

Between Embargo and Export: Canton Enamelled Porcelain (Guangcai) and Hong Kong–US Relations in the Cold War

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Abstract

This essay research focuses on the spoon, Canton enameled porcelain (Guangcai) collected in the V&A Museum. It was identified as part of the continuing history of Chinese export porcelain, but also a rare example in Britain as this spoon was exported mainly to America historically and in particular since the US embargo during the Cold War. The underside marks, including “Y.T. Decorated in Hong Kong, Made in Japan”, provides a material entry point into these geopolitical pressures, revealing how questions of origin, manufacture, and value were negotiated through labelling practices. Guangcai continued to be relevant in the twentieth century despite not holding as much consumption as they did in the eighteenth century. It stands as a highly idealised object whilst connoting the chinoiserie in eighteenth-century England to twentieth-century America. Canton enamel porcelain remains a tool for connecting the past, evoking nostalgia for the good times through its collection. It served as a respite in the ever-changing world of American expansion, with its unchanging patterns symbolizing a world untouched by Western influence. Hong Kong as a colony of the British during the Cold War, took over the role of canton factory, let Guangcai export continue and provide commodities and fulfil American collectors' emotional anchors in the twentieth century. This paper adopts a material culture approach, analysing Guangcai as an object embedded within geopolitical and cultural systems rather than as a passive commodity.

Keywords: Guangcai, Cold War, Hong Kong, embargo, chinoiserie

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Introduction

Upon entering the V&A Museum, make your way to the fourth floor. There, in Room 137, the Curtain Foundation Gallery, a glass cabinet stretches towards the ceiling. On the second shelf, there is a fairly unassuming object: a spoon (Figure 1). Opening the archive (Victoria and Albert Museum, n.d.) of this spoon reveals it is painted enamel on porcelain. The spoon dates from the 1950s–60s. Its porcelain body was made in Japan, while the enamel decoration was applied at Yuet Tung China Works, Hong Kong. The V&A acquired and catalogued it as part of the “Japan” collection; however, the object’s production is better understood as transnational, with Hong Kong as the principal centre of decoration and identity-making.

Figure 1

Spoon, Yuet Tung China Works, Hong Kong, 1950–1960



Source: V&A Museum, Accession number: FE.5-2017
(<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1377000/spoon/>)

Figure 2

Spoon, Yuet Tung China Works, Hong Kong, 1950–1960



Source: V&A Museum, Accession number: FE.5-2017
(<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1377000/spoon/>)

From the 1950s to the 1960s, during the Cold War period, and because of the Korean War, the US Government applied an embargo on Hong Kong to prevent China from obtaining “strategic materials” or “strategic resources” through the territory. No products from China or even raw materials could be traded with the US. Therefore, when applying for the Certificate of Origin, Yuet Tung China Works changed to importing porcelain bodies from Japan, and the stamp on the spoon changed as well.

The V&A’s acquisition file (Victoria and Albert Museum, n.d.) provides the rationale for collecting this spoon. In the “Significance to the collection” section, curator Luk Yu Ping records that the spoon is importance of filling the gap in the history of Chinese export porcelain, which was complicated by the Cold War. It also reveals the importance of Hong Kong becoming a global strategic production site. We can even interpret that this was a pivotal moment for the V&A to take a strong cultural interest in Hong Kong as a British territory and political ally, as the museum had no independent section and classification for Hong Kong until then.

Research Objectives

This acquisition information has led me to my research question to investigate the role of this particular Guangcai spoon “decorated in Hong Kong” and “made in Japan” in the 1950s–60s. This essay focuses on the trading during the Cold War period and Guangcai as part of Chinese export porcelain trade. It also tries to address the gap in the studies of Chinese export porcelain about which I will talk later in more detail, but my research is focused study on Guangcai which has received little attention, and not been differentiated from other Chinese export porcelain products from the eighteenth-century Chinese export porcelain until present. Moreover, I will address its roles and social impact on the Western society in the twentieth century which is also an under-researched area.

How did a Hong Kong-decorated porcelain spoon move from an object of chinoiserie consumption to an object of nostalgia?

