

MAKE TEA, NOT WAR:
IMAGINING INFORMAL EMPIRE IN WILLIAM DANIELL'S *A VIEW IN CHINA*

On January 11, 1971, Dudley Snelgrove, a curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum, wrote to Paul Mellon, American philanthropist and art collector, suggesting that Mellon acquire William Daniell's c. 1810 painting, "A View in China: Cultivating the Tea Plant" (Figure 1). Although the price was "high," Snelgrove observed that the object was of "immense historical and factual interest."¹ Not only was the painting of "major importance," it was—in financial terms—a "desirable acquisition."² In describing Daniell's work as a faithful representation of late eighteenth-century China, Snelgrove reproduced the imperial ethnographic logics which undergirded the painting's production. And in discussing its worth in the language of the market, Snelgrove foregrounded the painting's complex entanglements in international trade and Anglo-Sino relations.

Despite Snelgrove's enthusiasm, the shipping of the painting ran into difficulty. The painting was highly damaged, with "streaks in surface coating," a "series of lines of abrasion," "patches of alligator crackling," "paint chipping off," and a "puncture in [the] canvas."³ Moreover, the painting required a new frame, which delayed its acquisition by three months.⁴ Nevertheless, Mellon persisted. In 1971, as in c. 1810, Daniell's painting expressed a fictive mobility which challenged extant conditions of physical and political immobility. Far from being an object of purely "factual interest," the painting performed the highly ideological work of incorporating China within Britain's informal empire, from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries.

1. Snelgrove to Mellon, January 11, 1971, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut (hereafter YCBA).

2. Snelgrove to Mellon, February 10, 1971, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, YCBA.

3. Yale Center for British Art Accession Worksheet, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, YCBA.

4. F. Williams to E.M. Orendorff, March 18, 1971, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, YCBA.

Artistic Production

In 1810, William Daniell and his uncle, Thomas Daniell, published a folio titled *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way of China*. The folio drew on sketches made during a first stopover in Canton in 1785, as they accompanied a delegation of the East India Company to Bengal, and a second stopover in 1794, when they joined the Macartney Embassy—which had failed to liberalize trade relations with Peking—to sail back to England. “From the earliest era of history the attention of Europe has been drawn to the East,” the Daniells wrote. “It remains for the artist to claim his part in these guiltless spoliations, and to transport to Europe the picturesque beauties of those favored regions.” Rejecting “the thirst for gold” in favor of “a liberal spirit of curiosity,” the Daniells argued that “the pencil is narrative to the eye...whatever it communicates is a transcript from nature.”⁵

A View in China exposes the fallacy of the Daniells’s pretensions to scientific objectivity. Since the Qing government prohibited Westerners from entering the Chinese mainland, the Daniells almost certainly never saw the “View in China” they painted. Given that they could not have witnessed the process of tea production, which took place to the north of Canton, they must have relied on contemporary accounts of tea harvesting and export. And far from simply transporting “to Europe the picturesque beauties of China,” William Daniell actually imitated a oil export painting by an unknown Chinese artist, produced c. 1800.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Chinese artists began creating oil paintings of the Chinese landscape for export to the European market. One of those paintings, *Tea Production in China*, emerged on the English market around 1800 (Figure 2). Daniell’s own work bears

5. Thomas and William Daniell, *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way of China* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster-Row, 1810), i-ii, DS408 .D36 1810, YCBA.

remarkable similarities to that painting. For one, their dimensions are nearly identical. The arrangement of elements in the paintings is also similar, with a river running through the picture, a warehouse in the lower left-hand corner, and plantations and mountains in the background. The steps of tea production depicted in the export painting further correspond to the information in Daniell's catalogue entry at the Royal Academy in 1810.⁶ Despite presenting himself to a metropolitan audience as a chronicler of the Chinese landscape, Daniell was, in fact, deriving his work from a Chinese painting in the European style. The complex provenance of *A View in China* highlights the multi-directional mobilities of artistic traditions in this period.

