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Print Culture in Victorian England:
The Ottoman Empire at the Great Exhibition of 1851

by

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This thesis is dedicated to my Nana and Granddad. You gave me a childhood filled with animal-shaped pancakes, and never-ending love and support. You inspire me every day.

Abstract

This thesis provides a study of the Ottoman Empire's display and citizens at the Great Exhibition of 1851 as represented by British print culture. Using official and satirical sources, it examines mediated images of the "Turk," identifying and interpreting differences between English and Turkish cultures as represented before, during, and directly after the exhibition in primary sources such as the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* and *Punch* magazine. Using Western preconceptions and stereotypes, a "Turkish Other" character type was created and disseminated throughout British print media. This character type illustrated Turkish reforms instigated in the nineteenth-century which merged European ideals with Turkish cultural traditions; in doing so, the Ottoman Empire infringed on British national identity. To protect this cultural identity, British satire depicted exaggerated "Turkish Other" characters which, according to Freud's theory of the narcissism of minor differences (as interpreted by Anton Blok), prevented violent physical conflict between these cultures.

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Print Culture in Victorian England:
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Introduction

Twenty-first century society is saturated with various forms of media. Digital and print media connect the globe with an expansive communication network. When attending an exhibition, for example, it is assumed that there will be a pamphlet available with educational information, a map, and perhaps the option of an audio tour. However, in the mid-nineteenth century print media was a developing phenomenon. The print network was establishing itself as a broader form of communication due to improvements in the printing industry. London's Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations in 1851[1] took full advantage of print media. The Great Exhibition provoked discussion of exotic locations in newspapers and journals, including discussion about the "Orient," imagined as a sensual, mysterious land.

Although primary sources only briefly mention the display of Turkish objects present in the Great Exhibition, it is clear from maps, photographs, and prints, as well as reports in the official catalogue and corresponding handbooks, that the number of exhibited items shipped for display by the Ottoman Empire was extensive. However, there has not been an in-depth art historical analysis of Turkey's display.[2] Contemporary writers focused on promoting the British displays while subsequent examination of non-Western displays in modern studies concentrate on North America, India and Egypt.[3]

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[1] The "Great Exhibition of Industry of All Nations" is considered the first international exhibition, a tradition that was preceded and stimulated by the French national exhibitions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[2] Although the Republic of Turkey was not formed until 1923, the Ottoman Empire was often referred to as Turkey or the Turkish Empire in the West. The court at the Crystal Palace was labeled "Turkey," and therefore "Turkey" will be used to address the Anatolian Peninsula as the centre of the political power of the Ottoman Empire.

[3] For example, see Stephanie Moser, *Designing Antiquity: Owen Jones, ancient Egypt, and the Crystal Palace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012) or Robert F. Dalzell, *American Participation in the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Amherst, Massachusetts: Amherst College Press, 1960).

A weakening empirical power by the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was attempting to modernize itself through various "Western" changes. This included the implementation of the *Tanzimat* ("The Reorganization," 1839-1876), a strategy reorganizing Turkish national structures according to European models, with changes focusing on education, tolerance in religion, equality in the justice system and Westernization in the military.[4] The Ottoman Empire was labeled as the "sick old man"[5] of Europe, a phrase brought into common use in mid- to late-nineteenth century England as the Ottoman Empire's economy declined due to a relatively underdeveloped technological infrastructure unable to meet the cultural "norms" of nineteenth-century Europe. The crumbling Ottoman Empire sought to represent itself as a modern European country by participating in the Great Exhibition. Its inability to meet the standards of the rapidly developing European industry combined with established stereotypes to create an image of a "luxurious," "Oriental" country in British print culture.[6]

Research Statement

This thesis investigates the print culture (specifically official catalogues, handbooks and guides, art journals, newspapers, and satirical publications) that addressed the Ottoman Empire's display at the exhibition through text and images. Included is an examination of the display at the Great Exhibition (May 1 to October 15, 1851) designed by Gottfried Semper, a German architect in exile in London. My research investigates how British print culture constructed an image of the Turkish nation in London, identifying and interpreting differences between English and Turkish cultures as represented in British print media produced before, during, and directly after the exhibition. In this way I investigate the relationship between the British and Ottoman Empires and the effects this

[4] Sina Akşin, *Turkey: From Empire to Revolutionary Republic: The Emergence of the Turkish Nation from 1789 to the Present*, trans. Dexter H. Mursaloğlu. (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 28.
[5] Term used by Czar Nicholas I in 1853 in reference to the Ottoman Empire's economic difficulties. Ayşe Zarakol, *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in International Relations, Cambridge University Press, 2011), 119.
[6] Zarakol. *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West*, 11.

relationship had on the print media produced in Britain between 1850 and 1852. While Gülname Turan has investigated the individual artifacts at the Turkish display from a design perspective,[7] there has yet to be a historical analysis of Turkey's display and its representation in print culture produced for the Great Exhibition. There is remarkably little analysis of the Turkish display and artifacts within the literature, specifically in primary sources, in comparison to the expansive text promoting local inventors and artisans. To fill this gap, I examine socio-political circumstances and preconceptions in Britain that influenced the amount and kind of text and imagery that represented the Ottoman Empire.

My research investigates why the Ottoman Empire was and has continued to be neglected in contemporary scholarship and the ways it was depicted in nineteenth-century print media including the use of cultural preconceptions and stereotypes. Text and images in British print culture, it will be shown, constructed and disseminated information about Turkey mediated by British journalists, writers, and illustrators. This printed material circulated preconceived notions of the "exotic Other" throughout the United Kingdom during the exhibition. My paper will, in this way, contribute to the historical understanding of nineteenth-century England's interactions with the Ottoman Empire, particularly how British print culture depicted the "Turkish Other." In turn, I will examine the Ottoman government's attempt to integrate European ideals with Turkish cultural traditions and the effects of these reformations on their court at the Great Exhibition.

Outline

This thesis consists of an introduction and three chapters. The introduction includes a research statement, the outline of chapters, and definitions of terms used throughout the thesis.

Chapter one begins with a discussion of museum displays and exhibitions in nineteenth-century Britain. The chapter discusses the political relationship

[7] Gülname Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," *Design Issues* Vol. 25, No. 1 (2009): 75.

during the nineteenth century between Turkey and England. This will inform the reader about Turkey's complex identity in Europe as a transnational country,[8] neither specifically "East" nor "West." Chapter one provides a background of the Crystal Palace, the location and size of the Turkish court within the building, and the artifacts chosen for display. While tracing the curatorial process of the display, it considers the Ottoman government's role in developing their national identity at the exhibition and the extent to which Gottfried Semper's design and architectural theories may have influenced the Turkish court at the exhibition. Semper designed a Turkish bazaar surrounded with "exotic" artifacts. His theories on the four elements of architecture, especially the preeminence of textiles, are discussed as an important factor in the resulting display. Chapter one ends with an examination of Ottoman museological practices and an introduction to print media in the nineteenth century as a national and international communication tool.

The second chapter is an in-depth investigation of the official print media that was produced as a result of the Great Exhibition of Industry. I examine the official exhibition catalogue, handbooks and guides, journals, and selected British newspapers, focusing in particular on how the Ottoman Empire was discussed and depicted as a participant in this first international exhibit of industry. Within the official media are a variety of individual articles and images of the overall display, which I visually analyze. This chapter examines attributes of the court as illustrated in official sources, as well as the representation of the "Turkish Other" and "Arabian Other" within these publications.

The third chapter investigates the depiction of Turkey's participation in the Great Exhibition in contemporary English satirical publications, focusing on two publications**.** The material analyzed examines works related to Turkey at the Great Exhibition from *Punch* and Thomas Onwhyn's *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to*

[8] The division of Istanbul by the Bosphorus Straight has historically divided Turkey into a European side and an Asian side. This division accounts for the tension in its identity and defines it as "transcontinental."

London,[9] looking at depictions of the "Turkish Other" and "Arabian Other" in the satirical cartoons in these works.[10] Cartoons from *Punch* and *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London* illustrate xenophobic concerns, trade relationships, and gender biases. Within chapter three I make use of Freud's theory of the narcissism of minor differences, which first appeared in *Civilization and Its Discontents*, to facilitate a discussion of English identity as mediated by international relationships and through print culture.[11] I apply Anton Blok's interpretation of Freud's theory as a cultural pattern of behaviour to explore the Turkish court as a forum for discourse between nations.[12] The conclusion, following Blok's theory, suggests a direct link between a strong British national identity and the depiction of the "Turkish Other" and "Arabian Other" in British print culture. I will draw comparisons between the official and satirical sources within this theoretical framework, examining the mediated image of the "Turk" in British print culture as a whole. By emphasizing the extreme differences between the British and Ottoman Empires, British print culture promoted peaceful interactions regardless of the fear of the invading "Other" which surrounded the Great Exhibition of Industry.

Definitions

For the purpose of this thesis, the "Orient" refers to the concept of the land to the East of Europe, perceived by Victorian society as "exotic" and "foreign." Europe's geographical division from Asia is commonly accepted to be formed by the Ural Mountains running from Western Russian to the Ural River and the Caucasus mountain range in Georgia, stretching from the Caspian Sea to the

[9] Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits*

[10] "Cartoons" was first used in its modern sense to refer to a drawing of a humorous situation in "Punch." I will use this term to distinguish these illustrations from those in official publications analyzed in chapter two.

[11] Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents* (Austria: Verlag, 1930).

[12] Anton Blok, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences." *European Journal of Social Theory* (1998): 33-56.

Black Sea.[13] The "Middle East" replaces the antiquated term "Near East" for the purposes of discussing this geographically fluctuating area in my thesis. Originally referring to the area between the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf, the "Middle East" is often centred on the Arabian Peninsula. The term "Middle East," while applied inconsistently to a broad number of countries, is generally considered to encompass Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Palestine and Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, and the states of Arabia proper (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates). Subsequent events have tended to enlarge the number of lands included based on political sentiment, geographical factors, and foreign policy. Afghanistan and Pakistan are often included in contemporary usage.[14]

The Ottoman Empire can be traced back to the ruling house of Osman, from which the term "Ottoman" is derived. A "Turk" is broadly defined as someone from Turkey, while an "Ottoman" was part of the tribe from the Asian steppes which conquered Anatolia and became the ruling family of the Imperial House of Osman. The "Ottoman" quality of the ruling dynasty diminished through intercultural marriages with the vast cultures in the empire.[15] Images of Turks cannot be definitively distinguished as individuals from the ruling class at this point. Therefore, I use the terms "Turkish" and "Turk" in this thesis. These terms were used in the West when discussing the state led by the Ottoman dynasty, and convey a religiously and geographically diverse empire rather than singling out the ruling class.

"Orientalism" refers to the European interest and appropriation of Oriental images and artifacts taking place during the nineteenth century in Britain. The Orientalist movement embraced an interest in the "Other," depicting "exotic," "luxurious" scenes such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *Odalisque with a*

[13] "Where is the border between Europe and Asia?" accessed November 26, 2011, http://geography.about.com/library/faq/blqzeuropeasia.htm.
[14] "Middle East," accessed October 26, 2012, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/381192/Middle-East.
[15] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2.

Slave (1842; fig. 0.1).[16] Depicting rich, vibrant colours, hookahs, turbans, and a sensual, supine woman from the harem, Ingres incorporates stereotypical imagery which evokes Western ideas of the "Middle East." "Orientalism" also refers to Edward Said's theories of the "Orient" as a concept created by outsiders. Edward Said describes the "Orient" as a representation or "re-presence" of the "Other," while "Orientalism" is the "generic term employed to describe the Western approach to the Orient."[17] According to Said, "Orientalism" is the study of the "Orient," applicable to the "Other" as a large, inclusive area outside of Western Europe.[18] Men and women from the Orient were depicted as idyllic, "barbaric," sensual, and "different" from European culture; while women were a popular subject in painting and literature, the print media from the Great Exhibition largely excluded women in discourse and imagery.[19] However, the goods on display include feminine items, hinting at the elusive "Oriental" women; this notion is further discussed in chapter two.

As stated by Edward Said, the "Other" is a system of hierarchical relationships which depends on the subordination of "other" groups or peoples. The term "Arabian Other" will refer to depictions of Middle Eastern individuals who could be from any country in the Middle East. The "Arabian Other" is often depicted in a turban and loose-fitting robes. The term "Turkish Other" defines characters specifically representing men and women from Turkey and the Ottoman Empire. The "Turkish Other" is recognizable by his or her fez and contemporary European clothing, or a turban topped with a crescent. The crescent refers to the symbol of the Ottoman Empire, a crescent and star. Often the "Other" is identified with a moustache, beard, or a combination of the two, in

[16] The images in this thesis are arranged within each chapter by source rather than in order of appearance. This allows the reader to study each text as a whole, without interruption, and compare the differences between the sources examined in this thesis.
[17] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* [1978] (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 21, 73.
[18] Said. *Orientalism,* 154.
[19] There is a clear exclusion of women in the various print sources produced for the Great Exhibition studied in this thesis. However, this paper focuses on images of the "Turkish Other" rather than gender issues. This topic falls outside of the scope of this study but may be investigated at another time.

comparison to the clean-shaven British citizen.[20] The stereotype of Turkish culture is described with terms such as "nomadic," "luxurious," and "Oriental" in official publications discussed in chapter two. Bedouin tribes, for example, lived a nomadic lifestyle until the end of the nineteenth century.[21] These tribes represent the Western conception of the nomadic "Turk." Based on Western preconceptions of the Middle East, the Ottoman Empire as a whole was often misconceived as nomadic. This fallacy stemmed from fanciful tales of the "Middle East" and the "Orient" influenced by E.W. Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* and *Arabian Nights*.[22] For this thesis, "print culture" includes the mass-distributed printed text and visual communication, the writers and illustrators, and its audience, while "print media" implies the objects directly, particularly catalogues, handbooks and guides, journals, and newspapers.

Conclusion

By viewing the Turkish display through print culture, my thesis examines the representation of Turkish nationality during the Great Exhibition. The various materials, ranging from official catalogues, to handbooks and guides, to journals, to newspapers, will be investigated to reveal the contemporary English viewpoints about the "Other" within Victorian print culture published during the Great Exhibition of Industry.

This thesis will use print culture as a forum for an inter-cultural dialogue between the British and Ottoman empires within the discipline of art history, beginning with an examination of the Turkish display and concluding with the representation of the Ottoman Empire in various printed media such as catalogues, journals, and British satire. While each source examined in this thesis

[20] Although facial hair is a characteristic detail of the "Other," due to the variation in forms (moustache or beard) and its use on figures from other cultures (such as Russia) and its growing popularity in Britain in the 1850s, I will not be examining this attribute in depth in my analysis of satirical figures in chapter three.

[21] "Bedouin," accessed November 15, 2012, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Bedouin.

[22] Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient* (London and San Francisco: Saqi, 2008), 70-71.
Husain Haddawy, *The Arabian Nights* (New York; Toronto: Everyman's Library, 1990).

highlighted the distinguishing qualities between English and Turkish society, cultural differences are blatantly depicted and accentuated in the satirical material. A discussion of the way the Ottoman Empire was displayed at the Crystal Palace and how it was visually depicted and discussed in print culture opens this topic for further study. This thesis will close the current gap in the literature concerning the mediated representation of the "Turk" in British print culture which surrounds the Great Exhibition and two of the most powerful empires in history.

Chapter 1: The Turkish Display at the Great Exhibition

This chapter will begin by providing a background to museum displays during the nineteenth century, specifically exhibits in England. The concept of safe and easy travel to see "pleasurable frights,"[23] without placing the viewer in harm, is a theme carried throughout British exhibitions and museum displays during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Following this discussion is a description of the fears circulating in the British media and the trade relationship between the Ottoman and British empires. This will offer a historical framework for mid-nineteenth century Britain, a time of industrial progress, cross-cultural trade, and the first international exhibition in 1851.

This chapter proceeds by providing an overview of the history and creation of the Crystal Palace. The purpose, design, and layout will be examined in respect to the exhibit as a whole as well as the Turkish display in particular, including its location, size, and the artifacts sent to Britain for display. This information will locate the reader within the Crystal Palace and give a sense of the overwhelming experience that was being offered to the Victorian public. The presentation of the "Middle East" at the Great Exhibition will briefly be addressed in this section in comparison to Britain's display. In doing so, the visual influence of Oriental courts at the exhibition will be established.

[23] Barbara J. Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and Their Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 37.

While tracing the curatorial process of the display, the history of Oriental displays and the Ottoman government's role in developing their national representation at the exhibition is explored. This chapter will also address the history of the Ottoman Empire's museological collections and participation in international exhibitions. After selecting items to be exhibited, the Ottoman Empire abdicated control of their display to a German architect, Gottfried Semper. By giving curatorial control to a European designer and architect, the representation of Turkey at the Great Exhibition and the resulting print media was influenced by European perceptions of the "Orient." Semper's theories on the four elements of architecture, especially the preeminence of textiles, are a key to the design choices made for the Turkish display, and will be discussed as an important factor in the resulting display. This chapter includes an investigation into Gottfried Semper's approach to designing an exhibition display of a "foreign" or non-European nation based on his theoretical ideas. Specifically, the concepts used in Gottfried Semper's design for the Turkish display at the Great Exhibition will be introduced. Finally, a discussion of the rapidly developing print industry and its influence on public opinion during the Great Exhibition concludes the chapter.

Nineteenth-Century Museums: European and English Standards

Museums have historically been used as institutions to create a national identity. The Great Exhibition was used by the British government to showcase their industrial accomplishments and establish national pride in Britain's leadership in the Industrial Revolution as well as functioning as a site for the display of global national identities. The nineteenth-century gave birth to the modern museum as a result of imperialism, a commitment to mass education, and the growing hegemony of the middle class and commodity culture.[24] The British public museum was considered a site for educating and improving the morals of

[24] Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums,* 9.

the people, especially members of the lower classes.[25] In England, a sense of national identity established "standards" of behaviour for proper English society. By upholding the "standard of Englishness,"[26] a citizen could demonstrate their national loyalty. In the early 1850s, museums in England attempted to stimulate contemplation and enhance the visitor's experience.[27]

The Liverpool Museum is an example of a typical nineteenth-century English museum (fig. 1.1). It used "universal survey" procedures,[28] actively presenting collections of fine art and ethnographic items of non-Western art to tell of the breadth of the history of visual and material culture from an English perspective.[29] The Great Exhibition of Industry tells a similar story with art, craft, and machinery, exhibiting international ethnographic items in a display of nineteenth-century industry.

According to Barbara Black, the concept of safe and easy travel to see "pleasurable frights" is carried throughout English exhibitions and museum displays of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[30] This idea is demonstrated by the "Whale-bone Lounge" (fig. 1.2) and "Mr. Wyld's Model of the Earth" (fig. 1.3), two displays in London that encouraged intellectual rather than physical excursions. The visitor could safely transport his- or herself mentally to a distant, "exotic" land or conceptualized space. Gottfried Semper's design for the Turkish display at the Great Exhibition likewise allowed for a moment of escape from downtown London, in this case to a Turkish bazaar. This

[25] Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums,* 9.
[26] Richard Pearson, "Thackeray and *Punch* at the Great Exhibition: Authority and Ambivalence in Verbal and Visual Caricatures," in *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays,* ed. Louise Purbrick (Manchester, UK; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 192.
[27] Christopher Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2005), xvi.
[28] According to Barbara J. Black, the universal survey layout "allows a culture to stand outside itself within itself, to leave the realm of the… familiar while staying at home." This practice provides the viewer the ability to imagine his or herself in foreign worlds. Black. *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums,* 3.
[29] In this paper, "art" refers specifically to works of sculpture, painting, or music, while "ethnographic items" encompasses crafts and handiwork such as blankets, baskets, or clothing.
[30] Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums,* 37.

access to the "exotic" made "routinized adventure" accessible to any citizen in London.[31]

One of the issues arising from the impending Great Exhibition was a fear of the influx of visitors to London.[32] This fear was channeled specifically at health concerns arising from crowded conditions in the city. Newspapers and journals printed articles addressing this fear; the anxieties prior to the exhibit resulted in fears of disease or a plague that would potentially accompany the visitors. Health concerns preceded the opening of the exhibition and were escalated by the press.

Satirical literature dealing with the Great Exhibition, such as *The Philosopher's Mite to the Great Exhibition,*[33] added to anti-foreign hysteria, created panic, and contributed to the existing xenophobia. *The Philosopher's Mite to the Great Exhibition* examined previous epidemics brought on by similar events in the past. The author, Dr. George Collier, claimed that the worst epidemics through history had followed sudden and large influxes of foreigners.[34] Collier was countered by J.C.H. Freund, who reassured the reader that not all large gatherings spread disease in *A Small Contribution to the Great Exhibition of 1851.* However, Freund still urged the inspection of medical certificates from visitors.[35]

Although xenophobic concerns circulated in London and predicted a mass of foreign visitors to the Great Exhibition in 1851, *The Times* reported "no

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[31] Access to the Great Exhibition was available for a shilling; entrance to the Whale-bone Lounge cost two shillings. Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums,* 24.

[32] Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums,* 104.

[33] George Fredrick Collier, Dr., *The Philosopher's Mite to the Great Exhibition* (London: Houlston & Stoneman, 1850).
Mite is used here in the literal sense, referring to "any of numerous small acarid arachnids that often infest animals, plants, and stored foods and include important disease vectors." "Mite," accessed January 9, 2013, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mite.

[34] Collier, *The Philosopher's Mite to the Great Exhibition* (London: Houlston & Stoneman, n.d.), quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 183.

[35] J.C.H. Freund, *A Small Contribution to the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1851). Quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display,* 183.

perceptible increase"[36] in passengers on steamers from abroad while *Punch* also wrote about the disappointing lack of foreigners (fig. 3.27). However, the Royal Commission, confirmed by the 1850-51 census, reported 60,000 foreign visitors.[37] This influx of foreigners more than doubled the number of foreigners usually residing in the city.[38] While the number of visitors was three times higher than 1850,[39] the increase was dismissed by the Royal Commission as "much below expectation."[40] While approximately half of the foreign visitors in 1851 were from France, the number of visitors in Britain from Asia, India, and Africa was exceptionally high during the Great Exhibition. For London's residents, the sight of a foreigner was a "notable event."[41] Victorian England's interest in curiosities evoked a mixture of fear and fascination of the "Other," while the revolutions of 1848 aroused an "insular dislike" of foreign visitors.[42]

Trade Relationship between Turkey and Britain in the Mid-nineteenth Century

In the early nineteenth century, Britain was able to mass produce goods for a lower cost than any other country.[43] Although this ability would begin to

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[36] *The Times,* May 21, 1851, quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display,* 185.

[37] Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, to the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole &c. one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1852), 112-114, quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display,* 185.

[38] The population of foreigners in Great Britain was 0.28% in England and Wales and 1.08% in London. In 1851 there were a total of 25,500 foreigners residing in London out of a population of 2,362,000; 50,000 of the 18 million residents in Great Britain were classified as foreigners. At this time foreigners were defined by their place of birth or nationality, not by race. Census of Great Britain. Vol. 2 (1851): ciii, cclxxxviii, quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display,* 185.

[39] The census reported a three-fold increase in visitors in 1851, from 22,301 visitors in 1850 to 65,233 in 1851. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 185.

[40] Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851* quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 185.

[41] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 186.

[42] Although the European revolutions in 1848 did not take place in England, they effected English society's reception of foreigners and instigated an increased concern for protecting their society. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 186.

[43] Pat Hudson, Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Cardiff. The Workshop of the World, BBC History, last modified March 29, 2011, accessed Nov. 13, 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/workshop_of_the_world_01.shtml#five.

decline in the mid-nineteenth century, at the time of the Great Exhibition Britain was still viewed as "the great manufacturing and mercantile nation of the world"[44] by its citizens and trading partners. Trade with Turkey had begun in the seventeenth century with silks, cotton, and cinnamon,[45] and expanded in the early nineteenth century into a promising trade relationship for both governments. In the 1850s, the British Empire had a strong political and trading relationship with the Ottoman Empire. Turkey exported mainly raw materials to England, including raw silk and sheep and lamb's wool. While trade within continental Europe was limited due to trade barriers and high taxes to encourage industrial development within individual countries,[46] goods of any kind could flow freely in and out of Turkey. There was an export duty of twelve percent on all native products in Turkey; nine percent was charged to the seller and three percent paid by the buyer.[47] This policy worked in favour of English traders, consequently encouraging political interest in trade with Turkey. The declared value of exported goods from England to Turkey in 1850 was £2,811,000,[48] making Turkey England's third-most dominant trading partner.[49]

Britain's interest in Turkey was also linked to Turkey's position as a geographic barrier for Britain. The centre of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople (present-day Istanbul),[50] sat as a transcontinental city which could potentially

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[44] James Ward, *World in its Workshops* (London: William S. Orr & Co., 1851), 12.
[45] Sarah Searight, *The British in the Middle East* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), xiii.
[46] Frank E. Bailey, "The Economics of British Foreign Policy, 1825-50," *The Journal of Modern History* Vol. 12, No. 4 (Dec. 1940): 458, accessed March 15, 2012, doi: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1871223.
[47] An additional tax of two per cent was levied on the consumer of foreign goods, making a total tax of five per cent. J.R. McCulloch, *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical and Historical of Commerce and Commercial Navigation* (London, 1834), 394, in Bailey, "The Economics of British Foreign Policy, 1825-50," 463.
European countries included the German Zollverien, Austria, and France. J.R. McCulloch, *A Dictionary, practical, theoretical, and historical of commerce and commercial navigation* [London, 1834], 394.
[48] Equivalent to £164,527,830 in twenty-first century British currency. "Historical Exchange Rates," accessed April 30, 2012, http://www.oanda.com/currency/historical-rates.
[49] Bailey, "The Economics of British Foreign Policy, 1825-50," 467.
[50] The Ottoman Empire did not change the name of the Constantinople after it defeated the Byzantine Empire. Rather, Constantinople stood as a marker of a once-great empire now held by a new empire. It was known as Constantinople until the beginning of the Republic of Turkey in

block Britain's trade route to India.[51] Because of Britain's interest in sustaining communication and trade with India, the British Empire maintained secure political ties with Turkey while possibilities for new trade routes via ship or train were debated in the 1830s.[52] Under its strategic foreign economic policy, Britain resolved to protect the Turkish region from potential invasion and encouraged its growth and prosperity. [53] John Tallis, a nineteenth-century English cartographer and publisher,[54] reported that the Ottoman Empire had attached itself to Great Britain as one of the "most potent of her allies and friends; while Great Britain cannot feel indifference to… the internal condition of an empire that fills up so much of the vast space intervening between [its] Indian dominions…".[55] Tallis wrote subjectively about the space embedded between Britain and its colonies and its significance for the Ottoman Empire's role in European trade. Although Turkey was heavily reliant on foreign states such as Britain for textiles and fabrics, its geographical position was of "vital importance" for communications and trade with Britain.[56]

"Modernization" in Nineteenth-Century Turkey

Functioning as a transcontinental bridge, the culture of Turkey balanced cultural ideals and traditions from both Europe and Asia. Constantinople became

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1930. "Istanbul was Constantinople?" accessed January 6, 2013, http://www.sephardicstudies.org/istanbul.html.

[51] India was a British colony until 1947. "Timeline – The British Empire, 1573-1997," accessed January 15, 2013. http://library.thinkquest.org/06aug/02436/en/empires/british/timeline.html.

[52] Bailey, "The Economics of British Foreign Policy, 1825-50," 455.

[53] In 1833, after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was signed between Russia and Turkey, Britain promptly recognized the importance of the Ottoman State and instituted a two-fold foreign policy. It aimed to preserve the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and secondly, to promote internal development. Bailey, "The Economics of British Foreign Policy, 1825-50," 452.

[54] Author of *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* which is examined in chapter two of this thesis.

[55] John Tallis. *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851*. (London: John Tallis, 1852). Vol. 2 and 3 edited by Jacob George Strutt. (London and New York: London Printing and Publishing Company, 1852), 183.

[56] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851,* 183.
Due to the congenial relationship between Turkey and Britain, Turkey was one of the officially invited participants at the Great Exhibition. Gülname Turan, *Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851 Design Issues* Vol. 25, No. 1 (2009), 65.

a symbol of the Ottoman movement to a more "European-styled" Turkey; John Tallis described the city as "a sort of Paris to the eastern world."[57] This quote identifies Turkey's location on the eastern periphery of the European continent, and Constantinople's function as a bridge between Europe and Asia.

In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the Ottoman government struggled to create an identity with a balance of Western features and traditionally Turkish customs. A weakening empirical power by the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire's economy declined and modernized slowly in comparison to the industries of Europe. According to Ayşe Zarakol, the Ottoman Empire strove to meet European "norms" and achieve acceptance as a "Western" country.[58] The French invasion into Egypt in 1798 had brought "Western" ideas to the Ottoman Empire. These ideas, such as the *Tibbiye*, or Istanbul School of Medicine, would initiate changes during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1789-1839) and Sultan Abdülmecid I (1823-1861).[59] Abdülmecid I strove to create an empire that would be accepted as European, instead of existing on the edge of Europe as a transcontinental country.

The *Tanzimat* proclamation ("The Reorganization," 1839-1876), prepared by Sultan Mahmud II and the Ottoman government, was designed to make civil service more accountable and efficient while reorganizing Turkish national institutions including reformations in the justice system, education, and the military.[60] When Sultan Abdülmecid I came to power in Turkey in 1839, he implemented the *Tanzimat* reforms to carry on his father's ideas and "modernize" Turkey. As Turkey incorporated Western ideas in its military, industrial, judicial,

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[57] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851*, 187.
[58] Ayse Zarakol, *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 8.
[59] Sina Akşin, *Turkey: From Empire to Revolutionary Republic: The Emergence of the Turkish Nation from 1789 to the Present*, trans. Dexter H. Mursaloğlu (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 25.
Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey.* (1961), 40, quoted by Sarah Searight, *The British in the Middle East* (London: East-West Publications, 1979), 75.
Sultan Abdülmecid I (1823-1861). Son of Mahmud II. Reigned 1839-1861 during the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Also known as Abdul mejid I, Abd-ul-Mejid I, Abd Al-Majid I Ghazi.
[60] Akşin, *Turkey: From Empire to Revolutionary Republic*, 28.

and education systems, Britain supported the reformations taking place. The *Tanzimat* promoted equality among all citizens and sought to institute successful European practices while symbolic changes worked to unite the empire under centralized imperial control. Turkey, with secular and religious groups, includes diverse religions and ethnicities including Islam, Christianity, and Judaism.[61] Among these groups are Austrian, Greek, Egyptian, Albanian, Bosnian, Turkish, and Arabian peoples. The Islamic principle of toleration for "People of the Book" had a profound impact among these vast cultures and races, deterring colonization and subjugation of the colonies to Islam.[62] The establishment of a national identity for the whole empire was not attempted until the *Tanzimat* reforms. The fez, in conjunction with contemporary European dress, functioned as a marker of the Ottoman Empire and its new national identity.[63] Wearing of the turban, a signifier of Islam – Turkey's most prominent religion – was banned. The fez became the national hat of the Ottoman Empire and a symbol of modernity as Turkey moved towards a more egalitarian society. The turban, on the other hand, became iconic of the "exotic" Orient as a Western literary and artistic trope.[64]

While Turkey and Britain had a fruitful trade relationship, stereotypes of the Middle East continued to heavily influence the Victorian perception and reception of the Ottoman Empire. The Royal Commissioners for the Great Exhibition[65] described Turkey as a "non-industrial country" in the *Official*

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[61] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6.
[62] Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, 6.
[63] Ziya Gökalp, "Asrî Aile ve Millî Aile." *Yeni Mecmua* (I, No. 20), in *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays*, trans. Niyazi Berkes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 247-251.
[64] Primarily, the turban functions as part of religious practice or practical purposes in many different religions and countries. For the purposes of this thesis, I will examine the use of the turban as a signifier of the "Other" rather than as a religious symbol.
[65] The Royal Commission was made up of: HRH Prince Albert, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Rosse, Earl Granville, the Earl of Ellesmere, Lord Overstone, Lord John Russell, Henry Labouchere, W.E. Gladstone, Sir Richard Westmacott, Charles Lyell, W. Hopkins, J. Scott Russell, Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, Sir W. Cubitt, J.M. Rendel, Sir Charles Barry, Tomas Baring, Thomas Bazley, Richard Cobden, Thomas Field Gibson, John Gott, Philip Pusey, John Shepherd, Robert Stephenson, Alderman Thompson, Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Edgar A. Bowring. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 1.

Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue, while simultaneously acknowledging the Sultan's endeavour to "revive the manufactures which once existed [with a] fresh impetus to the industry of the country" in the mid-nineteenth century.[66] Monsieur Blanqui, a contributing writer for *The Illustrated Exhibitor* and member of the Institute of France, described Turkey as aspiring "to be ranked among the civilized nations."[67]

The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* reported that there was "every reason to hope that Turkey [would] become a self-supplying country to a large extent…".[68] British journalists writing in London's newspapers described the inability of Turkey[69] to produce goods on a mass-quantity scale as a short-coming of the Ottoman Empire's industrial development in comparison to Britain's emphasis on mass-production and focus on producing "cheap and serviceable products." [70]

Creating and Organizing the Great Exhibition: Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace

London's 1851 exhibition promoted trade and peace at a time of relative stability in Europe.[71] Visitors were invited to "come and admire the peace, progress, and prosperity of Britain" through this exhibition of industry.[72] The Great Exhibition was a "universal survey of man's production"[73] in which

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[66] "Turkey," in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 3. (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 1385.
[67] M. Blanqui contributed a series of ten letters to *The Illustrated Exhibitor*.
The Institute of France (*Institut de France*) was a group of five academies (Sciences, French, Inscriptions and Belles-lettres, Fine Arts, and Moral and Political Sciences), created in 1795 as the national "Protector of Arts, Literature and Sciences." "Institut de France," accessed December 2, 2012, http://en.parisinfo.com/museum-monuments/278/institut-de-france.
M. Blanqui, "Letters on the Great Exhibition. No. VI" in *The Illustrated Exhibitor: A Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee, Comprising Sketches* (London: J. Cassell, 1851), 330.
[68] "Turkey," in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 3, 1385.
[69] Specified as Constantinople in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 3, 1385.
[70] "The Great Exhibition – Features," in *The Times* (Saturday, June 7, 1851).
[71] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 60.
[72] George Macaulay Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After (1782-1919.* London: Longmans, Green: 1937), 295.
[73] Pieter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibition as a Didactic Phenomenon (1798-1851-1970)* English ed. (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2001), 131.

industry and mass production were appreciated for their industrial advancements and artistic merit and consumed within Victorian society. The exhibition aimed for an audience of consumers, industrial producers, and craftsmen to stimulate trade while improving design and manufacturing in Britain.[74] Although the term "industry" has mechanical connotations in contemporary society, in the mid-nineteenth century it generally still referred to the skill of the craftsman. A shift in meaning from handiwork to work done through mechanical production was just beginning to take place, as a result of the developments in the Industrial Revolution. This shift led to an inclusive use of the term "industry" as we know it today. The courts at the Crystal Palace, accordingly, included displays of raw materials, machinery, as well as handicrafts and art work: an all-encompassing definition of "industry."[75] The ingenuity and capabilities in industry created a spectacle inside Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace that would change the course of future exhibitions. Prince Albert described the compilation of international displays as a "living picture of mankind."[76] Not only did it celebrate "peace and industry," Prince Albert's vision for the event,[77] but it also opened Britain's borders to other countries, inviting in products from global industries. This fed national pride for the citizens of Britain and promoted a sense of British national identity.[78] The Great Exhibition was dedicated to the future and progress of art and industry, simultaneously comparing the past and the present within one all-encompassing building.[79]

This wildly popular event was the idea of a public-records historian and inventor, Henry Cole (1808 - 1882). In 1848 Cole, a member of the Society of Arts, presented a prospectus for the exhibition to Prince Albert proposing a

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See Appendix 2 for a list of classes. *First Report of Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851,* xxxiii-xxxiv.

[74] van Wesemael. *Architecture of Instruction and Delight,* 130.

[75] "Industry," accessed January 5, 2013, http://www.answers.com/topic/industry#ixzz2H84AL9gv.

[76] Prince Albert, speech at Lord Mayor's banquet, *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue: The Industry of All Nations* (New York: Bounty Books, 1970), xi.

[77] Prince Albert, speech at Lord Mayor's banquet, *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue,* xi.

[78] van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight,* 213.

[79] Mari Hvattum, ""A Complete and Universal Collection": Gottfried Semper and the Great Exhibition," in *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City,* eds. Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 127.

revolutionary plan that would influence art and design manufacturing, international trade, and tourism. As the main organizer of the exhibition, Cole was also the first General Superintendent of the Department of Practical Art, the government body responsible for art education.[80] Prince Albert openly supported the exhibition in 1850, and became the president of the Royal Commission.[81]

The Great Exhibition ran from May 1 to October 15, 1851 in Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace (fig. 1.4). The Crystal Palace was divided into two halves of one main nave,[82] running east and west, with a transept crossing the nave at the centre and running north to south. The Crystal Palace was 563 metres (1,848 feet) long when measured east-to-west, with courts on either side of the main nave (Appendix 1.1-1.2). The Royal Commission, journalists, and visitors referred to the eastern half of the nave as the "foreign nave" or "Eastern nave," while the west side, holding the materials and products from the British Empire including its colonies and the United Kingdom, was labeled the "Western nave." The north-western space of the Crystal Palace included access to steam and was dedicated to machinery, which allowed for demonstrations of new, patented machines in various industries to be displayed.

The Crystal Palace occupied over nineteen acres in Hyde Park, London.[83] The total interior display space was 103,240 horizontal square metres (338,714 horizontal square feet) by 199,078 vertical square metres (653,143 vertical square feet)[84] spread over the ground level with second-story galleries running along the north and south sides of the building. The Crystal Palace held over 100,000 contributions from 13,937 different exhibitors.[85] Artifacts were on display from

[80] "National Art Library Great Exhibition Collection," accessed February 8, 2012, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/n/national-art-library-great-exhibition-collection.
[81] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 20.
[82] A "nave" is an architectural term for the central space in a church, flanked by aisles.
[83] "The Great Exhibition," accessed February 8, 2012, http://www.answers.com/topic/the-great-exhibition
[84] "Space by Countries and Classes," Appendix No. XXXIX, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 177.
[85] *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* liii.

twenty-four foreign countries and eleven British colonies.[86] Visitors to the Crystal Palace totaled 6,039,795 attendees over 141 days, eighty of which were "shilling days."[87] Over the six months the exhibition averaged 43,000 visits daily.[88]

The 139 metre-long (456 feet) transept running on a north-to-south axis was designed with a barrel-vaulted roof which enclosed existing trees and peaked at a height of thirty-three metres (108 feet). The intersection of the nave and transept created the central space referred to as the "central transept" and known as the "Torrid Zone" (Appendix 1.3 and 1.7). The central transept was a symbolic equator; as visitors moved from foreign to domestic displays, they passed by courts from countries and nations located in hot, arid countries that the British organizers saw as historically great, prosperous civilizations that had ceased to develop industrially in the modern economy. Without modern technology, the Royal Commission believed countries like Turkey were falling behind in the Industrial Revolution.[89]

The design of the Crystal Palace drew interior decoration principles from Owen Jones, who was inspired by the Islamic architecture of the Alhambra (fig.

