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EARLY YEARS OF THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION (1908-1912) AS REFLECTED IN THE LIFE AND WORKS OF HALIDE EDIB

by

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis studies three novels of the Turkish writer Halide Edib (1884-1964) written between 1908 and 1912, and examines this historical period and her life during it. The thesis deals with the 1908 Constitutional Revolution, the '31 March Incident' and the Turkist movement, as reflected in her novels, as well as independently through secondary sources. The examination of Raik'in Annesi (1908) reveals Edib's ideas on 'ideal womanhood,' morality and divorce. Seviyye Talib (1909) includes her views on the Constitutional Revolution, women's modernisation and the '31 March Incident.' The study of Yeni Turan (1912) reveals much about Turkism, or Turanism, and its political opponent in the novel, Ottomanism. From these novels Edib's main ideas are brought out and examined. Among the recurrent themes analysed are her strong admiration for the Anglo-Saxon culture, her understanding of Westernisation, her approach to Islam, and her views on women and family.

RESUMÉ

Cette thèse étudie trois romans par l'auteure turque Halide Edib (1884-1964) écrits entre 1908-1912. Elle examine aussi cette période de l'histoire et la vie de l'auteure à cette époque. Elle traite de la Révolution Constitutionnelle de 1908, des évènements du 31 mars, et du mouvement Turquiste, selon leurs présentations dans les oeuvres, et aussi de manière indépendante à partir de sources secondaires.

L'étude de Raik'in Annesi (1908) révèle l'idée que Halide Edib avait de "la femme idéale," de la morale et du divorce. Seviyye Talib (1909) nous dévoile sa position à l'égard de la Révolution Constitutionnelle, de la modernisation des femmes et des évènements du 31 mars. Quant à Yeni Turan (1912), il nous en dit long sur le Turquisme ou le Touranisme et aussi sur leur opposition à l'Ottomanisme. Nous avons à partir de ces trois romans dégagé les lignes générales de sa pensée. Parmi les thèmes récurrents qui sont ici analysés: son admiration pour la culture Anglo-Saxonne, sa vision de l'occidentalisation, son approche de l'Islam, et sa vision de la femme et de la famille.

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This thesis is dedicated to my mother.

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INTRODUCTION

Halide Edib Adıvar (1884-1964) was a well-known Turkish writer who wrote novels, short stories, essays, two plays and a great many newspaper articles. She started her writing career in 1908, in the early days of the Constitutional Revolution. Although she was not a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, which led the revolution, she nevertheless shared their ideology and reflected it in her writings. During the first four years of the second constitutional period (1908-World War I), she underwent a gradual transformation from a patriotic modernist and Westernist into a more political Turanist. Nevertheless, her basic ideas did not change much during this period; they were only put into a Turanist framework around 1911.

This thesis covers the period from 1908 to 1912, and deals with Halide Edib's life and her three novels of this period, Raik'in Annesi (1908), Seviyye Talib (1909) and Yeni Turan (1912). The last novel is predominantly political; the one before it deals with private lives in a political context; and the first one is not political at all. Interestingly however, all three novels include the same ideas, often in cliched form, which shows us that Halide Edib's ideas did not really undergo a radical transformation in this period. But in any case, her novels are good historical documents, records of the thought of someone active in society, who lived through and witnessed this important period. Hence, the predominant aim of this thesis is to find out more about the historical period through these novels and to study Edib's approach to several social issues of

her time, rather than to analyse the literary characteristics or literary value of the novels.

With this purpose in mind, the analysis of each novel is preceded by a discussion of the political history of the period in which it is written. Also, each chapter includes a section on Halide Edib's other activities during that time. Chapter I retains an introductory character and deals with the life of Halide Edib until the 1908 Revolution. It presents her familial, educational and social background. Chapter II includes a history of the constitutional movement in the Ottoman Empire and of the Constitutional Revolution of 1908, along with an analysis of Halide Edib's first novel Raik'in Annesi. Although this novel does not deal with the Constitutional Revolution, it was written during the early months of this event and shows us the author's particular outlook during those revolutionary times. This chapter also includes an account of an interesting short article by Edib on women. Chapter III analyses Seviyye Talib. Because this novel touches upon the so-called '31 March Incident,' a mutiny of soldiers in alliance with a section of the conservative religious class, its analysis is preceded by a discussion of this incident. Finally, Chapter IV examines Yeni Turan, the predominant theme of which is Turkism. Hence, this chapter contains, beside a political history of the period between 1909 and 1912, a discussion of the Turkist movement.

After the period covered by this thesis, Halide Edib continued to be active in the Turkist movement and in social reform. During the Balkan War (1912-1913) she worked as a nurse for wounded privates. From 1910 to 1913 she was involved in the development of women's education in Turkey by teaching, opening new schools and reforming the curriculum. In 1913 she resigned her

post in the Ministry of Education and from that year to 1916 she worked as the inspector and adviser for the reform of primary schools, which were administered by the Ministry of Pious Foundations. During World War I she went to Syria (greater Syria including Lebanon) and, upon the request of Cemal Paşa, the commander of the Fourth Army there, opened several schools in Syria. She also reorganized an orphanage near Beirut. While still in Syria, she married Dr. Adnan Adıvar by power of attorney.[1]

From 1918 to 1919 Halide Edib taught literature at Istanbul University as the first woman university professor in Turkey. After the Greek occupation of İzmir on 15 May 1919, she became involved in the Turkish nationalist movement. She addressed the crowds in several protest rallies organised in Istanbul. After the occupation of Istanbul by the Allied forces on 16 March 1920, she escaped to Ankara with her husband, who was a member of the parliament, and several others. In Ankara, among her other activities, she formed with the publicist Yunus Nadi the Anatolian Agency, the news agency of the nationalist movement. For a while she worked as a nurse in Eskişehir. In August 1921 she volunteered to go to the front, became a corporal and stayed with the headquarters of the Turkish army until the end of the war. She followed the retreating Greek army with her division and entered İzmir in September 1922 in the main procession which included Mustafa Kemal, the commander of the Turkish army and the leader of the movement.[2]

In 1926 Edib and her husband Adnan Adıvar left Turkey and did not return there until 1939, mainly because of their disagreement with Mustafa

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[1] For this part of her life see the first volume of her memoirs, Halide Edib Adıvar, Memoirs of Halide Edib (New York: The Century Co., 1926).

[2] On her life during the Turkish independence movement, see the second volume of her memoirs, Halide Edib Adıvar, The Turkish Ordeal (New York: The Century Co., 1928).

Kemal, then the president of the new republic.[3] During 1929 Halide Edib went on a lecture tour all over the United States, and these lectures were published in 1930 under the title of Turkey Faces West (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930). In 1931 she taught for one semester a course on the history of Turkish women at Barnard College of Columbia University. In 1935 she went to India and gave lectures there which were published as Conflict of East and West in Turkey (Lahore: S.M. Ashraf, 1935). Throughout this time she continued to write novels, the most famous of which was The Clown and his Daughter which she wrote in English in 1935 (published later in Turkish under the title Sinekli Bakkal).

After she returned to Turkey in 1939, she taught English literature at Istanbul University. In 1950 she was elected as an independent deputy from İzmir and served as a member of parliament until 1954. In that year she returned to teaching at the university. She continued to write novels till the end of her life and wrote in all twenty-one novels. In 1955 her husband died, and she died in 1964.

It is surprising that despite her fame, her very interesting life, her pioneer position in the history of Turkish women, Halide Edib has been little studied by

[3] On her ideas concerning Mustafa Kemal see, beside The Turkish Ordeal, her article "Dictatorship and Reforms in Turkey," The Yale Review 19(Sept. 1929): 27-44. Dr. Adnan Adıvar was one of the two vice presidents of the first opposition party of the republican Turkey, Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası, which was founded in November 1924 and was closed by the government in June 1925. (Tarık Zafer Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler 1859-1952 [Istanbul: Doğan Kardeş, 1952], 606-614). In the summer of 1926 he was tried in absentia by the Ankara Independence Tribunal, along with other members of TFC, in relation to an attempt on Mustafa Kemal's life in June 1926, but he was found innocent. (Ergun Aybars, İstiklal Mahkemeleri [İzmir Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 1988], 448, 464.) S.Shaw & E. K. Shaw mention that the Adıvars were sent into exile by Atatürk for criticising some of his policies, but I did not find any source confirming this and believe that their exile was self-imposed. (Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], 2:395).

literary critics and not at all by historians. There are short sections on her in all general studies on Turkish literature, but there is only one major academic study so far which deals exclusively and extensively with her. It is written by Inci Enginün, Halide Edib Adıvar'ın Eserlerinde Doğu ve Batı Meselesi [The Question of East and West in Halide Edib Adıvar's Works] (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1978). In this 561-page book Enginün gives Edib's life story, which is mainly taken from her memoirs, and retells in great detail every single book that Edib has written. Unfortunately, this work does not really include analyses of these writings, which makes it rather disappointing. But, Enginün makes a great contribution to the study of this writer in that she has compiled the first and only, nearly complete bibliography of her writings, (including her myriad articles) and of writings on her. A more recent study on Halide Edib has been done by Dr. Yahya Kanbolat, Halide Edib Adıvar'ın Romanlarında Feminizm Sorunu [The Question of Feminism in Halide Edib Adıvar's Novels] (Ankara: Bayır, 1986). This book is full of grave errors concerning at least some of Edib's novels and the dates of their first publication, which leads the author to advance wrong interpretations.[4] There are also a number of short books, usually published as part of various pocket-book series, which briefly present Halide Edib's life and works. Among these we can count Barlas Uğurol, Halide Edib Adıvar: Hayatı ve Eserleri [Halide Edib Adıvar: Her Life and Works] (Istanbul: 1963); Muzaffer Uyguner, Halide Edib Adıvar: Hayatı, Sanatı, Yapıtları [Halide Edib Adıvar: Her Life, Art and Works] (Istanbul: Varlık, 1968); and Hilmi

[4] For example on page 13 he gives a wrong summary of Seviyye Talib and on page 25 of Raik'in Annesi. The dates of first publication of both novels are also wrong which leads him to wrong conclusions regarding the chronology of her writing and especially the development of her thought.

Yücebaş, Bütün Cepheleriyle Halide Edib [Halide Edib from all Aspects] (Istanbul: İnkilap ve Aka, 1964).

In those sections of this thesis which deal with one particular novel, for the sake of convenience the page numbers of that novel are placed in parenthesis within the text. In Chapter I and in all the other chapters where I deal with events occurring in her life, the page numbers in parenthesis are from the first volume of her memoirs, which was my main source for Halide Edib's life.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF HALIDE EDIB UNTIL THE 1908 CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

Halide Edib was born in 1884 in her grandmother's house in Beşiktaş, Istanbul, a neighbourhood near the Yıldız Palace of Sultan Abdülhamid II (ruled 1876-1909). Her father Edib Bey was a secretary in this palace. He was originally from Salonica, an orphan who was raised there by a sheikh and his wife. After completing his education in Istanbul, he had thereupon won a position in the Yıldız Palace.(200)[1]

Halide Edib mentions that her father was a man of modern and liberal ideas.(145) For instance, whenever the children got sick he used to bring in a German doctor, disregarding her grandmother's appeal to consult religious teachers and folk healers.(35) He strongly admired the English people, and thought that their method of bringing up children was the cause of their greatness. Therefore, he tried to raise Halide according to English ways, as he understood them. He made her wear English-made dark blue frocks in winter and white linen dresses in summer with bare arms and legs. With these clothes she looked very different from the other children of her environment who usually wore colourful, ornate silk outfits.(23)

Her mother had died when Halide was approximately three years old and her father subsequently remarried. She spent most of her childhood and

[1] Numbers in parenthesis are the page numbers from Halide Edib Adıvar, Memoirs of Halide Edib (New York: The Century Co., 1926).

early youth either in her maternal grandmother's household, or with her father and his new family, or with both of them in large households.

Her grandmother came from an "old ecclesiastical and aristocratic family of the sacred city of Eyoub,"(16) the Nizamizades. Her grandmother's uncle was the guardian (türbedar) of the Mevlevi tekke (dervish lodge of the Mevlevi order) there. Halide Edib says that she was a very pious woman whose character was strongly influenced by the Mevlevi culture.[2] Her father used to be the chief sweet-maker in the palace of Sultan Abdülmecid (ruled 1839-61).(56) Halide's grandfather was an illiterate person from Kemah, eastern Anatolia, who had become the chief coffee-maker in the palace of Prince Reşad (who later ruled as Mehmed V).(15)

Halide's mother had been married to one of the sons of the famous Kurdish notable Bedirhan Paşa, before marrying Halide's father. Halide Edib tells the very interesting story of the Bedirhan family in her memoirs, according to which Bedirhan Paşa had been brought by Abdülhamid to Istanbul from Kurdistan with his ten wives and forty children. Because he was influential among the Kurds, Abdülhamid tried to pacify him by giving him a big mansion and by assigning salaries to each member of his family, in exchange for his property in Kurdistan. Halide's mother's marriage to one of his sons had been shortlived, because her father soon afterwards forced her to obtain a divorce. They had a daughter, Mahmure, who, because her father was later exiled by the Sultan, also lived with Halide's family.(126-28)

In her grandparents' household there also lived a young uncle, the orphan son of another uncle, and a Circassian lady who had been liberated from the palace where she used to be a teacher for the women there. She had

[2] Halide Edib Adıvar, Mor Salkımlı Ev, 2d ed. (Istanbul: Atlas, 1967), 6.

an extensive library from which Halide benefited much, once she had learned to read. She also had a Circassian slave girl. Besides these the household included a housekeeper and a few servants.(16-17)

After her mother died, Halide's father married again and moved to the Yıldız quarter, to a street inhabited by Christians. He took Halide with him, who was then around four years old. She was sent to a local kindergarten which was run by elderly Greek ladies, where all the children, except herself, were either Greek or Armenian, usually the children of Christian palace employees. There, she learned to speak Greek.(25-28)

Later, she lived again for a while in her grandmother's house, until her uncle, her cousin and her grandfather died at short intervals and the family, including her father and his new family, moved together to Selimiye, a neighbourhood on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus.(113)

During her childhood Halide became quite familiar with the Yıldız Palace, where she often went with her father and played in its garden. She watched selamlık[3] ceremonies, sometimes lifted on the shoulder of a brother-in-law of the Sultan.(102-103) She also had vague memories of sitting on the knees of Prince Abdülmecid II[4] and being teased by him in his palace.(296)

When she was nearly six years old, she begged her family to let her learn to read, so that her father hired a hoca (religious teacher) to teach her at home. Elementary education for the Muslims in the Ottoman Empire then consisted of learning to read from the Kuran, which was in Arabic, by chanting the words without understanding their meaning. This instruction was given by hocas (clerics) in elementary schools called iptidai. Many of these schools were

[3] Public procession of the Sultan to Yıldız mosque at noon on Fridays.

[4] The Ottoman prince who later became the last caliph of Turkey.

coeducational and were governed by the Ministry of Evkaf (Pious Foundations). In a typical iptidai school, children sat on cushions on the floor, read the Kuran from rahles (low reading desks) in front of them with rhythmic movements. The frequent beatings of students by the teacher with a stick is usually part of the image of these schools.[5]

It was also possible to hire a hoca to teach at home, as Halide's family did. Hers was a regular teacher at one of the schools in Beşiktaş during the day, who taught her in the evenings.(88-89) Later, when they moved to Selimiye, it was arranged that the imam (religious leader) of the neighbourhood should teach her.(114)

Some time after they moved to Selimiye, Halide's father married the Circassian 'palace lady' who lived in their house, in addition to his first wife. This polygamous marriage created much tension and grief in their household, which saddened Halide and consequently left in her a strong opposition to polygamy.(142-45) The tension culminated in a quarrel between the two wives, after which her father decided to move with his first wife and her children back to Beşiktaş. The rest of the family moved to Üsküdar, near the American College for Girls, where Halide started school in 1893 (or 1894).(148)

The American Girls' College in Üsküdar, which was an institution chartered by the legisiature of Massachusetts, had become a college in 1890, although it was established there first in 1875 as a high school. It was open to all nationalities of the empire and its language of instruction was English. We can infer from some passing remarks of Dr. Mary M. Patrick, its president, that some of the native languages of the students were taught there, too, such as

[5] Osman Ergin, Türk Maarif Tarihi (Istanbul: Osmanbey, 1939-43), 2:460.

Bulgarian, some Slavic languages and Greek.[6]

Halide Edib, in her memoirs published in 1926, says that the American College was originally founded by American missionaries, but that it was no longer connected to any missionary society.(148n) On the other hand, Dr. Patrick who was involved in the founding of the school, does not mention any such missionary aim in her book. She mentions that the school included a department of social service,[7] but does not explain what this involved. It is possible that its responsibilities once included missionary work. In any case, Bible study had been, and was during Halide's time, part of the curriculum of the college.

Halide Edib writes that in her time there were two tendencies among the professors of the college. One, exemplified by Miss Florence Fensham, the dean and the teacher of Bible classes, emphasised Christianity and involved a missionary approach. The second tendency was represented by the president and the teacher of philosophy Dr. Patrick, who was an open minded person, according to Halide, and who emphasised international understanding as opposed to a rather narrow missionary attitude.(193)

For Halide, studying the Bible then was just like any other class work; she did not associate it with religion. But some of her family members reacted to it differently. The palace lady was horrified by the sight of the Bible. Her Bibles started to disappear mysteriously at home. Similarly, one of her relatives scratched the eyes out from the pictures in her textbooks, on account of their being sinful according to Islam.(149-50)

Halide's entering the college at that time was quite an unusual act,

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[6] Mary Mills Patrick, Under Five Sultans (London: Williams and Norgate, 1930), 175. This book contains on its first page Halide Edib's photograph taken during her college years.

[7] Ibid., 56-57.

because under Sultan Abdülhamid II Turkish children were forbidden to go to foreign schools.[8] (153) This prohibition was in line with Sultan Abdülhamid's general suspicion of foreign ideas, which had led him to take strict measures to prevent them from entering the country. His reign (1876-1909) which had started with the proclamation of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876 in the hope of establishing a liberal and modern state, had turned increasingly more reactionary and repressive. A strict censorship on all publications and an extensive spying network among the population were notorious features of his repressive regime.[9]

Dr. Patrick explains that most students at the college were from non-Turkish nationalities of the empire, who were apparently not covered by the Sultan's prohibition. Those few Turks who dared to send their children to the college came from the upper classes, and usually faced hardships in consequence. Patrick says that Halide Edib was the second Turkish girl who attended the American College, and the first one who received a B.A. degree from there. Until 1908, she says, only three Turkish girls graduated from the school, but their number grew rapidly after the 1908 Revolution when these restrictions were lifted.[10]

The first Turkish girl to attend the college was Gülistan İsmet, the daughter of a Circassian woman who had been in the harem of Sultan Abdülaziz (i.e., was one of his wives), but after the latter's death, had married an army colonel. The school staff had to hide the girl when spies came from the

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[8] Ibid., 164.

[9] On Abdülhamid II see Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Türk Inkilabı Tarihi, 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1963), vol. 1, pt. 2; for a contemporary account see Edwin Pears, Life of Abdul Hamid (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917).

[10] Patrick, Under Five Sultans, 192.

palace to search the college.[11] The third graduate, Nazlı Halid, also came from a rich and influential family from palace circles. Her father frequently received death threats because of his daughter's being at the college.[12] Therefore, Dr. Patrick considers Edib Bey's sending his daughter Halide to their college a very brave action, and claims that because of it he did not receive the promotion which was his due.[13]

However, after studying at the college for a year, Halide Edib was forced to leave it, because the Sultan ordered her through a decree to do so.(149) She was only able to return there to study in 1899 and graduate in 1901.

After this, Halide moved to her father's house in Beşiktaş and continued her education privately at home. Apart from private tutorials, which by then many upper class families were providing for their daughters, there were in any case not many educational options available to Turkish women of that time. Above the elementary level there were a number of girls' rüşdiyes, first opened in 1858, the level of which was between elementary and high school. Above this there was only one school for girls, Darülmuallimat, the teachers college, which had been opened in 1870 with the aim of providing female teachers for the rüşdiyes.[14]

At home Halide started to take Arabic lessons from Şükrü Efendi, a well-known clerical official who had invented a new system for teaching Arabic grammar. He tried his system on Halide and it proved to be successful. She soon started to understand the meaning of the Kuran, which impressed her with its beauty.(156) Şükrü Efendi also taught her, on an informal basis, much about

[11] Ibid., 165-66.
[12] Ibid., 194.
[13] Ibid., 193.
[14] Ergin, Türk Maarif Tarihi, 2:668.

orthodox Islam.(158)

In this period Halide Edib reports that she was very religious and practised Islam strictly. Besides her daily prayers, she chanted Yasin (a chapter of the Kuran) for the souls of the dead twice a week. She felt that she was more sympathetic to mysticism than to orthodox Islam, which she thought of as exclusive. This inclination led her to love the Mevlud, the poem about the birth of Prophet Muhammed, by the fifteenth century Mevlevi poet Süleyman Dede. In this poem, which Halide considered to be her favorite piece of literature, she saw the universality of love attributed by the poet to the baby Muhammed, which, in her opinion, contrasted with the exclusiveness of orthodoxy.(158-59)

Also in this period, Halide befriended two neighbours who belonged to the generation of earlier liberals, the so-called Young Ottomans, who had opposed the Sultan's regime and had succeeded in bringing about a constitutional system in 1876. Many of them were later persecuted by Sultan Abdülhamid (see chapter II below). Halide Edib's neighbour Hamdi Efendi had been friends with some of them. Halide visited him and his wife frequently and met other like-minded people in their home. Hamdi Efendi's wife, who used to be the chief acrobat in the palace, was also an open-minded person. She received her husband's male friends with him, which was an unconventional attitude for a Turkish woman of her time.[15] In their home Halide was confronted with ideas of liberty and learned that Abdülhamid was a "hated despot."(160-61)

Similarly, she became friends with Nuri Bey, who was in his sixties, and who had been one of the founders of the Young Ottoman movement. He had been a close friend of Namık Kemal (1840-88), the most prominent of the Young Ottomans, with whom he had lived and worked in Europe while they were both

[15] Interestingly, their son, who was then in exile in Europe for his opposition to Abdülhamid, later joined the '31March' Islamist uprising (see Chapter III below).

in exile during the 1860s.(175) He maintained an intellectual and musical salon, which Halide also often joined as the only child among the grown-ups. Many young writers and musicians were protected by him and usually made their debut in his salon. Halide Edib says that she and Nuri Bey loved each other dearly and enjoyed each other's conversation.(176)

Later, Halide's father bought a large house on Sultan Tepe, a hill near Üsküdar, into which once again both halves of the whole family moved. Her father's second wife had given birth to a son, and the first wife had several daughters. In the new house the wives occupied separate sections. Halide had to stay on the side of the first wife and visit the others daily, which again made her unhappy. This arrangement likewise did not work out well, so that after much tension Edib Bey finally divorced the second wife, who then moved out with her children and the grandmother.(177)

Meanwhile, in addition to her Arabic teacher, Halide had a series of resident English governesses and an Italian music teacher, an older lady who had been a singer on stage. Her last governess, whose little daughter also lived with them, was the former wife of a wealthy tea planter in India. She made Halide read writers like William Shakespeare and George Eliot. She also made her translate into Turkish a book called The Mother written by John Abbot.(178-79)

Her translation was extensively edited and recast into literary Turkish by Mahmud Esad Efendi, a well-known writer and teacher of Islamic law, who asked Halide's father to have it published. Afterwards, the book was included in an exhibition opened at Yıldız Palace, for which Halide received a decoration from the Sultan. She was not happy about these honours however; firstly, her translation was almost rewritten by Mahmud Esad, and secondly, by that time

she had come to hate the Sultan and considered a decoration from him degrading.(180-81)

After her governess departed, she started to take lessons from Rıza Tevfik in French and Turkish literature. Rıza Tevfik (1869-1949) whom she had met earlier in Nuri Bey's salon, was called "the philosopher" by everyone because of his strong interest in philosophy, despite the fact that he was a graduate of medical school. He did however take up a post as a professor of philosophy during World War I at Istanbul University. He had an eccentric personality, and had by then published several poems and articles on philosophy and literature. He possessed a wide knowledge of Western and Eastern philosophy and Eastern mystical literature. While he did not create an original system of thought, he nevertheless contributed much to the dissemination and popularisation of philosophy in Turkey.(182-85)[16] Rıza Tevfik opened a new and exciting world for Halide and contributed much to her intellectual development, as she says. Besides teaching her, he also encouraged her to write.(185)

In 1899 Halide went back to the American Girls' College, this time as a boarding student. This second phase of college had a strong influence on her. In addition to her courses, she also studied different religions on her own. She was still a faithful Muslim, though unorthodox in mind. She has stated that, of all religions she liked Buddhism most. (191-92) Although she found Christianity too intolerant, she was greatly moved by her teacher's account of Christ's birth on Christmas night. It brought her to tears and she realised that these were the same emotions which the reading of the Mevlud always created in her.(194)

[16] On Rıza Tevfik see Hilmi Yücebaş, Filozof Rıza Tevfik: Hayatı, Hatıraları, Şiirleri, 5th ed., (Istanbul: Gül, 1978).

