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# ‘Sprawling dragons, squatting pagods, and clumsy mandarines’

Philippa Tristram

Sinologists and art historians agree that in the eighteenth century, as in the seventeenth, distance lent enchantment to the English view of China. They also agree that disillusionment followed hard upon our first direct experience of that country. In pilot studies of China and the West, the crucial encounter cited used to be the Macartney embassy of 1793, when British subjects first travelled through the ‘Great Within’. But in recent years, sinologists – perhaps aware of the many negative references to China prior to the Macartney embassy<sup>1</sup> – have set back the advent of disillusion to 1748, when Captain Anson’s *Voyage round the world* was published. This included an account of his bellicose coastal dispute with the Chinese. Although Anson never entered China proper, sinologists now declare that from 1748 the ‘cult of China, whether intellectual or aesthetic, faded swiftly’.<sup>2</sup> Art historians, on the other hand, remark that the baroque chinoiserie of the Restoration lost ground in the early eighteenth century, and returned to favour in rococo form only in the reign of George II, ‘rising to its peak of fashion in the 1750s’<sup>3</sup> (directly after the publication of the *Voyage*), and declining gradually from 1760–90, displaced by Gothic, not the choleric Captain.

Even when seeking evidence prior to 1748 for an admiration of all things Chinese, sinologists and art historians differ, although in complementary respects. The sinologist commonly resorts to the province of the art historian:

It is almost certainly fair to see European images of China from about the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century as more positive than at any other time before or since. This was the period of the passion for chinoiserie.<sup>4</sup>

Conversely, the art historian – less confident that the rococo chinoiserie of the eighteenth century *is* illustrative of admiration – resorts to the province of the sinologist:

Nowadays rococo-chinoiserie would be regarded as distinctly racist . . . . It is extremely unlikely that it originally had this intention. All the literary evidence suggests that China . . . was much admired. No one in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Europe would have wanted to belittle that.<sup>5</sup>

It is arguable, however, that all the elements of a negative view of China had been assembled, not only prior to Macartney’s embassy but to Anson’s voyage, for reasons quite unconnected with direct experience. Much of our information about China in the later seventeenth century as in the early eighteenth came from the Jesuit missionaries in Peking, whose reports were mediated by the French. Their encomiums were scarcely credible to most Englishmen, in whose view neither a Jesuit nor a Frenchman could be trusted. Thus Defoe’s assault on China in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719–20) is mostly based on Father Lecomte’s enthusiastic *Nouveaux mémoires sur l’état present de la Chine*, turned upside down: ‘a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than savages.’<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the French had introduced the fashion for chinoiserie; ‘Hence, by some strange malignity of fate,/ We take our fashions from a land we hate,’ James Cawthorne was to write some 50 years later.<sup>7</sup> It is certainly possible, in the later seventeenth century, to identify true sinophiles, as distinct from those who merely

admired baroque chinoiserie: Sir William Temple is one example, and the lesser known John Webb another. But even at that period, most references to China are transient, curious, and neutral rather than enthusiastic, while some are already actively hostile. Peter Heylyn, for one, found Chinese customs and habits 'to an illuminated mind base and contemptible,' and discovered 'nothing Commendable in their course of life (notwithstanding the brags which they make of themselves) but their Arts and Industry.'<sup>8</sup> In early eighteenth-century writing, however, even neutral allusions are a rarity, while disparagement becomes almost routine.

Such admiration as the English ever had for China itself had therefore faded well before Anson's visit. Moreover, his travels were not widely credited. Commenting on the account of Anson's reception by the Viceroy of Canton, Walpole remarked: 'This is about as true as his predecessor Gulliver p—g out the fire at Lilliput.'<sup>9</sup> Even if Anson's tale had been less unconvincing, he had seen no more of China, and probably less, than many members of the East India Company, who were also confined to the waterfront at Canton and to Portuguese Macao. It is more significant that, after Anson's return, his brother – apparently with the benefit of the Captain's advice – should have erected a Chinese summer-house at Shugborough Park, with an interior which 'was as delightful a specimen of mongrel chinoiserie as ever appeared in England'.<sup>10</sup> Disenchantment with China and a delight in chinoiserie do not seem to have been incompatible. After all, the embassy of 1793 led to a late chinoiserie revival. As art historians point out, rococo chinoiserie (unlike baroque) was a strictly national product, representing the English view of China. To the formation of a negative view, as I will argue, chinoiserie – far from being a corrective – made its own distinctive contribution.

