

Art, Advertising, and the Legacy of Empire

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“The Primitive Spirit Refined” (fig. 1), a 1996 advertisement for Mount Gay Barbados Rum created by Blum/Herbstreith, depicts a dark-skinned woman in a revealing yellow bikini, reclining in a rowboat with two muscular white men and a light-skinned woman who stands behind them. The image can be effectively divided into two parts: a black half, in the foreground, where the one darker-skinned woman sits by herself; and a white half, where the three lighter-skinned people are grouped together in a pyramid. The two women are clearly looking at each other, but is the white woman smiling confidently? knowingly? warily? And what is meant by the title? Does it refer to the black woman who is the “primitive spirit” and needs to be “refined”; to the white threesome partying in Barbados, drinking rum, whose “primitive spirits” need to be “refined”; or to the two men, whose “primitive spirits”—their lust for the women (or perhaps for each other)—need to be “refined”? Or, does it refer simply to the rum itself, suggesting that it is of such a high quality that it can be characterized as refined?

It is now a truism to assert that the consequences of colonialism have been long-lasting and far-reaching. But this advertisement is an example *par excellence* of just how pervasive that influence has been, especially in popular culture, because it incorporates and perpetuates the primary tropes through which British artists represented their empire visually during the nineteenth century. It employs a geographic space that is commonly regarded as a vacation spot or island paradise, thus continuing the nineteenth-century tradition of representing the far-flung regions of the British empire as Edenic lands, places of leisure and dreams, not work. By positing a polar opposition between blacks and whites, it sustains the well-established practice of British men and women contrasting their light skin with the darker-skinned people that they encountered during their journeys throughout the world. It extends a long tradition of British artists depicting non-white women as sexual objects. It is an advertisement for a product, and the production, consumption, and commercialization of commodities were essential compo-

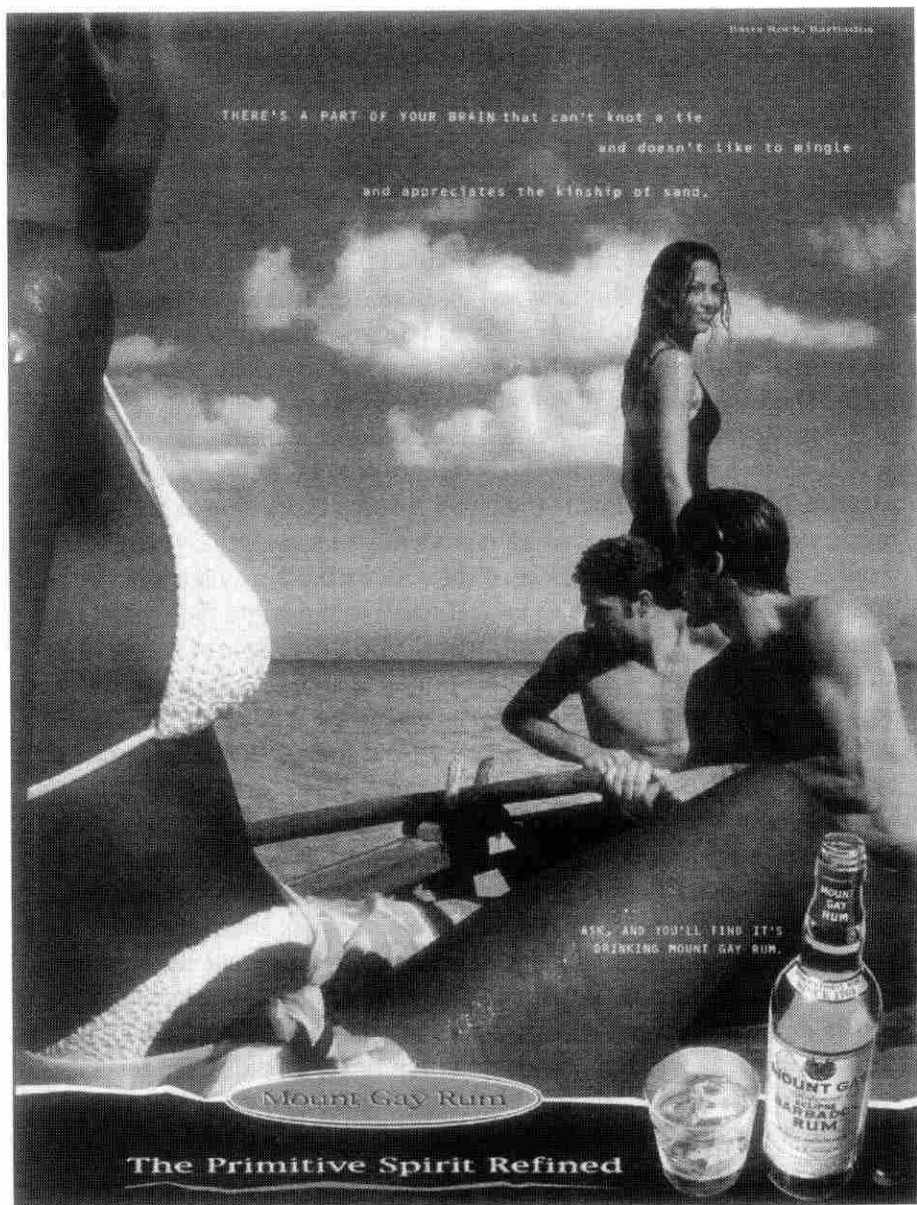


Figure 1. Blum/Herbstreith, *The Primitive Spirit Refined* (1997).

nents of British imperialism. And finally, its title invokes what was referred to in the nineteenth century as Britain's "civilizing mission," its self-proclaimed goal of "civilizing" the so-called "primitive" people it encountered.

The development of these five tropes—exoticization, racialization, sexualization, commodification, and civilization—took place historically

as a form of propaganda, a way to advertise the empire, necessary to persuade people to populate otherwise inhospitable places and to justify political and economic rule. Popular literature by writers such as Rider Haggard and Rudyard Kipling notwithstanding, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the empire was a boring, disappointing place. When Thomas Manning finally reached Lhasa (which would later serve as the inspiration for Shangri-La in James Hilton's *Lost Horizon*) in 1811, he complained that there was "nothing striking, nothing pleasing in its appearance" (Markham 256). Nearly a century later and on another continent, Mary Kingsley described life in the African forest as "the most awful life in death imaginable. It is like being shut up in a library, whose books you cannot read, all the while tormented, terrified, and bored" (Kingsley 33). Even the Marquess of Hastings, who became Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India in 1814, groused that "The situation of a Governor-General . . . is one of the most laborious that can be conceived," and he, like so many others in that country, found the heat so oppressive as to be almost unbearable (Rawdon-Hastings 28, 39). These are but a few examples of the hardships experienced by those nineteenth-century Britons who traveled overseas to the empire. Whether as explorers, settlers, governors, soldiers, or wives, life in the empire was, for many, dangerous, disappointing, and disheartening.