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[86] Foreign Countries: America, Austria, Belgium, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, Zollverein, Greece, Hamburg and other states of North Germany, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Rome, Russia, Sardinia, Spain, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Tunis, Turkey, Tuscany, and States of South America.
Colonies: India, Ceylon, Eastern Archipelago, North American Colonies, Australian Colonies, New Zealand, West India Colonies, Mediterranean Colonies, South and West Africa, Mauritius, and St. Helena. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, "Space by Countries and Classes," Appendix No. XXXIX, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 173.

[87] Entrance for shilling days was one shilling, encouraging lower class visitors. Shilling days were Monday to Thursday, with increased prices on Friday and Saturday (two shillings on Friday and five shillings on Saturday) to allow for middle and upper classes to attend separated from the lower classes. The exhibit was closed on Sundays. The "shilling day" encouraged greater attendance, averaging 55,000 visitors each day, Monday to Thursday, and 14,000 visitors on Fridays and Saturdays. van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight,* 201.

[88] There were 25,605 season ticket holders for the exhibition; of these, 13,494 were gentlemen's tickets and 12,111 were ladies' tickets. Each season ticket was used for an average of thirty visits. *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* l.

[89] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 82.

1.5) and the scholarly debate on polychromy in antique architecture.[90] Jones's goal was to create a new style derived from modern technology which included forms capable of integrating colour.[91] His colour theory for the Crystal Palace was based on archaeological sources, ranging from Egyptian to Greek to Moorish.[92] This colour theory used blue, yellow, red, and white, depending on the shape and location of the surface. The Canadian court (fig. 2.5) demonstrates the use of a variety of colours used on the columns, on the display tables, and on the signage. *The Illustrated Exhibitor* included an explanation of Jones's use of colour:

> [Jones] adduced the practice of the ancient and mediaeval artists, to show that in the best periods of art the primary of simple colours were principally or exclusively used. "In the decoration of the Exhibition building, I therefore propose to use the colours blue, red, and yellow in such relative quantities as to neutralize or destroy each other…. blue, which retires, on concave surfaces; yellow, which advances, on the convex; and red, the colour of the middle distance, on the horizontal planes; and the neutral white on the vertical planes. Following out this principle, we have red for the under side of the girders, yellow on the round portion of the columns, and blue in the hollow parts of the capitals."[93]

The colours used to decorate the Crystal Palace imposed a subtle Oriental feel over the entire building; the look of a bazaar was created from its array of colours.[94] Red, the "colour of the middle ground,"[95] supported a museological

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[90] Christopher Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 41.
[91] Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 165.
[92] For more information on Jones's colour theory see Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
[93] *The Illustrated Exhibitor,* No. 14 (September 6, 1851), 245.
[94] Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs,* 166.
[95] Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs,* 166.

practice encouraged by Sir Charles Eastlake, who was President of the Royal Academy from 1850-1865.[96] Eastlake believed red to be the perfect colour for displaying art as it provided the best contrast: it provided "a ground brighter than its darks and darker than its lights."[97] By using red to cover the tables and in display cases, every specimen could thus be assessed against the same background.[98] Within this Oriental-tinged building, individual courts brought the Middle East to life with their manufactured goods, instruments, food, and raw materials. The Crystal Palace as a whole appropriated the theme of an Oriental bazaar, while courts within the Crystal Palace brought individual countries from the "Orient" to life.

In the Crystal Palace, the exhibits were divided into raw materials, machinery, manufactures, and fine arts. These categories provided comparisons of industry and craft; the ability to compete in the Industrial Revolution through mechanized processes of manufacturing was on full display. The current trends and traditions in industry were also directly contrasted with each other.[99] Situating nations alongside the British colonial possessions enhanced the global experience at the exhibition by creating a dynamic comparison of mid-nineteenth century industry and cultural progress. Henry Cole's original floor plan was divided by the four categories. This plan moved the viewer from base material through production with all the artifacts laid out on rows of tables of equal height. Originally intended to direct the viewer through a pre-ordained "zig-zag" route, the layout was changed from division by product, directly comparing items to their international counterparts, to a geographically-based layout. The floor plan was divided by nation or colony regardless of the items on display. This was the exhibitors' preferred layout as it removed them from direct comparison with their

[96] (1793-1865). "Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, P.R.A.," accessed January 29, 2013, http://www.racollection.org.uk.
[97] Whitehead. *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain,* 11.
[98] Royal Commission. *Decisions of Her Majesty's Commissioners, and Regulations of the Executive Committee* (London, 1850), 714, foot note 348, quoted in van Wesemael. *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, 162.
[99] Van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight,* 194.

competitors.[100] Logistically, the division of the building into separate courts provided vertical display space requested by the exhibitors.[101]

Each country, colony, and designer or manufacturer was allotted a specific amount of space in a "court"[102] in accordance to the principles laid down by the Royal Commission for the division of space. The courts of the Crystal Palace acted as partitions between displays and provided a defined space for exhibiting products of industry, traditional art and culture, which reflected the Royal Commission's belief in a global "hierarchy" of civilization.[103] The Royal Commission gave entrants as much freedom as possible to maximize their ability to create ethnographic décor for displaying their goods.[104]

The Turkish Court in the "Torrid Zone" of the Crystal Palace

The eastern wing of the Crystal Palace, known as the "foreign nave," was dedicated to displays from countries outside of the British Empire. The Middle East at the Great Exhibition was comprised of Tunis, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey, encompassing the Ottoman Empire's colonies (Egypt, Greece, and Tunis) as well as independent countries in Asia. Each entry from the Middle East had displays of raw and manufactured materials in the "Torrid Zone" of the Crystal Palace. The "Torrid Zone," including Turkey, was situated at the central transept, half-way between "barbaric" countries in the eastern nave and England, the "civilized" world, in the western nave (Appendix 1.3).[105]

Maps of the Crystal Palace place Turkey in the north-east corner of the central transept, near Persia and Egypt in various positions depending on the source. According to the map from volume one of *The Official Descriptive and*

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[100] Van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight,* 158.
[101] This change in layout required lighting from above, rather than from the side. van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight,* 137.
[102] In the Crystal Palace the aisles were divided by walls into "courts," containing display cases, each designated to participating countries, colonies or counties in Britain.
[103] A hierarchy of "civilized" countries in the West and "barbaric" countries in the East was imposed on the layout of the exhibition by the Royal Commission, thereby demonstrating the superiority of the products of Great Britain and its economy overall. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 170.
[104] Van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight,* 164.
[105] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 170.

Illustrated Catalogue, the Turkish court was accessible through the Persian and Greek courts which were on the corner of the transept (Appendix 1.1-1.3). The main entrance to Turkey was located in the northern transept. In comparison, the map from *The First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851* places Turkey directly on the corner of the central transept (Appendix 1.4-1.6). In this source, it is a larger court encompassing the Greek and Egyptian courts as well. This is similar to the map from *The Times* published on May 1, 1851, which locates Turkey on the north-east corner of the central transept in two courts: one as Turkey, and a second as Turkey and Egypt (Appendix 1.7). An anonymous calotype photograph (fig. 1.6) depicts the exterior of the display, including its signage, heavy drapery, and display cases.[106] The illustrations examined in chapter two, as well as the calotype photograph, place the court near the north-east corner of the central transept. Persia's court was most likely between the corner and Turkey's court. Due to these discrepancies, the precise position and configuration of the court is difficult to identify with certainty. What does seem clear, however, is that Turkey's court was located near the courts for Persia, Greece, and Egypt, with the main entrance opening onto the Eastern nave.

The Royal Commission assigned one half of the display space (18,581 square metres or 200,000 square feet) to the products and manufactures of the British Empire including its colonies, and one half of the display space to participating foreign countries. The amount for each country was determined by "the nature of [the country's] productions, the extent of its industry, and the facilities of access to [the] country…".[107] The total space occupied by the Turkish court during the exhibit was approximately 1/100th of the total space of the

[106] This is the only photograph I have found of the Turkish court to-date. It is reproduced without a date or artist in Patrick Beaver, *The Crystal Palace, 1851-1936: A Portrait of Victorian Enterprise* (London: Hugh Evelyn Ltd., 1970), 43.

[107] Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, "Division of Space," *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* xxx.
Originally, Turkey was allotted 3,048 square metres (10,000 square feet) of display space. Half of the space was allotted to pathways. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, "Return showing the amount of space originally allotted to each country, and the space which each country actually occupied," Appendix XII, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 72.

Crystal Palace.[108] In comparison, France, the largest European contributor, displayed goods in a court 283 times larger than the Turkish court.[109]

The Turkish contributions at Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace included more than 3,300 objects displayed by 700 exhibitors.[110] There were over 1,300 manufactured goods from Turkey, in contrast to Egypt's focus on minerals and specimens of natural resources. Unlike Britain's extensive list of manufacturers and individual companies, Turkish exhibitors varied from specific men to unnamed wives and daughters. Some entries only included a general location for the artifacts exhibited by the Ottoman government. The Ottoman Empire submitted artifacts for display at the Turkish Court within two of the four official categories: raw materials and manufactures. Rather than the process of manufacturing that was emphasized in the British displays, the Ottoman Empire showcased finished goods made for everyday life. The submissions can be broken down into three categories: minerals and resources, manufactured goods including crafts, and cultural items. Examples of the goods shipped to London by the Sultan include selected minerals, carpets, animal skins, embroidered scarves, and raw silk "spun by the peasantry."[111] There are multiple entries for raw silk and cotton from Turkey in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, alluding to and further promoting trading links with Britain as well evoking images of the luxurious silks from accounts of Turkish harems.

Within the court the display tables were categorically laid out by product, including furniture, carpeting and embroidery. The contents of the first large display case in the central aisle vary within the primary sources depicting the

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[108] 629 horizontal square metres (2,063 square feet) by 2,022 vertical square metres (6,633 square feet). Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, "Space by Countries and Classes," Appendix XXXIX, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851*. 179.

[109] France's court measured 14,714 horizontal square metres (44,993 horizontal square feet) by 24,437 vertical square metres (80,173 vertical square feet). Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, "Space by Countries and Classes," Appendix XXXIX, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 179.

[110] Robert Hunt, "The Science of the Exhibition," in *Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue,* Part IV, xiv.
Gülname Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," in *Design Issues* Vol. 25, No. 1 (2009), 68.

[111] "Turkey," in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 3, 1385-1388.

Turkish court. The cases are represented on the map from the Royal Commissioners (Appendix 1.4-1.6), and according to *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace* this display case prominently showcased a brazier, a heater used to distinguish underline the climate differences between England and Turkey.[112] The brazier is replaced with a bed in "General View of the Turkish Court" in *Dickenson's Comprehensive Pictures* (fig. 2.6), and "View of the Turkish Court – From a Photograph by Ferenbach" from *The Illustrated Exhibitor* (fig. 2.22). However, the *Art Journal* depicts a man on display, cross-legged in the centre aisle in "Entrance to the Turkish Department" (fig. 2.21). Based on these discrepancies, I posit that the displays may have changed over time rather than the result of artistic license on the part of the illustrators and engravers who documented the exhibition.

The print media focused on cultural or "exotic" items in the limited discussions of the Turkish materials in the Crystal Palace. Hookahs, knives, saddles, assorted clothing including fezzes, slippers, jewelry, and musical instruments such as a tambourine were prominently displayed at the Turkish court. These items provided a visual representation of an "exotic" market for British visitors. Consumable goods including tobacco and coffee in combination with musical instruments enhanced the "exotic" experience, creating a multisensory court rather than a solely visual and material display. Semper's Turkish court in the "Torrid Zone" was esteemed as a "successful survey of national activity,"[113] its widespread popularity perceived as a miniature bazaar. The display for Turkey was enhanced with the presence of Turkish dignitaries and ambassadors,[114] bringing stereotyped streets of Istanbul to life in the heart of

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[112] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851,* 184.

[113] For example, 500 pounds of snuff and 250 pounds of tobacco were consumed at the Portuguese, Turkish, and American courts, as well as 140 pounds of chocolate drops eaten at the Turkish court alone, one quarter of the amount consumed at the Saxon court. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851* xlvii, footnote. H. Scherer quoted in van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight,* 189.

[114] Although the Turkish dignitaries have been depicted in print media as dressed in "exotic" clothing, besides a fez they wore typical European garments while in London. *The Times* (April 27, 1851), quoted in Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," 69.

London. The Turkish court, described by a German visitor below, included details which enhanced its "Oriental" feeling, such as bright colours, textiles, and the Ottoman crescent.

> [It was] arranged and decorated with great care and in good taste. The stand opens out to the transept and therefore demands special attention. It displays a tent in the shape of a light and elegant mosque made of gauze… with gold and red and is surmounted by a half-moon… the posts fly flags and horsetails with Turkish inscriptions and along the walls hang carpets in colourful splendor. As this was finished only the day before yesterday [May 8], a new attraction has been created which increases the effect of the transept and earns universal praise. The exhibits too are sensibly and clearly arranged.[115]

Stereotypes of the "Middle East" were popularized through travelers' accounts and tales compiled over centuries from Asia and North Africa. These accounts include Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt*, Edward William Lane's *Manner's and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, and *Arabian Nights*.[116] The fantastical tales in *Arabian Nights* can be traced back to medieval Persian, Indian, Egyptian, and Islamic folklore. It was first translated in Europe by Antoine Galland in 1704-1717. The stories contain adjectives and descriptions that would become the basis for stereotypes used by many writers and illustrators in the West.[117] In these tales, as in Lane's account of Egypt, there is a mixture of mystery and supernatural powers through which an image of barbarism and sensuality emerged as attributes stereotypical of the Middle East. After a "corrupted" translation with multiple changes was produced in Egypt, Edward

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[115] H. Scherer, *Londoner Briefe über die Weltausstellung* (Leipzig, 1851), 75, quoted in Wolfgang Herrmann, *Gottfried Semper: In Search of Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), 46.
[116] Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient* (London and San Francisco: Saqi, 2008), 70-71.
Edward William Lane (E.W. Lane) (1801-1876).
[117] Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), 44.

William Lane translated the tales into English in 1838-1840 and enhanced the exoticism and eroticism, and enabling the reader to imagine a fantastical Oriental world.[118] *Arabian Nights* began a "prolific rash of orientalia"[119] in Europe, through which judgement of other cultures and contemporary politics and society could be masked in satire for mass consumption.

A History of Turkish and Oriental Displays

In 1846, as European scholars and citizens explored their enthusiastic interest in the "Orient," the Ottoman Empire began to collect and exhibit the first items for the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Istanbul.[120] The Turkish national collection did not begin as a taxonomic collection of specimens or a display of common, everyday materials as seen in European museums. Common objects were the last to be collected in Turkey, in contrast to Europe which used everyday items on display to "foster national spirit."[121] The Ottoman Empire began collecting "everyday" objects as regular museological practice in the late nineteenth century and the opening of the Islamic department of the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Istanbul in 1889, as items such as carpets or *hookahs* were seen as replaceable. With the implementation of the *Tanzimat* reforms, however, collections in the Imperial Museum shifted to a more "European" practice. This shift in collecting expressed the Ottoman Empire's European aspirations to produce a modern, "European" identity. In the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire began to participate in international exhibitions to celebrate industry, progress, and modernization.

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[118] Husain Haddawy, *The Arabian Nights*, xix-xx.
[119] Roderick Cavaliero, *Ottomania: the Romantics and the Myth of the Islamic Orient* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 54.
[120] Known today as the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, the museum is located in Sultanahmet Square in the Eminönü district of Istanbul.
[121] Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 173.

The Ottoman Empire on Display

While museological collection practices changed in the Ottoman Empire, so did the Ottoman government's choices for display at the Crystal Palace. On August 17, 1850, the *Morning Chronicle* reported that the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire had decided that "specimens of Turkish manufactures shall be sent in to the Exhibition…".[122] Three days before the opening of the exhibition, on April 28, 1851, *The Times* reported that the Sultan was "most anxious that the country of which he is the supreme ruler should be adequately represented."[123] After holding a preliminary exhibition in the Gallery of the Ministry of Commerce in Istanbul, items were to chosen represent the nation.[124] The Turkish display for the Great Exhibition reflects the European museological interest in items from daily life, attesting to the Ottoman Empire's attempts to modernize and to be seen as a Western power.

This imitation of European policies is continued in the Ottoman government's use of European architects and consultants at the Great Exhibition. As part of their process of Westernization, imitations of Western trends in architecture and urban planning were a conscious choice by the ruling elite.[125] The Ottoman Empire embraced European culture, and in their attempt to by seen as "Western" they made an active choice to have a European architect, Gottfried Semper, create their display at the Great Exhibition. The Ottoman government controlled the items sent on the *Feiza Baari* to London and relinquished control of the design of the court at the Crystal Palace willingly.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was the first exhibition to offer the opportunity for nations to define the identity of a whole nation within a single international display. The exhibition was also the first time the Ottoman government embraced "commodity culture" and displayed Turkey's industrial

[122] "The Great Exhibition of 1851," in *Morning Chronicle* (Saturday, August 17, 1850).
[123] "The Arrival of the Turkish Frigate Feiza Baari," in *The Times* (Monday, April 28, 1851).
[124] *Ceride-i Havadis,* (March 24, 1851), quoted in Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," 68.
[125] Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs,* 154.

progress on the international stage.[126] The Ottoman government used this opportunity to show Turkey's industrial productivity and its industrial and artistic ability while promoting its movement towards a "modern" Ottoman Empire.[127] According to Gülname Turan, the Turkish display highlighted long-standing arts and crafts traditions as well as new attempts at industrial modernization taking place in Turkey.[128]

Gottfried Semper: Architect and Interior Designer

For Gottfried Semper, the German architect responsible for the design of Turkish court, the opportunity to participate in the Crystal Palace display was the result of a series of serendipitous events including a friendship with Sir Edwin Chadwick, a dinner engagement with Henry Cole and Chadwick in November of 1850, and a meeting with Cole at the Crystal Palace in December of the same year.[129] Cole placed Semper's name on the list of available interior decorators for foreign embassy officials following their dinner engagement.[130] Semper was exiled from Germany for participation in the Dresden Uprisings in May, 1849 until 1871.[131] As a refugee in Britain, Semper worked on his architectural theories which would later be published,[132] and was hired to curate displays for

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[126] Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," 64.
As part of the re-structuring to a more "Western" country, Istanbul's 1863 and 1864 International Exhibitions followed Turkey's participation in the Great Exhibition of 1851, Paris' *Exposition Universelle* of 1855 and London's second international exhibition in 1862. Turkey did not participate in New York's exhibition in 1853. Paris, New York, and London in 1851 and 1862 are the only four international exhibitions that took place before Istanbul's exhibitions.
Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs,* 142.
[127] *Ceride-i Havadis,* (September 1, 1850), quoted in Turan. "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," 65.
[128] Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," 77.
[129] Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century: A Personal and Intellectual Biography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 197.
[130] Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century,* 197.
[131] This was an armed uprising in Dresden on May 3-9, 1849, which took place during the final phase of the German Revolution of 1848-49. During the revolt Semper openly supported the radical bourgeois opposition. A warrant was issued for his arrest after he helped lead the uprising. Semper fled to London via Paris. Herrmann, *Gottfried Semper: In Search of Architecture* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1978), 9-10.
[132] Semper's most well-known works include *Die vier Elemente der Baukunst* (1851); *Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst* (1852), and *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten, oder praktische Aesthetik* (Vol. 1, 1861; Vol. 2, 1863)

Canada, Sweden and Denmark as well as Turkey at the Great Exhibition (figs. 1.7-1.8). Larger participating countries had their own staff to arrange the goods, while smaller countries and colonies handed this job over to consuls and ambassadors, who enlisted English decorators. The Ottoman government willingly abdicated curatorial decisions to their ambassador in London, Mussurus Pasha, who handed the task of representing the Ottoman Empire on an international scale over to a European designer and his theories of architecture.[133]

Semper's theory of architecture is based on four "qualities" of raw materials, four "activities" of industrial art, and four architectural "elements." The four qualities of materials are elastic, soft, relative solidity and hard. The four activities are textile and ceramic production, tectonics (joinery), and stereometry (stone building).[134] The four architectural elements are the hearth, mound, roof, and vertical enclosure (wall). The last three elements focus on the first, meant to safeguard the "sacred flame" of the domestic hearth.[135]

Semper's architectural theories were influenced by Greek polychromatic decoration, like Owen Jones and other theorists of the mid-nineteenth century. His interest is reflected in his reverence for vibrantly coloured tapestries as the symbol of space, rather than plain mud walls.[136] For Semper, space within a vertical enclosure was not defined by brick and mortar, but rather vivid carpeting or interwoven mats to create walls of raw materials. Semper's *Die vier Elemente der Baukunst* embraced carpeting as both aesthetically pleasing and the "earliest spatial enclosure."[137]

Semper's theories on the four elements of architecture, especially the preeminence of textiles, were undoubtedly an important factor in the design choices made for the Turkish court. His display of a temporary Eastern world at the Great Exhibition is a reflection of his thoughts and perceptions of the Orient.

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[133] This was a common practice for countries with limited staff and resources available. Herrmann, *Gottfried Semper: In Search of Architecture,* 46.
[134] Herrmann, *Gottfried Semper: In Search of Architecture,* xv.
[135] Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century,* 180.
[136] Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century,* 180.
[137] Gottfried Semper, *Die vier Elemente der Baukunst,* quoted in Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century,* 188.

Semper's display was an attempt to "merge architecture and the exhibits to form an aesthetic unity… [at the same time clarifying] ethnographic features of the products and [making] the total entry more attractive to the general public."[138]

Although he did not dismiss the use of mechanized processes, Semper was repulsed by the rapid pace of industrialization taking place in Britain and lamented the mass-production that overwhelmed Victorian society.[139] He blamed this movement for destroying the historical basis of art, which in turn prevented the creation of a normative style of architecture and design.[140] The art and design produced outside of an established style, he would later say, resulted in the "disharmonious" British displays within the Crystal Palace.[141]

Although Semper did not publish his texts until after the Great Exhibition, he was formulating the ideas published in *Wissenschaft, Industrie and Kunst* (1853) and *Der Stil* (1861-63) during the assembly of the Crystal Palace. Many of Semper's theoretical ideas were embodied in his design for the courts at the Crystal Palace. Semper's participation in the exhibition gave him the opportunity to examine the displays, especially "primitive" works. Semper's strong theoretical ideas for architecture were strongly influenced by the Caraib Hut at the exhibition, a replica of a hut from Trinidad (fig. 1.9). He admired the hut for its simple design which demonstrated his theoretical elements of architecture. This simplicity ran contrary to the grandiose displays at the Crystal Palace which he critiqued for its opulence.[142]

His display of a temporary Eastern world imposed his architectural theory onto the Turkish court. In doing so, Semper created a hybridized vision of this transcontinental nation. The four courts designed by Semper all highlight his emphasis on textiles. Semper's design creates a neutral backdrop in each court

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[138] van Wesemael. *Architecture of Instruction and Delight.* 176. Quoted by Gülname Turan. "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," 70.
[139] Hvattum, ""A Complete and Universal Collection": Gottfried Semper and the Great Exhibition," in *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City,* 125.
[140] Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century,* 206.
[141] Gottfried Semper quoted in Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century,* 205.
[142] Herrmann, *Gottfried Semper: In Search of Architecture,* 86.

within the polychromatic, Moorish style of Owen Jones's Crystal Palace. Within the Turkish court, bright colours enhanced the feeling of an "exotic" bazaar on display while the use of carpets and drapery highlighted Semper's theories of the original spatial enclosure. Each country's goods were displayed in a similar setting, using the manufactured and raw materials to establish the national identity of the court. The "exoticism" of the Torrid Zone was brought to life in the courts by displays including the Indian howdah (fig. 1.10**)** and Turkey's *hookahs* (fig. 2.4).

The Emerging Print Industry

A network of print media emerged strongly in the nineteenth century, providing a new form of communication between cities and countries. Advances in printing technology, such as the high-speed press, cheaper paper, more railways, and higher literacy rates gave the Royal Commission the ability to promote the exhibition to a broader and more diverse geographical area and social audience through print.[143] Print networks enabled mass communication and new tools of advertising, such as satirical journals and catalogues, through which journalists mediated popular opinion. Print theorist Marshall T. Poe proposes the "pull theory," which suggests that new media are not suddenly created, but brought into use as a combination of its previous existence and the inability of existing modes of communication to meet the demands of the society after a major social change.[144] In the nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution initiated substantial changes in various areas of industry, commerce, and daily life. For Poe, print unites people in an extensive geographical region.[145] The ability to bring a single idea to multiple people in a broad area was, and is, essential for advertising large-scale events like the Great Exhibition. As a "high-volume" medium, printed materials could be produced at low cost, distributing influential ideas widely nationally and internationally.

[143] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 67.
[144] Marshall T. Poe, *A History of Communications: Media and Society from the Evolution of Speech to the Internet* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 103.
[145] Poe, *A History of Communications*, 89.

A month before the Great Exhibition, the Duke of Wellington wrote to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, about his concerns regarding the future visitors. In his letter he conveyed his concerns regarding the attendance of eight million foreigners whom he expected to attend the exhibition.[146] Although the city of London was not overrun by foreign visitors as predicted by the Duke and in the press, this letter shows the power of print media and its effect on popular knowledge and opinion. Britain's print media contributed to the panic felt regarding potential sanitation and health issues. Volume nineteen of *Punch*, published in 1850, included a satirical list of "Rules for the Prevention of the Promised Plague Next Year" (fig. 3.17).[147] Addressing the potential invasion of foreigners as "evil," the writer advises the reader of the quarantine that will be established, as well as the six mandatory shirts required from any German visitor and the "head-to-toe" washing that would be given to every Frenchman.[148] As the exhibition began, *Punch's* "Where are the Foreigners?"[149] brought attention to the visitors at the Crystal Palace (fig. 3.26). The article described the writer's expectations of London's atmosphere during the exhibition, with a tone of dismay at the lack of "jingling of bells [and] gold-embroidered legs."[150] Although London's residents anticipated plague brought by foreign visitors, the exhibition provided an opportunity to demonstrate not only their products but also their industrial progress to the visiting nations. According to this *Punch* article, prints for the exhibition represented "groups of foreigners hob-nobbing, elbowing, all together" although these images of foreigners on sledges and camels were drawn in anticipation of the mingling of nations rather than representing witnessed events. British print culture often anticipated problems rather than responding to the reality of the exhibition. While inflaming the fears of London's citizens, papers such as John Bull foretold of overcrowding and sanitation problems six

[146] April 2, 1851. Francis W.H. Cavendish, *Society, Politics, and Diplomacy, 1820*-1864 (London, T. Fischer Unwin, 1913), 199, quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 182.
[147] *Punch* Vol. 19 (London: Fleet Street, 1850): 239.
[148] *Punch* Vol. 19 (1850): 239.
[149] *Punch* Vol. 20 (1851): 207.
[150] *Punch* Vol. 20 (1851): 207.

months prior to the exhibition, stating that "evil is before us."[151]

Print had a key role in both representing the Great Exhibition of Industry and mediating popular opinion of the effect it would have for the citizens of London and the United Kingdom overall. The official print media, including the catalogue, handbooks, journals, and newspapers, used its voice to mediate the "Turkish Other" at the Great Exhibition in images and text, presenting the Turkish image through British voices.

Chapter 2: Representation of the Ottoman Empire in British Catalogues, Handbooks and Guides, Journals, and Newspapers

This chapter will examine the print media, specifically the official catalogue, handbooks and guides, journals, and newspapers from London and nearby counties, produced by the British Press for the Great Exhibition which depict the image of the "Turk" in text and illustrations. The relationship between the British and Ottoman Empires in the mid-nineteenth century existed in a state of balanced tension. While English politicians, government officials, and prominent citizens encouraged continued modernization of the Ottoman Empire as trade increased between the two empires, the Ottoman Empire was stereotyped as a "mysterious, exotic" land in text and images produced for the Great Exhibition.

In this chapter, I will analyze the "Turkish" image in text and visual images produced in London and surrounding areas as well as the British perception of the Ottoman Empire. By applying Edward Said's theory of the "conceptual Orient," the way the Turkish nation was depicted by Victorian print media, and not Turkey itself, will be examined. This will include looking at and analyzing textual articles and images of the "Turk" in addition to the depiction of the court and the Turkish items on display. Choices made by Sultan Abdülmecid I and the Ottoman government regarding items shipped to England, display

[151] *John Bull* (December 7, 1851) quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 181.

choices by Gottfried Semper, and artistic choices made by British artists and writers all contributed to the representations of the "Turk" in Victorian England. The Turkish court at the Great Exhibition included items from Turkish industry, culture, and religion, and will be discussed within specific categories of printed material for analysis. The court created a space in which the English hegemony, established during the Industrial Revolution, was firmly promoted. This was done through text and visual imagery in the media as well as the physical space of the Turkish court at the Crystal Palace. Expanding on chapter one's examination of the display itself, this chapter will focus on the print media produced between 1850 and 1852.

Official catalogues, handbooks and guides, journals, and newspapers will be examined separately in relation to their depiction of the "Turk." The chapter will describe each of the materials that will be examined in these four sections before analyzing the text and images produced within these publications. The Ottoman Empire's participation in the Great Exhibition was given minimal coverage in the print media in comparison to the other exhibitions, and I posit that this was a result of the political relationship between Turkey and Britain. The creation of a "Turkish Other" emerges from terminology used in *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* and *Arabian Nights* to emphasize the concept of a "sensual, exotic" Middle East. Terms such as "nomadic, "luxurious," and "Oriental" were frequently used in the texts to establish a stereotyped "Middle East." This chapter will also examine visual depictions of the court at the Crystal Palace in the texts mentioned. The images will be analyzed through three categories: the design of the court, objects on display, and people as portrayed in each of the four modes of printed sources. Specific objects that will be addressed in the visual analysis of the images are the canopy, the *tughra*,[152] raw materials, and manufactured objects, as these objects functioned together to create the "Turkish Other" at the exhibition. People illustrated (as visitors or

[152] The royal seal of the Sultan.

representatives) at the Turkish court will be examined in two categories: the "Turkish Other" and the "Arabian Other."

The "Turkish Other" represents individuals from the Ottoman Empire, specifically Turkey. These individuals are depicted in contemporary European clothes and a fez, illustrating the reforms taking place in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-nineteen century. As discussed in chapter one, the fez replaced the turban on civil officials and gradually it was adopted into the general Turkish population. The fez became a symbol of modernity in the East, and a symbol of exoticism in the West. The "Turkish Other" is also, at times, depicted with a turban and crescent which function as a representation of the symbol of Ottoman Empire, the crescent and star. Iconographically, a turban and long robes (often paired with dark facial hair) act as identifiers of the "Arabian Other," a character that embodies the Western concept of an inclusive "Middle East."[153] Due to the broader nature of this category of these images, I will apply the term "Arabian Other" to images of figures that could be representative of anywhere in the Middle East. This examination of the display, objects, and people will function as a means of deconstructing the British interpretation of the Ottoman Empire and the depiction of the "Turk."

Print Media Produced for the Great Exhibition: Official Catalogues

The official catalogues were comprehensive lists of everything on display at the Great Exhibition. These were produced by the Royal Commission, and functioned as an unbiased account of the exhibition and the participating countries, their trade, and relationship to Britain. The official catalogues acted as a mouth-piece for the Royal Commission. The Royal Commission sponsored two official catalogues: the *Small Official Catalogue* and the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851*, both published by the Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons in

[153] The "Middle East" is a fluctuating area consisting of countries situated between Europe and Eastern Asia, or the "Far East." The "Middle East" is fully defined in the introduction.

London, the official contractors for the Royal Commission.[154] The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue,* which will be focused on here, provides the most comprehensive list of the items that were on display. It intended as a book for "persons interested in the Industrial Arts."[155]

The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue w*as produced in five sections during the exhibition as the *Exhibition Official Catalogue.*[156] The first part was available at the beginning of the exhibition; however, the printing of the remaining sections were staggered due to changes in the text.[157] The five sections were compiled into an illustrated three-volume publication, the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue,* available five days before the closing of the exhibition, on October 8, 1851. In total, 8,863 copies of the five sections of the *Exhibition Official Catalogue* were produced.[158] The three-volume compilation, analyzed in this thesis, was available for three pounds and three shillings.[159] However, only 311 copies of the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* are recorded in the sales records of the *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* which was published in 1852.[160]

W. Clowes and Sons of London, the official printers for the Great

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[154] I chose to concentrate on the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* due to its more comprehensive contents. The *Small Catalogue* is unavailable for examination in Canada at this point.
The Spicer Brothers were the stationers and W.Clowes and Sons were the official printers for both publications.

[155] "Advertisement," *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 1. (1851).

[156] *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851* (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).

[157] The first two parts cost ten shillings each. The second part was available by July 16, 1851. The third, fourth, and fifth parts, sold for fifteen shillings each, were not available until August 26, October 6 and October 10, 1851, respectively. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office. "Catalogues &c." Appendix XXVII. *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, to the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole &c. one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State* (London: W. Clowes and Sons: 1852), 132-137.

[158] 250 of these copies were produced on large paper (only available in English). In comparison, 299,209 copies of the *Small Catalogue* were produced in English. In addition to the English publication, 9,176 were printed in French and 4,179 in German. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office. "Catalogues &c." Appendix XXVII *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 132-137.

[159] Equivalent to £184.37 in twenty-first century British currency. "Historical Exchange Rates," accessed April 30, 2012, http://www.oanda.com/currency/historical-rates.

[160] Her Majesty's Stationer's Office. "Catalogues &c." Appendix XXVII *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 137.

Exhibition, printed the catalogue on Super-royal paper with gold-leafed edges.[161] The catalogue is twenty-seven centimeters long by nineteen centimetres wide (ten and a half inches long by seven and a half inches wide). The cover of each volume of the full-length illustrated edition has a hard cover with a gilded engraving of elaborately dressed allegorical figures of the continents bowing in front of Albion,[162] who is seated in the centre and crowning the figures with laurel wreaths (fig. 2.1). Europe and Asia stand beside Albion, wearing flowing robes, while America and Africa stand behind Europe and Asia, respectively, dressed in more revealing clothes and individualized headwear. Reproductions of the cover of the catalogue were one of the most popular souvenir items available at the exhibition. During the exhibition over 3,992 copies of the cover were sold.[163] The title page (fig. 2.2) is preceded in volume one by a frontispiece which features the title written on a pedestal surrounded by illustrations of characters representing various aspects of the exhibition; these characters range from a First Nations figure in the shadows of the top right background, to a knight in Crusader armour at the top left, to a pensive artist at the bottom right (fig. 2.3). The range of industry and art on display at the Crystal Palace is represented by the variety of figures of the page. Albion stands on top of the pedestal as the other figures look up at her. This image is a metaphorical equivalent to the Crystal Palace and the act of the Great Exhibition's success in bringing a vast number of countries together for a single exhibition.

Volume one begins with an extensive amount of introductory materials. This includes an introduction, directory of committee members, an alphabetical and classified index of the articles on display at the exhibition, a list of jurors, a

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[161] The official cheaper alternative to the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue,* the *Small Catalogue*, was available for one shilling and also printed by W. Clowes and Sons. The *Small Catalogue* was printed on double foolscap with coloured paper for the cover. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office. "Catalogues &c.," Appendix XXVII, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 140.

[162] The oldest known name for Great Britain and the name often used to describe allegorical representations of Great Britain.

[163] I have not found a source that records the cost of the cover.
Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, "Catalogues &c.," Appendix XXVII *First Report of the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 138.

historical introduction to the construction of the building, information about preparation of the catalogue, and the classification system. This volume also contains the material for classes one through ten, the raw materials and machinery from the United Kingdom.[164] Volume one totals 478 pages, plus 118 pages of indexes and seventy-six pages of advertisements at the end titled the "Official Illustrated Catalogue Advertiser." 293 pages of volume one was allotted to the United Kingdom's displays. Volume two contains 378 pages documenting the manufactures and fine arts of the United Kingdom, as well as the information written about the British colonies. The colonies had a total of 145 pages, including illustrations, dedicated to their displays. In contrast, 671 pages of text and illustrations were reserved for the United Kingdom's displays. The second volume includes an advertisement for "Exhibition Official Catalogues, Synopsis, Handbooks, Plans, Priced Lists, Etc." published by the contractors to the Royal Commission (Appendix 3). This list includes the materials available at the exhibition in various price ranges and languages.[165] The third volume, totaling 464 pages, was dedicated to the displays of foreign countries. Printing of the fourth and fifth sections, which would become part of volume two and three, respectively, did not begin until early October 1851. Section four was available on October 6, 1851 and section five was available on October 10, 1851; this delay in publication limited the availability and distribution of these sections.[166]

The Turkish court was allotted eleven pages in the fifth section of the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue.* Within these eleven pages is a single plate depicting an ornamented *hookah*, attributed to both Egypt and Turkey (fig. 2.4). The first page is an introduction to Turkey's industry and focuses on the objects on display and trade between Britain and Europe. Written by members of the Royal Commission and edited by Robert Ellis, the writers are

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[164] See Appendix 2 for the list of classes. *First Report of Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851,* xxxiii-xxxiv.
[165] "Exhibition Official Catalogues, Synopsis, Handbooks, Plans, Priced Lists, Etc." in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol 2. n.p.
[166] Volume one: Section one: Classes 1 to 4; Section two: Classes 5 to 10. Volume two: Section 3: Classes 11 to 29; Section 4: Class 30 and Colonies. Volume three: Section 5: Foreign States. *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue.*

hopeful for the modernization of Turkey. Following the single page of introduction, a list of Turkey's contributed items to the display makes up the remainder of the chapter. Each entry has a number, a line describing the item, and often a manufacturer and/or a place of origin.

Handbooks, Guides, and Printed Descriptions of the Exhibition

Handbooks were available at the Crystal Palace as publications written to guide the reader through the exhibition. Each handbook or guide addressed in this chapter highlighted specific items for various countries or categories of display, or the courts themselves. This provided direction for the visitor while attending the exhibition. The handbooks and guides were subjective and personal accounts of the exhibition. These guides, which included text and images, also functioned as a record and/or memento of the exhibition from an individual writer's perspective.[167] Guides available at the exhibition also focused on providing information for touring through London instead of focusing on the exhibition. An example of these guides is *London as it is To-day: Where to go, and What to see, During the Great Exhibition* (fig. 2.17).[168]

Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of The Great Exhibition was published in 1852 by "Express Sanction of H.R.H. Prince Albert" by the Dickinson Brothers.[169] William Robert Dickinson, Lowes Cato Dickinson, and Gilbert Bell Dickinson, were the three eldest surviving sons of Joseph Dickinson.[170] Joseph Dickinson was a successful stationer and print seller, and his sons operated his business on 114 New Bond Street, London as the

[167] 26,000 *Popular Guides* were printed for the exhibition. It sold for two shillings, and functioned as a guide through the Crystal Palace and its courts. Due to the rarity of the handbook today, the *Popular Guide* was not available for examination.
[168] Although this guide will not be analyzed in this thesis as a whole, excerpts of it are relevant to discussions taking place throughout this chapter.
[169] The guide was also dedicated, "by permission," to Prince Albert, as "President of the Royal Commission."
Louis Haghe, David Roberts, and Joseph Nash, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: Dickinson Brothers, 1851), Title page.
[170] William Robert Dickinson (1815-1887); Lowes Cato Dickinson (1819-1908); Gilbert Bell Dickinson (1825-1908); Joseph Dickinson (1780-1849).

