Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of American Culture and Literature

THE (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF THE IMAGE OF "THE TURK" IN AMERICA, 1863–1963

Mert DENİZ

Ph.D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2024

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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that Mert Deniz has on the date of 03/06/2024 successfully passed the defense examination and approves his Ph.D. Dissertation titled “The (Re)Construction of the Image of ‘the Turk’ in America, 1863–1963.”

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Mert DENİZ

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Mert DENİZ

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ABSTRACT

DENİZ, Mert. *The (Re)Construction of the Image of "the Turk" in America, 1863–1963*, PhD Dissertation, Ankara, 2024.

This study delves into the history of transatlantic relations between the United States and Turkey by foregrounding the function of literary texts in the conduct of diplomacy. It highlights the role that individuals and civil institutions played in the course of affairs by reconstructing the image of Turkey and Turks in the United States between 1863 and 1963. It begins by tracing the history of American institutions, particularly Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College, in the Ottoman Empire. Based on an analysis of works written by the founders and leading educators of these schools, with Cyrus Hamlin and Mary Mills Patrick occupying the most important place among them, the transformation of American institutions in the Ottoman Empire and the effects of these changes are discussed with an emphasis on their impact on Turkish-American relations. Within this framework, the autobiographical works written by the alumni of these schools, including Halide Edib Adıvar, and their contemporaries, constitute the primary sources for this study, as they represent the first cohort of Turkish writers who published works for American readers. A close reading of their works sheds light on the details of diplomatic, social, and cultural relations between Turkey and the United States in the aftermath of the First World War. As they endeavored to claim authority over representation of Turks in America, they challenged narrative hegemonies such as American Orientalism, the prevailing negative image of Turks, as well as grand narratives in the form of official histories in both countries. This dissertation concludes with a case study of the Turkish Information Office, a public diplomacy initiative that made use of both fictional and non-fictional texts to promote Turkey in America.

Keywords: Turkish-American Relations, Autobiographical Writing, Social Representation, Orientalism in America, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), Turkish Information Office

ÖZET

DENİZ, Mert. *Amerika'da "Türk" İmgesinin (Yeniden) Yapılanması, 1863–1963*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2024.

Bu çalışma, diplomasi faaliyetlerinde edebi metinlerin işlevini ön plana çıkararak Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Türkiye arasındaki Atlantik ötesi ilişkilerin tarihini araştırmaktadır. Bireylerin ve sivil kurumların Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Türkiye ve Türklere dair imgeleri yeniden oluşturarak bu ilişkilerde oynadıkları rolü vurgular. Çalışma, ilk iki bölümde özellikle Robert Kolej ve İstanbul Amerikan Kız Koleji başta olmak üzere Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içerisindeki Amerikan kurumlarının tarihinin izini sürmektedir. Cyrus Hamlin ve Mary Mills Patrick gibi isimlerin aralarında öne çıktığı bu okulların kurucuları ve önde gelen eğitimcileri tarafından yazılmış eserlerin incelenmesi Amerikan kurumlarının Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içerisinde geçirdikleri dönüşümü ve bunun Türk-Amerikan ilişkileri üzerindeki etkilerini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çerçevede aralarında Halide Edib Adıvar'ın da dahil olduğu bu okulların mezunları ve çağdaşları tarafından yazılmış özyaşam anlatıları, Amerikalı okuyucular için eserleri yayınlayan ilk Türk yazarlar grubunu temsil etmekte ve araştırmanın birincil kaynaklarını oluşturmaktadır. Bu eserlerin incelenmesi, Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Türkiye ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri arasındaki ilişkilerin yalnızca diplomatik değil, aynı zamanda sosyal ve kültürel detaylarına da ışık tutmaktadır. Türklerin Amerika'da nasıl temsil edileceği konusunda söz sahibi olma çabası Amerikan Oryantalizmine, Türklerle ilgili baskın olumsuz imgelere ve her iki ülkede de resmi tarih anlatıları olarak benimsenen üst anlatılara da karşı duruş sergilemektedir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma Türkiye'yi Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde tanıtmak amacıyla kurgusal ve kurgusal olmayan metinleri kullanmayı amaçlamış bir kamu diplomasisi girişimi olan Türk Haberler Bürosu hakkında bir örnek olay çalışması ile sonuçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri Tarihi, Özyaşam Anlatıları, Toplumsal Temsil, Amerikan Oryantalizmi, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), Türk Haberler Bürosu

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INTRODUCTION

This study examines the (hi)story of "the Turk" in America as the image of a sociocultural stereotype created in a dialogical network, constituting what can roughly be called "collective memory through textual materials" written between 1863 and 1963. The texts chosen in this study to represent this much larger corpus of materials either deliberately or arbitrarily contributed to the cultivation of a specific image. It also emphasizes how a social image can be reconstructed in the continuum of interactions between existing and new emerging materials. In other words, it implies a dialogical network is in an alterable and adaptable structure, metaphorically in a liquid form, rather than a static one. In this framework, this study discusses how such textual materials, once they become public, function in a dynamic relationship within a network of cultural values, biases and prejudices, official and personal histories, and contemporary events. This dissertation also traces the points of interactions between textual materials attempting to (re)construct an image: the Turk, which is specific enough to trace through textual analysis, but also equally disputed to become a field of conflict between multiple narratives over the course of history as they were striving to claim discursive authority over the representation of this image. It unravels the role of subjectivities in the making and recording of history through textual materials hanging in the large gray zone between "fact" and "fiction."

This study mainly benefits from newspapers and autobiographical writing, along with other archival sources, since by nature, they both intend to capture "life as it is" and claim authenticity to distract the reader from the act of construction that their creators, such as writers, editors and even publishers, perform. While revealing pathways of interaction within this broader network, this dissertation will expose points of tension in the discourses of these materials, which rise to the surface as repetitions, discrepancies, generalizations, exaggerations, absence of specific details, and so on. Ultimately, this dissertation provides a new perspective on the interactions between Turkish and American societies by magnifying the agency of the individual during important breaking points in

both nations' histories. It will display the cultural impact of these historical roots, especially the educational institutions of Americans in the Ottoman Empire and their effect on Turkish-American affairs through individuals who were both intellectually and ideologically affected by these institutions. Therefore, it focuses on a century-long period between 1863 and 1963. Robert College was established in 1863 and was the institution that signified transformation within the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), while constituting a model for others, including the Constantinople Woman's College, which is equally important in this study due to its characteristic as the first institution of higher education for women in the Middle East. On the other hand, 1963 was the year when the operations of the New York-based Turkish Information Office (TIO) ceased. Established in 1949, the TIO benefitted extensively from the social and cultural heritage of these American institutions in its mission to transform the image of Turkey in the United States from negative to positive. Almost every single member of the TIO was a graduate of these American schools, which allowed them to acquire both complex skills, such as a better understanding American public opinion, and practical ones like using the English language well enough to publish their own works and attract readers in America. With this team of diplomats and writers, the TIO's propaganda activities generated discursive materials, ranging from autobiographical stories to culinary books and cartoons, thereby challenging the dominant prejudices against Turks and Turkey.

Early attitudes of American missionaries toward the Ottoman Empire were defined by a duality within the ABCFM. The most contested aspects were Americanization (the cultural assimilation of indigenous populations into a western definition of modernity) and Evangelism (a type of religious idealism that aimed for the proselytization of non-Christian peoples around the world) (*Artillery of Heaven* 31). These two concepts, however, did not always represent coalescence with each other even if they were of a complementary nature in the formation of the ABCFM's earlier ideology. Deriving from

the ideas circulating during the First and the Second Awakenings in the United States,[1] this dilemma emerged from the definition of education as a means of social reformation and spiritual enlightenment. Almost all the missionaries serving under the ABCFM were graduates of prestigious New England schools, which aimed to achieve scientific and spiritual excellence through their students and thus described good education, even on temporal and secular matters, as a necessity of being a better Christian (Dutton 34; *Educational Missions* 12). This duality inherently provoked a debate on the "correct" path of progressivism that America should take and teach abroad because social and spiritual transformation of the locals did not necessarily represent the same thing.

The ABCFM interpreted this as a mission to lead the peoples of the world toward progress in a discourse that resonated with American exceptionalism, cultural imperialism, and white supremacy, even if they condemned the last two concepts in their works ("Reclaiming the Land of the Bible" 681–704). In fact, the very necessity of underlining their detestation of imperialism was born due to their awareness of the similarities between their own activities and those of the imperial powers that aimed to promote the military and commercial interests of their governments in the countries where the ABCFM was established, such as the Ottoman Empire, Sri Lanka, China, India among other locations. The troubles of the missionaries were reflected by the contradictions in their discourses, as recorded in their autobiographies or other works for *The Missionary Herald*, a periodical published by the ABCFM to inform other missionaries as much as the people in their home country. For instance, it was not extraordinary when *The Missionary Herald* referred to Turks as "the Mad Turk" in 1915 ("American Interests in Turkey Violated" 498). Moreover, this attitude was not specific to missionaries. Henry Morgenthau, who was the ambassador of the United States to the Ottoman Empire between 1913 and 1916, did not hesitate to underline his inimical attitude toward Turks

[1] Despite the difficulty of attributing a certain beginning date to the American socioreligious movement, historians accept 1740 as the beginning of the First Awakening and the early nineteenth century (1820s to 1830s) for the Second Awakening. These movements were signified by increasing religious fervor as well as the demand for social and moral reform within the United States. Therefore, they represent two related movements of religious and social revivalism, which enabled the introduction of popular cultural values and ideas such as exceptionalism, utilitarianism, and liberalism into religion (Hutchinson 43–45; Kieser 26–27; Mathews 31).

when he said, “The Turk, as I have said before, is psychologically primitive,” calling Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha “bloodthirsty Turks” in his memoir (Morgenthau 236, 251).

Yet, despite the negative presumption of some of their members, the missionaries also maintained their existence in the Ottoman Empire to “civilize” them, claiming that their disinterested benevolence required it. Consequently, one of the results of the duality among the missionaries and their associates was their contradicting opinions about Ottoman Muslims, whom they often nationalized and called Turks. The works of missionaries like Frederick Davis Greene and James Levi Barton were among those that contributed to the negative image of the Turk, which culminated in the stereotype of “the Terrible Turk.” On the other hand, the efforts of individuals such as Mary Mills Patrick and Eleanor Bisbee not only challenged these narratives, but also managed to gain the favor of some Turks, mostly through their social services as educators, which allowed them to have a much more considerable impact on the Turkish-American affairs.

The existence of contested ideas about the identity of “the Turk” indicates that it is a fluid and dynamic term that changed in tandem with the hegemonic narratives of different eras. As Christopher Oscanyan, an Armenian Ottoman journalist, writer, and diplomat who was among the first immigrants from the Ottoman Empire to the United States, remarks in his survey *The Sultan and His People* (1857), “the Turk” was used as “an epithet of opprobrium” even by Ottomans themselves (Oscanyan 24). This is also evident in the works of Halide Edib, Selma Ekrem, and Ahmed Sabri, who are regarded in this study as representatives of the first generation of Ottoman Turkish writers who published in the United States and embraced “the Turk” as an ethnonym that referred to the citizens of a new nation-state, namely Turkey. The hyphenated identities of these writers (who will be referred to as “Turkish” for the sake of convenience from this point onward) also indicate the significance of transition and transformation in the early twentieth century, when Turkey itself metamorphosed from an old empire into a modern republic. Consequently, during this era, the reconstruction of “the Turk” in the United States was part of redefining Turkey and its citizens’ position in international and intercultural affairs, with new

defining characteristics after the First World War. Whereas historically “the Turk” had multiple meanings, for these writers, it became a homogenous national identity deployed in the creation of a modern and progressive republic.

However, even before Robert College and the Constantinople Woman’s College were founded, these differing views led to a schism within the ABCFM, resulting in the establishment of both these schools as independent institutions. These separations from the ABCFM were a consequence of that duality lying within the core of its ideology. Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Robert College, distanced himself from the orthodox methods of earlier missionaries because Ottomans embraced him as someone who brought useful knowledge to the empire, rather than a threat to local religions such as Islam, Judaism, Catholicism, and Orthodox Christianity. Hamlin owed this awareness to his language skills since he learned Ottoman Turkish and Armenian and lived among these ethnic groups in Constantinople (İstanbul in modern Turkey). As another example, the Constantinople Woman’s College was also financially and legally separate from the ABCFM, and it allowed its founders to carry out their understanding of education based on secular and non-sectarian values. Also providing only one of the many examples that indicates the interactions between domestic events and international affairs, this new attitude toward education of the ABCFM developed in parallel with a reform movement that was gradually becoming more popular in the United States under the leadership of educational reformer and politician Horace Mann (Downs 117). This new methodological approach, they believed, would enable social reform and the introduction of western ideas, enabling the process of Americanization, which would result in raising their students as like-minded individuals in the Ottoman Empire.

The connections between American and Ottoman institutions can be seen in the educational backgrounds of Hamlin and Patrick. Hamlin’s alma mater, Bowdoin College, for example, was one of the leading institutions in Massachusetts that supplied the ABCFM with new recruits. This also ensured that the Board could reform itself in parallel with the social and political changes that affected its curricula. Even in the first few years

after its establishment, Bowdoin College offered a variety of courses, such as Latin, Greek, mathematics, rhetoric, geography, logic, and history, despite its original mission to provide an "orthodox" education to its students (Hatch 23). By the time Hamlin, an 1834 alumnus, entered the school, an "elective system," which would allow students to take a larger variety of courses, had already emerged. Modern, practical languages, such as Spanish, German, and French, were also included, in addition to classical courses in ancient languages that were typical of theological education (60–62). As part of its mission to take "some care of the physical as well as of the mental and moral health" of its students, Bowdoin College encouraged exercise and physical training, and in 1829, lectures on "the subjects of diet, regimen, and exercise" were offered for juniors and seniors (342–343).

Patrick's alma mater, Mount Holyoke College, was also one of the pioneering institutions in the education of women in a modern sense. According to Joseph Conforti, Mount Holyoke College was founded in 1837 on the model of Amherst College, which was one of the important New England schools. This new college was part of the "women's awakening," or women's Evangelical revivalism and interest in religious, social, and political reform in line with the Second Great Awakening ("Mary Lyon, the Founding of Mount Holyoke College" 69–79). Mary Lyon, the founder of Mount Holyoke College, promoted the development of teaching, writing, and debate among her students. She envisioned that her young female students would become capable of defending their views in public, even if they were restricted by the patriarchal rules of the ABCFM, which regarded the female missionary as "an assistant and spiritual 'companion' to her husband" (80–83). During the end of the nineteenth century, the earlier focus on training "teachers and missionaries" shifted toward "training the women as scholars and intellectuals," also implying freedom from the yoke of the earlier rules of the ABCFM, thereby paralleling Patrick's transformation from a missionary into a leading educator, scholar, and writer (Mastrangelo 48–57). Hamlin and Patrick, the founders of the first American schools in the Ottoman Empire, were clearly inspired by these developments in education in the

United States, and deployed their schools as vessels to introduce American-style education to the empire.

Language learning was particularly important in the development of the first Turkish writers in the United States. American institutions and missionaries in the Ottoman Empire were instrumental in spreading English as a foreign language (James Redhouse, the writer of the most comprehensive English-Turkish dictionary in the nineteenth century, was affiliated with the ABCFM, for example). It was one of the characteristics of the first Turkish writers in America that they could use the English language well enough to publish their own works. By this means, they challenged the stereotypes and prejudices regarding the image of the Turk in the United States. As Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson formulate in their work, an autobiographical text deals with the issue of authority on multiple levels, and one of them is the authority of the author in the content of the text, so that they can assert their claim on the authenticity of the material while reinforcing their position as the authority on the subject (Smith and Watson 27–30). This requires the author to claim their own voice and address the target reader without mediation, and fluency in English allowed this.

During the interwar years, the works of these "Americanized" Turkish authors sought to reframe the image of the Turk in the United States. They negotiated their positions to claim authority over the image of the Turk, to reconstruct cultural signifiers, such as the harem, modernization, the West, and Turkish women, and to challenge Orientalist prejudices against Turkey and Turks in the United States. Particularly the story of Ahmed Sabri indicates that the subjects of concern in the works of his contemporaries were not restricted within a specific group of writers that had a similar educational and cultural background. The earlier works by Turkish writers and journalists like the *Sada-yı Vatan* (1917), published by Ahmet Şükrü Esmer and Ahmet Emin Yalman, or the activities of Zekeriya and Sabiha Sertel during the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1921), support this point; Ottoman Turks, when they landed in the United States, were disturbed by certain cultural and social elements that can be roughly summarized as Turkophobia,

a kind of Orientalism. Therefore, the question of Orientalism in America influenced an entire generation of writers and intellectuals, including those coming from other religious and ethnic groups. The works of Demetra Vaka, born a Greek-Orthodox Ottoman, provide an example since she also defies and challenges existing narratives in America. Nevertheless, the efforts of these authors were peculiar, disorganized, and temporary—and not suitable for propaganda.

The TIO represented a turning point in the history of diplomatic affairs between Turkey and the United States during the early Cold War Era. A product of increased American interest (and Americanization) in Turkey, the TIO was an attempt to adapt to an era when diplomacy drifted between debates on the primacy of hard and soft power in the ideal conduct of foreign relations. The TIO's publications functioned as a form of early Cold War propaganda meant to strengthen the "new diplomacy" between the United States and Turkey, and the works of earlier writers provided a model for them. Selma Ekrem, for instance, was both a member of the TIO and among the first Turkish writers that published in the United States, so she embodied the cultural heritage upon which the TIO's activities were built. The TIO's publications constituted an intersection of culture, literature, and international affairs while reinforcing the broader project of journalists, writers, and cultural diplomats, such Nuri Eren and İsmet Şanlı, who were also engaged in the reconstruction of the image of Turkey during this era. As this dissertation will articulate, the subjectivities of all these discursive agents shaped how they performed their social and political roles, illustrating that the (re)construction of the image of the Turk in the United States is a continuous process involving cultural artifacts such as texts, constructivism, and careful diplomacy.

MILLENNIALISM AND THE ABCFM

The United States, as a political entity, has been a product of a civil impetus constituted by the people rather than overarching governmental institutions (DeNovo 384–385). As can be seen in the history of the ABCFM, the first encounters of the United States with

the Ottoman Empire, a country located in one of the furthest corners of the world from the continent of America, were led by a civilian organization: the ABCFM. Founded in Boston in 1810 by the "intellectual and religious avant-garde" of the city, the ABCFM was inspired by the ideals of the spiritual and intellectual leaders of the First and the Second Awakenings in the United States (Kieser 27–28). Despite facing opposition inside their organization regarding its involvement in politics, ABCFM members like Jeremiah Evarts found their chance to act during the Indian Removal Act of 1830, when they strived to convert Cherokees and advocated that by becoming Christians, they would gain the right to be treated as equals by the government (30). Nevertheless, their efforts also meant the removal of Native American cultural heritage. This dichotomy between altruism and cultural imperialism, which was effectively originating from a Social Darwinist point of view considering only Christian populations worthy of equal and fair treatment, was to define the fate of the ABCFM's mission in the Middle East as well.

Motivated by a millennialist interpretation of the Bible that foresaw the arrival (or second coming) of Jesus and the rise of the Kingdom of Christianity in the second millennium, the representatives of the ABCFM believed they could save humanity by preparing them for this new epoch. This precept led them to pursue mass conversion of non-Christian peoples, along with the abolition of slavery, women's emancipation, and the equality of minorities like Jews and Native Americans in an interesting blend of progressivism and religious expansionism (27). However, they kept facing difficulties in the United States, ranging from the forced displacement of Native American populations through the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the ensuing Trail of Tears, to the series of events that led to the American Civil War in 1861. These constant challenges made some of them, like Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, lose their faith in the conceptualization of America as "the New Canaan" (32). The Middle East, therefore, became one of the first destinations that attracted them because it was the cradle of Christianity; the real, but long lost, Old Canaan.

Characterized by this extreme idealism, Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk were both twenty-seven years old and graduates of the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts when they arrived in the Ottoman Empire in 1819. With all their optimism, idealism, and youth, they desired to save Jerusalem, "the Bible Land," by reviving "true" Christianity. They were motivated by the idea that the return of Jesus could be possible only after the downfall of the Muslims, namely the Ottoman Empire, as well as the Eastern Churches, which they believed corrupted Christianity and led to Muslim rule over the holy lands. However, their optimism was short-lived, as their aggression and radicalism led them to face social discrimination and even physical violence in their stations. At the end, they both succumbed to diseases shortly after their arrival without ever being able to achieve their mission (38–43). Their idealism defined the discursive elements of their books. They both depicted the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East through the lens of their ideology, so they gave a very bleak outlook to the Orient. In his description of Orientalism, Edward Said states that Orientalism is a "discursive formation" that emerged in a "dialectic between individual text or writer and the complex collective formation," to which such texts and writers contributed (Said 23–24). Therefore, the works of Parsons and Fisk were the first texts written by ABCFM missionaries to reinforce the concept of the Orient, and Oriental societies, as cultural and social realms distinctly separated by the boundaries of language, ethnicity, manners, and customs. This image of the Orient was often contrasted to the Occident, represented by western cultures and societies, with which American society associated itself historically.

The tension between the missionaries' sense of superiority, their cultural imperialism, and their so-called disinterested benevolence prevailed, even if their tactics changed over the years ("Reclaiming the Land of the Bible" 685). Convinced of the superiority of their methods and culture as much as the "primitivity" of eastern others, the hospitals, schools, printing presses, and sewing machines that they brought to the Middle East, and their Bibles and hymns, started Americanizing the region, even if they were not able to achieve their ultimate goal of proselytization (690). However, this process was neither linear nor singular. The stories of the missionaries were radically different, depending on their

location, time, and subjective views. For instance, to avoid the fate of Parsons and Fisk, Cyrus Hamlin and James L. Barton both saw more secular institutions, like schools and hospitals, as vehicles for their activities in the Ottoman Empire; yet, Hamlin was driven by idealism more so than Barton. A pragmatist, Barton became involved in politics and even assumed the role of a diplomatic advisor and lobbyist during the First World War, never hesitating to use his contacts like President Woodrow Wilson's close friend and industrialist Cleveland Hoadley Dodge for his benefit (Grabill 87–89).

As another example of the dramatic differences between the paths taken by missionaries in the Ottoman Empire, Frederick Davis Greene abandoned the empire and started contributing to propaganda and the lobbying activities of anti-Ottoman Armenian nationalists in the United States. Mary Mills Patrick took a completely different path by leaving the ABCFM due to their discrimination against women and secular education. She focused on the development of the Constantinople Woman's College, which raised the first ranks of Turkish women who helped shape Turkish-American relations during the first half of the twentieth century. Even though her self-attributed role as an educator and reformer, instead of a mere missionary, still implied a sense of superiority, Patrick, like Hamlin, also stressed that Muslim-Ottoman subjects of the empire, including Turks, were suffering as much as their non-Muslim compatriots. Thus, she advocated the use of education as a means of reforming Turks, rather than erasing them from the Balkans and the Anatolian Peninsula as a solution to the social and political conflicts that erupted in the region during an era when the empires were dissolving.

THE CHANGING PARADIGMS OF THE ABCFM

Cyrus Hamlin's Bebek Seminary became the forerunner of this new orientation when it was founded in İstanbul in 1840. Having left aside the goal of converting Jews and Muslims, at which their predecessors failed because of their out-and-out disregard of the social, political, economic, and cultural realities of the empire, Hamlin's first students were Armenians. Hence, one of the early achievements of his school was the translation

of the Bible into the Armenian language because he asserted, "There was a very imperfect translation of the New Testament, and it was referred with contempt" (*My Life and Times* 210). Some of Hamlin's activities, such as supporting a translation of the Bible, which eliminated the monopoly of the ancient churches (i.e. Roman Catholic and Armenian Orthodox) over the holy scripts, threatened the authority that they exercised over their subjects. His emphasis on civil service for the community also allowed him to avoid confrontations with the established ancient churches within the empire. When he came face-to-face with the wrath of the Armenian Patriarch, just like his predecessors did, Hamlin defined his position as a Christian institution devoted to education without any denominational distinction, allowing his seminary to acquire the blessings of the Patriarch (214–215). Hamlin's definition of his school in broader terms as Christian, in contrast to denominational differences, was a deliberate decision derived from his desire to avoid provoking the established order, and he was successful with this strategy.

The services Hamlin provided at this school were not limited to education. He organized student workshops to provide an opportunity for them to learn some technical skills, while also meeting their basic needs (264–266). In other words, Hamlin also signified an early example of the transfer of American practical knowledge and technology to the Ottoman Empire. These activities, however, met with opposition, this time from the ABCFM, which blamed him for secularizing his students. This contradiction between Hamlin and the Board exemplifies the changing paradigm. In response to those who blamed him for secularizing students, he comments, "I was on the contrary fully convinced that a certain degree of industrial education is desirable in all schools of learning" (265–266). This separation from religious orthodoxy provided the foundation for secular education, as eventually adopted by Constantinople Woman's College and Robert College, despite their evangelical roots.

Robert College grew out of this seminary and became the first of its kind in the Middle East when it was officially founded in 1863. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural and moral philosophy, history, and geography were included in its curriculum along with

Bible studies (248–249). Yet, Hamlin was not alone for very long. For example, the American University of Beirut was founded in 1866 as the Syrian Protestant College, and its first President Daniel Bliss' words are still hanging on its wall, declaring that the doors of his college were open "for all conditions and classes of men, without reference to color, nationality, race, or religion," so they could all "enjoy all the advantages of the institution" and "go out believing in one God or many gods or no God." However, Bliss concludes his words by saying these students would certainly know "what we believe to be the truth and our reasons for that belief," referring to the prevailing importance of teaching Christian values to their students (qtd. in Staub 36). Despite still being determined to teach Protestantism and its values, these words openly signify the major role that education held in the activities of the missionaries. Both Robert College and the Syrian Protestant College were founded independently from the ABCFM (Grabill 28), and the Constantinople Woman's College also eventually adopted a secular educational model. By gaining their independence, these schools could avoid criticism from the advocates of orthodox methods among the ABCFM, as well as the Ottoman authorities who scrutinized their methods with their increasing suspicion of the foreigners—and especially missionaries and their affiliates—during the last decades of the empire.

However, this strategy also left them financially vulnerable, which constituted a threat to their very existence, so both Mary Mills Patrick and Cyrus Hamlin, as former missionaries and new educators, had to interact with politicians, bureaucrats, soldiers and businesspeople and other individuals that were not missionaries, even if they were Christians. For instance, a wealthy American businessperson, Christopher R. Robert, who was the namesake of Robert College because of his patronage, funded Hamlin (*My Life and Times* 415–416). On the other hand, after the Young Turks came to power and allowed the education of Muslim girls at the Constantinople Woman's College in 1908, they could admit students from the elite Muslim families of the Ottoman Empire, including "daughters of the Chief Justice, of the Governor of Beirut, Syria, and of a number of deputies in Parliament" (*A Bosporus Adventure* 136). As a result, these enterprises allowed both Hamlin and Patrick to reach a much larger network both in the United States

and the Ottoman Empire that was not available for ordinary missionaries in the Middle East.

Over the years, this new orientation prioritized public service and grew into other fields, the most important of which was healthcare ("Reclaiming the Land of the Bible" 699). Muslim women eventually became accessible to missionaries because of the hospitals the missionaries founded. The Ottoman Empire lacked modern medical institutions that people could reach; therefore, when the missionaries filled this gap, they became capable of establishing bonds with women and children, thereby accessing the infamous Ottoman domestic sphere, namely the harem (Akgün 93–95). These healthcare institutions also provided spaces for women to step into working life, which meant stepping out of the harem without facing social discrimination. The school of nursing (1905) at the Syrian Protestant College became one of the first institutions where women could learn a technical skill and profession that could introduce them to the public sphere (Grabill 24). In other words, the transformation of the ABCFM also contributed to long-awaited social transformation in the Ottoman Empire. American Progressivism gradually became a stronger source of motivation, especially in the case of Mary Mills Patrick, during the second half of the nineteenth century, compared to the mysticism and eschatological motivations of the first missionaries in the Middle East.

However, the relationship between the missionaries and the public was not defined only by altruism and social service. Despite the universalist tone in his speech to the Syrian Protestant College, it was Daniel Bliss again who generalizes "Moslem" to define the entire "East" in a tone that reflected his sense of superiority, when he says that the "moral character of the Moslem is a fair representative of the character of all the different religious sects of the East. They are alike, corrupt and immoral" (qtd. in "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible" 690). Even in the case of Patrick, who kept her missionary past almost entirely absent in her memoirs and reidentified herself as an educator only, "abandoning direct proselytism did not mean giving up hope of conversion" (Goffman 13). This underlying aggressive attitude of the missionaries, which Hamlin also shared, required

them to be pragmatic in order not to be excluded from the society that they were trying to convince and convert. Thus, despite their more secular tones, their institutions were still founded on the idea of transforming the Orient according to the American model (Salt 291). On the other hand, Patrick and her colleagues, like Caroline Borden and Samuel T. Dutton, did not insist on religious conversion, but certainly aimed at a social one. This rhetoric of transformation had to be kept in order to form a meaningful discourse that could help them raise funds and gather support for their cause. This required representing the Ottoman Empire and its Muslim subjects with overgeneralizations, as corrupt, ignorant, or immoral beings, so both former and standing members of the ABCFM tried to explain their presence in the Ottoman Empire in terms of altruistic work done by selfless and devoted Christians to save the corrupt "other." Nonetheless, this rhetoric also contributed to the creation of the image of "the Terrible Turk" in the United States on the eve of the twentieth century.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF "THE TERRIBLE TURK"

The Orient and Islam were already conspicuous in American political discourse, even during the first decades after the United States gained its independence. Robert Allison's study, for example, discusses the emerging Orientalist rhetoric around the outbreak of the Barbary Wars in 1801.[2] His study points to the role of the prevailing prejudices and stereotypes regarding the Orient in the United States in parallel with the prevalent literary and political discourse in Britain (Allison 35–85). On the other hand, even before the publications of the ABCFM and the autobiographies of missionaries, there was already a corpus of works on the Ottoman Empire written by such well-known writers as Lord Byron, Charles MacFarlane, James Ellsworth De Kay, John Lloyd Stephens, Mark Twain, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu that provided contradicting images of the empire, since

[2] This war was a series of battles between the United States and the Barbary States—Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, and Morocco—from 1801 to 1815. The main cause of the conflict was the piracy committed by the North African corsairs, who were acting at their own discretion even though they were nominally Ottoman regencies. These conflicts fueled the popularity of prejudiced depictions of Ottomans and other Muslim populations in the West.

their depictions changed according to their personal experiences and ideological stances, as well as time and location. Eventually, they contributed to the formation of an image of the Orient, including the Ottoman Empire as one of the most fascinating tropes, as a place that resembled "the West," but was somehow different, and oftentimes disturbing, due to its distinct culture(s).

For example, Byron's *The Gaiour* (1813), one of the epic poems that he wrote during his visit to the Ottoman Empire, highly dramatizes the political incidents during the Greek War of Independence and emphasizes romantic evil in the Ottoman Empire, which he likens to a "vampire" (Byron 25–26). As another example, in his work titled *Constantinople in 1828* (1829), MacFarlane clearly expresses his dislike of the Turk because they were simply the corrupt, "fat" and "dirty" with their faith in Islam instead of Christianity (MacFarlane 8–22). In a blend of Eurocentrism and imperialism, he advocates that western powers were responsible for supporting the Greek cause as fellow Christians, resonating with the idea of "White-Man's Burden." These views, as represented by Byron and MacFarlane, also received critiques in the West. In his *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832* (1833), De Kay explicitly rejects this negative image and criticizes the prejudice of his predecessors. He depicts an impartial portrayal of the empire and its people, despite sometimes falling into generalization due to his inability to understand the intriguing dynamics of Ottoman society and the enmeshed ethnic groups living under it. Therefore, the Orient, and Turks as part of it, remained an interesting yet equally perplexing and bizarre world in a region that was quite unusual and even traumatizing.

In *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), Mark Twain ridicules the so-called "Oriental splendor" of the Ottoman Empire with his depiction of Smyrna (İzmir in modern Turkey) as a dirty, flea-ridden city, with "crooked" and "roughly paved" streets covered by "Moslem houses," which are "heavy and dark, and as comfortless as so many tombs" (Twain 406). However, Twain also contradicts himself by saying that Smyrna is "a great city, with a great commerce and full of energy," so he accepts that "Smyrna really still possesses her

crown of life, in a business point of view" (407). The emphasis in this last sentence is significant. Twain refers to a Biblical verse, in which Jesus promises "a crown of life" to the city, providing it remains "faithful unto death" (*King James Bible,* Rev. 2.10). Hence, the emphasis in Twain's last sentence is on "a business point of view," because he could not deny that İzmir was a city full of life at the time he visited it in 1867, yet not a Christian city anymore, with its multiethnic and multireligious population. Twain concludes that even if "the pilgrims that wander hither consider that she has come near enough to it to save her," this liveliness is "in a business point of view" (407). Therefore, "life" and "energy," which the city enjoyed, was deceptive because it did not concur with Jesus's prophesy.

İzmir is signitifcant in Twain's travel narrative because the "seaport of Smyrna" was the "first notable acquaintance in Asia," so it was İzmir, not İstanbul, which represented the gate to the Orient (406). Although he is critical of the "prophesy-savants," among whom the ABCFM missionaries could be also included because they proclaimed religious revival in the Orient based on their eschatological interpretations of the Bible, Twain also perceives the Orient from a similar perspective—one that resonates with the narratives of Fisk and Parsons when they saw İzmir for the first time (Fisk 112). This is why he finds loveable young ladies among the Armenian population of the city, many of whom are "very beautiful," "a shade better than American girls," and also "sociable." Twain, however, could "talk anything but English, and the girl," referring to one of the Armenian girls he spoke to, "knew nothing but Greek, or Armenian, or some such barbarous tongue," but they "got along very well" (410). Twain liked the Christian population and respected their languages and manners even if he could not even understand them. Yet it was the exact opposite with the Muslim population, even if he could not tell why "a fancy-looking negro" was "in Turkish costume, or an Arab" when he saw a black man leading a camel caravan (411). Twain was unable to discern that the "negro" was also Muslim, not Turkish nor Arab, and dressed accordingly.

The second generation of missionaries that arrived in the Ottoman Empire after Fisk and Parsons, such as Joseph Kingsbury Greene and his wife Elizabeth Augusta Davis, could not have imagined the impact that their son Frederick would have in Ottoman-American relations, when they landed in a small town in the eastern periphery of İstanbul, where modern İzmit is located today, close to ancient Nicomedia, in March 1859. Their understanding of the Orient was a result of the impressionistic portrayals of travelers and writers and eschatological writings of former missionaries. Frederick Davis Greene, however, embodied the immediate consequences of the missionaries' arrival in the Ottoman Empire as members of the first Ottoman-American generation. Compared to his parents and their contemporaries, for Frederick, the Ottoman Empire, and its peoples, especially the Armenian population, were not a distant reality to explore and learn about; he grew up within these communities of the empire. In other words, he was an Ottoman as much as an American, and it was harder for him to practice disinterested benevolence like his parents, who could remain aloof from the contemporary politics to a certain extent. Upon his graduation from Amherst College, in 1894, he was appointed to Van as a missionary and educator, following in his parents' footsteps. It was a year before the Sassoon Massacres of 1894, during which he lost his school as well as his colleagues and friends.[3]

His voice in *The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of the Turk* (1895), also printed with a similar title as *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey* (1895), and other publications like *The Wards of Christendom* (1897) reflect his sentimentalism in a fiery tone, calling for western intervention against the Ottoman government. Nevertheless, it is also an extensive source of information due to his ability to comprehend the complex social structure that was collapsing around him. However, these emotions expelled him from the ABCFM, and his next post of appointment was a secular one as the secretary of the National Armenian

[3] The conflict, which broke out between the Ottoman authorities and Armenian separatists in 1894, was part of the series of incidents that pitted the government against the Armenian population in Eastern Anatolia. This conflict began with the escalating tension between local Kurdish tribes and Armenian villages and ended with the involvement of the Ottoman Army in suppressing combat. The high numbers of civilian casualties and the destruction of ABCFM properties resulted in public outcry in the United States, and its negative impact on Ottoman-American relations lasted for decades.

Relief Committee in 1896. Ironically, his new position was not only secular but also a lot more political compared to his former identity as an educator and missionary. He was convinced that military, political, and economic support from western powers was necessary, and it needed to be granted immediately since his surviving friends were starving in the eastern regions of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, his tone reflects his personal involvement as much as his desire to move the reader to grant their support for his cause. Even though Greene knew that ordinary Turkish subjects were also suffering from the misgovernment of the empire, and that Ottoman misgovernment was not an issue of religion or ethnicity, he employed a fierce tone to motivate his readers to gain their support (90). His motivations, consequently, translated into a very negative discourse against Turks, an example of which can be seen in his quotation from British Prime Minister William Gladstone, who called Turks "one great anti-human specimen of humanity" (qtd. in *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey* 126).

As Ussama Makdisi puts it, "the missionaries operated outside a formal European and American colonial setting but at the same time drew their strength from western colonialism in America, Africa, and Asia" (*Artillery of Heaven* 176). Greene's career provides one of the good examples of this situation. The press and publicity were understandably important elements in the operations of the ABCFM particularly considering the fact that it was financially dependent on the donations of American citizens and its security required the support of the American government and military. In this matter, Greene's book served two different purposes. With the support of Greene's connections in America, especially Henry Davenport Northrop, they made the spiral violence that broke out in the Ottoman Empire after 1894 a popular subject in America. They mainly intended to secure funds and political support for the relief missions that were organized to help the victims of the conflicts. However, they also contributed to the negative image of the Ottoman Empire and its ruling elite, roughly defined as "the Turk." One of the main elements in Greene's works that brought on the negative image of Turks in America was his use of Muslim and Turkish as interchangeable terms, so that he called all Ottoman Muslim population as well as the central government Turkish as if the

Ottoman Empire was an ethnonational modern state in 1895. In fact, this tendency to rebrand the Muslim populations of the empire as Turks or to reach crude generalizations about incidents happening in the empire was not unusual in the publications of the missionaries, nor unique to Greene's books. For example, Henry Otis Dwight's essay "Children of the Conquerors," published in 1895, refers to Islam as the main reason for the immorality and corruption of Muslim youth in the Ottoman Empire since it teaches them to hate everyone except other Muslims. This image of Ottoman Muslim youth as patriarchal and hateful is used as the justification for the missionaries' educational and religious activities, which Dwight argues was the only way to exalt these children to "nobility" (Dwight 80–84).

When James Levi Barton became the Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM amidst the storm in 1894, the organization's investments in the Ottoman Empire had exceeded millions of dollars, and its institutions were intrinsic parts of Ottoman politics, not disinterested by-standers.[4] This had multiple consequences for the ABCFM. First, it was no longer a modest group of people ready to sacrifice themselves to spread Protestantism around the world. They had become an impressive network of institutions requiring a stronger flow of funds and a larger base of supporters; thus, industrialists like Cleveland Hoadley Dodge became deeply involved in the ABCFM's affairs, Barton, still representing the ABCFM, became involved in the subjects such as a potential American mandate over the Ottoman Empire after the war (Grabill 70–100). In 1923, Barton finally yielded and said, "The Turk is bad enough the Lord knows, but if we have to live with him cooperate with him we gain nothing by constantly reminding him and others that he is a scoundrel" (qtd. in Grabill 276). However, by that time, the ABCFM had already become involved in politics and even in the economy because of its overextension in the empire. Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College survived this storm that erased the ancient empires from history, which could easily crush a civilian organization like the ABCFM in the

[4] See Yaşar Tolga Cora's "Localizing Missionary Activities: Encounters between Tondrakians, Protestants and Apostolic Armenians in Khnus in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" for a detailed study about the perception of the missionaries both by Armenian nationalists and the Ottoman government.

middle of its chaos. They mainly owed this to their founding as independent institutions from the ABCFM. Even if its founders, Hamlin and Patrick, were actively involved in delicate issues such as demanding the support of the American government for the relief missions in 1895 or advocating for an American mandate after 1918, they managed to avoid putting their institutions under bad light.

AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The histories of Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College both reflect the transition that the ABCFM went through in the Middle East. Founded as Constantinople Home in 1873, a missionary school for women with the primary goal of training missionaries for the ABCFM's operations in the Middle East, the school became the subject of controversies due to its inclination toward secularism and progressivism even if its founders like Caroline Borden kept emphasizing its Christian characteristics (Reeves–Ellington 58–59). As early as its first years, the school was part of the changes that were taking place in the ABCFM within the duality of Americanization and Evangelization of the Middle East, which was very similar to what Hamlin experienced with more hardline missionaries within the ABCFM following the founding of Robert College. Over the years, this rift widened within the ABCFM under the leadership of those like Henry Otis Dwight, who defined the task of the ABCFM as to "steadfastly and directly promote the aggressive missionary work amid which it stands" (qtd. in Reeves-Ellington 59). This conservatism of its male leaders also conflicted with the increasing influence of female missionaries, who constituted 63 percent of all the missionaries under the ABCFM by 1915. Therefore, in 1908, the college ceased being a part of the ABCFM and continued as an independent institution devoted to the higher education of women (Childress 554). It was also initially rebranded as the American College for Girls and later the Constantinople Woman's College, both of which emphasized its character as an institution of higher education for women compared to the connotations of the cult of domesticity that Constantinople Home carried in its first years (Reeves-Ellington 56).

