

A NEW IMPERIAL ORDER: THE EUROPEAN RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ORIENT IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH PERIODICALS¹

Mehmet Önder GÖNCÜOĞLU

Abstract: The nineteenth century was the century of Europe. Most of the earth's surface passed under the control of one or another of the European powers. Both the need for raw materials and new markets caused industrializing European powers such as Germany, Italy, France, and Britain to compete ruthlessly with one another for overseas territorial acquisitions. This rivalry between European countries and Russia played an important role in the development of the West's relationship with the world as a whole. Britain, specifically, as it traded and ruled in lands far from its shores, literally created a new world order, thereby causing the emergence of new understandings of some once wealthy empires with their own authentic cultural aspects. As a result, Western periodicals in general, and British periodicals in particular included the sketches, cartoons and drawings regarding the events occurring during this rivalry. In this respect, I will explore and discuss some selected visual materials focusing on the representation of the Ottoman Empire mostly published in well-known late nineteenth-century British periodicals such as *Punch* and *Harper's Weekly*, and show how they functioned in terms of their discursive strategies with regard to imperialist propaganda or criticism of their own empires.

Key words: New imperialism, 'the great game', the scramble for Africa, 'the eastern question', the late nineteenth century, visual construction, magazine, periodicals, The Ottoman Empire.

Yeni Emperyal Düzen: Geç On Dokuzuncu Yüzyılda Avrupa'nın Doğuyu Yeniden İnşası ve İngiliz Dergilerinin Rolü

Özet: On dokuzuncu yüzyılın Avrupa'nın yüzyılı olduğu söylenebilir. Bu yüzyılda, dünyanın pek çok bölgesi Avrupalı güçlerin kontrolü altına girdi ve bu güçler arasında el değişti. Aynı zamanda Endüstri Devriminin yaşandığı bu dönemde, Batılı büyük güçler ham madde ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için yeni pazarlar bulmak zorundaydı. Almanya, İtalya, Fransa ve Britanya özellikle okyanus ötesi bölgelerde birbirleriyle kıyasıya rekabete girerken sanayileşme sürecinde de yükselen bir ivme seyrettiler. Avrupa güçleri arasındaki alan çekişmesi, siyasi güç ve alan hâkimiyeti açısından artık gerilemekte olan imparatorluklar için, bilhassa İngiltere ve Rusya'nın sınır ötesi politikalarıyla beraber Garp ve Şark ilişkisinde önemli bir dönüm noktası yarattı. Deniz aşırı sömürgecilik faaliyetinde özellikle Britanya yeni bir dünya düzeninin kurulmasında önemli bir paya sahipti. Bu bağlamda Batı genelinde, özelde de

¹ Some parts of this article were presented at the Comparative Literary and Cultural Studies Symposium, at Yaşar University on 30-31 October, 2014 but were revised using a new critical terminology.

İngiltere’de yayımlanan dergilerde yeni emperyal düzen çekişmesiyle ilgili pek çok görsele yer verildi. Bu makale özellikle *Punch* ve *Harper’s Weekly* gibi tanınmış İngiliz dergilerinde geç on dokuzuncu yüzyılda yayımlanmış ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nu betimleyen görseller üzerinden görsel söylem çözümlemesini emperyalist propaganda ve özeleştirici kavramları etrafında yapmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yeni emperyalizm, ‘büyük oyun’, Afrika’nın paylaşılması, doğu meselesi, geç on dokuzuncu yüzyıl, görsel inşa, dergi, süreli yayınlar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu.

Introduction

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there were fierce conflicts and rivalry among the European powers about territorial acquisition. In this new imperial age, all of the continental European powers, as well as Russia, competed in the Eastern Hemisphere, and particularly in Africa and Western Asia. From the mid-nineteenth century on, a large number of periodicals in Britain were engaged in the representation of events concerning faraway lands. *Punch* (1841) and *Harper’s Weekly* (1857) were two of the most enduring periodicals of the Victorian age with heterogeneous contents, including various fictitious and non-fictitious documents along with visual sources, such as sketches and drawings. These publications in general, but *Punch* in particular, according to Cayley and Horrocks, are rich sources for studying the Victorian period, as they “provide striking visual representations of current news and events” Cayley and Horrocks argue that the enduring importance of these periodicals was related to the fact that they made room for “various events, commentaries, and political debates ... in social cuts, initial letters, vignettes, and large cuts” (2015, p. 240). They therefore surpassed other Victorian weekly satirical magazines in terms of their popularity. As a result, Cayley and Horrocks remark that the enduring importance of these periodicals “is confirmed by the fact that for decades scholars have used full-page cartoons” from them “in a wide variety of scholarly publications” (p. 238). In this respect, Victorian periodicals provided a significant opportunity to analyze the satirical narratives “that remain comparatively unstudied but were central to” these periodicals’ success (p. 239). The role of nineteenth century British periodicals but that of particularly *Punch* and *Harper’s Weekly* in publicizing both news from faraway lands and some re-constructed images of the non-Western other, served to titillate the perceptions of their readers, and at times to express a criticism of the represented visual story. They, therefore, seem to touch upon foreign issues sometimes through an Orientalist view, but with criticism of their empire’s policies at others.

In this respect, I will explore and discuss some selected illustrations published in English periodicals, along with a few French cartoons, for comparison, and

analyze how the visuals were employed in different periods as more than an expected form of communication. I will also engage the visual materials, along with their captions where supplied, and show how they functioned in terms of their discursive strategies with regard to imperialist propaganda or criticism of their own empires. To this end, while discussing the historical events in a chronological fashion, I will turn back to the visual materials to analyse their function in relation to their consideration of particular events and their visual representation of the Ottoman Empire.