Other visual sources might also have informed *A View in China*. To begin with, Daniell might have synthesized his depiction of tea production from Canton Company paintings—produced in sets of ten or twelve—depicting various stages of tea production.⁷ Each schematic watercolor—rendered in ink on Chinese paper—featured a different component of tea harvesting and export, from sowing seeds and pounding tea leaves to forming tea cakes and sorting leaves from branches (see, for example, Figure 3). Produced c. 1800 by unknown Chinese artists, these pictures appealed to Europeans who were curious about tea production. In a 1954 biography of the Daniells, Thomas Sutton, a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, actually wrote that *A View in China* to be a “series of ten separate designs,” leading him to conclude that it was “one of the most curious exhibits in the history of the Royal Academy.”⁸ Having relied on a catalogue, Sutton must have presumed that *A View in China* followed the structure of its source

6. Kee Ill Choi, Jr., *The China Trade : romance and reality an exhibition organized in collaboration with the Museum of the American China Trade, Milton Massachusetts* (Lincoln, Massachusetts: De Cordova Museum, 1979), 34-35.

7. Snelgrove to Mellon, February 10, 1971, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, YCBA.

8. Thomas Sutton, *The Daniells — Artists and Travellers* (London: Bodley Head, 1954), 115-16.

material, revealing the fraught relationship between the authority of visual precedent at the “periphery” and artistic antecedent at the “core.”

In addition to visual sources, Daniell probably drew on contemporary accounts of Chinese tea production to supply the requisite detail for his painting. On the way home to England in 1794, Daniell met Sir John Barrow—a member of the Macartney Embassy—whom he asked to draw up an account of tea harvesting and preparation.⁹ Unlike Daniell, Barrow had special dispensation as a diplomat to travel to the Chinese interior, where he made extensive notes about his observations. Barrow was a fan of tea, noting in his 1804 book, *Travels in China*, that “since the introduction of tea into common use, cutaneous diseases have become much more rare in Great Britain.”¹⁰ Given Barrow’s appreciation of the benefits of the Chinese tea trade, he was likely an enthusiastic participant in Daniell’s project, which celebrated the production and export of tea.

Apart from Barrow’s account, Daniell could also have read published articles about Chinese tea production in the journals of learned societies. In 1795, for instance, one Mr. Brunel wrote a “Memoir on the Chinese Trade,” explaining that “when the leaves are collected, they are exposed to the steam of boiling water...spread out upon metal plates, placed over a moderate fire, where they acquire that shriveled appearance which they have when brought to Europe.”¹¹ Such accounts would have equipped Daniell with a working knowledge of tea production.

The Daniells’s own sketches and impressions of the Chinese landscape—from their stopovers in 1793 and 1794—inspired the residual elements in the painting. In their *Picturesque Voyage* folio, the Daniells devoted several watercolors to depictions of ostensibly “ill adapted”

9. Thomas Sutton, *The Daniells — Artists and Travellers* (London: Bodley Head, 1954), 116.

10. John Barrow, *Travels in China* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804), 234

11. Mr. Brunel, “Memoir on the Chinese Tea Trade,” *The Rural Magazine*, October 1, 1795, 497.

Chinese vessels, which might have formed the basis for the primitive boats in the picture (Figure 4). In fact, the vessels in the Chinese export painting seem larger and far more advanced, complete with sails and rudders.

As Bill Archer, the Keeper of the Indian Section at the Victoria and Albert Museum, noted, the landscape was also “not factual,” given that the pagodas closely resembled others that the Daniells had drawn.¹² Indeed, the tall pagoda in the background of *A View in China* evokes the one in “View near Whampoa” in the *Picturesque Voyage* folio (Figure 5). The pagoda “forms a striking object in this sweet romantic scenery,” the Daniells wrote in the accompanying text. “Vegetation is everywhere most luxuriant; and though subjected to the hands of art, the graces of nature are not obliterated, but combined with the comforts of convenience and the decorum of improved society.”¹³ In bringing together the natural and built environments in *A View in China*, Daniell drew on documentary and interpretive portrayals of the Chinese landscape to communicate the twin virtues of agrarian “grace” and industrial improvement.

Viewing “A View in China”

By situating the Chinese landscape within the British tradition of the picturesque, Daniell presented China as a space of untapped economic potential. At 132 by 184 centimeters, the monumental painting immerses the viewer into a self-contained ecosystem of commodity production.

