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Mohamad Rashidi Pakri, Anis Abdul Rahim and Peter Hull

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The Lure of the Tropics and the Colonial Emporium: The Study of Book Illustration and Newspaper Advertisement in Colonial North Borneo

Mohamad Rashidi Pakri, Anis Abdul Rahim and Peter Hull

School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia

Email: rashidi@usm.my

Abstract

This paper aims to study the relationship between colonialism, natives' representations, and the promotion of Western products. An illustration from Agnes Newton Keith's semi-autobiography, *Land Below The Wind* (1939), and an advertisement from a North Borneo newspaper, *The British North Borneo Herald*, are used as the corpus for this study. The illustration in Keith's book illustrates a native woman, a Western man, and a tropical setting set in the colonial era. Meanwhile, the newspaper advertisement promotes a healthy tonic drink from a British brand, *Wincarnis*. The discussion on the aspect of colonialism, natives' representations, and promotion of Western products is carried out with the semiotic analysis of the illustration and the advertisement using Kress and van Leeuwen's framework of *The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996/2006). Elements such as symbolism and image positioning in the illustration and the advertisement are analysed to emphasise 'the lure of the tropics.' From the analysis of the corpus, it is found that Agnes Newton Keith, who is also the illustrator of the book, and the advertiser of the brand *Wincarnis* seem to promote the ideologies of imperialism and colonialism brought by the British Empire. However, the enticing and sexual messages in both illustration and advertisement make one questions the morality of the Empire itself.

Keywords: Colonialism, Book Illustration, Advertisement, Colonial Newspaper, Semiotics, North Borneo

Introduction

Gold, Gospel, and Glory. These three terms are popular among historians to describe the motives behind the overseas exploration, expansion, and conquests of the Western power over the East, notably in Louis B. Wright's work, *Gold, Glory and the Gospel: (The Adventurous Lives and Times of the Renaissance Explorers, 1970)*. Wright (1970) explains that the European explorers were motivated to expand their powers to fulfill these three needs. For instance, the Portuguese, the travelers from the West, advanced to other countries and continents based on several motivations: economic purposes, adventure, honour, new lands, and religion (Diffie & Winus, 1977). Dalle and Jundi (2021) describe how the Dutch missionary

spread Christianity to Indonesia in the 1890s, and this mission was supported by William I, the King of the Netherlands. Western powers meddled in the politics of Malay sultanates in Tanah Melayu, which led to the formation of current Malaysia after numerous events.

The involvement of western countries in Tanah Melayu started with the Portuguese attack on Malacca under Alfonso de Albuquerque's command, which caused the fall of the prosperous Malacca (Baker, 2008; Hooker, 2003; Leong & Harun, 2018). Later, with Johor's help, the Dutch conquered Malacca in 1641 (Andaya & Andaya, 2001). The decline of the Dutch's power gave rise to the British's influence in the Malay world and also Borneo.

In this paper, we intend to revisit those short hands, the 3 Gs above, in rather different ways: the first part of the title of this paper, 'The Lure of the Tropics and the colonial emporium,' could be used to summarise similar colonising motives of the West. According to OED, the word 'lure' is defined as a 'tempt (a person or animal) to do something or to go somewhere, especially by offering some form of reward.' The reward here could be interpreted as gold and glory (and God as well, depending on how religious the colonial officers are!). This definition will be aptly used throughout this paper as a means of interpellation of colonial ideology, which uses the tropics and its inhabitants (i.e., colonised people) as its consumers and seizes control of the means of production. Hence, the second part of the title 'the book illustration and newspaper advertisement' would serve as a few examples of how the natives are being treated and how the colonial advertisement messages help promote the idea of selling western products in the tropics vis-a'-vis colonial emporium respectively.