Her friendships in the college extended beyond the students to include many of the professors as well. Her horizons were further broadened by several visitors to the college, two of whom especially impressed her. One of them was Père Hyacinthe, a famous French priest, who had started a new universal religion. At the request of the Vatican, the Sultan had issued a decree forbidding him to speak in public in Turkey. The American College was the only place where he spoke. The other speaker was a Brahman.(201-202)

The mood of the times is well reflected by an incident that happened during her college years. On that occasion she went with one of her professors on board an American yacht anchored in the Bosphorus to visit its owner, an American gentleman, and his guests. This must have been reported immediately by the Sultan's spies, so that on their return a police boat ordered them to stop. She disobeyed. The problem was finally solved by some good friends of her father who interceded with the Sultan on her behalf.(198-200)

At the end of the first year at college she started to take private mathematics lessons from Salih Zeki Bey, a famous mathematician who was then the director of the meteorological observatory and professor in two of Turkey's most important institutions of higher learning.(202) He was a strong admirer of Auguste Comte (1798-1857)[17] and published, among other works, a great deal about him. Hitherto, Halide's thinking was rather mystical and spiritual, so that learning from his scientific and positivistic mind provided a counterpoise to her, as she says. During her second year she corresponded with Salih Zeki Bey and finally they were married after she graduated in 1901; they moved to an apartment in her father's house on Sultan Tepe.(204-206)

Halide Edib's memoirs indicate that she led before marriage quite an

[17] French sociologist who is considered the founder of sociology.

unconventional life. Although she started wearing a çarşaf (an over-garment worn by women outdoors for modesty's sake) around the age of ten(154) like a typical Muslim girl of her time and environment, nevertheless her going to the American College, her meeting men there without covering her hair, her having relations with Nuri and Hamdi Beys, her going to their salons, all point to a non-traditional way of behaving. Nevertheless, after she got married, she says that she "led the life of the old-fashioned Turkish woman," that is, in seclusion, confined in her apartment which was actually how the majority of Turkish women lived then. She did not see men, except for a few very intimate friends of her husband and her father. During the first years of her marriage she even stopped seeing some close friends of her father whom she had known since childhood.(207) It is interesting to note that despite her relative freedom before marriage and despite the fact that her husband was a scientist, hence probably not a very tradition-bound person, they nevertheless chose such a traditional lifestyle.[18]

For a while, Halide helped her husband in his work of writing a mathematical dictionary in Turkish, by preparing biographies of English mathematicians and philosophers. She also read French literature for herself, and was greatly influenced by Emile Zola, whom, she thought, was "perhaps the most powerful educator of my soul."(208) She admired Zola's fight for truth and against human vices. But at the same time under his influence her spiritual beliefs were shaken and as a result she had a nervous breakdown in the autumn of 1902.(210)

[18] Cf. Seviyye Talib, in which the main goal of the revolutionary modernist man is to change his traditional, secluded wife into a modern woman who accompanies her husband into mixed social gatherings.

After she recovered she gave birth to her first son, Ali Ayetullah.[19] In 1905 she had her second son, Hasan Hikmetullah Togo, named after the Japanese naval hero.[20] In the same year they moved from Sultan Tepe to the Pera district, near the observatory where Salih Zeki Bey was working.(219)

She had a black slave girl, a Greek nurse and a cook to take care of the housework, so that she had enough time to devote to her studies. She read Shakespeare for a while and translated him into colloquial Turkish for herself, with no intention of publishing. Although Shakespeare had been translated into literary Turkish before, translating him into colloquial Turkish was unheard of.(220)

In the fall of 1906 she had a serious operation which confined her to bed for six months. In the spring of 1907 they moved to the island of Antigone (Burgaz) to facilitate her recovery in the sea air. After she got well, they started to enlarge their circle of friends there, which included, besides some of Salih Zeki's old students and some of Halide's old college friends, their neighbour Hüseyin Cahid Bey and his family. With them they had a good time, going on picnics and boat rides. Hüseyin Cahid (1874-1957) had once written for the newspaper Servet-i Fünun, which had started a new school in Turkish literature called Edebiyat-ı Cedide.[21] The writers of this school used Western literary

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[19] His first name was given after Halide's grandfather. As for the second name, Edib explains that she had a dream in which she said loudly that she chose Ayetullah, which means the sign of Allah. So they decided to name the child Ayetullah.(213-14) This perhaps shows that Zola's influence was already gone by then and Edib's spiritual beliefs were restored.

[20] Togo Heihachiro (1848-1934). Commander-in-chief of the Japanese Navy which defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. This victory was the first occasion in the modern era, in which an Asian country defeated a European nation. It led Western countries to begin to look upon Japan as an equal. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed., s.v. "Togo Heihachiro.") Halide Edib and her husband's naming their child Togo reflects how strongly they were influenced by this victory.

[21] For an extensive discussion on Edebiyat-ı Cedide see Cahit Kavcar, Batılılaşma Açısından Servet-i Fünun Romanı (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1985).

forms and ideas coupled with a consciously created pretentious Turkish literary style which ordinary Turks would find difficult to understand.

Halide spent the winter of 1907 again in her apartment in Pera. In this period she read old Turkish chronicles and especially admired Naima.[22] In the summer of 1908 they went back to Antigone Island for the summer. This is where, on 24 July, she got the news of the declaration of the constitution, an event which started a new period in the life of the Ottoman Empire, the so-called second Meşrutiyet. This era also opened a new chapter in the life of Halide Edib, that of being a public figure.

[22] Mustafa Naima (1655-1716) official chronicler, who wrote a history of the period between 1591-1659.

CHAPTER II

HALIDE EDIB DURING THE 1908 CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

A Brief History of the Constitutional Movement

The constitutional movement in the Ottoman Empire had its origin in the activities of the so-called Young Ottomans from the 1860s on, which had culminated in the creation of the first constitutional regime in 1876.[1] These were a group of liberals who, although differing among themselves on many points, were unanimous in demanding a constitutional and representative system of government which would eliminate the Sultan's absolutism. They worked both inside the empire, and in the latter half of the 1860s in exile in Europe, mainly through their publications and literary activities.[2]

In May 1876 Sultan Abdülaziz (ruled 1861-1876) was deposed, chiefly through the efforts of Midhat Paşa (1822-1884) who shared the Young Ottomans' ideas.[3] He was the president of the Council of State, and had won a reputation for his success as governor of the Danube and Baghdad provinces. Murad V, who was supported by the Young Ottomans, was brought to the throne, but was soon diagnosed as insane. In 1876 Prince Abdülhamid who had promised to Midhat Paşa that he would proclaim the constitution, was

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[1] On Young Ottomans see Şerif Mardin, The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).

[2] Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 205-206.

[3] On Midhat Paşa see Uluslararası Midhat Paşa Semineri: Bildiriler ve Tartışmalar, Edirne, 8-10 Mayıs 1984 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986).

brought to the throne. The constitution was soon drafted and was proclaimed on 23 December 1876.[4]

But contrary to the Young Ottomans' hopes, the constitution failed to create a liberal system. Many of its provisions, far from curtailing the Sultan's powers, in fact provided him with a legal basis for absolutism. He had, for example, the right to dissolve the parliament, to appoint and dismiss government members and to expel from the country anyone he considered dangerous. In short, sovereignty, which must belong to the people in a truly parliamentarian system, belonged in this case still to the Sultan.[5]

Therefore, after this short experiment with a parliamentary regime, Abdülhamid's reign soon turned despotic. The first parliament in the Ottoman Empire was opened on 19 March 1877. It worked quite successfully until 14 February 1878, when Abdülhamid prorogued it. It did not open again until after the 1908 Revolution. In the increasingly repressive period that followed, the Sultan persecuted most Young Ottomans who did not choose to reconcile with him. A great number of intellectuals and government officials were imprisoned, murdered or exiled during his reign.[6]

Nevertheless, liberal ideas did not die out. They continued to exist especially among students at schools of higher learning, chiefly at the Military Medical School. There, in 1889 a secret society was organised which called itself Terakki ve İttihad (Progress and Union) and soon spread to other schools

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[4] Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, 2d ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 161-64; on the constitution see, İslam Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Kanun-ı Esasi," by Hüseyin Nail Kubalı; for its text see, Şeref Gözübüyük & Suna Kili, Türk Anayasa Metinleri: Tanzimattan Bugüne Kadar (Ankara: Ajans-Türk, 1957).

[5] Berkes, Development of Secularism, 247-48; on this period see also, Robert Devereux The First Ottoman Constitutional Period (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963).

[6] Berkes, Development of Secularism, 249-50.

like the Mülkiye (school of civil service) and the Harbiye (military academy).[7] Its activities continued with frequent interruptions such as arrests of its members, which caused many to flee to Europe and enlarge the colony of liberal Ottomans there. In Europe they came to be known as the Young Turks.[8]

Soon two factions developed among these exiles, each with differing views. One was represented by Ahmed Rıza (1859-1930) who was associated with and shared the views of the Positivists in France.[9] The second group was headed by Murad, a former history teacher at Mülkiye, who held pan-Islamist views.[10]

In 1897 Murad and many other Young Turks suddenly gave in to the Sultan's pressure and his promises, forsook the struggle against him and went back to Istanbul. This gave a blow to the organisation within the empire, which soon after was destroyed entirely.[11]

Ahmed Rıza's group continued its activities in Europe under the name of Terakki ve İttihad. Their aims included the restoration of the 1876 Constitution and many other basic laws which the current ruler was not respecting and which they considered essential for the development of their country. They wanted to preserve the unity of the Ottoman Empire and aimed at reforms for the whole country, instead of for particular groups or regions. They believed that progress could only be achieved by legal means, and not through a violent

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[7] Ernest Ramsaur, The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908 (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1957), 17; see also the memoirs of the founder of this society Dr. İbrahim Temo, İbrahim Temo'nun İttihad ve Terakki Anıları, 2d ed. (Istanbul: Arba, 1987).

[8] For their activities after 1908 see, Feroz Ahmad, The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-1914 [illegible] Oxford University Press, 1969).

[9] Ramsaur, The Young Turks, 23; on [illegible] see also, Şerif Mardin, Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültü[illegible], 1964), 123-158.

[10] Ibid., 46-87.

[11] Ramsaur, The Young Turks, 46-50.

revolution; and finally, they considered it necessary to keep the Ottoman dynasty on the throne.[12]

In the early 1900s, a new group emerged in Europe around the ideas of a new exile, Prince Sabahaddin (1877-1948), who was the son of a sister of Abdülhamid.[13] He was influenced by the French philosophers Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882)[14] and Edmond Demolins (1852-1907)[15], and, following their ideas, formed a group called Teşebbüs-i Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti (Society of Private Initiative and Administrative Decentralisation), which was in disagreement with Ahmed Rıza's group.[16] Sabahaddin advocated local autonomy for different ethnic groups and regions of the empire, whereas Ahmed Rıza supported centralisation and tended more toward Turkish nationalism.

Around 1906 a new organisation, Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti (Ottoman Freedom Society) came into being among the officers of the Third Army Corps stationed in Macedonia, and spread rapidly mainly among the young officers in this region. It included people like Talat, Enver and Mustafa Kemal who became prominent leaders in the later periods.[17] The aims of this organisation were parallel to Terakki ve İttihad in Europe, with the exception that the former now

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[12] Bayur, Türk Inkılabı Tarihi, 1, pt.1:258-60.

[13] On Sabahaddin see Cavit Orhan Tütengil, Prens Sabahattin (Istanbul: Istanbul, 1954).

[14] French sociologist and engineer who, among other of his ideas, opposed August Comte's idea of continuous evolutionary progress in favour of a theory of cyclical change in society. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. "Le Play, [Pierre Guillaume] Frédéric.")

[15] French sociologist and educator. His most popular work, Anglo-Saxon Superiority: To what it is Due?, opposed Anglo-Saxon individualistic education to French educational system which, according to him, prepared students only for public service and was detrimental to the development of individual initiative. (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1931 ed., s.v. "Demolins, Edmond," by Gottfried Salomon.)

[16] Ramsaur, The Young Turks, 81-89.

[17] Ibid., 100; Talat and Enver became rulers of the empire from 1913 to the end of World War I, whereas Mustafa Kemal was not prominent in that period. He became so during and after the war and eventually became the first president of republican Turkey.

approved of violent means to reach their aims, and planned to use the army to pressure the Sultan. In 1907 the two groups decided to unite and the emerging organisation took the name İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Committee of Union and Progress, CUP).[18]

In the spring and summer of 1908 a series of mutinies and rebellious actions occurred within the army in Macedonia, events which alarmed the Sultan. A few of the officers commissioned by Istanbul to put down the unrest were shot by the CUP members. A few CUPist young officers such as Enver and Niyazi went to the hills with arms and men in defiance.[19] Soon units of the Third Army one after another declared themselves for the constitution. Troops were sent from İzmir to suppress them, but these went over to the side of the CUP. Finally, Abdülhamid gave in and announced the constitution on 24 July 1908.[20]

Halide Edib's Response to the Revolution

Halide Edib was very surprised when she read in the newspaper on 24 July the Sultan's decree for the re-proclamation of the the 1876 Constitution, because she was then, as she says, ignorant of the movement in Macedonia which brought about the Constitutional Revolution.(256). Her initial hesitant reaction was shared by the Ottoman population at large; however, this mood was replaced the next day by mad rejoicing. The highly emotional demonstrations and celebrations on the streets of Istanbul and other cities continued for weeks until the CUP finally asked the people to stop and to go

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[18] Ibid., 122.

[19] See Niyazi's memoirs which became the CUP's official history, Ahmed Niyazi, Hatıratı Niyazi (Istanbul: Sabah, 1910); on Enver see, Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2d ed., s.v. "Enwer Pasha," by D. A. Rustow.

[20] Ramsaur, The Young Turks, 132-36.

back to normal life. [21]

The news of the events in the city was brought to Halide Edib by their neighbour Hüseyin Cahid, who was active in creating the jubilant mood there. He had written enthusiastic editorials for the leading newspapers, İkdam and Sabah, praising the constitution.(257) The newspapers had been published that day without censor for the first time in many years.[22]

Halide Edib also went to the city several times that week and was greatly moved by the scene. It looked like the millenium; thousands of men and women on the streets, in sublime emotions. At every corner someone was addressing the crowd; among them her former teacher Rıza Tevfik was the most popular speaker. Although, as Edib says, the majority of the people were not sure about the meaning of a constitution, the oppression of the former regime was so strong that its lifting had created such ecstasy.(258-60)

In this mood of extreme enthusiasm and feeling of rebirth Halide Edib started her career as a writer. A large number of new daily papers and magazines emerged in those days, many of which however did not survive long. Hüseyin Cahid also founded a newspaper with Hüseyin Kazım (1870-1934) and Tevfik Fikret (1867-1915) on 1 August called Tanin, which became the major CUPist paper of the second constitutional period. Halide Edib was included in its staff as a writer of literary columns. Tanin's writers mostly came from the Edebiyat-ı Cedide school like Cenab Şahabettin (1870-1934) and Halid Ziya (1866-1945), as well as Tevfik Fikret and Hüseyin Cahid. Halide's husband Salih Zeki collaborated in the paper's science section.(260-61)

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[21] Bayur, Türk İnkilabı Tarihi, 1,pt.2:79.

[22] Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın, Siyasal Anılar (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1976), 9-12.

Tanin strongly supported the CUP, although it did not become the Committee's official organ. In it were published exclusively the communiqués of the CUP until the Committee's official newspaper emerged. One of Tanin's founders, Hüseyin Kazım, was a member of the CUP.[23] Hüseyin Cahid entered the Committee a few months later and was elected deputy from Istanbul in the elections in November 1908.[24] After that, he became one of the leading figures of the CUP. Tevfik Fikret left Tanin in 1909 and turned against the Unionists.(264)

From the time of its establishment onwards, Tanin had enormous sales and popularity, as Halide Edib says. But after a short while it also started to receive increasingly strong attacks from the forces opposing the CUP or the new developments. And Tanin retaliated with the same vigor.(263)

As for Halide Edib's own attitude toward the CUP, in her memoirs published in 1926 she accused them of creating a party dictatorship and considered their regime and that of the People's Party of republican Turkey to be of the same type as the fascist regime in Italy.(268) Nevertheless, from her activities and her friendships with many prominent Unionists we can infer that during the second constitutional period, at least until World War I, she supported them, albeit with certain reservations. She explained that most of the progressives rallied around the CUP, even though they did not approve its intolerance or narrowness; the main reason was the opposition's bitter attacks on the progressives.(273) We can infer that Halide Edib was also one of those progressives.

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[23] Ibid., 19.

[24] Ibid., 49-50.

Political Developments

When Abdülhamid announced his allegiance to the constitution, the CUP did not see any reason to remove him from the throne, but instead declared allegiance to him. The Committee at first did not come to power directly, but tried to keep the palace and the government under its control. It remained a secret society, the decisions of which were taken by its central committee in Salonica, as before. It sent a group of its members to Istanbul, who, besides enlarging the Committee's organisation there, exerted direct pressure on the government.[25] Further reforms were expected to be decided on by the representative assembly, and arrangements for the election of its members started immediately.

On 1 August 1908 a new government was formed by Grand Vezir Kamil Paşa. Except for the Şeyhülislam (highest religious functionary) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who were retained from the previous government, all its members were new, but not members of the CUP. Nevertheless, the CUP declared its complete support for it.[26]

A major area of power struggle between the Sultan and the CUP was the control of the army, in which the CUP already had a great following. The Sultan tried to hold the prerogative of appointing the Minister of War and thereby hoped to control the army, but he failed. Finally, Ali Rıza Paşa, who according to Hikmet Bayur acted in total submission to the CUP, became the Minister of War.[27]

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[25] Bayur, Türk İnkilabı Tarihi, 1,pt.2:69, 82; on CUP and the 2d constitutional period see also, Sina Akşin, Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki (Istanbul: Remzi, 1987); although this book gives a lot of details it does not usually cite sources.

[26] Feroz Ahmad, The Young Turks, 21.

[27] Bayur, Türk İnkilabı Tarihi, 1,pt.2:74-76, 90.

On October 5, the new regime faced its first major blow on the international level. On that day Bulgaria declared its independence and Crete declared itself part of Greece; the next day Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the exception of the town of Yenipazar. These provinces had already been for all practical purposes lost to the Ottoman Empire; Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzagovina in the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, and Crete after the Greek-Turkish War of 1897. Nevertheless, this last step of their removal from the empire caused great dismay in the country[28] and shattered the hopes that a constitutional regime would keep the empire's integrity and receive European support.

In the empire the main force which opposed the constitutional regime came from among the religious conservatives. On October 7 we see its first manifestation in the so-called 'Kör Ali Incident.' Two hocas, Kör Ali and İsmail Hakkı, preached in the Fatih mosque after the prayers against the constitution and a representative assembly. From there they led an increasingly larger crowd, which included many men wearing turbans, to Yıldız Palace. They asked the Sultan to restore the şeriat (the Islamic holy law) and to act as the shepherd of his flock. They also demanded that restaurants which served alcoholic beverages and theatres be closed, that photography be prohibited and that Muslim women be banned from walking around in the city in 'open clothes.'[29]

They created similar scenes in other parts of the city, during which they also attacked the Şeyhülislam's carriage and called on believers to murder him,

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[28]Ibid., 113.

[29] Ali Cevat, Ali Cevat Bey'in Fezlekesi: İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlanı ve Otuzbir Mart Hadisesi, ed. Faik Reşit Unat (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1960), 15.

because, as they claimed, the Şeyhülislam was acting contrary to Islam.[30] This accusation implies that the Şeyhülislam, although a cleric himself, had started to reinterpret Islam in the framework of more modern ideas expressed by the new regime, thus angering the clerical opposition.

Also among the constitutionalists an opposition to the CUP soon emerged. Although its members came from among those liberals who had fought against Abdülhamid's regime, like the CUP, they disagreed with the latter mainly on the form of government. The most important group among them organised itself around the ideas of Prince Sabahaddin and formed the Ahrar (Liberals') Party in September 1908. Sabahaddin himself did not join this party, but its founders and most of its members were his close friends and members of his Teşebbüs-i Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti. The main issue of conflict between the CUP and Ahrar was that of centralisation, supported by the former, versus decentralisation, supported by the latter.[31]

The elections were held in November and December, and were won by the CUP with an overwhelming majority. Ahrar managed to win one seat, which came from Ankara. In addition to the popularity of the CUP members as revolutionary heroes, many analysts consider their interference with the election process as among the factors which contributed to their victory.[32] Feroz Ahmad says that it was difficult to win a seat without the CUP's support. The Committee also managed to reach agreements with several non-Turkish communities on the particular candidates, who would stand for election. According to Ahmad, all

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[30] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 25-26; Yalçın, Siyasal Anılar, 37.

[31] Tanık Zafer Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 2d ed. (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı, 1984), 1:142-150.

[32] Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, İnkilap Tarihimiz ve İttihad ve Terakki (Istanbul: Tan, 1948), 252; Ahmad, The Young Turks, 27-28.

the different nationalities of the empire were well represented in the parliament, with Turks holding the majority with 147 deputies out of 288[33], a result that was in accordance with the CUP's Ottomanist policy.

Halide Edib's Writings and Other Activities

During this time Halide Edib's articles in Tanin[34] dealt with social rather than political issues, among which issues concerning Turkish women constituted an important part. She has written that she received many letters and visits from women of different classes, which made her aware of the problems of the old social order. Thus, she was less interested in the political developments per se than in changes in personal lives in her society.(270-71) As for her own personal life, she was still living in seclusion and avoiding men, except for a few intimate friends of her husband and her father. She never went to Tanin's office, for instance, and never met her fellow-writers.(263)

"The Future of Turkish Women"

In October 1908 Halide Edib took a concrete step to promote the social development of Turkish women. She wrote a very interesting letter to the editor of the English newspaper The Nation entitled "The Future of Turkish Women,"[35] in which she invited English and American teachers to open schools in Turkey for women and to educate them. She also attempted to explain in this letter the recent revolution from the point of view of Turkish women.

She wrote that, whereas in the old regime women were neglected, in the

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Halide Edib signed her articles as Halide Salih in this period. Unfortunately, I had no access to these articles except for their titles given by İnci Enginün in Halide Edib Adıvar'ın Eserlerinde Doğu ve Batı Meselesi.

[35] Halide Salih, "The Future of Turkish Women," The Nation, 24 October 1908, 149.

new one a heated discussion was going on about their position in society. She claims in the article that the majority of Turkish women were in favour of the constitution and of liberty, because these assured the lives of their sons and husbands. She draws a very bleak picture of the old regime, under which, she explains, thousands of men were murdered, exiled, tortured, crippled, and so on. As a result, the majority of Turkish women, who saw their men suffer, developed a hatred of tyranny and hence stand by the constitution which would prevent such tyranny.

Thus, for Halide Edib women's main reason for opposing the old regime was its cruelty to their sons and husbands, and not its direct oppression of them. This indicates that Edib saw women mainly as mothers and wives and linked them to society only through these qualities. Although she implies that the change of regime is expected to bring about an improvement in the position of women, the overall letter shows that, for her, this improvement would be mainly in the quality of their functions as mothers and wives.

She goes on to say that under the old regime only an educated minority of women were able to actually propagate "large and liberal ideas." These women were a lucky minority who during their upbringing fell into the hands of good governesses or were educated by their fathers or husbands. And she continues:

> Naturally this minority understood that the salvation of a nation lies in the proper education of high-minded and patriotic women. They understood that the reason why Anglo-Saxons occupy so lofty a moral position in the world's civilisation is due to their sacred ideas of womanhood and home.

Here Edib establishes a link between the proper education of women and the salvation of the nation, which is in fact the main thesis of her letter. We

see that her ultimate aim is the salvation of the nation, which is achieved by the education of its women. In other words, for her, women's development is not an end in itself, but a means in the general scheme of development and modernisation of the nation. She also thinks that, through education women would become able to learn and to appreciate 'Anglo-Saxon values,' which in turn would contribute to the nation's modernisation, and thus its salvation. This is why she asks Anglo-Saxons to come and teach Turkish women.

Edib goes on in the article to explain that several women in Salonica were actually engaged in the revolutionary movement, including Enver Bey's wife, and Emine Semiye Hanım. They helped the CUP, carried its papers, hid its members, and so on.

Following this, Edib says that after the revolution some women began to demand their right to learn and work with their companions, to accompany them and "to become fit educators of the future generation." She adds that there was nothing in this "that ought to have hurt or awakened religious prejudice." But, she says, a French article appeared, signed by a woman with a Turkish name, but in reality written by a Jewess, in which the writer declared that she would unveil. This caused a storm and deep indignation in Turkey. Edib says: "As a fact, no reasonable Turkish woman asks to unveil."

Here it is not clear whether Halide Edib sincerely believed in veiling, or whether she was afraid of religious prejudice and considered it imprudent at that point to go as far as demanding to unveil. Since Jewish women did not veil themselves, it seems unlikely that this article was really written by a Jewess. It seems very probable therefore that branding the writer a Jewess was an attempt on the part of religious conservatives, or other like-minded people, to

discredit her and to prevent her from being heeded. If this is indeed true, it would mean that on this point Edib was also acting like a religious conservative, and not like a modernist.

After this, Edib assures all English women, on behalf of all Turkish women, that she and her countrywomen are doing their best to place English influence and the English language foremost in their future schools for girls. She praises England for her stand for right and justice. She expresses gratitude for England's refusal of the division of Turkey proposed by Russia, and her help to Turkey during the Treaty of St. Stefano (1878). She adds that Turkish women want to make their country great in right and justice and for that they must have good schools. She concludes by saying:

> The actual cry of the Turkish woman to more civilised womanhood, specially to England and America, is this: You go and teach the savage, you descend into slums. Come to this land, where the most terrible want, the want of knowledge, exists. Come and help us to disperse the dark clouds of ignorance. We are working ever so hard to get away from the slavery of ignorance. The opening of schools by the English everywhere in Turkey would be welcomed by Turkish mothers. Simple, healthy, human teaching, such as Anglo-Saxons are able to give, is what we want. . . More than for bread and water, more than any other want, we cry for knowledge and healthy Anglo-Saxon influence.

She also says that these schools should be accessible to the poorer classes.

Thus, Halide Edib considered England to be an altruistic and very moral nation which had been good to Turkey in the past. She thought in the framework of nineteenth century evolutionary theory, which assumed that human beings evolved from savagery to barbarism, and from barbarism to civilisation. Because it was her belief that Turkey was still below the civilised level, she asks in her letter for the help of English women to civilise their Turkish counterparts by education. Apparently Edib ignores the issue that in that period

'teaching savages' often went hand in hand with colonising the lands inhabited by them. Her particular form of patriotism does not lead her to shun such influences.

