

PICTURES OF PERSUASION: HONG KONG'S COLONIAL TRAVEL POSTERS

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ABSTRACT: *Hong Kong Baptist University recently purchased one of the world's finest collections of vintage Hong Kong travel posters. The collection, which includes approximately one hundred posters dating from 1930-1980, is significant in many ways. These pictures of persuasion "offer a wealth of art, history, design, and popular culture for us to understand". The posters provide a glimpse into evolving mid-century commercial art and the visual languages of Western modernism. Perhaps more importantly, however, they offer a valuable historical and social perspective on Hong Kong's self-conception and its image in the West during the city's late colonial period. The posters touch on many important historical themes, including a defence of colonialism, Hong Kong's local and overseas identities and the ways people shared a now-lost urban environment. Hong Kong's colonial travel posters belong to the collective memory of Hongkongers and the city's rich cultural heritage.*

KEYWORDS: Hong Kong, Travel Poster, Colonialism, Commercial Art, Identity

INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 2018, Hong Kong Baptist University purchased one of the world's finest collections of vintage Hong Kong travel posters.¹ The collection, which includes approximately one hundred posters dating from 1930-1980, is significant in many ways. The posters offer a concise overview of evolving mid-century advertising and commercial art techniques. They also reference the visual languages of Western modernism. Perhaps most importantly, however, they provide a valuable historical and social perspective on Hong Kong's self-conception and its image in the West during the city's late colonial period.² Hong Kong Baptist University's ("HKBU") collection is part of the city's cultural heritage (Figure 1).



Figure 1. S. D. Panaiotaky. *Hong Kong: The Riviera of the Orient* (ca. 1930). 109 x 78.5 cm. This is the earliest poster in HKBU's collection. It shows a traditional Chinese *junk* boat sailing across Victoria Harbour, with Hong Kong's Central and Peak districts in the background.

Universities, museums and the publishing world have recently shown an increasing interest in the communicative power of posters and the social significance of commercial art produced for the travel and hospitality industries.³ The University of Hong Kong's temporary exhibition of 2011, *Early Hong Kong Travel (1880-1939)* highlighted pre-Second World War tourism ephemera. Visitors were encouraged to imagine the first impressions of Europeans as they arrived on ocean liners in the harbour of colonial Hong Kong. Both the Hong Kong Museum of History and the Hong Kong Maritime Museum prominently display tourism ads, posters, brochures and postcards, emphasizing the city's rich history as a transportation hub and travel destination. Wendy Wicks Reaves, curator of prints at the Smithsonian Institution,⁴ described the complexity of poster advertisements. "Sometimes a poster is a decorative masterpiece – something I can't walk by without a jolt of aesthetic pleasure. Another might strike me as extremely clever advertising ... But collectively, these *pictures of persuasion* ... offer a wealth of art, history, design, and popular culture for us to understand."⁵ Reaves' description applies to many works in HKBU's new collection.

Commercial Art and Modern Art

Art is one of the traditional humanities, the expressive modes used since antiquity to understand and document the human experience. Eighteenth century French philosopher, Charles Batteaux coined the term *Les Beaux Arts* (translated as fine arts) to distinguish non-utilitarian artwork from applied, decorative or commercial art.⁶ In the past, scholars often distinguished illustrations and advertisements from *fine art*. Painters or sculptors might produce "art [merely] for art's sake",⁷ but commercial artists produced illustrations, ads or travel posters for commercial purposes. However, the boundaries supposedly separating popular culture from the realm of fine art have blurred considerably in recent decades, thanks, in part, to the Pop art movement.⁸ Contemporary scholars have begun using interdisciplinary approaches to tear down the borders separating fine and commercial art.⁹

The artists represented in HKBU's collection and in this essay—including Dong Kingman, David Klein and Georges Mathieu—did not work in a vacuum. They understood art history, they were sophisticated regarding artistic trends, and they consciously incorporated modernist styles into their work.¹⁰ Viewers can trace modern art's evolution in Hong Kong travel posters, from sleek early Art Deco images to cubist collage aesthetics, from gestural abstractions to pared-down minimalism. In 1969, Georges Mathieu, a French abstract painter, wove stock Hong Kong symbols—fireworks, neon signs and a rickshaw—into his web of lyrical brushstrokes (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Georges Mathieu. *Air France: Hong Kong* (1969). 59.5 x 100 cm. Mathieu, founder of Lyrical Abstraction, was a gestural, *Action painter* like Jackson Pollock.