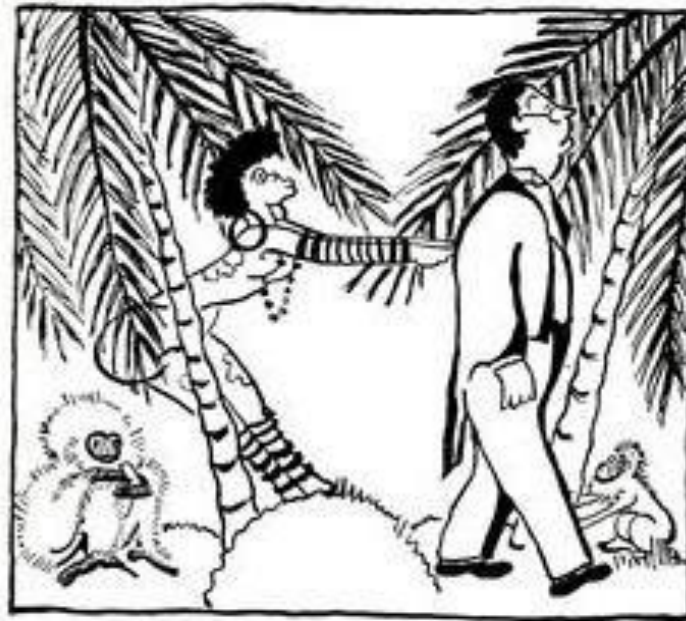
The notion of 'lure' in the context of the Western and Eastern worlds often is associated with exoticism. The Eastern world is strange to the Westerners, hence the exoticism. Cutajar (1987) describes the lure of the Orient as being fascinated to things that are strange and exotic, portraying through animals such as zebras, lions and monkeys. Cutajar's description of the lure of the Orient correlates with the analysis of a book illustration discussed in this paper.

Methodology

This study is qualitative research; therefore, we conducted textual and visual analyses on a book illustration from Agnes Keith's book, *Land Below The Wind* (1939/2010) and an advertisement of a tonic drink by Wincarnis. The book illustration and the advertisement are analysed using Kress and van Leeuwen's framework (1996/2006) in order to analyse visual image. We also analysed the ideologies behind the illustration and the advertisement.

Discussion

In her book, *Land Below the Wind* (1939), Agnes Newton Keith provided the following second illustration entitled "white man resisting the lure of the tropics," which endorsing what this paper intends to do.



White Man Resisting The Lure of The Tropics

In general, the above illustration provides mildly humorous sketch of a scantily-clad and nubile native woman who is tugging at the coat of a portly, bespectacled and dinner-suited white man, as he walks obliviously through the jungle, or perhaps, the beach, as most colonial settlements were near the sea or at the river-mount. The man's incongruously formal attire, and his aloofness, signifies his Englishness. What is also made obvious in the illustration is that the white man's ability to overcome (even neglect) such an alluring sexual provocation by the native girl as if to suggest that the man in the sketch is a business-minded person, and his sole interest in the tropics (ie. the North Borneo) is purely business.

Keith's illustration of the female native here could be viewed rather extreme especially with her physical nudity (as mentioned above) and over-accessorised bangles on both hands and legs as well as big earrings, zig zag bands, tattoos on thigh and body, may well serve as a sign of beauty in her part and her culture. But the way that the caption goes, 'white man resisting' her beauty seems to work against her somehow.

The caption "WHITE MAN RESISTING THE LURE OF THE TROPICS" indicates two participants involved—which are the white man and the lure of the tropics. Based on the illustration, the tropics, as intended by Keith, may be portrayed through the images of a native woman, monkeys and trees. This projects the image of a 'stereotypical' tropical setting. However, it is important to note that the female native is a part of the "lure of the tropics", reinforcing her as a symbol of sexuality and exoticism by being a native and a woman. In the caption, the white man is given the subject position. He is the doer and holds the power to perform an action towards the object and in the case of this illustration, the object of concern is the tropics. Having the white man as the subject instead of the female native represents the white man's superiority as the coloniser. This links with the verb "resisting" used in the caption. The white man is represented as someone who has the power to resist the temptation or the lure found in the tropics.