In the foreground of the painting, three merchants—two smoking pipes and one holding a fan—gather, offering repose from the bustle of labor in the picture. One of the merchants stares directly at the viewer, as though inviting the viewer into the forbidden world of the Chinese

12. Snelgrove to Mellon, February 10, 1971, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, YCBA.

13. Thomas and William Daniell, *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way of China* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster-Row, 1810), DS408 .D36 1810, YCBA.

interior. Here, the figure serves as an interlocutor, arousing a sense of anticipation at the unknown: in the *Picturesque Voyage* folio, the Daniells wrote that “the attention of the stranger is excited more and more in proportion as he advances into the country.”¹⁴

By contrast, figures in Daniell’s metropolitan paintings serve as surrogate viewers, evincing differences in the proximities of the “core” and “peripheral” landscapes. In *Westminster Bridge and Abbey*, another of Daniell’s river scenes, three figures similarly stand on the bank, carrying an umbrella and a cane to distinguish them from the working people (Figure 6). Unlike in *A View in China*, however, the figures are looking into the river, their backs toward the viewer. In *Westminster Bridge and Abbey*, the viewer is *a part* of the landscape; in *A View in China*, the viewer stands apart, experiencing the thrill of entering an unfamiliar space.

Perspectival indeterminacy characterizes *A View in China*, further highlighting the ambivalence in the relationship between the British viewer and the Chinese landscape. From a prospect, the viewer oversees the landscape, enjoying a sense of mastery over the commercial processes unfolding before his eyes. Given the angled composition, the viewer’s exact location is nonetheless unclear. Is he on a hill, or at the top of a pagoda, or simply adopting an imaginary bird’s eye view? The ambiguity of the viewer’s situation re-inscribes the insularity of the Chinese interior.

By contrast, Daniell clearly situates the viewer *within* the landscape in his depictions of the colonial Indian scene. For instance, in *The Banks of the Ganges*, painted c. 1825, the viewer gazes upward at a temple, implying he is on the opposite bank or on a boat in the river (Figure 7). Similarly, in *Kashmir Goats*, painted between 1790 and 1810, the viewer is on the same plane as the subjects of the picture, creating a sense of personal encounter rather than an illusion of

14. Ibid.

distance (Figure 8). As art historian Romita Ray puts it, “Britons ‘saw’ themselves as denizens of...a common Raj” through the Indian landscape.¹⁵ In depictions of the Chinese landscape, however, the position of the British viewer is more obscure, reflecting ambivalence about the nature of Anglo-Sino relations.

In situating the Chinese landscape within the putatively apolitical aesthetic of the picturesque, Daniell elided this political reality, in favor of desire and futurity. To the left of the painting, tall, disproportionately sized trees rise above the warehouse, providing a backdrop of unspoiled wilderness. Meanwhile, the rolling topography in the background looms over the production-line processes in the foreground. Apart from serving as a framing device—typical of the British picturesque—the trees evoke the unrealistically tall flagpoles in Daniell’s more famous 1806 painting of China, *European Factories at Canton* (Figure 9). In *European Factories*, the flagpoles bear the colors of the major European powers in China, asserting European sovereignty over the port. Throughout his career, Daniell experimented with scale to emphasize the volume of trade, explaining the differing proportions of the junks he drew in various versions of *European Factories*. In *A View in China*, the trees stand in place of the flags, transferring sovereignty over the Chinese interior from the political entity of the Qing government to the universal title of nature.

A comparison with Daniell’s source material provides further evidence of his efforts to remove the landscape from its real physical context. In *Tea Production in China*—the Chinese oil export painting which Daniell referred to—a sign hangs from the warehouse giving the name of the tea factory: *I-ho Hang* (Shop of Righteous Harmony). Union Jacks fly from the boats in

15. Romita Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 16.

the background of the painting, as does the French *tricouleur* in the distance, identifying the waterway as the Pearl Delta, which flowed to the Whampoa Anchorage.¹⁶ The idiom of realism makes clear this is a scene from an actual location, rather than a scene from the mystical Chinese interior of the colonial imagination.

By contrast, *A View in China* strips away these details. The winding river offers optical pathways to new and infinite possibilities, leading the viewer to speculate about the potential of romantic pastoral scenes upstream, or perhaps the swirling activity of trade downstream. The luminous water shimmers, highlighting the seamless connectivity of commodity flows. Yanked from its geographical and political specificity, the China tea trade assumes an alluring and romantic character.