Chinese Typography and *Orientalism*

Mathieu's Air France poster also includes a controversial element, its Chinese-styled *typography*. Travel posters combine words and images. The typography, or arrangement of words and letters, delivers the central message (or theme) and the image reinforces or illustrates the message. At the beginning of the twentieth century, poster typography was often hand-drawn, with bulging, irregular letters. During the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties, German Bauhaus typography was in vogue, with slender, geometric letters designed for maximum clarity. Hong Kong travel posters of the nineteen-fifties and nineteen-sixties often feature typography mimicking the brushstrokes of Chinese calligraphic characters (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Chinese-styled typography in Hong Kong travel posters (ca. 1950-1960).

Orientalism, a type of art and literature in which Westerners depicted Asian subjects or used Asian styles, was popular from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. Many poster artists and designers were Orientalists, attempting to lure other Europeans and Americans to Hong Kong and *the Orient*.¹¹ Mathieu's poster, and others, superficially simulated Chinese calligraphy—a highly esteemed traditional art form—blending Western Latin script with a pseudo-Eastern style to signify a generic *Asianness* or *Chineseness* to Western viewers.¹² Today, such typography is known by names such as *chop-suey font* and *wonton font*, which

also signify (a more specific Cantonese) Chineseness. This led one Asian-American writer to ask advertisers who use this type of typography, “Is your font racist?”¹³

Important Artists, Including Dong Kingman

HKBU’s collection shines a light on innovative, popular imagery produced by artists that, unfortunately, even art historians often overlook today.¹⁴ The collection includes a poster by Miroslav Šasek, the Czech illustrator who created the classic *This is ...* series of children’s books (1958-74), including *This is Hong Kong* (1965) (Figure 4). “Legendary” Qantas designer, Harry Rogers is also represented, as is David Klein, who designed travel posters for Howard Hughes’ Trans World Airlines (“TWA”) and theatrical window cards during Broadway’s golden age.¹⁵



Figure 4. Miroslav Šasek, *Fabulous Hong Kong* (1966). 59 x 86 cm. The image in this poster originally appeared in Šasek’s children’s book, *This is Hong Kong* (1965).

Dong Kingman (1911-2000) has more works in the HKBU collection than any other artist (Figure 5). Kingman was born in Oakland, California, the son of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. He was given the name Dong Muy Shu. His parents soon returned to Hong Kong, where their young son attended the Bok Jai School. He excelled at ink calligraphy and watercolor painting, and, in accordance with Chinese customs, his teacher gave him a suitable school name: King (which means scenery) Man (meaning composition). Kingman continued his studies at Hong Kong’s Lingnan Academy under Szeto Wai, a Paris-trained modernist painter. In 1929, Kingman returned to California. During the following decades, his watercolor renderings of urban subjects, created *en plein air* (in the open air), established Dong Kingman as a master of American watercolor.¹⁶

The Hong Kong Tourist Association commissioned four posters from Dong Kingman in 1961. *Moon Festival in Hong Kong* features the artist’s characteristic loose, colorful washes and abundant, finely wrought calligraphic details. The vivid festive lanterns and neon signs, as well as the playfully depicted celebrants, give the poster an appealing, “whimsical” quality. Dong Kingman seemed to love Hong Kong’s culture and residents, and his image is a “gentle satire, a satire with no sting”.¹⁷



Figure 5. Dong Kingman, *Moon Festival in Hong Kong* (1961), 61 x 89 cm. The billboard in the upper right shows Chang'e, the Chinese moon goddess.

Traveling to Hong Kong

HKBU's poster collection documents the history of travel to Hong Kong, beginning with the *golden age* of ocean liners and going through the golden age of commercial airlines, or the *jet age*.¹⁸ At the start of the twentieth century, travelers relied on a hodgepodge of regional ships, transoceanic liners and trains to reach the city.¹⁹ British *flying boats* first landed on Hong Kong's Victoria Harbour in 1928 (Figure 6). However, flying from London to Hong Kong in the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties was a grueling weeklong expedition with a dozen stopovers across Europe and Asia.



