UP IN SMOKE: TOBACCO, EXOTIC WOMEN AND
NINETEENTH CENTURY CULTURE

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To my mom and sister, for their support
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Because tobacco was heavily connected with ideas about masculinity in the nineteenth century, texts from this period rarely reflect a smoking woman. Yet, I have found texts from mid-century which each include a woman who is heavily tied to tobacco. These three texts—Prosper Merimee's *Carmen*, Ouida’s *Under Two Flags* and Cuban tobacco lithographs—are significant because they are not only markedly different from the representations of the New Woman later in the century, but these texts reveal complex nineteenth century anxieties about masculinity/consumption. In each text, by consuming (purchasing and/or killing) these women, as with consuming masculine tobacco, the male protagonist consumes the exotic/sexual and thereby (re)imagines or consolidates his own white imperial masculinity, which was in question before this woman’s appearance. The fact that these texts originate from several countries reveals that these anxieties were widespread and also that these texts are related to each other in a way which correlates with (and reflects) the actual trade route of tobacco at the time.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The perceived connection in nineteenth-century Europe between masculinity and tobacco is a historical fact that is at least partially attributed to the tobacco’s association with trade and colonial expansion. When the Europeans landed in the Americas they encountered tobacco in various forms, including cigarettes, cigars, pipes, snuff and chewing.¹ As Iain Gately suggests throughout his book, *Tobacco: The Story of How Tobacco Seduced the World*, the importance of tobacco to trade and masculine adventure has had a long history—as evidenced by the fact that the first commercial experiences between the Europeans and Natives involved tobacco (Gately 19). Once introduced to Europe, tobacco’s association with (male) adventurers such as England’s popular Sir Walter Raleigh, considered “handsome, virile and eloquent and whose mannerisms were widely imitated,” only furthered the association between this foreign commodity and all things “symbolic of the spirit of adventure and its proponents personified” (Gately 46). Centuries later (in the nineteenth century and focus of this paper), after a period when smoking had gone out of vogue in favor of snuffing, the practice of consuming tobacco that European travelers had helped spread all over the world “returned” with soldiers to Europe in all sorts of exotic forms, now including the hookah from India and cigars from Spain (Hughes 158-159).² This new development in the tobacco trade only served to amplify the exotic and colonial associations tobacco carried. At the same time, and perhaps consequently, the tobacco trade grew more

¹ Of course, many of these forms of tobacco consumption were more rudimentary than those used today.

² Consequently, it is also in this period that the men’s smoking room was born (Gately 158), also strengthening the association between the two.
than ever before and the associations between tobacco and masculinity were deeply felt in many European countries.³

Besides the (at least perceived) increase in globalization and colonial expansion, the unique conditions of the nineteenth century also contributed to the belief that tobacco was a significant marker of masculinity. The nineteenth-century Western European anxiety to perform an appropriate masculine identity through tobacco use had as much to do with anxieties about masculinity as it did with the historical connotations of tobacco. In nineteenth century England, for example, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, the rising middle class disrupted the historically ironclad association between class, wealth and power, leading many to ponder what made one man “superior” to another (if not necessarily wealth or class). Consequently, various debates on the meaning of “true” masculinity were pervasive. According to scholar James Eli Adams in his book, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity*, one of the more popular definitions of masculinity in England argued for self-discipline as a distinctly masculine attribute. Because this charismatic self-mastery shifted the burden from martial courage to inner struggle, and called on men to be daring yet disciplined, men took over the work of accumulation and self-regulation while women were relegated to “passionlessness” (7).⁴ At the same time, these regimens of masculinity

³ For the purposes of this paper, I focus on England, France and Spain. Though the lithographs and *Carmen* are produced by Frenchmen and *Under Two Flags* by an Englishwoman, we will see that in each of the texts multiple European nations are represented in the text’s treatment of masculinity; in all the cases, the men who produce the text or who are represented in the text hail from either England, France or Spain.

⁴ Of course, not all men responded to the call. Also, many would agree that both working-class and upper-class women of this period are portrayed as passionless—though perhaps, because of class differences, not in uniform ways.
regulated “more than erotic desire; they [were] many-faceted constructions of identity and social authority that inevitably situate the private self in relation to an imagined audience” (Adams 2). Because this masculine performance of inner struggle, self-discipline and accumulation correlated with this (second) boom in the tobacco industry, smoking became an easy symbolic marker of masculinity, while still maintaining (and perhaps because it did maintain) associations with trade and the exotic.

The question is how did women fit into this (now exaggerated) association between men and tobacco? Certainly, generally speaking, the (now even more strong) association between men and tobacco meant that smoking by “respectable” women was categorically disapproved of for most of the nineteenth century. While perhaps prostitutes and factory workers (especially those working in Cuban and Spanish tobacco factories) would have smoked, it was clearly disapproved of by white European society. Even so, it’s impossible to deny the fact that some women did smoke, or that, more importantly, there are references to women smokers in European art and literature of the period. In fact, by the end of the period, there was a veritable “explosion” of female smoking—literally and representationally—a fact which is often attributed to the proto-feminist “New Woman.” Most widely recognized for her performative public and politically strategic habits, the New Woman deliberately took on outward signs of

5 In other words, while white Europeans tolerated smoking by these women and--while these women might not have not considered their own smoking ‘unrespectable’—their smoking is acceptable precisely because they were poor and raced. White European women would not have been allowed the same liberties.

6 To be more specific, I mean art and literature produced by artists of European descent and consumed mostly by others of European descent.

7 It is important to note that some scholars suggest that the New Woman only existed representationally.
masculinity in an effort to protest of gender roles: For example, she is often depicted as a woman who wore pants, rode bicycles and smoked cigarettes. However, perhaps because of her bourgeois status, the New Woman was able to performatively borrow the masculinity and transgression associated with cigarettes, without taking on the inherent exoticism and association to trade which tobacco normally carried. Even when she is depicted as exotic, it is most often depicted as a deliberate performance of exoticism, such as wearing exaggeratedly exotic clothing in order to draw attention to herself.

In contrast, there are a few representations of women who stand apart from the New Women--not only because they are heavily, *inescapably*, exotic, transgressive and masculine, but also because they are inextricably linked to tobacco. Examples of this type of woman are Cigarette from Ouida’s *Under Two Flags* (1867) and Carmen from Prosper Merimee’s *Carmen* (1845), and the mulata women depicted on Cuban tobacco lithographs (early 1840s). For these women, consuming tobacco is not something they chose to do: instead, their association with tobacco is described as one of their defining characteristics—it is not something they take on deliberately and performatively like the New Woman, but something which is a part of them. In other words, tobacco is understood to be an extension of these women, and vice versa.

And yet, the growing volumes of scholarship on many of these representations have not made the significance of tobacco a central concern. Nor have these texts been analyzed in relation to each other. I will attempt to address this oversight by demonstrating that these representations are best understood in relation to each other, as they have clear and important similarities. Further, I will show that these
representations have a clear place within the historical understanding of masculine
tobacco outlined above.

The latter will be an especially important element of my argument: these women
are not only significant because they represent a handful of women who are heavily tied
to tobacco in a period when few women are. Rather, I will attempt to demonstrate, their
ties to tobacco clearly work to place these women in a specific relational role to the men
around them. In other words, it is precisely because tobacco is considered masculine
that it is significant that she consumes it—and significant not only for my analysis, but
for understanding how each woman functions within the text. Therefore, while the
consumption of tobacco and masculinity are often inextricably tied, I will at times
attempt to separate the two. Understanding the ways tobacco is associated with
nineteenth-century masculinity in all these narratives is helpful in understanding these
representations in relation to each other—and, additionally, understanding the
masculinity associated with tobacco within these texts will help us to understand how
the relationship between these women and tobacco elaborates the way each of these
women are commodified and consumed in these texts.

Furthermore, in a period where globalization and colonization were important
realities for many nations in Western Europe, and in a period where tobacco and
masculinity are both tied to images of foreign spaces, it is significant both that all these
women are racially Othered, and that they are tied to the heavily trafficked, exotic
tobacco. Both tobacco and these women are further masculinized and exoticized
through this relationship. Additionally, these women’s ties to this nearly global
commodity is an important aid in the commodification of these women within these
texts: by deeply associating these women with tobacco, these texts, we shall see, metaphorically connect these women with trade. Because tobacco is so heavily commodified, these women’s associations with tobacco inserts them into the market place—a fact which makes their commodification and consumption more readily possible. For all these reasons, we will see that it is not simply important that there exist a handful of representations of women smokers in this period, but rather it is profoundly important that these women’s ties to tobacco are similarly encoded in all these texts, and each in a way that fits with larger narratives of smoking and masculinity. This reveals that these anxieties were both widespread and connected with the trade route of tobacco.

For this last reason, this paper will consider each of these representations in order of publication/production and in order of geographical location on the trade route of tobacco—interestingly, and perhaps significantly, the same order in both cases. I hope to show that there is a progression that occurs between the texts from mid-century Cuba and those from England near the end of the period. As I’ve suggested above, in all cases, these women, besides their ties to tobacco, are all raced/exoticized, commodified, sexualized. However, these traits are all more exaggerated in the Cuban lithographs and become progressively less-dangerous to white European society as the texts gain in distance and time. For example, the tobacco lithographs found in Cuba (in the 1840s, where tobacco is cultivated) associate heavily-raced African women with tobacco in the context of slave rebellion and fears that the mulata would procreate and ‘infect’ white bloodlines. In Spain, the nineteenth century entry port for European tobacco, the namesake of Carmen (also written in the 1840s) is not as heavily-raced as
the mulata (brown-skinned rather than black-skinned\(^8\)). Though her Otherness is more threatening (perhaps due to the specific ways she is raced), her threat is contained to her body, unlike the ubiquitous threat the mulata represents. Twenty years later, in England, Cigarette from *Under Two Flags* (1860s) is more racially ambiguous: though her father’s race is unknown and though she was raised in Africa, her description is basically that of a lovely, boyish Frenchwoman, whom the male protagonist is not attracted to (though the reasons for this are never quite explained). We will also see that a similar (correlated) trajectory occurs with these stories in regards to the level of transgression and commodification of these women.