Keith's illustration can be analysed using Kress and van Leeuwen's framework (1996; 2006). One of the aspects that can be determined is the narrative representation in the illustration. The process involved in the illustration is the action process. Again, there are two represented participants here—the native woman and the white man. The woman is the

Actor in this process. She is doing something, which is luring, to her Goal (the white man). Her arms are outstretched, lips pouting, beckoning the man to come to her; thus, reinforcing the idea of the “lure of the tropics”. Although the illustration and its caption seem to be in contrast because of the subject’s identities (the white man is the subject of the caption, the native woman is the subject of the illustration), the meaning has not changed. Through the analysis, it is represented that the native woman is the subject, assuming the power to do something to others. However, she is still portrayed negatively with her action of luring the man, and her over accessorised state to enhance her beauty and worth to the eye of the man.

There is another instance of action process in the illustration, which is a monkey (possibly a female) and a banana. The female monkey is holding and probably eating a banana. A banana is often associated with phallic symbol, and in some cultures, such as Egypt and Mesoamerica, specifically the Maya, associated monkeys with sexual connotations (Werness, 2004). The sexual symbolism of monkey and banana reinforces the meaning of the illustration, indicating the potential sexual relationship between the native woman and the white man.

Besides action process, there is another process involved in the illustration, which is reactional process. This process is a transactional process because the presence of two represented participants in this image: the Reactor and the Phenomenon. The represented participants in this process are a monkey (possibly a male), assuming the position of the Reactor, and the native woman, the Phenomenon. Reactional process is concerned with the process of looking. In the illustration, the male monkey is looking at the native woman, seemingly admiring the naked woman with accessories adorning her whole body. The male monkey is personified, giving it the human attribute of being attracted to a sexually enchanting woman in contrast to the male human’s attitude towards the female woman in this illustration.

Another aspect can be studied in the illustration is the Information Value and these informational values are derived from the position of the elements placed in the illustration. There are several ‘zones’ of an image that provide informational values which are the left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin. The analysis for Information Value of the elements found in Keith’s illustration focuses on the left and right zones. The ‘Given’ part (left side) means that the viewer already knows the message sent by the producer of the image. Meanwhile, the elements of the ‘New’ (on the right side) usually provide information in something that the viewer has not familiar with. The elements on the left side of the illustration are a native woman, a female monkey and a tree, and the elements on the right side are a white man, a male monkey and a tree. The main elements on left and right sides are the native woman and the white man, respectively. There are also other important elements in the illustration which are the monkeys. The female monkey on the left side is holding a banana while the male monkey on the right side is looking up, probably looking at the native woman. The woman with her nakedness and accessories indicates the stereotypical sexual and exotic aspects of native women. This representation of native women is reinforced by the presence of a female monkey in the illustration. The female monkey somehow is a representation of the native woman. The monkey has beautiful fur and it provides the same image as the native woman with her accessories and tattoos. As discussed above, the monkey is holding or eating a banana. The banana, considered as a phallic symbol, is already in the female monkey’s hands, indicating that the man is already ‘captured’ by the woman although the native woman in the illustration has not yet to

'capture' the man. This strengthens the representation of the female native and her exotic sexual enticement.

The man and the male monkey on the right side of the image provide a contrast in meaning. The man is walking away from the woman; an attempt to resist her lure. He seems to be nonchalant of her lure, ignoring her outstretched arms and pouting lips. However, the male monkey is acting differently than the man. It is facing the native woman and is looking at her, possibly being enticed by her. If the female monkey represents the native woman, the male monkey here represents the white man. The male monkey may represent the white man's true self and his real desire. The white man who is supposed to be in the tropics for business purposes should not be lured by the nativity of the place, for the fear of being 'nativised' and losing his identity as a superior white man. However, the male monkey represents the real situation happening in the native land; for there were white men who 'mingle' with the native females for pleasure and companionship. In other words, the personified male monkey hiding behind the coconut tree is more 'honest' about his intention of attracting the female native and/or the female monkey in the sketch compared to the white man who seems to ignore both.