In this sense, the landscape is distinctly masculine. Apart from the fact that all the figures are male, the denseness of the vegetation educes the temptation of male adventure and colonial penetration. At this time, British viewers would have been familiar with the motifs of tea consumption through prints, paintings, and the decorative arts. Drinking tea would have been coded as a domestic and therefore essentially feminine activity.¹⁷ In creating the first British depiction of Chinese tea production, Daniell offered a competing reading of gender and tea, drawing attention to the male homosocialities involved in the harvesting and export of the commodity.

By situating the Chinese landscape within the picturesque, Daniell also sublimates the menial labor involved in tea production for the enjoyment of the viewer. In the background, the

16. Kee Ill Choi, Jr., *The China Trade: romance and reality — An exhibition organized in collaboration with the Museum of the American China Trade, Milton Massachusetts* (Lincoln, Massachusetts: De Cordova Museum, 1979), 35.

17. Romita Ray, “Storm in a Teacup? Visualizing Tea Consumption in the British Empire,” in *Art and the British Empire*, ed. Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 205.

bucolic rolling hills, the lush green vegetation, and the pastoral fields loom over the foreground, providing a rustic foil to the mercantile activity of packing and loading the tealeaves. Past the middle ground, the figural workers in the landscape become indistinct, and the viewer can barely identify what they are doing. The long shadows of the figures and the orange sky indicate that it is dusk, with rest and relief in sight. The flock of ducks in the river and the birds in the sky naturalize Daniell's vision of mobility, while highlighting the harmony of the natural and human environments.

By contrast, *Tea Production in China* breaks the rules of linear perspective to offer a diagrammatic representation of tea production, allowing the viewer to clearly distinguish individual steps in tea harvesting and export. Only the Pearl River on the right is divided into zones of recession following a break in the horizon line, for the involved process of tea production *is* the essence of the painting. The vegetation and topography are evidently schematic, and no attempt is made to evoke a sense of realism. In Daniell's adaptation, however, the illusion of spatial depth and the impressionistic treatment of labor render Chinese bodies part of the productive landscape, thereby naturalizing the extractive nature of the China tea trade. Unlike metropolitan depictions of Georgian industry, Daniell emphasizes human forms rather than machinery, presaging a style of "Colonial Gothic" which elevated native craftsmanship over mechanized innovation.¹⁸

Compared to Daniell's depiction of India, *A View in China* nevertheless offers a distinctly modern vision of trade, exchange, and capital. Consider typical examples of Daniell's Indian scenes, such as *Indian Landscapes with Figures near a Stream* (Figure 10). Ruins predominate,

18. Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), Chap. 5.

and the figures are at rest and dressed in traditional garb. By contrast, the overall impression in *A View in China* is one of efficiency and flow. Daniell renders the workers with intricate detail, showing them in motion tying, binding, and marking tealeaves to create a reality effect. Architecturally, the pagodas and pavilions may seem exotic, but they lack the antiquity of the ruins in Daniell's Indian paintings, which invite the civilizing influence of British colonialism. China is a trading partner—perhaps even a site of economic exploitation—but it is not, in Daniell's rendering, a colony.

Intriguingly, Daniell includes a meta-textual comment about the nature of craftsmanship in *A View in China*. On the riverbank on the right of the painting, artisanal craftsman appear to be firing pots in a kiln. Barrels are casually strewn on the bank, conferring a picturesque quality on the disciplines of the otherwise well-organized economic landscape. No feature corresponds to the kilns in the Chinese oil export painting, nor is the step elucidated in Daniell's catalogue entry for the work. Could that have been Daniell's self-reflexive acknowledgement of the edifice in his own artistry?¹⁹ After all, Daniell and his uncle accompanied the East India Company to China as engravers, producing aquatints for wealthy patrons and accepting other tasks like the cleaning of oil paintings to make ends meet. In Calcutta, Daniell and his uncle relied on native craftsmen to stain their prints, because they were unaccustomed to the technique of aquatinting.²⁰ In the light of his liminal position within the British imperial hierarchy, it is conceivable that Daniell identified with the Chinese craftsmen in the painting, acknowledging the centrality of skill and workmanship to the global economy at the apogee of the Industrial Revolution.

