



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

English Language and Literature

British Cultural Studies Programme

**SWIMMING AGAINST THE CURRENT: RETHINKING
ORIENTALISM IN JULIA PARDOE'S *THE CITY OF THE SULTAN*
AND GRACE ELLISON'S *AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN A TURKISH
HAREM***

Metin ÖZASLAN

Master's Thesis

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KABUL VE ONAY

Metin ÖZASLAN tarafından hazırlanan "Swimming Against the Current: Rethinking Orientalism in Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan* and Grace Ellison's *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*" başlıklı bu çalışma, 24 Ocak 2024 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Yukarıdaki imzaların adı geçen öğretim üyelerine ait olduğunu onaylıyorum.

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22/02/2024

Metin ÖZASLAN

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ETİK BEYAN

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ABSTRACT

ÖZASLAN, Metin. *Swimming Against the Current: Rethinking Orientalism in Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan* and Grace Ellison's *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem**, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2024.

Throughout centuries, travel writing has been a popular genre of transferring experiences among writers and readers about unknown places. While it has been a valuable study area for not only cultural studies but also history, the subjective nature of travel texts also led to some prejudices about those places. One such prejudice is Orientalism, which is explained by Edward Said as a denigration of the East by Western writers, and this phenomenon is also observed in British travel texts about the Asia Minor. The root of the Orientalism problem stems from several facts such as the tales in *One Thousand and One Nights*, which depict several features of the East as one entity, and also from studies conducted on the East by scholars who studied the East as a scientific object rather than a region where actual people lived, which caused their dehumanisation by those scholars. In addition to these factors, the texts of travel and fiction, and also the visual arts that depicted the East in the same misrepresentative belittling manner have also been influential in the formation of the Oriental image of the East. While Said stated that the writers of the West contributed to the spread of Orientalism, there also have been writers who wrote against the prejudices of the West and tried to depict the East with an objective perspective. In this thesis, *The City of the Sultan* of Julia Pardoe and of Grace Ellison's *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* will be analysed through Said's theory of Orientalism in order to highlight how these writers have been different from the previous writers who depicted the East in a negative manner and sometimes showed parallelisms to Said's work, *Orientalism*.

Keywords

Orientalism, Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*

ÖZET

ÖZASLAN, Metin. Akıntıya Karşı Yüzmek: Julia Pardoe'nun *The City of the Sultan* ve Grace Ellison'ın *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* Eserlerinde Oryantalizm'i Yeniden Düşünmek, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2024.

Seyahat yazıları, yüzyıllar boyunca yazarlar ve okurlar arasında bilinmeyen yerlerle ilgili deneyimlerin aktarıldığı popüler bir tür olmuştur. Bu tür, sadece kültür araştırmaları için değil, aynı zamanda tarih için de değerli bir çalışma alanı olmuşken seyahat metinlerinin öznel doğası bu yerlerle ilgili bazı önyargılara da yol açmıştır. Bu önyargılardan biri, Edward Said tarafından Batılı yazarların Doğu'yu aşağılaması olarak açıklanan Oryantalizm'dir ve bu olgu aynı zamanda Anadolu hakkındaki İngiliz seyahat metinlerinde de gözlemlenir. Oryantalizm sorununun kökeni, *Binbir Gece Masalları*'ndaki hikâyeler gibi Doğu'yu tek bir bütün olarak tasvir eden çeşitli gerçeklerden ve Doğu'yu bir bölge olarak değil de bilimsel bir nesne olarak inceleyen bilim insanlarının neden olduğu çalışmalardan kaynaklanmaktadır ve bu durum da orada yaşayanların insandışılaştırılmasına neden olmuştur. Bu faktörlere ek olarak, Doğu'yu aynı şekilde yanıltıcı ve küçümseyici şekilde tasvir eden seyahat metinleri ve kurgusal metinler ile görsel sanatlar da aynı zamanda Doğu'nun Oryantal imajının oluşumunda etkili olmuştur. Said, Batılı yazarların Oryantalizmin yayılmasına katkıda bulunduğunu belirtirken, Batı'nın önyargılarına karşı yazan ve Doğu'yu nesnel bir bakış açısıyla tasvir etmeye çalışan yazarlar da olmuştur. Bu tezde, Julia Pardoe'nun *The City of the Sultan* ve Grace Ellison'ın *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* adlı eserleri, Said'in Oryantalizm teorisi üzerinden incelenecek ve bu yazarların Doğu'yu olumsuz bir şekilde tasvir eden önceki yazarlardan nasıl farklı olduklarını ve bazen Said'in çalışması olan *Oryantalizm*'e paralellik gösterdiklerini vurgulamak amacıyla Said'in Oryantalizm teorisi üzerinden analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Oryantalizm, Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, the sense of wonder led people to travel and write about their experiences in places that are unfamiliar to them. While introducing these places to readers, travel writing has also been a valuable component of cultural studies. It does not only give hints about historical events to the readers but also describes many cultural aspects of those places such as costumes and manners of the people in a region at a specific time, and in this aspect, it is also an invaluable asset to historians. More than other nations, due to their imperialism, the British had numerous travel writers who spread across the world for centuries. During the nineteenth century, there had been a bloom among British travel writers, who wrote travel texts about the East which they named “the Orient,” and the Ottoman Empire had been a popular destination among the travel writers who travelled to discover this “Orient.” In order to help the readers comprehend the magnitude of the number of the texts about this empire during this century, it should be noted that more than five thousand travel texts were produced about this region (Ortaylı 9). Some of the notable texts about the region written in the nineteenth century include Julia Pardoe’s (1804-1862) *The City of the Sultan* (1837) that will be analysed in this thesis, Robert Walsh’s (1772-1852) *A Residence at Constantinople* (1836), Alexander William Kinglake’s (1809-1891) *Eothen* (1844), and Frederick Burnaby’s (1842-1885) *On Horseback Through Asia Minor* (1877). This popularity also did not decrease during the twentieth century until the Great War, and the texts of travel about the Asia Minor continued to emerge.

While writing, the writers who wrote about the East added their personal opinions and prejudices to these travel texts, which led to a phenomenon called “Orientalism,” a term popularised by Edward Wadie Said (1935- 2003). Even though this word existed to refer to the studies conducted about the Eastern part of the world, through Said’s book, *Orientalism* (1978) the word gained a new meaning as a term. According to Said, Orientalism referred to the degradation of the Eastern world by means of depicting it through the lens of a Eurocentric perspective by denigrating and exoticising the Eastern nations. He also claimed that “every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric” (204).

Consequently, when the term “Orientalist” is mentioned, it will be used in a Saidian description in this thesis.

Even though Said claimed that modern Orientalism as a scholarly area started after Napoleon’s campaign in Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century, the phenomenon of Orientalism can be perceived in the majority of British travel literature about the Oriental world since the Middle Ages to the contemporary works. However, on the contrary of what Said believed, there also have been Western writers who went against the prejudices of the West and been supportive of the people of the East such as Julia Pardoe in the nineteenth century, and Grace Ellison in the twentieth century. In this sense, it can be claimed that they echoed Said’s *Orientalism* in their works while criticising the West.

In this thesis, in the discussions about “Orientalism,” the word “East” is used alongside the word “Orient.” In order to provide a better understanding of the discussions about these terms, the word “East” will be used to refer to geographical location on the earth (which have been used by Europeans, particularly by the British according to their geographical locations); while the word “Orient” will be used in order to refer to discussions about the discourses about the East. Also, as British travel writers used the terms “Asia Minor” and “Turkey” to refer to the Ottoman Empire for a long period of time, including the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these phrases will also be used interchangeably to refer to the Ottoman Empire. In the introduction part of the thesis, first the aspects of travel writing in Britain such as its emergence, credibility and the reputation of its writers will be discussed. Then, how the East influenced the West and as a result how Orientalism emerged first as a scholarly area and then as a system of hegemony after Said will be argued. Later, Asia Minor’s state in the Orient and the historical relations between the British and the Turkish will be explained through the impactful events in order to gain a better understanding of the mindset of the travellers. Lastly, a literary review about Pardoe’s and Ellison’s works that will be used in this thesis will be provided. In the individual chapters, how Julia Pardoe and Grace Ellison criticised Europe and praised the East contrary to the majority of writers from Britain will be analysed through the observations of Julia Pardoe in the nineteenth century and Grace Ellison’s observations in the twentieth century respectively.

Throughout centuries, there have been many travel texts that have been produced like Pardoe's and Ellison's, and determining the first travel writing that emerged in Britain is a challenging task. For instance, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, which was a book written in 1356 in French, had been believed to be the earliest example of the British travel writing for centuries as the author who used the first-person narration in the book claimed to be from England in the story. However, later it was discovered that the events in the book were a fabrication of the author, which made the events in the book, as well as the identity of the author, also uncertain (Adams 43). Because of the fact that travel writing is a non-fictional genre, this book can be dismissed as travel literature.

As for the first non-fictional travel writing, the genre arrived in Britain in the sixteenth century, which was a date later than it arrived to other European nations like France. The reason for this can be explained with the fact that, before the sixteenth century, the British travellers -thus the travel writers- mostly travelled for religious causes, and mostly for pilgrimage and they did not commonly write texts outside of the scope of their pilgrimages, and this fact changed after Britain started to become dominant in the seas during the sixteenth century as the travel logs on sea voyages kept by the British emerged (Thompson 40-42). However, no attempt that would be accepted as travel writing by the British had been made until 1582, when a man named Thomas Bavin was asked to document the East coast of the American continent not only with its landmarks but also the costumes and manners of the native people; nevertheless, Bavin and his party, thus the documents that he had prepared were lost in the sea, and the first attempt for a British travel text was a failure (Sherman 17-18). Consequently, for more than half of the sixteenth century, the only travel texts available to the British remained as the translations of travel texts written by other nations (19). However, this fact was about to change in the following years.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616), after translating several works of the travellers of other nations prior, published his compilation of British voyagers, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, during 1589 in order to demonstrate Britain's merits in voyaging and compete with other major powers of Europe in the field of travel writing (Sherman 19).

Hakluyt's work inspired travellers to produce their travel writings, not only during his lifetime but even after he passed away. His influence in the history of British travel writing continued, as the Hakluyt Society was established in 1847 in his name, which was "dedicated to the publication and editing of records of exploration," and also this society was closely connected to the Royal Geographical Society whose aim was to collect geographical information through voyages (Middleton 217, Markham 2). Another notable travel text of the sixteenth century is Sir Walter Raleigh's (1552-1618) *The Discovery of Guiana* (1596), in which he seeks the famous legendary city of Manoa that is more commonly known with its Spanish name, *El Dorado*.

As the examples of the travel texts started to be produced during the sixteenth century, the image of the traveller started to change as people began travelling for leisure instead of religious duties, and the perception of a traveller as a pious person was transformed into an almost opposite. Sara Warneke explains how the image of the traveller had a negative connotation between the early sixteenth century after the Reformation in 1517, and the late seventeenth century, before the Grand Tour. She states, between the mentioned time periods, the image of the travellers started to be negatively affected in Britain mainly due to the fact that they returned to the British Isles from the Continental Europe being influenced by the culture there (1). She marks the year 1570, in which Roger Ascham published his *The Scholemaster* as the beginning of the popularisation of the negative image of the travellers, as in this work Ascham depicted an English traveller who was influenced by the Italian culture and became an immoral person (7). After Ascham's work, as Warneke claims, the negative image of the travellers in both literature and popular culture became widespread while explaining that the reason why this negative image of the travellers spread like a wildfire is thanks to the fact that these prejudices had already existed in the minds of the British prior to *The Scholemaster* (7-8). She, then, exemplifies how these negative stereotypes take shape in different forms which can be divided into three groups: The first of these forms is the "travel-liar" and the "foolish traveller," which already existed since the medieval age, while the second being the "Catholic traveller" and "atheistical traveller," who lost their faith during their trip to Europe, and lastly "the morally corrupted traveller" and "the cultural renegade," who lost their British identity and have been influenced by the continental Europe's (especially France's and Italy's) culture (7-8). Even though there has been a change in

the image of the travellers in the latter half of the seventeenth century, these stereotypes persisted for a long time.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, there had been two major events that influenced travel writing. Firstly, the Royal Society was founded in 1660 in order to enhance the scientific knowledge of England, which supported travels and travel writing in order to gain textual knowledge about the places on earth (Thompson 45-46). This encouraged travellers to record their travels and produce numerous travel writing as a result. As travel writing was now encouraged by the state, the image of the travel writer also started to be perceived more positively. Another development of the century was the beginning of the Grand Tour of Britain. Even though the phrase originated in France as “*le grand tour*,” it was popularised in Britain and the person who introduced the phrase to the English language is believed to be Richard Lassels as he suggested the readers to take a “Grand Tour” in his *An Italian Voyage* that he wrote in 1670 (Buzard 39). With the influence of the Renaissance, which encouraged learning, and Reformation, which freed the individuals from the oppression of religious dogmas, young men in Britain started to travel to the Continental Europe. Even though it was not a requirement, most of these gentlemen were wealthy and from the upper class of the society. In addition, most of these men had a tutor that would accompany them during their Grand Tour, and with the help of their tutors, they learned about the culture of Europe, and became learned gentlemen (Brodsky-Porges 180). As the idea of travelling abroad spread as a personal development, and also as a means of contributing to science, the negative connotations about it also declined gradually.

With the development of the image of the traveller for the better that started in the seventeenth century, the number of the texts of travel grew exponentially¹. As for the most recognised travel texts of the seventeenth century; Thomas Coryat’s (1577-1617) *Coryat’s Crudities* (1611) where he travels through the Continental Europe, Samuel Purchas’s (1577-1626) *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), Sir Francis Drake’s (1540-

¹ The names of the travel writers, their works on travel, and the dates of these works in this paragraph are sourced from the “Chronology” section of *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs which provide numerous travel texts from the sixteenth to twenty-first century; however, the selection from among these works, comments on these texts along with their writers and their other works are mine.

1540) *The World Encompassed* (1628), and Paul Rycout's (1629-1700), *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1667) can be given as examples. It is a known fact that many of the most renowned writers of Britain produced travel texts in addition to their fictional works. As the number of travel texts kept increasing in the eighteenth century, only the writers that are still well-known today mainly thanks to their fictional works are to be mentioned here. For example, Daniel Defoe (1660-1731), the writer of the first English novel, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), wrote *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724), Henry Fielding (1707-1754), who is famous for his novels such as *Shamela* (1741) and its sequel *Joseph Andrews* (1742), wrote *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1755), Tobias Smollett (1721-1771), who is famous for his picaresque novels such as *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), wrote *Travels Through France and Italy* (1766), and last but not least, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) produced the most detailed work on the Ottoman Empire until the nineteenth century through her letters which were published as a collection with the name of *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763) posthumously. Lady Montagu's *Letters* is peculiar for this thesis as she criticised Europe's prejudices and tried to reflect the Ottoman Empire with objectivity in the eighteenth century (Umunç 304, Baysal 599). With this feature, it can be said that she had been a pioneer to Pardoe and Ellison. As travel texts increased in number exponentially during the nineteenth century, only the works that had the most impact or the works that had the authors who had a great impact on English literature will be mentioned. To begin with, Edward William Lane (1801-1876) wrote *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836), which provided material for the Oriental studies for scholars, Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) *The Voyage of HMS Beagle* (1839), which set the foundation of his *On the Origin of Species* (1859) where he explained his theory of evolution can be counted as such, Charles Dickens (1812-1870), who is one of the most renowned novelists of English literature with the works such as *Bleak House* (1853), *Hard Times* (1854), and *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), wrote *American Notes* (1842) and *Pictures from Italy* (1846) too. As for the twentieth century which covers the last part of this thesis, similar to the nineteenth century, there have been both writers that became famous through their travel texts and writers who became famous through other genres and produced travel texts. For example, Gertrude Bell (1868-1926), who wrote *The Desert and the Sown* (1907) and *Amurath to Amurath*

(1911), and Freya Stark (1893-1993), who wrote *The Valleys of the Assassins* (1934) and *Riding to the Tigris* (1959), became famous through their travel writing, while D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930), who produced famous works in many genres such as poetry collections like *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* (1923), short stories like “The Rocking-Horse Winner” (1926), and also novels like *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (1928), produced several travel texts such as *Sea and Sardinia* (1921), and *Mornings in Mexico* (1927). Subsequently, it is observed that throughout centuries, even though the literary sufficiency and credibility of travel literature has been questioned, there have been many famous writers of the travel literature, some of whom became famous through these texts and some others who wrote their travel texts in addition to their famous works of fiction. Even though there have been many famous writers that produced travel literature, the genre could not evade getting criticised.

The main criticism to the credibility of travel writing is the argument against its lack of ability to provide reliable historical information that would be used as a source about a region. This criticism stems from the belief that these texts were not recorded by professional historians, who would analyse the region and the events happening there with more precision with their knowledge of history, and from the belief of the travel texts’ tendency to be written with subjectivity. As an answer to the ability of the writers, it should not be forgotten that professionalisation of history as a field started during the nineteenth century, and history was recorded by amateurs in the previous eras (Lingelbach 78). So, lack of professionalism of travel writers, while depicting or commenting on the facts about a region or their manners can be overlooked as the writings of historians prior to the professionalisation of history is accepted as valuable sources in order to understand the collective history of humanity. Moreover, as travellers generally interacted with the local people in the regions more than the historians, these travellers depicted the social, political and cultural life in details, which were not so commonly available in history books. In addition, historians also often used travel texts in their works as reference books, when they analysed the culture of a region. Also, for some regions, the availability of the official historical records may not be at a satisfactory level, and travel texts might be consulted for detailed information as it has been the case for Turkish history. The historian İlber Ortaylı states that the travel texts of the foreigners that visited Turkey during the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires made

up the majority of the information that is used in the history field about these regions, and Nilay Kaya notes that Ortaylı also used Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan* in his theses (9, 350). So it can be observed that travel texts can indeed be reliable and valuable sources of information for not only the common readers but also the historians that are contrasted with the travel writers.

Against the argument that questions the subjectivity and accuracy of the information in the travel texts, it is correct that the readers might not be able to know the reliability of the information in these texts without visiting the regions that are described by those writers, and even when they visit these regions there is no guarantee of observation of the events described. However, if they compare and contrast the information in similar travel texts, they might be able to obtain accurate information. Of course, this does not mean that every repeating pattern in these travel texts should be considered as a historical fact. In travel texts, travellers represent the populations they describe in their works through their personal beliefs, and as Said also emphasises, "detaching" a writer's work from their personal background is not possible (10). Throughout centuries, the constructions of subjective representations such as Said's Orientalism have been prevalent in Europe and Britain mainly thanks to the Oriental tales in the *One Thousand and One Nights*, which will be discussed in detail in the first chapter. As a result of the Orientalist representations of the East, the West was filled with a sense of superiority against the East as these descriptions mainly consisted of denigrating themes of the East such as lust and cruelty which would contradict with the West's self-perceived chastity and mercy. For example, if one reads Richard Robert Madden's (1798-1886) *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine in 1824, 1825, 1826 & 1827* (1829), which will also be analysed further in the first chapter, one would believe that the *harems* were the places of orgies, and when the same person reads *The City of the Sultan* (1837) of Pardoe that was published during the same century they would see that the previous descriptions of the *harem* in the Western travel texts do not represent the truth, and they were written from an Orientalist perspective. So, it can be said that while there are many travel texts that would be examples of the Orientalist mindset which misrepresents the East, there are also examples that tried to correct the misrepresentations of the West by the Western writers, such as Pardoe and Ellison, which constitutes the content of this thesis.

The reason why there have been numerous travel texts about the Orient is the West's interest in the East, and the most observable effects of the interest in the East have been in clothing, furniture, and visual arts since the seventeenth century. As a result of the studies conducted on the East about the manners, languages, and costumes of the people who lived in the East, a change in the art and fashion of the West was also observed in line with the Western curiosity about the "Orient," which gave way to the thought of "exoticism of the East." A significant example of this influence is the *Turquerie* fashion, which influenced the majority of Europe starting at the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Bevilacqua and Pfeifer explain the phenomenon of *Turquerie* as a "pan-European interest in and emulation of Ottoman culture between 1650 and 1750, [that] was not solely a European representation of a foreign people, but a set of responses to an increase in the movement of Ottoman goods and ideas" (75). So, *Turquerie* movement can be summarised as an imitation of the Turkish way of life.

There are two major factors, which helped the emergence of *Turquerie*. The first one is related to the fact that after the Battle of Vienna in 1683, where the Ottomans were defeated, the threatening image of the Turks decreased throughout Europe, and the second reason is the translation of *One Thousand and One Nights* into a European language for the first time, French (with the title of *Les Mille et Une Nuits*), by Antoine Galland in 1704 (Williams 8). The translation of Galland, which will further be analysed in the first chapter, also has been an important factor in the formation of the Orientalist beliefs about the East. Even though most of the regions in the *Nights* were not in the territory of the Ottoman Empire, Europeans associated these fairy tales with the Turks (Williams 8). After this association, Europeans started to imitate their costumes to align themselves with the feeling of living in those fairy tales.

During the eighteenth century, *Turquerie* was not the only craze that influenced Europe. The "Far East" had started to attract the attention of the continent as much as the Near East. *Chinoiserie*, which was the imitation of the furniture and buildings in Chinese, Japanese, and sometimes Indian style was popular in Europe during that time (Impey 9-10). Moreover, this imitation was not limited to simply copying of the Eastern style, but it also included mixing the art style of the "Far East" with European styles such as rococo, baroque, or gothic (Impey 10). Moreover, during the nineteenth century, the

influence of the “Near East” became more dominant as a result of Orientalist paintings’ gaining popularity. Walter B. Denny states that a group of European painters reflected the Orient as an exotic entity by misrepresenting them through the sexuality of *harem*, slavery, cruelty, and extravagant luxury (219). The Orientalist Art was more popular in France than in Britain thanks to the fact that it was supported by the government (Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism* 110). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the impact of eroticism of the French painters in the Oriental Art, especially Jean-Léon Gérôme’s, was observable to a great extent while the British painters followed a more conservative path by refraining from depicting nudity in their paintings (Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism* 110). While the West represented and imitated the Orient for centuries through the aforementioned endeavours, how these representations of the East from the West came into being would be explained by Edward Said’s *Orientalism* in the twentieth century. He explained how the Orientalist perspective of the West, as stated by Said as racist and demeaning, caused the misrepresentation of the East in the Western world.