The different intensity at which these traits appear in each text is perhaps precisely why few connections, if any, have been drawn between these women and the larger narratives of the semiotics of tobacco. Another factor may be geographical concerns: not only are these texts originating from a variety of countries (Cuba, England, France), but the narratives are displaced (sometimes several times) onto a different time and place. For example, the lithographs, while mostly designed by Frenchmen, are depictions of African women living in Cuba. *Carmen*, written by a Frenchmen, depicts a gypsy woman living in southern Spain. *Under Two Flags* is written by an English woman, but set in French Algeria. While these sorts of factors can be dizzying, we will see that they all find their roots in the same causes: these texts reveal a preoccupation with notions of femininity/masculinity, transgression/tobacco and trade/commodification.

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\(^8\) Though the mulata, through racial mixing, was more brown-skinned than black-skinned, here I’m referring to her ethnic heritage—that is, her African ancestry. Her black ancestry is something the lithographs work constantly to remind us of through, for example, her black mother who appears frequently in the frame.
It is precisely because so many intricate webs of meaning emerge from these central questions that together these representations provide rich sites for analyses.
Tobacco was one of two crops the Spanish chose for the colony of Cuba. As such, its cultivation and production became a daily reality for the Afro-Cubans also brought to the island to cultivate it.\(^1\) The fact that Afro-Cubans in general are associated (culturally and representationally) with this product would apparently be a result of this historical relationship. However, the representational connection between Afro-Cubans and “Cuban” products, like tobacco, was also symptomatic of a unique political moment in mid-nineteenth Cuba. For example, at the time that the tobacco lithographs (the texts which I will discuss in this section) are being produced, the practice of slavery was under intense debate: after 50 years of slave rebellions, a virtual tug-of-war ensued between Cuba’s now-abolitionist colonizer, Spain, and the pre-Civil War United States. Because many exiled revolutionaries in Cuba supported annexation to the United States, Spain continually tightened its hold on Cuba, and at the same time decreasingly understood white *criollos* (those of Spanish heritage who were born on the island) to be Spanish in nationality (Novas 173).\(^2\)

\(^1\) The other major crop was sugar.

\(^2\) When Spain threatened to abolish slavery in Cuba, the *criollos* who depended on slavery felt even more "disaffected from Spain." They felt that if they could be annexed to the United States, like Texas, they would be able to remain a slave state and sell their goods to North America, duty free. Likewise, the United States felt that the annexation of Cuba would benefit them for several reasons: It would put less pressure on the United States to abolish slavery; it would provide the United States with more resources; it would allow the United States to continue Manifest Destiny and bolster the nation. Consequently, President Polk offered $100 million for Cuba, which Spain rejected (Novas 173).
This web of debate in mid-century Cuba meant that representations of Afro-Cubans on sugar and tobacco lithographs were not necessarily unique phenomena and were, in fact, part of a larger struggle over Cuban national identity. However, a casual survey of the 12 cm by 8.5 cm lithographs produced for tobacco packaging in the 1840s (by at least three different tobacco manufactures) reveals that they are unique in one important way: while it is true that groups of Afro-Cubans are often displayed, in the more frequent case where only one or two Afro-Cubans are depicted, the lithographs focus almost exclusively on representing the *mulata*. In fact, in a large portion of these lithographs, a serialized tale describing the life of a mulata including her birth, rise to mistress-hood with a white criollo man and eventual punishment and death is depicted (Fraunhar 459).³ It is the singularity with which the tobacco lithographs (as opposed to the sugar lithographs) focus on the mulata (rather than simply Afro-Cubans) that makes the tobacco lithographs worthy of notice, as they suggest an important connection in the European imagination between mulata women and tobacco. The fact that these lithographs were very popular, easily accessible and widely disseminated in the short period they were produced suggests that this representational connection between the mulata and tobacco was largely accepted.

Besides their popularity, these depictions are also important because they were created in the costumbrista tradition, an art form originating in Spain, which proposed to accurately portray locals through descriptive depiction. The realistic depiction of costumbrismo served sometimes, as Roberta Day Corbitt suggests, to draw attention to

³ It’s not clear how many lithographs there were total as it is unclear how many of them have survived. Therefore most scholarship on these lithographs depends on the lithographs that have been collected and reproduced in two books by Nunez Jimenez in the 1980s. (See works cited).
problems which merited change, and other times, as Doris Sommer suggests, to underline or create difference between oneself and others or between one’s nation and other nations. Therefore, these lithographs, by relying on this art form, often appealed to “‘authentic’ representations of social, ethnic and national ‘types,’” and “elaborated social and racial taxonomies of the population, disseminating and naturalizing criteria of inclusion and exclusion in the body politic” (Lane 21). While the fact that these lithographs were created in the costumbrismo tradition is again evidence of a particular cultural/historical moment in Cuba, the costumbrismo of these images also draws new complexity to the perceived relationship between the mulata and tobacco. In other words, the fact that these depictions of racially ambiguous mulatas are found on tobacco packaging (with all the masculine connotations tobacco caries) as supposedly authentic representations of her life complicates the significance of this pairing and makes this text worth exploring.4 While these texts do not always accurately reflect the mulata’s daily life in Cuba, they provide a skeletal sketch of ideological structures in place at the time.5

Certainly scholars have explored the significance of representations of the nineteenth century mulata. Scholars mostly agree that the mulata is an important figure in the nineteenth-century Caribbean colonial context, a figure that embodies the intersections of race, gender, and imperial discourse. As a figure that ‘refuses’ to be

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4 While certainly the mulata was clearly of mixed African and white European descent, her ambiguity comes from the fact that she could often pass for white.

5 In other words, while the mulata often had more or less rights than those reflected in the lithographs, I would like to focus on the ideology put forth by the lithographs. As such, throughout my analysis, I focus on the mulata’s representation rather than her actual life.
contained sexually (‘even’ by colonial powers), mediates between the races (standing
“in-between” black and white cultures), and represents the literal and figurative coming-
together of the races, she has historically been important to Latin America and the
Caribbean both imaginatively and politically. For example, many scholars credit the birth
of Cuban nationalism to representations of the mulata in nineteenth century literature
and art.

The most widely recognized scholarship on the topic is that by Vera Kutzinski,
particularly her book, Sugar’s Secrets. Though Kutzinski’s larger concern is the
representations of the mulata found in all representational art of the period, she does
dedicate one full chapter to the lithographs. Kutzinski suggests that images of the
mulata in representational art, including those depicted on the lithographs used for
tobacco and sugar packaging, often worked subversively and were at least one factor
that helped to unite Cubans of various races and classes as a common group for
independence. Kutzinski states that it is precisely as a nonwhite, female body,
represented on these commodities that the mulata becomes “the exclusive signifier of
race and sexuality” and becomes “a site—in fact the site—of Cubans’ struggle over
cultural meaning and political authority” (Kutzinski 42). In other words, because the
hyper-erotic, raced female body of the mulata allowed for subversive discourses of
power, the mulata’s body became an important site for creating discourses of unified
nationhood for countries with such ambivalent racial and political histories as Cuba.

However, while many scholars, including Kutzinski, periodically mention the power
structure of the caste system that existed in colonial Cuba and the importance of these
images in eventually shifting that power structure, I would argue that most of these
analyses take this dynamic for granted. For example, in her chapter on the lithographs, Kutzinski’s most significant conclusion is that these lithographs portray a masculinist perspective. Though these sorts of conclusions are certainly true, these scholars fail to consider one very important factor: the symbolic nature of the tobacco which is packaged with these lithographs. Consequently, while there are increasing volumes of work following threads similar to (dependent on and indebted to) Kutzinski’s *Sugar’s Secrets*—such as those by Jill Lane, Alison Fraunhar and Alicia Arrizon—I argue that few have truly considered the dynamics explicit in the relations of power between white colonizer and colonized Other. This dynamic can only be understood by considering both why these images are paired with tobacco and the effect this pairing would have had on the consumers of this product.

Therefore, while lithographs were also created for Cuba’s other major crop, sugar, I focus on the tobacco lithographs not simply because the other texts which I consider are representations of smoking women: instead, my point is that it is because the mulata is paired with tobacco that in these particular representations that she is transgressive, raced, and commodified, and it is for this reason that only the tobacco lithographs reflect this relationship. In fact, a simple perusal of the lithographs will clearly demonstrate that while the sugar lithographs did sometimes depict a mulata they

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6 It is true that *criollos* were different from Spaniards in that they were born on the island and there was much contention between the two castes. While the *criollos* would have considered themselves colonized by Spain, for the purposes of my analysis I consider both the *criollos* and Spaniards (at least metaphorical) colonizers of Afro-Cubans as they both had power over Afro-Cubans because of their white skin and their ties with Europe. In both cases their power would have come from association with Spain, and was used to benefit some construction of white (European) masculinity.
more frequently depict other topics such as white women and pastoral settings. In contrast, the tobacco lithographs very heavily (and almost exclusively) depend on the image of the mulata in urban settings, again, a fact which is a result of the association between dark-skinned transgressive women and tobacco. In the case of the mulata, this association is not simply a result of the exotic connotations of tobacco, but is also probably due to the fact that mulata was the product of slavery, particularly the product of a white man’s relationship with (and perhaps rape of) a black woman. As such, the mulata was as much a product of colonialism as the tobacco she is continually likened to. Perhaps because of her imagined proximity with slavery (through her association with Afro-Cubans) and the facts of her conception, the lithographs work to portray a figure who is highly-sexualized, commodified (often a prostitute) and available. While the lithographs often play on the mulata’s ability to pass, always reminding the viewer that she is nearly-white and dangerously almost “like us,” they also continually remind the viewer that she is inherently Other, and as such, available for use by white males.

A multitude of details within these lithographs reinforce these associations, one of which is the practice of choteo, a form of mocking. The victim of choteo is any person who behaves in ways which do not “correspond to one’s place in society and choteo is the insulting price one pays for being caught” (Medrazo 6). This choteo can be seen in figure 1: two mulatas are depicted on a street corner, while one fixes her stocking. The

7 I, like most who write about the lithographs, rely on those lithographs collected and reproduced by Nunez Jimenez (see Works Cited).