Because of this, a massive propaganda campaign developed, some of it overt (such as the posters and pamphlets urging men and women to colonize North America or South Africa), most of it covert. While John MacKenzie has ably documented the extent of imperial propaganda during the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, very little scholarly attention has been devoted to the earlier period, before the age of High Imperialism.¹ And yet, as the above examples suggest, enormous efforts were needed in order to justify the expense and to overcome the hardships associated with imperial expansion. Instrumental in this process were the contributions of professional artists such as William Hodges and Benjamin West, whose works were commissioned by agents (and agencies) of the British state to promote and publicize the empire through spectacularly lavish, heroic paintings that were not only hung in public galleries and official government buildings such as India House, but could be popularized by engravers and published in mass-circulating newspapers, broadsheets, and illustrated weeklies. These visual images portrayed the many and diverse regions of the empire as Edenic paradises, cornucopias of natural riches, empty lands available for settlement. Where indigenous people were represented, as will be discussed below, they were figured either as noble savages or degenerate heathens,

in neither case a threat, and frequently, at least as far as missionaries were concerned, an impetus, to British colonization.

What this modern rum advertisement reveals is the legacy of this process, a legacy that continues to influence the way we see the world, in magazines such as *National Geographic*, in commercial shops such as Banana Republic, and in journalistic and travel writing. But although the form has remained largely the same, what is being advertized has in fact changed. It is no longer the empire itself that is being sold, but rather the commodities the empire produced. Whereas the development of the five tropes outlined above eventually commodified the empire, ironically what is left in the postcolonial world are only the commodities themselves, imperialized; that is, sold through the tropes and devices of imperial art. This article charts, therefore, a transformation, from the commodification of empire to the imperialization of commodities. "The Primitive Spirit Refined" thus represents what Renata Rosaldo has called "imperialist nostalgia": mourning the passing of what we ourselves have destroyed, making racial domination appear innocent and pure (68-69). The nineteenth-century empires have long since disappeared, but the structures that maintained them live on. This advertisement demonstrates that the visual imagery of colonialism has and continues to influence representations on both sides of the Atlantic, not just in Britain but in the United States as well.

To begin with the obvious, the setting is the Barbados, the long-time British colony which through the use of slave-labor became a leading producer of sugar and rum. Thus the very location of the advertisement invokes the history of the British empire, though sanitized so as to conceal the deleterious consequences such as exploitation and environmental degradation associated with global commodity capitalism. The advertisement also draws on the picturesque tradition of turning newly-discovered or distant lands into exotic paradises. The picturesque was a literary and artistic aesthetic that developed during the second half of the eighteenth century.² Based on the work of Claude Lorrain and Nicholas Poussin, the picturesque first found its English statement in William Gilpin's essays and his drawings of the English Lake District, and took as its starting point the idea that nature was imperfect and needed to be organized when it was painted. Claude and his followers—theorists such as Payne Knight and Uvedale Price, and artists such as William Hodges and the Daniells (Thomas, William, and Samuel) who carried the picturesque aesthetic overseas—developed formulas for composing pictures which were based upon certain rules of classical proportion. For example, "Oaitepeha (Tautira) Bay, Tahiti," also called "Tahiti Revisited" (c. 1776) (fig. 2), by William Hodges, the draftsman on Cook's second

voyage to the Pacific in 1773-5, demonstrates the artist's use of a picturesque framework that includes a detailed and darkened foreground, verdant hills positioned as side screens, and a river winding through the deep-toned central distances, carrying the viewer's eye toward the rugged, hazy, mountainous background.

Hodges's painting, however, as Bernard Smith has pointed out, complicates the picturesque tradition by replacing conventional classical motives with others more typical of Tahiti: plantations of bread-fruit and coconut palms have substituted for cypresses and olive trees, and the precipitous peaks of the mountains have supplanted the rolling hills of the Italian countryside (64). Hodges has captured tropical light and flavor, but within a formulaic classical setting, thus making the familiar unfamiliar, and the unfamiliar familiar. Additionally, the introduction of two Tahitian women prominently in the foreground, bathing in the river, one with exotic tattoos, has transformed the landscape into a sensual—even sexual—paradise. Into this picture, which is, as befitting the picturesque tradition, still very much concerned with the landscape and its beauty, Hodges has interwoven several well-established elements of the island-paradise theme: the life free of moral restraints, suggested by the beauty of the nude bathing girls; and, the exoticism and paganism of foreign lands, suggested by the mysterious statue towering over them.

The Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement replicates many of these picturesque elements, despite the lack of any discernable landscape. Structurally, the photograph incorporates a darkened foreground, a richly colored central distance, and a hazy horizon. In this case, though, people, not mountains, serve as side screens, channeling the viewer's toward the center of the image. And, the faded, worn, rowboat not only provides the sort of detail characteristic of the picturesque, a modern-day ruin, but also suggests a certain kind of "rusticity," according to James France, Brand Manager of Mount Gay Barbados Rum for Remy Amerique, the product's American distributor. France indicated in an interview, moreover, that by emphasizing the beauty of the Caribbean (he mentioned specifically the aqua-colored water), "The Primitive Spirit Refined" was very much about "escapism," another characteristically picturesque element as well as an important component of many imperial adventures.