Before the discussions about Said’s Orientalism, which ignited the discussions about the relations between the East and the West in academia, the meaning of this word will be explained. Prior to Said, the word “Orientalism,” was understood with its dictionary meaning as the features of the East or the study of the East; and an Orientalist was understood to be a person who studied the East. Even though “Orientalism” as a term was popularised after Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, this word existed before his publication. Before moving to the Saidian meaning of “Orientalism,” it is necessary to comprehend this word through an analysis of its morphemes and what each morpheme represents. In order to reach a neutral meaning of the word, the meaning of the word and the morphemes that compose it will be analysed through *The Oxford English Dictionary*. As a matter of fact, the smallest morpheme, the “Orient,” is described in the *Dictionary*, as synonymous with the word the “East.” The word’s definition is given as both the place, where “the sun and other heavenly bodies rise, ... the east,” and regions, which are “situated to the east of some recognised point of reference; eastern countries”; the *Dictionary* also gives examples of the use of the word in literary texts which go back to Geoffrey Chaucer’s “The Monk’s Tale” in his *The Canterbury Tales* written in the fourteenth century with the lines: “They conquered manye regnes grete / In the

Orient” (“Orient” def. A1 and A2). In a similar fashion, “Oriental” is also defined in the *Dictionary* as “[b]elonging to or situated in the east of ... the earth; eastern” and “Belonging to, found in, or characteristic of, the countries or regions lying to ... the east of Europe” (“Oriental” def. A2 and A3). So, the term, “Oriental,” is defined as something belonging to the Orient, the East of Europe, which also characterises it. Then, the word “Orientalism” is defined in the *Dictionary* in two ways that would separate its meaning. The first definition given is “Oriental character, style, or quality; the characteristics, modes of thought or expression, fashions, etc. of Eastern nations; with *pl.* an oriental trait or idiom,” while the second is “Oriental scholarship; knowledge of Eastern languages” (“Orientalism” def. A and B). In the final analysis, it can be concluded that the word Orientalism refers to both the features that are peculiar to the people in the East, and to the studies conducted about the people of the East. Another word related to Orientalism, “Orientalist” is also defined in the *Dictionary* as “[o]ne versed in oriental languages and literature” (“Orientalist” def. 3). So, according to the *Dictionary*, the words Orientalism and Orientalist are related in the sense that the former is the study of the East while the latter is the person who studies the East. As aforementioned, even though it was Said, who brought about the majority of the discussions about Orientalism, this term as the study of the East, and the idea of the Orient and Oriental existed long before him due to the fact that the West has been interested in the East since antiquity.

Orientalism as a scholarly area, which analysed the Eastern world from the Western stand point, long existed before Said’s *Orientalism*. Es-Sibai claims that even though the exact beginning of the Orientalist studies cannot be pinpointed, he states that the first known studies started during the tenth century through the European clergymen, who came to the Caliphate of Cordoba to study not only their scientific advancements but also their culture (31). On the other hand, Said links the beginning of the Orientalist studies to 1312, when the Church Council of Vienne decided to study the languages of the East such as Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew (49-50). Moreover, Hsu-Ming Teo adds that even though the studies about the East by the West started during the Middle Ages, due to ongoing military clashes in both *Reconquista* and the Crusades, these studies gained pace during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thanks to the Ottoman Empire which did not only battle with Europe but also allied and traded with them (3).

The topic of the Ottoman Empire is also peculiar in the study of *Orientalism*. Even though Said recognised the empire as an entity that remained in the Orient and referred to it several times, as Himmet Umunç also states, his analyses of the Ottomans who have been the greatest power in the Orient throughout centuries remained on the surface level (298). However, this fact might have resulted from Said's focusing his work on Egypt as he claimed where modern Orientalism began.

Even though the studies are conducted on the Orient for centuries, the scholarly aspect of Oriental studies coincides with the eighteenth century. During this century, philological studies were conducted on the Oriental languages such as Chinese, and Sanskrit of India, and “[t]he study of the Orient became institutionalised,” when “Sir William Jones established the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784” (Teo 3). Also, during this century, the event on which Said bases his theory of Orientalism occurred. Said states that, Napoleon Bonaparte's (1769-1821) invasion of Egypt during the year of 1798 started the period of “modern Orientalism” in which the Orient started to be studied as a scientific object due to the fact that Napoleon did not only invade Egypt physically but also culturally and scientifically as he got *Description de l'Égypte* (Description of Egypt), which depicted Egypt in detail, published (22, 43-44). After this work, the Orient became an entity that would be studied by the West from an Orientalist perspective in Said's term. Throughout the nineteenth century, there had been numerous Orientalist writers that wrote about the East in a denigrating way such as François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), who will be analysed in the first chapter.

Also, the French were not the only nation that studied the East. Similarly, Britain produced many Orientalist scholars like Edward William Lane (1801-1876), who published a work that analyses Egypt, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* in 1836. In addition to Orientalists who depicted the Orient in a denigrating way, Teo argues that even though there have been scholars that studied the Orient with objectivity and “pursue[d] anti-imperialist agendas” in the Orient, “[t]hese alternative voices” were “marginalised” by the “mainstream Orientalists and colonial administrators[,] and policy makers,” and Es-Sibai adds, such Orientalists are few because of the fact that as these researchers did not conform to popular Orientalist beliefs of the West, their works could not get popularity, which resulted in their not

being financially supported through their works (4, 38). So, only the ones who had the means that could continue working on the Orient without a financial support could go against the beliefs of the West, and this shows the political and economic aspect of Orientalism.

While it should be noted that Said's work has been the most influential one in the discussions about Orientalism, Anouar Abdel-Malek's article, "Orientalism in Crisis" (1963), precedes Said's *Orientalism* (1978). In his article, Abdel-Malek discusses the "traditional orientalism" that he dates back to the Council of Vienna in 1245 unlike Said, and says that the East is under a "European hegemony," and the West approaches the East with an "essentialist" approach (104, 106-108). While it can be seen that a similar work has been conducted prior to Said, as Said's work has been more comprehensive and accusative of the West by stating that they were racists, it became the work that triggered the discussions about Orientalism.

Edward Said revolutionised the studies about the Orient with his *Orientalism*, and in this work, he demonstrated how the West essentialised the East, and made the Orient a field of study through texts produced by the West. Essentialism can be explained as an act of determining the features of a matter or a phenomenon's "essential attributes" without which it would not exist (Cartwright 615). In the case of Orientalism, the essentialisation of the East by the West happened in the process when the West attributed several features to the East such as despotism or cruelty. Said begins his book by stating that the idea of the Orient was "almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences" (1). Even though he recognises that the "Far East" is also included in the Oriental world, Said mainly focuses on the "Near East," and especially Egypt in his work. He defines Orientalism in three ways. His first definition is the academic field of Orientalism, where he defines an Orientalist as "[a]nyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient," and states that what this person does is Orientalism, while his second definition is a philosophical one where he defines Orientalism as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (2). It can be observed that his first two definitions align with the conventional definition of

Orientalism, which regarded it as a study of the East by the West. His third definition on the other hand is the one that makes his work controversial, whereby he explains:

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient - dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. (*Orientalism* 3)

Through this explanation, Said adds a new meaning to the word Orientalism. According to him, Orientalism was not only a study conducted on the East, but also a control mechanism on the Orient. In order to detail how this control mechanism was operated, he makes use of Michel Foucault's concept of discourse to describe his third definition of Orientalism as an "Orientalist discourse" of the West through which the West oppresses the East (3, 6). Through the Orientalist discourse, Europe "creates" an Orient, and in this process several "stereotypical images" of the East emerge such as "backward," "despotic," "inferior," "feminine," and, "sexually corrupt" (Macfie, *Reader* 4). Through these descriptions, the image of the East is produced, and it was believed that the East was the opposite of the West. These features were also contrasted with the image of the West and a system of knowledge about the East and thus, the West emerged.

Said also makes use of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony to explain how the East perceived itself similar to how the West perceived the Orient thanks to this system of knowledge (7). Also, it should be noted that the hegemony in Orientalism was created through "the tropes, images, and representations of literature, art, visual media, film, and travel writing, among other aspects of cultural and political appropriation" (Burney 23). Through this system of knowledge, the idea of the Orient is sewn into "the Western consciousness and an 'integral part of European material civilisation and culture'" (Macfie, *Reader* 4). Said also explains how this system of knowledge is created. Throughout his work, he exemplifies Orientalists who studied the Orient, and produced textual works about it like the French Orientalists such as Silvestre de Sacy, and aforementioned Chateaubriand; and British Orientalists like again previously mentioned Lane, and H. A. R. Gibb as well as people who worked in the Orient in the governing bodies like British Arthur James Balfour, who used the knowledge produced by

Orientalists in order to create the hegemony in the Orient and keep their power in the region through the Orientalist discourse. Said, then explains how this discourse influences the people of the West by stating that every person from the West who encounters the Oriental world, encounters the East with his collective Western identity first rather than his personal identity (11). He later explains how the literary texts reach a strength that would influence people so easily by saying that every Orientalist writer bases his work on the previous works about the Orient, which provides the recreation of the Orientalist ideas throughout centuries; also the writers whose works get cited gain authority on the field of Orientalism (20, 23). As the Orientalist discourse is created through literary texts, Said says that travel texts are also responsible for the Orientalist discourse (40). In the final analysis, it can be said that Said's work has been phenomenal in explaining how the Orient is created and treated by the West.

In terms of which regions are decided to be Oriental by the West, the state of Asia Minor is ambiguous thanks to its geopolitical location. Historically, the West was defined through Europe, and the Continental Europe was used to refer to the point until where the Bosphorus Strait starts. So, even though a small portion of modern Turkey is on the Continental Europe due to Istanbul's location, it is not regarded as a European nation, and it is often regarded as a Middle Eastern nation along with other nations, whose majority of the population is Muslim. For the Ottoman Empire, this situation was more complex. It was perceived as an Eastern nation for the Western nations and a Western nation for the Eastern nations (Öğünç 247). The main reason for this was related to the fact that the Ottoman Empire spread across a large region throughout its rising period which includes the Continental Europe on the West and the Middle East on the East along with Asia Minor in the centre. One other factor that influenced the Westerner status of the Ottomans is the phenomenon called succession of the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire was regarded as the pinnacle of the Western civilisation by the European nations. After the empire was split into two halves and the Western Roman Empire collapsed, the Eastern Roman Empire, or the Byzantine Empire as it is more commonly referred to, became the successor of the Roman Empire. In 1453, the Ottoman Empire sieged the capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople. After he

conquered Constantinople, Mehmed II (also known as “Mehmed the Conqueror” thanks to this feat), the Sultan of the Ottomans at the time, claimed to have become the new successor of the Roman Empire by both making Constantinople the new capital of the Ottoman Empire and adopting the title of *Sultan-ı Rum* (the ruler of the Romans), which his successors carried on, and this claim of the Ottoman sultans caused the Muslim nations on the Eastern side of the Ottoman Empire to call the Ottomans as *Rumiyun* (Romans), which furthered their Westerner status (Nicolle 174, Noble 313). However, the Ottomans’ claim on the succession war did not come to a conclusion in the fifteenth century.

The imperial claims of the Ottoman Empire were carried further in the sixteenth century through Suleiman I’s grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha’s efforts. In order to secure the *translatio imperii* (transfer of rule) of the Roman Empire to the Ottomans, Ibrahim Pasha commissioned a European-style crown from Venetians that had four tiers, which symbolised the four continents to be ruled by his Sultan (Casale 86-88). The crown was completed after the Siege of Vienna, which was the first attempt of the Ottomans to capture the city in order to eliminate a rival claimant to the Roman Empire, the House of Habsburg, that ruled the Holy Roman Empire (Casale 87). The helmet remained as a ceremonial item, where it was displayed in order to make an impression towards the ambassadors that visited the empire, and worn only once during Suleiman I’s campaign to Vienna in 1532 that ended up being unsuccessful, and it was melted eventually (Kurz 256, Necipoğlu 407). Even though the advance of the Ottomans on the West was halted at Vienna during that time, they were also advancing on the East.

While the Ottoman Empire’s status as a Western nation was on the rise after the conquest of Constantinople and other regions on the Continental Europe, its expansion on the East provided an opposing effect. For example, during the reign of Selim I, after the Ottomans seized control of Egypt in 1517, the Ottoman Empire was regarded as the successor of the Mamelukes (Kurz 251). The Mamelukes were Muslims, like the Turks in the Ottoman Empire, which strengthened their association from the Western perspective contrary to an association with the Romans. Being an Islamic nation also weakened the Ottomans’ claim to *translatio imperii*, as the late Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire were both Christian nations, like the rest of the nations on the

Continental Europe, and especially the Ottomans' rival claimant, the Holy Roman Empire. As a result, despite the efforts of the Ottomans, they remained as an Eastern nation in the eyes of the Europeans, and this fact did not change in the nineteenth century, and even in the twentieth century it still continued. As the status of the Ottoman Empire as an Eastern nation in the eyes of the West was finalised, the relations between the Ottomans and the West were shaped according to it, and this fact did not change for the British either.

Apart from the battles fought in coalitions, ever since the two nations met, the relationship between the Turks and the British had been mostly economic throughout centuries on account of the fact that their territories were not in vicinity of each other. The first contact between the Turks and the British occurred during the First Crusade, when Asia Minor was being controlled by the Seljuk Empire (Uzunçarşılı 573). The Crusaders went on a campaign on the Muslim forces in order to capture Jerusalem, which was in the Muslim territory at the time, and was regarded as a holy site by both religions. The coalition forces of the Christians and the Muslims clashed at the Battle of Dorylaion in the year of 1097, in the region that would be Eskişehir in modern-day Turkey, where the battle ended with a Crusader victory (France 363). The Seljuk Empire faced the Crusaders two times more with the Muslim coalition, and the Muslims were victorious in both battles. After these Crusades, the Turks and the British did not encounter on the battlefield until the Battle of Nicopolis. During this time, the Ottoman Empire was in power in Asia Minor, and was stretching to Europe through the Balkans. In 1396 there were several European powers that united in order to remove the Turks from the Balkans (Uzunçarşılı 573). The battle ended with the Ottoman victory, and the Turks and the British did not meet on the battlefield for centuries. Even though they did not fight, the opinions of the nations for each other remained negative for a long time. According to the Turks, the British were infidels; and according to the British, the Turks were not only infidels but also a great military power which was against them, and they needed to be stopped (Eravcı 57-58). These prejudices continued to exist for centuries. Due to the fact that these nations were not in need of contacting each other frequently, as they were separated geographically, their relations did not develop until the sixteenth century.

During the sixteenth century, the relationship between the nations evolved into an economic and political cooperation. As Queen Elizabeth I of the Kingdom of England was in an arms race with the Spanish Empire over the domination of the seas, she saw the Ottomans as a valuable ally on account of the fact that the Ottomans and the Spanish were also in an arms race in the Mediterranean (Uzunçarşılı 573-74). This was a golden opportunity for the British, as they would not only be able to strengthen their hands against their rival in sea trade, but also gain access to a new trading location for their emerging mercantilist nation. In 1575, the British contacted the Ottomans in order to make a trade deal that would permit and protect British trade in the Mediterranean Sea, and in 1580, Queen Elizabeth I and Sultan Murad III agreed on the capitulations that would give British traders advantages in the region (Vlami 13). After this agreement, the famous Levant Company that would provide the British with income for almost two hundred and fifty years was established. Through this company, the Ottoman Empire became a new market for the British, and Britain was able to sell its goods to the Ottomans, who were struggling with production at that time (Eravcı 61). During this time, Britain also established an embassy in the Ottoman Empire, and William Harborne became the first ambassador in the nation. However, contrary to the other ambassadors of other nations in the Ottoman Empire or Britain's ambassadors in other nations, the salary of the British ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire were paid by the Levant Company and not by the crown (Epstein 74-75). This fact implies the nature of the appointment of an ambassador to the Ottoman territory. As that ambassador got paid through a private company and not the queen herself, that person would prioritise the profits of the company rather than the political success of the British Empire. Moreover, the Levant Company began choosing the ambassadors in the region (Epstein 77). Accordingly, the power the company gained not only in trade but also in politics between the British and the Turks became more and more apparent.

The relationship between the Ottomans and the British developed further in the seventeenth century. The trade between the Ottomans and the British was at its highest point between 1620 and 1683 (Bağış 43). It is seen that the trade deal between the nations was a success. The Ottomans sent their first envoy to Britain in 1607 (Eravcı 68). This demonstrates the fact that the relationship between the nations did not only develop economically but also politically. The Kingdom of England had developed into

the British Empire in the late sixteenth century as a result of its aggressive expansion campaign, which resulted in the British to colonise Ireland through plantation, and America through settlers; and expand its trade routes to India by means of the East India Company. As the Ottoman Empire was in a key location for the British to provide access to India, the British desired to keep their good relations with the Ottomans. In the late seventeenth century, the Turkish advance to Europe was stopped with the Battle of Vienna in 1683, and after this battle the decline of the Ottoman Empire began. The British Empire worked relentlessly in order to stabilise the region by making peace between the nations that took place in the battle, and also took active role in the signing of the *Treaty of Karlowitz* (1699) (Eravcı 66). This treaty is widely regarded as the official beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire as it was the first treaty that it signed after a defeat in battle. For the rest of the seventeenth century, the relations between the British and the Ottomans were rather stable.

In the eighteenth century, the relations between the British and the Ottomans started to decline and become more complicated. This was due to Britain's adopting a colonialist ideology and trying to influence the Ottoman Empire politically (Eravcı 66-67). However, as both parties profited from the trade in the region, they did not break their diplomatic ties. After the *Karlowitz* in 1699, the Ottomans accepted that they were behind the Europeans technologically. Subsequently, in order to follow the developments in Europe, the Ottomans decided to establish embassies in Europe. The Ottomans desired to open the first embassy in France, but as the French Revolution made the region unstable, they decided to establish their first embassy in the British Empire in 1794 (Günce 103). It should also be noted that, in addition to Britain's being a major European power, the close relationship of the Ottomans and the British have been influential in this decision as they would have chosen another major power in Europe. After the establishment of the embassy, it is seen that the relationship between the nations developed exponentially. The Sultan of the Ottomans, Selim III started to call the King of Britain, George III as a Sultan to emphasise that he now saw him as a peer, unlike the previous times when the Ottoman Sultans believed that they were superior to the other nations' leaders (Eravcı 68). Another reason that developed the relations between these nations is Britain's eagerness to protect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. This fact stems from the Russian threat over the Ottomans. In

the latter half of the eighteenth century, the trade between the Turks and the British through the Levant Company declined to the extent that the British government had to intervene and help the company financially (Bağış 43). This situation started to influence the relations between the Turks and the British. As trade began to decline, the British Empire started to demonstrate stronger actions in order to increase its control in the Eastern part of the world. During the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774) in the eighteenth century, Britain helped the Russians to annihilate the Turkish fleet in the Battle of Chesme in 1770 in several ways such as providing British volunteers to the Russian navy, supplying their ships, and allowing them to use the British ports in the Mediterranean Sea; also training the Russian navy officers while lending some of the British officers to help the assault to the extent that one of the two squadrons that carried on the attack was being commanded by a British officer, Captain John Elphinston, while the other was in the control of Admiral Grigory Andreyevich Spiridov (Anderson 148, 151-53). The reason why Britain undertook such an action, which caused the deterioration of public opinion about the British in the Ottoman Empire, resulted from the fact that the trade between Britain and Russia was happening in a much larger volume than the trade between the British and the Ottomans, while the foreign trade of the Ottomans was being dominated by France, and Britain's desire to end the war between the Turks and the Russians in order to secure the British trade in the region (149, 156, 162). Accordingly, it can be observed that during the eighteenth century, the relations between the two nations had been unstable.

Because of the fact that the writers that are analysed in this thesis visited the Ottoman Empire during these centuries, the historical background of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries will be analysed in relation to these writers. In the spawn of the nineteenth century, Pardoe embarked on Asia Minor in 1835, during the decline period of the Ottoman Empire. Prior to her arrival, the Ottomans had started to lose authority in their territories. The Greeks gained independence in 1821 and the Serbians in 1835, which was then followed by Egypt in 1831, which was a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire during the time revolted, and could only be stopped with the help of the Russian Empire, which was one of the rivals of the British Empire. This aid resulted in a treaty between the Russians and the Ottomans, the *Treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi* in 1833, which worried the British (Puryear 11). During Pardoe's visit to the empire in 1835, Mahmud

II, who was known as the reformist sultan, was in reign. He had removed the Janissaries from the army in 1826, which was known as the “Auspicious Incident” (*Vaka-i Hayriye*) as they started to become problematic for the empire (Permana et al. 246). He also made it mandatory to wear fez and European-style trousers for the government officials (Erşahin 39). After Pardoë left the empire, the innovations in the nation were still persistent.