8 In these lithographs, the mulata is most often represented as a mistress rather than a prostitute. However, the lithographs suggest that she is the daughter of a prostitute and, in many of the lithographs, the mulata is depicted as a washed-up prostitute in her later life.
title above declares that this image is one of a series entitled, “Vida y Muerte de la Mulata” [“Life and Death of the Mulata”]. The caption below, “Descuidos del Tocador” [“Boudoir Repairs” or “Carelessness of the Player”], mocks the mulata’s fine European clothing and alleged grace by drawing attention to her crass, public boudoir repair. The fact that she performs this repair on a street corner—the place where it is imagined she belongs—and in view of a white woman, who stands in the safety of her doorway, is meant to point to the mulata’s supposed true (gross) nature beneath all her fine European clothing. By drawing attention to behavior that would be unforgivable for a white woman, the choteo works to mock the mulata (rather than mock the white women she resembles) for reaching too high, for attempting to “pass” as white. In this sense, according to the choteo she is a careless player, or careless play-actor, and her misstep here is equivalent to the slipping of a (white) mask.

For the mulata, the joke of the choteo points to her sexuality—as seen above, with her breasts and underwear inappropriately visible—a fact that is at least partially owing to the popular belief that she was “naturally” more sensuous. This belief can be attributed to the fact that she was often the product of rape or can be attributed to the erotics of exoticism and ambivalent origins. In actual practice, this belief, combined with limited career options for the mulata, meant that Cuban mulatas were frequently forced to prostitute themselves or become the mistress of a white criollo.

9 This is an alternate title/translation which has been suggested in several places, including Jiminez’s reproductions.

10 This is in part still a belief in Cuba today.

11 A class of the Spanish caste system—usually Spaniards not born on the Spanish peninsula.
in order to support themselves, a fact which also accounts for their depiction in these marquillas as sexualized. The images in these lithographs either characterize this sexuality as natural and somewhat positive—especially useful to the mulata’s attempts to climb the social and racial ladder—or as conniving and predatory. Correspondingly, the choteo in these lithographs, therefore, either mocks the mulata for eventually reaching too high or mocks the ‘fools’ who fall for her tricks. However, in the case of all the series, the choteo mocks her eventual downfall and untimely disease-infected death (See figure 2). Similarly, in the case of all the lithographs, the choteo reminds the consumer that these doomed women are less than human and meant to be consumed, much like the tobacco her image is paired with.

The tobacco she is paired with is also in many ways what accomplishes this over-sexualization and sexual commodification. While Kutzinski briefly acknowledges that it was the mulata’s embodiment of the “illicit sexuality of the street walker” which made her the “prime target for the tobacco factories’ mass-produced serial lithographs and their not-infrequent use of sexual innuendo, facilitated by the underlying association of smoking with burning desire,” it is important to acknowledge that the reverse of this claim is also true (60). While the mulata is a prime target for these lithographs because she was (and is) thought to be inherently more sexual, her connection with the illicit sexuality associated with tobacco only further eroticizes the mulata. Therefore, through her association with tobacco, the mulata is doubly eroticized, which only further emphasizes her transgressive nature. Further, since tobacco factories in this period in Cuba where the hotbeds of revolution—a place where radical ideas like annexation and

12 Or, at least those series reproduced by Jiminez.
independence were discussed daily—her association with (perhaps dangerously) radical politics through association with tobacco would have yet again stressed her transgression and the erotics of transgression.\textsuperscript{13}

The mulata’s transgression and eroticization is continually emphasized in these lithographs. For example, we see the power associated with sexuality and visibility, which the mulata gains through her representation on tobacco packages, in figure 3. In this lithograph the mulata is sexualized both by her excessive cleavage and the implication that the necklace she holds is payment for sexual services rendered. Even so, it is she who holds the power. In the first place, her person (and dress) takes up a much larger percentage of the frame, forcing the viewers eye to her and allowing her to dominate the frame. Additionally, the \textit{choteo} (leveled at the male in this case) contained in the caption, “El Palomo y La Gabilana” [“The Male Dove and the Female Hawk”], places the mulata in the masculine position, the predator to the unsuspecting, wealthy \textit{criollo}.\textsuperscript{14} In this way, it is obvious that sexuality in these lithographs is associated with power, and the more sexual the mulata in the lithograph, the more powerful she is portrayed as being.

This particular (sexualized, masculinized) power is a phenomenon most frequently (if not only) portrayed on tobacco packages, a fact which only emphasizes the importance of tobacco itself to the images on its package. Again, because the mulata is

\textsuperscript{13} In Cuba, cigar factories often had a \textit{lector}, or reader. The reader served as a “disseminator of the proletarian tradition.” By midcentury, “the lectura expanded its scope to include the reading of the proletarian press, translation of foreign novles, and in geral the promotion of a wide variety of labor causes” (Perez 73-74).

\textsuperscript{14} Of course, \textit{marquillas} such as these suggest that the mulata’s prostitution “was motivated by greed and selfish desire for luxury, making it easy to blame for her self-commodification and to rationalize her exploitation” (Fraunhar 465).
so obviously portrayed as sexual, and even aggressively so, this set the mulata up—especially the one on tobacco packages—as an especially important conquest and (masculine) challenge. The effect of setting these women up as a conquest is clear: besides arguing that the mulata was a sexual commodity, available and purchasable, these lithographs argue that consuming the mulata was a victory the (assumed white criollo male) consumer could gain, even (if not especially) over the “aggressive” mulata. The power dynamics in such a structure are clear. By using the same space to argue that the mulata is both passive (purchasable) and aggressive (in need of conquest) meant that, while choosing a tobacco product for consumption, the criollo male could also choose whatever version of the mulata best suited his vision of Cuba and construction of masculinity.

It is important to note that the fact that these texts helped white criollo males work out their understanding of Cuba and their own masculinity is also a result of the political and cultural debates mentioned earlier in this section. As a result of the slave rebellions, antipathy towards Spain, possible annexation to the United States, and potential independence from Spain, white criollos were undergoing crises of identity: In other words, as white men who saw themselves as superior to Afro-Cubans, but also saw themselves as more Cuban then Spanish, it became more and more difficult to define themselves in terms of white upper-class (European) masculinity. For these reasons, the consumption of the mulata on tobacco packages is significant. While choosing the version of the mulata on tobacco lithographs which best suited his construction of his own masculinity, the white criollo could define himself as the mulata’s superior (her purchaser and conquistador). At the same time, portraying the mulata in
authentic Cuban settings, in ways that are ‘natural to her,’ the white criollo was able to imagine a Cuba that was his (literally and imaginatively). However, because she was authentically different, he was able to maintain his whiteness. In other words, through this act of imagination, and the associations of tobacco beneath the image he consumes, he could construct a ‘new’ white European masculinity, which wasn’t Spanish/European at all, but rather Cuban.

The fact that this carefully negotiated construction of the mulata on tobacco lithographs is meant to benefit white criollo masculinity—particularly through emphasizing her Otherness—is made clear by another important element in the lithographs: the double. In a number of lithographs, the mulata is accompanied either by a white female who watches from a distance or by a darker African woman who follows closely (figure 4). A few scholars have referred to this occurrence and attributed it to a visual reminder of the mulata’s origins.\textsuperscript{15} For example, Kutzinski suggests that the black matron “functions as a warning to less discerning readers, who might otherwise be deceived by the mulata’s generally pleasing appearance” (66). Certainly, that is precisely what is being emphasized in the first place. In the case of the African slave woman (often appearing to be the mother of the mulata), she serves to remind us of the (polygenetic) origins of the mulata, the mulata’s ‘unclean’ blood, and her membership to a “mass of peoples” which her body attempts to obscure. According to this second woman, then, however similar in skin tone that the mulata appears to be to the criollo or Spaniard who keeps her as mistress, she will never truly be like him. In this way, while using costumbrismo to claim that the mulata is part of the criollo’s national

\textsuperscript{15} Namely Kutzinski and those relying heavily on her analysis.
(masculine) identity, these lithographs use the double to constantly reinforce his superiority. Likewise, in the case of the white woman who watches nearby (as in the lithograph, “Descuidos del Tocador” near the beginning of this paper), her function is similar: she is a contrast or foil for the mulata and reminds us in that situation what the white woman—that “angelic guardian of virtuous womanhood” (Kutzinski 78)—would/not do, and therefore emphasizes the mulata’s essential difference. Therefore, through the use of the double, these lithographs help the criollo simultaneously claim the mulata while his fear/rejection of her help him reinvent in own whiteness. The fact that this is a slippery way to maintain whiteness is probably precisely why the mulata is often portrayed as quite dangerous.

However, to reiterate, once again, this negotiation is best understood through an investigation of the significance of the mulata’s connection with tobacco through these images. If we look more closely at the use of the double we will see that she not only reinforces the negotiation of whiteness, but she functions to emphasize the mulata’s sexual commodification and to tie the mulata even more plainly to tobacco. In the first place, the mulata’s relationship to the black woman complicates her sexual commodification as African blacks were even more deeply associated with the degenerate sexuality associated with prostitution.16 This association of the mulata with

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16 “In the late nineteenth century, the black female was widely perceived as possessing not only a “primitive” sexual appetite but also the external signs of this temperament—“primitive” genitalia. Eighteenth-century travelers to southern Africa, such as Francois Le Vaillant and John Barro, had described the so-called Hottenot apron, a hypertrophy of the labia and nyphae caused by the manipulation of the genitalia and serving as a sign of beauty among certain tribes.” (Gilman 211). Of course, “by [thus] indicting mulatas as sexually voracious and avaricious instigators of sexual relations,” and a person who therefore merits no sympathy, “colonial men could disavow the true conditions of colonial oppression” (Fraunhar 465).
the purchasability of the prostitute coupled with the commodity of (masculine) tobacco she’s paired with would not only have clearly marked the mulata as consumable, but it would have marked that consumption as masculine.

Furthermore, the relationship between the black woman and the mulata is again an elaboration of the commodity of tobacco, as these lithographs enact a race relation that was commonly employed in the personification of tobacco. In both sugar and tobacco lithographs, the mulata’s skin was considered a symbolic articulation of the natural commodified product. For example, many sugar lithographs used different skin tones on lithographs to visually mark the quality or refinement of the product—the lighter-skinned the subject on the lithograph, the higher grade and more refined the sugar. Consequently, sugar lithographs emphasized skin tones ranging from mulata to (the more frequent) white, and often depicted these (white) women in peaceful, pastoral settings. In contrast, the tobacco lithographs, which more frequently portrayed mulatas than any other subject, emphasized skin tones ranging from mulata to black (Arrizon 91). Consequently, because tobacco was associated with dark skin, and was also considered a more metropolitan product, tobacco lithographs portrayed street corners and other urban “realities”—a fact which further worked to emphasize the mulata’s (and her double’s) “true nature.” Because most Spaniards and Cubans would have understood the connection between tobacco and the mulata’s skin color (and, consequently, the purchasability of this darker “street” woman), her commodification as sexual being and as exotic Other would have been even more clearly understood by white males. Accordingly, these images which continually link her with the black

17 This is at least partially due to the fact that sugar was lightened during processing, while tobacco naturally had darker tones.
prostitute and to the tobacco that is packaged beneath, also work to argue that the mulata is (by the very nature of her origin and “kindred” association with tobacco) destined for consumption by the *criollo*. In addition, the very signs which mark her as commodified make it clear that to the *criollo* that she, like tobacco itself, is no way akin his own humanity, but another being (or object) entirely.  