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During the Restoration, chinoiserie was certainly inspired by the import of products, many of doubtful quality and authenticity, from an undifferentiated 'East'. But as the Orient increased in popularity and English designers moved in to satisfy a hungry market, their version of the East rapidly displaced any actuality inhering in their models. Although it has been claimed that 'a faintly derisory air' first infected chinoiserie in the early years of eighteenth-century rococo (1730–40),<sup>11</sup> one has only to read Stalker and Parker's *Treatise on Japaning and Varnishing*, first published in 1688, to discover how many constituents of a negative view have already been assembled. Their D.I.Y. manual must have been widely distributed for it offered to 'the nobility and gentry' the chance to be 'completely furnisht with whole Setts of Japan-work', where formerly they had had to be content with a scattering of disparate objects.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, although the authors are careful to distinguish Bantam work from true Japan, 'so-called from the island of that name', explaining that the two have been conflated in the term 'Indian',<sup>13</sup> the figures illustrated in their plates are invariably described as 'Chinese' or 'mandarin'. Despite some birds with unduly aggressive claws and beaks, their plates do not include the fabulous monsters of rococo designers. Nevertheless, their image of Chinese civilization is anything but flattering.

In the first place, although the authors claim to 'have exactly imitated their Buildings, Towers and Steeples, Figures, Rocks and the like', their models have been taken from 'Cabinets, Screens, Boxes, &c.'. It would be difficult to gain an adequate notion of any nation's art from objects like these, even authentic examples of the best and those, in any case, were not available. The Chinese would not sell them to 'barbarians', while western traders actively preferred 'the odd and the freakish'<sup>14</sup> thus encouraging their manufacture. Moreover, Chinese painting itself, which invites the viewer to explore a landscape, considering it from a number of positions, is not easily understood by Europeans who are accustomed

to the perspective of a single viewpoint (to the Chinese, no more than a 'clever trick'). Stalker and Parker are therefore tempted to 'improve' upon their models. Although they have not 'industriously contriv'd perspective, or shadow'd' the designs provided, 'perhaps we have helpt them a little in their proportions, where they are lame or defective, and made them more pleasant, yet altogether Antick.' To define the art of any civilization as 'Antick' (grotesque, bizarre, absurd from incongruity) is rather more than 'faintly patronizing'.

Some of Stalker and Parker's vegetable designs, where blooms sometimes outgrow the gardener, certainly evoke 'the flowery land' which still delights chinoiserie enthusiasts, but their human images are less reassuring. 'Chinese men and women, in untoward gestures and habits'<sup>15</sup> are sometimes engaged in untoward activities. One could remove writing materials or combs from a standish, ornamented with a recumbent figure, agonized by the cangue about his neck (VII); or select one's under-garments from a drawer, decorated with a man who has none in order to intensify a flogging (XVIII). Tyrannous pagods and cruel mandarins intimidate their grovelling petitioners on other items of one's furniture. It is not surprising that the authors should comment on Plate XXIII, 'I had rather see an embassy thus in miniature, than take a voyage to China that I might really behold one.'<sup>16</sup>

One further aspect of the *Treatise* has its relevance in the subsequent century. Stalker and Parker are largely interested in furnishings for the bedroom and dressing-room. They even compare japanning to make-up: 'as painting has made an honourable provision for our bodies, so japanning has taught us a method . . . for the splendour and preservation of our Furniture.'<sup>17</sup> A faintly salacious emphasis has already attached itself to chinoiserie objects and to China. In a letter, written by Steele and published in *The Spectator* (1712, No. 545), an Emperor of China, mediated naturally by a Jesuit, requests the Pope to provide him with 'an high Amorous Virgin' together with 'Twenty-four Virgins of her own Chusing'. Although Pope, in *The Rape of the Lock* (1714, I, 11.121–48), transforms Belinda's toilet table with its oriental items into an object of delight (as did many chinoiserie designers), it remains connected in the mind at least with artifice, if not with innuendo. In the famous dressing-room scene in Congreve's *Way of the World* (1700, Act III, sc.v), Lady Wishfort makes a less than honourable provision for her ageing features. 'Your ladyship has frowned a little too rashly, indeed, madam,' Lady Wishfort's maid remarks politely. 'There are some cracks discernible in the white varnish.' It is not irrelevant to note that members of the Macartney embassy were repelled by the heavy white make-up used by Chinese women. (The Chinese were amused by the foreigners' powdered wigs, but dismayed by the waste of flour.)