In 1838, the British and the Ottomans signed the *Treaty of Balta Liman*, which was more of an economic agreement rather than a political one. In 1839, the *Edict of Gülhane (Tanzimât Fermânı)*, and in 1856 the *Ottoman Reform Edict of 1856 (Islahat Fermanı)* were released with the order of Abdulmejid I. Even though Europe’s influence in the release of them cannot be denied, through these edicts, the Ottoman Empire started to become modernised and the equality between the Muslim and non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire increased (Özhazinedar 762, 766). In 1867, Abdulaziz was invited to Europe by several rulers such as Napoleon III of France, and Queen Victoria of England; consequently, when he visited these nations in order to develop the relationship between his empire and the European ones he became the first Ottoman Sultan that visited the European nations (Gündoğdu 215). In 1876, however, he was dethroned by a coup carried out by the Young Ottomans (not to be confused with the group of the Young Turks), and Murad V was crowned instead of him (Zürcher 73). As Murad V was hesitant about establishing a constitutional monarchy like he promised to the Young Ottomans, after he had a “severe nervous breakdown,” he was decided to be “unfit to rule,” and Abdülhamit II was crowned in his stead, and he established the first constitutional monarchy during the same year (73). This was another step in the direction of democracy for the empire as now there was a parliament in addition to the monarchy similar to the British Empire, and a constitution called *Kânûn-ı Esâsî* (the fundamental law). This era was later called as the First Constitutional Era (*Birinci Meşrutiyet Devri*), which would end as Abdul Hamid II abolished the parliament and the constitution in 1878, and only to be followed by a Second Constitutional Era (*İkinci Meşrutiyet Devri*) (Acar 415-16). So, it can be concluded that the last half of the nineteenth century had been turbulent for the Ottoman Empire.

In the twentieth century, the Second Constitutional Era, which was enforced by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP - *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) -which was a group among the Young Turks- started in 1908 (Macfie, *End* 52). Grace Ellison's first visit to the Ottoman Empire coincides with this year after the re-establishment of the constitution. When she visited Turkey again in 1913, she would find out that Abdul Hamid II was dethroned, and replaced with Mehmed V (101). Ellison's *Turkish Harem* analyses the life in the late Ottoman Empire during the twentieth century before World War I. A few months after Ellison left the empire, World War I broke out, and during her next visit to Turkey; Ellison witnessed the Turkish War of Independence led by Mustafa Kemal (who would receive the surname of Atatürk *lit.* "Father of the Turks" in 1934) with whom Ellison conducted an interview that will further be discussed in the second chapter.

As for the prior studies about these writers, Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan* has been studied in relation to how she depicted the Turks through several works. For example, Kübra Çelik's thesis "19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unun Julia Pardoe'nun Gözünden Özde Çeviri Kavramıyla Okunması ve Aslına Çevirilerinin Değerlendirilmesi," focuses on the translation techniques of the book into Turkish, providing a summary of the work focusing on the depictions of the Turks. Gülbahar Rabia Altuntaş's thesis "The Material Culture in the İstanbul Houses through the Eyes of British Traveler Julia Pardoe (D.1862)" is another work about Pardoe, in which Altuntaş focuses on the Turkish houses in the work. Moreover, Nilay Kaya's book chapter "Masaldan Gerçeğe: Miss Julia Pardoe'nun İstanbul'u," and Onur Bilge Kula's book section "Julia Pardoe'nün Sultanlar Şehri İstanbul'unda Türk İmgesi ve Oryantalist İzler" both discuss whether Pardoe is an Orientalist in a Saidian sense. Kaya analyses Pardoe's work in the lines of how her being a woman affected her work, and how she depicted the Turks. She states that unlike the male travellers of Pardoe's time, who tended to misrepresent the life of the Turks and misinformed their readers, Pardoe tried to break away from these prejudiced representations of the Western writers (349). On the other hand, Kula claimed that Pardoe carried "traces of Orientalism," as the title of his section suggests. Even though he wrote that Pardoe clearly stated she tried to discard the Western prejudices that she had been influenced by the travellers prior to her, he does not accept this statement by emphasising that Pardoe described the Ottoman Empire through the

lens of exoticism with some Orientalist elements such as describing the Turks as lazy (340-41). Even though Kula mentions the parts where Pardoe represents the Turks in a positive way, he disregards the writer's primary intention in order to find elements of Orientalist discourse through analysing each and every word by disregarding the integrity of the text and the intention of the writer. It should also be noted that Billie Melman states that Pardoe was a Turkophile, while Reinhold Schiffer claims that "she became a true friend of the people" in the Ottoman Empire during her stay (100, 393). So, it can be concluded that Pardoe was not an enemy of the East that would intentionally misrepresent them with the Western prejudices in her works, so Kula's charges of Orientalism about Pardoe can be disregarded.

As for Grace Ellison's *Turkish Harem*, it is analysed in Ekaterina Aygün's thesis "The Ottoman Empire in 1908-1913 and Ottoman Women as Seen through the Eyes of Two Journalists, Russian Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams and British Grace Ellison" where she compares and contrasts the depictions of the Turkish women through the perspectives of Tyrkova and Ellison. Ayşe Durakbaşa's book section "Kültürel Karşılaşma Anları ve Türk Feminist Kimliğinin Kuruluşu" is another study through which she discusses Ellison's works in relation to feminism. On the other hand, Reina Lewis's book section "Harem Travellers" gives information about Ellison's biography, literary persona and her works, while Teresa Heffernan's book *Veiled Figures: Women, Modernity, and the Spectres of Orientalism* (2016) discusses Ellison's relation to the Turks, and her opinions about the *harem* and the veil of the Ottoman women. Lewis and Heffernan also wrote an introduction to the 2007 edition of the *Turkish Harem*, where they provided the readers with the historical background of the work.

In addition to the studies that analyse Ellison's works, Füsün Çoban Döşkaya discusses the possibility of Ellison's being the French journalist Madame Léra/Marie Léra, who wrote with the pen name of Marc Hélys. In 1906, Louis Marie-Julien Viaud, who wrote with the pen name of Pierre Loti (who was famous for his Oriental novels) released his book *Les Désenchantées* (the disenchanted, also has an English version named *Disenchanted*). According to Döşkaya, as the three female characters in the novel; Djénane, Melek, and Zeyneb were based on real people, whose real names Loti concealed because of the oppressive regime of Abdul Hamid II, and as Zeynep and

Melek were exposed to be actual people by Ellison, and the identity of Djénane stayed hidden, the third woman might have been Ellison (94). She furthers her discussion by stating that, Djénane was a French journalist named Madame Léra that resided in the Ottoman Empire around the same time as Loti, and “[s]hortly after Pierre Loti’s death, in 1923, by using the pseudonym Marc Hélys, she published *Le Secret des ‘Désenchantées’* (The Secret of the ‘Disenchanted’) with a subtitle ‘The other point of view of a novel, revealed by the one who was Djenan’” (Döşkaya 94-95). In order to strengthen her claim, Döşkaya gave an example from Alev Lytle Croutier’s book, *The Third Woman* (2006), which touches upon the *exact* suspicion of Döşkaya. In the book, two characters discussed the possibility of Madame Léra’s in fact being Grace Ellison not only due to their similar appearances but also as Léra used her signature as Héliá, which made the characters to induce this “Héliá” could in fact be “Hélys,” and as the “h” in that word is silent that “Hélys” could in fact be an “Ellison” (Döşkaya 95-96). Lastly, Döşkaya mentions how Yeshim Ternar believed that the names of Hélys and Ellison were indeed similar, as there was a thin-veiled photograph of the three girls on the cover of the 1930 edition of *Le Secret des ‘Désenchantées’*; however, as Hélys in that photograph did not seem similar to Ellison she could not reach a certain conclusion (97). In conclusion, Döşkaya could not manage to come to a conclusion about whether Grace Ellison is an alias of Ellison or not.

The discussion about the secret identity of Ellison among scholars will probably not be concluded in the near future because of several reasons. Firstly, the evidence provided mainly resides in fictional works. Secondly, critics do not include the possibility of Hélys’s being the secret identity of Ellison. In addition, if Ellison was in fact Hélys, she would have founded the French Female Nursing Corps under her French name and not under a pseudonym. Lastly, but most importantly, although the figures in the photograph provided in the 1930 edition of Hélys two women are similar to the figures in Ellison’s photographs of Zeynep and Melek, the third woman does not resemble Ellison. So, these claims can be dismissed aside, and it can be said that Grace Ellison is indeed a British writer, and not an alias.

What makes this thesis unique is the fact that even though these writers have been studied through their representations of the Turks from the scope of Said’s Orientalism

to demonstrate whether they represented the Turks objectively or not, their criticism of the West has been ignored. With this thesis how these writers criticised the West through pointing to their prejudiced misrepresentations of the East, and how they were wrong about the Orient they claimed to know about will be analysed through references to Said's Orientalism as his *Orientalism* and the texts of both Pardoe and Ellison show parallelisms in their criticisms of the West.

In line with these arguments, the aim of this thesis is to exemplify the writers that criticised the West in a similar fashion to Edward Said through an analysis of the texts of Julia Pardoe's *The City of The Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836* (1837), and Grace Ellison's *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* (1915). In the first chapter, Pardoe's work will be analysed in order to demonstrate how criticism of the West was possible by a British author of the nineteenth century, which was a time regarded as the peak of the British colonialism and Orientalism. Pardoe constructs her criticism mainly through creating a juxtaposition between the West and the East, and while criticising the prejudices of the West towards the East, she also praises the East. In the second chapter, Ellison's work will be analysed to demonstrate how even after the Victorian Era the effects of colonialism and Orientalism persisted in the twentieth century, and how Ellison managed to subvert the Orientalist beliefs of the West through criticising the prejudices of the West and even praising the East in her work like Pardoe. This thesis argues that even though the Orientalist beliefs of the West have still persisted throughout centuries, there have been writers who managed to go against these prejudices and subvert them through travel writing.

There are several reasons why Pardoe and Ellison, who resided in the Ottoman empire in different centuries were chosen for this thesis. First, in order to reveal the persistently unchanging demeaning prejudices of the Western people that belonged to different eras that are revealed through the texts written by the writers that criticised these prejudices. Therefore, Pardoe was chosen for the nineteenth century, and Ellison for the twentieth century. Also, as these writers were women, they were able to witness the life in the confined spaces of *harems*, and their accounts made up for useful source materials. Moreover, as they criticised the West's prejudices about the Orient, and appreciated the East while doing so, they were great candidates to give rather objective analyses about

whether the beliefs of the West overlapped with reality. Consequently, their works are analysed through Said's Orientalism theory in order to demonstrate how these writers criticised the West's prejudices.

CHAPTER I

RETHINKING ORIENTALISM IN JULIA SOPHIA H. PARDOE'S *THE CITY OF THE SULTAN; AND DOMESTIC MANNERS OF THE TURKS*

As previously mentioned, over a century after the visit of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), who is regarded as the person who depicted the life in the Ottoman *harem* in detail for the first time in the eighteenth century, Julia Pardoe (1804-1862) visited the empire in the nineteenth century, and gave another detailed description not only about the *harem*, but also concerning the lives of the Turks in many social settings as well as the customs and the costumes of minorities. As mentioned before, Pardoe visited the Asia Minor during a critical period for the Ottoman Empire. While the territories were getting narrower because of the revolts, the actions towards modernisation and reformation were in progress with the help of Mahmud II. As stated previously, in his book, *Orientalism*, Said claimed that the West had negative thoughts and prejudices about the East, and Western writers reflected these beliefs in their works. Even though many European writers produced such travel texts, there were also writers like Julia Pardoe, who tried to break the Western prejudices about the East. In this chapter, how Julia Pardoe went against the ongoing prejudices of Europeans unlike most of the Western writers, through her work, *The City Of The Sultan; And Domestic Manners Of The Turks in 1836* (1837), will be analysed to demonstrate how she criticised the West. It will be explained that, according to Pardoe, a great number of Western people that visit the East observe it only on a surface level, also the misbehaviour of an individual of the East gets exaggerated and the whole Orient is blamed for his action. In addition, it will be argued that a great number of Western people that live in the East do not contact with Oriental people as they feel superior to them. Moreover, the effects of the Oriental tales in *Arabian Nights* that misguide the people of the West make them believe that the places of baths, *harems*, and slave markets are the places of sexuality. Lastly, how the West believed the Turks were uneducated and cruel will be explored and how Pardoe criticises the ones who think like that for their misbeliefs will be demonstrated. At the end of the chapter, it will be concluded that Pardoe successfully criticised the Western prejudices about the East that have persisted throughout centuries and she tried to show the East from an objective perspective.

There are several reasons why Julia Pardoe and her *The City of the Sultan* have been chosen for this chapter. Even though there have been numerous travellers that visited Asia Minor, the most influential fact that might be stated is Pardoe's lengthy stay in the Ottoman Empire for nine months, which was much longer than most of the travellers who wrote about the region. This helped her gain authentic knowledge about the social and political structure of the Ottoman Empire and the Turks. In addition to her lengthy residence in the empire, Pardoe was also willing to understand the manners of the Turks, and reflect them in her works mostly objectively. She gathered her knowledge in her works that were in total more than two thousand pages of fiction and non-fiction combined, which was another great factor for her being chosen for the chapter. Another factor that led to Pardoe's role in this thesis is her being a woman. One of the most commonly discussed themes of the Oriental world was the *harem*, which was the target of Western male sexual fantasies throughout centuries. As a woman, Pardoe was able to enter the *harem* parts of several houses, and observed the life in *harems* in the Ottoman Empire. She depicted the *harems* in a way that would disappoint many Western readers as they were only a part of the social life in the Ottoman Empire, and not a sexual utopia like many Orientalists depicted in their texts. As for the last but not least impactful reason why Pardoe was chosen for this chapter, it is her being the daughter of Major Thomas Pardoe, which enabled her to gain access to several important parts in the Ottoman Empire. She also had the financial freedom that did not force her to write in a manner that would favour the British Empire and Europe, which would have led her to stay in the lines of the persistent Orientalist descriptions of the East that would promote the never-ending cycle of Orientalism about the East. In the end, she was able to depict the Turks according to her own observations, and for the majority of her work not through the prejudices of the West.

Before moving on with the discussions about how Pardoe managed to criticise the European prejudiced views about the East, her literary persona and her works on the Orient will be analysed. Even though she was one of the most famous British women writers of the nineteenth century, Julia Sophia H. Pardoe, commonly referred to as Julia Pardoe (or Miss Pardoe as she is referred in her works) was not studied in detail by many people and most of our knowledge about her life is sourced from a short biography of Pardoe, which was written in the preface of the 1887 version of *The Court*

and Reign of Francis the First, King of France (1849); but, as it was left unsigned and Pardoe had deceased by that time, the author of this biography still remains unknown. Even though she was very popular during the nineteenth century, her popularity declined in the twentieth century (Gorman 295). Unfortunately, in the twenty-first century, she has not yet been mentioned or studied to a great extent, which is a curious occurrence for a writer that was phenomenally famous during her lifetime.

As for Pardoe's life and literary personality, it is known that she was born in Yorkshire, 1804 to Elizabeth, and Thomas Pardoe, who was a Major at Royal Waggon Train, and he also took part in the Battle of Waterloo (Gorman 295, Schiffer 393). As Pardoe belonged to an upper-middle class family, her literary career started at an early age. She started her serious writing in her early adolescent years, and published her first volume of poems, which managed to get a second edition, at fourteen years of age (Lee 201). This shows how the might of her pen started to develop at an early age, which paved the way of fame for her similar to other prolific writers. During her lifetime, Pardoe became one of the most prominent and prolific women writers in the span of the nineteenth century, having produced numerous works in both fiction and non-fiction. She is especially renowned for her travel texts about her experiences abroad, and *The City Of The Sultan* is her most recognised work, where she experiences and expresses the life in the Ottoman Empire, along with *The City of the Magyar, or Hungary and Her Institutions in 1839-40* (1840), based on Hungary.

Pardoe's travel writing career started when she showed signs of tuberculosis, and was sent to Portugal in order to heal (Johnson 50). Using her knowledge about the region that she gained during her stay, she managed to provide a travel text about Portugal, *Traits and Traditions of Portugal, Collected During a Residence in That Country* (1833), and dedicated it to Princess Augusta of Cambridge.

In *The City of the Sultan*, Pardoe wrote about her expedition to the Ottoman Empire, for which she set off with her father in December 1835, and spent nine months in the empire. As her father had a prestigious occupation, she had some advantages that would help her travel writing even in distant lands, such as the Ottoman Empire, like getting permissions to enter the military areas including castles, or houses of the ruling class in the empire. In the book, she wrote about the experiences of her and her father in a

detailed manner. Thanks to the expertise she gained in the empire, she was considered as the most knowledgeable British person about the Turkish way of life along with Lady Montagu (Gorman 295). The main element in Pardoe's access to the knowledge of the lives of the Turks resulted from her gender. As Ella Dzelzainis explains, female travellers had the opportunity to enter the *harem* parts of the Ottoman houses (168). This word refers to the part of a house that is reserved for women in Muslim nations, and commonly associated with the Ottoman Empire. As the entrance of males to this place other than the owner of the house was forbidden, the *harem* had been fantasised and sexualised by Orientalist writers for centuries, and gained an exotic existence, which led to many myths about this place. This occurrence enabled female writers to acquire sensitive information about the Ottoman way of life unlike their male counterparts, which enabled them to write about these parts in a more objective way, and not to describe these places according to the male fantasies of the West. Also, as Pardoe spent time with both the upper and lower classes of the Ottoman Empire, she was knowledgeable about the manners of both classes. After her success with *The City of the Sultan*, she released a guidebook for Constantinople named *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (1839).

Even though Pardoe was most famous for her travel writing, she was also proficient in fiction as her fictitious works had “ingenious plots” and “coloured narratives” (Jeaffreson 384). This aspect is clear in her *The Romance of the Harem* (1839) as she combined her experiences in the Ottoman empire with stories which she claimed she heard from the storytellers in the empire. After a fulfilling literary career, in 1860, Pardoe started to receive a pension of 100£ from the government due to her spending 30 years producing texts of literature, which “contributed both to cultivate the public taste and to support a number of helpless relations” (Colles 39). After she felt that her health declined, she started to live with her father and mother again, and continued writing. In 1862, she started to suffer from insomnia, and, soon passed away (Pardoe, *Francis* xv-xvi). Even though not many people remember her contemporarily, during the time of her decease, she was not forgotten immediately.

Samuel Carter Hall, who claimed to have known her personally, wrote in his book, *A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age: From Personal Acquaintance*

(1871), that Pardoe had always been a joyful woman throughout her life, and did not change in her older years (376). This feature of hers is also seen in her travel writings as she can be observed to be a joyful woman and friendly towards the locals in places she visited. After her decease, she left a legacy behind her with her books, and even though she was not read in the United States as extensively as the United Kingdom, *The City of the Sultan* became one of the most printed books during her time (Hale 765). So, it would be correct to say that she managed to become a successful woman writer during her lifetime even though she could not get internationally famous.

Pardoe produced three books about the Ottoman Empire as a consequence of her experience in the empire. The first of these books is her most recognised book as mentioned, *The City of the Sultan*, was published in 1837 by Henry Colburn. The book consists of two volumes which add up to one thousand and fourteen pages in total. The first volume consists of thirty chapters, while the second thirty-four, which adds up to a book that consists of sixty-four chapters each of which illustrates one aspect of Pardoe's experience in the Ottoman Empire beginning with her setting foot to the empire until she leaves nine months later. While she mainly focused on her interactions with the Turks in the book, she also tried to give a panorama of the multi-national empire by including the minorities in the Ottoman Empire such as the Greeks and the Armenians.

By using her experience and notes in *The City of the Sultan*, Pardoe released a guide book for travellers, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, in 1839. George Virtue was the publisher of this book, and it was in one volume with one hundred and sixty-four pages. In this book, Pardoe gave a list of places of attraction in Constantinople, and used her knowledge about the places to give accounts of each tourist destination. Even though her material was from *The City of the Sultan*, she did not directly copy what she wrote in that book, and altered the content meaningfully, and added new comments to the places. She also collaborated with William Henry Bartlett, who provided illustrations for the book in the form of steel engravings for the places Pardoe mentioned in her book. For example, in the section Pardoe mentioned the Turkish *harem*, she used Bartlett's illustration to give her narrative visual aid (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. William Henry Bartlett. *A Turkish Apartment, in the Fanar*.
The Beauties of the Bosphorus, by Julia Pardoe, George Virtue, 1839, p. 125.

Reinhold Schiffer argues that until the late 1830s, the guidebooks only consisted of the accounts of previous travellers, and he claims that the earliest example of a “proper” guide to Turkey was written by Josiah Conder, published in 1827 as a series of *The Modern Traveller* (35). When Conder’s volume is examined, it can be observed that the book indeed carries parallels to his argument. The majority of the book consists of historical background about the nation, while other information is transferred through the mouths of traveller accounts. So, it can be claimed that Pardoe’s guidebook is one of the earliest and successful examples of the genre not only about the Asia Minor but also in terms of the short descriptions of the places, and also through her illustrations of these places. It should also be noted that the versions of *The City of the Sultan*, after the publication of *Bosphorus*, used the engravings of Bartlett instead of the sketches of Pardoe, and these new books were published in three volumes, instead of two, while the content of the text remained the same. As these volumes also do not split the work into meaningful parts, as it was the case in the first version, the reason for an increase in the volumes might be conducted to increase the portability of the books.