Over the course of time, the school also began reaching a more diverse spectrum of students from different ethnic groups that helped to turn it into an institution that reflected the social composition of the Ottoman Empire more accurately. Halide Edib and Mary Mills Patrick's accounts reveal that the imperial *iradé* (decree) against the education of Muslim girls at a Christian college was later revoked. Consequently, Edib returned and became the second Muslim student to graduate from the college in 1901 (Gülistan İsmet was the first, in 1890) (Edib 148–153, 190; Goffman 22; Patrick 224–229). This change gained momentum after the deposing of Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1908, since the new government of the Committee and Union Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası – hereinafter referred to as CUP) initially pursued good relations with American institutions, including the American College for Girls. The reason behind this was that the leaders of the CUP desired to utilize these institutions to meet their need for educated people, primarily teachers, to serve in the rest of the empire as a part of their progressive policies (*A Bosporus Adventure* 136).

The American College for Girls completed its evolution into the Constantinople Woman's College in 1912 by enlarging its facilities. It had also gained its independence over the course of these changes, yet cooperation between the college and the ABCFM continued, mainly due to the positive relationship between Patrick and Barton. She speaks very highly of him in her memoir as a progressive leader compared to the former orthodox leadership of the ABCFM (108). In fact, Barton dedicated an entire book, titled *Educational Missions* (1913), to the role of education in missions, and he praises Robert College and the American College for Girls (probably he wrote that section before the college changed its name in 1912) as exemplary Christian schools (*Educational Missions* 81). Also, despite the independence of the Constantinople Woman's College from the ABCFM, Barton apparently still counted it as a Christian institution. These continuing relations were due to practical necessities of the war years since similar to the ABCFM, the college could stay operational during the First World War with the financial and political support they received from industrialists, bankers, politicians, and other public figures like Russell Sage, Henry Woods, Helen Gould, Olivia Phelps Stokes, and John D.

Rockefeller (Reeves-Ellington 63). In this network, Cleveland Hoadley Dodge again played a significant role, serving as an example of the complexity of the relations the college continued to have with the ABCFM and American authorities. However, Dodge was not alone among the White House circles that supported the college. For example, Oscar S. Straus, a former Ambassador of the US to the Ottoman Empire and then the Secretary of Commerce under the Administration of President Theodore Roosevelt, was among the supporters of the college (Grabill 115). Thus, being part of this network, Patrick also contributed to the process of diplomatic affairs between the Ottoman Empire and the United States just like Barton. To this end, she hosted and consulted the King-Crane Commission[5] with "Fourteen Reasons for an American Mandatory over Turkey," deliberately alluding to President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and she also lobbied in France to promote her pro-mandate views (Grabill 173, 202, 209).

As it can be seen in her works, Patrick was convinced that an American mandate could accelerate the dissemination of American ideals in the Middle East. However, despite seeming to advocate the same policy with Barton, Patrick's reasons were much less pragmatistic than his and less reactionary than Greene's. In her works, it is understood that Patrick began prioritizing more secular and progressive ideals such as internationalism and feminism rather than the evangelization of her students. The real impact of the Constantinople Woman's College lay in this stance of its teaching staff, under the leadership of Patrick, as they aimed to introduce progressive ideas through the education of the youth of the influential families within the empire. It can be seen in *A Bosporus Adventure* (1934) that she dedicates quite a considerable space to the graduates of the college. She takes a great pride in these alumnae that ascended to important public

[5] The King-Crane Commission was a diplomatic initiative undertaken by Britain, France and the United States during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 in order to decide how to settle the situation in the Middle East in the wake of the First World War. Britain and France later withdrew from the commission, so only Henry Churchill King, theologian, educator, and president of Oberlin College, and Charles R. Crane, a wealthy businessman interested in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, remained in the commission, thus it was named after both. President Woodrow Wilson asked King and Crane to report on social and political sentiments, as well as the economic condition of the Ottoman territories in the Middle East. Consequently, their activities involved direct interaction with notable locals and foreigners, including ABCFM missionaries and their associates, like Mary Mills Patrick.

roles as doctors, nurses, writers, educators, journalists, and many other secular professions in their respective nations which included almost all the major ethnic groups of the Ottoman Empire such as Turks, Armenians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Jews (*A Bosporus Adventure* 229–243).

One of the main drives behind Patrick's devotion to progressivism and internationalism originated from her differentiation in the perception of her Ottoman environment, which made her stand closer to De Kay and Montagu, unlike Greene and Barton. Even though she was severely critical of some traditions of the East like the infamous harem and polygamy, she also recognized the sparks of modernization in the western, and more specifically American, model. Hence, she clearly admired whom she perceived as reformers. Therefore, she praises Sultan Abdülaziz as well as Midhat Pasha even if the latter, a constitutionalist who advocated the limitations of the monarch's powers, was one of the most influential figures during the deposing of the sultan in 1876 (39, 45). From her perspective, the autocratic rule of Abdülhamid II was an aberration in the history of the Ottoman Empire (16–8, 34). Her interpretation implied that the empire was in a state of progress; she refused the connotations of "the sick man of Europe" and other similar tropes that implied the inability of the empire to reform. Therefore, despite the elitism and Orientalism underlying her attitude that perceived western culture as the ultimate form of progress and modernity, Patrick was actually providing a positive portrayal of the peoples living in the empire by defying the narratives that depicted it and particularly its Muslim population as ignorant and violent creatures by nature. Another reason that explains why her views were significant was that they constituted the ideological background for the Constantinople Woman's College, where she and her colleagues aimed to reform their students and the future of the country in a secular, modernist, and progressive model. As a result, Ottoman Muslim parents started sending their daughters, just like Halide Edib and Selma Ekrem, to make them receive education in the modern principles of their era.

It was true the college was not the only institution where women could learn foreign languages and modern sciences. Even if their historical accuracy was questionable, Pierre Loti's *Disenchanted* (1906) or Grace Ellison's edited books *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* (1913) and *Abdulhamid's Daughter* (1913) show that the image of educated Ottoman women of elite families who were able to speak multiple languages and received enough education to comprehend intriguing political and social affairs was a plausible portrayal for the nineteenth-century reader. The major theme that affected their western readers was the image of suffering young ladies, so much resembling their western counterparts, under the yoke of the social traditions and customs of Ottoman society. Moreover, it was known that there were Ottoman women like Nuriye Ulviye and Belkıs Hanım, who published *Kadınlar Dünyası* (The Women's World), the first feminist journal in the Ottoman Empire at the time it was published in 1913 (Çakır 336–339). Thus, Ottoman women were also making their own contribution in the changes that drastically changed the social life at least around the capital and major urban centers of the Ottoman Empire that the classical works in the standing scholarship about this field written by the historians like Niyazi Berkes and Şerif Mardin extensively discuss in their works.

However, the teaching of ideas like women's rights and internationalism through a systematically designed curriculum for this end became possible with the Constantinople Woman's College. It also paved the path for educating larger populations on modern ideas. The subject of women's rights had particularly drastic effects on Ottoman society, mainly because it further encouraged women to rise up against the restrictions of religious laws, symbolized by their refusal to wear the veil. Patrick recalls that representing the college alumnae, Halide Edib "raised her veil" and "spoke eloquently" about public matters before an audience gathered for the opening of the new buildings of the Constantinople Woman's College on July 3, 1914 (*A Bosporus Adventure* 158). The most important aspect of education at the Constantinople Woman's College was introducing students to the main principles of democracy through extracurricular activities, like student government. Through such opportunities, the students learned the basics of representative democracy like elections as well as the idea that elected administrators

could serve for a given term with limited powers. Patrick clearly states that these were the results of a deliberately created education system intended to raise a new woman who was equipped to challenge the patriarchal autocratic system, which was already on the verge of collapsing (*A Bosporus Adventure* 98–99). The fall of the old Ottoman system and traditions meant an opportunity for the new women who would constitute the democratic citizens of the modern world.

In sum, the duality between Americanism, which had more secular and political terms, and Evangelism, which was a form of religious idealism, unfolded by the historical events that took place both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, some of the missionaries adapted accordingly over the years to these developments as much as the changes that the ABCFM went through by becoming an enormous international body that was involved in diplomacy and politics as much as religion and education by the first decade of the twentieth century. The third generation of missionaries since Levi and Parson, which Greene, Barton, and Patrick were all included in, functioned within this new ABCFM, yet their personal experiences and views, which were affected by space and time that they were exposed to in the late nineteenth century, created their subjectivities that led to different, often contradicting, images of the empire in their works for the American audience. Perhaps the most lasting impact was left by quasi-independent educational institutions, like Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College, since they contributed to the popularization of American ideas by training individuals according to the principles of American democracy, secularism, and modernism. Even if Christianity continued to be an important element of their discourses, particularly in Cyrus Hamlin's case, it was not religious but cultural conversion that became the ultimate goal with their students. Nevertheless, this new approach, represented by Hamlin and Patrick in this study, had its shortcomings. They still idealized American culture, particularly the values of "individualism, liberal education, and above all religious toleration," which contrasted with the "orientalization of the Arab world," "sitting in darkness," that could either "reject or adapt to forms alien to their history and culture" (*Artillery of Heaven* 215). Makdisi restricts his conclusion to "the Arab world," but it was

valid for other regions of the Ottoman Empire where missionaries established institutions. Nevertheless, the following sections of this study will demonstrate that at the very least, the Turkish graduates of American schools were determined to take a path that was not necessarily predetermined by anyone other than themselves.

THE NEW TURK ENTERS THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By the end of the twentieth century, the image of "the Terrible Turk" in the United States had become so popular that it led to tragicomic incidents. During these years the amount of immigration from the Ottoman Empire to the United States was increasing drastically (Karpat 177–178). Among them was a wrestler, Yusuf İsmail, referred to as Ishmael Yousuf by *The Chicago Daily Tribune.* He made a name for himself by challenging and almost beating Ernest Roeber, the American champion. He would have done so if there had not been a quarrel in the ring that required the involvement of the police. The spectators became rowdy, shouting "Kill the Turk!" and "Lynch him!" (Yousouf Fouled Roeber), and the newspapers described him as a "treacherous adversary" (The "Terrible Turk" Proves a Treacherous Adversary"). In the following months, however, İsmail continued to draw more attention due to his strange diet and smoking habits, without caring very much about the warnings of his managers (Yousouf to Wrestle Lewis). Finally, another columnist concluded after his tragic death in 1898 while he was returning to the Ottoman Empire on a sunk French liner that "He was a curious creature, all muscles, and no mentality; a descendant of Heracles without the Grecian's brain" (In Battle and Wreck).

İsmail was just a wrestler from Şumnu (Shumen in modern Bulgaria), a rural town in Ottoman Rumelia (Kahraman 165–170). Thus, even if he enjoyed relative fame in the Ottoman Empire, and later France, he was not much different than other Ottoman immigrants in America since he desired to return home after making enough money (İpek and Çağlayan 29–32). Although İsmail did not have any sense of nationalism in the modern sense like many other Ottoman subjects, the American sports media rebranded

him as the “Terrible Turk” in order to attract more spectators to his matches by provoking nationalist feelings. Confirming the conclusions of Rudolph J. Vecoli in his study of the history of Turkish immigrants to the United States, İsmail was nationalized and racialized by America, not much differently than what immigration officials did on Ellis Island (Vecoli 8–13). Ottoman immigrants were categorized according to how America perceived them, so the history of “the Terrible Turk” is more about America’s cultural and political realities than who the immigrants actually were or whether such labels were accurate.

This effort to categorize İsmail in ethnic and national terms, and the attention paid to his diet, smoking, and training also reveal that he was perplexing to the American reporters writing about him. The year 1898, when İsmail arrived in the United States and the sports press began to report his matches, was in a period of time in American history when definitions of masculinity and manhood intertwined with eligibility for democratic rights and equality (Stein 165). Dietary regiments and exercise programs promoted by emerging sports personalities like Eugene Shadow, Bernarr MacFadden, J.H. Kellogg, and Sylvester Graham constructed an image of modern manhood that promoted self-discipline, self-control, and individual effort (Reich 445–453). These new formulae of manhood promised emancipation from the increasing anxieties of men in an era of economic instability and social transformation. Women’s suffrage, the increasing number of immigrants, and dehumanizing office and factory jobs in booming urban centers all contributed to this feeling of loss of control and the prevalent ambiguity (Kimmel 82–83, 129–141). Sports and health became more gendered than before as men’s sports indicated a means to regain and conserve masculinity with legal and political connotations. This new movement of reclaiming political authority through masculine prowess and gallantry found its voice in President Theodore Roosevelt in his definition of “the strenuous life” as a formula for “the splendid ultimate triumph” in his speech on April 10, 1899 (T. Roosevelt 3).

Yet, the advocates of this new manhood ironically created another cause of anxiety for their followers by redefining manhood as a contested territory, with sports at its center. As Roland Barthes stated in his 1972 essay, "Wrestling is not a sport, it is a spectacle" comparable to the Roman Colosseum and Greek theater (Barthes 15–17). Barthes' argument is founded on his observation that a wrestling match is a social event that is rich in symbolism on par with its ancient counterparts. American wrestling was particularly significant for him because it represented "a sort of mythological fight between Good and Evil." People went to wrestling matches, according to Barthes, "to attend the continuing adventures of a single leading character" (23). Therefore, the wrestlers' bodies and appearance were just as important as their ethnicity and religion. What the audience watches is a struggle between the sets of symbols the wrestlers represent, as much as the actual competition (18–20). Pierre Bourdieu's theory about the sociological function of sports is also relevant in this context. With its increasing popularization and nationalization, sports began serving as a means of "mobilizing, occupying, and controlling" the masses, performing a function similar to "political parties, unions, and churches" (Bourdieu 126). On one hand, they became a pretext for the diffusion of certain ideas, mainly in line with the aristocracy and bourgeoisie that sponsored and profited from sporting events. Here, the aristocratic fantasies of "courage," "manliness" and "the cult of 'team spirit'" formed what Bourdieu called "a *political* philosophy of sports" (120–126). On the other hand, the success stories of professional athletes, "the working-class cult of sportsmen of working-class origin," became motivators for the masses that attended the events (127). Especially in sports like wrestling, which represented physical might and strength and appealed more to the working classes, a professional athlete possessing such qualities could be a champion of the people, ascending among their ranks and symbolizing excellence (128–129).

The American sports press was well aware of this situation. The representation of İsmail as a Terrible Turk who challenged the champions of American masculinity was constructed within a symbolic context that readers could understand. The huge crowd that filled Madison Square Garden on March 26, 1898, to watch İsmail's match proved that

the press could successfuly communicate to their readers the racial, ethnic, religious, political, gender, and even sexual threat of Orientalism (Sevük 138–139). This image of the untamable Terrible Turk who slings American champions outside the ring was exciting yet worrying because his victories also defied the success of the new American masculinity, which relied on diet and regular exercise. The pictures of İsmail, his unathletic body, and the stories about his lack of diet and smoking reinforced the image of a villain whose source of strength was inhuman and even mystical. He was a source of excitement among spectators, and a reason to spend money, since he was supposed to be conquered by the champions of this new American manhood, but emerged as the conqueror. In other words, what Barthes wrote about wrestling in 1972 was also relevant for the late-nineteenth-century wrestling. Wrestlers and matches were spectacles signifying much more than mere sporting events.

İsmail's tragic story outlived him, proving the wrestling bosses and the press' conscious and deliberate decisions in the creation of a certain persona out of him. Following his death, his managers had difficulty finding new Turks to substitute for İsmail, especially after January 9, 1901, when *The Chicago Daily Tribune* exposed the schemes and scams in American wrestling. One scam involved a Greek immigrant, George Idolos, whose manager, with some difficulty, "persuaded" to adopt an Ottoman sounding name "Hali Ben Arif," and to wear a fez and baggy trousers, the stereotypical clothes of Turks. On another occasion, "Pat" O'Neill, an Irish worker of a very large built just like Idolos, which made them both suitable "raw material" to be "the Terrible Turk," found himself in a tragicomic situation. At the time, individuals who did not fit white Anglo-Saxon Protestant definitions of whiteness (i.e., being a WASP), were categorized as non-white. The Irish and southeastern Europeans (including Turks and Greeks) were conflated into the latter group and became, for all intents and purposes, interchangeable in the white American mind (Jacobson 74, 170). Consequently, it was easy to swap out a Turk, for a Greek, or an Irishman, without the audience knowing the difference, since wrestling was (and still is) based on (ethnic, racial, and gender) performance anyway. Pat went through the same process of fixed fights as a Turkish impersonator, with the hope of earning more

money for himself than an ordinary worker could make in the early 1900s. However, in one of his matches, an accident happened in the ring that exposed this scam. O'Neill took his opponent to the edge of injury, which made him exclaim "Pat, for the sake of heaven, let me up. You're breakin' me arm" in the English language. This revealed his true identity since a hyper-masculinized savage like "the Terrible Turk" clearly would not have been named Pat and was not meant to understand English. The angry crowd reached the verge of rioting because they had been deprived of an "authentic Terrible Turk," but were eventually calmed down by Pat's manager (Making "Terrible Turks").

Even though the original "Terrible Turk," could not return to his homeland to pursue his dreams with what he earned in his short career, he managed to become living proof of how an image like "the Terrible Turk" was a social construct recreated in myriad forms, depending on the conditions in which it was reconstructed and the purposes and subjectivities of its creators. İsmail's story offers an insight to what the first Turkish writers were dealing with in their works. They could see the problems in the American attitude toward immigrants like İsmail, which materialized in the discriminatory bureaucratic practices of immigrant stations and the nativist discourse of the media that labeled and nationalized people like him. Fortunately, unlike poor İsmail, these writers were western educated, "modern" Turks who were well-versed and fluent in English or another European language, so they could voice their own views for western readers. These individuals could potentially reimagine and rewrite negative narratives through their personal experiences, observations, and opinions (much of which, as curated memories, clearly had their own biases as well). Moreover, a significant majority of them were personally familiar with the educational reforms in the Ottoman Empire, including the popularity of American education. Institutions like the Constantinople Woman's College provided a secluded social space where they could meet the ideas of modernity, democracy, secularism, freedom of expression and so forth. Although these concepts had already been introduced to Ottoman society through the works of a prominent group of writers which included such names as Namık Kemal and İbrahim Şinasi in their ranks, the circulation of their works were restricted by government censorship. Therefore, the

American educational institutions, similar to other foreign schools in the empire, provided a space for their young students to experience an alternative society that could be built on ideas different from those imposed by the imperial government.

On the other hand, their encounters with Americans in the empire gave them an idealized image of the United States as the land of freedom and modernity which encouraged Ahmed Sabri, Halide Edib, and Selma Ekrem to leave the empire. They were indeed critical of Orientalism in America, yet the act of writing itself, especially in English language and in the United States, was an indicator of their hope in American values. Consequently, they reimagined a "Turkish" nostalgia, specifically nationalized in parallel with the changes both within and beyond the Ottoman territories during the rise of nation states. Yet, meanwhile, their works reimagined a more inclusive and less discriminatory America toward immigrants and foreign peoples, so the Turk represented America's antagonistic other. Their discursive strategies blended modernity, mainly represented by America, with desired characteristics of Ottoman culture that they could reidentify as "Turkish." In other words, the Ottoman past became nationalized along with these writers' self-identities in America. Their endeavors signified the identity formation of "the new Turk" (a term coined by Eleanor Bisbee in the title of her book *The New Turks,* published in 1951), a product of this negotiation between their desire to reform their home country and melt an idealized American modernity into a post-Ottoman reality.

Ahmed Sabri's *When I Was a Boy in Turkey* (1924) represents one of the first examples of the Ottoman-Turkish writing in America. A graduate of the Military School of Constantinople where he received a western-style education, Ahmed Sabri recounts his life story in a style that mixes literature (the *bildungsroman*), history, and ethnography. Being an exile in the United States due to his connections to the Ottoman Christian population during the First World War, he weaves nationalism and internationalism into his writing like Halide Edib did in the 1920s and 30s (Sabri 164–165). This juxtaposition of nationalism with an internationalist discourse leads him to depict Abdülhamid II as a "corrupt and oppressive" ruler but also blame the Christian subjects of the empire for

betraying their compatriots at the same time (150–156). Through this framework, the "New Turk" emerges as a representative of a people, who suffered greatly but achieved victory through independence from imperialism and foreign interference, so it is on the road to democracy and the associated values (157). Ahmed Sabri's attempts to reconstruct the image of the Turk, therefore, is based on a progressive understanding of historical events that define Turkey as a nation that is ready to adapt to the West. In this new country, Turks would now have access to resources that would make them more like Americans, only if they educated themselves more (157). However, these same lines also indicate that Sabri also internalized the idea of western superiority underlying the discourse of the missionaries and educators in the late nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

Halide Edib's works published in the United States, in English, also share these discursive characteristics. As articulated in Mary Patrick Mills' *A Bosporus Adventure*, Halide Edib was one of the most successful graduates of the Constantinople Woman's College (*A Bosporus Adventure* 229). Edib also acknowledges the impact of the Constantinople Woman's College on her life as she exuberantly expresses her feelings by saying "I love, love, love everything about the college" (qtd. in Grabill 25). According to Patrick, even in her youth, she was a brave advocate of women's rights who would remove her veil and speak freely before masses (*A Bosporus Adventure* 158). The turbulent setting of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, especially during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, was also important in shaping Edib's worldview. Inspired by the nationalist views of Ziya Gökalp, Edib grew more nationalist and later became the model of new Turkish womanhood through her participation in the Nationalist Movement under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as a journalist and an educator. However, her works published in the United States reveal that her idealism, and particularly internationalism, which she gained during her education at the Constantinople Woman's College did not disappear. Thus, like Sabri, she constructed a "New Turk" through her writing that was characteristically different along ethnic lines, but also a part of the emerging international order in the aftermath of the First World War.

In *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928), Halide Edib writes about her own experiences during the Turkish War of Independence, while emphasizing the lives of ordinary people, from low-ranking soldiers to the villagers of Anatolia, who, according to her, suffered greatly during the war. This was in addition to their already existing problems under Ottoman rule; thus, she uses this "ordeal" to argue that Turks deserve liberty and freedom as a reward for their sufferings (*The Turkish Ordeal* 407). For this reason, just like Ahmed Sabri, Halide Edib also writes with an international audience in mind (perhaps to balance her Nationalist sentiments) and shares her hopes for a new Turkey that would join the other nations of the world to ensure peace in the wake of the First World War. Her *Turkey Faces West* (1930) depicts Turkey as a reformed nation that endured "martyrdom and suffering" (*Turkey Faces West* 247–8). The transformative effect of war and pain later became a common argument in the works of Turkish journalists and writers in the United States, which they accessed whenever they wanted to convince their audience that Turkey had transformed from an old empire into a new republic. Edib was one of the first writers to formulate this argument. In her view, Turkish independence was, however, an ongoing struggle for freedom and democracy. She wrote these works during her exile, after she decided to leave the country due to her opposition of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's government, which she perceived as a military dictatorship in the absence of a parlimantery system with multiple political parties. Thus, she prophesizes that the real question is "whether military figures, with a party behind them can maintain dictatorial power" (260).

Along with Edib's political arguments and observations on the first years of the republic in Turkey comes her characterization of Turks as people with a strong sense of "objectivism and realism" that allowed them to combine Byzantine, Persian, and Islamic cultures into their national identity. Hence, she uses this as an explanation of her argument that Turks could pursue a political system consisting of a symbiosis of the favorable aspects of communism, capitalism, and fascism, despite the contrasting natures of these ideologies. In fact, what lies under her theory is her desire to negotiate her reimagination of Turkey as a modern nation-state with a prevailing American image as a role model

(252–259). Halide Edib's *Turkey Faces West* not only contributed to this new discourse by reconstructing the image of Turkey, but it would also be influential during the early Cold War when its points were often referred in the works and speeches of Turkish diplomats discussing Turkey's place in the world. Turkish foreign policy is still based on the intellectual foundation laid by Edib, with a fine balance between entanglement and commitment as opposed to independence and strategic autonomy. The cultural diplomacy campaigns of the Turkish mission in America inherited this ideology especially during the Second World War, which was one of Edib's many legacies.

However, Edib was neither the only graduate of the American schools that pursued a career in writing nor alone in challenging the prejudices against Turks in the United States (Childress 562). Selma Ekrem was another member of this generation, and despite being younger, she had a lot in common with Edib. First of all, she was a descendant of a notable Ottoman family. On her father's side, she was the granddaughter of Namık Kemal, one of the most eminent Ottoman playwrights and poets, and the daughter of Ali Ekrem Bolayır, a prominent writer of a literary movement, *Servet-i Fünun*, which adopted western forms and styles and introduced them to Turkish literature. Her mother Celile Hanım was the daughter of a highly esteemed Ottoman pasha in the court of the sultan as they were the descendants of an aristocratic family that had its origins in Albania and Egypt. Coming from the generation of elite Ottoman women that received their modern education in the harem, which rendered them highly educated but unable to use their skills freely in public, Celile Hanım registered her daughter at the Constantinople Woman's College. In this environment, Ekrem encountered the ideas of egalitarianism, democracy, freedom of expression, and women's rights both inside her home from her family and outside of it during her education at the Constantinople Woman's College.

Shortly after her graduation, Ekrem traveled to America and published her memoir *Unveiled* (1930), and a survey, *Turkey, Old and New* (1947), followed it more than a decade later. During her career, she also wrote a children's book, *Turkish Fairy Tales* (1964), and 283 short autobiographical stories published by *The Christian Science*

Monitor (Wallinger 121–122). Covering such a long-time span, Ekrem's career reflected the transition of Turkish discourse in America, especially after the formation of the TIO. In general, her works depict Turkey as a poor but progressive nation that inherited values such as multiculturalism, democracy, and the moral teachings of Islam from its Ottoman past and left corrupt aspects like polygamy behind. Ekrem, recreates a portrayal of the Ottoman experience based on her childhood memories, defined by strong family ties and the coexistence of multiple cultures in the Ottoman capital, which contrasts with depictions of the city as a place of corruption, repression, and violence between ethnic groups. Furthermore, she also discusses her observations of American society by comparing it to Turkey. She uses this strategy to establish a context to negotiate the specific characteristics of Turkish people and to emphasize the role of subjectivity in how two distinct cultures define each other. To that end, Ekrem problematizes certain American values, mainly excessive individualism, and pure materialism, and contrasts them to Turkish culture with its strong communal ties. Therefore, she argues that both cultures have their specific features that may be confusing and even frightening to an observer from another culture and tries to gain the sympathy of her readers by making them question their prejudices toward Turkish culture.

The parallels exemplified by the works of Edib, Ekrem, and Sabri also suggest the emergence of a new discourse belonging to a generation that desired to gain their own voice in the West. In their attempt to regain the authority over the representation of "the Turk," they defined not only themselves as the model citizens of a modern nation-state, but also carved out the details of its people as democratic and multicultural individuals in contrast with the autocratic image of the sultan. Therefore, they intended to transform this image into a country of people that suffered a great deal, rather than being ruthless fanatics that eyed any opportunity to commit violence against non-Muslims. They gained their independence and found their own country while upholding their desire for democracy and equality. Furthermore, all these characteristics attributed to "the new Turk" were deliberately chosen to appeal to their American readers, in whose language they wrote their works.

On the other hand, these writers also redefined the history of Turkey by drawing a demarcation line between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey and the Ottoman ruling elite and Turks as the ordinary subjects and citizens. Even if this narration possesses similarities with the official history promoted by the early Republic, their physical distance from Turkey allowed them to reconstruct the past based on their own subjective perspectives. For instance, Edib's *Turkish Ordeal* carried the traces of her political conflict with Mustafa Kemal, Sabri's memoir reveals resentment toward rising Turkish nationalism, which forced him to choose exile, and Selma Ekrem's romantic portrayal of both the Ottoman past and the new nation-state could not avoid the sterility and detachment of an expat, descending from an aristocratic family, resulting in many examples of self-orientalism in her narrative. Nevertheless, the absence of coercion by the Turkish state allowed them to tell their unique and personal stories in the United States. This would be lost once the TIO began dominating the American scene in the wake of the Cold War.

THE COLD WAR TURK

In 1939, Ahmed Emin Yalman met Nermin Menemencioğlu, Selma Ekrem, and İsmet Şanlı in the General Motors building on Broadway and 57th Street to form the editorial staff of the Turkish Commission for that year's New York World's Fair. All three of the women received an education from American colleges in Turkey. Ekrem and Menemencioğlu graduated from the Constantinople Woman's College. Şanlı, the oldest daughter of publisher Mehmet Sırrı Şanlı from İzmir, also studied at the American Girls' College (Scognamillo 48). Yalman himself, descending from a converted Jewish family from Thessaloniki, was also raised in the progressive schools of the Ottoman Empire, allowing him to receive modern education at a very early age (Baer 44–60). All were multilingual and spoke English very well as the result of their educational backgrounds. They also had former experience as journalists or writers; thus, they were chosen to constitute the public relations branch of the commission to promote Turkey in the United

States, namely as a country progressing rapidly according to the model of western modernization.

This commission was one of the extensions of the new Turkish foreign policy that aimed to restore relations with the United States within the new world order founded in the aftermath of the First World War. The Turkish government eagerly accepted the help of American officials like Ambassador Joseph Grew, who was much more sympathetic to Turkey compared to some of his predecessors, particularly Henry Morgenthau. The government also supported individuals like Sabiha and Zekeriya Sertel to establish the Turkish Welfare Association (Akın 474–483), which was followed by similar organizations like the Cultural Alliance of New York, the Turkish Orphans' Association, and the Turkish Cypriot Aid Society of New York, all of which were established in 1933 (the latter organization helped establish the New York-based Federation of Turkish American Associations in 1956). In this regard, the diplomatic corps pursued closer cooperation with the American Friends of Turkey, an NGO, among whose founders Mary Mills Patrick was included (Trask 48–53). Meanwhile, officials like Ambassadors Ahmet Muhtar (1927–1934) and Münir Ertegün (1934–1944) utilized the resources of the Turkish government to reach wider audiences in the mainstream American media and to establish a network of allies among American NGOs (Trask 42–7; "Repairing Turkish-American Relations After the First World War" 145–176; "Cementing Turkish-American Relations" 177–196). Ambassador Ertegün was the Turkish signatory for the 1939 New York World's Fair, along with Grover A. Whalen as the President of the Fair Corporation, and Suat Şakir Kabaç as the Commissioner General of the Fair ("Grover Whalen Signing Contracts with Officials").

After the Second World War, the successors of Ambassador Ertegün in the Turkish mission, such as Nüzhet Baba, who penned a detailed report for the government in this subject, suggested an institutional structure to pursue cultural and public diplomacy in the United States. Consequently, the TIO was founded on these grounds. As it was suggested in Baba's report, the agents of this new form of diplomacy were armed with the means of

public communication, which allowed the recognition of literature and journalism as potent tools of diplomacy. İsmet Şanlı, for example, lectured extensively across the United States during this period, conveying the same messages she did in 1938 when she spoke before large audiences to promote Turkey as a modern country. As part of her speeches, she presented herself as a prime example of the female citizenry of this new modern nation, and she became the only female member of the Turkish delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization (also known as the San Francisco Conference) in 1945 ("Turk Newswoman Outlines Need for Lasting Peace"). Americans, including Eleanor Roosevelt, found her appealing because she complemented the social and political context of the Great Depression, the Second World War, and the Cold War; namely, Turkey's commitment to modernization, democracy, international order (against fascism and communism), and interest in alliances with the West ("Soviet Objective Halted").

Selma Ekrem was also affiliated with this group as a diplomat and a writer, her autobiographical accounts published by *The Christian Science Monitor* bear similarities with the works of other members of this network, including Nuri Eren and İsmet Şanlı. However, Ekrem's main significance also lies in her connections with the earlier generation of writers, including Halide Edib as much as her father Ali Ekrem Bolayır. Her stories that provide vignettes from Turkish history as a way to draw a romantic portrayal of the Ottoman Empire also contain many traces of the influence that these older writers had on Ekrem. Through these depictions, she explains away many of the harsh criticisms of the empire and redefines life both inside harem and in the streets of İstanbul. Particularly in her second book *Turkey, Old and New*, she devotes a considerable part of her work to Turkey's opposition to Nazi Germany's aggression and expansionism, and how Turkey was always a stout advocate of peace and democracy (*Turkey, Old and New* 174–83). To put it differently, the main reason behind the discursive differences between *Unveiled* and *Turkey, Old and New*, as well as her stories on *The Christian Science Monitor*, was also the cause of the similarities in her works with those of İsmet Şanlı and Nuri Eren. It was because at the time Ekrem wrote her later works, she was part of the

Turkish diplomatic corps in America. In essence, the works of Ekrem and Şanlı clearly augmented the mission of the TIO during the early Cold War (1947–1963), illustrating how literature and journalism, along with the TIO's art exhibitions and radio and television programs, functioned as vehicles of cultural diplomacy that redefined the image of the Turk and Turkey in the United States.

Hence, an analysis of the works and operations of the TIO prove that it was among the earnest enterprises of the transatlantic history between the United States and Turkey. A significant element in its success was that it combined various trends in this history. For instance, it became one of the first institutions where the intellectual and cultural capital Turkey inherited from the Ottoman Empire could be mustered for a diplomatic mission abroad. Its discourse was shaped in accordance with the expectation and needs of modern Turkey as determined by the realities of a post-Ottoman world that required rapid industrialization, security in a war-ridden Europe, and a network of military allies and commercial partners in the West, mainly the United States. This required reconstructing a new image of Turkey in accordance with the needs of the country; thus, Turkey's diplomatic corps had to be socially equipped and media savvy, and not mere bureaucrats. Turkey required representatives educated about America, and preferably in the American style, who could establish their own authority and convince their American readers of the image of the new Turkey.

STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION

Marking the beginning of the evolution of the ABCFM in the Ottoman Empire, the 1830s witnessed a change in the Board's strategy. It began moving away from focusing on the conversion of Muslims and Jews, as its representatives in the empire lost their fixation on the eschatological ideas that led them to rush toward the evangelization of the world. Eventually, they started developing more systematic and better-grounded approaches that recognized the faults of their initial attempts to secretly convert peoples in the Ottoman Empire. Chapter One argues that the transformation of the ABCFM from a group of

missionaries driven by religious idealism and orthodoxy to a large network of institutions led to the diversification of their activities, which amplified the significance of the duality between the Americanization and Evangelization of the local Ottoman populations. This chapter will discuss how the dramatic events in the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century accelerated the schisms inside the ABCFM, leading to three main reactions, grouped as radicalism, pragmatism, and idealism, represented by Frederick Davis Greene, James Levi Barton, and Mary Mills Patrick, respectively. Their works, the works of other missionaries, and sources like *The Missionary Herald* are examined to trace their contribution to the creation of the original image of "the Terrible Turk" in the United States.

Chapter Two will explore how institutions such as the Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College were also driving forces behind the construction of the image of the Turk in America. These two schools are taken as case studies to examine how the proselytization of local populations transformed into American-style education and social reform in parallel with the emerging values of Progressivism in the West. The works of leading members of the Constantinople Woman's College, such as Mary Mills Patrick, Caroline Borden, and Samuel T. Dutton, will be analyzed to expose the details of their aims for social reformation and the role they cast for education.

Chapter Three delves into early examples of the generation of Turkish writers, represented by Ahmed Sabri Bey, Halide Edib, and Selma Ekrem, who published works for American audiences. In addition to unraveling the details of their educational and cultural backgrounds to show how institutions like the Constantinople Woman's College served as a bridge between western democracy and the Ottoman Empire, this chapter will closely examine their works in order to discuss what discursive strategies they adopted to grasp the authorial authority and reconstruct the image of "the Turk." In this context, their subjectivities and ideological positions are juxtaposed with western authors in a historical perspective to highlight the interactions of "fact" and "fiction" in the construction of a social image through literature.

In Chapter Four, the TIO will be studied as one of the most ambitious Turkish foreign policy attempts in the United States to date. Intended to conduct cultural diplomacy initiatives in America during the Cold War, the TIO occupied a unique place by bringing culture and foreign affairs together. For this purpose, it funded journalists, writers, and artists to promote Turkey in their works. In this context, the TIO developed and sponsored a discourse, which had already begun to be shaped by Halide Edib and others (it was not a coincidence that Selma Ekrem worked for the TIO as well), to appeal to the sensitivities of American society during the Cold War. Through this promoted image of Turkey, Turks were transformed into people who shared similar values with Americans with their faith in democracy and independence. Representatives of the TIO and the diplomatic corps of the Turkish mission in the United States deployed this image to muster the support from the American public and politicians, and to receive funding and protection from the United States during the Cold War. This chapter also provides an analysis of various cultural texts produced under, or in affiliation with, the TIO, thereby demonstrating how a social image can be repeatedly reconstructed through multiple narratives, over the course of decades, according to the subjectivities and concerns of its various creators.

CHAPTER 1
THE FOUNDING OF THE ABCFM AND THE FIRST AMERICAN SCHOOLS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Between the first half of the eighteenth century and the antebellum era, the United States was the stage of religious dynamism, today referred to as the Great Awakenings. These movements owed this dynamism, called revivals, to the emergence of new discussions on the ontological questions of Puritanism such as human free will, the definition of a proper Christian, the role of the Church, and the eschatology of Millennialism by a group of theologians, among whom Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield were the most popular names. What characterized these movements was the responsiveness of their leaders to the ongoing social and political changes around them. The rising ideas of democracy, liberty, and equality were adopted by the vanguards of the First Great Awakening which emerged during the 1730s (Noll 86–164). Although there was already an emerging American approach to the question of religion and society as represented by figures like Roger Williams, for example, what made the Awakenings impactful was their ability to mobilize the masses with a discourse that was grounded in a mixture of eschatological theology and progressive ideology.

During the Second Great Awakening, which began roughly 100 years later, leading figures like Lyman Beecher provided common ground for a new society based on religion and popular social values like democratization and further equality within American society between the socioeconomic classes.[6] The writers of this era also reinvented representatives of the First Great Awakening, such as Jonathan Edwards, as figureheads of religious awakening and democratization ("The Invention of the Great Awakening, 1795–1842" 110). These precepts helped new emerging local churches attract high numbers of people as socially meaningful institutions, while the very same process

[6] Lyman Beecher was the father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The intellectual culture that merged social justice and religious morality clearly informed this famous work of American literature.

assisted the established churches of the Atlantic Coast to refresh their dynamism and momentum (Mathews 34–39). As an example, they redefined the concept of the church as a communion of believers based on Puritan ministers' adaptation of John Calvin's arguments in "On Bearing the Cross–One Branch of Self-Denial" (Chaney 28–30). This interpretation did not necessarily define the church as a direct extension of an ecumenical body, unlike the ancient churches of Europe or ironically the earlier churches of the Puritans in America, but as a conglomeration of believers who gathered under the message of the Bible and promised to pursue life accordingly (Noll 106–110). The emerging discourse of pluralism and inclusivity regarding church membership enabled them to multiply rapidly and attempt to evangelize even distant lands, whether in the American Frontier or in the Middle East.

As this ideology materialized in organizations, including an ambitious intercontinental enterprise like the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), it manifested in a very particular discourse that inherited a lot from earlier ideas in America. By dichotomizing the non-Christian lands as a state of "wilderness" and "darkness," Samuel Sherwood, for example, created a binary opposition in which Christianity represented "civilization," "paradise," and "light" and heathens the opposite (Chaney 4–9). This ideology owed its origins to an eschatological interpretation of history as exemplified by works like Samuel Hopkins' *A Treatise on the Millennium* (1824). Yet, Hopkins' arguments were not unique; they were extensions of these works of Roger Williams and Jonathan Edwards, who published on proselytization as a Christian mission in the mid-seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, respectively (Chaney 83, Hutchison 38–42). These theologians foresaw the end of times and the dawn of a new era, wherein Christ would resurrect (the Second Coming) and begin the Apocalypse. Consequently, the missionary's primary task was to reform the world, both spiritually and socially, in order to prepare it for this last stage before the Apocalypse (Chaney 65–84). Describing history as an ongoing progress of civilization toward a highly romanticized Christian future, their views, also known as Millennialism, combined the idea of salvation

with social and cultural progress, glorifying the evangelism of the Great Awakenings as the ultimate form of ideological hegemony.

In theological literature, this drive was called disinterested benevolence, thereby justifying the involvement of the missionaries in sociopolitical issues that under normal circumstances should have been beyond their religious calling. This vague ideological framework allowed it to be a versatile concept, letting missionaries to become involved in everything from the Indian Removal Act of 1830 to the abolitionist movement in the antebellum United States, women's suffrage, the education of girls in the Ottoman Empire, relief campaigns for Armenians, and the establishment of hospitals in India (Ahlstrom 518). Most importantly, from their perspective, what historians call Manifest Destiny was not limited to the American Frontier because their conceptualization of the frontier was more than a geopolitical border. They redefined the Frontier as a location where Americans were destined to take their culture and civilization to reform them, so with this ideological background, the movement globalized over the course of the nineteenth century.

Consequently, the Awakenings were successful in mobilizing the religious masses and catalyzing their involvement in tangible social activism. Evangelicals, for instance, encouraged the student movement, particularly in New England, which played a crucial role in the formation of the educational and missionary organizations of the Second Great Awakening (188). It was not a coincidence that the first missionaries to the Ottoman Empire were two young graduates from Andover College in Boston. The founding of the ABCFM in 1810, the American Bible Society (1816), and the American Tract Society (1826) emerged from this trend (Noll 169). Equally important was the printing press, which allowed them to publish magazines and other dailies to rally political and financial support at home and spread their views abroad. Most of these institutions were dependent on the donations of their American followers as much as the protection and endorsement of politicians who could provide bureaucratic, or even military, support overseas (Chaney 191; Ahlstrom 514–515). As missionaries branched out into an enormous network, the

relationship between missionaries, donors, bureaucrats, politicians, and soldiers also evolved into a complex structure, which is exemplified by the history of the ABCFM in the Ottoman Empire.