In the spate of satiric articles and poems, which marks the apotheosis of rococo chinoiserie in the 1750s, writers make many points similar to those suggested by Stalker and Parker's *Treatise*. Thus a 'male beauty', described in 1755 in *The Connoisseur* (No. 65), repairs 'his battered countenance' in a dressing-room 'adorned with several little images of Pagods and Bramins,' where he 'takes as much pains to set a gloss on his complexion, as the footman in japanning his shoes.' The word 'japanning' has also acquired a further dictionary definition: 'to ordain'. 'He was a great rake, but being japanned and married, had varnished his character,' Mrs Montagu remarks of Sterne. But although art historians comment upon the greatly increased incidence of chinoiserie satirists at the mid-century, they also tend to dismiss their satires as assaults rather upon 'the extremes to which the devotees took the style than the style itself'.<sup>18</sup> In its nature, satire tends to dramatize extremes, but it is difficult when reading Chippendale's *Director* (1754) or Chambers's *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772) to believe that the apostles of chinoiserie left its critics much to do.

It is certainly true that the satirists do not describe what were probably the finest examples of the taste, those that can still be visited in great houses, ranging from the comparatively modest Chinese drawing-room at Dalemain to its flamboyant relative at Claydon. But where Stalker and Parker (perhaps optimistically) addressed themselves to the nobility and gentry, a taste for chinoiserie was now much more widely dispersed: 'from the seats of our dukes to the shops of our haberdashers, all is China.'<sup>19</sup> The satirists' favourite target is the Cit or his wife (of humble origin and a fortune made in trade, but without the knowledge how to spend it), but their range extends both down the social scale to simple grocers and up to minor gentry.<sup>20</sup> These would have owned relatively modest houses, whose 'excesses', both without and within, probably vanished long ago. William Halfpenny's *New Designs for Chinese Temples* (1750) was an attempt to 'rescue' these 'slight structures' from collapse;<sup>21</sup> Chippendale's chinoiserie designs in *The Director* aimed 'to improve that taste or manner of work'.<sup>22</sup> The diffusion of humble examples is widely attested. When discussing exteriors, a contributor to *The World* (1754, No. 59) remarks sardonically:

How much of late we are improved in architecture; not merely by the adoption of what we call Chinese, nor by the restoration of what we call Gothic; but by a happy mixture of both. From Hyde-park to Shoreditch scarce a chandler's shop, or an oyster hall but has it's embellishments of this kind.

In the following year, John Shebbeare observes of interiors:

Almost every where all is Chinese or Gothic. Every chair in an apartment, the frames of glasses, and tables, must be Chinese: the walls covered with Chinese paper fill'd with figures which resemble nothing of God's creation, and which a prudent nation would prohibit for the sake of pregnant women.<sup>23</sup>

All this suggests that writers were lampooning routine examples of a style that was widely popular, rather than its exceptional extremes. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that what the satirists describe is close to what the proud owners saw themselves; the difference lies in attitude and tone. For it would surely be a mistake to think that the enthusiasts for a grotesque style necessarily respect its place of origin. The Victorian enthusiasts for animal furniture cannot, in most cases, have been animal lovers.

The 'sprawling dragons, squatting pagods, and clumsy mandarines' of my title are observed by Goldsmith's fictional Chinese letter-writer, Lien Chi Altangi, when he visits 'a lady of distinction'. Goldsmith was not himself a great admirer of China, but it suited his purpose, as a satirist of England, to credit Altangi with all the rationality ascribed to China by the philosophers of the French Enlightenment. *The citizen of the world*, first published in 1762, was widely popular and frequently reprinted.<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 1) The lady of distinction is a chinoiserie enthusiast. She shows her visitor 'several rooms' thus furnished, and it seems more than likely that the style would have retired with her upstairs. Great houses give today's visitors the impression that chinoiserie was carefully confined to one or two intimate rooms amongst many others, but eighteenth century satires suggest that further down the social scale at least, where space was more restricted, the style was generally invasive. A plaintive husband, represented in *The World* (1753, No. 38), complains that his children are confined to the kitchen and nursery since they might otherwise damage a thousand curiosities, of which he knows neither the use nor the name. The lady of distinction also insists that her treasures "are of no use in the world", while Altangi finds his tour of her 'precarious furniture' an ordeal:

In a house like this, thought I, one must live continually upon the watch; the inhabitant must resemble a knight in an enchanted castle, who expects to meet an adventure at every turning.