Also in 1839, Pardoe’s book of fiction about the Ottoman Empire, *Romance of the Harem* was published, while Henry Colburn again being her publisher like *The City of the Sultan*. The book is made up of three volumes of which the first volume consists of

three hundred and four, the second two hundred and ninety-eight, and the third three hundred and thirty pages. The book has a total of nine hundred and thirty-two pages. An interesting aspect of this book is its being a frame-tale (which means stories are told in the main story) similar to Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1392), or closer to the ancient anonymous Oriental story, *One Thousand and One Nights* (or more commonly known as *The Arabian Nights*). Pardoe's main story starts with, Karanfil Hanım² (Carimfil Hanoum), who is married to a Pasha named Seyfullah (Saïfula) (Pardoe, *Romance* 1: 1). She is not happy in her marriage as she used to have a Greek lover named Maniolopolo in the past whom she could not forget (1: 275). One day, the Pasha brings a slave named Katinka, who turns out to be the sister of Maniolopolo and an old friend of Karanfil Hanım (1: 19, 1: 282). As Katinka previously had inquired whether Karanfil Hanım still loved Maniolopolo, and when she answered affirmatively, they make a plan for her elope (3: 282). Between the time Katinka's arrival to Seyfullah's *harem* and Karanfil Hanım's departure from there, the characters narrate stories in order to entertain each other.

Despite the fact that *Nights* has influenced Pardoe, and the stories Katinka tells to entertain the Pasha in *harem* echoes *One Thousand and One Nights* in terms of structure, unlike Scheherazade of *Nights*, Katinka is not the teller of every tale in the book. Even though the tales of Scheherazade sometimes have stories within stories, she is persistently the teller of the main tale. However, in *Harem*, the main narrator changes. Five of the stories are told by Katinka, while two are told by Maniolopolo, and another is told by Maniolopolo's companion, Safi (Safii). In this regard, *Harem* is more similar to Chaucer's *Tales* rather than *Nights* in the sense that the side stories are told by different characters in the main story. One of the stories told by Katinka, "The Seven Doors," is also a foreshadowing for the ending of the main story as it tells a story about an elopement, as at the end of the book, Karanfil elopes with Maniolopolo (3: 323). Thus, it can be claimed that Pardoe makes use of literary devices in the book.

² As the Turks had not adopted the Latin alphabet during both Pardoe's and Ellison's visits and used Arabic letters, the Latinisation of the names were carried on by them according to phonetics and their versions were different from the later modernised versions of the Turks use contemporarily. In order to provide a clearer understanding to the contemporary readers, the names of the writers and characters in the books will be given in the manner how they are written in modern Turkish while how they were represented by the writers in their works will be provided in parentheses throughout the thesis.

Another interesting aspect of this book is Katinka might have been inspired by a real person. In *The City of Sultan*, Pardoe talks about a Greek girl, Mariaritzza, with whom she became close friends; and she might have been inspired by this girl for her character, Katinka, as she told Pardoe about her love story, and sang for her similarly to Katinka in *Romance*, who told love stories, and sang for the Pasha (*City 2*: 391-92). Also in *Romance*, even though Pardoe told possibly fabricated Oriental tales, she had been careful about not to feed the Orientalist discourse of the West about the East, and stated her concern in the preface of this book:

In order to localise the different tales, I have endeavoured to adopt to a certain degree the florid and figurative style of language in which the Orientals so much delight, and so constantly indulge; while I have been careful neither to caricature their habits nor their opinions; but to confine myself as closely as possible to the actions and feelings of everyday Turkish life; and to fling off, if I may so express it, all idea of authorship, to identify myself for the time with the individuals of whom I wrote. (iv)

As Pardoe was experienced about the Oriental way of life thanks to her stay in the Ottoman Empire in 1835-36, she aimed to demonstrate the Turks through majorly an objective lens, and not to allow the prejudiced beliefs of Europeans to influence her writing. Again, in *Harem*, Pardoe increased the use of Turkish phrases used in the dialogues of the characters compared to her previous works. This might mean that she kept studying the language even after her departure from the Ottoman Empire.

One might inquire the origin of these Oriental tales, and when Ignác Kúnos's compilation of Turkish tales, *Forty-four Turkish Fairy Tales* (1914) is analysed; the stories of Pardoe do not exist among these tales so the possibility of Pardoe's tales' being original increases. Furthermore, as she uses place names, such as Basra, and characters, like a barber, that are also used in *Nights*, one might consider these stories to be from that work. However, when several versions of the book are inspected including Pardoe's version, *The Thousand and One Days: A Companion to the Arabian Nights* (1857) in which she compiled some of the tales of the *Nights*, it is observed that the stories in *Harem* do not exist there. Even though she did not copy the stories, it can be observed that she was influenced by the tales in that work, and as stated before, she made use of some places and characters. However, it can be argued that she adopted these literary devices in order to deliver her message more clearly. The readers that had been accustomed to the Orientalist themes and ideas of the *Nights* might reconsider

what the Orient actually represents when they encounter these elements through a different narration where the characters are tried to be represented away from the traditional Orientalist ones.

Pardoe's efforts to represent the Orient in a mostly objective way and not through the prejudiced perspective of the West are not limited to her books which she wrote the entirety of the texts but also compilations. In addition to her books, Pardoe wrote an introduction to her *The Thousand and One Days: A Companion to the Arabian Nights* in which she provided the readers with her compilation of the Oriental tales in *Nights*, through which she directed her readers in this introduction as she had concerns about these tales from the Orient:

I have the pleasure of introducing to the public, has conferred an undeniable benefit upon the youth of England by presenting to them a collection of Oriental Tales, which, rich in the elements of interest and entertainment, are nevertheless entirely free from the licentiousness which renders so many of the fictions of the East, beautiful and brilliant as they are, most objectionable for young and ardent minds. (v)

She had the knowledge about the Orient and the Oriental tales, and she was knowledgeable enough not to give any ideas that would feed the prejudices of the West about the East. It can be claimed that Pardoe wrote against the discourse of the West on the East that would later be called as the "Orientalist discourse" by Said. She drew the attention of the readers to the possible effects of reading these stories in the hope of preventing them. Even though Pardoe's intention to break away from the Western prejudices is displayed in each of her works about Turkey, some still criticised her for being an Orientalist, such as Kula as previously mentioned. Thus, initially her relationship with Orientalism in her *The City of the Sultan* will be analysed, and after that how she goes against these Western prejudices in the same work will be demonstrated.

Julia Pardoe managed to subvert the prejudiced perspective of the West in two ways. The first method of hers was through a positive representation of the Turks. Even though it cannot be said that she was completely free from the Orientalist lens of Europe, she mainly portrayed the Turks in a positive manner, which would be considered incompatible with the Orientalist "discourse" of the West. Secondly, she mentioned the negative sides of the British, and in a few other instances of another

European nation, the French, and of Europeans in general, and how the Turks were better in many areas than those Europeans. Lastly, by writing about the misrepresentations of the East and prejudices of the West, Pardoe goes against the Orientalist beliefs of Europe contrary to the majority of travel writers prior to her.

Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan* begins with her arrival at Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire, on December 30, 1835. Starting from the first chapter of the book, Pardoe claims that she was both a "European eye" in the Ottoman Empire and an "English" woman (1: 3-4). So, she admits that she carries her European identity with her along with her national identity. This might remind the readers of Said's discussions about Orientalism as he claimed that when the West meets the Orient, it encounters with its Western identity before its personal one, and knows that the West is superior to the East (11). However, as previously mentioned, her awareness of her identity as a Western entity in the Orient helps her define her arguments in the book against the West that would not be possible without a distinction between the East and the West. Through this distinction, Pardoe does criticise both Europe and Britain throughout her book by stating the inferior sides of the West and the superior sides of the East, which goes against the beliefs of the West. Throughout the book, Pardoe criticises the prejudices of Europeans as she was aware of the beliefs of Western people about the East. The main topics she focused her criticism on are related to the argument that the prejudices of the West are the generalisation of the people of the East by Europeans, and the misrepresentation of these people by previous travellers to Turkey.

One might inquire the means of influence of the previous writers upon the later travellers that would result in the Orientalist prejudices in the latter. Said states that Orientalism is "a system of knowledge about the Orient" that is built upon citations of previous writers who wrote about the Orient (6). He exemplifies how Burton cited Lane's work in his translation of *Nights* and through this process Lane increased his authority on the Orient as an Orientalist (176). Pardoe was aware of this fact prior to Said, and she knew that the Western misrepresentations of the East spread misinformation. In order to draw attention to this issue, Pardoe comments on the word "Oriental," which formed the discussions about the East not only through Said but also

through the critics that followed him. In order to remark how the word “Oriental” is misused, she writes:

The very term “Oriental” implies to European ears the concentration of romance; and I was long in the East ere I could divest myself of the same feeling. It would have been easy for me to have continued the illusion, for Oriental habits lend themselves greatly to the deceit, when the looker-on is satisfied with glancing over the surface of things; but with a conscientious chronicler this does not suffice; and, consequently, I rather sought to be instructed than to be amused, and preferred the veracious to the entertaining. (*City 1*: 106-107)

In order to subvert the prejudiced beliefs of the West, Pardoe mentions how the misrepresentative discourse of the West about the East influenced the European mindset, and, as a result, the Oriental world became a world of fantasy and exoticism to the Western travellers. She also adds, when a traveller visits the East and does not attempt to gain an insight of the Orient, that traveller is subjected to the prejudices of the West that misrepresent the East. It is also observed that Pardoe is not one of those visitors who took the Orient at face value but deepened her observations. She managed to overcome these beliefs through a detailed analysis of the manners and customs in the Ottoman Empire, whose borders mostly remained in the Orient, and hence, was affected by the Orientalist discourse of the West. She also claims that she could have carried the prejudices of the West, and acted like the other writers prior to her, who carried the prejudices of their nations in the West. However, she states that it is not her intention. Therefore, she tried to give an objective opinion about the people of the East instead of being blinded by the demeaning prejudices of the West. She further describes her concern about how the West views the East with these lines:

The natural consequence ensues, that, where Europeans, rather glancing at the country than seeing it, possess neither time, opportunity, nor it may be even inclination, to look deeper; they carry away with them an erroneous impression of the mass, as unjust as it is unfortunate; an impression which they propagate at home, and in which they become strengthened by the very repetition of their own assertions; nor is it difficult to account in this way for the very erroneous, contradictory, and absurd notions, entertained in Europe on the subject of the Turks. (*City 2*: 209)

Here, Pardoe writes as if she cites Said, and, similar to him, she describes how the Western prejudices are preconceived in the mind of the West, and she criticises these travellers for not thinking for themselves and blindly believing the prejudices of the previous travellers. Said states that the Orient is constructed through hegemony that is

provided through the belief of a superior West against an inferior East (7). Pardoe also believed that the Europeans who misrepresented the Orient had a superiority complex against the East, and they did not hesitate to represent them according to this end. Said states that while the West represents the Orient, “these ideas get repeated and re-repeated,” and “they represent a decision about the Orient, not by any means a fact of nature” (277). Thanks to the repeated Orientalist beliefs, the travellers see the nations as essentialised through their prejudices that are provided by the West, which are repeated thoroughly in order to preserve their discourse about the Orient.

Said observes how the stereotypical image of the Orient comes to be and comments on it. According to Said, the West “make[s] out of every observable detail a generalisation and out of every generalisation an immutable law about the Oriental nature, temperament, mentality, custom, or type; and, above all, to transmute living reality into the stuff of texts” (86). What Said points out would be applicable to travel writing, too. When a Western traveller observes a negative behaviour in the East, that writer is prone to reproducing it in their travel writing extending the behaviour of a singular person to a whole nation. Similar to Said’s commentary, Pardoe also makes an observation about the “citationary” nature of the works on the Orient, and how it impacted the minds of Europeans:

Individuals have been cited as examples of a body, with which they probably possessed not one common feature, save that of country; and the vices that were seared into the spirit of one degenerate Osmanli have, by the heedless chroniclers who may have suffered from his delinquencies, been branded on the brow of a whole nation; as though the stream which had polluted itself for an instant by its passage over some impure substance, had power to taint the source from whence it flowed. (*City 2*: 209-10)

With these lines, Pardoe criticises the generalisations of European travellers on the East through drawing attention to the fact that the vices of the individuals are attributed to whole nations through generalising discourse of the West on the East. This discourse is also created and reproduced through the texts manufactured by the travellers who misrepresent the East, subsequently, influencing the minds of the West. On the reproductivity of the texts, Ali Behdad supports Said’s thoughts, and states that the “nineteenth-century travellers relied on the works of their precursors and professional Orientalists to represent the so-called Orient” (185). So, it can be stated that, as the Orientalist texts that misrepresented the East emerged and they influenced the minds of

the Western world, more and more Orientalist texts would emerge which would cause a never-ending reproduction of the Orientalist ideas in the West.

On the case of the representation of the Turks in these Orientalist travel writings, according to Schiffer, “[i]n accounts of the Turkish character[,] vices were usually painted gaudier than virtues; they were evidently to a larger extent figments of the European imagination, and they more clearly expressed a European desire to appear superior to the Oriental” (239). As discussed earlier, since the Ottoman Empire was a contestant of the power struggle in Continental Europe, the humiliation of the Turks that Europeans saw as a rival to their success through misrepresentations and generalisations by the way of the Orientalist discourse provided them with a sense of superiority. Hence, in these texts they demonstrated themselves as superior to the Eastern world.

Pardoe exemplifies the stories of two British gentlemen who visited the Orient, probably with the aim of experiencing an adventure, and encountered difficulties during their visits to the Basilica Cistern (Yéré Batan Serai as Pardoe transfers) because of their sense of superiority. The first traveller arrived at Constantinople six years prior to Pardoe, and desired to explore the cistern despite the protests of the locals, and in the end he was lost and never found (*City* 1: 415-16). The second gentlemen arrived “only a few months previous” to Pardoe’s visit, and similarly, he also did not listen to the Orientals that went against his wishes to explore (1: 417-18). In the end, he was lost in the darkness and returned with difficulty, after which the boat in the cistern was removed in order to prevent further disasters (1: 418-19). Pardoe must have found this event interesting as she decided to sketch this place and made it the frontispiece of her second volume of *Sultan* (see Fig. 2)



Fig. 2. Julia Pardoe. *Yéré Batan Serai*.
The City of the Sultan, vol 2. Henry Colburn, 1837, Frontispiece.

In addition to the travellers who visit the Orient for a short period of time, Pardoe also exemplifies how the West believes that it is superior to the East even when they are residing in the East for a prolonged period. She demonstrates the indifference of European people to the politics and the social structure of the Ottoman Empire, even though they lived there for a long time:

[I]t is certain that Europeans are at this moment resident in Turkey, as ignorant of all that relates to her political economy, her system of government, and her moral ethics, as though they had never left their own country: and who have, nevertheless, been resident there for fifteen or twenty years. If you succeed in prevailing on them to speak on the subject, they never progress beyond exanimate and crude details of mere external effects. They have not exerted themselves to look deeper ... (*City 1*: 88-89)

It can be observed that Pardoe criticised the Europeans who resided in the Ottoman Empire for decades and still not familiarised themselves to the customs of the nation nor did they take an interest in its politics. According to Pardoe, Europeans are not only indifferent to the Orient as individuals, but also as nations. The reason for this indifference is the superiority complex that emerges from the Orientalist discourse of the West that creates a hegemony through the Western knowledge on the Orient like Said claims (7). As a result, the West does not take the Oriental matters into consideration even when it lives in the East.

Nonetheless, Pardoe does not always criticise the Western society as a whole but also sometimes gives specific examples from the people who misrepresented the East. For example, she writes about an Orientalist writer of the nineteenth century who misrepresents the East in her book that is none other than François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), whom Said also analyses in his *Orientalism*. When Pardoe visits Angiolopolo, a Greek who worked as a diplomat to Napoleon during his reign, he tells an anecdote about Chateaubriand. When he was dining at the table of a commander of Napoleon, where Chateaubriand was also among the guests, who then was “a very young man, and but little known in the world of letters,” Angiolopolo’s opinion about Chateaubriand’s works is inquired (*City 1*: 164). After he tried to evade the question in order not to offend this young writer, he had to give his opinion in order not to be perceived as indifferent to the matters in his homeland, and stated that Chateaubriand “had permitted himself to describe the domestic manners of a people, of whom he had only been enabled to judge from such specimens as coffee-houses and the like places of

vulgar resort had offered to his observation” (1: 165). Through this anecdote, Pardoe stresses how a writer that has misrepresented the East can be reminded of their mistake when they encounter with a person that is actually knowledgeable about the Orient. Then, Pardoe utters her criticism about Chateaubriand, and says that as he put these misrepresentations “forth in sober earnestness to mislead,” he is inexcusable (1: 165-66). Similarly, Said also criticises Chateaubriand’s works as the latter claimed the people of the East to be the enemy of civilisation and brutes who were in favour of despotism and slavery, while stating that the Christians were the chosen people of God, as he celebrated the conquest of Egypt by his nation, France (172-74). Moreover, by calling Chateaubriand out, Pardoe also goes against Said’s Orientalism as she refers to an Orientalist writer, she aims to subvert the authority of the Western writers on the East and not the opposite, as Said would claim.

Another example where Pardoe discusses the prejudices of the West about the East is observed upon witnessing a marvellous spectacle in Göksu, which was composed of buildings and people. She felt inspired, and wrote these sentences: “It was a heart-inspiring spectacle! and it was beautiful to remark the kindness and good feeling which pervaded the whole assemblage. I cannot understand how any European who has once contemplated a scene of this description, can carry away with him an unfavourable impression of the Turkish character” (*City 2*: 257-58). Even though this time it was her emotions that made her inscribe these lines instead of her mind, she is earnest about how the West degrades the Orient through its prejudices. She believes that the West ignores the beauties of the Oriental world that are composed by both nature and the people who inhabit the Orient.

In relation to the facts that formed the opinions of the Western travellers to the East, it can be argued that Europe’s encounter with the Oriental tales through the translation of *Nights* by Jean Antoine Galland (1646-1715) from Arabic to French, has had the most impact on the formation of the Orientalist ideas. Robert L. Mack states that “[w]ith the exception of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and - obviously - the Bible, few works have had such a profound and lasting influence on the English literary tradition as the *Thousand and One Nights*” (ix). Even prior to Galland’s translation, the West had prejudices against the East as these halves of the world had different cultures, ethnicities, and

religions, and clashed many times in battles concerning religion, mainly the Crusades. After his translation, this effect of dichotomy rose exponentially. Even though the time of the original tales' composition is not known, it is believed that these tales emerged in India due to the fact that the frame-tale tradition was common in Indian culture, and also, some motifs in the stories such as the poisoning of the book pages were prominent in Indian stories; and later, these stories travelled to Persia where national elements were adapted to the stories along with new tales, and lastly they travelled to Egypt, where the tales went through the same process (Littmann). Accordingly, it can be observed that these tales have travelled through the majority of the part of the world that is considered as the Orient by the West.

Despite the fact that the existence of these stories had been known before translations into European languages, their popularisation started in the eighteenth century when Galland translated the Arabic version of the work, *Alf Layla wa-Layla* (thousand nights and one night[Littman's translation]) into French with the name of *Les mille et une Nuits contes arabes traduits en Français*[The Thousand and One Nights, Arabic tales translated into French³], and published it in seven volumes in 1706 with two additional volumes in 1709 and 1712, while the last two volumes that would complete his twelve-volume work were published posthumously in 1717 (Littmann). As Galland's work started to become more and more popular since the day it was released, Galland produced new volumes once every few years.

In addition to Galland's translation into French, the English translations of the work during the early nineteenth century had been greatly influential in spreading the Oriental tales across Europe. Apart from the trials in the Grub Street, Jonathan Scott (1754-1829) published the first successful English translation of the work using Galland's translation with the name of *Arabian Nights Entertainments* in 1811, and Edward William Lane (1801-1876) published his own version as *The One Thousand and One Nights* monthly from 1838 to 1841 (Irwin 22-23). Lane claimed that the reason for his translation was Scott's "perverting" the work, and unlike Scott, he used the Arabic version for his translation as he was an Orientalist scholar of Arabic, and had experience about the

³ The translation of the title is sourced from Sylvette Larzul's article "Further Considerations on Galland's *Mille et une Nuits*: A Study of the Tales Told by Hanna," p. 258.

region from his previous work, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836); however, as he intended his version to be family-friendly, it was heavily censored (22-24). As Said states, Orientalism is a “systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage - and even produce - the Orient,” and Lane’s writing an informative book about the East is an attempt to manage the Orient, and his translation is an endeavour to produce the Orient in the Western minds (3). Consequently, it can be observed that, *Nights* have been translated by several writers who claimed their knowledge about the Orient and tried to transfer it to the West.

Apart from these writers, other notable translations of the work into English from Arabic were conducted by John Payne (1842-1906), who had not visited the Orient, and had learnt several Oriental languages from his homeland, publishing his volumes between 1882 to 1884 as *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*; and Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890) as *The Book of The Thousand Nights and a Night* in 1885 (Irwin 26-29). So it can be concluded that, the attempts on the control and production of the Oriental discourse had been popular and profitable throughout the nineteenth century as many people attempted to produce literary texts that controlled knowledge about the Orient. Thanks to its popularity, *Nights* had been influential in the formation of the Orientalist prejudices in the West, and even though it takes materials from a wide geography it is still commonly called as *Arabian Nights*. Robert Irwin argues that this work became popular in Europe to such an extent that it could be considered “as primarily a work of European literature” (9). To further emphasise how influential the *Nights* had been in the West’s relationship with the East, Dwight F. Reynolds states that this work became “the template against which Westerners came to gauge their own personal experiences of the Middle East” (289-90). As aforementioned, this phenomenal work influenced travel writers from the West who visited the East, and in this case the Asia Minor, and who had been greatly influenced by the *Nights*. How this work affected even the slightest aspect of Oriental life is apparent through Pardoe’s work and comments, as she describes how these stories made the Orient an exotic place for the West through misrepresenting the confined spaces of the East such as the baths and *harems*.