"Dickinson Brothers" until December 31, 1864.[171] This publication commemorated the exhibition and was compiled of original engravings by Joseph Nash, Louis Haghe, and David Roberts of the Royal Academy.[172] This high-quality work was a large financial investment, costing twenty-one shillings for the two parts.[173]

Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition was produced in celebration of the first anniversary of the Great Exhibition. Published in two volumes, the first volume contains sections addressing the displays by country and the second volume contains sections on manufactured items. Volume one has fifty pages and volume two has fifty-two pages. Divided into two volumes, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* totals 102 pages, laid out with an illustration facing each page of text.[174] *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition* uses both text and image to discuss participants in the exhibition in a similar fashion to the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*. The official patronization of the work is similar to the catalogue. The text used a more objective voice while the whole book acted as a memento of the exhibit. This high-quality work was a large financial investment, costing twenty-one shillings for the two parts.

Turkey has four images and two pages of text in volume one addressing its display.[175] These images are "General View of the Turkish Court" (fig. 2.6) and "Corner View of the Turkish Court Facing the North Transept" (fig. 2.7).[176] The Turkish court is in the background of the illustration for Greece (fig. 2.8).

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[171] "Dickinson Brothers of Brighton and London," accessed October 31, 2012, http://www.photohistory-sussex.co.uk/BtnDickinsonBros.htm.

[172] Joseph Nash (December 17, 1809-December 19, 1878); Louis Haghe (March 17, 1806-March 9, 1885); David Roberts (October 24, 1796-November 25, 1864).

[173] Other than a digital copy, I have been unable to examine the guide as a whole; the Canadian court illustration is approximately thirty-three centimetres long by forty-eight centimetres wide (thirteen inches long by nineteen inches wide). *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851.* Vol. 2, 23.

[174] Volume one has fifty pages and volume two has fifty-two pages. There are a total of fifty-three illustrations in *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851.*

[175] The sections on Turkey are located on pages 43-46.

[176] These labels are adopted from Gülname Turan; *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* does not include titles.
"Corner View of the Turkish Court Facing the North Transept" misplaces Turkey, locating it on the west side of the central transept rather than the east side.

Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition uses both text and image to discuss participants in the exhibition in a similar fashion to the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue.* The Ottoman Empire's display is discussed in two sections, "Turkey I" and "Turkey II." These two sections are divided into the different customs and items on display which were "so completely different" than those of Britain in "Turkey I," and the future manufacturing abilities of Turkey, specifically regarding the raw products available in the Levant, in "Turkey II."[177] The article specifically addressed turbans and clothing worn in the Levant, showing knowledge about the customs in the Ottoman Empire while maintaining a stereotype of Turkey as an "ignorant…excessively proud and sensual" society.[178] Most foreign countries had a single page describing their court; however, France, Tunis, Austria, and India also had multiple pages and illustrations dedicated to their courts.

Another guide, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,*[179] was published in 1852 by John Tallis, an English cartographer and publisher. John Tallis's guide was printed and published by John Tallis and Company and the London Printing and Publishing Company in London and New York.[180] *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace*[181] is an individual account of the author's experience. Tallis's guide was also dedicated to "His Royal Highness Prince Albert, K.G., Etc."[182]

Presented in three volumes on thick, high-quality paper, the 640-page publication includes a colour title page in its first volume and a less elaborate

[177] Haghe, Roberts, and Nash, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 44, 46.
[178] Haghe, Roberts, and Nash, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 46.
[179] John Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851.Illustrated by Beautiful Steel Engravings Chiefly from Daguerrotypes by Beard, Mayall &c. &c.* (London: John Tallis, 1852. [Vol. 2 and 3 edited by Jacob George Strutt. London and New York: London Printing and Publishing Company, 1852]).
[180] John Tallis and Company published volume one; Jacob George Strutt edited and published volumes two and three with the London Printing and Publishing Company.
[181] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace.*
[182] Title page. Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace* Vol. 1.

black and white title page in the subsequent volumes (figs. 2.9-2.10).[183] The image on volume one's title page is based on the shape and image of the north and south entrances of the Crystal Palace and surrounded by shields of the participating countries and colonies, including Brazil, the Papal States, and Turkey (fig. 2.9). The volumes are divided into chapters arranged, seemingly, in no particular order. The chapters address both specific and general topics concerning the Great Exhibition, such as sculpture, council medals, and the Mediaeval Court. Numerous engravings[184] from daguerrotypes by Richard Beard, John Jabez Edwin Mayall, T.H. Wilson, and H. Mason enhance the text. *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace* is not an official publication; instead, it is a subjective account of his experience at the exhibition. Chapter XXIX, "Foreign and Colonial Departments – continued," in the third volume is dedicated to Turkey. This chapter includes seven pages[185] addressing Turkey's industry and culture, the items on display, and the long-standing history of the Ottoman Empire. Tallis describes his book as a "catalogue *raisonné* of the different objects."[186]

Two other handbooks of note were produced by Robert Hunt, a chemist and photographer from Devonport, and the keeper of the mining records office.[187] His interest in geology is reflected in his focus on raw materials and minerals in his handbooks. Robert Hunt produced two handbooks that were published in 1851 and available for purchase at the Crystal Palace during the Great Exhibition. Both *Hunt's Hand-book to the Official Catalogue: An Explanatory Guide to the Natural Productions and Manufactures of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, 1851* and the *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition: Companion to the Official Catalogue* will be examined in this chapter.

Hunt's Hand-book to the Official Catalogue: An Explanatory Guide to the

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[183] Volume one: 268 pages; volume two: 262 pages; volume three: 110 pages. Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace*.
[184] 91 engravings in volume one; 65 engravings in volume two; 73 engravings in volume three.
[185] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace* Vol. 3, 183-189.
[186] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace* Vol.3, 184.
[187] (1807-1887). Alan Pearson, "Robert Hunt," accessed October 31, 2012, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14203.

Natural Productions and Manufactures of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, 1851 was published by the Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons. Similar to Tallis, Hunt compiled a subjective account of his experience at the exhibition to guide readers through the vast array of displays. The handbook was originally printed in ten parts and available for six pence per part. As the exhibition progressed the handbook was printed in one- and two-volume editions, with a delayed publication of the second volume.[188] The Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons printed a total of 5,395 copies of the ten individual sections of *Hunt's Hand-book to the Official Catalogue.* After the handbook was compiled into two volumes, 1,072 copies of volume one and 800 copies of volume two were purchased. In addition, 111 one-volume editions were also purchased**.** Each volume cost three shillings.[189] The handbook had a plain blue cover and a simple title page printed on thick, high-quality paper (fig 2.13). The two-volume set examined for this thesis measures approximately sixteen centimetres long by ten centimetres wide (six inches long by four inches wide).[190] The first volume was divided into three sections totaling 476 pages. This volume introduced the building and followed with chapters on twelve of the classes in random, non-sequential order, focused mainly on raw materials.[191] Included in these classes were Class IX, "Agricultural and Horticultural Machines and Implements," Class II, "Chemical and Pharmaceutical Products," and Class XXVIII, "Manufactures from Animal and Vegetable Substances, not being Woven or Felted."[192] Volume two totaled 471 pages comprised of the remaining eighteen categories as defined by the Royal Commission as well as the colonies and the foreign countries. Hunt

[188] Multiple editions of the handbook were printed; this thesis examines the fifth edition with enlarged text. Volume one was published on August 11, 1851; however, volume two was not published until September 13, 1851. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, "Catalogues &c.," Appendix No. XXVII, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 135.
[189] The cost of the combined one-volume editions is unknown; this price is based on the printing of a two-volume edition.
[190] 1,072 of volume 1 and 800 of volume 2. Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, Appendix XXVII, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 132.
[191] See Appendix 2 for a list of classes. *First Report of Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851,* xxxiii-xxxiv.
[192] "Table of Contents." *Hunt's Handbook to the Official Catalogues: An Explanatory Guide to the Natural Productions and Manufactures of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, 1851* Ed. Robert Hunt. (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851), Vol. 1, i-ii.

dedicated 183 pages to foreign countries and their displays. Turkey was included in a chapter combined with Persia in the second-to-last section, before Egypt.[193] It ran for three pages with a simple map that corresponds to the layout from *The Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, placing Persia on the north-eastern corner of the central transept (fig. 2.14). In the discussion of Turkish goods on display in the first volume of his *Hand-book to the Official Catalogue*, Hunt reported that there was "no peculiarity in metal or make" of Turkey or Prussia's swords or daggers, following with a discussion of the exquisite ornamentation of the weaponry of Spain and Turkey.[194] *Hunt's Hand-book to the Official Catalogue* was well-received by the public, described by the *Athenaeum* as "the most instructive guide to the Exhibition… this handbook will become one of the most popular mementoes and histories of the gathering of the nations."[195]

The last of these publications to be examined, Robert Hunt's *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition,*[196] was a hard-cover handbook with ninety-six thin pages printed by the Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons (fig. 2.15). 88,484 copies[197] of the *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition* were sold at the exhibition for six pence each. The handbook was the same size as *Hunt's Hand-book to the Official Catalogue,* measuring sixteen centimetres long by ten centimetres wide (six inches long by four inches wide)**.** Similar to *Hunt's Hand-book to the Official Catalogue,* the *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition* was a short summary written by Hunt. However, it was a more condensed explanation of the main features of the exhibition, highlighted from Hunt's perspective, and included a description of the "easiest course" to proceed

[193] The chapter was titled "Persia and Turkey," pages 942-944.
[194] *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogue,* ed. Robert Hunt, Vol. 1, 259, 247.
Daggers are listed as entry #1748, manufactured at Constantinople and exhibited by Said Aga. *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 3, 1398.
[195] *Athenaeum* (September 6, 1851), quoted in "List of Official Exhibition Catalogues, Synopsis, Handbooks, Plans, Priced Lists, Etc." *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 2, n.p.
[196] Robert Hunt, *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Companion to the Official Catalogue.* 5th edition (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).
[197] This is second only to the *Small Official Catalogue.* Of this print run, 4,500 were printed in French. "Catalogues &c.," Appendix XXVII, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,* 132-137.

throughout the Crystal Palace.[198] Hunt's *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition* is focused on the contributions from the United Kingdom, with the foreign departments and colonies allotted thirty-two of the ninety-six pages. One paragraph, totaling five sentences, addressed Turkey at the end of the handbook, on page ninety-two (fig. 2.16). Specifically, Hunt addressed the character of the court and the metal and fabric manufactured goods displayed by Turkey.

Journals

Journals were produced specifically focused on the Great Exhibition. *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue: The Industry of All Nations* was a one-time publication produced in commemoration of the exhibition; however, other serial journal publications such as *The Illustrated Exhibitor* or *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* ran for the duration of the exhibition. The journals included a vast number of illustrations focused on the contents of the Crystal Palace and minimal text concerning the political implications surrounding the exhibition.

The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue: The Industry of All Nations was a special edition of *The Art Journal* dedicated to the Great Exhibition of Industry. The publication was distributed in 1851 and reprinted in 1970. While it functioned as a memento of the exhibition, it was a primarily visual publication with text compiled to supplement the images, rather than a structured body of text discussing the contents and political goals of the exhibition.[199] Bradbury and Evans published *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* as "Printers Extraordinary to the Queen."[200] On the cover the title is surrounded by scrolling decorative leaves, using different fonts on each line (fig. 2.18). A medallion of St. George, the patron saint of England, was printed on the frontispiece (fig. 2.19), while the

[198] Hunt, *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851*: 92.
[199] The main body of the journal, totaling 328 pages, had multiple illustrations on each page; this excludes the supplementary essays at the end of the journal: "The Science of the Exhibition" by Robert Hunt, "The Harmony of Colours as Exemplified in the Exhibition" by Mrs. Merrifield, "The Vegetable World as Contributing to the Exhibition" by Edward Forbes, "The Machinery of the Exhibition as Applied to Textile Manufactures" by Lewis D.B. Gordon, and "The Exhibition as a Lesson in Taste" by Ralph Nicholson Wornum.
[200] A copy from 1851 was unavailable for examination. Title page, *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* (1970).

title page depicts an allegorical figure of Albion holding a laurel wreath and dove. Albion stands over kneeling figures of Art and Industry, who shake hands in peace (fig. 2.20).

The images in the journal focus on furniture, statuary, and European fabrics (such as silk by Messrs. Mathevon and Bouvard of Lyons)[201] rather than an overview of all the art and machinery on display at the Crystal Palace. *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* included over 300 engravings; however, not one of these is of a specific Turkish item. The journal includes five essays ranging from the science of the exhibition to the harmony of colours in the exhibition. There is no reference to Turkey in the main text; however, an image of the Turkish court is included in the introductory essay focused on the history of the Crystal Palace (fig. 2.21).

The Illustrated Exhibitor: A Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee; Comprising Sketches, by Pen and Pencil, of the Principle Objects in the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, 1851 was a series of thirty weekly publications of approximately twenty pages published by John Cassell.[202] Available for two pence per issue, this journal was twenty-five centimetres long by eighteen centimetres wide (ten inches long by seven inches wide) "sold at all booksellers"[203] and provided articles about a range of topics pertaining to the Great Exhibition and the Crystal Palace. Articles were written by Cassell as well as contributing authors, addressing aspects such as the history of the Crystal Palace, the machinery, ladies' department, and the general history of expositions. The journal was heavily illustrated, including "View of the Turkish Court – From a Photograph by Ferenbach" (fig. 2.22-2.23).[204] Turkey and the Ottoman Empire are mentioned in issues one, seven, eighteen, and twenty-two. However, the Ottoman Empire does not have an article dedicated to its Turkish court. *The Illustrated Exhibitor* focused on manufactured materials rather than raw products, lending an air of consumerism and advertising to its purpose.

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[201] "Drap d'Or" silk. *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue,* 276.
[202] The thirty issues total 556 pages.
[203] Title page, *The Illustrated Exhibitor,* (1851).
[204] *The Illustrated Exhibitor* Iss. 18. (October 4, 1851).

The Crystal Palace and its Contents: Being an Illustrated Cyclopaedia of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations[205] was a weekly journal published after the Great Exhibition, running from October 4, 1851 to March 20, 1852. The twenty-five issues totaled 424 pages, consecutively numbered, and highly illustrated. The journal was printed on thin paper and sold for one penny per issue. It was twenty-seven centimetres long by nineteen centimetres wide (ten and a half inches long by seven and a half inches wide). *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* includes reoccurring sections addressing items and displays at the Great Exhibition, similar to *The Illustrated Exhibitor*, such as "Foreign and Colonial Departments" and "Prince Albert's Model Houses for Families."[206] The "Foreign and Colonial Departments" includes a two-page section on Turkey in the twenty-third issue, available on March 6, 1852.[207] *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* repeated lines from sources such as *Tallis's History of the Crystal Palace* and Robert Hunt's handbooks. The articles within the journal focused on the items on display at the Crystal Palace and demonstrated an interest in the diversity of the Ottoman Empire's territory.[208] The article comments on the Turkish "nomadic" way of life, the dishes fitting into each other, prized carpets, and the "expensive velvet and gold embroidery bestowed on their saddles."[209] The journal includes four two-page illustrations of scenes at the Crystal Palace. Three scenes feature modern "Turkish Other" figures in contemporary European clothes and a fez while a fourth imitates the view of the eastern nave from number twenty-two of *The Illustrated Exhibitor* (fig. 2.24-2.25).

Newspapers

For the purpose of this thesis, "newspapers" refers to serial publications

[205] *The Crystal Palace and its Contents; Being an Illustrated Cyclopaedia of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations. 1851. Embellished with Upwards of Five Hundred Engravings with a Copious Analytical Index* (London, W.M. Clark: 1852).
[206] *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 6 (November 8, 1851): 81-82.
[207] "Turkey," in *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 23 (March 6, 1852): 366-367.
[208] References to the brazier (or mangal) on display and the "diversity" of the Ottoman Empire's territory appear in *Tallis's History of the Crystal Palace*, pages 183 and 186, respectively.
[209] "Turkey," in *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 23 (March 6, 1852): 366.

available on a daily or weekly basis for a nominal fee which addressed current political or social events in England. In 1851, newspapers were a source of both opinion and information about the Great Exhibition. Newspapers were cheap, mass-produced, and available for mass distribution to visitors to the Crystal Palace. The newspapers examined for this thesis have been narrowed to British publications addressing Turkey's participation in the Great Exhibition. Online databases, specifically "19th century British Library Newspapers" and "Historical Newspapers Online," were used to narrow the search to newspapers in publication in 1851 containing articles with content about Turkey or the Ottoman Empire at the Great Exhibition. To determine a statistic for British publications addressing Turkey, the online databases with articles about the court in the Crystal Palace or Turkey at the Great Exhibition were separated out from the total number of newspapers in print within London (and Britain) in 1851 as represented in "19th century British Library Newspapers" and "Historical Newspapers Online."

The Great Exhibition had articles written about it in major newspapers, including *The Times,* the *Morning Chronicle, The Standard,* and the *Illustrated London News.* These newspapers were printed on a daily and weekly basis. The Ottoman Empire at the Great Exhibition was only addressed in four of the seventy-three London-based newspapers in print in 1851.[210]

Two opposing yet influential newspapers in circulation in London were *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle,* a left- and right-wing paper respectively.[211] In addition to these papers, *The Standard* published a selection of news and arts articles. The *Illustrated London News* mentioned Turkey in a small

[210] This is equivalent to five percent of the newspapers in print in London in 1851. This statistic is based on searches in online databases, specifically "19th century British Library Newspapers" and "Historical Newspapers Online" which focus on historical newspapers. These databases were available via the University of Alberta.
The only other two newspapers that addressed Turkey or the Ottoman Empire were *The Manchester Times* (from Manchester, England) and *The Preston Guardian* (from Preston, England).

[211] In Victorian England, the broad terms "right-wing" and "left-wing" were defined by the architectural positions of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. "Left-wing" parties originally urged for reform, whereas "right-wing" was associated with maintaining the status quo. These global terms are constantly in flux; the "left-wing" became concerned with increased government regulation. Jeffery Winkler, "Political Terminology," accessed November 12, 2011, http://webspace.webring.com/people/xj/jefferywinkler/politerm.txt.

selection of articles in the feature section and arts and entertainment section as well as supplementary publications printed to coincide with the opening of the exhibition. Newspapers printed outside of London often reprinted articles from larger newspapers in London. This chapter will focus on the text from newspaper articles due to the lack of illustrations in this mode of print media. Articles addressing Turkey's contributions, display, and the Great Exhibition's opening will be included in this analysis of the voice of British journalists.

The Times cost five pence per issue, higher in price by one or two pence compared to the handbooks. *The Times* covered many different issues arising from the Great Exhibition, ranging from the arrival of goods, the floor plan, and attendance during the exhibit. The Great Exhibition was one of the main topics in letters to the Editor of *The Times* in the spring and summer of 1851.[212]

The Times was considered one of the leading papers of the mid-nineteenth century and therefore many articles were appropriated for smaller papers in other towns. A guidebook covering all of London, *London as it is to-day: Where to go, and What to see during the Great Exhibition* was published in 1854 and refers to *The Times* as the "leading journal of Europe" due to the accuracy of its writing and "originality of its leading articles."[213]

The *Morning Chronicle* stood in opposition to *The Times* as far as its political stance, but it was also highly respected for the information provided in its pages. *London as it is To-day* describes newspapers as a "great indicator of public opinion for Great Britain, and her vast and varied colonies," a medium which had gained influence and extended its circulation through "every rank and order of the state."[214]

The Standard was a Conservative newspaper devoted to English and Protestant principles. By the 1860s, its foreign news and low price would

[212] Patrick Beaver, *The Crystal Palace, 1851-1936: A Portrait of Victorian Enterprise* (London: Hugh Evelyn Ltd., 1970), 21.
[213] *London as it is To-day: Where to go, and What to see during the Great Exhibition* (London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1851), 419.
[214] *London as it is To-day: Where to go, and What to see during the Great Exhibition*: 418.

establish it as a rival to *The Times*.[215] *The Standard* included articles in the news section and arts and entertainment section discussing the Turkish display located in the centre of the Crystal Palace, as well as the Ottoman Empire's (and specifically Turkey's) industrial progress as it was exhibited through the decoration and display.[216]

Lastly, the *Illustrated London News* is the fourth newspaper examined within this chapter as a source of information about the Turkish court at the Crystal Palace. Much of the information in the *Illustrated London News* is repeated from *The Times*, or does not pertain to the display itself. Generally, the newspapers discussed in this thesis functioned as a daily report of the events at the Great Exhibition rather than descriptive accounts of the Crystal Palace and its contents, such as *The Illustrated Exhibitor's* articles on machinery and individual courts. Although the *Manchester Times* and *Preston Guardian* included Turkey in their coverage, they are from smaller, more distant towns and will not be examined here. Overall, the London Press was viewed as "a mighty political engine" that spread news and the "gracious words" of the Queen throughout Britain.[217]

Media Coverage of the Ottoman Empire at the Great Exhibition

The London Press under-represented the Ottoman Empire and its court in the British print media when considering the volume of text dedicated to the Great Exhibition of Industry. Only fourteen pages represented the Ottoman Empire in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, although over 3,300 items were displayed in the Turkish court. Volume one included a list of illustrations as one of the preliminary charts, and using this chart the representation of Turkey can be compared to other foreign participants.

The single illustration from the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, an ornamented *hookah* attributed to Turkey and Egypt described

[215] Seven pence in 1827 lowered to two pence by 1857. "The Standard," accessed October 21, 2012, http://find.galegroup.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/bncn/publicationSearch.do.
[216] "The Great Exhibition," in *The Standard* Iss. 8351 (Saturday, May 17, 1851).
[217] *London as it is To-day: Where to go, and What to see during the Great Exhibition*, 418.

previously (fig. 2.4), is listed directly above four plates from Greece and five from Tunis. Like Turkey, these two countries were valued for their raw materials but did not have established trading relationships with Britain to the extent of Turkey's economy during the mid-nineteenth century. Despite of the lack of interaction with Britain, Greece and Tunis were represented visually to a greater extent than Turkey. The expansive Ottoman Empire was whittled down to a short chapter or a few paragraphs in each handbook or catalogue, often in the same section as other Middle Eastern countries, summarizing the culture and its industry within one or two pages.

Lack of representation of the Turkish court is seen in the compilation of illustrations and text in *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851*. While Turkey has two illustrations and two pages of text dedicated to its court and relationship with Britain, seven illustrations and seven pages of text address India in volume two.[218] Tallis does not include illustrations in chapter XXIX in the third volume of *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace*.[219] Under the "Foreign and Colonial Departments" Turkey has a mere seven pages of information. Following this pattern of under-representation, the three pages in *Hunt's Hand-book to the Official Catalogue* address "Persia and Turkey" in a short, combined chapter.[220] Hunt's *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851* allots a single paragraph to Turkey, which is subsequently followed by Persia and Egypt.[221] The vast Ottoman Empire is pared down to a single page of text. Regardless of this combination, however, there are no comparisons between the two countries. Like Tallis, both handbooks by Hunt omit illustrations in favour of cheaper production, resulting in mass distribution of his guides. Foreign departments and colonies were allotted thirty-two out of ninety-six pages; Turkey was addressed on one page. The foreign contributors at

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[218] "Turkey," *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851,* 103-109. India was a British colony until 1947.
"India," *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, Vol. 2, 3-16.
[219] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* 183-189.
[220] "Persia and Turkey." *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogue*, ed. Robert Hunt, Vol. 2, 942-944.
[221] Hunt, "Turkey." *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 92.

the exhibition were allotted space towards the end of the handbook, before Hunt guides the reader up to the galleries.

Unlike handbooks and guides, neither *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* nor *The Illustrated Exhibitor* focuses on textual descriptions of any particular aspect of the Turkish-British relationship. Articles in the journals were complimented by illustrations to enhance descriptions of the goods and courts at the Crystal Palace. In *The Illustrated Exhibitor*, M. Blanqui addresses the exhibit of Spanish and Turkish goods at the Great Exhibition in the fourth of a series of ten letters contributed to the publication. Blanqui suggests that the Turks "devote themselves entirely to the production of raw materials, and above all of dye-stuffs." Examining the European trade industry, he did not believe that Spain and Turkey were "worn-out countries;" instead, Blanqui described these countries "at the two extremities of Europe" as "in their infancy" and making more rapid progress than many of the other countries participating in the exhibition.[222] Blanqui's letter suggests that Spain and Turkey focus on raw materials, as he believed those items would be more highly sought after than manufactured goods. He regards items such as Turkish carpets as "vulgar… strong, and almost unchangeable… and of an unhappy choice."[223] Blanqui ended his letter with the advice that the Turks may judge "the direction which they should give to their reviving industry… Turkey now aspires, with much honour to herself, to be ranked among the civilised nations… It is indisputably to their [Sultan's] powerful intervention that the success of the Turkish exhibition is attributable."[224]

Illustrations of the Turkish court were included in *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* (fig. 2.21) and *The Illustrated Exhibitor* (fig. 2.24-2.25). *The Illustrated Exhibitor* also includes "Group of Silver Plate," (fig. 2.26) which depicts the same statue as "Arab Merchants Halting in the Desert" from Tallis's third volume of *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace* (fig. 2.11). *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* has a short section on Turkey, but pulls much

[222] *The Illustrated Exhibitor* No. 18 (October 4, 1851): 329-330.
[223] *The Illustrated Exhibitor* No. 18 (October 4, 1851): 329-330.
[224] *The Illustrated Exhibitor* No. 18 (October 4, 1851): 329-330.

of the writing from earlier sources including *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace* and Robert Hunt's *Hand-book to the Great Exhibition of 1851*.

Media coverage in England's newspapers of the Ottoman Empire at the Great Exhibition began prior to the event itself, with the Sultan's decision to participate in the exhibition and the subsequent arrival of the *Feiza Baari* ("Skimmer of the Sea")[225] in April 1851. Reporting continued until the end of the exhibition in October 1851 with descriptions of the display and the items within.

The *Feiza Baari*, a steamer-of-war, was the first Turkish steam-vessel to visit England. The ship carried the Turkish ambassador and numerous other male dignitaries to London. *The Times's* article from April 28, 1851 reported on the vessel's sailing from Constantinople to Southampton, the saluting of its arrival, and the dignitaries disembarking from the ship to a welcoming audience. *The Times* was the only paper to report the ship's arrival, although the same article was re-printed in *The Preston Guardian*. *The Times* reported that Sultan Abdülmecid I had decided "that specimens of Turkish manufactures [would] be sent to the Exhibition…"[226] These "specimens" included needlework that were later described as "faultless in colour and design."[227] The Ottoman Empire's general participation (that of foreign countries overall) was addressed in a single article by the *Morning Chronicle* on August 17, 1850.[228]

The Times' June 7, 1851 article on the Great Exhibition expresses concern for the industry in Britain, for although Britain could produce items for mass consumption, it stated that England could not create carpets and rugs to the same standard of "continental taste" when compared to the carpets of Turkey, Tunis, or India, although these countries lagged in "general civilization."[229] In the same article from June 7, 1851, *The Times* challenged *The Morning Chronicle's* claim that Britain was competing with the aesthetic standard of Turkey's carpeting industry. The author insisted that if England wishes to maintain its position as a

[225] "The Arrival of the Turkish Frigate Feiza Baari," in *The Times* (Monday, April 28, 1851).
[226] "The International Exhibition," in *Morning Chronicle* (Saturday, August 17, 1850).
[227] "The Great Exhibition," in *Morning Chronicle* (Thursday, September 25, 1851).
[228] "The Arrival of the Turkish Frigate Feiza Baari," in *The Times* (Monday April 28, 1851).
[229] "The Great Exhibition," in *The Times* (Saturday, June 7, 1851).

forerunner in the industrial world it must develop its application of the fine arts to "useful objects."[230] This corresponds directly to the goal of Henry Cole and the Great Exhibition to bring industry and design together.

In an article by the *Morning Chronicle* titled "The Great Exhibition: Carpets," published on June 18, 1851, the ornamentation of Turkish items on display at the Crystal Palace and England's ability to rival the production of Turkish goods in design and mass manufacture was addressed. The *Morning Chronicle's* journalist criticizes "foreign" countries for showing "no progress" in comparison to European, especially English, manufacturing processes. The journalist proposes that England will soon "supply the east" with carpets as a result. [231]

The writers at the *Morning Chronicle* believed that the "character of the display from Turkey will… attract the attention of all interested."[232] In the May 26, 1851 issue of *The Standard*, the Turkish display was described by an unnamed author as a "glazed pagoda, richly stocked with streaming specimens of silk manufacture surmounted with a Turkish cupola, the whole area being overhung with a striped awning." [233] *The Preston Guardian* described the finished exhibits by Turkey, Egypt, and Greece as "thrown open in all their glitter of gold and embroidery…".[234]

Terminology and Text Associated with the Creation of a "Turkish Other"

Glitter, silk, and luxurious colours, used in written descriptions of the Turkish court in *The Standard*, contributed to the construction of the "Turkish Other" in British print culture. The "Turkish Other" was formed by a combination of factors which included the Turkish court at the Crystal Palace described in text and images, which reflected the ideas and preconceptions of British writers and artists. Stemming largely from *The Arabian Nights,*

[230] "The Great Exhibition," in *The Times* (Saturday, June 7, 1851).
[231] "The Great Exhibition: Carpets," in *Morning Chronicle* (Wednesday, June 18, 1851).
[232] "The Great Exhibition," in *Morning Chronicle* (Thursday, September 16, 1851).
[233] "The Great Exhibition," in *The Standard* Iss. 8358, (May 26, 1851).
[234] "The Great Exhibition," in *The Preston Guardian* Iss. 2022, (May 31, 1851).

terminology perpetuating the idea of a "primitive Orient" was already established by the Victorian Orientalist movement. As a result of British preconceptions of the Middle East, these terms are found in written descriptions of the Turkish court and the items on display at the Great Exhibition. Three of the most popular adjectives found in the sources discussed in this thesis are "nomadic," "luxurious," and "Oriental."

"Nomadic"

The image of a nomadic Arab is not established in the text of the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue.* The catalogue functions as an unbiased account of the goods on display at the Great Exhibition. The subjective nature of handbooks and guides, however, allow for more colourful descriptions of Turkey and its culture. The term "nomad" or "nomadic" is used as a general descriptor for Turkish society. *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace*[235] describes the distinction between the English and Turkish residence. Tallis believed Turkish citizens were constantly fleeing the "tyrannical measures of a cruel and despotic government," which resulted in the preconceived "nomade habits" [sic] of Turkish society.[236] Tallis recognizes "the Turkish aptitude for the portable," for "whatever is portable… is prized."[237] This was understood as a result of their need to carry their possessions as a nomadic society.[238]

The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue does not deal with any particular traits of the Ottoman Empire and its culture. *The Illustrated Exhibitor,* in comparison, describes Arab merchants as part of "nomadic tribes," a way of life which is "forced upon them by the very nature of the country in which their lot is cast."[239] In this text, *The Illustrated Exhibitor* excuses the "barbaric" society

[235] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace.*
[236] Tallis, "Chapter XXIX. Foreign and Colonial Departments – continued," *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* 184.
[237] Tallis, "Chapter XXIX. Foreign and Colonial Departments – continued," *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* 184.
[238] Tallis, "Chapter XXIX. Foreign and Colonial Departments – continued," *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* 185.
[239] *The Illustrated Exhibitor,* 87.

which stereotypes the Middle East[240] as a symptom of their surroundings. This is perceived by the writer as an uncontrollable result of the "perils they so frequently encounter in crossing vast scenes of sandy desolation."[241] *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* addresses the concept of "nomadic" in a similar fashion to *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace*. The article describes the items on display and their intentional adaption to "habits [of] military locomotion." These "nomade habits" are a result of "the constant fear of the great dignitaries of the government," a distinct difference between the East and the West.[242] *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* also quotes Tallis's commentary on the Turkish aptitude for creating the portable in the twenty-third issue.[243]

The newspapers do not address the concept of a nomadic Turkish society; however, the *Morning Chronicle* does use the phrase "semi-barbaric Turkey" in "The Great Exhibition," an article from October 30, 1851.[244] This references the concept of an uncivilized society similar to that of a "nomadic" Turkish society.

"Luxurious"

The "luxury" of Turkey is emphasized throughout British print culture for the exhibition. The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* includes a paragraph within the list of entries referring to the "finer specimens of embroidery."[245] The Turkish embroidery not only adds interest to the collection, according to the Royal Commission, but "attest**[**s] to the extraordinary height to which the magnificence of personal luxury, in all that regards personal attire, has attained among the wealthier classes."[246]

The handbooks and guides use "luxury" to evoke the stereotypical Middle Eastern setting of a sensual, languid country in which the speed of the Industrial Revolution had not disturbed the peaceful idleness that characterized Victorian

[240] Specifically, the text refers to Arab merchants.
[241] "Silver Plate in the Crystal Palace," *The Illustrated Exhibitor* No. 5 (July 5, 1851): 87.
[242] *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 23 (March 23, 1852): 366.
[243] *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 23 (March 6, 1852): 367.
[244] "The Great Exhibition," in *Morning Chronicle* (Thursday October 30, 1851).
[245] "Turkey," in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition,* 1395.
[246] "Turkey," in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition,* 1395.

Orientalists's stereotypical image of the Middle East. *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* describes the "two great faults" of Turkish society as being "excessively proud and excessively sensual," as well as having a "sedentary mode of life."[247] Haghe, Roberts, and Nash describe the Turk as "luxuriously reclining on soft cushions, and dreamily listening to the "hubble, bubble" noise made by the passage of the fragrant smoke of the tobacco through the scented waters."[248] This sense of idleness conceptually refers to the sense of stagnation Britain believed was preventing modernization in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was, according to Tallis, "too dormant considering its advantages" in climate, classical associations, and mineral and agricultural wealth.[249] Tallis describes the goods of Constantinople as "productive rather of the diversified objects of luxuriant convenience adapted to eastern usages than of articles of first necessity."[250] This description of idly passing time while lying on cushions and smoking a "hubble, bubble"[251] is repeated in Robert Hunt's *Hand-book to the Official Catalogues.*[252] Hunt describes the fragrant smoke passing through the air from the "luxurious narguilles, or water-pipes… richly ornamented in silver."[253]

The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue does not specifically address "luxury" in reference to Turkey or the Ottoman Empire. However, the *Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* does reference the "dearly-purchased luxuries of the East" while discussing the Persian decoration and its "fanciful and brilliant hues" in design.[254] The journals were concerned with an account of the objects on

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[247] Haghe, Roberts, and Nash, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851,* 44.
[248] Haghe, Roberts, and Nash, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851,* 46.
[249] Tallis, "Chapter XXIX. Foreign and Colonial Departments – continued," in *Tallis's Description and History of the Crystal Palace,* 187.
[250] Tallis, "Chapter XXIX. Foreign and Colonial Departments – continued," in *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* 187.
[251] Also known as a hookah, narguille, or water-pipe.
[252] "Persia and Turkey," *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogues,* ed. Robert Hunt, Vol. 2, 943.
[253] "Persia and Turkey," *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogues,* ed. Robert Hunt, Vol. 2, 943.
[254] *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue,* 129.

display while the articles in *The Illustrated Exhibitor* focused on manufacturing processes and court displays rather than cultural attributes. *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* quotes John Tallis's observation of Constantinople as a "sort of Paris to the eastern world."[255]

The journalists for the *Manchester Times* newspaper ventured into a subjective account of the Ottoman Empire when describing the "luxury" of its society. The *Manchester Times* describes the articles on display at the Turkish court as "manifest[ing] the voluptuous lives of the Turks, and the love of indolence and sensual enjoyment which are observable among those who are in a position in life to procure themselves such indulgences."[256]

The *Morning Chronicle* described Turkey as a "soft, dreamy, voluptuous" country, "exemplify[ing] the indolent and passive disposition of the people, and the enervating and luxurious influence of the climate".[257] This sentence was repeated in *The Standard's* July 3, 1851 article. In *The Standard,* the adjectives "soft, dreamy, voluptuous" are attributed to textile fabrics.[258] Turkey's carpets were admired as handicrafts of great beauty; these items were manufactured by traditional methods which resulted in elegant objects admired by the visitors to the Great Exhibition. The Turkish carpet industry was expressed in newspapers as luxurious and colourful, with "strangely fantastic forms" decorating these highly durable utilitarian objects.[259]

"Oriental"

The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* stated that the embroidered articles submitted by the Ottoman Empire were "common in Oriental states," in which "Turkey has long stood pre-eminent."[260] This statement in the

[255] "Turkey," in *The Crystal Palace and its Contents,* No. 23 (March 6, 1852): 367.
[256] "The Great Exhibition: From a Correspondent," in *The Manchester Times* Iss. 293 (Saturday, August 23, 1851).
[257] "The Great Exhibition: Carpets," in *Morning Chronicle* (Wednesday, June 18, 1851).
[258] "The Great Exhibition," in *The Standard: Multiple Arts and Popular Culture Items* Iss. 8391 (Thursday, July 3, 1851).
[259] "The Great Exhibition: Carpets," in *Morning Chronicle* (Wednesday, June 18, 1851).
[260] "Turkey," in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue,* 1385.

official publication merges multiple countries in Asia and the Middle East into the general category of the "Orient."

Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851 uses the phrase "Oriental pomp and luxury" when describing items from the exhibition.[261] This short phrase encapsulates many visual and linguistic stereotypes of the Middle East, from the sensual, languid harems to colourful bazaars of Constantinople and the Levant. Robert Hunt discussed Turkish works in precious metals in *Hunt's Hand-book of the Official Catalogue,* reiterating the phrase "oriental pomp and luxury" to describe the goods he writes about.[262] Coffee cup-holders on display are "peculiarly eastern" and the act of offering coffee to visitors is explained as a similar social act to drinking wine in England. Hunt's subjective writing enhances the personal tone of his handbook. Hunt writes that the "Orientalism of everything [in the Turkish section]… is evident" for the viewer in the *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851*.[263] The paragraph dedicated to Turkey praises the "mosque-like character of the decorations," a feature attributed to Semper's design.[264] Tallis refers to Turkey's stained glass, specifically in the form of sherbet cups, as an example of "European offspring" excelling from its "Oriental parent."[265] John Tallis argues that the displays from the Levant hold interest "in relation to Oriental life" for even the *homme blasé*.[266]

The Art Journal and the Illustrated Exhibitor do not address the term "Oriental," although *The Illustrated Exhibitor* makes reference to "Arabian traditions" from which M. Blanqui stated the Spanish manufacturers have

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[261] Haghe, Roberts, and Nash, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851,* 46.
[262] "Peculiar" in the 19th century was used to refer specifically to Eastern items.
"Persia and Turkey," *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogues,* ed. Robert Hunt, Vol. 2, 942.
[264] Hunt, *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 92.
[265] There is no stained glass listed in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue.*
Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* 184.
[266] Tallis refers to season ticket-holders or experienced travelers in his use of *homme blasé,* a term used to describe visitors that have been exposed to other cultures, specifically the Levant, previously. Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* 185.

inherited skills in carpet-making.[267] Again *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* quotes (but does not cite) John Tallis. The journal reiterates his observation of the "European offspring" excelling the "Oriental parent."[268]

The Standard included articles in May 1851 that referenced the "Oriental" style of Turkey's ship and the Turkish display at the Crystal Palace. On May 1, 1851, "The Turkish Steam Frigate" includes information about toasts held to the Queen and the salute made upon the *Feiza Baari's* arrival to South Hampton "in honour of the Sultan of Turkey."[269] A state visit held on the day after the steam vessel's arrival included refreshments in the "Oriental style."[270] The court at the Crystal Palace was described as an "Oriental bazaar," in which the colours of the foods added to the effect.[271]

Images Associated with the Creation of a "Turkish Other:" Design of the Turkish Court

Visual representation, via displayed items and drawings of the display, assisted in firmly establishing the fanciful, "exotic" portrayal of Turkey and its citizens. The use of deep, luxurious colours in the striking amount of textiles recalled the artistic depictions of Oriental scenes by nineteenth-century painters (fig. 0.1). Deep reds, blues, and golds – seen in Ingres' *Odalisque with a* Slave – work with items from art, craft, and industry in Semper's design of the Turkish court, as discussed in chapter one, to create a representation of Turkish life and customs within the Crystal Palace. Jewelry, *hookahs*, and weaponry conjured images of rich women of a harem and aggressive, barbaric men wandering the desert. The design of the Turkish court by Gottfried Semper reproduced in print media for the Great Exhibition referenced the architecture stereotyped in

[267] M. Blanqui, "Letters on the Great Exhibition – No. VI," in *The Illustrated Exhibitor* No. 18 (October 4, 1851): 329.
[268] "Turkey," in *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 23 (March 6, 1852): 366.
[269] "The Turkish Steam Frigate," in *The Standard* (May 1, 1851).
[270] This may refer to coffee, based on the interest in the beverage in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*. "The Turkish Steam Frigate," in *The Standard* (May 1, 1851).
[271] "The Great Exhibition," in *The Standard. Arts and Entertainment* Iss. 8358 (May 26, 1851): 1.

travelers' accounts[272] of the Anatolian peninsula as perceived by British authors and illustrators, and the markets that take place within Turkish cities. The draping canopy with textiles hanging from the walls created a doorway to a different world. As discussed in chapter one, the Turkish court encouraged the act of visiting "pleasurable frights" through imagination. Semper's design highlighted the court with "carpets, silks, velvets and Armenian dresses,"[273] which evoked the fourth of his principles of architecture – the textile walls of a hut. The rich, opulent features of the court's design paired with the exotic items on display transported the viewer eastward to an imaginary Istanbulite market in the heart of London. M. Blanqui described the Turkish display as resembling a "beautiful bazaar, lighter and more coquettish… in which the goods are displayed after the Eastern fashion."[274]

Creating the "Turkish Other:" Objects in the Turkish Court

Manufactured objects at the Turkish court were used to establish the feeling of "exoticism" experienced by visitors to the Crystal Palace. These objects included items sent for display by the Ottoman government, as well as design techniques used by Gottfried Semper. Specifically, the canopy, *tughra,* raw materials, and manufactured objects created the experience of travelling to a "beautiful bazaar" within the Crystal Palace.[275]

The Canopy

The long swathes of fabric covering the tables and entrance, as well as the carpeting on display were significant items contributing to the creation of an "Eastern bazaar." Although the fabrics were not discussed at length in the texts, they were depicted in the illustrations examined in this chapter.

While the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* does not describe

[272] Such as John Lloyd Stephen, *Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland* (1838).
[273] Hunt, *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851,* 92.
[274] M. Blanqui, Member of the Institute of France, "Letters on the Great Exhibition. No. VI," in *The Illustrated Exhibitor,* 330.
[275] M. Blanqui, Member of the Institute of France, "Letters on the Great Exhibition. No. VI," in *The Illustrated Exhibitor,* 330.

the display, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* has detailed illustrations of the Turkish court. "General View of the Turkish Court Facing North" (fig. 2.6) provides an excellent illustration of the striped interior canopy. An onion-shaped dome in the background, mimicking *ogee* arches of India, Turkey, and Central Asia,[276] supports the striped fabric.[277] The tower and dome reach vertically into the background, emphasizing verticality while enlarging the visual space. On the top left of "Corner View of the Turkish Court Facing the North Transept," (fig. 2.7) the space above the Turkish Court is open, with only the Ottoman Empire's symbolic star and crescent rising above the hanging carpets. Figure 2.8 depicts drapery enhancing the mystique of the entrance to the court, while H. Bibby's engraving "The Opening of the Great Exhibition" from *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace*[278] (fig. 2.12) depicts the Turkish court covered by long swathes of drapery, hidden from public viewing until the visitor enters the court.[279] Neither of Hunt's handbooks includes illustrations.

"Entrance to the Turkish Department," an engraving from *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* (fig. 2.21), displays the warm, bazaar-like atmosphere created by Semper's design of the Turkish court. Like "General View of the Turkish Court Facing North" (fig. 2.6), this illustration includes the striped canopy and *ogee* dome in the background, which rests on a large plinth reaching vertically towards the second-floor galleries behind a large display case. The display case is also covered by a tent-shaped canopy with swags of fabric hanging across the top. *The Illustrated Exhibitor* depicts a simplified version of the fabric and canopy covering the large display case to the right of the court's entrance. The case is seen from a bird's eye view looking down the foreign avenue in "The Main Eastern Avenue – From a Photograph by Ferenbach" (fig. 2.24-2.25). "View of the Turkish Court – From a Photograph by Ferenbach" (fig. 2.22-2.23)

[276] Arches with an "S-shape" formed by a concave arc flowing into a convex arc which culminates in an apex.
[277] "General View of the Turkish Court Facing North," in *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851,* 44.
[278] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace.*
[279] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace.* Vol. 1.

continues to depict the canopy in volume eighteen of *The Illustrated Exhibitor* (October 4, 1851), with drapery hanging behind the "Egypt" and "Turkey" signs. The striped canopy and dome dominate the background of the illustration. Finally, issue eight of *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* includes a bird-eye illustration of the foreign nave. To the left-hand side is the Turkish court, with fabric hanging on each side as well as inside the display cases adding to the feeling of a decadent, rich tent (fig. 2.29).

The only illustrations depicting the Turkish court at the Great Exhibition in newspapers are the map from *The Times* (Appendix 1.7) and the exterior drawing from the *Illustrated London News* (fig. 2.32). This is the same image included in the journal *The Crystal Palace and its Contents.* There is not an image of the interior of the court in any of the four newspapers examined in this thesis.

The Tughra

A second notable and prominently represented feature is the *tughra* (fig. 2.37), the royal calligraphic seal of the sultan. It was published on all official documents during Abdülmecid I's reign. In addition to the Turkish court, the prominent *tughra* hung over Egypt's display. By 1851, Egypt was an independent Ottoman colony; the *tughra* functioned as a stamp of ownership above the two courts. It translates to "Abdülmecid han the son of Mahmud victorious forever," including complementary signs. The seal is a reoccurring image lending an exoticism in the cursive Diwani calligraphy[280] and demonstrating the power of the Ottoman empire.

The *tughra* varies in its depiction as the elaborate Arabic script was (and is) difficult to draw and not necessarily understood by the artist. As previously stated, the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* only contained an

[280] Diwani script is a cursive style of Arabic calligraphy that developed in the early Ottoman period (16^{th}-17^{th} century). It was invented by Housam Roumi and is a highly decorative script. "Classic Arabic Script Types," accessed October 31, 2012, http://www.arabiccalligraphy.com/classic-types.

illustration of a hookah, and therefore it does not depict Sultan Abdülmecid's *tughra.* The *tughra* is also not depicted in any of the guides or handbooks examined in this thesis.

The journals examined in this chapter contain illustrations of the Turkish court from its exterior, which depict the *tughra* of Sultan Abdülmecid I. The *tughra* is represented in *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* in "Entrance to the Turkish Department" (fig. 2.21) at the top of the illustration in an oval crest with a raised border, placed between the signs for Egypt on the left and Turkey on the right. Like "Entrance to the Turkish Department," "View of the Turkish Court – From a Photograph by Ferenbach" (fig. 2.22-2.23) in *The Illustrated Exhibitor* depicts the Turkish Court from the exterior looking towards the back of the display. "The East Nave – Foreign Department – Looking from the South-west of the Transept" (fig. 2.29) in *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* has the same cursive seal hanging prominently between the signs for Egypt and Turkey above the entrance to the court. The *Illustrated London News* depicts "The East Nave" viewed at an angle (fig. 2.32).[281] This image depicts the signage for Egypt and Turkey's court, including the *tughra*.

Raw Materials

Raw materials, including food, composed a large section of listed display items from the Turkish chapter in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*. The list includes "exotic" items depicted as foreign or curious, such as furs, tobacco, and two ostrich wings. "General View of the Turkish Court Facing North" from *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (fig. 2.6) provides a view of animal skins and horns hanging inside the court on the left (Egyptian) side. Raw materials, such as minerals and food items, **(**regardless of their interest for British merchants and traders), were not visually documented in any of the sources examined in this thesis. Their presence at the Crystal Palace did, however, enhance the atmosphere as visitors were invited to

[281] *Illustrated London News.* n.d. Reproduced in C.R. Fay, *Palace of Industry, 1851: A Study of the Great Exhibition and Its Fruits* (Cambridge: University Press, 1951), Plate IX.

consume edible goods in the Turkish court.

Manufactured Objects

Manufactured objects on display in the Turkish court were minimally illustrated in comparison to those from other foreign countries participating in the Great Exhibition. Manufactured objects visible in images from the sources analyzed in this chapter include *hookahs*, carpets and textiles, animal skins, and weaponry.

In the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* the only image in the *Official Catalogue* of Turkish goods on display is "Ornamented Hookahs Egypt and Turkey."[282] The title of the single, ornate *hookah* depicted attributes the image equally to Turkey and Egypt (fig. 2.3).[283] The *hookah*, or "hubble, bubble,"[284] as it was known by Londoners, became representative of Turkey as a cultural icon; the "exoticism" and "foreignness" of the Middle East was exemplified by this one item. The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* reports that Turkey's metal manufactures was reviving in 1851, among other industries.[285]

Handbooks and guides did not include images of any specific items. However, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* includes a detailed drawing of the interior of the court in "General View of the Turkish Court Facing North" (fig. 2.6). This drawing provides a view of the items on display inside the court, such as skins hanging on the left (Egyptian) side below pairs of animal horns, a large bed in the central display case, and fabric and dresses displayed on both sides of the court, both inside cases and on tables. The image of a bed may represent domesticity, luxury, or sensuality. "Corner View of

[282] Additional images in the catalogue for foreign participants could be purchased; however, this additional expense was not incurred by many exhibitors.
[283] I have researched the available primary documents and other than the single image in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, the documentation of the Turkish court is limited to illustrations of the overall display; continuing research may uncover additional images in the future.
[284] "Persia and Turkey," *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogue*, ed. Robert Hunt, Vol. 2, 943.
[285] "Turkey," in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, 1385.

the Turkish Court Facing the North Transept" (fig. 2.7) depicts carpets and manufactured materials such as silk laid out across tables in the foreground.

Robert Hunt briefly addressed the Turkish metal industry in his *Hand-book to the Official Catalogues* and *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851*. In the *Hand-book to the Official Catalogues*, Hunt directs the reader's attention to works in metal, such as anklets, necklaces, and scissors. In addition to these are the "highly ornamented works in gold and silver, [such] as mountings for pistols, swords, [and] daggers." Hunt suggests these reflect "a wandering fighting life, in which it is necessary that valuables be easily [sic] portable."[286] His *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851* also looks at metal manufactures, brass and copper in particular, which "show [the viewer] some very elegant forms, and teach… the lesson that beauty is more frequently the result of symmetry than of added ornament."[287]

Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace[288] includes an engraving of "Arab Merchants Halting in the Desert," (fig. 2.11), a statue of two men, one mounted on a camel, located in a desert oasis.[289] This statue is also illustrated with other examples of silver plating in the art journal *The Illustrated Exhibitor* (fig. 2.26). Tallis contrasts this statue with a silver candelabrum to highlight the stereotype of the "nomadic" Arab discussed in texts from the exhibition.

"Entrance to the Turkish Department" (fig. 2.21) in *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* shows hookahs in a display case beside firearms. The goods portrayed in the journals, along with the text in the handbooks and guides, suggest a combative way of live. These sources focus on modern weaponry, specifically firearms.[290] Conversely, satirical figures examined in chapter three

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[286] "Persia and Turkey," *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogues*, ed. Robert Hunt, Vol. 2, 943.
[287] Hunt, *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 92.
[288] Tallis. *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace.*
[289] Engraved by T. Hollis, from a drawing by T.H. Wilson in *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace*.
[290] The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* lists multiple entries for firearms, specifically guns, carbines, cartridge-boxes, and shot-boxes (see entries #1537-1546 and #729-731). "Turkey," *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 3, 1392-1393, 1397.

are depicted with scimitars and daggers, enhancing the implied "primitive" or barbaric" nature of the figures. In "Entrance to the Turkish Department," the bed from "General View of the Turkish Court Facing North" (fig. 2.6) is replaced by a man in a fez. Although there are no records exist of living displays from Turkey, he may represent the overall display in a metaphorical sense, as the artist places the Turkish nation on display, or have been an undocumented ethnographic display. "View of the Turkish Court – by a Photograph by Ferenbach" (fig. 2.22-2.23) in *The Illustrated Exhibitor* also depicts firearms, *hookahs*, and a Turkish visitor or delegate in the background. *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* includes an image of "The East Nave – Foreign Department – Looking from the South-West of the Transept" (fig. 2.29). The Turkish court is visible on the left-hand side nearest to the artist. The illustration includes the *tughra*, signs for Egypt and Turkey (as well as a Turkish court to the right of Greece), and thick drapery hanging down on both sides of the court. Weaponry, most likely the firearms also represented in *The Art Journal* and *the Illustrated Exhibitor* (figs. 2.21-2.22), are depicted beside the display case holding textiles and a *hookah* to the right of the entrance.

The contemporary newspapers do not depict any detailed illustrations of manufactured goods from Turkey to coincide with the articles printed about the exhibition or the Ottoman Empire's participation. They do, however, discuss manufactured goods in a limited number of articles. On June 18, 1851, the *Morning Chronicle* included an article praising the Turkish and Persian carpeting on display.

> Persia and Turkey carpets are… abounding with strangely fantastic forms, luxuriantly and harmoniously coloured, and manufactured in materials second in durability only to the floor of which they form the cover.[291]

[291] "The Great Exhibition," in *Morning Chronicle* (Wednesday, June 18, 1851).
The Manchester Times asserted that the collection from Turkey was "rich in all the articles peculiar to the east." This is the single article I have found in which this newspaper addresses Turkey's participation in the Great Exhibition. "Practical Guide to the Great Exhibition of

In conclusion, images from the official sources used decorative materials (a canopy and a tughra), raw materials, and manufactured objects to create an "Oriental" display. A "bazaar"-like space was created through the use of textiles, consumable goods, and rich colours. Within the court, the "Turkish Other" and "Arabian Other" were depicted as delegates and visitors at the exhibition while British visitors were exposed to an "exotic" world in the Crystal Palace.

The "Turkish Other" and the "Arabian Other:" Men and Women in the Turkish Court

The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* did not produce any images of citizens from the Ottoman Empire. In the handbooks and guides, journals, and newspapers only male dignitaries are depicted; women, children, and lower classes do not appear. Neither women nor children are reported to have sailed to London, although the *Feiza Baari* carried 320 male Turkish passengers.[292] The construct of an "Oriental" or "Middle Eastern" woman was associated with the "exotic" image of the sensual *odalisque.* Items on display at the Turkish court reference the *odalisque* and Western conceptions of life in a harem, represented in nineteenth-century paintings of the "Orient."

The Turkish men are depicted with prominent beards indicating maturity as well as wisdom. The images of the "Turkish Other" and "Arabian Other" discussed in this chapter are male,[293] with stoic and severe expressions similar to British visitors of both genders. In *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, "Corner View of the Turkish Court Facing the North Transept" (fig. 2.7) includes an image of an "Arabian Other" in a turban and robes with a full, thick beard depicted in conversation with a British couple. "General View of the Turkish Court Facing North" (fig. 2.6) includes a second "Arabian

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Industry: VI: Ground Floor – North Side, Going East From Transept," in *The Manchester Times* Iss. 271 (Saturday June 7, 1851).

[292] "The Arrival of the Turkish Frigate Feiza Baari," in *The Times* (Monday, April 28, 1851): 3.

[293] All of the sources in this thesis exclude women with the exception of "Bloomerism and Bunionism" in *Punch*, Vol. 21 (1851).

Other" figure, possibly a dignitary or ambassador acting as a host to the court and leaning against the display cases on the left side in the foreground while British visitors in top hats and bonnets admire the specimens on display. Neither Tallis nor Hunt addressed images of men or women from the Ottoman Empire at the exhibition in their publications.

"Entrance to the Turkish Department" (fig. 2.21) from *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* prominently features a "Turkish Other" with facial hair posed in discussion with a British lady. The couple stands at the front right of the court near weaponry and *hookahs* on display. Edward Ferenbach also depicted a stoic-looking Ottoman citizen pacing in the background of "View of the Turkish Court – From a Photograph by Ferenbach" in *The Illustrated Exhibitor* (fig. 2.23). Directly beneath the tower supporting the *ogee* dome, a man in a fez stands rigidly upright while walking into the court in the background.

The Crystal Palace and its Contents includes three two-page drawings that illustrate images of the "Turkish Other" and/or the "Arabian Other." "The Royal Procession at the Opening of the Great Exhibition – May 1" (fig. 2.27) depicts a "Turkish Other" directly in the centre of the bottom register of men proceeding across the page from right to left. Above him Prince Albert and Queen Victoria are greeted by members of the procession, and behind the "Turkish Other" is a delegate from China, lavishly dressed. Foreigners from Africa and Asia were a rare sight in London, as reported by the census and Jeffrey A. Auerbach. "The Closing of the Great Exhibition – Prince Albert Receiving the Reports of the Juries, Oct. 15, 1851" (fig. 2.28) includes two contemporary Turkish men, or examples of the "Turkish Other," standing at the end of the table beside Prince Albert and the Royal Commissioners, the delegates are depicted in a place of honour. This emphasizes the importance placed on a positive relationship between the British and Ottoman empires. Finally, "The Great Exhibition – Western Nave; Including the Coalbrook Dale Dome, Dent's Turret Clock, Mrs. Rosse's Stone Cross, &c." represents a traditionally dressed "Arabian Other" and a contemporary "Turkish Other" who walk side-by-side through the nave (figs. 2.30-2.31). Their conspicuous placement amongst the British displays functions

to differentiate the pair of "outsiders" from the British citizens wandering throughout the exhibition.

The *Illustrated London News* is the only newspaper that includes an illustration of the "Turkish Other." This image was printed in a supplement for the exhibition which included "Exterior of the South Front of the Great Exhibition Building (fig. 2.33-2.34). Amongst the massive crowd waiting outside of the Crystal Palace, a visitor with a pointed beard and fez mimics the representatives at the Turkish court depicted in the *Art Journal* (fig. 2.21) and *The Illustrated Exhibitor* (fig. 2.22-2.23).

Other images of Turkish men are included in George Baxter's image of the central transept (fig. 2.35-2.36). Baxter's multi-coloured print[294] contains a pair of modern Turkish citizens in European clothing from the Ottoman Empire in the front left. The pair is portrayed in conversation as one man points towards A. Follett Osler's Crystal Fountain.[295] In the same print, an "Arabian Other" figure with a dark brown beard in flowing robes and a large turban stands at the north-east corner of the transept.

Attire

Included within representations of the Turkish court are portrayals of anonymous dignitaries. While some are shown wearing a red fez and nineteenth-century style clothing, the new uniform of the *Tanzimat* reforms, there are also depictions of men in turbans.[296] The turban became synonymous with the "nomadic Arab" and the "Orient," both stereotypes conflicting with a modern, national image of Turkey in the nineteenth century. The fez had been instituted as part of the official outfit in Turkey in the early nineteenth century regardless of religion, and was a sign of the Turkish modernizing movement, especially in the military. The turban was banned as part of the *Tanzimat* reform, as discussed in chapter one. The Ottoman Empire attempted to use European clothing to enhance

[294] Baxter invented a revolutionary technique for printing in multiple colours.
[295] Abraham Follett Osler (March 22, 1808-April 26, 1903).
[296] The turbans depicted are similar to Indian-style turbans, mostly likely a result of colonial connections to India.

their "modernizing" reforms while using the fez functioned as a symbol of Turkish national identity. The turban evolved into an anachronistic symbol of the Middle East and a religious symbol of Islam.

The Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue does not depict a turban of any sort. It specifically states that there is extraordinary magnificence to the "personal luxury, in all that regards personal attire."[297] However, it does record flowered muslin (*abani*) and cotton cloth (*abané*) [298] specifically woven for turbans on display by the Ottoman government. The choice to display material specifically for turbans is interesting on the part of the Sultan. By specifying the muslin as made "for turbans," the turban becomes a displayed item. No longer part of the cultural dress code, the turban now functioned as a display of a past, "exotic" culture and "other" religion. The clothing reforms began to define national identity through visual expectations of the "Turkish Other." Veils, stockings, and jewelry[299] were also sent for display as manufactured clothing items listed in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* as part of the display. The jewelry, such as gold and silver anklets or bracelets, would have been worn by a member of a harem, evoking a sense of the "exotic" and sensual. Jewelry and stockings connoted a highly sexualized person, and contributed to the image of the missing "Oriental" woman.

"General View of the Turkish Court" (fig. 2.6) and "Corner View of the Turkish Court Facing the North Transept" (fig. 2.7) from *Dickenson's Comprehensive Pictures* both depict a male wearing a turban and robes as English visitors admire the display. The lack of turbans was noticed by Tallis who reports in his *History and Description of the Crystal Palace*[300] that at the Great Exhibition one could see abundant fezzes but no "regularly wound and made up

[297] "Turkey," in *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851* Vol. 3, 1395.
[298] Entries #318 & 320 and #309, respectively. *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 3, 1390.
[299] Entry #217 (veil), #790-793 (woollen [sic] stockings), #799-806 (worsted stockings), #1102-1106 (bracelets, anklets, ear-rings). *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue,* Vol. 3, 1389, 1393, 1395.
[300] Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace.*

turban[s], such as [were] worn in the East...". [301] Tallis proposes the "various ornaments for female use," specifically the jewelry, were of "so massive a description, that it would be difficult for the uninitiated to conceive how they could be worn, except indeed in a state of complete repose."[302]

The Crystal Palace and its Contents depict both the "modern" "Turkish Other" and the "Arabian Other." In this journal the "Turkish Other" consistently wears fezzes with a long jacket and pants: a contemporary European wardrobe with Turkish headwear. The jackets are lavishly embroidered or decorated while the "Arabian Other's" robes are simple, loose, and flowing. Both figures have full, dark beards and the "Arabian Other" has a small striped turban wound around his head.

The Times reported on the dress of the officers and seamen upon the arrival of the *Feiza Baari* on April 28, 1851:

> Excepting the characteristic red Fez cap universally worn on board, the dress, uniform, and appointments of the officers and seamen do not present any features of the ordinary Turkish costume, which appears to be slowly disappearing in the military and naval services of the Sultan. There are but few turbans to be seen on board, and those we understand are worn by the priest and some few other rigid Mahometans.[303]

The print culture examined in this chapter represents the Turkish Court at the Crystal Palace as an opportunity for Britain to examine articles of industry from an important nineteenth-century trading partner. This examination took place within a spectacle created using stereotypical ideas of the Middle East. Illustrations and written descriptions were disseminated in the official print media during the exhibition. Although these sources had different voices, many

[301] Tallis, "Chapter XXIX – Foreign and Colonial Departments – continued," in *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* Vol. 3, 185.
[302] Tallis, "Chapter XXIX – Foreign and Colonial Departments – continued," in *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace,* Vol. 3, 183.
[303] "Arrival of the Turkish Frigate Feiza Baari," in *The Times* (April 28, 1851): 3.

preconceptions of the Ottoman Empire remained consistent in their depiction of the Turkish court.

Visually, textiles created a rich, bazaar-like court at the Crystal Palace labeled with the official seal of the Ottoman sultan. Written descriptions used the terms "nomadic," "luxurious," and "Oriental" to describe the "exotic" culture on display in the central transept. The thick, flowing drapery, richly embroidered and decorated clothing, and items and products regularly used in Turkey such as *hookahs* and coffee all contributed to the elaborate Turkish court: a luxuriant, Oriental space imitating an Istanbulite bazaar.

Chapter 3: Satirical Publications: Depicting the "Turk" at the Great Exhibition

This chapter will address satirical literature published in the mid-nineteenth century, specifically satire published in relation to or at the time of the Great Exhibition that addresses "the Turk." This material will be examined in contrast to the official material examined in chapter two. The satirical press approached the Great Exhibition with a different goal than its "official" counterpart; functioning simultaneously as news and entertainment, these sources used "cartoons" or fictional representations of people and places to inform and entertain, and critique contemporary events.[304]

Two publications will be focused on as examples of satirical material: a leaflet by Thomas Onwhyn titled *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to see the Grand Exposition of All Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, and Frightened out of their Wits by the*

[304] I will use this term to distinguish these illustrations from those in official publications analyzed in chapter two. While Patrick Leary states the writers of *Punch* never used the word "cartoon" in its own circles, *Punch* used drawings for comedic purposes and thus began the use of the term in its modern sense. Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 39, quoted in "Punch; or, the London Charivari." *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900,* accessed September 15, 2012, http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series3/showarticlespecial.asp?id=93447.

Foreigners and the magazine *Punch, or the London Charivari*. Specifically, I will analyze nine images from *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London* and sixteen images from *Punch.* While Onwhyn's leaflet is primarily visual and representative of a one-time publication which referenced a single event, *Punch* was published weekly until the end of the twentieth century, containing text and cartoons commenting on contemporary events. These sources contribute to the image of the "Turk" from the Middle East as depicted by British print culture.[305] Images from these texts will be visually analyzed and examined in relation to the differences between British and Turkish characters in British satire and the construction of a Turkish national identity in print media.

Fifteen out of twenty-five images depict the "Turkish Other." As discussed in the introduction, the "Turkish Other" is identified in this thesis by his attire, specifically a fez and a contemporary European outfit which represents the Ottoman Empire clothing reforms initiated by the *Tanzimat.* This figure may also be depicted in robes and a turban topped with a crescent, the symbol of the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, there is a tendency towards ethnic generalization within these sources. A turban and dark facial hair act as identifiers of the "Arabian Other," a character that embodies the Western concept of an inclusive "Middle East." The "Arabian Other" is a generalized depiction of a man (or woman) from the Middle East. In Onwhyn's *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London*[306] and *Punch,* this figure wears a plain or jeweled turban, flowing robes, and slippers that curl at the toe.[307] These details construct a character type which represents the differences in cultural customs and habits between the

[305] With the exception of "Bloomerism and Bunionism" from *Punch*, volume 21, the printed material depicted men.

[306] Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851).

[307] The scimitar is another attribute of four images studied in chapter three. Although the scimitar enhances the "aggressive" or "barbaric" image of the "Turk" on the "Arabian Other," it will not be used as an iconographic marker in this thesis due to the lack of weaponry on the "Turkish Other" in *Punch* (with the exception of "Bloomerism and Bunionism, Vol. 21, 158). Instead, the headwear and clothing in satirical images is used to distinguish these character types. The weaponry on display at the Turkish court, as documented in official sources, is discussed in chapter two.

Middle East and Europe. The complexity of the religious diversity and system of religious tolerance is reduced as a single figure amalgamates all the iconographic details and represents the Ottoman Empire as a whole. As in chapter two, the term "Arabian Other" will be applied to images that are representative of a generalized Middle Eastern figure, while the "Turkish Other"[308] represents a citizen of the Ottoman Empire. In this chapter I will examine the iconography of specifically Turkish figures in comparison to general Arabic figures in British satire.

Within the satire studied in this chapter, I will examine how the representation of foreign individuals, particularly those from Turkey, differed from native English citizens. The use of satirical illustrations to hyperbolize differences in culture between the British and Ottoman Empires will be addressed with specific examples from *Punch.*

Finally, Freud's theory of the "narcissism of minor differences" will be applied to the sources examined in this thesis. In order to understand the anxiety depicted in print that resulted from the planning and execution of the Great Exhibition, the "narcissism of minor differences," as interpreted by Anton Blok, will be used to facilitate a discussion on the effect of cultural differences on societal identity between two global empires: Britain, with colonies stretching from the Americas to India, and the Ottoman Empire, which stood directly in its path. This final section serves as the thesis conclusion, allowing for a consideration of British print media as a mode of communicating and protecting cultural divisions.

Satire: Humour in Printed Media

1760-1820 has been labeled the "Golden Age" of British caricature.[309] In the early- to mid-nineteenth century, printed visual satires were "more numerous

[308] The difference between "Ottoman" and the [Ottoman] Turks is defined in the introduction. The images cannot be identified as specifically "Ottoman," or belonging to the ruling class.
[309] Mike Goode, "The Public and the Limits of Persuasion in the Age of Caricature," in *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838,* ed. Todd Porterfield (Surrey, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 117.

and more a part of everyday political life" in this period than before or since.[310] Its influence and popularity during this period gave satire like *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London*[311] and *Punch* the ability to shape social attitudes through articles and cartoons. Satire sought to alter the public's view of the world while reflecting popular opinion and reactions to contemporary events.[312] Depictions of outlandish scenarios and characters in satire illustrated contemporary events for comic effect. Visual satire influenced the viewing public through "character types" which constructed opinions about the character and its actions.[313] One of these "types" was the "Turkish Other," depicted in a satirical cartoon from 1793 by James Gillray (fig. 3.42). "Presentation of the Mahometan Credentials, or the Final Resources of the French Atheists" identifies the Turkish ambassador to England and his entourage on the right-hand side of the illustration by their attire, which includes a turban embellished with a crescent.[314] This character type, identified by his headwear, continues to be used in the mid-nineteenth century, and is seen in George August Sala's "The Great Exhibition Wot is to Be?" (figs. 3.43-3.45).[315] Within this image, Sala uses the satirical character types to depict two types of the "Turkish Other," one in contemporary clothing and a fez and a second in a turban with a crescent, wielding a scimitar.

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[310] M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda* Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 1, quoted in Goode, "The Public and the Limits of Persuasion in the Age of Caricature," 117.

[311] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits.*

[312] George, *English Political Caricature* Vol. 1, 1, quoted by Goode,"The Public and the Limits of Persuasion in the Age of Caricature," 117.

[313] Goode. "The Public and the Limits of Persuasion in the Age of Caricature," 132.

[314] In this illustration, Gillray places a treaty regarding the new French Republic's "expansionist designs" in the hands of the Turkish ambassador to England. The document is depicted as a phallic display of "national 'credentials'" in the British throne room. Douglas Fordham, "On Bended Knee: James Gillray's Global View of Courtly Encounter," in *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838,* ed. Todd Porterfield (Surrey, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 72.

[315] George Augustus Sala, *The Great Exhibition "Wot is to be": or, Probable results of the industry of all nations in the year '51: showing what is to be exhibited, who is to exhibit it: in short, how its [sic] all going to be done* (London: Committee of the Society for Keeping Things in Their Places, 1850).

"Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of All Nations"

Many character "types" from nineteenth-century satire are depicted in Thomas Onwhyn's *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London.* This text is a twelve-page illustrated leaflet of cartoons that depicts a frightened family of non-Londoners running from foreign visitors as they make their way through London's Great Exhibition and the surrounding area. Thomas Onwhyn,[316] an illustrator, caricaturist, engraver, and etcher, wrote and designed this short, satirical leaflet. Onwhyn contributed to the book trade in the 1840s and 1850s through comic illustrations of everyday life in Britain. These included lithographs, etchings, and pull-out or panorama books for the popular market. Onwhyn satirized tourism, teetotalism, and fashion.[317] Ackermann & Company published *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London* in 1851. The leaflet was available to the public for one shilling and six pence.[318] The title page highlights "the Grand Exposition" in large font (fig. 3.1). The pages of the leaflet are formatted like a modern cartoon strip, with images filling the majority of the page and a line or two of text describing the events taking place in the image. This leaflet was most likely published before the beginning of the exhibition, or on the verge of it, given the lack of detail of the palace included in the illustrations and its critique of blatant xenophobic reactions to the exhibition.

Nine images in *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London* include an image of the "Turkish Other" or the "Arabian Other."[319] Onwhyn uses the Browns, a fictional family, to represent travelers to London who witness the "grand" event. Upon arrival, the family is confronted by a wall of foreign visitors in front of the Crystal Palace (figs. 3.2-3.3). Mrs. Brown edges into the cartoon

[316] 1820 – 1826. Aliases: Peter Palette and Samuel Weller.
[317] Simon Houfe, "Onwhyn, Thomas," accessed December 1, 2012, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20797.
Teetotalism is the "principle or practice of complete abstinence from intoxicating drink." "Teetotalism," accessed December 2, 2012, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/teetotalism.
[318] This source was not available for examination in its original form; black and white electronic editions have been analyzed for the purpose of this thesis.
[319] The differences between the "Turkish Other" and "Arabian Other" will be addressed later in this chapter.

on the left side with a wide-eyed look of shock. She "despairs" at getting through the massive exhibition. The next page depicts the family in the midst of chaos of the entrance as a massive crowd moving them forward against their will (fig. 3.4). In the panic to enter the building, they "barely escape with their lives" from a fight that breaks out in the mass of international visitors.[320] In the process of escaping, Mr. Brown's hat flies off as the family meets an "Arabian Other" with a dark face and long beard who smiles while hiding a dagger behind his back. This shocking encounter takes place in front of another "Arabian Other" in a turban waving a scimitar behind them.

As their visit in the Crystal Palace continues, the family peruses the exhibits. The Brown family enters into a crowd which includes a man in a fez in the centre of the group, who represents the "Turkish Other" (fig. 3.5). A separate panel on the right-hand side of the page depicts a "party of Bedouins." The Bedouins are illustrated as tall, elongated characters "in their bed clothes."[321] Similar to later "Arabian Other" characters that are depicted, this group of men is dark-skinned, thin, wrapped in hooded, flowing robes, and contrasted with the perceived "civilized" world of Britain. The attire which "shocks" Mrs. Brown includes bare legs with anklets and spears. The caption below the two panels uses terms such as "terror" and "shocked" to describe the emotional state of Mrs. Brown.[322] Mrs. Brown is shaken by both the attire and the unknown characters surrounding her in general. Onwhyn represents all of the foreign characters in exaggerated clothing and activities. The "Turkish Other" is one of the strangest groups and meetings with the "Turk" arouse the most fear in the family at the Crystal Palace.

At lunch a group of Cannibal Islanders "offer a price" for Mrs. Brown's son (fig. 3.6). On the following page, Mrs. Brown rushes into her husband's arms when she encounters a tall, dark-skinned man representing the "Arabian Other" in the right-hand panel (fig. 3.7). His entourage of fan-bearers and an umbrella

[320] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 2.
[321] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 4.
[322] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 4.

holder surround him and the Browns. His lavish robes and accessories embody the mythology of the "luxurious" Orient while Mrs. Brown is "alarmed at the impudent way the foreigners look at her."[323] The Browns are "nearly suffocated" by a room of smoking foreigners as they continue their journey through London (figs. 3.8-3.9).[324] In the centre-right, the Browns keep their heads down and retire to Hyde Park while the other participants jovially converse within the smoke-filled room. On the right side of the image, a plump "Arabian Other" figure sits in front of a "Turkish Other." Once the family reaches the park, the Browns do not have a chance to rest in their makeshift "wigwam" (fig. 3.10-3.11). They are thrown into a state of "extreme terror" by a group of American Indians, at which time the family returns from the Park to Regent Street, where they witness "a little fashionable life" (fig. 3.12).[325] This fashionable life is a global mixing pot of clothing and pageantry, with dignitaries greeting each other, entourages carrying elaborate items, and a stream of visitors arriving in and on the carriage in the background. Gasping at the scene, Mr. Brown's round face in the foreground on the far right is juxtaposed with the pointed nose and beard of the "Arabian Other" and the delegate from the Far East on the viewer's right.[326]

When the Browns visit a theatre at the end of their day, they are surrounded by visitors in their tiny box at the theatre (fig. 3.13). Centred in the background on the left-hand side of the page among the assorted visitors is an "Arabian Other" character. He gazes out bewildered, his glasses perched low on his nose, and his large striped turban complimenting his elaborate robe. An untamed moustache grows straight along his cheeks, with a slight curl toward his right eye. Mr. Brown locks eyes with one of the Bedouins from the Crystal Palace in this scene which creates an equalizing moment between the visitors and the British family. The diverse group shares a moment at the theatre together,

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[323] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 8.
[324] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 9.
[325] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 9, 10.
[326] Given the hair and eye shape, I suggest that this is a representation of a Chinese delegate based on similar satirical depictions of Asian races such as Henry Sutherland Edwards' *An Authentic Account of the Chinese Commission, which was sent to report on the Great Exhibition*. Reproduced in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition,* 177.

regardless of the fear and anxiety felt by the Browns. The gaze of the characters emerges from the page to interact with the reader and possibly act as a moral lesson regarding the equalizing abilities of the Great Exhibition while satirizing the British family's xenophobia and anxiety about foreign visitors. On the right-hand side of the image, Onwhyn depicts the Browns sleeping in a cab, ending their trip "having had enough of London and the exhibition," and being unable to find proper accommodations at a lodging house.[327] Across Mr. Brown's lap lays the *Catalogue of the Exhibition of All Nations*, the official catalogue from the Great Exhibition. The family has fallen asleep with the catalogue as their only blanket. Cuddled together tightly, Mr. Brown has fabric tied around his head in a pseudo-turban style, showing the influence of this experience on the character. Protected inside the cab from the foreign, alienating city, outside the window a figure lurks in the shadows. This leaflet satirizes the "Turkish Other" and "Arabian Other" while Onwhyn uses this fictional British family to mock the anxiety, fear, and xenophobia spreading through London and British print culture.

"Punch, or the London Charivari"

Punch, or the London Charivari was a weekly British satirical magazine that ran from 1841-1992. [328] Rather than a one-time publication like *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London*,[329] *Punch* ran for over 160 years and commented on a broad range of contemporary events during its lifetime. *Punch* was established on July 17, 1841 by Henry Mayhew and engraved by various artists including

[327] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 11.

[328] Circulation of *Punch* peaked in 1940s. After ceasing publication in 1992, the magazine was revived in 1996. It closed a second time in 2002 after a successful lifespan of over 160 years. The original cover, designed by A.S. Henning, lasted only a few months. The design changed multiple times in 1840s and 50s, including volume nineteen and twenty's design created in January 1849 by Richard Doyle (fig. 3.14). Contributing artists in the nineteenth century included Sir John Tenniel, John Leech, and Richard Doyle.
R. Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution* (Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1997).