Guangcai Historical Background

Guangcai has a history of about 300 years and is famous for its fine brushwork, extensive themes and rich colours. Guangzhou was an important foreign trade port during the Qing dynasty, and Guangcai was one of the most popular export commodities. Initially, merchants ordered porcelain products directly from Jingdezhen. Later, to reduce transport costs, they purchased white porcelain bodies from Jingdezhen and employed local painters to draw the designs according to customers’ orders. In 1757, the Qing Government ruled that Guangdong should be the only export trade port, and it remained so until the Treaty of Nanjing on 29 August 1842. In the late Qing dynasty, Guangcai established its style, not only with specific patterns but also with richer colours and picture compositions. However, due to the turbulent political situation in the early twentieth century, Cantonese manufacturers and painters moved to Hong Kong to continue operating their Guangcai businesses.

Guangcai was recently added to the list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Hong Kong, Traditional Craftsmanship, no.5.55. The details can be found on the Hong Kong Intangible Cultural Heritage database (Leisure and Cultural Services Department, n.d.).

Materiality

The spoon is made of porcelain and decorated with Canton enamelled decoration, categorised as overglaze porcelain (釉上彩), in which coloured paintings are added onto a glazed white porcelain body for further refiring to make the brightness of the colour long-lasting (Hong Kong Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre, n.d.). The spoon is five and a quarter inches long and was probably used for serving rather than eating.

Yuet Tung China Works and the Export Porcelain Industry in Hong Kong

According to the information provided by the V&A archive, the spoon was produced by a porcelain factory called Yuet Tung China Works, the first and last remaining porcelain factory operating in Hong Kong.

In 1928, Yuet Tung China Works started their porcelain business, and today, their painted porcelain tableware targets some high-end restaurants and hotels in Hong Kong to serve their guests, presenting a feast of visual art. Customised painted porcelain is ordered by private companies and organisations as souvenirs for their clients (Hong Kong Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre, n.d.).

The enamel porcelain industry was large in Hong Kong in the mid-twentieth century. According to a magazine interview (Zhang, 2024), the director, Mr Tso, recalled that the factory had approximately 300 employees and that worker accommodation was built around the site, including a dormitory. He further noted that, after marriage, workers often established informal dwellings using timber and corrugated iron adjacent to the dormitory (Figure 3).

The Pattern on the Spoon

There are many descriptions of Canton enamelled porcelain motifs, such as Rose Medallion, Famille Rose, Rose Canton, and Canton Rose. British and US writers have repeatedly used these terms interchangeably to describe the porcelain that prevailed in the nineteenth century.

Although similar in wording, “Rose Canton” and “Canton Rose” differ in meaning. In the middle of the spoon is a rose pattern, which is common in this type of Guangcai. The design combines an early seventeenth-century pattern with commonly used Western patterns by foreign merchants, which incorporated Cantonese landscapes in a kind of chinoiserie decorative design (Lam, 2023, p. 19). One reason for designing this Canton Rose pattern is described in the book by Lam Duen Shan Ming (Lam, 2023, p. 20). Porcelain “Canton Rose” were prefabrications but differed through customisation. During seasons without custom orders, the workshops could still sustain production, making it a business strategy. Hence, many Guangcai in that period were produced with the Canton Rose pattern as a kind of mass production.

Cold War Embargo in Hong Kong

On the bottom of the spoon is a label that reads, “Y.T. Decorated in Hong Kong, Made in Japan”. “Decorated in Hong Kong” means the overglaze colouring was applied in Hong Kong, and “Made in Japan” means the porcelain body was purchased from Nagoya, Honshu, Japan (Ming Pao, 2024).

After imperial colonial power faded out, U.S.-Soviet competition began. Between 1950 and 1953, a war broke out between North and South Korea. Soviets and the U.S. provided military support to North and South Korea respectively. After the civil war in China, the new government People's Republic of China stood with the Soviets as they supported communism.

In 1951, the US imposed an embargo on China, requiring products imported into the US to be marked as not containing raw materials from China. This embargo lasted until 1972, when the US president visited China, leading to the normalisation of relations and the lifting of the embargo.

Hong Kong was a British territory during this period, but after the outbreak of the Korean War, the US embargo also impacted Hong Kong's re-export trade and its status as a transshipment port (Chen & Guo, 1997, pp. 286–287), cutting off Hong Kong's economic life. To solve the export problem, the US Government and the Hong Kong Colonial Government reached an agreement that businesses needed to obtain a Certificate of Origin (*Shiji shanbian*, 2008), which was a permit issued by the Commerce and Industry Department for all imports and exports.