Figure 6. Rowland Hilder, *Fly to the Far East – B.O.A.C.* (ca. 1948), 48 x 74 cm. A British flying boat has just landed on Hong Kong's Victoria Harbour, near a group of local sampans.

Whether arriving in Hong Kong by ship or flying boat, a Western traveler's first impression of the city was its busy harbor. British author, Rudyard Kipling visited Hong Kong in 1889 and later recalled the harbor was "a great world in itself [with] lines of junks, tethered liners ... and a few hundred thousand sampans manned by women with babies tied on to their backs".²⁰ A Pan American Clipper landed on Victoria Harbour in 1941, carrying an American globetrotting journalist named Martha Gellhorn and her new husband, Ernest Hemingway. Like Kipling, Gellhorn was overwhelmed by the countless junks, sampans, mosquito boats and various other vessels crisscrossing the water. Gellhorn concluded, "the harbour of Hong Kong is as violently alive and crowded and noisy as the city itself".²¹ Kipling and Gellhorn did not simply describe Hong Kong; their writings suggest personal and cultural attitudes and biases.

The image Rowland Hilder created for B.O.A.C. (British Overseas Airways Corporation) (Figure 6) offers an interesting contrast: traditional Chinese sampans float in the foreground and a comparatively modern Western airplane floats in the background. To Western airline passengers, the Chinese vessels might represent a quaint, bygone era. Although Hilder was not an Orientalist, to use the words of postcolonial scholar Edward Said, Hilder's image suggests Western (technological) dominance over the Orient, and represents Hong Kong as "a place of romance, [populated by] exotic beings".²² In the nineteen-forties, when the B.O.A.C. poster marketed Hong Kong to British travelers, many Westerners believed a clear dividing line, or socio-cultural dichotomy, separated "the East" and "the West". Hilder's image appealed to those Western sensibilities.

Hong Kong's Self-Conception and Foreign Image

Travel posters indicate how people see themselves and how they wish to define the society in which they live. Hong Kong sits on the edge of the motherland of a great, ancient Eastern civilization, yet its modern history was a British creation, in the British tradition.²³ The city was a British Crown Colony for one-hundred-fifty years (1847-1997). During the colonial era, a progression of tourism slogans attempted to encapsulate Hong Kong's special character and lure foreign visitors for business and pleasure. "Riviera of the Far East" (Figure 1), "Pearl of the Orient" and "Europe in China" were a few of the colonial slogans featuring the appealing *East meets West* trope. Even after the People's Republic of China became largely inaccessible in the mid-twentieth century, Westerners were still drawn to the accessible Chinese culture of Hong Kong.²⁴

Hong Kong's travel posters provide a glimpse into the past, and the Chinese culture that attracted tourists. Sadly, a lot of the city's tangible cultural heritage and "collective memory" is gone.²⁵ Hong Kong is the most crowded city in East Asia,²⁶ and many historic landmarks and buildings were demolished to make way for new infrastructure and residential development. A turning point came in 2006, when Hong Kong's government demolished the famed Star Ferry Pier to build a new roadway. Conservationists and civic organizations convinced the government to reconsider its preservation policies and find new ways to revitalize and reuse heritage buildings.²⁷ The revitalization of Haw Par Mansion exemplifies this new trend.

Aw Boon Haw was a Burmese-born Chinese entrepreneur. Aw became very rich selling Tiger Balm, a popular pain relieving ointment. In the nineteen-thirties, he built the Haw Par Mansion in Hong Kong's Tai Hang neighborhood. The mansion is an excellent example of the *Chinese Renaissance* architectural style. Next to his mansion, Aw opened one of Hong Kong's first theme parks: Tiger Balm Gardens. The park featured French and Chinese landscaping,

monumental sculptures and a seven-story Tiger Pagoda (Figure 7). The theme park was extremely popular and the pagoda was one of Hong Kong best-known landmarks. In 1967, American journalist Gene Gleason wrote, “The most conspicuous appurtenance of Tiger Balm Garden is its white pagoda, standing 165 feet high. It is a godsend to painters of Hong Kong travel posters, who rely on it as heavily as the French Tourist office depends on the Eiffel Tower”.²⁸ In spite of their initial popularity, the park and pagoda eventually fell out of favor and were torn down to make way for a massive housing complex. Haw Par Mansion survived though, and passed to the government for revitalization as a music conservatory for Chinese and Western music (again, the East meets the West). A small exhibition area in the main hall will retell the history of Haw Par Mansion and Tiger Balm Gardens.²⁹