[329] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits*

John Leech, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Ebenezer Landells.[330] *Punch* was non-partisan and used satire in its illustrations and cartoons to accompany and enhance its articles. The goal of *Punch* writers and illustrators was to use graphic and literary jokes to critique English behaviour while exposing irrational reactions to the Great Exhibition. While Onwhyn mocked Britain's concern over the influx of foreign visitors using a fictional family, the journalists and illustrators at *Punch* were interested in the responses and "human spectacle" at the exhibition, concerning themselves with the physical displays at the Crystal Palace.[331] *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory, 1847* described it as "the mortal enemy of solemn and shallow pretension."[332] *Punch* was the first satirical magazine disseminated in broad circles, a result of its less bawdy contents in comparison to contemporary satirical publications such as *The Satirist* and *The Penny Satirist*. Both of these newspapers covered scandalous stories of major and minor crimes or offenses, while *Punch* looked to broader political events. Michell's reported that a "great proportion of *Punch*… has a touch of something above mere vulgar laughter, and is worthy of wise men's perusal."[333] Articles in *Punch* commented about government policies and contemporary events, acting as a critical and satirical source until the late twentieth century. In 1843 *Punch* helped to coin the modern sense of the term "cartoon" as a humorous illustration of political satire.[334]

The title for *Punch* is based on its fictional editor, Mr. Punch (fig. 3.15 and 3.16). Punch was a character in the *Punch and Judy* show, represented by a

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[330] John Leech (1817-1864); William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863); Ebenezer Landells (1808-1860)
[331] Pearson, "Thackeray and *Punch* at the Great Exhibition," 202.
[332] "Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory, 1847," accessed September 25, 2012, http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series2/ShowArticle.asp?id=93447.
[333] "Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory, 1847," accessed September 25, 2012 http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series2/ShowArticle.asp?id=93447.
[334] Writers at *Punch* were also responsible for labeling Joseph Paxton's building for the Great Exhibition as the "Crystal Palace." "Cartoon," last modified April 3, 2008, accessed January 18, 2013, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Cartoon#History_of_the_Term_.22Cartoon.22. Pearson, "Thackeray and *Punch* at the Great Exhibition," 179.

"grotesque, hook-nosed" puppet.[335] Punch arrived in England in the seventeenth century as a marionette comedy act. Although his true origins are ambiguous, Punch is most likely based on Pulcinella of the Commedia dell'arte, a comedic character intended to evoke laughter through joviality and cruelty.[336]

The first volumes of Mayhew's magazine were subtitled *The London Charivari* in reference to *Le Charivari*, the French satirical magazine from which Mayhew and Landells got their idea for *Punch*. The initial investment of £25[337] was enough to bring *Punch* to press by William Bradbury and Frederick Mullett Evans, printed on Fleet Street in Whitefriars, London. *Punch* was available for three pence per issue until March 14, 1917. Although circulation was low until the 1870s, when *Punch* had become milder in its satirical material, the magazine was highly influential from its establishment until its decline in the late twentieth century.

This chapter will look at articles and images from volumes nineteen (1850) through twenty one (1851), including *Punch's Almanack for 1851* which was printed at the front of volume twenty in 1851.[338] Specifically, I will examine one image and one article from volume nineteen, eleven images and one article from volume twenty, and three images and one article from volume twenty-one. Notably, prior to and during the exhibition *Punch* was publishing text and images addressing the international event.

Volume nineteen includes "The Sea-side Season," a half-page drawing of the London City Zoo's hippopotamus, dressed in shoes and a bonnet, taken to the shore for fresh air (fig. 3.17). A group of British citizens watch the hippopotamus walk up the ramp. Kneeling beside her is an "Arabian Other," gently guiding the hippopotamus into a little sea-side hut.

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[335] "Mr. Punch," accessed October 26, 2012, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/154562?redirectedFrom=mr+punch#eid27471890.
[336] "Who is Punch?" accessed October 26, 2012, http://www.punchandjudy.com/who.htm#footnote.
[337] In today's currency, this sum is equivalent to £1,463.25. "Historical Exchange Rates," accessed April 30, 2012, http://www.oanda.com/currency/historical-rates/.
[338] I have also examined volume eighteen (January-June 1850); however, the only relevant material is on the title page, which will be analyzed later in the chapter. Volume nineteen: July-December 1850. Volume twenty: January-June 1851. Volume twenty-one: July-December 1851.

The article "Rules for the Prevention of the Promised Plague Next Year" in volume nineteen satirically lists six rules from the Board of Health (fig. 3.18). For example, the rules include a requirement for every German visitor to "prove possession of at least six shirts," and "two pounds of yellow soap" would be given to every foreigner.[339] As discussed in chapter one, the number of visitors did increase but did not result in the overwhelming crowd depicted by Thomas Onwhyn in *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London.*[340] Print and visual media like "Rules for the Prevention of the Promised Plague Next Year" critiqued the concerns circulating in Great Britain in anticipation of the exhibition. In contrast to *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* characters in *Punch* hospitably receive the foreigners. *Punch* does not depict fear and shock as in Thomas Onwhyn's leaflet; instead, the characters are curious and interested in London's tourists.

Volume twenty has numerous illustrations of the "Turkish Other" and the "Arabian Other." The volume begins with *Punch's Almanack for 1851*, which includes "London Dining Rooms, 1851" (fig. 3.20), "Rotten Row in 1851" (figs. 3.21-3.22), and "The Drive in 1851" (figs. 3.23-3.24). "London Dining Rooms" comments on the anxiety of the impending visitors and the potential effects of a flood of foreigners on London and its establishments. As the "Chinaman" orders bird's-nest soup, a Turkish man wearing a fez peers over his left shoulder. This depicts a cross-cultural interest taking place between the visitors as well as at the exhibition as a whole; not only were British citizens interested in the foreigners coming to London, but the illustrators at *Punch* depicted an interest in the opportunity for interaction at the Great Exhibition between all of the participants.

While visitors from the "Far East"[341] dine on Bird's-Nest soup under the watchful eye of curious Londoners in "London Dining Rooms" (fig. 3.20),

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[339] *Punch* Vol. 19 (London: Fleet Street, 1850), 239.
[340] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits*
[341] This term was used by some of the first Western geographers to refer to the countries facing the Pacific Ocean. "Middle East," accessed October 26, 2012, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/381192/Middle-East.

Punch's Almanack for 1851 depicts Rotten Row in Hyde Park as an overrun racetrack. Representatives of the participating nations are seated upon varying forms of transportation galloping through the park in "Rotten Row of 1851" (figs. 3.21-3.22). In the foreground, a Bedouin man with flowing robes uses an umbrella or parasol to hit an "Arabian Other" figure while their camels attack each other. A second umbrella is tucked into the folds of his robes; the use of simple, portable weaponry emphasizes the preconceptions of the "nomadic" lifestyle as previously discussed. Turbulent scenes mimic the chaos anticipated in British print media as overridden with intermingling nations. "The Drive in 1851" (figs. 3.23-3.24) and the "Great Derby Race" (figs. 3.34-3.35) depict excitement, enthusiasm, and urgency to experience the exhibition as representatives for various nations race in front of the Crystal Palace. "May Day, Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-One" (figs. 3.28-3.29) represents cartoons scrambling over each other with boxes and barrels shipped to London for the exhibition. "May Day, Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-One" includes images of the "Arabian Other" and the "Turkish Other." Albion sits beside Mr. Punch on a throne in front of the Crystal Palace watching the chaos. A turbaned man sits cross-legged on a camel beside a Turkish man in a fez, beard, and glasses who looks pensively at another character amidst the commotion.

The full-page illustration of "The Pope in his Chair" (fig. 3.25) depicts Pope Pius IX as an Ottoman sultan. The pope sits cross-legged on a low footstool. On the front of the stool is an inscription reading "Mahomet is his Prophet." The pope becomes a figure of the "Other" as he sits cross-legged and smokes a *hookah.* His luxurious clothing, reminiscent of stereotypes of the Middle East, satirizes the opulence of the Roman Catholic Church as it was perceived by the *Punch* writers and illustrators. This *Punch* image satirizes institutionalized religion in regards to varying issues of the mid-nineteenth century.[342] Specifically, the mid-nineteenth century experienced a time of disorder

[342] The Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 emancipated Catholics, and with the disorganization of the leaders of the Church of England, many would defect to Catholicism during the nineteenth century. The dwindling membership of the Church of England was a matter of concern for the

in the Church of England as members converted to Catholicism. This satirical drawing creates a link between the pope and the "exotic" Middle East, identifying the papacy as the religious "Other." The pope is satirically linked to symbols of Islam while the image addresses the chaos within the leadership of the Church of England and the migration of many British citizens to Catholicism. The use of Turkish imagery comments on the migration to Catholicism as well as the recent habits of "turn Turks," travelers who converted to Islam after visiting the Middle East.[343] Depicting the pope as a "turn Turk" uses "Oriental" imagery to question the loyalty of the pope as well as the general population of Britain.

The exoticism of the Middle East and the drastic cultural differences are highlighted in illustrations from volume twenty of *Punch*. The expectation of a mounted knight on horseback is disrupted with a depiction of a young "Turkish Other" on a giraffe in "Please, Sir, Shall I Hold Your Horse?" (fig. 3.26). While both boys behave politely, the outrageous change in the scene, from horse to giraffe, is ignored by the boys.

Volume twenty's "Refinement of Torture" (fig. 3.32) satirized the aggression and barbarism stereotyped in stories of the Middle East, and is paired with a satirical cartoon of a *muezzin* calling from a *minaret.* Islam's religious act of *adhan*, a foreign concept to nineteenth-century Britain, is compared to sleep deprivation, a perceived result of the ritual of *adhan.*[344] The *muezzin's* mouth opens to an unnatural width while performing the call to prayer. Visual satire in *Punch* hyperbolized cultural practices and the concept of an "exotic" country. These hyperboles helped illustrate cultural differences between the Ottoman and

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Protestant community, evoking fear and encouraging protests against the Catholic community. David Cody, "The Church of England," accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/emancipation2.html.
See also Anthony S. Wohl, "The Re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, 1850," last modified 1990, accessed September 22, 2012, http://www.victorianweb.org/religion/Hierarchy_Reestablished.html.

[343] The term "turn Turk" was applied to the first converts, who were often English traders and travelers captured at sea in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries according to Sophia Gilliat-Ray. This was not received favourably in England and therefore many changed their name and stayed in the Ottoman Empire, which had a policy of religious tolerance. Sophia Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15.

[344] *Muezzin:* the man who recites the *adhan*, or call to prayer. *Minaret:* a tall, often free-standing tower at a mosque, used for the *adhan.*

British Empires.

As discussed in chapter one, the London press satirized the fear of disease and lack of knowledge about basic sanitary practices in reference to the influx of foreigners expected to visit the Great Exhibition. *Punch's* "A Hint to the Commissioners" by John Leech depicts two Frenchmen confounded at the sight of a washbasin and therefore lacking in basic hygiene skills (fig. 3.36). The conversation reads:

> My goodness Alphonse! Look. What is that machine over there called? Say, that's funny – but I don't know!

Critiquing the fears circulating in Britain as citizens sought to protect their national identity from the expected visitors to the exhibition. The foreigners are represented as ignorant and uncivilized; thoughts of disease and epidemics acted as a physical manifestation of their fear.

Volume twenty-one, printed during the exhibition, includes three illustrations of the international event. "The Happy Family in Hyde Park" is a detailed illustration of the Crystal Palace transformed into a "cage" (figs. 3.37-3.38). Native Londoners view the exhibition's visitors through the bars with curiosity. Instead of an exhibition of industry, the Crystal Palace becomes an ethnographic study of the foreign visitors. "The Happy Family in Hyde Park" transforms the foreign visitors into a display to be watched with fascination. Enclosed within the Crystal Palace, ethnography encouraged examination of foreign cultures as something not "British," opposed to their own culture, and of scientific interest. The public happily examines these other cultures as if they were part of the London Zoo's attractions. The ethnographic interest in other cultures is satirized by *Punch;* the illustration turns London's fear of visitors into a fascination of the visual display available when safely separated from them. This illustration corresponds to *Punch's* interest in documenting and mocking London society.

Punch's "Bloomerism and Bunionism" (fig. 3.39) draws on imagery from the *Arabian Nights*. After its translation into English, as discussed by Husain

Haddawy,[345] descriptions of the Middle East in *Arabian Nights* evolved into the basis for many stereotypes, including the luxury at the sultan's palace. The image from "Bloomerism and Bunionism"[346] used the "Turkish Other" character type to comment on contemporary events and changes in fashion in London. The article addressing "bloomerism" in volume twenty-one was accompanied by an illustration of the "Turkish Other" wearing slippers, loose-fitting robes, and curled slippers. His long moustache accentuates his sideways gaze while a crescent on his turban references the Ottoman Empire's symbol of the crescent and star. At his feet kneels a woman in the same loose pants[347] seen in Western paintings and drawings of *odalisques.* The possibility of trends from the East infiltrating the fashion industry may have contributed to concern over definitive lines of national identity for Britain (as bloomers became popular with women in Britain). The use of specific references to clothing in *Punch* functioned to display a fascination with other cultures; according to Pearson, this was a result of the British "distaste for the Other" in Victorian England.[348]

Representation of the "Turkish Other" and the "Arabian Other" in British Satire from 1850-1851

Specific iconographical details, especially clothing and headwear, identify depictions of the "Other" in mid-nineteenth century satire. The "Turkish Other" and the "Arabian Other" are two consistent character types in Thomas Onwhyn's

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[345] Husain Haddawy, *The Arabian Nights.*

[346] I have not found a definition for the term "Bunionism." I suggest that the article is making reference to John Bunyan, an English Christian writer and preacher, while altering the spelling to "bunion," an "enlargement of the bone or tissue around the joint at the base of the big toe." "John Bunyan," accessed January 30, 2013, http://www.ccel.org/ccel/bunyan?show=biography. "Bunions," accessed January 30, 2013, http://www.healthlinkbc.ca/kb/content/major/hw35195.html.
Bloomerism was a women's fashion trend consisting of a short skirt with full-length, loose-fitting trousers gathered at the ankle. Gayle V. Fischer, *Pantaloons & Power: A Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001), 203.

[347] *Salwar*, cotton or silk loose-fitting pants from the Middle East which would evolve into pantaloons worn in Europe. "Middle Eastern Dress Vocabulary," accessed 10 Sept 2012, http://www.csames.illinois.edu/documents/outreach/Middle_Eastern_Dress_Vocabulary.pdf.

[348] Richard Pearson, "Thackeray and *Punch* at the Great Exhibition: Authority and Ambivalence in Verbal and Visual Caricatures." *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays,* ed. Louise Purbrick (Manchester, UK; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 190.

Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London[349] and *Punch, or The London Charivari* which display "Oriental," "nomadic," and "luxurious" features. Both sources depict a "luxurious," "Oriental" figure using a combination of attributes and clothing. The *hookah* functioned as an "Oriental" attribute of the "Turkish Other" in *The Pope in his Chair* (fig. 3.25) in *Punch* and the "Arabian Other" in *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London* (figs. 3.8-3.9) . In "Refinement of Torture," *Punch* elaborates on the "Oriental" and "exotic" image of the "Turkish Other" as the *muezzin* performs the *adhan.* Finally, the Bedouin depicted in both sources illustrate the "nomadic" character of the stereotyped image of the "Turk." In the following sections I will examine the turban and fez as specific iconographic details of the "Turkish Other" in *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London* and *Punch*, as well as how the "Arabian Other" was illustrated in these two publications.

The Turban and Crescent on the "Turkish Other" in "Punch"

With the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Turks modified the Byzantine costume, including the skullcap.[350] Followers of Islam wear a turban to emulate the Prophet Muhammad, who was said to wear a black or white turban. Acting as an identifier of nationality and religion, there are as many as sixty-six types of turbans used internationally.[351] The turban was adopted as a fashion statement by women in the West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, after it was banned by modernizing reforms in Turkey such as the *Tanzimat.*

Thomas Onwhyn does not depict any figures using the turban and crescent combination. However, *Punch* uses the turban and crescent as part of an

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[349] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits*

[350] A *taqiyah,* or skullcap, is a brimless cap placed beneath a fez and/or turban. "Male Headwear," last modified April 19, 2009, accessed November 30, 2012, http://www.raqs.co.nz/me/clothing_headwear_male.html.

[351] As previously mentioned, the use of turbans is not specific to one religion nor countries in the Middle East.
"Turbans – one of the world's most renown [sic] head dress," accessed November 30, 2012, http://www.millinerytechniques.com/turbans.html.

iconography to indicate a Turkish citizen. On the title page of volume eighteen,[352] Mr. Punch lectures a group of allegorical figures representing the participants of "Ye Great Exhibition" (fig. 3.15). This image depicts two men wearing turbans. One turban is highly decorated with jewelry, most likely representing Britain's Indian colony, and to the right his smiling, bearded companion wears a turban topped with a crescent indicating the "Turkish Other." Like "The Great Exhibition – Western Nave – Looking West; Including the Coalbrook Dale Dome, Dent's Turret Clock, Mrs. Rosse's Stone Cross, &c" in *The Crystal Palace and its Contents,* the person next to him wears a fez (figs. 2.30-2.31). This image is an example of the two occurring in the same image simultaneously. In volume twenty-one, "Refinement of Torture" specifically identifies the *muezzin* as a "Turkish Other" with a large crescent tied onto the *muezzin's* turban (fig. 3.32).

Finally, in "Bloomerism and Bunionism," the crescent-topped turban is prominently displayed on top of intricately patterned fabric (fig. 3.39). The crescent is exaggerated in size, similar to "Refinement of Torture." The only image which includes a scimitar, the man stands with his weapon curving away from the woman kneeling at his feet. She is the only female "Turkish" or "Arabian Other" studied in this thesis, has jewels and feathers protruding from her turban. The image of luxury in the Middle East is captured in the clothing drawn in *Punch* while the crescent of the Ottoman Empire identifies these individuals as belonging to a specific (part of the Ottoman) empire rather than depicting a generic "exotic" image.

The Fez on the "Turkish Other" in "Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London" and "Punch"

The fez, a new form of "modern" Turkish headwear implemented by the *Tanzimat* reforms, functioned as an identifying icon for the Ottoman Empire and its citizens. A *tarboush,* or fez, was often worn beneath a turban in Turkey until

[352] Published in 1850.

the *Tanzimat* reforms banned turbans throughout the empire. It was red with a blue or black tassel, and named after Fez, the chief city of Morocco, where the berries for the red dye were said to grow.[353]

Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London[354] begins with a scene in which a vast crowd of visitors waits outside of the entrance to the Crystal Palace. Included in this crowd is a bearded "Turkish Other" in a large fez on the right side of the image, standing in front of a man in a towering fur hat (fig. 3.2-3.3). Also scattered in this gathering of visitors are men in generic turbans, as well as, on the right hand side, a Bedouin man with a long head covering.

While wandering through the Crystal Palace, amongst the crowd of foreign visitors, the Browns encounter a "Turkish Other" wearing a fez in front of an "exhibit [of] ivories" (fig. 3.5).[355] The "Turkish Other" watches the Cannibal Islanders' attempt to purchase the Brown's son while drinking from a mug in the left-hand corner (fig. 3.6). As the Browns leave the exhibition, passing through the smoke-filled room full of foreigners, they walk by a "Turkish Other" standing rigidly upright (figs. 3.8-3.9). Dressed in contemporary European clothing with a dark beard, he raises his chin proudly, tilting his head back until his fez is parallel to the floor while its tassels hang vertically.

The fez is used to indicate a "modern" "Turk" in volume nineteen and twenty (1850-1851) of *Punch* as well. The "Turkish Other" in "The Sea-Side Season" is differentiated from the British characters by his baggy pantaloons and fez, indicating his "Otherness" (fig. 3.17). *Punch's Almanack for 1851*[356] includes images of individuals from across the globe, including a "Turkish Other" peering over his shoulder at a "Chinaman" (fig. 3.20).[357] On the Ottoman individual's head the characteristic fez with a tassel, with his moustache adding to

[353] "Turbans – one of the world's most renown [sic] head dress," accessed November 30, 2012, http://www.millinerytechniques.com/turbans.html.
[354] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits*
[355] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 4.
[356] *Punch* Vol. 20.
[357] *Punch's Almanack for 1851* Vol. 20.

the character type; facial hair in *Punch* and *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London* function as a symbol of "otherness."

"The Pope in his Chair" includes an embellished combination of Western and Eastern headwear (fig. 3.25). The *Punch* drawing depicts the papal tiara sitting on a turban wrapped around the pope's head. Perched on the tiara is a combination of a cross topped with the Ottoman crescent, combining the "exoticism" of Islam and the East with symbols of Catholicism.

Clothing reappears as a signifier of the "Turkish Other" in "Please, Sir, Shall I Hold Your Horse?" in volume twenty of *Punch* (fig. 3.26). A young boy wears a fez, pantaloons, and curly toed slippers while riding on a giraffe. "The Nose of the Hippopotamus Put out of Joint by the Young Elephant" (fig. 3.33) from *Punch* incorporates a "Turkish Other" into the background. As Mr. Punch and his ventriloquist doll converse with a second ventriloquist, this image continues the use of the "Turkish Other," illustrated with a fez resting on his head as he reassures the hippopotamus to "nebber mind" the "uglyelflint."[358]

The "Arabian Other" in "Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London" and "Punch"

The "Arabian Other" as discussed in contrast to the "Turkish Other," encompasses representations of men (and women) from anywhere in the Middle East. Visual satire made use of clothing and weaponry as a distinguishable trait to identify these figures. Instead of identifiable fezzes or turbans topped with crescents worn by the "Turkish Other," the "Arabian Other" is depicted in turbans of various styles and long, loose robes. In *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,*[359] the family is swept in with the immense crowd as the Crystal Palace opens the doors to the Great Exhibition of Industry (fig. 3.4). Upon entering, they are confronted with two versions of the "Arabian Other." The turbaned "Arabian Other" in the background waves his scimitar while a Bedouin in the foreground

[358] *Punch* Vol. 20, 192.
[359] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits*

greets the family with his hand on his dagger. The dark skin and pointed beard of the Bedouin are used to emphasize the foreignness of a different nationality.

After the Browns meet a group of Frenchmen and look through the *Official Catalogue*, Mrs. Brown is "alarmed" by her encounter with an "Arabian Other" character and the way the foreign visitors look at her (fig. 3.7). The "Arabian Other" is tall, dark, and dressed in luxurious robes. A long scimitar bends toward the family as they step back and huddle together. The "Arabian Other's" turban is elongated vertically, with its protruding feathers hitting the umbrella held above his head. In comparison, the "Arabian Other" on page eight of Onwhyn's leaflet has a full, white beard and a plump, rounded body, starkly contrasted to the aforementioned "Turkish Other." He is seated on the floor smoking on the right side of the panel (figs. 3.8-3.9). He sits leisurely with his *hookah* in a large striped turban and robes.

While the Browns explore Regent Street, a luxuriously dressed "Arabian Other" wearing baggy pantaloons, curled slippers, a feathered turban, and a curved scimitar greets another foreign visitor in the foreground, with more "Arabian Other" figures on the carriages in the background (fig. 3.12). This figure is the third and final image to make use of weaponry to highlight the fear of the "Other" represented in Onwhyn's leaflet. At the theatre, the "Arabian Other" is centred in the group of people gathered in the theatre box (fig. 3.13). The bushy beard and circular glasses are similar to the "Turkish Other" seen in "May Day, Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-one" from *Punch* (fig. 3.29).

Punch's "Preface to the Twentieth Volume" includes a drawing of the Crystal Palace and Punch and Judy leading a group of visitors to the building (fig. 3.19). In the foreground, a turbaned individual holds his hands out while his pantaloons hang loosely and his slippers curl slightly. Volume twenty-one shows a turbaned figure within the Crystal Palace in "The Happy Family in Hyde Park" (fig. 3.37-3.38). This figure watches a dancer while he is gazed upon by a group of Londoners watching from a distance. This illustration precedes "The Guildhall Feast" (fig. 3.40-3.41), an image of a caravan of visitors moving to the Crystal Palace including men with turbans walking alongside camels, visible on the left

side of the page.

Normalizing the "Turkish Other" in Punch

Exotic attributes were pushed to an extreme to portray the Ottoman Empire in satirical publications from the Great Exhibition. In volume twenty of *Punch*, for example, "Please Sir, Shall I Hold Your Horse?" (fig. 3.26) depicts a boy riding a giraffe, which would be considered an unusual choice of mount in comparison to the "normal" British standard of a horse. This image of the mounted "Turkish Other," identified by his clothing discussed previously, sits atop the giraffe comfortably holding long reins which reach up to a bridle. While mid-nineteenth century Victorians may more commonly have singled out alternatives used by Arabs, such as a camel, as "odd" or "peculiar," *Punch* exaggerated existing cultural differences in this illustration by pairing a Turkish rider with an African animal that is not generally ridden. The unflinching British boy's reaction contrasts to the fright depicted by Thomas Onwhyn as the Browns flee the Great Exhibition in a state of terror.[360]

At no time in Onwhyn's *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London* is Mrs. Brown more alarmed than her first encounter with a dark-skinned Middle Eastern figure after she talks to some "polite Gentn." [gentlemen][361] from France. The family displays a sense of shock and fear at their encounters with men from the Middle East. Regardless of the weaponry carried by the "Arabian Other" figures, there is no malice displayed towards the family, especially in comparison to the Cannibal Islanders who threaten to eat their son while dining (fig. 3.6).

The lack of reactions to cross-cultural encounters depicted in *Punch* attempts to normalize the situations while subverting hegemonic expectations of surprise and shock. A reaction similar to Mrs. Brown in *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London* is not depicted. Creating a larger difference between the two empires emphasizes cultural distinctions as well as hyperbolizing cultural habits for the sake of the reader's entertainment. In contrast to Onwhyn's leaflet

[360] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 9.
[361] Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. John Brown's Visit to London,* 8.

which was full of images of a shocked family, *Punch* presented Londoners with cultural differences that excluded the sense of terror depicted by Thomas Onwhyn. Rather, the differences illustrated in *Punch* are responded to calmly and sensibly.

Articles illustrating the West as the "Other" were included in *Punch* to critique the stereotypes used to portray other cultures in travel journals, literature, and art. "Panorama of the Inglese" in *Punch* by William Thackeray recounts the travels of the Sage and Doctor of Beyrout, Hadjee Aboo Bosh (figs. 3.30-3.31). He returns from a trip to "Lundoon" (London) and "Franghistan" after studying the customs and manners "of the Infidels."[362] The description of London is exaggerated, imitating British travel accounts which embellished facts and disseminated cultural stereotypes. By hyperbolizing European customs with extreme and prejudicial language, the *Punch* article establishes Britain as the "uncivilized" nation in a similar manner to Western travel accounts. In *Punch's* "An Ingleez Family" the concept of monogamy is described as "a tyranny unheard of amongst civilized nations like our own."[363] By impersonating the "Other" in satire, features of British society were exposed, critiqued, and used to construct and reinforce an expression of British identity.[364]

The Narcissism of Minor Differences: Culture as Boundaries

The identity of British citizens was threatened by the great influx of foreigners forecasted by British printed culture prior to the Great Exhibition. The official and satirical sources discussed in this thesis clearly established cultural boundaries in Britain, functioning as a means to create a "standard of Englishness" and a national identity.[365] Images produced in mid-nineteenth century Britain of the "Turkish Other" and "Arabian Other" worked to form an image of British society and its citizens. These images functioned as a way to

[362] *Punch* Vol. 21, 139.
[363] *Punch*, Vol. 21, 147.
[364] Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth Century English Culture and Fiction* (London: Methuen, 1986), 116, quoted in Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition*, 178.
[365] Pearson, "Thackeray and *Punch* at the Great Exhibition," 192.

maintain a coherent identity, as proposed by Jeffery A. Auerbach. The Great Exhibition provided an opportunity for writers and politicians to assert and reaffirm those elements considered integral to British national identity and extol the qualities and values of the British state.[366]

In his book *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1929-30), Sigmund Freud addressed a new theory he titled the "narcissism of minor differences." This theory suggests that "who you are [and] what you represent or stand for" is based on "subtle distinctions that are emphasized, defended, and reinforced against what is closest because that is what poses the greatest threat" to your identity.[367] From these "threats" stem violent interactions; for Freud, wars are a result of the defense of cultural boundaries. Peter Sahlins posits that this national identity is "contingent and relational [and] defined by the… boundaries drawn to distinguish the collective self and its implicit negation, the other."[368]

Anton Blok, a Dutch anthropologist,[369] applied a new cultural model to Freud's theory in his article "The Narcissism of Minor Differences" in 1998. While Freud focused on the violence stemming from cultural similarity, Blok proposed that minor differences between people "who are otherwise alike" are the basis for hostility between varying nations, groups, and cultures. For Blok, "social identity lies in difference;" therefore, cultures assert their differences against that which is the greatest threat to their identity: the culture which is the most similar to its own.[370] René Girard's study *Violence and the Sacred* (1972), as referenced by Anton Blok, puts forth the argument that "the loss of differences between groups is the main source of extreme violence."[371] The loss of identity and distinctions between cultures can, and will, result in violence.

Following theories from Eugene Victor Walter's 1969 book *Terror and*

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[366] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 165.
[367] Blok. "The Narcissism of Minor Differences," 48.
[368] Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries, The Making of Spain and France in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 271.
[369] b. 1935, Amsterdam.
[370] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice. (London: Routledge, 1979), 479, quoted in Block, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences," 38.
[371] René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred,* trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press: 1972), quoted in Blok, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences," 28.

Resistance, Blok believes that greater differences in culture diminish the chance of conflict, struggle, and extreme violence.[372] Great differences are the building blocks for stability and peace.[373] Blok suggests that as differences in power and culture increase, the likelihood of violence decreases accordingly. Instead of violent actions, "subtle forms of passive resistance" are used as methods to maintain a cultural or national identity.[374] Based on this theory, I posit that passive resistance at the Great Exhibition in the form of print media may have taken the place of outright violence. Images of the "Turk" as a combative, nomadic figure represented in print media, especially visual satire, exaggerated preconceived stereotypes and, in doing so, prevented actual physical violence. The British public was reassured of its unique national identity through disseminated imagery while the city was inundated with displays and visitors from colonies and foreign countries. The anxiety over an influx of foreign visitors to London's Great Exhibition in 1851, as has been seen, stimulated fear, concern, and a desire to protect what was perceived as "British," regardless of geographical, political, or cultural differences. The Great Exhibition of Industry was a product of forty years of relative peace in Britain, and the vast array of cultures on display did not challenge Britain's identity until the Ottoman Empire implemented reforms to "catch up" to the European industry, adopting "British" traits in its attempt to become an equal partner in Europe.

To conclude, the potential wave of foreign visitors to the Great Exhibition of 1851 resulted in the publication of satirical literature which simultaneously enhanced concerns regarding foreign visitors to London and a curiousity of the "Other." Additionally, the official literature, including the official catalogue, handbooks and guides, journals, and newspapers gave minimal attention to the Turkish court and its items on display, although its court was a source of attention and intrigue as an Oriental "bazaar" in the middle of London. Items at the court

[372] Eugene Victor Walter, *Terror and Resistance. A Study of Political Violence with Case Studies from Some Primitive African Communities*, (1969), 15 -16, quoted in Blok, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences," 41.
[373] Blok, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences," 33.
[374] Blok, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences," 41.

highlighted the "exoticism" of the "Orient" as it was perceived in the West. "Exotic" goods, including *hookahs,* chocolate, and tobacco, created a multisensory experience for visitors within the Crystal Palace. While goods were often excluded or minimized in text, the "Turkish" or "Arabian Other" was included in illustrations and used to highlight the differences between British and Turkish society. In print media, British citizens were depicted in contrast to "barbaric, "uncivilized" images of the "Turkish" and "Arabian Other." These comparisons functioned to differentiate figures from two vast empires.

As a mode of resistance and self-critique of British society, satire discussed, illustrated, and hyperbolized the differences between the British and Ottoman Empires. Text and cartoons mediated the stereotype of the "primitive," "aggressive" Arab while critiquing the British perception of the "Other." Stereotypes of foreign character "types" were more dominant in public discourse[375] – specifically European countries – demonstrating a clear effort in British print culture to identify a national identity against its closest threats.

The threat posed by the Ottoman Empire to the hegemony of Britain is evidence of the challenge posed to the West by the Islamic Orient as it implemented the *Tanzimat* and modernizing reforms. Print media depicted the modern Turkish figures as the "Turkish Other," slowly progressing to a more Western, "civilized" nation. Images of the "Turkish Other" in contemporary European clothing and fezzes diminished the broad gaps between Turkey and Britain. However, illustrations of the "uncivilized," "nomadic" "Turk" in British satire maintained a strong division between the two empires and this division, according to Blok, decreased the chance of violence through cultural differentiation.

The depiction of stereotypes in British print media was based on Western preconceptions of the Middle East. The differences illustrated in satirical cartoons established definitive dissimilarities between the British and Ottoman empires and their societies. These differences, according to Blok's theory,

[375] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 170.

functioned to promote peace between the empires. While the Ottoman government attempted to become more modern and European, decreasing cultural differences would theoretically lead to violence as British national identity became threatened. Using terms such as "nomadic" and "Oriental" labeled the Middle East as part of a different world, one in which the lack of "civilization" was not a threat to the progress made by the British empire. Although the Ottoman government attempted to implement reforms and adopt European systems, images in satirical leaflets and magazines acted as a preventative barrier to violent conflict.

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[376] For this thesis I have looked at volumes 18-21, published in 1850-1851 by Fleet Street.

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Illustrations: Introduction

Fig. 0.1 – Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. *Odalisque with a Slave.* Oil on canvas.1842.

Illustrations: Chapter 1

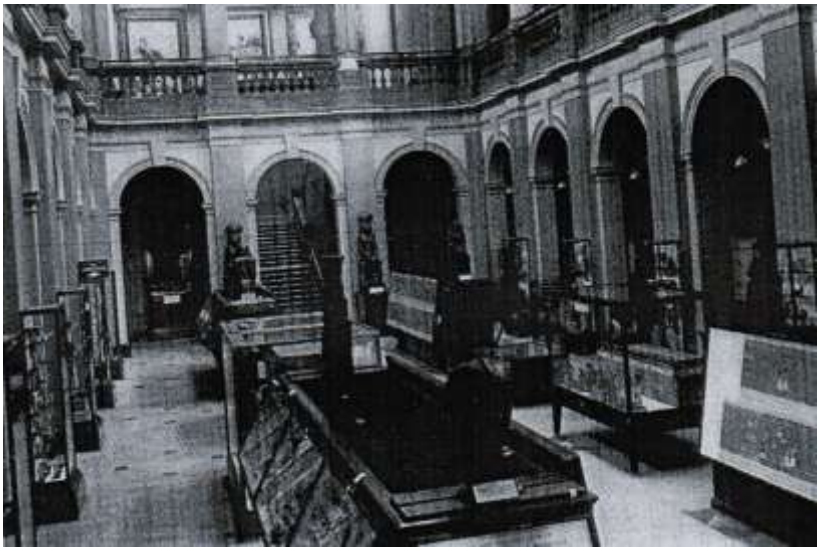

Fig. 1.1 – Egyptian Hall, Liverpool (c. 1906). Kate Hill, *Culture and Class in English Public Museums, 1850-1914* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2005), figure 6.14.

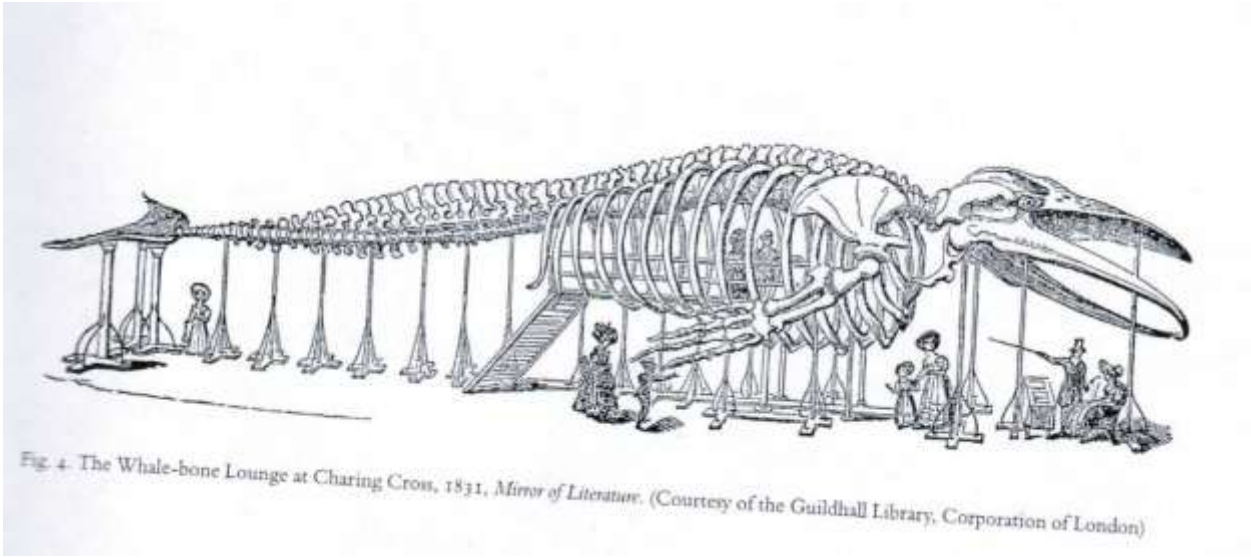

Fig. 4. The Whale-bone Lounge at Charing Cross, 1831, *Mirror of Literature*. (Courtesy of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London)

Fig. 1.2 – "The Whale-bone Lounge at Charing Cross, 1831." Barbara J. Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 25.

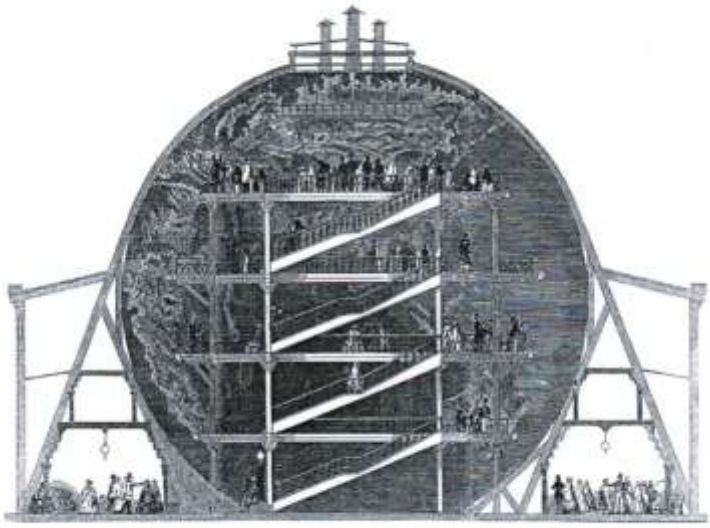

Fig. 6. "Mr. Wyld's Model of the Earth," 1851. (Courtesy of the Illustrated London News Picture Library)

Fig. 1.3 – "Mr Wyld's Model of the Earth" (1851). Barbara J. Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums.* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 35.

Fig. 1.4 – Crystal Palace, exterior, calotype photograph. John Langdon-Davies, *The Great Exhibition, 1851: A Collection of Contemporary Documents* (London: Cape, 1968).

Fig. 1.5 – Court of the Myrtles. Alhambra, accessed Jan 9, 2013, http://www.alhambradegranada.org/en/info/galleryofphotographs/courtofthemyrtles.asp.