The native woman and the male monkey interestingly are positioned behind trees. The tree on the left side partially covers the woman's belly and nether region. Meanwhile, the male monkey is also behind a tree, but it seems to be in hiding, probably from the woman's view instead of from the viewers/readers. It seems to peep at her behind the tree, reinforcing the idea of the white man's inner desires. The positioning of the woman and the monkey behind the trees may also indicate what is happening behind closed doors. Although it is not evidently displayed in the illustration (as Keith strongly emphasises the act of resisting the lure), it can be suggested that sexual relationships between female natives and white men do happen although they might not be publicised by the white men who wish to keep their fatal secret of falling in love with the native (ie. the lure of the tropics) hidden from the public eye, specifically from their own community.

In the context of the native of Borneo (where it may include Sabah, Sarawak and Kalimantan) the Kelabit women are tattooed when they reach the age of 16. The bold zig zag bands are traced on the forearm, not completely encircling the limb, and strikingly decorative geometrical designs are tattooed on the thigh, the shin, and sometimes, on the knee-cap. They wear strings of large blue beads around the waist and wrist, and necklaces of smaller beads. Beads are important in the lives of indigenous people as they were used as "traded goods, cultural identity markers, sogit (traditional ritual payment)". Besides that, the beads are associated in the indigenous spiritual beliefs (Shalina, 2015). The woman is wearing brass necklace and brass rings. Some women use tattoos and accessories as clothing. In the Indonesian region, toplessness was the norm among the Dayak people, Javanese, and Balinese before the introduction of Islam and contact with Western cultures. Among the Dayak, only big breasted women or married women with sagging breasts cover their breasts because they interfere with their work. Different climate constitutes different clothing among people of other cultures. Perhaps, the native woman in the illustration belongs to a certain social status. That's the reason she is heavily accessorised. Or perhaps, she is a girl who just came out of age and she is finding suitable suitors and she is finding a potential white husband in order to alleviate her social status. But, of course, the man in the illustration ignores her and her cultural backgrounds completely! What Keith does here is to brazenly joke about a highly sensitive issue of empire, that of inter-racial relations between the coloniser and the

colonised, an issue around which gather anxieties of contamination, or assimilation of the supposedly superior, civilised white race into the savage, Oriental other (Kerr, 2008).

In other colonial context, such as in colonial writing, the alluring aspect of having a sexual intercourse with the native, which the illustration seems to suggest, is evident in several examples of colonial fiction which precede Keith's book. As mentioned above, such act may pose an insidious threat to the stability of the whole colonial enterprise. One such is the tragic plot of Hugh Clifford's first novel, *Since the Beginning* (1898), in which a colonial administrator (like Clifford himself) commits suicide after his passionate Malayan mistress murders her former lover's angelic and quintessentially English wife. The fatal "lure of the tropics" was not confined simply to sexual relations, either. In Clifford's later novel, *A Free Lance of Today* (1903), the blond, athletic adventurer, Maurice Curzon, is disenchanted with modern colonial bureaucracy, and therefore falls for a romanticised and medievalised vision of the East, a "simply enticing and irresistible" Malay world, embodied not in the person of an alluring and beautiful woman, but a charismatic warrior chief who leads the impressionable Maurice into a gun-running enterprise, and ultimately to the brink of going native, or a state of being "denationalized" (Kerr, 2008, 129-41). Maurice eventually finds the chief to be rather less dynamic than he'd imagined and turns away, appalled, from the degeneracy of the rebels. In the end, as Douglas Kerr notes, a chastened and wiser Maurice exchanges one kind of romance, which is adventurous and dangerous, for another, safer and domestic kind, as his return to the white man's world is marked, in classic realist closure, by impending marriage to an English woman, or in the case of Agnes Keith's husband, Harry, marrying an American would help to solve such an alluring native.