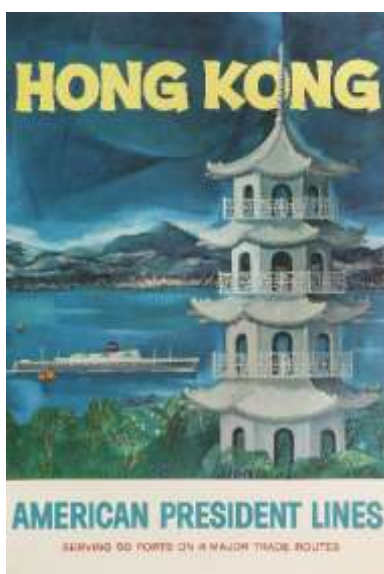


Figure 7. Unknown artist, *Hong Kong – American President Lines* (ca. 1957), 59.5 x 87 cm. American President Lines operated the largest and fastest passenger-freight ships in the Pacific.

The Tiger Pagoda is gone, but it lives on in old photographs and tourism posters. The American illustrator, David Klein created a series of iconic, jet age illustrations for Howard Hughes’ Trans World Airlines. The illustrations include a familiar checklist of visual motifs that defined Hong Kong for outsiders: a junk, a dragon and the Tiger Pagoda (seen on the upper right of the junk’s sail) (Figure 8). In his illustration, Klein included an interesting combination: a British colonial judge, wearing a curly-locked formal wig, leers at a Cantonese opera character named *hua dan*. *Hua dan* is a recurring, *stock character*: a teenaged girl with a lively, innocent personality. The most famous *hua dan* character is Hong Niang, who appears in the controversial Yuan dynasty love story *Romance of the West Chamber*, which tells the story of a young couple who consummated their love without parental approval. Klein references a common theme: the Westerner looking at the East(erner) as something to consume. Such dualities attracted Western tourists.³⁰

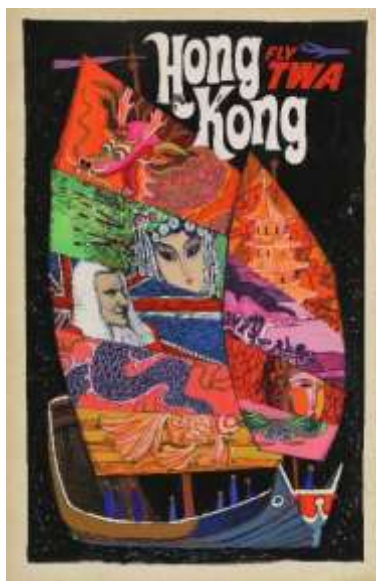


Figure 8. David Klein, *Hong Kong – Fly TWA* (ca. 1965), 33.5 x 51 cm.

Social Relationships in Colonial Travel Posters

Illustrations in advertisements “are not merely analogues to visual perception, but symbolic artifacts constructed from the conventions of a particular culture”.³¹

Linda Scott

During the colonial era, Western writers and artists tended to characterize local Chinese residents in one of two ways. Either 1) they exoticized *the Other* as distant and alien from the observing self, or 2) they domesticated and reduced local residents to fit into an imperialist framework referencing themselves.³² Hilder and Klein’s illustrations demonstrate the first tendency; the sampan fishermen and hua dan are intriguing, exoticized others.³³ S. D. Panaiotaky’s *Hong Kong – Riviera of the Orient* demonstrates the second tendency (Figure 9).



Figure 9. S. D. Panaiotaky, *Hong Kong – Riviera of the Orient* (ca. 1935), 62.5 x 100 cm. The French Riviera (or Côte d’Azur), along the Mediterranean Sea, has been a British resort destination since the eighteenth century.