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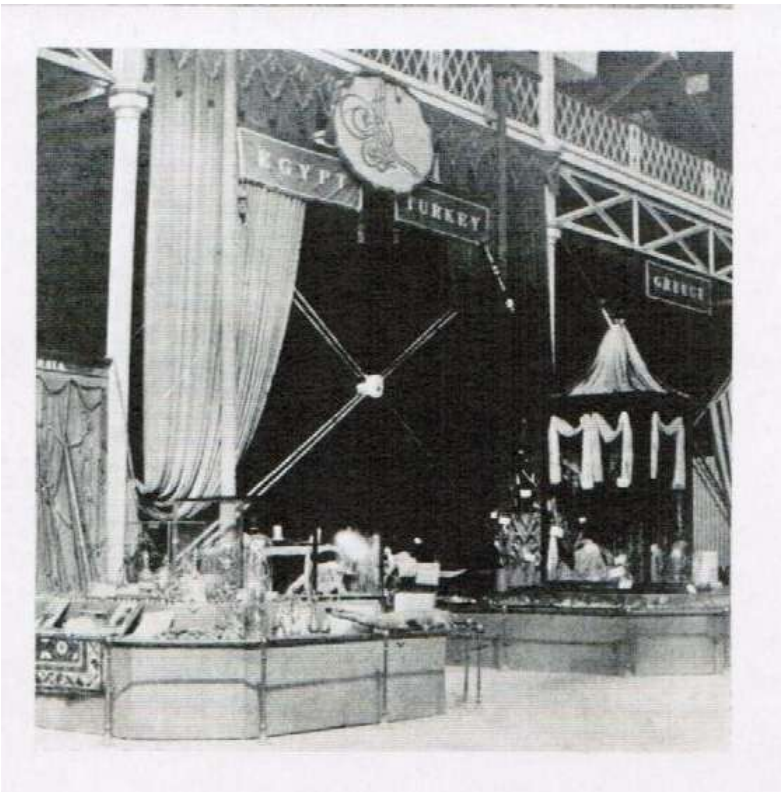


Fig. 1.6 – Display of Egypt and Turkey, calotype photograph. Patrick Beaver, *The Crystal Palace, 1851-1936: A Portrait of Victorian Enterprise* (London: Hugh Evelyn Ltd., 1970), 43.

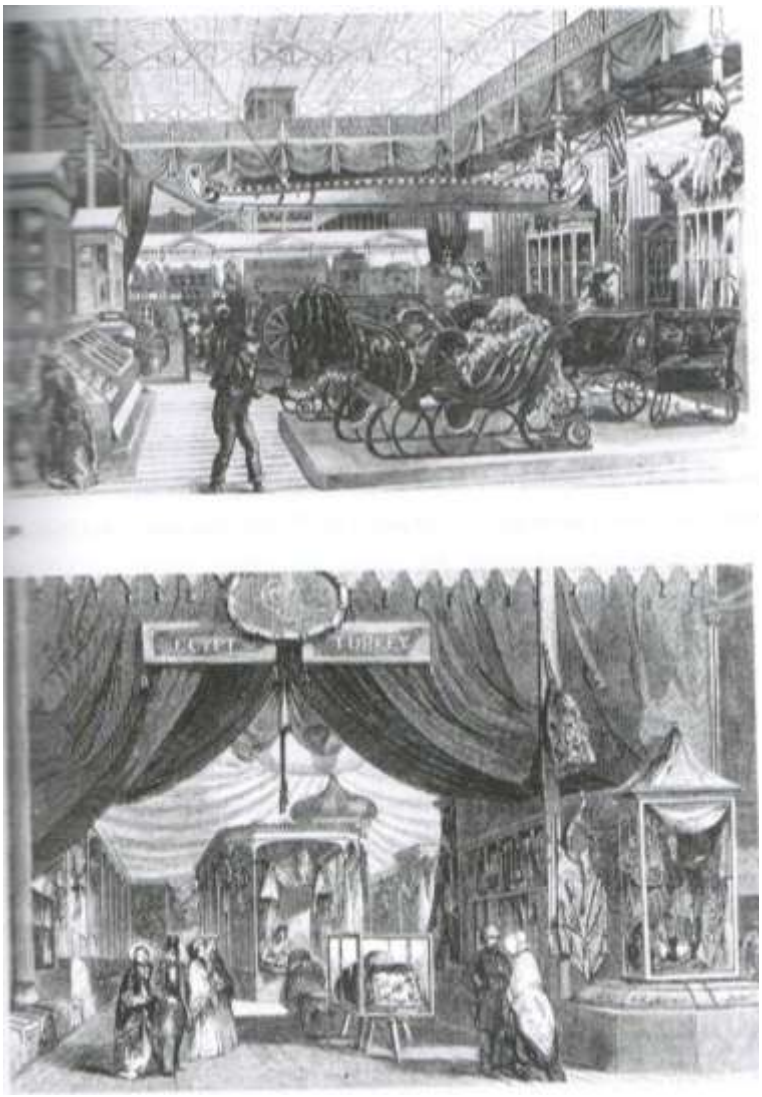


Fig. 1.7 – Canada and Egypt-Turkey courts. Pieter van Wesemael. *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon (1798-1851-1970).* English ed. (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2001), Plate 30, 31.

Fig. 1.8 – Denmark court. *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* Vol.1 (London: Dickinson Brothers, Her Majesty's Publishers, 1852), 35.

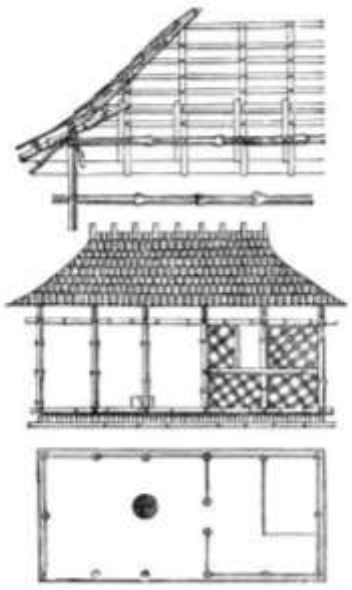
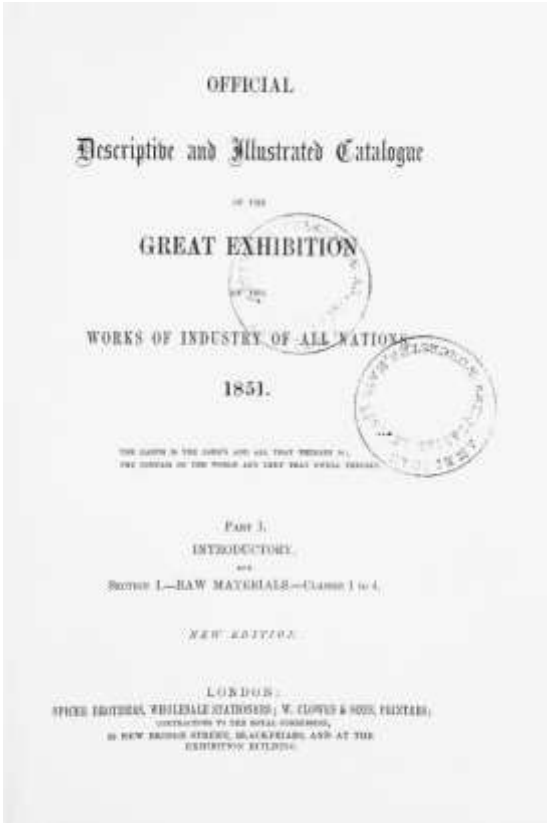


Fig. 1.9 – "The Caraib Hut." Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil* Vol 2 (1878), 263, in Mari Hvattum. *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 36.

Figure 1.10 – "Indian Howdah in Ivory and Richly Wrought Silk." John Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace. Described and Illustrated by Beautiful Engravings Chiefly from Daguerrotypes by Beard Mayall &c. &c.* (London: John Tallis and Co., 1852).

Illustrations: Chapter 2

2.1 – Cover, *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851* Vol. 1-3 (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).


OFFICIAL

Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue

GREAT EXHIBITION

WORKS OF INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS

1851.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

SECTION I.—RAW MATERIALS.—CLASSES 1 to 4.

NEW EDITION.

LONDON:

Fig. 2.2 – Title page, *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851* Vol. 1-3 (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).

Fig. 2.3 – Frontispiece, *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851* Vol. 1 (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).

Fig. 2.4 – Ornamented hookahs Turkey and Egypt, *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851* Vol. 3 (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).

Fig. 2.5 – Canadian court. *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851.* Vol. 2 (London: Dickinson Brothers, Her Majesty's Publishers, 1852), 23.

Fig. 2.6 – "General View from the Turkish Court," *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* Vol. 1 (London: Dickinson Brothers, Her Majesty's Publishers, 1852), 45.

Fig. 2.7 – "Corner View of the Turkish Court Facing the North Transept," *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* Vol. 1 (London: Dickinson Brothers, Her Majesty's Publishers, 1852), 43.

Fig. 2.8 - *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* Vol. 1 (London: Dickinson Brothers, Her Majesty's Publishers, 1852), 3.

Fig. 2.9 – Title page, John Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace. Described and Illustrated by Beautiful Engravings Chiefly from Daguerrotypes by Beard Mayall &c. &c.* Vol. 1 (London: John Tallis and Co).

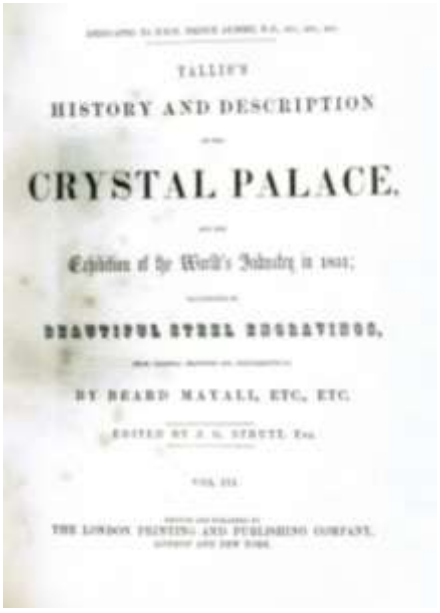


Fig. 2.10 - Title page, John Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace. Described and Illustrated by Beautiful Engravings Chiefly from Daguerrotypes by Beard Mayall &c. &c.* Vol. 3 (Vol. 2 and 3 edited by Jacob George Strutt. London and New York: London Publishing Company, 1852).

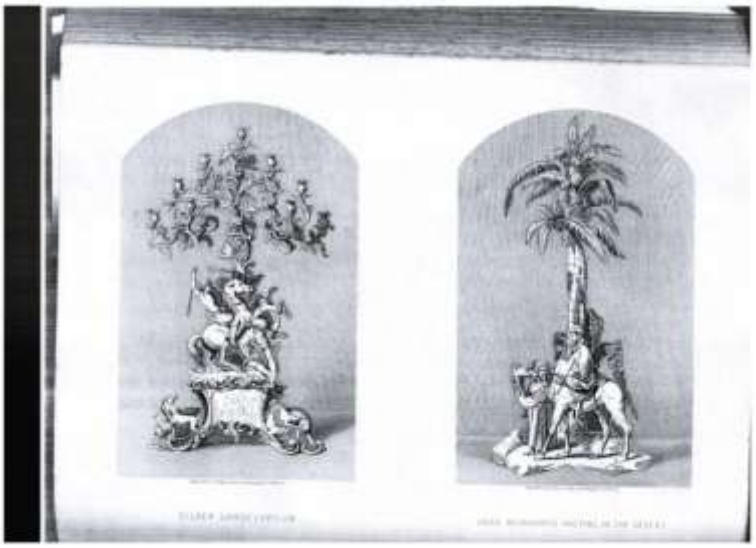


Fig. 2.11 – Arab Merchants Halting in the Desert (right). John Tallis. *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace. Described and Illustrated by Beautiful Engravings Chiefly from Daguerrotypes by Beard Mayall &c. &c.* (London: John Tallis and Co., 1852. Vol. 2 and 3 edited by Jacob George Strutt. London and New York: London Publishing Company, 1852).

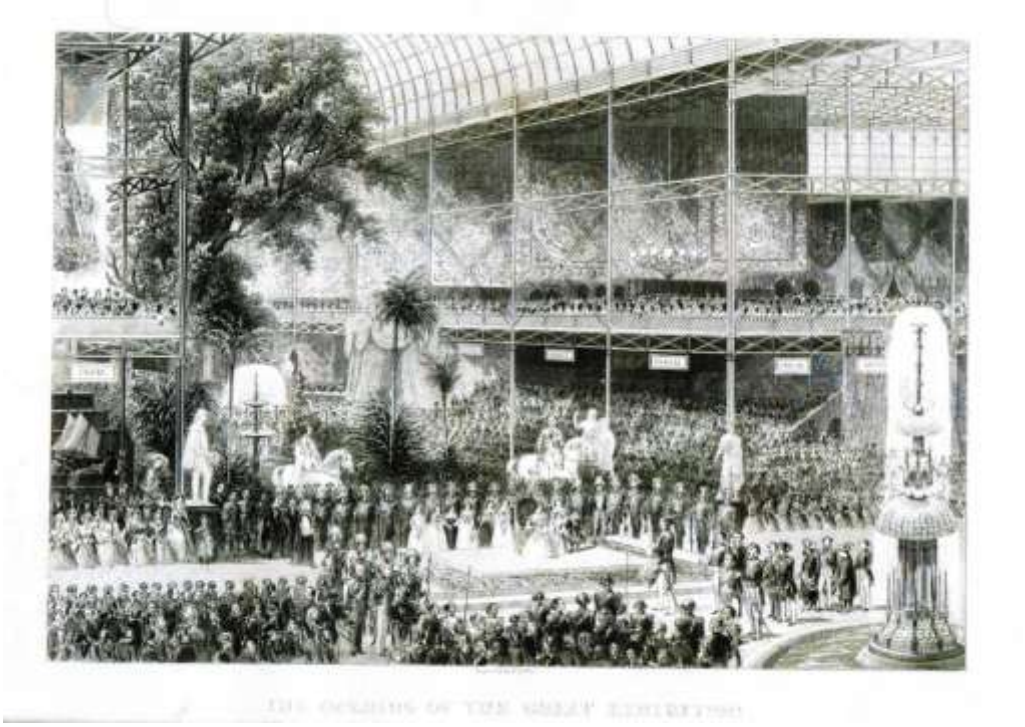
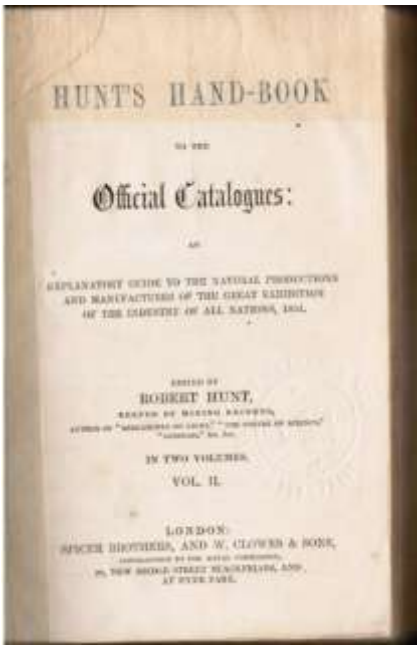


Fig. 2.12 – H. Bibby. "The Opening of the Great Exhibition by Her Most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, May 1, 1851." John Tallis. *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace. Described and Illustrated by Beautiful Engravings Chiefly from Daguerrotypes by Beard Mayall &c. &c.* Vol. 1(London: John Tallis and Co., 1852).



HUNT'S HAND-BOOK

TO THE

Official Catalogues:

AN

EXPLANATORY GUIDE TO THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS AND MANUFACTURES OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF THE INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS, 1851.

EDITED BY

ROBERT HUNT,

KEEPER OF MINING RECORDS,

AUTHOR OF "RESEARCHES ON LIGHT," "THE POETRY OF SCIENCE," "GERMANY," &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

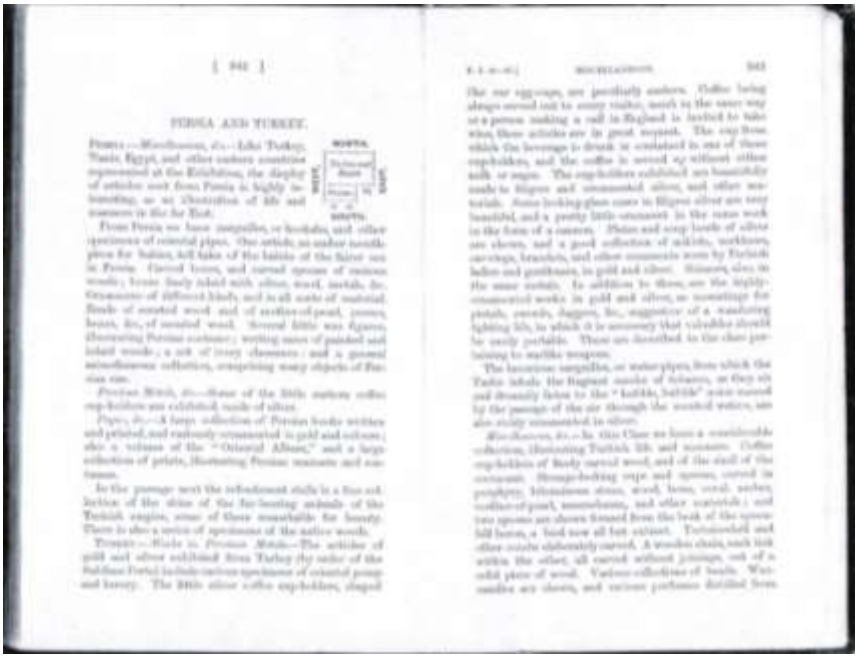
LONDON:

SPICER BROTHERS, AND W. CLOWES & SONS,

PRINTERS TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION,

29, NEW BRIDGE STREET BLACKFRIARS, AND 14, HYDE PARK.

Fig. 2.13 – Title page, *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogues: An Explanatory Guide to the Natural Productions and Manufactures of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, 1851*, ed. Robert Hunt (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851).



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PERSIA AND TURKEY.

Fig. 2.14 – "Persia and Turkey," *Hunt's Hand-Book to the Official Catalogues: An Explanatory Guide to the Natural Productions and Manufactures of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, 1851*, Ed. Robert Hunt. Vol. 2 (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 942-943.

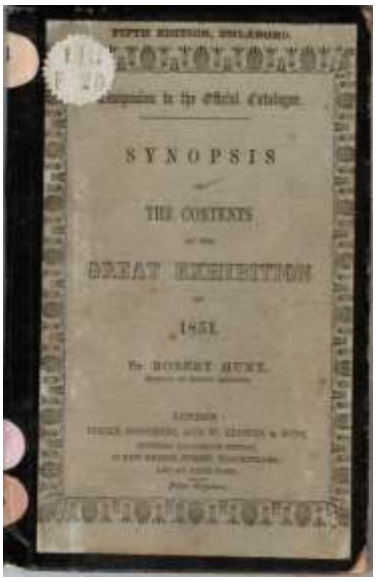
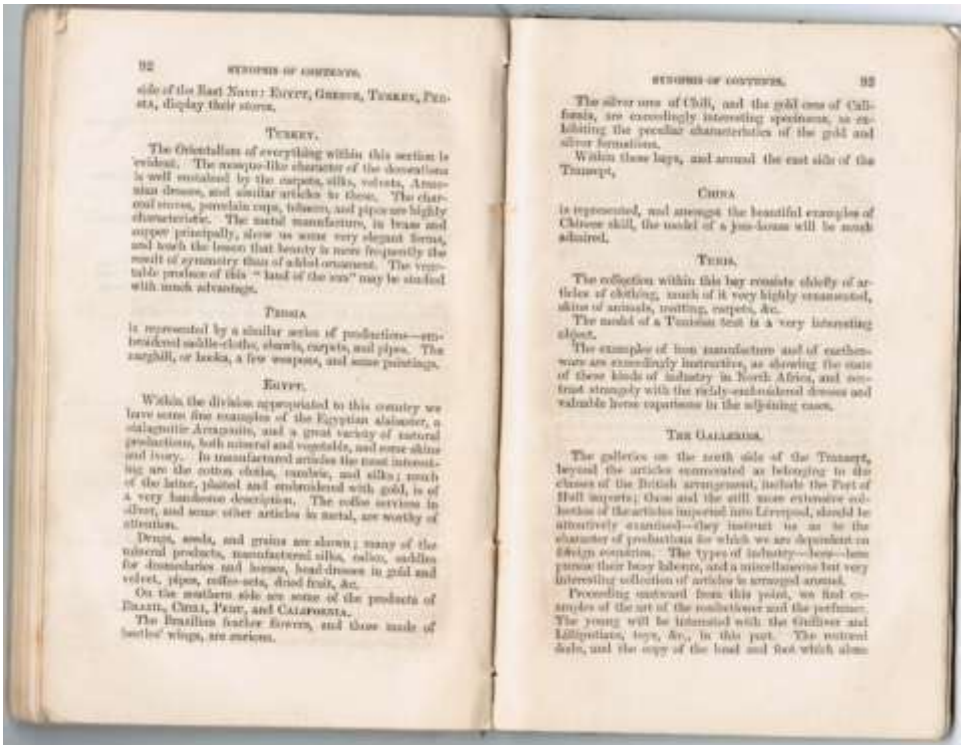


Fig. 2.15 – Cover, Robert Hunt, *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Companion to the Official Catalogue* (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).


92 SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

side of the East Nave: Egypt, Greece, Turkey, Persia, display their stores.

TURKEY.

The Orientalism of everything within this section is evident. The mosque-like character of the decorations is well sustained by the carpets, silks, velvets, Armenian dresses, and similar articles in these. The charcoal stoves, porcelain cups, tobacco, and pipes are highly characteristic. The metal manufacture, in brass and copper principally, shows us some very elegant forms, and teach the lesson that beauty is more frequently the result of symmetry than of added ornament. The vegetable produce of this "land of the sun" may be studied with much advantage.

PERSIA

is represented by a similar series of productions—embroidered saddle-cloths, shawls, carpets, and pipes. The zarghill, or hooka, a few weapons, and some paintings.

EGYPT.

Within the division appropriated to this country we have some fine examples of the Egyptian alabaster, a malachite Arrapunite, and a great variety of natural productions, both mineral and vegetable, and some skins and ivory. In manufactured articles the most interesting are the cotton cloths, cambric, and silks; much of the latter, plaited and embroidered with gold, is of a very handsome description. The coffee services in silver, and some other articles in metal, are worthy of attention.

Drugs, seeds, and grains are shown; many of the mineral products, manufactured silks, calico, saddles for dromedaries and horses, head-dresses in gold and velvet, pipes, coffee-sets, dried fruit, &c.

On the southern side are some of the products of ITALY, CHILI, PERU, and CALIFORNIA.

The Brazilian feather flowers, and those made of beetles' wings, are curious.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS. 93

The silver ores of Chili, and the gold ores of California, are exceedingly interesting specimens, as exhibiting the peculiar characteristics of the gold and silver formations.

Within these bays, and around the east side of the Transept,

CHINA

is represented, and amongst the beautiful examples of Chinese skill, the model of a joss-house will be much admired.

TURKS.

The collection within this bay consists chiefly of articles of clothing, much of it very highly ornamented, skins of animals, matting, carpets, &c.

The model of a Turkish tent is a very interesting object.

The examples of iron manufacture and of earthenware are exceedingly instructive, as showing the state of these kinds of industry in North Africa, and contrast strangely with the richly-ornamented dresses and valuable horse equipments in the adjoining cases.

THE GALLERIES.

The galleries on the north side of the Transept, beyond the articles enumerated as belonging to the classes of the British arrangement, include the Port of Hull imports; these and the still more extensive collections of the articles imported into Liverpool, should be attentively examined—they instruct us as to the character of productions for which we are dependent on foreign countries. The types of industry—here—have pursue their busy labours, and a miscellaneous but very interesting collection of articles is arranged around.

Proceeding eastward from this point, we find examples of the art of the confectioner and the perfumer. The young will be interested with the Gulliver and Lilliputian toys, &c., in this part. The natural dude, and the copy of the head and foot which alone

Fig. 2.16 – Robert Hunt, "Turkey," in *Synopsis of the Contents of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Companion to the Official Catalogue* (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851), 92.

Fig. 2.17 – Cover, Prior et al. *London as it is To-day: Where to go, and What to see, During the Great Exhibition,* (London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1851).

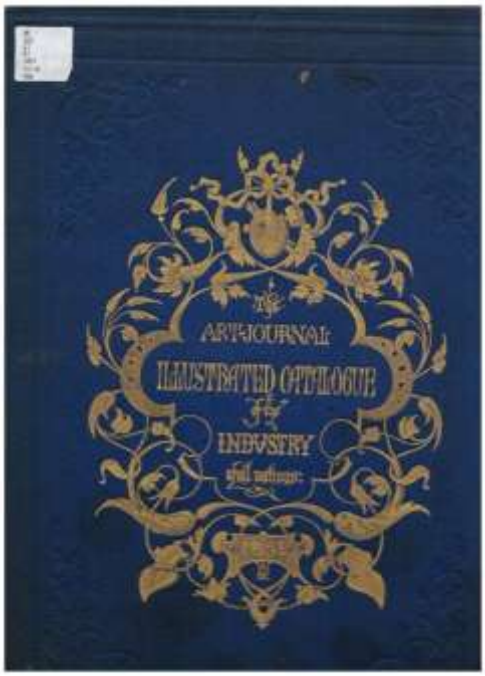


Fig. 2.18 – Cover, *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue: The Industry of all Nations.* (New York: Bounty Books, 1970).

Fig. 2.19 – Frontispiece, *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue: The Industry of all Nations.* (New York: Bounty Books, 1970).

Fig. 2.20 – Title page, *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue: The Industry of all Nations.* New York: Bounty Books, 1970.

Fig. 2.21 – "Entrance to the Turkish Department," in *History of the Great Exhibition* [essay, xi-xxvi]. *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue: The Industry of all Nations.* New York: Bounty Books, 1970, xxiii.

Fig. 2.22 – Edward Ferenbach. "View of the Turkish Court – From a Photograph by Ferenbach." *The Illustrated Exhibitor: A Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee, Comprising Sketches* Vol. 18 (October 4, 1851) (London: J. Cassell, 1851): 329.

Fig. 2.23 – Detail, Edward Ferenbach. "View of the Turkish Court – From a Photograph by Ferenbach." *The Illustrated Exhibitor: A Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee, Comprising Sketches* Vol. 18 (October 4, 1851) (London: J. Cassell, 1851), 329.

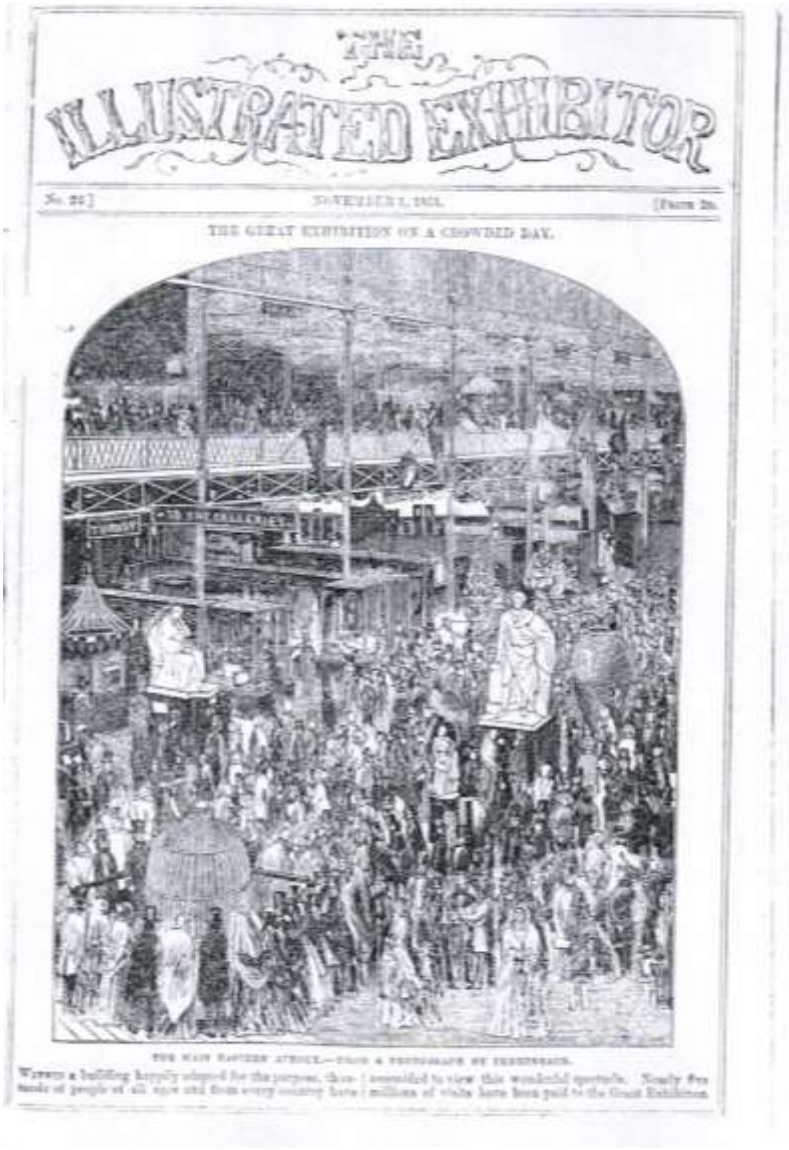

THE
ILLUSTRATED EXHIBITOR
No. 22] [Price 2d.
THE GREAT EXHIBITION ON A CROWDED DAY.
THE MAIN EASTERN AVENUE.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY FEHRENBACH.

Fig. 2.24 – "The Main Eastern Avenue – From a Photograph by Fehrenbach." *The Illustrated Exhibitor* No. 22 (November 1, 1851), title page.

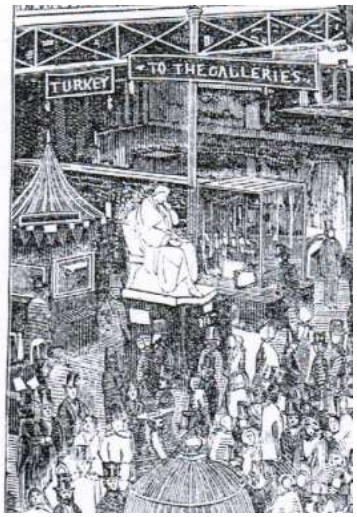


Fig. 2.25 – Detail – "The Main Eastern Avenue – From a Photograph by Fehrenbach." *The Illustrated Exhibitor.* No. 22 (November 1, 1851), title page.


THE ILLUSTRATED EXHIBITOR. 87

Silver Plate in the Crystal Palace.

Fig. 2.26 – "Group of Silver Plate." *The Illustrated Exhibitor* No. 5 (July 5, 1851): 87.

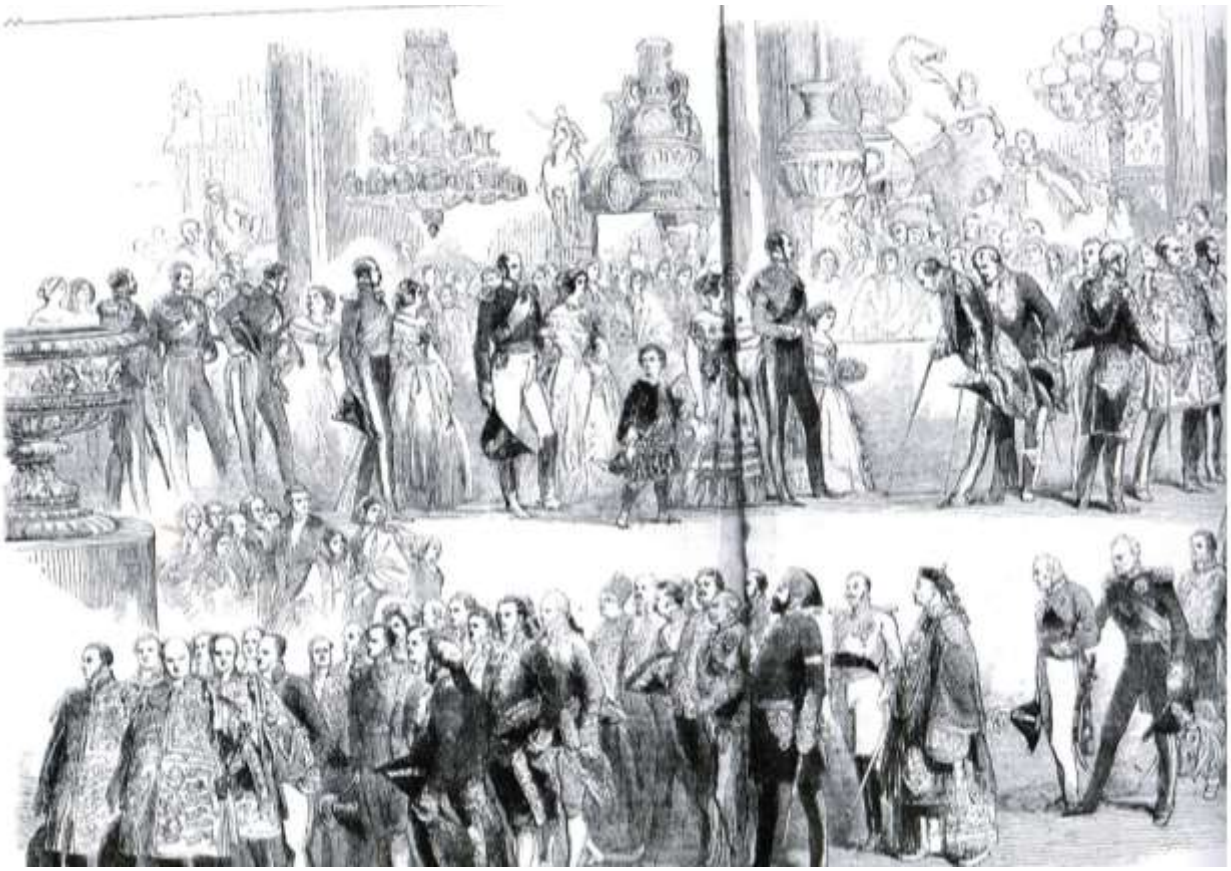


Fig. 2.27 – "The Royal Procession at the Opening of the Great Exhibition – May 1." *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 4 (October 25, 1851): 56-57.

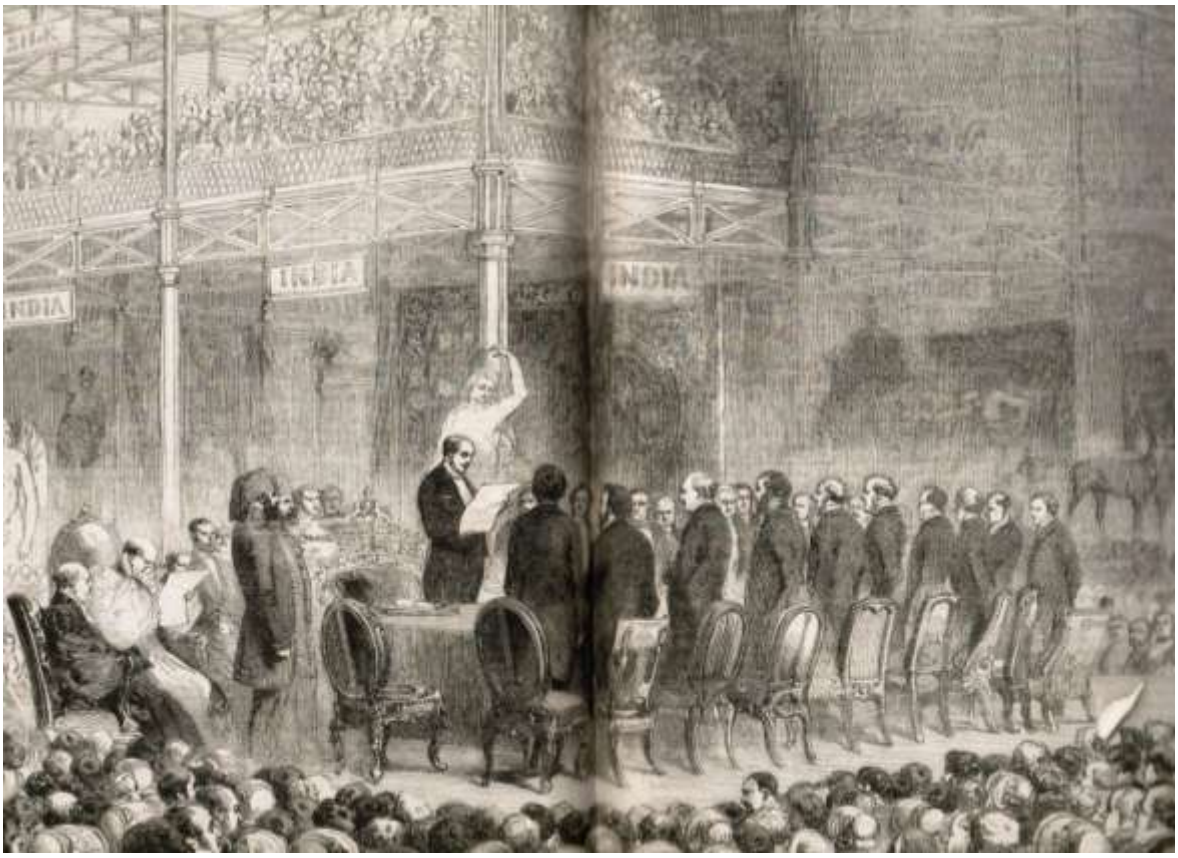


Fig. 2.28 – "The Closing of the Great Exhibition – Prince Albert Receiving the Reports of the Juries, Oct. 15, 1851." *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 7 (November 15, 1851): 104-105.

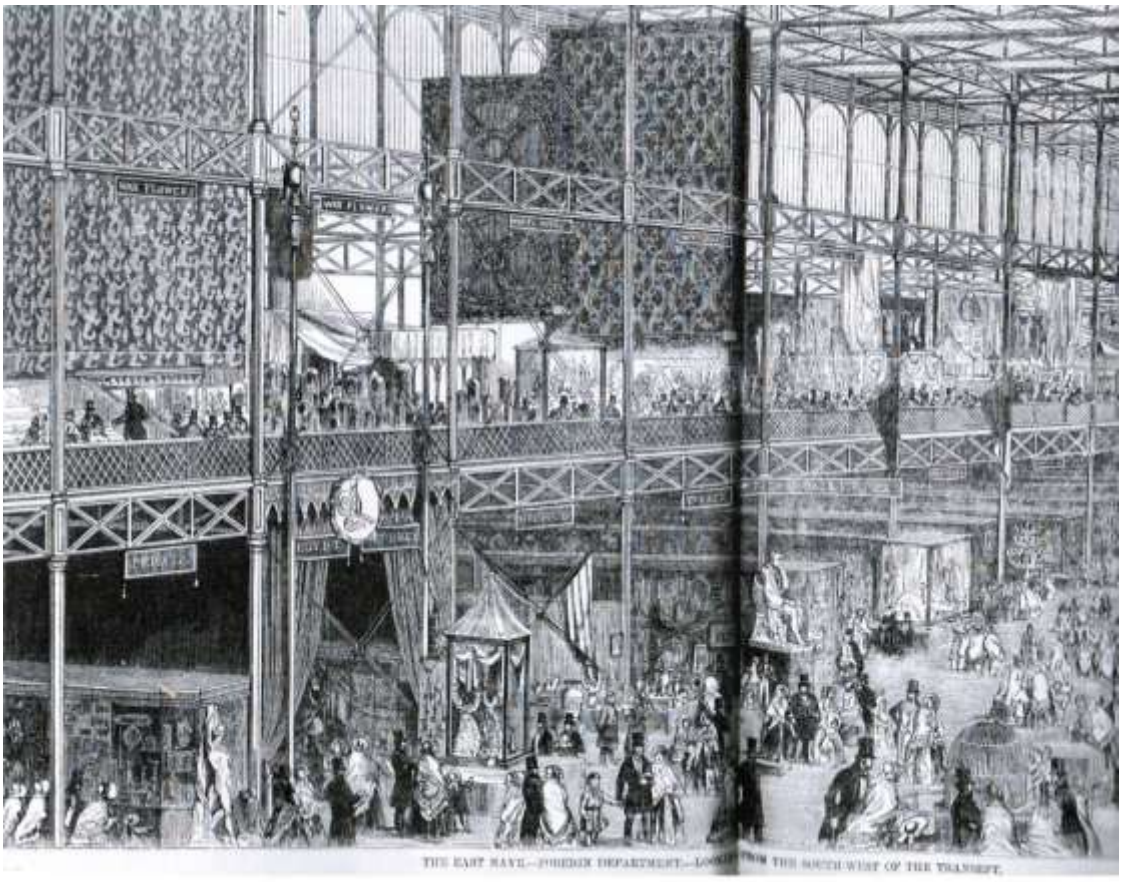


Fig. 2.29 – "The East nave – Foreign Department – Looking From the South-west of the Transept." *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 8 (November 22, 1851): 120-121.