This also means the representation of these distant corners of the world was a significant element of missionary work because their mere existence relied on the successful communication with American people and state representatives as much as the locals. The missionary task was a social, political, and intellectual effort in addition to the physical difficulties that the missionaries experienced during both their travels and operations. For this reason, they not only published periodicals, but also autobiographies and other materials in which they depicted their experiences for American readers, while incorporating their ideological beliefs, cultural backgrounds, and personal perspectives. As a result, their readers started to develop a view of these distant lands, which contributed to what we vaguely call Orientalism today. However, this was not a linear process; it was the result of the non-linear interactions between the text, the reader, the author, and their subjectivities, which were shaped by changing experiences at different times and locations. These writers negotiated their ideas in interaction with prevailing ideologies, sociopolitical incidents, and limitations such as the necessity of appealing to target audiences in order to receive funding and support for their activities while keeping on good terms with local authorities. Therefore, through an analysis of the discursive elements of their works, this chapter examines how three generations of missionaries, from Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons to Cyrus Hamlin, Frederick Davis Greene, James Levi Barton, and Mary Mills Patrick (re)constructed the Ottoman Empire and the image of the "Terrible Turk" in the United States. It also traces the ABCFM's transformation from a highly idealistic religious entity into a great network of institutions that was involved in the hectic political and social setting of the Ottoman Empire. Finally, it will emphasize that the institutions, founded by former missionaries, played a tremendously important role in the course of Turkish-American relations by spreading the ideals of American democracy, internationalism, and progressive liberalism among the future leaders of a country undergoing a metamorphosis.

1.1. RECONSTRUCTING THE WILDERNESS FOR AMERICA: THE FIRST ENCOUNTERS OF THE ABCFM MISSIONARIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

From the perspective of transnational affairs, the ABCFM was arguably the most significant organization among those founded during the Second Awakening. It was formed in Boston by young graduates of the theology schools of Massachusetts, mainly represented by the Andover Theological Seminary and the Williams College in 1810. Strongly indoctrinated by the dominant ideologies of the Awakenings, the ABCFM's first generation of missionaries traveled to the American West to bring the Gospel to the Native Americans. In other words, the West originally provided the manifestation of the idea of wilderness, and Native Americans were the significant other, or the savage, to be converted and saved as part of the founding of the Kingdom of God before the return of Christ in the second millennium. Among the Native populations, particularly the Cherokee drew the attention of the missionaries. However, the Cherokee were in conflict with the white settlers as early as the 1750s and this situation continued escalating until and during the Presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829–1837). These early activities of the ABCFM show how its policies were influenced by each of the major ideas of the Awakenings. Missionaries like Jeremiah Evarts believed that the Church should be open to everyone, from all ethnic backgrounds, as long as they acknowledged the tenants of their interpretation of Protestantism and adopted the western lifestyle. This meant accepting a package of cultural conversion by adopting the prerequisites of modernization such as learning English and wearing European attire (Kieser 27–32). Therefore, the mission to convert the savage was actually a reconstruction of the White Man's Burden, defining the western civilization's task as reforming the rest of the world in its model. However, the Indian Removal Act was passed in 1830, despite the opposition of missionaries, some of whom were imprisoned for this cause, so they lost their gains together with the Trail of Tears. Ironically, the United States government of the era became an obstacle hindering their Christian mission.

One of the consequences of this failure was that other regions outside America also began attracting ABCFM. Following a rhetoric that dated back to John Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity" in 1630, throughout the Awakenings, analogies were commonly drawn between the Biblical stories of the Israelites in their flight to Canaan and the eschatological interpretation of the history of the New England colonies regarding the aspect of escaping execution and oppression in Britain and Europe. Thus, the idea of founding the Kingdom of God in America was stemming from this eschatological view, which also provided the basis of the other popular ideas such as American Exceptionalism and the Manifest Destiny during the nineteenth century. Yet, the failure of the Native American mission of the ABCFM convinced some of the missionaries that America might not be the promised land, and the already-existing parallels between the Bible and their personal experiences led some of them to turn their eyes to the Middle East, the original "Bible Land" (Kieser 32; "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible" 685). This change of spatial orientation was a simple logic in the views of the missionaries because they had convinced themselves if the social and religious salvation of the world could not start from America, it could begin from where Jesus also did, the Middle East. By this means, the Middle East became the new wilderness, the religious frontier to convert and civilize.

Hence, Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, two young graduates of the Andover Theological Seminary, became the first missionaries of the ABCFM to land in the Middle East, more precisely İzmir in 1820, with the support of their European counterparts represented by the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society (Kieser 41). Shortly after this, they moved to Palestine, but unlike their European partners, they did not mingle with any Middle Eastern culture at the beginning. They kept their American clothes and lifestyle and brought in the Bible and tracts, which they printed in large numbers and distributed in public areas. This also means their luggage included a modern printing press, which foreshadowed the changes that the missionaries were going to make in the different aspects of life other than religion ("Reclaiming the Land of the Bible" 697). However, the printing press, due to its potential to cause the social reformation of the region in a western model, was contradicting the missionaries' contempt toward the

increasing secularization and industrialization in the West, so that this duality on whether pursuing the social (meaning Westernization or Americanization) or religious (Evangelization) conversion of the local populations existed even in the first days of the ABCFM's activities and was potent with a debate that would shake the roots of the organization over the next decades.

Eventually, both Parsons and Fisk represented a generation that was defined by idealism that had the potential for evolving into a violent zeal as Timothy Dwight, Yale president and a member of the ABCFM, expressed: "the Romish cathedral, the mosque, and the pagoda, shall not have one stone left upon another, which shall not be thrown down" (qtd. in Kieser 40). Even if their mission, and sadly their lives, were short—both Parsons and Fisk died of disease and fever within few years after their arrival—they provided a detailed, but not accurate, portrait of the Middle East to future missions. Yet, this situation did not prevent the popularity of their works in their home country. Rev. Nathaniel S. Prime, a pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Cambridge, New York, read Parsons letters to his congregation, which was strongly touched by his tragic story (Parsons 375). Therefore, the autobiographies of both Fisk and Parsons provides a case study that demonstrates the significance of the works published by American missionaries in terms of the representation of the Middle East in the United States. They constructed depictions of a faraway land from their perspectives, deeply inspired by the Evangelical teachings of their organization. Their ideological luggage, consequently, defined the representation of the Middle East for American readers.

To give only a few examples, both books are full of idealism and include references to the eschatological ideals of their movement, including the Kingdom of God, a teleological interpretation of historical as well as contemporary events taking place around them and the dichotomization of Evangelical-American self against the significant others, representing a large spectrum of local populations from the Catholic and Orthodox Christians to Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the metaphor of darkness and light are repeatedly given material examples in Fisk and Parsons' papers.

For Fisk, the Middle East is a land of "superstition, cruelty and ignorance," so when he looks at İzmir, he sees a city "enveloped in the most dreadful moral darkness" (Fisk 112). During his trips across Anatolia, he shares his melancholy for finding "a few mud huts, inhabited by ignorant, stupid, filthy Turks" in the locations mentioned in the Bible (132). In retrospect, he concludes that İzmir was the city where corrupt Christians, referring to Catholic Franks and Orthodox Greeks due to their use of icons during their religious rituals, constitute the majority of local non-Muslim population living under the rule of the oppressive Ottomans, meaning Muslims (167). By the same vein, Parsons ensures that he had nothing to fear before his departure to "preach to those who sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death" with a narration that is full of parallels between the Ancient Jews that wandered Canaan and his journey to the Middle East, both of which represent "the wilderness" (Parsons 222). In other words, their accounts represent the Middle East that they reconstructed for their American readers from an extremely ideological point of view.

Despite its importance in pronouncing and supplementing Orientalist ideas in America, representation was only one dimension of Fisk and Parsons' activities in the region. Having inherited the ideals of the Awakenings, they, for instance, advocated that each individual should be able to read the Holy Scriptures in their native language and make their own decisions to become a convert, so they spent their time to learn local languages like Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. They also encouraged important figures like Professor Neophytos Bambas, the head of the Orthodox school on the island of Scio (Chios in Greek or Sakız Adası in Turkish), to learn English so that he could be instrumental in teaching Greek to future missionaries. Additionally, the translation and distribution of tracts and other textual materials constituted an equally important part of their activities. The purpose of distributing materials in the local languages to as many people as possible also necessitated the utilization of the printing press, which was a rare technology in the nineteenth-century Ottoman world (Fisk 119–120). For example, *Young Minister's Companion*, which was translated into Greek by Professor Bambas and taught to his students, was a compilation of sermons and other works by various pastors. The included

works, such as Richard Baxter's "The Reformed Pastor," impart the idea of "social duties," like organizing a church and "overseeing" the congregation, along with the religious duties of a minister like preaching (Baxter 445–453). In other words, the ideals of the Awakening that blended social and religious reformation into a single movement were disseminated through such works that invited their readers for social activism as much as religious idealism.

From a political perspective, however, these activities of Fisk and Parsons challenged both the established ancient churches and the Ottoman authority since they perceived them as the obstacles before the upcoming of the Kingdom of God. Fisk summarizes his objective as follows:

> It is my duty *to do what I can to excite others to suitable, views, feelings, and efforts on this subject.* For this purpose I should labor to remove all objections that are brought against missions; to correct all erroneous impressions respecting the state of the heathen world, and respecting the designs and exertions of missionaries, and missionary societies; to point out to the rich and the poor, the various ways, in which property may be earned or saved for this purpose. I should endeavor to direct the attention of those who are preparing, or who ought, perhaps, to prepare for the ministry, to the examination of their duty, and to the claims of the perishing pagans, In short, I should make it my object wherever I go, whenever I write or speak, read or preach, or whatever I do, to bring into view in every suitable manner the wants of the heathen, and our duty toward them; to urge on ministers to preach, Christians to pray, young men to enlist, and people of every age and class to do all they can to extend the borders of Zion (Fisk 69).

This ideal had multiple dimensions, as in it required Fisk to correct, and convert, the non-believers, and in this sense, whoever was not following their doctrine was "erroneous" and hence a "heathen." They also aimed to utilize any useful "property" for this purpose; to recruit new missionaries; and to spread their ideas and faith. These ambitious goals required them to employ both ideological and material means, thus their publications were meant to convince others to join and contribute to their cause. Fisk and Parsons' accounts point that the first representatives of the ABCFM to the Middle East actually followed an ideology that acknowledged the use of "property," without any religious connotations, as long as they served to their ends. This was potent with triggering the series of events that would foresee the transformation of the ABCFM in the Ottoman

Empire because properties, such as the printing press, colleges, hospitals, in addition to churches and seminaries, eventually evolved into an enormous network. It also forced the succeeding generations of the missionaries after Fisk and Parsons to be deeply entangled in the politics of the empire, even if they said they wanted to avoid it. In other words, the ABCFM's activities were political as much as religious, and it was foreshadowed in the earliest works given by American missionaries. The reason behind this circumstance was the ideological background of the ABCFM, which derived from a particularly American interpretation of Christianity and oftentimes conflicted with the established churches of Europe, and it required social reformation as an intrinsic part of religious salvation, a side-effect of the Awakenings.

1.2. HOW TO REFORM THE WILDERNESS: EVANGELIZATION OR AMERICANIZATION?

The potential ontological crisis that the secularization of the missionary efforts could cause was not unbeknownst to the leaders of the ABCFM. In response to this possibility, Rufus Anderson, the general secretary of the ABCFM, gave a sermon titled "The Theory of Missions to the Heathen" in 1845 and concluded that the attempts of the missions had confused their "sublime spiritual object." By these words, he meant spreading the Gospel and proselytizing the target populations by means of "reorganization" of local society of the converts could be a grave mistake (Hutchinson 82). In 1869, when he published *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims*, this debate on the ideal role of the missionary and the mission in foreign lands kept its presence. In this book, Anderson summarized the fundamentals of the mission and the role of the missionary. According to him, the missionary was just a "planter," and it was God's judgment whether there would be a harvest, so they had to keep their intervention minimal in the course of the events after the plantation. In this regard, it should be also noted that Anderson strongly believed in the Hopkinsian interpretation of Calvinism. The missionary, therefore, had the task to plant the Church and "let it go" without mingling with the local population since it would be against the fatalistic point of view that they inherited from Calvinism. The missionary's

job was to help the locals establish autonomous institutions, which could be ministered by only themselves (77–89). Consequently, any institutions like schools and hospitals could be allowed only providing that they would serve the purpose of evangelization of the target populations, and their administration had to be handed over to the local converts once they were ready since the missionary had to move on as their task could be complete.

Yet, when Cyrus and Henrietta Hamlin landed in İstanbul on a Saturday night, February 2, 1839, these new members of the existing missionary families in the region were going to navigate in the opposite direction. William Goodell, Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, who was the father of Henry Otis Dwight and the founder of the Armenian Evangelical Church, William G. Schauffler, Joseph K. Greene, and Henry Homes had already settled down in the Ottoman Empire a few years earlier with slight gaps between their dates of arrival (Marcia and Malcolm Stevens 109–118). Therefore, the differences between the experiences of Fisk and Parsons compared to this second wave of missionaries were fundamental. Representing this second generation, Hamlin, for example, arrived with his wife Henrietta, who was also educated enough to support him both in domestic and academic endeavors, similar to the Goodells, the Dwights, and the Greenes. These families created the third, Ottoman-American, generation, including Frederick Davis Greene, and also constituted a network that could sustain one another unlike two lonely young missionaries as in the case of Fisk and Parsons. Secondly, Hamlin picked İstanbul, the cosmopolitan and highly urbanized capital of the Ottoman Empire, as his area of activity in contrast to Fisk and Parsons, who strived to travel across the rural regions of the empire on their way to Jerusalem. Finally, both of these factors allowed Hamlin's generation to survive and serve in the region for far longer; for instance, Hamlin spent thirty-five years in the Ottoman Empire; William Goodell spent forty; William Goodell forty; and Joseph K. Greene fifty-one. In fact, all of them established their authorial authority in their memoirs based on the time that they spent in the Ottoman Empire; thus, they identified themselves as experts on the empire and its society, with their unique insight owing to their prolonged presence. This made their books significant with respect to representations of Turkey and Turks in America.

Hamlin's discourse was initially defined by the ideologies that Parsons and Fisk also inherited from the Awakenings such as the dichotomization of the Orient as "uncivilized" in contrast to the Occident as the symbol of the "civilized world" (*Among the Turks* 20–26). However, it was also shaped by the fact that the Ottoman Empire proved to be a hostile environment for Hamlin. For example, in the first years after his arrival in the Ottoman Empire, he personally experienced double discrimination. He had to deal with the oppression of the Armenian Patriarch, who, with the support of the Russian government, targeted and persecuted the ABCFM missionaries as well as the converted Armenians that the Patriarchy considered a threat for its authority due to the fear of losing their subjects. Meanwhile, the local Muslim population of Bebek, a village in İstanbul at the time and where Hamlin settled with his family, was not far behind the Patriarch as the local children kept on stoning the Hamlin's house to force him and his family to leave (62).

Nevertheless, it did not take Hamlin too long to realize that his engineering and medical skills could actually render him quite useful in developing better relations with the locals, even if his identity as a Protestant missionary made him a target. In time, he was proven right. His medical skills gained him the title of "Hakem bashi Hamlin" (Hekimbaşı Hamlin), meaning the chief physician, and his new identity allowed him to travel safer within and around İstanbul (141). At another critical moment, which followed the Anathema of 1846 when the Armenian Patriarch, officially excommunicated all Armenians who converted to Protestantism, leading them to lose their jobs and homes, Hamlin resorted to his skills as a manager and engineer and quickly opened workshops for the victims of this policy of the Patriarch. Hence, Hamlin immediately created new means of practicing their crafts or learning new ones to help the converts sustain both their own and their families' lives (134–140). As another example, the Bebek Seminary, which was founded in 1840 and constituted the basis of Robert College, served the same purpose as an institution that allowed Hamlin and his family to achieve a position in society as an educator that was relatively safe from discrimination and persecution.

These experiences led Hamlin to come to the realization of another important point. He had to be able to survive within the complex and oftentimes confusing, bureaucratic, and judicial systems of the Ottoman Empire, which meant knowing enough about Ottoman law and customs. With this awareness, he managed to keep the seminary open because he knew that he had to avoid confronting and provoking the Armenian Patriarch in any way. As he says in his book, "I would bend before the storm which I could not resist" (65–66). He made this correct choice of strategy, which helped him and the seminary survive, because he was capable of understanding he had no legal basis to resist the Patriarch, who had only the sultan himself above him as an authority under the Ottoman social order, i.e. the *millet* system. On another occasion, Hamlin kept the identities of the Armenian converts secret from the Patriarch by buying a mattress in which a smart member of his community hid the archives of the Evangelical Union of Armenians at the last second before the Patriarch's men could break into their building. Although he could not ultimately protect the documents, Hamlin shrewdly threatened the Ottoman captain with complaining to the American ambassador, which convinced the officer to keep the bed, until his superior, the pasha attended the matter. Consequently, the pasha decided in favor of Hamlin because he had already purchased the property, and naturally the documents inside it (135–136).

Hamlin's accounts are rich in many other details and in his ability to comprehend and even use the system for his own benefit, or at least to avoid a catastrophic end. He owed this insight to his capacity to mingle in Ottoman society as he wrote to his brother, "I have changed my external appearance so that you would hardly know me" because he was now "with Armenian friends, fez'd, mustachio'd, sitting cross leg'd with a Turkish coffee cup in one hand' with a chibouk in the other" (qtd. in Stevens 151–152). His integration is reflected in his writing through many examples. For instance, Hamlin could recognize the limits of the Ottoman government in the rural interior of Anatolia, or he could also tell the difference between the political views of the younger and the older generations of Muslims in reaction to the imperial decrees. He could also understand that not all Muslims were Turks or vice versa, which allowed him to understand how the intricate

sociopolitical structure(s) of the Ottoman Empire actually functioned (*Among the Turks* 81–84, 90, 266). In another part of his accounts, he could observe how the stories of Greeks could sometimes be exaggerated or even entirely false because they knew it would gain the sympathy of westerners, and similar to the experiences of the Armenian Protestants, he saw how Bulgarians were oppressed not only by the Ottoman pashas but also the Greek bishops (270–271). All of these examples indicate that he could make sense of the incredibly diverse and complicated Ottoman social setting in the late nineteenth century.

As one of the direct consequences of this situation, Hamlin began realizing the mistakes in contemporary works, such as those written by Charles MacFarlane, so he puts a considerable effort to explain how the Ottoman judicial system and social customs were not diminutively based on only the Quran, and they were the results of a vast literature written by Islamic scholars and judges over the centuries (317–355). Perhaps, most importantly, he claims that the Ottoman Empire was actually reforming and progressing although some of its elements were resisting, and he attributes this to the changes in the government that recognized better rights to its non-Muslim subjects as well as the increasing education opportunities and the consequent improvement in the education level of its subjects (356–378). The most significant outcome of this new perspective allowed Hamlin to develop a more international ideal for the future as he explains how the concepts of fraternity and mutual trust held an important place in eastern culture (176–180). Hamlin's experiences eventually led him to create his own definition of an ideal missionary, which contradicted Rufus Anderson's principles. Hamlin summarizes his principles as follows:

> I would say, first, that the missionary should make all the converts, that is, all who profess to follow the truth, church members or not, feel that they have his sympathy and thoughtful regard…
>
> Secondly, it is equally important to know all the laws and customs of the country…
>
> Thirdly, the object of the missionary must always be to help the needy to help themselves. The giving or loaning of money is not often beneficial in its final results…

> Now, whatever the missionary can do to promote industry, and to guide to the right objects of industry, is in the line of his calling, and places him in the apostolic succession, although he may not be a tent-maker (197–199).

It is clear that Hamlin still functioned in the same ideological paradigms by defining the locals as "ignorant, uncivilized, or half civilized converts" and he justified his sense of superiority by defining it as a "benevolent, self-sacrificing Christian work," echoing the concept of disinterested benevolence (202–203). Nevertheless, his recognition of secular means like industry and education and the redefinition of "converts" as "all who profess to follow the truth, church members or not" were radical changes that contrasted with Rufus Anderson's principles, even if Hamlin agreed that the goal was to build a "self-governing," "self-supporting" and "self-developing" Christian community (204). Hamlin's way led to further entanglement with local social and political incidents since they could not move on after "planting a church," and schools and hospitals required missionaries to also serve as educators and doctors. Anderson considered raising a local clergy to take on the administration of the churches planted by the ABCFM, but even training locals to replace the missionaries in schools and hospitals would require a lot more time and necessitate the residence of the missionary for decades in the region.

While these points made Hamlin the target of criticism for secularizing the mission, his ideas regarding education became even more controversial. In 1854, the American Board of Foreign Missions conducted two surveys to collect data, and Rufus Anderson was one of the two missionaries involved in this task. This study resulted in a set of policy changes regarding the missionary schools. Teaching the English language was proscribed, the curricula of the schools were simplified to cover only vernacular subjects, and many schools were eventually closed. The Bebek Seminary and the Female Boarding School, which would be the predecessor of the Constantinople Woman's College, were among the victims of this policy. While the fear of secularizing the missions led them to focus only on teaching the Gospel and rendered the schools insignificant, the controversies about his workshops led Hamlin to further conflict with the administrators of the ABCFM (*Among the Turks* 275–281).

Hamlin's plan, despite the changes in the ABCFM's policy, took teaching English as one of its fundamentals. According to him, there were two reasons for this; first, most educators were Anglo-Saxons with English as their native language, so teaching it would decrease the mediacy between the students and the teachers. Secondly, Hamlin refers to the words of another ABCFM missionary, "Dr. Wilson," who quoted Peter Mark Roget's statement, "The English language is the grand store-house of knowledge in literature, science, and religion," so making students capable of reading this language would greatly improve their academic progress, not necessarily their conversion to Protestantism (qtd. in *Among the Turks* 282). It can be also understood from this quote that Hamlin favored teaching advanced, and secular, subjects to his students in contrast to the policy of the ABCFM that dictated keeping the curriculum theological and on the vernacular level. What lied underneath this debate was the conflict between the Americanization and Evangelization of the students, and Hamlin justified his position with an attempt to reconcile both points. He argues that a Christian college could be possible, but it could also function by "preparing young men to enter upon professional study, or into any of the active pursuits of life," which contrasted the ABCFM's definition of its colleges as the means of raising local ministers for religious service only (286). Also, Hamlin's experiences in the Ottoman Empire showed him that no one could become a minister with sincerity in their heart while struggling to survive with an empty stomach, and worn-out clothes. A person had to be granted his human dignity and given the means to sustain his life before making serious decisions such as taking the ministerial role to lead a Christian community (213).

On the other hand, the very same experiences also proved how his secular skills in medicine and engineering were crucial in bringing success to him during his mission in the Ottoman Empire. He managed to mingle in society as "Hakem Bashi Hamlin" who cured the sick, built steam-powered bakeries, industrial washing machines, and blacksmith shops to support and sustain his students and their families. Therefore, Americanization and Evangelization were not two opposite poles for him anymore; but on the contrary, they needed to complement one another to succeed in reforming their

target populations both spiritually and physically. Consequently, when he left the ABCFM after twenty-two years of service to establish Robert College, Hamlin described his feelings with these words: “I considered myself more a missionary to Turkey than before. I was to labor, so far as possible, for all its peoples, without distinction of race, language, color, or faith” (286).

Hamlin’s career as an educator officially began in May 1858, when American industrialist and philanthropist Christopher R. Robert asked him to be the head of the Christian higher education institution in the Orient that Robert was dreaming about. The reason behind his decision to prefer Hamlin over other candidates such as Dr. Goodell or James and William Dwight was that he wanted the school to have Christian characteristics and be capable of garnering the support of the missionaries of the ABCFM while being an exemplary institution of scientific education. It required someone with Hamlin’s insight on how early Americans could be relevant in the Ottoman context without losing his Christian vision. Therefore, even if he was not the best scholar among the available people on the ground, Hamlin, with his experience and devotion to the role of Christianity in education, became the first president of the college (Stevens 270–272).

Robert College represented the culmination of all the developments the ABCFM went through in the forty years after the arrival of Parsons and Fisk. Hamlin’s theory was put to the test at the college as he claimed that it was possible to reconcile secular elements and social reform with religious idealism in a Christian school. At a time, when the missionaries were moving their schools to the interior of Anatolia, believing that the urban setting of İstanbul was a bad influence on their students, Robert College was established in the capital city, and it was founded as independent from the ABCFM. Reflecting its unique characteristics, the curriculum of the college involved Hamlin’s translations of Thomas Cogswell Upham’s *Mental Philosophy* and Francis Wayland’s *Moral Philosophy*, which gained the appreciation of even Ahmet Vefik Efendi, the Minister of Public Instruction of the Ottoman Empire who ordered the officials of Turkish schools to include them in their syllabi (*My Life and Times* 254–255; Stone 56). The school and its new teaching policy brought it success, and it encouraged missionary

schools in Beirut, Cairo, Antep, and Harput (Elazığ in modern Turkey) to include more advanced subjects in their curricula (Stone 56; *Among the Turks* 298). By the end of the nineteenth century, the ABCFM institutions would become a vast network of institutions spread across the Ottoman Empire with thousands of students, attracted to their teaching quality if not the Protestant creed. Hamlin's transformation created a school that the Ottoman elites needed for their children, like Nüzhet Baba and Nuri Eren, among many others—a place where they could receive a modern education and especially learn English, which other foreign schools in the capital could not provide. Similar to Ottoman officials like Ahmet Vefik Efendi, who saw the usefulness of Hamlin's efforts, the republican regime after 1923 was not too slow at all to realize the potential of these graduates in the conduct of new diplomacy in the United States.

1.3. THE ABCFM IN THE COLLAPSING OTTOMAN EMPIRE: RADICALISM AND PRAGMATISM

After the completion of Robert College's building in 1871, ABCFM institutions, including seven schools in major cities, reached all around the Ottoman Empire (Stone 70–71). As their schools and other facilities like hospitals were extending in vast territories of the empire, *The Missionary Herald*, the official press medium of the ABCFM, had established itself in the capital of the empire as a source of information and communication between the United States and the Ottoman Empire. This periodical also served as one of the major means for the ABCFM to collect donations, encourage recruits among its readers, and construct the image of the Turk in America. A close reading of this periodical of the ABCFM along with the individual works of its leading members offer an opportunity to better comprehend the milieu in which the founders of Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College operated.

After the ethnic strife between the Armenian populations in eastern Turkey and the Ottoman government during 1893 to 1896, and the destruction of ABCFM properties in the region, Frederick Davis Greene left his position as an educator in Van and became the

secretary of the National Armenian Relief Committee, which required him to be involved more in politics to garner both political and financial support from the United States (Grabill 42). Greene was aware that he needed the support of American policymakers to pressure the Ottoman government, which had already forbidden the operation of organizations like the National Armenian Relief Committee in the eastern provinces. Consequently, Greene's discourse was meant to provoke his readers to take action. As he concludes in the preface of *The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of the Turk* by directly addressing his readers: "Reader, your voice and help are needed" (*The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of the Turk* xix). He devotes the first chapters of the book to claim and prove that the central government was involved in the conflict by ordering an attack by the army in the region under the command of "Zekki Pasha," referring to the commander of the fourth army Mehmet Zeki Pasha (6–31; Miller para. 3). Greene thus argues that the main cause of the conflict was "misgovernment" and "Muslim misrule" (*The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of the Turk* xvii–xix).

Greene also claims that the Ottoman Empire was incapable of implementing any reforms to deal with the Armenian issue, including the religious persecution of non-Muslim subjects, because the role of the sultan as head of both religion and government would not allow him to ratify anything that could mean equality between religious groups (88–89). Greene supports this argument with a quotation from Edward August Freeman, the writer of *The Turks in Europe* (1877). In this quotation, Freeman says, "the Ottoman Government is a politico-religious system," so "the worst Christian government can reform, while the Turk cannot" (qtd. in 118–119). A year later, Greene reiterates this argument in another book, this time edited by Henry Davenport Northrop. He claims that what hindered reforms in the Ottoman Empire was an intrinsic problem in its government, which he calls a "*politico-religious*" system (in *Armenian Massacres or the Sword of Mohammed* 110–118). In other words, Greene brings up the inability of the Ottoman Empire to implement reforms to convince his audience that the empire could not reform unless it changed its religion, which was very unlikely considering the place of Islam in its social, administrative, and legal structure. This discursive strategy, seen in other texts

published by *The Missionary Herald*, aimed to prove the hopelessness of the Ottoman Empire, resonating with the trope of "the sick man of Europe," so on this ground, Greene tried to convince his readers to garner their support.

Along with the missionaries, some of the alumni of their schools also played an important role in determining the perception of the Ottoman Empire and Turks in America. The increasing number of American schools led to the emergence of Armenian graduates who could express themselves in English and specifically to American audiences. Born in Kayseri and a graduate of Talas American College, Vahan Cardashian was one of them. After immigrating to the United States in 1902, he earned a law degree from Yale University and was hired by the Ottoman embassy in the United States in 1911. Married to a wealthy New Yorker, Cornelia Hub, Cardashian met the major figures of American politics and business, including Theodore Roosevelt. According to Peter Balakian, after he learned that his mother and sister were killed by Ottoman gendarmes in 1915, Cardashian quit his position and fully devoted himself to activism, lobbying, and becoming an influential member of the Armenian-American Society and the Armenian Committee for the Independence of Armenia (ACIA) (Malkasian 351; Balakian 309–310). Later, members of the ACIA included Vice President William Jennings Bryan and Former Secretary of State Elihu Root in its ranks.

Cardashian's story is important because he is an example of the alumni of the American schools in the Ottoman Empire, who pursued their lives between a United States that was increasingly becoming hostile toward Muslim Ottomans, and an Ottoman Empire whose governmental and social structure was crumbling. These alumni eventually shared many similarities with both former and standing American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire before and during the First World War. Ironically, Hamlin's dream of removing the language barrier also meant the involvement of American public opinion in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire and led to the politicization of students and faculty.

The leaders of the ABCFM, like James Levi Barton, who was the flagbearer of the transformation of the mission had to adapt to this sensitive sociopolitical setting. Yet, the

way Barton operated was quite different from Greene or Cardashian, mostly due to his position as the foreign secretary of the ABCFM. His methods were initially defined by cautious pragmatism because he knew it very well, just like Hamlin did, taking an unfavorable political position in İstanbul would mean the end of the missions. This attitude is quite prominent in his first book *Daybreak in Turkey* (1908), in which he celebrates the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 that put an end to the reign of Abdülhamid II and enacted a series of reforms, including allowing the education of Muslim children in foreign schools (*Daybreak in Turkey* 283). Nevertheless, Barton warns his readers that the new government of the CUP would have to eventually prove its commitment to liberty and equality through concrete actions (285). After his disappointment with the CUP, Barton saw the First World War as an opportunity. Cleveland Dodge, an American industrialist who was known for his close ties with President Wilson and his family's involvement in the ABCFM as missionaries and funders, was one of Barton's strongest allies. Consequently, Barton used such connections to pursue his political aims, believing that the involvement of the United States in the region could help the ABCFM's mission. For this purpose, he lobbied the White House both personally and through his connections like Dodge and high-ranking diplomats like Abram I. Elkus, the Ambassador of the United States to the Ottoman Empire (Grabill 72–75).

However, Barton's diplomatic activities were dictated by pragmatism because he considered it a means to secure the interests of the ABCFM in the Middle East. He adjusted his position once he realized that an American intervention in the Ottoman Empire, which was the option favored by Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Robert Lansing in 1917, would do more harm than good because it could have resulted in the prohibition of missionary activity in the empire. Barton again resorted to Dodge to convince President Wilson not to declare war on the Ottoman Empire (92–97). However, seeing that the allies had a chance to win the war with the support of the United States, Barton once again started advocating more ambitious objectives such as the invasion of Bulgaria and an American mandate on the Ottoman Empire in 1919. Finally witnessing the birth of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, Barton readjusted his position when he said,

"The Turk is bad enough the Lord knows, but if we have to live with him and cooperate with him we gain noting by constantly reminding him and others that he is a scoundrel" (qtd. in Grabill 276). In the final form of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Armenian Question was not even referred to, and Barton began spending his remaining time discussing the erroneous and exaggerated content in the anti-propaganda campaign against the Ottoman Empire, which he also contributed to in the past. However, because he advocated the regime change in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey was now progressing toward a modern nation-state, he shifted sides and became a supporter of Mustafa Kemal and his followers. Armenians were no longer useful for Barton, and he saw cooperation with the new republican regime as the only way to survive after the war. However, the damage had been done, and the negative image of Turkey was prevalent enough in the 1920s; eventually, the US Senate did not ratify the Treaty of Lausanne in 1927 (Daniel 269–273).

Therefore, the era between 1893 and 1923 saw the politicization of the ABCFM to the point where it depleted all its political capital and almost all its legitimacy. Under the new republic, American schools would have to report to the Turkish Ministry of Education, which meant a loss of autonomy, and many ABCFM schools closed their doors as a result. However, despite being in İstanbul, literally the eye of the storm during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College were able to survive. They owed this to Hamlin's new vision for the ABCFM that ironically led to its deeper involvement in the politics of the dying Ottoman state and enabled the survival of these colleges in İstanbul as relevant, beneficial institutions from the perspective of the republic. As a consequence, Hamlin achieved fame during his lifetime as a great educator and Christian. Mary Mills Patrick, on the other hand, began receiving attention much later in life, despite the fact that she also managed to guide her school through the storm. Her dedication of a considerable part of *A Bosporus Adventure* to the alumni of the Constantinople Woman's College stands as evidence that at least in 1934, she was able to foresee the legacy she left for not only the Republic of Turkey, but also other nation states that emerged in the demise of the empire.

1.4. THE UNEXPECTED LEGACY OF THE ABCFM: THE CONSTANTINOPLE WOMAN'S COLLEGE

Like Barton, Mary Mills Patrick, who was the president of the Constantinople Woman's College at that time, was also present at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. She wrote an article entitled "Fourteen Reasons for an American Mandatory over Turkey" which claimed that an American mandatory would be "welcomed" since it would be "more democratic than other nations, would promote harmony among ethnic groups, introduce a superior educational system, not exploit the country commercially, and not stay forever" (Grabill 173). For Mary Mills Patrick, the Ottoman Empire was a unique space where she not only spent fifty years of her career as an educator, but also formed herself as a professional woman, away from the restrictions of patriarchy in America (Goffman 62). This aspect of her individual history contributed to her optimistic idealism and her interpretation of the Ottoman Empire as a country that was on a path toward achieving its full potential. From her perspective, it was a romantic multicultural world, wherein one could hear a multitude of languages spoken at the same time within its borders (*Under Five Sultans* 29). However, her perception of the empire was not completely positive, as she also saw it stuck in a primitive state lagging behind the progress of the West, which she defines in these words: "In the primitive villages in Asia Minor, we felt that humanity was in the making" (50–51). Striving toward modernizing itself in order to keep up with its European counterparts, this situation also provided a convenient opportunity for her to showcase her skills as a leader and an educator. Therefore, the Constantinople Woman's College, having emerged as the result of Patrick and her colleagues' endeavors, allowed them to redefine the Ottoman Empire and women's education by instructing a new generation of Turkish women who would, in turn, reconstruct the image of the Turk in America.

Patrick's memoirs *A Bosporus Adventure* and *Under Five Sultans* provide valuable insight into the history of the college and its milieu in the late-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. However, before delving into any detailed discussion on them, it should be noted

she published both of her memoirs after the founding of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, and she, as the author, had a clear agenda shaped by contemporary concerns such as ensuring the survival of the schools under the new regime. Thus, she was aware that the future of her school, the Constantinople Woman's College, depended on its ability to adapt to the new republic, which was more nationalist and centralist than its predecessor, the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, tropes of progressivism and internationalism were in line with the official narrative of history that the new regime in Ankara was promoting (Goffman 221). Patrick also needed to convince her American readers and especially the sponsors of her college that it was a meaningful investment because Muslim Ottomans, now redefining themselves as Turks with a common ethnicity and language as core values of citizenship, were not Oriental people trapped in a primitive past. On the contrary, she argues in her memoirs, they were a potentially progressive society that was deprived of its chance to flourish by despotic rulers and rival empires. She even draws an analogy between the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and the American War of Independence (330).

Due to her concerns, she also obscures certain details such as her personal background, the college's history with the ABCFM, and the Bulgarian and Armenian struggles that took place within the time period she covers in her memoirs (Goffman 33). She crafts the narrative she wants the world to read through strategic omission, and her own version of history. She characterizes Talat, Enver, and Cemal Pashas, the triumvirate of the CUP regime that ruled the country after 1908, as idealist patriots in spite of the fact that they played a key role in the First World War and its atrocities (*Under Five Sultans* 259–260). To justify her position, Patrick places the blame on the German influence over these leaders by arguing that the majority of the Ottoman officials were against the idea of the war, yet the triumvirate and their German allies dragged them into it (265–270; Goffman 237). As another example, her ideal statesman, Midhat Pasha, was actually polygamous, which Patrick severely condemns as it demeans women's desired equal status in society, yet she ignores this aspect of Midhat Pasha's life (Goffman 112–114). This detail, unless

it was omitted, would undermine her advocacy of feminism and internationalism as two fundamental aspects of her discourse.

Regarding Patrick's advocacy of women's rights, it was an intrinsic component of her progressivism since she predicted that women's education was essential to the long-delayed progress of the empire. The women's emancipation was also a project that spanned beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Patrick attributes great importance to language education, primarily teaching English to her students, convinced that once this barrier was lifted, they would form a harmonious international community, setting an example for the rest of the world (*Under Five Sultans* 192). For this purpose, Patrick says that she promoted and eagerly accepted Muslim students to her school as she was aware that the reformation of the ruling elite was fundamental for the empire to progress (210). Therefore, she believed the key to progress was the education of Ottoman society, and she was convinced that an American mandate could support existing institutions, including her school, by also promoting the establishment of a modern education system–hence her campaign for the mandate was rebranded as an "educational mandate" in 1922 (Reeves-Ellington 65).

Nevertheless, the prospects of a mandate became impossible as American foreign policy demanded returning to the traditional non-entanglement policy and the triumphant Turkish Nationalist Movement had no intention of recognizing any mandate. However, this did not mean an end for the Constantinople Woman's College's impact on the sociopolitical setting of Turkey; instead, the graduates of the school became the flagbearers of the young republic and professed to become the driving force of modernization in the former core territories of the Ottoman Empire. One of the reasons for its success was that it was the most developed school of its kind that served women, even if there were other alternatives in the empire, including the American Girl's College in İzmir, where İsmet Şanlı studied. There were larger schools like the military academies of the empire or Robert College, yet at the time, they served only men. As educated daughters of the upper-class families began gaining more grounds in the political scene after the First World War, the graduates of the Constantinople Woman's College

constituted an emerging class of social and political leaders who introduced new ideas, such as gender equality, democratic citizenship, and freedom of speech, to the public.

The origins of the Constantinople Woman's College parallels its male-only counterpart, Robert College. A seminary for female students initially named the Constantinople Home, it started its education life in 1871, before it moved to its own buildings in Scutari (Üsküdar, İstanbul in modern Turkey). The Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts constituted the model for this seminary, which aspired to three main objectives under the leadership of female missionaries and educators such as Caroline Borden, who was the mentor of Mary Mills Patrick. Barbara Reeves-Ellington summarizes the functions of the school as follows:

> The institution was to be the centre of women's missionary operations in Istanbul and its hinterland. Second, missionaries aimed to bring Protestantism to the Ottoman Empire through the domestic sphere. Third, the building was a living space for the single women missionaries who worked there, a place where they could enjoy a sense of family, nurture their ambitions, and manage their affairs (Reeves-Ellington 57).

Therefore, the first cohort of its students were Armenian girls who were trained to be "wives and teachers." This limited gender role defined by the male-dominated administration of the ABCFM was a projection of the underlying Evangelization or Americanization conflict within the organization (58–59). When the number of women in the ABCFM reached 63% by 1915, the situation changed. Borden and her supporters refused the subordinate role attributed to them, even though they still operated within the ABCFM (Childress 554). Despite the dangers of travelling to distant corners of the world, the ABCFM allowed them with a platform to identify themselves as women professionals, which is what Patrick did, thereby offering much more than the cult of domesticity did in the United States. However, the pressures did not cease as Patrick recalls in her memoir. When asked whether she was a missionary or an educator, she drew harsh criticism because she answered by choosing the latter (*A Bosporus Adventure* 90).