Her approach to the women's issue -namely, putting it into the framework of the salvation of the nation- was shared by almost all the modernist and Westernist men of this period. These views existed before 1908 and burst into the open after the Constitutional Revolution. Many modernist men advocated reform for women as a countermeasure to Turkey's decline.[36] According to Niyazi Berkes, after 1908 women writers raised their voices even more radically than men in defence of women's rights.[37] But, this letter shows us that Halide Edib's ideas on women were not radical, or certainly no more radical than those of her male colleagues.

Raik'in Annesi

In November 1908, Halide Edib's first novel Raik'in Annesi [Raik's Mother] was published in serial form in Demet, a woman's magazine. In this short novel of seventy-six pages Halide Edib elaborates on her notion of 'ideal womanhood.' Raik'in Annesi is a first person account by the thirty-two year old hero, who rents a hotel room on the island of Heybeli, near Istanbul on the Sea of Marmara, to pass the autumn, in order to escape marriage to the fifteen year old daughter of their neighbour, whom he does not love. He puts her into a category of women who disgust him, because they are fake imitators of French ways, and hence sacrifice their national traditions. On the island he comes across a woman and her son Raik, whose husband is unfaithful to her with a

[36] Berkes, Development of Secularism, 385.

[37] Ibid.

Polish woman. The hero falls in love with Raik's mother, without actually talking to her, and meddles in her life by trying to save her marriage.

The hero lives in the city with his uncle and his family. Their neighbour's daughter, Necibe, who is from a well-to-do family, used to wear expensive but ugly clothes from European stores in Pera[38] when she was a child. The hero used to think that her morality, as well as her clothes, were ugly. Now she has started to avoid men, wears stylish çarsafs, and plays her piano to attract his attention, but he simply finds her boring. He thinks that since ready-made clothing stores and gramophones came out, his people are loosing their former simplicity and national traditions. Necibe learns French and impresses shopkeepers in Pera with her French. The hero says to himself: "God save us from such women who welcome their husbands with a 'bonjour,' who bargain in French in Pera, who make their children say 'mama' before 'anne.'"(15)[39] He learns that his uncle and his uncle's wife are about to agree with Necibe's mother on the terms of her marriage to him. So he runs away to the island.

For Halide Edib, Necibe represents a certain category of women, whom she strongly opposes. Interestingly, we will encounter this category, which we can broadly call the 'fake Europeans' or the 'imitators of the Europeans' (Frenk taklitçileri), in all of her novels that are the subjects of this thesis. Although Edib is preoccupied with this type, she never deals with them profoundly, nor does she analyse them or describe them sufficiently. They are like a cliché, described always with more or less the same few words. They wear clothes bought from

[38] A district of Istanbul, which was relatively more Europeanised. Almost all European embassies, some European banks and companies, many entertainment centers were located there. Its population was cosmopolitan and included many Europeans.

[39] Numbers in parenthesis are page numbers from Halide Edib Adıvar, Raik'in Annesi, 3d ed. (Istanbul: Yeni, 1967).

European stores in Pera, mix French words into their conversation, imitate the manners of French women, are always cheerful, ornate, fake and superficial. But this cliched category of Edib's novels really does correspond to a social category that existed in the Ottoman society of that time.

On the island the hero spends his time taking boat rides, fishing, walking in the pine-woods and napping in open air. During a Sunday stroll, he sees a Turkish woman of the above category, her two children and their fat French governess, all of whom make him extremely furious. The woman, who wears a yellow yeldirme (a kind of light cloak), compliments her children in French. The children wear large sun-hats and call their mother "mama."(20) The hero starts talking in his mind to his uncle's wife and describes to her the kind of woman he wants. He says that she can know several languages, if she wants, but she should never use French when shopping in Pera, should not imitate the manners of French women, should not exclaim in French, and so on. She should believe in God, go to mosque occasionally, be able to feel the mosque's poetry and its supremacy, and inculcate these feelings in her children. She should like serious, classical music, should be simply dressed, should have dark hair, and so on.(21)

He enters the pine forest and there he sees a young woman in a blue yeldirme, who plays and runs with her little son, hugs and kisses him. The child calls her "nene" (which in fact means grandmother). The scene pleases the hero very much and he feels grateful to this woman who does not let her child call her "mama" instead of "anne"!(22)

This way, the author moves from a criticism of the bad type, the imitators of the Europeans, to the main female character of the novel, Refika, who is

presented as the ideal woman. In the rest of the book the imitators are not mentioned again. The ideal woman's characteristics are: lack of European mannerisms, religiousness, simplicity, seriousness and, as we will see, high morality. It is clear that Edib considers the imitators of the Europeans immoral and irreligious; the former attribute is explicitly stated by her, the latter one is inferred from her comparison between the two types. These two adjectives were often used in fact by religious conservatives to label the people they opposed, and among these were most often used of the modernists. This indicates that despite her modernism Halide Edib had nevertheless a lot in common with the religious conservatives.

The next day the hero encounters the same woman and her son again in the pine-woods. A few days later his two friends come from Istanbul. They go fishing and exchange gossip about their mutual acquaintance Rauf, who is having an affair with a Polish woman who dressed immodestly.(28) One of the men, İhsan, says that a friend of his, who is in fact Rauf's cousin, knows Rauf's wife well and had told İhsan that she was a very sensitive, nice and intelligent woman. Rauf's cousin is a chemist who has just returned from Europe and who suffers from tuberculosis. The hero forces himself to change the subject "in order not to be vulgar enough to think badly about a woman I don't know."(29) In other words, this man's intimate knowledge of the wife leads him to suspect the woman's morality, which shows how conservative he is and how conservative the society was.

That afternoon they go to the island's harbour and see Rauf and his mistress getting off the boat that came from Istanbul. The woman is wearing a violet dress, a violet hat made of tulle and holds an umbrella made of violet

tulle. His friends point out to the hero Rauf's wife, who is also on the dock with her elderly father and her son. She is the same woman the hero had met in the pine-woods. She is dressed entirely in black and her face is covered with a black veil.(31-32)

A few days later, the hero seizes an opportunity to meet this woman's father and her son Raik. They become friends and thereafter often spend time together. During one conversation the old man touches on the marriage of Refika and Rauf. He says that it is a good example of a marriage between two incompatible people, and adds: "Refika is afraid of divorce like a Catholic."(39) Upon that Raik starts to cry, saying that he wants his father back.

The sentence "Refika is afraid of divorce like a Catholic" sticks in the hero's mind. He thinks that this sentence is the key to his love and respect for Refika. In his imagination he tells Refika that he loves her, that she is a great mother and wife, a great woman who guards her home alone and keeps her word even to a scoundrel who has forgotten his oath. He suffers greatly and decides to serve her and her child, and to do all he can to make her happy. He takes an oath to himself to make Rauf repent and to reconcile the two.(40-41)

Halide Edib's preoccupation with divorce in this and, as we will see, in her second novel, Seviyye Talib, is in line with a similar preoccupation of the majority of the progressives in her society, who were in favour of Westernising the country. As Edib explains in her book Turkey Faces West, family law was then the concern of the Islamic courts, which were under the authority of the Şeyhülislam. Regarding divorce, Islamic law gave man the right to repudiate his wife at any moment, while a woman had to go to court and "prove certain things" before she could obtain a divorce. Edib explains that the extreme conservatives

as well as the religious bodies were opposed to any change in this domain. In 1916 the Islamic courts were put under the Ministry of Justice, and the family law was revised in favor of women. Accordingly, women acquired the right to insert several stipulations into their marriage contract.[40]

In Raik'in Annesi Edib is not explicit on whether or not she objects to the existing law on divorce. But it is clear that she opposes divorce itself, especially when there is a child in the marriage. Taking into account the dissatisfaction of most of the progressives, to which Edib belonged, with the existing divorce practice, we can infer from Raik'in Annesi that Edib believed that a family system similar to the one enforced by Catholicism would be a remedy to the faults of the existing system. So, interestingly, whereas extreme conservatives support a system which facilitates divorce, Halide Edib, a progressive, supports what we today might call a very conservative family model. She recommends this as another step on the path towards Westernising Turkey.

Paradoxically, the hero's love for Refika leads him to work to save her marriage. Once, on the steamer going to Istanbul, the hero meets Rauf's mistress, who asks him the time to catch his attention. The hero does not answer and walks out. In another cabin he meets Rauf, who asks him his opinion on his mistress. The hero says that he finds her vulgar. Rauf begs him to get together with him once in a while because, as he says, one needs a friend to talk to when living with this kind of woman. So the hero invites him to his hotel.(43-45)

The next morning Rauf comes to the hero's room. Among other things he

[40] Halide Edib Adıvar, Turkey Faces West (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 131; Berkes, Development of Secularism, 417-18; on Muslim family law see also John Esposito, Women in Muslim Family Law, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982) and Islam Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Talak," by J. Schacht.

says that his father-in-law had tried several times to have him and Refika divorced, but Refika had resisted it. They go for a boat ride and the hero tells Rauf that Raik had spoken to him once about his father, and had told him that he prays to God every night, after his mother falls asleep, to send him his father, and that after saying this Raik had cried. Rauf also cries and resolves to go and see his son.(49)

The hero learns from Refika's father that Rauf is writing reconciliatory letters to Refika, but is surprised to learn that she refuses even to read them. Meanwhile, Rauf's chemist cousin Mansur, who had studied in Europe and who has tuberculosis, comes to the island and stays there as the guest of Refika and her father. Rauf decides to send Ogustin, his mistress, to Istanbul on some pretext and then plans to write to her to cut off their relationship. But a few hours before Ogustin's departure, the hero meets them in the pine-woods and walks with them inadvertently. He is ashamed at the thought of being seen with this kind of a woman, especially by Refika. And suddenly they do encounter Refika and Raik in the woods. Refika is extremely beautiful that day and looks into Rauf's eyes cynically, which attracts Rauf so strongly that he follows her as if hypnotised. Ogustin returns to Istanbul.(54)

The next morning Refika and her Greek maid come to the hero's hotel to look for Raik, who is missing. The hero finds him on the wharf at the harbour, sadly looking for his father. He says that he wanted to tell his father that he is not angry with him. From that day onwards, Refika and the hero greet each other and have short conversations whenever they meet.(57)

Rauf rents a room in the hero's hotel. His letters to Refika remain unanswered, which makes him miserable and causes him to seek comfort in

drinking. Raik often comes and visits him. Meanwhile, every morning the hero sees Refika and Mansur alone in a boat. The possibility of a relationship between the two very much saddens him, because he sees in her "fully matured womanhood." If she lowers herself by having an extra-marital relationship with Mansur, his belief in humanity and in goodness will be shaken. If he cannot go on believing in things which make us human, he asks himself, then what is the point in continuing to live?(61) Then one evening he hears Refika's and Mansur's voices in the pine-woods and it becomes clear to him that Mansur loves her. The hero is crushed, but the only thing that soothes him slightly is the fact that they do not address one another in the second person singular, which means that they are not intimate enough.[41] He thinks that there is still time to prevent her from "falling from the most respectable point of womanhood."(62)

It is clear that the hero attaches his own notion of 'ideal womanhood' to Refika, without knowing her. Her previous fear of divorce, which he interprets as stemming from a moral principle, rather than from practical concerns, leads him to elevate her to the position of "ideal woman." We see that what makes a woman ideal and most mature in the hero's opinion is her safeguarding her marriage no matter what her husband does and her maintaining marital fidelity in all circumstances. Rather than out of personal jealousy, the hero wants to prevent Refika from having an extra-marital relationship in order to actualise his own ideal on womanhood.

Rauf explains to the hero that it was he who had "taken Refika out to Mansur,"[42](63) which means that he had allowed her, who normally remained in

[41] In Turkish, the second person plural is used for the formal, and the second person singular for the intimate, informal talk.

[42] "Mansur'a Refika'yı ben çıkarmıştım." All translations in the thesis are mine.

seclusion, to meet Mansur. After that, he says, they often got together, because they shared the same interests in music and in literature. They used to play music together, he on the violin and she on the piano.

Finally, one day the hero encounters Raik waiting faithfully for his mother who had gone into the pine-woods. The hero promises the child to bring his mother and goes into the woods. There, he sees Refika and Mansur together and eavesdrops on their conversation. He realises that Mansur is very attractive, intelligent, understanding, refined, warm, and so on. He hears him begging Refika passionately to leave Rauf and to be with him. Refika says that she is torn between him and her son, who would die if separated from his father. From their conversation we realise that she had appealed several times to get a divorce from Rauf, but that he kept refusing it. She says that as Raik's mother, she cannot love Mansur in an illegal relationship. She starts walking away; Mansur bursts out coughing, which makes her move back. But the hero catches her and tells her that he wants to talk to her about Raik. At first she is furious at him for meddling into her affairs and tells him to go and tell Rauf to give her her freedom in order that she might marry Mansur. The hero first reminds her of Raik's suffering and tells her that he wants to pull her out of the abyss that Mansur is pulling her into. He tells her that she is the kind of woman who can never be vulgar and can never be happy in doing wrong. Her bad conscience would torture her a thousand times more than the boredom of living with Rauf. She can never be happy by acting in a manner which would bring shame on Raik.(74)

Refika suddenly asks him if he would visit them often if she goes back to Rauf. He says yes, and she says that this shows that his effort is based on self-

interest, and therefore, cannot be accepted, and walks toward Mansur. The hero realises that a great sacrifice is expected from him. After a moment of hesitation, he swears on Refika's "respectable head" that if she returns to Rauf, he won't see her again till the end of his life. He says that he is doing this just so that the most respectable mother and the highest of all women would not lower herself, and in order to make Raik happy. Refika holds his hand, wishes him all the best and tells him to send Rauf to her!

In the epilogue we read that the hero is about to depart for Erzurum in eastern Turkey where he has procured a kaymakamlık (district governorship). Before leaving, he reads in the newspaper that Mr. Mansur, the chemist, has died on Heybeli island.

Thus, Raik'in Annesi turns out to be an ordinary example of a man forcing a woman to behave in a sexually moral way, according to moral principles which he adheres to. The concept of 'ideal womanhood,' according to which he manages to make her behave, is the hero's creation; it is not Refika who formulates or actively pursues this notion. She rather has more down to earth concerns, like fear of divorce and its consequences (at least before Mansur arrives on the scene), love for her child and not wanting to endanger his future. We see that her fear of divorce was not derived from a moral principle, because after Mansur's appearance she sees the desirability of obtaining a divorce in order to marry Mansur. The hero, for some reason, sees in this woman his own ideal, and when she deviates from it, he manipulates her to conform to it. But, what elevates his action from an ordinary enforcement of morality to a lofty idealistic endeavour is his own great self-sacrifice for the realisation of the ideal. Thus, not only the woman, but the hero, too, sacrifices himself, and both

sacrifice their happiness for the ideal: the integrity of the family and moral values pertaining to it.

Now, what is important from a historical point of view for us and for the purpose of this study is whether the kind of morality enforced by the hero was the established morality of his society, or whether it was somewhat of an innovation. It is clear that extra-marital relations for women were condemned in Ottoman society, but divorce and remarriage of women were allowed in the Ottoman-Muslim community. It seems that at first Refika could have obtained a divorce when Rauf was living with a mistress, but that she did not want it. Later, we find out that she could get a divorce only if her husband consented. So, one way to escape from this impasse was to persuade Rauf to give her a divorce. The hero could have tried that, but he did not. And since Rauf always had the habit of being unfaithful to his wife with 'bad women,' it seems that Refika might have won a divorce under the existing law. The hero ignores all these factors and chooses to work to save her bad marriage. Hence, although his moral concepts are not radically different than those of his society, still we can say that the source of the values he is enforcing lies beyond his own society. It seems that he (or better, Halide Edib) is inspired by what Edib thinks to be 'Anglo-Saxon sacred ideals of womanhood and home'; what the hero enforces in Raik'in Annesi are these ideals. Since Edib was active in society on the side of the progressives who were engaged in social reform, we can say that with Raik'in Annesi she aimed at changing and reforming her society in the direction of these 'sacred ideals.'

Hence, paradoxically, being a progressive leads Edib to enforce and to implement these very conservative values in her own society. Again

paradoxically, by doing so she angered the conservatives of her own society, because by January 1909 she started to receive anonymous letters which ordered her to stop writing in Tanin and threatened her with death if she would not obey.[43] During the '31 March Incident,' which is generally considered to be an Islamist reactionary uprising, she had to flee the country, because her name was on the black-list of the instigators of the uprising[44] (see chapter III below).

This conflict between Halide Edib and the religious or traditionalist opposition provides us with a good clue to the state of Ottoman society of this period. It reminds us that in that society progress mainly meant to Westernise and to modernise; and these often meant replacing the existing traditional values by other conservative ones, which were thought to be Western. This was still considered progress. By the same token, opposition to this kind of progress from the traditional section of the society was labelled as reactionary. Therefore, in this context Halide Edib became a progressive despite her conservative social values. And yet interestingly, her conservative ideas indeed contributed to the relative emancipation of Turkish women.

Her Other Activities

In addition to writing, Halide Edib also worked actively to put into practice her ideas on women. In 1908 she formed with some teachers and educated Turkish women the first Turkish woman's club in the Ottoman Empire, Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti (Society for the Betterment of Women).[45] Halide Edib, who only mentions it in relation to the Balkan Wars (1912-13) in her memoirs, says that its aim was the education of its members. They took French and English lessons in

[43] Adıvar, Memoirs of Halide Edib, 274.

[44] Ibid., 279.

[45] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 480.

its centre. Besides, the club opened classes for a limited number of Turkish women on Turkish language, domestic science and the bringing up of children. English teachers from the Gedik Paşa school helped them in teaching English and lent them their school's hall where the club held a series of lectures for women. Edib says that "there was a feministic tendency in the club, but as a whole it kept within the bounds of usefulness and philanthropy."(334-35)

On the other hand, Tank Zafer Tunaya, citing Ruşen Zeki, says that the aim of this club was to raise the cultural standard of women without forsaking national traditions. He also says that its membership was conditional on knowing English and that it planned to work parallel to the 'Society of Friends of Turkish Women,' which was established in England.[46] Unfortunately, this is all he says on the Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti.

From what meager information we have, we gather that Halide Edib's practical work also reflected her ideas discussed above. She and her friends in the club seem to have combined conservatism with efforts to modernise mainly through a connection with English women or English culture. The society in England may have been related to Miss Isabel Fry, an English teacher and social reformer, who through Halide Edib had become interested in women's educational reform in Turkey. She answered Edib's aforementioned letter to The Nation and subsequently they started to correspond. A lifelong friendship developed between them. Fry went to Turkey in February 1909 and stayed there for three weeks, at the American College for Girls. There, she met through Halide some Turkish women who were interested in reform, visited a few schools and wrote an article on women's education for Tanin.(275-76) Later, a

[46] Ruşen Zeki, Bizde Hareket-i Nisvan (n.p : Nevsal-i Milli, 1330), 344-45 cited in Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 1:480.

few months before the outbreak of World War I, the Unionist government asked Fry to come to Turkey and to organise women's education there. She went, but she could not agree with the Minister of Education on essential points and so she did not undertake the work.(359)

Isabel Fry (1869-1958) was a self-taught teacher, who was running a private school in London by the time Halide Edib met her. She came from a well-known Quaker family and herself belonged to the Quaker "Society of Friends" for most of her life. Besides teaching, she was also involved in social movements like pacifism and women's emancipation. According to Beatrice C. Brown, one of her former students, reform and emancipation in the East interested her most. She lived in a milieu of liberal intellectuals, which included such well-known figures as the philosopher Bertrand Russell and the journalist Henry W. Nevinson.[47] Fry was against scholastic and 'bookish' education and instead believed in an educational method which would prepare children for life by teaching them through doing and seeing. She opened a school in a farm-house in 1917, in which farming activities constituted a core around which were taught various academic subjects.[48]

While Halide Edib's letter to The Nation did not result in English women opening schools all over Turkey, at least it provided Edib with a lifelong friend who was experienced in educational reform and who shared some of her social concerns.

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[47] Beatrice Curtis Brown, Isabel Fry: Portrait of a Great Teacher (London: Arthur Barker Ltd., 1960), 19.

[48] Ibid., 68-76.

CHAPTER III

THE '31 MARCH INCIDENT' AND HALIDE EDIB

The '31 March Incident'

In the early months of 1909 the antagonism between the CUP and the opposition, headed by the Ahrar Party, intensified. In the parliament several deputies and former Unionists began joining the Ahrar.[1] Also, the Grand Vezir Kamil Paşa leaned towards the Ahrar and worked closely with some of its members.[2] Several newspapers supported the Ahrar as well and participated in the hostile polemic against the Unionists, newspapers such as İkdam, Sabah, and especially Serbesti edited by Hasan Fehmi. These papers, foremost Serbesti, also attacked Abdülhamid severely; ironically the Unionist papers preferred to keep quiet about the Sultan, as long as he was loyal to the constitution.[3]

On 10 February, the Grand Vezir removed the Minister of War Ali Rıza Paşa to another position and replaced him with Nazım Paşa, the commander of the Second Army. He also replaced the Minister of Marine. Apparently he made these changes without consulting the other cabinet members, which created a severe political crisis. Several cabinet members resigned in protest. Naval officers in the warships anchored in the harbour also protested Kamil's action

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[1] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 1:144.

[2] İsmail Kemal, The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey, ed. Sommerville Story (London: Constable & Co., 1920),

[3] Cevat, Ali Cevat Bey'in Fezlekesi, 39-40; Yalçın, Siyasal Anılar, 65-66.

and threatened to fight in order to safeguard the constitution. On 13 February the parliament passed a motion demanding an explanation from Kamil Paşa, for which he asked for more time to prepare a response. The parliament however, did not wait and held a no-confidence vote in his absence, with only eight votes in his favour. The next day the former Minister of the Interior, Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, who was supported by the CUP, became Grand Vezir. Ali Rıza Paşa was returned to his former position as Minister of War.[4]

Meanwhile, the Islamist opposition was also taking shape outside the parliament. A major group started to gather around the newspaper Volkan which was founded in November 1908. Its editor Derviş Vahdeti became, after a few months, the founder of a new party, İttihad-ı Muhammedi (Union of the Muhammedans) which was officially established on 5 April 1909. It was composed mainly of clerics. Volkan and the party proclaimed that their aim was to save the Meşrutiyet which, they claimed, was the best protector of the şeriat. Vahdeti, in his speech in Ayasofya mosque on the occasion of the establishment of the party on 5 April, spoke enthusiastically of the past revolution as "our revolution" which destroyed absolutism, and praised CUP's service to it. But he expressed objection to CUP's present policies and conduct.[5] Volkan constantly attacked the CUP, especially "the four or five dishonourable men who behave with European morality," referring to persons like Ahmed Rıza, Hüseyin Cahid, Talat, and so on.[6] "Volkanists" tried to put pressure on the legislators to abide by the şeriat and not to accept new laws which contradict it. Although there were many clerics within the parliament who also put similar

[4] Bayur, Türk Inkilabı Tarihi, 1, pt.2:165-170.

[5] Cited in Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 1:204.

[6] Ibid., 187.

demands forward, nevertheless according to Tunaya, they did not support İttihad-ı Muhammedi.[7] This party also advocated reform in medreses (religious colleges); the need to adopt technology from the West; and an alliance between the clerical class and the army.[8] İttihad-ı Muhammedi later became the major organiser of the '31 March Incident.'

While the quarrels and tensions in the political arena continued, there was also unrest in the military barracks. In October 1908, eighty-six soldiers mutinied in the Taşkışla barracks in Istanbul to resist being sent to Jidda despite the fact that their term of service had already ended. They were suppressed by a chasseur regiment which had been brought from Salonica and which was believed to be very loyal to the new regime.[9] A major target of the CUP was the First Army Corps stationed in Istanbul, which was the Sultan's special guard, and especially its second division which was responsible for the security of Yıldız district. This division was very loyal to the Sultan and was subject to his direct control, and the soldiers in it had generally a very conservative and religious outlook.[10] Several battalions in this division were composed of Albanians and of Arabs. In March there was an attempt to supplement them with Anatolian privates, but the Albanians resisted and did not accept the newcomers. Again, a chasseur regiment was brought from Taşkışla to subdue them. In April the Albanian and Arab troops were removed from Istanbul, the former to Salonica and the latter to Syria. İttihad-ı Muhammedi made propaganda intensively among the soldiers of the First Army Corps and won

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[7] Ibid., 184.

[8] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, İslamcılık Cereyanı (Istanbul: Baha, 1962), 121.

[9] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 26.

[10] David Farhi, "The Şeriat as a Political Slogan-or the 'Incident of the 31st Mart'," Middle Eastern Studies 7(October 1971), 281, 286.

over many of them. Surprisingly, those chasseur regiments brought from Macedonia, on which the CUP relied so strongly for suppressing the mutinies of the soldiers of First Corps, later became the leaders of the '31 March' mutiny.[11]

The tension in the city rose greatly when on the night of 6 April Serbesti's editor Hasan Fehmi was shot on the Galata Bridge. The murderer was never found. Since Hasan Fehmi was in the forefront of attacks against the CUP, most people believed that he was murdered by the CUP and that the police intentionally allowed the murderer to escape.[12] The opposition turned his funeral into a huge demonstration against the CUP. Halide Edib describes the funeral procession which she saw from her window, especially the immense crowd, most wearing white turbans, following the coffin. It reminded her of the revolts of theological students in the past against Westernising reforms.[13]

The unrest in the city finally culminated in the so-called '31 March Incident,' when on the night between 12 and 13 April (30/31 March in the Mali calendar) soldiers from the Taşkışla barracks locked their officers up and gathered, arms in hand, in Sultanahmet square. They fired into the air and declared that they wanted şeriat. The police sent the Sultanahmet mosque's ulema to talk to them, to whom the soldiers declared that they wanted the Minister of War and Ahmed Rıza, the speaker of parliament, to resign, and that they did not want Muslim women to go to Pera.[14] Later, they repeated these demands to the Şeyhülislam who had come to the square to talk to them, and

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[11] Cevat, Ali Cevat Bey'in Fezlekesi, 44-45; Bayur, Türk Inkilabı Tarihi, 1, pt.2:141-142.; Farhi, "The Şeriat a s a Political Slogan," 287.

