

T.C.
İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
KARŞILAŞTIRMALI EDEBİYAT ANABİLİM DALI

DOKTORA TEZİ

**HALIDE EDİB ADIVAR AND LADY AUGUSTA
GREGORY: LITERARY CONFIGURATIONS OF
NATION-STATE IDENTITY**

Neslihan ALBAY

2520160153

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İSTANBUL – 2018



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DOKTORA
TEZ ONAYI

ÖĞRENCİNİN;

Adı ve Soyadı : Neslihan ALBAY Numarası : 2520160153

Anabilim Dalı / Karşılaştırmalı Edebiyat Anabilim
Anasanat Dalı / Programı : Dalı Danışmanı : 11:00

Tez Savunma Tarihi : 13.07.2018 Saati : 14:30

Tez Başlığı : "Halide Edip Adıvar and Lady Augusta Gregory: Literary Configurations of Nation-State Identity"

TEZ SAVUNMA SINAVI, İÜ Lisansüstü Eğitim-Öğretim Yönetmeliği'nin 50. Maddesi uyarınca yapılmış, sorulan sorulara alınan cevaplar sonunda adayın tezinin KABULÜNE OYBİRLİĞİ / ÖYÜKLÜĞÜYLE karar verilmiştir.

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ABSTRACT

HALIDE EDIB ADIVAR AND LADY AUGUSTA GREGORY: LITERARY CONFIGURATIONS OF NATION-STATE IDENTITY

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This study examines the roles of Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory in the promotion of cultural identity in the formation process of their countries as nation-states, reflected in their nationalist discourse and peasantist ideology. By mainly focusing on their roles as anti-imperialists with the emphasis on their political struggles, contributions to war history and female activism this is a comparative study of their roles as social reformers, contributors to cultural nationalism and the development of theatre, and pioneers in the re-envisioning of their new nation-states. This thesis aims to demonstrate that Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib Adivar used literature both as a means to examine the imposed ideology of English colonialism and other dictatorial regimes, and as a lens through which to promote a new national consciousness and cultural identity, based on the former national heritage. The thesis will explore how the anti-imperial stances of Lady Gregory and Halide Edib shaped or influenced their sense of national identity, investigate the ways how they took a critical stance against British colonialism and expose how their subjective elaborations and interrogations of anti-colonial nationalisms in other countries were influential on the reinforcement of their sense of “nationhood”. Accordingly, I will investigate the similar nationalist ideals of contemporaneous Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory as anti-imperialist social reformers with a focus on maintaining national values and traditions as part of resistance

against cultural imperialism. In this study I will search for answers to the questions: 1) What were Halide Edib's and Lady Gregory's contributions to the debates of nation building through cultural and literary revival; 2) How were they positioned by their contemporaries politically; 3) How were their changing political ideas influenced by international events and transnational encounters particularly, 4) What were their influences on the creation of a new woman identity; and finally 5) How do these female writers deal with the problems of engaging with nationalist discourses often defined in masculinist terms in their different contexts. The transnational encounters and exchanges of Gregory and Adivar led them to gain an appreciation of nationalism in local sense with an international outlook of anti-imperialism. The thesis will analyse the components of national identity such as gender, language, and transnational exchanges, by showing how they shaped Lady Gregory and Halide Edib's ideas of nationalism.

Key Words: nation, nationalism, empire, anti-imperial, cultural, language, identity, gender, resistance, freedom, independence, Ireland, Turkey

ÖZ

HALIDE EDİB ADIVAR AND LADY AUGUSTA GREGORY: LITERARY CONFIGURATIONS OF NATION-STATE IDENTITY

Neslihan ALBAY

Bu çalışma, ulus-devlet olarak ülkelerinin oluşum sürecinde kültürel kimliğin gelişimine katkıda bulunmuş Halide Edib Adivar ve Lady Augusta Gregory'nin milliyetçi söylem ve köylü ideolojisi içerisindeki rollerini incelemektedir. Politik mücadelelerine, savaş tarihine ve kadın aktivizmine katkılarına vurgu yaparak, temelde anti-emperyalist rollerine odaklanan bu çalışma, kültürel milliyetçiliğe ve tiyatronun gelişmesine katkıda bulunan sosyal reformcu ve yeni ulus devletlerinin oluşum aşamasındaki rollerini de ele alan karşılaştırmalı bir çalışmadır. Bu tez, Lady Augusta Gregory ve Halide Edib Adivar'ın, edebiyatı, hem İngiliz sömürgeciliğinin ve diğer diktatör rejimlerin ideolojisini incelemek için bir araç olarak, hem de eski ulusal mirasa dayalı yeni bir ulusal bilinci ve kültürel kimliği teşvik etmek için de bir mercek olarak kullandıklarını göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tez, Lady Gregory ve Halide Edib'in anti-emperyal tutumlarının ulusal kimlik anlayışlarını nasıl şekillendirdiğini veya etkilediğini, İngiliz sömürgeciliğine karşı nasıl eleştirel bir tutum sergilediklerini araştırmakta ve diğer ülkelerdeki anti-kolonyal milliyetçilikler üzerine kendi öznel yorum ve sorgularının kendi “milliyet” duygularını güçlendirmede nasıl etkili olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu yüzden çağdaş Halide Edib Adivar ve Lady Augusta Gregory'nin anti-emperyalist sosyal reformcular olarak benzer milliyetçi ideallerini, kültürel emperyalizme karşı direnişin bir parçası olarak ulusal değerlere ve geleneklere bağlı kalma açısından inceleyeceğim. Bu çalışmada şu sorulara cevap arayacağım: 1) Halide Edib'in ve Lady Gregory'nin kültürel ve

edebi canlanma yoluyla ulus inşası tartışmalarına katkıları nelerdir? 2) Çağdaşları tarafından politik olarak nasıl konumlandırıldılar? 3) Değişen siyasi düşünceleri, özellikle uluslararası olaylardan ve ulus-ötesi karşılaşmalardan nasıl etkilenmiştir, 4) Yeni bir kadın kimliğinin yaratılması üzerindeki etkileri nelerdir? Son olarak, 5) Bu kadın yazarlar, genellikle farklı bağlamlarda erkeklik terimleriyle tanımlanan milliyetçi söylemlere dahil olma sorunlarını nasıl çözmüşlerdir? Gregory ve Adıvar'ın uluslararası karşılaşmaları ve etkileşimleri, uluslararası bir anti-empyalizm bakış açısıyla, milliyetçi duyguların yerel anlamda önem kazanmasını sağlamıştır. Tez, Lady Gregory ve Halide Edib'in milliyetçilik fikrini nasıl şekillendirdiğini göstererek cinsiyet, dil ve uluslar arası etkileşimler gibi ulusal kimliğin bileşenlerini analiz edecektir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: millet, milliyetçilik, imparatorluk, emperyalizm karşıtı, kültürel, dil, kimlik, cinsiyet, direniş, özgürlük, bağımsızlık, İrlanda, Türkiye

To my family...



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would not have been able to complete this thesis without the help and encouragement of a large number of people. I would like to thank all people who helped and inspired me throughout this research.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my academic advisor and mentor Professor Hürriyet Özden Sözalın for her criticism, comments and academic guidance throughout my study. She has been a stimulating supervisor with her warm-hearted friendship and inspirational comments.

I owe a great many thanks to Associate Professor Nagihan Haliloğlu for all her invaluable support, encouragement and guidance from the beginning to the end of the writing process of my thesis. I am especially grateful to her for revising and editing my draft chapters with invaluable suggestions for further study. She was a valuable source of inspiration for me throughout the course of this research with her invaluable critique, patience and supportive attitude.

I want to thank Associate Professor Çilem Tercüman for her contributions to my thesis. Her deep knowledge especially about the literary period when Halide Edib Adıvar lived and her suggestions related to the content of the thesis about Halide Edib Adıvar were so precious for me. I am very grateful to her for her critical feedbacks and positive approach.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Kevin J. McGinley for his motivation, guidance, and immense knowledge besides the continuous support of my Ph.D study.

I am grateful to the members of the examining committee for their criticism and suggestions.

My family deserves special thanks for their never-ending support, motivation, tolerance and encouragement. They were always with me whenever I felt lost, hopeless or frustrated during the writing process of my thesis. They are the greatest supporters in my life especially in times of crisis.

I am indebted to all my friends and colleagues who supported me throughout my PhD study and helped me with their insightful comments and suggestions for the review and revision of the thesis.

This dissertation would have never been finalized without the tolerance and understanding of the people I love and valuable contributions of my colleagues. I am thankful to everyone who shared this arduous journey with me without sparing their moral support.



Neslihan ALBAY

ISTANBUL, 2018

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INTRODUCTION

GENDER, LANGUAGE, ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Nationalism was conceived as a springboard for social transformation in the case of Turkish and Irish societies in the early twentieth century. It was a cornerstone that would strengthen the cultural roots of the nation with its conservative nature of localism. In the case of Ireland, it signified a rebellion against British colonialism, and the foundation of the Irish Free State, while it represented a new Turkish Republic whose language was simple Turkish. One of the distinctive aspects of nationalism in the twentieth-century Turkey and Ireland was the interplay of gender and nationality in the cultural conceptions of Turkishness and Irishness. The early twentieth century required clashing with authority and the construction of a nation-state that was independent from the fetters of cultural imperialism imposed upon them by foreign powers. A transition process from the Ottoman Empire through Turkish Republic urged the new nation to shape itself in interaction with the movements of modernization, westernization and secularization. Likewise, Ireland was on the verge of a period of national struggle to gain her self-determination against the authority, that is, the British powers. It is apparent that national independence in both Turkey and Ireland was gained through literary and cultural revivals as well as radical changes in art and society. It is not merely a question of preserving the boundaries of a land in a specific region, but a question of clinging to cultural values, norms and mores, repossessing national literatures, and maintaining national customs and traditions without being overwhelmed by the influxes of cultural erosion, corruption and imperialism.

The gender aspect of this process of constructing the new national identity in terms of Irish and Turkish cultures must be considered as well as anti-imperialism/anti-colonialism and the issue of language in the twentieth century. The assertion of national identity in the postcolonial nation and the presence of the female subaltern created a tension as a result of a focus on women's rights. Halide Edib Adivar and Isabella Augusta Persse problematized the concepts of nation and gender by dealing with the conflicts resulting from recuperating their national literatures in line with

female perspectives. Nationalism also functioned as a means to the ends of improving the conditions of women and the extension of their rights. While nationalism placed individuals into a distinct group called “nation” as members belonging to this group, feminism placed women into a distinct category in the process of constructing gender, therefore exceeded national boundaries. On the other hand, women mostly benefited from the emancipatory principles of the nationalist movements. Thinking critically about gender, language and nationhood is not simply about thinking about women, but also about understanding Irish and Turkish history, culture and identity.

This thesis will deal with the role of women in the process of nation-building at the turn of the twentieth century in Turkey and Ireland. Lady Augusta Gregory from Ireland and Halide Edib Adivar from Turkey were two women who struggled for the protection of their nations and national cultures in the face of imperialism while maintaining a critical attitude towards their respective governments both through their literary works and through their real life experiences. The aim of the thesis is to demonstrate how these women contributed to cultural nationalism, reinforced through social and literary revivals and transnational encounters.

Lady Isabella Augusta Gregory was born in Roxborough, County Galway, on 15th March, 1852. As a member of the Persse family two things were remarkable about her birth. While she was ignored as a child by her mother who was hoping to give birth to another son after having already giving birth to four girls and four boys, she discovered that she was outstanding when she read the warning of the soothsayer in Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* saying “Beware the ides of March” because she had been born between the 14th and 15th March at midnight, the ides of March (Hill, 2011: 1), just as Halide repeated the sentence “*Beware the Ides of March*” to herself when she was awakened by unfamiliar and far-off gunshots on the morning of March 31, 1909 (Adivar, 1926: 277). This meant that Lady Gregory was dispensable and unimportant to her mother as she was female; on the other hand, she was outstanding because of her birthday. The preference for boy babies, which was common to many cultures in the past and strongly wished over girl babies, was also valid for both Halide and Gregory’s family and society. Halide says: “before my birth, it was very

much hoped that I should be a boy, and father had vowed that he would name me, after the saint [...]. Halid (one of Mohammed's most loyal followers). When I disappointed them by turning out to be a girl, they persisted in giving me the feminine form of Halid, which is Halide" (Adivar, 1926: 98-99).

Similarly, Gregory's mother was disappointed by the girl because "she liked boys better than girls and wished for more sons than daughters, and so was sorry this was not a boy"¹. Despite being a little-welcomed girl at birth Gregory was aware of the enormous potential lying within her female identity. She married Sir William Gregory, who was a former member of Parliament for County Galway and for Dublin, and also Governor of Ceylon in 1880. She travelled throughout Asia and Europe with him. After the death of her husband she started to have an interest in literature and even decided to edit his autobiography. She published it in 1894. Her meeting with William Butler Yeats became a turning point for the arousal of her interest in theatre, which would also help lay the foundations of a national theatre in Ireland. At Coole Lady Gregory lived among the peasantry during the most part of her life. In her early years she was greatly interested in the folk-songs and folk-stories of the peasants, and she started to collect them systematically, which enables the vast accumulation of the beliefs, thoughts, customs, folk songs and tales of people from the West of Ireland. Ireland provided her the rich material that she used in almost all of her plays. Motivated with the desire to do something for her country "she gradually gained an empathy with those from whom she was separated by birth, education, culture, habit, dress, manner of speaking and family allegiance, to become a nationalist (Hill, 2011: ix)".

Associated with the Irish nationalist movement and the Abbey Theatre as part of the cultural and literary movement, Lady Gregory is renowned for her plays and folklore as a seminal writer in Irish modernism's canon. She was the re-creator of Irish myth and transmitter of folklore especially in her wonder² plays. Most scholarship written

¹ Halide Edib, *Seventy Years*, (New York: Macmillan, 1974). p. 1.

² Lady Gregory wrote some wonder plays such as *Three Wonder Plays* (1922) (including *The Dragon*, *The Jester*, *Aristotle's Bellows*, which are fantasies based on folklore and mysticism), *A Book of*

on her is restricted to her involvement at the Abbey Theatre and her connections with the leading male figures of the cultural movement, such as William Butler Yeats, J. M. Synge and Edward Martyn. However, recent research tends to explore her as a playwright and political activist (Bell, 2008: 1-2). Born into the Ascendancy class of Ireland, Lady Gregory was a member of the Protestant Anglo-Irish gentry. Born into a class that identified closely with British rule, her conversion to cultural nationalism, as evidenced by her writings, was emblematic of many of the political struggles to occur in Ireland during her lifetime. Like Halide Edib, Gregory attempted to construct a new national identity through a more liberal point of view opposing class distinctions in the new nation. She undergoes a political conversion and devotes herself to people and the nationalist cause. “In her many years of travelling, listening, transcribing and publishing, Lady Gregory did what the first modern government of an independent Ireland did: she gave value to the stories, to the mind and imagination of Irish country people” (Gregory, 1995: xxv). Biographer Judith Hill summarizes Lady Gregory’s political opinions at that time:

To Blunt, in July, Augusta speculated, ‘I think I am growing a little more of a land leaguer & less of a [Anti] Home Ruler—and so would you if you lived in Ireland.’ Her feelings for Blunt may have inspired this change, but undoubtedly her experience in Ireland (something Blunt did not have and which she still held against him), was pushing her forward. She was now becoming one of those few Anglo-Irish who could contemplate change in Ireland and the taking on of a new, less directly powerful, role. She was still a Unionist, but one who wished to accommodate the angry to prevent an escalation of opposition to the status quo [...] It is not known what William thought of her work; depressed and fearful, he was probably neither encouraging, nor discouraging. She no doubt kept her views from him. His influence was waning, and Augusta was relying more on her own judgment (Hill, 2011: 110-111).

From a young age, Lady Gregory bore a rebellious nature both in terms of gender and mind. Starting her revolutionary literary life by reading the songs of Young Ireland poets who had rejected their Anglo-Irish background and put their focus on common people a generation earlier, Lady Gregory oriented towards social idealism by integrating her self-sufficiency with a strong woman profile as referred by Declan Kiberd in *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of The Modern Nation* (Kiberd, 1996: 84). Lady Gregory’s literary intimacy with W. B. Yeats stemmed from their union

Saints and Wonders according to the Old Writings and the Memory of the People of Ireland (1906) and *The Kiltartan Wonder Book*

for a sacred cause: for the Irish literary and cultural revival. As far as Lady Gregory's first interest in politics is concerned, it dates back to her encounter with Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and her witness to the Revolt of the Colonels led by Arabi Bey in Egypt. Kiberd portrays Blunt's influence on her like this: "Blunt was a horseman, a poet, and an uncommonly dashing womanizer: an English Tory landlord by background and conviction, he was, nonetheless, a supporter of independence for the colonies. Meeting him at Shepheard's Hotel in Cairo, Lady Gregory "first felt the real excitement of politics" and "tumbled into a revolution" (Kiberd, 1996: 84). She comments on Wilfrid Blunt's struggle for freedom

"His life has been lived for freedom." And I wrote that he had been called an "enfant terrible of politics", and that he justified that name, in having kept to his resolve of "pleading the cause of the backward nations of the world" in and out of season. "He has never given up his right of protest against, injustice in Egypt and elsewhere, [...] an unusual and gallant record for a Sussex gentleman of many acres, of inherited wealth and ease (Gregory, 1974: 203-4).

Lady Gregory's first published work was a pamphlet called "Arabi and His Household", based on an account of her visit of Arabi's wife and children during a turbulent time when British troops advanced on Arabi's forces in 1882. In *Lady Gregory's Toothbrush*, Colm Toibin notes: "to win support for Arabi in England, Lady Gregory wrote an account of visiting his house and meeting his wife and children. Sir William gave her permission to publish it, and then restored permission when Arabi faced possible execution. It was her first published work, printed in *The Times* and later separately as a pamphlet" (Toibin, 2002: 18). In this pamphlet Lady Gregory noted her observations of Arabi's household with a great stress on their generosity and dignified manners. The letters written by Lady Gregory's husband, Sir William Gregory, who was also a former governor of Ceylon and by Blunt in *The Times* in defence of Arabi and of the Egyptian cause, however, could not save Arabi from pleading guilty and being banished to Ceylon. Nevertheless, this whole experience meant a springboard into authorship for Lady Gregory whose horizon was shaped by cultural nationalism that would feature in her work for Ireland in the next years. Lady Gregory narrates her intimate observations about Arabi in the light of her husband's interest in him as follows, which reflects how they stood by Arabi's side with regard to the Egyptian national cause. In *Seventy Years*, Lady Gregory notes

how her husband absolutely favored Arabi in every case, even when Arabi was sentenced to death, by referring to a telegram given in the *Times*:

The Times had given a telegram from its correspondent in Egypt demanding “exemplary punishment” for certain of the prisoners, including Arabi [...] “the possible necessity” of putting Arabi to death [...] I felt that my husband’s letters to The Times, and our sympathy, had helped Arabi to believe he would find help for the reforms he asked for. One evening at Cairo, when Arabi had been made Minister of War, Lord Houghton had at dinner, in his mischievous way, teased me to “give him up”, and I said, “No, I supported him when he was down in the world and I can’t forsake him now he is gone up”. But now it was the other way about (Gregory, 1974: 46).