In order not to serve the degrading discourse of the West by writing under the influence of the prejudiced beliefs that were spread by the *Nights*, and to get an objective opinion about the Eastern people, Pardoe insisted on experiencing some of the events several times in order to have a better understanding of these events. For example, she went to a Turkish bath, but as it was a private bath, she thought that commenting on the Turkish baths only by visiting a private bath would not be a fair judgement (*City* 1: 130). Hence, she decided to visit a public bath too, where the misrepresentative depictions of the European writers had been conducted. Upon experiencing both a private and a public Turkish bath, she comments:

The first bathroom which I saw in the country was that of Scodra Pasha; and, had I been inclined so to do, I might doubtlessly have woven a pretty fiction on the subject, without actually visiting one of these extraordinary establishments. But too much has already been written on inference by Eastern⁴ tourists, and I have no wish to add to the number of fables which have been advanced as facts, by suffering imagination to usurp the office of vision. Such being the case, I resolved to visit a public bath in company with a female acquaintance, and not only become a spectator but an actor in the scene, if I found the arrangement feasible. (*City* 1: 129)

As she experimented the Turkish bath twice, one being a private and the other being a public one, she comments on them with a clear conscience. After she says that she managed not to represent the Orient in a negative way as she was able to experience the famous baths of the Turks, she criticises the writers prior to her as they deliberately misrepresented the East through the lens of the prejudices provided by the *Nights* (*City* 1: 137). In addition to common travellers, she also criticises Lady Montagu, although Montagu also represented the Turks in a positive manner in general, for spreading the prejudiced beliefs about the Orient through her writings which misrepresent the baths in the Ottoman Empire: “I should be unjust did I not declare that I witnessed none of that unnecessary and wanton exposure described by Lady M. W. Montagu. Either the fair Ambassadors was present at a peculiar ceremony, or the Turkish ladies have become more delicate and fastidious in their ideas of propriety” (1: 136-37). Through her comment, Pardoe states that even if she did not completely misrepresent the East, Lady Montagu exaggerated her experience in the Turkish bath, and as this would lead the

⁴ Here, Pardoe says “Eastern” but it could be a typo and she might have meant “Western,” or she might have referred to the Oriental guests that visit the baths.

readers to have the wrong opinion about these baths, Pardoe feels the need of correcting her in the book in the hopes of stopping the misbeliefs about these places.

The misrepresentations of the Turkish baths were not limited to literary works. Albert Hourani states that the “half-knowledge” of the West about the East created an exotic Orient, which became the “cradle of wonders and fairy tales” that helped the emergence of the Orientalist art (300). In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Orientalism as an art movement gained popularity, and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) drew his famous painting, *Le Bain turc* (the Turkish bath) in 1862 (see Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. *Le Bain turc*. 1862, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

According to Said, Orientalism is a “distribution of geopolitical awareness” that also affects arts (12). Through the paintings that were done with the art movement of Orientalism, the difference between the East and the West becomes clear through the supposedly sensual demonstration of the Orient to the Occident. Schiffer states that Ingres’s painting aims to reflect the immorality of the Orient as “the couple towards the right touch each other’s breasts,” and adds that the trope of lesbianism in the Turkish baths as a male fantasy goes back to the sixteenth century (288). This fact demonstrates the fact that Orientalist misrepresentations of the Turkish baths go back to times further

than the translation of the *Nights*, but after that work, the increase in the number of such works is visible as there had been many paintings done in the nineteenth century in this demeanour about the Orient, and the Orientalist representations that have been continuing for centuries have changed its medium with time. Ulrich Marzolph explains the effect of the *Nights* after it was introduced to Europe as “it has exercised an unprecedented influence in literature as well as in theatre, opera, music, painting, and even architecture,” and it also “shaped the West’s perception of the ‘Orient’ as the quintessential ‘Other’” (vii). So, it can be deduced that the influence of this literary work far exceeds that of the travel literature, and spreads to other forms of art as well.

The spread of Orientalism also can be observed in poetry in England during the Victorian period. During this period, the rapid growth and scientific development was in place in England, and British people had difficulty in adapting to the new fast-paced world and inclined to escapism as a coping mechanism. Subsequently, as the Orient was an exotic place that always remained the same, unlike Britain, according to the British, they tended to explore the poetry from the Orient. As explained by Emrah Atasoy, the pessimism caused by the rapid development during this period canalised the British to beliefs such as the transiency of life, and they found the solution in “escapist entertainment[s]” such as the poetry of Omar Khayyam (809). However, Atasoy also states that FitzGerald’s translation of Khayyam’s poetry is a re-creation of his poetry rather than a mere translation, through which FitzGerald reflects the escapism of the British (806). So, it can be deduced that the idea of the Orient as a place that never changes in the imagination of the West has been established. Consequently, this idea produced several works that have been influential in spreading this idea throughout Europe.

Another place that has been heavily affected by Orientalism is the *harem* of Turkish households. Alev Lytle Croutier explains the meaning of the word as a part of the household, where “women, children, and servants live in maximum seclusion and privacy” (17). However, in Europe this word was mostly equal to polygamy and male sexual fantasy. Schiffer analyses Richard Robert Madden’s work in 1829, and demonstrates that Madden claimed *harems* to be places of orgies, and the reason of “the gravity of the Turk during the day” resulted from the acts of the previous night (290).

As no stranger men were allowed inside *harems*, the Oriental women in *harems* were represented with sexual degeneracy in the West. As Pardoe was aware of this situation, she criticised the West for again misrepresenting the East:

It is also a well-attested fact that the entree of native houses, and intimacy with native families, are not only extremely difficult, but in most cases impossible to Europeans; and hence the cause of the tissue of fables which, like those of Scheherazade, have created genii and enchanters *ab ovo usque ad mala* [from the beginning to end, *lit.* from the egg to the apples], in every account of the East. The European mind has become so imbued with ideas of Oriental mysteriousness, mysticism, and magnificence, and it has been so long accustomed to pillow its faith on the marvels and metaphors of tourists, that it is to be doubted whether it will willingly cast off its old associations, and suffer itself to be undeceived. (*City 1*: 89)

Here, Pardoe reminds the readers of the *harem*, and how even though the entry of a European man to these *harems* of the houses is not possible, that there have been many tales that demonstrated life in *harem* in Oriental world which was often depicted as a lustrous place. This misrepresentation of daily life in the Orient is created mainly through the stories in the *Nights*. Melman states that Pardoe did not only know “enough about the oriental-tale industry to doubt the ethnographic value of Galland” but also “assume[d] a role which is diametrically opposite to that of the female narrator in the Arabian Nights,” and then she explains: “Sheherezad deceives a credulous and beguiled male audience. The task of the modern traveller is, according to Pardoe, to ‘undeceive’ the readership and instruct Europeans about intimate life and manners” (Melman 67). Similar to Sheherezad, the story-teller of the *Nights* who stalls her execution that was ordered by the King through telling the never-ending stories about the East; Pardoe tries to stall the execution of the image of the East in the West that is ordered by Orientalist writers. Therefore, it can be observed that even though the *Nights* had influenced the perspective of the West towards the East, it was also possible for people, like Pardoe, to overcome these prejudices.

In addition to the Turkish baths and *harems*, Pardoe unwillingly lists another place that has been misrepresented in the Western world that is the slave market. Even though she openly states that she is against slavery, she also thinks that the state of the slaves is not as bad as it is represented in Europe, and it was even better than the legal slaves of the past in Britain:

I expected to have had much to write on the subject of the slave-market, but I left it only with an increased conviction of the great moral beauty of the Turkish character. I am aware that this declaration will startle many of my readers; but I make it from a principle of justice. I knew that the establishment existed - I never thought of it without a shudder, nor shall I ever remember it without a pang; but am, nevertheless, compelled to declare that I did not witness there any of the horrors for which I had prepared myself. The Turks never make either a sport or a jest of human suffering, or human degradation. Not a word, not a glance escaped them, calculated to wound the wretched beings who were crouching on the ground under the hot sunshine - They made their odious bargain seriously and quietly; and left the market, followed by the slaves whom they had purchased, without one act of wanton cruelty, or unnecessary interference. (*City 2*: 300)

Again, the effect of Saidian Orientalist discourse in the West is observed in Pardoe's comment. She states that these markets were presented as places of horror in Europe, and even though she accepts that slavery is not suitable for any human being, compared to the representations in the West, the state of these slaves is not horrible. Despite this, in the Orientalist art movement, in the upcoming years, Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904) would draw his famous *Le Marché d'esclaves* (the slave market) in 1866 where the Orientalist beliefs of the West are reflected (see Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Jean-Léon Gérôme. *Le Marché d'esclaves*. 1866, Clark Art Institute, Williamstown.

Schiffer explains the possible reasons for the misrepresentations of the slave markets in the Orient as “[i]t almost does not matter whether they actually saw the market or not. Some had first-hand experience[,] and created fictions, others stayed at home[,] and strove for ethnographic precision” (188). Accordingly, even though an artist might have experienced the East, the possibility of misrepresenting the Orient still persists. This fact demonstrates essentialism and the strength of the exotic Orientalist beliefs that have been engraved in the subconscious of the West through the exotic tales of the *Nights*.

As seen through the *Nights*, the West essentialises the East by attributing to it several generalising features such as despotism and cruelty. Said states that he believes literature and culture are political and “society and literary culture can only be understood and studied together” (27). Subsequently, an example where Pardoe comments on how literature influences the minds of the West, and fills them with the prejudices is observed where she commented on *One Hundred and One Nights*, which is a similar story to *One Thousand and One Nights*. Her comment is as follows:

How often have I hung entranced over the sparkling pages of the ‘Hundred and One Nights.’ How little did I ever expect to see them brought into action. When a mere girl, I remember once to have laid the volume on my knees; and, with my head pillowed on my hand, and my eyes closed, to have attempted to bring clearly before my mental vision the Caravan of the Merchant Abdullah, when he departed in search of the Valley of Diamonds. (*City 1: 447*)

Pardoe confirms that these Oriental tales influenced her in her childhood, and she was not the only one. Stories about the Orient were marked on the cultural background of the West having influenced the upbringing of many children in Europe (Shafie and Aljohani 142, 144). She mentions how the people of the West are indoctrinated with the Oriental stories to view the East as an essentialised entity beginning in their childhood. Banu Öğünç states that the British have acquired their first impressions about the Oriental world through secondary sources for centuries, particularly the *Nights*, which created an exotic East for the European minds (249). This is similarly observed in Pardoe’s work, as she remarks the importance of the works in developing the prejudices and influencing people starting from their childhood. On this matter, Said also states that the schools are used to indoctrinate the children with the Orientalist beliefs from an early age by bringing the “Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire,” and separating the world in their brains in a dichotomy of “us,”

Europeans versus “them,” the Orientals (6-7, 202-203). So it is clear that the Orientalist beliefs of the adults who visit the East are sown into the minds of the West, even before they are capable of rational thought, and create a subconsciously rationalised belief that the East is an exotic world that is different from theirs. In the final analysis, Said and Pardoe concur that the early education of children influences their adult life in the matter of the Western prejudices about the East.

The stereotypical images regarding the Orient; however, are not limited to the baths, *harems*, and slave markets only. Said states that there are recurring “Oriental ideas” that Orientalists make use of to define the Orient such as laziness, ignorance, and cruelty (4, 178). The laziness idea of the Orient, that is assigned by the West, is based on the argument of the East’s being idle compared to Europe. Tony Schirato states that the Orient has been represented as lazy repeatedly, which was used as a tool to justify its colonial actions against the Orient (46). Even though Pardoe occasionally hints that the Turks are lazy, she also goes against this prejudice of the West, when she desires to emphasise the advancements in the Ottoman Empire. She gives an example that contradicts Said’s Orientalist idea of laziness that is believed by the West:

On the other side of this spacious office was a wool-store, where a score of individuals were busily employed in weighing and delivering out the wool; and all were so active, and so earnest in their occupation, that the most sceptical European would have been compelled to admit, when looking on them, that the Turk is no longer the supine and spiritless individual which he has been so long considered. (*City 2*: 350)

Pardoe goes against the long-believed feature of the East by the West, which claimed that the people of the Orient were unable to perform hard work. Not only does she describe how the people of the East are able to overcome a challenging task, but she also does not forget to mention how even the prejudiced Europeans would change their minds when they saw the hard-working Turks. As Said states, the Orient is a construct of the West that is built to polarise their differences, and the trope of laziness is attributed to the Orient by the West in order to perceive themselves as hardworking. On the issue of “the lazy native” Syed Hussein Alatas states that the myth of laziness is created by Europeans in the countries that they colonise through their “colonial ideology,” which “utilised the idea of the lazy native to justify compulsion and unjust practices in the mobilisation of labour in the colonies” (2). The lazy Oriental might be

linked to this mindset as during the nineteenth century, imperialism and colonialism of the British Empire was at its peak, and as Europe considered the Orient as non-European, thus a potential colony that they would use the workforce of which for their profit, this appears probable. The idea of ignorance that Said mentions goes hand-in-hand with laziness. The premise of the Oriental ignorance goes to the extent that, as Said explains, the Orient is not able to govern itself and it is in the need of the West to govern them (228). This attitude of the Orientalists also contradicts their claim of the “Oriental despotism” which refers to an authoritarian government.

Even though such prejudices about the ignorance of the East were prevalent in Europe, Pardoe does not agree with them and rejects the belief of the “ignorant Orient,” and she comments on the high literacy level in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century:

Perhaps, with the single exception of Great Britain, there exists not in the world a more reading nation than Turkey. I have no doubt that this assertion will startle many individuals in Europe, who have been accustomed, and, indeed, led to believe, that the natives of the East are, as a people, plunged in the profoundest ignorance. It is, nevertheless, a fact that nearly every man throughout the Empire can read and write, and that there are at this moment upwards of eight thousand children scattered through the different schools of the capital. (*City 1*: 205-206)

While giving credit to Britain, with this passage, Pardoe claims that the Turks are not uneducated as the West insists to believe. She says that the Turks are as educated as the people in the West, and there are many schools throughout the Ottoman Empire like Europe, and that basic education is very common contrary to the common European prejudice. Moreover, Pardoe visits a military college that educates the pupils through a European curriculum in order to give a contemporary education (*City 1*: 199). While Pardoe mentions the advancement of the Turks is possible through this modernised education, it is hindered by the Russian intervention as it does not want the Turks to be their rivals in the area (1: 204, 209). She also sketches this college in her book (see Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Julia Pardoe. *Military College*.
The City of the Sultan, vol. 1. Henry Colburn, 1837, p. 196.

The last supposed “Oriental idea” that Said mentions and Pardoe analyses in her work is the phenomenon of the “cruel Turk.” The image of the “cruel Turk” originated in the late thirteenth century with the spread of the Ottoman Empire on the continental Europe that began with the Byzantine-Ottoman wars, and ended with the Battle of Vienna in the late seventeenth century. W. R. Jones states that the image of the cruel Turk became more and more common after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, and was reinforced with the following conquests of the Turks in Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (393). The cruel image of the Turks was not simply a pejorative term. In the sixteenth century, the Bishop of Vienna stated that “[t]here are no crueller and more audacious villains under the heavens than the Turks who spare no age or sex and mercilessly cut down young and old alike and pluck unripe fruit from the wombs of mothers” (Karlsson 6). This cruel imagery of the Turks is often associated with barbarism and being uncivilised as a juxtaposition to Europe. Similar to other Orientalist beliefs of the West, it can be observed that the image of “cruel” Turk is also a generalisation, which resulted from the Western Orientalist discourse.

In order to build a contrast with the cruel image of the Turks, Pardoe wrote some parts to demonstrate the merciful side of the Turks. She compared and contrasted the attitudes towards the stray animals in Britain and Turkey to point out that the Turks were superior in their behaviours towards those animals, and she demonstrated the cruelty of Europeans towards them in order to subvert the misbelief of the “cruel Turk” image in

Europe. The phenomenon of animal cruelty is explained through several ways. Frank R. Ascione defines it as a “socially unacceptable behaviour that intentionally causes unnecessary pain, suffering, or distress to and/or death of an animal,” which excludes the husbandry activities, while Les Brown explains it as an “unnecessary suffering knowingly inflicted on a sentient being (animal or human)” (51, 3). So, it can be concluded that any damage to animals for pleasure would be considered as animal abuse. In her work, Pardoe exemplifies the animal cruelty of the British through several passages. For example, when she saw the animals hunting on the sea, such as seagulls and ducks, not being intimidated by the humans, she commented “[h]ow long, I involuntarily asked myself, would this extraordinary confidence in man be repaid by impunity in an English port? And the answer was by no means pleasing to my national pride” (*City* 1: 4). Pardoe expresses her surprise towards the fact that these stray animals are used to the humans, who approach them with mercy and not cruelty, as the prejudiced beliefs of the West promotes, and thereby creates a juxtaposition with the British by implying that these birds would not be peaceful in the presence of the British people. Through these words, she gives a subtext that reflects the supposed cruelty of the Turks towards the British. The reason why the birds’ “confidence in man” would not be preserved in Britain is later explained in the book with these lines through comparing the cruelty towards animals between the British and the Turks:

To all the brute creation the Turks are not only merciful but ministering friends; and to so great an extent do they carry this tenderness towards the inferior animals, that they will not kill an unweaned lamb, in order to spare unnecessary suffering to the mother; and an English sportsman, who had been unsuccessful in the chase, having, on one occasion, in firing off his piece previously to disembarking from his caique, brought down a gull that was sailing above his head, was reproached by his rowers with as much horror and emphasis as though he had been guilty of homicide. (*City* 1: 95)

The act of the British man in the passage can be given as an example of animal cruelty as shooting an innocent bird, while travelling would be classified as “cruel” that is often associated with the Orient. Pardoe’s exemplification of animal cruelty is important thanks to the fact that throughout centuries, the cruelty towards animals is also linked with the cruelty towards humans. The parallel between cruelty towards animals and human beings has been discussed since antiquity by many influential philosophers. In addition to Pythagoras (570 BC-495 BC) from Ancient Greece in antiquity, Thomas

Aquinas (1225-1274) from Italy during the Medieval Era, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) from Germany during the Enlightenment; British writers and philosophers such as Alexander Pope (1688-1744) and John Locke (1632-1704), who also wrote during the Enlightenment in the seventeenth century had been advocates against animal cruelty, since it promoted cruelty towards human beings (Unti 7, Linzey 1). In the passage, it is apparent that Pardoe tries to subvert the Western prejudice of the image of the “cruel Turk” by giving examples of their merciful attitudes towards not only the animals that they keep for husbandry, but also the stray animals that would not be profitable for them. Then, she criticises the cruel acts of the Europeans, a British man in this particular case, to juxtapose the reversion of roles between the merciful Orient and the cruel Occident.

Even though in this chapter Pardoe’s criticisms towards Europe and Britain are exemplified, it should not be perceived that she was antagonistic against Britain or Europe. She only points to the facts that influence the image of the East in the West through the misrepresentative discourses of the West. Moreover, when she makes Turkish friends with ease, as she visits Göksu, she claims that there is a silver lining in the relations between the East and the West. She is astonished by this fact as a person from the East would not be making friends in Europe that swiftly because of the prejudiced attitudes of most Europeans, and comments on the character of the Turks after she leaves Göksu:

I felt that I knew them better - that I understood more correctly their social character, than I had hitherto done; and it is an important fact, and one which is well worthy of remark, that the more a European, resolved to cast aside prejudice, and to study the national habits and impulses, comes in contact with the inhabitants of the East, the more he is led to admire the consistency of thought, feeling, and action which influence them; and the high-minded generosity with which they tolerate the jarring and discordant habits and prejudices of their foreign visitors. (*City 2: 260*)

Here, Pardoe discusses the possibility of a friendship between the Oriental and Occidental entities. As she demonstrates that she could become friends with the people from the East easily, when she did not have prejudices against them, she implies that if Europeans visited the Orient without their prior beliefs about the East, they would encounter with people’s kindness. This, indirectly, suggests that the ones that found hostility from the Orient approached the East with hostility.

In this chapter, how Pardoe criticised the West through a comparison between the beliefs of the West about the Orient, and the actual reality in the Ottoman Empire have been analysed. Throughout the analysis, quotations from Said's *Orientalism* were also used in order to support Pardoe's ideas about her criticisms on the West. It can be concluded that as she stated the positive sides of the Orient and criticised the Occident for their prejudiced beliefs she has gone against the Orientalist beliefs of the nineteenth century Europe and Britain.

CHAPTER II

RETHINKING ORIENTALISM IN GRACE ELLISON'S

AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN A TURKISH HAREM

Just as Julia Pardoe visited Turkey at a critical time, Grace Ellison also visited it during several turning points of the Turks, as a result of which, the topics they discussed in their books have significant similarities. For instance, both writers discussed how the Europeans, the British specifically, misunderstood and misrepresented the occurrences in the Ottoman Empire such as the life in *harem*. In addition, both criticised the West through a discourse similar to Said's, and praised the East, which subverted the prejudiced beliefs of the West. Lastly, as mentioned, both writers visited Turkey both on the aftermath and on the eve of major events that have already been discussed in the introduction part of the thesis. Similar to Pardoe, Ellison also provided several books about Turkey. Apart from the books she edited and co-authored, her first book, which will also be analysed through this chapter, is mainly about the harems of the Ottoman Empire, and is called *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* (1915). The book that was printed by Methuen & Co. Ltd consisted of 212 pages. Through this fact, it can also be observed that the publishing houses were becoming more and more common, and, as mentioned before, Pardoe's books were printed by individual publishers. Ellison's second book on Turkey, *An Englishwoman in Angora* (1923), in which she wrote about the times of turmoil in Turkey consists of 320 pages with Hutchinson & Co. being its publisher. In addition, she published another book that consists of 282 pages through this house, *Turkey To-day* (1928), which would be her last book about Turkey, and in this book she combined her previous experiences in the nation and commented on the newly founded Republic of Turkey. So, it can be stated that she spent a great deal of time in Turkey and produced several works about it. In this chapter, similar to the first chapter about Pardoe, how Ellison went against the misrepresentations of the West about the East via her book *Turkish Harem*, will be demonstrated through examples and references to Said. Through her work, how the West misjudged the East for centuries and misrepresented them through despotism, excessive sexuality, and cruelty will be discussed. Ellison also stated that the West believed that the Turks are uneducated and had no literature, but she falsified these beliefs of the West. Similar to Pardoe, she also

witnesses people that resided in the Orient and still refused to adapt to their society. She mentioned how it was not possible to enter a *harem* as a European man, but these men represented those places through their imaginations as lustful places. It will also be discussed that even though the prejudiced people of the West believed the Orient is not able to progress, Ellison claims that the East is more progressive than the West at least in terms of women's rights. At the end of the chapter, it will be concluded that, like Pardoe, Ellison also successfully criticised the prejudices about the East that were created by the West, which have not disappeared during the twentieth century, and through her criticism of the West, she also aimed to demonstrate the Orient from an objective perspective.