A New Imperial Order

The wave of European colonial expansion between 1870s (the end of the Franco-Prussian War) and the outbreak of World War I in 1914 is often called as the period of the “New Imperialism”² For centuries Western European countries utilized the resources on distant lands, particularly in the Americas. However, by the nineteenth century, when an increased interest in industrial raw-materials appeared, most of the Western European empires had lost many of their colonies in the New World because of the American War of Independence (1775-1783) and the Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815) in Europe. Spain lost territory in South America, and France and Britain lost crucial possessions in North America during the nineteenth century³. Likewise, during the same chaotic period Spain lost several crucial colonies in South America including Argentina and Chile due to the conflicts that broke out in Europe where France had invaded Spain during the Napoleonic wars. This resulted in the emergence of several independent countries in South America stretching from Argentina to Chile. Similarly Spanish control of the Floridas ended when the United States bought the area in 1819⁴. In the same way after the American

² For detailed accounts of New Imperialism, see Cohen, B. J. (1973). *The Question of Imperialism: The Political Economy of Dominance and Dependence*. New York: Basic Books; and Smith, W. D. (1982). *European Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

³ Losing an army and his domination on the island of Santo Domingo in the Caribbean, Napoleon had to sell the Louisiana territory to the United States in 1803. The territory encompassing a long area of the US included fifteen present states such as Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska, some part of Minnesota and Mississippi River, North Dakota, South Dakota and large part of northern Texas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and Louisiana. For more information see *The United States Public Documents*, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu>.

⁴ During the same period, while the US was engaged in its civil war, Emperor Napoleon III during the second French Empire planned to invade Mexico to reach to Latin American markets. With the treaty of London in 1861, French intervention was supported by both Spain and Britain. Realizing that France was planning to seize all of Mexico including the Mexican Gulf, thereby planning to create a new empire,

War of Independence, Britain lost her very crucial colonies on the eastern coast stretching from Georgia to contemporary Massachusetts.

Britain, in this respect, did not only lose some important lands but also very essential economic sources that had, at the time, very vital importance as the European powers were going to compete ruthlessly with one another because of some industrial needs. Such a rivalry between European countries, as well as Russia played an important role in the development of the West's relationship with the East, and the Ottoman Empire in particular as the empire was weakening financially and territorially in the very same period. In this context, and having lost the thirteen colonies, Britain had to employ a new policy of free trade, thereby creating an economic empire by means of trade in both Latin and North America (James, 1995, p. 169). MacKenzie likewise argues that Britain maintained her dominance to a certain extent with her economic concerns as follows:

[t]he second essence of imperialism (after sovereignty) has to be the ultimate maintenance of economic controls. It is assuredly the case, as has long been argued, that American independence in 1783 did very little to decrease either British trade with the former colonies or the force of imperialism (albeit now white American) across the North American continent, accomplishing the dispossession of Native Americans or Indians. [...] It may have been imperialism in a different guise, but it was certainly still imperialism, albeit with multiple or at least dual centres of power (2015, p. 102).

Despite losing her *de facto* dominance in the New World, Britain therefore learned a useful lesson from the American Revolution. Britain "has not only permitted but favored this growing independence of her ... American colonies" (Hobson, 1902, p. 347). The British understood that they would lose more than the territories across the Atlantic unless they made essential financial agreements to protect the welfare of their empire.

Despite the uses of her new policy of free trade in the Americas, Britain had now to turn her attention towards Asia, Africa, and the Pacific, thereby expanding the imperial holdings to meet her needs that were increasing in the Industrial age. The nineteenth century should, therefore, be considered as a century where new imperial policies had to be practiced as a result of both the territorial loses and also the needs for raw materials in question for the new industrial age. In retrospect, it could be remembered that when the Industrial Revolution began in Britain, the country had raw materials, like iron and coal. However, in time more materials such as cotton, rubber, and steel came to be

Spain and Britain withdrew their forces, and French dream of domination in Mexico ended by 1867.

more essential in the ruthless rivalry between the great powers; let alone cocoa, tobacco, tea and coffee as they were appealing more to the taste of a growing middle class in the British society. Last but not least, the colonies were important as they functioned as valuable markets for the industrial goods that Britain produced.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there was now a conflict about and rivalry for territorial acquisition among the great European powers. Along with the old imperial powers such as Spain, France, Portugal and Britain, some new and significant powers were engaged in the rivalry such as the USA after gaining its unity from 1855 on and also the imperially growing Germany and Italy which gained their unity after the Franco-Prussian War (1871). In order to keep European powers away from the American continent as they were potential threats for the continental policies of the USA, European countries had already been warned by ‘The Monroe Doctrine’ in 1823 where it was clearly defined that European countries would not interfere in the Western Hemisphere, stating that “[...] the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers”⁵. Therefore, until World War I, neither any European countries nor the USA interfered with one another’s international policies. In this new imperial age it came to mean that except for the USA all of the continental European powers were going to compete in the Eastern Hemisphere particularly in Africa and the Western Asia. As Hobson posits, during this new imperial era,

[t]he struggle towards [...] establishment of political union on a basis of nationality, has been a dominant factor alike in dynastic movements and as an inner motive in the life of masses of population. That struggle, in external politics, has sometimes taken a disruptive form, as in the case of Greece, Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria breaking from Ottoman rule, and the detachment of North Italy from her unnatural alliance with the Austrian Empire (1902, p. 1).

It is not surprising then to see that a great number of European countries, “Great Britain being first and foremost, have annexed or asserted political sway over vast portions of Africa and Asia, and over numerous islands in the Pacific and elsewhere” (1902, p. 15).

It could justly be said that almost all European powers asked for their share in this new imperial competition concerning their imperial benefits both in Africa and the Western Asia including the Arab Peninsula and the Pacific particularly for Britain in this context. For this reason it was a new imperial age where there

⁵ President James Monroe’s 7th Annual Message to Congress, December 2, 1823.

were constantly changing international policies, and consequently new annexations. In this age as Vandervort argues “not even the most inaccessible Pacific island could escape the attentions of the European powers” (Vandervort, 1998, p. 28). Benjamin J. Cohen in *The Question of Imperialism* emphasizes this competition of empires as follows: “A new wave of empire-building began that was completely unprecedented in either speed or scope. Within a span of less than two generations the principal nations of Europe, later joined by the United States and Japan, partitioned virtually all of the Eastern Hemisphere among themselves. The new imperialism established the greatest empires in history” (Cohen, 1973, p. 23). However, the scramble for their share was going to be actualized on those underdeveloped countries or declining empires located mostly in Africa and Asia.

It is, therefore, not surprising at all that both Africa and Asia as the areas for the raw material sources of Western powers were in a rapid regression particularly between 1850 and 1900 in terms of their income when compared to Western Europe as illustrated in Maddison’s diagram.