[12] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 39.

[13] Edib, Memoirs of Halide Edib, 276-277; for liberal opposition's view see Kemal, Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey, 329-330.

[14] This rather odd-looking demand reflects the religious conservatives' perception of Pera, the relatively more Europeanised district of Istanbul. It shows that they perceived Muslim society in opposition to Pera and inferentially, to Westernisation.

added that they wanted their officers to be changed, too. Moreover, they demanded an amnesty for all those participating in the revolt.[15]

Meanwhile, more and more soldiers and many clerics joined the rebellious crowd. Hüseyin Hilmi's cabinet and Ahmed Rıza resigned immediately. Soldiers and clerics entered the parliament building which adjoined the square, where already about sixty deputies had gathered. Ahmed Rasim, one of the imams of Beyazid made a speech on behalf of the soldiers and clerics, in which he accused many of the deputies of being irreligious, and demanded that they all strictly adhere to Islam. Among other things he also objected to high school education for girls, viewing it as contrary to the şeriat.[16]

The palace chose to take a conciliatory stand . Abdülhamid sent his first secretary Cevat Bey to the parliament, who read there the Sultan's decree which pardoned the soldiers, and announced that henceforward the şeriat would be heeded more. He read this also at the square. A little later he notified the rebels that the Sultan had just appointed Edhem Paşa to the War Ministry, to which the soldiers replied with long ovations.[17] It seemed that the crisis was over, and that the soldiers would withdraw to their barracks.

Earlier, the mutineers had already killed a deputy from Syria, Aslan Bey, whom they mistook for Hüseyin Cahid, when he was trying to enter the parliament building.[18] Also that day the Minister of Justice was killed, probably by accident.[19] In other parts of the city the soldiers killed several of their officers.

That night the soldiers fired into the air wildly to celebrate their victory,

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[15] Cevat, Ali Cevat Bey'in Fezlekesi, 89-90.

[16] Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, cited in Yalçın, Siyasal Anılar, 86.

[17] Cevat, Ali Cevat Bey'in Fezlekesi, 49-51, 54.

[18] Yalçın, Siyasal Anılar, 88.

[19] Kemal, Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey, 336.

which terrified the populace in Istanbul. The next day the offices of Tanin and the Unionist organ Şura-yı Ümmet were destroyed by the rebels. All the prominent members of CUP had already gone into hiding and many fled the country. Hüseyin Cahid, for instance, took refuge at the Russian embassy and then fled to Salonica via Odessa.[20]

As parliament met with the remaining deputies, a new caretaker government was formed under Tevfik Paşa. However, the soldiers continued their roaming and demonstrations in the city. They often shouted in front of Yıldız Palace in favour of Abdülhamid; this reassured the Sultan that the rebellion was not against him.

Meanwhile, several telegrams protesting the situation in Istanbul came from Macedonia from various branches of CUP to the palace and to the parliament, refusing to recognise the new government and considering the Meşrutiyet to have been destroyed.[21] Finally, on 17 April the troops organised in Salonica under the name of Hareket Ordusu (Action Army) arrived in the outskirts of Istanbul. This army, under its commander Mahmud Şevket Paşa, occupied the city on 24 April after a few skirmishes.[22] The next day they occupied the Yıldız Palace.[23]

On 27 April the parliament voted unanimously for Abdülhamid's dethronement and proclaimed his brother Reşad the new Sultan. Abdülhamid was subsequently exiled to Salonica.[24]

Mahmud Şevket Paşa proclaimed martial law, which remained in effect till

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[20] Yalçın, Siyasal Anılar, 90-114.

[21] Cevat, Ali Cevat Bey'in Fezlekesi, 62-63.

[22] Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1915), 278-81.

[23] Cevat, Ali Cevat Bey'in Fezlekesi, 78.

[24] Bayur, Türk İnkilabı Tarihi, 1, pt.2:210-212.

March 1911. In May 1909 he became the inspector-general of the first three army corps, an unprecedented position which left him outside the authority of the Minister of War and the cabinet.[25] In the court martial following the suppression of the revolt, many mutineers were sentenced to death and were hanged in public in various squares of the city, among them Derviş Vahdeti. A number of liberal opposition leaders, like İsmail Kemal and Prince Sabahaddin were also tried, but were acquitted.[26]

Halide Edib during '31 March'

In January 1909, as was mentioned before, Halide Edib began receiving anonymous letters which ordered her to stop writing in Tanin, and threatened her with severe punishment, and even death, if she would not obey.(274-75) This was indeed quite in line with the general atmosphere of the months preceding '31 March.' Despite her fear Halide Edib continued to write in Tanin.

On the morning of '31 March' their servant Hüseyin, who was against the Unionists and against progress in general, reported to Edib and her husband triumphantly the events in the city. He had gone to the Sultanahmet square and listened to Derviş Vahdeti with enthusiasm. Later that day Halide Edib learned through the son of Hamdi Efendi, her former neighbour, that her name was on the 'black-list' kept by the reactionaries. Hamdi Efendi's son was a young officer, who had lived in Europe in exile during Abdülhamid's time and had later joined the opposition after returning home.(278-79)

Subsequently, Halide Edib went with her two sons to Üsküdar, to hide in her father's house there. In Üsküdar they were stampeded by a mob composed of soldiers from the nearby Selimiye barracks, who, in Edib's words, "after killing

[25] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 49; Kemal, Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey, 346.
[26] Bayur, Türk İnkilabı Tarihi, 1, pt.2:185.

their officers, were rushing down to take the boat and join the counter-revolution." Edib and her children miraculously survived the stampede unhurt.(280)

Because her father's house was not safe enough, the next day they took refuge in the neighbouring tekke of Özbeks, which had a liberal tendency and the sheikh of which was a friend of theirs. The tekke members informed her that a cousin of theirs, who was a reactionary, was looking for her. Because the cousin inquired after her also in the tekke, she could not stay there any longer. She and the boys went in disguise to the American College in Üsküdar and sought refuge there for a while. Later, her family decided to send her with the children to Egypt for safety.(282-84)

Subsequently, Edib and her children travelled to Alexandria by ship. Her husband had given her a letter from an Armenian professor in Istanbul addressed to some Armenian revolutionaries in Alexandria, asking to help Halide upon her arrival there. Thus, she was met by these people at the harbour, and was helped to settle into a hotel.(289)

In Egypt Edib had a hard time, mostly because her younger son fell sick. Three weeks later her husband also arrived there and gave her the news from Istanbul, where by then the Action Army had taken over. Meanwhile, she received a letter from Miss Isabel Fry inviting her to England. Encouraged also by her husband, she soon set off for England by herself and became Fry's guest in London until October 1909.

In England she met several writers and intellectuals through Fry. The poet John Masefield (1878-1967), Irish nationalist leader John Dillon (1851-1927) who gave a speech on Irish home-rule, and Henry W. Nevinson, a journalist, stood out in her memory. The latter especially impressed her by his

truthful idealism. She also visited the British Parliament which filled her with "pious emotions."(293-94)

Henry Nevinson mentions in his own memoirs meeting Halide Edib in Isabel Fry's house and listening to her for a long time alone. He recalls her talking on the subject of the Young Turk movement with great power and feeling, "as a genuinely national rising against cruelty and corruption." But apparently, rather than her political views, Halide Edib's appearance impressed him more strongly, because he says: "Perhaps I should remember more of her political sentiments if she had not been so amazingly beautiful that I felt like Byron closeted with a Light of the Harem." He calls her "a most exquisite being" and a remarkable woman.[27]

Immediately after she returned to Istanbul, her younger son once again fell sick. She realised the extent of the effect of the recent events on the child's nerves, when she heard him talking in his sleep and asking the soldiers not to kill his mother. During the long watches at his bedside Halide Edib wrote her second novel, Seviyye Talib, which was published in early 1910.

Seviyye Talib

In Seviyye Talib we see more clearly how Halide Edib perceived the Constitutional Revolution and its connection with women and the personal lives of individuals. It is the story of a young man, Fahir, who returns from England to Turkey after the 1908 Revolution and undertakes to modernise his traditional wife as a major part of his revolutionary endeavour. His wife Macide is transformed in an incredibly short time into a new woman compatible with the spirit of the revolution, in appearance, ideas and behavior. But meanwhile, Fahir hopelessly falls in love with Seviyye Talib, a modern and very attractive woman,

[27] Henry W. Nevinson, More Changes More Chances (London: Nisbet & Co., 1925), 294-95.

who rebels against the society's convention on divorce. She has left her husband who refused to give her a divorce, and lives illegally with a man she loves, her piano teacher Cemal. Fahir represses his love for her, which he considers a betrayal of the revolution, for a long time. He even goes to Egypt to forget her, but he cannot. Finally, on the night of '30 March' (of the Mali calendar), he manages to make love to her. He considers this his ultimate falling, and the resulting feeling of guilt leads him to join the Action Army, with the aim of committing suicide. He hopes that his death will help to save both the country and the honour of his family.

At the beginning of the book the writer deals, as in Raik'in Annesi, with broader issues than the immediate story in the form of Fahir's thoughts, although these thoughts seem quite confused and disorganised. The novel starts with Fahir's arrival in Istanbul. He had gone to England three years earlier to study philosophy, after being married to Macide for six months. He had actually run away from the unhappiness of his marriage, which was caused by such small things as Macide's formless çarşaf, her plainness, her lack of interest in his ideas. She is literate, but all she is interested in is housework, dust on the shelves, and so on.(12)[28]

In England he stayed away from women as much as possible. When he saw English social life and English women, a "national want hurt his soul." (In other words, the lack of a similar social life and status of women in Turkey hurt him). Therefore, he observed England with an eye to benefitting his own country in the future. But wherever he turned he bumped into the question of women. He thought that "nothing could be a substitute for the [psychological] want that this problem created." Therefore, he gave all his time to philosophy.(12)

[28] Page numbers in parenthesis in this section are from Halide Edib Adıvar, Seviyye Talib, 3d ed. (Istanbul: Atlas, 1967).

These rather unclear sentences seem to mean that Fahir admired the social relations and the position of women in England and got upset because they did not exist in Turkey. He observed English society in order to learn from it and to apply this knowledge later to Turkish society. One gets here the impression that Fahir considered the women's issue essential for solving all the other problems of Turkey. But because he felt powerless to solve it, he gave up and devoted his time to studying philosophy.

No doubt, Fahir's ideas are identical with Halide Edib's. We see that after her sojourn in England, Edib's admiration for English social life and her desire to inject its principles into Turkey remained intact. As in her earlier writings, here too, the content of this English social life is not specified. We only gather from Fahir's comments that his main complaint was that his wife could not attract him to his home and that he could not have a true friendship with her, which would be based on shared ideas. We can only infer that, in Fahir's eyes, English social life did not include such flaws.

After the constitution was declared, Fahir decided to return to Turkey and to work there quietly for his fatherland. He arrives in Istanbul after Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria and Crete were separated from the empire, and observes a general anger and sadness among the population on account of these events. Nevertheless, seeing the same sadness in the faces of people from all walks of life makes him feel hopeful, because he thinks that this unity of hearts in the face of calamity is a more effective defence than arms and artillery.(13)

He is especially curious to know how women, particularly his own womenfolk, have reacted to the Meşrutiyet. He had heard that after the revolution there was an awakening among women, but he himself is opposed to

bringing forward the women's issue at the present moment. He thinks that men in the country are divided on this issue into two camps: one group is made up of the conservatives, who are for the old order and who want to enslave women. The second group includes the "snobs" (züppe), who would give rights to women too soon, before giving them a good education, or before allowing them to mature morally so that they would be able to utilise the freedoms properly. They will treat women as "ornate toys." Those men who see women as friends and as the sole educators and mothers of the next generation, and who want to educate them accordingly, are only a small minority; they theorise too much and act too little. Fahir does not know to which group he himself belongs. He does not have an idea on this issue! The women's issue tires him and makes him yawn like a difficult riddle!(14)

It is hard to believe that the author all of a sudden concludes this short discussion on women with these sentences, which contradict totally what was said before and the main theme of the book. The earlier paragraphs imply that Fahir is deeply concerned with the women's issue, but before the Meşrutiyet he had felt powerless to attack it. Now that the constitution is declared, he rushes back to his country, full of hope, to work for its betterment. The paragraph on England, despite its vagueness, implies that he considers the women's issue as the most important problem of Turkey, to which all other problems are tied. No matter what issue he had studied the problem of women proved to underlie it. In the rest of the book, too, we will see that he undertakes the modernisation and education of his wife as a national, revolutionary duty. The whole book implies that the declaration of the constitution made him free to implement his revolutionary project for women, something he was unable to do under the old regime. So then why all of a sudden is he bored with the women's issue? Why

does he no longer have any definite ideas on the subject and just yawns? One gets here the impression that Halide Edib is not serious and is rather babbling.

At home Fahir meets his wife Macide, who lives with her mother and their son, Hikmet. Macide's mother is Fahir's paternal aunt. Their son Hikmet was born after Fahir's departure to England. Fahir hugs his wife, to which his aunt reacts tolerantly and says: "It's o.k. my son, there is Liberty."[29] But when he asks her how she feels about their liberty, she replies while returning to her cooking that liberty is not a woman's business, but something for men to think about.(15)

In Seviyye Talib this aunt represents the traditional Turkish woman, the old system, which Fahir tries to leave behind. She influences and moulds her daughter according to her values, which Fahir resists. We see that on the one hand she considers women to be outside of and unaffected by the political changes, which, in her opinion, are men's business. Nevertheless, we observe that her behaviour is slightly modified by the new regime; that is to say, she now tolerates, because of "Liberty," the husband's hugging his wife in front of her. Previously she would have frowned upon such behaviour. So, in this passage Halide Edib starts to establish a link between the Constitutional Revolution and private social relations. She considers that the traditional relation between husband and wife, and between them and their elders, and its development into a modern relationship would be one of the major effects of the new regime. In the old order, for instance, it was unacceptable for a married couple to show affection to each other in front of their elders, whereas in the new one this would become normal.

The next day Fahir takes his wife and son to Pera to buy them new

[29] "Zarar yok oğlum, Hürriyet var."

clothes and "to decorate them in a way that suits the glory of Liberty."[30] (16) They go to Karlman, an European store in Pera, where they see the salesladies with puffy hair, red cheeks, and big breasts bulging out of their girdles. Macide disapproves of them. She describes to Fahir the same type of women she had seen among the audience when she once went to the theatre with a neighbour. She ridicules their puffy, fake hair which is decorated with colourful ribbons. Fahir agrees with her, but he says that he wishes that a middle-ground could be found between these and untidy women.(18)

We can deduce from this passage further assumptions of Halide Edib on the Meşrutiyet. Fahir thinks that the outfits that suit best the new liberal regime are to be found in European stores, in the Europeanised district of the city. These clothes should replace Macide's former, simple home dresses. But at the same time the couple have their reservations concerning these stores, and disapprove of a certain class of women who wear clothes bought from these stores and who are too ornate and fake. So, on the one hand Fahir wants his family to acquire an European appearance, but on the other hand he does not want them to look like the other Europeanised group, the 'snobs.' Most important of all, Fahir ties all these matters to the newly won Liberty. He shows that his taking his family to the stores in Pera is not an isolated incident or a personal preference, but is a result of the arrival of Liberty. Therefore, we can say that with this passage Halide Edib is in fact expressing a political view; namely, she is claiming that the new regime would bring Westernisation, which would start by changing the outward appearance of people.

Fahir devotes most of his time to educating Macide. He is afraid that she is conservative and is too attached to the old order. He thinks that the greatest

[30] "Sizi Hürriyetin şanına yaraşır gibi donatmak için!"

duty owed to their country by young men like him, who have seen Europe, is to awaken their women at home, prepare them for life and lead them to good deeds for the sake of the progress of the nation. He expects that in the future these functions would be performed by educational institutions, but at the present it is up to educated men like himself to fulfil this duty.(18) He notices that the idea of vatan (fatherland) is not clear to Macide; she rather divides the world into Muslim and Christian. He explains to her that vatan and religion are not related to each other, that a Greek or Armenian Ottoman can love the vatan as much as a Turkish or Muslim Ottoman. He tells her that they should inculcate this view in their children. Macide is not convinced and tells him that he would be persuading her to reject all that she has believed in since her childhood.(19)

This paragraph is again significant. It implies a correlation between Macide's general traditional outlook and her identification with religion, rather than with a secular fatherland notion. Consequently, she divides the world into Muslim and Christian, and hence does not have any common loyalty with the non-Muslims of her country. On the other hand Fahir, who represents modernity, believes in the notion of a secular Ottoman vatan which draws allegiance from all the different religious and ethnic groups of the empire. Yet, I am uncertain as to the author's meaning in one vague sentence in this paragraph. Fahir thinks that Macide's attitude "expresses well the qualities of the majority of women of her class of sensing the future." By this sentence the author perhaps meant that the future will prove Macide right, and will show that indeed Fahir's idea of vatan is unrealisable. Perhaps Halide Edib identifies here more with Macide than with Fahir and has her own doubts about this interpretation of the notion of vatan.

The idea of a common Ottoman fatherland, which would unite all the

diverse religious and ethnic groups of the empire -or Ottomanism, as it was called- was first put forward in the Ottoman Empire by the nineteenth century liberal reformers. Prior to that, as Bernard Lewis explains, the classical Ottoman system divided the world into three essential categories: Muslims, hostile non-Muslims beyond the frontiers (Harbi), and subject non-Muslims (Zimmi). Thus, the basic loyalty under this system was to religion.[31] With the emergence of the modern idea of patriotism, the loyalty of liberal Ottoman Turks in the nineteenth century started to swing between Islam and a secular vatan. The so-called Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber of 1839, which started a series of reforms called Tanzimat (Reorganisation), proclaimed, among other things, the equality of persons of all religions before the law, and hence brought in the concept of Ottoman citizenship. This marked a breach with the traditional Ottoman system.[32] The Young Ottomans frequently used the concepts of Ottoman vatan and the corresponding Ottoman millet (nation), which theoretically included all religious groups of the empire. But the latter concept always remained vague. Whereas sometimes it denoted a common Ottoman nationhood, at other times it referred only to Muslims in a modern nationalist sense.[33] In 1908 the CUP included Ottomanism in its programme, but it could never materialise. Ottomanism increasingly gave way to separate nationalist movements on the part of each ethnic group. So, this is perhaps what Macide is able to sense by

[31] Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, 328-30.

[32] Ibid., 107.

[33] Ibid., 336-39; Namık Kemal's writings are good examples of this confusion regarding the meaning of Ottomanism. At times he used "Ottoman" to describe all the citizens of the empire to be unified by a representative assembly. Other times he used it as a synonym for Turk. In yet other writings he conceived uniting Muslims politically and spoke of "the fatherland" as having been ruled by the caliph Omar and the Sultan Süleyman I. According to Şerif Mardin, toward the end of his active life as a theorist Namık Kemal gave up the idea of an 'Ottoman nation' comprising various religious and ethnic groups and stressed a union of Muslims. (Şerif Mardin, The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought, 326-32.)

instinct.

Two months after Fahir's return from England his best friend Numan, with whom he had studied in England, comes to invite him and his wife to his wedding. Fahir and Numan have grown up together in neighbouring villas in Feneryolu (on the Asiatic coast of Bosphorus), and had studied together at the Galatasaray Sultani.[34] According to Fahir, Numan is a very good person, "but he is a bit too Europeanised."[35] (19) Therefore he says: "Aren't you going to let me meet your 'madam'?. . . You'll come with your wife, won't you?" Fahir tells him that he should ask Macide first, because her ideas do not quite match theirs. So, he goes to the bedroom, where he sees that his son Hikmet is being nasty to his mother, pulling her hair, and so on. Fahir interferes firmly, puts him in the corner and tells him to stay there until he kisses his mother's hand to apologise and becomes a good boy. Fahir's attitude takes by surprise both mother and son. Macide stands by Hikmet and asks: "What is this, the European method of childrearing?" Hikmet is encouraged and starts yelling again. Then Fahir confines him into his study and tells him to stay there until he apologises. So he apologises, but Macide is angry at Fahir.

Subsequently, Fahir tells her about Numan's invitation to which she

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[34] Galatasaray Sultani, or Lycée, was opened in 1868 on the initiative of the French Ministry of Education in cooperation with the French ambassador in Istanbul and the Tanzimat's leading statesmen Grand Vezir Ali Paşa and Foreign Minister Fuad Paşa. It was the first educational institution of the empire which was open to all its nationalities and gave a secular modern education in the French language. Besides aiming at increasing France's influence in the empire, the school was established for implementing the Tanzimat's Ottomanist policy. It was conceived that the school would raise a new generation of statesmen and civil servants who would be compatible with the new order, which included for the first time the incorporation of the non-Muslims into state service. But a few years after the school's founding France lost its superior status over the Ottoman Empire and hence Galatasaray did not continue to serve France's original policy. Yet, it continued to be one of the best schools of Turkey and a breeding-ground of Westernists. (İhsan Sungu, "Galatasaray Lisesinin Kuruluşu," Belleten 7(1943), 315-347; Berkes, Development of Secularism, 188-92.)

[35] "biraz fazla Frenkleşmiştir." In this period Ottomans used the word Frenk to denote all Western Europeans.

responds sullenly: "Look Fahir. I am a Turkish girl. I didn't live in England like you. I can't, like European women, appear improperly dressed before male strangers."[36] Fahir says that Numan is like his brother, and that Numan's wife will 'appear' to him. Macide angrily: "Who knows how loose she is! She must be one of those new liberty women. . . I am a Turkish girl, a Muslim girl. I can't stand this kind of thing." Fahir says that he would be ashamed to repeat her ideas to Numan, which makes Macide even more furious and she shouts: "Once you see Europe for a couple of years you start disliking us. If you are ashamed of my ignorance and crudeness, go to the wedding by yourself."(19-21)

This passage is in fact the most successful part of the book and reflects quite well the contradiction between the Turkish-Muslim traditional culture and its conventions on women, and the modern one which seeks to replace it. First of all, the author makes the point that the traditional way of dealing with children involves leniency and even spoiling the child, which she obviously disapproves of. Halide Edib wants this method to be replaced by one that involves firm discipline, including punishment of the child. She presents the latter as the modern way, which, not surprisingly, is designated by Macide as the "Frank way." This passage also displays the traditional morality which disapproves of women going to an entertainment with their husbands and being exposed there to other men. Here it is the woman who clings to this morality, which she sees as part of her Turkish and Muslim identity. On the other hand, the one who is trying to leave this kind of morality behind is the modernist man, the social reformer, who has seen Europe. He seeks to replace the traditional social conduct with a modern European one. From the point of view of the traditional woman the European conduct is perceived as immoral and the women who behave

[36] "Frenk kadınları gibi öyle açık saçık yabancı erkeklerin yanına çıkamam."

accordingly as "loose."

It is interesting that the person who triggers this conflict to come into the open is Numan, quite a snobbish, Europeanised character who belongs to Halide Edib's hated category of imitators. As we will see below, he and his wife, another 'imitator of Europeans,' will contribute much to Macide's modernisation. Edib's own reaction to the imitator category is not very different from Macide's. She also criticises such people for being Europeanised and immoral, which shows that she still has much in common with the traditional perspective. Yet, she wants her people to Europeanise, indeed to imitate the West, but she repeatedly makes the point that hers is a different kind of Westernisation.

So finally, Fahir goes to the wedding alone. The section on the wedding again revolves around the theme of the 'imitators of the Europeans,' one of the most common themes of Edib. Numan lives in Rumelihisar (on the European coast of Bosphorus) in a big mansion. A butler wearing a frock coat and a maid wearing a white apron and a bonnet welcome Fahir. He meets there several friends and relatives of Numan, young men and women, all snobbish imitators of Europeans, except one young girl, a cousin of Numan, who looks serious and alien to this environment. She reminds Fahir of Macide and he sits next to her; none of the snobs approach this shy and awkward-looking girl. The author uses phrases like "empty looks," fake behavior" to describe these 'snobs,' whose constant cheerful conversation is in contrast to the soberness and quietness of the girl Fahir likes. They constantly mix French words and expressions into their Turkish conversation, which include subjects like clothing, the style of a tailor called Kalyo Rosi, the latest scandal of Madam Suha Bey, and so on. Numan's wife is a superficial woman, somewhat spoiled, but still nice. Fahir thinks that her relationship with Numan is not really based on a serious love, but is rather

"an imitated European-like friendship." He is glad that Macide has not come, because he thinks that it would not be a good idea to show her this empty imitation of the West at a time when he is trying to draw her attention to the desirability of Western life.(23-25)

So again, Edib does not thoroughly describe the imitator type, beyond saying, as usual, that they are fake, empty, pretentious, superficial, that they mix French into their Turkish, and that they are empty imitators of the West. The antithesis of this type involves seriousness, soberness and 'true Westernisation,' which Edib presents as the major goal of the Constitutional Revolution. 'True Westernisation,' which opposes 'fake imitation,' would be created by the conscious efforts of the progressive reformers.

Ziya Gökalp, who became the main ideologue of Turkish nationalism in this period, also makes the same distinction between 'proper Westernisation' and imitation of the West. He claims that the latter is a product of the Tanzimat, the leaders of which did not fully understand Western civilisation, and were not clear on what should be accepted from Europe and what should be taken from national tradition. They derived their knowledge of the West mainly from the Levantine population of the Pera district and imitated mainly the external aspects of European civilisation without penetrating to its philosophical and scientific foundations. Instead, Gökalp differentiates between civilisation, which for him is international and includes only scientific methods, the natural sciences and technical processes, and culture, which includes all spiritual values. He believes that whereas European civilisation should be adopted, culture should not be borrowed from other nations, but should be taken from one's own religious and national heritage.[37]

[37] Uriel Heyd, Foundations of Turkish Nationalism (London: Luzac & Co., 1950), 74-81.