For the achievement of greater social and political freedom within her country, Lady Gregory took further steps by means of theatre, language and folk literature. Her interest in politics was invigorated by the Egyptian example of national struggle for independence, especially the anti-colonial efforts of the Egyptian leader, Arabi Bey against British colonialism. Acting with a lack of trust in politics and political actions owing to the frustrating political tricks applied on Arabi by the British forces, Lady Gregory elaborates

That was the end of my essay in politics, for though Ireland is always with me, And I first feared and then became reconciled to, and now hope to see an even greater independence than, Home Rule, my saying has been long, “I am not fighting for it, but preparing for it”. And that has been my purpose in my work for establishing a National Theatre, and for the revival of the language, and in making better known the heroic tales of Ireland. For whatever political inclination or energy was born with me may have run its course in that Egyptian year and worn itself out; or it may be that I saw too much of the inside, the tangled webs of diplomacy, the driving forces behind politicians (Gregory, 1974: 54).

Her coming to terms with Irish history stimulated her to delve into cultural nationalism and the Irish language. Gregory preferred to claim her place within the patriarchal structure of the national movement as a translator of Celtic mythology, a playwright, and a director of the Abbey theatre. On the other hand, a radical Irish nationalist women’s organization led by Maud Gonne lasting from 1900 to 1914, Inghinidhe nahEireann “had deliberately included within their manifesto a pledge to combat the English influence they considered so injurious to ‘artistic taste’ (Ward, 1983: 55) as denoted by Margaret Ward in *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*. Ward explicates how the Abbey Theatre emerged by referring to the political mission of

this women's organization to challenge the cultural oppression of British imperialism in Ireland:

The impetus provided by Inghinidhe na hEireann led to the formation of a professional theatre group, out of which came the Abbey Theatre. Individual members of the Inghinidhe were to join and make careers out of acting, but as a group the Inghinidhe felt that their work had been accomplished. Their efforts had shown it was possible to provide good drama; once that had been achieved, they felt free to return to their work of building up a political opposition to England's presence in Ireland (Ward, 1983: 57).

The idea of an Irish theatre that would help both form a new identity for Irish people and provide the motive for the birth of a new generation of Irish writers. Connected to the idea of a theatre in Ireland planted at Duras House in 1897 under the guidance of Gregory, Christopher Murray indicates: "that idea germinated to produce countless new writers and offered the emerging nation a cultural means of formulating its own identity" (Murray, 1997: 39). In *Autobiographies* Yeats draws attention to this profound knowledge about Lady Gregory: "Lady Gregory, in her life much artifice, in her nature much pride, was born to see the glory of the world in a peasant mirror".³ By taking peasant life as the inspirational source in her works and being involved in collecting Irish folklore, she aimed to realize Irish literary and cultural revival in cooperation with W.B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, George Moore, and Edward Martyn, who were also the founders of Irish Literary Theatre. The Irish folklore helped her find well-known female heroes or historical figures in Irish mythology. Yeats gives such a portrayal of Lady Gregory: "when in later years her literary style became in my ears the best written by woman, she had made the people part of her soul; a phrase of Aristotle's had become her motto: 'to think like a wise man, but to express oneself like the common people'" (Yeats, 1955: 395) Making an effort to evoke the folk spirit through folklore and literature all her life, Gregory asserts:

The folk spirit is with the people today. It is there in their very life; it is present in their everyday talk; it is strong in their picturesque phrases. Both Synge and I have sought to reproduce the beautiful rhythm which the whole peasantry speak. No. I have not consciously sought after that speech. I have lived my whole life among the people, and their modes of expression come naturally to me (Mikhail, 1977: 43).

³ W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan, 1955), p. 457.

As nationalism is implicated in gender power in this century, the woman-nation ideal or figure was an inseparable feature of the revival project of Irish self-fashioning. Lady Gregory was inclined to challenge the gendered ideology of Ireland's myth of itself. Ireland was portrayed as female by both the nationalistic Ireland and the colonizing English as far as the gendering of Ireland is concerned within the cultural and political context of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In the early twentieth century, Ireland struggled for cultural and political autonomy from England and for the purpose of national expression Gregory relied on her literature, which would enable her patriots to communicate with each other. The drama appearing at the Abbey Theatre had the aim of how to define Ireland and the portrayal of women were also involved in this defining process. They took part in the theatre as mothers, daughters, wives, lovers, goddesses or peasants. In the roles women played on the stage, women were representatively devoted to Ireland itself. The representation of women by the playwright or the audience in this way refers to the great nationalistic endeavors made by women for the sake of an independent Ireland in the most turbulent years of upheaval.

Related to the representation of women in a nation emerging from colonial rule, in her essay entitled "Representations of Women in the Abbey Theatre" Christina Wilson refers to "an idyllic male image of womanhood generally conservative in nature" (Wilson, 2006: 330). To be able to function within patriarchy Gregory chose to behave and think like a male because, as Cynthia Enloe remarks, nationalisms have "typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope" (Enloe, 1989: 44) and so Gregory forced herself to suppress her femininity and to act with a masculine imagination and she aimed to be representative of her nation through her plays and translations. Murray indicates that "the people she most admired were all strong men, not women: Parnell, Roosevelt, Shaw, Collins, de Valera and, in a rather different way, Yeats. She had little in common with radical women such as Countess Markiewicz or Maud Gonne. They were never invited to Coole. She stood up to Annie Horniman, the formidable patron of the Abbey, but she never admired her" (Murray, 1997: 56). As regards why Lady Gregory deserves our attention today, an opponent of colonialism at an intellectual

level from an earlier date, Gregory is recognised as “as much a rebel as any one of her detractors” (Kopper, 1976: 138), while in 1910 Shaw called Gregory both a “born playwright” like Moliere and “one of the most remarkable theatre talents of our time” (Laurence and Greene, 1993: 63). From the feminist perspective, it can be thought that “hers is a gender-based art”, Murray expresses (Murray, 1997: 55). Una Ellis-Fermor concluded her chapter on Gregory in the revised edition of *The Irish Dramatic Movement* with the declaration that Gregory’s literary contribution was ‘characteristically feminine’: it provided ‘the means or the medium by which men[sic] of genius could realize themselves’(Ellis-Fermor, 1954: 162), while it is asserted that ‘her political unconscious was matriarchal’ (McDiarmid and Waters 1995: xii).

In Gregory’s outlook on the social position of women, the woman is regarded as saint and inspirer of men as in the Victorian idea of woman as the angel in the house. In her play *Grania*, which deals with the relations between the sexes, Gregory uses a feminist voice, through which she makes a study of a woman idealised and reflects the woman as the spiritualising force in a male-dominated world. Among her wonder plays *Aristotle’s Bellows* is a political allegory which reflects women as the agents of change according to Gregory’s conservatism. *Dave* is a play which champions woman as the spiritual regenerator of brutalised and colonised Ireland. According to her political viewpoint Gregory called for a republic or a “commonwealth”. *The Story Brought by Brigit* (1924) is a symbolic allegory which embodies Gregory’s prayer for peace and an attempt to knit into Irish culture, through the local witness of Brigit as well as the overcoming of imperialism by Christianity, and the woman’s role in the last stages of colonised Ireland. Drawing the different portraits of the emblematic national female in her plays, Gregory contends that women played complementary roles as the spiritual and inspirational agents of revolutionary change in the patriarchal structure of the early twentieth-century Ireland for the maintenance of peace in the face of British imperialism. She chose to exploit Irish folklore and mythology and the mythological women as a means to create an Irish literature. “She believed that women should put men first, or at least be seen to, and so she concealed some of her successes and made her presence felt indirectly. She made no public

statements about the role of women in society, and lived her life as though there was no need for change. Yet in several of her plays she demonstrated an interest in questioning traditional female roles, and she explored the lives of strong men” (Hill, 2011: ix-x).

Coming from an elite, well-educated family Halide Edib Adıvar was born in 1884 in Istanbul. Being a renowned social activist, Adıvar was the daughter of Mehmet Edip Bey, private treasurer of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Her mother died when she was young. She received private tutoring from well-known personalities in the field of Philosophy, Mathematics, and Social Sciences. She was sent to the American Girls College in Uskudar from 1899 to 1901 and she became the first Muslim Turkish girl to have graduated from this college. After she graduated from the American Girls College in Uskudar, Istanbul in 1901, she married her tutor, Salih Rıza Bey. The couple had two boys named “Ayetullah” and “Hikmetullah”. After 1907 she started to publish her articles in the newspaper Tanin under the name of “Halide Salih”. When Salih Rıza Bey decided to take a second wife, she decided to divorce him in 1910. In 1918 she married Adnan Adıvar. As Dr Adnan was one of the members of the Union and Progress Committee, the couple became more involved in the activities of nationalists. Halide protested the occupation of Izmir by the Greek armed forces on May 16, 1919 as the first woman speaker at a mass meeting in Sultanahmet, Istanbul, which proves her reputation as a national hero defending national liberation and justice. With her passionate public speeches Halide transformed into a more prominent figure. After the occupation of Istanbul by the British in March, 1919 she fled to Anatolia with her family to join Mustafa Kemal’s forces as one of the leading female heroes of the national struggle. She was promoted to the rank of “sergeant”. She rejected dictatorship and broke with Atatürk after the War of Independence. She passed away on January 9, 1964.

Having a rebellious nature like Lady Gregory, and being a multi-dimensional author whose name was associated with literature and politics, Halide Edib Adıvar maintained that love and freedom should be regained every day for the sake of the absolute independency of a nation (Adıvar, 2011: 333). In *Halide Edib: Turkish Modernization and Feminism*, Ayşe Durakbaşı states that “the dynamics of a

dispersed empire and the creation process of the Turkish nation urged Halide Edib to be both a nationalist and feminist simultaneously” (Durakbaşı, 2000: 29). Distinguishing Halide Edib as “although not the first, the most prolific Ottoman-Turkish woman writer, with twenty-one novels, four short story collections, two dramas, four scholarly works and a two-volume autobiography in *An Epic For Peace*” (Adak, 2004: v), Hülya Adak underscores Halide Edib’s active political involvement and signals to her fluctuating political ideas in different time periods:

Between 1908-1918, she was close to Unionist circles; for the next three years, she was part of the National Army; and between 1923-1925, she formed part of the opposition to Mustafa Kemal’s Republican People’s Party. In 1950, she served for one term (four years) as a Member of Parliament. Edib’s political involvement had a significant impact on her work, while securing her national as well as international fame (Adak, 2004: vi).

One of the principal agents of the Turkish nationalist movement, Halide Edib played a major role in structuring the profile of a “new nation” and a “new woman” during the formation process of the Turkish Republic both as a visionary and an activist like Lady Gregory. Exalting women as nation-builders, Halide Edib demonstrated that women’s restricted role in the domestic sphere was extended through their active involvement into politics by subverting the sheer division between gender roles. As denoted by Emel Sönmez in *The Novelist Halide Edib Adivar and Turkish Feminism*, “historians used to be primarily concerned with wars and military operations, but recently they have become equally concerned with the part played by individuals, both men and women, in the evolution and development of the cultural and social life of societies. To this group of individuals belongs our chosen novelist Halide Edib Adivar (1884-1964) whose active role as corporal then as a sergeant in the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923), and as a novelist fighting with her pen for the emancipation of women is known the world over” (Sönmez, 1973: 6).

In this study we cannot ignore Halide Edib and Lady Gregory’s contributions to cultural nationalism through language and translation that have been overlooked so far. In *Edebiyatta Tercümenin Rolü* (The Role of Translation in Literature-1944), Halide Edib Adivar presents her observations on translation studies during the Republic Period and refers to the fact that translation studies were intensified more in this period than the Constitutional Period. With a comparison of Turkish translation

studies with British translation studies during the Elizabethan Period, Halide Edib signifies the fact that translation studies enriched the literary material of such a great literature as the British by playing a substantial role in the greatest age of British literature although she also observed there were some points open to criticism in the translation studies of both literatures. Adivar was pleased with the prospective result, although she foresaw some imminent criticisms for Turkish translation studies and believed Turkish literature that seemed to have lost its productivity a little would transform into a more creative and literary one after these translation studies. She made the translations of some English books into Turkish such as George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *As You Like It* or the translations of her own works into Turkish or English. She contended that translating from various sources may gain the Turkish nation a very rich literature in terms of gender, but if it cannot blend these opposite tastes, opinions and styles with its own style harmoniously, it may come across an anarchy in its intellectual and art life and open a verbose, clamorous and measureless era of literature. Gregory also translated Irish stories, myths and tales as part of her project of cultural nationalism. However, Halide concentrated on the present more than the past contrary to Gregory who concentrated on the Irish & Gaelic historical past.

Adivar points to the local soul, national resources and national heritage from the whole of Turkish history and literature as the essential way of solution to overcome this imminent danger. As in Lady Gregory's view of art, we observe that the nationalism of the peasantry is superior to the nationalism of intellectuals in Halide's sense of art. Halide encourages reading especially the translations of literary works that have appeared in intellectual and art sphere. Moreover, she suggests reading old or new Turkish texts as well as translations by selecting a few of them according to taste and carrying them with you in a reference to the British intellectuals who mostly read the Bible and Shakespeare and carry them with themselves. By this, she stresses the need to give much more significance to our own culture in the face of these rich but miscellaneous materials. She indicates our duty is to form a completely new orchestration out of these materials, not a rumble.

Accordingly, Lady Gregory strives to demonstrate the richness of the local languages like Irish and Gaelic by making translations from the folk stories, folk poetry or folk songs that maintained their existence by an oral or written tradition. Through her role as folklore collector she highlights the crucial importance of preserving the tradition of folk learning and exposes the precious treasure hidden by the efforts of cultural imperialism. In *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature 1880-1980*, Seamus Deane asserts: “language—always a crucial issue in a country which has had its own language destroyed by a combination of military and economic violence and another imposed by a coercive educational system [...] Irish literature tends to dwell on the medium in which it is written because it is difficult not to be self-conscious about a language which has become simultaneously native and foreign” (Deane, 1985: 13). In the latter decades of nineteenth-century, “Ireland began to become more articulate about the central psychological aspect of the colonial problem—the contradiction of living politically as if it were one thing while culturally knowing itself to be another” (Deane, 1985: 12).

Hence the main focus of the thesis is to explore how the anti-imperial stances of Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib Adivar shaped or influenced their sense of national identity. Moreover, the thesis will analyse how Gregory and Adivar draw on transnational elements to develop a critique of masculine nationalism, constructing new forms of feminist nationalism through it. I will answer the following questions: 1) What were Halide Edib’s and Lady Gregory’s contributions to the debates of nation building through cultural and literary revival? 2) How were they positioned by their contemporaries politically; 3) How were their changing political ideas influenced by international events and transnational encounters particularly? 4) What were their influences on the creation of a new woman identity? And finally 5) How do these female writers deal with the problems of engaging with nationalist discourses often defined in masculinist terms in their different contexts?

Focusing on the the contribution of these two female intellectuals to the construction of a new national identity in their respective countries struggling for independence, this study will, as I have mentioned in the last question posed, illustrate how traditional

nationalism in Ireland and Turkey was defined as masculine, and then demonstrate how these writers altered nationalism to turn it into another way of defence that promotes women's equal participation in the nation. *Arabi and His Household* by Lady Gregory and *Inside India* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* by Halide Edib along with Edib and Gregory's selected writings, will help me assess their position as anti-imperial activists. I will also investigate the ways how they took a critical stance against British colonialism and expose how their subjective elaborations and interrogations of anti-colonial nationalisms in other countries were influential on the reinforcement of their sense of "nationhood". Halide Edib and Lady Gregory were inclined to seek for freedom in unknown lands with the intention to bring it to their home country. For both of them, the Other has an appeal, but it is by no means the end itself. The appeal of the "foreign" serves just as a means to their end, which is to reach national freedom and independence without being corrupted by cultural assimilation.

Lady Gregory and Halide Edib favored cultural nationalism as an essential vehicle of transformation in the process of westernization and modernization. They aimed at the creation of a distinct national culture, which refers to the first argumentative question related to Halide Edib's and Lady Gregory's contribution to the debates of nation building through cultural and literary revivals explored in my thesis. Therefore both writers followed the policy of a return back to cultural essence to help their nations acquire their political independence and to repossess their national culture and identity by a conservatist ideology/mindset. By conservatist I mean, differently from conservative, being willing to protect cultural and national values based on a shared cultural heritage for the sake of a genuine national unity. I analyse their understanding of cultural nationalism through the components of national identity such as language, gender and transnational exchanges. By stressing the importance of language, gender and transnational exchanges for nationalism, I will explore how it shapes the idea of nationalism. Cultural nationalism intends to restore communal solidarity and cultural nationalists aspire to revive a distinctive community. To legitimate Ireland and Turkey's status as a distinct nation in the struggle for separate identity the revolutionary intellectuals of both countries attempted at restoring the archaic past of their nation.

In *Literary Ideals in Ireland*, William Kirkpatrick Magee points out: “most of the Irish revolutionaries of 1916 and beyond were conservatives, seeking to restore a lost Gaelic Ireland, a simpler Ireland free from the vices of modernity, an Ireland moreover in which they could replace their so-called elders and betters—but not innovate” (Magee, 1858: 21). That’s why acquiring the archaic past and the return to self-identity was much more essential than being carried away by the seeds of colonialism which is the exploitation tool of imperial powers. Lady Gregory felt nostalgia for the past, tended to collect folklore and focused on the Gaelic language in an effort to revive Irish history and culture for the sake of Irish literary revival. Likewise, Halide Edib defended the reform in language to purify it from the amalgamation of foreign words from various languages. She was in favor of the use of simple Turkish as the signifier of Turkish nationalism rather than Ottoman Turkish. Like Lady Gregory, Halide Edib embraced the idea of “pure language” for the consolidation of cultural nationalism in theory. However, they differed in application. Lady Gregory made use of Gaelic language for the content of her writings through a transformative and translative effort from Gaelic to English, whereas Halide Edib put pure and simple Turkish to the core of national agenda as the direct means of communication both in daily life and in literary texts.

Lady Gregory and Halide Edib argued that social conformity with the movement of westernization is possible only with the equal participation of men and women in cultural and political life fostered by the education of “women” and clinging to “native language”. Some research focuses on the vital relation between language and culture that is essential to the maintenance of national identity. While some of the more popular work of this type, such as Jale Parla’s “The Wounded Tongue: Turkey’s Language Reform and the Canonicity of the Novel” (2008) and G. Timothy McMahon’s *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910* (2008), lacks a critical dimension, the emphasis on the revival of simplified, pure native language as the emblem of national identity in these works has nevertheless been valuable in fostering research into and in emphasizing the need to see women's participation in literary and political life. They both use similar methodologies in

their works by giving great importance to the close relation between language and national identity and to women's active participation in social life and the elevation of their status in society as it was significant not only as the identification of the 'missing sex' with the patriarchal system but also as a significant signifier of a more liberal and democratic social order.

Through the end of the nineteenth century both writers tried to find different ways to integrate their experiences in political life with their literary background as a prop to cultural nationalism. Acting with nationalist feelings, both female writers handle nationalism as the main theme of their writings. Both writers also have the experience of cultural encounters between the East and the West as well as being multi-dimensional historical figures in their era of turbulent change. Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edip Adıvar assumed masculinized women roles to overcome the national crises and to address the social ills within their countries and to make this national and political struggle as the core of their works. In a way, they defied codified gender roles to challenge foreign domination in cultural and political sphere. Hence the thesis will discuss how these modern women reformed society by their prominent positions in intercultural exchanges between the East and the West. Both female authors go beyond the social requirements of being a woman and appear as "androgynous heroines" thanks to their masculine roles to be able to serve their nations as sincere patriots.