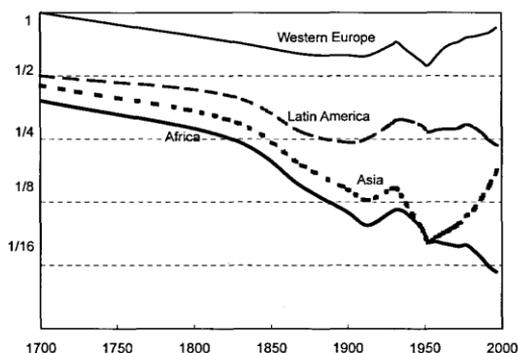


Figure 1. “Monitoring the World Economy: 1820-1992”⁶

In this new world order, while the United States challenged Britain’s, France’s and Spain’s dominance in world trade, some new continental powers such as Italy and particularly Germany also employed their own protectionist and industrialization programs. Britain, in this respect, was now losing “her former overwhelming dominance in trade with India, China, Latin America, and the coasts of Africa” (Pagden, 1991, p. 133). Actually, on the way to the new imperial policies implemented in the late nineteenth century, the Congress of Vienna held in 1814-1815 played a crucial role in forming the new world order especially because of the critical issues that arose from the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars. With this congress the goal was not only to restore the old boundaries but also to resize the powers to establish a

⁶ Maddison, Angus. (2001). *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective*.

balance among these Western Countries and remain at peace. The balance within the European continent actually meant to prevent imperialism within Europe as there had been a new attempt by Napoleon. Therefore, the goal actually meant to maintain the status quo and legitimize their imperial interests in other parts of the world. This congress was principally important in the sense that despite later changes, it formed the agenda for European international politics until 1914.

In this respect, once “the Scramble for Africa” and Asia began, all these Western powers reshaped the political borders by annexing the lands throughout the whole nineteenth century (Michalopoulos, 2015, p. 1). Industrial goals were thereby actualized through their imperial policies which were legitimized firstly by the Congress of Vienna 1815 and then justified by the Berlin Congress in 1878 and the Berlin Conference in 1885. In terms of its consequences for the Ottoman Empire the importance of the Berlin Congress should be highlighted as the territorial destiny of the Ottoman Empire was determined ironically by the European powers. Akilli in his “Propaganda through Travel Writing: Frederick Burnaby’s Contribution to Great Game British Politics” argues that

[i]ronically, in the Berlin Conference of 1878, the Ottoman Empire lost territory not only in Eastern Europe, to the satisfaction of Russia, but also in the Mediterranean, in the form of the annexation of Cyprus by the British. That signaled the overhauling of the policy of preserving the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire in British politics (2009, p. 11).

In other words, the new imperial scramble, which started early in the nineteenth century, reached a peak in the late 1890s with both the Berlin Congress where the Balkan countries were the common European political interest, and the Berlin Conference where no African ruler was invited. At the latter convening, fourteen European nations, along with a weakened Ottoman Empire, agreed to set down the rules for the division of Africa.

The reason why such a scramble for Africa gained a high pace in the late nineteenth century is definitely related with the newly found mineral resources like diamonds in Kimberly in 1870 and gold in Witwatersrand, South Africa in 1886. Southern Africa, on this account, developed greater significance in time and Western miners including Cecil Rhodes flocked to the area⁷. However, before gold and diamonds were found, some other mineral resources such as copper, tin, and organic materials such as cocoa, peanuts, palm oil, rubber and

⁷ Cecil Rhodes, who also became a governor in British South Africa, believed in the civilizing mission of colonialism and dreamed of a Cape-To-Cairo British Empire but could not actualize in the way as he dreamed of.

ivory essential for industrial manufacturing had already been utilized for a long time; let alone slavery which had been practiced over three centuries. Palm oil, which was used in the manufacture of soaps and industrial lubricants, was abundant in West Africa. Rubber, another important industrial material, used for the insulation of new electrical- telegraph wires and for tires, was also abundant in Africa. Ivory was also collected in Africa to be used for piano keys and billiard balls which were also growing tastes of European middle class. Accordingly, a new need for the same burgeoning taste was chocolate and as the raw resource of chocolate cocoa was also collected in Africa.

In order to be able to consider how a new world order for the favor of the Western powers was created, some other factors such as the fears and hopes concerning Western empires' overseas interests should also be taken into account. Because of its geopolitical importance the African continent has been the primary attention for all great powers in the era. The continent is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea to the north with the Suez Canal (1869) and the Red Sea to the northeast, and the Indian Ocean to the Southeast. In this respect, the strategic, economic, and political rivalry between Britain and Russia for domination in Asia reveals the secret colonial competition between them as an extension of the competition within Europe. Although there was a militarily silent period in Europe between the Western powers, the shadowy struggle between Britain and Russia in Asia including the warm seas, with the Persians as anxious observers, reveals in this respect that the rivalry was now beyond the borders of Europe as Hopkirk elaborates in *The Great Game*. "The term 'Great Game,' which refers to the imperial rivalry between Britain and Russia in Central Asia was first introduced to popular reading audiences by nineteenth-century British novelist Rudyard Kipling in his novel *Kim* (1901)" (Akıllı, 2009, p. 3). In this new period of 'the great game,' the playing field was beyond the borders of Western Hemisphere, and included a vast geography of modern day Afghanistan and Pakistan and the deserts of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. It was no longer a competition between 'the great Western powers', but a competition between Russia and Britain in this context, in which local emirs, sheikhs and also the Khedives of Egypt were included as the pawns of 'the great game.' Therefore, in the late nineteenth century the British and Russians became more and more interested in the Western Asia including Persia (Iran), Afghanistan and Tibet that geographically separated them and kept Russia away from the warm seas (Hopkirk, 1992, p. 2). Britain was determined to control the Russian territorial expansion in Western Asia because Britain's commercial and military benefits were actualized in those areas, and the Russian accession to those areas would jeopardize the British dominance, and hence her benefits which were raised from the Mediterranean Sea, Africa and the Indian Ocean.

On this account, the time span between 1886 and 1915, which comes to be a period where there is almost no struggle between the Western powers on continental Europe, should not be considered as a period of complete harmony and peace between them. Their overseas competition in scrambling the rich lands, in this context, differentiates this new imperial age from the older one. Benjamin J. Cohen defines this new struggle as follows:

One of the most striking characteristics of the new imperialism was its belligerence and ruthlessness. The imperial powers typically pursued their various interests overseas in blatantly aggressive fashion. Bloody, one-sided wars with local inhabitants of contested territories were commonplace; 'sporting wars,' Bismarck once called them. The powers themselves rarely came into direct military conflict, but competition among them was keen, and they were perpetually involved in various diplomatic crisis. In contrast to the preceding years of comparative political calm, the period after 1870 was one of unaccustomed hostility and tension (Cohen, 1973, p. 30).