Reception, Circulation, and Afterlives

19. Ibid, 135-136.

20. Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell, 1786-1794* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980, 14-16.

In 1810, Daniell exhibited *A View in China* at the Royal Academy. By this time, the “prospect of India” had established a “new Renaissance” for English artists and audiences, and the Academy had become a venue to expose the non-travelling public to exotic lands, which constituted the vast majority of Britain’s empire, formal and informal.²¹ Daniell’s original subtitle for the painting, “Shewing the Process of Cultivating the Tea Plant and Preparing the Leaves for Exporation,” professed a claim to empiricism, eliding the suggestiveness with which Daniell treated his subject.²²

Although Daniell and his uncle brought the English idiom of the picturesque to bear on the Chinese landscape, visions of the “periphery” could also transform the self-understandings of the “core.” J.M.W. Turner, the English romantic painter, was highly familiar with the Daniells’ *Picturesque Voyage* folio, and likely saw *European Factories* as well as *A View in China* at the Royal Academy. Given that Turner never travelled beyond the continent, the luminosity of the sky and water in Daniell’s paintings of China might have influenced his midcareer depictions of ports.²³ *A View in China*, in particular, offered a vision of a pre-steam past which characterized Turner’s paintings of preindustrial vessels and docks. In fact, art historian Kee Ill Choi, Jr described the light in *A View in China* as “soft, Turneresque” in a 1998 article, when the chronology of Turner’s work suggests that it was he who was influenced by the Daniells.²⁴ The artistic “periphery” could therefore serve as a laboratory for the reimagining of the “core.”

21. Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romanti Art and the Prospect of India* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2005), 103.

22. Kee Ill Choi, Jr., *The China Trade: romance and reality: an exhibition organized in collaboration with the Museum of the American China Trade, Milton Massachusetts* (Lincoln, Massachusetts: De Cordova Museum, 1979), 34.

23. Susan Grace Galassi, Ian Warrel, and Joanne Sheers Seidenstein, *Turner’s Ancient and Modern Ports: Passages through Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 18-19.

24. Kee Ill Choi, Jr, “Tea and Design in Chinese Export Painting,” *Antiques: The Magazine*, October 1998, 520.

By touting the economic benefits of the Chinese tea trade, Daniell also used his painting to combat anti-Chinese protectionist sentiment, which had emerged following the emergence of a serious trade deficit. In his catalogue entry for the exhibition, Daniell wrote that the tea trade “gave employment to about three millions of the Chinese population and to 20,000 tons of English shipping, besides adding three millions annually to the revenue of Great Britain.”²⁵ In spite of Daniell’s affection for China—he had, after all, visited the country at the tender age of fifteen—the East India Company would break the Chinese monopoly on tea by the early 1820s.

After its exhibition at the Royal Academy, the painting passed into the hands of Charles Hampden Turner, a British merchant with a keen interest in gardening. As deputy chairman of the East India Docks Company, and the owner of a sail-making and canvas firm, Turner had a vested interest in the China trade, and would have keenly apprehended the failure of the Macartney embassy.

At Rock’s Nest—Turner’s 140-acre estate in Surrey—the painting fit into Turner’s wider attempts to re-create exotic landscapes in England. In 1810, Captain Robert Welbank imported Japanese camellia, widely used as a tealeaf, for Turner.²⁶ Around 1816, John Reeves, a tea inspector for the East India Company in Guangzhou, also sent Turner a specimen of Chinese wisteria—the first time the species had been introduced to Britain—which was used as a tea substitute. Turner placed the specimen in his steam-heated conservatory, subjecting it to the summer heat all-year-round.²⁷ One might almost imagine Turner showing off these specimens to

25. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors*, Volume 2 (London: H. Graves and Co.), 246.

26. J.C. Loudon, *The Gardener’s Magazine and Register for Rural and Domestic Improvement*, Vol. 7 (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831), 72.

27. John Sims, *Curtis’s Botanical Magazine, or flower-garden displayed*, Vol. XLVI (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones: 1819), 2084.

his guests in the greenhouse, before bringing them into his drawing room, serving them tea, and revealing *A View in China*. From the imagined distance of the prospect, the affective distance of the picturesque, and the geographical distance of England, his guests would have marveled at the wonders of global commerce. Tea might have been a stimulant, but under the hand of the artist, the labor of Chinese workers had transformed the commodity of tea into leisure for the British bourgeoisies.