In fact, the absence of landscape is critical to the success of this advertisement, as the "otherness" of the Barbados, its identifying characteristics, have been eliminated, to be replaced by an ideal otherness. As Judith Williamson has noted in an essay on advertising, femininity, and colonization, advertisements for suntan lotion, make-up, and perfume frequently employ imaginary islands which serve to represent an "other"

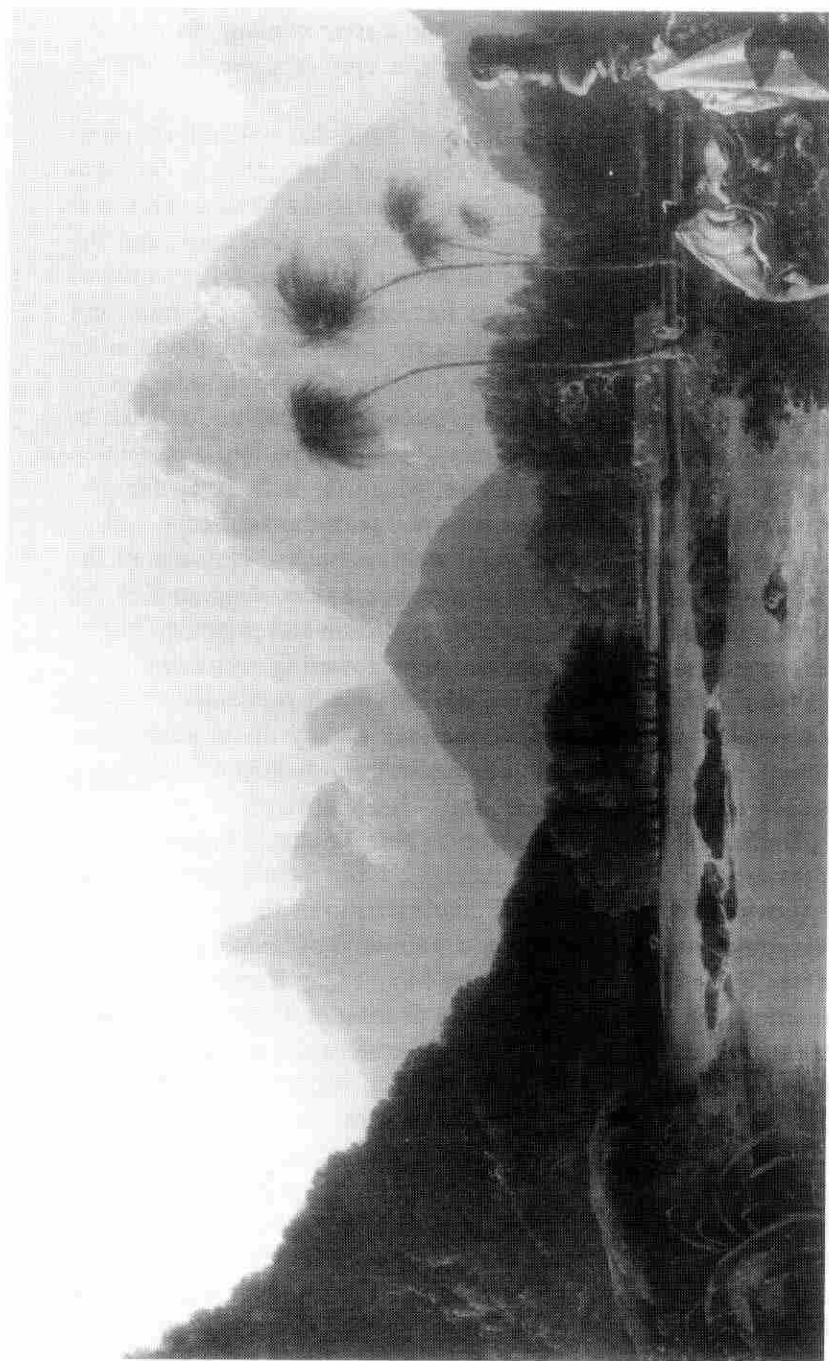


Figure 2. William Hodges, *Oaitepeha (Tautira) Bay, Tahiti (1776)*. National Maritime Museum, London.

place and culture without having to recognize any real place or culture. As she puts it, "What is taken away in reality, then, is re-presented in image and ideology so that *it stands for itself* after it has actually ceased to exist" (112). Thus in a typically picturesque manner, the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement appears to depict a particular place when in fact it is invoking an idealized, fantasized state of mind and being. By doing so, it eliminates both difference and danger.

The second way in which the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement incorporates the techniques of British imperial art is that in nineteenth-century images of the British empire, blacks and whites were almost always depicted as opposites, defining each other through their mutual and seemingly intractable differences. In H. F. C. Darell's lithograph, "Interview at Block Drift" (1852) (fig. 3), of a meeting between Col. Hare, the British Lieutenant Governor, and the chief of the Xhosa (against whom the British skirmished for most of the first half of the nineteenth century), the British are arranged on one side, the Africans on the other. The British are clothed, whereas the Africans are only half-covered; Darell has portrayed the British as civilized and refined, the Africans as primitive. The Africans are subservient, all but one being seated, whereas the British are standing. And, while both sides have troops supporting them, the British soldiers are mounted on horses, and closer to their principals, and hence in the dominant position.³ Darell's drawing functions, therefore, as a "manichean allegory," to use Abdul JanMohamed's term, an allegorized set of oppositions not just between black and white, but by extension between good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilized and savage, self and other, subject and object, and, as we shall see, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality. It bolsters, and even lays the foundations of, "the putative superiority of the European and the supposed inferiority of the native" in the colonialist context (82).

The awkward and ambiguous gaze between the two women in the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement solidifies their uneven racial positions. Because the viewer sees the black woman's expression only as it is reflected, mirror-like, in the face of the white woman, the black woman has literally been effaced. She lacks an identity separate from that of the white woman. In this image, the black woman can see herself only as the white woman sees her; she lacks ego, an independent sense of self that does not need validation. Moreover, although the darker-skinned woman in the foreground appears larger, in fact her female counterpart is standing over her, almost impossibly so, perhaps on the prow of the rowboat. These two tools, self-reflection and surveillance, were essential to and even constructed the colonial relationship (Lutz and Collins 187-216; Pratt 143).