However, one question remains: in the case of the above sketch, if Agnes acknowledging her husband's contribution to the book, in tempering her tendency to poetic licence – wittily summarising their respective roles as "I to enthuse, he to refuse" (Keith, 2010, 8) – knowing very well that Harry have had a daughter with a native lady, the sketch above could serve as a form of mocking her husband Harry despite in the opening chapter of her book, Keith tells of her emphatically matter-of-fact husband, a man whose fastidious and analytical caste of mind is indicated by pastimes such as "writ[ing] papers on scientific subjects", compiling "a Murut vocabulary", and finding fault with his wife's American dialect by citing "Oxford Dictionary English" (Keith, 2010, 7). Henry (or Harry) Keith is presented as more self-disciplined, practical and emotionally resilient than the dreamy, physically awkward and tender-hearted Agnes, who tends rather to muddle through than to strategically confront the various challenges, duties and responsibilities she faces as the wife of a colonial officer. The reality of their marriage (with the presence of the adopted daughter, Jean) seems to suggest otherwise. If the so-called white man's burden was to save the inferior natives from the depths of savagery (Brantlinger, 1988), then the prevention of the coloniser himself from going native was surely "the white woman's burden" (Keith, 2010, 307). Perhaps, it is true that Keith eventually makes use of the personified male monkey to represent the 'wild' side of Harry during his thirteen years in the North Borneo before her arrival in Sandakan in 1939.

We have focussed only on one instance from the book illustration here, whereas there are a number of alternative illustrations and passages expressing affection for the English and a qualified measure of support for their colonial presence in North Borneo. Keith warmly pays tribute to the "honesty and integrity," as well as the "kindness" and "hospitality," of the colonial British, based on her own experience and observation (Keith, 2010, 18). But then, typically, under the pretext of humility, she explicitly refrains from passing judgement on the idea of empire itself. Thus, Keith shrewdly avoids making personal, individual experience,

however positive that experience may be, the basis for outright opinion. She concludes, maintaining her stance of equivocal support, that if empires must be built then the British, to whom she has grown so attached, are the right people to build them.

Moving on to the newspaper advertisement from the *British North Borneo Herald*, published on the 1st of April 1940. The advertisement is a tonic drink advertisement from a brand called *Wincarnis*. Wincarnis, a brand of a British tonic wine, is popular in Jamaica and some other British colonies. Now marketed as an aperitif wine, Wincarnis is consumed by various people such as new mothers and older people, mainly for the purpose of gaining energy and health.

**YOU WILL BE
SURPRISED HOW
QUICKLY YOU
PICK UP**

If you have been ill in bed for several weeks, you will feel very weak and depressed, even after you begin to recover. The best and surest way of having a quick convalescence is to take WINCARNIS regularly once or twice a day.

From the very first glass, WINCARNIS starts to purify your blood-stream and to soothe your nerves. Rich, young blood courses through your veins, and in a very short time you will find yourself on your feet again, ready to work and play with your old energy and enthusiasm.

WINCARNIS has had more than 25,000 recommendations from the medical profession and for more than 50 years it has been regarded as the proved stand-by for convalescence, anaemia, weakness and nerves. WINCARNIS has never failed; it will not fail you.

WINGARNIS
GIVES YOU ENERGY AND VITALITY

For the purpose of analysing the above advertisement, again, we are using an adapted framework by (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). In the advertisement above, there is one narrative process involved which is the reaction process and there are two instances of this process. The first instance of this process is when the represented participant (the man) is looking at something that is in front of him, and his gaze is downcast. This reaction is a non-transactional because there is only the Reactor (the man) and no Phenomenon. The viewers are left to imagine what is on the man's mind and this type of reaction is capable of making the viewers to feel empathy towards the participant and they also can identify themselves

with the participant and because of this, Kress and van Leeuwen describes non-transactional reaction process as a powerful sense (68). The man is in a bed, he has a solemn look on his face and he puts a hand on the left side of his head. This setting together with his downcast cast provides an image of a sick or unwell man.

The second instance of reaction process in the advertisement is the image of a man and a woman together. They seem to be dancing based on the placement of hands of the man and the woman, and their attires. Both man and woman are the Reacter and the Phenomenon in this image because they are looking at each other. This is a transactional process because there are both Reacter and Phenomenon in the image.