Halide Edib's political idea was not the same at all times owing to the influence of the turbulent and fluctuating political life in Turkey over her. Halide Edib Adıvar was given the title of "Holy Mother of Turkism" by the Turkish Corps in the period of constitutionalism. She wrote Pan-Turkist novels such as *Yeni Turan* and *Raik's Mother*. She defended a liberal ideology based on decentralization. In the period of the Turkish Republic she followed a Kemalist and Turkist policy. After returning from abroad, she was humanist. She was the mouthpiece of Turkish nation in overseas. She was kind of an epic hero. "Nationalism was a means to liberal humanism for her". Among the personalities whom Halide Edib was influenced by are such prominent thinkers and intellectuals as Henry W. Nevins, Mahatma Gandhi, Bertrand Russell, Yahya Kemal and Isabel Fry. Lady Gregory, on the other

hand, was a rebel with the nationalists all through. She was outstanding with her masculine way of thinking and behavior. Kiberd also stresses: “her closest collaborator, W.B. Yeats, would respond warmly to her androgynous style, singling out her “masculine imagination” for particular praise” (Kiberd, 1995: 84). As also reflected in the spirit of postcolonial literatures, Lady Gregory, who devoted herself to reviving Irish culture and literature, was writing back to the empire by means of her translated works. Writing in the language of the oppressor, (the empire or ‘center’ in other words) was crucial to Lady Gregory to make the voice of the oppressed Irish heard. Halide Edib’s anti-imperial stance was a challenge to the oriental image of the superior West constructed within the European imagination as a result of a polarisation between the East and West, while her masculine stance was a reaction to the patriarchally constructed identity of femininity and masculinity.

Nevertheless, these rebellious female authors differ in the content and writing style of their works. Both writers show differences in writing styles, since Halide reports or refers to events explicitly, while Lady Gregory refers to historical events or occasions implicitly. That is, Halide portrays characters or events by making use of Sentimental Realism while Lady Gregory resorts to Poetic Realism to depict people or situations in a symbolic way. Halide sheds light on historical events or situations in a realist way while Gregory makes a criticism of historical events or conditions within an anti-imperial discourse through symbolic characters, makes use of nationalist images or refers to postcolonial terms representatively. I will show the difference of their style particularly in reference to Lady Gregory’s plays and fiction and Halide Edib’s novels and memoirs. As Mary Lou Kohfeldt noted in *Lady Gregory: The Woman Behind the Irish Renaissance*, just before the truce signed in 1921, Augusta expressed: “I seem possessed with the passion for Ireland, for my country [...] I wish to put myself on the side of the people, I wish to go to prison, I think even to execution” (Kohfeldt, 1985: 5). That’s why this absolute dedication to nationalistic causes and absolute love for the country constitute the common destiny of both female social reformers and political activists pioneering for the sake of cultural nationalism.

Nationalist movements, cultural tensions, and the woman question are the primary themes that constitute the core of both Adivar and Gregory's literary works and inform their roles as social reformers, contributors to nationalism and the development of theatre and pioneers in the political struggles of their countries. It is only natural that both were interested in theatre because the relationship between the stage and nationalism has a long history. Theatre is a direct medium of nationalism and political activism. There is a very organic link between theatre and nationalism. Loren Kruger and S. E. Wilmer have both written about the importance that national theatres have played in reinforcing notions of national identity on stage. *Performing America: Cultural Nationalism in American Theater* (1999) and (2007) offer numerous case studies that explore the "nature of Americanness as seen through the theatre." Jisha Menon examines the movements of nationalism at the border between India and Pakistan in *The Performance of Nationalism: India, Pakistan, and The Memory of Partition* (2012). Nadine Holdsworth in *Theatre&Nation* (2010) concisely demonstrates how performance functions as a vital component of nationalism. Stressing that nationalism has been a significant facet of theatrical expression since the Greeks in *Theatrical Nationalism: Exposing the "Obscene Superego" of the System*, Steve Wilmer explains

Theatre was recognized as a useful means for formulating and solidifying notions of national identity. National theatres, especially in countries that were not yet nation-states, were established to further the aims of nationalists. In the twenty-first century, national theatres continue to play an important role in conserving national cultures, especially in Europe, and cultural nationalism remains a recurrent motif (Wilmer, 2009: 77)

The National Theatre of Ireland had a pivotal role in the politics of a new nation-state identity and in the forthcoming revolution by contributing to Irish cultural nationalism with such plays as *Cathleen ni Houlihan* at the beginning of the twentieth century, while the Turkish writers used theatre as an effective genre to make the public adopt the concept of "homeland" with their literary works such as *Vatan Yahut Silistre (Homeland or Silistre)* in the late-nineteenth century. For instance, "the founders of the Irish Literary Theatre (the precursor of the Irish National Theatre) asserted that the new theatre would no longer demean the Irish people in the way that the British theatre had done in the past" (Wilmer, 2009: 79).

On the contrary, its commitment to folk and nationalistic drama was part of a project to create a new national literature for Ireland and to promote Irish culture to the world. For this purpose “Irish nationalist theatre at the beginning of the twentieth century employed historic struggles, folklore myths, and stories of idyllic rural life as a means of showing the distinctiveness of Irish (as opposed to English) culture” (Wilmer, 2009: 79), as exemplified by *Cathleen ni Houlihan* in which the mythical figure Cathleen calls out young Irish peasants to fight for Ireland against British rule in the 1798 uprising. Expressions of nationalism continue to shape the content of theatrical texts today, just as the theories of such philosophers as Johann von Herder shape the nationalist discourse. Exploring the relationship of nationalism, anti-imperialism and postcolonialisms to theatre will help understand better the ways in which nationalists have utilized performance both to define the nation and to challenge imperialism. Up to now various artists, scholars and playwrights like Lady Gregory and Halide Edib have staged the nation and have staged national resistance to imperial authority and colonial domination.

Playing the roles as activists, writers and soldiers who were active in the political, cultural and social setting of their respective countries in the twentieth century defines Adivar and Augusta’s literary and political identity. They are multi-dimensional figures considering their pioneering roles in the theatre world, national wars, the literary world, and national politics. Halide Edib shed a light on the momentous scenes of the Turkish Independence War through her fictional and actual memoirs. Portraying Abdürrezzak as one of the popular actors she watched the day when she first met theatre Halide says: “the love and admiration of the people for him aroused Abdülhamid’s doubt and Abdülhamid took him to the palace to distance him from the people. Real despots are always afraid of all kinds of fame whether it is political or not. He was retreated from the stage until the 1908 Revolution” (Adivar, 2007: 97). Art has a greater power and influence on the people and “it cannot be dethroned from the public heart. A despot is not a real despot if he is not jealous of every popular talent not exclusively used for his royal pleasure, and permitted to the public only through him [...] Nero’s theatrical caprice was only a despot’s natural desire for lasting power (Adivar, 1926: 124)”. From the example of Abdürrezzak it is

evident that theatre had a revolutionary aspect and a very strong influence to head people towards a certain social or political target as can be understood from Abdülhamid's concerns about his authority in public eye in Halide's period.

Most important of all, Halide was remarkable as the first Muslim Turkish woman to appear on stage with her own identity as Halide Edib Adivar⁴. In his Master thesis Saban refutes the misconception that Afife Jale was the first Muslim Turkish woman to act on the stage in recent Turkish history and he indicates that a woman called Seniye Hanim (the wife of a funny man having to work as an actor because he lost his fortune) acted on the stage under the name of "Amelya" with a fake Armenian identity as noted in his stage memoirs by Ahmet Fehim Bey, who lived between 1856-1930⁵. Halide Edib was a dramatic persona in most plays of her period as a national figure as well as being a dramatist, while Lady Gregory mirrors the political conflicts between Ireland and England in her patriotic plays in a symbolic way. There is no critical research on the comparison of Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory. The exploration of their works in terms of cultural nationalism is the most substantial analysis and, with its emphasis on their political struggles and contributions to war history, will provide a crucial background to this thesis and I will draw on a variety of secondary sources from various research areas to connect the life stories of these women writers with the war history of their period, with the analysis of nationalism, and with the gender issue in their writing styles. By mainly focusing on the roles of women in the national process as anti-imperialists, this thesis will take a distinctive angle which integrates literary analysis with the study of cultural reception to provide better understanding of the cultural significance of these political works in their own day.

This will be the first comparative study on Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib through their anti-imperial activism and perspective. They are mostly treated separately, and with their feminist and nationalist roles. Irish playwright, folklorist and co-founder of the Abbey Theatre, Lady Gregory is a representative of a new or

⁴ For more information, see Nedim Saban's Master Thesis *Halide Edib Adivar Tiyatrosu*, pp. 31-32.

⁵ Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alfa yayınları), 2014.

changing Ireland, considering her changing political views on nationalism and her roles in the process of laying the foundations of Irish Free State (the Republic of Ireland), just as the Turkish writer and reformer, Halide Edib undertook a pioneering role in constructing a new Turkish Republic as a revolutionary figure. Gregory transforms from an anti Home-Ruler into a Home-Ruler and a land leaguer, from a Unionist into a nationalist while Edib was a Pan-Turkist with the defence of the idea “decentralization” and a liberal ideology in the Constitutional Period, a Atatürkist, Kemalist and Turkist of Turkey in the Republic Period and a humanist after returning from abroad.

This study distinguishes itself through its unusual analysis of the issue of constructing a new national identity after the demolition of empires in the cases of Ireland and Turkey. While some research has focused only on the feminist issues such as women’s voice against patriarchy, women’s education or female figures in novels in Turkey’s and Ireland’s case, other work has sought to show how nationalist feelings urged women writers to orient towards political activism, social reforms and cultural nationalism besides going against masculinised national discourses. Clearly, there is scope here for a great deal more research that will develop a critique of masculine nationalism considering the restrictive effects of traditional nationalism in Ireland and Turkey on the participation of women in the nation. This thesis will also expose the critical stance adopted by Lady Gregory and Halide Edib against British imperialism in a favor of all worldwide anti-colonial nationalisms. The works of Halide Edib such as *The Shirt of Flame*, *The Turkish Ordeal* and the works of Lady Gregory such as *Our Irish Theatre*, *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* will help me answer the questions if these writers exhibit a local or international outlook of anti-imperialism and how their war history affected their political views and status as anti-imperialist, political activist, social reformer and cultural nationalist.

In *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History*, Joseph Lennon indicates: “writing from within a position of European imperial privilege, Irish Orientalism provides agency for Irish cultural decolonization and, at times, enables cultural decolonization in Asian and West Asian colonies” (Lennon, 2004: xxvi). Thus exploiting the language of the colonizer to the advantage of different colonized

cultural groups elevates sub-cultural groups to a privileged position in which they defend their rights in the face of the enslaving forces of colonization. Kiberd also stresses: “the literature of Young Ireland, like the literature of most subject peoples, is an attempt to make up for the huge injury of having had, in a national sense, bad parents” (Kiberd, 1995: 68). The victim of bad parents, Britain, Ireland initiated her own literature to get rid of being culturally corrupt. The effort not to be estranged from the cultural roots of having an Irish identity was crucial to compensate for the alienation effect of the cultural imperialism that the British Empire applied to Ireland. Lady Gregory, whose principal aim in life is to oppose British obliteration of Irish culture, to restore the ancient dignity of Irish culture and traditions as well as recovering old legends and folktales, was an aristocrat who pretended to be a proponent of British politics because of her husband while Halide Edib chose England when she was forced to self-exile away from her country. Hence this study will deal with these two writers in opposition to British imperial culture and politics and expose how they were nourished by varied personalities in the construction of their idea of “free nation”. By analysing how they constructed England in their writings this thesis will shed light upon the importance of intercultural relationships and transnational encounters in reaching a sound national policy within the country.

This study is interdisciplinary, drawing upon theories of Critical Cultural Studies, Postcolonial Studies, Gender Studies and Nationalist Theory (the national self-determination theory). My objective is to draw attention to the similar nationalist ideals of contemporaneous Halide Edib Adıvar and Lady Augusta Gregory as anti-imperialist social reformers. The originality of this study lies in emphasizing the ideas of gendered nationalist discourse and the ways how Halide Edib and Lady Gregory counter a single-gendered nationalist discourse by contributing to feminist nationalism. A comparison of these writers defending freedom and “free opinion” in nationalist discourses and political skirmishes reversing the influence of gender and foreign powers through language will contribute a new perspective on Critical Cultural Studies.

My main contribution is to provide a new critical outlook on gendered nationalist discourses and to assess the contributions of Halide Edib Adıvar and Lady Gregory

to cultural nationalism for the realization of social transformation through their roles as political activists and social reformers. Both Halide Edib and Lady Gregory aimed to be the external social reformers of their country by achieving the dream of being the internal reformer in family and society. Voicing the needs of their society at a political and cultural crossroad dramatically through their plays and folkloric work, and struggling to contribute to the legitimization process of their country as a nation, Lady Gregory and Halide Edib undermined the taken-for-granted perception of “nationalism” from the masculinist view and presented a more egalitarian view of nationalism in which gender identity does not play a deterministic role.

Through the application of nationalist theory, post-colonial theory, feminist theory and extended analyses of selected literary texts this thesis aims to illustrate how Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory undermined the masculinised national texts by actively involving themselves in the nationalist struggle against foreign domination and cultural imperialism. These writers assumed subversive roles as social reformers and political activists as if to substitute “the missing sex” in the writing of history as referred by Margaret Ward in her challenging book entitled *The Missing Sex: Putting Women into Irish History*. As a concept that emerges in the aftermath of the colonial, “postcolonial” offers a way of expression for those who do not feel like they belong to any place, for the oppressed, minority groups with different cultural and national origins, and subaltern classes that struggle to survive as a diaspora. Dealing with the different problems and situations these groups had to face, the postcolonial politics is preoccupied with the concerns of identity problems, ethnicity, and question of representation of refugees. Emerging as a result of colonial resistance to western rule or cultural dominance during the anti-colonial struggles of the oppressed nations or groups in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, postcolonial theory signals the end of empires and the foundation of nation states which have a political, economic and social order independent from the colonial mindset which instills the view that colonized people are incapable of surviving without the political help or control of colonizers convinced of their own superiority and mandate to rule. In his article entitled *What is the Postcolonial?* Robert J.C. Young explicates the concept “postcolonial” involves the impulse of resistance to the

colonial as the primary meaning in a reference to the decolonized societies or still colonized societies ideologically.

The deconstruction of ethnocentric stereotypes and assumptions rooted in western knowledge constitutes the basis of the politics of postcolonialism. Western knowledge based on the binary oppositions such as man/woman, civilized/uncivilized, black/white, colonizer/colonized, or modern/primitive aimed to denigrate the “other” termed by western people, whereas the postcolonial study challenges the idea of starkly oppositional identities and seeks the ways to explore different kinds of knowledge or the knowledge of other cultures. Postcolonial writing attempted to change the dominant viewpoints and sharp distinctions on the relations between western and non-western people by defying western assumptions. The key point in postcolonial studies is to look at the world from the perspective of the margins, the oppressed, or the forgotten groups. Western assumptions on the non-western world actually do not reflect the reality about events, situations or feelings. Postcolonialism attempted to be the mouthpiece of the subaltern views, with Gayatri Spivak’s well-known phrase, as the subaltern cannot speak, and has tried to exhibit the world from a non-European perspective since the late 1970s. It seeks to provide a global justice in the exploitative world divided up in disparities of power, race or wealth. With the aim of transforming radical discourses, liberation movements oriented towards intellectual production and anti-colonial activists were preoccupied with generating new kinds of knowledge which are subversive and insurgent.

In order to understand the historical development of nationalism we need to have a look at the theoretical development of nationalism in general. Imperial decolonization or individual liberation movements are the reflection of activist movements that started to gain national independence and to decolonize the national spirit and mind. The French and American revolutions of the late eighteenth century enabled the creation of the ideal of the modern nation-state, which refers to an independent state form with a written constitution and a ruling system including equal citizens. The global rise of the nation-state in the modern world necessitated the collapse of the empires such as Ottoman and British. The division into a series of nation-states that symbolized the dissolution of the British and Ottoman empires is

reinforced with industrialization according to the hypothesis of Andreas Wimmer and Yuval Feinstein. In their article called *the Rise of the Nation-State across the World, 1816 to 2001*, Wimmer and Feinstein indicate Gellner's (1983) functionalist analysis made up of a subtle study of four historical pathways which help satisfy the needs of industrial societies and focus on especially two of them:

First, uneven industrialization drew rural peasants into industrialized centers, where their ascent and prospects remained limited if their language and culture did not correspond to the center's high culture. Resentment fed into nationalism and eventually led to the creation of nation-states, as in the Balkans and the peripheries of the Habsburg Empire. Second, a similar process unfolded in the colonial world, where skin color was associated with unequal power, unleashing anti-colonial nationalisms as soon as industrialization set in and delegitimized the colonial hierarchy (Wimmer & Feinstein, 2010: 767).

In the above-mentioned article Benedict Anderson's (1991) theory of nationalism is also examined extensively to account for the underlying causes of the formation of nation-states. In the part titled "Cultural Modernization", it is articulated that "Anderson's (1991) theory of nationalism distinguishes between three mechanisms that combine in different ways across four different waves of nation-state creation. First, reformation, state bureaucratization, and, most importantly, the rise of print capitalism enabled and propelled literacy in vernacular languages, replacing complex elite languages such as Latin. The emerging reading public thus shared a narrative cosmos and soon imagined itself as a national community of common origin and future political destiny" (Wimmer & Feinstein, 2010: 768).

Putting forward that pre-modern legacies and identities constitute the bedrock of many contemporary nations (Smith, 1998: 171) Anthony Smith stresses the importance of pre-modern ethnic roots for the emergence of nationalism besides his ethno-symbolic theory composed of by three main keys as autonomy, unity, and identity (Smith, 1998: 181). Another influential figure, John Hutchinson asserts that symbols and memories play crucial roles in deciphering the nature and history of the nation (Smith, 1998: 180) with an emphasis on culture in the formation of nations. According to the version of nationalism elaborated by the German Romantics—notably Fichte, Schlegel, Schleiermacher, Arndt, Jahn and Muller

It holds that the subject of history is the nation, a phenomenon at once unique, '*natural*' and 'objective'. The nation stands over and over the individuals who compose it, and the members possess common mental characteristics which are objectively ascertainable and mark them off from non-members. 'Nature' itself has ordained this cultural individuality, and the proof of this is to be found in the manifest differences of language, customs, history, institutions, descent and religion. From these external differences we must infer a distinctive 'spirit' of the nation, with its own independent causal power. Such a spirit welds the parts of a nation into an organic 'whole', which turns an aggregate of individuals and elements into a unique seamless pattern, on which the parts in turn depend for their life and form (Smith, 1998: 16).

Nationalism was a means of political transformation to some scholars such as Eric J. Hobsbawm, John Breuilly and Paul R. Brass. For Hobsbawm nations and nationalism arise out of "social engineering" and the "invention of tradition" has a significant role in the construction of a continuity with a historic past which is essential for group attachment as the legitimator of human actions and activities (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992: 1-2). According to Breuilly nationalism is closely linked to the development of specifically modern types of political action and to the development of the nation state eventually (Spencer & Wollman, 2002: 41). Breuilly takes nationalism as a form of politics and associates it directly with political power. Supporting the view of instrumentalism as a political modernist, Paul R. Brass deals with the main role of elites and political institutions. For the emergence of nationalism he emphasizes the importance of changing political conditions and signifies the manipulations of political elites providing support in their struggle for wealth, power and prestige (Özkırımlı, 2000: 104-109). Made up of the individuals that are united around the same national spirit created by a share of common mentality and harmonious lifestyle the concept of nation and nationalism as a doctrine date back to the nineteenth century when the case of national self-government was debated as the only valid form of government legally in terms of proper social order and proper use of state power as defined by Elie Kedourie:

Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organisation of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government (Kedourie, 1960: I).