The student body of the school represented the multiethnic composition of Ottoman society with Bulgarian, Greek, Armenian, Albanian, French, English, and American

students. It even managed to attract a few Turkish students by 1908, before which the education of Muslim children in non-Muslim institutions was forbidden (*A Bosporus Adventure* 229–243). The first Turkish graduate of the school was Gülistan İsmet, who became a journalist and an advocate of women's rights even before the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 (Frierson 149–154). Nazlı Halid was another example of these girls, yet her story demonstrates two important aspects in the education of young Ottoman women. First, their families were from the upper echelons of society. İsmet's mother, Hüsnügül Hanım, for example, was one of the servant girls in the palace of Abdülaziz, and these girls were known for their education that their service in the palace necessitated. Moreover, İsmet's father, General Tevfik Bey was a progressive who placed a great deal of importance on women's education. On the other hand, it was not an easy decision for parents to send their children to non-Muslim schools, especially considering their social proximity to the palace. Nazlı Halid's father faced oppression due to this choice, yet after temporarily removing her from the school, he decided to re-enroll her. Before Halid's graduation, the Young Turk Revolution took place in 1908 (*A Bosporus Adventure* 230–231). In brief, the first Turkish graduates of these schools were from families that represented the progressive strands of the Ottoman bureaucracy and army, which eventually participated in or supported the revolution that deposed Abdülhamid II in 1908. Both İsmet and Halid, after their graduation, married members of the CUP, mainly formed by the progressive officers and bureaucrats commonly called the Young Turks.

According to Patrick's autobiographies, modern education, feminism, internationalism, and democracy were included in the curriculum of the college. The students were also taught the subjects of a modern secular education such as physics and algebra as early as 1875, the year when Patrick joined the group of educators at the Constantinople Home (*A Bosporus Adventure* 36–37). Additionally, the school hosted a student government, which emphasized "independence of action by the students" in order to "prepare" the young women "for woman suffrage in Turkey and in many countries of the Balkan Peninsula" (98). Clearly, the school administration intended to teach the basic concepts of modern democracy such as universal suffrage, self-government, and freedom of expression. In

terms of democracy and internationalism, the school had a non-sectarian character, in contrast with the other ABCFM schools, and was intended for students from any ethnic origins and faith, even if it still conserved its Christian characteristics (Reeves-Ellington 58). One of the educators of the college, Eleanor Irene Burns, stated that this education model prepared the alumnae to be "self-confident, self-directed women, who were lifelong learners" (Childress 566). In more general terms, Samuel T. Dutton, the treasurer of the college, summarized the goals of education as "first, to minister and to nourish the higher life of the people; second, to improve and uplift the common life; and third, to stimulate and develop the industry and commerce of the nation" (Dutton 345). Therefore, the school was preparing future leaders and trailblazers of modernization in a comprehensive philosophy of teaching, envisaging the fundamental role of educational reforms as well as industrialization and democratization based on the American model. In other words, the debate of Evangelization or Americanization, which was almost a century old when the Constantinople Woman's College was founded, concluded, once again, with the triumph of the latter.

After the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence, the graduates of American schools constituted an emerging class of technocrats that the republic needed to implement its reforms and some of them even joined the ranks of the Nationalist Movement. Among the graduates of the Constantinople Woman's College were authors, educators, artists, journalists, bureaucrats, healthcare specialists, archeologists, economists, lawyers, and engineers—professions that were not open to women during the Ottoman Empire (Childress 562; Acun 436–440). Even if some of them did not survive the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, it did not mean the end for these schools because their graduates carried their ideological and educational message with them all over the world. In this regard, the alumnae of the Constantinople Woman's College played an essential role as representatives of the new women that reformed the Ottoman Empire into a modern republic and nation-state. Every representation of the Ottoman Empire in the West, from Pierre Loti's novels to Lady Montagu's letters and Charles Macfarlane's surveys, was concerned with the image of the

Ottoman women and their social, political, and cultural positions in the deeply patriarchal social system of the empire. In these narratives, Ottoman women were usually passive victims living the life of a captive in their harems, hardly coping with spiritual and educational deprivation despite their relative material wealth. Even if these representations involved Orientalist exaggerations, they also had an element of truth; for instance, the institution of polygamy was a source of embarrassment for many Turkish women. Therefore, representatives of the new woman in Turkey were disturbed by the prevailing image of the victim who was incapable of helping herself and by the Orientalist harem, with its hypersexuality and hedonism.

Literature and journalism, therefore, became an attractive field for the graduates of the Constantinople Woman's College, even among its first graduates like Gülistan İsmet, and this trend did not change in the twentieth century. The model graduate of the school nominated by Mary Mills Patrick in her works was Halide Edib, a journalist, political activist, lecturer, and novelist, all of which were a consequence of Edib's desire to educate and lead the public toward modernization. Her Turkish works are canonized among the classics of Turkish literature today, yet she also published works in the English language to reconstruct the image of Ottoman society and particularly Ottoman women into an image of modernized and reformed citizens of a nation-state that suffered during its transition. In other words, by redefining the new woman, she was constructing a new national identity while dealing with the past through different rhetorical strategies. In this process, the image of the new Turkish woman transformed into the representation of a reformed Turkey. Furthermore, Halide Edib's works point at three important and related points. Her works indicate that the ideals that were promoted by the Constantinople Woman's College resonated throughout her political and literary career. Secondly, she was not alone in that sense; others like Selma Ekrem and İsmet Şanlı followed in her footsteps in America. Thus, Edib was not an aberration in history, but the representative of a social group: the reformist Turkish women representing a society in transition. This group had its past, as exemplified by Gülistan İsmet and Nazlı Halid, and its future, with Ekrem and Şanlı. Finally, the question of teaching the English language in American

schools had a more dramatic effect on the course of history than Hamlin and Anderson could have ever imaged. Teaching English catalyzed the flow of information from the West to the East, and then vice versa. A century later, writers like Edib, Ekrem, and Şanlı would create a new discourse in America, while contributing the first examples of Turkish American literature and making the playing field more level by creating a Turkish discourse in America. Ironically, like the ABCFM, this journey would involve a network of bureaucrats, politicians, and other significant figures, all of whom would help transform the image of the Turk in twentieth-century America.

1.5. CONCLUSION

As this chapter argued, the ABCFM went through major transformations over the nineteenth century that affected Turks and their image in America. First, it became an overseas organization after the Indian Removal Act of 1830, and the Middle East gradually began drawing more attention, which meant the flow of people and money to this region. This influx of resources provided more flexibility to the missionaries to explore better methods of interaction to gain local support. Soon, schools and hospitals started appearing next to churches and printing presses. However, a close reading of the works written by the founders of Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College provides insight to their histories that reveals a transition toward a more secular ideology that recognized social transformation, under the name of modernization, a prerequisite of religious salvation. In fact, the religious aspect of the ABCFM mission almost entirely disappeared in Mary Mills Patrick's autobiographical accounts. In 1924, when she published *Under Five Sultans*, five years before *A Bosporus Adventure*, almost anything that represented the ancient regime had been erased, the Ottoman Empire and its social system had collapsed, the new nation-states of Europe were in search of new ideologies to reform themselves, and religion and traditions could not answer these modern demands.

At first glance, this could have been an end to these American schools. Yet, these institutions and the ideals they represented survived by adapting to the changing times. In fact, tracing the histories of their alumni reveals that they were influential in the reforms taking place in the new republic. Most of the Turkish writers who wrote for American readers were, in fact, graduates of these schools. These schools owed their success mainly to the vision of their founders who saw teaching modern social values, and not just scientific subjects or religious morality, as part of their heritage. Students learned about citizenship, voting, individual rights, freedoms, debating, and many other practices that are seen as defining features of a modern democracy.

If taken as an example, Halide Edib's autobiographies display that in spite of her allegiance to the Nationalist Movement and later to the Republic of Turkey, she did not acquiesce to the military and political authority once she was convinced it contradicted her ideals. Other women, like Gülistan İsmet and Nazlı Halid, advocated women's rights and equality, married reformists that deposed the sultan in 1908, and participated in their party activities. Perhaps the most striking example is Latife Uşaklıgil, famously known as Latife Hanım due to a brief marriage with Mustafa Kemal. She was also a graduate of the Constantinople Woman's College and was a popular face in the leading American dailies, referred to as the image of the reformed modern republic, a new woman who even outshone her husband's popularity at one point (Tunç 64–77). Moreover, these women did not remain on the margins of history. They were employed in the bureaucracy of the the republic, most importantly in its foreign service. They promoted themselves as the new face of Turkey as a modern republic, and also decided what new Turkey meant. Thus, the education that they received granted them enormous agency in the reconstruction of the image of the Turk in America and beyond.

Even if Robert College almost constituted the monopoly on English language learning at that time, there were other options for Muslim boys such as the imperial schools that were founded in the nineteenth century. Yet, for women, this was not even an option. Home schooling with tutors was the way the girls of elite Muslim families received their education, just like Edib and Ekrem also did in their youth, but the extra-curricular

subjects that the Constantinople Woman's College taught about democracy and modernity in practice were simply impossible for them without such an institution. The impotent dialectic of Evangelization and Americanization within the ABCFM gave way to an unexpected result, providing a means for the younger generation of Muslim-Ottomans to equip themselves with the contemporary thoughts of their era, when they would need them the most. However, the next chapter will reveal, they still needed to communicate this to the rest of the world.

CHAPTER 2
THE TURK SPEAKS TO AMERICANS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY TURKISH WRITERS PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES

When Mary Mills Patrick's readers opened the cover of *Under Five Sultans* in 1924, they saw a young women's photograph taken from the side profile, showing a solemn but also resolute face with a short modern hair cut in a modern dress. The caption under this photograph of young Halide Edib introduced her as "Bachelor of Arts, Constantinople Woman's College, Author, Educator, Statesman." This trope of the reformed and educated new Turkish woman was to become one of the main elements in the emerging discourse and Patrick was one of its first promoters (Goffman 108). It must have been a contributing element in gaining Patrick's appreciation that Edib, both in her activism and writing, was the flagbearer of modern ideals and women's rights throughout her career. Taking her fame beyond the borders of Turkey, she published a memoir, *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (1923), on her life, and her second memoir, *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928), dealt with her experiences as a member of the Turkish Nationalist Army during the Turkish War of Independence from 1919 to 1923. She also published two more works on Turkey as *Turkey Faces West* (1930), which is a compilation of lectures that she delivered at the Institute of Politics in Williamstown, Massachusetts, and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935), consisting of seven other lectures on the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into Turkey (*Conflict of East and West in Turkey* 224–247).

However, Halide Edib was not the only example of Ottoman, or more precisely post-Ottoman, writers who desired to use their writing skills to make their voice heard in the United States. Rather than being a timeless and impertinent subject, she was an author who functioned in a continuum of progress; namely the transformation of the Ottoman subject into an ethnonational Turk in a dialogical network that reformed the image of the Turk in the United States. A study of her related works demonstrates that social constructs, such as the image of the Turk in America, was an evolving, rather than static, structure

that changed in time and space. Therefore, her works represent the politicization of early Turkish writers in the West. Her political motives were directly related to her content; she basically searches for a new identity for the Turk while trying to dispel its negative image in the United States. This was a lofty goal since even within the Ottoman Empire, the Turk was used as a pejorative term to identify Turkish speaking Muslim populations in rural areas. Hence, Edib's agenda was not to disprove, or if possible correct, their Oriental image, but to completely reconstruct that identity into a new one with its own connotations of secularism, nationalism, and progress (Lewis 264–267).

There were also other post-Ottoman works published in the United States during the same period that garnered a certain degree of popularity. Ahmed Sabri's *When I Was a Boy in Turkey* and Selma Ekrem's *Unveiled* reveal different aspects of this emerging discourse. For example, at the time when Edib and Sabri experienced the havoc that the Balkan Wars and the First World War brought to the Ottoman Empire, firsthand, as active participants in the war effort, Ekrem was a young schoolgirl in her parents' house in İstanbul. For Ekrem, the war meant the loss of certain commodities like white bread or newer shoes, yet she did not face the naked reality of death and destruction, like Edib and Sabri. Edib, on the other hand, observed the victims of the war before their ruined homes and befriended individuals whom later she learned were killed. The social tragedy, the ordeal, which she symbolically related to the birth of a nation, was a striking reality that riveted her nationalism. Both Sabri and Edib also actively sought their political sovereignty, not only against imperial forces invading their country, but also their own government. Edib refused to accept the official narrative of the new regime after the war because she was dreaming of a parliamentary democracy, not a totalitarian one-party regime. She recreated the founding myth of the new republic as a more pluralist and democratic narrative in her memoirs.

Sabri, on the other hand, refused to carry out an order as an officer that contradicted his individual values. His story was an act of resistance to preserve his dignity, which caused him to be labeled a traitor and led to his exile. He becomes an example for "righteous Turks" who refused to take part in the crimes of the CUP regime in 1915, suggesting that

there was opposition among the Muslim population against the regime (Gerçek 13–27). Therefore, his story also defies stereotypes, including the negative image of the Turk constructed by the individuals like the ones examined in the previous chapter and now held by many American readers. Compared to Edib's and Sabri's narratives, Ekrem's stories are expectedly constrained within the domestic sphere from the perspective of a child, and oftentimes, her memories and her parents' recollections are blended in together. Most importantly, reading this autobiographical writing reveals another perspective that was usually lost in the official narrative of the new Turkish nation-state.

Collectively, the characters in their tales formed a representation of Ottoman society, with individuals seeking a means to restore meaning in their lives in the face of devastating destruction. Therefore, these writers' attempts at redefining the Turk in America is also a form of resistance that reclaims their individuality in opposition to crushing generalizations and stereotypes. In this sense, the act of writing was their attempt to resist not only oppression in America, but also in Turkey. Ekrem's stories, for example, show that she and her family members had complete lives that were similar to those of her American readers; thus, these writers attempted to establish empathy with their readers. They also represent a challenge to the discontinuity narrative of the republic that was grounded in a complete rupture from the Ottoman past. In fact, these writers saw the republic as a step in an ongoing continuum of progress. Sabri, for instance, states that democracy could only come to Turkey with the education of its people, as Edib also does in her books. Thus, he defines the founding of the republic not as the end of progress, but as a stage on the way to complete democracy (Sabri 183). Therefore, the reconstruction of Turkish identity also meant finding new ways of reconciling with the past. They criticized the Ottoman Empire in certain ways, particularly state oppression and Islamic fundamentalism; yet, they also did not yield to the dictates of grand narratives.

The issue of voice also needs to be addressed before moving on to a more detailed analysis since it has multiple consequences. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, in her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?," offers a critique of the works and methods given by popular theorists of the second half of the twentieth century, mainly the so-called French poststructuralists

like Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze, and Althusser. She says these authors could not grasp the significance of the individual as an independent and unique subject due to their instinct to attribute any result of empiricist analysis a universal quality and their hesitation to confront the ideologies and impulses of individuals as "sovereign subjects" (Spivak 21–37). As a consequence, their theories constituted another form of "hegemony," despite their attempts to capture counterhegemonic practices in their works. It is, therefore, important to recognize writing as an act of claiming individual sovereignty and agency, a necessity prior to establishing authority both as an author and a human being (Smith and Watson 152).

Hence, the writers discussed in this chapter should be regarded as individuals engaged in a counterhegemonic act when they demand recognition as individuals with their own rightful agency. Thus, this very same act, which involved self-construction as a form of resistance against grand narratives, was tangential to the reconstruction of Turk in America because they concomitantly contrasted the stereotype of "the Terrible Turk." It is also equally significant that their resistance was not only limited to the American context. Their individual histories contrast with the official narratives of both the imperial and later the republican governments of Turkey. In brief, these writers represent the struggle of the individual against the increasing power of the state apparatus, which was not limited to America or Turkey in that era.

As this chapter will argue, their task to reconstruct the Turk in America was not an easy one. Negative attitudes toward Muslim Ottomans, falsely generalized as Turks, dominated the early twentieth-century United States. For instance, according to a 1932 study conducted with one hundred students at Princeton University, the three most commonly used adjectives in describing Turks were "cruel," "very religious," and "treacherous," and they were followed by "sensual," "physically dirty," "deceitful," "sly," "quarrelsome," "revengeful," and finally "superstitious" (qtd. in McCarthy 288). This study, originally published by Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly, also found that the students participating in the survey agreed on simplistic descriptions and generalizations about Turks and people of color, but they held a range of views regarding other populations like

the Irish and English. Katz and Braly concluded that the lower level of agreement regarding the latter groups was a consequence of their proximity to members of those groups, while their views on Turks and people of color reified stereotypes because they were "less well known" to them (Katz and Braly 289). Interestingly, they concluded that the publication of a wider range of textual materials, especially by Turks themselves, could promote a better image of the Turk in the United States because they had the potential to provide a more complete picture of this group.

In another incident, Ahmed Emin Yalman, who was a student at Columbia University in 1911, recounts that when he and his Turkish friend went to visit a nearby town on the coast of Maine during a short holiday, residents of the town changed their locks and prepared the jail because "Turks were coming" (qtd. in Grabowski 85). Propaganda concerning the Armenian question in the Ottoman Empire, which continued to be circulated by members of the diaspora in the United States during the interwar years and beyond, certainly did not help matters. Armenian Americans were generally against the reestablishment of Turkish-American relations and the recognition of the Republic of Turkey by the United States in the aftermath of the First World War. Meanwhile, works by their allies, such as former Ambassador of the United States to the Ottoman Empire Henry Morgenthau, or earlier works like Frederick Davis Greene's books continued to reinforce this negative image (Daniel 254; Trask 43–44). Around the same time, the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924 passed, limiting German immigration to 51,227 individuals, 34,007 British, and only 100 Turks ("Who Was Shut Out?"). The Turk was unwelcome and unwanted in America and the rest of the West—a huge obstacle for Turkish writers attempting to reconstruct the image of the Turk in the United States.

2.1. THE MOTHER OF THE TURK

Organized in Geneva in 1910, the Türk Yurdu (the Turkish Hearth)[7] was a nationalist organization founded by Turkish students, and it granted the title "The Mother of the Turk" to Halide Edib for her contributions to the nationalist literature emerging among Turkish speaking Muslim Ottomans, among which *Yeni Turan* (1912) stood out in this sense (*Memoirs of Halide Edib* 321). Edib, therefore, played a very important role in the formation of the Turkish nation as a distinct identity during this era, and perhaps more importantly, the status of motherhood indicates that her contemporaries were conscious of the fact that the Turk was not an eternal conception, but a construct, recreated, or metaphorically delivered, by individuals like Edib. She was deeply inspired by the ideology of another nationalist writer, Ziya Gökalp, and defined the Turkish nation based on language with these words:

> Turkish nationalism unconsciously and culturally began with the simplification of the language long before 1908. But it was a movement belonging distinctly to the Ottoman Turks. In writings of Riza Tewfik and Mehemmed Emin, who first began to use the Turkish meter in poetry and to adopt simple language of the Anatolian Turk, one saw that they felt clearly the difference of the Ottoman Turk from the other Turks in general. Nationally analyzed, the Ottoman Turk appears entirely different. He came to the Near East and Europe, and there he acquired in his blood and in his language, as well as in every particle of his ego, something new, something special (313–314).

Hence, in Edib's opinion, the Turk is defined by their language, based on the Anatolian dialect of Turkish, and by its Middle Eastern and European origins, which set it apart from other Turkish peoples living in various territories of Asia. However, another, and perhaps the most important, point is that Edib creates a distinctive identity, separate from multicultural, multilingual, and multiethnic Ottoman identity. While constructing the new Turk, she also problematizes the Ottoman past, and particularly Ottoman civil law, which

[7] There were different organizations founded with the same name around the same time. Halide Edib states that another Türk Yurdu was founded by "older research students," and that the Türk Yurdu in İstanbul "soon followed the example" of these earlier organizations in 1911. In addition to Halide Edib, prominent figures of the early Turkish Nationalist Movement were included among the members of these organizations such as Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, and Rıza Tevfik.

permitted polygamy that defiled the family institution—the most basic component of the social structure according to the emerging nation-state's definition of society. Consequently, it becomes one of the main targets of her criticism. Moreover, Edib strategically writes her memoir in the English language to introduce this new definition of the Turk to her Anglophone audience, including Americans, thus directly reconstructing the image of the Turk in the United States.

In her memoirs, Edib also demonstrates her skills as a writer by playing with narrative tools. For example, her narration begins with the third-person point of view and progresses to the first-person point of view as she says that it is only after she reaches a certain age that she gains self-awareness. Therefore, as an author, she is quite conscious of the difference between the narrating and the narrated self, and she chooses her material with this sensitivity and skill in writing. Narrating her childhood becomes a useful tool because she takes the reader into the domestic sphere of an Ottoman family, the infamous harem. Again, demonstrating her awareness of her material, Edib says on the issue of the harem that "although this dramatic introduction to polygamy may seem to promise the sugared life of harems pictured in 'Haremlik' of Mrs. Kenneth Brown, it was not so in the least" (144). Hence, Edib openly says that there was nothing "sugared" about the harem in contrast to the nostalgia in Demetra Vaka's depictions.[8] For Edib, the main problem was the tradition of polygamy that she defined as "a curse, as a poison which our unhappy household could never throw out of its system" (her father's polygamy eventually caused conflicts and divisions among the members of her external family) (174). By adopting a form of narrated self that is too young to be consciously aware of the events taking place around her, Edib's narrating self-redefines the past from a certain perspective with her intention to reveal the great malice of the institution of harem and polygamy. She also

[8] Demetra Vaka Brown, also known as Mrs. Kenneth Brown (her American husband's name), published multiple works during the same era in the United States, but in a much different vein. She adapted her stories of the harem by deploying a nostalgia for the Ottoman past and accentuating her Oriental identity to appeal to American audiences (Lewis 259–262). This Orientalist nostalgia, Reina Lewis argues, originated from an Occidental fantasy that emerged as a result of the restrictions on sexuality that western modernity required, and was thus quite marketable in the West (146–148, 253). Clearly, Edib did not agree with this writing strategy and criticizes it harshly in her own work.

transforms the harem from an exotic image, used by the editors and writers like Grace Ellison and Demetra Vaka, into reality, directly engaging with the fierce debate about which elements of Ottoman heritage should be erased through the political reforms of the new republic.

Thus, feminism, and more specifically women's emancipation, is an overarching theme in Edib's memoirs (59–60). In this sense, the underlying problem concerning polygamy is of a social, and not necessarily religious, nature because it represents the oppression of women in the Ottoman Empire, as well as the decay of the social structure by destroying its most essential constituent, the family. Therefore, women's problems are not personal, but also political, and it is the writer's duty to attend to this issue. On that note, in her memoirs, Edib describes her utopia, which she had made public in her *Yeni Turan*, as follows:

> The book is a political and national Utopia, but not so far away from possibilities as one may suppose a Utopia to be. It looks forward to a New Turkey where a chastised and matured Union and Progress has taken the reins of power, where women have the vote, and where women work with the qualities of head and heart which characterize the best Turkish women. The simplicity and the austerity of their lives have become different since the magnificent days of the Ottomans, with the unhealthy luxury and parasitic tendencies of a class of women which only a high but degenerate civilization like the Ottoman crates. The highest ideal is work and simplicity. There is not only a Turkey that is nationalized in its culture, but there is also a Turkey that is liberal and democratic in politics. Above all, there is no chauvinism in the administrative system. The book, which has the usual love-story, has not much pretension to art, but it's practically worked out ideals will, I firmly believe, be at least partly realized (332).

Women's emancipation is thus a political concern and much more comprehensive than the issue of polygamy since it involves suffrage, equality at work, and intellectual pursuits—all topics with which western feminists could relate.

However, Edib's feminism had its own limitations imposed by her own ideological stance. Being a nationalist, she defines proper feminism as being "within the bounds of usefulness and philanthropy." To explain the activities of the "first women's club" called Taali-Nisvan, which she formed "with some teachers and some educated Turkish

women," Edib states "we tried to maintain a quiet tone, avoiding propaganda, which becomes so ugly and loud and offers such an easy way to fame for any one who can make sufficient noise." The agenda of their discussions mainly focused on "Turkish, domestic science, and the bringing up of children" (334–335). Hence, Edib's feminism paralleled the state feminism that the CUP regime, and later the republic, promoted—a domestic feminism that emphasized the traditional roles of women as wives and mothers and as the educated women of the new nation who would, in turn, educate future Turkish citizens (akin to Judith Sargent Murray's conceptualization of Republican Motherhood, through civic virtue, during the turn of the nineteenth century).

Furthermore, these were not the only limitations in Edib's narrative, as she magnifies and obscures certain details. For example, her relationship with Patrick that continued after her school years, and the role of the Constantinople Woman's College in the development of her feminist ideals are among the obscured details. Her advocacy of an American mandate during the First World War years is also absent. She suffices by saying that the college had a "liberating effect" on her by allowing her to escape from the troubles of her broken family (190–198). On the other hand, other details such as her educators and family members, like her father's third wife who fostered Edib for a while together with her grandmother, are overstated with an emphasis on her introduction to Turkish-Islamic literature (115–141). By this means, Edib creates the impression that her ideas were a consequence of a synthesis of the East and the West. This synthesis plays an important role in her narrative because while describing their impact on her ideology, she also defines New Turkey as involving a similar combination. Therefore, she foregrounds her self-image as a representative of the new Turkish nation-state, emerging out of the synthesis between the Orient and the Occident.

In this sense, the representation of Turks assumes an important role in Edib's narrative, allowing her to engage in criticism of other contemporary works. She refers to Andre N. Mandelstam's work *Le Sort de l'Empire Ottoman* (1917) which was known for its biased accusations against the Ottoman Empire. The importance of Mandelstam's work for Edib was that it made her realize "for the first time the incurable narrowness and one-sidedness

of the European mind of those days concerning" her country and its people. According to her, it was mainly a result of the fact that Mandelstam not only gathered an impressive amount of data, but also twisted it, when necessary, to support his argument that "the Ottoman Empire must be torn to pieces, and the Turks must not be considered as ordinary human beings, and the Young Turks are ordinary criminals, having massacred Armenians" (377–378). In response, Edib devotes the final chapters of her memoir to her educational activities in Syria, which involved Armenian orphans. Edib claims that when she questioned Cemal Pasha's decision to give Muslim names to Armenian children, she received this answer:

> "You are an idealist," he answered gravely, "and like all idealists lack a sense of reality. Do you believe that by turning a few hundred Armenian boys and girls Moslem I think I benefit my race? You have seen the Armenian orphanages in Damascus run by Armenians. There is no more room in those; there is no more money to open another Armenian orphanage. This is a Moslem orphanage, and only Moslem orphans are allowed. I send to this institution any wandering waif who passes into Syria from the regions where the tragedy took place. The Turks and the Kurds have that orphanage. When I hear of wandering and starving children, I send them to Aintoura. I have to keep them alive. I do not care how. I cannot bear to see them die in the streets (429).

Edib agrees that the orphanage was in "a state of incredible filth and misery," but does not mention any case of torture or mistreatment (442). Instead, she celebrates how the conditions improved in the orphanage, as she "saw sturdy legs and chubby faces" and "often heard laughter and sounds of gaiety" (449). Bayard Dodge, the son of Cleveland Hoadley Dodge and the son-in-law of Howard Bliss, the President of Syria Protestant College, also confirms this progress after the arrival of Halide Edib in his own accounts (Deringil para. 41). Consequently, this part of Edib's memoir serves as a corrective to biased representations of the Turk, confronting accusations concerning Armenians by providing an albeit very limited first-hand account, one of the main motives of her writing.

Her second memoir, *The Turkish Ordeal*, is mainly the result of this agenda to represent the Turk. However, ironically, the task of challenging and correcting the biased narratives of the West led Edib to do the very same thing against the emerging official narrative of

the newly founded Republic of Turkey. After a tense conversation with Mustafa Kemal, the leader of the Turkish Nationalist Movement during the Turkish War of Independence and the first president of the republic, and a series of observations that she shares with the reader regarding Kemal's tendency to despotism, Halide Edib says she decided to write the memoir for the following reasons:

> So I decided to do something else which was then taking shape in my mind. I would try to recreate that period of Turkish history by preserving a faithful record of my experiences during that great ordeal. I would try to tell the story of Turkey as simply and honestly as a child, that the world might some day read it – not as a historical record nor as a political treatise, but as a human document about men and women alive during my own lifetime; and I would write it in a language far better fitted to reach the world than my own. It was that very night, as I lay in bed after the scene with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, that I determined to write my Memoirs and to write them in English. (*The Turkish Ordeal* 190).

Through these words, Edib clarifies more than one essential point regarding her works. First of all, she writes for an international audience; hence, her preference for English as her writing language. Her language preference is related to her main motivation for writing since she wants to "recreate" and "record" "the story of Turkey" but also knew well that she could not publish anything in Turkish while contradicting the official history of Turkey. It is interesting to note that the use of the English language also had a liberating effect on her work because she could recreate the official narrative without facing any pressure as her book was published abroad. However, there is also a linguistic paradox between the verbs "recreate" and "record," meaning that the act of recording largely involves a passive agent who has little power over what is recorded and what is forgotten. On the other hand, the act of recreation involves a much more active agent that is actively redefining and redescribing the material. Edib naturally leans more toward the latter by developing a narrative with the agenda of challenging other dominant narratives of the war in order to shift the focus from the leaders to the people.

Using this approach, Edib recreates the history of Turkey and its people from a specific perspective—as a traumatic transition toward a democratic and pluralist government. Consequently, Edib challenges the Orientalist narratives regarding Turks as well as the

hegemonic official narrative of the Republic of Turkey, mainly based on Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk*. Hülya Adak argues that in *The Turkish Ordeal*, Edib refutes Kemal's reconstruction of Turkish history from a self-centered perspective that aggrandized his role as the founder and the leader of the republic, which meant diminishing the role of other actors ("National Myths and Self- Na(rra)tions" 514–515). As a solution, Edib rewrites the history of the movement as a collective and ground-up effort by focusing on lower ranked officers, like Lieutenant-Colonel Nazım, or the ordinary people of Anatolia, informing readers that they actually performed the crucial tasks and made the revolution possible, not their elite leaders (*The Turkish Ordeal* 369). Edib also knew this narrative could win her more support in the United States because Americans could draw analogies between the American Revolution and the Turkish War of Independence, as two people's movements to achieve their freedom.

Consequently, the refusal of the myth of the sole hero (Mustafa Kemal) was not the only major aspect of Edib's narrative. Already having been one of the leading journalists of the era before the First World War, she was a seasoned reporter who was quite aware of the power of journalism. Therefore, one of her first tasks when she arrived at the headquarters of the Nationalist Movement was the establishment of the Anatolian Agency with the support of Yusuf Nadi (123). Proving that she was quite aware of her target readers' values and culture, she did not hesitate to use familiar motifs and figures to attract readers. For example, despite her criticism of his political means and ends, she explains how she sees Mustafa Kemal as the Turkish George Washington, a figure that is familiar and relatable to her American readers (though an analogy that would be problematic to Turkish audiences) (142). She comments on Mustafa Kemal's words regarding western powers as follows:

> "They shall know that we are as good as they are! They shall treat us as their equal! Never will we bow our heads to them! To our last man we will stand against them till we break their civilization on their heads!" Rhetorical as this may sound to-day, the "we" and the "us" had some meaning then, though he may have been unconscious of it. It was as if the whole East were crying out in his voice (149).

As the Turkish ordeal becomes the revolution of the East against the West, Edib constructs her new theme by creating a metaphor of unity symbolizing solidarity and equality among the members of the movement:

> I sat by the wayside and ate my bread at noon under a tree. The somber hosts marched down the wide slopes in front of me in an incessant stream. Myriads of gold atoms formed a dust cloud which rose as high as the sun and enveloped the masses. The faces were all covered with dust masks, and by some freak of the light the dust masks had become colored–violet, gold red, green. I gasped at the picture. The silent harmony of the moving throngs–men, transport, animals, even artillery–on the wilds had turned itself into one gigantic Face or Soul for me–that of a People marching toward deliverance. And as I looked through the golden cloud I became aware that my own face was identical with theirs–coated with dust, masked in color, the edges of my lashes glistening with ruby-violet rays. "Oh woman with the colored face," I said to myself, "thou shalt henceforth march with other colored faces, thou shalt be where thou belongest–in the saddle or on foot, thou shalt be among them." And I was (362–363).

In brief, the theme of unity and solidarity becomes the connecting knot between all of the themes of the book. The demand for a more egalitarian narrative of the war, for example, is also an outcome of Edib's emphasis on the fact that the movement achieved success due to the collective suffering of its members, rather than the heroism of a single leader. Moreover, the resistance of the Turkish people against the Allied invasion becomes a demand for justice on behalf of not only their people, but the all victims of western imperialism, so the ordeal becomes a sacred act of the Turkish people as a distinct ethnonational group.

Halide Edib's devotion to defining the Turk and reconstructing its image in America reaches its maturity in the series of lectures she gave at the Institute of Politics in Williamstown, Massachusetts. Compiled in a book entitled *Turkey Faces West* (1930), these lectures demonstrate that Edib was finally able to decide on the minute details of the new Turk's characteristics. She begins by saying that "the Turks belong to the Turanian family. One trait characterizes the peoples of Turanian origin—a grim realism and objectivity," in contrast to the bias about Turks being superstitious and sentimental as expressed by Princeton students in 1932 (*Turkey Faces West* 1). Furthermore, she draws a thick demarcation line between Ottomans and Turks by defining the former as an

imperialist ruling class that had adopted the culture of Middle Eastern civilizations, mainly by combining Byzantine and Islamic cultures. Within this duality, the "real" Turk becomes the rural people of Anatolia who were despised and subjugated by the Ottomans (29–30).

Edib continues to provide proof of the Turk's reformation when she says that "For to reach these ideals of the European spirit and mind Turkey's best children have left behind them, within the last century, a trail of martyrdom and suffering" (247). Edib concludes her examination of the origins of the Turks with a discussion of their future. According to her, Turkey is searching for its place in the world, divided between the Communist East and the Capitalist West. She claims that the Turk has its future in the West because of the technical assistance and capital needed to reform Turkey, meaning the Turanian realism would push the Turk to the West whether it wanted it or not (259–260). Sensing the consequences of a bipolar world, Edib introduces another area of discussion regarding Turkey and Turks in America—one that would become very popular in the discourse of Turkish writers and lecturers after the Second World War, during the Cold War years. Her successors would echo her arguments in their attempts to represent Turkey as a western-oriented country with its westernized people who sought protection against Soviet expansionism. However, Edib was not the only Turkish writer who defined the Turk as a separate identity from the Ottoman and recreated the past from this perspective. There were others, like Ahmet Sabri and Selma Ekrem, who emerged on the scene with relative success, even if their popularity was minuscule compared to Edib's colossal renown.

Unfortunately, very little reader response exists for the authors examined in this dissertation, with two exceptions, Halide Edib and later Selma Ekrem, indicating just how popular they were at the time, even among American audiences. The fact that their works elicited response also suggests that their authorial efforts had the greatest chance of reshaping the image of the Turk in America when compared to their contemporaries. Nevertheless, some of the criticism concerning Edib was quite harsh, which undoubtedly affected her overarching project of reconstructing the Turk in the United States. Following the publication of *The Turkish Ordeal*, American journalist and travel writer

William Buehler Seabrook emerged as a major detractor, accusing her of glorifying her own image, seeing "herself as a sort of super Joan of Arc." Moreover, he was not convinced about the new republican government of Turkey, which he blamed for destroying "Turkish traditions, ideals, customs and beliefs" in order to transform Turks into "a young American Rotarian or a young German business man as his racial and heredity differences will permit" ("Turkish Joan"). Nevertheless, in *The New York Times*, Clarence K. Streit praised the book as "one of the most significant developments in modern history told by a woman who was one of the outstanding leaders in it" in a review that also celebrated the victory of the Turkish Nationalist Movement and the ongoing reforms of the Turkish government under Mustafa Kemal ("Halidé Hanum Recites the Epic of Turkey's Revival"). Unlike Seabrook, Streit realized Edib's desire to foreground the efforts of the Turkish people in the story of their independence, and her larger goal of voicing the Turk, in America, from their own perspective.

2.2. THE TURK AS A SOVEREIGN CITIZEN

Ahmed Sabri, whose memoir *When I Was a Boy in Turkey* was published in the United States almost at the same time as Edib's memoirs, is another representative of this generation of late Ottoman/early republican writers who sought a new identity abroad, specifically in America. Like Edib, Sabri was also from an elite family located in Adramyti (Edremit in modern Turkey), but from a rural background (Sabri 10). Nevertheless, he received a decent education for his era because of his family's economic and political power, which eventually led him to study at Mekteb-i Sultani, a high school in Brussa (Bursa in modern Turkey) (124–126). In this school, Sabri recalls taking lessons on modern subjects including physics, mathematics, and chemistry, a variety of western and eastern languages, and Islamic law from the teaching staff, among whom were graduates of the University of Paris, Lucerne, and İstanbul (125–126). In 1913, he continued his education at Mekteb-i Harbiye (the imperial military academy) in İstanbul and was deployed as a second lieutenant under the gendarmerie command during the First World War, which subsequently changed his entire life (131). In many aspects, Sabri's

background is similar to earlier generation of boys from rural Muslim Ottoman elite, like Halil Halid or Ubeydullah Efendi. They went to local schools, learned about modern subjects if they were lucky to be near an urban center, and they pursued governmental jobs in a country that did not have a bourgeois class and private industry in the western sense.

Unlike Edib's works, Sabri's book was targeted toward younger American readers, mainly to teach them about a distant country. As a result, it has a didactic tone, which Sabri also deploys as a teaching moment to correct the negative image of Turkey and Turks in America. Sabri, again just like Edib, targets certain Oriental tropes and reconstructs an Ottoman past with an emphasis on his ethnic origins. Thus, he also shows the same political concerns that were common among these writers, resulting from the social and political changes in the first decade of the twentieth century. That the memories of Sabri mainly focus on his childhood is another common element that he shares, this time with Ekrem. Writing about the Ottoman past required writing about their childhood or teenage years, but it was also a discursive strategy they used to contrast the popular narrative—that Muslim Ottoman life was violent and primitive— with their "reality," an innocent and idyllic past.

For Sabri and Ekrem, the idealization of the past involved the depiction of an egalitarian and multicultural society that also exhibited early forms of crude internationalism. In Sabri's work, all the images of other children such as Zekia, the daughter of their black servant Emina, and the relationship between the members of the household and their servants as a large rural family, rather than a strict relationship between the master and their subservient subjects, suggest a traditional lifestyle that appreciates equality by nature (32–35). It is quite different from the Orientalist images of a Turkish master cruelly dominating everyone around him. Sabri, as the child of the master, interacts with a supposedly subordinate individual, who is black, from a lower social class, and female, without any indication of social segregation defining their relationship. Yet, as an educated person, Sabri must have been aware of the connotations of the African race, domestic servitude, and gender in American society. His romanticization of the past was

meant to create a more democratic picture of the Ottoman Empire compared to contemporary America. Yet, at times, it resembles the romantic paternalist narratives of the antebellum South, with its plantation "families," and peculiar institution of slavery. However, such "Lost Cause" themes were still popular in the United States during the early twentieth century, so it is also possible that Sabri deployed them strategically to appeal to certain segments of the American readership.

Sabri also defines the individual Turk, yet his rural setting affects the qualities he foregrounds. They are naive and simple farmers with humble virtues. In an apologetic tone, Sabri uses these characteristics as an excuse to attribute acts of violence in their history to their leaders, who exploited the naiveté of these simple farmers:

> [At] the base of our society is the farmer, essentially the same throughout the ages, planting his crops with the coming of spring and harvesting them each in its turn in summer and fall. Drought, insect pests, and pillaging soldiers, he bears them all with equal fortitude. He knows they are but temporary while the life-giving soil is of all time. Therefore our people are simple, courageous, patient, credulous, kind-hearted, and generous, as you would expect people living close to mother earth to be. Unfortunately, simpleness and credulity of our people are not without their disadvantages. As I will show you in the last chapter, they have often made our people the tools of selfish and unscrupulous leaders who played upon their passions and stirred them to deeds of cruelty and horror (98–99).

In another part of his book, he defines Turkish shepherds as an example of the positive physical characteristics of this ethnic group. His narration assumes a militarist tone—one that he shares with Edib—as he compares agrarian Turks to soldiers:

> The shepherds are big and powerful men and capable of standing tremendous hardships. They make wonderful soldiers, and it is they who have given the Turkish soldier his reputation for courage, strength, and the ability to endure the extreme thirst, hunger and fatigue which they have been often made to suffer by the incompetence and corruption of their officers (108–109).

In his construction of a distinct Turkish identity, Sabri also historicizes Turks by referring to a pre-Ottoman past (Turanism), which Edib also does in her books (144). This attempt to reconstruct the past by redefining the origin of the narrative is also a reaction to the Orientalist trope of local peoples as timeless and rootless populations unconscious of their

culture and civilization, which is both a result and cause of their primitiveness. Therefore, this argument served as a pretext for the cultural assimilation of the locals as part of the white western man's burden to educate and civilize the colonized.

As expected, Sabri also touches upon the question of polygamy and the harem as part of his reaction to prevailing Oriental images. Sabri underlines that what defines the harem is not hypersexuality but strict gender segregation, which determines everything from the architecture of the buildings to dining habits (128–130). Sabri provides a new perspective on polygamy by pointing out the differences behind the reasons for it among eastern rural and rich urban families, mostly in terms of the different social classes and groups among the Muslim Ottoman population. Accordingly, the prevalence of this tradition among the rural people of the Orient was due to the fact that women and children were seen as part of the agricultural workforce; thus, larger families meant more income. He also adds that polygamy existed because "in Mohammedanism women do not hold the same value in the eyes of Allah as men." So, religion, one of the most important elements of Ottoman society, was the pretext for polygamy, so he also explains why uprooting this tradition would be very difficult (101).