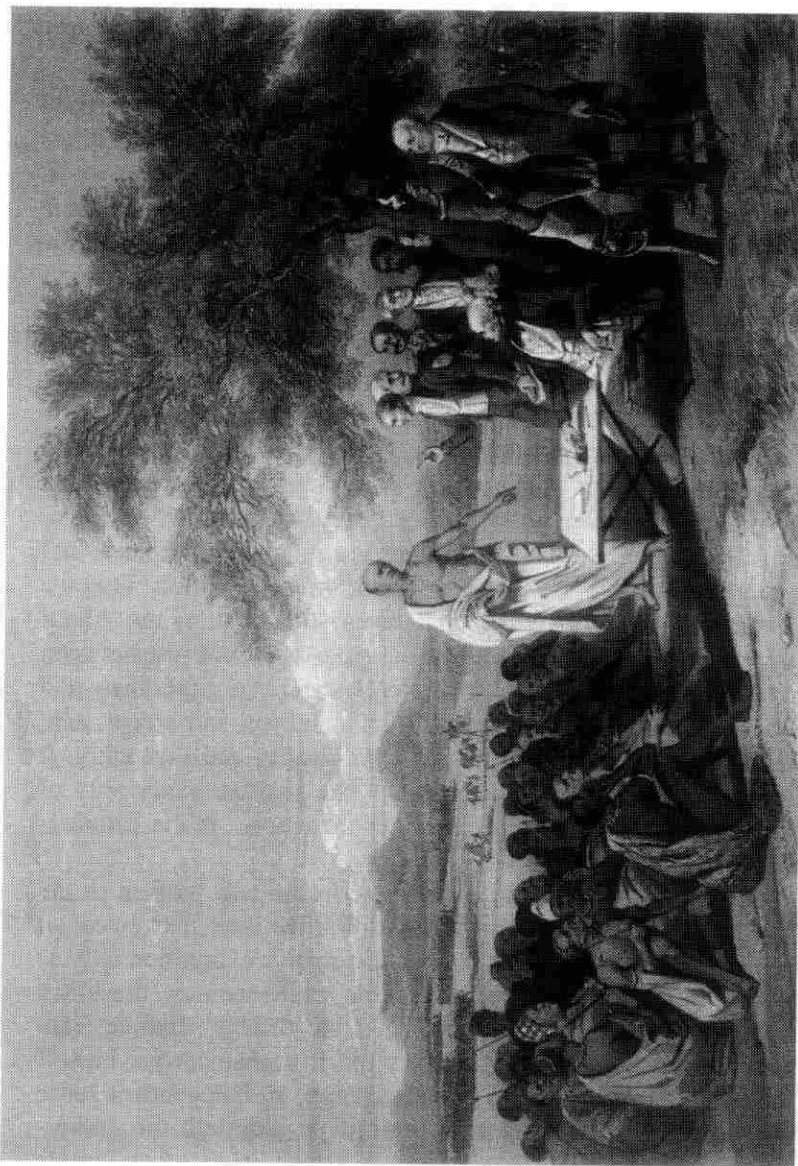


Figure 3. H. F. C. Darrell, *Interview at Block Drift, from China, India, Cape of Good Hope and Vicinity: a series of thirteen treble-tinted views from sketches . . .* (London: Day & Sons, 1852).

Race is, as Henry Louis Gates, Jr. has written, “a trope of ultimate, irreducible difference between cultures, linguistic groups, or adherents of specific belief systems which—more often than not—also have fundamentally opposed economic interests.” This trope is particularly dangerous because it “pretends to be an objective term of classification” (5). This opposition between white and black is part of a much broader process of Western identity formation. Recent studies have demonstrated that identities—national, racial, ethnic, individual—are rarely if ever formed in a vacuum. They are contingent and relational, formed referentially in comparison and frequently in opposition to other identities. By exposing or describing the “other”—typically darker-skinned people—writers and artists help clarify what they believe are essential features in themselves. The Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement, then, serves as a locus for its target audience—the group of young, white, (and presumably American) vacationers—to define themselves against the black (presumably Caribbean) woman. Once the Barbados has been constructed as an exotic resort populated by “blacks,” a place to drink and relax, a Third World theme park known for the production of raw material and commodities, America becomes a place of work, capitalist enterprise, and urban industry, peopled by “whites.” While the advertisement’s purpose is clearly to sell a product, it is also selling a way of life, reinforced by the small type that exhorts the viewer to leave behind the corporate world of dress ties and social mingling and instead “appreciate the kinship of sand.”

Not only were darker-skinned people portrayed as the opposite of the lighter-skinned British; they were also gendered and sexualized. Men of color were frequently feminized, making them seem less threatening, as in George French Angas’s portrait of a Zulu dancer (fig. 4) with smooth features, a heart-shaped face, delicate arms and legs, and a pendulous belly reminiscent of a pregnant woman. Women, as in the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement, were often turned into attractive and exotic sex objects. This was true in Egypt, where David Roberts drew Nubian Women (fig. 5), one of whom is topless and carries on her head a jug, a symbol of virginity and sexuality; and it was true in South Africa, where in “Fuller’s Hoek” T. W. Bowler and W. R. Thompson implied that no matter where they went, British men would find seductive, beautiful, half-naked women, standing by the river (fig. 6).

In his *History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault identified the “hystericization of women’s bodies” as one of the great strategic unities that have informed the Western discourse of sex since the eighteenth century (103-4). For Foucault, “hystericization” is the process whereby the feminine body is “thoroughly saturated with sexuality” in such a way as to