A significant figure among the modernists Kedourie referred to the utilization of history and religion which involve cultural elements as principal constituents for the emergence of nationalism. Kedourie claims that history and religion were exploited by nationalists as an instrument of activation and mobilization (Smith, 1998: 112-115). Following a socio-cultural perspective like Anderson, Ernest Gellner argues: “it is nationalism that engenders nation, and not the other way around” (Gellner, 1983:49) and “nations as a natural God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth” (Gellner, 1983: 48-9), referring to nationalism as a culturally-constructed movement that turns pre-existing cultures into nations. The objective of nationhood, ‘nation-building’, includes ‘imagining’ a national past and present (Anderson 1991), inventing traditions (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1983), and symbolically constructing community (Cohen, 1995). Smith analyses the nature of nationalism and deduces that nationalism is two-sided as “integrative” and “divisive”:

Nationalism is both integrative and divisive, because the ‘assimilationist’ stresses the vision of fraternity among equals, but the elitist-minded ‘revivalist’ underlines the cultural differentiae so necessary to the renovation of the community and the restoration of dignity through secession. Nationalism is ultimately both traditionalist and modernist; for it arises out of the historical concerns of the ‘reformist’ who defects, and the aspirations of the rejected ‘assimilationist’ for ‘normalisation’—to be like all other nations (Smith, 1998: 256).

Aside from its unifying feature among equals, nationalism is an important force against imperialism and yet it too can be destructive. It may appear as a destructive force and a herald of an imminent danger on the part of countries that are home to various cultural groups in their structure although it inspires a conservative order of society and cultural environment that does not concede much from its national values and cultural traditions. As Zillah Einstein discusses in her chapter “Writing bodies on the nation for the globe”: “a nation is defined by its unity; differences and particularities within it challenge its universality. Shared commonness is privileged against diversity, which is problemized as disorderly” (Ranchod-Nilsson & Tetreault, 2000: 37). On the other side, Gilbert Keith Chesterton pointed out a concept of nationhood that had nothing to do with race but everything to do with communal will: “nationality exists, and has nothing in the world to do with race. Nationality is a thing like a church or a secret society; it is a product of the human soul and will; it is

a spiritual product. And there are men in the modern world who would think anything and do anything rather than admit that anything could be a spiritual product” (Chesterton, 1928: 173).

On the other hand, emerging as a form of resistance to empires and imperial ideologies, anti-imperialism developed in a support of the idea of “nation-states”. Challenging old imperial structures and mechanisms of management, anti-imperialism became a springboard to trigger the deep national feelings of different cultural groups and to endorse the foundation of nation-states under the effect of national movements. The underlying reason for the collapse of empires and the building of nation-states is cultural corruption and degeneration applied on different cultural groups within the empire in the direction of deliberate efforts of imperial powers to subjugate the subaltern groups. The outbreak of national wars is directly connected with the desire to reveal the cultural individuality and distinctive characteristics of other racial, cultural or ethnic groups legally. After the collapse of empires, nation-states were bound to be valid forms of government under the effect of anti-imperial perspectives and ideologies. That’s why anti-imperialism is the principal source of inspiration for national movements and political activism oriented by nationalism and it serves the case of national freedom and independence as a challenge to ideological and political ways of colonialism imposed by colonial empires.

Ireland was under the dominion of the British Empire while Turkey was referred to as “Ottoman Empire” in the period before national independence. As far as the effects of these empires are concerned, cultural corruption and imperialism were inevitable and this case instigated the national groups within the empire to look for their national liberation. As regards examples of anti-imperialism in the history of both countries, the 1798 Rebellion represents the Irish anti-imperial stance against England while the anti-occupation uprising known as the “war of liberation” between 1919 and 1923 represents the anti-imperial stance against occupying forces in Turkey. What differentiates the two countries from each other in their struggle against the domination of imperialist powers is that the Ottoman Empire had the founder position in the formation process of the new Turkish Republic, whereas

Ireland had the colony position in the face of the British Empire in the transition process into the nation-state position, which indicates different nationalism contexts in two countries.

When the relationship of Ireland with the British Empire throughout history is analyzed, it is evident that Ireland was exposed to British colonialism both culturally and physically at first and then she transformed into the position of the Irish National State with the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922. In his *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*, Stephen Howe refers to Ireland as “a sphere of ambiguity, tension, transition, hybridity between ‘national’ and ‘imperial’” (Howe, 2004: 123). Furthermore, in his well-known *Inventing Ireland* Kiberd defines Ireland’s political, economic, cultural, and ideological domination by Britain as a form of colonialism form which the Irish gradually freed themselves by going through a process of decolonization in the decades that followed 1921:

As far as the Irish were concerned, colonialism took various forms: political rule from London through the medium of Dublin Castle; economic expropriation by planters who came in various waves of settlement; and an accompanying psychology of self-doubt and dependency among the Irish linked to the loss of economic and political power but also to the decline of the native language and culture. Although imperial rules in twenty-six counties ceased in 1921, many descendants of settler families continued to hold much land and wealth. In the ensuing decades, Ireland became part of a new world system, which saw the collapse of colonialism in most of its outposts [...] the effects of cultural dependency [yet] remained palpable long after the withdrawal of the British military: it is less easy to decolonize the mind than the territory. Such a programme was made even more difficult by the persistence of British rule over six counties of Northern Ireland (Kiberd, 1996: 6).

The 1798 Rebellion was symbolic of the Irish anti-imperial stance considering the efforts of a group of Irish Protestants to subvert the authority of England over Ireland and to assert their independence. It was the first Irish republican insurrection against Britain. Reflecting the Irish struggle for freedom and the political relations between England and Ireland, Gregory’s play *the Rising of the Moon* deals with the struggle of Ireland to free itself from the English rule. The play symbolizes Irish independence. Written in the background of the Anglo-Irish War, this political play deals with the situation of the characters divided between the ideas of duty and patriotism during the Irish War of Independence launched against the British

government in Ireland. Making a call to the people of Ireland to stay united for the sake of a unified Ireland, the exhortative play communicates the message to unite together as Irishmen.

“In her lecture ‘Laughter in Ireland’ Lady Gregory anticipates post-colonial theory in her analysis of the way nineteenth-century comic fiction and drama were used to debase and disenfranchise the Irish peasant to please an English audience” (Gregory, 1995: xxxiv). The postcolonial messages communicated through these kinds of plays were intended to refer to the struggle between Ireland and British Empire and they tended to be critical of British colonialism in order to favor the independence of Ireland in an ironic way. Regarding the efforts of Ireland to gain national independence in later years, in *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature 1880-1980*, Seamus Deane points out: “between the end of the Famine in 1848 and Sinn Fein’s great electoral triumph in 1918, Ireland began the long process of its transformation from a British colony into a modern, independent state” (Deane, 1985: 12). In *Anglo-Irish Theatre and the Formation of a National Political Culture Between 1890 and 1930*, Georg Grote indicates: “the emergence of the Sinn Fein marked a significant step in the development from all-embracing and non-violent cultural nationalist phase to violence and radical resistance, which eventually resulted in the armed rebellion against the British administration” (Grote, 2003: 111).

On the other hand, at the beginning of the twentieth century Turkey led the first anti-imperialistic war against the developed capitalist nations under the Kemalist regime. The War of National Liberation (1919-1922) caused a rupture in the imperialist world system according to the Turkish mind. The victory of the Turkish people also gave hope to other social or cultural groups on the continent of Asia struggling against colonial oppression. Gaining victory over capitalist subjugation as a non-European people, Turkish people performed their anti-imperialistic struggle by the command of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, “whose principle slogan had been “full independence” as stressed by Türkaya Ataöv in his talk called “Anti-Imperialistic Ideas in Mustafa Kemal’s Writings and Their Importance for Asia” (Ataöv, 1975: 2). Ataöv elucidates that the central theme of our War of Liberation had been not only to

clear our territory of Greek, British, French and Italian troops, but also to achieve all-round sovereignty and economic independence” (Ataöv, 1975: 2). Opposing foreign encroachment and deeply dedicated to his people, Atatürk dictated in the “Amasya Memorandum” dated 21/22 June 1919, “the territorial integrity and independence of the nation is in jeopardy. The government in Istanbul is unable to carry the responsibility it has shouldered. The independence of the nation will be safeguarded by the irreversible decision and resistance of the people themselves”⁶. On the day of the inauguration of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. Atatürk explicitly declares: “freedom and independence are inherent in my character [...] For me, national independence is a matter of life and death”⁷. Related to the new government in Ankara, he denotes that it was “created with the purpose of fighting against imperialism”⁸.

Emphasizing the importance of full independence and freedom in the political, financial, cultural, military, economic or other spheres, Atatürk attributes the semi-colonisation of the Ottoman Empire to the foreign capital that forces control over Turkey. As a criticism of being financially dependent on the West, Atatürk comments: “scientifically speaking, one can say that the (Ottoman) government had done nothing except acting as the gendarmerie of foreign capital”⁹. Atatürk put forward the idea that imperialism would retreat when confronted with determined resistance¹⁰. The process of ‘decolonisation’ was completed with the acquisition of political independence and the formation of a national state and in this way the national liberation movement reached its aims. During the years of Independence War, Atatürk was against imperialism and capitalism that threatened to destroy Turkish culture and he believed in the power of the armed resistance to defend the rights of both Turkey and the whole East¹¹. One remarkable point is that Turkey was “serving all humanity by confronting western imperialism”¹². At this point we can

⁶ M.K. Atatürk, *Nutuk*, Vol. III, pp. 915-916.

⁷ M.K. Atatürk, *Söylev ve Demeçler*, Vol. III, pp. 24-25.

⁸ M.K. Atatürk, *Tamim-Telgraflar*, p. 357.

⁹ *Söylev ve Demeçler*, Vol. II. p.1.

¹⁰ *Söylev ve Demeçler*, Vol. III. p.32.

¹¹ *Söylev ve Demeçler*, Vol. I. p.196.

¹² Atatürk, *Tamim-Telgraflar*, p. 339.

say that Turkish outlook of anti-imperialism also serves an international outlook of anti-imperialism. In the period of frenetic annexation of territory in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Ottomans lost their position as empire and dynasty. Ottoman Empire came to an end officially when Turkey was declared a republic in 1922 after its 624 years of rule on the one hand, the Ottomans were going through defeats in Europe. On the other hand, they were struggling with revolution by liberal nationalists who were against the old regime and inclined to support western style governments. Starting an open revolt against the Ottoman rule and wishing to westernize and modernize Turkey in the early 1920's, these nationalists were called as the "Young Turks". As one of the main theoreticians of this radical change, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk headed a series of legislative reforms based on European legal systems and civil codes.

As well as being a topic of continuing interest for the cultural critic, cultural nationalism is at the forefront of literary historians as well. As W.B. Yeats expressed, "there is no great literature without nationality, no great nationality without literature" (Yeats, 1989: 30). I attempt to find out how Lady Gregory and Halide Edib endeavored to make their national culture introduce on an international platform with a focus on preserving/sticking to national values and traditions as part of resistance against cultural imperialism during the formation process of a new nation-state identity. A literature review helps me elaborate on different dimensions of national discourses with the involvement of women in nationalist projects and the inclusion of women's perspective into masculinised nationalist texts both in Turkey and Ireland. Gender Studies is significant in revealing the fact that gendered nationhood in both Turkey and Ireland started to be subverted ideologically by the active participation of the opposite gender (women) in nationalist struggle and the reflection of women's point of view on one-sided gendered national discourses in the early twentieth-century, at a time when gendered nationalism reigned all across political texts.

Throughout the world there was a rise in nationalism with the end of the age of colonization. Upon this Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and Mary Ann Tetreault comment in

the chapter “Gender and Nationalism” : “the collapse of old political frameworks and the reconfiguration of global economic power have been accompanied by an impulse to redefine, reassert, and reconfigure meanings of the nation on multiple levels” (Ranchod-Nilsson&Tetreault, 2000: 1) Furthermore, nationalism emerged as an ideology of liberation that led to other liberation movements like feminism. Women took active and symbolic roles in these movements which both helped them acquire improved status and confine them to maternal roles paradoxically. “Viewing people as a repository of values, he (Gandhi) promoted temperance and sexual virtue as nationalist goals. These could be practiced within the home, and Gandhi as well as many women saw them as a way of empowering women while strengthening the nation, thus binding feminism and nationalism” (Meade&Wiesner-Hanks, 2004: 517), just as in Turkey where women played an instrumental role in the new regime.

Nationalism has also been used as a political tool by colonized or imperialized people to topple the foreign regimes that dominate them. Gender, particularly womanhood, is often defined with regard to the nation. Ranchod-Nilsson and Tetreault write: the centrality of gender to resurgent nationalist forces and discourses continues to be striking” (Ranchod-Nilsson&Tetreault, 2000: 1). As gendered subjectivities (men and women) intersect with national/ist discourses, practices and nation-state formations, it is crucial to handle masculinities and femininities differently. Each nation assigns specific roles to each gender. In Irish and Turkish nations, most of the time, women play the roles of mother and homemaker, whereas men play the roles of protector and laborer. In fact, by defining specific roles for women and men, nations also deny the possibility of existence for a gender identity except from traditional male or female roles. In imperial and colonial regimes where gender hierarchies have been used as a tool of colonization women are often denied privileges of main rights of citizenship like voting and participating in government and so they are excluded from being full members of the state.

More studies on Irish literature rather than Turkish literature have been done concerning gendered nationalism. Gendered nationalism analysis done for Irish literature sheds new light on the kind of gendered nationalism that Halide Edib practiced. My reading of Irish literary tradition sheds new light on the Turkish

literary tradition. Gender and nationalism are mutually constructive concepts which are intertwined. Drawing on a specific intersection of gender and nationalism, feminist scholars emphasize the gendered underpinnings of nationalism as the integral part of anti-colonial nationalist movements. The gendered manner that dominant nationalism assumes in most states all over the world was condemned to be broken apart because of the implications that it inhabited for women. Negotiating with the dominant male discourse of nationalism women wanted to be recognized as legitimate nationalists who were equal to men in their national struggles. Besides their disaffection to English authority Irish patriots had a feeling of cultural dislocation and insecurity owing to the imperialist attitudes of the colonizer. To avoid the denigrating identity imposed by the colonizer it was essential to counteract a political and social terrain infused with a masculinized dream of nation-building through feminist activism.

Due to the effects of colonization on the Irish literary system, the revival of national pride through literature was integral to most feminist nationalists. The complex interaction between gender and nation entailed the equal participation of women into the national struggle for the construction of a democratic nation-state identity. Gendered nationalism transformed into ungendered nationalism for the emancipation of women in social, political and literary spheres with the gradual appearance of women in public place. Literary exertion and political activism of women along with their endeavour to take part in national struggle and in cultural activities such as collecting folklore or using folkloric elements in their works all contributed to the emergence of ungendered nationalism which was fundamental to the radical changes and transformation in the early twentieth-century Turkish and Irish societies on the brink of political change.

In “Heroic Styles” Seamus Deane points out that everything “including our politics and our literature, has to be rewritten-i.e.re-read. That will enable new writing, new politics, unblemished by Irishness, but securely Irish” (Deane, 1985: 58). As Ireland was a former colony, this influences the style in Irish writing in English. Deane argues: “Irish writing is dominated by the notion of vitality restored, of the centre energised by the periphery, the urban by the rural, the cosmopolitan by the

provincial, the decadent by the natural. This is one of the liberating effects of nationalism, a means of restoring dignity and power to what had been humiliated and suppressed” (Deane, 1985: 47). As regards Deane’s discussion, in her book *Identities in Irish Literature* Anne MacCarthy remarks: “one of the “liberating” effects of nationalism was its ability to counteract the humiliating results of colonialism by setting up a counter-identity based on nation and race, a basically ideological concept, with the aim of toppling the colonial identity and replacing it with one based on the rural and provincial realities of Ireland” (MacCarthy, 2004: 107). In his article entitled “Irish Cultural Studies and Postcolonial Theory”, Eoin Flannery says: “postcolonial critics are profoundly sensitive to the politics of cultural representation and access to political participation within colonial, decolonizing, and postcolonial societies” (Flannery, 2007: 4). Likewise, both Ireland and Turkey struggled for the sake of cultural representation through the efforts of literary writers like Lady Gregory and Halide Edib Adıvar as social and cultural reformers in the nation-building process of a new Republic against old empires. Cultural representation as part of cultural nationalism became the aim of the literary works of these writers as well as becoming an inspirational motive of their national cause. Cultural representation was an indispensable necessity against cultural corruption in the anti-imperial struggle and perspective in order to preserve national freedom and independence absolutely. As regards the position of Ireland in postcolonial history, Robert Young addresses the significance of Ireland’s co-option into debates on colonial history and postcoloniality:

The forms of revolutionary and cultural activism developed by the Irish against the entrenched self-interest of its rule by the British aristocracy and bourgeoisie meant that it remained the standard bearer for all anti-colonial movements in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries... [Ireland] provided a model for the most effective combination of tactics for all future anti-colonial struggle aside from those dependent entirely on military insurrection (Young, 2001: 302)

When we examine the historical background of the Ottoman Empire in terms of examples of colonialism or decolonization, the Ottoman Empire was not colonized intrinsically while the new Turkish state was forced to be colonized spiritually by extrinsic powers. The prospective Turkish state was struggling against colonial powers in the transition process from the empire to the nation-state both physically

and culturally as denoted by Turkish politician and academic, Merve Kavakcı in her book entitled *Headscarf Politics in Turkey: A Postcolonial Reading*:

Turks, as the descendants of the Ottoman Empire, did not experience colonization in their past. Their passage from the empire to the republic involved a resistance against the British, French, Greeks, and Italians who attempted to partition and colonize the country following World War I. The defiance against potential colonial forces and the transformation into republicanism (secularism) occurred in tandem. The context was delineated as a religious Islamic war against the West. Nonetheless the emerging republic, under the leadership of an intelligentsia that was both an admirer of the West and instrumental in founding the new Turkish state, adopted a westernization project whose underlying premise was the superiority of the West and its values. Thus while the Turks never lived under colonial conditions, the leaders of the Turkish Republic intellectually embraced an attitude of westernization that was colonial-like in their relationship with the majority of the population (Kavakcı, 2010: 6-7).

In the Irish case republicanism means the development of democratic and nationalist ideology based on the idea that all of Ireland should be an independent republic, while it means secularism in Turkey. As a consequence of the oppressive influence of the British administration on Irish culture after hundreds of years of Irish resistance in the face of the English presence on the island the Irish Republican ideology emerged through rebellion. The emergence of republicanism in Ireland as opposition to British rule was basically related to the anti-imperial struggle of Ireland resisting British conquest and its imperial purposes on itself while republicanism in Turkey was adopted as a system of management in order to liberate the country from the fetters of bigotry and it aimed to pave the way for other reforms and innovations as a movement of political reform as part of the Turkish Revolution. Postcolonial theory, which is mostly associated with the predicaments of colonized cultures or groups within the modern world, is employed to critique the stereotypical descriptions or representation of the “Other” with a deconstructive analysis. The treatment of some political, social and cultural practices such as the dressing style of women in public sphere or the adoption of a western way of life or mindset in the nation-building process by the Turkish Republic can also be explicated by the premises of postcolonialism. The anti-colonial struggle and anti-imperial resistance against the preservation or imposition of colonial heritage on oppressed cultural groups became the pungent destiny of both Ireland and the new Turkish state. The instrumental role of women within the Turkish and Irish modernization projects in

the construction of national identity was one of the common elements of the nation-building process both in Ireland and Turkey. Their active participation in the public sphere in different roles as well as becoming educated altered the mode of formerly-constructed male-based political texts or literary works.



CHAPTER ONE

GENDER AND NATIONALISM

1.1. Challenge to Gendered Nationalism

My understanding of ‘gendered nationalism’ is informed by V. Spike Peterson, who has described at length in an article by the same name:

How particular individuals and subgroups are situated in relation to “homogenization” will depend on various historical factors; there is no essential or predetermined givens in how race, class, ethnicity, gender, and so forth, are linked to nationalism. It is possible, however, to identify historical patterns in the gendered dynamics of group identity formation and reproduction (Peterson, 2007).