In this way, the *criollo* can use her, while imagining that it is her destiny to be consumed—both of which are made possible by her association to tobacco.

However, at the same time that the mulata is silenced through commodification and consumption (literally silent and commodified, and also figuratively), through her black double, the mulata is continually compared to those that the both Spaniards and *criollos* would have read has transgressive, with the potential for excess, and therefore the potential for monstrous agency. The victims of predatory behavior were often conceived of as aggressors, these beings often being conceived as the “mass man” or “loose” woman (Armstrong 39). By comparing the mulata to black slaves and prostitutes, who Spaniards and *criollos* would have read as aggressive, even predatory, and a threat to “decent society,” the mulata herself becomes a threat—especially if she managed to breed with a white man and further ‘infect’ white society. Similarly, comparing her to the black, (ex-) slave, would have stirred up the fear of “slave rebellion...known generally as ‘the Africanization scare’” which increasingly led to a

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18 In fact, her association with the black mother further marked her as scheming and predatory as the black mother was often portrayed as deeply invested in her daughter’s success at obtaining a white criollo.

19 Nancy Armstrong's analysis in her book, *How Novels Think*, is specific to the creation of the individual in nineteenth century British novels. While her analysis is in many ways unrelated to my discussion here, her suggestion that the victims of oppression are often conceived of as aggressors applies here.
“race panic” (Lane 49). Therefore, through this doubling, at the same time that the mulata is controlled and consumed, the white male assumed to be consuming these images is continually reminded that if the mulata were allowed agency, her individuality would, without a doubt, be transgressive and excessive, a potential threat which could and should never be made fact. For this reason, her excessive individuality must always be quelled—and is quelled—by the consumption by criollos. As Sander Gilman explains,

the ‘white man’s burden’ thus becomes his sexuality and its control, and it is this which is transferred into the need to control the sexuality of the Other, the Other as sexualized female. The colonial mentality which sees “natives” as needing control is easily transferred to “woman”—but woman as exemplified by the caste of the prostitute. This need for control was a projection of inner fears; thus, its articulation in visual images was in terms which described the polar opposite of the European male. (237)

For this reason, the mulata’s transgression, through association with prostitutes, as well as through her race and association with the black double, had a necessary function for criollos. As his polar opposite, she is not only more easily controlled, but her body is, therefore, more easily translated into the language of commodification. She is purchasable and consumable, like the tobacco beneath this image, the slave she’s born from, and the prostitute she represents. The criollo demonstrates his control over these people by controlling her—and because of this convenient construction of her, which is on the tobacco packaging which he consumes as a part of his masculine identity, he always already does control her. However, also conveniently, because of her constant slippage, the criollo consumes these images which prove that the mulata is
both an object (and therefore in no way meriting any sort of rights) and, at the same
time, argue that, if she’s a subject, then she possesses a(n aggressive) subject-
construction which “proves” that she’s a ‘willing’ participant in her own commodification
(like the prostitute).

Another indicator that this construction is meant for the criollo and which must be
addressed, is the (white male) perspective implicit in these images (figure 5). Though
some might argue that the voyeurism implicit in these images is a necessary by-product
of costumbrismo, the masculinity implicit in tobacco beneath these images complicates
that claim. In the first place, Kutzinski suggests that several (if not many) of these
lithographs were designed by European artists, such as “Hipolito Garneray, Mialhe,
and…Laplante” (60). These lithographs are designed for Europeans, by European
artists, in a way that maintains systems of imperial power. In other words, the “knowing
eye,” which Kutzinski attributes to costumbrista depictions of the mulata such as Cirilio
Villaverde’s Cecilia Valdes (66), is hardly neutral here. While it is true that many, if not
most, costumbrista portraits functioned for the benefit of people not depicted in the
portrait, the pairing of this specific outsider’s viewpoint with the associations which
tobacco carried has a special significance: Because of the pairing of the two, these
lithographs are not simply useful for creating a national identity, but work to create an
appropriate white masculinity for the white criollo at the expense of those portrayed in
the image.

In this way, these lithographs function as Jill Lane suggests, when she argues that
costumbrismo often functioned as a “colonial scalpel” by which the local (Afro-) Cuban
was differentiated from the foreign (European/criollo) and “through which emerging
Cubans were hailed and interpellated” (28). However, more importantly, she later points out that the “fact that costumbrismo consistently favored images of African and black Cuba reflects less what was actually happening on Havana streets or homes than who was looking and what concerns organized their view. That is, white men don’t appear at the center of these images because they are already imagined as the primary point of view” (148, second emphasis mine). In other words, because white criollo men are assumed to be the viewer here, it is obvious that the images are created for them and in a way that is meant to give solely them power. Additionally, though somewhat paradoxically, because the criollo is placed in the position of the male/imperial gaze which “(simply) observes” the (“authentic”) secret workings of the mulata’s life, he is placed in a position which validates his supposed objective subjectivity—and as such, in true orientalist fashion, his individuality is created against the body of the Other, whose otherness is imagined by and for him, the objective, rational agent. Significantly, these images are conveniently contained on a product which historically has symbolized imagined foreign spaces and the perfection of masculinity.

While some may object that the poor (blacks) in Cuba would also have purchased cigarettes with these sorts of images on it, thus consuming it along with the criollo, surely that is beside the point. Whether or not the mulata gained visibility through these images, or consumed these images herself, they work to maintain systems of power. The more we investigate these images, the more apparent it becomes that the symbolic nature of tobacco (which is dependent on the circulation of tobacco across geographical and cultural boundaries) is an important consideration when analyzing these images: Certainly, then, in these lithographs she is not a symbol of (erotic) power, but is simply
yet another object which the imperial male uses symbolically to create his own
identity/individuality—a fact which is more easily and profoundly accomplished by the
consumption of these images with (masculine, exotic) tobacco.
CHAPTER 3
MASCULINE LIKE SPANISH CIGARS: FRENCH WRITER MERIMEE’S CARMEN (1845)

Written later in the same decade, the French novella Carmen, written by Prosper Merimee, portrays a (legendary) transgressive and exotic smoking woman, Carmen, whose construction bears striking similarities to the Cuban lithographs. Perhaps because the two texts are produced nearly at the same time and by writer/artists of the same nationality (as three French artists are credited with designing the Cuban tobacco lithographs¹), Carmen has even more intricate and persistent similarities to the lithographs than (we will see) Under Two Flags. For example, though authored by a French writer, Carmen takes place in Spain (the colonizer of Cuba, and, consequently, the entry port of European tobacco from Cuba); in Carmen, a French narrator “relates” the story of a racially ambiguous woman’s (Carmen) entanglement with a Spaniard (don Jose) in a way that is not dissimilar to the French artists who depict mulatas interacting with criollos in the lithographs. The intertwining of French and Spanish influences in both texts may simply be the result of the fact that both were expanding imperial nations and the fact that, in both the case of the mulata and Carmen, she is the ethnic Other to both European nations.

Because of these sorts of similarities, it may be beneficial to consider both France’s and Spain’s relationship with tobacco at the time of publication before proceeding any further. In the case of Carmen, a novel written by a Frenchmen for the French, but so identified with Spain that even today it is recognized as one of the most

¹ From what I can gather, little is known about these Frenchmen’s sympathies, other than the fact that they were commissioned by the cigar factories to create the lithographs.
representative pieces of literature (Colmeiro 127), it would be an oversight to consider
simply one nation or the other. Both because the Spanish colonized Cuba, which
produced its tobacco, and because Spain owned a large tobacco factory in Sevilla,
nineteenth century Spain was a major, if not primary, consumer of tobacco, as
Spaniards began smoking cigars and cigarettes in high volume long before France and
England.² The perception that cigar smoking was exotic, from foreign lands (colonies),
and produced in the “oriental” Spain, is precisely what prevented their popularity from
spreading to other countries at the beginning of the century. In contrast, the French,
considered the forerunners of much tobacco “fashion,” took up snuffing precisely
because it did not carry foreign associations. However, with continuing expansion,
travel and trade, and as a result of the Peninsular Wars (1808-1814), eventually the
French began trying cigars and other forms of tobacco consumption.³ By the time of the
Crimean Wars (1853-1856), a large spike in cigar and cigarette smoking in England and
France meant that Spain was now a major provider of Europe’s cigars.

For these reasons, it is significant that Carmen not only takes place in southern
Spain and is narrated by a cigar-loving French amateur-anthropologist (in the period
before the Crimean War and subsequent spike in European cigar/cigarette
consumption), but Carmen herself works in the famous Sevilla cigar factory (a place not

² At the time, French and English were mostly consuming French snuff, precisely
because it did not carry foreign connotations. When the British francophilia faded, the
British returned to their pipe.

³ While both French and English soldiers were exploring different types of tobacco
consumption, including cigars and cigarettes, many considered the French forerunners
in tobacco consumption because it appears these forms of consumptions were
accepted by civilians more quickly in France than in Britain.
unlike the radically-political cigar factories of Cuba\textsuperscript{4}). Contemporary readers of this (travel narrative) novella would have paid special attention to the intriguing foreign practices revealed in the story—such as cigar smoking—and the allure of the description of foreign spaces—such as large cigar factories where gypsy (femme fatale) women (who smoke) work. This fascination by readers “back home” is at least partially responsible (I suggest) for the “anthropologist” perspective adopted by the narrator of Carmen. In other words, it is the particular attention paid to the cataloguing of foreign lands and of this smoking woman (presumably for French readers) that makes attention to the fact of Carmen’s smoking especially significant.

