expansion of technical services. The Company, therefore, arranged for teaching either with the Royal army cadets at Woolwich or under private instructors, and after 1802 it sent a few cadets to the new military college at Great Marlow. In 1803, for example, twenty-three cadets were at Woolwich, two at Great Marlow and thirty-six in private academies. This arrangement was clearly unsatisfactory." Furthermore, Archer mentions; "In 1809, therefore, the East India Company founded its own college at Addiscombe for the training of artillery and engineer cadets. It began with sixty students. Seven years later in 1816, the college was opened to infantry and cavalry also, and after the date all the Company's young officer cadet aged from fourteen to eighteen spent two years there. Between 1809 and 1861, when the institution was closed, about 3,500 cadets had passed through-500 becoming engineers, 1,000 joining the artillery, and remaining 2,000 going to India in the infantry and cavalry."
 - 30) Ibid., p. 6.
 - 31) The Royal Society had promoted the voyage by appealing to George III who promised £ 4,000 and a navy ship. The Secret Instructions reveal the joint responsibility of the Royal Society and the Admiralty for the voyage, and emphasize its scientific nature. Bernard Smith, "European Vision and the South Pacific". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 13, 1950, p. 65.
 - 32) For transit of Mercury and Venus, see Charles E. Herdendorf, "Captain James Cook and the Transit of Mercury and Venus". *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. XXI, no.1, January 1986, pp. 39–55.
 - 33) Ibid., Smith, p. 65.
 - 34) Ibid., p. 66.
 - 35) Graham Reynolds, "British Artists Abroad: I Captain Cook' Draughtsmen". *The Geographical Magazine*, vol. XIX, No. 10, February 1947, London, p. 457.
 - 36) Bernard Smith, "European Vision and the South Pacific". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 13, 1950, p. 65. Also an excerpt of the instruction is given in Graham Reynolds, "British Artists Abroad: I Captain Cook' Draughtsmen". *The Geographical Magazine*, vol. XIX, no.

- 10, February 1947, London, p. 457.
- 37) James Orange, *The Chater Collection: Pictures relating to China, Hongkong, Macao, 1655–1560*. Thornton Butterworth Limited 15 Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2, 1924, p. 51.
- 38) *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 39) *Ibid.*, Smith, p. 31. Smith contends that James Cook had set the pattern for future scientific expeditions and enlisted artists who were to follow the instructions issued by the Admiralty. In Frederic Trautmann's *With Perry to Japan: A Memoir by William Heine Translated, with an Introduction and Annotations*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1990, pp. 186–187, note 31, Trautmann quotes other publications by Bennett Schiff and Verlyn Klinkenborg and makes a point that “Cook set the pattern but did not begin the practice. A man on ship with Sir Francis Drake [c. 1540–1596] said that Drake ‘kept a book in which he...delineated birds, trees and sea lions.’ Drake also ‘carries painters who paint for him pictures of the coast in its exact colors’”.
- 40) See Maurice Collis, *Foreign Mud: being an account of the Opium Imbroglia at Canton in the 1830's and the Anglo-Chinese War that followed*. Faber and Faber Limited, London, 1946, p. 29.
- 41) Cyril Pearl, *Morrison of Peking*. Angus & Robertson Ltd., Sydney, Australia, 1967, p. 292.
- 42) *Hong Kong Museum of Art, Hong Kong the Changing Scene: A Record in Art*. 8 Feb.–9 March 1980, Exhibition catalogue, p. 6.
- 43) *Ibid.*, Orange, p.457. Furthermore, for an analysis of the engravings, refer to John Warner, “Castiglione and the Conquests of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor”. *Arts of Asia*, vol. 5, no. 6, November-December, 1975, Hong Kong, pp. 62–72.
- 44) Ishida, Mikinosuke, “A Biographical Study of Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shih-ning), a Jesuit Painter in the Court of Peking under the Ch'ing Dynasty”. *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (The Oriental Library), No. 19, Tokyo, 1960, p. 80.
- 45) *Ibid.*, Orange, p. 485.
- 46) Popularly known are works by Patrick Conner, *George Chinnery 1775–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast*. Antique Collector's Club, Suffolk, England, 1993. Robin Hutcheon, *Chinnery*. FormAsia Ltd., Hong Kong, 1989 (Second Edition), p. 105. Ceasar Guillén-Núñez, *George Chinnery: Macau*. September 1985 Exhibition Catalogue. James Orange *Chater Collection*, while in *George Chinnery 1774–1852: Artist of the China Coast* by Henry and Sidney Berry-Hill, F. Lewis, Publishers Limited, Leigh-On-Sea, England, 1963, p. 59, states that “Several albums which many years ago had been deposited in the George Morrison Library in Tokio cannot now be located. They included, for the main part, sketches done in Macao between 1827 and 1847 and reputedly 350 finished drawings and watercolours.” The earliest reference to the Morrison Collection is found in the *North-China Herald*, “Dr. Morrison's Library: Unique Collection of Works on the Far East”. July 27, 1912, pp. 237–239. Also see Geoffrey Bonsall, “George Chinnery's Views of Macau: From the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, and Geographical Society, Lisbon, Collections.” *Arts of Asia*, vol. 16, no. 1, January–February, 1986, pp. 83–84.
- 47) See Reynolds, p. 463–464. Reynolds further elaborates that part of blame must be shared with engraver as “all students of art are familiar with the process by which facial form and the shape of costume is distorted by the interpreter”. Also, see Susan Legoux *Image of China: William Alexander*. Jupiter Books Limited, London, 1980 p. 33, Plate 7 Staunton [*An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain the Emperor of China*. 3 vols. G. Nicol, London, 1797], plate sixteen: A Mandarin or Magistrate of Tourane Attended by his Pipe-bearer Print published 12 April 1796. Engraving by James Caldwell (1739–after 1819) after Alexander. Legoux mentions “It is not known wheteer Caldwell worked direct from the two preceding drawings (Plates 5 [page 31] and 6 [page 32]) or whether Alexander provided him with an intermediate design for this engraving. Whichever was the case, the print is a clumsy interpretation of Alexander's drawings...Caldwell was an established engraver who contributed to such prestigious projects as Boydell's *Shakespeare* and Captain Cook's *Voyages* and Alexander nearly thirty his junior, may not have felt willing or able to scrutinize his work as closely as was really necessary...The engraving is a pointed reminder that though an illustration may bear the inscription ‘W. Alexander del.’ it may be far removed in spirit from the true style of the artist. This is unfortunately the case with a number of tee