In the preface of *Turkish Harem*, in order not to claim authority on the Orient in a manner that Orientalists did as Said exemplified, Ellison claimed that she might not have fully comprehended Turkish life to its full extent, and that the information she provided in her book is “only an Englishwoman's impressions of Turkish harem life, written during a very happy and interesting visit amongst Turkish friends” (*Turkish*, vii). There is a great meaning behind her wording. Not only does she say that her observations are only impressions, not scientific statements, but also that she perceives the Turks as her friends. About the scientific nature of Orientalism, Said states that “the sense of Western power over the Orient is taken for granted as having the status of scientific truth” (46). So, it can be inferred that, Ellison tries to subvert the beliefs of the West that perceive the East as a scientific entity for the West to study. Moreover, Ellison explains her intention in writing this book as a difficult task

[t]o correct the errors, prejudice, and hatred which have become almost part of the British national “attitude” towards Turkey is not an easy task. If these letters have been able in ever so small a way to spread some of the enthusiasm and love I feel for a nation which Europe has so severely censured, they will at least have justified the reason of their existence. (*Turkish* vii)

So, not only does she aim to criticise Europe as a whole, but also intends to criticise her home, Britain. Hence, while criticising the West, she also creates a juxtaposition with the East by praising it against the West, like Pardoe. Similar to Lady Montagu in the eighteenth century and Pardoe in the nineteenth century, Ellison's works have been recognised in demonstrating the private life in the Ottoman Empire and subverting the Oriental images during the twentieth century through her *Turkish Harem*. Again, similar

to Pardoe, she lost her recognisability with each passing day, and she is not known by many readers today.

As for Ellison's life, even though she visited Asia Minor at a time almost a century closer to our time than Pardoe, the biographical information about Grace Ellison (188? - 1935) prior to her journalist career is as limited as Julia Pardoe's to the degree that even though Ayşe Durakbaşa noted that she was born between 1880-85⁵, Ellison's exact birth date is nowhere to be found in any sources. As for her life before her career in journalism, it is known that her full name was Grace Mary Ellison, she was born in Scotland, and her father was a Captain in the British navy, similar to Pardoe, she was not poor but she was not greatly rich either, and after her graduation from a grammar school, she completed her education in France, and attended University of Halle (Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism* 45-46, "Ellison, Grace Mary"). After she became a journalist, she worked as a continental correspondent - which meant that she took a position in the continental Europe, and brought the news to the British Isles - for *The Bystander* magazine for six years, after which she attended the second Hague Convention in 1907 on behalf of *The Daily Graphic* newspaper, and lastly, she began working for *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper through which she was sent to the Ottoman Empire in order to write about the lives of the women in the empire ("Ellison, Grace Mary"). Returning from her mission in the empire, she founded the French Female Nursing Corps, and raised money during her stay in the United States in order to establish a hospital in Bordeaux named after the famous British nurse, Florence Nightingale, after which, she also took part in the American Red Cross, and she received several medals for her endeavours from the French government (Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism* 45). So, it can be said that, throughout her life, Ellison had been a philanthropist, who aimed to better humanity.

Although Lewis claimed Ellison to be a "feminist and a campaigner," as she supported the emancipation of women and tried to represent Turkish women in an objective manner, Nakai stated that this term might not be applicable to her in the contemporary sense as she supported the idea of women's preserving their femininity in the process of emancipation in her book *The Disadvantages of Being a Woman* (1924) (45, 24). So, it

⁵ Halide Edib: *Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*, p. 202.

can be deduced that even though her philanthropy is a topic that has been majorly agreed on, her feminism is open to discussion.

It can also be said that she supported the constitutional government during the Second Constitutional Era in the Ottoman Empire as she perceived it as a progressive government that supported the rights of women induced from the fact that she stated that “the proclamation of the Constitution has meant much to the Turkish woman,” and listed what it brought for women such as the ability to travel by themselves (15). Moreover, it can be observed that she was against the previous monarch, Abdul Hamid II, who ended the First Constitutional Era, and became the sole ruler over the Ottoman Empire, as she called him a “criminal genius and madman, the monster tyrant,” and stated that with the new constitutional government the “Princesses [could] walk about amongst the people as they were not allowed to do during the reign of Abdul Hamid” (128, 44). In the final analysis, it can be stated that Ellison was in favour of the governments that she believed to help the emancipation of women, while she disapproved the ones that she claimed to be against it.

When Ellison visited Turkey in 1913, the effects of Victorian Era which acquired its name from the famous ruler of the British Empire was over but its effects were still persistent in the minds of the British. During the Queen’s reign between 1837-1901, British colonisation reached its peak. During the end of the nineteenth century, the protective state of the British Empire towards the Ottoman territory declined, “since its occupation of Egypt in 1882, [Britain] was no longer as preoccupied with defending its Indian route” (Heffernan and Lewis xii). Along with the territories of the empire, British art and literature (especially the novel) also expanded. This era saw the rise of the most famous novelists that are still widely read today such as Charles Dickens, the Bronte sisters, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The colonialist attitude of the British empire also influenced its writers, as a result of which, the writers who were both in support of colonialism of the British and against it emerged. While the writers like Rudyard Kipling were perceived as promoting imperialism of the empire, writers like Joseph Conrad were largely read as critical of this mindset.

It can be argued that not only did imperialism affect the colonised lands, but also the mindset of the British, and filled it with an idea of superiority, which resulted in an

increase in the denigration of the Orient. Said states that “modern Orientalism has been an aspect of both imperialism and colonialism” (123). This fact of Orientalism was not only reflected in literature but also in art. During the period, Orientalism in painting became more and more popular, which mainly depicted the “secret” life in the enclosed Oriental spaces such as *harems*, where these places were depicted only through lust, eroticism, and exoticism, and a novel genre that is referred to as “*harem literature*” alongside it emerged. It was a genre that emerged “during the nineteenth century as a subgenre of the broader field of travel writing” that allowed “women writers who had access to a space that was closed to Western men,” and to write stories about the life in *harem*; and these texts did not cease to be produced even after the Victorian Period (Döşkaya 100, Heffernan and Lewis vi). As these works contained an interesting subject to the Western minds, the *harem literature* was popular in Britain.

Even though the works of Pardoe and Ellison can also be included in this literature due to the fact that they analyse the concealed aspects of life in the Ottoman Empire, such as *harems* and baths, these writers’ primary aim was to subvert the misrepresentative images of the West by criticising the Western prejudices about the Orient and praising the positive aspects of the East. In the case of Ellison especially, even though she wrote about “themes typical of harem literature,” such as “harem life, polygamy, [and] slavery,” she “puts a new spin on these stereotypical topics, often emphasising the modernisation of Ottoman life” (Heffernan and Lewis vi, x). In fact, Ellison’s release of *Turkish Harem* was a criticism against the prejudiced misrepresentation of the Europeans. Durakbaşa argued that Ellison represented the Turkish women in her work in a manner that would contradict with the male fantasies that depicted them as lustful creatures (202). In the book, she focused her criticism on the actual life in the *harem* parts of the Ottoman households, as the prejudiced perspective of the other Western writers did not represent the truth about the life in the Orient. She also reflected the state of the Turkish women and the state of the nation in general along with a social criticism of the European society.

As a result of her travel to the Ottoman Empire and her reports that were published in the newspaper, Grace Ellison had been able to publish a book about her account in the Ottoman Empire: *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* (1915). In the book, she

categorised the articles she wrote for the newspaper into several topics under the titles such as “The Imperial Harem” or the “Women Writers of Turkey,” when she edited her previously written material into a book form. An innovation that differentiated Ellison’s work compared to Pardoe would be the development of the art of photography. Even though photography was invented a decade before Pardoe’s visit, the technology was not commonly available and cameras were not quite portable at the time. However, during the visit of Ellison, this was no longer the case, and she managed to photograph the natives, and herself, during her travels in Turkey. Asako Nakai explains how the development in the photographing technology influenced travel writing: “After the Kodak revolution of 1888, cameras were portable, easy to handle and not too expensive, and photography was a medium available for women journalists in order to govern and control the knowledge of the Orient” (26). The impact of Kodak machines is also visible in Ellison’s *Turkish Harem* as she uses the verb “to Kodak” to describe “taking a picture” (182). Heffernan and Lewis commented on Ellison’s use of the camera by comparing her work to other travel writers, who used the pictures taken by other people in their works:

Many of these works relied on the stock photography that catered to Orientalist tastes and emphasised the picturesque nature of the Orient and its inhabitants. As with her writing, Ellison breaks with this convention, inserting herself into the picture by both particularising her experiences in the harem and disrupting Orientalist notions about it. (xxii – xxiii)

The writers mentioned in the extract that used these photographs helped the reproduction of the Orientalist prejudices even if their works were not Orientalist due to the strength of visually conveyed messages. This fact demonstrates the strength of the visual material in the establishment of the ideas in readers. In a way, it can be said that Ellison used her visual materials in order to go against these stock photos that misrepresented the Orient, and she provided objective visuals that were faithful to the truth. Therefore, it can be deduced that Ellison used her camera in order to subvert the misbeliefs of the West. She included thirteen of the photographs she took in the Ottoman Empire to *Turkish Harem*, which provided visual evidence about the costumes of the Turks, important figures of the time, the landscape, alongside some buildings, and life in the Ottoman Empire during the twentieth century. For example, she used her

photograph in a Turkish costume in the cover of her book in order to present the world how a Turkish woman would dress (see Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Grace Ellison. *The Author in Turkish Costume*.

An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem. Methuen & Co. Ltd., p. Frontispiece.

In addition to the original version, the 2007 edition of this book is peculiar in the sense that it was edited by Teresa Heffernan and Reina Lewis as a part of the book series of *Cultures in Dialogue*, which aimed to increase the understanding between Eastern and Western cultures through thirteen books written by writers that represented these two spheres of the world. As stated by Heffernan and Lewis, in the surviving samples of the original 1915 edition, the copies available had their pages missing, as a result of which, this team found and restored the missing pages (xxxix). However, even though they also restored the photographs taken by Ellison, they did not number the pages of these photographs. Accordingly, the photographs used will be from their version, nonetheless, the pagination will be stated in accordance with Ellison's original 1915 version. Also, the version for the discussions used in the thesis will be the 2007 version of Heffernan and Lewis to which they added a new introduction, in addition to Edward G. Browne's original one, due to the fact that it offers a complete version of the text.

Browne was a scholar of oriental languages at Cambridge, and his writing an introduction for Ellison was important in her gaining popularity as only now she managed to be seen as a part of the “field of respected Orientalist scholarship that was otherwise largely inaccessible to women travellers and writers” (Nakai 24, Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism* 49). The new introduction consisted of twenty-nine pages, which gave the readers the necessary background information about the state of the Ottoman Empire, Grace Ellison, and how the West observed the East. As both Heffernan and Lewis were experienced in the field of Orientalism and studied the works of Ellison, their comments have been an invaluable contribution to the book. Through their introduction, and other analyses by other scholars, the meaning of the book and the authorship of Ellison gained a new dimension.

In addition to its rich background, the controversy concerning the book and even Ellison herself is still prominent. At first glance, the *Turkish Harem* might seem like a simple travel text, in which Ellison compares and contrasts life in the East and the West. However, the factors that influenced the emergence of the book, and also the authorship of the book are controversial. Before *Turkish Harem*'s first publication in 1915, Ellison did the editorial work of Zeynep Hanım's (Zeyneb Hanoum) book, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* (1913), and wrote an introduction for it, while co-authoring it with Melek Hanım (Hanoum) for *Abdul Hamid's Daughter: The Tragedy of an Ottoman Princess* (1913), and wrote a preface for it in the same year. In the introduction of *European Impressions*, Ellison stated that she met these sisters when she was in Paris, France, in 1906 after they fled to Europe because they helped Pierre Loti to write *Les Désenchantées* (1906), and fled Turkey so as not to be targeted by Abdul Hamid II's regime (xiii). Even though the exact content and context is not provided by Ellison here, in the preface of Loti's novel, it is seen that he wrote about life in *harem*, and the characters in his novel, Cenan (Djenan), Zeynep (Zeyneb), Melek, and André are real people whose stories are told through their pseudonyms and their real names would not be revealed (i). So, it can be deduced that the sisters fled the empire as they provided information about the private life in the *harems*, as a result of which Ellison kept the pseudonyms of the sisters to protect them.

When Ellison published *Turkish Harem*, she promoted the works of these sisters, and helped them to get recognised in the Western world. Asako Nakai analysed the relationship of Grace Ellison with Melek Hanım and Zeynep Hanım within the scope of a feminist sisterhood, and stated that Ellison aided them in order for their voices to be heard in Europe, while stating that “[i]t was not the two distinct cultures of the east and the west that Ellison and the sisters had to negotiate; rather, they were faced with a grand narrative called orientalism, one which formulates, and thereby controls and regulates, the relation between east and west” (24, 28). Indeed, Ellison went against the prejudices of the West in her works, and depicted the Turkish women in a contrasting manner. As for the reason why she undertook such an endeavour, Lewis claims that even though Ellison stated that she had been inspired to travel to the East by the stories her father told her as a child, the aim for fame might also have been an incentive for her (47). As the stories regarding life in harem was a topic of interest in Europe, she might have wanted to take advantage of the situation after meeting the Turkish sisters, thereby publishing a series of books using their stories, and later her own. However, as she depicted life in *harem* in a contrasting manner to the usual European way, she either chose to chase this fame in a different way or the actual way of life in the harem changed her mind about becoming famous through writing just another misrepresentative tale about the East. In any case, she managed to subvert the prejudiced representations of the East by the West through her publications about the state of the Turkish women.

Turkish Harem became the book that gained Ellison international fame after which she continued her series of “An Englishwoman,” as well as her books on Turkey. She published *An Englishwoman in the French Firing Line* in 1915, and in 1920 *An Englishwoman in Occupied Germany*. She ended these series with her *An Englishwoman in Angora* in 1923, when she returned to Turkey in the midst of its independence war against the Western occupying forces, and conducted her famous interview with the leader of the resistance, Mustafa Kemal.

This interview that was first published in *Morning Post* on December 22, 1922, and then added to Ellison’s book is peculiar in the sense that it resulted in discussions about its credibility. In this interview, Ellison discusses the aftermath of the war of

independence of the Turks and she transfers that Mustafa Kemal wanted peace between not only Britain and Turkey but also between other forces that fought against the Turks, and also he desires complete independence for his nation (174-77). However, after the release of the interview in *Post*, refutations against it had been released in *Vakit* and *İkdam*, which claimed that Ellison depicted the Turks as powerless against the West, and this did not represent the truth (“İngiliz Gazeteci Grace M. Ellison’la Mülakat” 191-92). On the other hand, in the article in *İkdam*, it is also seen that Ellison claimed her report had been altered by the publishers in Britain (“İngiliz Gazeteci Grace M. Ellison’la Mülakat” 192). In 1928, she published her last book about Turkey, *Turkey To-day*, in which she mostly used her old anecdotes to comment on the development of the Turkish nation, which now became a republic. However, also in this book Ellison has a claim that causes contradictions about her intentions. She writes that Mustafa Kemal claimed that he was against religion (24). Atatürk himself also writes in his notes that he had warned a British journalist, whose name he does not reveal, but they kept acting like a spy (*Atatürk’ün Not Defterleri* 25). Even though he did not state this journalist’s name, it is believed to be Ellison. The reality whether she misrepresented the Turks deliberately or through a miscommunication is uncertain to this day. It is also natural for the newly founded Turkish Republic to be cautious against such misrepresentations in media. As Ellison has been supportive of the Turks in her works, the benefit of the doubt could be provided to her.

On account of her publications about Turkey, she was described as “keenly Turkophile” and “enthusiastic supporter of Turkish nationalism” by Lewis (43). Even though her books were regarded as documentation about several time periods of Turkey, there are also a few inconsistencies between Ellison’s books. Some key information changes from book to book. For example, in the introduction of *European Impressions*, Ellison wrote that she met the sisters in France but in *Turkey To-day* (1928), she claimed having met them in the Ottoman Empire. The character Fatma in her earlier books also becomes Makbule in her later ones. Lewis comments on why Fatma becomes Makbule as a way to avoid punishment:

[C]ertainly in the Hamidian years it would not have been safe to reveal the identities of her Turkish friends and respondents. In both *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* and *Abdul Hamid’s Daughter*, Ellison disguised Makboulé Hanım’s identity under the alias ‘Fatima’ or ‘Fathma’ revealing her identity and

that of her father only once it was deemed safe in the 1920s, by which time Makboulé Hanım's husband had been elevated to the status of paşa. (44)

Lewis's comment is likely to be the correct answer to criticisms against Ellison's inconsistency, as she also hid names of the characters whose identities would be dangerous to be revealed such as a member of the Young Turk movement, "N- Bey." Most likely, she did not want to be responsible for the political troubles that these characters would face because of her writing. Hence, she must have chosen to alter the information in order not to cause them any trouble. Lewis also summarises how the events between Makbule Hanım and Ellison progressed. In 1908, Ellison met Kamil Pasha, who was the Grand Vizier of Abdul Hamid II during the time; and through Kamil Pasha, Ellison met his daughter, Makbule (Makboulé) Hanım (43). During her visit in 1913, Ellison found that Kamil Pasha had been exiled to Cyprus, where he deceased, and for the majority of her stay in Turkey, Ellison resided in the house of Makbule Hanım and her husband, Nadi Bey, who was supportive of the new government (43). This Makbule Hanım is referred to as Fatma (Fâtima) in *Turkish Harem* by Ellison to hide her real identity as her husband supported the new regime, which was in the danger of being overthrown. So she waited until the new government stabilised to reveal her real identity. Furthermore, even though Ellison stated that Kamil Paşa was residing in Cyprus by the time he deceased, what she did not mention is that "in fact he had been exiled there by the CUP⁶ government after his role in the failed anti-CUP counter coup of March 1913" (Heffernan and Lewis xi).

In *Turkish Harem*, Ellison focuses her discussions on the topic of the misrepresentations of the Turks in the West through the misrepresentations of the Orient by the Western people, and how life in *harem* has been far from the truth. On the perception of the Turks by the West, Ellison comments: "We have been unjust to Turkey; we have for so long confounded the Turkish subjects with the cruel despots of the Hamidian régime; we have for so long now condemned wholesale everything Turkish, and the novel-writers of the day describe a Turkey which certainly does not exist to-day" (55). She states that the West made the mistake of perceiving the public in the same way of their government, and reflected the Turks negatively in Western literature. This

⁶ The Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) was a political group in the Ottoman Empire that advocated for the modernisation of the nation. They were impactful in the establishment of the Second Constitutional Era.

representation of the Orient naturally had consequences in social life. Ellison attended a feminist meeting in the book, and the third speaker, who visited Britain, shares his experiences in the country through Ellison's commentary: "On another occasion he visited a school; the teacher asked the assembled boys to guess the speaker's nationality. Unable to guess, they had to be told he was a Turk. 'And then,' said the speaker, 'the little boys uttered a cry of alarm.' 'Why are you frightened?' asked the teacher. 'Turks eat little boys,' was their reply" (72). Hence, the representation of the Turks as barbarians in popular culture resulted in their being perceived as cannibals amongst children.

Not only did the Orientalist representation of the Turks affect the people of the West but also naturally the Turks themselves. Ellison comments that "[t]he Turkish woman does not often open the doors of her home to the foreigner, not for lack of any friendly feeling towards her, but because the foreigner has lost her confidence, the foreigner has made fun of her, and, above all, the foreigner 'pities' her" (21-22). As a result of the misrepresentations disseminated in the West, the image of the Westerners in the East is tainted as they were now perceived as the people who only have the demeaning prejudices against the people of the East. Said states that "[t]here are strong affiliations between Orientalism and the literary imagination, for example, as well as the imperial consciousness" (344). As a result of the prolonged colonialism of the British, their Orientalist prejudices and their imaginations about the Orient were improved exponentially. Said also claims that "an almost uniform association between the Orient and sex" has been made through the Orientalist writers as "'Oriental sex' was as standard a commodity as any other available in the mass culture, with the result that readers and writers could have it if they wished without necessarily going to the Orient (188, 190). It can be observed that the Orientalist beliefs of the West that are developed through colonialism also enabled them to seize an idea of the Orient in a similar manner to the seizure of the lands of other nations. Moreover, as Oriental women were depicted as objects of sex and pleasure throughout centuries by Orientalist writers, it can be observed in Ellison's case that many of the Turkish women rejected to interact with these Europeans who misrepresented them in Western countries.