Fig. 1 *The Citizen of the World*, pocket edition, 1799.

There are certainly numerous ‘sprawling dragons’: “yesterday, crash went half-a-dozen . . . upon the marble hearthstone.” Altangi does not remark upon the other fabulous monsters noted by many satirists – ‘Lions leaping from Bough to Bough like Cats . . . with every other Animal, turn’d Monsters’<sup>25</sup> – but this is perhaps because the dragon, along with the ho-ho bird (a predatory type of phoenix), were much the most popular. Chippendale was fond of dragons, even upstairs. Over his ‘Dome Bed’ there are four ‘going up at each corner: the headboard has a small Chinese temple with a joss, or Chinese God: on each side is a Chinese man at worship’.<sup>26</sup> Two dragons have arrived at the top in his plate, where the whole ensemble has been rechristened ‘Doom Bed’ (a telling lapse on the part of the engraver).<sup>27</sup> They are unattractive creatures with arrow-headed tongues, distinguishable only by their bat-like wings from the serpents which Chippendale also favours. The benign if formidable dragon, which symbolized the emperor in China (the short-beaked phoenix was the empress), has been reduced to the unpleasant adversary encountered by St George. In common with other writers, Goldsmith makes the connection through his ‘knight in an enchanted castle’, not a simile which would occur to a Chinese. It is doubtful that chinoiserie designers had consciously in mind the Christian symbolism of the dragon as the heathen, but the connection may well have been subliminal.

Despite Jesuit efforts to identify China as an early Christian civilization, and despite the tolerance of the Deists, most eighteenth century Englishmen would have concurred in Defoe's verdict: a 'nation of pagans'. Buddhism was one amongst other religions, including Christianity, which the Emperor Kang Xi (d.1723) regarded as 'wild and improper teachings'. Nevertheless, the popularity of big-bellied, jolly josses and pagods, based ultimately on Buddhist images, enforced in English minds the image of a nation of idolators. "What!" exclaims Altangi, "has Fohi [Buddha] spread his gross superstitions here also?" Other satirists are not as careful to distinguish between Chinese and chinoiserie idolomania. One contributor to *The Connoisseur* (1755, No. 73) remarks:

When our statuaries have travelled through the ancient Pantheon, and exhausted all the subjects of Greek and Roman mythology, we shall have recourse to the superstitions of other nations for the designs of our monuments . . . . It is not to be doubted that the Chinese Taste . . . will soon find it's way to our churches.<sup>28</sup>

*Soi-disant* Chinese temples had already crowded into English gardens. Much could of course be written about English versions of Chinese architecture and Chinese influence on English gardens, particularly in relation to William Chambers, but space is limited. The area explored in this article has been confined to the lady's house and the temple at the end of her garden which she indicates to Altangi – correcting him when he denies that it is in any sense Chinese. The temple illustrated, built c. 1745 to Goupy's design and decorated internally with 'grotesque ornaments', has Chinese attributes only in English eyes. (Fig. 2) Its upper floor reduces the roof to a conical attribute like a Chinese hat, trivializing the single storey architecture it purports to imitate, where the roof, not the façade, defines the building. But it was offered by *The Gentleman's Magazine* in June 1773 for comparison with one of Chambers's designs for a Turkish mosque, in order that connoisseurs might decide which had 'succeeded best in accommodating their respective designs to the genius of the nation they have attempted to imitate'. It is clear from Chambers's plates in *Designs for Chinese buildings* (1757) that, unlike others, he understood that Chinese roofs were not supported by the rigid triangular truss of English buildings, having studied them when a supercargo at Canton. But because he had seen no more of China than had Anson, and had moreover been pelted with stones when he tried to measure temples, he dismissed these powerful buildings with contempt as 'toys of architecture'.

But it is in the representation of the human figure that chinoiserie has most to answer for. Altangi wisely wears western dress,<sup>29</sup> and is not at first recognized as 'the gentleman from China', a mistake for which the lady instantly compensates: "Lord, how I am charmed with the outlandish cut of his face! how bewitching the exotic breadth of his forehead!" She may have anticipated a 'clumsy mandarin' or even a pagod, but is more likely that she expected a monkey. Chinese and monkeys had been associated in the English mind well before *singerie* came into fashion and 'these fashion-conscious creatures donned flowing robes and assumed the airs of the mandarin'.<sup>30</sup> Examples could be seen at Shugborough Park, while actual monkeys had long been popular pets. Goldsmith's lady has her monkey, who appears to be responsible for the demise of the dragons; but, in the case of the monkey as distinct from servants, she takes such reverses 'the more to heart, as the injury was done me by a friend.' Eighteenth century satirists,<sup>31</sup> in common with Lord Rochester, lack Artemesia's desire to embrace these 'dirty, chattering monsters':

'Kiss me, thou curious miniature of man!