Incidentally, the “neutral” anthropologist perspective adopted by the narrator of Carmen is not unlike the voyeurism inherent in the Cuban lithographs. Both pretend to be accurate, authentic representations of a foreign space, which are meant to be consumed by white foreigners. For example, despite the fact that Carmen is named for this smoking woman, and the fact that the plot supposedly revolves around her, the French narrator meets Carmen only for a few very brief moments near the beginning of the novella: the rest of the story is told through “observation,” assumption, and reliance on don Jose’s version of events, which he relates to the narrator.\textsuperscript{5} Therefore, because the story is told by a Frenchmen, relying on the account of Spaniard, in a novella that was intended for other white male Europeans, the purpose and audience of this novella

\textsuperscript{4} In actual practice, like Cuban cigar factories, Spanish cigar factories employed poor raced women (gypsy women instead of mulatas) and also used lectores.

\textsuperscript{5} For those unfamiliar with the text, the narrator does meet Carmen once, at the beginning of the novella. Later, (the larger portion of) the novella deals with the don Jose’s story of his obsession with the “dangerous” gypsy-woman, Carmen (to whom the narrator, too, was attracted at their meeting).
are akin to those of the lithographs: clearly these representations are not meant to empower these smoking women, but rather to relate specific ideals about European masculinity back to European men. It is for these reasons that, again we will see here, it is not accidental that this woman is so heavily associated with tobacco. Her associations to tobacco, like the mulata, work to further codify and thereby commodify her, in order to make her, like tobacco, a tool for imagining and creating “appropriate” masculinity.

To be clear, the question of masculinity is, in fact, a central concern in Carmen. A story related by a French narrator, based on the version of events (purportedly) related to him by don Jose, we see three versions of masculinity: the French aristocratic (“anthropologist”) narrator, the Spanish don Jose, and the masculinized gypsy, Carmen. While don Jose relates to another man the trouble this woman has caused him, by the end of his tale, we see that Carmen’s commodification has functioned to create appropriate masculinity for don Jose. At the beginning of don Jose’s tale (chronologically speaking), it is clear that the problem with don Jose’s masculinity resides in his ethnicity, which holds a questionable status in this particular context.6 Through the narrator, we discover that don Jose is a Basque hidalgo, an “old Christian” (Merimee 39-40) and a blonde-haired blue-eyed aristocrat, who appears at first to fit traditional European ideals. However, don Jose’s ethnicity is a problem as the Basque country has always had a questionable relationship with the rest of Spain, and a questionable status for the French narrator, as it represents the land between imperial

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6 This is, of course, not unlike the criollo, who uses the mulata in order to create appropriate white masculinity, which, according to the Spaniards, would have been in question due to his contact with raced peoples.
France and Othered Spain. Furthermore, for “all their ethnic differences, Basques and Gypsies have a lot in common in Carmen” (Colmeiro 137). In the story, the questionably masculine don Jose, after becoming enamored of Carmen, trades his military uniform and city-life for gypsy garb and life in the forest, becoming an “acculturated gypsy, to the extent that he is mistaken for one in Gibraltar” (Colmeiro 137), and becoming thereby doubly Othered. However, when don Jose kills Carmen at the end of the tale, he is reintegrated into the patriarchy⁷ (albeit in jail).⁸ This is symbolically represented by his return to the city (i.e. civilization), as well as by the sympathy and masculine camaraderie the narrator feels for him. Once don Jose has rejected the Other, his place in the patriarchy is more stable.

However, his attraction to Carmen and the gypsy way of life not only serves to connect him to the (increasingly less objective) anthropologist narrator in the first place, but also serves as a reminder to the reader of the “dangers” of a woman like Carmen. Because her allure “causes” him to reject her “too late” (after he has killed), his prison sentence serves to remind other men to exercise self-control in the face of femme fatales such as Carmen—that is (at least in the eyes of these male characters) women whose entire purpose is to prevent men from achieving masculine self-control. The fact that she is a challenge to the masculinity of the male characters is signaled to the reader by her appropriation of the masculine act of smoking.

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⁷ Incidentally, this is, of course, depicted as a largely homosocial society, which is meant to be symbolic of patriarchy at large.

⁸ By the end of the novel, don Jose is back in the city (civilization) and has achieved the sympathy of the French narrator. While he is in jail, there is a sense that he now “belongs” in a (masculine) community that is represented by the French narrator.
Therefore, it’s important to realize that Carmen is not simply useful to don Jose because she is a (dangerous) gypsy “Other” whom he can reject in order to create appropriate (white) masculinity. Instead, her presence in the story is crucial to don Jose’s masculinity because all of her defining features (including her ethnicity) are inextricably tied to her relationship to tobacco: and as tobacco is tied to masculinity (even within this story), her association with tobacco highlights her transgression and exoticism in a way that will allow the men in the story to commodify her. While she at first appears to hold power over him, this power works like that of the mulata: this power signals her for consumption, while giving her a transgressive masculinity that transfers to the white male upon her consumption.

The importance of tobacco to masculinity for these two male characters can be ascertained even from the first time we meet don Jose. The first time he is introduced in Carmen he is a fugitive and encounters the French narrator in a wood, outside the city: the interaction that ensues reveals to both the French narrator and the reader the “crisis” which don Jose is experiencing. The French narrator offers don Jose a cigar, to which don Jose politely responds, “What a time it is since I’ve had a smoke!” (Merimee 13). In this scene, the expensive cigars don Jose “used to” smoke reveal that he is not a lower class bandit (as the reader and narrator might suspect), but is, in fact, a member of the upper class that has somehow fallen to his current position. Rather than an “untouchable,” don Jose is an aristocrat whose masculinity is at stake. Similarly, his dependence on the hospitality of this Frenchman, at this moment when he is outside the city (and therefore “uncivilized”), gives us the first hint that don Jose has been outside the socially-sanctioned patriarchal order. His acquaintance with the French narrator,
and acceptance of the cigar from a fellow gentleman, marks the beginning of a story telling that will allow don Jose to reenter patriarchal society.  

Because tobacco consumption is so clearly tied to the attainment of masculinity, it is significant that when Carmen is first introduced, the narrator remarks: “[Carmen] hastened to inform me that she was very fond of the smell of tobacco, and that she even smoked herself” (Merimee 28). As Richard Klein argues, Carmen is not simply a woman who smokes, she is somehow the cigarette she takes from the narrator, she is “the fiery heart of the burning ember, Carmen red at the end of the cigarette, in which every brilliant dream is perpetually turned to delicious smoke and bitter ash” (114). Her power is somehow linked to her cigarettes, as it seems to be the smoke she exhales as much as her beauty that ensnares the men to her. For example, in the same scene, the French narrator, who happens to be (again) smoking a cigar, comments that “We mingled our smoke” (Merimee 333). It is from the moment where the French narrator’s masculine smoke mingles with Carmen’s transgressive smoke that he becomes obsessed with her.  

Further, while Carmen’s smoke metaphorically “alludes to her [supposed] fatal fickleness” (Mitchell “Prometheus” 1), most interesting is the fact that Carmen’s job at the tobacco factory where she works is literally—and quite

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9 Because don Jose’s questionable masculinity is expressed most in terms of race, this may explain the very strong impulse (in many representations of her, including the opera by Bizet and in films) to Other Carmen. In contrast, we will see in the next section that where Bertie’s questionable masculinity is related more to gender, Cigarette is far less Othered.

10 It is this obsession that will cause the French narrator to forget his “anthropological” mission and beg don Jose to relate the story of Carmen.
symbolically—to roll cigars by hand and then to chop of the head (Merimee 40).\textsuperscript{11} In this way, tobacco is clearly linked to masculinity and it is because Carmen (a woman) is tied to tobacco that she is a “threat” to that masculinity.

Significantly, Carmen’s race and connection to tobacco, like the mulata, have a circular relationship. It is because Carmen is raced that she is associated with tobacco, but at the same time, her association to tobacco further racializes her. For example, in \textit{Carmen}, smoking is linked (by the French narrator) to Spanishness in general and the gypsy women\textsuperscript{12} who work in the factories in particular (Merimee 41). This is significant as in nineteenth century Western European discourse Spain was commonly believed to be exotic, Oriental in nature (Colmeiro 130). In this way, Carmen, like the tobacco she works with, is doubly Othered: Carmen is a gypsy who works in a Spanish tobacco factory; similarly, tobacco comes from the Americas to packaged in Spanish factories. The effect these associations have on the text is evident in \textit{Carmen’s} French narrator’s Orientalist ‘explanatory’ remarks and footnotes throughout the text—such as his declaration that “In Spain the giving and accepting of a cigar establishes bonds of hospitality similar to those founded in Eastern countries on the partaking of bread and salt” (Merimee 13-14). Furthermore, as Jose Colmeiro argues, the scene in \textit{Carmen} describing the tobacco factory suggests the fantasies of the oriental harem or brothel, with women sexually available for a gift, whether a \textit{mantilla} or a cigarette (Colmeiro 136). Consequently, because the tobacco is Orientalized long before we are even

\textsuperscript{11} In this sense, Cigarette, we will see, may represent more of a gender threat while Carmen represents more of a sexual threat. Both impulses (to de-sex and over-sexualize) are typical in representations of the Other.

\textsuperscript{12} Not to be confused with Spanish—the gypsies were considered a different ethnicity.
introduced to Carmen, her smoking and connection to these cigarettes perfectly reinforce her Otherness and sexuality—the two factors which become most essential to her commodification. In this sense, Carmen suffers at least a triple Othering: on one hand due to nineteenth century Europe’s conflation of (particularly southern) Spain with the Orient; on another hand, due to the romantic mythification of the gypsy (Colmeiro 127); and, lastly, due to her connection to tobacco which symbolizes all things exotic personified.

However, like the mulata, at the same time, there is a certain alluring ambiguity about Carmen’s Otherness. While it is clear to the reader that Carmen is a gypsy, those around her seem continually confused by her ethnicity. For example, when Carmen states, “if you notice people’s accent so closely, you must be able to guess what I am,” the French narrator responds: “I think you are from the country of Jesus, two places out of Paradise…[or] perhaps you are of Moorish blood—or . . . a Jewess” (Merimee 29). The conflation of Andalusian, Moorish and Jewish (and Gypsy) nationality makes clear that all are almost interchangeable in this context—and that this narrator is both attracted to her smoking and the ambiguity of her exoticism. Though, it is at least equally important that the male characters suffer the same confusion: The fact that Carmen mistakes the French narrator for an Englishmen at first (Merimee 28) further demonstrates that this world is divided between white (Western) European males and exotic Other.