Moreover, their overseas competition in scrambling was no longer a simple occupation by raising a flag on a certain land but it included continually shifting policies in accordance with their needs, fears and demands. In this respect, because the borders in question were always located around some significant trade routes or areas rich in their mineral resources, these powers had to change their international policies continually. Although the struggle in continental Europe was balanced by Berlin Conference in terms of their policies in Europe, it did not come to mean that there would be a similar balance in their policies concerning the other continents. For this reason, it is not surprising to see that depending on their benefits especially after the 1890s, they sometimes, became allies and sometimes rivals with one another. The countries in Africa and also Asia including the Arab peninsula, by this token, became their primary interests at issue.

In such a politically aggressive era, Britain as a significant imperial figure was now competing both with Russia in Central Asia and also the other continental powers such as, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Belgium in Africa. When the areas occupied by Britain in Africa in this era are considered - with a particular attention on the fact that they were mostly occupied after the 1870s - then the intentions of British policy makers can be discussed to a further extent. In terms of the colonial borders of Western powers in Africa by the year 1914, it should be noted that Britain had colonized very crucial territories in order to protect the main route leading to India. A fortified Cape colony, before the Suez Canal was built in 1869, meant a powerful Britain controlling the main route leading to her Indian Colony which, at that time, was controlled by The British Raj (1858-1947) in the Indian subcontinent. Even after the construction of the Suez Canal, the importance of Cape Colony did not lessen. As it had always been an

optional route to the Indian Ocean and now also to Australia and New Zealand, it continued to be important in case there could appear some controversies about the management of the Canal with some other powers including particularly France and the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Britain's gaining the chief share of the canal in 1876 can also be regarded within her same protectionist policies concerning her sovereignty in areas further than African lands. In 1882 when Egypt went under Britain's control, British dominance on the routes to India both in the north and the south was confirmed.

The New Imperial Order Imbued with the Age of Periodicals

The significance of the Suez Canal was illustrated in *Punch* in 1876 with some cartoons emphasizing the big prize Britain gained with her occupation of the area. As Cayley and Horrocks argue "textual and visual metaphors [represented in *Punch*] produced a common language through which readers could begin to imagine and debate social [...] change" (2015, p. 239). In this respect, the role of the periodicals and magazines advanced since there was a wide variety of groups seeking new social knowledge. In such an era, then, it was quite possible for the periodicals to disseminate certain beliefs in the society. When it is regarded overall, the periodical press was a constantly important part of the nineteenth-century literary culture. These periodicals usually carried serialized novels. Periodicals also carried reviews of specific novels or of the novels of specific authors, or of specific genres in such forms as the sensationalist novel. This applied to almost all the periodical presses. As Blake remarks, John Stuart Mill, Walter Bagehot, E. A. Freeman, and a few more with their writings came to be seen in the *Fortnightly Review* and in *Good Word* (Blake, 1989, p. 65). The number of the magazines and periodicals gradually increased throughout the century, with the most marked increase significantly between the years 1850 and 1870, continuing until the 1880s. Apart from *Punch* and *Harper's Weekly*, there emerged some reviews, such as the *Fortnightly Review*, *Good Words*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, and the *Westminster Review*, which were followed during the century by monthly magazines such as *Fraser's Magazine and Blackwood Edinburgh Magazine*, and later by the weekly magazines *The Athenaeum* and *The Spectator* (p. 65). Apart from some articles and political commentaries, almost all of these periodicals published articles on history, biography, geography, theology, science, and the arts⁸.

⁸ William Hazlitt in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1823 commented on the result of such a heterogeneous representation of different writing forms: "A Whig or Tory tirade on a political question, the abuse of a public character, now stands side by side in a fashionable Review, with a disquisition on ancient coins, is introduced right in the middle of an analysis of the principles of taste" (p. 221).

In this context, it should be remembered that the nineteenth century British periodicals played an essential role in publicizing both the news from faraway lands and some re-constructed images of the non-Western other as they titillated the perceptions of their viewers, and at times expressed a criticism of the represented visual story. Therefore, the periodicals such as *Punch* and *Harper's Weekly*, with their textual and visual metaphors, influenced their viewers' contemplations of the events taking place in remote faraway lands, and reproduced the images thereby producing knowledge either for criticism or affirmation of British policies. For instance, while arguing for the historical importance of *Punch*, Khanduri remarks that "the colonial experience, especially in India had an impact on *Punch* and its iconography. Tenniel's *Punch* cartoons of the 1857 Indian Mutiny led to a surge in the magazine's popularity. Colonial India was caricatured in *Punch* and can be seen as a significant source for producing knowledge about India" (Khanduri, 2014, p. 24). The following cartoons published in *Punch* in 1876 should therefore be considered in terms of the role of these periodicals in producing knowledge:

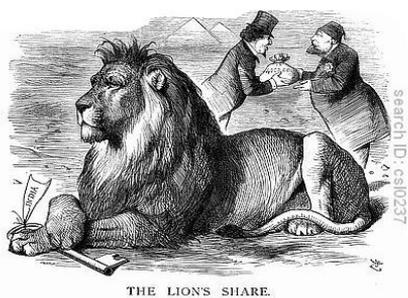


Figure 2. "The Lion's Share"⁹



Figure 3. "Hard Hitting"¹⁰

As seen in the captions, the significance of gaining the Suez Canal is underlined with the words "The Lion's Share" (Figure 2) and also with the words inscribed on a pyramid (Figure 3) "The Suez Canal shapes a good investment, a commercial advantage, a political necessity". In Figure 2, Benjamin Disraeli, who supported the protection of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire in the context of the Eastern Question, is depicted as he is purchasing the shares of the Suez Canal from the Khedive of Egypt, thereby giving Britain the key to India. After the canal was completed by the French Suez Canal Company in 1869, an agreement with the Khedive of Egypt, Said Pasha, was forged to operate the canal for 99 years. However, undergoing problems of heavy debt

⁹ "'The Lion's Share' of Suez Canal Gives Britain the Key to India" in *Punch* by Tenniel, Sir John.