However, Sabri's discussion of polygamy is a strong example of his critical stance, which is found elsewhere in his work. Yet, it is also important to highlight that his depiction of Muslim Ottoman society points to a culturally and economically diverse population with different backgrounds. It differs from Edib's monolithic definition of the Turk that overemphasizes homogeneity and unity. Sabri does not try to carve out one identity for an entire population. He actually argues that one of the main causes of the oppression of non-Muslim population in the Ottoman Empire was this desire to create a homogenous national identity as part of Ottoman westernization (154). The non-Muslim population was seen as an obstacle to a common identity, so they became targets. It is an interesting point because Sabri reverts to the common narrative that claims the fall of the Ottoman Empire happened due to its inability to westernize, but in fact, he claims it was actually the misgovernment of the process of westernization. Nevertheless, Sabri is also just as critical toward western society: "the West do not permit polygamy they allow their

women to work long hours in unhealthy factories, and in some of the most advanced countries they do not have all the political, property, and legal rights that men do" (102). Here, his transnational identity allows him to shift between constructed spaces to question both worlds.

The last two chapters of Sabri's book take a very dramatic turn: he begins talking about his experiences during the First World War. It is again very similar to Edib's narrative, indicating the effect of the war on their lives, and his coming-of-age through war trauma, suddenly rendering his work a trauma narrative. The later chapters focus on a stage of his adulthood shortly after he graduated from the military academy, and criticism defines these chapters. To begin with, he states that the Ottoman Empire was a corrupt and unsuccessful government, defined as "despotism." The main reason was that the Ottoman system was primarily developed to address the needs of a state of war (144–150). In other words, instead of a state of peace, war was defined as the norm—a natural condition of the relationship between the government and people. Through this criticism of the Ottoman mode of thinking, he creates a distance between himself as an individual and the authority represented by the Ottoman central government. Therefore, he also addresses one of the chronic issues of Orientalism, conveying to his readers that in society, every individual is different, and they do not endorse every policy of their government. Rather than apologizing for the mistakes of the government, Sabri emphasizes individualism in the face of the crude generalizations of Orientalism, a result of which was the image of the Terrible Turk in America.

Sabri tells his life story to support his argument. He says that the state ideology of the Ottoman government was an obsession with warfare that made its leaders resort to violence both inside and outside their empire, which he defines as the cause of the "barbarous methods, massacring great numbers of the inhabitants" (150). The Armenian conflict, consequently, plays a critical role in Sabri's identity formation. In this part of his book, he employs a more detailed and specific narration with attention to locations, individuals, and dates because he desires to establish his authority so that he can reconstruct history in parallel with his aim to underscore that not every Muslim Ottoman

was a perpetrator; instead, many tried to stand against it and suffered its consequences. He tells his experiences in Torkat (Tokat in modern Turkey), which was his first location of deployment as a gendarmerie lieutenant under the command of Captain Saadedin Bey in May 1915 (158). The town, located at one of the crossroads of Central Anatolia, was serving as a station during the deportation of the Armenian population to the eastern provinces. As a member of the military command in the region, Sabri finds himself in the middle of the storm, and at one point, his commanding officer Saadedin Bey orders him to execute thirty-three Armenians, which he disobeys. As a result, he is court martialed.

Trialed as a potential traitor, Sabri survives due to his family's reputation but is exiled to multiple posts such as Samsoun (Samsun in modern Turkey) and Marsovan (Merzifon in modern Turkey), where he meets Aristias Ierotheos, the head of the Greek Church in that area. Sabri begins studying the Bible, and he is baptized in Athens, where he arrives after leaving İzmir (158–163). Sabri is therefore in exile in the United States, which is another common point he shares with Edib. Sabri ends his narrative by arguing that education is the only way to overcome the ignorance, prejudice, and intolerance of his former homeland:

> However, if democracy is to function properly, the people must be educated, and until the people of Turkey are educated, her so-called democracy will merely be a sham, the government resting in the hands of the most powerful individual or group of individuals in the state (157).

He repeats his views on the importance of education also on the last page of his book:

> Unfortunately my countrymen have not as yet learned to tolerate among them those of their own kind who think and believe differently from what they do. Towards these they are more intolerant than towards those who are of a different race and nationality. May I not in closing make a plea? May the boys of all the world learn to know, understand, and love one another regardless of differences in race, religion, nationality, class, or beliefs! (165).

Sabri stands apart from most of the first Turkish Ottoman writers in the United States with his education. He did not attend an American school, and he was baptized in Athens, so most likely, he was Greek Orthodox rather than Protestant. However, his story involves

many other parallels with the writers from his generation, including his idealization of America. After his conversion to Orthodoxy, he did not go to Russia, for example, but preferred America as his destination. Also, he wrote for an Anglophone audience, even if the military academy he attended taught French as the foreign language, so Sabri was multilingual but still preferred writing in English. America indicated something to him that none of these countries did. It represented a place where one could enjoy their individual freedoms and express themselves freely. The English language, in this sense, was not only a medium to communicate to a new country. For Sabri, America was a means of liberation that allowed him to enjoy democracy through intellectual freedom.

2.3. THE TURKISH DREAM OF AMERICA

The idealization of America, and ensuing disappointment, is a significant theme in Selma Ekrem's *Unveiled*. Having arrived in the United States at the age of twenty-two in 1924, Ekrem was a lecturer and writer dedicated to the representation of Turks and Turkey in America years before the publication of *Unveiled* (Wallinger 121). According to Rebia Tevfik Başokçu's letters, Ekrem also served as a secretary in the Turkish Delegation to the United States in 1958 ("Rebia Tevfik Başokçu's Letter"). Başokçu spent twenty years in Paris as a popular fashion designer and published her memoirs both in Turkish and French, and she was also a descendant of an elite Ottoman family. Thus, the relationship between Başokçu and Ekrem is one of many examples of the continuation of a network of elite Ottoman families after the fall of the empire, and America was not an unusual meeting point for them. These connections played a decisive role in Ekrem's career in the United States as she benefited from them, especially when publishing her papers later in her career.

Like Edib's and Sabri's books, *Unveiled* is also an example of autoethnography (with undoubtedly fictionalized elements) since Ekrem reconstructs and introduces a new Turkish identity for her American audience through a particularly smooth and streamlined narrative. It is also an example of a coming-of-age story, beginning with the childhood

years of the writer, and it covers her life up to her arrival in the United States, so it is a bildungsroman, or journey narrative, on many levels (122–123). The story of her life mostly depicts the history of the Ottoman Empire in its final decade. In these tales, Ekrem remembers even the most minute details of her childhood. For example, she shares details about the incidents taking place around the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, but she was only six years old at that time (*Unveiled* 135–48). Therefore, she is either crafting these stories based on her own research, or conveying her larger family's narrative. Her father was a high-ranking bureaucrat, so it is possible that the tales were told to her by older members of the family, and she is reciting them in her memoir (Wallinger 124–125).

The first indication of this narrative deviation is that there is a narratological gap between the narrated and the narrating self. While the narrated self is an observing subject presented to the reader for the sake of narrative requirements, the narrating self is an ideological subject that reconstructs the past from a particular perspective of an adult (Smith and Watson 58–63). Based on the stories she heard, Ekrem recreates this past with a certain agenda; for instance, she obscures the Armenian conflict and the importance of the Constantinople Woman's College. Her alma mater clearly left its mark on her self-identification, yet she never addresses this in her work. Instead, she articulates her grandfather's skeptical attitude toward the CUP regime and her father's eventual disobedience toward the order to "use more pressure on the Greeks" (Ekrem 136–137, 174). Moreover, she stresses her social superiority at every juncture, using Arabs in particular as a foil. For example, she comments, "one can never be sure of an Arab when he is excited." In other parts of the work, Arabs represent the other and illustrate the negative characteristics of Oriental people such as dirtiness and a tendency to violence (115–116). To put it another way, she engages in "self-occidentalism" when it comes to the peoples of the Orient, and distinguishes herself and her family, or the Turk, as relatively more Occidental, and thus modern, figures compared to other Orientals (Ezer qtd. in Wallinger 127). Clearly, this was part of her strategy to reconstruct the Turk in America.

Ekrem knew very well about the Orientalist depictions of the harem as a perverted hypersexual space as illustrated by the fictional dialogue with her American friends about the harem and women's condition in Turkey. It is basically a rhetorical exercise to enlighten her audience about the realities of the harem as the women's quarter, in contrast to prejudiced Orientalist images (312). In this sense, the interactions of Ekrem with the other women in the harem, representing the domestic space of her parent's house, are very significant because the women of her family, including their servants and extended family, are given a voice in her stories. In her introduction and depiction of the female members of her family, each woman represents a different cult of womanhood perceivable to the narrator. Little Aunt stands for the traditional, domesticated, and religious woman; Big Aunt for an Ottoman aristocrat with her wisdom and zest for life; her mother, Aunt Idjlal (spelled İclal in modern Turkish), and paternal great-grandmother represent new modern womanhood with their international education, yet they are unable to cope with the oppressive restrictions on Ottoman women. They can only serve as a source of inspiration for young Selma. In her depiction of this polyvocal household, Ekrem creates a representation of the Turkish domestic sphere as a multicultural "mixture of East and West" with Greek and Armenian servants and a French governess that serves her Albanian-Turkish family (119–131). This becomes one of the focal points in future works regarding the position of Turkey as between the Orient and the Occident. However, above all, she challenges the distorted stereotypes of the harem in the United States through these depictions; therefore, this characteristic of her narrative also aligns her with Edib and Sabri in an effort to reconstruct the image of the Turk in America.

Yet, one image dominates all the others in her narration. The veil and the "tcharshaf" (spelled "çarşaf" in modern Turkish), a long black dress covering all of the body down to the wrists and ankles that the Ottoman law required Muslim Ottoman women to wear in public, were the source of Ekrem's trauma and revolt, and also the motivation to immigrate to the West. Having seen her elder sister in the tcharshaf for the first time, it transforms into a metaphor of oppression and restriction, a "black prison," and she immediately refuses the possibility of wearing the same clothes in the future. However,

when she sees the opposition of her elders, such as her aunts, against her revolt, loneliness and isolation dominate her mind, which she expresses as follows:

> Millions of women had worn it [the tcharshaf] before me. And to my eyes came these women in thick clusters, wrapped in blackness, their faces covered. These millions of black bundles of resignation smothered me. The storm closed over my head but I rose above it, lifting my face wildly. I would fight, I would tear these shadows from me, the million bundles could sneer at me and revile me, but I would not be a bundle. I wanted to feel the wind and the air on my face forever, I wanted to dip like a sea gull in the freedom of life (180).

As seen in another part of her narration, from Ekrem's perspective, the tcharshaf becomes a metaphor for the oppression that enveloped the entire city of İstanbul and its female residents:

> And now once more the dark dread flooded over me and Stamboul seemed black, not with the descending night but with the millions of tcharshafs which the women of Turkey had wrapped around their patient resignation (189–190).

Hence, the immediate impact of the tcharshaf on its wearer was the loss of individuality; covering her body and face erased any sign of distinction. Once they wore them, women became "millions of tcharshafs," and because they do this without their consent, the tcharshaf also reveals their "patient resignation," or their surrender. Ekrem's revolt consequently becomes a struggle for conserving the self and her freedom; in other words, "unveiled" means liberated and individualized. As she grows older, she faces social discrimination because of this: mobs threaten her and her family because she and her sister Beraet do not wear the veil and the tcharshaf in public (267–268). As a reaction, she begins idealizing America as "the land of faultless people and government. . . the land of liberty" where she could "wear a hat in peace." This dichotomy between the tcharshaf and the hat, respectively representing freedom and oppression, juxtaposes the Ottoman Empire and the United States (290). Later she writes about the effect of her arrival in the United States, "free from neighbors, free from gossip, free from the hat question and the dread of prison. . . I was born again to a land of freedom" (302–303). The fact that she graduated from the Constantinople Woman's College might have also contributed to her

romanticism of the United States. However, again, she does not mention this anywhere in the text.

Eventually, Ekrem's idealization of America evolves into a more critical point of view, yearning for a mixture of the Orient and the Occident, and reflecting her new borderline identity. In this respect, she remembers that one of her first experiences in the United States was a conversation with a customs officer who found it difficult to believe she was a Turk with her Caucasian complexion and western clothes. She uses this story to emphasize that the real image of the Turk was rather different from what an ordinary American had in their mind (292–293). She later describes the prejudiced image of the Turk in America as follows:

> Here in America lived a legend made of blood and thunder. The Terrible Turk ruled the minds of the Americans. A huge person with fierce black eyes and bushy eyebrows, carrying daggers covered with blood. I did not fit into the legend of the Terrible Turk and so I was not one. In fact many people were disappointed: to meet a real true Turk who turns out to be fair, meek and not very unlike an American (302).

Ekrem, therefore, uses her self-image as a representation of "the true Turk." It is through this lens that the significance of her photograph on the first page of the book without a veil, like Edib's photograph in Patrick's memoirs, can be better understood. The use of the self-image as the representation of the New Woman continued to be a common trope in the narratives of Turkish American writers in the decades to come. However, Ekrem's rhetoric was also partly unconvincing because it meant Americanizing the Turkish woman to gain the appreciation of the audience. Nonetheless, she manages to develop more mature arguments on other aspects of her criticism of American life. "The land of liberty" also becomes "the land of restlessness" in reference to the more self-centered, faster, and materialist lifestyle that she observes in the United States (305–308). She concludes her work by promoting the harmony of Oriental and Occidental values, such as reverence for elders dictated by the former and the more individual liberties of the latter. A review in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* recognized this aspect of the book by saying "it pictures the background of a childhood different indeed from a western childhood, but with the human relationships fundamentally the same" ("Turkish Girl, in New Book, Tells New Turks'

Story"). Hence, *Unveiled* provides a picture of Turks as people who were not so very different from her American readers.

2.4. CONCLUSION

During the late Ottoman Empire, the changes that occurred in the field of education resulted in the emergence of a cultured elite among the children of the upper-class families of the empire. The Constantinople Woman's College, along with other American Schools, played an important role in this process. Among the alumnae of the college, Edib stood out as an outspoken nationalist who devoted her writing efforts to creating the outlines of a nation based on common ethnic characteristics and language primarily. Strangely, however, she wrote her memoirs not in Turkish, but in English, for an international audience because she defined her nationalism as part of the rising trend of internationalism in her era. In short, she saw nationalism as a prerequisite of an internationalist utopia (*Memoirs of Halide Edib* 325). Yet, this unorthodox interpretation of nationalism enabled her to reach a wider audience, particularly in America, and she intended her lectures and publications to reconstruct the negative image of the Terrible Turk. While pursuing this aim, however, she did not fall into the romanticism of the Ottoman past. She described Turkey as a nation-state fighting gender inequality, social discrimination, and oppression. She was clear that the future of the Turkish people lied in modernization by taking America as a role model.

Ahmed Sabri and Selma Ekrem narrated how Ottoman immigration to America in the early twentieth century was not simply the movement of workers to growing industrial centers like Detroit; on the contrary, the Ottoman elite was very active beyond the borders of the former empire and in the reconstruction of the image of the Turk. They also prove that the tropes of Orientalism, like the hypersexualized images of the harem and the depiction of the Turk as a primitive savage, were well-known. While writing their autoethnographical works, they were responding to this image by breaking stereotypes and transforming the Turks into a positive identity.

Moreover, the decision of writing their memoirs in English was taken mostly because of their desire to challenge prejudices in America. English allowed them to reach a western audience, yet it also helped them express themselves more freely. The distance from their subject material, namely Turkey and Turks, let them remake the collective past independent from the official narrative of the nation-state. Edib, therefore, could voice her criticism of Mustafa Kemal. On the other hand, Sabri was able to acknowledge the Armenian conflict and criticize religious and social intolerance in the former Ottoman Empire, which, he did not believe, could be solved without the education of its people. Ekrem also criticized the religious laws of the empire that restricted and oppressed women in particular. Therefore, the use of the English language had a liberating effect on them. It also suggested an idealism of the West, particularly America, which is explicitly expressed by Ekrem. Seen as the land of freedom and liberty, America was not a coincidental destination for her. Her experiences of oppression led Ekrem to idealize the United States as the exact opposite of the Ottoman Empire and as an escape from it. However, this dream was not complete; Ekrem's conclusion alludes to the problems involved in standing between the Occident and the Orient. Being critical and disappointed with both to a certain extent, this viewpoint represents the emergence of a more mature tone and style in Turkish American literature by embracing the writers' transatlantic identity formations. The next chapter will explore this further by examining Ekrem's later writing for *The Christian Science Monitor* and how it complemented the Cold War goals of the TIO, a centralized propaganda clearinghouse that was established by the Turkish government in New York in 1949 for the production of cultural texts that promoted a positive image of Turkey, and Turks, in America.

CHAPTER 3
SELMA EKREM, *THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR*, AND THE TURKISH INFORMATION OFFICE

After the publication of *Unveiled*, Selma Ekrem stayed in the United States and continued her career as a diplomat in the Turkish Consulate in New York. Meanwhile, she continued writing her stories, which were published for decades in *The Christian Science Monitor* with the patronage of Nuri Eren, the Director of the Turkish Information Office. They share similarities with *Unveiled* since in these stories Ekrem returns to her childhood to recount her and family's experiences in the last decade of the Ottoman Empire. Yet, unlike her book, the stories include more details about daily life and the domestic sphere. As she did in *Unveiled*, she demonstrates that the Ottoman domestic sphere, the harem, was rather different from how it was depicted in Orientalist portrayals, with desperate exotic princesses, subtle eroticism, and the male gaze. Therefore, prejudiced images and concepts such as polygamy, slaves, and young damsels in distress are absent in Ekrem's depictions. On the contrary, her images of women represent a variety of different ideals of womanhood. For instance, her mother and other relatives from the same generation are reformed upper-class women who advocate freedom, equality, and liberty. Domestic characters, like Little Aunt and older retainers around her family, are appreciated for their naïve devotion. Ekrem defines them as motherly figures rather than eroticized victims of the Ottoman patriarchy or threats to the new order.

A major reason for this discursive change was Ekrem's new career as a diplomat. She was now a bureaucrat, working with an institution founded by the government to promote a positive image of Turkey in the United States as part of its Cold War doctrine. Hence, by focusing on İstanbul and other locations in its proximity, as much as on her family's life in the domestic sphere, Ekrem reconstructs an image of the Ottoman Empire with a population that was ready to embrace a comprehensive set of reforms taking western countries, especially America, as its model. Consequently, she recreates the empire with contrasting images such as multiculturalism and a Turkish-Islamic culture with

democratic tendencies, in contrast to the oppressive regimes of certain monarchs, embodied by Abdülhamid II, who restricted women's rights and freedom in the name of Islam. Although she acknowledges and even highlights that the Ottoman Empire was a multicultural cosmopolitan state with a variety of ethnic and religious populations living within its borders, she molds an identity for Turkish-speaking and Muslim population of the empire as Turks. For this reason, her family represents a microcosm of fading Ottoman society and the origin for the Turkish people of the contemporary era. This is why in *The Christian Science Monitor* Ekrem's family suddenly becomes western and secular, with any traces of Ottomanism (usually expressed by superannuated relatives) falling into the category of quaint, nostalgic, and harmless tradition. The interactions between her parents resemble those of contemporary couples in America and everyone appreciates values such as democracy and equality; thus, they emphasize the commonality between the Turks in her stories and her American readers.

As this chapter will argue, Ekrem's new discourse had its own limitations, circumscribed by her socioeconomic and ideological background. She romanticizes a culturally egalitarian and democratic society in her depictions both inside and outside the domestic sphere. Yet, her attitude and perspective as a descendant of an elite Ottoman household living in the capital city of the empire lead her to contradict herself. A close reading of the depictions of her family members and their interactions with their servants reveals that the decadent empire was afflicted with deep rifts between social and economic groups that conflicted with Ekrem's claims of a harmonious proto-democratic society. Therefore, the relationship between her family members and their servants displays one between a master and a servant, rather than a group of equals, so social hierarchy clearly defined their affairs and granted authority and power to her family as part of the ruling class. Moreover, the scope of her stories on *The Christian Science Monitor* is quite limited as they capture only İstanbul, a very urbanized capital of the empire. Thus, rural life, which constituted the mode of living for most Ottomans, and the local centers and customs of their people, are mostly missing apart from the only exception of Jerusalem, which was again not a rural area. As a result, her portrayal of the empire in *The Christian Science*

Monitor should be taken as the romantic nostalgia of a former Ottoman elite, rather than an accurate portrayal of history. Nevertheless, details about ordinary people, especially women, and daily life in İstanbul render her stories invaluable sources of information, even if her desire to appeal to her American audience and to create a positive image of Turks in parallel with the goals of the TIO deviate from complete accuracy from time to time. In this case, constructing a positive image of the Turk during the early Cold War, even at the expense of reality, was the ultimate end game.

3.1. THE ROMANTICISM OF THE OTTOMAN PAST IN THE POST-OTTOMAN WORLD

In a letter written to the Prime Minister of Turkey Adnan Menderes on July 8, 1952, the famous Turkish fashion designer Rebia Tevfik Başokcu mentions Selma Ekrem who, as a translator and secretary, helped her project of establishing a Turkish American children's committee ("From Başokçu to Menderes"). After having had to leave her business behind in Paris and returning to Turkey due to the Nazi occupation of the city during the Second World War, Başokçu moved to the United States and used her French connections to contact influential American women's organizations. These activities gave her the idea to establish a children's committee of culture since she had the impression that Americans would support a transnational and transcultural organization between Turkey and their country; thus, she wrote to the Prime Minister to gain his support as well. Both Ekrem and Başokçu were the descendants of elite Ottoman families, and their relationship implies the existence of a social network of Ottoman elites that extended beyond the empire, physically and chronologically. Başokçu's letter reveals that Ekrem continued her career in the United States in the Trade Bureau of the Turkish Consulate in New York. Additionally, she was mentioned among the members of the administrative board of the children's committee along with author Harold Lamb and journalist Ruth Gage-Colby, among others.

During her career, Ekrem collaborated with other important figures in the United States. After the publication of *Unveiled*, Ekrem published a survey on Turkey entitled *Turkey, Old and New* and a collection of stories, *Turkish Fairy Tales*. Meanwhile, she wrote for the *Home Forum*, a supplement to *The Christian Science Monitor*, for three decades from the early 1940s until the first half of the 1970s. The editor's notes on these stories also provide readers with more details about her life and career. For instance, on July 10, 1967, fifteen years after Başokçu's letter to Menderes, they confirm she was still working at the Permanent Mission of Turkey to the United Nations in New York and living in Connecticut ("Nightingale of Pera" 8). In another message written by the editor, Nuri Eren appears out of blue again. They share their mutual gratitude, and the former emphasizes that Eren was instrumental in "procuring Turkish art and literary material" for *The Monitor*. In this message, the editor also introduces Eren as the "Director of the Turkish Government Information Office in New York," and shares Eren's cordial response to the *Home Forum* for "its conscious attempt to use art as the vehicle to achieve understanding and mutual appreciation among different peoples" ("Miss Ekrem; Proverbs; Crusoe" 8). Eren adds that his wife also agrees with this and appreciates the magazine as much as he does. It indicates that women readers' responses were a matter of importance for both the editors of the *Home Forum* and the director of the TIO. For instance, in one of the issues, the editor quotes readers' responses. In one of those messages, Miss Margaretha Buchenberger from Hamburg, Germany, thanks the editors for "Selma Ekrem's most interesting" stories, and Mrs. Edith S. Adkins of Fall River, Massachusetts, shares how much she likes Ekrem's stories as a person who visited Turkey and learned its language.

These messages, published on October 5, 1954, display both the success of Ekrem's stories and her target audience: western women. Interestingly, even though the title, *Home Forum*, indicates the domesticity that was typical for similar inserts to major periodicals, Ekrem's readers were not only married domestic mothers from America. From the courtesy title the editor uses for Buchenberger, for instance, it seems she was single, so not necessarily representing domesticity, and she was from Germany. On the other hand,

it can be understood the second reader, Adkins, was married, and compared to Buchenberger's location, Hamburg, she was from Fall River, a less urbanized part of Massachusetts, so she represents a more traditional woman's image. The editor, therefore, foregrounds diversity among Ekrem's readers. Therefore, the editor's messages, Eren's words, and the letters of the readers shed light on multiple aspects of Ekrem's stories published in the *Home Forum*. Ekrem, who was working as a part of the Turkish diplomatic corps in New York, knew Eren, who also knew the editors of *The Christian Science Monitor*. Thus, they were all connected to each other in numerous ways, and part of the network of pro-Turkish propaganda that emerged in the United States in the wake of the Second World War.

A close look at the stories in *The Christian Science Monitor* reveals some of the intricacies of this pro-Turkish campaign, spearheaded by Ekrem and Eren, to transform the image of the Turk in America. In these stories, a great variety of details, such as the spices and other ingredients that come from "the Spice Bazaar" of İstanbul to the kitchen pantry of her family's chef, are described with utmost detail as much as the sounds of the city such as "the ezan," and street vendors around its landmarks like "the famous Galata Bridge" and "the Balik Pazar" (Balık Pazarı) ("We Visit the Spice Bazaar" 10; "Melodies of Istanbul" 12). Ekrem, therefore, constructs a romantic and idyllic image of the past for her audience that borders on tourism propaganda while introducing an idealistic portrait of Ottoman society. For instance, a shepherd grazing his animals on the edges of old İstanbul is compared to the Pan of Greek mythology, or in Ekrem's depictions of the sultan's palace, young servants meet and fall in love among the Tulip beds of the palace ("An Evening at the Korou" 6; "Love among the Tulips" 13). In order to preserve her literary subjects' exoticism, she extensively uses Oriental titles such as "pasha," "bey" or "hanoum" and names of certain plants and dishes. Among these images, she drops brief notes about Turks, referring to the Turkish-speaking Muslim Ottoman population, as an ethnonational group that appreciates multiculturalism, democracy, and egalitarianism. Hence, the process of reconstructing the image of Turks as an ethnonational group continues decades after Edib and Sabri's works were published, yet it is sponsored by the

government this time. An important implication of this situation is that the Ottoman past is recreated and nationalized by Ekrem. It is reconstructed to create a national past for Turkey with desired associated values and traits that can appeal to American readers.

It should also be noted that the economy was also an important motive in these depictions, which brings an explanation to Ekrem's utmost attention to commodities in her depictions of İstanbul. With the hope that increasing trade and tourism with America could help the struggling Turkish economy recover after the war, Turkish foreign policy also aimed to promote Turkish products in America as much as attracting tourists. In his accounts, Ahmet Emin Yalman, for example, talks about the service of rakı in the cocktail parties organized by the Turkish embassy in Washington, DC and the consulate in New York (*Havalarda 50.000 Kilometre Seyahat Notları* 43–47). Accordingly, Ahmet Şükrü Esmer makes another trip to the United States in 1950, this time as the Director General for Press, Broadcasting, and Information, and he summarizes the purpose of his trip as to "promote tours and trade in the Marshall Plan countries, of which Turkey is one" ("To Promote Tours of Turkey" 14). Therefore, promoting the products sold in Turkey and tourism was also a constant part of Ekrem's works.

As for the desirable social heritage of the Ottoman Empire, Ekrem tells how she learned to respect all faiths and cultures (ecumenism, part of the agenda of *The Christian Science Monitor*) due to her Armenian nanny named Kalnik Dudu, who taught her that the Quran and the Bible should be respected equally ("Kalnik Dudu and the Story of Joseph" B6). Or, in another story, she says that "despite the tyranny of the Sultans the Turkish people are really democratic at heart" ("Lesson in Democracy" 12). Her attempts to appeal to her American audience also contain a certain degree of idealization of America that is revealed when she describes it as "the land of freedom", similar to her attitude in *Unveiled* ("The Longing to be Free" 8). Nevertheless, she is critical of certain aspects of American life such as industrialization and the standardization of products which, she believes, make the unique characteristics of local products disappear, unlike the Ottoman products of her childhood; thus, she criticizes the culture of consumerism and materialism in the same stories ("A Young Turk" 12). Clearly, Ekrem takes a critical tone about subjects

when she feels safe to share her opinion and uses it to promote Turkey as a desirable alternative to contemporary problems. She suggests that an American could fly to Turkey to find a more authentic country unaffected by urban industrialization which, in reality, did more to protract Orientalism than to construct Turkey as a modern republic.

Ekrem retains her critical attitude toward the veil and restrictions on women due to religious laws, but limits her commentary when it comes to other traditions like arranged marriages. Even though this tradition involves the commodification of women as professional matchmakers, called "geurudju," visit houses to examine young female candidates' suitability for the sons of the families who hired them, Ekrem does not have a strong opinion about this tradition, which is based on the violation of young women's freedom and rights. Despite her final words at the end of the story, her young narrated self's refusal of being "inspected" by any matchmaker in the future, Ekrem describes the arrival of a matchmaker for her older sister as if it is a romantic tradition left in the past ("Visit from the Geurudju" 8). This romantic tone becomes more significant when her stories deal with what she perceived as a distant past, involving the youth of her older relatives like Big Aunt or Grandmother. "Feradje," for example, was the clothing that Ottoman women were expected to wear before the laws that made the veil and tcharshaf compulsory, in public. However, according to grandmother's narration, quoted by Ekrem for the reader, "feradje" was colorful compared to the black color of the tcharshaf even if it was also worn with a veil that covered women's head and face, but was made of a thinner fabric compared to those accompanying the tcharshaf. Nonetheless, it is understood from this story that the central government still regulated the use of "feradje" as women's clothing, so fundamentally, it was not very different than tcharshaf with regard to its symbolism in terms of women's individual freedoms. Nevertheless, it becomes a romantic element in Ekrem's works without any negative connotations ("Great-Grandmother's Daffodils" 8). All of these details hinder Ekrem's critical tone and advocacy of women's rights.

In many of her short stories, Ekrem stresses the importance of "building a bridge of friendship" between the peoples of different nations. For example, in a story about her

experiences with an Englishman, “Monsieur Moutarde (Mr. Mustard),” Ekrem says she does not know “whether it was his real name or one made up on the spur of the moment.” She and her mother met him on their route to Jerusalem where her father was governor on behalf of the Ottoman Empire. Ekrem says because of Moutarde and his kindness, she learned not to hate English people even if she hated their government and its policies (“Building a Bridge of Friendship” 12). In addition, Ekrem explains that she is quite knowledgeable about American society and culture, a by-product of her education at the Constantinople Woman’s College, even though her education at the college was considered by some of her relatives as the cause of her rejection of Ottoman norms (“My First Day in School” 8). Finally, she acknowledges her educational background and uses these details to make her discursive choices consciously; in fact, Ekrem already tells that she is educated about the art of writing due to her father Ali Ekrem Bey, an acknowledged writer and professor of literature at İstanbul University during the early republic (“A Debt to Big Aunt” 8). To clarify, she reconstructs an image of Turkey as a country of people who are democratic at heart and cultivated enough to appreciate other religions and cultures as much as theirs; consequently, she creates a likable image for her western, especially American, readers, knowing their cultural values.

Social and economic class is another point of limitation in her writing. Being from an upper-class family, Ekrem’s romanticization of the past is quite problematic as she remembers the “good old days” as a period of time when they had their “faithful” retainers serving them instead of modern household appliances (“At Home in Istanbul” 8). By the same token, she describes cooking stoves, the Ottoman kitchen and objects within it as constituting a significant part of the settings in her stories, yet she says those made of cheaper metals and used in most houses as “plebian ones” in contrast to the brass-made equivalents with ornamentations her family uses (“The Brass Andirons” 12). Thus, the objects in her stories also reflect the social hierarchy. This situation expands into other subjects such as music when she tells her audience that her father and mother refuse to listen to Turkish music, which the former defines as “not music at all,” and makes Ekrem and her siblings listen to western music (“A Chopin Walts Visits Turkey” 8; “Music at the

Old Konak" 8). Another example of these self-occidentalism attempts among some of her family members is seen in her maternal grandfather Celal Pasha's (Kavalalı Ahmed Celal Pasha) rejection to eat corn because believes that it is a "lowly" food suitable only for the table of "peasants" despite the protests of another member of the family, whom Ekrem calls Little Aunt ("To Goksu with Little Aunt" 8). Therefore, the kitchen, food, music, and other details of the domestic sphere become cultural objects that reflect Ekrem's background in her attempts to depict the authentic Turkish-Ottoman domestic culture, but the social isolation of her setting within an aristocratic Ottoman household in the imperial capital jeopardizes her claim of capturing a nostalgic past of equality and unity within the family.

These limitations resurface in Ekrem's reconstruction of the Ottoman Empire as a multiethnic and multicultural entity with contrasting features that require a mediator to understand, and she takes on this role in her stories, which she also uses to justify her authority as an author. Despite focusing on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ekrem contextualizes her setting by constructing a glorious past with references to the reigns of the sultans like Suleiman the Magnificent ("House of Wisdom in Constantinople" 12). This means she provides a history of a history, and as with any historical narrative, she provides a particular perspective. In this regard, the imperial capital, İstanbul, represents the materialization of the values that made the empire great by symbolizing the transition from the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire and combining the East and the West. Ekrem foregrounds the concepts of multinationalism and multiculturalism of the empire, yet rather than stemming from a historical fact, these values are what she desired to attribute to the Ottoman Empire as part of her own agenda. Consequently, she must provide historical facts to support her argument, and she highlights certain characteristics of her family's household with the relatives and workers from different ethnic groups and her multilingual and multicultural parents. During their daily activities, they interact with people from different backgrounds very frequently. As an example, Ekrem narrates that her mother Celile Hanım celebrates Christmas by having a big Christmas tree put in their living room to lift the spirit of their French governess

Madame Martin, struggling with homesickness (“That Year of My First Christmas” 11). In another story about Celile Hanım during their time in Jerusalem, Ekrem tells that her mother visits the holy places of each major religion in the city to show her equal attitude and respect for each of them (“A Gift from the Patriarch” 6). While these stories repeat the theme of religious freedom in their house in another story, “the oldest and best friend” of her father Ali Ekrem Bey is Greek, named Monsieur Aleco. The French courtesy title indicates that Aleco was not a Muslim and that they most likely used French as their language of communication, which means their language was international without the ethnonational connotations that Greek or Turkish would have. Through the story of Monsieur Aleco, Ekrem argues that Muslim and non-Muslim populations of the empire lived together in peace (“The House at Suleimanie” 8; “Pastirma Summer” 8).

Language and food also become signifiers of this multiculturalism. In numerous stories, Ekrem remarks that both her parents are multilingual, and in the stories about a French governess, Mademoiselle Lucie, and her family’s dressmaker Mademoiselle Amelie, Ekrem underlines that the residents of the capital, particularly those living in its urban center Pera, are also multilingual and interact with people from various ethnic and religious backgrounds as part of their daily lives (“Mademoiselle in Turkey” 8; “Mlle. Lucy Comes to Stay” 8). For example, food serves a similar purpose, “Kidono pasta” (most probably referring to the quince dish known as Kidonato today) is referred more than once as a traditional Greek pastry, which Ekrem’s family finds delicious. While telling the story of this food, Ekrem depicts the friendship between her family and such individuals as James Bey and his wife, who are described to be descendants of “a highly cultured and wealthy Greek family originally from the island of Mytelene” (“Kidono Pasta or Quince Paste” 20). Even James Bey’s name constitutes another example of Ekrem’s mixture of western and eastern titles and names in order to reinforce her theme of multiculturalism.

Locations also have an important role in this matter as can be seen in her story about the cafe located under the famous Tokatlian Hotel of Pera, where she says the Ottoman upper class met, and “were it not for the red fez on their heads, they could have been taken for

western Europeans" due to their "predominantly French" culture and education. She continues by arguing that because a section of the cafe serves only women and is one of the few examples of its kind, it has become the favorite of most elite women in İstanbul, including her Great Aunt ("Our Pastry Shop at Tokatlian" 9). Thus, one of Ekrem's discursive strategies in creating this romantic nostalgia for the long-gone Ottoman past is seen in the history of the Tokatlian Hotel. However, she never mentions that the owner of the hotel Meguerditch Tokatlian escaped from İstanbul after taking Russian citizenship in 1914 (Erdem and Hanilçe 1373–1377). In fact, Ekrem perpetuates a certain image of the Ottoman past, a rather romantic and positive one, by erasing certain details and magnifying others. What occurs, as a result, is a country where various ethnic and social groups lived in glorious harmony, which does not explain the series of tragic events that led to the dissolution of the empire. In Ekrem's narrative, the fall of the Ottoman Empire becomes a historical anomaly without any logical background that involves random incidents that led to another positive outcome (the Republic).

A close reading of Ekrem's stories also reveals that she relied on some of her family members and the books she read for the historical background she provides in her stories. Even if she writes about the critical social and political events of the nineteenth century, during the reign of Abdülaziz, from 1861 until 1876, Ekrem was not even born yet, and when Abdülhamid II was deposed in 1908, she was only six years old. Therefore, it was impossible for her to remember or be conscious of the political and social issues that were taking place around her during her childhood. In multiple stories, her ideas about the regimes of these two sultans are mostly composed of her father's stories. Many of her stories are narrated through direct quotations, reciting her father's memories involving his experiences with her grandfather Namık Kemal, and her great-grandfather Asım Bey, who took care of young Ali Ekrem when his father was exiled to France ("The Velvet Suit from Paris" 8). However, these direct quotations are nothing but rhetorical elements that she uses to claim the authenticity of her content because at the time she began writing these stories for the *Home Forum*, Ali Ekrem Bey had already passed away. In one of the stories depicting the purchasing of coal for her grandfather's large house, authentically

defined with the Turkish word "konak," she actually admits that she did not witness any of those events ("Preparations at the Konak" 8). Hence, this situation raises two problems; first, the interpretation of Ekrem's past was made by her father, so it is basically shaped by his views and ideology; second, even if she uses direct quotations of the conversations decades after they were made, she, in fact, fills the gaps in the narrative with fiction. To put it differently, fact and fiction (faction) are merged into the narrative of the past in Ekrem's *Christian Science Monitor* stories.

There is another interesting point: father and daughter wrote their memoirs almost at the same exact time. Ali Ekrem Bey began writing his memoirs in 1931 and continued until 1934 before leaving them unfinished at the time of his death in 1937. During these years, Selma returned to her parents' house multiple times and remained in their home due to her health problems, thus it is quite likely that she read her father's memoirs and might have even used them for the basis of her stories (*Ali Ekrem Bolayır'ın Hatıraları* 108–122). This can explain why Ekrem prefers using direct quotations in some of the stories, wherein she narrates Ali Ekrem Bey's memoirs. However, the similarities between the memoirs of the father and the daughter are limited because their foci are completely different. While Ali Ekrem Bey writes about witnessing the social and political events during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, Selma narrates the domestic sphere and the daily lives of ordinary people in the empire. The stories of her mother and Ishak, who served her grandfather Namık Kemal and continued to stay with their family after Kemal's death, were significant in the formation of Ekrem's ideas and knowledge about the past ("Izhak, Master Spy" 8). Along with these examples is the oral history her family members shared with her and her father's personal library, which also included her grandfather's books ("The House in Beshiktash" 8). Ekrem's interpretation of history resonates with the works of Mary Mills Patrick and Halide Edib, as well. During her education at the Constantinople Woman's College, Patrick was the head of the school and Halide Edib had already reached public fame with her works. Therefore, it is quite likely that Ekrem read their works about Ottoman history.

Thus, it is understandable why Ekrem defines the Young Turks quite positively as advocates of freedom and reformation (“The Price of Liberty” 8). In this respect, she devotes one of those stories to Rüstem Pasha and his wife Hanife Hanım, and she emphasizes that the former was an Ottoman statesman as well as a member of the Young Turks, and more importantly, he was an admirer of her grandfather Namık Kemal. Rüstem Pasha and Hanife Hanım are depicted as an ideal couple without any sign of patriarchy or polygamy, thus representing a reformed couple, and they spend their retirement by building an ideal village in the country. In her depiction of the village, Ekrem claims that everyone, regardless of their social status, was working and contributing to the daily tasks that rural life necessitated; thus, she implies that the ideal village was actually based on the values of republicanism and egalitarianism. In other words, unlike the rest of the empire, the village was a model for the future of the country as well as a gender role model as constituted by Rüstem Pasha and Hanife Hanım (“A Visit to Angouria Farm” 8). Hence, the Young Turks are idealized as romantic warriors who strived for reform to modernize their country. The village represents the values that they desired to promote in the Ottoman Empire, yet this also leads to another contradiction in her narrative because the laws that oppressed women, caused the demise of Ottoman minorities, and the decision to enter the First World War were also created by representatives of the same political movement. Thus, Rüstem Pasha and Hanife Hanım did not actually represent all of the Young Turks, yet Ekrem does not talk about this in her stories.

Ekrem extends this reconciliatory tone to the depictions of certain sultans, as well. She, for instance, glorifies Mahmud II and Abdülmejid, in whose harem Ekrem’s great-grandmother received her training and education as the servant and friend of the sultan’s daughter Fatma Sultan. She describes Abdülmejid as an understanding father figure who laughed at his daughter’s escapade to watch a ballet in a theater in the disguise of a young man along with Ekrem’s great-grandmother (“Great-grandmother’s First Ballet” 8). On the contrary, Ekrem depicts Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid II as failing leaders due to their policies that hindered the reformation movement. Abdülhamid II is referred to as a “tyrant” by Asım Efendi, Ekrem’s great-grandfather (“A Petition to the Padishah” 8). In

another story, her father tells her that the empire could not progress due to the paranoia of Abdülhamid II. Ali Ekrem Bey claims that it was the sultan himself who forbade the construction of an electricity grid because he was afraid it could be used in an assassination attempt against him ("A Turkish Lamp Lighter" 8). Hence, the absence of electricity becomes evidence of the detrimental consequences of Abdülhamid II's policies in terms of the progress of the empire, and the nineteenth century is redefined as a period of potential progress and reformation, which was prevented by a tyrannical sultan. Here, Ekrem simply echoes the dominant narrative that Mary Mills Patrick also represented in her works.