Additionally, like the mulata in the Cuban lithographs, Carmen is sexualized (and threateningly so) by her transgressive association to tobacco. In the first place, as we see above, her transgression is clearly linked to fears of castration, symbolized by her
job at the tobacco factory, which is literally to roll cigars and cut off the tip. Secondly, each of the reader’s “encounters” with Carmen (through don Jose’s and the narrator’s stories) work diligently to highlight some element of her sexuality. According to the narrator, their first encounter involves her using her sexuality in an attempt to rob him (Merimee 35); the first time we see her outside of the factory don Jose remarks that she was barely clothed, wearing a “very short skirt” and having “thrown her mantilla back, to show her shoulders” (41); (according to him) her first words to don Jose are an attempt to bargain for her freedom using her sexuality (45). These incidents described by the two male voices of the text suggest that, like the mulata, sexuality is Carmen’s one and only bargaining tool—and that it is a tool which she uses in a deliberate, conniving and manipulative way; consequently, it is the men who are portrayed as the victims of her predatory sexual behavior.

However, one important change from the lithographs is the fact that Carmen is in many ways more threatening than the mulata. While I suggested in the introduction that the mulata is depicted as (ubiquitously) dangerous to white society as a whole, through her association with slave rebellions and the invisible threat of her ability to infect white bloodlines, Carmen’s danger is more dangerous to men as individuals who are unable to resist/control her. I suggest that there are two important reasons for this change. In the first place, there is a significant shift in the way Carmen is raced: Where the mulata is a racial mixture of two specific races (and ambiguous as a result), Carmen appears to stand for a conglomeration of raced women (a fact which is evidenced by the characters’ inability to decide her race, and also her ability to pass as multiple other
races\textsuperscript{13}). Therefore, the mulata’s raced body becomes symbolic of the struggle of white men (as a society) to control the racial Other. In contrast, the one race Carmen is most identified with, the gypsies, is that race which itself symbolizes the ungovernability of races. Unlike the mulata, who is likened to slaves,\textsuperscript{14} who are controlled by white society, Carmen is associated with the group of peoples who move constantly, live outside the law, and continually live \textit{outside} the rules of white European society. As such, Carmen stands in as a representative of colonialism-out-of-control, or of the precarious battle individual white men engage in when attempting to create white imperial masculinity while engaging with the Other.

The second reason why Carmen is much more dangerous than the mulata is the increase in agency given to this representation.\textsuperscript{15} While the mulata is sexualized and transgressive (and even manipulative), these are depicted as characteristics which are inherent, natural, and therefore, almost without thought. In contrast, Carmen is dangerous because she \textit{chooses} to manipulate men for her own ends. This is demonstrated throughout the novella by the fact that Carmen manipulates all men (the narrator, don Jose, the soldier whom don Jose kills, the rich Spaniard) and commits to none: she (unlike the mulata) is no one’s mistress but her own. This increase in

\textsuperscript{13} For example, near the end of the text we see Carmen living as the (more refined) mistress of a wealthy Spaniard.

\textsuperscript{14} To be clear, there were more free blacks than slaves at the time the lithographs are being produced. However, as I suggested in the previous section, the mulata is continually likened to slaves through comparison with her mother. This continual reminder of her African heritage, in the context of slave rebellions, would have clearly linked the two.

\textsuperscript{15} This can be evidenced by the fact that she carries a knife with her or that men seem to do whatever she asks, no matter how dishonorable the task may be.
(dangerous) agency is also symbolically reinforced by the fact that Carmen *smokes* cigars and cigarettes, while the mulata is identified with tobacco.

Therefore, not unlike the lithographs, Merimee’s novel also exposes the ambivalence of “both attraction and fear toward ‘la vie Bohemienne’” (Colmeiro 134) and makes clear that “the process of codification, cultural appropriation, and commodification…are phenomena that went hand in hand” (Colmeiro 133). The ambivalence inherent in the codification necessary for the commodification is clear throughout this text. For example, while Carmen is depicted as dangerously transgressive, the masculine characters continually infantilize her. In another example, the narrator states that “[Carmen] was dressed simply . . . as most work-girls are…Women of richer class only wear black in the daytime” (Merimee 28, emphasis mine) and don Jose calls her a "minx of a girl" (Merimee 49) and a "child" (Merimee 93).

While her carefully coded transgression and sexualization, like the mulata, signals to the reader that her commodification is necessary, that these traits must be quelled and/or redirected for productive purposes, Carmen’s commodification is depicted as *voluntary*. According to don Jose, it was Carmen who initiated their first contact and their first bargain (Merimee 45). Similarly, and more significantly, she supposedly gives up her life voluntarily: don Jose suggests that Carmen returns to the place where don Jose is staying, knowing that he will kill her. Don Jose states, “I was hoping Carmen would have fled. She could have taken my horse and ridden away…She did not choose that any one should say I had frightened her” (Merimee 89).

Therefore, while not as literally commodified as the mulata—who is a *prostitute* depicted on tobacco lithographs meant to be purchased—Carmen is symbolically
commodified through all these processes of codification. She is used (to create appropriate masculinity for the male protagonist) and consumed (killed). Carmen’s ties to tobacco carefully create a perfectly ambivalent character: on one hand, she is masculine because she consumes tobacco which is masculine—all other admirable signs of masculinity are borrowed from the masculine smoke she inhales; at the same time, she is not a man, but a masculinized woman—as such, her transgression, sexuality and exoticism make her both dangerous and the perfect Other against which white European males can define themselves. Because of her association to tobacco, Carmen is the exotic, sexual body on which, imaginatively, don Jose and the narrator can define their masculine and cultural identity and don Jose can recreate his masculinity, imaginatively, by killing her.

To be clear, consuming Carmen does masculinize don Jose by the end of the story. While don Jose “clearly embodies bourgeois honor, duty and possessiveness,” (Colmeiro 136) his consumption (killing) of Carmen finally rejects the fatal attraction he has felt toward her and toward all the “freedom outside bourgeois conventionality” throughout the story (Colmeiro 136). In the last scene of the novella, don Jose begs Carmen to leave the country with him, apparently with the belief that leaving the south of Spain will allow him to reform. When he states, “It is because of you that I am a robber and a murderer. Carmen, my Carmen, let me save you, and save myself,” Carmen’s reply is that “You love me still and that is why you want to kill me” (91). When she refuses to go with him, he stabs her twice. He tells the French narrator “I got upon my horse, galloped to Cordoba, and gave myself at the nearest guard-room. I told them that I had killed Carmen . . . Poor child! It’s the calle who are to blame for having
brought her up as they did” (92-93). In this scene, it becomes clear that it is precisely don Jose’s inability to let go of Carmen that causes him to kill her, as he killed earlier in the story in jealousy. At the moment of her death, he is able to return to the city and society (even if it is in jail). In true Manichean fashion, however, he instantly forgets his own misdeeds and blames the ethnic Other for Carmen’s death. Furthermore, it is only in this final moment, in his loss of control, ironically, that don Jose finally (re)gains masculine self-control, by eliminating Carmen altogether. In this sense, her death, and the re-imagining of its cause, masculinizes him, de-racializes him, and returns him to the patriarchy. Therefore, not unlike the mulata, Carmen’s transgression (which calls for death/control), her racialization (which whitens him) and her commodification (which marks her as consumable) are all a consequence of her association with tobacco.
Twenty years later, we will see many of the same issues, yet again, in a text by Ouida (Maria Louise Rame). *Under Two Flags* is a novel that describes the masculine development of an Englishmen named Bertie Cecil in the foreign world of French Algeria. Like the texts before it, *Under Two Flags* describes a world where the attainment of appropriate masculinity by the male character is dependent on the consumption of a racially ambiguous and transgressive smoking woman—in this case, a woman appropriately named Cigarette.

As suggested by the fact of her name, tobacco consumption is clearly an important reality of the world depicted by *Under Two Flags*, and its consumption is clearly linked with masculinity. Both of these factors are a reflection of the context for this story. In the first place, the sheer number and variety of references to tobacco in *Under Two Flags* (which include pipes, cigarettes, cigars, bowls, and hookah) reflects the veritable explosion of tobacco consumption by mid-century in England. Where earlier in the century the British mostly either consumed (“French”) snuff or smoked (“English”) pipes (with a very limited number of Englishmen smoking “foreign” cigars), by mid-century—due to British colonial expansion and soldiers returning from abroad\(^1\)—tobacco flooded into England (and other European countries) in all sorts of “new” incarnations, including the hookah and meerschaum bowls which Bertie consumes. Therefore, by the 1860s, men in England not only consumed tobacco, but had a wide variety of consumption methods to choose from, each with a specific symbolic association (for example, pipes

\(^1\) For example, returning from the Crimean or Peninsular Wars.
in the early nineteenth century were intimately associated with that portion of a man’s identity formed during his bachelor period) (Gately 191). The other historical reality which is reflected in the text is the connection between tobacco consumption and masculinity. As mentioned in the introduction, because the (new) rising middle class threw into question the previous link between power, wealth and masculinity, English society looked towards other outward markers of appropriate masculinity. As a result, masculinity and tobacco became (if possible) even more clearly linked: first, tobacco symbolized adventure in foreign lands and was therefore associated with imperial masculinity; second, tobacco consumption symbolized the act of capturing and controlling nature (and women) as tobacco (and nature) was often personified as female; thirdly, the physical act of tobacco consumption symbolized (masculine) control and silent meditation.

Because smoking by women was, consequently, even more condemned in 1860s England than it was in Cuba or Spain in the 1840s, it is significant that the commodified woman in the story is named Cigarette. Her name not only clearly marks her as commodified, but signals to the reader (due to the precise commodity she is likened to) that she will be used for masculine consumption by the end of the novel. This is certainly the case: Bertie does learn masculine self-control and appropriate masculinity

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2 This is perhaps because the pipe especially was personified as female and associated with sex. Men were often called on to give up pipe smoking by their wives upon marriage (because women were thought to hate the smell), which only increased the pipe’s association with illicit sexuality (191-192). Further, the cigar established itself as the preferred implement of the rich, while the pipe was also the badge of the intellectual and statesman (Gately 186).