It is clear that Edib shares Gökalp's ideas, and objects to imitators for the same reasons. But we cannot say that she herself, as a 'true Westerniser,' penetrated to the philosophical and scientific foundations of European civilisation; nor did she want to adopt, as culture, the then-existing values of her society. On the contrary, she wanted to modernise all aspects of her society, including its religion, by taking the West as a model. Since she describes the imitators very superficially, and does not explain their way of thinking or their place in society, (nor does she explain the alternative Westernisation well enough), we cannot really know how exactly true Westernisation differed from the fake one in her perception.

During the wedding party some of the guests make derogatory remarks about a certain Seviyye Talib, which anger Numan and lead him to stand by her. One young man says that her name should not be mentioned when women are present. In responding to Numan's support of her, he says that the years Numan had spend in England seem to have been wasted. Numan answers that Seviyye Talib is a very virtuous woman who has rebelled against custom. He adds that an Englishman would be the first person to resist if a woman, of whose virtue he has no doubts, is downgraded.(26)

Although in this passage Seviyye's story is not explained yet, we understand that she has behaved contrary to the established morality. It is interesting to see here again Halide Edib's identification of virtue and morality with English culture. The understanding of virtue by the young man, who condemns Seviyye, and by Numan are different, but both look up to England and both refer to English culture to legitimise their position.

In the next pages we learn that Seviyye Talib had been a neighbour and friend of Numan and Fahir when they were little. She was a sports-loving girl

who had an English governess and used to wear short, blue dresses. (Note the similarity with Halide's own childhood, p.7 and p.15 above.) She had an incredible talent for opera singing. They had lost contact after Seviyye had started to "avoid men." A few years later she married Numan's father's younger brother Talib Bey, who used to be a teacher at the Galatasaray school.

On the night of the wedding Fahir shows great affection to his wife and so they make peace. After that day Macide starts to make an effort to understand him better and to appear progressive. That week she "appears" to Numan and his wife who visit them. Nevertheless, she occasionally reacts to Fahir with a vengeful coldness. Yet, Fahir is glad that she is not throwing out all her former principles like old clothes. He claims that his great effort to educate Macide is based on a certain method of social and national progress, which is initiated by the education of the future generation at home.(34)

Numan and Samime visit them a few times and a friendship starts to develop between Samime and Macide, despite their differing outlooks. But on one of these visits Fahir's aunt comes back home after a long absence and sees the four together which infuriates her. In the resulting quarrel she shouts: "You might have become a Mösyö, but I can't let my daughter become a Madam!"(35) Fahir is very upset and starts considering moving away from the aunt with his wife and child. That evening he goes out for a walk and hears by coincidence an enchanting voice singing, which fills him with strong emotions.

Macide returns to her former sulkiness toward Fahir. The next evening he goes out again and encounters a couple who seem to be in love. Fahir follows them until they disappear into their house. After a while he hears the same beautiful voice singing an oratorio accompanied by a piano. The voice again moves him deeply. When he comes home he finds Macide very sad. She says

that she is suffering in this conflict between him and her mother, both of whom she loves. She believes that she is not the kind of woman who can be a friend to him. The cousin whom she married is one person, while the husband who returned from Europe is another. At that moment Fahir realises fully the conflict between the old and the new within his nation. He explains to Macide that they should bury the old respectfully, and that the new has nothing to do with the deplorable examples of imitators. They do not want to imitate other nations like monkeys. Accepting the new does not mean to be a copy of a French or English man or woman. They want to be new Turks who accept Western progress, apply it to their lives, but stay true to "their race's [or nation's] tendencies."[38] (40-41)

Fahir's explanation summarises again the basic goal of the constitutionalist reformers, as seen by Halide Edib. The author emphasises once again the distinction between imitation of the West and 'true Westernisation.' She shows that this distinction and the opposition to the former attitude was a major aspect of the constitutionalists' ideology. The new idea, which she introduces here into this opposition, namely, 'staying true to the tendencies of one's own race,' recalls nationalism. It indicates that a major difference between the two 'Westernisations' was that the true one included nationalist sentiment and the other did not.

After that night Macide changes. She starts spending all her time on reading; she learns English, reads books on geography, history and health sciences, and buys every new publication. Consequently, she neglects her housework totally, so that finally they have to hire a Greek maid. Fahir thinks this is all for the better, because his aunt would then direct all her anger and hostility at the maid. While being "preoccupied with showing disgust and contempt to

[38] "ırkının eğilimlerine bağlı."

Eleni," she forgets her revenge on Numan. Soon Numan and the aunt become quite friendly. Thus, Fahir's efforts start to bear fruit: now he has "a woman, . . .who even neglects her child to be able to become a friend to him!"(41-42)

So, after all the main goal of Macide's great effort to educate herself is to please Fahir and to keep him home by keeping him intelligent company. This is in fact the main reason why Halide Edib demands education for women, as she repeats in almost all of her writings of this period. She believes that when women become true friends to men by education, families will be stronger and more permanent, which is in fact her primary objective. In this passage the author eliminates the major obstacle to Fahir's modernisation effort, namely his aunt's resistance, by letting her vent her fury on the Greek maid. The revolutionary Fahir does not see anything wrong in this abuse, nor does Edib.

One evening, when Fahir, Macide, Numan and Samime are taking a walk, they talk about Seviyye Talib. Samime is strongly opposed to her; Fahir is also bothered by the subject and does not want it to be discussed in front of Macide. But Macide is very eager to hear Seviyye's story. So, Numan tells it, according to which Seviyye was married at the age of sixteen to the empty-headed and insensitive Talib Bey, thinking that she loved him. After twelve years of fidelity to him, she fell in love with her piano teacher Cemal. She had no child which would have bound her to a man who could not make her happy. She then told her husband frankly that she did not love him any more and asked for a divorce. Talib responded with rude threats, and so Seviyye ran away to her father's home, where she lived for six months. Then she wrote to Talib saying that if he would not give her her freedom, she would live with the man she loved. Talib repeated his threats, and so Seviyye started to live openly with Cemal. Talib followed them and had them expelled from every neighbourhood

in which they lived. Finally, she started to keep her place of residence secret. Despite society's condemnation, she kept her firm belief in the rightness of her action and in her virtue, in which also Numan believes. Fahir cannot help but respect her, but he does not approve of her behaviour. On the other hand, Macide passionately supports her, which bothers Fahir.(42-47)

With Seviyye Talib Halide Edib returns to another favourite theme of hers, divorce. Here she supports the childless woman's right to divorce her husband. Nevertheless, we cannot really say that she criticises here specifically the Muslim divorce law, which was then in effect in her society, nor that she calls for its reform. This law, or more specifically its Hanefi version, gave the man the right to repudiate his wife any time, without having to cite a cause. On the other hand, the woman's ability to divorce was very limited. She could obtain her husband's consent to divorce her by giving him some compensation, usually part or all of her dowry. Or she could petition the kadı (the Muslim judge) to annul the marriage. But as John Esposito explains, the grounds that were available to women seeking divorce in the Hanefi school were limited in number and difficult to prove.[39] So, in Halide Edib's novel Seviyye Talib takes a radical stand and leaves her husband, whom she cannot divorce legally. But her story might just as well have taken place in another society, where the husband's consent is essential for a divorce and where extra-marital relations are prohibited. In other words, there is nothing in Seviyye Talib which reflects what is uniquely Ottoman, or shows the problems of a typical Turkish woman in the Ottoman system. Edib's emphasis here is on the rightness or wrongness of an extra-marital relation, and not on the particular legal context which created it. In the end Seviyye wins her battle by getting the divorce and marrying Cemal,

[39] Esposito, Women in Muslim Family Law, 30-35.

but the author does not explain how the problem was solved. Seviyye only says in a letter to Numan: "Our situation with Talib Bey, which had turned into a court-case, is settled.[40] I became free to behave as I wish."(115) Does this mean that it was settled in court, or did it just resemble a court-case? By not explaining how Seviyye got divorced, Halide Edib shows that she is not really interested in the particular divorce practice of her society and does not look for or devise alternatives to it. In other words, she does not deal with it as a conscious social reformer.

After this Macide wants to learn to play piano, and Fahir buys her one. Numan persuades them to hire Cemal, Seviyye's lover, as piano teacher, which they do. So, Cemal starts coming to their home twice a week to teach piano to Macide. He is a fortyish, blond, quiet man who is a convert to Islam from Hungarian extraction. Finally, one evening, he invites them to his home for a concert to be given by him and Seviyye.

That evening Macide takes a long time to dress up. Beside her new interests in books and music, she has also developed an interest in clothing, in "dressing up like new women." She puts on a girdle every morning, follows the latest fashion and whispers with Samime about clothes, styles, and so on. That night she wears a blue silk dress and a white coat, decorates her hair with blue ribbons, puts on strong perfume and goes to Seviyye's house, with Fahir on one of her arms and Numan on the other!(52-53)

Hence, in an incredibly short time Macide is transformed from a secluded, ignorant, traditional woman to a modern, educated and fashionable one. Fahir's revolution is in fact complete; but just at the time when it is completed he falls hopelessly in love with Seviyye, that very evening! Seviyye

[40] "Talib Beyle açıkça bir dava halini alan durumumuz halledildi."

is a striking woman, very passionate, full of emotions and possessing an extremely impressive voice.

The rest of the novel deals with Fahir's emotions which soon lead to a nervous breakdown. Now Fahir and Macide often socialise with Seviyye and Cemal, along with Numan and Samime. Society's ostracism of Seviyye subsides gradually and the couple starts having guests to their home frequently. The permanence of their relationship induces confidence in people and everybody now starts to find Talib Bey unjust. Fahir's emotions turn from sadness to extreme cheerfulness. One evening he collapses, overcome by the sporadic glances of Seviyye and everyone thinks that he is sick.(69) The next day Seviyye comes to Fahir's home to inquire about his health. She tells him that she knows that his sickness is because of love, but Fahir realises that she erroneously believes that he is in love with Samime. Seviyye tells him that he of course cannot do what she herself has done, because of his "sacred tie," his son Hikmet. She advises him to travel from one country to another, in order to get cured.(71-72)

Fahir feels that he is ready to run away with Seviyye, on her first signal, and desert his wife, child and honor. He thinks that he is low and cowardly. He, who "thought that he had a place in his country's struggle and who had promised to fulfil the difficult task of the progressives," is ready to abandon everything and run away. He feels that he is betraying his country, family and the future. "My God," he says, "to tarnish the morality of progressives, to weaken those who would save the country . . . This is the greatest betrayal!" He asks why their struggles to become better people are always placed in jeopardy by a woman.(73-74)

Since the main target of Fahir's revolution was to form a strong and

modern family, its disruption by his passion for another woman is considered by him as a disruption and betrayal of the revolution. We do not know whether he was doing anything else for the revolution, other than modernising his wife. If so, then perhaps he means that his love for Seviyye now prevents him from continuing his work, and in that sense feels it is a betrayal of the revolution. But more than this, it seems that Fahir (or better, Halide Edib) equates the revolution with morality, and more specifically marital morality, so that even the thought of betraying his wife is seen by Fahir as a betrayal of the revolution.

Finally, on a doctor's advice Fahir decides to travel to Europe to recover his sanity. On the eve of his departure, Seviyye and Cemal invite them to their home; Cemal's two sisters had come from Hungary to visit him. That evening Macide wears a low-cut dress made of tulle and decorates her hair with golden roses. Fahir is amazed by "the environment's effect on woman's morality." He compares the former shy and simple Macide, who objected to meet Numan even with her head covered, and the present Macide, who goes to Cemal's home with this immodest dress. At Cemal's house they first speak French because of his sisters, but because Macide does not speak French, they switch to English, which everyone speaks. That evening Seviyye wears a low-cut dress which leaves her arms and shoulders bare; she looks half naked. Fahir burns with passion and finally, through a recital of the drama of Antonius and Cleopatra, he expresses his feelings to her. Everyone in the room understands. That night he goes through a delirium and shouts Seviyye's name in Macide's and Numan's presence.(82) The next morning Numan decides to accompany Fahir on his trip because he feels that he is too sick to be left alone. Fahir does not see Macide or Hikmet before leaving. He only hears his aunt saying angrily:

"See, this is the end of alafrangalik[41] !"

Numan and Fahir travel to Egypt by boat. Fahir finds that immorality is very widespread in Egypt; life is loveless and devoid of emotions there!(88) (He does not explain why he thinks so.) They stay in a hotel and spend their time in theatres, dances and operas. Fahir corresponds with Macide, who pardons him. Numan flirts with various women. One evening they meet their classmate from Oxford, Fred Lesley, on the street by coincidence. Lesley introduces them to Britain's most beautiful prima donna, the opera singer Evelyn Marchal. Evelyn falls in love with Fahir, but he does not reciprocate. Then Numan platonically falls in love with Evelyn! Fahir decides to return home, in order to protect his friend from becoming unhappy like him. He has not been able to forget his love for Seviyye and is as miserable as before. Meanwhile, Numan receives a letter from Seviyye telling him that she is divorced and is about to marry Cemal (see pp. 72-73 above).

Fahir and Numan arrive in Istanbul on 20 February, at a turbulent time; two days after their arrival Serbesti's editor is murdered. Fahir sees a psychological connection between himself and his country. He thinks that they (meaning the progressives), who had set out to "put in order the soul, the psychological health of the country" have sadly failed. He sees his life as a microcosm of the life of the whole country. As a progressive he had started with a clear programme to bring renewal and happiness to his environment. Instead, he only made Macide unhappy. But he thinks that neither he nor the progressives were guilty. "Their good intention, efforts and sacrifice were ruined by societal weaknesses and guilts that mankind could not overcome."(116-18)

In this extremely irregular and unclearly written passage Halide Edib

[41] Another word for being Europeanised, behaving like the "Franks."

shows that she perceived the social unrest, which culminated in the mutiny of '31 March,' as simply a breakdown of morals. Because she sees the 1908 Revolution as essentially a moral revolution, which aimed at strengthening the country's morality, its failure appears to her as the triumph of immorality. Fahir was overcome by sexual attraction, which made him lose control of his own morality, and hence he contradicted the revolution's requirements. All Edib is saying is in fact that, as Fahir was defeated by human weakness, so too the society was defeated by social weaknesses! We can say that Halide Edib is preoccupied with marital morality to such an extent that she can deal with such an important event in the country's history as '31 March' only by relating it somehow to marital morality. It is surprising that after having been directly affected by the uprising, she does not make any serious attempt to explain or to analyse this social phenomenon.

Fahir sees that Macide is now closely involved with Hikmet's education. She teaches him to read. Her desk is covered with English books on child education. Once, Fahir hears her teaching Hikmet the goals of humanity. She tells Hikmet to be courageous, religious, correct and honorable; he should stay correct even if his correctness kills and tortures others. Then she adds with a sob: "Just, just like your father!..."(119)

In the last chapter of the novel, which is entitled "The Abyss," Fahir encounters Seviyye and Cemal on the street and they greet each other politely. After that he keeps watching their home like a madman. Finally, on the night of 30 March he cannot help but go to Seviyye's house. The Greek maid tells him that Cemal is at the neighbours and Seviyye is asleep. Fahir tells her that he will wait. Then Seviyye wakes up and comes to the living room, where Fahir is waiting. She is angry and says that Cemal won't come that night, and asks him

whether he came for Cemal. He says no and Seviyye tells him to go away. He then says deliriously that he will throw Cemal's smashed brain under her feet! Then Seviyye looks at him submissively; and "nothing remains to pull him back from 'the abyss.'"(125)

On 3 April the city is shaken by a bloody upheaval. This parallells Fahir's mood who sees himself as a sinful, dirty, wild monster, who fell into "the dark abyss of the crime" which he tried so hard to avoid. He feels that "he will fall into eternity together with the falling fatherland." He had tarnished this virtuous woman, Seviyye, who will stay forever shameful because of his action. The Action Army is on its way to Istanbul, and this fills Fahir with patriotic feelings. At dawn he leaves home to join the Action Army, with the intention of committing suicide. He hopes that his death will make Macide and Hikmet "feel a crown of triumph on their forehead."(127)

In the epilogue, Macide and Hikmet are in the mosque, where mevlud is recited for the souls of those who died while serving Liberty (Hürriyet Şehitleri). Macide is saying to Hikmet: "Hikmet, my son, you will always be ready to die for what is right and for the fatherland!" Then she adds with a sob: "Just, just like your father!..."

So, dramatically, Fahir "falls" in the same night that the fatherland "falls" as a result of a mutiny of soldiers, which was chiefly directed against the CUP. Thus, what indeed fell on 31 March and was resurrected by the coming of the Action Army was the CUP, which Edib apparently identifies with the fatherland.

It is not clear whether Seviyye submitted to Fahir on the night of 30/31 March because she feared that he would harm Cemal, or by her own free will. In any case, in Edib's opinion, Fahir's "tarnishing" Seviyye is a crime comparable to that of 31 March mutiny. (Its leaders were also punished later by death.)

Because Fahir is in fact a moral person who was overcome by human weakness, he takes his punishment into his own hand and kills himself. Since his immorality has contributed to the fatherland's downfall, by the same token his punishment serves the salvation of the fatherland. We also see that by punishing himself properly he restores his family's honour and provides a respectable model for his son. Because morality and fatherland are so intertwined for Halide Edib, by the same self-sacrificing action her hero could serve both ends. Hence, this dramatic climax of the novel emphasises once again Edib's view that vatan and the new liberal order can be maintained primarily by maintaining good morals!

Before concluding this chapter I would like to draw attention to a striking similarity between Halide Edib's ideas, explained so far, and an article on women written by Ahmed Rıza, the leader of the CUP. In this article written shortly before the 1908 Revolution[42], Rıza deals with the duties and responsibilities of women. He emphasises that in order to create a perfect nation, they should first raise perfect mothers, because the nation's foundation is the family and the family's foundation is the woman, the mother. Hence, to reform and to educate women means in fact to work for the progress of the nation. He thinks that nature has given women a great power over men and over their children, so that if they are equipped with knowledge and good moral values they will be a tremendous force in the right direction. He believes that the fundamental laws of the country and the şeriat give women extensive rights, but on account of their ignorance, or lack of education, women cannot utilise them.[43]

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[42] Ahmed Rıza, Vazife ve Mesulivet: Kadın (Paris: n.p., n.d.).

[43] Ibid., 8-11.

Rıza constantly cites hadises (oral traditions of the Prophet Muhammed) and ayets (Kuranic verses) to prove his points. Also for the same reason he often refers to a past Islamic golden age, when, he claims, women were free, enjoyed full equality with men, participated in public life, and so on.

Just like Halide Edib, Ahmed Rıza, who in fact wrote before her, emphasises the necessity to educate women and to raise their knowledge to the same level as modern men and at the same time strengthen their morality for the salvation of the nation. He thinks, like Edib, that one of the causes of immorality is the imitation of the "immoral Frenks."[44] He says that women who were raised in the old way or who are imitators of Europeans are not compatible with Islam, nor with the nation's present needs.[45]

Seviyye Talib in fact says exactly the same, which shows us that the ideas in it were not Edib's private, isolated views, but that they were generally part of Meşrutiyet ideology. In this novel the author starts with a criticism of the old order and a refutation of the imitators of the Europeans, deals extensively with women's modern education, and then devotes the greater part of the book to morality. She makes the point that in certain cases an extra-marital relation can be moral, like the one between Seviyye and Cemal. But once the obstacles which prevent it from being legal, hence moral, are eliminated, she no longer tolerates any relations outside marriage. She considers the new order to be based on loving and virtuous marriages where husband and wife are intellectually compatible. Its disruption, in Edib's opinion, is one of the major factors that lead to chaotic situations like the '31 March Incident.'

[44] Ibid., 30.
[45] Ibid., 54.

CHAPTER IV

TURKISM AND HALIDE EDIB

Political Developments (1909-1912)

After the '31 March' rebellion was suppressed, Mahmud Şevket Paşa, the commander of the Action Army, became for a while the most powerful person in the country in his capacity as the inspector-general of the first three armies and the administrator of martial law.[1] The palace's power was curbed during Mehmed V's reign, who rather passively complied with the CUP's decisions. The Unionist writer Halid Ziya became the chief-secretary of the palace and worked daily with the Sultan.[2] In the summer of 1909 two leading Unionists Cavid and Talat entered Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa's cabinet as Minister of Finance and Minister of the Interior respectively.[3]

However, in December 1909 Grand Vezir Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa resigned on account of disagreement with the CUP.[4] Hakkı Paşa, a law professor and former ambassador to Italy, became the new Grand Vezir.[5] He appointed Mahmud Şevket Paşa to the post of Minister of War, thereby hoping to bring him under the cabinet's control.[6]

The opposition to the CUP, which was silenced after '31 March,'

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[1] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 47-48.

[2] See his memoirs, Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, Saray ve Ötesi, 2d ed. (Istanbul: Inkilab ve Aka, 1965).

[3] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 52-53.

[4] Uşaklıgil, Saray ve Ötesi, 155-61.

[5] Ibid., 169-72.

[6] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 68.

reemerged gradually in late 1909. In November 1909 several deputies, many of whom belonged formerly to Ahrar Party, formed the Mutedil Hürriyetperveran Party (Moderate Liberals). They supported the idea of an Ottoman nationhood and a centralised system of government.[7] In February 1910 a second opposition party, Ahali Fırkası (People's Party), was formed in the parliament by about twenty former Unionist deputies. According to Tunaya, it had a conservative outlook and the majority of its members came from the İlmiye class (i.e., clerics).[8] In addition to these parties in the parliament, there were also two small parties outside of it which opposed the CUP as well. One of them was Fırka-i İbad (Democratic Party), formed mainly by intellectuals headed by Dr. İbrahim Temo and Dr. Abdullah Cevdet. The other was a socialist party formed in September 1910.[9]

In June 1910 Ahmed Samim, the editor of the opposition paper Sada-i Millet was killed and the murderers were not found.[10] Fearing another '31 March,' the martial law authorities were prompt this time in crushing the opposition. They used an -alleged or real- conspiracy as justification for bringing a great number of people, including the deputy Rıza Nur, who had a leading position in the opposition, to trial at the military court.[11]

In this period a major preoccupation of the Ottoman government, regardless of who headed it, was the rebellion in Albania which intensified from 1910 on. Although the support of a large number of Albanians had contributed to the 1908 Revolution, the Albanian national movement afterwards resumed.

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[7] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 209-18.

[8] Ibid., 234-46.

[9] On Fırka-i İbad see ibid., 171-81; on the socialist party see ibid., 247-62.

[10] Yalçın, Siyasal Anılar, 158-59.

[11] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 221.

The Ottoman government replied with severe repression which was criticised in the Ottoman parliament by Albanian and other opposition deputies. [12] After the fall of the CUPist government in the summer of 1912, the new Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa cabinet agreed to give wide concessions to Albania. But the subsequent Balkan War (1912-13), during which Albania separated from the Ottoman Empire, prevented their implementation.[13]

Also, in Yemen a series of uprisings occurred during 1910 under the leadership of the Zaidi imarn Mahmud Yahya. It was brought under control in 1911 only through an agreement between the Ottoman government and Imam Yahya, securing the latter's allegiance which lasted until the end of World War I.[14]

According to Feroz Ahmad, the CUP was in decline towards the end of 1910. There was dissension among its organisations in Macedonia and there were also indications of opposition groups forming in the Second Army, which was stationed in Edirne.[15] At the beginning of 1911 a major conservative group, Hizb-i Cedid under the leadership of Colonel Sadık, separated itself from the CUP. Colonel Sadık had a position in the War Ministry in Istanbul.[16] In February, Talat, who was known to have followed a hard-line policy in the provinces as Minister of the Interior, resigned in order to appease the opposition.[17] There was also serious disagreement between the CUP and Mahmud Şevket Paşa, the

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[12] Yalçın, Siyasal Anılar, 156.

[13] İslam Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Arnavutluk," by K. Sussheim; for the development of Albanian nationalism see George Walter Gawrych, "Ottoman Administration and the Albanians, 1908-1913" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1980).

[14] Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v. "Al-Yaman," by Adolf Grohman.

[15] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 84-85.

[16] Bayur, Türk İnkilabı Tarihi, 2, pt.1:55.

[17] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 86.

Minister of War. In April Colonel Sadık was removed from Istanbul to Salonica. In May the remaining two Unionist members of the government, Cavid and Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, resigned.[18]

In this atmosphere of chaos on 29 September 1911 Italy declared war on the Ottoman Empire over the province of Tripoli, claiming that her economic interests and her subjects there were in danger.[19] Grand Vezir Hakkı Paşa resigned immediately, accepting full responsibility for the crisis. Said Paşa, who was the president of the senate and who had earlier been Grand Vezir seven times, was appointed to form a new cabinet.[20]

The Italian naval and land forces were superior to those of the Ottomans. To compensate this weakness several Turkish officers went to Tripoli and organised the local Bedouins to fight against the Italians; Enver Bey became the commander of Turkish and native forces there. By November 1911, this brought the war to a stalemate.[21]

On 21 November 1911 the largest opposition party of the Meşrutiyet period, Hürriyet ve İtilaf (Hl. Freedom and Conciliation) was formed by the merging of almost all the parties and persons who opposed the CUP. Hence, it included people from a wide range of ideologies, from liberals to socialists to clerics. The main factor that bound them together was a desire to overthrow the CUP. Also, the party avowed the principles of Ottomanism and decentralisation; they opposed the CUP's increasingly Turkist attitude.[22]

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[18] Bayur, Türk Inkilabı Tarihi, 2, pt.1:56-57.

[19] Ibid., 93-95.

[20] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 94.

[21] Ibid., 98; on the Italian-Ottoman war of 1911-12 see William C. Askew, Europe and Italy's Acquisition of Libya, 1911-1912 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1942).