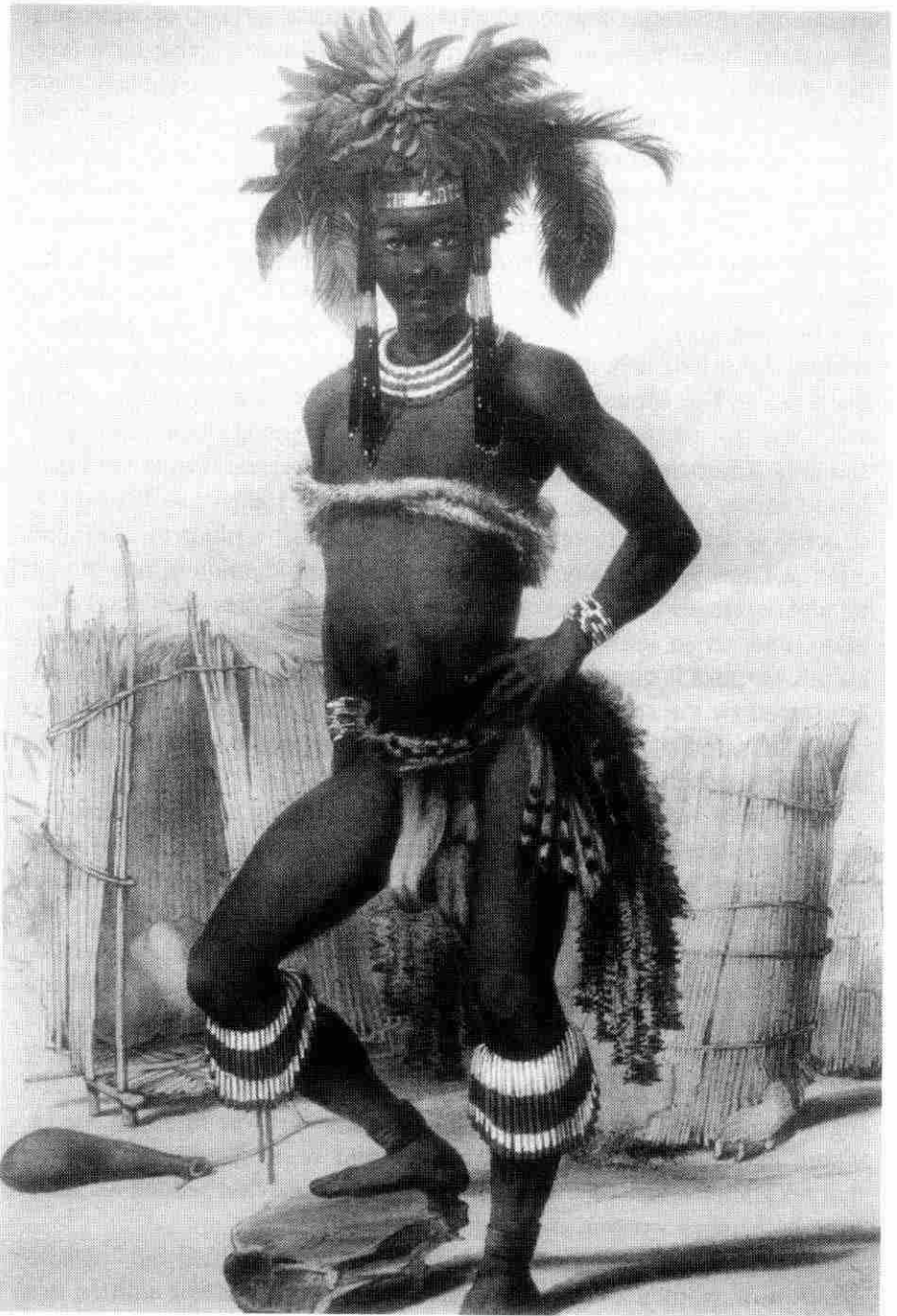


Figure 4. George French Angas, *Zulu Dancer*, from *The Kaffirs Illustrated* (London: J. Hogarth, 1849).

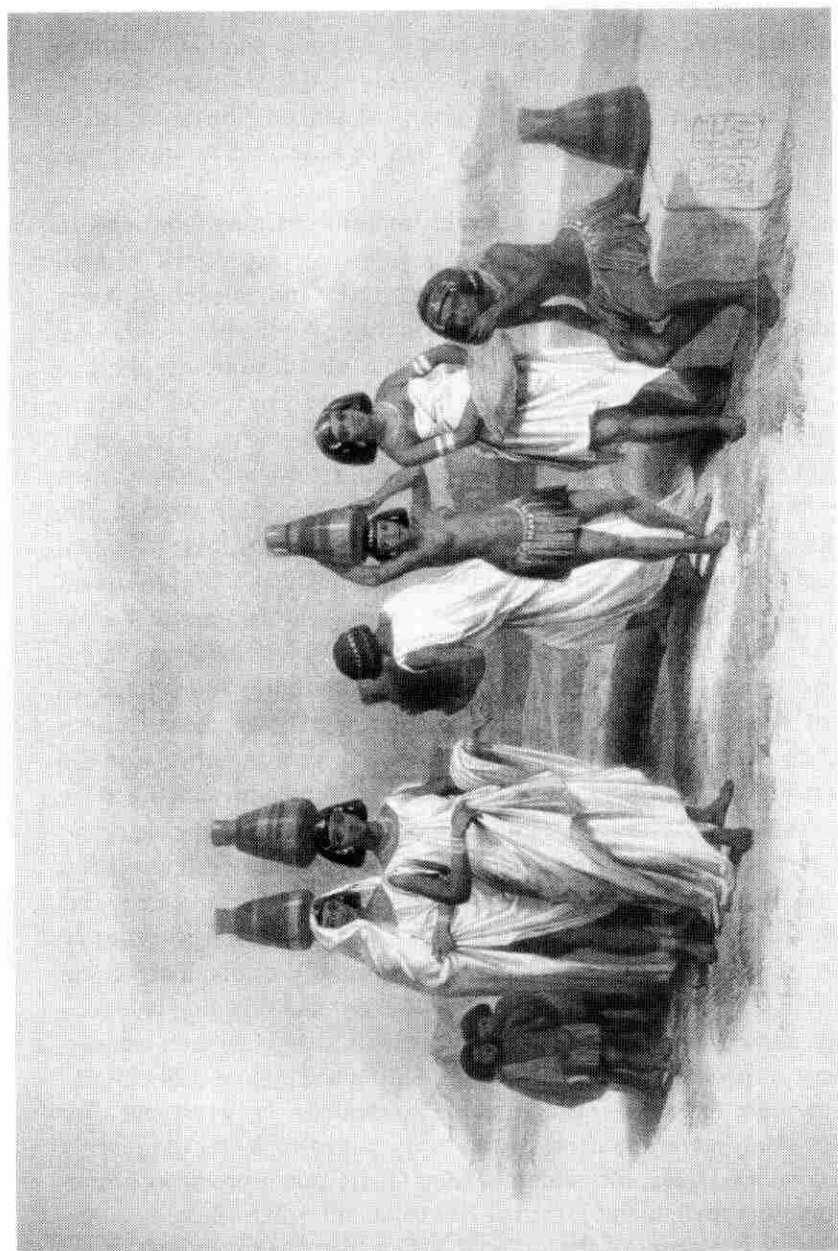


Figure 5. David Roberts, *Nubian Women from Egypt and Nubia* (London: F.G. Moon, 1846).

define a set of specifically feminine biological and moral responsibilities such as fertility and devotion to family. Within such a system of representation, the woman is constituted as her body, and her body as her sexual nature. Of course Foucault is less concerned here with the female body per se than with the manner in which the body is constructed as an erotic sign within the discourse of sexuality, and therefore his notion of a rhetorically constructed body can be used to explain a parallel discursive strain which represents the colonized world—and those that comprise it—as female, producing what David Spurr has termed “the eroticization of the colonized” (170). This analogy can be extended to encompass ideas about the fertility of land.