How odd thou art! how pretty! how japan!,<sup>32</sup>

It is more doubtful that they discriminated between a Chinese and an ape. Goldsmith's separation of chinoiserie from China suits his purpose. The distinction occurred to other

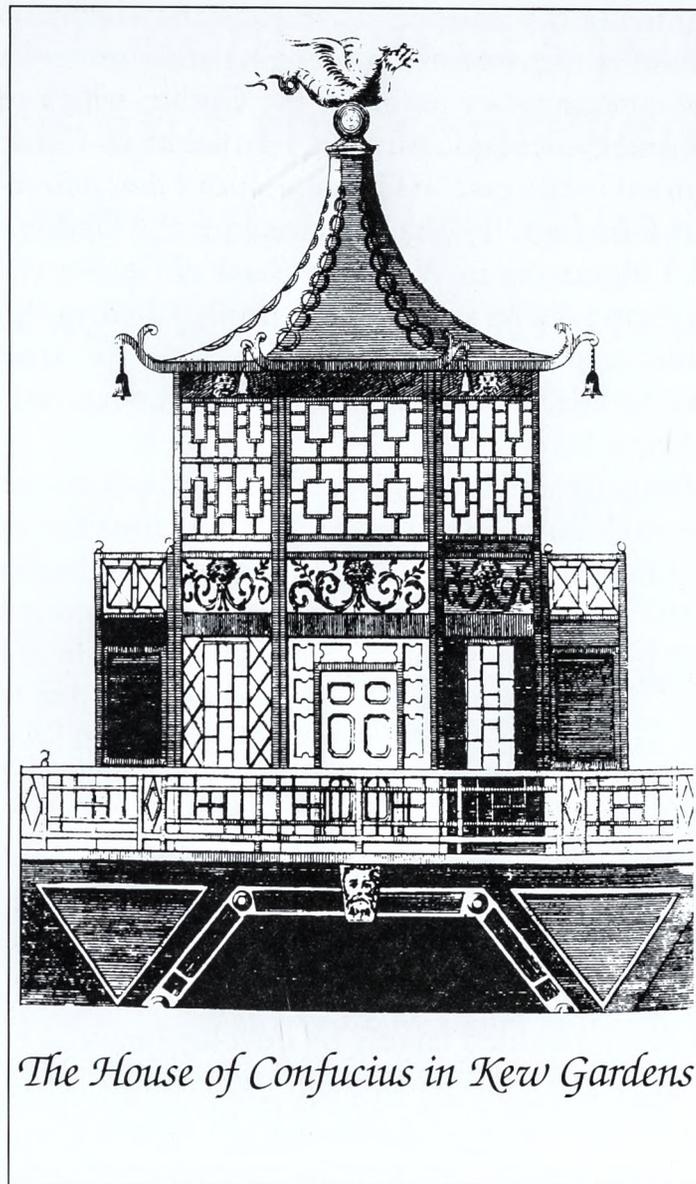


Fig. 2 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1773.

satirists only when it served their purpose too – for example, in mocking the enthusiast's pretension to expertise<sup>33</sup> – but in the majority of cases they did not make it. Thus the opponents of chinoiserie contributed quite as much as its devotees to the establishment of a negative image of China and Chinese.

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The close relationship of Chinese and Gothic in Georgian minds has already been illustrated in a number of quotations. Chippendale and Halfpenny may even conflate the two in one design. That connection, however mysterious to us, may help to explain the wide appeal of chinoiserie in the eighteenth century. Only part of the psyche was satisfied by the daylight rationality of the Augustans, reflected in the restraint of Georgian architecture, with its emphasis on symmetrical rectangles and horizontals, and its classical ideal of beauty. As the Chinese had recognized for centuries, both reason *and* imagination needed nourishment. The Confucian rationality of the ordered man-made city, with its axial emphasis and symmetrical elevations,<sup>34</sup> was complemented by the Daoist philosophical tradition, expressed in the natural world of gardens, in the upward curve of roofs and the varied designs of entrances like