¹⁰ "'Hard Hitting' Liberals unable to successfully criticise Disraeli's investment in the Suez Canal Company" in *Punch*.

caused by expensive efforts trying to modernize Egypt, and eventually going bankrupt, the Khedive had to sell his Canal shares. Worrying that the Canal could fall into the hands of some other competitors, Britain bought Egypt's shares in 1876, when the Khedive needed urgent cash. Fearing the existence of an unfriendly competitor in the region, and in view of her international policies regarding the dominions in the Pacific, as highlighted on the pyramid (Figure 3), Britain felt compelled to purchase the shares of the Khedive of Egypt and then to invade Egypt in 1882. Besides, the sketch also underlines the controversies of the British internal affairs with regard to the conflicting decisions of the policy makers at the time. These sketches published in *Punch* in the late nineteenth century seem to represent the Empire's political agenda of the day.

In light of these observations, British new imperial policies can be told to have been built upon both colonial and economic reasons to maintain the Great Empire. Apart from Egypt and South Africa, the territories of West Africa, where once slave trade was actualized, such as Gold Coast, Niger, Sierra Leone, were also occupied by Britain in the same historical period. The reason why the British occupied these West African territories seems to be related with the fear that the land could be captured back by France and Germany. Similarly, when the French domination on the African continent is recalled, it could be seen that France primarily controlled the northern coasts of Africa. Therefore, with the fear of losing her dominance in the Mediterranean which was strategically an important zone between Africa, Europe and Asia, Great Britain occupied also Cyprus in 1878 to fortify that dominance.

Although Britain "claimed that they didn't want to practice imperialism" (Birmingham, 1995, p. 72), their excuse for annexation was that Germany and France had forced them to practice annexation to protect their empire. However, the real reason for their annexation in Africa between 1871 and 1913 was the fear that other continental powers, particularly Germany and France, could give harm to their economic status. When the imperial struggle out of Europe is considered to a further extent, then the scramble for Africa seems to be only a part of a bigger desire concerning further areas in the east. British control on the Trucial States, in this respect, plays an important role in terms of the British policies about the Middle East in the same era. The British overseas plans went beyond the borders of African continent. The struggle between the Western powers seems to have caused Britain to have some further imperial plans early in the nineteenth century in the Persian Gulf region. On this account, Britain put under control the Trucial States in the Persian Gulf region, such as; Oman and Qatar (Bey, 1996, p. 293). However, in reaction to the ambitions of other European countries in the late nineteenth century, the British policy makers established closer bonds with these Trucial States with a treaty in 1892.

Consequently, the sheikhs of the Trucial States agreed not to dispose of any territory except to Britain and not to enter into relationships with any foreign government other than Britain without its approval. In return, the British promised to defend the Trucial Coast from all attacks.

In terms of the rivals challenging Britain, Russia also became one of the biggest powers late in the nineteenth century. The intentions of Russia, concerning particularly both Asia and the Middle East, in this respect, played a great role in the Western powers' (Britain in particular) international policies. Russia which had been a challenge to British India was now increasing the danger in the mid-nineteenth century. Such rivalry between the British and Russian Empires was to affect their global strategies in the long run.

In retrospect, with the fear of losing her sovereignty in Africa and on the trade routes, it can be remembered how the British policy makers worked strategically to diminish the other European powers' imperial plans. Accordingly, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a similar struggle against Russia arose within the borders of a weak Ottoman Empire. The fear was not only that Russia might invade the Ottoman Empire and reach the Mediterranean Sea, but also that Russia would also invade India, thereby causing Britain to lose all her dominance that had been established over the years. Therefore, in 1854, when Russia attacked the Ottoman Empire, although no British land was actually under threat (James, 1995, p. 182), Britain had already allied with the Ottoman Empire in the fear that Russia would, indeed, expand its dominance all the way to the Mediterranean Sea. The sketch (Figure 4), published in *Punch* in 1854, represents the controversial support of Britain and France in an ironical way, as it suggests the political benefits of these Western powers in return for their support of the Ottoman Empire. The caption reads: "Well done, my little man! You've drubbed the Russians at Silistria -- now go and take Sebastopol". While Turkey is represented as a dwarf, implying its inability to win a war on its own, the bicephalic giant body of Britain-France represents their strong common international interests.



Figure 4. “The Giant and the Dwarf”¹¹

When the Great Powers involved in the Balkan conflict are taken into account, it can justly be argued that the Ottoman Empire was the weakest of the Great Powers. With the fear that Russia could have an access to the Mediterranean through the Balkans, Britain along with France was engaged in close cooperation with the Ottoman Empire. Britain’s role as a guardian of the Ottoman Empire, in this respect, can be related to her fear of Russian expansion. However, the cartoon (Figure 4) seems to serve artistically to justify the weakness of the Ottoman Empire and the superiority of Britain and France. By the giant’s reaching a hand out for help to the Ottoman Empire, the humanitarian effect of the sketch is highlighted, thereby not considering these two great powers’ political benefits to be gained from their help.

It should be noted that when *Punch* was founded in 1841 by Henry Mayhew it was subtitled *The London Charivari* as the founder and the first editors of *Punch* had been inspired by Charles Philipon’s French satirical humor magazine *Le Charivari* (Appelbaum and Kelly, 1981, p. 14). In this context, the similarity between the periodicals published in the West in the nineteenth century seems to be centered on the now common idea of a West and East dichotomy. Therefore, they seem to have served to represent their policy makers’ colonial agenda; however with justifying illustrations by getting involved in a latent oriental discourse legitimizing the superiority of Western Powers struggling to overcome the atrocities practiced even beyond their borders.

On this ground, during the same period that is when Russia attacked the Ottoman Empire in 1854, the French magazine *Le Charivari*, similarly, published a cartoon where the story of Goliath and David was employed. In the illustration Russia as the common threat at the time for both Great Britain and France was the primary enemy, and hence was represented as the cruel Goliath - the savage warrior of the Philistines in the Old Testament -- thereby symbolically standing for Czar Nicholas I, and the Ottoman Empire as the man

¹¹ “The Giant and The Dwarf” in *Punch* by Tenniel, Sir John, 1854.

fighting against Czar was represented as the weak David who was in need of the European Powers' help (France's and Britain's, in this context).