More than a century later, after Mellon acquired *A View of China*, the painting continued to arouse the Anglo-American Cold War imagination. In 1979, the year the United States restored diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, against the backdrop of *détente*, the De Cordova Museum in Lincoln, Massachusetts organized an exhibition titled "The China Trade: Romance and Reality." The curators requested Daniell's painting from the YCBA, which promptly consented to the loan. "We think it is the right exhibition at the right time," the curators wrote in the preface to the catalogue for the exhibition. "The exhibition [underscores] the often forgotten fact that there had been a long and amicable association between the people of the two countries."²⁸ *A View of China* thus emerged as an instrument for the promotion of market liberalism in Cold War cultural diplomacy.

Despite the painting's evocation of economic mobility—as well as its service to political exchange—its materiality as an object served as a powerful reminder of the limits of its own ideology. When the painting returned to the YCBA, Timothy A. Goodhue, the Acting Registrar, wrote to the De Cordova Museum to express displeasure at the packing of the work. "The absence of inner packing eliminated any cushioning against the shocks of transit," Goodhue

28. Kee Ill Choi, Jr., *The China Trade: romance and reality an exhibition organized in collaboration with the Museum of the American China Trade, Milton Massachusetts* (Lincoln, Massachusetts: De Cordova Museum, 1979), 4.

wrote. “This left the four edges of the frame exposed and made the large work...difficult to handle safely.”²⁹ Although the painting emphasized the portability of commodities, its own travel through space highlighted the perils of mobility, for objects ultimately exist in place and answer to the laws of Newtonian physics, rather than to geopolitical fantasies of free passage.

Despite the improvement in U.S.-Sino relations, the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989 once more dramatized the limits of mobility. As a result of fallout from the massacre, Daniel A. Zilkha, an investment banker from Maine, had to cancel his exhibition of China Trade pictures in 1990. Among those pictures was a Chinese export painting depicting the process of tea production. With his plans for an exhibition frustrated, Zilkha wrote to Duncan Robinson, the director of the YCBA, to offer the image for loan, alongside the Daniell painting. “You may one day be interested in exhibiting them together,” Zilkha wrote.³⁰ In his response, Robinson was polite but brusque, stating simply that “you are kind to offer to lend [the painting] at some future date.”³¹ In 1990, as in 1810, *A View in China* offered a vision of futurity which transcended roadblocks in East-West relations.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, *A View in China* exposes the conceit of transnational or global studies of art. Travel, migration, and displacement influenced the production and reception of landscape, but those processes frequently operated within the contexts of immobility and forced mobility. In Daniell’s case, the inability of foreigners to travel to the Chinese interior very much structured the visual elements in *A View in China*. To that extent, contextual background and

29. Goodhue to Walkey, February 28, 1979, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, YCBA.

30. Zilkha to Robinson, June 14, 1990, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, YCBA.

31. Robinson to Zilkha, June 20, 1990, B1976.7.22 Curatorial File, YCBA.

formal analysis are not analytical polarities, but mutually constitutive in any attempt to make sense of the “peripheral” landscape.³²

In presuming the authority of networks and connectivity, world-systems approaches to art history can also reproduce the epistemological assumptions of imperial expansion, for the local and particular is subordinated to the global and universal. The provenance of *A View in China* destabilizes some of these assumptions. Rather than viewing Daniell’s work through the colonial rubric of “encounter,” we ought to unravel the nexus of influences that shaped *A View in China* at varying sales. To put it crudely, the painting was an imitation of a Chinese work, which was itself an intimation of European-style oil paintings. Under such conditions, *A View in China* challenges not just the indexicality of place to representation, but also ideas of authenticity and authorship.

32. Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 17.

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APPENDIX



FIGURE 1. William Daniell, *A View in China*, c. 1809-1810, oil on canvas, 48 1/2 x 72 13/16 inches, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.



FIGURE 2. Unknown Chinese artist, *Tea Production in China*, c. 1800, oil on canvas, 48 3/4 x 73 inches, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.