the circular moongate, enticing the imagination beyond the visible to the unseen. This distinction was not understood in eighteenth-century England, but its Daoist aspect was partly sensed, chiming with the contemporary notion of the Gothic, which was also associated with natural forms and the mystery beyond. But the conflation of Chinese and Gothic in the grotesque, largely unjustified in the case of China, reduced that nation's culture at best to the picturesque, at worst to monstrosity. The development of the Gothic literary genre gave this aspect further emphasis. Originating in Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1765), the genre rapidly came to include oriental exotica in its repertoire of thrills. Goldsmith himself had paved the way well before the publication of Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), for Altangi's rationality is confined to England; in Asia, he and his family are involved in what can only be described as a highly melodramatic Gothic tale.

'Grotesque and monstrous figures often please,' Shaftesbury remarked, 'But is this pleasure right?'<sup>35</sup> His allusion to chinoiserie is fleeting, but it focuses the unease expressed by the more serious satirists of chinoiserie, who warned their readers of impending immorality, idolatry and political upheaval.<sup>36</sup> Taste and morality were intimately connected: 'It seems impossible that any Mind, truly form'd, can without Distaste be capable of letting such Objects in upon it through the Eye.'<sup>37</sup> Modern critics, who see chinoiserie (and Gothic) as precursors of Romanticism, regard this as the classicists' reaction. But while chinoiserie went out of fashion with all these connotations still intact, Gothic survived to be 'japanned' like Sterne, and thus redeemed, by the Victorians.

It must be admitted that the eighteenth-century Chinese knew even less of England than we did of China, regarding it as a dependency of Holland. They even had their own 'oueserie', where foreigners were likened to animals or birds.<sup>38</sup> But this did not encourage them to send gun-boats up the Thames. The legacy of chinoiserie has been more damaging. Although its images had been moulded largely by developments in English culture and suspicion of our European neighbours, this iconography was readily assimilated into the vocabulary of imperialism. De Quincey, who later applauded the opium wars, had partly acquired his antipathy to China from chinoiserie.<sup>39</sup> Its grotesques populated his opium dreams; *singerie* made its contribution to his waking perception of 'a young Chinese' as 'an antediluvian man renewed'; satirists had enforced 'the barrier of utter abhorrence placed between myself and them'.<sup>40</sup> Even Lamb's delight in 'that world beyond perspective' on old china retains its 'lawless grotesques . . . under the notion of men and women'.<sup>41</sup> The increasing number of English travellers in China saw it through chinoiserie spectacles: 'The garden was laid out exactly after the design of the old Willow pattern plates,' a member of Elgin's military wrote from Canton in 1858.<sup>42</sup> This seems unlikely, for willow pattern had been engraved by Thomas Minton (c. 1780), and had quickly attracted an appropriately 'Gothic' story of a cruel father and two tragic lovers, though Minton's figures suggest quite other readings. In this century, Sir Edmund Backhouse's forgery of a Chinese diary at the time of the Boxer rising has helped to mould the English version of the siege of the legations, although his account was informed as much by chinoiserie as by the China he had known for many years.<sup>43</sup> Such images continue to affect our perception of China, and willow pattern is still produced today.