Because of this, porcelain painted in Yuet tung China Work intended for sale in the U.S. had to be labelled as “Decorated in Hong Kong Made in Japan”. The coming section would explain the cultural signifier through the consumption.

Consumption Shifting From the UK to the US

Building on the Cold War trade restrictions discussed earlier, the following questions are considered: To what extent was the US market indispensable for Hong Kong? Could Hong Kong shift its main trade partner to the UK, given that it was a UK colonial territory, and simply ignore the embargo? To answer these questions, this section explores chinoiserie in the US in the twentieth century as a key factor for creating a new market for Canton enamel porcelains.

America Emulate British Chinoiserie in the Eighteenth Century

Before discussing America, we must first examine how chinoiserie emerged in the UK.

From Chinoiseries to Nostalgia

In the eighteenth century, Britain's non-aristocratic merchants used Chinese-taste objects to affirm their identity and showcase their refined sensibilities. Oriental objects and styles suited the aspirations of Britain's merchant class, symbolising both commercial wealth and participation in polite culture (Sloboda, 2014, p. 80). Eighteenth-century Britain was a highly materialistic culture, in which fascination with consumer goods and material possessions became closely tied to social status and identity.

The proper acquisition, display, and use of commodities had a complex range of moral meanings that had real implications for one's social life (Sloboda, 2014, p. 62).

China's image in the eighteenth century is an invincible trading power. Thus, Britain mentioned objects from imperial trade were frequently used as an indicator of taste and politeness.

British Taste Shift to the US Market

During the eighteenth century, individuals in the US often regarded themselves as an extension of Britain, and this perception profoundly shaped their cultural and aesthetic values. The influence of British chinoiserie, a trend emblematic of refinement and sophistication, significantly impacted US elites (Leath, 1999, p. 59), who emulated this British vogue, particularly in their pursuit of taste and social distinction (Leath, 1999, p. 49).

In Charleston, South Carolina, the elites considered themselves a stylish “suburb” of London, so much so that South Carolina governor John Drayton wrote that they “sought in every possible way to emulate the life of London society” and “were too much enamoured of British customs, manners and education to imagine that elsewhere anything of advantage could be obtained”(Leath, 1999, p. 59).

Chinese export porcelain is one of the most commonly found ceramics in the Charleston area, and constitutes as much as 24% of the overall ceramic assemblage at many archaeological sites (Leath, 1999, p. 50). Charleston's eighteenth-century aristocrats exemplify what we today might call “trickle down” decorative arts, the process of colonials emulating the fashion trends that start at the top of society in their mother country (Leath, 1999, p. 58).

In 1784, American merchants were able to import porcelain directly from China instead of through the British and Dutch East India Companies (Gao, 2021). In 1785, the *Empress of China* became the first American ship to arrive in Canton. Before the American Revolution (1765–1783), Canton enamelled porcelain, as well as other kinds of Chinese export porcelain, were expensive and luxurious for Anglo-Americans, since before direct shipping British law had declared that all Chinese commodities destined for the colonies should be carried by British ships.

As a result of the emulated culture and direct shipping, the number of Chinese export porcelains in the American market increased significantly (Gao, 2021). In the 1830s, Americans became the predominant consumers of Chinese export porcelain (Howard & Ayers, 1978, p. 485).

The Vogue Revival in the US and the UK in the Twentieth Century

In the twentieth century, xenophobic European, North American, and Australian responses to fears over Chinese immigration led to the rhetoric of the “Yellow Peril” (Cheang, 2008). In fact, after the mid-nineteenth century and the wars fought over the right of the Western powers to trade in China, China's standing in the West slipped from a seemingly invincible trading power to a society in decline with a vanquished, semi-colonial status (Cheang, 2008).

Although China's image no longer carried the same sense of dominance and inscrutability, this did not deter US collectors from acquiring Canton enamel porcelain in the twentieth century. Chinese design was seen as a stylistic legacy of the eighteenth century, so twentieth-century chinoiserie was greatly reminiscent of the supposed grace and elegance of British eighteenth-century aristocratic living (Cheang, 2008).