Peterson’s exploration of gendered nationalism leads us to ask whether Halide Edib’s and Lady Gregory’s historical contexts are similar enough to produce similar gendered nationalisms. In the process of nation-building and modernization, changes in the status of women were one of the determining forces for the construction of the new national identity. Women forcing their way into nationalist projects prevented nationalism from being an all-male project. In Turkey, women nationalists were actively involved in the literary world to challenge male-dominated writing of history, and also to challenge the way women were represented in fiction while women had to fight for a space to articulate their demands and to make their voices heard by being politically active as part of the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland. Changing women’s consciousness and creating a desire in them to fight for their own demands by making them aware of their own oppression naturally led them to participate in political movements.

By exploring the role of women in the creation of the sense of the Irish and Turkish nations, this thesis redefines Irish and Turkish consciousness with a focus in the period between 1880 and 1930 with particular references to the ways in which women were constructed as representations of the nation and/or national homeland or how they responded to these male constructions in cultural, historical and literary contexts. As gender and national identities progressed in tandem, feminism was a central part of national movements. For instance, in the case of Indian nationalism,

which is contemporaneous with Turkish and Irish nationalisms, “viewing woman as having a greater capacity for self-sacrifice and endurance, Gandhi saw women as the best practitioners of his form of nationalist resistance—passive resistance” (Meade&Wiesner-Hanks, 2004: 517). Irish and Turkish intellectuals emphasized that a national culture distinct from the culture of imperial Britain or other imperial powers was also a step toward improving women’s status since women were also part of the nationalist movement and they could not be considered free if the nation was not free.

As Irish women were identified with the country of Ireland, the improvement of their social status was associated with an ideal order that would be restored by the nationalist writers, artists and intellectuals of the new nation-state, just as in Adivar’s identification of women as state-builders, considering the institution of family at the center of the state. Coming to terms with a Gaelic past and engaging with Irish cultural traditions enabled women writers to reconceptualise the ideas of “nation”, national culture and traditions in more inclusive ways. Likewise, in Turkey women served as agents of nationalism and creators of the new state with a tendency to return to Turkish cultural origins or ancient values in terms of family morality in Adivar’s understanding of Turkish women’s part during the formative years of the Turkish Republic. With this depiction Adivar challenged the ideologically determined position of women in the private realm according to her own discursive understanding of nationalism. In his book *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography* Brian Graham explicates: “women’s reflections on Irish nationhood and gender, in historical research, creative forms and critical writings within and outside Ireland, do not simply criticise dominant ideas of nationhood but offer new ways of thinking about Irish history, gender and cultural belonging” (Graham, 1997: 111). Therefore, women’s reconceptualization of national ideas or culture has as great appeal as their collaboration in nationalist resistance in different roles for the repossession of national identity.

The emphasis on women by gender scholars in the field of nationalism and national politics has filled a significant gap. In her study of gender, sexuality and race in colonialism entitled *Imperial Leather*, McClintock (1995) refers to the ‘gendered

discourse' of nationalism and comments: "if male theorists are typically indifferent to the gendering of nations, feminist analyses of nationalism have been lamentably few and far between. White feminists, in particular, have been slow to recognise nationalism as a feminist issue" (McClintock 1995: 356–57). Research on the gendered symbolism of nationalism¹³ shows that men are assigned an active role in the public sphere as the defenders of the national community while women are assigned an active role in the private sphere as reproducers, in the economy of the national community, as part of the careful management of resources. Hence, women's contributions to nationalist politics are of immense importance although they have been restricted by gender stereotypes throughout history and nationalist politics is alleged to be a masculinist enterprise. Based on my argumentative fifth question, this chapter focuses on how Lady Gregory and Halide Edib deal with the problems of engaging with nationalist discourses often defined in masculinist terms in their different contexts.

The role of gender, especially the representation of women as the inner essence of the nation¹⁴ started to change and take a new direction during the period of cultural nationalism. Women were also called upon to sacrifice themselves on the battlefield for the motherland as the defenders of the national community like men. According to Halide Edib, a new outlook on women emerged and women were no longer relegated to the private sphere. In contrast, women reinforced Turkish nationalism. In *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, where Halide points out her thoughts on the tenets of nationalism very clearly, she portrays the changing role of women with their integration into the national struggle:

When the Balkan war broke out and tragedy followed tragedy, women fulfilled their full share of duty by organizing[sic] protest meetings, nursing, establishing centres[sic] where the orphans and the widows of the Balkan refugees could learn some craft and thereby earn their bread. I personally believe that the nursing of common soldiers by Turkish women served more than anything else to educate the masses in the new outlook about women. (Adivar, 1929: 216)

In this process of constructing a national identity, the role of intellectuals was significant, particularly in the nexus between gender and nationalism. Given the

¹³ This is a term I have coined, informed by Mary Wiseman's article *Gendered Symbols*

¹⁴ Ed. David Inglis, Anna- Mari Almila, *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, p.437.

contribution of female figures to the Wars of Independence as the emblems of national collectivity, it is necessary to elaborate on the balancing effect of women in the face of masculine nationalisms. Equal rights of citizenship were the principal need of both men and women to struggle on behalf of the nation because the contributions of both men and women were necessary and significant for the attainment of national strength and independence. As freedom in any sense cannot be provided for women without gender equality in terms of social, political and cultural opportunities, the social position of women is the key to the formation of an egalitarian society in a democratic nation-state. Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib Adivar, who may also be considered unconventional in their own societies, aimed for social transformation through social activism and cultural nationalism, and approached the concept of “nationalism” from a different angle in their literary works as the requirement of their gender.

Fiction is a genre through which the most autobiographical confessions are made while autobiography is the closest genre to fiction most of the time. An individual relationship between the narrator and the main character that Philippe Lejeune identifies with “autobiographical pact”¹⁵ reveals the author or narrator very often. On the other hand, autobiography turns into a genre very close to fiction for specific information not to be revealed (Lejeune, 1982: 216). In this respect, fiction includes truth and autobiographical features easily because it does not establish an individual relationship between author, narrator and main character, and it does not claim to represent the truth. From this point of view, Adivar's early works are presented as ‘novels’, but at the same time autobiographical just as *Seventy Years* is the autobiographical book of Lady Gregory. There are substantial similarities between the characters in her novels, for example, deceived spouses (Refika, Handan), leading women in leadership position (Kaya) in political and social struggle and Adivar’s own biography. In addition, these novels are a struggle of a woman writer for self-identification both as a woman and a writer at the same time. These works which are

¹⁵ According to Lejeune, the ‘autobiographical pact’, that is, a feature that makes a text autobiography is definitely the narrator's compatibility with the first character. Whether or not the author agrees with the narrator is not determinant. Lejeune 1982: 204-205.

structurally similar and can be described as autobiographical novels help us evaluate the problem of writing yourself at the beginning of the twentieth century (Adak, 2004: 162), particularly writing women's lives. It was highly probable to come across symbolic traces from the lifestories of writers in these works. Especially if the author was female, her novels concealed a lot of private details as regards her feelings, thoughts or inner self in the way of introspection and self-assessment in a patriarchally structured society which granted women with a right to survive only within a restricted scope of social and cultural freedom. Besides, it was really difficult for a woman to concentrate on the concept of woman's autobiographical self and write herself in a male-dominated society without any self-consciousness.

Differences in the genre of autobiography are due to the gender specificity of autobiography. Marginalizing women's autobiography-writing the theories on autobiography mostly established by the male tradition are not germane to women's life writing because of various reasons such as biological, socio-political and psycho-cultural. Men and women are engaged in writing their autobiographies with different intentions in different ways and they acquire absolutely 'different' results. The number of women's autobiographies increased, depending on the provision of educational opportunities for women. The greatest productivity time for women's autobiographies have been during the significant times of women's history. The emphasis by women on the personal life rather than on the public life, other people or women's political or intellectual life, obviously contradicts the established criterion in terms of content in men's autobiography. Women's autobiography projects an image of woman who is active in private life and publicly passive. The self-image portrayed by women mirrors their self-consciousness while men's autobiography mirrors a self-image of determination and confidence. Besides, as compared with men, women are more likely to mention their children in their autobiographies as the emotional and physical needs of their children constitute the core aspects of female life studies. Therefore, autobiography-writing is gender-specific. As regards the gender specificity of autobiography, Lady Gregory and Halide Edib also used similar methods of autobiography-writing such as writing obliquely or in an objective manner about their experiences as part of their female identity silenced due to social

and cultural pressures. Under these pressures which undermined their confidence both writers tried to present an acceptable self with the ideology of self-subordination to some extent in their memoirs or autobiographical works. However, they project not only their personal life but also their careers, public life and the affairs of the world as a result of their increasing self-confidence and public visibility, along with their improved social and cultural conditions. In her *Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writing* Shari Benstock notes:

The self that would reside at the center of the text is decentred and often is absent altogether in women's autobiographical texts. The very requirements of genre are put into question by the limits of gender - which is to say because these two terms are etymologically linked, genre; itself raises questions about gender (Benstock, 1988: 20).

In contrast to the self-image portrayed in women's autobiographies, men mirror their productivity by embellishing their autobiography with the projection of a self-image based on confidence despite the challenges they have encountered during their life. On the other hand, women disclose their self-consciousness in their autobiographies and feel a need to revise their lives for clarification and understanding. Men prefer using a self-centered form of narration to convince readers of their self-worth or to authenticate their self-image, while women write indirectly to hide their feelings and prefer a fragmentary narrative to reflect their disconnected way of life owing to their socially conditioned roles. It is most likely to perceive the influence of gender-based oppression on women's opinion of themselves and on their ways of standing for themselves in writing life narratives than in any other form. Halide Edib and Lady Gregory refer to some specific dates, crucial historical events, correspondence and their memories in their autobiographical works very often and write in a straight forward manner. When we question whether women's fiction is more autobiographical than men's fiction or autobiographical fiction affects productivity negatively or positively, in her essay entitled *Writing a Woman's Life*, feminist scholar Carolyn Heilbrun (1988) argues that women can fight patriarchy and create a free zone for themselves only by undertaking life-writing. She regards autobiography as a text through which women may free themselves from formerly established texts and they may be encouraged to exhibit their work in public. She asserts:

The return to autobiography by contemporary women writers is a necessary step in the birth of new traditions for women in fiction and history. Nineteenth-century fictional paradigms suppressed the female literary voice by suppressing its factual and literary memory. Autobiography, she writes, facilitates a rebirth of both types of memory to create the narratives from which women's fiction will emerge (Heilbrun, 1988: 34).

History and fiction have long served as a narrative space both to disguise and empower women's literary and autobiographical voices. In her foreword to *Redefining Autobiography in Twentieth-Century Women's Fiction* Moly Hite indicates that women writers hardly avoid the imputation that they are just "writing themselves", which is regarded as an activity to require little creative engagement and even less historical consciousness (Hite, 1991). Fictional autobiographies of Halide Edib are mostly reflections from her own life story no matter how distant they seem to be from her inner world with their realistic features and depictions. The use of peasant speech and characters enabled Gregory a further liberation of her emotions like Shakespeare the masculine grandeur of whose art was revealed in its original English (Adivar, 1926: 220) combined with the language of peasantry. Rich playwrights are distinct from others because they sometimes own the platform on which their characters live. "That social and financial superiority—combined with many points of real similarity—allowed Augusta to use her characters to convey her own emotions. The fact that they were inferior to her and used a different idiom set her at a distance from them, made her feel less responsible for the emotions she expressed through them" (Kohfeldt, 1984: 153). That Halide and Gregory wrote autobiographical works or most of their works are autobiographical does not affect their creativity negatively. On the contrary, both writers produced literary works in various genres only some of which bear traces from their real life-stories. Their literary productivity came up with more energy and motivation for them from the feminist perspective.

Halide Edib's challenge to gendered nationalism finds expression in her fictional and actual memoirs *The Shirt of Flame* and *The Turkish Ordeal*. In these narratives, Halide Edib lays the foundations of Turkish national master narratives with female protagonists and parallel plots which take place during the Allied occupation of Istanbul (1918-1923). She also provides a gendered reading of the Turkish

independence war. By gendered reading I mean that she places special emphasis on the various missions that women and men have during the war. Sometimes these missions were different, sometimes they converged. Her heroines have an understanding of their particular female position, which is a clearly feminist approach. Their self-awareness about their own oppression help them search for some means of expressing their social or political demands. Halide Edib presents us a critique of patriarchal nationalism with allegorical feminist figures divided between their personal love and their national cause. *The Shirt of Flame* and *The Turkish Ordeal* which can also be read as national allegories are feminist manifestations of the missing historical discourse narrated from the male perspective before:

Given the plurality of women's viewpoints, it will not be fair to place [Halide Edib] into neat categories—a Kemalist, a democratic feminist in the tradition of the Fabians, or a social feminist. She simply wanted patriarchy as a primary injustice to be remedied by women's educational, professional, and political emancipation (Hasan, 2010: 63-4).

In Zeynep Beril Saydun's, *Construction of Nationalism and Gender in Halide Edib's Autobiographical Writings*, Halide Edib's relationship to feminism is again handled and historically evaluated. Saydun contended that Halide Edib's outlook on feminism remained skeptical at best.¹⁶ She further asserted that although Halide Edib never declared herself a feminist, she struggled a lot for women and women's education in Turkey. Living in the transition period from Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic Halide Edib is regarded as the symbol of national self-determination as well as a distinguished figure in the Turkish literary canon. Affected by the international suffrage movement, Halide Edib presents a gendered perspective in her work which refers to conflicts between feminism and nationalism, since the sense of a secular state instrumentalizes women as part of modernity and as "mothers of the nation" (Kandiyoti, 1991a, 1991b). She was critical of secular national patriarchy emerging with Kemalism and the cultural revolution. The 1908 Ottoman Constitutional revolution led to positive changes in educational sphere and increased the public

¹⁶ Zeynep Basil Saydun, *Construction of Nationalism and Gender in Halide Edib's Autobiographical Writings: Memoirs of Halide Edib and The Turkish Ordeal* (Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2008), 117.

visibility of women. In his article entitled *Turkish Islamic Feminism Confronts National Patriarchy: Halide's Divided Self* Erdağ Göknaar refers to Halide Edib and says: “she represents the only internationally known figure with which to trace the confrontation between women and nation during the Ottoman/Turkish transition period” (Göknaar, 2013: 35). In addition, Göknaar notes: “Halide Edib, a representative figure of Turkish women’s emancipation, variously accepts and rejects the restrictions of Republican Secularism. This defining paradox remains unreconciled in her work and constitutes the site of her political intervention as a feminist subject (Göknaar, 2013: 35). Therefore, while Halide Edib contributed to the construction of a new woman identity during the formation process of the new nation state, she was forced to confront a dilemma between Republican Secularism and her ideological fluidity and this dilemma was naturally reflected in her works as her challenge against authority due to justifiable reasons according to her.

In a way, Halide Edib documents the history of Turkish national resistance against European military occupation. She responds to the occupation of Ottoman territories by allied forces in *The Shirt of Flame* by exhibiting romantic nationalism. This romanticism is expressed in the character of Ayesha, a woman whose child and husband have been killed by Allied-backed Greek soldiers who have invaded her hometown of Izmir (“Smyrna”) in the hopes of eventually realizing the romantic Megali Idea of a greater Greek empire that includes western Anatolian and Istanbul. It is for the honor of Nurse Ayesha, the dispossessed “woman-nation”, that the characters of the novel are motivated to resist occupation, sacrificing individual desire for the national ideal. Halide Edib makes a political critique against the state, especially democratic failures of early Kemalist nationalism. Ayesha flees to Anatolia to help in the resistance. She sacrifices herself for the sake of a collective national ideal. Ansev Demirhan notes: “while Halide’s understanding of women’s role in the national process in Turkey resulted from personal bias and experiences, the topic of the obstruction of gendered divisions of space in Halide’s *Conflict Between East and West* was predicated on historical realities she observed” (Demirhan, 2012: 28-29). In regard to the context of the Great War Halide Edib witnessed the following:

Turkey's manhood was on the frontiers. The country was nearly blockaded. From 1914 to 1918 the only producers were women. The army had to create women's battalions [sic] to do the work behind the lines. The needs of the army, its food and clothing-, were supplied entirely by women. Further, the governmental departments had to recruit employees[sic] from among women. By 1916 women had really reached a stage in education and experience when they could take considerable part in the work of administration. Perhaps more remarkable than the education of women in principal cities and the labour of the agricultural regions was the activity of the women of smaller towns. The care of the family had fallen entirely on their shoulders. They became the intermediaries[sic], travelling all over the country, buying and selling and carrying on the entire small trading for the sake of keeping alive their children. Without the activity and the enormous service of women, Turkey would have collapsed internally during the Great War (Adivar, 1963: 217).

As can be understood from the above lines quoted from Halide Edib, there is an allegorical relationship between woman and the Turkish nation, just like the association of Ireland with women and feminine features. The feminine subject is subjugated to national self-determination (such as the sacrifice of Ayesha on the battlefield or the sacrifice of many young men for the sake of Ireland symbolized with the Old Woman in *Cathleen ni Houlihan*). Closely identified with women figures, the national struggle of both Turkey and Ireland owes a lot to the collaboration of women empowering the nation as maternal figures. Through a male narrator, Halide Edib exposes her opposition to despotic regimes, authority and patriarchal structures which misunderstand the concept of modernity and endeavour to implement this new phenomenon on the new nation jauntily. The first-person perspective preferred in *The Shirt of Flame* as a form of gendered resistance is the voice of the allegorical critique of Kemalist nationalism and secular modernity. In some specific points of the novel Halide Edib makes her part feel to readers as a vanguard intellectual who made a political intervention against patriarchal authority. Göknaar comments: “the popular animosity toward Halide Edib as a compromised figure of Turkish letters can be clarified through a gendered reading of her work as a feminist rather than simply a nationalist subject. It is the critical, political, and gendered aspects of her work that are elided and suppressed in literary histories” (Göknaar, 2013: 4-5). As a multi-dimensional writer Halide Edib achieved to project both her feminist and nationalist side in her works adeptly even if historical discourse did not highlight her feminist features much.

In 1908, when the Constitution was declared for the second time, it was a turning point in Halide Edib's life. In 1908, she started writing articles about women's rights in newspapers. With the fear of being killed during the March 31 Uprising, she went to Egypt with her two sons for a short time. From there she went to England and became a guest at the house of British journalist Isabelle Fry, who recognized Halide Edib because of her writings on women's rights. Her departure to England was instrumental in meeting philosophers like Bertrand Russell to witness debate on the issue of equality between men and women at that time. In 1909 she returned to Istanbul; as well as political writings she began to publish literary texts. *Heyyula* and *Raik's Mother* were published. Meanwhile, she was a teacher in Girls 'Teachers' schools and an inspector in foundation schools¹⁷.

For Halide Edib, the role of Islam in the context of private life had direct links to state building by means of nationalism and gender relations. In addition to blurring the idea that the rightful place of a woman was her home, the influence of Islam on Turkish nationalism affected Halide Edib's conceptualization of nationalism. To argue for women's rights Halide Edib found recourse in the Quran and pointed to Sura IV, verse 32: "Men shall have the benefit of what they earn and women shall have the benefit of what they earn."¹⁸ For Halide Edib, this verse both defined woman and man as free human beings in charge of their own actions and went beyond the tenets of religion and women's rights. In fact, it established a fundamental principle for society. When her husband Salih Zeki Bey wanted to marry a second woman, she divorced him in 1910 with the courage she took from her western education and her witness of international events or views on women's rights and began to use the name "Halide Edip" instead of "Halide Salih" in her writings. The effects of her divorce on her psychology can be traced in her novels *Handan* and *Seviyye Talip*.