The emphasis on female nudity in imperial art also conforms to Euro-American myths about black women’s sexuality. Black women have been consistently portrayed in Western art and science as being excessively (and accessibly) sexual in nature. According to Sander Gilman (1985), lack of modesty in dress has also historically marked black women as uncivilized. Scholars though, have given short shrift to the many images of darker-skinned women that emphasize their beauty and femininity, focusing instead on the denigration of black women through their sexualization and masculinization. Saartjie Baartman, the Hottentot Venus, is the best-known and most oft-cited example (Gilman, 1986), but one might also point to George French Angas’s “Zulu Woman with Children” (1849) (fig. 7), in which the woman has muscular arms and is able to carry great weight. She is also portrayed as having large, udder-like breasts, symbolizing not virginal promiscuity and seductiveness, but maternal fecundity. Homi Bhabha has shown there to be a manichean duality that characterized Western representations of the Other, vacillating between the angelic and the demonic in such a way as to create an Other that is so extreme as to be neither human nor historical (although it needs to be pointed out that this same duality has also been present in Western art, notably in depictions of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene). Western attitudes toward non-Western sexuality (whether African or “Oriental”) have been especially ambivalent, on the one hand idealizing and eroticizing, on the other hand rejecting and condemning, as the Other is simultaneously sexualized and declared taboo.

Breasts especially were central to the selling and conquest of empire, just as they are featured—in fact, barely concealed—in the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement. In the early pages of Rider Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines*, for example, Alan Quartermain produces a map of the route to the diamond mines of Kukuanaland, somewhere in southern Africa. It is a copy of the original, which was drawn in 1590 by a Portuguese trader, Jose da Silvestre, as he lay dying of hunger on the



Figure 6. T. W. Bowler and W. R. Thompson, *Fuller's Hoek*, from *The Kafir Wars and the British Settlers in South Africa* (London: Day & Son, 1865).

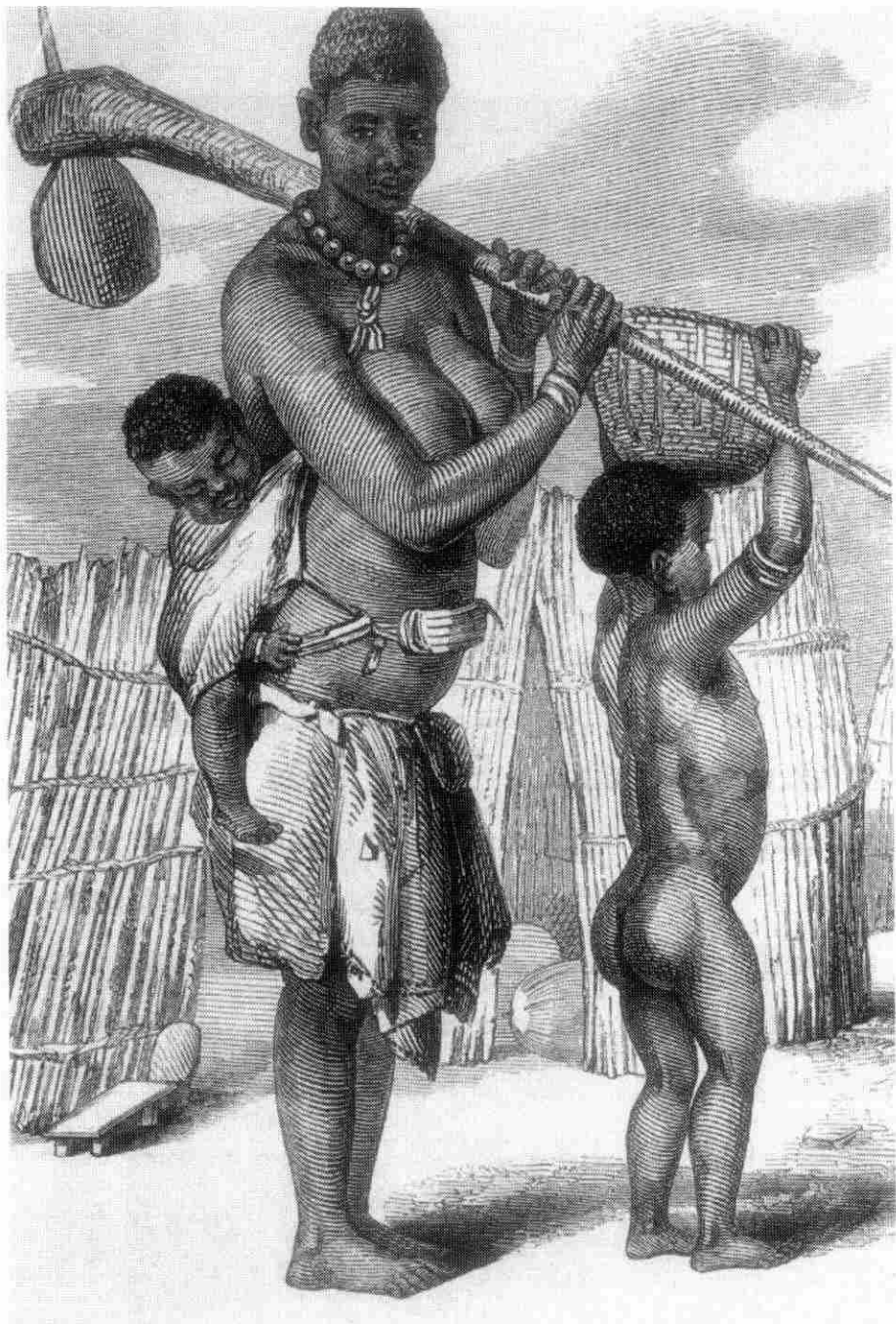


Figure 7. George French Angas, *Zulu Woman with Children*, from *The Kaffirs Illustrated* (London: J. Hogarth, 1849).

“nipple” of a mountain with two peaks named Sheba’s Breasts. When inverted, this map, which Anne McClintock has convincingly shown to be “explicitly sexualized” (3), reveals a diagram of the female body, but truncated, so that the only parts drawn along the route to “mouth of [the] treasure cave” are those that denote female sexuality. When Quartermain finally reaches Sheba’s Breasts, he compares them to “overpowering . . . volcanoes” that “took [his] breath away” (Haggard 86). As Marilyn Yalom has demonstrated, though with almost no discussion of the imperial sphere, the breast has indeed been fetishized, objectified, eroticized, politicized, and commercialized in modern Western culture.