Figure 5. “David el Goliath”¹²

However, the same story of Goliath and David was employed a few decades later surprisingly in a different way in another Western sketch, the publisher of which is unknown (Figure 6), entitled “The Turk as Barbarian” The sketch probably inspired by the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 represents Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II holding a scimitar and standing cruelly on the bodies of two slain women while one of them is holding a cross in her hand which implies the brutality of the Sultan in respect to his hatred for Christianity. In the background a group of people under the banner of Christendom seem to be witnessing the atrocities of the cruel Sultan. Moreover, this time it is particularly underlined that the Sultan is Goliath, and the man fighting against him is represented as David suggesting the clash between Christian Europe and the Islamic Middle East. Therefore, the representations seem to have varied depending on the political agenda of the day. However, the vantage point of these two particular sketches is that they seem to have been constructed in accordance with the varying policies of their homelands.

¹² “David and Goliath” *Le Charivari*, 1854.



Figure 6. “The Turk as Barbarian”¹³

The fear that Russia might try to invade the Ottoman Empire and reach to the Mediterranean Sea was such a deep fear for Britain that even after this first Russian attack on the Ottoman Empire in Crimea in 1853-56, years later, that is in 1876, a cartoon (Figure 7) published in *Punch* was still demonstrating how big the fear was on the British side. However, as seen in the cartoon below, Russia seems to be preparing to release the Balkan dogs of war, while Britain warns him to be careful of the potential danger lurking behind the curtain, thereby justifying the superiority of the British Empire for the viewers of this sketch, and justifying also an alertness to move when there is a need, including, therefore, an implicit criticism of British policies about the Balkans; all of which suggests the need for help related to British benefits.



Figure 7. “The Dogs of War”¹⁴

The abundance of the nineteenth century periodicals such as the *Fortnightly*, the *Monthly Repository*, the *Westminster*, the *Athenaeum*, *Fraser's*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, was important, because as Altick argues, at the time

¹³ “The Turk as Barbarian”, 1897.

¹⁴ “The Dogs of War” in *Punch* by Tenniel, Sir John. 1876.

English periodicals (were) growing rapidly, for several reasons. One is that that century, and more especially the Victorian age, is one of the conspicuously “coming” fields of literary research and critical interpretation. Another is that periodicals themselves have of late become recognized as legitimate objects of study, chiefly because they reflect with unique fullness and clarity the social and cultural trends of their time, and because so much of the great literary work of the nineteenth century first appeared in them and was vitally affected by the exigencies of serial publication (1952, p. 256).

Therefore, the role of the nineteenth century British periodicals in publicizing both the news from faraway lands and some re-constructed images of the non-Western other, accordingly, served to titillate the perceptions of their viewers, and at times to express a criticism of the represented visual story.

There was undoubtedly a chaotic atmosphere in the Balkans throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The following cartoons (Figures 8-9) published in *Punch* likewise represent the potential Russian danger lurking in the Balkans. However, Britain designated her international policies in accordance with her political benefits in the long run. The following illustrations representing the non-British other, the Ottoman Empire in this context, revealed that the Ottoman Empire was at odds with a powerful Russia. Supporting the protection of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain was represented as the protector of the Ottoman Empire as her plans concerning the Eastern Question were at risk at the time. Yet it should be noted that despite the illustrations’ consistency with British international policies, thereby having documentary value, the representation of the Ottoman Empire as weak -- in other words, as ‘the sick man of Europe’ between the great powers -- was accordingly justified.



Figure 8. “Turkey in Danger”¹⁵



Figure 9. “Paws Off, Bruin!”¹⁶



Figure 10. “Neutrality Under Difficulties”¹⁷

The Russian Danger is shown in the Figures 8 and 9 with the Russian Bear threatening Turkey –the sketches were published in *Punch* in 1853-. The British policy about the Ottoman Empire is particularly revealed in the sketch (Figure 9) titled “Paws Off, Bruin!” while the British Lion lounging in the background the sub-note highlights the role of Britain as such: “[...] we would advise him [The Russian Bear] to keep his paws off from Turkey, who, though incapable of the noble art of self-defence, may find ‘troops of friends’ when occasion requires”. However, in another sketch (Figure 10) titled “Neutrality Under Difficulties”, published in *Punch* in 1876, it seems it is not time for Britain to interfere with the matter yet, since Prime Minister Disraeli is represented sitting comfortably in a chair, whilst Britannia urges him to look up from his book at the fighting in Bulgaria, thereby suggesting a criticism of the empire. Although the sketches overall have documentary value through their representations of the events occurring in faraway lands, they at times seem to express a criticism of the represented visual story as seen in Figure 10.

¹⁵ “Turkey in Danger” in *Punch* by Tenniel Sir John, 1853.

¹⁶ “Paws Off, Bruin!” in *Punch* by Tenniel Sir John, 1853.

¹⁷ “Neutrality Under Difficulties” in *Punch* by Tenniel, Sir John, 1876.

In this respect, when Russia made use of the chaotic atmosphere in Eastern Europe and invaded Bulgaria and Macedonia in 1878, the fear that had been lurking on the British side came to be realized. This second trial to reach to the Mediterranean Sea was, however, blocked once again by a British fleet which had been commanded by the British Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli. However, it is important to keep in mind that the intentions of Western powers including Britain was not simply concerning the benefits of the Ottoman Empire or the benefits of any other communities neither in Africa nor in the Balkans. Their international policies, well planned on their own favors, in this respect, sometimes forced them to deal with the international issues under the so-called humanitarian wishes such as stopping wars, enlightening or civilizing peoples. They were, however, concerned with ensuring their position as the richest, the most powerful, and the most prestigious country in the world.

In other words, depending on the benefits they would gain, the Great Powers seem to have become inconsistent about their political acts. Russia as the biggest rival in the East, therefore, made the Western policy makers become volatile in their manoeuvres concerning the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire. On this account, another sketch (Figure 11) published in *Punch* in 1876 represents the inconsistency of the British Empire. The caption reads “The Status Quo” while in the sub-note Turkey asks “Will you not still befriend me?” and Britannia replies “Befriend you?- Not with your hands of that colour!” Although Turkey stretches out the hands of friendship to Britannia, it is highlighted in the cartoon that the scimitar hanging from his wrist is dripping with the blood which implies that Britannia’s refusal of this friendship is concerned with Turkey’s policies in the Balkans. By providing this kind of information through visual sources, such as sketches and drawings, decision makers of the periodicals seem to touch upon foreign issues at times both through an Orientalist view and with criticism of their empire’s policies. Such representations were, in this respect, beyond representations of the events as they retold the stories either through a confirmation of British policies or through a criticism of the very same politics.