Panaiotaky's image is both a cultural relic and a social statement. It combines a lovely seaside cityscape, in the background, and a troubling message about colonial power relationships, in the foreground. Two barefoot Chinese laborers tote a dapper Western passenger in a sedan chair up a hillside. They are ascending from the Central district below to a posh residential area called *the Peak* above. The Central district was and is a *contact zone*, a place where Eastern and Western societies intermingle to conduct business.³⁴ The Peak was a racially segregated enclave; Westerners could live there, but Chinese people could not.³⁵

As the laborers drudge along, expending their brute strength and roasting under the sun like beasts of burden, their elegant passenger relaxes beneath his canopy, on his lofty perch. There is no doubt who is in charge as the three men ascend the steep pathway. The social and class distinctions are obvious. In Hong Kong's colonial society during the nineteen-thirties, the British rode on top and the Chinese walked down below. According to Edward Said, Orientalism depends on *positional superiority*, "which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand".³⁶ Panaiotaky's poster conveys *visual positional superiority*, which seemingly appealed to Western visitors during Hong Kong's colonial era.³⁷

CONCLUSION

In recent years, both Hong Kong's tourist trade and the travel industry in general have changed. Hong Kong's British colonial period ended in 1997. Since then, Hong Kong has become a top destination for outbound mainland Chinese tourists. Mainlanders now constitute three-fourths of the city's sixty million annual visitors and contribute thirty-five percent of the city's total retail sales.³⁸ Many Hongkongers rely on mainland tourism for their livelihood. The Hong Kong Tourism Board, the marketing arm of the city's tourism industry, understandably focuses much of its attention on attracting mainland visitors. In addition, the rise of the Internet and social media has altered travel marketing. Today travelers use Internet-based advertising, online reviews, social sharing and online travel agents to plan their trips.³⁹ International airlines have adapted to digital innovations and use new technologies to reach potential customers and promote specific destinations. The golden age of travel posters may have passed, but they are an important part of Hong Kong's heritage.⁴⁰



Figure 10. *Hong Kong – Northwest Airlines – Orient Express (ca. 1950). Photo credit: Unknown, 64 x 101 cm. This is perhaps Hong Kong's first photo travel poster. It shows D'Aguiar Street in the 1950s.*



Figure 11. *D'Aguilar Street, Hong Kong (ca. 2018).* D'Aguilar Street leads to a popular bar and restaurant district.

Living in a city is different from visiting a city. Over the course of time, residents begin to appreciate public architecture, apartment buildings and streets as places of shared memory. Physical structures and social environments become inseparable from past personal experiences.⁴¹ Unfortunately, much of *Old Hong Kong's* distinctive urban landscape is gone, such as Tiger Balm Gardens and the Tiger Pagoda.⁴² Similarly, the character of streets and districts has changed overtime, with the construction of new buildings and the introduction of new businesses (Figures 10 and 11). In Hong Kong, change is the only constant. Travel posters, however, are relics of the past, where Old Hong Kong survives.

HKBU's travel posters do indeed "offer a wealth of art, history, design, and popular culture for us to understand". We can see the evolution of design and twentieth-century modern art through compelling imagery. We can also see important, historical themes: a defence of colonialism, the city's local and overseas identities and the ways people shared a lost urban environment. Popular culture oftentimes reveals the beliefs and passions of prior generations more directly and movingly than official records or textbooks.⁴³ Hong Kong's colonial travel posters belong to the collective memory of Hongkongers and the rich cultural heritage of the city.

Hong Kong Baptist University's *Hong Kong Travel Poster Collection* is accessible online, <http://bcc.lib.hkbu.edu.hk/artcollection/>

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NOTES:

¹ Hong Kong Baptist University acquired the collection from Christopher and Pamela Bailey. The Baileys assembled their posters between 2001 and 2018, as stock for Picture This Gallery.

² In this essay Hong Kong is referred to as a city, as is commonly done in the popular press and mainstream media. However, Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, and is often described as a region or territory.

³ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston exhibition *The Postcard Age* (2012), for example, showed how early modern postcards reflect cultural themes and blend fine art and commercial concerns. Francisca Matteoli's *World Tour* (2013) analysed the material culture of the early *jet age*, including hotel and airline luggage