All of which lends credence to Ronald Hyam’s thesis that many British men left their homeland for the empire because Victorian standards of morality were so strict, and because the opportunities for sexual adventure were much greater overseas. If so, then the images discussed here became, in effect, propaganda—or perhaps even pornography—on behalf of the empire, luring men overseas with the promise of sexual adventure. Although exact figures are difficult to compile, the evidence suggests that those who peopled the empire were overwhelmingly young, single, and male, although increasingly less so by the late-nineteenth century. For example, six times more men than women emigrated to the Chesapeake in the 1630s, and although the number of women increased after 1650, men continued to outnumber women in the colony by a ratio of nearly three to one throughout the rest of the century (Horn 182). A similar pattern existed in the Carolinas, where about 70 percent of settlers between 1670-1680 were men (Weir 391). And Robert Hughes found that only 14% of those who were transported to Australia between 1788-1852 were women (244). Not surprisingly, the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement, according to Claire Jordan, International Brand Manager for Mount Gay Rum, was targeted to the white, “sophisticated,” “professional managerial male,” aged 25-49, and it was largely for this reason that the advertisement appeared in *Sports Illustrated*, *Golf Digest*, and *Playboy*. In short, the so-called target audience and the strategy employed, for both imperial art and for the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement, were the same, despite being separate by a century and a continent.

It is also possible, of course, to interpret the sexual undertones of this advertisement as suggestive of homosocial or even homoerotic attachment. The “primitive spirit” that needs to be “refined” may refer less to the men’s lust for the two women than their lust for each other, or at least their desire for male affection and companionship. Part of the sexual freedom of the empire was the ability to pursue one’s desires, whether hetero- or homosexual; Rhodes, Burton, and Lawrence are only

the most famous examples. Certainly the homosocial element is present in male adventure stories such as Kipling's "The Man Who Would Be King," in which Dravot and Carnahan sign a virtual marriage contract forswearing women and alcohol, and pledging to stand by each other in times of trouble, as well as *King Solomon's Mines*, in which Sheba's Breasts figuratively castrate Quartermain, leaving him "impotent" (85). As Quartermain put it rather dismissively, "Women are women, all the world over, whatever their color" (246). The white woman's statement in the advertisement, then, may refer less to her female counterpart and the relationship between them, than to the relationship between them and the two men, who seem not even to notice the two women, but are instead sitting together, gazing off in an entirely different direction.

Fourth, the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement continues a long history of commodifying the British Empire, from the imperial displays at the Great Exhibition, to the famous Pears' Soap advertisements of the late-nineteenth century, to the Empire Marketing Board of the 1920s. Certainly one of the most important functions of the British Empire, and one of the imperatives underlying its expansion, was to supply British men and women with luxury goods. As Thomas Richards discerned, commodities were "convenient vehicle[s] for expanding the Empire's sphere of influence" (151). Luxuries such as tea from China, coffee from Arabia, tobacco from America, opium from Bengal, and sugar from the West Indies were originally intended for the rich, but soon appealed to all levels of society. Sugar became the most valuable of these novelties because it was the key ingredient in so many other products, including jam, candy, tea, and of course rum, which quickly replaced beer as the beverage of choice on long sea voyages because it kept better, took up less space, and could be mixed with lemon juice to combat scurvy. So important was sugar that in 1763, at the end of the Seven Years' War, France ceded to Britain all of Canada rather than the tiny island of Guadeloupe in the Caribbean, one of the "sugar islands."

Rarely was the link between commodities and empire clearer than in the poster advertising campaign of the Empire Marketing Board. The Board was established by the British government in 1926, and according to Stephen Constantine was "an attempt to consolidate imperialist ideas and an imperial world view as part of the popular culture of the British people" (1). It is often regarded as one of the first "propaganda" ministries. One of its most important and influential projects was a poster-based advertising campaign that sought to foster economic and commercial links between Britain and its colonies by urging men and women to "Buy Empire Goods from Home and Overseas" and to "Buy Empire Every Day," whether it was tea from Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) or salmon

from Canada. There was a fairly widespread perception in the 1920s that the British economy was in poor health. Britain's industrial dominance was being challenged, and at a time of increasing protectionism around the world, it looked to colonial suppliers and markets.

But by the 1920s the imperatives behind imperial art had changed from what they had been a century earlier: the idea was to emphasize development and extractable resources, rather than pristine, untouched lands, and women were no longer depicted as sex objects, but as "primitive" laborers, in some cases barely even human, as in E. McKnight Kauffer's poster titled simply, "Cocoa" (1927) (fig. 8). What is striking about the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement is that it conjoins the eighteenth-century exotic island (and islander) motif with the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century reification of commodities to promote its product through a multitude of devices.