[22] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 263-85.

On 11 December 1911 a by-election was held in Istanbul for a vacant seat in the parliament. HI's candidate, the journalist Tahir Hayreddin, won this election over the CUP's candidate the Minister of the Interior Memduh Bey, by only one vote. This made the CUP very uneasy and led them ultimately to seek to dissolve the parliament.[23]

Article 35 of the constitution, which had given the Sultan the power to dissolve the parliament, had been amended in 1909 in order to curb this prerogative. Now the CUP and the cabinet sought to remodify it to its original form. On 13 January 1912 the CUP attempted to implement the contitutional change, but they did not receive the necessary two-thirds majority. Nevertheless, the Sultan dissolved the parliament on January 15 and ordered new elections. A couple of days later the senate sanctioned this decision. [24]

Before the elections the CUP let several of its leading members be appointed to various cabinet posts. The April 1912 elections are generally referred to as the 'big stick elections' because of the rough methods (and sometimes real violence) which the CUP used to procure victory.[25] They won the election with an overwhelming majority: 286 to 15.[26]

On 22 June the remodification of article 35 received the necessary majority in the parliament. [27] But meanwhile, in the months of May and June many army officers who opposed the CUP started actively to organise against the party as well as against the government. In Istanbul several officers formed the Halaskar Zabitan Grubu (Group of Saviour Officers) and established

[23] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 99-100.
[24] Ibid., 100-102.
[25] Ibid., 102-103.
[26] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 272.
[27] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 105.

contacts with HI :nembers.[28] C n the day of the ratification of article 35, several officers and soldiers in Manastır went up into the hills in protest and demanded the government's resignation. Owing to this pressure, Grand Vezir Said Paşa finally resigned on 17 July. On 21 July the anti-Unionist government of Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa was formed which included several well-known enemies of the CUP, like the former Grand Vezir Kamil Paşa and the former Minister of War Nazım Paşa.[29]

After this, the Group of Saviour Officers demanded the dissolution of the parliament. The order to this effect was finally issued by the Sultan on 5 August in accordance with article 35. But the new elections were postponed because of the Balkan War which started on 18 October 1912.[30] So ironically, article 35, which was amended by the CUP to its original anti-democtratic form to suppress the opposition, was used by the opposition against the CUP to the same effect.

The Turkist Movement

Turkism, as Turkish nationalism came to be designated in this period, became a widespread and organised movement after 1910, although the beginnings of the idea and its intellec':.al basis can be traced to the nineteenth century. Turkism was on the one hand a cultural (and indirectly political) movement which sought to replace the traditional Muslim/Turkish identity with a new, more secular, national identity, involving a Turkish ancestry, a consciousness of belonging to a race determined by a common root language and a common place of origin, and a national pride in all these. It aimed at creating a modern nation in accordance with modern European concepts. On

[28] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 324-25.

[29] Ahmad, The Young Turks, 108-109.

[30] Ibid., 112.

the other hand, in this period Turkism was also a political pan-movement for most of its adherents, which aimed at uniting first culturally, then politically the vast lands in Russia, Central Asia, the Caucasus and China, inhabited by various Turkic peoples.[31] This whole land was referred to by Turkists as the Turan.

The vague concept of Turan has several different meanings. In some ancient writings it meant a land in the north-east of Iran. Long before the Turkists adopted it, it was used in the nineteenth century by several European philologists, foremost among them Max Müller, to denote a language family, like Aryan and Semitic. Different philologists included different languages in it, like Finnish, Tibetan, Mongolian, and so on, in addition to the Turkic languages. In today's linguistics their theories, as well as the category Turan, no longer have any validity. During the first half of the nineteenth century in Hungary the idea of Turan as a distant homeland and a race to which Hungarians also belonged gained some adherents, and a scholarly society was formed to study these people.[32] A Hungarian scholar, Arminius Vambery (1832-1913) travelled to Central Asia in 1860s, disguised as a Muslim dervish and collected ethnographic and linguistic material on its Turkic inhabitants.[33]

Other works on Turcology also appeared in Europe in the nineteenth century which helped many Young Ottomans and Young Turks develop a new

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[31] For concise information on the Turkic groups, as well as on Turkism, see Charles Warren Hostler, Turkism and the Soviets: The Turks of the World and their Political Objectives (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1957); and İslam Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Türkler," by various authors. On Turkism see, in addition to sources cited below, Bayur, Türk İnkilabı Tarihi, 2, pt.4: 398-436; and the brief account of one of the participants in this movement, Tekin Alp, Türkismus und Pantürkismus (Weimar: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1915).

[32] İslam Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Turan," by V. Minorsky.

[33] See the accounts of his travels, Arminius Vambery, Travels in Central Asia (London: J. Murray, 1864) and its supplementary volume, Sketches of Central Asia (London: William H. Allen & Co, 1868); Vambery subsequently became a leading authority on Turcology.

national consciousness. Among them were Arthur Lumley Davids's Grammar of the Turkish Language (London: 1832) and Léon Cahun's Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie, Turcs et Mongols (Paris: Armand Cokin & Co, 1896). The former was the first systematic grammar of Turkish language, and contained also a history of the Turks, of Turkish and its different dialects. Cahun's book dealt with ancient Turkish nomads of Central Asia and Turanians in a romantic and exalting way.[34]

In the second half of the nineteenth century several Ottoman works appeared on the same subjects. Ahmed Vefik Paşa (1823-91), a history professor and the speaker of the first Ottoman parliament, published the first Ottoman dictionary, Lehçe-i Osmani in 1876, in which he treated Ottoman Turkish as one of many Turkish dialects and also indicated which words were of Turkish origin as compared with words of Arabic and Persian origin.[35] In the same year Süleyman Paşa (d. 1892), the director of military schools, published Tarih-i Alem, a world history, to serve as a text-book in schools. In it he included for the first time a long section on Turks of early ages.[36] Şemseddin Sami (1850-1904), among his other works, wrote Kamus-ı Türki by enlarging Lehçe-i Osmani. Necib Asım (1861-1935), also a teacher at various military schools, wrote several books on Turkish history and language, and translated Léon Cahun's history.[37] Many other publications on the same line and the Turkist stand of the newspaper İkdam reflect that adherents of Turkism were not that

[34] Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, 346; Berkes, Development of Secularism, 314-15.

[35] Yusuf Akçura, Türkçülüğün Tarihi Gelişimi, ed. Sakin Öner (Istanbul: Türk Kültürü, 1978), 49-51.

[36] Ibid., 69-73.

[37] Ibid., 113-18.

few in the nineteenth century.[38]

In 1897 the poet Mehmed Emin (1869-1944) wrote his Türkçe Şiirler (Turkish Poems) in the context of the Greek-Turkish war of that year, using simple Turkish and syllabic meter of folk poetry. The famous verse of one of those poems puts this declaration in the mouth of an Anatolian:

> I am a Turk, my faith and my race are mighty.
> (Ben bir Türküm, dinim cinsim uludur.)

The poem incites the Anatolian Turk to go to war for the sake of the fatherland, religion, the Ottoman Empire, his home and his village.[39]

Another major source of inspiration for Turkism, was the pan-Turkist movement in Russia, which developed in the second half of the nineteenth century.[40] Its most prominent leader İsmail Gaspıralı (1851-1914), a Crimean Tatar, published the newspaper Terçüman from 1883 on in the Crimea. He worked for educational and linguistic reforms and through his paper, which circulated among most of the Turkic groups, promoted his aim of "unity in language, thought and action" among all Turks.[41]

Gaspıralı's relative Yusuf Akçura (1876-1933) who emigrated as a boy with his mother to Istanbul from the Kazan region in Russia, became after 1908 a prominent leader of Turkism in the Ottoman Empire.[42] In 1904 he sent his

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[38] For Turkish nationalism in this period see also David Kushner, The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908 (London: Frank Cass, 1977).

[39] Mehmed Emin, "Anadoludan bir Ses, yahut Cenge Giderken," in Türkçe Şiirler (Istanbul: n.p., 1900), 37.

[40] On pan-Turkism in Russia see Jacob Landau, Pan-Turkism in Turkey: A Study of Irredentism (London: C.Hurst & Co, 1981); and Hostler, Turkism and the Soviets.

[41] Akçura, Türkçülüğün Tarihi Gelişimi, 91-102; Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v. "Gaspıralı (Gasprinski) İsmail," by Z. V. Togan.

[42] On Yusuf Akçura see, David Thomas, "The Life and Thought of Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)" Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1976.

famous article, "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset"[43] to a Turkish newspaper in Cairo from Russia, where he then resided, in which he formulated for the first time the three existing or possible policies for the Ottoman state: Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism. He considered the first to be impossible, the second -which he also called pan-Islamism- to be difficult to implement, and expressed his preference for the latter, that is, a political unity of the Turkish race.

Akçura explained that Ottomanism, which emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century, aimed at creating an Ottoman nation based on will, by granting legal equality to all its diverse ethnic and religious groups. He thought that this policy had already failed and that it was useless to insist on it. The second option, tevhid-i İslam, the policy of creating a strong nation out of all Muslims, was first put forward by Young Ottomans, wrote Akçura. The disadvantages of this policy, for him, were that it would hamper modernisation, lead non-Muslims of the empire to rebellion, and be opposed by European powers who had Muslim subjects. The third policy, that of creating a political nation based on race and uniting the Turks of the world, was very new, said Akçura. This policy would unite the Turks of Asia and Eastern Europe who have a common language, race, customs and most of whom belong to the same religion. The Ottoman state would play a leading role in this large entity, as the strongest and most modern of all Turkish groups. Akçura thought that in the modern world religions were increasingly losing their political function and becoming more personal, whereas the importance of race was on the rise. Religions were also increasingly becoming subordinate to races. Thus, although he did not openly support any one of the last two policies, it is obvious that Akçura preferred pan-Turkism.

[43] Yusuf Akçura, Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976).

Besides Akçura, other émigrés from Russia, like the Azeris Hüseyinzade Ali (1864-1941) and Ağaoğlu Ahmed (1869-1939) also became leaders of pan-Turkism in the Ottoman Empire. There were in fact a large number of Turkic immigrants, particularly Tatars, in the empire by then who had moved there from Russia or from former Ottoman territories in Europe.[44] Kemal Karpat estimates that from 1783 to 1922 approximately 1,800,000 Tatars migrated to Ottoman territories as a result of the Crimea's incorporation into Russia, the various Turco-Russian wars and Russian discriminatory policies against Tatars.[45] From among the ranks of these immigrants came virtually all the Turkist leaders of Halide Edib's novel Yeni Turan!

After the 1908 Revolution the CUP declared that its official policy was Ottomanism, which was not necessarily incompatible with Turkism. During the second Meşrutiyet period Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) emerged as the leader and ideologue of Turkism, which grew rapidly after 1910. Gökalp moved from Diyarbakır to Salonica in 1909 where he became a member of the CUP's central council. Among his other activities, he taught philosophy and sociology there, and worked for the literary journal Genç Kalemler until the Balkan War. In 1911 he declared in an article published in that journal that their aim was to create new values in all spheres of life, from economic to domestic to aesthetic.[46] Later, in a 1917 recapitulation of Turkism he explained that over time they had come to realise that those new values were nothing but unconscious national values, i.e., the national culture, whereas the task of Turkism was to

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[44] Landau, Pan-Turkism in Turkey, 34.

[45] Kemal Karpat, Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); on migrations of Tatars and other Turkic groups into Ottoman Empire see also Türk Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Göç."

[46] Ziya Gökalp, Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization, trans. & ed. Niyazi Berkes (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959), 55-60.

make these values conscious. As the raison d'être of this work, Gökalp explains that Western civilisation cannot be properly adopted without building the national culture; he thinks that Tanzimatists failed in their attempt to Westernise the country because they neglected the national culture. Since national values inspire enthusiasm and excitement, says Gökalp, they enable people to appropriate scientific and technical concepts, which only appeal to reason.[47] His approach is expressed in a nutshell in his slogan: "We belong to the Turkish nation, the Muslim religious community and the European civilisation."[48]

Ziya Gökalp also published in 1911 his famous poem "Turan," which shows that he was also a pan-Turkist at that time. Its last couplet goes:

> The country of the Turks is not Turkey, nor yet Turkistan
> Their country is a broad and everlasting land - Turan.

Turkists also formed several organisations in this period. The first Turkist club Türk Derneği was founded in 1908 in Istanbul. It included among its members many of the aforementioned Turkists, some Western Orientalists and two Armenian members of parliament. The club's aim was scholarly and cultural; it disbanded in 1912.[49] Another cultural club, Türk Yurdu (Turkish homeland) was formed in 1910 in Geneva by Turkish students there. Halide Edib writes that it passed a resolution calling her 'the Mother of the Turk.' The club included many Russian Turks and had a pan-Turkist spirit.[50] Then, in 1911 a Türk Yurdu society was opened in Istanbul by Yusuf Akçura and other well-known Turkists such as Mehmed Emin. it published the weekly Türk Yurdu

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[47] Ibid., 284-88.

[48] "Türk milletinden, İslam ümmetinden, Avrupa medeniyetindeniz." One of the best sources for Gökalp's ideas is Urial Heyd, The Foundations of Turkish Nationalism (London: Luzac, 1950); see also Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ziya Gökalp: Hayatı, Fikirleri ve Eserlerinden Parçalar (Istanbul: Kanaat, n.d.).

[49] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 414-15.

[50] Edib, Memoirs of Halide Edib, 321.

edited by Akçura which became the major organ of Turkism.[51]

In July 1911 Türk Ocağı (Turkish Hearth) was founded (it was officially registered in March 1912) by the initiative of a large number of students of the Military Medical School in cooperation with leading Turkist intellectuals like Akçura, Mehmed Emin and Ağaoğlu Ahmed. The Türk Yurdu society, along with its weekly publication of the same name, was transferred to this club which soon grew and became the major organisation of Turkism. By the end of World War I it had opened twenty-eight branches all over the country. It was closely related to the CUP which adopted its ideology, although the Ocak claimed to be outside party politics. Among its other activities, the club organised weekly conferences, staged amateur theatre, in which for the first time women also acted, and helped Turkish students from all over the Turkic world to obtain their education in Istanbul.[52] Halide Edib explains that for the first time in history mixed audiences got together in these clubs and women participated as amateur actors and speakers. Still, in 1912 she was the club's only woman member, elected by its general congress. In 1918 she was a member of the council which modified its constitution and made women eligible for membership.[53]

Halide Edib's Activities from 1909 to 1912

During this period Halide Edib wrote a series of articles on education which caught the attention of Said Bey, the counselor of the Ministry of Education. Said Bey asked her to get involved in the reform of the Teachers' College for girls, Darülmuallimat and to teach. She accepted, because, as she says: "the call to the educated Turks to teach in the era of reform was like the

[51] Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 415-16.

[52] Ibid., 432-38; Edib, Memoirs of Halide Edib, 324.

[53] Ibid., 117, 325.

call to military service."(298)

She prepared a report on reform and carried it out with the Teachers' College's new director Nakiye Hanım. The latter was a graduate of this school and had taught at the American College. Until then the dominant subjects in the normal school's curriculum were Arabic, Persian, domestic science and religion. Edib and Nakiye Hanım worked to introduce a new curriculum with "more scientific spirit, a living language, and a more modern atmosphere and equipment." They worked to create a new spirit in the students, which involved responsibility, self-respect and an open-minded relationship between student and teacher. At that school Halide Edib taught the principles of education. After two years the school was turned into a girls' college and another teachers' college was opened. Edib taught at the college for five years.(299-300) In 1912 she also published a book on education, Talim ve Terbiye.[54]

In 1910 Halide Edib realised that her husband Salih Zeki was having an affair with a teacher. In order to be certain, she went for a while to her father, who then lived in Yanina. Upon her return she found that Salih Zeki had married the woman. To her surprise he asked Halide to stay as his first wife. Being, as she says: "a believer in monogamy, in the inviolability of name and home," she wanted a divorce. After a long and painful struggle, Salih Zeki finally consented to this, and in April 1910 Halide went with her sons to Nakiye Hanım's house in Fatih, where she stayed until she found a place for herself in Fazlı Paşa, near Kumkapı.(307-308)

In her new home, where her grandmother also had moved, she fell ill and stayed in bed for three months. Her sons were then going to the American

[54] Halide Edıb, Talim ve Terbiye (Istanbul: Tanin, 1912), reference in Enginün, Halide Edib Adıvar'da Doğu ve Batı Meselesi, 481.

School. By the fall of 1910 she was well again and returned to teaching and writing. Besides, by that time she had also become "a busy public speaker."(311)

Edib considers the years between 1910 and 1912 "as a prelude to my final plunge into nationalism," although when writing the novel Yeni Turan in the summer of 1912 she was already a full-fledged nationalist. She says that her acquaintance with Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp led her for the first time to her racial past, and away from the Ottoman past. She was drawn by the folklore, the oral literature of the ancient Turks. Nevertheless, she wrote in 1926 that neither then nor before did she share Akçura's and Gökalp's belief in political pan-Turanism.[55] She believed that nationalism was "cultural and regional in Turkey."(315)

She writes that Gökalp came to Istanbul from Salonica at the beginning of 1911, after which he very often visited her, during what was to grow an intellectual friendship, till 1915.(317) This is interesting, because most writers on Gökalp's life mention that he moved to Istanbul after the breakout of the Balkan War in October 1912.[56] Edib might have erred on the date. But then she writes that he influenced her writings a lot during those days and testifies that her novel Yeni Turan was not only an outcome of events and trends of thought of the day, but it was also largely affected by "the apostolic sincerity and austerity of Keuk-Alp Zia."(319n) This shows that she was indeed friends with him before she wrote this novel in the summer of 1912. Their friendship broke up after 1915 on account of differences over educational and political

[55] Edib uses here the word 'pan-Turanism' in the sense of pan-Turkism.

[56] Heyd, Foundations of Turkish Nationalism, 34; Berkes, Development of Secularism, 345.

principles.(317)[57]

In June 1912 Halide Edib again visited Miss Isabel Fry in England. Because Fry left before the end of her visit, Edib rented a flat in London. There, in solitude, which enhanced her creativity, she wrote Yeni Turan(331-32) which was published in September 1912.

Yeni Turan

Yeni Turan is a utopian novel, which takes place in the year 1347/1929. In it Halide Edib elaborates on Turkish nationalism which she presents as İttihat ve Terakki's clear party programme in this utopian period. After losing political power to the opposition the CUP works for twenty years for social reform and meanwhile transforms itself into the Yeni Turan (YT) party. The opposition changes its name to Yeni Osmanlı (YO). Although in the early years of the Constitutional Revolution the views of each party were very confused and their respective principles hard to distinguish, in the utopian period each party's political programme and ideology has become much clearer. YT now strongly avows Turkish nationalism, whereas YO opposes it and is Ottomanist. Also, in the new period the parties have switched their stands on the question of centralisation against decentralisation. The opposition used to endorse decentralisation; now they are for centralisation. And the reverse is true for the CUP and YT; they now want to implement a kind of federalism.

It seems that Halide Edib wrote Yeni Turan after the CUP lost power to

[57] One of the reasons of their disagreement concerned the status of the primary (iptidai) schools which were governed by the Ministry of Pious Foundations until 1916. Edib worked in the reform of these schools from 1913 to 1916 and helped to introduce many modern subjects into its traditional curriculum. In 1916 all schools including iptidais were put under the Ministry of Education as part of a programme to unify and secularise education. Gökalp supported this move, whereas Edib opposed it claiming that iptidais by that time were even more secular than other public schools.(352). For the cooling of her relations with Gökalp and with the CUP during World War I see also, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler, (Istanbul: Baha, 1968), 30-40.

the Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa cabinet in the summer of 1912. In the novel, after this defeat, the CUPists work directly within Turkish society for twenty years so as to reform it according to their nationalist ideology. Finally, in 1929 they are returned to power through an election. The ideas and dreams Edib expresses in this novel must have been shared, at least in their general features, by many CUPists and especially by the Turkist intellectuals who belonged to the Türk Ocağıs.

In Yeni Turan the author presents her ideas against the background of an extraordinary story of love and intrigue between Hamdi Paşa, the leader of YO, Oğuz, the leader of YT, and Kaya, who is considered "the mother of Yeni Turan." It is written in the form of confessions by Asım, the nephew of Hamdi Paşa, who is the only eyewitness to the story and who writes it before dying, in order to illuminate an important aspect of Turkish history. Hamdi Paşa, who becomes the Minister of the Interior during the elections, lets Oğuz be imprisoned and contemplates hanging him. Kaya is a devoted YTist, and is also Oğuz's nephew; moreover she is in love with Oğuz. She goes to Hamdi Paşa, who has loved her since her childhood, to ask him to free Oğuz. Hamdi Paşa then suggests to Kaya that she marry him in exchange for cancelling Oğuz's death sentence. She accepts and stays married to him for four years. Then, one day Oğuz is shot, and Hamdi Paşa keeps it secret from Kaya in order to prevent her from rushing to his bedside. He dies, and when Kaya learns it, she walks out of Hamdi Paşa's home in great fury and disgust.

According to the plot, Asım was born a few years before the declaration

of the constitution and was brought up by Hamdi Paşa, a military man. His political views were formed under the influence of his uncle who was the most powerful person in the opposition. Hamdi Paşa's best friend Lütfü Bey, also a military man, had strongly supported the CUP. His wife had died young and he lived with his daughter Samiye. After Hamdi Paşa and Lütfü Bey broke up because of political disagreement, Samiye continued to visit Hamdi Paşa weekly and had serious conversations with him, speaking as his equal. After the CUP lost the government to the opposition, Lütfü Bey and his daughter disappeared, as did many prominent Unionists, and Asım did not hear from them for twenty years.

Asım was educated at the Mülkiye (school of civil service) and became his uncle's secretary. Now, in the year 1929, elections are to be held in which YT and YO are competing. Asım summarises YT's work of the last few years, which he opposes, but which at the same time he cannot help but like in part. YT has opened many schools, "night salons,"[58] philanthropic, health and literary clubs, clubs to increase the population, and others which support everything that is Turkish. He thinks that the most salient features of YT is its "institutions for Turkish women."[59] YT educates its women and lets them work beside their male counterparts. Their women's dresses have also changed and have become "suitable to the Turkish and Islamic world which they had created."(17)[60] They no longer pay attention to fashion. Unlike other women, who, in their elegant çarşafs and stylish outfits serve only as decorations for their homes and the love

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[58] "gece salonları"

[59] "Türk kadını kurumları"

[60] Page numbers in parenthesis in this section are from Halide Edib Adıvar, Yeni Turan, 3d ed. (Istanbul: Atlas, n.d.).

objects of their husbands, YT women are teachers and nurses; they work in all kinds of fields, from economic to humanitarian to scientific. In time of war they go to the front "like Arab warriors" to nurse the wounded soldiers and to sew for the army. These women wear long, usually grey coats which are "reminiscent of old Tatar Turks," cover their hair with soft, white scarves, wear simple thick shoes and carry their work bundles. Their feelings flow only for their country and their children, nothing else. Asım approves of these women, but does not find them attractive, like YO women. But he admits that they create sympathy for YT among the public, and that YT might win the elections because of them. There is no neighbourhood in the city in which the poor or the sick are not cared for by some philanthropic YT woman or in which they are not educated free of charge in YT schools. Also, in every city quarter YT had opened Friday schools where women teach religion and ethics to children. Every time Asım glimpses into these schools, he sees a YT woman drawing pictures of animals, plants or objects on the blackboard, or doing handicrafts with the children.(17-18)

We realise that Halide Edib's utopian ideas here are only another version of her ideas expressed since 1908. The characteristics and aspirations she assigns to 'new women' have remained intact since then, but she keeps changing their dress. In 1908 she supported traditional veiling, in 1909 European fashion-dresses, including low-cut ones, and in 1912 she lets them wear a kind of 'Islamic dress.' This leads us to think that in fact the particular dresses were not outward expressions of her ideas on women, but they were related to considerations beyond them. In her own mind she could reconcile European dress with religiousness (at least she could do so in 1909, when writing Seviyye Talib), but she might have believed or realised that the Muslim population in general could not. Since she wanted to assign an essential role to

Islam in the new social order, conceivably she thought that she could not dispense with what was believed to be an Islamic apparel. She might have also believed that such dress would help to ease society's pressure on women when moving from seclusion to relatively greater freedom. But it is also conceivable that instead of such practical considerations, the reason for her 'return to an Islamic dress' was that she had simply changed her mind since 1909 and had come to believe that this dress was indeed prescribed by Islam.

In the utopian period of Yeni Turan, although women are said to enter all professions, what is emphasised is more conservative roles like nursing, teaching and philanthropy. Women are also greatly engaged in the religious and moral education of children, which is another unchanging idea of Edib. What is interesting here is that these subjects are taught for the first time by non-clerics, by lay women (who look like nuns though, as Hamdi Paşa once comments), whose teaching methods involve such activities as drawing pictures, handicrafts and the use of a blackboard, things generally unacceptable to the orthodox Muslim educational establishment. This again shows that Edib attached great importance to keeping Islam in society as a cornerstone on the one hand, and reforming it by introducing Western practices on the other.

In contrast to YT's religious policy, YO, in its fight against YT, tries to exploit the ignorance of the people. They propagate the notion that the progress of YT women is against Islam and present YTists as irreligious. But ironically, whereas YO professes to be the protectors of religion, YTists are in reality much more attached to religion. Whereas public schools teach more religion than YT schools, the graduates of the former are more irreligious than those of the latter. YTist youths do not believe that to be fully civilised is against the principles of

Islam. But the ignorant, or uneducated section of the public sees religion as "interference in every movement of one's neighbour and as a wall against everything civilised" and believe in YO's propaganda.(19) Around that time YT women start "taking icazet" (i.e., acquire diplomas) and give (or want to give) lessons in mosques. Asım admits that women used to do this at a time that was closer to the Prophet's era. Nevertheless, YO claims in its propaganda that it is irreligious.