However, since the twentieth century, Britain faced the wave of decolonization, losing its colonies one after another. This loss made the British nostalgic for the era of imperial dominance. America in the eighteenth-century emulated the home interior of the British,

however, Britain and American in Chinese taste object collectibles had diverged significantly by the twentieth century.

The British leaned toward antiques associated with China's imperial heritage, such as blue-and-white porcelain, Song dynasty jade, and Ming and Qing dynasty relics. In contrast, the Cold War era brought a transformative shift for the United States, from isolationism to internationalism, sparking a revival of interest in Chinoiserie objects in the eighteenth-century.

The sections below will explore how the shifting global roles of Britain and America led to cultural changes, culminating in the importance of Hong Kong's embargoed Canton enamel porcelain exports to the American market during the Cold War. It will address the question: why was the American market indispensable for Hong Kong?

British Nostalgia in Chinoiseries

Collectors and Connoisseurs' culture in Britain are different from America in the twentieth century, in some of Britain's great porcelain exhibitions, such as the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, 28 November 1935 to 7 March 1936 (Royal Academy of Arts, 1935) and the Oriental Ceramic Society in Britain, Guangcai was not a primary focus (Liberty & Co., ca.1983).

Before the twentieth century, British chinoiseries maintained pre-colonial relationships with China, viewed as a more romantic, less troubling world. An interesting double nostalgia can also be associated with the selling of Chinese things in twentieth-century Britain: nostalgia for the eighteenth-century European Chinamania and nostalgia for the old China of mandarins and pagodas that seemed to be fast receding before an inexorable tide of Westernisation (Cheang, 2007, p 1–16). Therefore, purchasing Oriental products in the twentieth century was a form of nostalgia for British collectors, with the types of objects sought being related to imperial China.

America Nostalgia in Chinoiseries

In America, the golden age of Guangcai was from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. People still purchase and collect Guangcai in the twentieth century, as it is nostalgia for an exotic object. Guangcai in this era was here to fulfil a “losing” emotion, but what things make Americans feel “losing”?

After World War II, the Cold War made the US expand its military presence in Asia to counter the communist forces led by the Soviet Union. Asian regions that had been Westernised due to colonialism experienced yet more cultural erosion as their traditions faded once again under the influence of the US economy and its cultural exports. This contributed to a sense of cultural loss among American collectors and consumers.

This intense fear of loss fuelled an almost obsessive public discourse that centred on securing the allegiance of decolonising nations and binding them to the US. Tension between the desire to integrate Asia and the fear of losing Asia permeated American thinking in the late 1940s and 1950s (Klein, 2003).

Another trigger point was the Korean War, and the US's involvement accelerated the development of a nationwide sense of nostalgia. When the Korean War broke out in 1950, Washington rushed in thousands of troops to contain what it saw as a Soviet-backed invasion

of South Korea. In subsequent years, the U.S. dispatched military advisors to and launched nation-building projects in South Vietnam, exploded atomic bombs on the Bikini atoll, and sent the Seventh Fleet to protect Taiwan from Chinese attack. It constructed a network of military bases centred in the Philippines, Okinawa, and South Korea, and crafted a web of political treaties that allied the U.S. with South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Malaya, and Pakistan.⁴³ As military forces entered these Asian regions, the number of westernized areas in Asia gradually increased.

Cold War-era US underwent a rapid transformation, shifting from isolationism to internationalism within roughly a decade. How did Americans who had grown up under the isolationist era adapt to such a sudden and drastic change? The US believed that its citizens needed to be educated with an international perspective.

Francis Wilcox, a mid-level US State Department official, delivered a speech to an audience of educators in Philadelphia that recast the problem of foreign resistance to US expansion into an issue of domestic pedagogy.

The US public needed to be schooled in internationalism: it needed to be persuaded to accept the nation's sustained engagement in world affairs, its participation in international organisations, and its long-range cooperation with other governments (Klein, 2003).

Wilcox impressed upon his listeners that the US–Soviet competition over developing nations was creating an educational crisis among Americans, most of whom had been educated in what he called the pre-Pearl Harbour “isolationist era” and thus did not fully comprehend the importance of these new nations. He urged his audience of educators to help train the next generation of Americans for their “new role” of world leadership by teaching them (Klein, 2003, p. 21).