In the first image, the man appears to be alone and his downcast gaze somehow sends a message of a solemn and sombre state, and he is also alone. However, in the second image, the man has a brighter and happy expression on his face, and he is also with another person which a woman. The advertiser of the product is not only selling the product itself, but the advertiser also is selling a healthy and happy lifestyle. When he is sick, he is unhappy and alone. But, when he takes the drink, he does not only gain strength, he also gains a partner. Through the eyelines of the represented participants in the image in the advertisement, it is clear that the participants do not address the viewers directly. They are not looking directly at the viewers. In the first image, the man is looking downward, avoiding the viewer. In the second image too, the man and the woman are not looking at the viewer of the image, but rather they are looking at each other. Within the aspect of the Image Act and the Gaze, this action means that the represented participants are 'offering' something to the viewers instead of demanding them to do something. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen, the participants are 'offering' information primarily (123).

Relating the images to the advertisement, it can be said the participants are offering information about the tonic drink instead of demanding the viewers to buy the product. The viewers or the consumers are being manipulated to buy the product. The two images indicate a correlation or sequence of events. The first image which shows a sick or unwell man is replaced with another image of a seemingly healthy man with his partner as the viewer views the advertisement.

To analyse the compositional function in the advertisement, the information value of the image is utilised. In this advertisement by *Wincarnis*, there are two zones involved in providing informational values of the image which are the left and right, and the top and bottom.

The first analysis to obtain information value of the elements in the advertisement is the analysis on the left and right zone. If we divided the advertisement into two halves (left and right), we can notice that the left side contains an image of a sick man on a bed, a three-paragraph text copy on *Wincarnis* and an image of *Wincarnis* bottle. The right side of the advertisement contains the headline of "YOU WILL BE SURPRISED HOW QUICKLY YOU PICK UP", the image of a man and a woman dancing and the brand label. Since 'Given' indicates information that the viewer already knows, in relation to the advertisement, the viewer is well aware of the condition of a sick man and from here, the viewer can guess that the advertisement is related to health. The copy provides information on *Wincarnis*. Although it is promoting a product, the message somehow seems that the consumer should be aware of this product in the market. In the last paragraph, the viewer is given information on the number of recommendations that this product received, indicating that if the consumer is aware of what is currently popular in the market, he or she should know the existence of *Wincarnis*. The paragraph reads:

WINCARNIS has had more than 25,000 recommendations from the medical profession and for more than 50 years it has been regarded as the proved stand-by for convalescence, anaemia, weakness and nerves. WINCARNIS has never failed; it will not fail you.

Besides the credibility that *Wincarnis* has, the last sentence of the paragraph contains a stress on the phrases “has never failed” and “not fail”, stressing that this product will provide an ultimate recovery to the person who takes it. The consumers are manipulated in the form that they must buy this product because it is highly recommended, and it is claimed to be able to restore health to those who consume it.

The first element of the ‘New’ is the headline which reads “YOU WILL BE SURPRISED HOW QUICKLY YOU PICK UP”. This line provides a sense of anticipation to the viewers as the producer of the image is asking the viewers to expect something from the product. The second element of the ‘New’ is the image of a man and a woman dancing. This is correlated to the image of the left, which is the sick man. After being presented with the known information of a sick man, the viewers are presented with the information, which is a man who becomes healthy after consuming the tonic drink. The ‘New’ reinforces the persuasion of buying the product. After being presented with ‘factual’ information of the product, the consumers are presented with the result of the product. On top of that, the phrase ‘you pick up’ indirectly echoes the alluring aspect of the advertisement.

The zone of top and bottom describes the informational values of Ideal and Real. The elements which are placed on top are the Ideal information while the elements placed at the bottom offer Real information. In this advertisement, the elements which are placed on the top section are the image of a sick man and the headline “YOU WILL BE SURPRISED HOW QUICKLY YOU PICK UP”. Meanwhile, the elements which are placed at the bottom are the image of the *Wincarnis* bottle and the brand.

The two elements of the top section are connected to each other, and they create the informational values of the ‘Ideal’. When the viewer reads it from left to right, they will see the picture of a sick man first, and then, the headline. The meaning created here is that if you are sick, there will be something that will cure your sickness. This is the Ideal information of the product, which is the product can cure sickness.