In this teleological and binary interpretation of history, individuals like Ekrem's grandfather Namık Kemal and great-grandfather Asım Efendi play a significant role as representatives of reformed Ottomans who advocated values such as egalitarianism, republicanism, and democracy. Ekrem uses them to appeal to her audience, especially when she claims that her grandfather Namık Kemal attracted the wrath of the sultan since he "openly declared that all men were born free and equal" ("A Petition to the Padishah" 8). It is not a coincidence that she makes these word choices by referring to the Declaration of Independence to define her grandfather's political stance in opposition to the sultan. Consequently, Namık Kemal, a leader yearning for constitutional reforms and an inspiration for both the Young Turks and the Nationalist Movement, serves as the foil of the tyrannical sultan. In some of her stories, Ekrem attributes these values to her father Ali Ekrem Bey, as well. When she writes about his governorship in Jerusalem in particular, she claims that he managed to gain the respect and support of "sunburned sheiks, wealthy Jewish merchants" and "Greek priests" to signify the great diversity of the population that her father could gain with good leadership ("Storm over Jerusalem" 8). This also implies that Ali Ekrem Bey, as a just and honest leader, achieved what the sultan could not in Jerusalem. Redefining the tragic events of history as mistakes of incompetent monarchs also allowed Ekrem to isolate people from any responsibility for their actions, so it was part of her rhetorical agenda to prove that Turks and other Ottoman populations were actually capable of living in a democratic harmony, unless disturbed by

misgovernment. Events like massacres and wars, therefore, became accidents rather than consequences of certain social circumstances in the past, so it was not the Turk who was terrible, but their leaders.

As an author, Ekrem is aware of the problems that the contradictions in her narrative suggested, so she develops an argument that the empire was a land of "contrasts." She tries to explain them in a very reductionist manner: that these contrasts were mainly due to the discrepancy between the autocratic rules of certain sultans and the cultural tendency of its people for democracy. To support her argument, she refers to incidents such as the women's orchestra that was founded by Abdülaziz, who allowed and even sponsored the musical education of the women in his harem despite his conservative views regarding Islam and women's role in society ("Flutist of Old Istanbul" 12). To give another example, Ekrem's maternal grandfather Celal Pasha is depicted to be a traditional patriarch, for whom the liberal views of his son-in-law Ali Ekrem Bey are too much, yet he also advocated reforms and liberalism, which eventually caused his exile to Erzurum ("A Friend from Erzurum" 8). Thus, Celal Pasha's conflicting traits serve as another example of the general condition of the empire and its society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; it was striving for reformation, but at the same time, it desired to conserve its identity to a certain extent. In short, a world of "contrasts."

3.2. THE (RE)PRESENTATION OF OTTOMAN SOCIETY AS A HARMONY OF CONTRASTS

Published in the United States in 1947, Ekrem's *Turkey, Old and New* includes most of these themes, stressing Turkey's potential as a reformed and democratic state bridging the West and the East. It also depicts Turkey as a positive model of co-existence as well as of contrasting ideas, and the dichotomy of the old and the new are referred in the title of the book (*Turkey, Old and New* 45, 84). Ekrem's newspaper stories reinforce this discussion on the contrasting features of the empire. However, unlike her book, these stories are replete with details in terms of the romantic representation of the daily lives of the

Ottoman people. For example, Halit Bey, the brother of their neighbor Nahide Hanım, is one of the examples that Ekrem portrays as the master of both worlds, as in combining the positive characteristics of the West and the East. In this sense, Halit Bey behaves "like a true European gentleman" in his manners, yet he is also a collector of Qurans as good examples of the art of calligraphy. Thus, he can understand and appreciate eastern art and western manners, which makes him an ideal gentleman of reformed Ottoman society from Ekrem's perspective ("A Visit to Halit Bey" 4). Similar figures appear in Ekrem's stories with their mastery of both the West and the East. Another example, Abdullah Efendi wears a "brown *chubbe* (a loose cloak)," "traditional Arabian headgear, the *kuffiye*," and has a "dark complexion and black eyes" which makes people think "he was some Arab dignitary from the distant provinces," at first glance. However, he speaks perfect Turkish and introduces himself as a friend of her father Ali Ekrem Bey with a "deep and musical voice," and eventually emerges as a romantic "majestic figure out of *The Thousand and One Nights*" ("From, Turkey to Chicago" 12).

Later on in the story, we learn that he was actually Ekrem's grandfather's (Namık Kemal's) friend and an instructor to her father Ali Ekrem Bey due to his mastery of Arabic and Persian languages as well as the Quran. What rendered him even more interesting is that Abdullah Efendi traveled to New York City and Chicago after Mecca, again signifying his characteristic combination of both worlds. To explain the reason for his trip to the United States, Ekrem quotes Abdullah Efendi's words: "I heard that there was going to be a World's Fair held in Chicago," and decides to visit the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. Unfortunately, he faces economic difficulties as a "poor *hodja*," but overcomes them with the help of his culinary skills as he works as a cook, sells "baklava," and earns enough money to buy his tickets to America. There, he attends the fair and makes more money by the same means so that he can travel across the country. When all these details are taken into consideration, it is clear that Abdullah Efendi is none other than Namık Kemal's friend Ubeydullah Efendi. In real life, he did go to New York City, and sold not baklava, but another traditional Ottoman desert "helva," and engaged in other jobs such as street peddling (Alkan 19, 190). Moreover, not only did he become involved in these

humble means to survive, but he also worked as a writer at a newspaper published by Suleyman al-Bustani, an Arab-Ottoman statesman, in Turkish and English for the Ottoman pavilion at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 (Sevinç and Fazlıoğlu 27). In fact, this was one of the first official attempts of the Ottoman government to conduct cultural diplomacy in the United States, decades before the TIO. Due to the nature of memory, Ekrem remembers his name wrong, and some of the important details, such as his employment as the editor of the Ottoman newspaper at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, which is missing in her story. Fortunately, there is a great deal of material about Ubeydullah Efendi in the literature, so it is possible to identify him even with Ekrem's incomplete details, but this is not possible for every single individual that she describes in her stories.

The merchants of İstanbul are also a good example of her portrayal of Ottoman society. Ekrem pays close attention to the details of their daily lives, and through them, she communicates her message to her target audience. She, for instance, says that the merchants of İstanbul share their remaining products after "a good day, in return for the bounty of Allah," so she redefines Islam as a religion that promotes charity, providing a different representation of Islam contrary to what was popular in earlier Orientalist writing ("The Flowered Horses of Istanbul" 10). Ekrem creates an image of people content with their humble professions in a pre-industrial economy when compared to the misery in mass-producing and mass-consuming capitalist America ("Hamdi Efendi from Besiktash" 12; "Preparing for Winter" 8). There is no sign of alienation or economic difficulties in her stories; on the contrary, commercial activities serve as an excuse for communication and interaction with the larger community of İstanbul. In these instances of daily life, even stray animals play their role as people take care of them, which eventually leads to their overpopulation, requiring government intervention that causes "much consternation and indignation" among the people. Eventually, the officials cannot find any dogs on the streets because people shelter them in their homes ("The Dogs of Istanbul" 12).

Thus collectively, these stories create a cultural representation of Turks as charitable and reasonable people. The "old Turkish maxim," "do good to everyone and dispute not with the ignorant," becomes an example of the essential role of such values of this culture ("Do Good to Everyone" 12). Even the gypsies of Istanbul, who are normally known as a marginalized minority not only in the Ottoman Empire but also across Europe, represent a harmonious part of society. Comparing them to "city folks," Ekrem depicts gypsies as exotic people who can genuinely enjoy freedom with their semi-nomadic lifestyle ("Emine, the Gypsy Maiden" 8). Yet, like all other social groups Ekrem describes, they are hardworking people who respect morality and ethics. Ekrem emphasizes this in the story of a gypsy woman named Hanife who pays her debt to Ekrem's mother Celile Hanım after she helps her son buy tools to begin working as a tinsmith ("Hanife the Gypsy" 8). Undoubtedly, the values that Ekrem promotes in these glimpses of Ottoman daily life were consciously chosen by her as those that would appeal to her readers. Therefore, she represents daily social and economic affairs in Ottoman society as if they were taking place in a democratic Franklinian society of charitable merchants.

Even though Ekrem repetitively claims that Turks are culturally prone to the values of democracy, multiculturalism, equality and so on, some of her stories admit exceptions. For instance, she states that the Christmas party organized by her grandfather, indicating their appreciation of multiculturalism and tolerance toward Christianity, was actually seen as heresy by conservative people in the empire ("Grandfather's Christmas Party" 4). Thus, Ekrem acknowledges the conflicting values and ideas within Ottoman society, but she does not accurately represent which one of these sides represents cultural hegemony. Sabri, for example, openly claims that Turkish people need education on individual rights, especially religious freedom. Ekrem also supports this argument after repeating the story recounted in *Unveiled* about a mob that threatened and attempted to attack her, her sister, and mother because she and her sister were not wearing the veil. She quotes her father's words as he says that the Ottoman Empire would manage to reform itself only "when the people were educated and demand their rights" ("Blue Bonnets from Paris" 10). In contrast to Sabri's generalization, Ekrem underlines that fundamentalists did not represent

all Turkish-Ottoman people; they were only a fraction of society who could be eliminated through education.

Ekrem does not accept that the educated elite did not represent everyone in late Ottoman society. Yet, multiple stories shed light on the striking differences between the socioeconomic classes of the empire. Education, in this sense, was a privilege for the upper class, which is seen in the story of an Albanian boy who sells popcorn during the cold winter. Ekrem's family helps him by taking him home and feeding him. Later, Ali Ekrem Bey uses his connections to find him an apprenticeship so he can go to school when he is not working ("The Albanian Popcorn Boy" 8). In another story, Ekrem discusses how a great majority of the empire was illiterate which created a demand for scribes who read and wrote for their clients. Although Ekrem depicts them as romantic images of Oriental life, the stories of child labor in the Ottoman Empire and the rifts between social classes regarding educational and economic conditions are enshrouded in her narration. Hence, while Ekrem uses these stories to portray examples of Turkish charitability and egalitarianism, they represent the reality of a divided society whose social and economic conditions contrasted each other. These circumstances were not always as delightful as the romantic image of the enlightened Young Turk having mastered the ways of the West and the East.

Despite the contradictions embedded in Ottoman society, Ekrem's stories reveal the increasing role that the call for democracy had in the late empire. Though it was based on a strict social hierarchy with servants, masters, aristocrats, and everyone in between, Ekrem depicts Ottoman life as democratic. Her portrayal, which is derived from a noblesse oblige sense of superiority, is at best biased and out of touch. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy because of how it redefines the educated elite, like her father, as advocates of reform and modernization in the empire, and accordingly, their activities become acts of resistance. She recites their stories, of how they violated the rules of social, gender, and class segregation and other restrictions. One of her tales, for example, recounts how her mother participated in a concert by disguising herself as a young man ("Going to a Concert" 12). In another example, she tells the story of a woman, whom Ekrem calls

Makbule Teyze, an old friend of their family. In the vignette, young men and women violate the rules of gender segregation and interact with one another, despite the efforts of their parents and authorities. Even if Makbule Teyze's story does not have a happy ending, these acts of resistance against oppressive authorities become visible and perhaps inspirational, transforming the Turk from terrible to brave and romantic ("Romantic Episode" 8).

3.3. RECREATING THE OTTOMAN DOMESTIC SPHERE AND OTTOMAN WOMANHOOD(S)

Arguably the most important characteristic of Ekrem's stories is their depiction of the domestic sphere and Ottoman women. In these glimpses of Ottoman domestic life, she again pays attention to details such as kitchen equipment, traditional dishes, and the social affairs between people in and around her family's house. In the course of quotidian activities such as jam making, carpet washing, and the preparation of traditional dishes like Ashura, the women depicted by Ekrem stand as proof of the fact that the Ottoman domestic sphere was quite a vivid and active social setting ("Winter Preparations" 8). They are not the romanticized and often-distorted images of the harem that prevailed in Orientalist works; nor do they involve constant drama caused by sociopolitical problems like polygamy as seen in Halide Edib's memoir. On the contrary, Ekrem's portrayals of daily life actually resemble the lives of her western readers, of readers of *The Christian Science Monitor,* thereby making the Turk, and especially Turkish women, relatable and relevant. The themes of multiculturalism, the democratic tendencies of Turkish-Ottoman people, and egalitarianism are repeated in her reconstructions of the domestic sphere. Moreover, by putting women at the center of her focus, Ekrem recreates the past from women's perspective. One of the best examples of this is her story about a female palace servant who was responsible for the care of young Mahmud II. During the janissary revolt in 1807, she protects and eventually saves his life by helping him escape and hide from the rebels trying to assassinate him ("Chevre Kalfa" 8). Hence, Ekrem reconstructs the

past with a female subject in the center of it, which implies that a woman made the Tanzimat Reforms possible by saving the future sovereign.

Ekrem's stories provide a variety of models of Ottoman womanhood. For example, her mother Celile Hanım is portrayed as a reformed Ottoman lady who was well-educated, despite the restrictions on Muslim women, because of her privileged upper-class status as the daughter of Celal Pasha ("Summer Home in Turkey" 12). Furthermore, Celile Hanım's elitist and racist attitudes, which are conveyed in *Unveiled* when she comments on the local Arabs of Beirut and their lack of hygiene and table manners, have suddenly vanished. Instead, she is depicted as a very charitable and empathetic person in the stories (*Unveiled* 52). In her marriage, Celile Hanım is depicted to be an equal of her husband Ali Ekrem Bey both inside and outside the domestic sphere. This is exemplified by her activities as an amateur diplomat, being the wife of the governor of Jerusalem, where she visits the holy places of each religion to state her equal attitude toward each of them ("Gold-Braided Uniform" 12). Additionally, inside the house, she has equal authority with her spouse on the decisions concerning their family, and their relationship makes them look more like a modern couple, and far from the oppressive patriarchy with which Ottoman society was associated in the West ("The Lesson of the Clock" 8). In other words, they seem to be a companionate couple that reformed long before the reforms of the republican regime in Turkey, strengthening Ekrem's argument that the Ottoman people were ready to embrace modernization and democracy long before they were put into force.

Representing the younger generation of women, another family member, Aunt Kerime, shares similar qualities with Celile Hanım and Aunt İclal (Celile Hanım's sister). Ekrem describes Aunt Kerime as follows:

> [T]he picture of feminine beauty and grace, short and slight with the tiniest waist had beautiful brown hair that fell almost to her ankles and the daintiest hands and feet. Her voice was low and musical, her eyes sparkled with vitality and yet had a depth of tenderness that seemed inexhaustible ("Turkish Protector of Animals" 12).

Aunt Kerime also "managed to be both feminine and forceful, tender and adamant whenever principles were involved" although expectations of upper-class Turkish women were to "look beautiful and helpless, to be submissive and obedient and certainly never militant." Moreover, Aunt Kerime likes working with the soil even though her mother scolds her by saying "Look at your hands. Are they fit for a lady?" She also refuses to wear the veil when the much older male gardener is around, despite the warnings of her mother; talks politics and marches to the sultan's palace with other suffragist women; and openly clashes with people if she sees they are mistreating their animals (12). Ekrem states that later in her life Aunt Kerime joins the Turkish Red Crescent, the equivalent of the Red Cross in the West. An active political subject with a feminist consciousness, she joins and later becomes the president of an organization called "Dernek," founded by "wealthy women to keep alive the beautiful embroidery of old and provide work for hundreds of needy women" (12). Hence, Aunt Kerime is a model of an avant-garde and reformed woman who participated in public affairs as not just a liberated woman, but also a leader. Through this example, Ekrem challenges the implied passivity of women in official histories that claimed that Turkish women received rights because of the reforms of the republican regime. These stories imply that educated reformists in the late Ottoman Empire, which included women among their ranks, actuated change. Aunt Kerime is a proactive subject who discusses politics, interacts with NGOs, and even participates in movements like women's suffrage. In a sense, women, at least those in the upper class, had already reformed themselves before the empire evolved into a parliamentary republic. Through these stories, Ekrem asserts that Turks were intrinsically prone to modernization in a western model and were not very different from their American counterparts.

The younger women of the household, Celile Hanım, Aunt İclal, and Aunt Kerime, provided a strong role model for Ekrem, which she expresses in her words regarding her Aunt Kerime: "I admired her and wished that when I grew up I could be like her" (12). However, Ekrem also conveys that the social condition of these women represented the paradox that signified the final years of the empire. For instance, they enjoyed more extensive rights in terms of financial matters compared to their western counterparts since

they could freely inherit and control their capital as Aunt Kerime does in one of the stories. Yet, due to the archaic civil laws of the empire regulating women's mobility and clothing, "the same aunt did not have the right to decide what she could wear on her dainty person, where she could or could not go" ("Aunt Kerime Goes A-Banking" 8). The stories also reveal intergenerational conflict, especially among women, about the gender roles they should assume in society. This had also been a problem in the United States between members of the cult of domesticity and new women as it was modernizing during the early twentieth century, and thus highly relatable. In Ekrem's tales, Little Aunt, the sister-in-law of Ekrem's grandfather Celal Pasha, represents motherly femininity and traditional domesticity. Part of the older generation, she is depicted as follows:

> Little aunt was short, included to be plump, with a round face and brown eyes the essence of kindness. She dressed immaculately in cool shimmering linens in the summer and cotton flannels in the winter. She invariably wore a broad black belt from which dangled numerous keys, for she ran grandfather's large establishment expertly. She supervised the housecleaning and the maids, planned the meals, and saw to it that they were served on time, for grandfather was very punctual and his life was geared to his watch. She was in charge of the supplies and the linen and spent a great deal of time sewing and mending ("Little Aunt" 12).

Both in appearance and behavior, Little Aunt constitutes a contrast to her daughter, Aunt Kerime. Little Aunt is dedicated to her brother-in-law, who is the embodiment of patriarchy. Even if she can speak up against her brother-in-law when she sees he is being unfair to his servants, she performs her domestic tasks with the same devotion and selflessness, suggesting that she was indeed a patriarchal woman—a stand-in for men when they were not around. She does not share her daughter's views on women's liberties, and as a member of the Turkish cult of domesticity, expresses her disapproval of the younger, new women, who advocate clothing reform. She asks, "What is the world coming to when women expose themselves indecently in the streets?" and on another occasion, she adds, "Such short pelerines and thin veils the girls wear nowadays! They might just as well step out in the streets in their dresses and bareheaded" ("Kandil Night" 8).

As urbanized upper-class women living in the capital of the empire, these women were in fact quite a small minority, so they clearly do not represent a complete picture of Ottoman womanhood. However, they do provide a compelling cross-section of this demographic group which, incidentally, was most compatible with *The Christian Science Monitor*'s readership. Another example is Big Aunt, the sister of grandfather Celal Pasha, who is described quite differently than Little Aunt. Unlike her sister-in-law, she is not devoted to domestic tasks, and is clueless with respect to essential domestic skills like sewing. Instead, she enjoys extravagant shopping sprees, during which she buys imported products in downtown İstanbul, implying the commercial centrality as well as the cosmopolitan nature of the city and providing a glimpse into the lives of the capital city's elite ("Shopping with Big Aunt" 12). Like her brother, she sustains a sort of social ecosystem around her. Her extravagance helps new merchants set up businesses; a Sephardic Jewish store owner in Arnavutköy and her servants benefit from her leftovers ("Arnaoutkeuy's Bon Marché" 8). For instance, she very generously cuts the fabric when she wants to make dresses for herself because she does not know how to use it efficiently. This is a hobby for her rather than a necessity, and her maid Amalia can even make dresses for herself with the remaining material ("Great-Aunt's Amalia" 8).

Ekrem's stories also indicate the existence of a social network around the matriarchs of her family, specifically Celile Hanım, Great-Grandmother, and Big Aunt. The domestic sphere was not isolated in the Ottoman Empire; women were in contact with one another, and they enjoyed freedom to an extent that allowed them to form communities. In other words, there was a network of harems in plural, rather than an isolated institution that the harem might indicate. Through these stories, Ekrem introduces and reinforces the traditions and rituals of elite of Ottoman İstanbul by adapting them for her western audience. In doing so, she was always trying to destroy stereotypes regarding the terrible Turk and the power he wielded over his women, children, and social inferiors. Seniha Hanım and Latife Hanım, two examples of this social circle, organize and lead events, which Ekrem uses to demonstrate how versatile and vivid the activities of Ottoman women could be within the domestic sphere or so-called harem. In Seniha Hanim's story,

for example, Ekrem depicts the “kina gecesi,” a traditional event revolving around a young bride preparing for her approaching wedding. The bride in this case is Seniha Hanım’s daughter Lale, and Ekrem describes details such as the young bride’s costume, the rituals, and the songs sung by the attendants of the event (“Celebrating Kina Gecesi” 17). Latife Hanım’s story, on the other hand, is set at a barbeque party, or more exotically, a “tandir party.” The authority of Latife Hanım as the hostess of the party and the interactions of invitees imply that their lives are not actually much different than those of Ekrem’s western readers (“The Tandir Party” 8). Similar to an American hostess, Latife Hanım possesses great authority in her household without the need for the presence or endorsement of a male family member. Thus, Ekrem demonstrates that she is the lady of the harem, not a slave for her husband, and not much different than readers of the *Home Forum*.

A similar tendency is seen in Ekrem’s discourse when she portrays women of lower socioeconomic classes or ethnic minorities. An Armenian woman named Miriam, for example, is defined as a “self-made woman,” a merchant who visits upper-class houses and sells her groceries with a porter following her around (“Miriam from Tekirdag” 8). Even though her non-Muslim background, middle-class socioeconomic status, and hometown Tekirdağ, might have provided her with more liberty compared to upper-class Muslim women of Istanbul like Ekrem’s mother, the values that Ekrem highlights in Miriam’s portrayal would once again be appreciated by her western readers. Ekrem makes her audience question whether or not these women were really helpless concubines, or more like themselves. The depictions of these women challenge Orientalist prejudices against the Turk. Instead, they emerge as strong and influential people, socially active in peer networks and the domestic sphere, in spite of restrictions in the public space. Hence, rather than being a sphere of captivity, the harem was the realm where Ottoman-Turkish women ruled as much as their husbands, without any sign of polygamy or oppression most of the time.

However, Ekrem’s depictions of women are not limited to only her family or their neighbors. In narrations that are equally rich in detail, current and former retainers and

servants exemplify different echelons of society, and their actions also allow Ekrem to provide the information regarding the quotidian life of Ottoman society. For instance, non-Muslim women can function within the social sphere around Ekrem's family without the restrictions that Ottoman-Muslim upper-class women experienced. Among these servants, Eleni is the most remarkable. Like Celile Hanım and Ali Ekrem Bey, Eleni is granted her own voice and given a complex personality as a cunning and sometimes mischievous, yet devoted, retainer that is faithfully attached to Celile Hanım in particular. Eleni reiterates her memories from her point of view and serves as a source of information and authenticity about the past which Ekrem reconstructs for her readers ("May Day in Old Istanbul" 8). To illustrate, Eleni's privileged status allows her to represent Ekrem's family at the wedding of one of their Greek neighbors, which Ekrem's mother cannot attend due to religious laws ("Eleni Goes to a Party" 8). This wedding is described as an instance of multiethnic euphoria, which proves Ekrem's claim of harmony among different subgroups of Ottoman society.

While Ekrem tends to be magnanimous in her narration of her personal world, she is not always so kind to those who lived beyond its borders. One target of criticism is Anatolian peasants, who are depicted as the worst kind of Turk and almost scapegoated for having constructed the stereotype of the terrible Turk in the United States and beyond. Anatolian peasant Zinette Hanım, for example, does not use utensils while having her meal, which serves as a major contract to Ekrem's emphasis on etiquette and table manners adopted from the West ("Zinette Hanoum's Homespuns" 10). In another story about an Anatolian woman, Ekrem says that they could tell "she was from Anatolia" by "looking at her tcharshaf, the gold bracelets on her arms and the gold pieces about her neck" ("A Lady from Amasia" 12). In a story about another individual, Meliha, from the Black Sea Region of Anatolia, the audience learns that she is sent by her family to serve Ekrem's household because it would help her "learn the city manners" along with other skills like literacy, which were not available in the rural areas. Even wearing modern shoes is strange for Meliha as she is transformed into an urban girl after her arrival with "a new dress, stockings" and a pair of "shoes" that hurts her feet ("Meliha from Trebizond" 12).

In this sense, the relationship between Ekrem's family members and even their closest servants is defined by social hierarchy and gaps between socioeconomic groups. Even prized servants invariably fall into the category of property. The audience discovers that Eleni was "loaned" to Ekrem's mother by her paternal Great-Grandmother, whom she was initially serving ("Visit to Yildiz" 8). Thus, even if Ekrem tries to compose a culturally democratic and egalitarian social structure through her depictions of her family, such examples disprove her argument. Eleni is not literate, revealing the true differences in the scope of opportunities available to Ottoman women ("Old Barba's May Wreaths" 12). Moreover, she is economically dependent on her employer, who is the only source for even simple commodities, such as a pair of slippers, and Eleni is scolded for wearing them out so fast ("Slipper Time in Turkey" 8). The dependence of Eleni on Celile Hanım for the purchase of daily objects implies that she is not paid for her services. She is basically working for food and accommodation and is never safe from reprimand or disdain.

Celile Hanım also controls Eleni's mobility. She cannot travel whenever and wherever she wants without Celile Hanim's permission ("Great-Grandmother's Dessert" 12). There are other details in different stories about the economic status of these servants. İkbal Dadı is a retainer who is so old she cannot serve anymore. Ekrem says that she lives a modest life with her late husband's pension, so she does not receive anything in retirement from the family for her past labor. Eventually, in her later years, she is dependent on Celile Hanım's charity to make a pilgrimage to Mecca as one of her last dreams ("Ikbal Dadi's Pilgrimage" 8). Additionally, a detail given in another story reveals that some of the old retainers entrust their savings to Celile Hanim, and she keeps them in a jewelry box, suggesting that they are very meagre and do not require a bank ("Ruby from the Bosporus" 8). Thus, equality and democracy emerge as theoretical concepts in many of Ekrem's stories.

Much like antebellum southern plantation mistresses, Celile Hanım cooks only for traditional events and only related dishes like Ashura. When she enters the kitchen, she supervises, taking the helm and leading servants like Eleni ("Ashoura Time in Istanbul"

8). She oversees the training of a new chef by translating a French culinary book and monitoring the process, so her involvement in the task of cooking is either a prerequisite of a traditional ritual or a sophisticated skill, like reading French, that her aristocratic family's preference for French cuisine required ("Cooks from Bolu" 8). As seen in these stories, there is also a hierarchy of chores. For instance, Eleni, as a senior resident retainer of the house, scolds a younger servant named Atina by saying "what do you know about cooking? . . . You were hired to do housework" ("Bakeries of Istanbul" 8). This detail indicates Eleni's superiority over Atina, a scullery maid who was hired to do less important tasks like cleaning and laundry. Heavy tasks, like cleaning rugs and carpets, are the responsibilities of servants like Eleni and Atina, so Celile Hanım is not involved in these tasks ("Rug Cleaning a la Eleni" 8). Consequently, the conditions of the servants in Ekrem's household reveal a hierarchical structure that undercuts her arguments regarding egalitarianism and democracy in her family as a microcosm of late Ottoman society.

3.4. CONCLUSION

Despite their contradictory nature, Ekrem's stories are extremely valuable because they are a slice of upper-class Ottoman life that no longer exists, that stood in direct opposition to the stereotype of the terrible Turk. Moreover, by depicting the lives of servants and members of other classes and ethnic groups, Ekrem added a measure of diversity and depth to the picture that most Americans had of Turkish life. All things considered, Ekrem's stories in the *Home Forum* of *The Christian Science Monitor* provide a unique source of information about the literary history of works published by Turkish writers in the United States. Moreover, her involvement in the operations of the TIO represents a watershed in this history, as in the late 1940s, the government of the Republic of Turkey officially made the decision to reform and reconstruct the image of Turkey in the United States. Therefore, Ekrem's discourse reflects this shift in strategy, and her approach in the short stories written for the *Home Forum* differs from her first work of fiction, *Unveiled*, in significant ways.

In the *Home Forum* stories, Ekrem consciously develops a discourse reconstructing a national past for Turkey by redefining Turkish-speaking, Muslim Ottoman population as a separate ethnonational group. Her stories also glorify this history in order to prove that Turks were culturally democratic, cosmopolitan, and egalitarian people due to their nomadic background and interpretation of Islam. She argues that the empire and its people were ready to reform and progress, yet they needed a reformist leader and education. In this sense, she perfectly echoes the narration of history in the books of Mary Mills Patrick, one of Ekrem's professors at the Constantinople Woman's College, and Ali Ekrem Bey, her father, whose views are repeatedly conveyed in her stories. Her writing also parallels earlier Turkish writers including Halide Edib and Ahmed Sabri, which is partly because of their reaction to the same Orientalist prejudices in America. Therefore, Ekrem's definition of the past reflects a certain ideology that she inherited from her educators, family, and the writers of the era.

Ekrem tries to reconstruct an image of the Turk that was aligned with the objectives of Turkish foreign affairs. This was understandable, given the fact that Ekrem was now serving as a part of the Turkish diplomatic corps in the United States and her stories were published in the *Home Forum* because of Nuri Eren. Hence, another goal of her discourse was to gain the hearts and minds of her readers, and she was perfectly tailored to achieve this objective due to her knowledge of American culture. Her depictions of the domestic sphere, or the infamous Ottoman harem, represent the most important element in her stories. Composed in tandem with the themes of equality, an appreciation of democratic values, and multiculturalism, Ekrem creates a lively domestic sphere in which the women of her family and their social circles interact with one another and function as subjects who are not very different from their western counterparts. Certain stereotypes of Orientalist narratives of the harem, such as polygamy, disappears, and in their place, strong and independent women like Ekrem's mother Celile Hanım, and her aunts İclal and Kerime are demonstrated as role models for Ekrem with their resistance to the oppression of the state and society.

However, Ekrem's narration has its own limitations. As she even admits, they reflect the coexisting contradicting aspects of Ottoman society. Little Aunt, for example, does not share the reformist views of her daughter Kerime, whereas Big Aunt and Great-Grandmother represent a small minority of the Ottoman population as elites of its capital city İstanbul. Other contradictory examples include the relationship between Celile Hanım and her servant Eleni. Despite Ekrem's efforts to create an idealized portrayal defined by a democratic culture and their "family" bond, the gap between social classes was striking, especially with respect to their economic power, educational background, and social status. Nevertheless, these stories provide an invaluable source of information about daily life and ordinary people in the final decades of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, even if her stories mainly focus on the elite Ottoman Muslim population of İstanbul, her attempts to include various social groups and their diverse representatives provide an abundant source of information from her progressive but limited perspective. As illustrated by the last chapter of this dissertation, the TIO would embrace this project on numerous levels through the work of Nuri Eren and other diplomats during the early Cold War.

CHAPTER 4
DEORIENTALIZING THE TURK: THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND DIPLOMATS IN RECONSTRUCTING THE TURK IN AMERICA DURING THE COLD WAR ERA

Beginning with the Turkish Commission for the New York World's Fair in 1939, this chapter delves into the changes in the representation of Turkey and Turks in America during the first decades of the Cold War. These years witnessed increasing involvement of the Turkish government in the attempt to reconstruct the image of the Turk in America. Cultural and literary materials constituted the main instruments, and this chapter aims to analyze the influences of this governmentalization of Turkish propaganda in America. In this matter, it argues that the Turkish Information Office, founded in 1949, was actually a hub that emerged in the middle of a network of Turkish journalists, writers, and diplomats, with its director Nuri Eren in the center of this web. Their operations involved the use of available means of communication, mainly printed texts, to enable and enhance the positive changes in the perceived image of Turkey in the United States. They were a part of the Turkish foreign mission to the United States in the era of rapprochement, symbolized by Turkey's participation in the Korean War and its ensuing admission into NATO in 1952.

However, the cultural and public diplomacy initiatives of diplomats and their connections did not start with the TIO. For this reason, this chapter begins with an analysis of Nüzhet Baba's report on the perception of Turks in America by the mid-twentieth century, and the actions required to reconstruct this image in parallel with the objectives of the Turkish government. Following this analysis, the discussion continues with İsmet Şanlı's career as a journalist-diplomat and her first lectures and writing. They are compared to existing texts regarding Orientalism and the prejudice of American society about Turks and Turkey in order to demonstrate Şanlı's use of her own appearance and manners as living evidence for the modernization that republican reforms brought in Turkey after 1923. What emerges is that her discourse, driven by two motives that deceptively seemed to be

mutually complementary, were potentially contradicting one another. Overrepresentation of the country's founder Mustafa Kemal as a heroic savior was undermining the role of other significant figures in the country's history, especially female heroes. This undermined her arguments about the democratization of Turkey.

The second half of this chapter argues that this trend in the discourse of individuals like Şanlı and her contemporaries, including Selma Ekrem, largely remained the same. The involvement of a government institution and bureaucrats like Eren also determined their agenda. Subjects in the official history of Turkey that authorities perceived to be problematic or impractical for the purposes of improving the relations with the United States were removed from narratives. This circumstance, for instance, led Şanlı to be concerned with only contemporary political events that would affect Turkey and its relations, so the idealism in the works of Halide Edib, Ahmed Sabri, which Selma Ekrem also had in her earlier works, disappeared entirely. In this regard, the third and last section of this chapter provides a comparison of Nuri Eren's later works to other contemporary writers like Eleanor Bisbee. It reveals that this discourse began deviating toward advocating the Americanization of Turks. Hence, the early Cold War was replete with strategies to deorientalize Turks because the Orient was unquestionably problematic. Eren also partially embraced this attitude in his ideas about the function and purpose of education in Turkey. Inspired by Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958), he interprets education as part of the inevitable linear progress from pre-industrial to modern society in the image of the United States as the beacon of westernization. Because of their inability to compete with prevailing ideas such as Orientalism, Islamophobia, and xenophobia, the publications of the TIO and the works of Şanlı and Eren ultimately did not leave a lasting impact on Turkish-American relations.

4.1. THE ARCHITECT OF THE TURKISH PROPAGANDA MACHINE: NÜZHET BABA

After the interlude that the Second World War caused, the increasing dynamism in the Turkish Foreign Mission to the United States resulted in the establishment of the New York-based Information Office in 1949 (CA 30-18-1-2, 120-53-11). Within a couple of years, it evolved into an independent unit, the TIO, and Ahmet Şükrü Esmer became the founding director with Nezih Manyas as his assistant (Turko-American Cultural Relations). Esmer was a natural choice for the Turkish government because he was already a professor of international law and political history at Ankara University. Also, during his education at Columbia University, where he received his doctorate, he became acquainted with other Turkish students, including Ahmet Emin Yalman, and published a weekly newspaper entitled *Sada-yı Vatan*, which became the first Turkish newspaper in America. By the time he passed away in 1982, Esmer was regarded as one of the leading authorities in diplomatic and political history at the end of an aspiring career as a journalist, diplomat, professor, and partliament member ("Açılış Konuşmaları" in *Prof. Dr. Ahmet Şükrü Esmer'i Anma Günü Çerçevesinde "Kıbrıs Sorunu" Paneli*; "Bölüm 9: Ahmet Şükrü Esmer").

Nevertheless, the ultimate decision to invest in this new department was taken after the report of another Turkish diplomat in the United States, Nüzhet Baba (Duman 378–387). Baba was another graduate of Robert College who was employed by the Turkish foreign service during this period. In fact, his great-grandfather Nafi Baba was one of the founders of the college, as he donated some of the adjacent land of the Bektashi order, which he was leading as its sheikh (Maden 195). Unlike his ancestors, however, Nüzhet Baba did not want the inherited title of his father and escaped the ascension ceremony. When religious orders and sects were banned with a 1925 decree, he pursued a secular and modern career in governmental positions and social organizations, much like his contemporaries graduating from other prestigious schools of İstanbul (198). His employment as the press attaché to the Turkish mission in the United States became an

opportunity for him to put his educational background and social skills to use (CA 30-18-1-2, 107-98-4).

Baba's first report on January 26, 1948, deals with the debates in Congress about the distribution of the American aid under the Marshal Plan and the Truman Doctrine. After reporting the dominating views of these proceedings, Baba states as it was advised to him by George Brittin, former director of the American news office in Turkey, that it was necessary to promote Turkey. Specifically, Turkey needed to inform American legislators and other officials about its significance in global politics compared to its neighbors that were members of the Eastern Bloc, namely "Romania, Bulgaria or Yugoslavia," especially in an era when American interests were increasing in the Mediterranean and the Middle East (CA 30-1-0-0, 101-626-5). At the end of his report, Baba reveals the expectations of the American and Turkish governments from each other; the former intended to prevent the expansion of Communism and atomic weapons with the initiatives like the Marshall Plan and the Baruch Plan in the post-war era, while the latter desired to benefit from these American initiatives in order to receive funding for its suffering economy and stalled development programs as a result of the Great Depression and the Second World War. After this report, Baba wrote three more about recent developments in American politics, mainly concerned about the increasing tension between the United States and the Soviets, critical issues between the Allies and potential partners like Italy and Spain, and the upcoming American elections of 1952 (3–10).

Interestingly, most of Baba's observations and suggestions on public diplomacy were already known and addressed by Ambassador Münir Ertegün during his term in the office, from 1934 until his death in 1944. A letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey on April 30, 1935, shows that Münir Ertegün had informed the ministry about Selma Ekrem's desire to write another book about Turkey, which eventually became *Turkey, Old and New* in 1947 (DBTDA 502, 23154-101274-4). Ahmet Emin Yalman's travel account, *Havalarda 50.000 Kilometre Seyahat Notları*, covering his visit to the United States in 1942 also shares many examples of the events organized by the embassy and consulate

of Turkey in Washington, DC and New York City, respectively, under the leadership of Ambassador Ertegün. Therefore, in 1948, Nüzhet Baba reintroduced these ideas because he realized the interruption in Turkish public diplomacy in America caused by Ertegün's death.

On November 24, 1948, Baba sent a much more detailed report on the causes and potential solutions of the negative image of Turkey in America (CA 30-1-0-0, 101-628-9). The first part of the report explains the reasons behind this negative image through eight points. First of all, he says that Turkey had a negative image due to the Greek and Armenian diasporas that published profusely. He says there had been approximately "7-8 hundred" books and "thousands" of articles published after the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832) propagating against Turkey.[9] He gives an example from the Library of Congress, which includes only one work that defends the Turkish position concerning the Armenian issue. He concludes that as a result, even if most of the works published after 1925 placed Turkey in a more positive light, the republic's reforms and the democracy movement during the İnönü Administration were underappreciated in America. In the second and third points, he explains the historical image of Turks as the enemy and oppressor of Christians and minorities within the Ottoman territories, and also underlines the Property Tax that was enacted in 1942 and levied on non-Muslim citizens of Turkey, which could not be properly justified in the American media (1–3).

In the next point, Baba discusses the content of the work published on Turkey over the past hundred years. Most of these works were replete with "nonsense" and "fantasies" about life in the harem and other Oriental stories, and publishing houses and their equivalents had been dominated by these images. In his fifth point, Baba claims that all of the textbooks studied in American high schools and many advanced texts in history and geography were "far from having any quality to promote sympathy toward" Turkey. These books, he says, were dealing with what had happened in Turkey fifty years before their time and mention republican reforms "only in few lines" (3). Due to this reason, he

[9] The quotations from Nüzhet Baba's report were translated by the author of this dissertation.

asserts, there is not a "passing day when those, from middle school students to College and University fellows request publications about" Turkey from the embassy and the Office of the Press Attaché, where Baba was serving. He says that even if their offices could meet these requests, there were millions of Americans that they could not reach.

Baba's report also provides interesting insights on American culture and society, displaying his ability to interpret the intricate elements of social life in America. Knowing the American lifestyle and its consumer culture, Baba argues two aspects of Turkish diplomacy in America, namely the promotion of Turkish products and reconstructing the negative image of Turks, can actually compliment one another. In this matter, his sixth and seventh points claim that because of the long distance between the United States and Turkey, commercial, cultural, and touristic affairs were underdeveloped, and this was a strong factor in the prevalence of the negative image of Turkey in America. Baba, however, reaches another conclusion that explains why he thinks increased commercial activity between the United States and Turkey is also a fundamental part of improving diplomatic relations between these countries. He explains the function of the media in the age of mass consumption, so he says, "if there is a commodity to be sold, or to earn appreciation or support and gain their sympathy, the only way is to begin an 'advertisement' or a propaganda campaign." Consequently, he argues politics and diplomacy also had to adopt to this new era as follows:

> If it is taken into consideration that even the Presidential candidates strive for months by travelling all across the country and almost ringing every door in order to promote themselves to make people love them, one can understand what ways need to be followed, providing that it is desired to gain Americans' sympathy (4).

Thus, any diplomatic enterprise to reconstruct Turkey's image in America required a proper publicity designed for that purpose. In America, where almost everything, including politics, was determined by the market and consumption, Baba was aware Turkish diplomacy also had to adapt.