FIGURE 3. Unknown Chinese artist, *Picking Tealeaves*, c. 1800, watercolor and ink on Chinese paper, dimensions unknown, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, England.

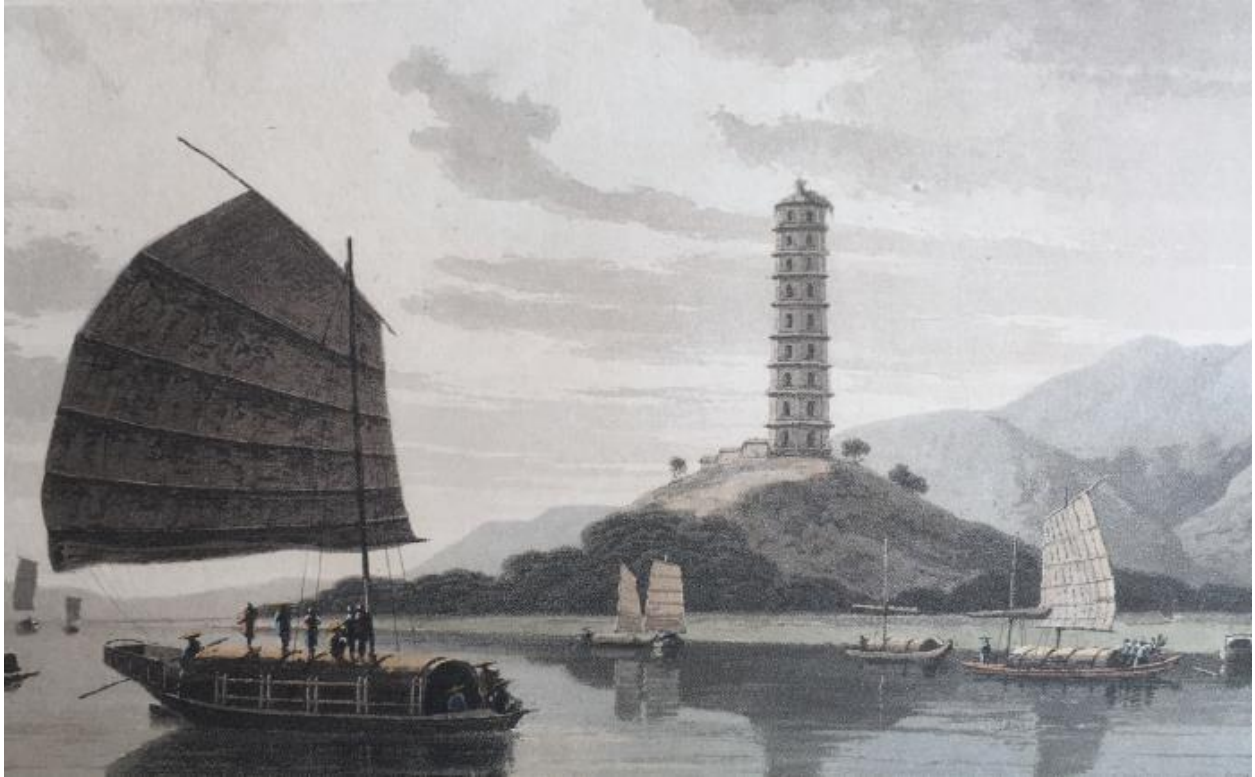


FIGURE 4. Thomas and William Daniell, *Whampoa Pagoda*, c. 1810, watercolor on paper, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.



FIGURE 5. Thomas and William Daniell, *A View near Whampoa*, c. 1810, watercolor on paper, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.



FIGURE 6. William Daniell, *Westminster Bridge and Abbey*, 1813, oil on board, 12 1/16 x 18 11/16 inches, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.



FIGURE 7. William Daniell, *The Banks of the Ganges*, c. 1825, oil on canvas, 25 x 29 inches, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.



FIGURE 8. William Daniell, *Kashmir Goats*, c. 1790-1810, oil on canvas, 29 1/2 x 18 3/4, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.



FIGURE 9. William Daniell, *European Factories at Canton*, 1806, oil on canvas, 34 x 50 inches, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.



FIGURE 10. William Daniell, *Indian Landscape with Figures near a Stream*, c. 1830, oil on canvas, 31 1/2 x 45 inches, Yale Center of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.