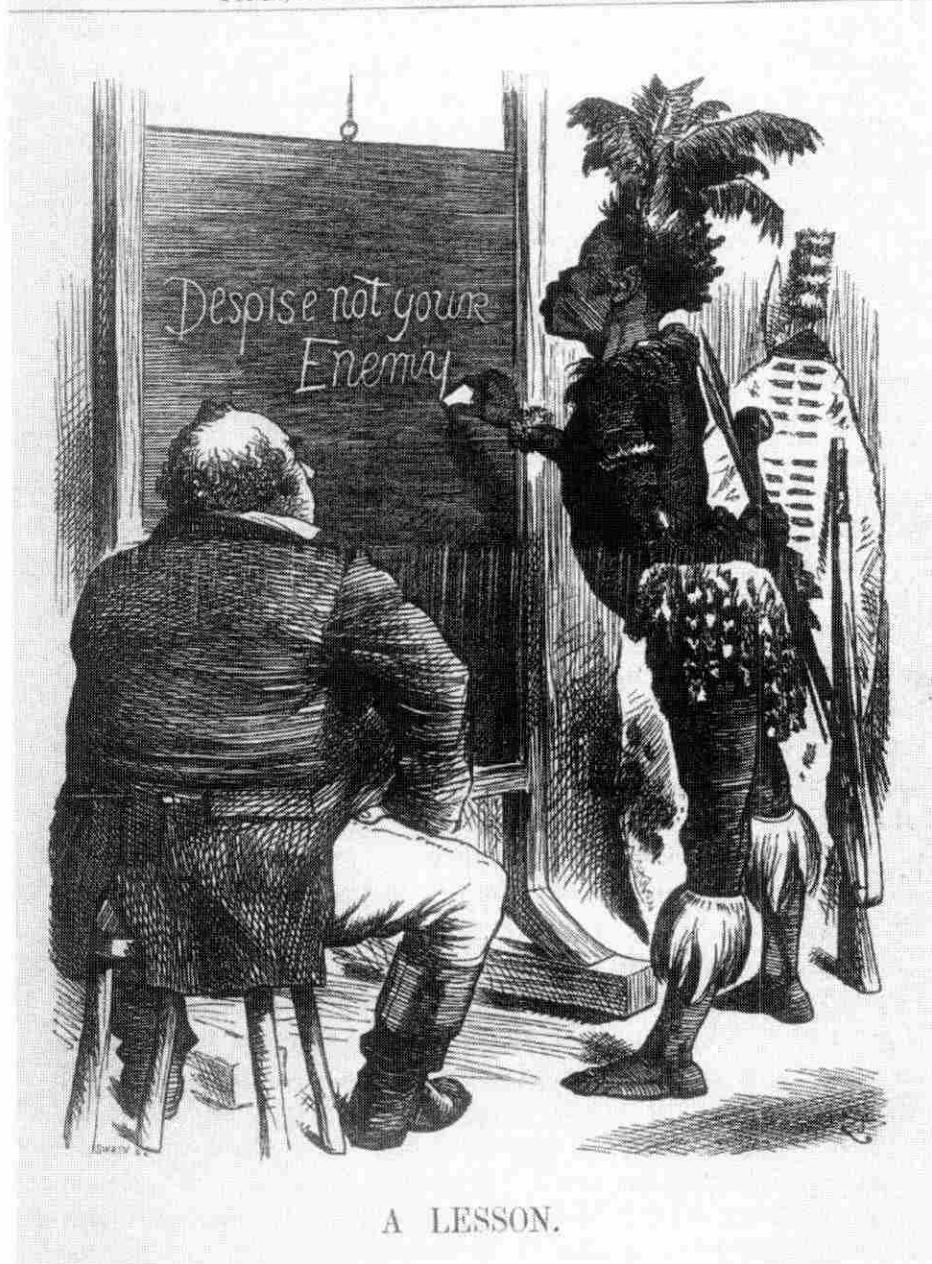
Finally, the caption to the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement clearly harkens back to the British view of the peoples of their empire as uncivilized, taking it as their mission to "civilize" them. In an 1879 cartoon from the humor magazine *Punch* called "A Lesson" (fig. 9), a teacher, John Bull, the male personification of Great Britain, is punishing and humiliating a student by making him write "Despise not your enemy" on the blackboard, teaching the Zulu warrior the virtues of moderation and subservience. The image refers to the Zulu Wars which raged for most of the third quarter of the 19th century. The immediate prompt for this cartoon was the capturing by the Zulus of a British army camp, which resulted in the deaths of over 500 British soldiers. Before leaving the camp the Zulu warriors stripped and disemboweled their victims, and stole hundreds of rifles. Whereas John Bull is fully dressed, from his shirt collar to his heavy boots, much of the Zulu's body is exposed; he lacks clothing, marking him, for British viewers, as savage and uncivilized. He is portrayed as a child—in contrast to John Bull, whose balding head suggests that he is old and wise; his hair and skirt give the Zulu a feminine appearance, thus emasculating him as well; and, his hairy, barrel-chest and distended stomach, suggest that he is lower down on the evolutionary scale and closer to the apes than the Englishman.

To be sure, the caption to the Mount Gay Barbados Rum advertisement offers a number of possible meanings. There is, of course, the literal reading, offered by James France, that "primitive spirit" refers to the product (the rum, a "spirit") and "refined" refers both to the way it has been processed ("refined" or "distilled") and to the character of the brand (Mount Gay). But the refinement of raw materials into commodities suitable for resale is hardly a neutral process. It was, rather, the



Figure 8. E. McKnight Kauffer, *Cocoa* (1927).

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—MARCH 1, 1879.



A LESSON.

Figure 9. John Tenniel, *A Lesson*, from *Punch* (1 March 1879).

foundation of the British imperial system, and thus even if France's interpretation is correct, it carries with it a number of resonances that link back to the nineteenth century empire. More provocatively, though, within the context of the tradition of British imperial art outlined above, it seems clear that even if only subconsciously, "primitive spirit" refers to the black woman who needs to be "refined." But either way, this contemporary advertisement invokes the visual history of the British Empire at a number of different levels, which may in fact help to explain its effectiveness, suggesting that the very visual tropes that helped to sell the empire in the nineteenth century became normalized during the course of the twentieth.

This analysis, then, suggests a number of general conclusions. First, imperialism was as much a cultural project as a military endeavor, and thus scholars need to look not only at battles and treaties and international rivalries, but at the ways men and women thought about and represented their empires, especially visually. Imperialism is constructed as much in the mind as it is a physical reality. Second, imperialism was not something that happened exclusively on the imperial frontier (whether Africa, the Caribbean, or the American West); it also occurred "at home," in the minds and on the canvasses of artists. Third, gender and race are critical to any understanding of imperialism. Even though it was men who manned the merchant ships and wielded the rifles of colonial armies, men who owned and oversaw the mines and slave plantations, and men who engineered the global flows of capital, women, usually half-naked, served as the lure to get those men overseas. As for race, it should be clear that the "white people" saw themselves as fundamentally different from and superior to those they encountered overseas, and that these imagined racial differences in turn became justifications for continued imperialism.

Finally, it needs to be emphasized that imperialism was, and continues to be, a supranational phenomenon. Scholars such as Winthrop Jordan and Jan Nederveen Pieterse have long argued for the links between European and American attitudes towards race, and scholars of the picturesque, most recently Stephen Daniels, have articulated the links between European and American visions of the landscape. It has been suggested here that this line of analysis be extended to issues of tourism and commodity capitalism as well. This advertisement makes clear that the exercise of power is subtle and long-lasting, and that the images and visual tropes of nineteenth-century British imperialism linger on and continue to inform current ways of thinking and representing the world.

Notes

¹One exception is late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century America. See Peter C. Mancall, ed., *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995); David Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975). For a suggestive analysis of early-nineteenth-century French imperial art, see Todd Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire: Art in the Service of French Imperialism 1798-1836* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998).

²The discussion of the picturesque offered here is not intended to suggest that it was in any way, or at any time, a stable, unified, or unitary aesthetic. Although Christopher Hussey in *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (London: F. Cass, 1927) established the picturesque as an "interregnum between classic and romantic art" (4), there were debates about what it was at the time, as there have been ever since. See Stephan Copley and Peter Garside, eds., *The Politics of the Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994); Kim Ian Michasiw, "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque," *Representations* 38 (1992): 76-100; Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1989).

³It is worth noting that the African chief in the middle has noticeably lighter skin than the other Xhosa, is clothed like a Greco-Roman hero, and classically posed. He is not a savage, but someone with whom the British can do business. Darell thus is differentiating between the chief, whom he perceives to be of a higher class, and his tribesmen; the chief is a go-between, an intermediary step on the imagined evolutionary ladder.

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