Likewise, Gregory's work bears great importance as it both exposes awareness about the marginalized role of women within the national cause and defies the ways in

¹⁷ See *Mor Salkimli Ev (The Wisteria -Covered House)*, p. 209

¹⁸ Mushirul Hasan, *Between Modernity and Nationalism: Halide Edip's Encounter with Gandhi's India*, 60-61.

which women are reflected as the passive defenders of the nation in patriotic discourse. Especially her plays reveal the patriarchal nature of nationalism, which both planned to exclude women from taking active roles in the formation process of the new national identity and did not give them the right to be regarded as patriots, who are depicted with masculine terms in a masculine world. Starting life from the very beginning as “a neglected and forgotten” (Kiberd, 1996: 83) baby because of her gender as her parents expected her as a boy at first and were disappointed later, Lady Gregory distinguished herself with her “masculine imagination” (Kiberd, 1996: 84). As the core of her political and literary life, she followed the principle: “to think like a wise man, but to express oneself like the common people” (Yeats, 2002: 391). In the introductory letter Yeats wrote about Kathleen ni Houlihan by addressing to Lady Gregory, he notes:

One night I had a dream almost as distinct as a vision, of a cottage where there was well-being and firelight and talk of a marriage and into the midst of that cottage there came an old woman in a long cloak. She was Ireland herself, that Kathleen ni Houlihan for whom so many songs have been sung and for whose sake so many have gone to their death. I thought if I could write this out as a little play, I could make others see my dream as I had seen it, but [...] I had not the country speech. One has to live among the people, like you, of whom an old man said in my hearing, “she has been a serving maid among us,” before one can think the thoughts of the people and speak their tongue” (Gregory, 1995: 535).

Underscoring the importance of the country speech, in other words, local dialect in writing the cause of independence realistically, Yeats resorted to the support of Lady Gregory very often because of her good command of the local dialect as a person who acquired the language of the people naturally. In her paper “Lady Gregory: Exalting Folklore and Dialect as National Identity” Matilde Fogliani stresses: “Lady Gregory was the first Irish writer to use the Irish peasant language in written works. Through her groundbreaking use of dialect that was previously regarded as belonging only to peasantry, Lady Gregory recasted the values and social markers that were associated with the lower classes”¹⁹ (Fogliani, 2014: 3). This cultural work organized and carried out by Lady Gregory aimed to engrave the folklore, language, literature and traditions of the native culture in the minds of Irish people. The development of

¹⁹ Matilde Fogliani, “Lady Gregory: Exalting Folklore and Dialect as National Identity” *Journal of Italian Literature and Culture: La Fusta Devotion*, Volume XXII (Fall 2014)

Irish cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century necessitated living among the people and observing their way of behaving, language and traditions more closely as experienced by Lady Gregory herself. In contrast to British colonialism, Irish cultural nationalism aimed to repossess Irish national identity and literature by reviving Gaelic Irish culture. Gregory's cultural work was revered and appreciated by Yeats personally because of her realistic approach in transmitting real Irish lives, Irish dialect (peasants' language) and real-like Irish characters into literature successfully, especially considering her great contribution to the writing process of the nationalist play *Kathleen ni Houlihan*.

As far as the gendering of Ireland is concerned in both colonial and nationalist discourses, Ireland was portrayed as female by both the nationalistic Irish and the colonizing English. In this way of depiction the British meant to highlight the subordinate status of Ireland while Irish women were subordinate to Irish men in daily life. This gendered discourse has a long past, and in order to better understand the gendering of Ireland, Britain's colonization in Ireland should be overviewed. During the nineteenth century the natural differences between cultures and peoples were exploited to justify imperialism and some racial categories were created to identify "a masculine, rational, and honest English race and a feminine, infantile, bestial, sentimental, and magical Irish one" (Wilson, 2006: 300). While Ireland was ruled by England under the colonial domination, the colonial discourse was influential in the gradual establishment of racial and gender stereotypes: the colonized (native Irish) were perceived "as the repressed and rejected 'other' against which the colonizer [the English] define[d] an ordered self" (Cairns, 1988: 8). Nevertheless, this kind of representation was not restricted to the Irish; in almost all colonial relationships, it is possible to observe that "conquerors unfalteringly characterize the peoples of their new land as pejorative opposites of themselves. That the feminine was pejorative and the masculine was valorized reflects the values of a patriarchal and sexist society; such a gendered bias affected not only colonized peoples, but women everywhere" (Wilson, 2006: 300). To oppose the gendered and patriarchal structure of Irish society Gregory aimed to send social and cultural messages through her female characters and their distinctive roles in her plays and

folkloric works sarcastically. Interestingly, related to the role of gender in art or fiction Adivar refers to Shakespeare and explains how she was influenced by his view about the distinctive influence of men and women on the creation of art while both genders may produce the highest art or beauty on an equal platform:

He made me feel clearly that there is such a thing as a difference between man and woman in art, religion, and in all forms of culture. I cannot say that one is higher than the other, but they are distinctly different. The highest art and the highest beauty may be revealed by persons of either sex indifferently. Genius is a divine gift which either a woman or a man may have; and sometimes indeed it is a woman who may express the man's note in art while a man may express the woman's. It does not depend on their sex; it depends on the quality of their souls (Adivar, 1926: 221).

For this reason, women silenced in literature and historical sources so far should have had the same social and cultural rights with men granting that women also joined in the national struggle and contributed to war history in different roles. The intersection of gender and Irish national identity was crucial to assert Irish cultural values and to endorse the Irish national cause thoroughly, while women could not be thought of separately from the cause of Turkish nationalism for the sake of national unity and solidarity as they served the same national aims and principles. In an interview with Nukhet Sirman published in *Istanbul-Amargi Feminizm Tartismalari* Sirman notes that Turkish culture and spirituality lie in women and according to Ziya Gokalp Turkish culture can be observed in women's handcraft and embroidery. It means that while attempting to build particularly a modern society a nation needs to show itself different from others as a unique society and this is demonstrated through women everytime. This imagined, idealised society is different from the old one and from Europe; that is, different from the coloniser and its old version. Sirman indicates that how different this society would be was discussed in novels although its first example was *Vatan Yahut Silistre (Homeland or Silistre)* and before this play there was another novel of a woman named "Zafer Hanim" which discussed the features and structure of this society. Fatma Aliye Hanim thinks how to respond to Namik Kemal by means of her novels. Ahmet Mithat Efendi also answers through his novels. For instance, "*Felatun Beyle Rakim Efendi* is the novel of this answer. Semsettin Sami's *Taassuku-i Talat and Fitnat*...none of these are not novels. In fact, each of them is an essay of dreaming what this society will be like and all of them are

love stories. Why love story? Because they put women into novels over love” (Sirman, 88-89). Concentrating on the dialect and the cultural sphere Lady Gregory was absorbed in the activities of rewriting the symbols of Irishness. Her enterprise to collect folklore and materials for storytelling had a feminist aspect, closely integrated with national ideals because she would change the flow of narratives and indirectly shape the historical facts by benefitting from the power of the teller. Her mission of transmitting Irish folklore and cultural values was also part of her feminist voice blended with her national aspirations. In her plays she either assigned women active roles to change or shape history like men or reflected self-awareness about the passive position of women in contrast to men within a patriarchal society like Halide Edib employing various women profiles in her novels in order to manifest her self-awareness about their particular female positions.

For nationalism to be reinforced Ireland and Turkey needed the pen and voice of such reformist women as Gregory and Adivar as mental weapons to conquer patriarchally structured societies as well as the patriarchal frame of minds. In the part called “All art is collaboration” in *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society (1880-1935)*, C. L. Innes notes: “an approach to history and to political change as the work of groups rather than individual personalities, articulated by Anna Parnell, also typifies much literary and cultural activity carried on by women with a commitment to Irish nationalism” (Innes, 1993: 125). Both Lady Gregory and Halide Edib were ungendered public figures that endorsed liberalism, modernism and nationalism. They were urged to be abstracted from their feminine identity to be accepted into literary world and political life. The whole world was going through a radical transformation culturally and socially with the increase of literacy rate and the movement of nationalism spreading extensively. A leading feminist figure and academic, Kumari Jayawardena points out: “the spread of literacy and of newspapers had another far-reaching effect. Political events in one country can have a rapid effect on nationalists and revolutionaries in another” (Jayawardena, 1986: 7). She correlates movements for women’s freedom with national projects and states:

It is in the context of the resistance to imperialism and various forms of foreign domination on the one hand, and to feudal monarchies, exploitative local rulers and

traditional patriarchal and religious structures on the other, that we should consider the democratic movement for women's rights and the feminist struggles that emerged in Asia. The country studies, in which we examine the situation of each country in detail, will show that struggles for women's emancipation were an essential and integral part of national resistance movements (Jayawardena, 1986: 8)

Jayawardana states that feminist movements arising as a consequence of resistance movements should be taken into account as they appeared in order to fill in a social gap and they are fundamental to women's liberation and national independence. According to Jayawardena's observation as regards the effects of nationalism extending all over the world, inspiring other countries with its national struggle against Britain, Ireland is the embodiment of the struggle for freedom, independence, equality, emancipation and resistance. As I mentioned before, Lady Gregory's anticolonial efforts in Ireland can be associated with her transnational connections like Halide Edib. She was influenced by cross-cultural nationalisms, primarily by Egyptian nationalism and these representations of nationalism enabled Gregory to forge new understandings of Irishness by revising assumptions about gender and race in the nineteenth-century Ireland. Transnational alliances or exchanges incited her to endorse women's political activism. Her feminism was inclined to be concealed while her nationalism was enunciated evidently in her plays. Likewise Halide Edib's political views and outlook on life were shaped and varied as a consequence of her cross-cultural interactions and transnational alliances. Outside Turkey Halide Edib defended the national freedom of her country, women's emancipation and the intermingling of materiality with spirituality, which would bring about other social, cultural changes and liberties for all humanity. The theme of "freedom" or "women's liberation" was symbolically handled by Halide Edib in her novels as well as having a special place in her life as the cause of struggle in political, social or cultural sphere.

Writing a series of articles on education Halide Edib's westernization idea is centered upon woman's education which totally changes the family structure in society together with increasing roles of women in social and political life. Halide Edib's sensitivity about woman's education depends on her conception of women also as teachers that will transfer national culture to their children. According to Halide Edib's mindset, women are essential to the radical change of society. In her book

entitled *Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent Changes and Their Origin* as well, Halide Edib puts so much importance on the amelioration of women's status that it is inevitable to think that the future of the new nation depends on one single thing: the maintenance of equal terms between men and women. She supports her view on women's status in a reference to Selim Pasha's parallel ideas:

Selim was also the first man in the history of Ottoman reform to express the belief that unless women were placed on equality with men and enlightened as to national ideals, the empire could not be saved. This desire for the betterment of women's position in his own country was based on a view of their status in the European countries (Adivar, 1930: 65).

In addition to the need for improvements in order to ameliorate and equalize the status of women with men in social, political and cultural sphere, it was necessary for women to take active roles in professional life. As an example of the social transformation of women's roles, in Halide Edib's *Yeni Turan* it is remarkable that women assume roles as socially responsible teachers and orators, while the heroine, Ayşe is the symbol of a national entity which has been molded by the western culture in *Ateşten Gömlek*. In a sense, *Ateşten Gömlek* gives the message that the nation cannot be formed without women who instills the feelings of passion, love and struggle in men. İnci Enginün stresses that love for nation and love for the woman representative of freedom became the second shirt of flame of men (Enginün, 2007: 421). Women are catalysts who stir up the liberal ideas of men in the defense of national ideals at the expense of personal feelings.

1.2. Emancipation of Women: Preferring an “Ungendered” Position

Excluded from public affairs for a long time women nationalists felt pressure to remain in symbolic, supportive, often suppressed and traditional roles. Walby (2006) identifies three main themes in recent decades of gender/nation research in the effect of: including gender in nationalism scholarship; identifying gender divisions in nation-making and nationalisms; and the presence of women as actors in national processes (Vickers, 2013: 10). Women's movements have been aligned with anti-colonial/imperial national projects, creating chances for women to join in gaining independence and shaping national discourses and institutions. The fight against the

occupation and domination of foreign powers brought positive outcomes for women who participate in independence struggles. Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989) have identified five ways in which women have inclined to participate in ethnic, national, and state processes and practices:

(a) as biological producers of members of ethnic collectivities; (b) as reproducers of the [normative] boundaries of ethnic/national groups [by enacting proper feminine behaviour]; (c) as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture; (d) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences; and (e) as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles (Yuval-Davis&Anthias 1989: 7–8).

Faced with these kinds of constraints and responsibilities, women sometimes strive to enact nationalism through traditional roles assigned to them by nationalists, that is, by supporting their husbands, raising their (the nation's) children and serving as the representatives of national honour. In these cases women can exploit both nationalist and patriarchal views of women's roles in order to aid in nationalist struggles. For instance, in case of military occupation, male nationalists seen on the street alone or in groups are often arrested or taken into custody. Women are less likely to be conceived as dangerous or 'up to something', and so can serve as companions for men or messengers for men who are concealed inside houses. Similarly, women are often more successful at providing support for nationalist efforts because they are seen as 'less threatening and militant' (Nagel, 1998: 12). Nevertheless, in the literary world, it was really difficult for women to get acceptance with their own names or with their traditional roles. They used male pen names (Showalter, 1977: 100-133) until they acquired their social and political rights thoroughly. For instance, Halide Edib used the sign "Halide Salih" in her first-term writings while she was writing about literature for daily newspapers such as "Akşam", "Vakit", and "Tanin" during the Constitutional Period and she was married to Salih Zeki. Assuming a masculine stance within a male-dominated cultural and literary world would bring freedom to the women of new nations beyond the restrictions of their gender at the beginning of the twentieth century. The emancipation of women who would contribute to the social, political and cultural transformation of new nation-states through their literary work and social activism was dependent on adopting this ungendered position and their freedom was based on gender equality in the new liberal and democratic nation-

states that necessitate a transfer of objective historical knowledge not from a male perspective only but also from a female perspective.

Halide Edib and Lady Gregory demonstrated that men were not the only dominant voice in national and literary discourses. Their lack of femininity was a counter-attack on one-sided production of historical texts, literary works and art dominated by male authors or historians. Their public appearance under the guise of a masculine woman led to the birth of feminist nationalism. Their greatest contribution to literature was filling this gap in nationalist discourses. They headed radical changes and reforms in order to transform their societies through language, traditions and gender equality. The gendered discourse in colonial and anti-colonial texts has affected the characterization of women and the formation of plots directly or indirectly as patriarchal authority struggles to claim authority over Ireland. The feminist nationalism enacted by Lady Gregory and Halide Edib with a masculine mindset but feminine emotions helped them succeed in struggling with the patriarchally structured society order and literary circles.

With the content of their works shedding light on the world of women's emotion and thought Gregory and Adivar made a difference. They had to deny their femininity just because the social and cultural conditions of their period required to behave like that. When we examine the content of their works, it is evident that love-affairs are very central in Adivar and Gregory. Men would not make love stories so central in their texts about the national struggles. Especially Adivar puts love stories into the center of her novels or memoirs while she narrates the details of the national struggle years as an important witness of the independence war. Love stories and the national cause are intertwined in both Adivar and Gregory's texts naturally because of their female nature. However, these writers differ from other writers in not allowing their tragic heroines "to be either mere victims, or to accept the possibility that romance and a loving domestic life will be all that they need"²⁰. They desire to have a voice in the affairs of their countries like men as the inherent right of being loyal citizens.

²⁰ C.L.Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society*, p. 157.

Halide Edib was politically exceptional and the novel was a means of politics for her as well as for most political writers during the construction period of new Turkey. Its contribution to the nation-building process was of immense importance. The construction of the new nation turned into the state politics after 1923. Religion was excepted from the scope of the new regime. There was a tendency towards a regime that denied the old regime, required transformation and excluded religion from politics. New founders of the new nation were questioning the values, norms and concepts that constituted a nation. A committee of Turkish History Investigation was formed with the proposal of Afet İnan and Turkish History Thesis was formed by means of novelists in this period. Halide Edib had an extraordinary view of history. Her aim was to depict Turks as the “civilisation populariser” rather than “barbarous or warlike” in her writing. She encouraged the idea of a return to ancient Turkish roots that had founded Western civilization as well. She problematized the Eastern and Western cultures. In *Sinekli Bakkal* the affair between Rabia and Peregrini actually demonstrates the superiority of the East. Halide Edib evaluates the concept of civilisation from a more distinctive frame from other writers of the period dealing with the matters of the new nation. The analyses of “civilisation” by other writers remain insufficient and unsatisfying. Halide Edib provides a very different perception of Islam from stereotypical descriptions of Islam. She deals with the issue of religion as if it were something against a national identity in her novels (like *Thrash the Whore*) which expose her distinctive outlook on history, politics, literature and society by dismantling stereotypes.

Halide Edib Adıvar was an exceptional literary figure in the early-twentieth century who contributed much to the formation of a new social order with a folk-based policy like Lady Gregory. She was different from Burhan Cahit, Aka Gündüz, Selami İzzet or Ercüment Ekrem who were her literary contemporaries as she shed a light on the different aspects of her own society and wrote in favour of people from a woman’s perspective. This feature made her more memorable than others in literary circles. *Sinekli Bakkal* is a symbolic novel because of its feature of representation and national allegory. Halide Edib uses allegory in this novel for a different purpose of

representation. What is represented in this novel? Is it the nation? The answer to this question makes Halide Edib and her novel exceptional because Adivar's characters in this novel are not prototypes. As the exemplification of feminist orientalism, Adivar's *Kalp Ağrısı (The Pain of the Heart)* (1924) is the first novel written after Adivar gave up writing novels of duty. She draws our attention to the topics of isolation and assimilation, especially with the Kurdish problem. She creates differentiation between the Kurdish and the others by examining the relationships of the Kurdish with the civilized ones. Adivar also experienced isolation and self-exile and mirrored this feeling of separation in her novels through the movements or migrations of characters from one place to another in a reference to the turbulent period of adaptation to new reforms and the fluctuating position of politicians between Turkish nationalism and western civilization.

Nevertheless, Halide Edib's nationalism differs from all former kinds of nationalisms in not following a central, expansionist viewpoint but rather a more democratic, humanist and liberalist notion of nationalism that esteemed the ancestors of the new Turkey a lot but would be able to be adopted by a mass of a great variety of groups or cultures without any force. Her nationalism is in fact a reflection of her idea of liberal humanism. *The Clown and His Daughter* (1935) blends Turkish nationalism with westernized ideals. However, Halide prefers and exposes the Orient in *Sinekli Bakkal* rather than rejecting it. We cannot come across any traces of imitation of the West. In the novel characters aim at changing real life. For Halide Edib there should be a balance between spirituality and materialism. The stress on spirituality only rather than materialism in the East is as wrong as the stress on materialism only rather than spirituality in the West. Halide Edib epitomizes a woman of thought in a nation state founded on the remains of an empire which were exposed to the colonial plans of the West. She claims that nationalism is dangerous if it is based on religion or race as it subverts the nation under its dominion. Extreme nationalism prepared the collapse of the western civilization. Halide Edib ends her experiences of the Turkish Hearth and her test with nationalism with the following words: "I thought that nationalism would create a country full of love and mutual understanding. However, when nationalism missed its measure, I saw people strangling each other from place to place and

turning the earth into a slaughterhouse” (Adivar, 2011: 256). The core of the civilization is not material wealth but the loss of intellectual liberalism and spiritual essence according to Halide Edib’s viewpoint. As the defender of individual liberalism she always made a great effort for the emancipation of women in social, cultural and political spheres.