We see that Halide Edib (or YT) is against both the anti-Western, anti-modern interpretation of Islam, and irreligion. She presents the former as a distortion of true Islam which is mainly done by self-seeking politicians. In her opinion, uneducated people are deceived by this wrong interpretation and play into the hands of these politicians. She advocates the readoption of 'true Islam,' which for her does not conflict with modernity. In other words, she is modernised and hence interprets Islam and its history in terms of her relatively modern concepts. The anti-modern form of Islam does not lead her to reject religion outright, as many young people do, but to reinterpret it.

During the election campaigns, Asım learns that Kaya, a leading YT woman, will talk in the Erenköy YT yurt (social club literally meaning "homeland") and decides to go there. On his way he meets two young men, his old schoolmates, who are ardent YTists. He asks one of them for information on Kaya. The man replies that in fact that day not Kaya, but "our başbuğ[61] Oğuz" would speak. Asım: "Monşer[62], indeed what is a başbuğ? Is it your leader?" The other starts getting irritated and says: "First of all don't call me monşer, these

[61] Leader, chief, commander. Apparently this word was out of use in this period and was revived by YTists. Tarama Sözlüğü, s.v. "başbuğ" shows Ottoman sources of various periods, including the 19th century, which include this word.

[62] Mon chèr.

foreign words get on my nerves! Secondly, I can't believe that you don't know Kaya." Asım: "How would I know! Underneath that coat masquerade [referring to YT women's dress] there are so many strange YT women with names . . . like Kaya [meaning rock], Taş [stone], Ay [moon].[63]" The man replies that it is a pity for the country that young men like Asım make it a party issue not to know things relating to Turkishness, or to real Turkish women. Then he explains to Asım that Kaya was at the forefront of YT women in the last ten years. She opened the first YT school in Erzurum ten years earlier with five or six other women. There, children were given practical education on agriculture, on other basic subjects, and especially on health. Fridays children and peasant women were shown films on basic health practices and agriculture; they had hands-on agriculture conferences. Asım also learns that Kaya is thirty-five years old and a year ago had moved from Erzurum to Istanbul, where she continues her work now.(20-21)

From the train station to the YT yurt, it is about a ten minute walk. Asım takes a carriage, whereas the YTist young men walk. Asım knows that "even the wealthiest [YTist] seems to consider not to take a carriage a characteristic of YT." He thinks that "YT's institutions of national economy not only open small credit institutions (emniyet sandığı), but create in each YTist a constant intellectual and economic life." Even the wealthiest YTist youth, instead of eating at Tokatlıyan[64], goes to a cheap YT restaurant, eats a lean peace of meat and pilav (a rice dish), drinks his kımız[65] and leaves. The YT institutions for agriculture

[63] Pre-Islamic Turkish names that are readopted by YTist.

[64] A hotel and restaurant in Pera with a generally wealthier and more cosmopolitan clientele.

[65] Fermented mare's milk that was drunk in various parts of Central Asia and was considered as a very "Turanist" drink.

and for increasing the population were proving effective. Asım admits to himself that all these had helped to increase the economic thought and activity of the Turks and had forced them to enter all kinds of vocations.(22)[66]

In this passage we begin to see more clearly the contrast between YT and YO. The latter is presented as the party of cosmopolitan, wealthy, extravagant Ottomans who are uninterested in the larger Turkish population, or in Turkish nationalism (i.e., the 'imitators of the Europeans' of Edib's previous novels). The YTists might have come from the same social class as YOs (as Hamdi Paşa and Lütfü Bey did for example), but the former reject cosmopolitanism and strive to create a new national Turkish culture by reviving several ancient, pre-Ottoman or early Ottoman cultural traits, and are interested in the economic development of the Turks. But, the symbols of 'real Turkishness' that YTists introduced into their lives like the term başbuğ for leader, new names for women and the drink kımız, were not taken from the lives of the un-cosmopolitan Turks of the Ottoman Empire, whom they were trying to develop. They were most probably taken from books written by scholars of Turcology and from their writings on the early Turks of Central Asia. The question might be asked: how would these symbols help the YTists in their major undertaking of modernising Turkish villages, developing the agriculture, creating industry, and so on? But it is clear that the Turkists then thought that creating nationalism based on a sense of a common Turkish past would not only integrate the Turkish population, but would also bring about economic development.

The Erenköy YT yurt, which is one of the best of YT yurts, is a simple

[66] This paragraph of the novel is very badly and unclearly written; I translated the unclear sentences literally.

wooden building with a lush garden. Its wooden doors and windows are carved by YT youths in Selçuk style. Underneath these amateur carvings Asım notices signatures like "son of his homeland so and so." Inside the building there is a reading room, a library and a lecture hall. On two sides of the reading room are long, low wooden divans covered with Turkish carpets and pillows which are embroidered with old Turkish motifs. In the middle is another long and very low wooden table covered with many books and papers. There are no chairs in the room, but several cushions are spread on the floor, in front of each of which is a wooden rahle. Again on each embroidery is the signature of "the daughter of her homeland so and so." Several people are engaged in reading in the room at the rahles or at the table, young and old, with or without sarık (turban), with or without fez, with or without sword. At the end of the room is the entrance to the library where an old YT woman is signing out books.(22-24)

Certainly, the YT yurt here reflects in an idealised way the Türk Yurdus and especially the later Türk Ocağı clubs. As was mentioned before, Halide Edib was Türk Ocağı's first woman member, a contributor to its journal and a speaker from its pulpit. Edib emphasises in this passage that many sarıklıs (i.e., clerics) and kılıçlıs (those with swords, i.e., military officers) participate in YT yurt; she creates an image of people from all sections of the society getting together in these yurts, peacefully and soberly. It is hard to know how much this picture corresponds to the real Türk Ocağıs. We know that the great majority of these clubs' regulars were intellectuals and students; since a great many military officers supported the CUP, their going to the Ocaks can also be expected. On the other hand, it is important to determine if indeed members of the ulema were present in the Ocaks or if their presence here is just Halide

Edib's fantasy, a reflection of her ideology. We have seen that she wanted to incorporate a reformed Islam into the nationalist framework. But so far in the novel the ones who taught this new Islam were only YT women (mainly in Friday schools and in mosques). Here for the first time we see the actual religious functionaries entering the YT framework.

One of the main theses advocated by the periodical İslam Mecmuası in which Turkists like Ziya Gökalp had explained their views on religious reform, was the need to purge the religious field of legal matters. Gökalp claimed that law should only be the concern of the state and that the religious field should only deal with matters of faith and moral conduct (diyanet).[67] Hence, by implication religion and state should be separated. Although Halide Edib did not specify this in the novel, we can expect that she adhered to this view and that the role she desired these YTist clerics to play was in line with this secularist perspective.

With this in mind, here Edib introduces into the novel imam Feyzi Efendi, whom Asım spots in front of a rahle in the reading room. He is the neighbourhood imam who had virtually raised Asım. Feyzi Efendi used to be a sympathiser of CUP and now of YT, but Asım's uncle liked and tolerated him because of "his anglic sweetness and softness," and also perhaps because he was Samiye's Kuran teacher. (We learn later that Samiye and Kaya are the same person.) Both Asım and Feyzi Efendi are surprised and happy to see each other. They enter the lecture hall together, which also reflects the same style as do the other rooms; wooden benches, and on the stage a piano and a high rahle in the middle.(24-25)

[67] Berkes, Development of Secularism, 381-84.

With this secondary character of Feyzi Efendi, Halide Edib makes the implicit point that such humanistic religious leaders (who are inferentially contrasted to sulky, fanatical, anti-modern clerics) ought to take part in the new order, mainly as religious educators. It is significant that such a humanistic cleric as Feyzi Efendi is the one who taught the Kuran to Samiye, who was later to become the leading woman of YT.

Soon five or six Mevlevis (members of the sufi order with the same name) with neys (a flute-like musical instrument which was used by Mevlevis) and twelve children in Mevlevi costume holding music scores, come on stage. Asım explains that YT mostly gave a Mevlevi character to their music. As in architecture, so in music do they draw upon Selçuk sources. Nevertheless, he thinks, these pieces of the new musicians "for some reason bring suddenly the voice and breath of a courageous, wild, vagabond and strong Tatar Turk, who has finally found his language after so many years of foreign influence."(26)

The music makes Asım feel that his ancestors' old path, their old spirit are calling him; but he decides to resist this tremendous force. He realises that whereas his party tries to keep "the character of the Ottoman type, which had come about by mixing with the children of the old Turan," YT wants to step on the straight path that the ancestors had started and walk hence to maturity."(26) The refrain of the song goes:

Oh Yeni Turan, dear country, tell me where is the road to you?

And then continues:

> It's been six hundred years, you walked in foreign lands, faraway roads, dry plateaus, shadeless mountains. You dried up like trees in dry, barren lands. Tell me, where is your life-giving, clear river, green homeland?(27)

It is not clear in this passage whether the musicians on stage are actual

Mevlevis, or YTists using Mevlevi music when composing their Turanist songs. It does not seem likely that Mevlevis had in reality participated in the Turanist cause, or sung their music with a Turanist content. Their presence here most probably reflects Edib's sympathy for mysticism and her idea of adopting this authentic music as part of the new national culture.

In this highly emotional, but also very irregularly written passage Edib shows that she is longing for a time prior to the founding of the Ottoman state, when she imagines the Turks as having been homogeneous and free of all foreign influences. She considers the Ottoman period as a foreign, barren, dry age which wasted away the once happy, green and strong Turan. All of a sudden she presents the fight between YT and YO as one between racial purity versus racial mixture. The Osmanlı is not only rejected because he is an 'imitator of the Europeans,' a züppe, but because he is the product of the mixture of Turanians with other races after their founding the Ottoman state. Ironically, the Ottoman Empire then was suffering because of the existence of many races in one state, indeed because of their not having been integrated. But it seems that this is precisely what Edib is dealing with in this passage. She is opposed to one possible way of solving this problem, namely Ottomanism, and in addition rejects the old Ottoman system. Whereas Ottomanism is a nineteenth century concept, she presents it as if it had existed since the founding of the Ottoman state. Hence, with one blow she condemns both the old Ottoman system, which did not include Turkish nationalism, and the recent policy of Ottomanism, in which the future integration, Ottomanising of all races was conceived. In their place she prefers a system which demarcates the Turkish element in the empire by using linguistic and racial criteria and by a new contrived identity, and which would transform the empire into a multi-

national federative state, as will be seen below.

After the music ends many YT women enter the boxes. Were women sitting separately in the boxes? This is not clear. A lone woman enters the first box and a YT man tells Asım that she is Kaya, the woman who made a moral and social revolution among YT women. She saved them from being "mere flesh and machines" and made them clean and industrious friends of men, mothers and educators of children and of the whole country. Asım is greatly shaken by what he sees. He realises that he is looking upon a woman, who exemplifies a model found often in Islamic, but rarely in Turkish history. Her outfit is so suitable to Islam's word and faith... . She is wearing a grey, woolen, loose cloak which goes down to her feet; its long sleeves cover her hands. She wears çanks (rawhide sandals) made of soft leather, "like some Turan women . . . but made exactly like Turkish peasants." In her is a "silent, natural strength which came from nature, from the original Turan of two thousand years ago." Her hair is covered below the hairline, with a white scarf made of Bursa cloth, which is attached under the chin and falls over her shoulders. Not a single hair appears. Her features are beautiful and meaningful. In her blue eyes there is "definitely . . . nothing which reminds one of sexuality."(28-29)

Here Edib thinks that the old system had made women "mere flesh and machine," which, one assumes, means that they were without souls and that their only function was a sexual one. Now they will become true friends to men, better mothers and educators. Woman's transformation, for Edib, is not only a social one, but also a moral one. But by moral transformation she does not mean creating a really new set of mores, but rather she means 'returning to true Islamic morality.' According to her conception of Islam, as reflected here, the

religion demands that women wear loose garments, which cover their body, including hands, that they cover their hair totally, and that they not project any sexuality through their eyes; in other words, that they conceal their sexuality. So then, what she is saying is that in the old system women were sexual objects, which was also reflected by their fashionable outfits. A moral revolution however, by implementing the truest Islamic norms, will make them chaste and hence emancipate them. This way they will also be able to enter public life.

Soon YT's leader Oğuz comes on stage. (His name is the name of that branch of Turks which included the Ottoman Turks.) Oğuz looks between thirty-five and forty, wears a collarless shirt and a simple, loose, grey suit made of Turkish cloth, "as if standing up against fashion and novelty." Asım thinks that "he is seeing in this plain and strong man the ultimate in maturity of the most primitive, tough and serious character of the Attilas, the Cengizes, of those primordial Turks; 'a Turkish demand' which has reached its goal, has taken its essential form."(30)

We see that, like Kaya, Oğuz also rejects European fashion in favour of a more 'Islamic costume.' (The collar was then a symbol of Westernised costume.) He is also seen as the last link of a chain of Turks which goes back to Attila, the king of the Huns (434-453), and Genghiz Khan (d.1227), the Mongol ruler.[68] To consider these and other ancient rulers as primogenitors, prototypes and to feel themselves as their more developed forms was an essential characteristic of Turkism.

[68] Attila ruled an empire stretching roughly from Baltic and the Alps to the Caspian Sea and fought against Eastern Romans, captured the Balkans, invaded Gaul. (Encyclopeadia Britannica, 15th ed., s.v. "Attila."); Genghiz Khan, who interestingly is also the creator of the Mongol nation, united the Mongol tribes and formed an empire stretching from Peking to the Caspian Sea. (İslam Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Cengiz Han," by W. Barthold and Fuad Köprülü).

In both Kaya and Oğuz the author juxtaposes two essential aspects of the characters, their pure Turkish, Turanian origin which they carry in them, and their Islamism. Yet, on closer scrutiny we realise that in their fight against cosmopolitanism and the false imitation of Europe they rely more heavily on Islam than on Turkishness. Despite her dramatic emphasis on Turanian origin, we see that such areas as dress and morality, which are deemed essential by Edib, are dominated by or derived from Islam, and not from the Turkish past. Compared to the traits of the characters derived from Islam, their Turanian traits seem more like unessential accessories.

Oğuz's speech is given verbatim in this part of the novel.(31-39) First, he says that he calls not only the Turks but all nationalities of the empire to YT's path, because he thinks that this path serves best the interests of all. To prove his point he takes his audience through Ottoman history, which, he thinks, is the most sacred subject for YTists, after religion. He starts with the Ottoman state's foundation period in the fourteenth century, which he extends until Süleyman Paşa's passage to Rumelia (around 1350). Oğuz claims that in this period the Turks were characterised by an unprecedented greatness, ability and civilisation. He finds them "on the same level of civilisation as the northern people who spread over Gaul and Germany, and over all of Europe, and, despite their initial destruction, showed the greatest aptitude for organisation and for government."(32) They formed an amazingly sound government over the disintegrating Turkish principalities and Selçuks. They made laws, roads, buildings, schools, founded a new literature and formed a new mentality. With great modesty, they took those things, which they did not possess, from Arabs, Persians, Selçuks, Romans and others. Greeks and other nations gathered

around them; "as if a new America was founded!" But, Oğuz draws the audience's attention to the important fact that the basis of this strong and just government was "a one-piece Turkish race" which was then "morally and physically ready." The others gathered around that race, built upon that basis.(33)

We can see that this highly arbitrary and romantic account of the early Ottoman period does not contain a scientific analysis of history, but is rather a sort of allegory, what we might call a 'historical allegory,' which contains only messages and guidelines relating to the present. For literary or political reasons these messages are presented as if they had been already accomplished by the early Turks. Thus, by saying that early Turks were as civilised as early Europeans, Oğuz projects the level of progress of Europe in modern times into that historical period. This would serve on the one hand to eliminate the feeling of inferiority of the present day Turks in the face of Europe, and on the other hand incite them to follow their ancestors and also to become civilised. In this they should be practical and take what they do not have from the West, instead of hesitating to do so on account of fanaticism and scorn for the West. The most important message of this account though is that a united and homogeneous Turkish nation, which possesses all these positive qualities, should govern Turkey. The other nations (of the empire) should (or will) willingly submit to their government. Hence, Ottomanism is unacceptable.

Oğuz then proceeds to the second period, which he calls the phase of expansion and growth. He extends it until the death of Mehmed II, Fatih (1481). During this phase the Turks expand into Europe and gather many other nations around them, like Serbians, Macedonians and Albanians. This is also an

energetic and efficient period. But after this phase comes a third one in which the Turks, who governed the state and all these nations, become lazier, heavier; their policy becomes aimless and detrimental. "Perhaps the old blood, or perhaps encountering just the detrimental sides of Byzantine, Persian, Greek and other civilisations erased the constructive, plain character of the Ottoman Turks and their balanced modernisation."(34) Instead of working for the progress of their country, they fight unnecessarily against different people; engage in a series of wars which drain their physical and moral power. Of course, says Oğuz, these wars were primarily fought by Turks, secondly by other Muslims; Christians no longer enter the army. The Turkish Empire remains largely indifferent to the Christians, except for brief intervals of excessive tyranny or excessive privilege. Consequently, the Christians slowly form various nations, their population grows, they progress and surpass the Turks who do not have time to grow because of fighting. So, a time comes when new governments start to emerge on Turkish land. Then decline! Brief efforts of civilising reforms by Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Selim remain futile.(34)

In other words, unlike in the early period when Turks were civilised, European-like, energetic and homogeneous, in the decline period, as inferred from Oğuz's words, they are more influenced by Eastern civilisations like Byzantian and Persian, are lazier and engage in useless wars instead of working for progress and civilisation. The expansion period is also based on wars, but those are described by Oğuz as "gathering the countries with a strong hand." In that period they still keep their early constructiveness and most important, keep all national elements at an equal level of progress. This balance was broken when Christians progressed more than the others, setting

off the disintegration of the empire. Oğuz explains their progress by their not entering the army and the state's indifference to them. Here Oğuz (or Edib) is explaining the decline, which, he claims, had started in 1481, by a later, nineteenth century development, when a new, modern army based on conscription was created to replace the Janissary corps. Since the conscripts were apparently mostly Turks, and to a lesser extent other Muslims, and since the wars did not bring any returns, they merely resulted in destruction for the Turks.

Finally, around twenty years ago, says Oğuz, the first national revolution of Ottoman Turks took place, which aimed at basing the state on national sovereignty, a principle that the whole civilised world accepted. But in Turkey this principle acquired a confused meaning. Each nation of the empire interpreted it differently; the Turks understood it as "a vague 'centralisation' which their power, numbers and ability were not adequate to govern."(35) Suddenly, the foundation of the empire was shaken. Contentions arose within the Turkish element,[69] which was weak, and which, because of this weakness, led the other elements into turmoil. At this point two possible paths arose in front of Turkey: Yeni Osmanlı and Yeni Turan.(36)

Oğuz here turns again to the formative period and says that their ancestors had built their government on the principle of strong centralisation. But, he says, today this principle, which is "a goal that is very close to the Turk's soul," is inapplicable, because "our ancestors were based on a strong Turkish race which had understood its principles." This was such a strong and just foundation that not only Christians captured by war, but Christians from other

[69] unsur. In this period this was the most commonly used word to denote the ethnic groups of the empire.

countries also came and established their lives on it. Today, he says, the Turks cannot do this, because first, non-Turkish elements occupy a very important part of Turkey; and second, in most of them nationalist sentiment is very strong. Therefore, today it is necessary to find a common interest and love which would tie them together.(37)

Oğuz says that these other elements should not consider the Turks unjust tyrants and hate them. The Turks mediate their fights, protect their borders, die for every race except for their own, and because of all these sacrifices, do not have time to cultivate their land and to raise their children; they pay taxes for the development of other lands while their land remains barren; they cannot work for their own civilisation while performing administrative duties in Arabia, in Kurdistan, or wherever... . Now, says Oğuz, the Turkish race should catch up with the other races, by working for its own land, with its own money and its own children. "Let's leave everyone from now on to be responsible for the progress of his own land, his own race. Let everyone govern his own small land and race around the idea of a common homeland. Because, my brothers, with this policy of 'centralisation' in twenty years no Turk will be left in this country." And without Turks the Ottoman Empire will crumble. Hence, the solution for Oğuz is : "a constitutional 'federation' of greater Arabia, Asia with its remaining islands gathered under the understanding of a common Turkishness."(38)[70]

It is interesting that Halide Edib does not include the Balkans in this scheme. Has she forsaken the Balkan provinces, including eastern Rumelia, even before the Balkan Wars? This is indeed possible, because also in Oğuz's speech the golden foundation period lasts until Süleyman

[70] Interestingly, in the 2d edition of the novel of 1924, instead of 'a common Turkishness' it is "under the Turkish caliph."(p.43). Perhaps the 3d edition, which was prepared by Baha Dürder is based on the 1st edition, to which I had no access.

Paşa's crossing to Rumelia. Although the next period is also a good one for the Turks, the first period serves as the ideal, the model for the future. The Turks there are a compact, homogeneous and civilised nation who govern their land by themselves in a centralised system. Edib, writing on the eve of the Balkan War when tensions were probably already looming, might have thought that keeping the Balkans at any cost was too dear for the Turks. Their removal would also bring the Turks closer to the ideal, namely a nation-state, but which rules the Arab lands and other smaller nations, albeit federatively.

Edib sees the 1908 Revolution as the national revolution of the Turkish element in the empire, which aimed at basing the Ottoman state on the principle of national sovereignty. According to her interpretation, national sovereignty, in the eyes of the Turks meant, not Ottomanism, but Turkish rule over the whole Ottoman Empire in a centralised system. Thus, if Edib's interpretation is correct, it would mean that the CUP's aim was not, as they were claiming in the early stages of the revolution, to establish Ottomanism. The Ottomanist option came after the realisation that centralised Turkish sovereignty was unworkable, and was in fact detrimental to the Turks. The second option was YT's federalism which aimed at using the state's resources, which had hitherto been spent on administering the non-Turkish nations and, of late, repressing their uprisings, for the progress of the Turkish element by giving some form of autonomy to the other regions.

Oğuz concludes his speech by saying that all these would prove to the world that Islam is not an obstacle to civilisation, and would answer Europe's claim to the contrary. He says:

> Doesn't civilisation mean the sacredness of the family hearth, . . . women's respectable place in society, and acceptance of civilised institutions? . . . See our women . . . our schools and hospitals; roads and

> factories; . . . scientists, artists, engineers, merchants, . . . YT's children built civilisation by overcoming fanaticism and lies . . . Who can claim that soon poor Iran and other small states won't join this strong and just Ottoman Empire which emerged in the East as a civilised federation?(39)

At the end of the speech all YTists get up and pray for YT, heads bowed and palms turned upward. No ovation, no shouting. Asım thinks that "joy, sadness, anger, all manifest themselves in the Turkish soul with a soberness that sinks to the bottom."(40) To his surprise at the exit he encounters his uncle, who also had listened to Oğuz. Hamdi Paşa calls YTists chauvinistic and claims that decentralisation would disintegrate the country. He says that in every ethnic group there are people who want centralisation and who would resist local autonomy. The government, he says, would always be Ottoman, those who govern may come from any of the national elements and the official religion would be Islam.

From what little information we get here about YO's view, we see that in fact in Hamdi Paşa's mind Ottomanism mainly applies to the state, the ruling class. It does not seem to presuppose a mingling of the different nations all over the country. Unlike that of the YT, YO's scheme does not give the Turks a predominant position within the state, but it gives predominance to Islam. This Ottomanist state whose official religion is Islam, rules a multinational empire in a centralised system. In this it draws support from those members of the nations who oppose the nationalism of their own group.

Oğuz gives similar speeches in various city-squares during the ongoing, exceptionally heated election campaign. Meanwhile, the Minister of the Interior resigns and Hamdi Paşa takes that post. After an extraordinary meeting of the cabinet the government orders Oğuz to stop making speeches in public places

which, they claim, disrupt the general order. Oğuz ignores the order, deeming it unlawful, and gives another speech. He is arrested. Martial law is proclaimed for a week. Many people, including Hamdi Paşa, want Oğuz to be hanged; the cabinet is divided on this issue. One evening when Hamdi Paşa and the Minister of War are discussing the situation in the War Ministry, Kaya arrives. The Minister of War leaves and Kaya demands that Hamdi Paşa release Oğuz. Here we learn that Kaya (alias Samiye) is Oğuz's cousin and that Oğuz is a Tatar, son of Kaya's mother's sister. Hamdi Paşa proposes a deal to Kaya: marry me and I will save Oğuz from the death penalty. Finally, Kaya accepts this proposal; although she loves Oğuz, she makes this self-sacrifice for the good of YT, to which her life is dedicated.(45-51)

Oğuz goes from prison directly to the Fatih YT yurt and gives his weekly Monday evening lecture. That night's lecture is entitled "YT's women" which he gives with exceptional tenderness. It is again quoted in the novel and contains the usual ideas of Halide Edib on women. Oğuz stresses the need to make new laws which would "bring out the sacredness [of the family]."(54) The lack of this, for him, is the cause of Muslim nations' failure to adopt Western civilisation. He says that other peoples of Turkish race like Hungarians and Finns are more mature, not because of their climate, but because of their perception of women. The Anglo-Saxons, he says, who have the warmest, most humanistic form of civilisation, express yurt through the English word "home." (So, from here on Oğuz uses the word yurt to denote home, or family.) In Turkey this "home" does not exist, he says, because homes cannot be permanent. Society's laws give men all the power over women. Men usually cannot choose their own spouses,

and they are not inclined to form permanent homes. They destroy their homes when their physical passion subsides. Also, says Oğuz, the education system do not induce ideas of equality between men and women. Therefore, he says, today most Turkish yurts are just houses where two people live for a limited time.(54-56)

Here in fact Halide Edib repeats and elaborates further one of her main ideas first put forward in 1908 and repeated since then in different ways. The core of this idea is the "sacredness of the family," by which she means first and foremost its permanence. It is achieved by establishing equality between husband and wife. She believes that working for such a home is almost synonymous with working for the establishment of the ideal yurt. (This was in fact the main idea in Seviyye Talib.) She believes that Anglo-Saxon culture includes this family model and the idea that home and yurt are one and the same thing; therefore, she thinks, it is the finest civilisation in the world.