For the bottom zone, the elements of the *Wincarnis* bottle and the brand label are the ‘Real’ information. After reading the Ideal information of the product, the viewer will move their eyeline downward, and read the information on the bottom. The Real information is the factual information, which is in this case, is the product itself. The consumers finally are presented with the name of the product.

Another aspect that we are looking for from the advertisement page is the aspect of text and ideology. The text, in the advertisement, is not a passive information as it opens to various discussion and interpretations. The ideology of the author or in this case, the advertiser. The advertiser works in the notion of profit-making by manipulating the wants and needs of the audience and they are given the task to turn the audience into the consumer. To turn the audience into the consumer, first of all, the advertiser must ‘invite’ them, and this is done by directly addressing the audience of the advertisement. The advertisement opens with the headline “YOU WILL BE SURPRISED HOW QUICKLY YOU PICK UP”. The word ‘you’ in the headline indicates that the viewer is addressed directly and specifically by the advertiser. It is important to note that the word ‘you’ is used throughout the entire advertisement,

reinforcing this idea. Therefore, the audience somehow is ‘forcefully’ invited to be the consumer of the product through the direct address.

However, the use of the word ‘you’ to address the audience directly is in contrast with the semiotic analysis of the image of the represented participants. The represented participants of the images in the advertisement do not address the audience directly. This indicates the contradiction between the images and the copy of this advertisement.

Besides the use of the word ‘you’ to invite the audience to be the consumers of the product, the font used in the advertisement also serves as an invitation. The font size of the headline, which is the opening of the advertisement, and the brand label, which is the last information of the information, is the same. The font size for these two elements is the biggest; therefore, the headline and the brand label become the focus on the advertisement. Besides that, it is important to note that the headline and the brand label actually serve as the problem and solution, respectively.

The headline, accompanied by the image of a sick man, presents a ‘problem’ to the audience. The audience then look at another focus of the advertisement, which is the brand label. The brand label, *Wincarnis* is the solution to the problem presented by the headline and its accompanied image. If the audience is interested to find out more information on the product, they will view the image and the copy which are positioned in the middle of the advertisement. However, these two elements are inviting enough for the audience to be the consumers. The brand label, *Wincarnis* and its semiotic representation kept appearing in the newspaper repeatedly, and it became the text itself. Thus, this helps to reinforce ideology of the advertiser.

On that note, the expansion of the western products into the eastern world, and with more local people receiving education in English medium schools in North Borneo, the local people then had access to the advertisement and be influenced by it, making the brand like *Wincarnis*, and other Western products popular. Despite this newspaper was not available at the newsstand, that it was subscribed by individuals and companies, the colonial advertisement message of its product’s usefulness, continues to influence/stylise the masses through the words of mouth.

Conclusion

The analysis on the book illustration reveals that the native women were represented as exotic beings and considered as a part of the “lures” that trapped white men in the foreign lands. However, Keith also comically portrays monkeys to be the representatives of human’s desire, male and female included. Meanwhile, the analysis on the advertisement shows that how health benefits are used to entice the consumers into purchasing the product advertised. The advertisement also lures the consumers by including the possibility of gaining a positive social life as well as riding on its ‘popularity’ as an established brand to attract the potential buyers. The findings indicate the importance of studying colonial book illustrations and advertisements as they may reveal the colonialist and consumerist agenda intended to be disseminated to the masses.

This study explores the notion of ‘lure’ in the book illustration and advertisement published during the British colonialism in North Borneo. However, there are other parts of colonial outposts that can be examined to further understand how British colonialism or imperialism in general works in reaping profits for mother country. Analysing more illustrations and advertisements may also expose certain patterns that are visible in these colonialist mouthpieces.

As what we have seen above from both book illustration and colonial newspaper's advertisement, both published around 1940's in North Borneo, the author, Agnes Newton Keith and the advertiser of the *British North Borneo Herald* seem to uphold and promote the British Empire on the grounds that colonial officers have the ability to control themselves as well as to dominate the market in colonised lands, and so doing, create the colonial emporium par excellence for the British products to flourish.

But one could not help but to trace the element of sexually enticing images and messages behind both genre—book illustration and colonial newspaper advertisement—that one have to question the morality of the Empire itself.

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