Another example of feminist orientalism among Halide Edib’s novels is *Zeyno’nun Oğlu* (1928) (*Zeyno’s Son*). Granting that feminist orientalism supports the colonial idea of a civilizing mission and also explores the complicity of western feminism with the imperialist and orientalist projects *Zeyno’s Son* analyses the meaning of being western and denotes that it is wrong to imitate the West formally. Especially pretentious Mesture Hanım assumes the mission to westernize and civilize the people living in Diyarbakır by organizing dances and revelries. At first she reacted to going from Istanbul to Diyarbakır (a city in the east of Turkey) with a condescending attitude by calling this place “desert” unlike her daughter Mazlume who is very eager to go there. Mesture Hanım is anxious about her daughter who will leave Istanbul for Diyarbakır at an age when she can learn about a modern lifestyle and adapting to society. However, it was irritating to Mazlume that the friends of her mother from the same social class try to be modern with an artificial and exaggerated mannerism.

In *Vurun Kahpeye* (*Thrash the whore*) the female protagonist, Teacher Aliye stands out as a remarkable female figure with her courage, self-confidence, sacrifice and extreme dedication to her nation. In the novel in which the topics such as the difficulties of being female in a patriarchal society, equality problems between men and women in terms of equal participation in social life and dealing with the violence against women during the War of Independence, Halide Edib presents us a female character who sacrifices her life and love for the sake of nation and exhibits extreme devotion to the liberation of national independence in a feminist position. The book is the heroic story of Aliye who loves her students in her class like a mother rather than a male or female and tries to instill the spirit of nationalism on them. Her death at the end of the novel can be perceived as penance for her sacrificed love and lost dreams about Tosun, but with no difference from men, Aliye struggled to intervene

with the enemy, that is, the Greek army in order to restore peace in her town thanks to the efforts of Turkish soldiers by accepting the proposal of Greek Commander, Damyanos. Actually both Tosun and Aliye work to eliminate bigotry, corrupt management approaches and dysfunctional education in society in a complementary manner.

Halide Edib implies that the real victory depends on reorganizing the dysfunctional education system in accordance with western models through the character of Teacher Aliye and also depends on the military struggle carried out by the Captain of Kuva-yi Milliye (Nationalist Army), Tosun against the invasion of enemies. Their actions stem from the same national purpose and ideology based on the liberation of national independence and they make sense if they realize cooperatively and harmoniously without gender discrimination, violence and bigotry in society. Halide Edib asserts that only in this way can individuals, male or female, gain their self-confidence, strive for their personal or national causes fearlessly and survive as strong characters in social and cultural life. Furthermore, in her novels such as *New Turan*, *Shirt of Flame*, and *Tatarcık* that she deals with social issues rather than the experiences of women Halide Edib presents her female characters the possibility of survival in social life together with men. Nevertheless, its prerequisite is being isolated from femininity, adopting such roles as mother, sister, nurse or teacher and being masculine because nationalisms have “typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope” (Enloe, 1989: 44) as referred by Enloe. The female protagonist of *New Turan*, Kaya is outstanding as she is not perceived as a woman. Her teaching and companionship are emphasized. Moreover, another female protagonist in *Shirt of Flame* Ayşe is depicted as mother, sister, nurse and a person who was included into Halide Edib’s project of making ungended.

The 31 March Incident was one of the crucial events that gave birth to the obligation to forget her female identity, to forget that she is a mother and to stay away from her beloved children for Halide Edib. Halide Edib, who had to push her female identity to the second plan on the front, could not survive this identity after the declaration of the Republic. Orhan Seyfi noted: “Poor Halide Hanım, she is suffering from neither

being female nor being male”(Mevlanzade, 1993: 16-17). Halide Edib’s feminism bears the traces of a popular nationalist feminism. As indicated by Türkan Gözütok in her article called “National Identity Problem in *Yeni Turan*”, “in the scope of nationalist feminism Halide Edib voiced the identity of a nationalist woman who is involved in social life and has acquired equal living conditions to men, but in fact very far away from femininity and targeted at emasculating women and even ignoring female identity” (Gözütok, 2010: 436). She is called as “the orator of rebellion” by Ipek Çalışlar. As the female symbol of modernisation and westernization with a focus on the education of women, Halide Edib surpassed the borders of her time.

Halide Edib identifies the new civilisation with women, so she implies that as the position of women is upgraded, the new civilisation will blossom and prosper. As argued by Fanny Davis in *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918*, Halide “helped found a women’s organization, Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti, the society for the Elevation of Women in 1908 or 1909” (Davis, 1986: 236) and she became a prominent literary, political and educational figure by the time Turkey’s War of Independence broke out. Halide Edib is the founder and active member of the associations such as Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti as well as her articles about the woman issue published in *Resimli Kitap* (Picture Book) and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for Ladies). By means of these texts it is possible to trace the identity of Halide Edib as the “social activist” in terms of her point of view on the “woman question” because the empathy shown to the “ideal woman” in Halide Edib’s books helps us feel her mission as social activist. According to Halide Edib’s view, if the new nation doesn’t deny her past and becomes open to change and innovation, only then there is hope for her social and cultural transformation.

In *Seviyye Talip* which is a feminist novel dealing with a woman abandoning her husband to live together with her lover, Halide Edib portrays the life of a strong and extraordinary woman, Seviyye who was brought up by western education and got married to Talib Bey by falling in love with him. However, when after a while she realizes that love between each other is finished and she is in love with a Hungarian music teacher, Jamal. Although her husband refuses to divorce her, she starts to live

with Jamal by leaving her husband. In this case she is forced to struggle with the difficulties of living with a man with whom she is not married. Another female figure created by Halide Edib is Macide who is a traditional woman married to Fahir depicted as an intellectual European man who studied Philosophy in England in the novel. According to Fahir, Macide is a woman dealing with tedious household chores all the time, uninterested in national issues and not accompanying her husband intellectually. After returning from England Fahir decides to change her wife and shape her in accordance with western culture. Surprisingly conflicting with the desire for change and the old order of her mother, Macide has a rapid transformation such as learning English herself, taking piano lessons or following national issues closely just to satisfy her husband and represent her homeland as a modern woman. Despite all these positive changes in Macide, Fahir falls in love with Seviyye. Meeting some difficulties in society as she has an illicit love with Jamal, Seviyye gets married with Jamal when her husband finally agreed to divorce her.

Questioning the impasse of society and the women trying to find a place in social life, Halide Edib discusses the socialization efforts of the women changing, maturing and taking great steps to be part of social life within the movement of modernization from the second half of the nineteenth century through female figures she created in this novel. The significance of Seviyye in terms of femininity is that she realized that she could not appeal to the spirit of her husband and she showed the courage to live with the man whom she regarded as her soul mate. She gives priority to her own self and spiritual satisfaction. What distinguishes her from traditional women is her ability to use women's rights about the application of her decision with which man she will maintain her life and this choice urges Seviyye to challenge against the whole society. Nevertheless, this is a great step in terms of her representative role for women on the journey to be an individual. Interestingly Seviyye is remembered for her punished femininity rather than her successful identity on the journey to be an individual. Her determination to shape her own life is punished at the end of the novel because of another man, Fahir, since she was perceived as a devil woman that exceeds the borders. While Fahir is startled at Macide's rapid transformation, he is passionately in love with Seviyye who is an unusual woman. He is defeated by his

feelings as he cannot empathize with the two women struggling to gain their identities. He becomes the loser and decides to join the army for the future and happiness of his nation to punish himself and to conceal his shame.

Fahir leads to Macide's awakening to social life, which is important for the project of creating new families of the new period. Like home service Fahir assumes the mission of educating his wife like a teacher in the light of the western education he took with the aim to create the woman who will fire his soul. As a new woman Macide reflects her transformation by gaining awareness of social life as the Turkists of the period expected from women. From the feminist perspective it is observed that women undergo transformation within the scope which is presented to them within a patriarchal social structure and only in this way can they maintain their respectability. For this reason, they resort to masculine roles. In her poem "Hands", in her poetry book *Harap Mabetler* (1911) Halide Edib summarizes the view of male domination on women through the narrator feeling and empathizing with the sorrows of the world of femininity and stresses that only she is aware of women's complaining and pleading hands as nobody realizes them:

Oh, poor child who thinks everything! Why do you cry for your gender up to infinity, why do you want to light up the dark destiny of your gender? "Why, why"? The desires of women are not fulfilled forever, the hands of women are left empty forever, the heart of womanhood is forever trampled, the white, dignified face of women is crushed under the feet forever; this is the philosophy of habit of the neighborhood [...] poor thoughtless child, born born, come forth all the sex, always in various periods and circles, this humiliation does not moan with this wretch? And will it not moan? do you know that if it were not for eternal misery of women, neither poetry nor pleasure would exist? You are crushed, you cry, you moan, you rebel; you would want to disappear while your hands are open to the sky forever. The femininity of every generation is always strangled in tears and blood to become poetry, pleasure, thought and fun for the next generation! (Adivar, 1993: 26)²¹

In the above poem the "pitiful" position of the woman in history and in society is summarized while poetry and pleasure are defined through the woman. Women turn into the sources of inspiration for the birth of art, poetry or philosophy with their unceasing afflictions. Halide Edib wants to demonstrate that the one who will change the "fate" of women will be the woman itself.

²¹ Note: All translations from Turkish into English throughout the thesis belong to me.

On the other side, in the work of women feeling marginalized in a culture dominated by men as well as in the literary world in the early decades of the twentieth century a maverick quality that defies formal and thematic conventions was remarkable and it was crucial to the development of Irish and Turkish literature written by men as well as by women in this century. Questioning traditional male-dominated aesthetics, cultural and political assumptions these women associated with the revival used a feminine, feminist or masculine voice for this purpose like the woman characters in Halide' Edib's novels. Portraying Ireland as feminine and spiritual and England as masculine and material these female revival writers attempted to construct a new Irish identity, which has important implications for Irish nationalism like the new woman profiles they portrayed in a reference to my argumentative fourth question ('what were their influences on the creation of a new woman identity'). In *Out of What Began: A History of Irish Poetry in English* Gregory A. Schirmer interprets: "in part at least, this may account for the particularly high profile that women had in the revival, especially in poetry" (Schirmer, 1998: 218). Lady Gregory's masculine power was influential in confronting with the male-dominated national discourse and cultural aesthetics of her period as part of her pioneering role in reviving ancient Irish culture and language. Her desexualised portrait was suggestive of the hidden desire to emulate men in social, political and cultural sphere of life by concealing her femininity suppressed by patriarchy. This desexualization was conducive to proving her self as an ambitious dramatist and folklorist.

Gregory's masculine stance was part of her method of struggling with male dominance for the emancipation of women like Halide Edib. The dilemma faced by women of Augusta Gregory's generation was the burden of reconciling two worlds, that is, to be both a mother and a public figure. As Elaine Showalter noted at length in *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de siècle*, at the turn of the twentieth century the "celibate male creative generation was valorized, and female powers of creation and reproduction were denigrated" (Showalter, 1990: 78). Therefore, women's works were overshadowed by male work in the literary world for a while in this century, which led female writers to write under male pen names until this prejudice against women was ended. On the other hand, as a consequence

of the glorification of motherhood in the nineteenth century Irish and Turkish popular culture the concept of “nation” was identified with the term “mother” along with the nationalist movements of the period. The term “motherland” harboured holy feelings in the heart of Irish and Turkish people who were profoundly devoted to their nation which was impelled to struggle for independence before political freedom by imperial powers. In *Anglo-Irish Autobiography: Class, Gender, and the Forms of Narrative*, Elizabeth Grubgeld demonstrates: “as the wife, mother, and the grandmother, Lady Gregory saw herself as one who must protect the inheritance for the remaining male heir, and by extension, for the nation” (Grubgeld, 2004: 72). As a cultural nationalist with a conservatist mentality like Adivar, Gregory collected folklore, myths and old stories in order to exploit them to the advantage of her nation, which can be revived through the maintenance of cultural heritage. “In *Seventy Years* and other journal entries that she typed or had typed with a view toward publication, she writes often of her efforts to save Coole both for her son and grandson and for Ireland, thus merging the notions of familial and national inheritance while merging her position as a mother with the position of cultural godmother” (Grubgeld, 2004: 72-3). This holy position induced Gregory to emerge with an ungendered profile in the public sphere with an orientation towards desexualisation in art, history and literature.

1.3. Dilemma of Love and the Nationalist Cause in Lady Gregory’s and Halide Edib’s Works

Women became the objects of liberation in the formation process of nation-states both in Turkey and Ireland in the early twentieth century. Playing leading roles in the liberation of their countries in a masculine way Lady Gregory and Halide Edib’s sense of nationalism was cultural rather than political. They were both the objects and subjects of women’s emancipation movements for the sake of social and cultural progress in the late-nineteenth, early twentieth century. Their roles as social reformer, cultural nationalist, mother, soldier like men in the national war and feminist writer as the voice of the missing sex in recording national history are indicative of the fact that both writers were acting with the same radical ideas that would change the social

and cultural structure of their society fundamentally within the same time period in spite of their distinct cultural backgrounds. What brought them together was their profound nationalist feelings that exceed all stereotypes about their own gender and the anti-imperial perspective they had against any danger of physical or mental occupation of their countries by foreign powers.

Characters in Halide Edib's books are confronted with making a choice between their homeland and their personal love. They go through a dilemma between love and nation. In *Vurun Kahpeye (Thrash the Whore)* Aliye has patriotism mixed with love. She addresses with a nationalist and maternal tone and expresses her passion of sacrifice for her nation like this: "your land is my land, your home is my home, I'll be a light to and a mother for the children of here, and I swear that I will fear nothing" (Adıvar, 2007: 34). Aliye's maternal sense of nationalism associates the descriptions of the nation as a mother and the configuration of the new nation as an ungendered republic thanks to education. Halide Edib's *Thrash the Whore* exhibits male nationalism, female nationalism and Greek Nationalism—it gives the description of a woman from a male perspective. Damyanos prefers Aliye to his nation and he is ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of Aliye's hand:

I'm the richest man in Greece. I had everything I wanted in life. However, if you want, I can take you away from here. You can enjoy your whole life wherever you want with the most splendor there is. Do not look at me with such hate. I love you like a peasant loves his lover. My leaving here does not just save your father and your fiancée, it would also be very good for your motherland. Because there is no other Greek commander fighting in Turkish soil who is braver and bloodier than me. Why do you look so hard and distant? Can't you see, I sacrifice everything for you, my motherland, my nation. I have seen tears and blood all my life and felt nothing. But now... (Adıvar, 2007: 118).

Halide Edib associates female nationalism with bravery, heroism and determination while she identifies male nationalism with being a commander and showing absolute devotion to the national cause. Women's patriotism is a bit different from men's patriotism in the novel. For instance, deeply attached to Tosun, Aliye gives priority to her personal feelings over all everything. As she is sure of her feelings, she certainly refuses Damyanos, representative of Greek nationalism: "I cannot love you. Commander, I cannot love you for anything in return, even in return of the salvation of my father, my fiancée and my homeland!" (Adıvar, 2007: 121) because "Aliye

loved Tosun even more than her hometown, her life, and may be even more than her motherland (her lips were shaking)” (Adivar, 2007: 137-8). However, Tosun’s sense of patriotism is paramount to his personal feelings. His personal love is inseparable from his love of country. He explains to Aliye: “you are my fiancée, our love cannot be anywhere but in our homeland. You will stay here, this week, you will learn the places that Greek forces have stashed their soldiers, their ammunition. One week from now, me or Captain Selim will be here, at exactly the same time. Either you come, or write a note and deliver it with Durmuş” (Adivar, 2007: 138). Aliye compares her love for Tosun with Tosun’s love for her and she comes to this decision: “She was very happy. The thunder of life was in all the cells in her young body. However, there was a huge difference between her love for Tosun and Tosun’s love for her. Tosun was everything to her. But Aliye was just another source of passion for Tosun” (Adivar, 2007: 138). In Tosun’s eye she is not as indispensable as Tosun’s love of country. Aliye is frustrated as she perceives that Tosun’s devotion to his ideas surpasses his love for her. For Tosun love is in second place as far as his ideals are concerned. Adivar refers to Aliye’s feelings in her inner world:

Aliye was hurt by the distant, stranger behavior and the danger that Tosun suddenly exposed. Once again she felt that Tosun was the slave and servant of the idea that rules inside of him. And like all idealist men who devote their lives to a certain purpose, he was also cruel. Because for such people, humanity, the strongest and most valuable loves, come after that sole purpose and they spare no sacrifice for their sole purpose. This force of these people realizes the revolutions, earthquakes, blood and disasters of nations. But unfortunately for that woman that she has loved such a man who is a slave of his own ideas. Because whenever the ideas and the love confront each other, eventually love is going to be sacrificed no matter the suffering and tears in return (Adivar, 2007: 150-1).

Aliye is discouraged by Tosun’s sense of idealism that binds him to his mission blindly. So adamant is Tosun about his nationalistic duties that Aliye cannot expect Tosun to reciprocate her love by putting his purpose aside. More emotional than Tosun, Aliye seems to be more inclined to make concessions for the sake of love. As Aliye couldn’t sacrifice herself in Damyanos’ room, the people and the town now was asking the most terrible sacrifice from her by bringing forth the most beloved thing to her. So “a higher and spiritual hand (God) recorded (witnessed)” when she said “your land is my land too” smilingly to the people of this town, and now demanded that she fulfill her promise.

Tosun, for a split second, became a man who only recognizes his wife, a soul that only knows his lover and his love. But he also saw the army marching behind this woman who gave him the heaven and hell from her sweet lips, and his nation that is suffering bound to chains under hardships. So, the motherland and the purpose, they do not just ask for one's own life and body. But a thousand times more than that, they ask for the price of love also, which could turn the excitement of these like the children's toys (Adivar, 2007: 155-6).

Confronting a dilemma between his love and nation, Tosun is obsessed with his national ideals, duties, and responsibilities. On the other hand, Aliye manages to subjugate the Greek commander, Damyanos through her bravery and exploits this to the advantage of the Turkish army, which represents her nation. Aliye's acceptance of Damyanos' proposal for the sake of national salvation is as surprising as the possibility for Damyanos to betray even his own army for the sake of Aliye's love and hand. Aliye tries to make Damyanos believe in the reality of her words by saying "if Tosun still loved me, if he stood beside me, would I promise to marry you Commander" (Adivar, 2007: 165). Dramatically Halide Edib expresses the feelings of Damyanos who is carried away by this promise: "Damyanos was so dizzy, so blacked out, if he didn't lean on to his table, he could have been all over the floor. The happiness and excitement that this voice represented was so awesome and so evil at the same time, no military, humane or national desire was left. Her doing this on the eve of the victory of the Turkish army gave him such giddy dreams, if the girl asked him to betray the Greek army, or even to join the Turkish army, he was so ecstatic that he would agree with it" (Adivar, 2007: 164). The change in Aliye's decision was related to Tosun's unrelenting manner as far as his duty to his homeland is concerned and his indifference to Aliye's passionate love. Halide Edib gives the reason for Aliye's transformation from an obedient lover to a candidate of bride for Damyanos as the example of sacrifice for her country:

Her voice was so bitter and sincere, the two Greeks looked at each other and the aide-de-camp swiftly left the room. The truth was that Aliye wasn't lying at that moment. Tosun wasn't her anymore. Tosun was only the soldier of his duty, with his soul and it was his sole purpose of existence. This wretched girl was making this horrible sacrifice she refused six months ago, for the victory of the love of country that resided in his heart as a rival for her love (Adivar, 2007: 165).