However, not every American felt comfortable with this new role, which created a sense of psychological discomfort and pressure. Echoing Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom*, Schlesinger argued that industrial modernisation had destroyed traditional social orders based on organic communities and personal ties and replaced them with fragmented social orders, characterised by “frustration”, “isolation”, and “anxiety”, in which individual responsibility had become overwhelming and freedom a “burden” (Klein, 2003).

It is undeniable that the US expansion in Asia established its position as a global leader. However, this also brought about profound societal and cultural transformations. As a result, the twentieth century witnessed a revival trend that sought to rekindle the chinoiserie of eighteenth-century America. This period evoked nostalgia for a simpler, more peaceful world, in which the relationship with China and Asia was merely transactional—centred on buying and selling. For the American elite, it was simply enough to emulate the refined tastes of British aristocracy.

The Cold War Embargo Became a Booster of Guangcai Consumption

During the Cold War, the US's global role shifted, fostering a wave of nostalgia among its domestic population. The above section noted that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the US could trade directly with China, coinciding with the peak of Canton porcelain production. Canton porcelain was more often exported to the US than to Europe. By the

twentieth century, Americans were nostalgic for eighteenth-century America, so they sought Chinese-made goods that symbolised that era, and Canton porcelain became a prime example.

In this context, Guangcai was not just a collection of elegant tableware and decorations but a representation of the lifestyle of the eighteenth-century American elite. The concept of “double nostalgia” in chinoiserie described Britain’s twentieth-century yearning for both exoticism and eighteenth-century Britain itself. By comparison, the US nostalgia might be described as “triple nostalgia”, adding a layer of sentimentality for its own eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trade relations with China.

More important is that when something is about to be lost, people become eager to hold onto it before it is gone. Perhaps the Scarcity Principle in marketing theory can explain this. Similarly, when the embargo was implemented in Hong Kong, cutting off the remaining channels to purchase Chinese-style porcelain, it caused a rapid surge in nostalgic sentiments.

Conclusion

This essay focuses on the spoon, Canton enameled porcelain (Guangcai) collected in the V&A. This object was identified as part of the continuing history of Chinese export porcelain, but also a rare example in Britain as this spoon was the type exported mainly to America historically and in particular since the US embargo during the Cold War.

This spoon and Guangcai continue to be relevant in the twentieth century despite not holding as much consumption as they did in the eighteenth century.

Although the spoon is not the main representative of Guangcai mostly, it stands as a highly idealised object whilst connoting the chinoiserie in eighteenth-century England to twentieth-century America. The Guangcai object is still representative of people and their relationships with the past.

Canton enamel porcelain remains a tool for connecting to the past, evoking nostalgia for the good times through its collection. It served as a respite in the ever-changing world of American expansion, with its unchanging patterns symbolizing a world untouched by Western influence.

Despite the Hong Kong factory in Canton enamel porcelain declining after America and China returned to normal relations, Hong Kong's enamel porcelain industries from over Forty factories to only one left (Sun Museum, 2016). Hong Kong as a colony of the British during the Cold War, took over the role of canton factory, let Guangcai export continue and provide commodities to America and fulfil American collectors' emotional anchors in the twentieth century.

In the late twentieth century, although attracted by the lower cost of labour in the People of Republic of China, Hong Kong businesses began a “northward shift” in the 1970s and 1980s, relocating their facilities to the Pearl River Delta area of mainland China (Sit, 1998, pp. 890–904). Because of the historical context, Hong Kong Guangcai has its significance and is different from Guangzhou enamel production.

Following the sino-america relationship back to normal and the embargo just lasted until 1972, the colonial revival trend faded out. American demand on Canton enamel porcelains declined. The spoon helps to document the history of China, America and the British, filling up the gap

of history. It represents the American colonial revival vogue in the twentieth century and the Chinoiserie still exists in our taste when we examine “elite” class. That is the role of the spoon and therefore, this object “Spoon” (Figure 1) is important.

Declaration of Generative AI and AI-Assisted Technologies in the Writing Process

The author declares that Grammarly, an AI-assisted writing software, was used in proofreading and refining the language used in the manuscript. The usage was limited to correcting grammatical and spelling errors and rephrasing statements for accuracy and clarity. The author further declares that, apart from Grammarly, no other AI or AI-assisted technologies have been used to generate content in writing the manuscript. The ideas, design, procedures, findings, analyses, and discussion are originally written and derived from careful and systematic conduct of the research.

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