Figure 11. “The Status Quo”¹⁸

In this context, the British alliance with the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century was only an international policy bolstered by seeing a rival crossing the warm seas to be more dangerous. At that time Russian dominance all over the Balkans was very prevalent and the Ottoman Empire was losing the holdings in Europe. Romania, Serbia and Montenegro achieved their independence in this period, thereby creating a risk for Britain with the fact that Russia might have an access to the Mediterranean.

Therefore, with the fear that Russia could invade further in the South, Britain allied with the Ottoman Empire for certain reasons and in certain times in order to keep secure her own national interests. Akıllı argues that Britain’s primary concern was “to check and balance Russia’s increasingly strong ambitions in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. In what has come to be known as the Great Game, the British tried to prevent essentially a possible Russian invasion of India” (2009, p. 4). Their primary concern was therefore “neither Russia, nor the Ottoman Empire, but India” (Figure 4).

For Britain, a Bulgaria under the Russian influence would be more dangerous than a Bulgaria as an independent principality inside the declining Ottoman Empire. Because of this reason, the conjuncture of the day seems to have created the allies. On the other hand, the British invasion of Cyprus 1878 and Egypt 1882 should be remembered as the British dominance in the Mediterranean seems to have arisen against two major powers: France in the South and Russia in the North. Therefore, the interplay between the great powers seems to have changed continually in accordance with their political benefits and the conjuncture of the day.

When considered overall, it comes to be visible that all the great powers of this new age were acting similarly in terms of their international policies because the

¹⁸ “The Status Quo” in *Punch* by Tenniel, Sir John, 1876.

Ottoman Empire was politically and economically unstable in this new imperial era, and was commonly regarded as ‘the sick man of Europe’ as represented in the sketch (Figure 12) with the caption “A Consultation about the State of Turkey” published in *Punch* in 1853. However, with regard to the illustrations publicized in the periodicals, it should be noted that as a means of transferring information, the periodicals have always had a vital role in moulding the viewers’ perceptions about what should and should not be reality. By shaping opinions and presenting particular versions of ‘reality’, fabricated stereotypes have, frequently, been constructed while the news was accordingly justified. Therefore, the discourse of the weakened Ottoman Empire as the “sick man of Europe” was both justified and strengthened by means of humorous effects in such representations. Having documentary value, as they represent the events of faraway places, the sketches, despite their criticism of their empire’s policies at times, represented a visual story, and served, on the other hand, as a means of a source of news. They therefore functioned as a tool justifying the information they represented as well as their critical tones.



Figure 12. “A Consultation about the State of Turkey”¹⁹

Sketches represented in the periodicals, in this respect, influenced their viewers’ understanding of the world around them. Readers’ knowledge about political and social conditions around them has, accordingly, been affected by the periodicals in its all means of communication. As a result, the real and the imaginary have become impossible to distinguish through the means of periodicals. As Altick argues the contributors to these magazines were from either middle or upper class (1957, p. 389). In the hands of a dominant group, the printed press, therefore, conveyed, represented, and at times misrepresented some ‘others,’ including non-Westerners. Some misleading portrayals of social

¹⁹ Brown, L. Carl. (1984). “A Consultation about the State of Turkey”, *Punch*, 1853. in *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game*. London: L.B. Tauris & CL. p.6

and cultural others or some legitimizations and justifications have, therefore become a natural outcome of these visual representations.

In another cartoon (Figure 13) published in *Punch* in 1896 the hardship the Ottoman Empire was going through was represented in an ironical way. In the cartoon Sultan Abdülhamid II is seen in front of a poster announcing the reorganization of the Ottoman Empire, and Russia, France and Britain are listed as the directors of this reorganization. Moreover, the empire's value is satirically estimated at 5 million pounds. The caption reads "Turkey Limited" while in the sub-note the Sultan says "BISMILLAH! (For God's Sake) Make me into a limited company? M'M - Ah - S'pose (I suppose) they'll allow me to join the board after allotment". The Ottoman Empire, at the time, seems to be the cue ball of European powers. Altick underlines that "the taste of the Victorians has more often been the occasion of laughter than of sympathetic study" (1952, p. 262). On this ground, the abundance of visual sources representing the Ottomans with humorous notes implies the fact that the humor was one of the primary goals of the sketches. However, it should be underlined that despite the laughter effect to be aroused, the weakened Ottoman Empire was represented frequently in a poor condition with a discursive strategy employing some Orientalist tones creating laughter, let alone an intention to create compassion for the wretched condition of the non-British, Abdülhamid in this respect.



Figure 13. "Turkey Limited"²⁰

²⁰ "Turkey Limited" in *Punch* by Tenniel, Sir John, 1896

On this account, in terms of ideologically manipulated power relations, the role of the printed works and more specifically the visual materials as a means of communication have always had a crucial role in constructing images of people, events, and settings. Consequently, like the scramble for Africa, a similar scramble for the Ottoman Empire can justly be emphasized. The following cartoons (Figure 14-15) published in *Harper's Weekly*, in this respect, ironically illustrate the new world order planned by the great powers of the age:



Figure 14. "Peace Rumors"²¹



Figure 15. "Thanksgiving"²²

The cartoons (Figure 14-15) from *Harper's Weekly* (1878) satirically represent the intentions of the great powers in this new imperial age. In Figure 14, the powers are seen preparing to divide the declining Ottoman Empire and the caption below the cartoon reads: "Peace Rumors, Let us have (a) Peace (Pie)ce," including the sub-note, "The Turk wishes he was a Christian". Therefore, through a satirical representation of the great powers' scrambling for the Ottoman Empire, the sketch artist draws the viewers' attention to the fact that the scramble for the Ottoman Empire is, indeed, a 'great game' played by the Christian powers, and hence employs a criticism of the competition. In the same year, an additional *Harper's Weekly* cartoon (Figure 15) depicts a similar competition of the powers at a Thanksgiving feast, where the great powers are depicted around a table while waiting for their dinner (literally turkey, symbolically Turkey) and Russia is seen a little more impatient to taste its share, thereby suggesting a very similar implication that 'the Eastern Question' is a great game played by the Christian empires with a sub-implication that Russia is the greatest rival. Therefore, sketches containing both hints of orientalism, and others criticising the great powers' politics, have been employed in the periodicals.

²¹ "Peace Rumors" in *Harper's Weekly* by Paine, 1878.

²² "Thanksgiving European Style" in *Harper's Weekly* by Paine, 1878.