3 For this reason, as we will see by the end of this chapter, as each text associates tobacco more directly with masculinity (and not simply colonization, for example), the less acceptable it becomes for women to smoke.
through his experiences in Africa and his acquaintance with Cigarette, as well as through (or especially through) her eventual death (consumption). As with the other women, it is Cigarette’s smoking that lends her the (transgressive) masculinity which benefits Bertie: at the same time, because Cigarette’s association to tobacco exoticizes her, she becomes the colonial space against which Bertie proves his (imperial) masculinity. Because of his association with the masculine, transgressive Cigarette, Bertie, at first an indolent, dandified aristocrat, becomes a silent long-suffering war hero who leaves Africa and Cigarette behind in order to return to England and his horse with his best friend and his new wife.⁴

The fact that Bertie and Cigarette’s relationship is ultimately about the exchange of masculinity is clearly marked throughout the text through continual comparison. For example, at the beginning of the novel, Bertie is described in extraordinarily feminine terms: “he was known generally in the Brigades as ‘Beauty’ . . . [with] a face of as much delicacy and brilliancy as a woman’s; His features were exceedingly fair—fair as the fairest girl’s” (Ouida 12). While part of this representation has to do “with the old idea of the soldier as an aristocratic dandy,” his relationship with his best friend (the “Seraph”) suggests a “more overt femininity and homoeroticism” (Szabo 289). In (deliberate) contrast to Bertie, Cigarette is described as “audaciously pretty” with hair “cut as short as a boy’s” and whose lips were most handsome when “a cigarette was between them” (Ouida 145). She was “dashing, dauntless, vivacious,” has had a “thousand lovers” and

⁴ About midway through his story, Bertie encounters a beautiful aristocratic woman named Venetia, of whom he becomes instantly enamored. Venetia is the appropriate love interest who is everything Cigarette is not—a paragon of Victorian femininity. Later we discover that Venetia is the Seraph’s (Bertie’s best friend), younger sister: In other words, after learning appropriate masculinity, not only leaves Africa, but his relationship with the Seraph becomes less homoerotic, symbolized by his marriage to her sister.
was more like a “handsome, saucy boy than anything else under the sun” (Ouida 148). These sorts of comparisons, like this one which points Bertie’s femininity and Cigarette’s masculinity, clearly signal the importance of their relationship.

Furthermore, this relationship between Bertie and Cigarette is metaphorically likened to the relationship between masculinity and tobacco not simply through her name: numerous factors throughout the text signal to the reader that tobacco functions as a sort of barometer of masculinity in this text and because of her associations with tobacco, so does Cigarette. For example, the first time we see Bertie Cecil he is smoking from a bowl, which as Iain Gately explains, was indicative of “smoking prowess” and was a favorite of the upper-class (189). Throughout the scene, Bertie continues to take “deep draughts of Turkish Latakia previous to parting with his pipe for four or five hours” and most of his exhalations are accompanied by “meditative whiff[s] from his meerschaum” (14). A page or so later he wishes for a “papelito” [cigarette] (16), and within a few more, he smokes from a hookah (24). With the repeated references to smoking, and the range of tobacco products he smokes in such a short time, as well as the consistent attention paid to the object he smokes, we see that, as with everything else in Bertie’s life, he is perhaps too concerned with the performance of smoking. This also reinforced by the fact that range of tobacco products he smokes disregards the conflicting associations these methods of consuming tobacco would have carried. Therefore, his smoking rituals represent a dandified version of
masculinity. However, significantly, by the end of the novel he smokes cigarettes and cigars in a military setting, representing appropriate tobacco consumption.\(^5\)

Unlike Bertie’s tobacco consumption at the beginning of the novel, Cigarette smokes in a way that imbues her with unquestionable masculinity. Smoking seems to both represent and supply the masculine power to her. Despite the fact that cigars, cigarettes and pipes often served as attributes of male power and central to male identity, Cigarette not only engages in the performance of smoking the male commodity, but it is described as one of her principal defining characteristics. Her name and the fact of her constant smoking makes this clear. The first time we see her, she speaks “with a puff of her namesake” (Ouida 145). When she’s angry, she blows contemptuous puffs of smoke in men’s faces (Ouida 145) or hurls a cigar at the offender (Ouida 166). She smokes to defy social conventions, to make scorn of the “doom of Sex, dancing it down, drinking it down, laughing it down, burning it out in tobacco fumes” (Ouida 206). Furthermore, throughout the text her constant anger is couched in language that links her symbolically to a smoldering cigarette: flashes of anger seen in her eyes remind us of the sudden brightness of the embers when one inhales from a cigarette (Ouida 191, 209). In this way, for Cigarette, smoking is somehow tied to her “pluck” and fiery nature. At the same time, Bertie declares that Cigarette has no real future, that she will soon become the “cruel, terrible thing which is unsightly and repugnant to even the lowest among men; which is as the lees of the drunk wine, as the ashes of the burnt-out fires” (Ouida 245, emphasis mine). So numerous are the references to cigarettes here that

\(^5\) Perhaps because of how they came to be introduced to Europe, cigars and cigarettes were in this period especially associated with soldiers.
were one to eliminate all the references to smoking, there would remain little information about Cigarette.

While Cigarette’s associations to tobacco are clearly important to the text, it is important to note a departure from the previous texts I consider: while Cigarette is still sexualized (she has many lovers) and transgressive, there is far less hypnotism suggested by her sexuality. For example, Bertie repeatedly remarks (as seen above) that Cigarette, while beautiful now, will be nothing better than a washed-up prostitute in future (Ouida 245). Bertie’s apparent ability to resist Cigarette’s charms (unlike the men who encounter the mulata or Carmen) is perhaps due to the fact that Cigarette is less raced (and lacks, to some extent, the erotics of exoticism). This is partially accomplished through the text’s association of this woman with cigarettes above all other tobacco products: by the time of this text, in comparison to hookah, meerschaum and cigars, cigarettes were considered far less “foreign.” Furthermore, cigarettes were considered the weaker (and cheaper) tobacco product (as they are today). Therefore, while Cigarette is still commodified through her association with tobacco and coded as transgressive, exotic and sexual, there is a continual (and somewhat successful) impulse in *Under Two Flags* to sanitize Cigarette. This sanitization is not simply accomplished by her association to cigarettes, but is continually reinforced by the pet names the men around her refer to her by. For example, Bertie constantly calls Cigarette “little one” or other nicknames such as “my brave little champion” or “kitten” (Ouida 219-220).

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6 While it is suggested by the narrator that many soldiers find Cigarette’s dancing alluring and generally find her visually pleasing, it is clear that Bertie, the male protagonist, is completely unaffected by her beauty or sexuality.
However, despite this impulse (to attempt to quell the agency which could not be quelled in Carmen), Cigarette is clearly still exoticized through her association with the always-foreign tobacco. The fact that tobacco itself carries exotic connotations in Under Two Flags is easily ascertained: Bertie smokes Turkish tobacco (Ouida 12) and when he’s not enjoying that, he smokes a hookah (Ouida 24). When he’s in Africa, Bertie smokes the slightly less Oriental cigarettes as well as Spanish cigars (Ouida 158). However, as Klein argues, in the cultural history of tobacco usage, the smoking of cigarettes by soldiers has been intimately associated with the braving of harsh conditions in exotic locations (Klein 3). 7 Similarly, while Cigarette is less raced than Carmen and the mulata (her description appears to be that of a lovely French girl, rather than heavily brown- or black-skinned), the language which describes her is clearly raced. Cigarette is the daughter of a camp follower 8 and has a “heart as bronzed as her cheek” (Ouida 148) and tiny “brown hands” (Ouida 145). She dances “with the wild grace of an Almeh, of a Bayadere, of a Nautch girl” and all the “warmth of Africa, all the wit of France, all the bohemianism of the Flag” were in her dancing (Ouida 158). As Pamela Gilbert explains, “British readers were familiar with the figure of the Nautch girl as the emblem of Indian moral decay and its infectiousness; British men, it was thought, were vulnerable to the appeal of the Nautch girls who encouraged them to ‘go native’” (“Ouida” 175). Similarly, as in the case of the mulata and Carmen, there is a certain racial ambiguity to Cigarette’s description: it is not clear what nationality she is (possibly Creole French or Franco-African) and the imagery used to her describe her borrow from

7 See also chapter 5, “The Soldier’s Friend.”
8 The nationality of her father is unknown.
any number of nationalities. At the same time, Cigarette seems to care not from where Bertie hails, only that he is an aristocrat. Once again, this text carefully creates a world divided between white European masculinity and racial Other, where tobacco and these racially ambiguous women serve as commodified “safe” spaces, where (imperial) masculinity can safely be worked out. While displacing these anxieties to the foreign context and the hybrid woman, thereby containing those anxieties, these authors reveal the way both women and racial others are “used to consolidate imperial masculinity” (Gilbert “Ouida” 174).

Cigarette’s consumption does consolidate Bertie’s imperial masculinity. Unfortunately, her commodification is not nullified by Bertie’s apparent ability to resist her allure (calling her “unsexed”)—she still must die: she dashes across a desert for hours trying to get to Bertie, and at the moment the firing squad fires, “on his breast she threw herself and flung her arms about him, and turned her head backward with her old, dauntless, sunlit smile” (Ouida 409). Significantly, like the mulata and Carmen, Cigarette’s commodification and consumption is portrayed as voluntary. Somehow, Cigarette “knows” that she is marked for consumption and meets her death willingly. As Pamela Gilbert explains, in Ouida’s fiction both “men and women must negotiate the demands of power in the realm of exchange . . . Men and bad women, can (safely) enter this process of circulation—women by yielding to it and directing their own commodification, and men by a dangerous and careful negotiation of identity and the exercise of their ability to control other commodities” (Gilbert 141). By directing her own commodification Cigarette elaborates the gift giving economy of tobacco, which from its
earliest days has been used as a gift exchanged between men as a symbol of masculine inclusion (Klein 37).