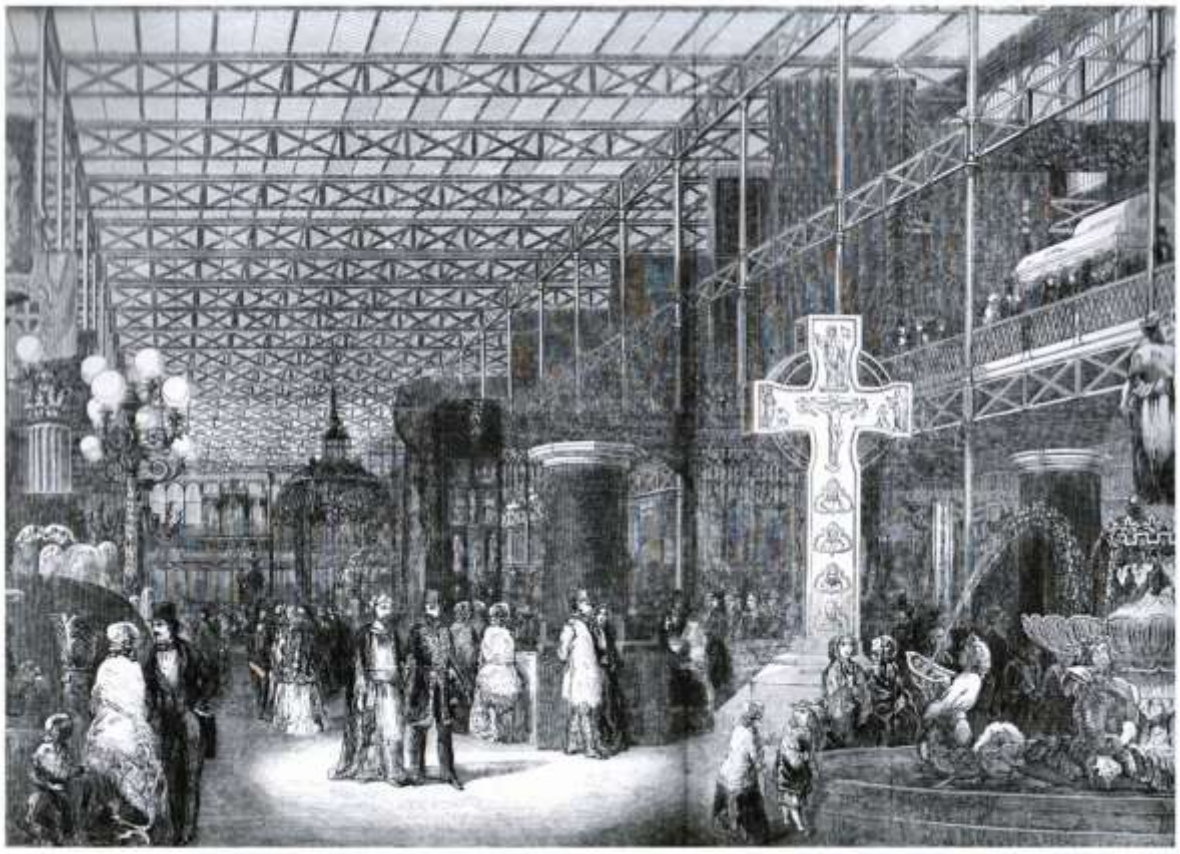


Fig. 2.30 – "The Great Exhibition – Western Nave – Looking West; Including the Coalbrook Dale Dome, Dent's Turret Clock, Mrs. Rosse's Stone Cross, &c." *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 23 (March 6, 1852): 360-361.

Fig. 2.31 – Detail. "The Great Exhibition – Western Nave – Looking West; Including the Coalbrook Dale Dome, Dent's Turret Clock, Mrs. Rosse's Stone Cross, &c." *The Crystal Palace and its Contents* No. 23 (March 6, 1852): 360

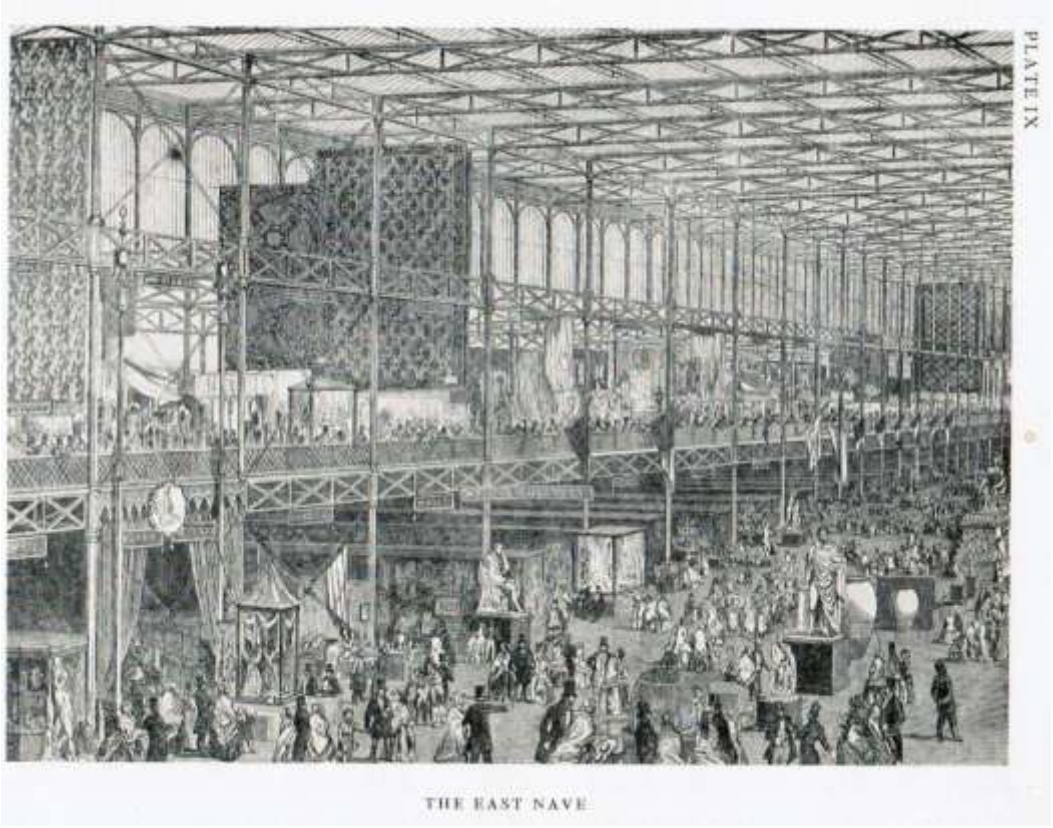


Fig. 2.32 – C.R. Fey. The East Nave, *Palace of Industry, 1851: A Study of the Great Exhibition and Its Fruits.* Reproduced from the *Illustrated London News* (Cambridge: University Press: 1851): Plate IX.

Fig. 2.33 – Exterior of the Crystal Palace, *Illustrated London News* Supplement, Iss. 481, 367.

Fig. 2.34 – Detail – Exterior of the Crystal Palace, *Illustrated London News* Supplement, Iss. 481.

Fig. 2.35 – George Baxter, “Interior of the Great Exhibition” (London: G. Baxter, 1860).

Fig. 2.36 – Detail – George Baxter, “Interior of the Great Exhibition” (London: G. Baxter, 1860).

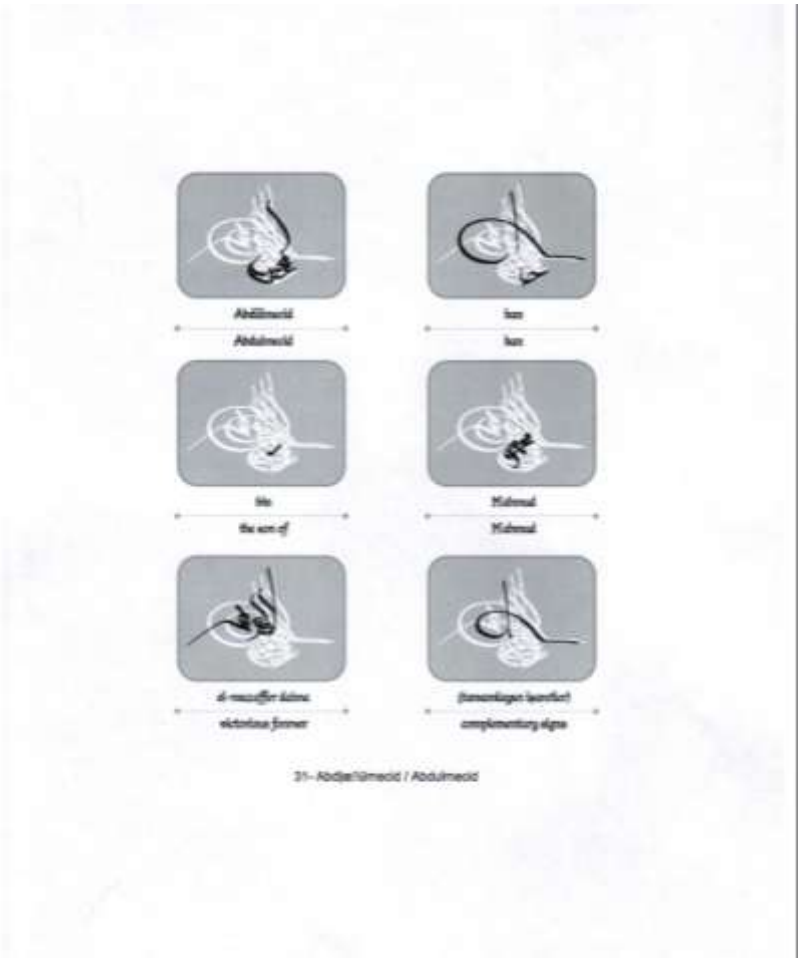


Fig. 2.37 – *Tughra* of Sultan Abdülmecid I

Illustrations: Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1 – Title page. Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits.* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851).

Fig. 3.2 - Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 1.

Fig. 3.3 – Detail, Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 1.

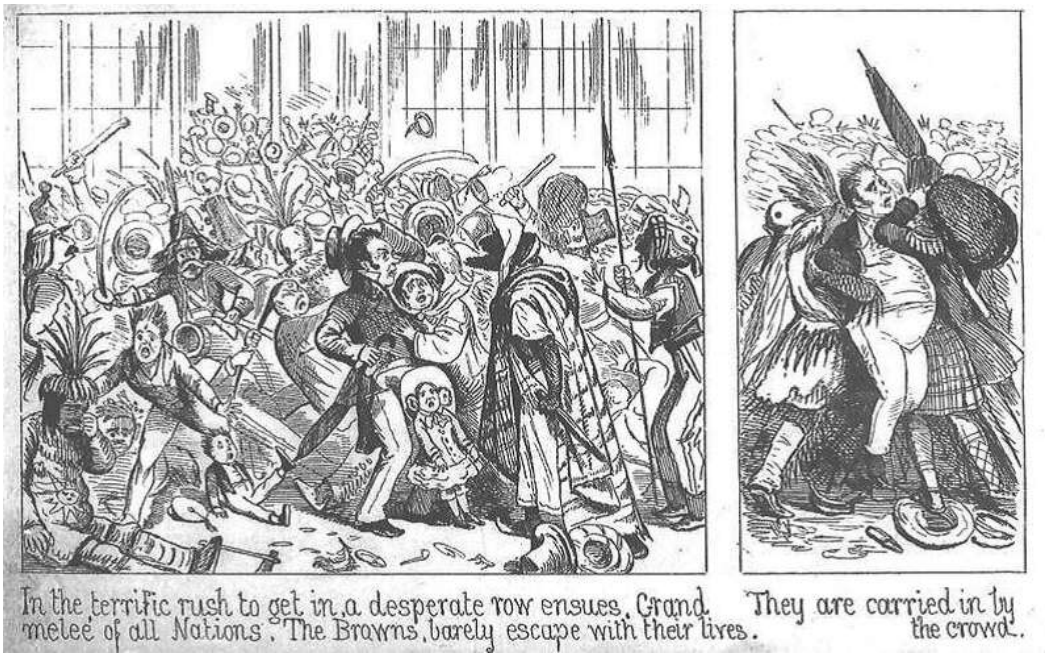


Fig. 3.4 - Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 2.

Fig. 3.5 – Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 4.

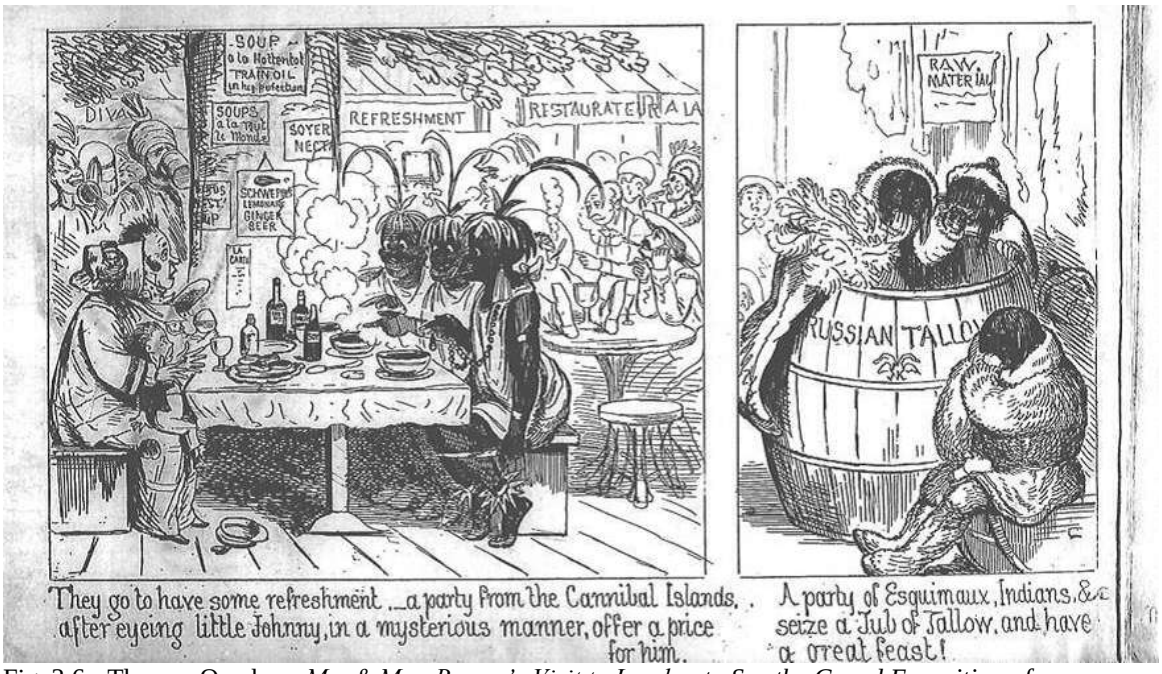


Fig. 3.6 - Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 6.

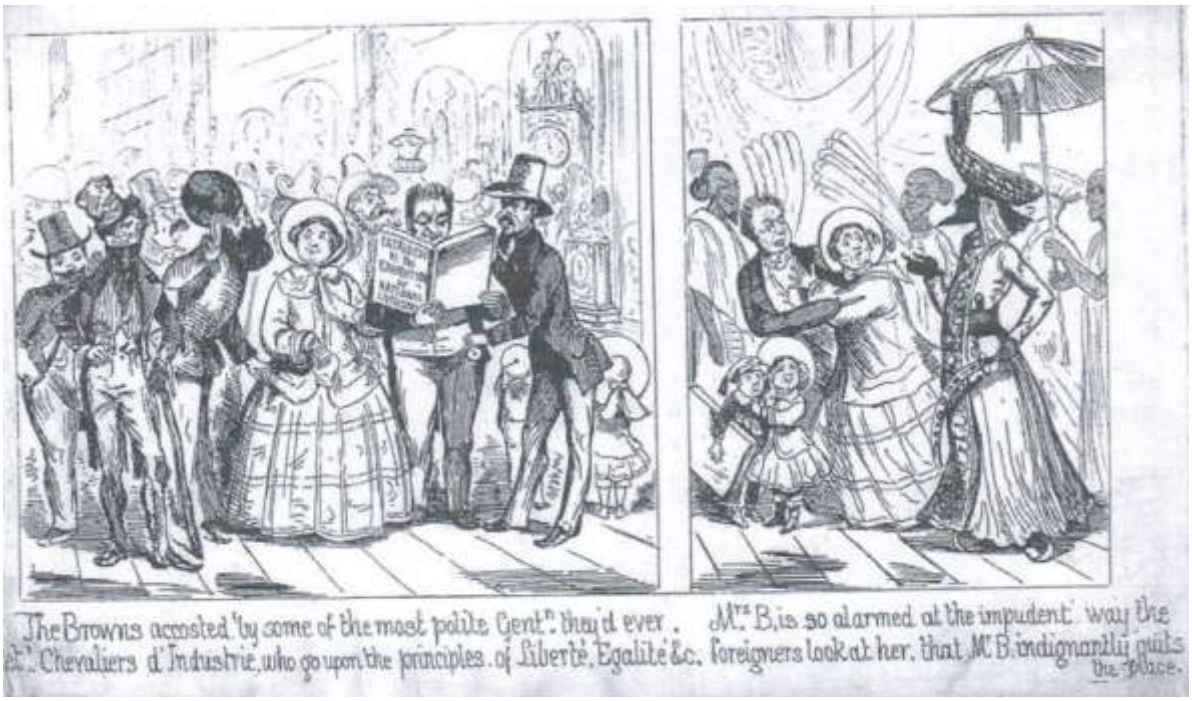


Fig. 3.7 - Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 7.

Fig. 3.8 - Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 8.

Fig. 3.9 – Detail, Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits,* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 8.

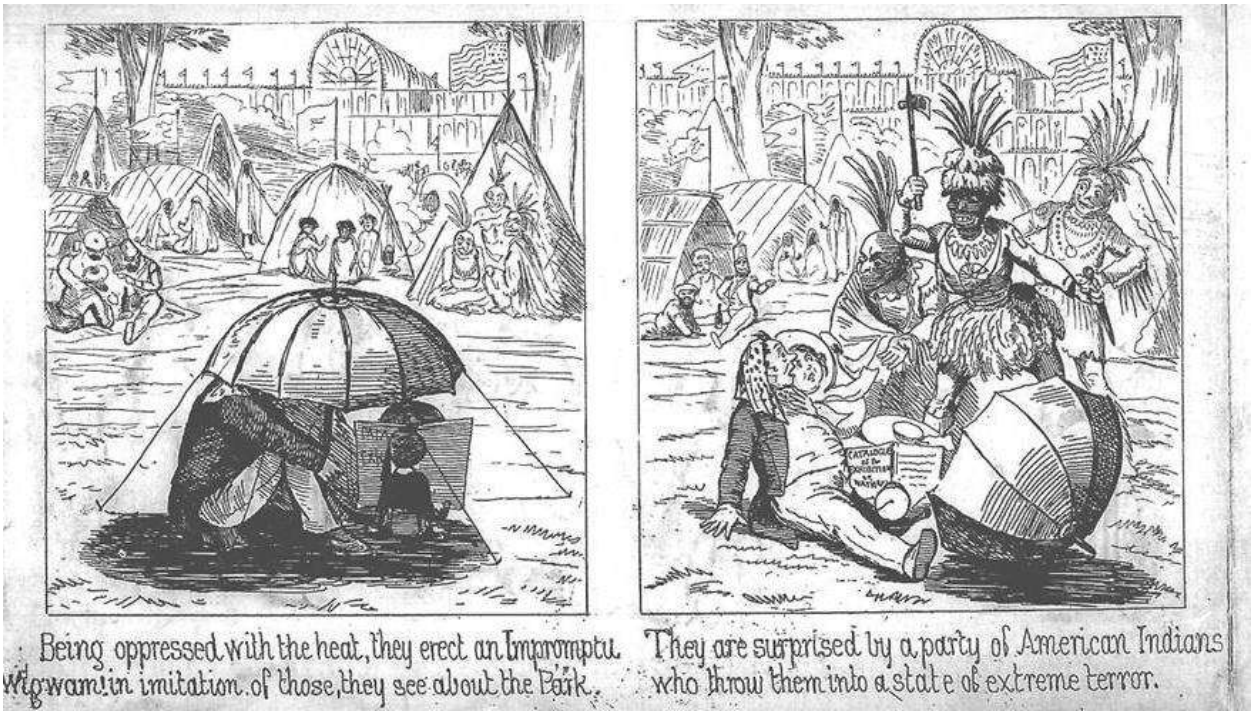


Fig. 3.10 – Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits.* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 9.

Fig. 3.11 – Detail, Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 9.

Fig. 3.12 - Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 10.

Fig. 3.13 - Thomas Onwhyn, *Mr. & Mrs. Brown's Visit to London to See the Grand Exposition of all Nations: How they were Astonished at its Wonders!!, Inconvenienced by the Crowds, & Frightened Out of their Wits* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1851), 11.

Fig. 3.14 – Richard Doyle, Cover, *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851).

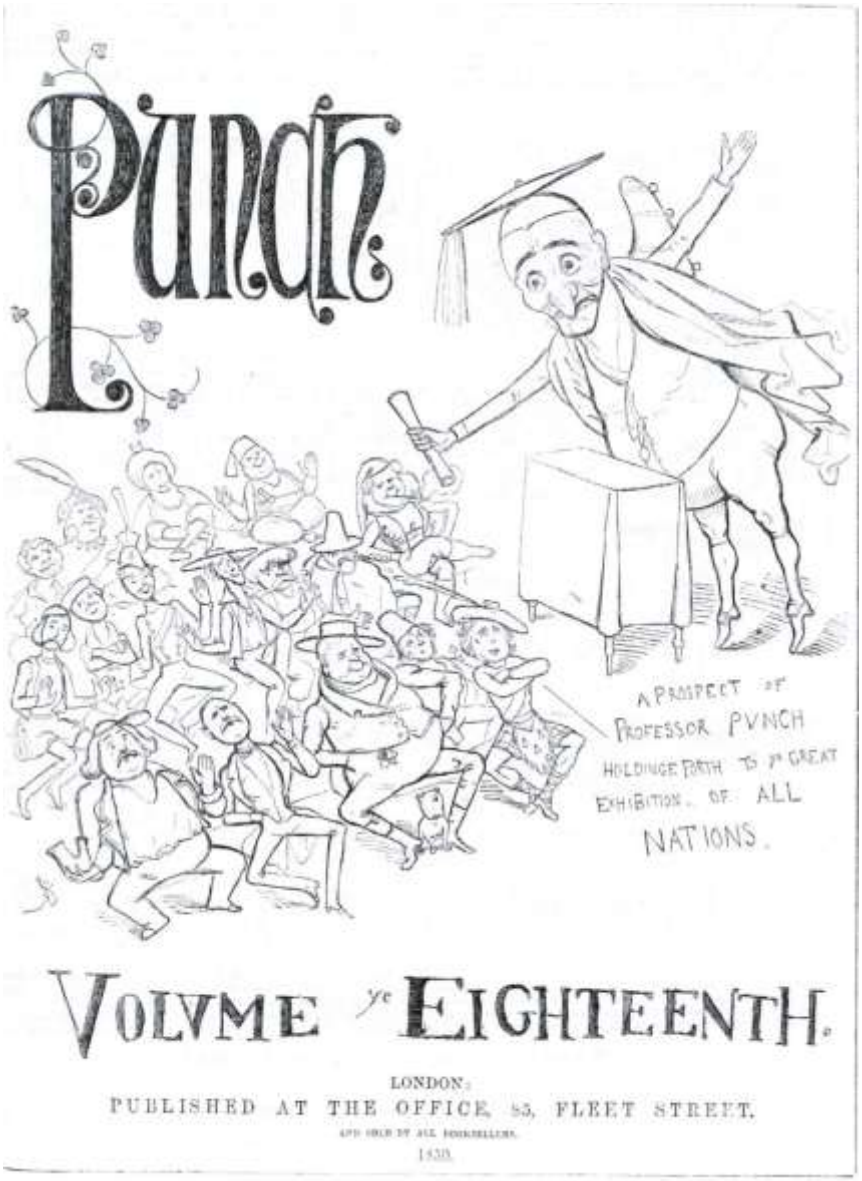


Fig. 3.15 – Title page, *Punch* Vol. 18 (London: Fleet Street, 1850).

Fig. 3.16 – Title page, *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851).

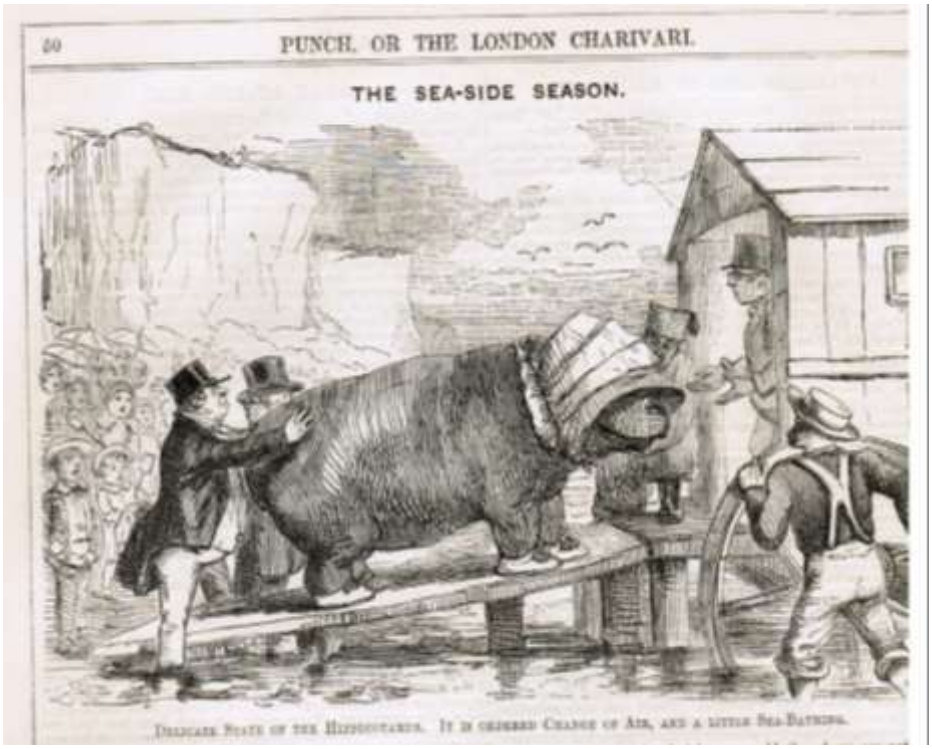


Fig. 3.17 – "The Sea-Side Season," *Punch* Vol. 19 (London: Fleet Street, 1850), 50.

PUNCH, OR THE L

RULES FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE PROMISED PLAGUE NEXT YEAR.

THE arguments of the old women, and that of several newspapers advocating the fears of the same class, that the invasion of foreigners next year is sure to be followed by a second Plague of London, are so convincing, that we are glad to hear some measures are at last to be taken for the prevention of the evil. A quarantine will be established, by which every foreigner will be compelled to remain eight-and-forty hours in some place of salubrity before he is allowed to enter the Metropolis. We rejoice to state, that Herne Bay has been one of the places honoured with selection. A supplementary Board of Health is also to be instituted, for the examination of all foreigners. For carrying out this sanitary purpose, they are to be invested with the most searching powers.

The following are a few of the rules, unanimously agreed upon, for their guidance in this delicate matter:—

1. That every Frenchman is to be washed from head to foot before entering London. For this purpose, *Foreign Baths and Washhouses* are to be established in every suburb round the Metropolis.

2. That no German is to be allowed admission into "the first city in the world" (the term generally used at all the London dinners), unless he can prove possession of at least six shirts, as many stockings, and two clean collars.

3. That two pounds of yellow soap will be presented to every foreigner, without favour or distinction, honouring the metropolis with his presence next year. For this purpose, a "*Foreigners' Charitable Soap Fund*" will be instantly instituted, and subscriptions are urgently solicited for the carrying out of this benevolent idea.

4. That every foreigner must bring a certificate of good health from his medical man, signed and witnessed by the clergyman of his parish.

5. That no foreigner will be admitted into London, under any pretence whatever, unless he can prove, by authentic marks about his person, that he has been vaccinated.

6. That camphor-bags will be given away twice a-week in Hyde Park, to all suspicious foreigners, and that placards will be printed in every language of the world and largely distributed in the neighbourhood of the Exhibition, warning all easy confiding foreigners, as they value their lives, against the purchase of any *Patent Life-Pills*.

With these stringent precautions it is to be hoped that the evil will have less room and less chance of displaying itself; and that if the Plague should break out, at all events that we shall have every remedy already prepared to enable us to arrest it at once in its fatal progress. With these inspiriting prospects, old women may remain in London during the memorable year of 1851, with (under the alarming circumstances) the greatest possible amount of safety.

Fig. 3.18 – "Rules for the Prevention of the Promised Plague Next Year," *Punch* Vol. 19 (London: Fleet Street, 1850), 239.

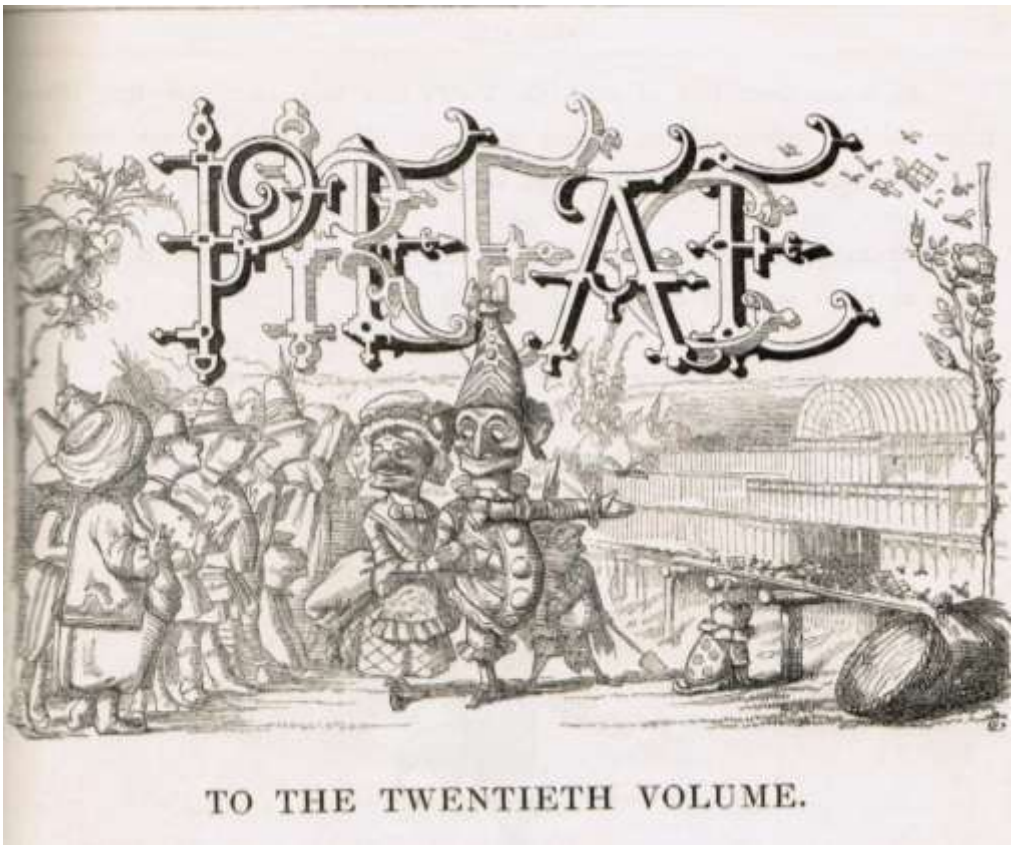


Fig. 3.19 – "Preface to the Twentieth Volume," *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851).

Fig. 3.20 – "London Dining Rooms, 1851," *Punch's Almanack for 1851* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 6.

Fig. 3.21 – "Rotten Row in 1851," *Punch's Almanack for 1851* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 11.

Fig. 3.22 – Detail, "Rotten Row in 1851," *Punch's Almanack for 1851* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 11.

Fig. 3.23 – "The Drive in 1851," *Punch's Almanack for 1851* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 11.

Fig. 3.24 – Detail, "The Drive in 1851," *Punch's Almanack for 1851* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 11.

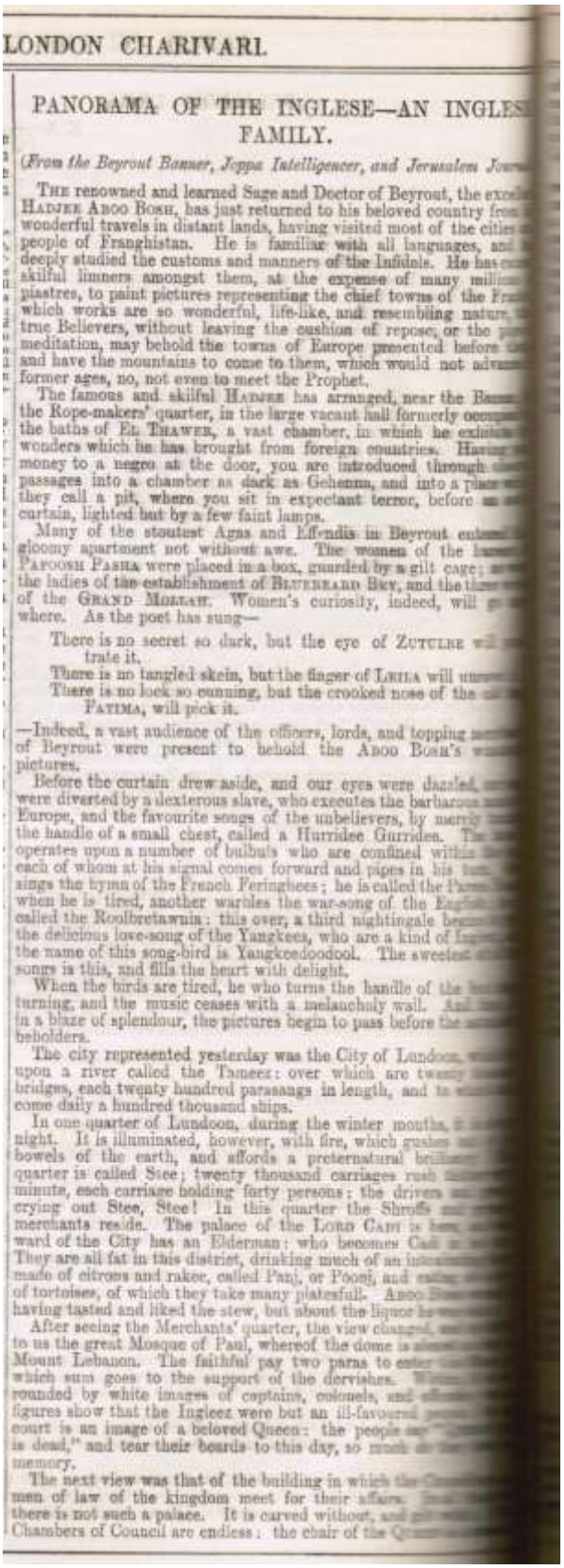
Fig. 3.25 – "The Pope in his Chair," *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street:, 1851), 35.

Fig. 3.26 – "Please, Sir, Shall I Hold Your Horse?" *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 60.

3.27 – "Where are the Foreigners?" *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 207.

Fig. 3.28 – "May Day, Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-One," *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 179.

Fig. 3.29 – Detail, "May Day, Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-One," *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 179.



LONDON CHARIVARI.

PANORAMA OF THE INGLESE—AN INGLES FAMILY.

(From the Beyrout Banner, Joppa Intelligencer, and Jerusalem Jour

THE renowned and learned Sage and Doctor of Beyrout, the exce HADJEE ABOO BOSH, has just returned to his beloved country from wonderful travels in distant lands, having visited most of the cities people of Franghistan. He is familiar with all languages, and deeply studied the customs and manners of the Infidels. He has skilful limners amongst them, at the expense of many mill piastres, to paint pictures representing the chief towns of the Fr which works are so wonderful, life-like, and resembling nature, true Believers, without leaving the cushion of repose, or the meditation, may behold the towns of Europe presented before and have the mountains to come to them, which would not adva former ages, no, not even to meet the Prophet.

The famous and skilful HADJEE has arranged, near the Bazaar the Rope-makers' quarter, in the large vacant hall formerly occup the baths of EL THAWER, a vast chamber, in which he exhibits wonders which he has brought from foreign countries. Having money to a negro at the door, you are introduced through passages into a chamber as dark as Gehenna, and into a place they call a pit, where you sit in expectant terror, before curtain, lighted but by a few faint lamps.

Many of the stoutest Agas and Effendis in Beyrout entered gloomy apartment not without awe. The women of the ha PAROOSH PASHA were placed in a box, guarded by a gilt cage; a the ladies of the establishment of BLUEBEARD BEY, and the th of the GRAND MOLLAH. Women's curiosity, indeed, will go where. As the poet has sung—

> There is no secret so dark, but the eye of ZUTULBE will trate it.
> There is no tangled skein, but the finger of LEILA will unra
> There is no lock so cunning, but the crooked nose of the PATIMA, will pick it.

—Indeed, a vast audience of the officers, lords, and topping of Beyrout were present to behold the ABOO BOSH's pictures.

Before the curtain drew aside, and our eyes were dazzled, were diverted by a dexterous slave, who executes the barbarous Europe, and the favourite songs of the unbelievers, by merely the handle of a small chest, called a Hurridee Gurridee. operates upon a number of bulbuls who are confined within each of whom at his signal comes forward and pipes in his turn. sings the hymn of the French Feringhees; he is called the Pa when he is tired, another warbles the war-song of the Engl called the Roolbretawnia: this over, a third nightingale be the delicious love-song of the Yankees, who are a kind of In the name of this song-bird is Yangkeedoodool. The sweetest songs is this, and fills the heart with delight.