- labels. See also Jim Heiman's popular publication *20th Century Travel: 100 Years of Globe-Trotting Ads* (2010).
- ⁴ London's Victoria and Albert Museum, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. and Paris' Musée de la Publicité, among many other prominent museums, collect and exhibit tourism advertisements and travel posters.
- ⁵ Reaves, W.W. (2008) *Fly Now: The National Air and Space Museum Poster Collection*.
- ⁶ Batteaux, C. (1746) *Les Beaux-Arts réduits à un même principe*.
- ⁷ Bell-Villada, G. (1986/87) *The idea of art for art's sake: intellectual origins, social conditions, and poetic doctrine*.
- ⁸ Pop art, a movement that flourished from the late nineteen-fifties through the nineteen-seventies in Britain and the U.S.A., was a major factor in changing attitudes. Pop artists, such as Andy Warhol, based their images and sculptures on consumer products, popular culture and advertisements. In general, Pop artists rejected the distinction of good and bad taste. According to Mildred Constantine, the Associate Curator of Graphic Design at New York's Museum of Modern Art, in the latter twentieth century *fine artists* began turning to commercial artists for inspiration. In 1968, near the end of the classical phase of American Pop art, Constantine wrote, "while in the past it was the painter whose work influenced graphic design, today's posters, billboards and cartoons form such a large part of the visual environment that their elements—both in style and subject—are frequently used by painters". Constantine, M. (1968) *Press Release for Word and Image: Posters and Typography from the Graphic Design Collection of The Museum of Modern Art 1879-1969*.
- ⁹ Bogart, M. (1995) *Artists, advertising, and the borders of art*; Gibbons, J. (2005) *Art and advertising*.
- ¹⁰ Concerning the incorporation of progressive aesthetics in modern European poster design, see Ades, D. and Brown R. (1984) *The 20th-century poster: design of the avant-garde*.
- ¹¹ Ancient Europeans created the concept of the Orient to describe Asia. Writers and artists contrasted the Orient with *the Occident*. The word orient comes from the Latin words for rise (*orior*) and east (*oriēns*). The term occident comes from the Latin words for fall (*occidere*) and west (*occidēns*). The sun rose in the east, the Orient, and sat in the west, the Occident. Europeans imagined the Orient as "a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories, landscapes, [and] remarkable experiences". The influential postcolonial writer, Edward Said described *Orientalism* as a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient". According to Said, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient". Orientalism was a not simply a potent means to justify colonialism, it was also a powerful tool used to develop ethnography and the travel trade. Said, E. (1979) *Orientalism*, pp. 9, 11.
- ¹² Ethnic Chinese artists and typographers have also fused Chinese writing and English writing. See, for example, Xu Bing (2011) *Square word calligraphy*; Zheng, H. (2016) *Observation and combination of Chinese and English typography*.
- ¹³ Yang, J. (2012) *Is your font racist?*
- ¹⁴ For a brief reflection on the problematic art-historical *canon*, and what belongs in the canon, see Locher, H. (2012) *The idea of the canon and canon formation in art history*. On the larger question "What is art?", see Wallach, A. (1997) *ART; is it art? is it good? and who says so?*
- ¹⁵ Van de Ven, A.-M. (2012) *Inside the collection: tribute to Harry Rogers: legendary Qantas poster designer; David Klein, illustrator* (2018).
- ¹⁶ Many critics and historians consider Dong Kingman one of America's finest watercolor artists. His works are in the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Museum of Modern Art. His work appeared on the cover of *Fortune* magazine and as article illustrations in *Life* and *Time* magazines. Kingman also worked as an illustrator in Hollywood, designing backgrounds for the films *Flower Drum Song* (1961), *55 Days at Peking* (1963) and *The Sand Pebbles* (1966). Chinese-American filmmaker, James Wong Howe produced a short documentary (1954) that shows the artist painting a cityscape on a New York City sidewalk. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_E-jPPWub7o
- ¹⁷ *Dong Kingman: watercolor painter of whimsical cityscapes* (2000, May 17).
- ¹⁸ *Ocean Liners: Speed and Style*. (2018). For an amusing, eye-opening look at the so-called "Golden Age of Travel", the purportedly glamorous early days of the Jet Set, see Brownlee, J. (2013) *What it was really like to fly during the golden age of travel?* Brownlee concludes the golden age was in fact "dangerous, smoky, boozy, boring, expensive, and racist".
- ¹⁹ Verne, J. (1873) *Around the World in Eighty Days*; Bly, N. (1890) *Around the World in Seventy-Two Days*.
- ²⁰ Kipling, R. (1900) *From sea to sea and other sketches: letters of travel, vol. I.*, p. 290.