The Orientalist representation of British writers about the people in the East did not only affect their relationship with the people overseas, but also caused problems in the British Empire. The West read the works about the Orient written by Western writers, and have been influenced by it, and had the same prejudices towards the people of the East. Ellison commented on how the West did not have the objective opinions about the East, and only approached them with their Western prejudices:

If only we had more knowledge of the people of other lands, many diplomatic errors could be avoided. Over and over again we have slighted the Moslems of our Empire. How many of us even realise that King George rules over more Moslems than any other sovereign. Hear the asinine remarks of our young subalterns about the uncivilised Indian *niggers* who must be kept in their place!! How dare they thus humiliate persons of a civilisation older and greater than our own. (*Turkish* 156)

It should also be noted that in this quotation the word “subaltern” was not used in the sense of postcolonial studies where it is used for the “colonised” but in the military sense to refer to low ranking officers (“subaltern officer” def. 3). What Ellison meant to convey here was as the British had prejudices against the people of the Orient, this fact affected the integrity of the British Empire. During the nineteenth century, the British empire had reached its largest extension through colonialism, and India whose colonisation process began in 1757 was still the most important British colony. Ellison exemplifies how the British officers carried the prejudiced beliefs of the West, and mistreated the Indians as they were the people of the Orient even though they resided in the British Empire as much as these officers. Ellison points out that, because of the misbeliefs of the West, the integrity of the empire was damaged as many peoples of many religions resided in the British Empire during the twentieth century. In order to further go against the distinction between the West and the East, she photographed how the Turks and Europeans can be together at social places (see Fig. 7). Through this photograph, it can be observed that Ellison demonstrated how the people from two spheres of the world can enjoy activities outdoors.



Fig. 7. Grace Ellison. *Turkish Ladies in the Country with Their European Governesses*.
An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem. Methuen & Co. Ltd., p. 166.

Another prejudiced Western belief that was criticised by Ellison is related to Said's discussion about "Oriental backwardness," which he claims that leads to a belief of "European superiority" (7). After Ellison stated that Europeans did not believe that the Turks were capable of producing literary works simply because they were Turks, thus the Orientals, and the Orientals were backwards, she created a juxtaposition that only the West could have literature as it was an advanced civilisation. In contrast, Ellison claimed that the Turks had both male and female writers that were proficient enough. Then she presented a typical conversation that she would have with a European about this topic:

Say to the average European that you have started to study the Turkish language, and he will ask, 'Unless you are to live in the country of what use is it? They have no literature.' How many times has that remark not been made to me! Yet there are some very fine masterpieces, and it is to an English Professor, Professor Browne, of Cambridge, that we owe a five-volume study of the history of Ottoman poetry, an intensely interesting and fascinating book, which has followed me into the houses of my Turkish friends. (*Turkish* 104)

Professor Browne mentioned here also wrote the introduction part in *Turkish Harem*. As it can be seen through this example not every person in the West believed that the Turks were a backward nation that was not capable of producing literature, the general consensus was in this tendency. Not only did the Europeans not visit Turkey or learn

about their culture, but also the ones that visited, or even spent a long time, had these Orientalist beliefs. She gives an example of such a person:

A European official, who has lived here all his life (and he is an old man now), is astonished at my recklessness in trusting myself as I have done to the protection of the ‘unspeakable’ Turks. He was born and bred with the idea that Turks were ‘unspeakable,’ and consequently has nothing to do with them, unless he can possibly help it, and when he does he lets them see he dislikes them. Extraordinary it is, that there should be Europeans in this country who, after living almost a lifetime amongst a people, have not got to know them one little bit better! (*Turkish* 151)

Subsequently, similar to Pardoe’s example in the previous chapter, there have been European residents in Turkey for a long time, who did not feel the need to learn about the people they lived with for years because of their prejudices, and superiority complex. In order to further her claims about the literacy level of the Turks, Ellison photographs them at a European style art school (see Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Grace Ellison. *Opening of the Belgian School of Arts and Crafts, Stamboul.*

An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem. Methuen & Co. Ltd., p. 160.

As for another discussion about the prejudices of the West, in the Ottoman Empire, the word “*harem*” has been used to represent both the places in the commoners’ houses, where the women resided, and also in the palace for the same function that is referred to as *Harem-i Hümayun* (the Imperial Harem), where the concubines resided, and these women were mistakenly labelled as the sexual slaves of the Sultan, Europeans could not differentiate between the part in the commoners’ houses and the supposedly lustful place in the palaces, and thus whenever they heard about the word *harem* they thought

about the latter. Ellison also theorised how the association of the word *harem* with the lustful representations of this place might have come into being:

A door in the selamlık leads into a big salon, and a door also from the harem leads into this same big salon. It is here that European guests are received, having entered by the door of the selamlık, and this is all they see of a Turkish house; it is here they must find all the material for their romances of Turkish life. Occasionally through the open door they catch a glimpse of some of the ladies of the house who pass by the door, and who strictly keep their hair veiled. They see, perhaps, the slaves in their picturesque costumes, and immediately the thought of 'polygamy' enters their mind; all these ladies must be the wives of the Pasha. (*Turkish* 57)

There were two entrances to the Turkish houses in the Ottoman Empire. *Selamlık* was the entrance that allowed the men of the house and strangers into guest rooms while *harem* entrance was strictly reserved for the women of the household. As the European male guests had no access to the *harem* part of these houses, they had to rely on the information they collected even if it did not represent the truth. Said claims that Orientalist writers used their imaginations activated by the Oriental tales and wrote as the fabrications about the Orient came “easily to their daydreams packed inside Oriental clichés: harems, princesses, princes, slaves, veils, dancing girls and boys, sherbets, ointments, and so on” (190). As a result, misrepresentations of the Oriental life emerged where it was thought every woman in the household was a wife or concubine of the head of the house. Ellison also blamed herself about this issue as she arrived in Turkey “with perhaps just a little of the ‘downtrodden woman of the East’ fallacy left,” but she stated that after she spent more time in the nation, she was completely free of this thought (195). Similar to Pardoe, it can be observed that she visited the East while being affected by the prejudices of the West. Even if Europeans, like Ellison that visited Turkey prior to their texts, were able to contain such beliefs, it is no surprise that the ones that never set foot on the Turkish soil had the Orientalist beliefs about the Turkish harems.

As Ellison was aware of the fact that the Europeans did not know the true meaning of *harem* in the Turkish sense, and they carried the meaning that was imposed by the West as a lustful place in their minds, Ellison explained the meaning of this word in the introduction of *European Impressions*, two years prior to her *Turkish Harem*:

The word harem comes from the Arabic 'Maharem,' which means 'sacred or forbidden,' and no Oriental word has been more misunderstood. It does not mean a collection of wives; it is simply applied to those rooms in a Turkish house exclusively reserved for the use of the women. Only a blood relation may come there to visit the lady of the house, and in many cases even cousins are not admitted. (xvii)

Through her explanation, she aimed to teach the true meaning of the word to Europeans who had been influenced by the misrepresentations of the West. However, it is seen that in *Turkish Harem*, her efforts were not enough to make a great impact as she realised that when she mentioned her third voyage to the Ottoman Empire that she planned to conduct, Europeans' views about *harem* were still the same:

To the Western ear, to be staying in a Turkish harem sounds alarming, and not a little - yes, let us confess it - improper. When, before I left my own country, I had the imprudence to tell a newspaper correspondent that I was longing to get back to the quiet harem existence, I was accused of 'advocating polygamy,' for to the uninitiated the word 'harem' means a collection of wives, legitimate or otherwise, and even the initiated prefers to pretend he knows no other meaning. (*Turkish 2*)

It can be observed that, even the Europeans who knew the true meaning of the word pretended not to know it in order to fit into conformity of their society that was shaped by the prejudices throughout centuries. This misrepresentation also was prominent in Western literature. Ellison comments on this issue:

The veiled Turkish woman is always a source of unending interest. A chapter, at least, on harem life will always add to the value of the book; for the word 'harem' stirs the imagination, conjures up for the reader visions of houris veiled in the mystery of ages ... and they have made him the subject of their coarsest smoking-room jokes. Poor Turks! How we have humiliated them! ... And yet we judge him from the books which are written, not to extend the truth about a people, but only to sell; the West expects to hear unwholesome stories when it reads of the Eastern homes ... (*Turkish 15*)

She explained that the exoticism and eroticism of the stories that take place in the *harem* had a large reading population, which would earn these writers great deal of money. One might argue that Ellison also used this underhand technique to sell more of her books; however, it could also be argued that Ellison used this trick in order to spread the truth about the Turkish *harems* to more people, who are influenced by the Oriental *harem* stories and want to consume more of this literature filled with the misrepresentation of the East. On the contrary, in her work, Ellison went against the tropes that fuelled the misrepresentations of the Eastern world by the Western writers.

The greatest actor of the Orientalist representations was the Imperial Harem (*Harem-i Hümayun*). About this topic, Ellison wrote in the preface of *Abdul Hamid's Daughter* that “there is a difference, a very great difference, between life in an Imperial Harem and life in a harem of the town or country” (5). Alev Karaduman analysed life in the Imperial Harem through the accounts of Leyla Saz, who resided in the harem even though she was not a concubine due to her father’s position in the palace as a Vizier (Karaduman, “Ottoman” 110, 117). Karaduman explained that the Ottoman palaces had two institutions inside them; the *Enderun*, which was used to educate the statesmen, and the *harem* where the women accepted into the Imperial Harem received an education; they learned about music and poetry along with domestic skills and etiquette, and she added that only the Sultan among the males in the whole Empire had access to the *harem*; so, European males cannot have observed life in the *harem* (111-12). As it is known that the statesmen were often married with the women from the Imperial Harem, it can be said that both of these institutions acted as state apparatuses. While the *Enderun* supplied the empire with highly educated statesmen, the Imperial Harem matched them with suitable wives as educated as themselves. In this sense, the Imperial Harem also acted as a social ladder for women. Families that desired their daughters to receive a good education and become a part of the life at the palace allowed their daughters to get into the imperial *harem* (Baysal 593). For example, Roxelana (Hürrem Sultan) managed to become the legal wife of Süleyman the Magnificent through rising in the ranks of *harem* (Karaduman, “Ottoman” 114). Apart from being a state institution of the Turks, the Imperial Harem also became well-known in Europe.

Even though it was a serious institution, the female-only nature of the Imperial Harem attracted the interest of the West. Orientalism in art gained popularity during the nineteenth century in Europe, and in this art movement the artists depicted the life in the *harem* even though they did not have access to it (Karaduman, “*Eothen*” 95). They mostly depicted the life in *harem* as lustful and degenerate. However, Karaduman argued that “contrary to the biased and misconceived opinion in the West, the Ottoman harem was neither a place of uncontrolled desire nor a prison for helpless women kept for the lascivious pleasures of the sultans” (Karaduman, “Ottoman” 119). When Ellison visited the Imperial Harem, she stated that “all these women are solemnly asked four times at the end of each year whether they would like to marry and leave the harem”

(*Turkish Harem* 37). Hence, the theories about these women's being captives of the Sultan were groundless.

Furthermore, Ellison states that with the Second Constitution, slavery was legally abolished in the Ottoman Empire (26). Even though slavery was abolished, the slaves in the houses of the Ottoman Empire did not leave their households on account of the fact that they were not mistreated unlike their Western counterparts. Ellison commented on this as follows: "Many lies have been told about the treatment of these slaves, but Miss Chocolate has never been beaten, she receives only kindness; she is invited, with all the other members of the 'domestic sisterhood,' to see us dance and hear the Western music when we dance and sing in the evenings, but generally we read and sew" (26-27). As the Orientalist art depicted the slave trade often in a misrepresented way, Ellison claimed that the representation of the slaves in Turkey did not reflect the reality. Now, as they were free they could also leave the houses of their masters at will.

However, the impact of Western misbeliefs about the East had been so extensive that Ellison complained about how she received many "letters asking the most primitive questions" about *harems*, and she inquired the readers about what the Turks would think about them if they learned "what Europe thought of them" (55). Ellison criticises and shames her fellow citizens, and claims that even though they believed they were civilised people; they were still primitive in their beliefs about the Oriental world. Similarly, when Ellison witnessed the women's efforts at the Red Crescent for the people in need of help by "fighting against the terrible odds of having to find work for women who cannot work, and food for hungry mouths in a country where there is no money" she says that "one understands how bitterly these women resent the manner in which they are introduced by the writer's imagination to the Western world" (89-90). What Ellison meant to convey here is as the women of the nation in a difficult state, they resent the fact that they are perceived by the West as the lustful concubines that do not have worldly problems.

Another problem with the Orientalist mindset is the perception of the Eastern world as a fixed and united entity that does not change or develop with time. Said states that for the Orientalist, the Orient "tends to be static, frozen [and], fixed eternally. The very possibility of development, transformation, human movement - in the deepest sense of

the word - is denied” (208). For the Orientalists, the East is an entity that never changes, never moves, and stays the same as the tales in *Nights*. Ellison also commented on this issue:

The Turkish home in which I am staying at present has little in common with the harem described by most Western writers, and no doubt those readers accustomed to the usual notions of harem life will consider my surroundings disappointingly Western ... Had I been able, as I hoped, to send some photographs of the interior of my friend’s house, those photographs would probably be considered ‘fakes,’ or perhaps even they might be returned (as they were returned to me when I last stayed in Turkey five years ago) with the comment, ‘This is not a Turkish harem.’ (*Turkish* 19)

Throughout centuries, Orientalists reproduced the representations of the Eastern world in an imaginative way fitting to the tales and stories about the East. As a result of these representations, alternative representations such as Ellison’s representation of the East during her stay in the Ottoman Empire in 1908, which did not fit into this idea of an “ideal Orient” that was fabricated through the Orientalist beliefs of the West are discharged and ignored by the publishers. As it can be observed in the excerpt, her photographs were claimed not to be genuine representations of life in Turkey. It can be observed that even though the Ottoman Empire modernised during that time, the West refuses to believe such possibility. With the aim of going against this notion, Ellison photographed the Turkish youth in their football attire in order to highlight how the East was also able to advance and adapt to newly emerging sports and act like their European counterparts (see Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Grace Ellison. *The Football Team at the Broussa Lycee.* *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem.* Methuen & Co. Ltd., p. 142.

According to Ellison “[n]o book on Turkey would be complete without a chapter on polygamy – [and] in justice to the Turk such a chapter is necessary. It is the chapter to which every reader will turn first of all, and not one critic will allude to it. How well I know my countrymen!” (119). She criticised British people for their desire to read about polygamy, as they had been indulged with the ideas of popular culture that misrepresented the Orient as a lustful place. Ellison claimed that polygamy in the Ottoman Empire was not as common as the West believed. When she inquired Fatma about it, Fatma searched for a polygamous home for Ellison to demonstrate her the life of these families. However, Ellison said that “[l]et me at once confess, however, to the morbid curiosity of actually trying to find a ‘harem’ where there was more than one wife ... and for a long time not one was to be found” (119). Indeed, by the time Ellison visited Turkey, polygamy was out of fashion to the extent that “[e]ven many members of the Imperial family content themselves with one wife” (57). This development stemmed from the efforts of the CUP, who wanted to limit the influence of the royal family against the constitutional government. The CUP was on the side of the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire, and their efforts are felt through the *Turkish Harem*.

The new government of the CUP was in favour of modernisation, and one of the ways to achieve this modernisation was accepted as the emancipation of women. Ellison stated that there were feminist men in high ranks of the government who were in support of women’s emancipation, and she exemplified two of them; Cemal (Djémal) Pasha, the Military Governor of Constantinople, and Talat (Talaat) Bey, Minister of the Interior. Their photographs were also included in Ellison’s book. There have been several instances that demonstrated the feminist side of the government. For example, Ellison stated that Turkish women did not spend much time outside, which caused several health problems amongst them, and continued: “There is absolutely no reason now why they should not; the police have strict orders from the ‘feminist’ Military Governor of Constantinople to interfere in no way with the ladies, and any man daring to insult a woman is punished with exile” (60). This was a major movement on the part of Turkey, as before the constitution the contrary was the norm. Another example was when Ellison learned that the new government permitted women to take some of the courses available in the university. She commented:

When I heard the news, much as I rejoiced, I could not help making a comparison between the methods of the East and those of the West. Here are these ‘unspeakable’ Turks giving to women privileges for which they have not asked ... [a]nd yet, here in England, much as women have tried to work along the lines of evolution they have been driven to revolution ... From the beginning of the woman’s movement, every privilege has had to be bought with rebellion. (*Turkish* 199-200)

Here, Ellison compares how Britain resists against the emancipation of women, unlike Turkey, which gradually started to grant rights to women, again unlike Britain where women had to battle for every right that they acquired. Her criticism can be linked to the “Oriental despotism” discussed by Said as she emphasises how the supposedly “despot” government of the Turks started to grant women their rightful emancipation, while Britain, a nation of the West that created a juxtaposition with the Orient’s despotism, thus associating itself with civilisation, denied these rights for half of its population.

Not only did Ellison encounter the Turkish women, who had difficulties in making both ends meet, but she also met Halide Edib, who was one of the best-known Turkish women writers of her time. Serpil Çakır states that the modernisation of the Turkish women started with the Second Constitutional Era, and Edib was one of the influential figures during that time (59). She explained the reason why this change came into being was due to the publications of women in the newspapers and journals where the women verbalised their problems (59). Ellison also recognised her as a leading figure in emancipation of women and added a photograph of hers to the book (see Fig. 10)



Fig. 10. Grace Ellison. *Halidé Hanoum, the Best Known Turkish Women Writers and a Leader of the Woman’s Movement*. Methuen Co. Ltd., p. 18.

Durakbaşa states that while the movements for the emancipation for women existed in the Ottoman Empire, these movements were different from the West as the emancipation for the Turks revolved around nationalism, and because of this fact, feminists like Halide Edib desired an emancipation model that prioritised social welfare, and she was against the clash between the sexes (196). This feature of her is also seen in Ellison's ideas, where she refrained from being a radical feminist. Edib also wrote in a journal called *Demet* (bouquet), and founded a feminist association, *Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (The Society for the Elevation of Women⁷), where she united the women who supported the emancipation (Çakır 97-99). Ellison discussed the issue of the prejudices of the West about *harem* with Edip in her book:

I asked Halidé-Hanoum, perhaps the most active and best known of modern Turkish women, in the name of one of our prominent suffrage societies, how we English women could help the Turkish women in their advancement. 'Ask them,' she said, 'to delete for ever that misunderstood word 'harem,' and speak of us in our Turkish 'homes.' Ask them to try and dispel the nasty atmosphere which a wrong meaning of that word has cast over our lives. Tell them what our existence really is.' (*Turkish* 17)

As Halide Edib was a writer, it can be argued that she was aware of the fact that a change in thought begins with a change in the language. She even offered Ellison a proper translation for the word, as *harem* in fact refers to a part of the house, the word "house" could in fact be used for it, as the Turkish women reside in these *harems*. As Edib supported the rights of women, she was disturbed by the fact that they were being insulted and used for the fantasies of the West.

Ellison also discussed feminism with Halide Edib by means of which Ellison was able to compare and contrast feminisms in Britain and Turkey:

Halide-Hanoum paid a very pretty compliment to the energy, indomitable courage, and selfsacrifice of so many of the women of my country. If, then, the Eastern women can understand the tactics of a section of women workers which so many men and women of my own country have covered with ridicule and injustice, surely we in England should try to understand better the Turkish women, for it is to us they still turn for guidance, example, and, above all, sympathy. (*Turkish* 18)

⁷ This translation is sourced from Elif Gözdaşoğlu Küçükalioglu's article "Narrating Turkish Women's Past: Intersections Of Nationalism, Gender And Modernisation," p. 118.

As Halide Edib was able to appreciate women's movement in Britain from a different country that resided in supposedly a "backward" area of the world, Ellison criticised Britain for not supporting it. While Ellison's remark about Turkish women's taking an example of the British women in the movement would appear like a patronising and Orientalist attitude, it should also be noted that the leading nation of the movement was Britain during that time. Another difference between Britain and Turkey stated by Halide Edib, and transferred through Ellison is as follows: "But in all her work, she tells me, she has been encouraged by the opposite sex, and no one ever questions whether, since she gives so much time to public work, her children and home are neglected, as is generally the case with us" (*Turkish* 67). Here, Ellison again complains about the women's movement not being supported by the populace of Britain, unlike Turkey. On this issue, Ellison also criticised how the West perceived the Turks on this issue: "'See,' says Europe, 'how the Turk treats his women.' 'See,' I might answer, 'how the British Government treats its women.'" (*Turkish* 80). As the West carried Orientalist beliefs about the East, they assumed the situation in the East to be worse than the West, but Ellison demonstrated that it was the contrary and the East was more civilised than the West in this matter.

Stone explains the difficult process of women's emancipation in Britain. He states that women's rights movement started in the eighteenth century with Mary Wollstonecraft's work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, in 1792, and in the first half of the nineteenth century, the movement continued with campaigns and pamphlets (593). However, as Queen Victoria was against the emancipation, the rights of women were denied (Marlow x). Influenced by the patriarchal beliefs of the West, she denied the British women their rights. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, despite Queen Victoria, the issue of the right to vote for women was carried to the parliament but it did not pass (Stone 593). In 1870, women started to receive the rights of education and property, and in 1894, it was followed by the right to vote in local councils and lastly in 1907, to be elected in local positions (594). Despite the fact that women started to earn their rights one by one, the process towards women's emancipation had not been peaceful.