NOTES TO PAGES 1–8

1. First documented by Ch'ien Chung-shu, 'China in the English literature of the seventeenth century', *Quarterly bulletin of Chinese bibliography*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 4, December 1940; 'China in the English literature of the eighteenth century (I)', *ibid.*, Vol. II, Nos. 1–2, June 1941; 'China in the English literature of the eighteenth century (II)', *ibid.*, Vol. II, Nos. 3–4, December 1941. Elaborated by William W. Appleton, *A cycle of Cathay*, Columbia U.P., New York, 1951.
2. Jonathan D. Spence, *The search for modern China*, Hutchinson, London, 1990, p. 134.
3. Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: the vision of Cathay*, John Murray, London, 1961, p. 125.
4. Colin Mackerras, *Western images of China*, OUP, Oxford, 1989, p. 41.
5. Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: the impact of oriental styles on western art and decoration*, OUP, London, 1977, p. 14.
6. Daniel Defoe, *The farther adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, (1719), J. M. Dent & Co., London, 1899, p. 254. Lecomte's *Mémoires* (1696) first translated into English 1698.
7. James Cawthorne, 'Of Taste: an essay', 1771.
8. Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in four books, containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world*, Henry Seile, London, 1652, Book III, p. 211.
9. Horace Walpole, letter to George Montagu, 18 May 1748.
10. Honour, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
11. Impey, *op. cit.*, p. 14. He later comments that 'a curious insight is given into the current state of opinion of oriental civilization' by Stalker and Parker.
12. Unless otherwise stated, all quotations from John Stalker and George Parker, *A treatise on japaning and varnishing*, Oxford, 1688, are taken from 'The epistle to the reader and practitioner'. The *Treatise* 'was intended primarily as a guide to amateurs', as japaning became an accomplishment of young ladies; its receipts were employed well into the eighteenth century (Honour, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–4, 137). Its influence on design has been remarked in 1716 (Impey, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–6); a greatly refined version can perhaps be perceived on Garrick's corner cupboard (*c.* 1770), now in the V&A.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
14. B. Sprague Allen, *Tides in English taste (1690–1800)*, Roman and Littlefield Inc., New York, 1969, p. 199.
15. Stalker and Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
17. *Ibid.*, Preface.
18. Impey, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
19. *The World*, 1756, No. 205.
20. Examples of the *cit*: Robert Lloyd, 'The Cit's country box', 1756; William Shenstone, *Of men and manners*, No. 50, 1764; *The Mirror*, 1779, No. 17; *The Lounger*, 1786, No. 79. Minor gentry, *The World*, 1753, No. 38. A grocer, *The Mirror*, 1779, No. 17.
21. William Halfpenny, *New designs for Chinese temples*, R. Sayer, London, 1750, Preface.
22. Thomas Chippendale, *The gentleman and cabinet-maker's director*, second edition, J. Haberkorn, London, 1755, comment on plates XXXIII–XXXV.
23. John Shebbeare, *Letters on the English nation*, by Batista Angeloni (pseudonym), 1755, Letter 56.
24. It appeared as *Chinese letters* in *The Public Ledger*, between Jan. 1760 and Aug. 1761. All references are to Letter XIV.
25. John Baptist Jackson, *An essay on the invention of engraving and printing in chiaro oscuro*, A. Millar, London, 1754, p. 9. Other examples: Robert Morris, *The architectural remembrancer*, 1751; *The World*, 1753, No. 38; *The ladies amusement or whole art of japaning made easy*, 1760.
26. Chippendale, *op. cit.*, comment on Plate XXXI.
27. Engraved by Mathew Darly, who also co-authored *A new book of Chinese designs*, 1754.
28. Other examples: *The World*, 1753, Nos. 12, 38 and 1755, No. 205; *The Connoisseur*, 1755, No. 73 and 1756, No. 113; James Cawthorne, 'Of Taste: an essay', *Poems by the Rev. Mr Cawthorne*, 1771.
29. A Chinese artist, Chitqua, meeting with 'brutish imprecations' in London on account of his clothes, was persuaded to put on English dress. Reported in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1771.
30. Ben Jonson associates Chinese and monkeys in *Volpone*, 1605–6, II, i, 11. 87–9. Elkanah Settle introduces dancing monkeys in company with a Chinese couple in his opera, *The Fairy Queen*, 1692. Honour claims that *singerie* originated in 1709 in France, but monkeys 'donned flowing robes' only in 1735, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91.
31. Other examples: *The World*, 1756, No. 205; B. S. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–9.
32. 'A Letter from Artemesia in the town to Chloe in the country', 1679.
33. Other examples: Morris, *op. cit.*, p. xv; *The World*, 1753, No. 12; *The Adventurer*, 1753, No. 109; *The Monthly Review*, Sept. 1754 (unusually positive); Chambers, *Designs*, *op. cit.*, Preface.
34. Macartney's embassy was surprised and pleased to find that Chinese buildings *were* symmetrical.
35. Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics*, 1711, 'Advice to an Author', Pt. III, Section III.
36. Examples: Alexander Gerard, *An essay on taste*, (1716), 2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1764, p. 7.; Morris, *op. cit.*, p. xv; *The World*, 1753, No. 112; Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 9; *The Adventurer*, 1754, No. 139; *The World*, 1755, No. 117; *The Connoisseur*, 1755, No. 73

and 1756, No. 120; Cawthorne, op. cit.

37. Jackson, *ibid.*

38. Spence, op. cit., p. 119.

39. John Barrell, *The infection of Thomas De Quincey*, Yale U.P., New Haven and London, 1991, introduction and Ch. 10.

40. *Confessions of an English opium-eater*, 1822, May 1818.

41. *The last essays of Elia*, 1833, 'Old China'.