In the second part of the report, Baba depicts the contemporary situation in America. Even if after the Truman Doctrine, American "media and press, and radio et cetera" became more positive with regard to Turkey, he does not seem to be satisfied with the overall result. In this respect, he refers to three works published in the last four years in the United States. The first one is *Armenia Reborn* (1947) by Charles A. Vertanis, followed by *Life Line to a Promised Land* (1946) by Ira A. Hirchmann. The last work Baba refers to is *I Ask You Ladies and Gentleman* by an unnamed Armenian writer.[10] In the report, he emphasizes that Hirchmann is Jewish, so he implies the religious and ethnic identities of these writers were their driving motives. Baba describes these works as "poisonous" due to their propaganda against Turkey. On the other hand, he adds that there are also some "partly" positive publications, and among them was Selma Ekrem's *Turkey, Old and New*. Baba does not seem to be totally satisfied with Ekrem's book because he notes that it involves "legends" and negative representation of the Ottoman Era in order to glorify the republican era. This also could explain why Ekrem's stories in *The Christian Science Monitor* became a lot less critical about the Ottoman past once Nuri Eren became involved as Ekrem's connection to the editors of the periodical.

In the next section of his report, Baba refers to three works that had a positive impact on Turkey's image in America. Namely, *Turkey: An Economic Appraisal* (1949) by Max Weston Thornburg; *The New Turks: Pioneers of the Republic, 1920-1950* (1951) by Eleanor Bisbee; and an untitled book that was being written by Dr. Walter Livingston Wright, a professor of Princeton University, who had published a positive article about Turkey in *Foreign Affairs Quarterly*. Previously, Wright had been the president of Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College in 1938, which added the value of personal experience to his publications ("American Educator Returning to Turkey"). The most significant detail about this part of the report is that Baba accessed these works before their publication, suggesting a network involving academics, especially former faculty from American colleges in Turkey, and Turkish diplomats in America. He clearly

[10] One theory is that this unnamed writer was Leon Surmelian who published a book with the same title in 1945.

explains that in the case of Bisbee's work, a prestigious American diplomat named "Harry Howard" who published articles about "the Dardanelles" and "Turkish-Russian-German Affairs" in a positive manner toward Turkey, had received a draft of Bisbee's book and showed it to Baba (7). Baba's comments about this draft were not completely positive, due to discussions of the Property Tax and the conditions of minorities in Turkey. For Baba, an ideal work of propaganda should not involve even a speck of criticism. Thus, he concludes this part of the report by underlining his awareness of his duty and the necessity for an organized, institutional effort to conduct counterpropaganda in America.

Consequently, Baba dedicates the remaining parts of his report to explain what Turkey could and could not do with respect to this matter. He begins by saying that it is impossible to spread propaganda from Turkey to America directly via the radio or news. It is because America is "a realm on its own that cannot be compared to European countries," and "ninety-nine percent of its people" do not follow foreign news. Also, he states that it was "well-known by the higher authorities" of the Turkish state that American media agencies had divisions in Turkey, the Associated Press and the United Press, reporting everything happening in Turkey at such speed that would be "unbelievable without personally witnessing it" (7). Therefore, he concludes, it would be futile to publish a "news bulletin" in America given this sort of competition. In the last two points, he reaches a conclusion by recognizing Turkey's needs and shortcomings in the movie industry. He argues that Turkey needs an "intense" propaganda campaign because the opposite would be "a matter of hundreds of years," yet it would be very difficult given the underdeveloped situation of the country's movie industry (8).

Baba begins the fifth and final section of his report with proposed solutions. He advocates the employment of "indirect" methods of propaganda rather than "direct" attempts, so he foresees "largely publishing the Turkish view" as opposed to "directly denying a subject" or "harshly defending the Turkish view about a case" (9). Thus, he proceeds to present his suggestions as a long list of points. In his first few points, he advises the publication of a "cheap" periodical like "La Turquie Kemaliste," published by the government of

Turkey in French for the same purpose. Baba says this would cost no more than "1000 dollars in a month," and its copies could be distributed to "thousands of public libraries" as well as other "thousands of libraries at colleges and universities" (10).[11] He also suggests shooting short movies with 16 mm film, instead of 35 mm, which was hard to access in Turkey, and distributing them to libraries. Here, he refers to the Soviets, the United Kingdom, India, and Canada, all of which, in addition to "many other countries," had distributed such materials in America in the past (10). However, Baba also adds that Turkey did not have any experience in making movies that would appeal to the American people's "state of mind," so he advises the employment of experienced Americans for this purpose. Before concluding this point, he underscores that it is necessary to carry out "propaganda that is made with movies" since "it would largely appeal to American people more than any other medium" (10–11). In his last points, Baba advises the primacy of soft power by suggesting ideal cultural diplomacy initiatives, such as inviting writers, scholars, and American higher education students to Turkey, as well as the establishment of a "people's house" in Washington, DC that would "constantly represent Turkey in terms of culture and arts." If this is not possible, he suggests organizing dinners or "Lunch Clubs," which appealed to Americans. In the end, he states that "it is known by everyone in Washington, DC that the English greatly benefited from such events during the Second World War" by gaining a "large body of friends" in America (11).

Although, as previously stated, some of Baba's comments and suggestions were based on the work of previous diplomats such as Münir Ertegün, some of his contributions were original. First of all, he clearly states that America is "a realm dominated by women," with "thousands of women's clubs all across the country." Therefore, people who can "present conferences and screen films" in these organizations should be appointed to this job. Also, Baba points to the presence of "800 Turkish students" in America, who could be utilized for the promotion of Turkey due to their interactions with their American

[11] The TIO would eventually publish a newsletter, *News From Turkey*, that would fit this model. It would be distributed to Turkish associations in the United States, libraries and other organizations, as well as to private homes, based on subscriptions.

friends (12). Almost all of these statements imply working with İsmet Şanlı, a known figure in the network of Turkish diplomats and their families in the United States because of her connection to the Ertegüns and her father's popularity in the Turkish press. An educated woman who was skilled in public speaking, she had would become the cover girl of Turkish propaganda campaign in the years that followed. Like Selma Ekrem before her, Şanlı travelled across the United States and talked to many clubs and societies, just as Baba had suggested. In these events, Şanlı managed to reach women among the local elite. This also gave her an opportunity to be published by the local press; thus she could spread her message even farther after the events.

Baba's other suggestions included "leasing hour-long air time" from national and local radio companies, along with establishing "close relations" with institutions such as the Library of Congress, libraries of major universities, and the Middle East Institute in Washington, DC. As part of these operations, he also advises forming three "Turkish Institutes" in different regions of the United States where Turkish professors would be "slowly sent" (13). He also states that "the establishment of affairs" is necessary "in the field of music," which means Baba was capable of realizing the potential of cultural materials in public diplomacy. Perhaps, even more significantly, he advises opening "reading rooms" which would be "in busy streets, on the same level as the sidewalks," and their "display windows would be adorned with Turkish works" (14). Baba believes these rooms could attract "thousands of men, women, and students." Clearly, he recognizes the potential of printed materials and literary works in the conduct of diplomacy. At the time, cultural diplomacy, as a concept, was relatively unknown. Thus, Baba was quite ahead of his time when he wrote his report. Public diplomacy between diplomats was the more recognized route, yet Turkey was also lacking in this area. He says it would be an endeavor spanning years and requiring massive investment. He suspects this was probably because Turkey still did not "accept America on the same scale as another European country," a grave mistake in the administration of Turkish foreign affairs especially in the wake of the Second World War (15). To help his audience grasp this concept, Baba, in the conclusion, articulates that "even if they are not siblings, but at

least, close relatives, the English spend a million dollars in [the United States] for their information services" (15). Therefore, the reader could only calculate how much Turkey would need to spend for the same purpose, and there was absolutely no time to lose.

4.2. THE BEST-KNOWN TURK IN AMERICA: İSMET ŞANLI

When Ahmed Emin Yalman entered the General Motors building in New York to meet Nermin Menemencioğlu, Selma Ekrem, and İsmet Şanlı in the venue of the Turkish Commission for the 1939 New York World's Fair, he discovered that his new colleagues were not just a group graduates of American schools for girls in Turkey. They were also the representatives of an extensive network of Turkish bureaucrats, politicians, diplomats, writers, journalists, artists, and their families. For instance, as the daughter of Muvaffak Menemencioğlu, Nermin Menemencioğlu was actually the daughter of one of Selma Ekrem's cousins from the marriage of Namık Kemal's daughter Feride Hanım, or Aunt Feride as Ekrem would call her in her stories, with Rıfat Bey, who later took the surname Menemencioğlu. Therefore, there were two of Namık Kemal's granddaughters in the same room appointed for the same mission (*Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim* 1098–1099). The Menemencioğlu family was quite active among the diplomatic corps of Turkey in its formative years; for instance, Numan Menemencioğlu, Nermin Menemencioğlu's uncle, served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in one of İsmet İnönü's cabinets arguably during the most challenging years of the republic's history from 1942 to 1944. To put it differently, Selma Ekrem's cousin from her Aunt Feride was one of the most prestigious diplomats of the era. In addition to these connections, Selma's younger sister Beraet was also present in New York because her husband Ziya Anata was the radio announcer for the programs of the Turkish mission (*Havalarda 50.000 Kilometre Seyahat Notları* 27–28). Yet, according to an earlier newspaper report in 1926, Beraet was "an ordinary clerk" at a bank ("Turkish Women Break Bonds of Centuries; Work"). This story depicts Beraet pursuing a simple life as an ordinary office worker, but this very same text also underlines her reformed appearance as a modern woman as well as the implications of her new role in society as a professional woman and subsequent economic freedom.

She, like her sister and İsmet Şanlı who were both affiliated with the Turkish diplomatic corps, represented the embodiment of Turkish progressivism and democratization. Therefore, these stories also prove that almost a decade before Nüzhet Baba's report and the founding of the TIO, the Turkish mission in America was already in action, collaborating with the American press to spread their message.

However, the third member of this group of former Ottoman elites was equally interesting, and her story reveals the fact that this network extended much further than the family connections of the grandchildren of Namık Kemal. Born to an established family in İzmir, İsmet Şanlı's father Mehmet Sırrı was a newspaper publisher and playwright, and according to Alma Whitaker from *The Los Angeles Times*, Şanlı was also the niece of "a former Ambassador to the United States," yet she does not specify which ambassador ("Turkish Women Put Equal Rights to Work"). Nevertheless, a newspaper story, published again in *The Los Angeles Times* on September 1, 1941, mentions İsmet Şanlı as a "longtime friend" to Ambassador Münir Ertegün's spouse Emine Hayrunnisa Rüstem Ertegün, briefly introduced as "Madame Ertegün" by the newspaper ("Family of Turkey Envoy Takes Films of Southland"). Therefore, even if it is not clear which ambassador was Şanlı's uncle, it is certain that she was close with the Ertegüns regardless of whether or not she had any family ties with them. Yet, the most significant detail in this newspaper story about the ambassador's family is not Şanlı's connections, even if it shows how much this network was extending. The important detail is the depiction of Emine Hayrunnissa Rüstem Ertegün and their daughter Selma Ertegün, whom the reporter describes with the following words:

> Selma, with large black eyes, American hair dress, Hollywood frock, does not appear remotely related to the mystic veiled ladies of the harem. Her auburn-haired mother, smartly dressed, and fascinated with her camera, does not either ("Family of Turkey Envoy Takes Films of Southland").

The Ertegüns, therefore, did not look any different from their American counterparts in terms of their appearance and manners. Their mentioned activities in the same story involves driving their automobile across southern California in order to "make color films

of New Orleans and other interesting spots." Emine Ertegün, thus, stands as a portrayal of a woman who holds the reigns of her family and enjoys the freedom of mobility and the ability to use the brand-new technology of the era. Moreover, she does all of these independently of her husband since there is no mention of the presence of the ambassador on this trip. Consequently, the reporter also realizes that this family, especially women, do not "appear remotely related to the mystic veiled ladies of the harem" ("Family of Turkey Envoy Takes Films of Southland"). In other words, compared to the exotic Ottoman women of the past, "Madame Ertegün" was a western woman resembling neither an Oriental "Hanoum" like Grace Ellison's heroines Zeyneb Hanoum or Melek Hanoum, or the shrouded female figures in Achmed Abdullah's novels. Two decades after the publication of these books, the mother and daughter Ertegün were strong examples of how the new Turkish women could not be chained by patriarchal religious customs anymore. Rather than playing the traumatized victims of a troublesome past, they were strong and independent women both in their actions and appearance.

Among the witnesses of this new breed of Turkish women was First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt who noted, on January 10, 1939, in her diary that "This morning I went to Mrs. Townsend's concert accompanied by Madame de Los Rios, Madame Ertegün, Mrs. William Bankhead and Mrs. Littleton Hambley" (E. Roosevelt "January 10, 1939"). Therefore, the spouse of the ambassador had managed to build good relations with the First Lady of the United States to the extent that she was one of her invitees to a concert with the spouses of a Spanish professor in exile, an influential American politician, and a member of the Roosevelt family. It can be inferred from these interactions with Eleanor Roosevelt that Emine Ertegün must have been educated enough to speak English fluently and function as an unofficial diplomat along with her husband, resembling the activities of Selma Ekrem's mother Celile Hanım during Ali Ekrem Bey's appointment in Jerusalem.

Moreover, Eleanor Roosevelt had another visitor from Turkey almost half a year before the New York World's Fair. She noted her impressions of this visitor in her diary as follows on May 20, 1938:

> I had two interesting visits yesterday afternoon. One from a young Turkish woman, Miss İsmet Şanlı, who is doing newspaper work in this country and who desires to deliver a series of lectures. So far, she has been urged by a few women's clubs to appear in Turkish costume, but refuses, because she says, she wants to interpret the new Turkey of today to American women. She has no interest in Turkey of harem days or the ladies of the early 19th Century in the United States.
>
> Miss Şanlı was dressed in the latest modern style and gave the impression of a very efficient young business woman. I feel as though the changes in Turkey had come very rapidly, but she insists this change has been coming for a long time. There have always been highly educated women in Turkey, but never before have they been able to use their education and training outside the home. Now, instead of refusing to give women jobs, the men are anxious to put trained women in responsible positions ("May 21, 1938").

On August 22, 1938, Şanlı reported her interview with Eleanor Roosevelt to *Halkın Sesi*, a local newspaper published in İzmir by her father, as well as a national newspaper, *Ulus*, for which she served as a journalist in the United States. In her story, she adds more details about the encounter. She says Roosevelt expressed her surprise by seeing how much "liberty" and "equality" Turkish women had acquired despite only having heard about the reforms in Turkey. They completed the interview with Eleanor Roosevelt's wishes for the success of Turkish women with their new rights and an expression of her desire to visit Turkey one day to see the changes with her own eyes ("Amerika Mektupları, August 22, 1938" 4). In fact, this interview followed another one that she had with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which was again reported in the same newspapers on August 20, 1938. Şanlı's report demonstrates that she managed to impress President Roosevelt when she was introduced to him after a press conference. Accordingly, the President expressed his pleasure to meet a woman journalist from Turkey and appreciated her ability to speak English ("Amerika Mektupları, August 20, 1938" 3). The first impressions of the Roosevelts demonstrate the successful results of Şanlı's new and modern appearance on Americans, contrasting with the images of Turkish women prevalent in American popular culture, and reinforced by those who asked her to "appear in Turkish costume" with no success. Refusing to be associated with concepts such as domesticity, submissiveness, and the exotic hedonism of the harem, Şanlı reconstructed herself as an epitome of the new Turkish woman. Şanlı, just like Selma Ekrem, utilized her modern appearance to enhance her discourse of the new Turkey. They both used their

own liberation and identity as educated modern women to impress their audiences, and their self-identity was meant to represent the reconstructed collective image of Turkish women in America.

Lectures and journalism were the main means that Şanlı utilized in spreading the gospel of the new Turkey. President Roosevelt was correct that Şanlı's ability to speak English was her most important skill because with that she wove a narrative of the new women in a reformed Turkey. Therefore, as her popularity increased, her lectures began finding their way onto the pages of both local and national newspapers. Only on July 11, 1939, almost a year after Şanlı's visit to Eleanor Roosevelt, an article written by Alice Hughes was published in three different newspapers with the title "New Turkish Woman." In her article, Hughes declares that "We're having a close look at 'The New Turkish Woman,' these days – the one that emerged from the harem and the veil after the war by dictatorial order." This interesting introduction to İsmet Şanlı paradoxically implied that the first Turkish government, under Atatürk, was a "dictatorial order" but led women to "emerge from the harem and the veil" (Hughes). Yet, the same article also reports Şanlı's words stating that "We Turkish women really owe our freedom to the late Kemal Ataturk," and also adds, "He had a wonderful mother, and he urged equality for us as soon as he rose to power. Now we have hundreds of women doctors, and many judges and legislators." In the same report, Hughes concludes with "Imagine–all that in a scant 20 year! Some Ataturk, he was." In addition to proving Şanlı's increasing popularity in the media, this story involves another discrepancy in the discourse. In Eleanor Roosevelt's diary entry, she conveys that her assumption, which she expressed by saying that "the changes in Turkey had come very rapidly," was corrected by Şanlı because, according to Eleanor Roosevelt, she "insists this change has been coming for a long time" (E. Roosevelt "May 21, 1938"). Hence, at best, there are tensions, or contrasts as Selma Ekrem would have said, in these accounts when taken as a whole.

This deviation was also a sign of the contradicting arguments in Şanlı's lectures, which seem to have multiple objectives stemming from different motivations. First, Şanlı aimed to promote closer relations between the United States and Turkey, so she endeavored to

prove that Turkey had become a modern nation-state in the model of the United States. After 1945, this became the main emphasis of her lectures due to the imminent threat that the Soviets posed against the Dardanelles and northeastern parts of Turkey. Taking into consideration that she was connected to the diplomatic corps and had already participated in a diplomatic initiative of the Turkish government in 1939, it can be argued this motivation was further encouraged by her contacts among diplomatic circles of Turkey in the United States. Therefore, the aim of transforming the image of Mustafa Kemal from an idealist dictator to a democratic savior was also a part of this motivation. Second, Şanlı genuinely wanted to promote the image of the new Turkish women in the United States. On February 21, 1943, Alma Whitaker confirms this when she reported that Şanlı decided to stay in the United States in order to explain to "Turkish women that American women are really normal–not all the motion-picture variety–and to American women that Turkish women are normal" (Whitaker 54). This statement shows how suavely Şanlı used the language to draw a parallel between American and Turkish women. She openly articulates that Turkish women were also more "normal" than what the literature and media depicted in the fantasies of the harem, as much as American women were more "normal" than what Hollywood depicted in Turkey. Almost a decade later, a columnist from *The Newark Advocate* would say that "The speaker was a Turk and a woman, of all things but she fell far short of resembling the 'terrible Turk' we've read about!" and "İsmet Sanli completely revised my picture of Turkey, both past and present after hearing her, I'd be ashamed to confess my ignorance of one of our best friends" ("On the Square with P. Wendell" 16).

However, Şanlı's two aims—promoting the reputation of the new state in Turkey and serving as a cultural bridge between the women of Turkey and America—were both mutually supportive and contradictory at the same time. What she meant by "normal" for Turkish women was apparently modernization in the western, specifically American, model, and this was linguistically reflected by the use of the same adjective for both women. To put it simply, she expected American and Turkish women to fit into their definitions of "normal" once she described them to one another. This image of the modernized women reinforced the argument that the reforms in Turkey were not a sham

but real attempts at progress and modernization. Hence, Mustafa Kemal and his supporters were genuine democrats and progressives. Constructing a woman's image that could be effortlessly relatable for both target audiences had its advantages in this matter. Yet, this very same argument also undermined the feminist interpretation of Ottoman history, which claimed that Ottoman-Turkish women also fought for their emancipation and finally achieved it with the reforms of the republic. This interpretation intrinsically implies that Turkish women were not the passive benefactors of the reforms who were "given" rights, but that they were enablers with their abiding dedication and activism. Thus, the image of the new Turkish woman that Şanlı embodied for her audiences had to contrast radically with the image and symbols associated with the Ottoman past, especially if Turkey wanted to secure American support for Turkey during the early Cold War.

Therefore, it was not a coincidence that this was also the time period when the sons of Ambassador Münir Ertegün, Ahmet Ertegün and Nesuhi Ertegün, were hosting parties with African American jazz stars as a sign of Turkish hospitality and solidarity with American artists against racism and segregation (Tan). Constituting a perfect example of how culture and art were employed as a means of soft power diplomacy by the Turkish institutions, these efforts also reinforced the activities of individuals such as Baba, Eren, and Şanlı. Taken as a whole, the stories, books, and lectures were all practical instruments used for the larger goals of Turkish foreign policy. The agents of this new discourse were journalist-diplomats like İsmet Şanlı and career diplomats like Nuri Eren. Unlike self-exiled idealists like Halide Edib and Ahmed Sabri, their discourse had to align with the goals of their employers. Selma Ekrem occupied a middle ground between these two groups because her career started in the latter group through her employment by the Turkish mission, and later switched to the former. This resulted in the differences between her first book *Unveiled* and her newspaper stories for the *Home Forum*. Overall, this new narrative required an emphasis on democracy and modernization in Turkey under the reforms of Mustafa Kemal, even if it sometimes contradicted other arguments. Turkish authorities were convinced that an alliance with the United States was the way to survive

the increasing Soviet menace, and it required establishing a positive image in the United States. In this case, aligning with the mission of the early Turkish Republic was the best course of action to follow.

Turkey became a member of NATO on February 18, 1952, and on November 25, 1952, Şanlı gave a speech about why "Turkey" was the "best friend" of the United States. She counted six points to support her claim: "Turkey (1) is the only country bordering on the Soviet Communist Party, (2) is the biggest U.N. force in Korea, next to the U.S., (3) has the greatest number of casualties in Korea, except for the U.S., (4) has the same ideals and principles as the U.S., (5) despite all the coaching, pressure and bribery, has resisted Russian influence in Turkey without aid from any other nation and (6) is a member of the Atlantic Pact" ("Turkey Best Friend U.S. Ever Had, Miss Şanlı Says" 3). These points were a declaration of Turkey's alignment with the United States during the early Cold War, as NATO partners in containment after the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and the Korean War. However, they were also a declaration of victory for Şanlı and the Turkish diplomatic corps in the United States because they had achieved their goal of securing membership in a supranational organization, beyond the United Nations, that would deter Soviet aggression against Turkey. Her emphasis on Turkey's involvement in the Korean War was deliberate because the year before (1951), the American dailies were celebrating acts of heroism committed by the Turkish Brigade in Korea ("Turkish Troops Use Cold Steel, Kill 500 Reds" 10). As Gavin D. Brockett puts it, "the 'Terrible Turk' of the past had reappeared, only this time fighting alongside rather than against the West" (Brockett 121).

The year 1952 was also the first time a newspaper introduced Şanlı as "Mrs. Harry Lynch,", so the changes around her also included her private life, and by marrying an American, she reinforced her position as pro-western ("See Possibility of World Peace" 15). Having won a double victory, her arguments pretty much continued along the same lines during the 1950s. Turkey became the bulwark against communism in her public lectures, and she even blamed the United States for suffering from "vacillation" against communism unlike Turkey, where "subversion and fifth-column activity practically [did]

not exist" because of their zero-tolerance hardline approach. Thus, she claims that she was "shocked" when she saw "reports of subversion in the United States" ("Turk Foreign Policy Praised" 12). Nevertheless, this was also more proof of Şanlı's ability to interpret American society successfully. Familiar with the Red Scare in the United States, Şanlı began playing upon this fear to sway her audience in Turkey's direction. She urged Americans to distrust the Soviets, even if they seemed to be demanding detente like Stalin's successor Georgy Malenkov did ("U.S. Too Liberal with Money, Turkish Woman Tells Club" 28). Within a few days after her subtle criticism of the United States, she brought up a complaint, which the American media found "justified." The cause of Şanlı's discontent was Britain's decision to buy cereal from the Soviets instead of Turkey, which was a "loyal and strong ally" ("A Justified Complaint by the Turks" 12). Hence, security and the economy continued to be the main concerns of the Turkish government, and Şanlı's lectures were completely aligned with these anxieties. This change in the approach, using Turkey's anti-communist image as a vehicle of diplomacy, meant prioritizing immediate real political concerns (realpolitik), rather than discussing concepts such as Orientalism.

Until 1964, Şanlı's lectures displayed the same discursive characteristics. Accordingly, the promoted image of Turkey was that of a reliable ally of strategic importance that left the Ottoman past behind it with a series of reforms, for which Şanlı continued to be the ultimate success story. Meanwhile, she advocated the primacy of supranational organizations like the UN and NATO in the conduct of diplomacy. In multiple lectures, she repeated the same statement of whether "might makes right" in order to make her audience ask the ethical and moral questions with respect to power politics ("Turkey Is Proof Man Can Improve His Lot" 4). As a representative of Turkish foreign affairs, and arguably among the most famous example in the United States at that time, Şanlı was reinforcing Turkey's NATO membership and its status as a recipient of generous American aid. Thus, Şanlı continued to promote the discourse that described Turkey as a moral and rightful victim of belligerent Soviets and a reliable and resilient ally of the United States.

As American interest started moving to other parts of the Middle East, Şanlı's discourse followed this shift in focus ("U.S. Cannot Purchase Middle East Friendship" 3). However, she broke her relative silence in an interview on the Cyprus Crisis of 1964. Her initial response emphasizes Turkey's "commitment to the West," adding that after the United States, Turkey had the greatest number of army personnel "'fighting for the common ideal and goal' in the Korean conflict," thereby explicating the military and diplomatic importance of Turkey and criticizing the Johnson Administration's infamous letter to Turkey concerning the Cyprus issue. She also argues that due to the proximity of the island to Turkey when compared to Greece, the Cypriot Turks, whom she considered an extension of the Anatolian Turkish population of 30 million people at that time, "actually [were] in the majority, as compared with the 900,000 Greeks on the island" ("Turkey Can Help West, U.N. Reporter Says" 14). By 1967, Şanlı was more concerned about the role of the United Nations in this crisis than any sort of representative of Turkey, constituting a complete turnaround when compared to the beginning of her career in America. Thus, the primacy of contemporary politics over the reconstruction of the image of the Turk in America dominated the end of Şanlı's career in the United States.

4.3. THE MAESTRO OF TURKISH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: NURİ EREN

Although he was not as well known as Ekrem or Şanlı, Nuri Eren was arguably more influential than both women, Münir Ertegün, and Nüzhet Baba in the network of people who contributed to the reconstruction of the image of the Turk in the United States during the early Cold War. He was another alumnus of Robert College who became a Turkish diplomat in America, but unlike Ahmet Şükrü Esmer, who later joined the diplomatic corps when they needed his skills, Eren was a career diplomat who previously served in various posts. The Robert College alumni magazine of 2001 announced his death on November 5, 2000, as follows:

> His professional career included serving as a special consultant in foreign affairs to then Prime Minister Saraçoğlu, took him to London to serve as a private consultant to the prime minister between 1945-49. From the years 1949 to 1958 he was in New

> York as head of the news bureau as well as a consultant in the United Nations delegation. In 1958 he became assistant to the permanent delegate of the U.N. and in 1972 he became the permanent U.N. delegate as an ambassador. Eren also became the Turkish ambassador to China between 1975-78 before retiring from active foreign service in 1978 (*RC Quarterly* 40).

Clearly, Eren was at the epicenter of Turkey's most important mid-twentieth-century diplomatic missions. He became the Director of the Turkish Information Office shortly after Ahmet Şükrü Esmer had been promoted to the position of the Director General of the Press, Broadcasting, and Information in Ankara (CA 30-18-1-2, 114-48-14). Moreover, Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu was not the only public figure with whom his path crossed during his career. A future prime minister of Turkey, Bülent Ecevit, was Eren's secretary during his London years. In Ecevit's memoirs, he mentions that Eren played a role in directing his interest from literature to politics in those years (Dağcı 13). In addition, Eren was Selma Ekrem's connection with *The Christian Science Monitor*, which published her stories over multiple decades.

Eren's American education gave him not only a masterful command of English and an appreciation of the western mode of thought, but also a sense of optimistic internationalism. For instance, in his study of Turkish foreign policy between 1943 and 1945, Edward Weisband asserts that the Turkish reaction to the Second World War was contradictory. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, another famous figure in Turkish political history, assumed a pessimistic tone about the ideas that were brought up by the representatives of the Allied powers at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in 1944, mainly on the grounds that they "would provide little real security for the smaller states." Nuri Eren, in contrast, supported these ideas since he believed that what became the UN Security Council would be the foundation of an international military organization (he was correct, NATO) (Weisband 296). The framework shaped at this conference defined the founding principles of the United Nations, so Eren's optimism actually represented his pragmatic approach to diplomacy after the Second World War. Like Şanlı, Eren also put his faith in international cooperation and collective security, two signature characteristics of optimism in the theory of diplomacy. An article Eren wrote in July 1951 takes this one

step further by arguing that the security of the United States was not independent of the safety of Greece and Turkey. He characterizes this situation as an "indivisible peace" and underlines Turkey's importance through three points, repeating almost exactly what Şanlı stated in her lectures regarding the benefits of Turkey as a potential NATO member:

> (1) Turkey, possessing today the greatest immediately effective military power in non-Communist Europe, would be a great asset in the unprepared state of the Western world.
>
> (2) Turkey is free of the internal menace of Communist fifth columns. She has a stable regime, and the new government that came to power in the elections of May 1950 enjoys overwhelming public support. In the present instability of Europe such a purposeful partner is unquestionably a great asset.
>
> (3) As I pointed out, Turkey occupies a key position in the defense of the Mediterranean, and to leave her outside of the defense system of Western Europe would encourage the aggressor to exploit the open gap to break into the Atlantic area ("The Middle East and Turkey in World Affairs" 79).

With this mindset, under Eren's directorship, the TIO published more than a dozen booklets and brochures intended to inform the American public about the new Turkey and Turks. The subjects covered by these publications ranged from democracy to progress, trade, women's rights, infrastructure, literature, cuisine, and health. They depicted Turkey as a country that progressed and modernized by taking the West as its model, while later publications in 1965 also took on contemporary issues like the Cyprus Crisis as their subjects. Although they were written in simple and clear language for a general audience, according to Nuri Eren's letter to Allen Dulles, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, in 1958, high-ranking bureaucrats and politicians were also considered among these publications' intended audience. These publications, in fact, were a product of Eren's search for new methods of public diplomacy, which is seen in his letter to Dulles:

> I am afraid that much of such exchange is wasted in sloganization in stale repetition of facts and figures, in cold and impersonal generalizations. There is much flesh, but no soul. In fact, as a result of the generalized intangibility and tenor of presentation, people are led to think of other nations as they would think of a swarm of bees, or of a host of ants. It is humanity dehumanized (Eren to Dulles 1958).

Eren adds that “this weakness in the classical treatment of international understanding” convinced him to “try a completely new approach in the present booklet,” which he gifted to Dulles in an attachment to his letter. The booklet was entitled *This We Believe in Turkey* and consisted of a series of reproductions of Turkish cartoons in English in around thirty pages. In his letter, Eren, who was also the editor of the booklet, states that his choice of material was a result of his “belief that humor even more so than music, is a specifically human attribute; and good natured humor is bound to nurture an effortless, instinctive brotherliness among peoples of difference clime and color” (Eren to Dulles 1958). Therefore, he employed cartoons and thus Turkish humor with the expectation that readers would feel empathy and a sense of unity with the Turkish people by sharing their sense of humor. In his reply, Allan Dulles confirms Eren’s expectations by saying that “It is refreshing evidence of the fact that humor is a universal language, transcending all political boundaries as well as linguistic and ideological barriers” (From Dulles to Eren 1958).

The content of the booklet involves a sarcastic tone that targets a great variety of subjects such as politicians’ hypocrisy, the economic difficulties that people shoulder, and discrepancies between different government departments. The title of the booklet *This We Believe in Turkey* forms the beginning of a sentence that each cartoon completes, so they represent what Turks believe, and in all of them, there is situational irony between the depictions of the cartoons and the associated statements. For example, under the statement “that politicians lead the way,” a politician walks in front of a group of people and leads them “in time of peace.” However, on the next page, the same politician hides behind a company of soldiers because this time, the note says, “in time of war” (*This We Believe in Turkey*). At the top of another cartoon, it states “that Man is a civilized animal,” whereas in the cartoon two men are depicted in the middle of a fistfight in front of a dog and a cat that are watching them, surprised by this scene. The booklet is full of images like an anthropomorphized image of the Earth that cries at the news of the second marriage of Marilyn Monroe while sitting on top of an enormous bomb. It criticizes the international community’s prioritization of mundane subjects, while disregarding the

threat that nuclear weapons constitute. In another example, a man is shown holding a military uniform in one hand and the striped suit of an inmate in the other, and above his head is the quote "that Communism guarantees freedom of choice." In brief, these dark but also humorous images were intended to make readers see that they could laugh at the same things as Turks, indicating that it is possible to draw bridges of universality between distinct cultures through humor.

Like Ekrem's Home Forum stories, Ereen's publications also sought to make Turks, their history, and their everyday lives relevant to American audiences. The TIO extended this project by emphasizing a variety of topics from cuisine to literature and education, focusing on cultural diplomacy to universalize concepts and underscore the similarities, and not differences, between Turkey and the United States. For this purpose, the TIO employed Robert T. Hartmann, a famous journalist from *The Los Angeles Times* who later served as a counselor to Gerard Ford during both his vice presidency and presidency. Visiting multiple locations in Turkey like İstanbul, İzmir, Ankara, and Konya, in his articles Hartmann portrays a country that was stoutly standing against communism with its impressive military strength, while continuing its progressive modernization in terms of education and industrialization with the help of the American aid programs (Hartmann 3–30). According to Hartmann, this was proof of the success of the American capitalist model in the modernization of a country like Turkey, so the title of his main work was *Uncle Sam in Turkey*.

Eren believed in the importance of journalism as a means of bringing images of the new Turkey to America. For instance, Maynard Owen Williams, a National Geographic journalist who came to Ankara in 1945 after receiving his press card from "the Turkish Press and Printing Bureau," was accompanied by none other than Nuri Eren, who drove him to "a modern broadcasting studio." In the studio, Williams reported witnessing "a recording made for transmission to America" by a modern-looking young Turkish woman announcer with equipment that only a "few studios" could surpass. Williams also observes a country that has come of age because of the republic's reforms in almost every aspect of life (Williams 581–616). A modern woman announcer, reminiscent of Şanlı and

Ekrem, using state-of-art broadcasting technology was the new face of Turkey. Published by the TIO, another work from this era was *Women in Modern Turkey* (1948). It begins its narration with a claim that follows the official history of the era, stating that "before the Ottomans, in the earliest days of Turkish community life, women and men were free and equal" in the twelfth century (*Women in Modern Turkey* 3). Representing the official narrative once again, it argues that Turks learned the oppressive customs of domesticity from the Byzantine "gynoecia," which basically inspired the Ottoman harem and legal practices concerning women living in cities. After briefly referring to Ibn Batuta's observations about the freedom and equality enjoyed by rural women in the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth century, the narration leaps to a reference to Halide Edib as the prototype of new Turkish womanhood in the early twentieth century as a politically active woman who supported the Turkish War of Independence (5). Finally, the narration switches its focus to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's support for the women's cause, and the writer quotes his words, conveyed in İzmir in 1924:

> Here are a few last words: our mothers have done their best to educate us. But what we need hereafter are men with a different mentality and culture, and this will only come through future mothers. They are, and will be, the foundations required to maintain the independence and honor of the New Turkey (qtd. in *Women in Modern Turkey* 7).

Apart from the overemphasis on the role of women as wives and mothers at the beginning of this text, it depicts a modern image of Turkish womanhood by emphasizing the importance of education, working beyond the domestic sphere, and professional success. However, in doing so, it also implies that those who cannot access higher education and follow in the footsteps of role models like Halide Edib would be left with few prospects, and they would not be able to access the kind of public life expected by the citizens of a democratic republic.

Another example of a TIO publication that was designed to recuperate the image of the Turkish woman in American was *Turkish Recipes* (1952). On its cover is Günseli Başar, Miss Europe 1952 (the year Turkey joined NATO), with her modern attire, make-up, and short curly hair, peeling eggplant on a kitchen counter. As the foreword conveys,

> Empire Builders–that's all the majority of the world's people know about the Turks. Few have ever given a thought to the culture and civilization that made the Turkish Empire possible and enable the Turks to sustain it for eight centuries at the crossroads of three continent.
>
> We are distributing this cookbook to introduce an important aspect of Turkish life, for the Turks have an ancient prover: "a man is made by the food he eats." Perhaps, behind the niceties of Turkish cuisine, you will be able to catch a more intimate glimpse of the breed of people who have built the Blue Mosque (*Turkish Recipes* 1).

The writer of *Turkish Recipes*, whose name is not specified, argues that Turks, who are "noted gourmets," are the representatives of an advanced civilization as the architects of landmarks like the Blue Mosque, and that this cookbook represents another pillar of their civilization, Turkish cuisine. Here, Ottoman imperialism is reinterpreted as a sign of civilization, rather than the subjugation of other civilizations as part of expansionist policies. It is also an explanation of how Ottoman cuisine spread to lands conquered by the Turks (the cookbook does not entertain the idea that Ottomans absorbed local foods into its own cuisine).

This introduction is followed by the assertion that to "savor food with an eye to the sea or to a garden bathed in moonlight, so characteristic of the European continent, had its origin in Ottoman Turkey" and that "it was the Viennese who carried it westward, having learned about it from their Turkish neighbors" (1). In other words, Ottoman Turkey was at the center of all culinary origin myths in the region. The book also provided information about the eating habits of Turks, who engaged in "open-air dining in summer" as "part of the Turk's everyday life," and how this culture of luxury and pleasure was something that the West learned from the Turks. Therefore, Turkish food culture was not equal but superior to western civilization, overturning the roles of the civilizer and the civilized, the Occident and the Orient, of the nineteenth century. Clearly, such texts suggested that the Turk never actually terrible; the West was. This confident tone, demanding the superiority of the Ottoman Empire as an Oriental civilization before Occidental civilizations could even be traced, is clearly expressed in *Turkish Recipes* and other TIO publications from the 1950s.

Complementing Ekrem's *Home Forum* stories, *Turkish Recipes* also provides elaborate details about the ingredients used in Turkey. Indicating the advanced taste of the Turks, the writer states that they look for specialized products from certain regions, such as the Amasya apple or its competitor from Gümüşhane (2). These details are given as support for the claim that "Turks are known gourmets" and members of an advanced civilization, while promoting Turkish products for potential American consumers and tourists. Yet, the recipes were clearly deliberately chosen to be accessible to American readers, and the Islamic heritage of Turkish cuisine is not part of this narration. Despite being a strong alcoholic drink, "raki, distilled from grapes and flavored with anise, is Turkey's national drink." The author calls it "Turkey's wine" to help contextualize rakı's place in Turkish culture (3). However, this description of rakı involves a strong claim: that a Muslim country has an alcoholic drink as its "national" choice. In such texts, however, Turkey is stripped of all religious connotations. It is a secular country where an alcoholic beverage could represent the nation. The recipes chosen for the cookbook include authentic dishes such as "wedding soup," "shish kebab," "dolmas (stuffed vegetables)," "boerek," "lips of the beauty," and "yogurt dessert," with ingredients that could have been found in any 1950s American supermarket. The "lips of the beauty," standing out with its strange name indicating the difficulty the translator experienced adapting its name to English, required only butter, water, flour, salt, eggs, vegetable shortening, sugar, and lemon juice, all of which were accessible to the American reader. The "dolmas" and "boerek" recipes are not any different in this respect, and even had the potential to appeal to American tastes (17). One of the recipes, "swordfish broiled on spits," is actually an Americanized interpretation of a Turkish fish dish since at the time, swordfish was not commonly found in Turkey (other types of local fish were uses in fish kebabs). However, swordfish was found in the United States, along with the Blue Marlin and other North Atlantic species (7). Such substitutions, which localized Turkish cuisine, increased the relatability of Turkish food and the chances that these dishes would be made by American homemakers and shared with friends and family.

In *Turkish Recipes*, the most authentic object might be the "jezve," a traditional coffee pot commonly used in Turkey, and it is included in the recipe for "Turkish coffee." Yet, the way the grinding of the coffee is not mentioned because it was not commonly available in America at the time. Most importantly, together with the images of the jezve is the traditional Turkish coffee cup and plate and a photograph of Gelengül Tayfuroğlu, sitting on a traditional Turkish divan, enjoying her Turkish coffee, and inviting onlookers to join her. She is introduced to the reader as "Miss Turkey 1952," so she was the perfect specimen of her kind, yet she "loves Turkish coffee" as well (35). Tayfuroğlu, a blue-eyed, fair-skinned young woman with open wavy hair smiling brightly at the photographer, wearing a short poncho on her shoulders and a dress that reveals her arms and hands, is the perfect combination of East and West. Alluring, yet an Americanized reconstruction that also reflects its ideals of womanhood and modernity. Clearly, these publications prove the ability of TIO officials to interpret American values and reconstructing the Turks for American readers. If a Turkish woman achieved renown in medicine, law, or even in beauty pageants, the TIO proudly presented them to American audiences, but they still needed to conserve their primary domestic roles as mothers and wives, producing and educating future generations of citizens for the nation-state. In this sense, Turkish coffee actually serves as a bridge between these definitions of Turkish and American womanhood.

Another subject of interest that TIO publications addressed was development and democratization in Turkey. One of the booklets, *Self-Government in Turkey* (1950), explains the government system with elaborate details, down to each eligible citizen's voting process, the government's judicial basis, and the institutions constituting the legislative and executive bodies. Addressing former criticisms, the booklet states that "it is obvious that everybody in Turkey, whether a Turk or a foreigner, enjoys without discrimination every right included in the democratic concept." It also adds that "In modern Turkey, among the people no less than in Governmental circles, there is a strong desire to weed out and abolish everything that in any way opposes the achievement of perfect democracy" (*Self-Government in Turkey* 2, 4). Accordingly, that the booklet

articulates that people in Turkey, down to its villages, as its smallest administrative units, benefit from democratic participation, equality before the law, and other fundamental rights like habeas corpus, free speech, and due process under a constitution. This description, of course, renders Turkey a miniature copy of the United States and therefore relatable to American audiences.