- engravings to the folio plate volume of Staunton...".
- 48) Ibid., Orange pp.51–52.
 - 49) Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: Paintings, furnishings and exotic curiosities*. Antique Collector's Club, Suffolk, England, 1991, p. 110.
 - 50) Ibid., pp. 110–111. Furthermore, John Barrow (1764–1848) who accompanied the Macartney Embassy to China (1792–1794) refers to the Canton artists and western perception of art in China in his *Travels in China* (London, T. Cadell and W. Davis, 1804, pp. 323–328).
 - 51) Ibid., p. 107.
 - 52) Ibid., p. 88.
 - 53) Ibid., p. 107.
 - 54) Ibid., p. 107.
 - 55) It has been pointed out by Rev. Carl T. Smith that, when Charles Elliot came up to Canton at the time of the blockade, he took the flag from the small vessel he came in and hoisted it at the British Factory. This boosted the morale of the besieged merchants.
 - 56) Mildred Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library Vol. II, Official and Professional Artist*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1969, p. 621.
 - 57) John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1969, p. 276.
 - 58) See Crossman, p. 106.
 - 59) Patrick Conner, "The China Coast Collection of Tuyet Nguyet and Stephen Markbreiter". *Arts of Asia*, vol. 26, no. 2, March–April 1996. Hong Kong, p. 64.
 - 60) Ceasar Guillén-Nuñez, "Macau through the Eyes of Nineteenth Century Painters", R. D. Cremer, *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture Second Edition: Continuity and Change*. API Press Ltd., Hong Kong, 1991, p. 85.
 - 61) For Edward Hildebrandt's depiction of Macao, see Hong Kong Museum of Art, *Historical Pictures*, Urban Council, Hong Kong, 1991, p. 69.
 - 62) Ibid., Guillén-Nuñez, p. 86.
 - 63) Ibid., p. 86.
 - 64) Wattis Fine Art, *China Trade Paintings 1803–1903*, March 1995, illustration no. 2.

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Table 1

List of Artists Represented in the Morrison Collection				
Artist	Dates	Subject	Number of works	Medium
William Alexander	1767-1816	China proper and Macao	48 99	watercolour aquatint
Thomas Allom	1804-1872	China proper	128	steel engraving
F.G.B. Bedwell	(?)	Taku Forts	2	chromolithograph
Walford Bellairs	1749-1850	Hong Kong	2	lithograph
Auguste Borget	1808-1877	Pearl River Delta	32	lithograph
Murdoch Bruce	1840-55 (a)	Hong Kong	13	lithograph
Chinese artists	(?)	Pearl River Delta	52	watercolour, ink and wash, pencil sketches
George Chinnery	1774-1852	Pearl River Delta	329	watercolour, pen and ink, pencil sketches
R.B. Crawford	(?)	Amoy	3	
Edward Hodges Cree	1814-1901	Pirate Squadron	3	lithograph
Thomas Daniell	1749-1840	Pearl River Delta and others	51	aquatint
William Daniell				
Harry Darell	1814-1853	Chusan, Tinghai and others	15	lithograph
Edward Duncan	1803-1882	Nemesis	1	lithograph
T.G. Dutton	(?)	China Trade Clippers	2	lithograph
Lieutenant Emerson	(?)	Canton	1	lithograph
Theodore-Auguste Fisquet	1813-1890	Canton and Macao	14	lithograph
L.G. Heath	(?)	Hong Kong	3	steel engraving
Thomas Hickey	1741-1824	Portrait of Lord Macartney	1	steel engraving
Edward Hildebrandt	1818-1869	Pearl River Delta & Peking	11	chromolithograph
William Huggins	1781-1845	Whampoa, Lintin	4	aquatint
Puqua	(?)	Daily life of the Chinese	60	engraving
Lieutenant Martin	(?)	Pearl River Delta	22	lithograph
James Moffatt	1775-1815	Canton and Whampoa	2	aquatint
John Prendergast	(?)	Hong Kong	2	aquatint
William Skinner	(?)	Bocca Tigris	2	lithograph
William Snow	(?)	Daily life of the Chinese	18	lithograph
John Webber	1750-1793	Macao and others	6	aquatint

(a): active