When the birds are tired, he who turns the handle of the b turning, and the music ceases with a melancholy wail. And in a blaze of splendour, the pictures begin to pass before the beholders.

The city represented yesterday was the City of Lundoon, upon a river called the Tamees: over which are twenty bridges, each twenty hundred parasangs in length, and to come daily a hundred thousand ships.

In one quarter of Lundoon, during the winter months, it night. It is illuminated, however, with fire, which gushes bowels of the earth, and affords a preternatural bril quarter is called Stee; twenty thousand carriages rush minute, each carriage holding forty persons: the drivers crying out Stee, Stee! In this quarter the Shroffs merchants reside. The palace of the LORD CAM is ward of the City has an Elderman: who becomes Cadi They are all fat in this district, drinking much of an made of citrons and rakee, called Pan, or Poon, and of tortoises, of which they take many platesfull. ABOO having tasted and liked the stew, but about the liquor

After seeing the Merchants' quarter, the view changed, to us the great Mosque of Paul, whereof the dome is Mount Lebanon. The faithful pay two paras to enter which sum goes to the support of the dervishes. rounded by white images of captains, colonels, and figures show that the Ingleez were but an ill-favoured court is an image of a beloved Queen: the people say is dead," and tear their beards to this day, so much memory.

The next view was that of the building in which the men of law of the kingdom meet for their affairs. there is not such a palace. It is carved without, and Chambers of Council are endless: the chair of the

3.30 – "Panorama of the Inglese," *Punch* Vol. 21 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 138.

splendour; and ABOO BOSH says, that when she comes in state, and surrounded by her vizeers, this intrepid Sovereign of an island race, that governs provinces more vast and distant than Serendib and Hind, always carries in her arms three lions. But the Hadjee did not see the QUEEN OF THE INGLEEZ, and I doubt of this story.

Besides the Mosque of Paul, there is the Mosque of Peter, whereof we likewise saw a view. All religions are free in this country, but only one is paid. Some dervishes shave the top of their heads, some tighten a piece of white cloth round their necks, all are dressed in black—we saw pictures of these, as also of the common people, the carriages, the QUEEN'S janissaries in scarlet, with silver caps on their heads, and carcasses made of a single diamond. These giants are all ten feet high: their officers fifteen: it is said that each consumes a sheep, and drinks a barrel of wine in the day.

ABOO then showed us the triumphal arch, near to the house of WELLINGTOON PASHA, who has but to look from his window and see his own statue on horseback. Ten thousand images of WELLINGTOON are placed about the town, besides: the English being so proud of him, because he conquered the French JENERAL BOONAPOORT. But lovers of poetry know the opinion of the bard:—

> The victory is not always with the bravest: nor the robe of honour given to him who deserves most.
> An eagle is shot down, and a leopard runs away with the spoil.

Near this is the Maidaun, where the young lords and ayas ride, with nymphs as beautiful as those of Paradise, arrayed in tight-fitting robes, and smiling from prancing chargers.

And now came a buzz of wonder in the crowd, and outcries of delight from the women's boxes, which made the eunuchs move about busily with their rattans, when the wonderful picture dawned upon us, representing the prodigious Castle of Crystal, and pavilion of light.

It is many miles long, and in height several furlongs. It is built of rock crystal and steel, without putty, wood, bricks, or nails. On the walls are flags, in number one hundred and seventy-eight thousand. We said "Praise to Allah!" when we saw the scarlet standard, with the crescent and star of our august master, ABDUL MEDJID.

This palace was built in a single night by an enchanter named PAXTOON. This wonderful man possesses all the secrets of nature; he can make a melon in ten minutes grow as big as a camel, a rose spread out before your eyes to the size of an umbrella. Lately, in a convent of dervishes, he caused in one evening a cabbage to grow so big, that after hearing a sermon from one of their Mollahs, who got up into the boughs, axes were brought, the plant was felled, and the whole community dined off it; several bursting with repletion, so delicious was the food. This was told ABOO BOSH by a Mollah of Birmingham, a visiting dervish, who had seen many wonders.

Having seen the exterior of this Hall of Light, ABOO BOSH now showed to us the wondrous interior. All the treasures of the world are there, surely. Ten hundred and ten thousand persons come thither daily, and they all go first to see the saddles and embroidery, from Beyroot. What arcades of splendour! what fountains! what images! The tallest trees grow in this palace. The birds cannot fly to the roof: it is so high. At one end, is a place where travellers are served with cakes and sherbet by ravishing houris, with moon faces. O, ABOO! O, HAJEE, I suspect that FATIMA, your one-eyed wife, has not heard the end of those tales! What says the poet?

> The best part of the tale is often that which is not told.
> A woman's truth is like the cloth which the Armenian sells you in the bazaar: he always cribs a portion of it.

And now, having spent several hours in examining this picture, the bulbul-box was again set in motion, and the greatest curiosity of all was represented to us. This is an Ingleez family of distinction, whom ABOO BOSH has brought with him, and who will be exhibited every day at three hours before, and three hours after sunset. But the account of their strange behaviour shall be reserved for the next Intelligence.

3.31 – "Panorama of the Inglese," *Punch* Vol. 21 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 139.

REFINEMENT OF TORTURE.

CERTAIN communications were recently made to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, descriptive of the modes of punishment peculiar to the criminal code of China. A Chinese merchant, convicted of killing his wife, was sentenced to die by *the total deprivation of sleep*. We cannot help thinking what a horrible mode of punishment this would be, if carried out in England. For instance, could any sentence be more terrible than the following:—"Condemned to die by the total deprivation of sleep in the House of Commons!" If it is only difficulty we can avoid falling asleep whilst reading the debates, what must it be for a person who was condemned, for several successive days, to listen to them! But the sentence would be so revoltingly cruel, that it would require, at least, a JUDGE ADVOCATE, or a Poor Law Commissioner, to pronounce it.

Fig. 3.32 – "Refinement of Torture," *Punch* Vol. 21 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 185.

Fig. 3.33 – "The Nose of the Hippopotamus Put Out of Joint by the Young Elephant," *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 192.

Fig. 3.34 – "The Great Derby Race for Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-One," *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 213.

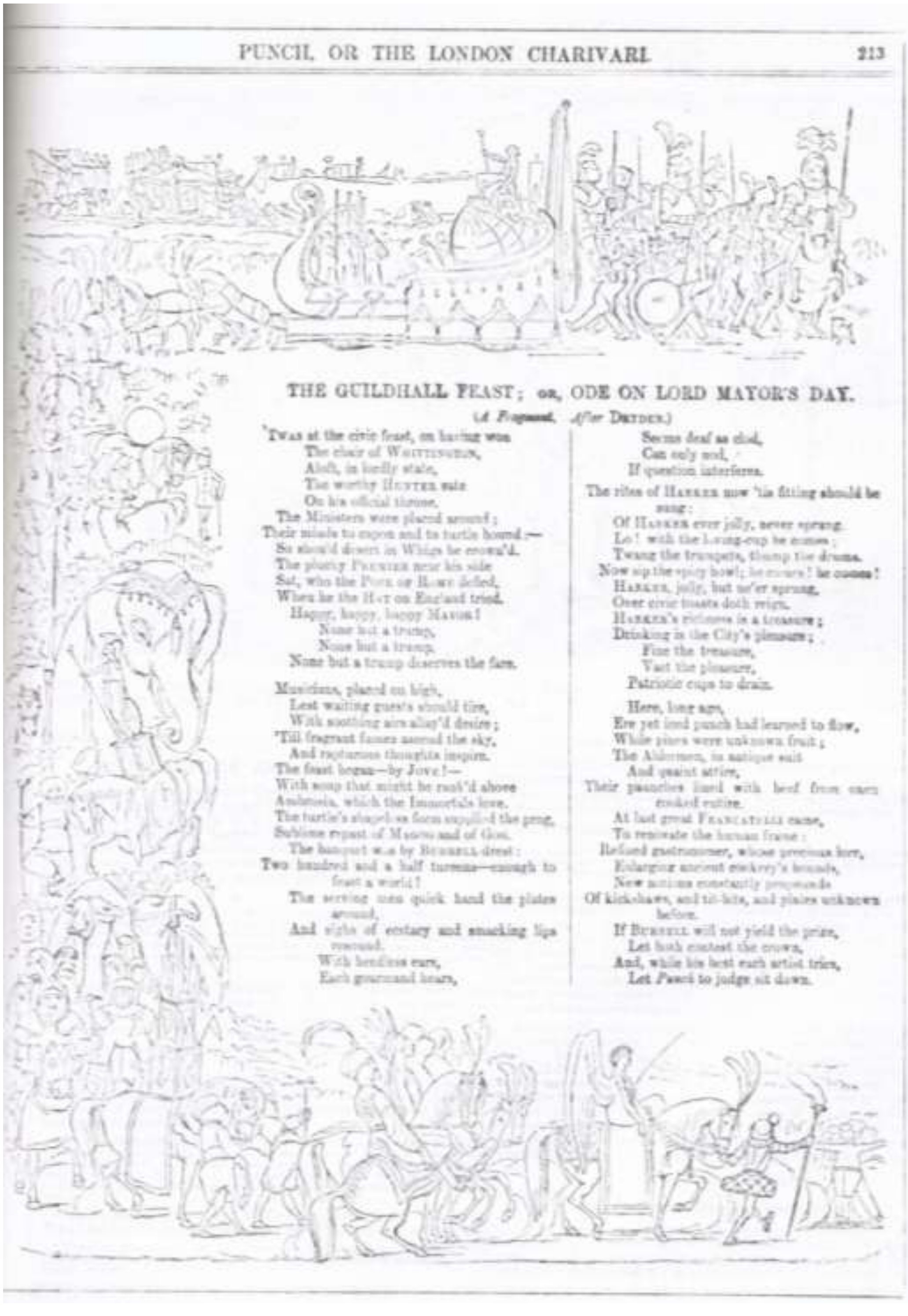
Fig. 3.35 – Detail, "The Great Derby Race for Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-one," *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 213.

Fig. 3.36– "A Hint to the Commissioners," *Punch* Vol. 20 (London: Fleet Street, 1851).

Fig. 3.37 – "The Happy Family in Hyde Park," *Punch* Vol. 21 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 37.

Fig. 3.38 – Detail. “The Happy Family in Hyde Park,” *Punch* Vol. 21 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 37.

Fig. 3.39 – “Bloomerism and Bunionism,” *Punch* Vol. 21 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 158.



PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI. 213

THE GUILDHALL FEAST; OR, ODE ON LORD MAYOR'S DAY.

(*A Fragment. After* DRYDEN.)

'TWAS at the civic feast, on having won
The chair of WHITTINGTON,
Aloft, in lordly state,
The worthy HUNTER sate
On his official throne.
The Ministers were placed around;
Their minds to capon and to turtle bound:—
So should desert in Whigs be crown'd.
The plucky PREMIER near his side
Sat, who the POPE or ROME defied,
When he the HAT on England tried.
Happy, happy, happy MAYOR!
None but a trump,
None but a trump,
None but a trump deserves the fare.

Musicians, placed on high,
Lest waiting guests should tire,
With soothing airs allay'd desire;
'Till fragrant fumes ascend the sky,
And rapturous thoughts inspire.
The feast began—by JOVE!—
With soup that might be rank'd above
Ambrosia, which the Immortals love.
The turtle's shapeless form supplied the prog,
Sublime repast of MAYORS and of GODS.
The banquet was by BUNNELL drest:
Two hundred and a half tureens—enough to feast a world!
The serving men quick hand the plates around,
And sighs of ecstasy and smacking lips resound.
With heedless ears,
Each gourmand hears,
Seems deaf as clod,
Can only nod,
If question interferes.

The rites of HARKER now 'tis fitting should be sung:
Of HARKER ever jolly, never sprung.
Lo! with the loving-cup he comes;
Twang the trumpets, thump the drums.
Now sip the spicy bowl; he comes! he comes!
HARKER, jolly, but ne'er sprung,
Over civic toasts doth reign.
HARKER's [illegible] is a treasure;
Drinking is the City's pleasure;
Fine the treasure,
Vast the pleasure,
Patriotic cups to drain.

Here, long ago,
Ere yet iced punch had learned to flow,
While pines were unknown fruit;
The Aldermen, in antique suit
And quaint attire,
Their paunches lined with beef from oxen cooked entire.
At last great FRANCATELLI came,
To renovate the human frame:
[illegible] gastronomer, whose precious lore,
Enlarging ancient [illegible] bounds,
New notions constantly propounds
Of kickshaws, and tit-bits, and plates unknown before.
If BUNNELL will not yield the prize,
Let both contest the crown,
And, while his best each artist tries,
Let *Punch* to judge sit down.

Fig. 3.40 – "The Guildhall Feast; or, Ode on Lord Mayor's Day," *Punch* Vol. 21 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 213.

Fig. 3.41 – Detail, "The Guildhall Feast; or, Ode on Lord Mayor's Day," *Punch* Vol. 21 (London: Fleet Street, 1851), 213.

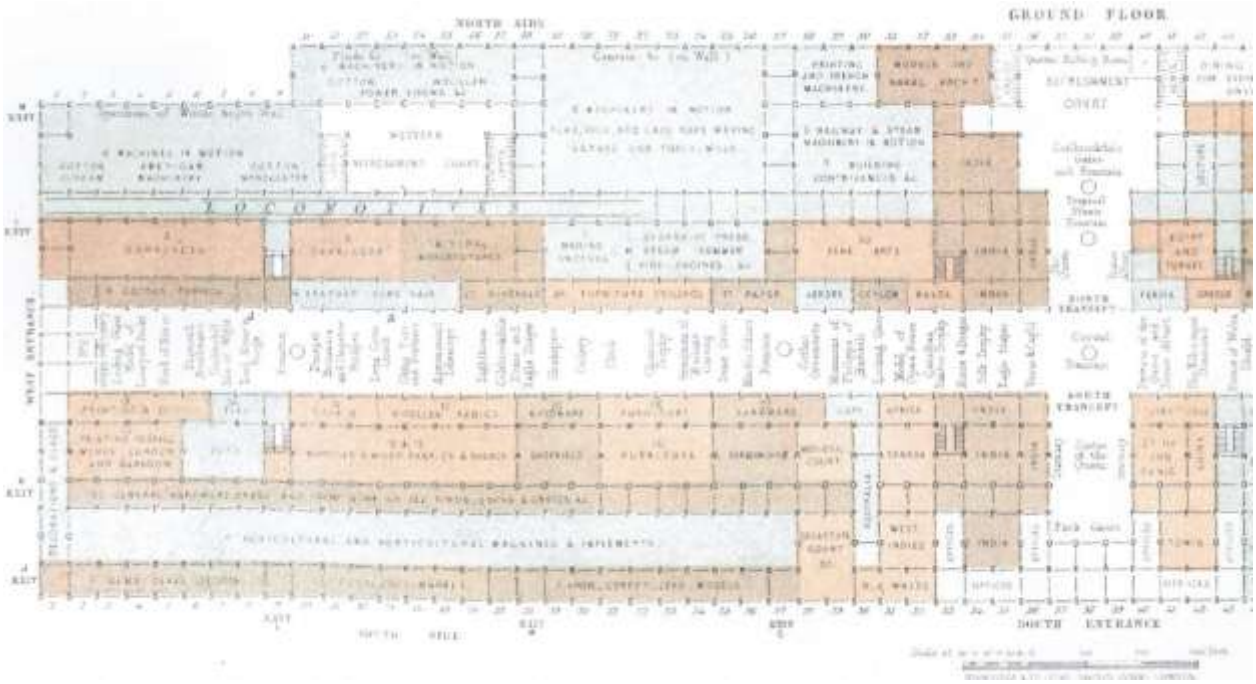
Fig. 3.42 – James Gillray, "Presentation of the Mahometan Credentials, or the Final Resources of French Atheists," December 26, 1793. In *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838,* ed. Todd Porterfield (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011), 72.

Fig. 3.43 – George Augustus Sala, *The Great Exhibition "Wot is to be": or, Probable results of the industry of all nations in the year '51: showing what is to be exhibited, who is to exhibit it: in short, how its [sic] all going to be done* (London: Committee of the Society for Keeping Things in Their Places, 1850).

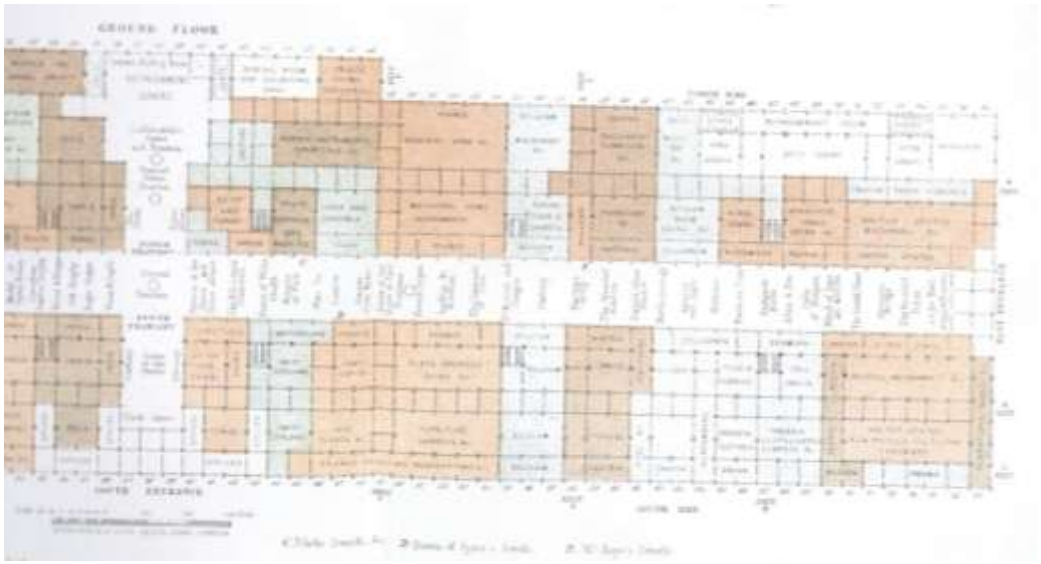
Fig. 3.44, 3.45 – Details, George Augustus Sala, *The Great Exhibition "Wot is to be": or, Probable results of the industry of all nations in the year '51: showing what is to be exhibited, who is to exhibit it: in short, how its [sic] all going to be done* (London: Committee of the Society for Keeping Things in Their Places, 1850).

Appendices

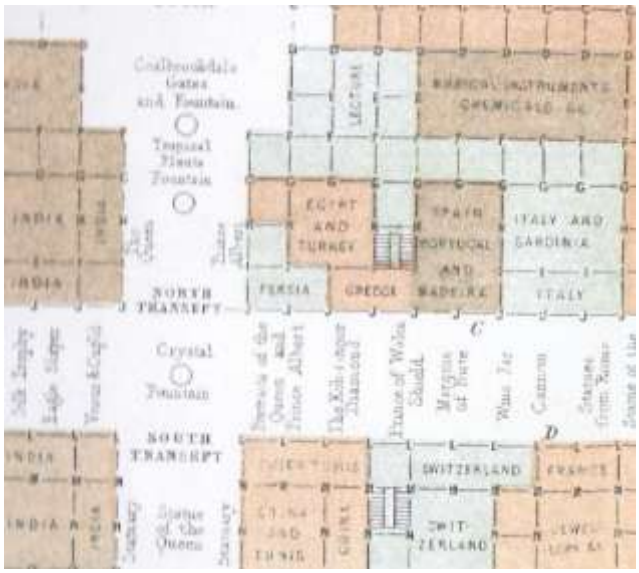
Appendix 1: Maps



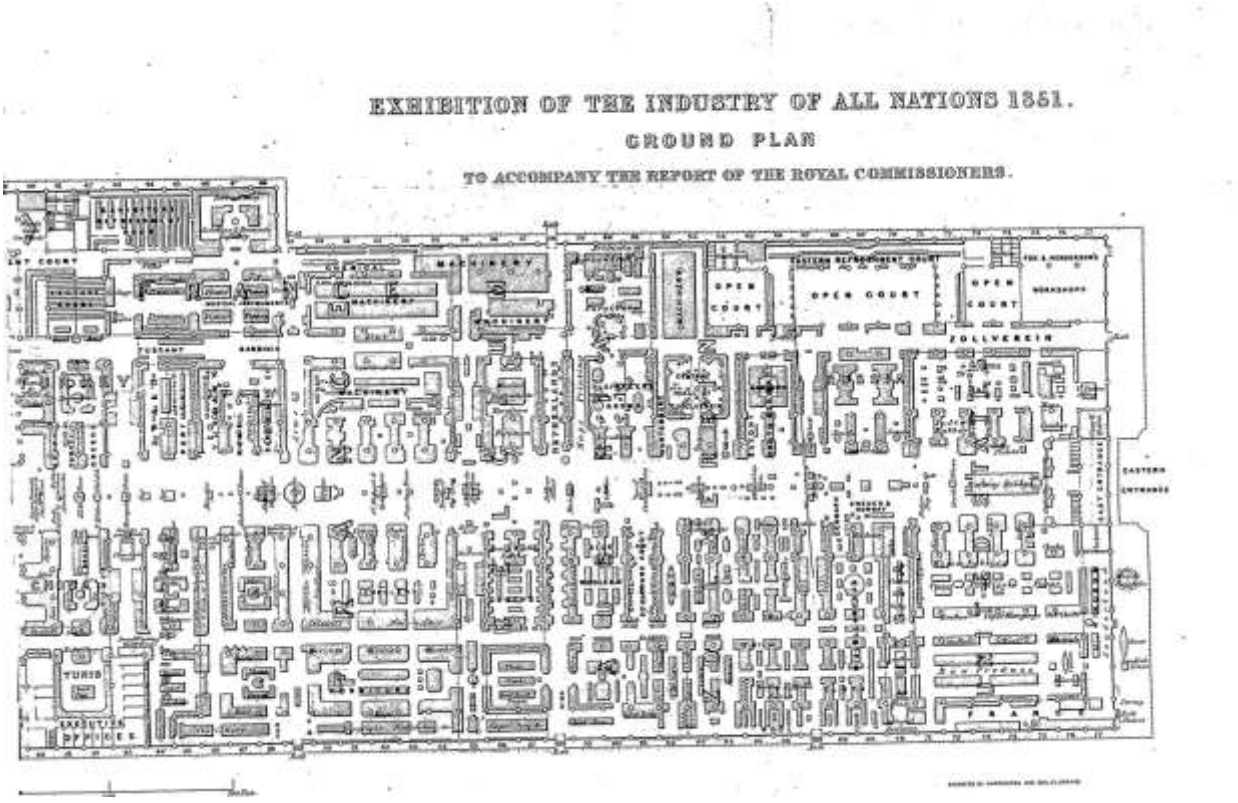
Map 1.1 – West nave floor plan, *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 1(London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).



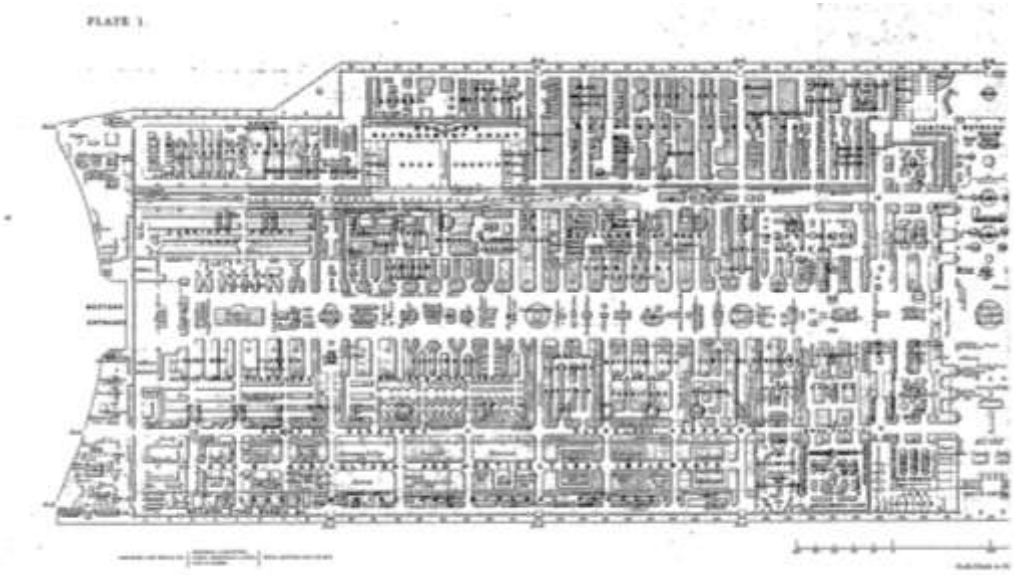
Map 1.2 – East nave floor plan, *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 1 (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).



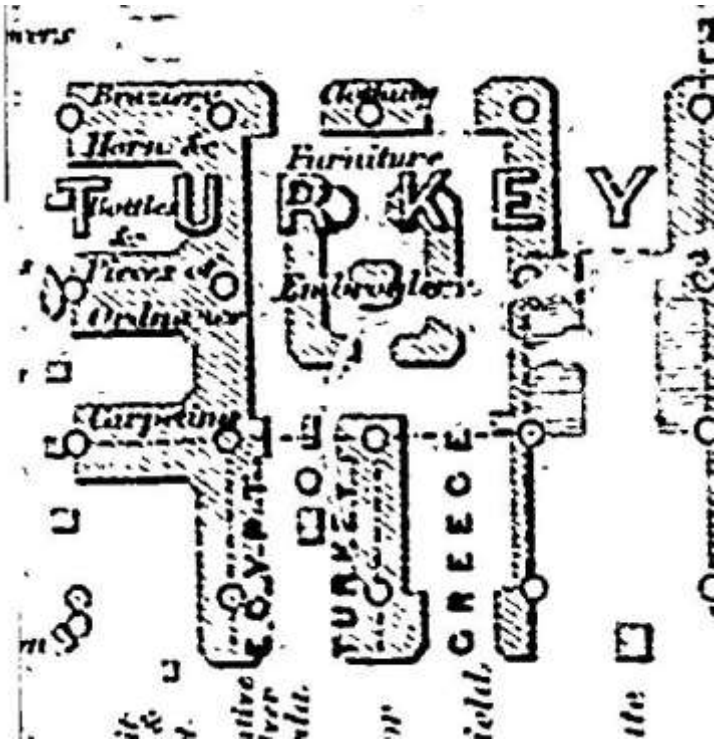
Map 1.3 – Detail of floor plan, *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* Vol. 1 (London: Spicer Brothers and W. Clowes and Sons, 1851).



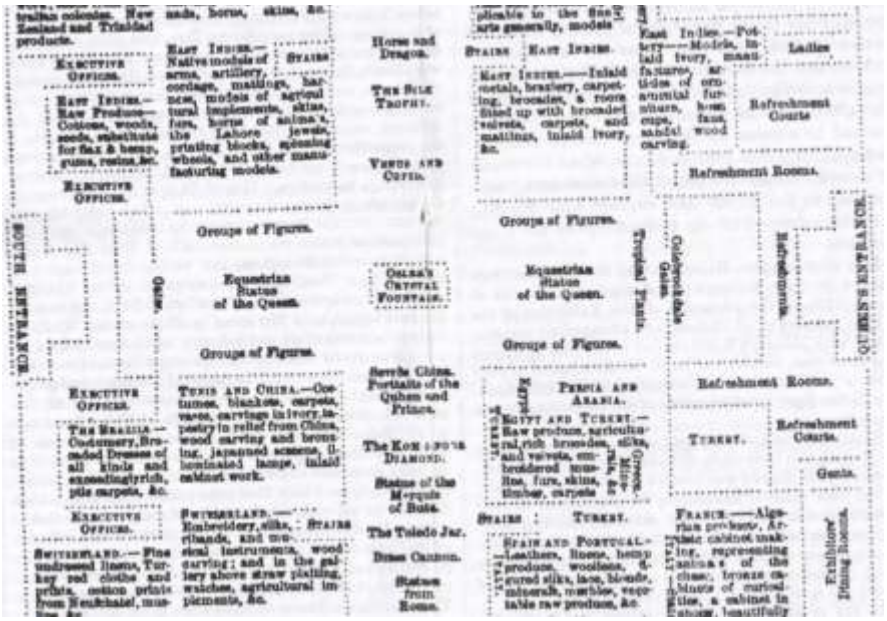
Map 1.4: East nave. Ground Plan to Accompany the Report of the Royal Commission, *First Report of the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition of 1851 to the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole, &c. &c. one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1852), Plate 1.



Map 1.5: West nave. Ground Plan to Accompany the Report of the Royal Commission, *First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 to the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole, &c. &c. one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1852), Plate 1.



Map 1.6: Detail – East Nave – Ground Plan to Accompany the Report of the Royal Commission, *First Report of the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition of 1851 to the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole, &c. &c. one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1852), Plate 1.



Map 1.7: Floor plan for the Crystal Palace, *The Times* (May 1, 1851).

Appendix 2: "Classifications of the Goods"

I. Mining, Quarrying, Metallurgical Operations, and Mineral Products.
II. Chemical and Pharmaceutical Processes and Products generally.
III. Substances used as Food.
IV. Vegetable and Animal Substances, chiefly used in Manufactures, as Implements, or for Ornament.

The section of Machinery was divided into six Classes (beside four sub-classes), viz. :—

V. Machines for direct use, including Railway and Naval Mechanism.
Va. Carriages.
VI. Manufacturing Machines and Tools.
VII. Civil Engineering, Architectural and Building Contrivances.
VIII. Naval Architecture and Military Engineering; Ordnance, Armour, and Accoutrements.
IX. Agricultural and Horticultural Machines and Implements.
X. Philosophical Instruments and processes depending upon their use.
Xα. Musical Instruments.
Xb. Horological Instruments.
Xc. Surgical Instruments.

The section of Manufactures comprised nineteen, viz. :—

XI. Cotton.
XII. Woollen and Worsted.
XIII. Silk and Velvet.
XIV. Manufactures from Flax and Hemp.
XV. Mixed Fabrics, including Shawls, but exclusive of Worsted Goods (Class XII.)
XVI. Leather, including Saddlery and Harness, Skins, Fur, Feathers, and Hair.
XVII. Paper and Stationery, Printing and Bookbinding.
XVIII. Woven, Spun, Felted, and Laid Fabrics, when shown as specimens of Printing or Dyeing.
XIX. Tapestry, including Carpets and Floor-cloths, Lace and Embroidery, Fancy and Industrial Works.
XX. Articles of Clothing for immediate, personal, or domestic use.
XXI. Cutlery and Edge Tools.
XXII. Iron and General Hardware.
XXIII. Working in Precious Metals, and in their imitation, Jewellery, and all articles of Virtû and Luxury, not included in the other Classes.
XXIV. Glass.
XXV. Ceramic Manufacture, China, Porcelain, Earthenware, &c.
XXVI. Decoration Furniture and Upholstery, including Paper Hangings, Papier Maché, and Japanned Goods.

D

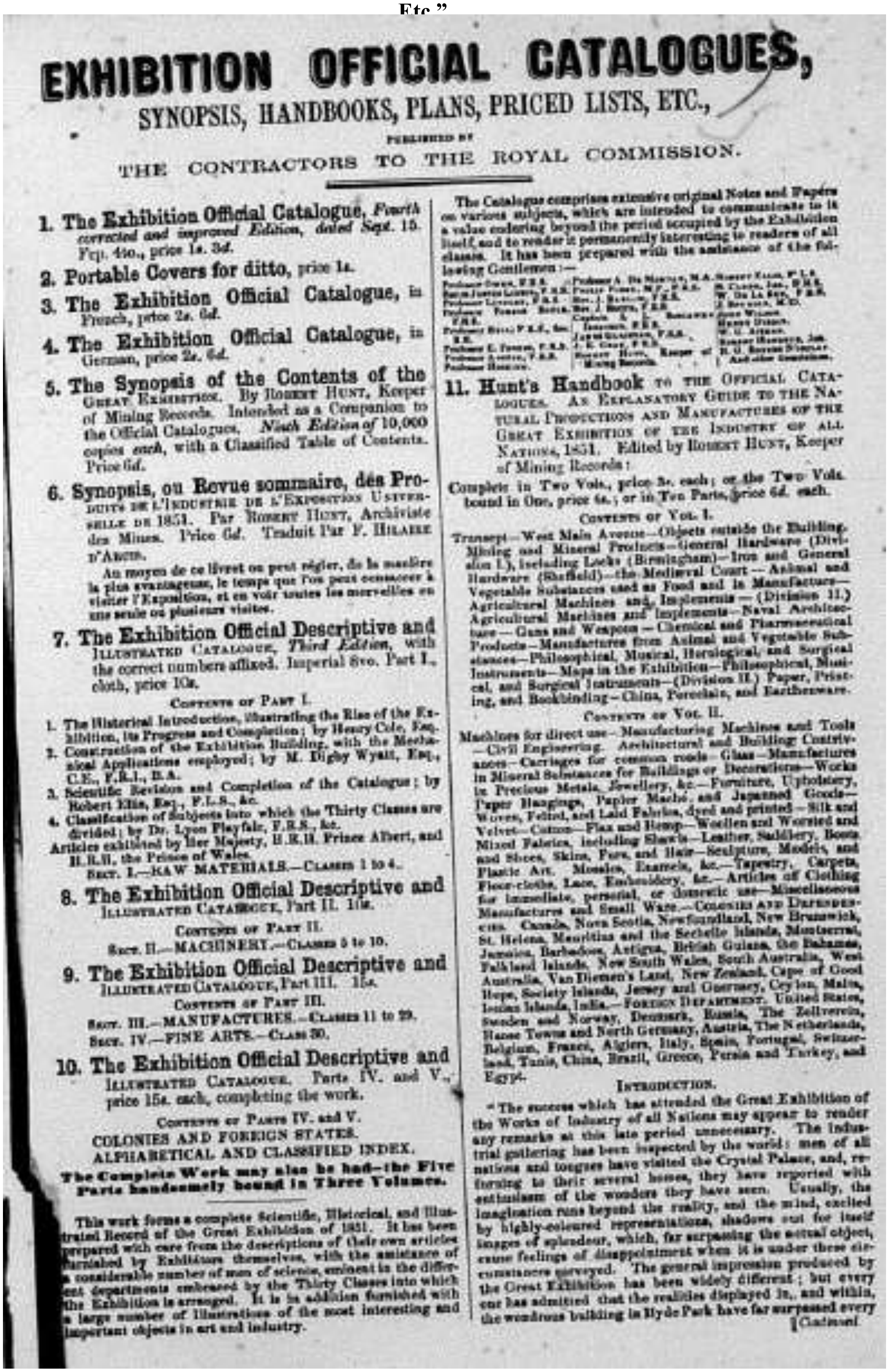
XXVII. Manufactures in Mineral Substances, used for building or decoration, as in Marble, Slate, Porphyries, Cements, Artificial Stones, &c.
XXVIII. Manufactures from Animal and Vegetable Substances, not being Woven or Felted or included in other Sections.
XXIX. Miscellaneous Manufactures and Small Wares.

The section of Fine Arts formed a Class by itself :—

XXX. Sculpture, Models, and Plastic Art.

First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, xxxiii-xxxiv

Appendix 3: "Exhibition Official Catalogues, Synopsis, Handbooks, Plans, Priced Lists, Etc."



EXHIBITION OFFICIAL CATALOGUES,

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[illegible]

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

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INTRODUCTION.

"The success which has attended the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations may appear to render any remarks at this late period unnecessary. The industrial gathering has been inspected by the world; men of all nations and tongues have visited the Crystal Palace, and, returning to their several homes, they have reported with enthusiasm of the wonders they have seen. Usually, the imagination runs beyond the reality, and the mind, excited by highly-coloured representations, shadows out for itself images of splendour, which, far surpassing the actual object, cause feelings of disappointment when it is under these circumstances surveyed. The general impression produced by the Great Exhibition has been widely different; but every one has admitted that the realities displayed in, and within, the wondrous building in Hyde Park have far surpassed every [Continued.

preconception. The philosophy of this is, not that the individual articles are superior to others which we have seen, examined, and admired, but that in the whole there is a variety and vastness to which we are unused, and from which, as from a series of inductions, each man makes his own especial deductive reasonings.

"The Great Exhibition is, in a remarkable manner, a grand exemplification of the present state of human industry, and of the efforts of mind. We perceive in it the most complete illustration of the application of science to all the purposes of use and ornament; we discover how far man has advanced in his knowledge of the physical agencies which determine the constitution of matter, and of the productions of Nature by which he is surrounded.

"The general desire expressed for some concise description of the Exhibition—some guide, which should direct to the most interesting groups within the Building, and explain their peculiarities whether natural or artificial—led to the design of the present Handbook, which is intended to afford that interpretation which appeared to be required.

"It is necessary, by a brief explanation, to correct a mistake which has been entertained, more particularly by exhibitors, as to the character of the work. It was never contemplated that, within the limits of two small volumes, an account of individual articles should be given. The objects exhibited have, as far as it was possible, been taken in groups, and the striking points distinguishing each alone selected for description. Doubtless some articles have escaped attention, which, from their merits and peculiarities, claimed notice. Every care has been taken to prevent this: the most scrutinising examination has been made by competent persons, and information has been in every doubtful case sought from the exhibitors themselves. It is therefore hoped that the omissions will be few and comparatively unimportant.

"The descriptions of the several sections have been given by the following gentlemen, whose thorough acquaintance with the subjects they have undertaken is a sufficient guarantee of the correctness and value of the information contained in the Handbook.

"The productions of the Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms, and the direct manufactures from them, have been described by Professor Edward Forbes, F.R.S.; the Agricultural Implements by Professor Wilson, late Principal of the Agricultural College of Cirencester; and the Agricultural Produce by Mr. Joshua Trimmer, the author of several prize essays on this subject.

"The Machinery and Civil Engineering have been described by Professor Gordon, C.E.; and Military Engineering, Arms, and Maps, by Captain James, R.E. Mr. Holland, of Sheffield, the author of the Treatise on Iron and Steel in 'Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia,' has furnished the section devoted to Sheffield; and Mr. Aitkin, of Birmingham, that which deals with the important manufactures of that locality.

"Messrs. Berlyn and Wm. Brough have given the extensive sections of the Foreign Departments, comprehending Precious Metals, Jewellery, Furniture, Printing, Stationery, Fine Arts, and Miscellanea, their best attention; and to Mr. William Brough we are indebted for the Printing, Type, and Printing Machinery, of the English department.

"For the Mineral Kingdom, Metallurgy, Mineral Manufacture, Precious Metals, Jewellery, Iron, and Hardware, Furniture, Philosophical Instruments, Horology, Music, Glass, Porcelain, Chemical and Pharmaceutical Preparations, Woven and Felted Fabrics, &c., on the English side, and each section not specified in the Foreign Departments, the Editor alone is responsible. To those exhibitors who have furnished information, much of which was of the utmost importance, many thanks are due. Originality has not been aimed at, but every available source of information sought for; and to several periodicals which have devoted themselves to the Great Exhibition the Handbook is under obligations: amongst others, the *Morning Chronicle*, and the *Illustrated London News*, must be particularly named.

"Every care has been taken to render this compilation a record worthy of preservation, as giving, within limited space, a faithful description of certainly one of the most remarkable events which has ever taken place upon this island, or in the world—the gathering together, from the ends of the earth, of the products of human industry, the efforts of human thought."

From 'Athenæum,' *Sept.* 6, 1851.

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