The way to the rights of women in Britain was full of violence. Throughout the process of emancipation, there had been several clashes between women and men in Britain. In the twentieth century there had been several famous instances such as the “Black Friday” when Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) that was led by Emmeline Pankhurst clashed with the British police in 1910 (Van Wingerden 123). It was not until 1918 that women that had a property could vote at thirty, and only in 1928 did they receive the right to vote on the same grounds as men (Stone 594, Marlow ix). Contrary to Britain, not only the government but also a large part of the civilian men was in favour of the emancipation of women in Turkey. Ellison attended a Turkish feminist meeting when she was in the Ottoman Empire, and saw that there were many men in support of the women’s rights. She narrated her experience:

‘[M]an,’ the arch-enemy of woman, was the chief obstacle to woman’s progress. I believe, however, this idea is prevalent in our Western countries ... I am told that the men have even written articles for the newly founded woman’s paper, and signed them with feminine names, for the number of women writers here is still very limited ... The hall in which the feminist meeting was held was the large lecture hall of the university, lent by the men. Men were the stewards, and all four speakers were men. (*Turkish* 64-66)

This scene again contrasted with what Ellison had experienced about women’s rights movement in Britain. Men were acting in order to provide women with more rights in Turkey. Ellison knew that Halide Edib was a famous spokesperson in such meetings. Even though she was happy that men spoke in favour of women, she was disappointed that none of the speakers were women that day (*Turkish* 66-67). These instances in the book demonstrated how Turkey was on the way of emancipation of women through giving them more rights. The third speaker of this meeting caught the attention of Ellison the most as he had visited Britain, and talked about his experiences there. He said that he was not fond of Britain as he was always asked “the usual questions about the harem life, and how many wives he had” to the point he refused to talk to British people after some point (72). Then, he continued his criticism of Britain by stating that the East part of London was in poverty, and “How dare that nation criticise us” he asked, and questioned if Britain was in fact “a civilised nation” (72). The reason why Ellison put the speech of this speaker in her book was not in vain.

Through the mouth of this speaker, in fact, Ellison is the one criticising Britain. Heffernan and Lewis argued that Ellison defeated another “fallacy of Orientalist

stereotypes” by stating that instead of desiring the women veiled, the Turkish men led the movement in Turkey in women’s emancipation while adding that in addition to the people who wanted to remove the veil as “a mark of civilisation, progress, and modernisation,” there were also people who saw the veil as “a sign of resistance to cultural imperialism” (xxi-xxii). This controversial topic is still one of the unresolved matter in contemporary Turkey. About the willing emancipation of the Turks, Nakai argued that “[l]iberating women from the veil and the harem was an important agenda in Turkey after the 1908 revolution, so that women could become a new labour force, much needed for the building up of a modern nation state” (28). After the Balkan Wars, the manpower of the empire had depleted. As a solution, the Empire might have required the aid of women in the workforce. However, this cannot be stated as the sole purpose of this emancipation as the true freedom of women in the workforce was not provided until the Republic of Turkey.

Ellison also mentioned that even though the government of the Young Turks was still new and not perfect, it was on the right track. Despite this, it still got criticised by Europe relentlessly. By referring to this government as “The Young Turk,” she stated that “[i]n his political methods he has not been impeccable. I do not defend him. What I do protest against, however, is that an action committed by a Turk should be called ‘a crime,’ and yet committed by a Christian neighbour ‘a diplomatic error’” (*Turkish* 80). This fact demonstrated the underlying Orientalist prejudices of Europeans that did not tolerate the Turks, as they perceived them to be inferior to themselves. As the West perceived the East as an entity of despotism and cruelty, an act that would contradict with the supposed European virtues were greeted through the perspective of these adjectives. Ellison also emphasises that if the same acts were conducted by a European nation, that action would not receive such a harsh criticism as they believed that Europeans were supposedly virtuous, and such an act can be perceived as an “error” rather than the Oriental “crime.”

One of the greatest criticisms of Ellison towards the European society was on the account of social structure. She claimed that the Turks were in a better position with regards to the social structure, as the class system in Europe did not exist there. This criticism of hers can also be linked to Said’s idea of “Oriental despotism,” which

demonstrated the Orient as “underhumanised” and “antidemocratic” (150). As the West claimed that the East was ruled through despotism, and the West through democracy, the application of classes and castes in the British empire contradicted with their idea of democracy in which every person should have the same opportunities in life as it can be observed in the Ottoman Empire, where for the population almost every position was open to be seized for every living soul in the empire. In her book, Ellison compared and contrasted the social structure of the West and the East, and presented her comments on the negative sides of the Western world, while praising the East on that matter. Her main argument about the social structure is the Turks’ being more democratic than the West, which ironically claimed to be the more democratic part of the world. She commented on class and democracy as follows:

But what is most delightful to me in Turkish life, in the Court and out of the Court, in fact in every station of life, is the beautiful feeling of democracy. A Princess, while talking to you, will suddenly excuse herself, rise and throw her arms round the neck of her old *nourrice*, who walks about amongst the highest of the Court ladies. The accident of high birth demands specially cultured conversation, kindness, and fine manners towards persons of humbler birth, argues the Turkish woman, and the *snobbery* which is so frequent in our Western countries has never existed here. (*Turkish* 45-46)

Ellison claimed that equality in Turkey surpassed the West, and in Turkey, there was no distinction between the classes that forced the people to act in a certain way, and this influenced the behaviour of the Turks. As Ellison claimed, there was no snobbery here as the distinction between the classes were not as strict as Britain. Ellison also stated that it was not possible to distinguish much of the society from their attires as “[t]he man you might easily in my country take for a groom is perhaps the Pasha’s son” (*Turkish* 130). As the social indicators of class are few, the Turkish society appears more democratic than the Western one to Ellison. When she witnessed that a woman of better fortune helped another woman of less fortune, the rich one did not have “the patronising attitude of the Western woman towards her humbler sisters,” and the poorer one did not have “the cringing gratitude of the West for favours received” (*Turkish* 54). It can be observed that, Ellison subverted the Western beliefs of democracy in the West and the prejudiced beliefs of despotism in the East through her criticism of the West and praise of the East.

This sense of social solidarity Ellison mentioned is also reflected in the general trust of the Turkish society. During her stay in Bursa, she mentions how safe her belongings are:

My books, my papers, my letters are all open; the few jewels I possess are on my table. I close my eyes in the homes of these humble villagers confident that no harm will come to me; that they will not unfasten my pearls whilst I sleep. In our Western countries should I not be scolded for putting temptation in their way? And I, in my turn, feel sure they trust me. (*Turkish* 154)

Again, she criticised how the Western social structure that separated the poor from the wealthy created an atmosphere of insecurity in European nations. While she was able to leave her belongings anywhere, she was pleased that they were not stolen in Turkey. She could not defend this idea's being conducted in a European country. Another example of this social security is observed when Fatma's father deceased in Cyprus. When Ellison inquired the reason why a Pasha was buried like a commoner, she was answered with these sentences: "The money you people in the West spend on funeral pomp we give to the poor assembled round the grave, and according to the deceased's years and fortune" (*Turkish* 51-52). This answer went against Ellison's Western norms and beliefs, and she discovered another aspect that increased the solidarity among the Turks. This part also demonstrated the literary honesty of Ellison as she managed to write about her prejudices about the class in order to subvert the classicism in the West. She witnessed another act of philanthropy in the wake of the deceased man:

What a lesson in 'equality'! Some of the callers were the wives of Ministers of State, some were the wives and daughters of generals, admirals, and the most honoured of Turkey's great men, some were almost beggars, but they were all together in the same room. Death, the great leveller, had brought them together to mourn the loss of a personal friend, and we of the household were grateful for the sympathy of them all. (*Turkish* 52-53)

Even though he was a member of high class, even the lowest class could attend his funeral and other people treated him as equals. This was not a scene Ellison was used to in the West. Again, it can be observed that, through criticisms of the West and praises of the East, Ellison did not only subvert the supposed idea of democracy in the West, but also demonstrated how a true equality should be constructed among the citizens of a nation. Even though she had her prejudices of class by stating that the funeral of a high-class man was not only attended by the people that would belong to the high class in Europe, but also those who would belong to the lower class, or even the underclass

dared to attend his funeral. However, it can also be observed that as she witnessed an almost classless society, she is influenced by it, and her ideas about the British class system might have changed when she wrote the book.

Another criticism on the European society of Ellison was about the religious differences between the West and the East. She observed that while religion acted as a uniting force in the East, it acted as a contrary agent in the West. Even though the majority of Europe united against the Muslims during *Reconquista* and the Crusades, during the twentieth century, this feature was lost mainly due to the separation of sects of Catholicism and Protestantism, which caused battles throughout Europe for centuries such as the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century. Ellison criticised the Western world for not being united unlike the Eastern world:

There is a wonderful brotherhood amongst the Moslems ... Unfortunately we have not this same brotherhood amongst us Christians. I have in my possession a letter written by a Lazarist Father, deploring the possibility that Constantinople might fall into the hands of the Greeks ... He prefers the *infidel* Turk to another member of the Christian Church because the Turk has offered him hospitality and allowed him to have his churches and his missions, and has in no way interfered with his religious liberties, whereas from his brother Christian he could not expect such broad-mindedness. (*Turkish* 156-57)

Ellison commented that the believers of Islam acted as a unit, while the believers of Christianity saw each sect as a rival to the degree that they would rather witness the victory of the Muslims instead of Christians of another sect. However, they might not be wrong in this belief, as Ellison also stated, that the rival sects of Christianity were more oppressive against other Christianity sects than the Muslims.

Similar to Pardoe, Ellison also commented on the contradiction between the East and the West on the topic of animal cruelty. However, unlike Pardoe, Ellison was not that merciful towards the stray animals. She asked a woman in the house: "Stamboul will soon be as overcrowded with cats, as Pera was with dogs. 'Why do you not drown some of them?'" I asked a member of this household. 'It would be a sin according to the Koran,' said he; 'we only kill animals to eat them'" (*Turkish* 60). This instance demonstrated the disparity between the supposed mercy of the West and the "cruel Turks" that do not harm the stray animals. She again contradicts her European beliefs,

where she acts against the virtues of the West, and asks to murder innocent animals, and receives an answer that would contradict with the Orientalist beliefs of the West.

As a conclusion, visiting Turkey almost a hundred years after Pardoe, Ellison informed the readers about the developments of the Ottoman Empire while demonstrating that even though time had passed, Orientalist beliefs of Europeans persisted. She did not only subvert the prejudiced beliefs about the East of the West, where the women of the *harems* were perceived to be concubines that existed only to please the heads of the houses, she also subverted the West's supposed virtues like democracy and mercy through observing the lack of a class system and the attitude towards stray animals in the Ottoman Empire. In the end, while she praised the systems in the East, she ended up criticising the features of the West, which the West believed that they were more advanced than the East. As a result, similar to Pardoe, in addition to her criticisms, Ellison's work also reflected Said's criticisms towards the West.

In this chapter, how Ellison criticised the West because of its demeaning prejudices about the people of the East was analysed. As it was the case in the first chapter, references to Said were given to emphasise the Orientalist views of the West and also to demonstrate the parallelisms between Ellison and Said's statements. It can be concluded that as she criticised the Occident for their prejudiced beliefs and stated the positive sides of the Orient, it can be said that she also has gone against the Orientalist beliefs of the twentieth century Europe and Britain in a similar way Pardoe did in the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

Throughout centuries, travel writing has been analysed to gain information about the ways of lives of people in distant lands. The first successful example of travel text that emerged in Britain was written by Richard Hakluyt in 1589 through his *Principal Navigations*, and in the following centuries the travel texts that were produced by writers rose exponentially mainly thanks to the Grand Tour. With the developing technology, the scope of the writers also widened, and during the nineteenth century, the number of the travel texts on the East increased to a great extent, and as a major power of the Eastern world, the Ottoman Empire was a most popular destination for these travellers. This fact resulted in numerous texts about the region to be produced not only in the nineteenth century, but also in the twentieth century. While producing their works on travel, these writers tended to reflect their subjective opinions and beliefs about the people of the East. In 1978, Edward Said published his book, *Orientalism* in which he analysed several works on the East that were written by Western authors. He concluded that every Western writer who wrote about the East had prejudices against it and reflected their opinions in their works, and he called these writers as “Orientalists.” He used Foucault’s works to emphasise that Orientalism was a discourse, and Althusser’s works to state this discourse is created through a hegemony of the West over the East through a power relation, and as the West was in a stronger state it represented the East through this hegemony. Even though the dichotomy between the East and the West goes back to Homer’s time as Said states, its development into an enmity goes back to the Crusades in the Middle Ages, which would collide the Christian West with the Muslim East. This resulted in an othering of each other which would claim each other as an ultimate enemy towards the other half. With the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the continental Europe that started in the fourteenth century, an interest about this empire also arose, and with this development, an exoticism of the East by the West also emerged.

In the seventeenth century, *Turquerie*, a fashion movement that imitated the costume of the Ottomans emerged, and lasted until the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, the incident that had the utmost contribution to the Orientalist beliefs occurred. Galland translated *One Thousand and One Nights* from Arabic to French, and brought

these Oriental tales into Western culture, which shaped the image of the Orient in Western minds. During the eighteenth century, this work was translated into English several times through Scott, Lane, and others. Also during the same century, *Chinoiserie*, an art style that imitated the elements of the “Far East” in the Western furniture and building that existed in countries like China and Japan emerged. In the nineteenth century, Orientalism as an art movement gained popularity, and the French representatives of this movement, like Ingres and Gérôme, depicted the Orient in an unrealistic way that reflected the life in the East as lustful, and this phenomenon did not cease to exist during the twentieth century.

Even though Said’s claims about the West held true for the majority of the writers during this time period, there were also writers that went against the misbeliefs of the West and in the thesis, two British writers, Julia Pardoe and Grace Ellison, who criticised the West and tried to represent the East in a positive manner while doing so have been analysed. This thesis aimed to fill the research gap in Western women writers who criticised the prejudices of the West about the East during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively. While choosing these writers, in addition to their criticisms towards the West, some other qualifications have also been sought for the thesis. The first one is the length of their residence in the Ottoman Empire in order to perceive their experience about the Orient. Pardoe stayed in the Ottoman lands for nine months, while Ellison stayed there for more than one year in the total of her several visits to the region. Another mutual feature of these writers is their gender. As both were women writers, they had access to the places their male counterparts did not have such as the Turkish *harems*, which were subjected to Orientalist descriptions from these male writers throughout centuries. Pardoe and Ellison could observe the life in those confined spaces and reflected their observations that conflicted with the exotic descriptions of Western people in their works.

The first writer analysed is Julia Pardoe with her *The City of the Sultan* (1837). Pardoe arrived in Constantinople in 1835 with her father, Major Thomas, and analysed the life in the Ottoman Empire in her work. She visited this place after the revolt in Egypt and the independence movements of the Greeks and Serbians. At the time, the *Treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi* was also signed between the Ottomans and the Russians, which

deteriorated the relations of the Ottomans with the British. Pardoe was present during the beginning of the modernisation of the empire through Mahmud II, and she left just before the *Tanzimat*, when the modernisation movement gained pace. Pardoe aimed to represent the East in an objective manner and criticise the prejudiced beliefs of the West during the nineteenth century. In her work, she claimed that the previous travellers of the East not only exaggerated their experiences, but also gave false information about the people who lived there. The effects of the Orientalist perspective are also felt in Pardoe's work in the spaces that males could not enter such as the baths of women and *harem* parts of the houses. She claimed that sexuality in these baths that was commonly described by the West could not be observed in these spaces, and the stories about the confined spaces in the Turkish houses were not less fabricated than the stories of Scheherazade, which emphasises the influence of the *Nights* on the creation of such tales about the East.

After Pardoe's departure, the Orientalist perspective of the West did not cease to exist, and even increased its effectiveness to some extent. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Orientalist art movement depicted life in the East in an exotic and sexual way. Subsequently, the phenomenon of Orientalism persisted in the twentieth century through several artists and writers, but there were also writers during this century who went against the prejudices of the West like Pardoe did in the nineteenth century.

The second writer that has been analysed in this thesis for her criticism towards the West in the twentieth century is Grace Ellison with her *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* (1915). She visited the Ottoman Empire several times during the twentieth century. Between the time period of Pardoe's and her visit, several major events had occurred. The British and the Ottomans signed the *Treaty of Balta Liman*, which would improve their relations, and the Ottomans increased the speed of their reformation through several edicts. The regime of the Ottomans changed several times through two constitutional governments. In Britain, the Victorian Era had ended; however, the Orientalist representations of the East were still persistent. Ellison was sent to the Ottoman Empire through *The Daily Telegraph*, the newspaper she worked in 1913, with the aim of analysing the Turkish women and writing about them in the newspaper. As she knew these women before her position in the newspaper, she went to the empire

with the aim of correcting the prejudices of the West through her writing. As the name suggests, the main focus of her in *Turkish Harem* was the actual life in the Turkish harems, and how they were misrepresented by Western writers. Ellison emphasises that Western travellers of the Ottoman Empire who visited the Turkish households did not have access to the *harem* parts of the houses, and when they saw the glimpses of women who were in fact the slaves of these houses, these writers believed that they were all the wives of the head of the house. She also stated that even Western people who knew the true meaning of a *harem* pretended not to recognise it. Ellison stated that the books that mentioned harem had widely been read as they activated the imagination of the Western readers. While the West had unchanging beliefs about the East, the East itself was changing during Ellison's visit. She observed that the new government of the Turks supported women's emancipation, and also there were many men who individually supported it, and she criticised the British government for not supporting the rights of women.

In the final analysis, it can be observed that even though there have been many writers that misrepresented the East through an Orientalist perspective, there also have been several writers such as Pardoe and Ellison, who aimed to clear these misrepresentations of these Western writers. While Said's "Orientalism" held true for the majority of the works conducted on the East during both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in the sense that they misrepresented the East mainly in the effect of the Oriental tales in the *Nights*, it should also be noted that there also were writers that went against these misrepresentations of the West, and tried to bring an objective perspective to the discussions about the East.

In relation to other analyses of the texts of Julia Pardoe and Grace Ellison that have been discussed in the thesis, it can be said that Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* might be analysed through its similarities to *One Thousand and One Nights*. Also, Ellison's *An Englishwoman in Angora*, and *Turkey To-day* could be analysed from the perspectives of new historicism as she in a way fictionalised history in these books, and also new journalism, as she produced these works in order to inform the readers about the state of Turkey, and a conclusion about the truthfulness of the events transferred might be reached as there have been statements that contradict her accounts in Turkey.

In addition, an analysis that would be applicable to both Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan*, and Ellison's *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* might be through comparisons of these works to other works written about the Asia Minor. In his article, "Reconstructing the Western Self in the Ottoman Mirror: A Study of 'Negative Auto-Occidentalism' in the Contexts of American-Ottoman and Anglo Ottoman Encounters," Sinan Akilli states the possibility of an "Objective Orient" and "Objective Occident," and to reach the former, the ideas in the texts that make use of "Affirmative Auto-Orientalism," where the Eastern writers denigrate the East and praise the West, and "Negative Auto-Orientalism," in which the East is praised and the West is denigrated by the Eastern writers can be combined to reach an objective conclusion about the Orient (30). In order to reach the latter, the concepts in the works produced by Western writers are to be analysed and the ones that utilise "Affirmative Auto-Occidentalism" where Western writers compliment the West and belittle the East and "Negative Auto-Occidentalism," in which Western writers compliment the East and belittle the West, as in the case of this thesis are to be combined in order to arrive at an objective conclusion about the West (30). He also mentions while reaching conclusions about the Orient and Occident, the texts written about the other could also be used as a source in the analysis. So, it can be said that, the works of Pardoe and Ellison could be used not only to reach a conclusion about an "Objective Orient," but also an "Objective Occident" thanks to their criticisms on the West.

As a conclusion to this thesis, it might be argued that throughout centuries, Asia Minor has been a popular destination due to the West's interest in the East due to not only political relations, but also cultural ones. The mentioned cultural interest of the West has been ongoing for centuries in different forms such as *Turquerie* fashion in the seventeenth century which evolved into misrepresentations of the East after the translation of *Nights*. With the impact of this literary work, the East became an unchanging place of exoticism and mysticism and writers that visited the Orient tended to misrepresent this place in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries too. However, writers such as Pardoe in the nineteenth century, and Ellison in the twentieth century, tried to prevent the misrepresentations of the West about the East and reflected their opinions in their works. In this sense, they echoed the work of Said, who in the late twentieth century, analysed the works about the East, and claimed that Western writers

misrepresented the East. So, it can be claimed that these writers stated Said's concerns prior to him.

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Tarih: 22/02/2024

Tez Başlığı: Akıntıya Karşı Yüzmek: Julia Pardoe'nun *The City of the Sultan* ve Grace Ellison'ın *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* Eserlerinde Oryantalizm'i Yeniden Düşünmek

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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Tarih: 22/02/2024

Tez Başlığı (Türkçe): Akıntıya Karşı Yüzmek: Julia Pardoe'nun *The City of the Sultan* ve Grace Ellison'ın *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* Eserlerinde Oryantalizm'i Yeniden Düşünmek

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Metin ÖZASLAN

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* Tez **Almanca** veya **Fransızca** yazılıyor ise bu kısımda tez başlığı **Tez Yazım Dilinde** yazılmalıdır.

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HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Date: 22/02/2024

Thesis Title (In English): Swimming Against the Current: Rethinking Orientalism in Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan* and Grace Ellison's *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*

My thesis work with the title given above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on people or animals.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not a research conducted with qualitative or quantitative approaches that require data collection from the participants by using techniques such as survey, scale (test), interview, focus group work, observation, experiment, interview.
5. Requires the use of data (books, documents, etc.) obtained from other people and institutions. However, this use will be carried out in accordance with the Personal Information Protection Law to the extent permitted by other persons and institutions.

I hereby declare that I reviewed the Directives of Ethics Boards of Hacettepe University and in regard to these directives it is not necessary to obtain permission from any Ethics Board in order to carry out my thesis study; I accept all legal responsibilities that may arise in any infringement of the directives and that the information I have given above is correct.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Metin ÖZASLAN

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