However, Cigarette does not simply die because she is commodified through her association with tobacco and therefore must be consumed—she dies because her association to tobacco makes her consumption necessary to white masculinity. For this reason, Cigarette not only saves his life, but also makes sure to help Bertie realize his perfect masculinity before her final sacrifice. When she is offered the military honor of the Cross she states to those listening: “The Emperor sends me this Cross; France thanks me . . . But I say I will not take what is unjustly mine…It was not I who saved the battle . . . It was the a Chasseur d’Afrique. . . . He calls himself here Louis Victor⁹ (Ouida 354-355). Her public declaration of his military valor is followed shortly by her final sacrifice. Bertie in his “last moments” refuses to beg for his life, and he declares to his best friend, “Do not plead for me . . . let us both meet this with silence and with courage” (Ouida 408). At the moment that he displays appropriate masculine control, Cigarette jumps in front of Bertie and the “death that was doomed was dealt” (Ouida 409). As a result of her death, which saves his life while preserving his newly acquired masculinity, Bertie can return to England, properly masculine, with his best friend and his appropriate (non-smoking) wife, Venetia.

Here, as in all these texts, Bertie leaves the world of the (safe) Other, with a new understanding of white masculine self-control and his own relationship to the imperial world. His association with Cigarette, who is perfectly codified through her association with tobacco is what makes this possible. Her association with tobacco marks her as

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⁹ Bertie Cecil assumes the name of Louis Victor while fighting in Africa.
transgressive, exotic, sexual and consumable. Thus, by consuming her, like consuming tobacco, he delineates appropriate white masculinity for himself against the female body of the Other.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

Therefore, as we can see, each of these representations has a place within the larger context of nineteenth century beliefs about masculine tobacco. These women’s association with masculine tobacco codes them as transgressive, exotic and sexualized, and, as a result, marks their consumption as necessary to masculine identity. In other words, the fact that she is exotic in a period where men defined their masculinity against the Other, sexualized where men were meant to be the directors of desire, and transgressive in a period where white men showed their masculinity by controlling others, makes clear that she is a construction meant to be used for (re)imagining appropriate white masculinity for the male protagonist in each text. Further, because tobacco is a widely-traded commodity, her association with tobacco not only lends her/emphasizes these traits, but also places her (and these traits) within a sort of marketplace.

As I suggested in the introduction, this careful construction is unlike representations of New Woman smokers at the end of the century. First, where the New Woman smokes in a performative defiance of gender conventions, as we have seen, these women here are inextricably linked to tobacco—their association with tobacco is not chosen, but somehow inherent. Further (perhaps due to the latter), where the New Woman is a “threat” to bourgeois order from within, the women we have seen here are raced (in many ways through their association with tobacco) in a way that makes clear that they are a threat to the white patriarchal order from “without.”

1 Of course, in some ways these women are within the patriarchal order, as this is not something that is easily escaped. Still, I suggest that their race emphasizes their “outsideness.” For example, the mulata is used on these lithographs because she is
Because of these differences, the New Woman, by smoking, simply attempts to appropriate traits of white masculinity for herself, while Carmen, Cigarette and the mulata are both a(n actual) threat to white masculinity and necessary to consolidating it.

While some might argue that the fact that these women here are coded as exotic is a way of excusing their transgressive behavior, my point thus far has been that their associations to tobacco would make this Othering especially possible. It is true that “exotic” women could assume a wider range of roles, because they were believed to come from a culture that was (relatively) uncivilized; however, the fact that these women are labeled as such both comes from their smoking and also makes their smoking habits seem more dangerous, as these stereotypes were often encoded with the fears and desires of (European) white males (Mitchell “Tobacco Art” 327). Therefore, the fact that they are exotic, while making it more comfortable for French, English and Spanish audiences to accept this transgressive masculine woman, does not erase, but rather heightens the significance of her smoking.

Therefore, because, in the white European imagination, tobacco is meant to be consumed as an outward marker of white masculinity, the fact that this transgressive, exoticized woman is connected with tobacco (in texts also meant for consumption by white males) is not accidental. Instead, each of the elements in these representations are carefully coded and constructed. What becomes significant about their Orientalization is that these women become not only commodified women, but also

foreign and the antithesis to European society, thus making her the perfect symbol for the new country of Cuba. Similarly, Carmen is a gypsy who lives outside the law and Cigarette is a woman who lives in the far-removed Africa. Further, all three of these women are imagined to be “fatherless”—the mulata’s father is some unknown white male (her mother is far more important), we know nothing of the conditions of Carmen’s childhood/parentage, and Cigarette’s father is unknown.
suffer a commodification as “embodiments of the exotic” (Colmeiro 127). As Edward Said argues, Orientalism was a cultural enterprise that was undertaken especially by France and Britain in the nineteenth century, by which the occident studied, classified, and in many ways consumed that which was considered “oriental” or exotic. He argues that this Orientalizing was made especially possible by the “closeness” of the Orient and was always a “relationship of power” (3-6). This relationship between Europe and oriental commodities is in many ways reflected in the relationship between the male protagonist and the female in these texts.

Because this careful construction which gives her (metaphorical) commodity value helps him maintain power over her (as white male), the transgressive masculinity she gains through tobacco is passed on to the male upon her consumption. At the same time, because he is able to control/consume her as feminine, and as (oriental) commodity, at the moment of her consumption he negates his dependence on others. Consequently, these men can define their masculinity against the commodified female/exotic body and leave the world of the Other with a new understanding of their relationship, as white men, to the imperial world and to patriarchy itself, as well as (re)imagine the conditions of the attainment of that masculinity.

As we’ve seen, the fact that each of these women are being used, through their association with tobacco, as female and exotic commodities for the purposes of consolidating a very particular masculinity is evident in each text. For example, in the tobacco lithographs (created for white criollos, who struggled for power under the thumb of Spain) the mulata has far less agency than the other representations: She is the most heavily raced representation (associated with former slaves) and the most clearly
commodified (a mistress/prostitute on tobacco packages). This construction, which makes the mulata simultaneously the most dangerous (infecting white blood) representation and the most powerless (literally purchased and used),\(^2\) is symptomatic of a desire by white criollos to create a new white (“European”\(^3\)) masculinity which (imagines or) emphasizes their power (as Cuban white males). In contrast, Carmen is less raced than the mulata, but her character is symbolic of European fears about agency out of control: this agency is evidenced throughout the text by the fact that Carmen (supposedly) commodifies her own body (through bargaining) to manipulate men and to draw don Jose (and the narrator) to her. This construction, then, reveals deep-seated fears about the dangers of imperial masculinity—and the ease with which one might be tempted to “go native.” Lastly, because Bertie’s acquirement of imperial masculinity is the answer to his questionable masculinity (rather than questionable race), Cigarette is far less raced than the other two women. Instead, there is a much stronger emphasis on Cigarette’s borrowed masculinity (she looks like a boy, fights with the soldiers, etc).

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\(^2\) While this may seem contradictory, this is the construction which the lithographs emphasize. The mulata is dangerous because her threat is in some ways “undetectable.” At the same time, she has less agency than the other characters: besides the fact that she is literally commodified and literally silent in these images, her “desire” to gain all she can from white criollos (through the use of her body) is coded as natural, inherent—and as such is almost involuntary and puppet-like.

\(^3\) While the criollos might not have seen their masculinity as European (but Cuban), I argue that the ideas about masculinity the criollos were struggling with were very similar to those Europe was struggling with. That is, because the criollos were a group that was born from Spanish parents, who spoke the Spanish language and were raised (in many ways) with Spanish customs, it’s not far-fetched to believe their ideas about masculinity would depend on Spanish/European ideals.
Though there are slight variations in the way these women are used, in every case, from the very first, these women are marked for consumption through their association with tobacco. Consequently, through the masculine accumulation of these women-as-commodity, and their disposal afterwards, the men learn self-mastery. However, while each of the texts attempt to maintain what the Greek epigraph at the beginning of Carmen—which declares that “Every woman . . . has two good moments: one in bed, the other at death” (Colmeiro 139)—there is a certain spirit that does not die with these women. Some justice is paid in the fact these women “negotiate” their own commodification and retain the reader/viewer’s sympathy. In this way, while these

4 In other words, they are only useful for sexual commodification and consumption/death.

5 Perhaps it is for this reason that these representations have become in some sense immortalized since their initial appearance. For example, Under Two Flags had a huge readership and the enduring character of Cigarette has been represented in several motion pictures in the twentieth century (for example, in 1912, 1916, 1922 and 1936). It is even now one of the most widely recognized sensation novels. Similarly, Carmen has been reproduced into several plays, a famous opera by Bizet, and countless film adaptations. So famous is Carmen that, while written in French, it is one of the three literary figures that the Spanish most identify with today (after Don Juan and Quixote) (Colmeiro 127). Finally, the use of the mulata’s image to sell tobacco would be the beginning of trend over the next century to pair images of exotic women with tobacco products. In fact, according to Matthew Hilton, Cigarette “set the tone for the representation of women and smoking in the turn-of the century art, literature and photography” (Hilton 141). Similarly, in turn-of-the-century tobacco art, representations of “Carmen types” were frequently used (Mitchell “Images” 329). Furthermore, of all the “exotic” types of women used in tobacco art, Spanish/Gypsy women “are most often shown engaged in the act of smoking” (Mitchell “Images” 333, emphasis mine). Together all these facts demonstrate the paradox that represents these women: on one hand that they are so commodified through their association to tobacco within these texts, that it is only fitting that their stories have been further commodified through countless retellings and re-appropriations; and on the other, that their popularity, coupled with the power of their enduring spirit, is evidence of the fact that there is something about these smoking women that has spoken to their audiences for the last century and a half.
women are theoretically disposed of, the conditions of their consumption refuse to completely erase the masculinity that came from her association to tobacco.
CHAPTER 6
TOBACCO LITHOGRAPH IMAGES

Figure 6-1. “Descuidos del tocador” from the series “Vida y muerte de la mulata.”

Figure 6-2. “Las consecuencias” from the series “Vida y muerte de la mulata”
Figure 6-3. “El palomo y la gabilana”

Figure 6-4. “Si me amass eras feliz” from the series “Vida y muerte de la mulata”
Figure 6-5. “Mi querido dice tenga esperanza” from the series “Vida y muerte de la mulata”
LIST OF REFERENCES


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jacqueline Amorim grew up in South Florida, the child of parents from Latin America. When it was time to choose a field of study, she decided that she would try to combine this cultural background with her interest in English literature. She studied English literature and Spanish for her bachelor's degrees at Stetson University in Deland, Florida and graduated in 2006. She received a master's degree from the English Department at the University of Florida in 2010, where she continues to study the relationship between nineteenth century Britain and Latin America for her Ph.D.