- ²¹ Gellhorn, M. (1941, June 11) *Time bomb in Hong Kong*, p. 13. Western travel literature often reveals “colonial mindsets”. Torgovnick, M. (1991) *Gone primitive: modern intellectuals, savage minds*; Pratt, M.L. (2013) *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation*.
- ²² Said, E. (1979) *Orientalism*, pp. 9, 11.
- ²³ Wei, B. & Li, E. (1998) *Culture shock! Hong Kong*, p. 14.
- ²⁴ Lo, K.C. (2005) *Chinese face/off: the transnational popular culture of Hong Kong*.
- ²⁵ Pang, J. (2017) *In pictures: demonstrations and demolition – 10 years since the Queen’s Pier was pulled down*.
- ²⁶ Smith, O. (2017) *Mapped: the world's most overcrowded cities*.
- ²⁷ Hong Kong’s government announced a new heritage preservation policy in 2007. The emphasis is now on providing incentives to private owners and non-profit organizations to adapt historic buildings for reuse as social enterprises.
- ²⁸ Gleason, G. (1967) *Tales of Hong Kong*, p. 139.
- ²⁹ Tomlinson, P. (2016) *Haw Par Mansion: 1930’s splendour given new lease of life as music academy*.
- ³⁰ Ellis, J. (2018) *Hong Kong’s elusive identity: Searching in the past, present, and future*.
- ³¹ Scott, L. (1994) *Images in advertising: the need for a theory of visual rhetoric*, p. 252.
- ³² Kerr, D. and Kuehn, J. (2007) *A century of travels in China: critical essays on travel writing from the 1840s to the 1940s*, p. 7. Relationships of power implied in the gaze (or various types of gazes) is an important scholarly discourse. British sociologist, John Urry explored the idea of a tourist gaze (riffing on French philosopher, Michel Foucault thoughts on gaze): “The tourist gaze is a way of perceiving or relating to places which cuts them off from the ‘real world’ and emphasises the exotic aspects of the tourist experience”. Harrison, R. (2010) *Understanding the politics of heritage*, pp. 20-21.
- ³³ *Otherness* is addressed in many scholarly discourses, including philosophy (by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel), psychology (Jacques Lacan), post colonialism (Homi Bhabha), and gender studies (Simone de Beauvoir).
- ³⁴ Mary Louise Pratt uses the term contact zone to describe social spaces “where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination”. Pratt, M.L. (2013) *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation*, pp. 4-5.
- ³⁵ The Peak Reservation Ordinance, in effect between 1904 and 1930, permitted only “non-Chinese” to buy, lease, or reside on Peak property. The ordinance allowed Chinese servants to live with their non-Chinese employers and “licensed chair coolies and jinricksha coolies plying for hire” to temporarily visit the Peak. <http://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/1219>
- ³⁶ Said, E. (1979) *Orientalism*, p. 7.
- ³⁷ Ellis, J. (2017) “*You can live like a king*”: a postcolonial tour of colonial Hong Kong.
- ³⁸ *Hong Kong remains a vibrant retail opportunity for mainland China* (2017, February 22). Hong Kong also receives many tourists from Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, the United States, Macao, the Philippines, Singapore, Australia and Thailand.
- ³⁹ Carnoy, J. (2017) *5 ways social media has transformed tourism marketing*;
Borgogna, A., et. al. (2016) *Connecting with the customer: How airlines must adapt their distribution business model*.
- ⁴⁰ Heritage refers to the cultural characteristics a particular society receives from the past and still considers important. Heritage is an inheritance, linking past, present and future generations with a shared “collective history” Chu, C. & Uebegang, K. (2002) *Saving Hong Kong’s cultural heritage*, p. 6.
- ⁴¹ Leo Ou-fan Lee’s *City Between Worlds: My Hong Kong* (2010) is an insider’s poignant look at vanishing features of Hong Kong’s rich cultural tapestry, based on the author’s experiences during the colonial period.
- ⁴² The collaborative online resource, Gwulo: Old Hong Kong (<https://gwulo.com>) has well over 30,000 pages devoted to research and documentation concerning Hong Kong’s colonial past. Gwulo (古老) translates roughly as old-fashioned.
- ⁴³ Visual studies is a system of inquiry that analyses visual images (and associated texts) to understand how we see ourselves and the worlds we live in. Many academic fields, including anthropology, cultural studies and art history, use visual studies methodologies. See, for example, Holly, M.A. and Moxey, K. (2002) *Art history, aesthetics, and visual studies*; Elkins, J. (2003) *Visual studies: a skeptical introduction*.