42. Quoted by Christopher Hibbert, *The dragon wakes*, Longman, London, 1970, p. 228.

43. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Hermit of Peking*, (1976), Penguin Books revised edition, Harmondsworth, 1978, p. 348. The 'Diary' appears in J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, William Heinemann, London, 1910, Ch. XVII, 'The Diary of his excellency Ching Shan'.

#### NOTES TO PAGES 9-24

1 J. Lempriere. *Bibliotheca Classica; or, A Classical Dictionary*. . . . Reading, 1788.

2 First published as *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. (*The Old Arcadia*) in 1577. In 1593 a hybrid version was published which included sections from *The Old Arcadia* and was influential for later writers.

3 Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (*The Old Arcadia*). ed. J. Robertson, (Oxford, 1977)

4 G. Lyttleton, *The Works of George, Lord Lyttleton*, 3 vols (London, 1774); ed. J. Dodsley (London, 1776) p. 339.

5 S. J. Pratt, *Gleanings through Wales, Holland and Westphalia; with views of peace and war at home and abroad*. (London, 1796) pp. 26-7.

6 H. P. Wyndham, *A Gentlemans Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales* (London, 1775); S. Ireland, *Picturesque views on the River Wye*. . . . (London, 1797).

7 The standard work here is E. W. Manwaring, *Italian Landscape and Eighteenth Century England., a study chiefly of the influence of Claude Lorraine and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1740-1800*. (New York and Oxford, 1925) especially chapter 3. See also *Classic Ground, British Artists and the Landscape of Italy 1740-1830*. (Exh. cat. ed. D. Bull; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1981.)

8 *Richard Wilson, The Landscape of Reaction*. (exh. cat. ed. D. Solkin) Tate Gallery, London, 1982 p. 82).

9 *Ibid.* pp. 7-10.

10 For nature as a validating ideology, see A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology. The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860*. (London, 1987) pp. 17 ff.

11 *Ibid.* p. 93.

12 See Bermingham (op. cit. p. 20) on the 'natural' and the appearance of naturalness that masks the

facility with which art is used 'to collapse the opposition between nature and the cultural processes that appropriate it'.

13 A more realistic representation could be loaded in the sense that it was more particularly suited to the tastes of a wider class group that would have included the 'middling' classes. See also J. Barrell, 'The Public prospect and the private view'. J. C. Eade, ed.; *Projecting the landscape* (Canberra, Australian National University, 1987).

14 Lempriere, op. cit.

15 T. Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, vol. ii (London, 1781) pp. 150, 168.

16 *Turner In Wales*. (Exh. cat. ed. A. Wilton; Mostyn Art Gallery, Llandudno, 1984. pp. 28-9) In so doing he was making a distinction that would have been understood by comparatively large numbers of people who were conversant with Burke's ideas, which I detail below.

17 According to the title, it is after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds. This seems unlikely on stylistic grounds, Furthermore there is no mention of the painting in any of the Reynold's catalogues, nor is it mentioned in the catalogue of the sale of the artist's works after his death. Dr. Martin Postle has kindly suggested that the explanation may lie in the general confusion over the titles of some of Reynold's works at his death.

18 This is evident in some of Wilson's Welsh scenes painted during the 1760's and in some of Sandby's paintings and aquatints of the 1770's, For example, Sandby's aquatint of *Conway Castle in the county of Caernarvon*, no. xi in *Views in Worth Wales*. 1776; Wilson's *View near Wynnstay the seat of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn Bt.* (1770-1) and *Dinas Bran from Llangollen* (1770-1), both in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

19 Solkin, op. cit, p. 95.

20 See Manwaring op. cit.: J. Barrell and J. Bull, *The Penguin book of English Pastoral Verse* (London, 1974); J. Barrell, *The idea of landscape and the sense of place*. (Cambridge, 1972).

21 See S. Smiles, 'Turner in the West Country: From topography to idealisation', in *Projecting the landscape* op. cit. and *The Discovery of the The Lake District*, (Exh. cat. ed. John Murdoch; Victoria and Albert Museum. London, 1984.

22 T. McLean, *Picturesque description of North Wales* (London, 1823).

23 Indeed the Lakes appear to have been considered a more suitable candidate for a British Arcadia (in the Claudian Gaspardian sense) than Wales.

24 Pratt, op. cit. p. 68.

25 The Pastoral and what happened to it has been dealt with at some length by others. See R. Williams, *The Country and the city* (London, 1973):