The following cartoons (Figure 16-17) published in *Harper's Weekly* in 1878, likewise, illustrate the competitions of the powers. The representations of these sketches can similarly be considered to be a criticism of the Great Empires' ambitious policies regarding the Ottoman Empire, not to mention the fact that they are all Christian powers. The primary focus in them is drawn onto the ambitious characteristics of the great powers. While in the first sketch (Figure 16), Germany under the command of Bismarck, is asking for its share, in the latter one (Figure 17) entitled "Bismarck's after-dinner speech" Turkey (the Ottoman Empire at the time) is represented as an empty plate on the table, that is already shared while the countries; France, Russia, Austria, Greece, England, and Italy the names of which engraved on each plate seem to be asking for more when Bismarck gives his speech at the Congress of Berlin (1878) during the partition of Turkey.



Figure 16. "New Map of Turkey"²³

Figure 17. "Bismarck's after-dinner speech"²⁴

Another sketch (Figure 18), published in *Harper's Weekly* in 1878 with the title "The Turkey Plucked" represents Turkey (literally Turkey, symbolically turkey) plucked by the lion standing on a Nile crocodile with the feathers of (t)urkey, and the tag on the tail of the crocodile reads Egypt symbolizing her gift gained in the course of European competitive interplay. While the lion symbolizes Britain, the dreadful vulture symbolizes Germany. In this respect, the representation can, likewise, be considered to be a criticism of the British Empire's policy regarding the Ottoman Empire, suggesting that (t)urkey as a protectorate is now plucked and useless and justly left to its fate after gifts have been gained by the British Empire. Similarly, another sketch (Figure 19) published in *Punch* in 1911 can be regarded as a criticism of the policies of great powers in general in this great game since Turkey in the illustration seems to be confused with the great powers' policies changing with regard to the time

²³ "New Map of Turkey -The Congress of Berlin, Bismarck as the honest broker for Turkey" in *Harper's Weekly* by Paine, 1878.

²⁴ "Bismarck's After-Dinner Speech" in *Harper's Weekly* by Paine, 1878.

and the political agenda of the day. In the sketch Turkey is represented as baffled with the Italian harsh tactics during the Libyan resistance to the Italian occupation while the sub-note reads “Turkey (at Tripoli) ‘When I was charged with this kind of thing in Bulgaria, nobody excused me on the ground of “Military Exigencies’!”



Figure 18. “The Turkey Plucked”²⁵ **Figure 19.** “The Euphemisms of Massacre”²⁶

In the early twentieth century, it was, therefore, no longer surprising to witness some sketches illustrating sarcastically the situation of Turkey as seen in the cartoon published in *Punch* in 1913. In this sketch (Figure 20) titled “Turkey in Wonderland” Turkey is represented in a wretched condition daydreaming as posited in the sub-note: “Turkey (observing fabulous Phoenix rising from its ashes). That’s a trick every bird ought to know. Wonder if I’m too old to learn it. Through a humorous analogy between Phoenix and (t)urkey, this representation can therefore be conceived as a criticism of the ‘Great Game’ played by the great European powers. It is therefore implied that the weak Ottoman Empire had not much chance to survive in such a game where real survival could be achieved only in dreams. Nonetheless, the humorous effect built around the representation of the weak Ottoman Empire is overtly reflected in Darwin’s idea of ‘the survival of the fittest’. After Darwin’s *Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) were published, this representation became a very popular and pervasive idea among the Western powers in general, and in Britain in particular. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, this idea was strongly supported by the Social Darwinists who, after distorting Darwin’s theory of evolution, asserted that nations and races were engaged in a struggle for survival in which only the fittest would survive.

²⁵ “The Turkey Plucked” in *Harper’s Weekly* by Paine, 1878.

²⁶ “The Euphemisms of Massacre” in *Punch* by Sambourne, 1911.



Figure 20. “Turkey in Wonderland”²⁷

Conclusion

The mutual relationship between ideology, discourse, and representation has been influential on communication, media and cultural studies, particularly in the twentieth century. Literature and the media, including magazines and periodicals, have therefore always had a vital role in moulding the viewers’ perceptions about what should and should not be reality. To construct or reconstruct ideas, and to present the news in general, thereby creating self-serving realities, all of these communicational tools either through verbal or visual sources have frequently been employed. As a result, the real and the imaginary have become impossible to distinguish through the means of representation.

Consequently, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the rivalry between European countries and Russia played an important role in the development of the West’s relationship with Asia and Africa. The Ottoman Empire, politically and economically unstable in the nineteenth century, had, particularly, a significant role within the interplay between these powerful countries. In this era, the Ottoman Empire lost a large amount of its territory to expanding European powers, and the Ottomans were heavily indebted to European banks. As a result of its political and financial distress, the Ottoman Empire was referred to commonly as a ‘sick man.’

During the European scramble for non-Western lands in Asia and Africa, Britain planned her international policies in accordance with her political benefits in the long run, and she supported the protection of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire as a result of her plans concerning the Eastern Question. During the same period, the role of the periodicals and magazines advanced as almost all of these periodicals published articles on various fields

²⁷ “Turkey in Wonderland” in *Punch* by Townsend, 1913.

such as history, biography, geography, theology, science, and the arts including the news related to the Empire's policies on faraway lands. They therefore produced knowledge either for criticism or affirmation of British policies. The periodicals such as *Punch* and *Harper's Weekly* with their textual and visual metaphors played an essential role in publicizing both the news from faraway lands and some re-constructed images of the non-Western other as they excited their viewers. The illustrations in these periodicals seem to have been constructed mostly in accordance with the varying policies of their homelands. However, it seems that the visuals were employed as a means of more than being only an expected form of communication as they were beyond representations of the events. They retold the stories either through a confirmation of British policies or through a criticism of the very same politics. In other words, representing the events of faraway places, the illustrations seem to have undoubtedly documentary value. However, they also seem to have functioned as a tool justifying the information they represented as well as their critical tones. No matter what the intentions of the sketch artists were, from Altick's standpoint, the illustrations in general -- for the sake of humorous effect -- seem to have served to establish a subconscious discourse in relation to the idea of the Ottomans where the basic content foregrounds a weak, inactive Ottoman Empire, thereby justifying the Ottoman as the inferior non-Western other. Consequently, the representation of the Ottoman Empire as a weak and inactive pawn between the great powers seems to have been accordingly justified. Representation of a weakened Ottoman Empire in a poor condition eventually included some Orientalist tones creating laughter as well.

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