Another TIO booklet, *Turkish Elections of 1950 and the United States Reaction,* is quite significant since it discusses the American reaction to the first ever election in Turkey on May 14, 1950 that involved multiple parties. This election put an end to the Republican People's Party one-party rule which began in 1923. The consequences of the 1950 elections are visible on the first page. The new president, Celal Bayar, welcomes the reader instead of former President İsmet İnönü. Just like his predecessors Atatürk and İnönü, Bayar is seen with a clean-shaven face and a suit and tie, representing a modern politician looking very much like his western counterparts (*Turkish Elections of 1950 and the United States Reaction* 2). After Bayar's photograph, the booklet briefly introduces the members of the winning party, the Democrat Party, and the new cabinet, including Adnan Menderes as Prime Minister. It continues with his words on foreign policy, which stressed continuity, not disruption, in terms of Turkish-American relations.

In his first statement, Prime Minister Menderes promises that "Turkish Foreign Policy will remain unchanged," and that the pro-American foreign policy inherited from the former government would not falter (4). To explain his understanding of this foreign policy, Menderes states that "based on the traditional alliance with Great Britain and France and on the closest friendship and cooperation with the United States," it is his government's "greatest desire to make continually stronger political, economic and cultural relations which bind Turkey to her great friend the United States of America," along with Turkey's "great allies Britain and France," within "an atmosphere of complete understanding" (4–5). To confirm this understanding, he reiterates the commitment of his government to "safeguarding and strengthening the moral and material security of the Eastern Mediterranean." The only difference compared to the previous administration is an increased emphasis on "the need to establish closer relations with the Near East" to

achieve “the security of the entire Middle East and hence of the world” (5). He adds that “in the same spirit of understanding as before, we shall try to secure speedier and greater benefits from the material and technical aid extended to us in the military field by our great friend the United States of America.” Thus, Menderes announces the economic and development plan of his government, foreseeing its commitment to capitalist free market principles, budgetary austerity, and technological development. Additionally, he summarizes the other points of his government’s program under the categories of “state enterprise, commerce, customs, taxes, agriculture, roads and highways, health and social welfare, employer-employee relations, social security benefits, civil rights and liberties, courts of law, all state services and functions, and democratic reforms and developments” (6–7). Menderes’s comments are significant because they explain his government’s expectations regarding Turkish-American relations with an emphasis on continuity. The United States was a source of technical knowledge, material and monetary aid that supplied the rapid development of Turkey. Moreover, his emphasis on Turkey’s commitment to international laws while pursuing its national interests in Europe and the Middle East reveals how his government perceived American expectations.

These points are followed by the biographies of President Celal Bayar, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, and Foreign Minister Fuad Köprülü as a way to familiarize American audiences with these new political players and ease the transition out of the Atatürk-İnönü era (8–10). Of particular notes is the emphasis on Köprülü, a distinguished professor of history, who is pictured with Senator Henry Pulliam Cain and Ambassador George Wadsworth (10–11). The first half of the booklet reaches its completion with photographs of meetings, election booths, and a modern-looking young Turkish woman casting her vote (12–13). In short, Turkey is represented as a staunch ally of the United States with compatible values such as democracy and capitalism.

In the second half of *Turkish Elections of 1950 and the United States Reaction*, the TIO features speeches given by Senator J. William Fulbright and Senator Karl Earl Mundt in the Senate about the Turkish Elections of 1950, and it ends with two examples of perceptions by the American press. The Department of State defined the elections as “the

first in which fully organized political parties participated." They were "carried out in a manner that would do any credit to any of western democracies whose democratic traditions and institutions have been developing over a much longer period of time" (14). The comments of with Senator Fulbright, the founder of the Fulbright Commission, which is still sponsoring student and faculty exchanges all around the world, including Turkey, complement those made by Senator Mundt in Congress on May 26, 1950 on the positive reception of Turkey's new image in American high politics. Fulbright portrays the election as "a turning point" in Turkey, formerly referred to as "the sick man of Europe." He adds that "Turkey is an example of a country in which [American] assistance has paid great dividends" (16), especially in terms of democratizing the country through a multiparty system. He shares his observations, which he made the previous year, of the people of Turkey during his tour around Ankara "in company with the majority leader" of the country. He recalls being "much impressed by the character of the people, the sturdiness of the individuals, their toughness, their courage, their attitude toward communism and toward their own future." Fulbright repeats the idea that Turkey could be taken as an example of advancing democracy with its ability to "distinguish Communists from legitimate opposition," which was something that even Americans "seem to have great difficulty in doing" (17).

Mundt also states his appreciation of what Fulbright called the commitment of the new government of Turkey to "private enterprise and retreat from statism" (*Turkish Elections of 1950 and the United States Reaction* 16–17). He praises Turkey's education reforms and its"700 new school buildings" supported by "a teacher training system" that was "so good" that Americans "could learn something from it" (18). Mundt also admires "the spirit of freedom," "the spirit of self-determination," and the "private initiative" that Turks showed "long before the Marshall plan was conceived" (19). Fulbright confirms by conveying that "we have not built any of these projects, but we have helped them by way of giving technical advice and encouragement" (19). Both senators urge Congress to funnel funds to Turkey and to support private industry and modernization efforts.

Another interesting point that Mundt made was that Turkey still suffered from "exceedingly bad press," which Fulbright also confirms. According to Mundt, Turkey genuinely supported "the cause of freedom" during the Second World War, adding that it was not America that started the progress of development and democratization in Turkey, "she started it; we helped" (19). In the years after the war, Mundt expressed that Turkey proved itself as "the most important beachhead for freedom" not only among its immediate neighbors in the Balkans and the Middle East, but also in Europe (19). Fulbright and Mundt's statements explain the reasons behind the rhetoric of the TIO publications of the period. Turkey needed to prove it was both developing and progressing toward becoming a democratic capitalism as a result of the genuine impetus coming from its own people. The senators' points also reveal that American policymakers had to be convinced that American investment, including the Turman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, met its goals. For this reason, the images of young Turkish women being educated in new, secular, modern high schools and universities were just as important as successfully completed infrastructure projects. The TIO's publications would help convey these accomplishments and thus were extremely important in securing American aid for Turkey (for many, seeing was believing). If Turkey was going to be safe against foreign adversaries like the Soviets and continue its reform and development projects, it needed funding. To secure both from America, it had to be represented as a reasonable investment. Perhaps most importantly, Fulbright's final words underline the role of American institutions, inherited from the Ottoman Empire by modern Turkey, and among them Robert College, as successful examples of previous collaboration. He concludes his points as follows:

> There is one other item about Turkey to which I wish to pay tribute, and that is Robert College. That little college was established by private funds under the aegis of Americans. It is still functioning on the shores of the Bosphorus, a beautiful and inspiring location. Dr. Black, the president of the college, is a remarkably fine and courageous American. A great many of the leading Turkish citizens have had the advantages of a scholarship at Robert College. Their experience illustrates clearly the validity of the approach of the exchange-of-students program in which our Government is now engaged. In a small way and in a small area, it has been operating now for about 70 years. I think anyone who would take the trouble to examine the

> operations and results of that college could not help but endorse the program for the exchange of students which we are now undertaking (20).

The TIO's *1952 Progress Report from Turkey* continues this discourse with a photograph of President Celal Bayar examining a book in a library in formal western attire. The report, a translation of Bayar's address at the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in November 1952, shares a number of similarities with Truman's 1947 speech to a joint session of Congress that famously yielded the Truman Doctrine. Bayar focuses on "Anti-Communist Measures," which he defines as "a patriotic debt of honor" against "extremely leftist activities and provocation," adding them to the aims of Turkish foreign policy (*1952 Progress Report from Turkey* 2). He also warns against isolationism during the Cold War, which would be "nothing less than suicide" in his words, so he advocates for collective security and the importance of NATO to this end. Bayar defines his stance in foreign policy as "cautious optimism" due to "the vigilance shown by free nations," among which he includes Turkey (26–31). Before drawing his conclusions, Bayar calls Turkey's new foreign policy doctrine "Realistically Idealistic," and also underlines the importance of "Turkey's Prestige" meaning "the status of being a factor for peace and stability in the international field" (31).

This series of TIO booklets came to an end with the coup d'etat of 1960 in Turkey, after which the Turkish government permanently curbed the authority and independence given to diplomats such as Münir Ertegün and Nuri Eren. After this point, Eren continued writing under his own name, revealing another aspect of his modus operandi that distinguished him from other writers and diplomats in his era. His article published in *Foreign Affairs* in 1961 demonstrates his character as a highly educated bureaucrat and social scientist, which enabled him to realize the necessity of new methods in diplomacy. The article, "Turkey: Problems, Policies, Parties," discusses the underlying problems inherited from the Ottoman Empire and presents a blend of Eren's optimism with the impartial tone of a scientist's observations and analyses. As a result, what Eren provides is not romantic nostalgia of the past or a propagandist paper to convince readers of the success of Turkey in modernization; instead, it is a detailed examination of the country.

His tone and language are adapted for educated professionals such as bureaucrats and academics desiring to learn more about Turkey. The publication year of this article, 1961, was particularly critical for Turkey. After half a decade of political and social unrest, it was the end of its first experiment with the multi-party system that concluded with a coup d'état and the executions of Prime Minister Menderes along with two of his cabinet ministers. Turkish progress and modernization became a subject of question under this grim shadow.

Eren also published a book, *Turkey, Today–and Tomorrow* in 1963 that argued that Turkish reforms of modernization were actually an ongoing process and that its social aspects were taking longer than expected, which Mary Mills Patrick had also argued almost a century before. To exemplify, Eren expresses his argument in the following words:

> Turkey is in great convulsion. Every phase of her political, social, and economic life is in flux. Uncertainty reigns in the minds of her leaders. Confusion warps the spirit of her common people. Yet this self-probing is a manifestation of the most healthy phase of her reorientation. Now, for the first time, the Revolution is affecting man's relationship to man, man's relationship to society and to God. Now, for the first time, the common man of street and farm is actively engaged in seeking his true self. Now, for the first time, the political, social, and economic atmosphere of the country permits the search for individual self-expression. The quintessence of modernization has at last touched her grass roots. In this labor toward defining their personality, the Turks provide an example for all those peoples in search of a new orientation within new personal and national values (*Turkey, Today–and Tomorrow* 3).

Thus, Eren claims that the seemingly anti-democratic "convulsions" of Turkey in the early 1960s were actually the growing pains of democratization. Political power shifted to the masses with the reforms of the republic that foresaw a representative constitutional democracy. However, as Eren articulates, Turkish nation was not ready for this power due to the lack of education and economic vulnerability. Eren explains this situation under three points. First, he argues that there was "a lack of understanding of the individual's central role in society," which meant a prevailing sense of distrust among the ruling elite for the people in addition to the lack of democratic culture among the very same people. This made the governing elite perceive their autocratic policies as justifiable, represented

by the tendencies of the Democrat Party over the 1950s. At the same time, it led people to support the ruling party without any sense of individualism, so the regime evolved into a mobocracy that dominated the public sphere by majority rule, which the structural weaknesses of the system exacerbated (17–27). Second, the economic problems and political polarization led the social classes to lose their trust in each other, so social cohesion and democratic consensus became unattainable. Finally, people appreciated modernization and being "civilized," in Eren's words, but what they understood by these ideas was "political partisanship, cheating in business, nepotism in government, looseness in marital relations, general intemperance, and ostentatious materialism." Therefore, corruption spread on multiple layers of society and the government due to people's misconception of progress. In the end, Eren argues that the persistent cultural tendencies of Turkey such as paternalism left them vulnerable to demagogues claiming that the state would be in danger without authoritarian control (27–30). What ensued was the destruction of the media, the first victim of the new autocracy, the judicial system, and government institutions (33–36).

The 1950s, therefore, concluded with a military coup d'etat and a takeover by technocrats appointed by the army to rewrite the constitution in order to retain the authority of the state that had been worn out by the government. This is also the reason why Eren articulates that "the Revolution of May, 1960," referring to the coup d'état, was misunderstood as an act of regression in the progress of Turkey's democratization. Yet, according to Eren, "the significance of the unique feat in 1961 of the dissolution of military government and the return to a parliamentary democracy more intensely dedicated to the dignity and worth of the individual that never before" was proof that the coup was ironically an act of democratization (250–251). Eren, still a diplomat after all, strives to protect the image of Turkey as a democratic member of the western block, and to this end, conveys what he expected his western readers wanted to hear. With an optimistic tone, he claims that "unlike other countries, where scapegoats have been found in colonialism or imperialism to excuse domestic ailments, Turkey has turned self-analysis to constructive ends, to a healthy search for remedies of failures" (255).

Therefore, he tries to construct an image of a country "free of the chauvinistic mystique of territorial aggrandizement and seeking the seeds of its weakness within the national organism," even if both are debatable points (255).

To support his claims, Eren also points at the consensus among the remaining parties after the coup concerning the necessity of free enterprise and their adherence to the policies of Mustafa Kemal (Kemalism), especially those that were enacted and promoted during the first two decades following the establishment of the republic (105–107). He also states that the primary issue that burdened Turkey was economic problems, defined by the lack of efficiency, unsuccessful planning in economic programs, and the statist reflexes of prior governments, which held back the growth of private entrepreneurs (113–144). Consequently, he says it was still unclear whether Turkey would become the "United States of the Middle East" as was "hopefully predicted" (138). In this matter, he refers to the inability of the republican governments to actualize their reforms in the rural areas that constituted 70% of the country's population at the time. Despite the efforts in education of rural people and the industrialization of agriculture, life had not changed much in rural Turkey, which led neither the people nor the ruling elite to protect labor and individual rights (161–162). Therefore, he points at the irony that workers' rights actually improved after the coup d'état because of the inability of the government to provide and sustain a democratic system and the state to protect and regulate the economy (155–158). He refers to his former assistant, now a political leader, Bülent Ecevit's promises to lift the ban on strikes and answer the other demands of workers following the coup d'etat (157–158).

Eren supports his arguments with a study by the American sociologist Daniel Lerner, who visited Balgat, Ankara in 1950 and 1954 in order to examine the changes that rapid urbanization brought upon the peripheries of city centers. Even though it has been swallowed by urban expansion today, Balgat was a rural settlement at the time, which Lerner defined as a "barren" village dominated by a "gray" color and "dust." Almost all of its residents, whom Lerner called "traditionals" as one of his three categories of social groups in Turkey, were involved in agriculture, there was only one radio, and they

acquired their basic needs from a little market (*bakkal*), roughly translated as a "grocer" by Eren. These people depended on their "chief" for their "daily communication with the outside world." Modern means of transportation and communication were unusual for them. In other words, life had not changed much for them since "the days of the Hittites," as Eren puts it (164–165). Consequently, he says these villagers were not only superstitious and fatalistic but also "mentally chained to their immediate environment and the age old daily routine" (166). Being right next to a booming urban center, they were trapped in a striking contrast with the second group of people Lerner calls "the moderns" who were "twentieth century, western individuals" that were employed by private industry or the government and were ideologically "rationalist, positivist" and "secularist" as a result of their modern upbringing. Lerner's interviews display that unlike the traditionals, who did not have even a slight understanding of democratic concepts such as representation, individual freedoms, rights, and equality, the moderns were capable of understanding they could have expectations from their government and grant their support for different politicians, accordingly (166–167). In this sense, Lerner concludes the moderns resembled their western counterparts in many ways.

During his second visit in 1954, Lerner observes radical development in Balgat. Now, he could reach the village from the center of Ankara in twenty minutes on a bus that travelled on a "paved" road. Many of the peasants "had taken up other occupations in the city," and there were "seven refrigerators and "four tractors, three trucks and one Dodge sedan." Their clothes were also much better and factory-produced, indicating the impact of the improving textile industry in Turkey and the ability of citizens to benefit from these advancements. Only "the chief" was romantic about the "nostalgia of the old," probably because he lost his former authority with these changes (165). This social change made Lerner add another social group to his categorization, the "transitionals."[12] As implied by their given name, they were not as rich or well-educated as the moderns, but they still shared the urban environment with them. They were taxi drivers, civil servants of

[12] In his book, Lerner consistently uses "traditionals," "moderns," and "transitionals" rather than "traditionalists" and such. Therefore, this dissertation uses the same word choices.

intermediate positions, and small urban business or store owners. Reflecting their in-between status, their ideas and behaviors were also signified by "ambivalence." For instance, while they still defined themselves as religious, just like the traditionals, they were not strictly practicing it. They also had the conceptualization of deserving and striving to achieve better lives for themselves, like the moderns. Yet, they still lacked any sign of a critical attitude toward the government and did not have any prospect of having an impact on daily politics and the economic management of the country (168–169). Eren says Lerner's analysis helped him understand the ambiguity and dichotomy existing in Turkish society that he explained in the following words:

> [Lerner] makes it much easier to understand the conflict in the national attitude between realistic self-analysis and romantic self-exaltation; the educator who will not permit teaching foreign language, on the one hand, and requests more scholarships abroad, on the other; the father who complains of the indifference of the state toward increasing religiosity and in the meantime asks for religious education for his children; the individual who blames state interference for all his economic problems and yet overlooks the illogic of requesting increasing state action for economic ends (171–172).

The transitionals were the majority in the urban centers, which Lerner predicted as around thirty per cent, and their numbers were increasing because more isolated villages, as seen in the example of Balgat, were connecting to the centers. Thus, the traditionals' sixty percent majority was not as important as the transitionals, who were predicted to be the new majority in the course of the modernization of the country. Meanwhile, the moderns were only a ten percent minority, constituting the ruling elite. To give examples for this group, Eren refers to early woman educators and activists like Nezihe Muhiddin and Sıdıka Avar, who represented only an urban minority (179–181). Even if he does not openly state it in his book, he himself, Ekrem, Şanlı as well as others in the Turkish diplomatic corps were also from this group, the moderns. Thus, he admits that no matter how attractive they might have been for their western audience, neither Ekrem nor Şanlı represented the majority of Turks, even under the republic. Second, there was not only one type of Turk, just like with the heterogeneity of Ottoman society, but at least three distinct groups of Turks with respect to their socioeconomic status and educational

background. Hence, even though diplomats tried to reconstruct the Turk in America, it was based on a fallacy: there was no such thing as the archetypical Turk.

Nevertheless, Eren's definition of modernism is also rather problematic. He points at national education as the means of social reform and translates Mustafa Kemal's words in this matter: "For centuries, the Turks have been moving in the same direction. Always from east to west. There are many countries, but one civilization. National progress means participation in this civilization" (qtd. in Eren 184). Therefore, Mustafa Kemal's dualism between the East and the West, which was a consequence of the Self-Orientalism of the Ottoman elite, made sense for Eren. Within this framework, the dualism of the Cold War Era, again between the East and the West, even if the demarcation line shifted from İstanbul to Berlin, pushed him further toward the West. Despite being as vague as the Orient, the West was more than a trade partner or a military ally for Eren; it was a role model that Turkey needed to imitate in order to develop. Ironically, the mindset of nineteenth century Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucrats that scholars like Niyazi Berkes and Şerif Mardin examine extensively in their works strongly influenced Eren and his generation in terms of their views on modernization and development. This lineage was a consequence of the employment of former Ottoman elites and their children in the bureaucratic positions of the republican regime, which directly affected how they attempted to reconstruct the image of Turkey in America.

A former philosophy professor at Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College, Eleanor Bisbee published the book *The New Turks: Pioneers of the Republic, 1920-1950* (1951). Nüzhet Baba also mentioned this work in his report, illustrating the continuity of the Ottoman Empire, former American educators in Turkey, and Turkish diplomats in the new republic. Depicting the optimistic tone of the early years of the first multiparty system, Bisbee also refers to Lerner in her book and reaches almost the same conclusions as Ekrem and Eren. Agreeing that Turkey was a country of contrasts in reference to Lerner's study and that social transformation was occurring slower than administrative and legal reforms (41), she says that Turkey could become "a nation

alongside of the other southeastern nations" in reference to Sir Mark Sykes' words in *Dar-ul Islam* (1904). In Bisbee's quotation, Sykes also states that:

> The Turk is very apt in assuming Western civilization. Every Turk I have met who has welt for a considerable period in any foreign country, although never losing his patriotism and deep love for his land, has become in manners, thought and habits an Englishman, German or Frenchman. This leads one almost to suppose that Turks might be Europeanized by the educational process without prejudicial result, for that present they have every quality of a ruling ace except initiative, which is an essentially European quality (qtd. in Bisbee 171).

Therefore, a Turk could become "a ruling race" like an "American" or a "European" providing that they went through "the educational process"; hence, education and modernization mean pretty much westernization in Bisbee's terms. Nevertheless, this discussion about the westernization of Turks through education did not originate with Bisbee; it echoed the works of her predecessors, former American educators in the Ottoman Empire such as Hamlin and Patrick. Neither Ekrem, Eren nor Bisbee stray very far from the idea that the Orient could only be saved by the Occident. In fact, as previously mentioned, Patrick even advocated an American mandate over the Ottoman Empire with the hope that American reforms and institutions would provide American-style education, thereby enabling reform in the new Turkey after the First World War.

Despite his overlap with other active writers and diplomats concerned about the image of Turkey and Turks in America, Eren was different in certain respects. His formal education and career as an official diplomat enabled his positivist attitude toward his subjects. His insight into the social and political history of Turkey displays this approach. As a part of his argument that Turkey had been progressing toward modernization and democracy since the reign of Mahmud II (the coup of 1960 was an aberration in his opinion), he analyzes changes in literature, art, and philosophy. To clarify his point, he first describes the Persian, Arabic, and Byzantine inspirations in Ottoman court literature and its emphasis on metaphysical and hedonistic subjects to the point that over time, they lost their interest in the earthly experiences of humanity. Eren, consequently, remarks that this detachment in court literature contrasted with the tendencies of folk literature, which, as exemplified by Yunus Emre, was "reflecting life" and "sparkled with spontaneous

emotion and genuine concern for humanity" (Eren 212). He adds that the experiments of nineteenth century writers, such as Ekrem's grandfather Namık Kemal, with novel forms and styles in literature, destroyed the "monopoly of the intelligentsia and brought literature within the scope of a larger segment of people," even if his readers "still remained restricted to the metropolis" due to the prevalence of illiteracy in rural parts of the Ottoman Empire (222–224). According to Eren, these changes catalyzed the simplification of the language, which included changing the alphabet to the Latin script with the initiative of Mustafa Kemal during his presidency. Language reform was meant to democratize literacy and the country by rendering information accessible to everyone (219). Therefore, this interpretation of Turkey's history shows that while Eren, like Bisbee, expects the Americanization of Turks through education; he does not want them to lose their distinct culture or ethnonational identity. What he desired was technological and administrative advancement, not the wholesale erasure of Turkish culture. He wanted Turks to have their cake and their Turkish coffee too.

Eren's overriding goal with *The New Turks: Pioneers of the Republic, 1920-1950* was reform in foreign policy. Eren claims that Turks had become more receptive of politics and the world outside them during the shift from the empire to the republic. Although they were divided and conflicted with dichotomies in their own country, Turks, he argues, shared a consensus regarding foreign policy based on "the twin incontrovertible pillars of historical experience and geographic reality." These pillars generated the "basic principles which activate Turkish conduct" in diplomacy "in an age that has annihilated distance and space" (226). Therefore, prior experiences, geographic realities, and technological advances led Turks to agree on a basic set of principles in the conduct of diplomacy. Among them, Eren particularly emphasizes their understanding of "global interdependence and responsibility" (226). In light of these points, Eren summarizes the new Turkish foreign policy as follows:

> In short, Turkey is a lone wolf without instinctive allies or friends. What influence she wields she must wield on her own. Since the elements which compose her national strength in a world of new geographic, economic, and political values are also dwindling in influence, Turkey, to keep status as an upper middle power, must

> increase her tempo of modernization and must draw on the ever-growing source of her national talent, the men of outstanding ability from all walks of life who will carry her voice to the international councils by force of their superior personality (247–248).

Eren's theorization of Turkish foreign policy, therefore, attributed the country's rapid modernization within its borders as a condition for its success in international affairs, since it needed the ranks of educated elites to represent the country abroad. Only then, could it be influential in international institutions, mainly the United Nations and later NATO, which Turkey needed due to its lack of historical allies.

While Eren calls for "men" to represent the country in international affairs, Selma Ekrem's and İsmet Şanlı's stories prove him wrong. As two educated women raised among the upper echelons of society in the dying Ottoman Empire, their womanhood actually aided them in spreading their gospel of Turkish modernization in America because they could refer to themselves as living proof of the success of these reforms, despite their obvious class privilege. Furthermore, with their skills, especially their command of the English language, they communicated with large groups of Americans and other Anglophone peoples of the West in their attempts to reconstruct the negative image of "the Terrible Turk" or "the sick man of Europe" into a reformed and progressive nation-state that was preparing to compete with the great powers of the world. The TIO's publications also attempted to introduce the new Turk to Americans, and Eren served both as a director and an editor for many of these works, as his communication with Dulles indicates. However, the Turk that Eren and others represented in America was never a complete picture. These writers, diplomats, and editors did not include the traditionals and transitionals and their suspicions about the West, particularly about the United States, in their cultural diplomacy.

4.4. CONCLUSION

Nüzhet Baba's, İsmet Şanlı's, and Nuri Eren's careers indicate drastic changes in Turkish-American affairs shortly before and after the Second World War. The ambitious goals of

the early republic faced the reality that Turkey was desperately in need of investment and technology. The significance of the United States as the emerging industrial and military leader of the world was obvious, and it did not take long for Turkish officials to realize the need for public and cultural diplomacy efforts in America. It was not a coincidence then one of İsmet Şanlı's first public appearances was with Ambassador Ertegün's wife and children during their travel to California, which complemented her work with Ahmed Emin Yalman and Selma Ekrem as part of the Turkish Commission for the 1939 New York World's Fair. Her modern appearance and ideological orientation that promoted secularism and modernization with the United States as a model made her the perfect flagbearer of the new Turkish republican woman, which led her to meet the Roosevelts and lecture across the United States. She was the end-product of the reformation that Mary Mills Patrick and her contemporaries began in the education of the daughters of the old empire, and these women attempted to reform Turkish-American relations through their careers by drawing on this ideological background. İsmet Şanlı, Selma Ekrem, and Nermin Menemencioğlu all became American citizens before they died. Even if they were unable to transform the image of the Turk in America completely, they certainly transformed their own identities in the process.

Nüzhet Baba's report, however, illustrates that these individuals were not actors in a series of coincidences. Picking up the public and cultural diplomacy campaigns where Münir Ertegün left off at the time of his death in 1944, the Ministry of Turkish Foreign Affairs employed and sponsored these individuals in order to serve its ends. As they organized under the TIO as an extension of the Turkish diplomatic mission in the United States, they aimed to challenge the age-old concepts that the term, Orientalism, broadly defines. Bureaucrats like Nuri Eren used cultural materials and popular means of communication, mainly newspapers and the radio, to disseminate a new narrative that redefined the Turk as a modern and progressive figure, in parallel with the needs of Turkey in international relations. The new discourse deployed whatever its agents found useful from Halide Edib and Ahmed Sabri, such as advocating the existence of "righteous gentiles" among Turks, or the progressive ideology of ethnonational culture, independently from Islam, or their

great suffering during collapse of the empire. Yet, the new state-driven discourse also left out what it deemed problematic or useless. Halide Edib's criticism disappeared, for example, and Ahmed Sabri, as an exile after the dishonorable discharge from the Ottoman army, was lost in a New York library for decades.

The evolution of Selma Ekrem's discourse also represents this attitude very clearly. The criticism and even rebelliousness of the younger Ekrem in *Unveiled* disappeared in her stories for *The Christian Science Monitor*. Any sociopolitical events that shook the roots of society around her during her youth were missing. In facts, whole parts of her life suddenly disappeared in her writing, ranging from the Balkan Wars to the forced relocation of Armenians during the First World War, the pogroms, and the coup d'etats after the founding of the republic, and finally the recurring crises of the Cold War Era. Her stories' most idyllic content was part of her discursive strategy to avoid anything controversial since it enabled her to write about her personal history from the safe and romantic perspective of an innocent child. İsmet Şanlı followed this trend, as did most TIO writers. This new discourse was more pragmatic in parallel with the needs of Turkish foreign affairs, and it often required (self)censorship, which Nüzhet Baba clearly stated in his report.

However, this change in the discourse also eliminated the sincere humane tone that attributed universality to the works of earlier authors. The new discourse was sterile, repetitive, sugarcoated, and expertly packaged propaganda for Americans. While the works of Edib, for example, confronted concepts such as Orientalism and xenophobia that plagued American and European societies for centuries, TIO publications and Şanlı's lectures were so timid and politically correct that they remained relevant only briefly at the time they were shared with public. In the most extreme cases, instead of standing up against prejudices and biases about Turks and other eastern peoples, Eren and Bisbee even tried to deorientalize the Turk to make them look more presentable for American audiences. Overall, as the reconstruction of the Turk and Turkey in America became more of a subject of formal, organized cultural diplomacy; it became less and less capable of proposing any subject of literary value or generating any impactful discourse at all.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation was a study of the intersection of multiple histories and an indirect result of the material changes that took place in the early nineteenth century. The first American missionaries landed on the shores of the Ottoman Empire because of these social and cultural changes, for as Heather Sharkey puts it in *Cultural Conversions*, "missionary history is political," and this is completely true for the history of the ABCFM in the Middle East as well (Sharkey 21). This is evident in the experiences of the ABCFM missionaries as early as the first mission that led Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons to the Ottoman Empire in 1819. In contrast to the theological and impressionistic works they read about the Middle East, they found a very complex sociopolitical structure when they arrived. The early encounters between the missionaries and Armenian Ottomans were also a consequence of the existing socioeconomic inequalities between the populations of the empire. Rejected by the urban Jewish population of Jerusalem, their message and services were welcomed mainly by rural Armenians living in poverty. Thus, the history of the ABCFM intersected with the social and political history of the late Ottoman Era.

Neither Parsons nor Fisk, nor any of their successors, knew exactly what was waiting for them in their regions of appointment. Parsons and Fisk lost their lives within a few years, very far away from even the slightest prospect of reaching their main objective, meaning the evangelization of the Middle East. Yet, their failure did not mean the end of missionary activity; instead, they posthumously reached fame and set role models for others. James Redhouse, who started a printing press in Istanbul, and published one of the first dictionaries in Ottoman Turkish and English, and his works on lexicology, were initially designed to translate the Bible into local languages so that potential converts could receive its message independently from the clergy. Yet, he also laid the foundation of English language instruction among the Ottoman population, which later became the language of education at Cyrus Hamlin's and Mary Mills Patrick's schools.

It was through their work in the Ottoman Empire, their interaction with its various populations, and their publications back home that these missionaries initiated the

convoluted process of constructing the image of the Turk in America, much of which was initially derived from Orientalist stereotypes, political prejudices, and cultural assumptions concerning Turks as bellicose, uncivilized, and dangerous. However, even at the turn of the twentieth century, some former Ottoman missionaries were already trying to revise the image of the terrible Turk. Mary Mills Patrick published her memoirs after she returned to the United States respectively in 1930 and 1934. She devotes the last section of her second book *A Bosporus Adventure* to the graduates of the Constantinople Woman's College, which enabled them to become social and political leaders after the First World War. Their liberal attitude allowed them to accept Halide Edib in an era when Muslim girls' education in Christian schools was not permitted, eventually placing Edib's father in trouble. Cyrus Hamlin could have never expected Robert College to graduate young Nüzhet Baba and Nuri Eren, who later, through the TIO, took charge of the most extensive Turkish propaganda campaign that has ever been conducted in the United States.

The missionaries' activities were motivated by a strange blend of ideology, involving progressive humanitarianism, and religious idealism in large proportions, and the results of their actions were not always pleasant, and "the fiercest and most anguished battles to arise from missionary encounters were often the ones that involved or occurred among locals" (23). Parsons and Fisk's printed copies of the Bible, which were unprecedented not only with their content but also due to their technology, met with the oppressive restrictions of the local Ottoman authority, not because officials were against the Bible or the printing press, but because the leaders of non-Muslim groups complained to these officials about people spreading false beliefs among their followers. Likewise, the Armenian Patriarch threatened the families of Hamlin's students because he saw his school as a potential threat to his authority and power. Therefore, the "religious as well as cultural and social dimensions" of this history was "often painful for converts or their families" and "missionary overtures may not only fail to persuade, they may also backfire" (23). This tension emerged in the works of the missionaries and the portraits

they painted of Turks and Turkey in works they published in the United States, mostly after their return.

All these details support Sharkey's argument that "conversion is a protracted process, not an isolated event," which has "religious as well as cultural and social dimension" (24). These circumstances were true both within the ABCFM and among the people affiliated with their institutions. Mary Mills Patrick's biographers point out that in the second half of the nineteenth century, American women began joining the mission as an opportunity to escape from the restrictive patriarchy that they would have faced if they had stayed in the United States. The mission allowed them to gain new social roles as educators, for example. However, the men within the ABCFM were not ready to accept the increasing numbers and influence of these young women, which led Patrick to leave the mission. Thus, both the social and cultural realities of America had a determining influence on their history. On the other hand, the shifting emphasis on education, embodied by the establishment of Robert College in 1863, paralleled the popularization of the idea about education's fundamental role in social progress, not just religious salvation. However, Hamlin, in his memoirs, does not mention the influence of any particularly American ideal that could have served as his social compass when he arrived. Instead, his early experiences were shaped by his realization that Ottomans, regardless of their differences, were in desperate need of educators, engineers, doctors, and nurses. He became the "hakem bashi" for the sick and professor for the youth. Americans, as seen in the case of Patrick's experiences with the ABCFM, could also be quite oppressive, while Ottomans could expect Hamlin to be more secular and progressive, and they reflected many of these themes in their writing for American audiences.

Perhaps, most importantly, the "missionary encounters had consequences that were unexpected to everyone involved" (25). Frederick Davis Greene's books and Ahmed Sabri's autobiography are the most striking examples of the unexpected consequences of the missionary encounters in the empire. Greene's works had rippling effects with American audiences. Their content and strong tone were meant to rally American Christians in order to gather economic and political support to pressure the Ottoman

government to protect minorities. This contributed to Greene's place among the Orientalist literature that constructed the image of the Terrible Turk in America over the course of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Halide Edib, Selma Ekrem, İsmet Şanlı, Nüzhet Baba, Nuri Eren and many other influential figures also indicate another aspect of this history. Receiving their formative education in American schools, which allowed them to learn not only English but also grow up in an environment that combined both Ottoman and American values, they were instrumental in dismantling such stereotypes, thereby catalyzing the emergence of a genuine Turkish voice in America.

However, Ahmed Sabri's book also indicates that this situation was not limited to an exclusive group of people who graduated from American schools in Ottoman urban centers. After he was almost sentenced to death by the military court because he refused to execute a group of Armenian exiles in 1915, he fled to the United States where he lived in exile. Despite following a different path than Edib and Ekrem, Sabri also adopted an internationalist tone and devoted his work, which he wrote for younger readers in particular, to prove that not all Turks were terrible. In *When I Was a Boy in Turkey*, he distinguishes the Ottoman government from ordinary Turkish subjects of the empire, the latter of which were not necessarily violent, and represented himself as a living example. These tropes were commonly shared in the discourses of Ahmed Sabri, Halide Edib, and Selma Ekrem, and were a result of their reaction to the same negative image of Turks in America and their desire to reconstruct this image through their autobiographies.

Therefore, the history of the image of Turks in America is also an intersection of multiple histories. The history of Ottoman immigration to America is arguably the first and most important history, and one that still requires a great deal of research. The first examples of literary works written by Ottomans in the United States reflect the challenges they encountered at the time of their arrival, and the image of the "Terrible Turk" was only one aspect of American Orientalism with which they grappled at the turn of the twentieth century. However, the inevitably political tone of many of these works, as exemplified by Edib, Sabri, and Ekrem in this study, also indicate that this history intersects with the political and diplomatic history of Turkish-American relations. The failed congressional

ratification of the Lausanne Treaty that recognized the modern Turkish republic suggests the potential magnitude of the negative image of Turks in America immediately after the First World War. This circumstance led American officials like Ambassador Joseph Grew to contact the Turkish government regarding the immediate necessity for a strong public diplomacy campaign, by Turkey, in America. Ambassador Ahmet Muhtar operated within a similar framework when he began seeking allies in American NGOs for Turks. Zekeriya and Sabiha Sertel, Ahmet Emin Yalman, and Ahmet Şükrü Esmer were also part of the network of Ottoman elites that worked in the United States during and after the First World War, with relative success. Although the existing literature refers to Ambassador Münir Ertegün as individual who began the pro-Turkish public and cultural diplomacy campaign that would involve an aggressive use of the press, it was Yalman, Esmer, and other students in New York City who published the first Ottoman Turkish newspaper in America. Therefore, literature and journalism clearly played an understudied role in transatlantic relations between Turkey and the United States. Thus, any future diplomatic study of the image of Turks in American must include intellectual and social history as major components of its framework.

Within this context, the TIO represents a turning point as a dedicated institution that was meant to maintain a continuous and coherent discourse in its pro-Turkish propaganda. Like his colleagues, both Nuri Eren and his spouse Neşet Eren were Robert College alumni, where they met before marrying; in this sense, they were one of the many outcomes of the missionary heritage of the Ottoman Empire. Eren, just like Halide Edib and Selma Ekrem, knew his intended audience very well and used English perfectly. At the time, most of the Turkish elite still studied French as a foreign language, so this made Eren rare among his peers and allowed him to cross paths with Bülent Ecevit during the latter's early career. Eren's works on diplomacy reveal that he knew the function of culture and literature in the reconstruction of public images, so he was very willing to support the publication of Selma Ekrem's stories in *The Christian Science Monitor*. He developed an elaborate theory of public diplomacy that shaped his diplomatic practice with an emphasis on supranational institutions, all the while stressing the importance of

soft power cultural diplomacy in this process. Therefore, he knew very well, arguably better than even Muhtar and Ertegün, that to be successful in his propaganda, he needed to reach ordinary Americans, and not only politicians and bureaucrats, in a relevant and relatable way.

For this purpose, Eren used the TIO to expand its publications into other genres such as cartoons, poetry, and culinary books in order to provide an image of Turks that American readers could understand, while also conserving their distinctive features, such as language, food, and culture. Similar to the discourse constructed for the New York World's Fair in 1939, the TIO's works highlighted images of new Turkish women as the embodiment of a reformed Turkey; however, these images were limited by the gendered, pink collar, career prospects that existed in Turkey and the United States at the time. On the other hand, Turkish culture and history were now identified with favorable concepts of the early Cold War era such as internationalism, democracy, charity, and patriotism.

For the same reason, the works published by the TIO avoided controversial issues, which led to conspicuous changes in Ekrem's writing, for example. Her first work *Unveiled* shared many similarities with other Turkish writers of her era, like Edib and Sabri, who wrote for American audiences, including their critical tone toward issues in Turkey such as political and religious oppression, and in the United States like Orientalist prejudices particularly toward Turks. Yet, in her stories for the *Home Forum* of *The Christian Science Monitor* as part of the TIO's propaganda campaign, she loses her critical tone entirely, and her depictions of the past are extremely romantic, if not entirely manipulative. Eren also engaged in this self-censorship, deorientalizing the Turks rather than challenging Orientalism in America. This rendered the publications sponsored by the TIO incomplete and, like its predecessors, biased in its own way. Eventually, long studies became short, informative, propaganda booklets for Americans as potential tourists and consumers. The reconstruction of the Terrible Turk ended up becoming the creation of the marketable Turk.

The story of the TIO ended with dramatic changes in both Turkish domestic politics and the transatlantic affairs with the United States. The coup d'etat of 1960 brought a new modus operandi that restricted autonomy of Turkish diplomats to a large extent, and this is still in practice even today. The domestic politics of Turkey hindered Turkish missions and public diplomacy in America. However, this tension always existed to a certain point, even before 1960. For instance, the same İnönü Administration that funded the efforts of Münir Ertegün and approved the establishment of the TIO also exiled a leading artist, Abidin Dino, due to his left-leaning political views, so Dino could not be present at the Turkish Pavilion in 1939, despite his artistic contribution in its preparation (Edgü 99–105). Moreover, this exact same government could not, or did not, prevent a mob from razing the printing office of *Tan* newspaper in 1945. The publishers of this newspaper, Zekeriya and Sabiha Sertel, were both extremely important writers and social organizers in Ottoman and later Turkish-American affairs during and after the First World War. They could have been mobilized for the public and cultural diplomacy efforts of the TIO, but were not. The Democrat Party did not change this policy, nor could it attract artists and writers to collaborate with the Turkish diplomatic corps in the United States. After 1960, the military junta that overthrew the government and subsequently executed the prime minister and major members of the cabinet also oversaw the end of the TIO's operations, particularly after the escalation of the Cyprus Crisis in 1964, when, ironically, it was most needed. As a result, the vigorousness of Turkish propaganda activities withered in the United States during the mid to late Cold War. Even though the Turkish embassy made a few attempts to revive public diplomacy efforts, especially with the establishment of Türkevi in New York in the 1970s, these efforts never reached the transnational extent of the activities of the TIO.

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