Hamdi Paşa furnishes their Şehzadebaşı mansion for Kaya according to the latest European fashion, with a Morocco leather smoking room, mahogany silk sitting room, and so on, which is of course foreign to the "call of race and homeland" of Kaya's soul. Her utmost concession to Hamdi Paşa is wearing grey or black, plain dresses and simple shoes, instead of her rawhide sandals. She refuses to wear the expensive jewelry that Hamdi Paşa had bought for her. During their first dinner, which Hamdi Paşa's daughter, Vedia and her husband, a young army captain, also attend, Kaya speaks very little. She does not react to Vedia's conversation on fashion, or Asım's comments on French theatre. She only shows interest in what Vedia's husband tells about the army, which he calls "the Turkish army" and Hamdi Paşa "the Ottoman army."(60)

So, while refusing the extravagant and Europeanised lifestyle of the Ottoman upper class on the basis of her nationalist principles, Kaya on the other hand turns her sympathetic attention to the army. She wants the army to be Turkish, rather than Ottoman. But, as will be seen below, in its programme YT plans to use this army also to fight against the non-Turkish separatists of the empire. In that sense it is still the army of an empire, and not exactly that of a nation-state. Moreover, according to Oğuz's description, the pre-1908 Ottoman army was also composed predominantly of Turks, hence, it was not very different from the kind of army Kaya desires. This passage also indicates that the young army captain is inclined to nationalism in contrast to the older officer, Hamdi Paşa, which emphasises the generation gap.

Kaya usually reads or sews. In a short time she learns all about the poor in their neighbourhood and starts to help them. She sews a jacket for the laundry-woman, undershirts for her grandchildren, a shirt for the cook's baby in his village. When Hamdi Paşa asks once why she does not buy them from a store, she looks at him silently with the look of someone who knows much but cannot explain it to the other.(62) Hamdi Paşa often asks her to play the piano. She refuses and says that because she dealt with YT music for so long, she can no longer play classical music very well.(62)

We see that while shutting out the Europeanised culture of the Ottoman upper class, Kaya establishes a rapport with the Turkish poor. YT women's "philanthropy" (this word is in fact a misnomer because Kaya's sympathy is confined only to the Turkish needy) seems to aim at creating solidarity among different classes of Turks.

Finally, [illegible] the elections with a seventy-five percent majority. Both

Oğuz and Hamdi Paşa become deputies from Istanbul. Oğuz is nominated for candidacy in cities like Konya and Kastamonu where the Turkish element is in the majority. "Non-Turks who dislike Turkish nationalism, vote nevertheless for YT because they like its programme of decentralisation."(64)

One evening Hamdi Paşa forgets himself and curses YT in front of Kaya. Her face starts burning and she looks sick. After ordering Eleni, the maid, to bring the desert she gets up to retire early. Hamdi Paşa suggests that Sofi, the other maid, sleep in Kaya's room that night. Kaya, close to tears, retorts: "I don't want any Sofi, Paşa. But if I am sick please bring a Turkish maid to my bedside!"(65) We see that Kaya hates the maid because she is Greek. Halide Edib presents this attitude of Kaya as part of a lofty nationalism.

After this Kaya experiences a nervous breakdown and becomes very sick. Among other things the doctors prescribe for her to drink lots of ayran (yogurt-drink). But she refuses to drink ayran and demands kımız, which Asım procures from a YT restaurant. After that day Hamdi Paşa comes home every evening with two bottles of kımız! YT newspapers write that Hamdi Paşa has finally remembered his Turkishness and has started buying the drink of his ancestors!(69)

This rather comical scene displays the very interesting process of the transformation of simple drinks into political symbols. Kaya's reaction shows that Turanism rejected not only the snobbish culture of a limited group, but parts of the existing genuine culture of the country, too. Kaya does this to emphasise the distinctness of the Turks from the other groups in the empire, since ayran is drunk by all of them and kımız is expected to be drunk only by the Turks.

The only things that soothe Kaya a bit during her illness are novels from

the YT collection which Asım lends her. One of them is entitled "Turkish Soldiers" and deals with the social life which Enver Bey established in the Bingazi Liberation Army during the Tripoli War. The other is entitled "Turkish Soldiers in Yemen."(69)

Kaya's situation worsens and finally on doctors' advice Hamdi Paşa takes her on a trip to Europe. Meanwhile, YT forms a cabinet and Oğuz becomes Minister of Education and Minister of the Interior.(72) Asım writes a letter to Hamdi Paşa in which he gives political news and an excerpt from a speech that Oğuz made in the parliament. In it Oğuz explains their programme concerning decentralisation and says that while they would continue to work towards self-government of the various elements, the development of Anatolia would be put at the top of their agenda. New laws will be enacted which would give Turks special privileges for twenty years. These would include exempting from military service Turkish small landholders and lycée students who would teach in Turkish villages, and spending on Anatolia for twenty years the excess allowance for transportation and school which used to be spent on Rumelia. Meanwhile, the government would appoint to various regions governors who come from the ethnic group of those regions, and would form militias in each. Nevertheless, in this first twenty years, says Oğuz, the government will hold the minorities under a just but firm control. An inspection committee under Oğuz's leadership will inspect the schools and governments of the regions. Any separatist effort will be severely repressed.(74-76)

Oğuz does not elaborate on the militias, their functions and powers. He also does not explain how taxes would be collected in this system. Although he

says that "great privilieges would be given to various elements which would lead to self-government," we see that what he has in mind specifically is to appoint a governor to each region who comes from the ethnic group of that region. This is in fact not any different from Hamdi Paşa's Ottomanism in which members of the ethnic groups are incorporated into a centralised state. In Oğuz's scheme, ethnic groups will be open to the interference of the Turkish government and if they do not accept its interference "their limits will be made known to them" by its armed forces. Meanwhile, the size of the armed forces will be reduced to enable the economic and social development of the Turkish regions.

In Europe, despite Hamdi Paşa's protest, Kaya wears her YT outfit. She observes very attentively all institutions there; speaks good French and a little German. She tells Hamdi Paşa that they should have gone to Anatolia instead of Europe.(78-79) Finally, they return to Istanbul on the eve of the parliamentary sitting to vote on the bill for decentralisation.

That day in the parliament, the author writes, "the cabinet's face was very meaningful and Turkish." The Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of War are Turks; the Minister of Public Works is a Slav, the Minister of Agriculture an Armenian, the Minister of Post a Greek, the Minister of Pious Foundations and the Şeyhülislam Arabs. She says that these non-Turks were always loyal to the Turkish Empire, but because of decentralisation they had clashed earlier with the CUP.(81-82)

Both Hamdi Paşa and Oğuz make speeches, reiterating their points of view. Hamdi Paşa stresses that the American nation was formed by the assimilation of various nations which built it, and that no one of English origin

advocated privileges for the ethnic English element against the others. Similarly, a Turkish cause in an Ottoman nation is wrong in his opinion.(82-83) By drawing this parallel Hamdi Paşa shows that his Ottoman nation would be formed rather by assimilating the non-Turks into the Ottoman-Turkish culture, and creating a new culture in the process. Although such an understanding of Ottomanism does not seem to be detrimental to the Turks, he goes on to say that he does not care if the Turks are ruined. But according to YT's previous explanation, the ruination of the Turks was caused by centralisation run exclusively by the Turks. Why should a centralisation under the Ottoman nation still ruin them?

Oğuz, on the other hand, says that the Turks want the right to live. Bloody experiences made them realise that in order to survive they should give other elements "[the right] to progress and govern according to the tendency and ability of their own race." And for decentralisation to succeed the Turks should be supported by special laws which would enable them to catch up with the others.(85)

We see in the following comment of Ertuğrul, another member of parliament and Oğuz's close friend, that in case this scheme does not work and non-Turks secede, YTists are prepared to have a Turkish nation-state, instead of an empire. But we realise that that nation-state is not confined to Ottoman Turks only, but would include all the Turkic masses, which according to Ertuğrul number between eighty and one hundred million. He says that from then on their aim would not be to conquer foreign lands and establish a lazy kingdom over them, but to form a civilised nation by their own ability and effort.(86)

This gives us an important hint as to the raison d'être of pan-Turkism.

This is that on the one hand the non-Turks' secession is imminent, and also the current of the times is toward national and away from multinational states. But on the other hand, at least part of the Turkists (including Edib) are not satisfied with the size of the Ottoman Turkish population (and by inference, the size of the area they would cover). Edib expresses alarm throughout the novel on the low and declining numbers of the Turkish population and considers increasing this population as one of the aims of YT.[71] Since Ottomanisation is undesirable or unpracticable, a new idea dawns, namely to unite politically the numerous Turkish race, an existing population which is thought to be already racially and linguistically homogeneous.

Finally, the bill for decentralisation passes in parliament with an overwhelming majority, which crushes Hamdi Paşa. After this YO adds fuel to its policy of inciting Islamic fanaticism against Turkists.(87)

Three years pass. YT's bill for women's equal education is rejected in parliament as a result of YO's efforts and the religious fanaticism they create.(92) Because of this Kaya stops talking to Hamdi Paşa and does not let him into her bedroom. This makes Hamdi Paşa so unhappy that finally he supports the bill in the parliament and it passes!

Meanwhile, we learn that in these few years YT opened schools in Anatolia, made primary education compulsory and built roads and railways there. In Bursa they built factories, hotels, a mountain railway on Keşiş Mountain (Uludağ). Adana, where Ertuğrul became governor, is now a "new Egypt." The Turks and Muslims there are farmers, the Christians manufacturers; both are very wealthy. In three years no redif (reserve soldier) is collected in

[71] See for example pages 14, 17, 21.

Anatolia thanks to decentralisation. In each village there work many YT farmers who were trained in Europe.(93-94)

On the evening of the passage of the women's education bill in the parliament Kaya kisses Hamdi Paşa with affection. That night Asım is awakened by the phone-call of a YO member of the parliament who tells him that Oğuz has been shot when leaving the Fatih mosque after the evening prayer. He is not dead yet. Hamdi Paşa decides to keep it secret from Kaya, to prevent her from running to Oğuz. Later, they learn that the murderer, who is thought to be mentally deranged, has said that he has shot Oğuz because he had abolished the şeriat and uncovered women's heads.(100)

Thus, again we see that Muslim fundamentalism, which in this novel is created or incited by YO for selfish political reasons, becomes a weapon against Turkism, which stands for progress. Here again the author stresses Oğuz's piety (in contrast to the fundamentalist's accusation) by having him be shot just when leaving the mosque after his evening prayer. Hence, once again she emphasises that the Islam of the modernists is the true and sincere Islam and that of the fundamentalists a result of political ploys.

Hamdi Paşa manages to keep Kaya in a back room the whole day. On various pretexts she is not given the newspapers. In the evening imam Feyzi Efendi comes to tell Asım that Oğuz wants to see him. So, Asım goes with the weeping imam to Oğuz's house in Fatih. All streets, especially Oğuz's own street are packed with sad crowds. Oğuz asks his doctor, Sungur, who is his childhood friend, to stay and then tells Asım his life story.

His childhood was spent in Bursa's Tatar neighbourhood. (Previously we

had learned that he was born there (73)). He liked to play all day in the Green Mosque's courtyard. His father had died young and his mother worked hard in her fruit garden and sewed to provide for him, so that their little house "never lost the prosperity and cleanliness of this little Tatar house." She was an educated woman like all women in her family. Her sister Hatice (Kaya's mother) had married army captain Lütfü Bey, who used to be a teacher at the military lycée of Bursa and then had moved to Istanbul. Oğuz went to the 'neighbourhood school.' A certain sister Hanife (he does not explain who she was) used to tell his mother that because the teacher closed the school all day and beat the children, she should open a school in her home for little Tatar girls. Among women in her family teaching was also a common profession. Therefore, five children, including Oğuz, studied in her home, and learned the Kuran, reading and ilmühal (catechism) from her. His mother could count well on her fingers but she could not manage writing! Her greatest wish was to send Oğuz to military school to become an officer.(109)

Here Edib implies that Oğuz's mother -and by inference, it seems, the Tatar culture in general- already fulfilled her ideal of educated, industrious women who are educators themselves and who replace the backward neighbourhood schools. But still, what Oğuz's mother teaches (imperfectly) is the traditional sciences, taught normally at the mosque schools.

Oğuz graduated from the rüşdiye; but then he had to work because his mother had rheumatism. He drove the cart for Sungur's father, transporting sand and gravel. [What happened to their fruit gardens?] One day he caught the attention of the retired Mehmed Paşa to whose house he had brought some

gravel. Mehmed Paşa loaned him money with which Oğuz bought his own cart. Then the Paşa took over Oğuz's education and taught him privately the courses in the programme of the secondary school which prepared for Mülkiye, and then those of Mülkiye. Afterwards, Oğuz went to Romania and received financial compensation for the property his family had left behind after the bozgun (rout, which probably refers to the Ottoman defeat in the 1877-78 Russian War) from the Romanian government.[72] (110)

After the declaration of the constitution he taught history at Bursa high school. Five years later they received a letter from Samiye who wrote that her father had died and in which she invited her aunt (i.e., Oğuz's mother) to go and live with her. Oğuz's mother said that her sister used to tell that if she had a daughter she would name her Kaya. Oğuz suspected that Kaya was one of those acculturated Istanbul women who are "nationless, idle, ornate puppets" and would use her poor relatives as servants. Therefore, he decided to go and see her first, before accepting her invitation.(111)

When boarding the ship for Istanbul, Oğuz saw two Istanbul women, wearing tight çarşafs, toy-like shoes and with ridiculously small hands, who could not climb the stairs and looked for help. The young Istanbul men on board laughed at them, calling them "fettered ladies." Oğuz helped the ladies and then knocked down one of the young men! He says that, that was "a very meaningful example in my life," namely, to pull up the little fettered thing, then to knock

[72] Oğuz was eighteen years old when the constitution was declared, hence he was born in 1890. His family must have left Romania in 1878 after the 1877-78 War in which Romania also fought beside Russia against Ottomans. It is very interesting that after thirty years the Romanian government pays them compensation. Oğuz says that after that he had three-hundred liras(110), but it is not clear whether this is the amount he received from the Romanian government or whether this was the sum total of his money.

down the little gentleman who pulled her down and so to enter Istanbul. (Perhaps we can say it was 'an allegory of his life.') In a typically vague sentence he says "this small fettered creature which civilisation, or its imitation, gave us," and contrasts her to his mother who "has found her place in the world and in society."(112-113)

Once again we see that Edib's main foes are the fashionable 'imitators' who are peculiar to Istanbul. It seems that for the author only their women are oppressed, fettered, downgraded, by having become ornate, idle puppets. Where the subject of women's status is concerned, this group is the only one with whose oppression Edib deals, and whom she (or her hero) tries to emancipate. Whereas they are nationless and oppressed, the women of the true nation, like Oğuz's mother, are not oppressed, and have a place in society. Here Edib emphasises three major attributes of the hero Oğuz, who fights against these imitators and saves their women: Muslim, Tatar and poor. He grew up in a religious milieu, in and around mosques; he is a Tatar, hence a purer Turanian than perhaps the Ottoman Turks; and he comes from among the poor people. In a way, he embodies the nation which fights against the cosmopolitan imitators. This shows us that for Halide Edib, a nation is formed of these three essential components. Interestingly, Oğuz's Tatar background makes him atypical in Anatolia. But it seems that for Halide Edib it is precisely Oğuz's being a Tatar that makes him (along with other Tatars) lead the Turks of Anatolia toward national salvation.

Kaya in fact did not live in Istanbul, but in a village on the Bay of İzmit, called Değirmenderesi. (Here Asım remarks that today Değirmenderesi looks so different from the way it looked then; today it is a modest Swiss village with

its roads, clean houses and hotels). Villagers tell Oğuz that Samiye was continuing on her father's path. She had opened a school in her home; disapproved of villagers who spent their time sitting idle in coffee-shops. She had gathered teenage boys of the village and made them build a road. She had sent two boys to Istanbul as apprentices to carpenters; as a result, the latest houses built in the village were all wooden, like those in Istanbul. (Old ones were made of mud.) When Oğuz reached Kaya's house he heard her sweet voice telling a story to her students, as she always did before adjourning. She told them that men, women, young and old, all were looking for the Turan, walking on a never-ending, dry and barren road for many years which would lead them to their lush homeland. They loved this road. On their way they planted trees, cleaned the road and planted seeds. They are still going, she said, but today their road, the Turan road is green and well-watered. Among her students was also Ertuğrul (today's MP, see p.123). They finished the class by singing the YT song.(113-15)

As in YT song, in this story, too, the Turan denotes a faraway, lush and happy homeland towards which one goes by a dry, barren road. Besides a specific homeland, it is also a distant and vague ideal toward which a people constantly strives; and in this process of searching for the Turan the people themselves create it. So, more than being a specific place, the Turan is an ideal homeland that people themselves create by going through great hardships. Because their present situation is so unbearable (dry, barren) they willingly go through these hardships and search for or build the Turan. The context of Kaya's work in the village tells us that this process towards the Turan basicaily includes working for the modernisation of the country. The dry, barren road or

land in the story partly corresponds to the existing state of the Turkish villages, depicted as consisting of mud houses, no roads, and passive inhabitants. Kaya, and Lütfü Bey before her, mobilised the villagers by talking to them and through education and stories. They incited them to work towards transforming their land into a 'Swiss village,' with wooden houses, roads, trees and industrious inhabitants. This latter would be the New Turan, their true homeland.

When Kaya and Oğuz met they understood each other's souls instantly and talked till the next morning. Then, Oğuz's mother also moved to Değirmenderesi and they worked there for a year for YT, among books. The next year Sungur graduated from medical school and they decided to move to Erzurum to lay the foundations of the Turan; Kaya, Oğuz, his mother, Sungur (also a Tatar) and Kaya's student Ertuğrul. During all these years, although Kaya and Oğuz loved each other, they nevertheless sacrificed their love to their ideal. But Oğuz never explains what specifically they did in Erzurum.(116)

At this point Oğuz interrupts his story by drinking some kımız, then he asks Asım whether Kaya married Hamdi Paşa in order to save him from death. Asım, for his uncle's sake, swears that he does not know anything, and hence crushes Oğuz's last hope. The next morning Kaya snatches the newspaper from the maid's hand and reads of Oğuz's death. She addresses many bitter words to Hamdi Paşa, who crawls on the floor in agony, and then she walks out.(124)

So, unlike before, when "Turan" referred to an ancient race or to its prototype, in this last section of the novel it denotes the future modern homeland of this race. It is created by the idealistic work of Tatars, of Turkish nationalist intellectuals and villagers like Ertuğrul, who are educated by the founders of the

movement. Their work includes modernising the Turkish provinces of the Ottoman Empire, educating the people, changing villagers' mentality, implementing European agricultural methods, developing industry and transportation and prospering as a result of all these. Thus, Turan here is in fact a future Western country created and inhabited by modernised Turks. It is the Anatolian provinces of the empire not as they were then, but as they would look when they are modernised. Therefore, Turan is at the same time a distant ideal, a concept. We see that decentralisation does not apply to the non-Turkish groups of Anatolia and Anatolia as a whole is perceived as the Turkish homeland, which would be transformed into the New Turan.

It is very interesting that Tatars, who are recent immigrants to Turkey, are the leaders of this transformation in this novel. Kaya adopts the name that her Tatar mother thought of giving her, after becoming active as a Turanist, and refuses to use her former name, Samiye. However, it is clear that Tatars were also commonly using Arabic names like Hatice, which was her mother's name, and 'Kaya' does not seem to have been a common Tatar name in that period. It seems then, that Kaya's mother was also reviving the ancient Turkish names, which means that Tatars, too, were in the process of 'purifying their culture of foreign influences.' In other words, they were also going through a nationalist movement similar to the Turanism of the Ottoman Turks. By assigning such important roles to Tatars, Edib may be reflecting, albeit in an exaggerated way, the reality of her time. It appears that Tatars (and other Turks from outside the empire as well) participated in the Turkist movement in numbers much higher than their group's proportion to the Ottoman population. Some of them were in leadership positions in this movement, like Yusuf Akçura; and many of the prominent ones were pan-Turkist. Halide Edib's insistence on Tatars on the one

hand emphasises the racial nature of their movement; on the other hand, it brings to mind that Edib might have been in fact more pan-Turkist than she admitted. She might have also believed that for various reasons Tatars were better suited to such a nationalist task, perhaps because of having been displaced from their lands, or having lived as minorities among non-Turkish populations in the Balkans or in Russia.

In Yeni Turan we see on the one hand the notion of a modern Turkish nation-state in Anatolia, which would be based on modern economic and social institutions. But at the same time we see that Edib wanted this state to rule an empire consisting of lands adjacent to it. Moreover, she wanted it to draw strength from being part of a larger racial unit, the political unification of which was considered as a possibility. Yeni Turan shows us that while Edib wanted to go beyond the Ottoman system toward a modern nation-state, she was not satisfied then with the establishment of a smaller nation-state in Anatolia. She conceived of larger entities like a Turkish empire, or a pan-Turkish state with a strong Turkish basis in Anatolia.

CONCLUSION

From 1908 to 1912, Halide Edib changed from being a secluded intellectual woman to an active public personality who was involved in a wide range of activities. She published books, contributed regularly to leading newspapers and journals, gave public speeches in Türk Ocağıs, worked for educational reform, and was close friends with leading Unionists and Turkists. Her three novels studied in this thesis do not have high literary value; they are badly written, are full of grammatical errors and unclear sentences and lack good social or psychological analysis. Nevertheless, they show us quite a lot about her times, which was a crucial period in the history of Turkey, about her society, social categories and current ideas in it. Moreover, they reflect her own approach to all these.

Edib's political and social views were, in general, identical to those of the modernist constitutionalists, many of whom, like herself, developed into Turanists after 1910. Like them, she believed in Westernising her society, opposed the old traditional order, Muslim fundamentalism and a certain class of people who, in her opinion, imitated European appearances uncritically. Within this shared framework what is more peculiarly (although not exclusively) her own is: first, her strong emphasis on a modernised Islam as a cornerstone of the new social order; second, her unshakable admiration for the 'Anglo-Saxon culture' and her wish to introduce its principles into the Turkish society; and third, her firm emphasis on the need to form strong, permanent and virtuous

nuclear families, again as the basis of the new social order.

In all three novels the main characters are idealised persons. Their qualities are those which Edib wants the citizens of the new social order, initiated by the 1908 Revolution, to possess. The quality that is most strongly emphasised in all three novels is a negative one: not being imitators of European ways. Her novels point to this 'imitator' category of the Turkish society of that period, without thoroughly describing or analysing them. Unlike the 'imitators,' Edib's main characters are religious, moral, sober and nationalist; and, if they are female, they are emancipated. In Seviyye Talib the characters are fashionable like the 'imitators,' but in Yeni Turan they are against fashion. In all three novels the characters' religiousness is emphasised as a desirable personality-trait, but emphasis on Islam is strongest in Yeni Turan. Here, a modernised Islam, compatible with Westernisation, is stressed as a cornerstone of the new society, and is opposed to an anti-modern, fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. The importance of religious education is emphasised. Moreover, in Yeni Turan Islam plays a role in emancipating women from being mere sexual objects by helping them to cover up their sexuality in public and hence become useful members of the society.

Although Edib's own life as a woman is original and pioneering for her time, her ideas on women are not so. They are usually repetitions of ideas of modernist men on women, and are rather conservative. On the one hand, she advocated the right of women for equal education with men and for participation in public life, and equality between husband and wife. But more than these she emphasised (even overemphasised) marital and sexual morality (for both men and women). She conceived of strong, long-lasting nuclear families as the basis of the Meşrutiyet's new order and perceived intellectual and social

equality between men and women as a vehicle to lead to such permanent families. She believed that such families existed in Anglo-Saxon culture, and wanted Turks to learn from them. She firmly believed that establishing such a family system would almost be equivalent to accomplishing the task of founding the ideal national homeland, which was the main goal of the Meşrutiyet. Therefore, in Seviyye Talib she saw a connection between the perceived disruption of the Meşrutiyet by the '31 March Incident' and the destruction of the ideal marriage of its hero and heroine on account of extra-marital passion. This particular marriage was reformed and was changed after the 1908 Revolution from its former traditional state to its new ideal form, mainly by the husband's efforts at educating and modernising the wife.

Halide Edib also dealt extensively with divorce in her first two novels. In Raik'in Annesi it seems that she opposed divorce outright, but in Seviyye Talib she supported the right of a woman to get divorced as long as she did not have a child. However, in both novels Edib did not present an analysis or a direct criticism of the divorce practice of her society and did not really call for its reform.

As for her political views concerning the Ottoman state, in 1909 she halfheartedly supported the policy of Ottomanism. In 1912 however, she turned strongly against it and devised a new political system: a Turkish decentralised federative empire with a Turanist ideology, within which Anatolia would be the Turkish homeland. The Turks would concentrate their efforts and resources on developing and modernising this specific homeland, while at the same time ruling an empire. The non-Anatolian regions of this empire would have some local autonomy. In other words, while she moved a step closer to a Turkish nation-state, she could not yet dispense with the idea of ruling over an empire.

In fact, a more thorough study of the Tanzimat period and the writings of the Young Ottomans, as precursors of the Young Turks, would contribute a lot more to our understanding of Halide Edib's novels. This might reveal, for example, who exactly the 'imitators of the Europeans' were and why she opposed them; whether her opposition expresses the position of a certain section of her society; and whether the Young Ottomans and later the Young Turks also represented such a section. It might also explain the peculiar amalgamation in Halide Edib's thinking of conservatism in general, of certain salient thought patterns of Ottoman Muslim conservatives in particular, and of modernism and Westernism.

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