For the sake of nation Aliye had to sacrifice her love and herself and “this nation was Tosun. They were killing her, for the beautiful Tosun, who gave her the final happiness which wasn’t vouchsafed to anyone else, in their final night of love with his body and arms” (Adivar, 2007: 174). Through the end of the novel Aliye is sacrificed instead of Tosun who is identified with nation. Halide Edib takes the duty of dying for the sake of the nation and motherland from men and lays it on women, that is, on Aliye, representing the woman accepted into public life as “genderless and deprived of her femininity”. Nationalist feelings are no longer the monopoly of men as ungendered nationalism necessitates the equal participation of both men and women in political, literary life or social life regardless of their gender. By concealing their feminine features which are regarded as the sign of weakness in the patriarchal discourse, the female characters like Aliye make themselves accepted or make their voice heard by society as individuals in an effort to make up for the cons of being a woman.

Aliye constantly fights with the prejudices of society as an idealist and patriot teacher by exceeding the barriers that come with being a woman like Halide Edib herself who overcame the crucial barriers to her sex thanks to her remarkable achievements. Aliye is ready to risk everything for her love and nation even though her love outweighs her patriotism. Since she favors Kuvva-i Milliye (Turkish revolutionaries) and national struggle, she was exposed to the reaction of the Imam of the village, Fettah Efendi who opposed Kuvva-i Milliye. That she seems to cooperate with the Greek commander, Damyanos in public eye led to her being associated as an evil woman especially because of Haci Fettah and his friends’ provocation of ignorant people. Unfortunately idealist and patriot Aliye who is subjected to slander is killed with the echoes of “Thrash the Whore”. Even if Aliye confessed that she loved Tosun more than her homeland, she could not reunite with Tosun finally because Tosun was both her love and her nation paradoxically. She was destined to sacrifice herself for the sake of her nation and doomed to be killed unfairly, which suggests the pivotal role of women during national struggle.

Interestingly the dilemma between love and nation is a discussed topic in Irish literature as well. In the play *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* written in 1902 by Lady Gregory and William Butler Yeats Ireland is symbolized by a female spirit who is ancient and mysterious but open to change into a queenly young woman. This nationalistic play inhabits Yeats's call to all young people to arms for the fight for freedom as they attempted in 1798 uprising and in other battles for the cause of Irish independence by giving up their personal desires. Throughout the play in which nationalistic themes are used allegorically some other topics such as the poverty of the Irish peasant in a small cottage or the Irish love of family are also strongly emphasized. Dealing with Ireland's long fight for independence the symbolic play refers to the Killala adventure starting with the landing of French soldiers at Killala. This revolutionary battle in France failed but gained significance as a milestone in Irish history on the way to statehood. Constituting the cornerstone of the play the invasion was modelled as part of the nationalist fervor for the Irish independence movement in the early twentieth century. Personifying Mother-Ireland with the title and character "Cathleen ni Houlihan" the play uses a motherly figure in need of protection to fight off the colonizers. When Bridget asks the old woman what her trouble was, she explains that her land was taken from her and she has the hope of getting her beautiful fields back again; the hope of putting the strangers out of her house (Gregory, 1995: 308). In the play in which Ireland is part of the woman-nation ideal "motherhood" is politicized. Yeats's focus on Irish peasant language including legends, and folk songs in this play is part of his inclination to exalt the peasantry and their realistic link to Irishness like Gregory.

The dilemma of love and the nationalist cause is also experienced by young men sacrificing their lives for Irish independence in *Cathleen ni Houlihan* as seen in Halide Edib's novels for the Turkish national struggle. Representing Ireland Cathleen ni Houlihan visits a home where a marriage is about to be held and persuades the prospective groom Michael to forgo the wedding and to fight for his country by glorifying blood sacrifice in her song of fallen Irish heroes. As regards her nationalist lovers Cathleen reveals: "many a man has died for love of me...but there were others that died for love of me a long time ago...there was a red man of the O'Donnells

from the north, and a man of the O'Sullivans from the south, and there was one Brian that lost his life at Clontarf by the sea, and there were a great many in the west, some that died hundreds of years ago, and there are some that will die tomorrow" (Gregory, 1995: 307) with an implication for the national freedom fighters of Ireland. Listing her lovers, the Old Woman, who is also the titled character of the play, is, in fact, a personification of Mother-Ireland. As she is desexualized, she is a motherly figure who calls her sons to defend herself. Preferring the national struggle to his bride becomes Michael's dilemma with the insistence of Cathleen ni Houlihan, who aims to convince men to fight for their country, Ireland throughout the play by promising them the immortality of their legacy.

As becoming a martyr during a rising is regarded as holy and admirable in Turkish and Irish cultures and religions, sacrifice for national duty comes before personal choices or feelings. In *Cathleen ni Houlihan* the Old Woman asks for an absolute surrender of the young man and villagers for the cause of Irish independence. She implies that it is a hard service taken by those who help her and sings: "they shall be remembered for ever, they shall be alive for ever, they shall be speaking for ever" (Gregory, 1995: 309). Michael's brother, Patrick informs that the French are landing at Killala and Michael's betrothed, Delia warns Michael: "Michael, Michael! You won't leave me! You won't join the French, and we going to be married!" (Gregory, 1995: 310) Lured by iconic Cathleen's romantic talk about the immortality of her nationalist lovers, Michael forgets about his wedding, betrothed and the dowry of a whole hundred pounds assured by Delia. Michael is so decided to join the uprising in Killala that he does not hear his betrothed. When Peter, (Michael and Patrick's father) asks Patrick whether he saw an old woman going down the path, he responds: "I did not, but I saw a young girl, and she had the walk of a queen" (Gregory, 1995: 311). This change of the Old Woman into a young girl seems to be the herald of a new and fresh beginning for Ireland going towards independence through uprisings and revolutions.

Ireland was on the brink of civil war by June in 1922. When Eamon de Valera who led the Irish delegation accepting the treaty with England, had refused the treaty because of various objections such as the exclusion of the six northern counties and

the oath of allegiance to the British crown suddenly, Irish government and Republicans started to occupy the barracks and the workhouse²². While elections showed that the majority of the Irish people favored the treaty, De Valera stated that his Republicans composed the true government of Ireland. Augusta had no sympathy for the continued violence. Kohfeldt summarizes the long-lasting conflict between Ireland and England with a reference to the symbolic character of the nationalist play, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*: “all the horrors Ireland and England had inflicted on one another during their long conflict were reenacted by Irish against Irish—the executions, reprisals, floggings, kidnappings, hunger strikes. AE wrote of the civil war that “generations for 700 years fought for the liberation of beautiful Cathleen ni Houlihan, and when they set her free she walked out, a fierce vituperative old hag” (Kohfeldt, 1984: 273).

In Halide Edib’s *Shirt of Flame* we observe that the single honourable cause is to struggle for national cause and try to glorify the nation. For this national cause women cannot be distinguished from men. Female characters sacrifice their love and even their lives for the sake of national salvation if necessary. This expectation refers to the concept of devotion that patriarchal discourse imposes on women. Ayşe is a female heroine for whom Peyami goes to Anatolia and wants to change. She is also a sister who Cemal submits to right away and delivers his will to. She is a woman for whose sake Ihsan risks his life and he can give up even the national cause that he serves with one single word of hers. Ayşe is the mother, sister and nurse of the soldiers who fight for the independence of Anatolia, while she is no different from a magician according to Kezban. In the novel the love felt for Ayşe is intertwined with the love of country and Ayşe turns into the icon of the country that will be saved. When he learns that Ayşe is coming to Istanbul at the beginning of the novel, Peyami cries out: “Izmir is coming”. By reproducing the national masculinist discourse Halide Edib identifies the woman with the nation, that is, the one which is passive, holy and needs to be saved, while she identifies men with the nation, people and the savior which is active. Ihsan addresses Ayşe and exclaims with his patriotic tone of voice:

²² See *The Woman Behind the Irish Renaissance* by Mary Kohfeldt, pp. 272-73.

Until I lose all my limbs, Ayşe! You haven't heard, you didn't know, tears gone dry in your green eyes. You've looked at me with pity. You still don't know. Look, I've lost both my legs, but I still have my arms to fight. Open your eyes Ayşe, remove the red scar on your forehead. I am not lower than the martyr lying next to you, people dying around you. I too will fight for you, for İzmir, until I lose all my limbs (Adivar, 2007: 54).

Again Halide Edib employs love and nation as interchangeable elements in her novel which focuses on Independence War. Aliye is more emotional than Ayşe when they are urged to make a choice between their love and national cause. She exhibits a more feminine identity than Ayşe. In this sense while İhsan hopes to gain Ayşe's love through his struggle for the sake of nation in a heroic manner, Tosun's struggle for nation does not help him gain Aliye's love more. On the contrary, Tosun loses Aliye forever because Aliye puts the affairs of love and nation into separate places whereas nation comes first for Ayşe like Tosun. Although İhsan was crippled by the war, he is still willing to risk his whole life out of his love of nation and his love for Ayşe. Another admirer and lover of Ayşe, Peyami is also wearing a fire red shirt metaphorically which is incited more and more with his deep feelings for Ayşe. The narrator Peyami depicts this symbolic shirt that arouses the nationalist feelings inside people like İhsan:

Here, I say it, there is a glowing, fire red shirt under that staff neckband. I knew like my own shirt how this fire penetrated into the flesh of this poor soul. The eyes of Ayşe ignited this red shirt. I wonder, how many more will carry this strange shirt other than İhsan? This shirt, which did not allow the storms and fires inside İhsan to ever cease, this is the shirt that burns the man, laziness and lethargy and fatigue, in the plane of fire! (Adivar, 2007: 61, 62)

Symbolizing the tough fight and ordeal for nation essentially, this shirt refers to a fiery trial given both for İzmir and for Ayşe's love according to Peyami: "her green eyes in the shadow of fire, behind her peasant scarf are young and vivid like children. Suddenly, dark shadows gathered around her, independent and grateful. Oh my beloved and fiery İzmir! Are we throwing ourselves into the fire seen in you in the eyes of Ayşe, or is it Ayşe, your daughter that drags us bleeding into green İzmir?" (Adivar, 2007: 84) As regards the motive that urges Peyami and İhsan to enter İzmir, Peyami is confused and he questions why they are really so willing to liberate İzmir from foreign invasion. Transforming into love for İhsan and Peyami during the invasion of İzmir when all of them served Kuvva-i Milliye in Anatolia, this fire red

shirt triggers them more to struggle for the salvation of İzmir, since Ayşe is the symbol of İzmir and its salvation in their eye.

Inspired by Ayşe's desire for struggle, Peyami confesses: "the departure of Ayşe has awoken a strange feeling of freedom inside me. I've understood that I haven't come to Anatolia just to be with her, and act like a big brother to watch over her. Maybe my negative position in the heart of Ayşe was predestined. However, I also wanted to feel the things Ayşe felt while looking at the people fighting, living and dying on our way to İzmir" (Adivar, 2007: 101). In a way the liberation of İzmir means gaining Ayşe's love and finding favor with her for both Peyami and İhsan. İhsan explains to Peyami : "in short, like you, like everyone else, I came down with Ayşe sickness, however, I didn't just walk to İzmir like the others, whipped by the fire, while everyone was going to İzmir, I walked towards Ayşe" (Adivar, 2007: 168-9). Profoundly influenced by Ayşe's dream of green İzmir, İhsan narrates how her ambitious and passionate manner about İzmir impressed him by using terms of love:

We were imagining the first Turkish division that will march the streets of İzmir playing the horn. We talked about the troop which will first see the Mediterranean and walk the red flag around the docks filled with Turkish blood. That is when Ayşe suddenly stood up. That is when I've seen the fire in her eyes despite the weak flame of the lamp, and the flicker of her red lips opened up with ecstasy, the awakening of her whole body and soul. She came alive like a woman of fire, having the first kiss of her lover on the lips. She carried a love and passion deeper than the most primitive creature of the world, and her dream of İzmir has shook her more than the most ambitious woman in history. The blow of no other kiss has shaken me more than the shaking of Ayşe with the dream of green İzmir (Adivar, 2007: 174-5).

National fervour makes a woman more physically attractive to men. With her national fervour Ayşe turns into a more charming feminine figure in İhsan's eye. İhsan hopes to gain Ayşe's love and marry her if he manages to enter İzmir. To take Ayşe's word, İhsan asks: "Ayşe, even if I can't be the part of the first division that first enters İzmir, I will still take the first flag like a flag bearer soldier. Tell me, if I can enter İzmir, would you be mine? (Adivar, 2007: 175)" İhsan regards Ayşe as a reward for his national cause. She is at the peak of his dreams. Giving priority to national cause, Ayşe responds: "İhsan, after you enter İzmir and celebrate the blood flowing for green İzmir on the shores of Mediterranean, I will marry you. But

promise me, until that time comes, all the fire burning in your heart will burn only for reaching İzmir...” (Adivar, 2007: 176) With these words Ayşe implies that she puts personal love in the second place and that’s why she stipulates that he should enter İzmir to deserve to marry her. Inwardly İhsan thought: “the road to İzmir seems like clearing up. I will definitely enter İzmir and Ayşe will definitely be mine (Adivar, 2007: 194)”. Unfortunately both Ayşe and İhsan are killed while fighting at the front and they are buried side by side. Contemplating on İhsan and Ayşe who sacrificed themselves heroically fighting in İzmir, Peyami says: "here, you had each other. You are in İzmir!" (Adivar, 2007: 213) Despite being disillusioned with not being able to win Ayşe’s love while she is alive, Peyami is decided to carry the shirt of flame forever, just as he was decided to maintain his national cause of fighting for İzmir for Ayşe’s sake. He addresses to the dead Ayşe:

My dear Ayşe, look, my arms are still intact, I promised you to fight for İzmir until I lose all my limbs. Wipe away the bloody tears in your eyes. Love İhsan if you want to. That poor chap loved you very much. He carried the shirt of flame on him for two years. Finally he fell into your arms in İzmir. Is it not enough happiness for a man? I will never take off this shirt of fire, even after my death, I'll carry it forever. However I love this fire, this suffering. Ayşe, just give me a small space below your feet, I'll wait for you there. Let me be only worthy of you Ayşe. If you want, I will let İhsan to walk over me. Isn't he the one that owns you Ayşe? Ayşe, the world has never seen such punishment (Adivar, 2007: 214-15).

The Daughter of Smyrna (The Shirt of Flame) is also a protest novel, so there is no witness. It is a founding text of the Independence War Period and also the only novel of Independence War that was published before the Independence War ended. Within two months following after Sakarya War it was written and included such themes as nationalism, trauma, suffering, sacrifice and transformation. It is a sentimental novel as Halide Edib transfers what she experienced during the war into the novel. In her letter to Yakub Kadri, Halide Edib elucidates that she desired to write a novel entitled “The Shirt of Flame” as Yakub Kadri planned to write a novel with the same title. She depicts the whole Anatolia as the “Shirt of Flame” by developing her profound feelings about Anatolia. Anatolian people named Peyami, İhsan or Ayşe are inclined to call their stories as the “Shirt of Flame”. Inspired by the afflictions and diligent efforts of her arm companions in Sakarya, Edib sheds light on the momentous war memoirs of her heroic deeds of her war companions. Halide Edib’s novel signifies an

anti-imperial perspective with its tradition of depicting the years of resistance to occupation. What makes Halide Edib different from other female novelists is her feature of being the chronicler of the independence war as the firsthand witness of the war front.

For the liberation of country women from different social backgrounds contributed to the independence movement in various forms of femininity. Three prominent women figures featuring as Selime, Ayşe and Hatice symbolize a concerted effort in the birth of a nation with their identification with the motherland. Among all these female characters in the novel, Halide Edib depicts Ayşe as the ideal Turkish woman who has devoted herself to the sacred duty of saving the country from its enemies and afflictions in the birth process of a new nation. Throughout the novel Ayşe is depicted as the maternal figure who provides support services at the battlefield as a female freedom fighter and fights with the enemy when needed. However, the novel denotes that the liberation of the country is based on the concerted effort of Ayşes and Ihsans that have fought in the war as the embodiments of the shirt of flame. Ihsan's profound love for Ayşe transforms her into a divine figure that desires the opening of the gates of Izmir as the offering.

How deeply I loved her, I had seen a picture of it when I was a kid. When they had taken a stone statue of the Buddha on the streets in India, Indians had thrown themselves under the wheel of the cart, dying in religious ecstasy. And I, too, wanted to throw myself at the feet of this woman who symbolized compassion, power and the whole of my country, drenched in fire and blood (Adıvar, 2007: 183).

As the symbol of Izmir, Ayşe strives to be of best help to the saving of the country and especially the city of Izmir which has been lost to the enemy in the novel. Symbolically she challenges the conquest of Izmir by the Greeks by her adamant and unyielding manners. Considering that Ayşe and Ihsan die in Izmir at the end of the novel, it is observed that personal love is sacrificed for the sake of country love. Their nationalist feelings outweigh their personal love. Although Ihsan experiences conflicts between personal love and country love and Ayşe is deeply devoted to her nationalist cause, these characters attach their greatest happiness to their collective war effort in opposition to either British or Greek forces. In Halide Edib's view the birth of the new Turkish nation required everyone's particular participation in the

nation-building process regardless of gender, status, or race. After the first constitutionalist period Halide Edib regarded woman not as a 'toy' woman but as a mother, friend, and nation woman who is available everywhere to form the enormous and noble building called the 'nation' and whose body and hardworking arms are necessary every time (Adivar, 1914). In her answer to an essay by Cenap Shahabettin in the Tanin Newspaper: "she attributes the reason for the defeat of Islamic countries in the face of Europe to the humiliation of women by men" (Adivar, 1912). There is a sense of specific nationalism in the novel. Based on the exalted motherhood as icons of nationalist ideology in both Ireland and Turkey the prior construction of gendered nationalism (mostly masculinized) transforms into feminist nationalism over an objective concept of "mother".

One of Halide Edib's memoirs, during the war of Independence, *The Turkish Ordeal* portrays the arduous efforts, fervent feelings and indomitable character of Turkish people dramatically against foreign forces. As patriotism is rooted in religious values for Turkish people, they regard it as a holy duty. They are people so honorable as not to prefer foreign occupation to national independence. Subservience to foreign occupation is by no means an agreeable occasion for sacrificing Turkish people whose nationalistic feelings surpass any other values or emotions. In the memoir the British are in Çanakkale and the conquest of Izmir by Greeks, and the dispatching of troops by the British are mentioned. Perceiving this disruptive experience of war as an "ordeal" for the Turkish nation the struggle is a kind of ordeal for freedom. Halide Edib underscores the significance of women's great contribution equal to masculine power, which obscures the sharp divisions between genders. In her article called "The Image of Women in Turkish Literature", related to the female characters Halide Edib portrayed, Fusun Altıok notes, "as she began writing in the pre-republican period and continued to do so during the period of Atatürk's reforms, the problems she approached and the images of women she created show great variety [...] images of nationalistic women, modernised women, women with a strong personality, women rising up against oppression and idealistic women striving to educate the masses" (Altıok, 1981: 226). Besides, in her works Halide Edib used an impressionistic style instead of giving detailed descriptions of setting, plot, or

characters. Her female characters or heroines are more vivid than her robot-like male heroes.

Living in a period of social, cultural and political changes in Turkey, Halide Edib aimed to give social messages through her female characters. The mother identity of her women figures is as significant as their social position. Children are also associated with their mothers primarily and then with their fathers in her novels which underscore the importance of family in the rapidly changing Turkish society. In *Raik's Mother* which handles the mother-child relationship, we encounter a profile of a Muslim-Turkish woman who sacrifices herself to raise her child, and did not want to divorce despite her broken pride and not compliment men around her. The novel introduces the new types of women, men and children appearing under the influence of the West. Siret's observations and comparisons of women figures shuttling between the movements of modernization and westernization reflect his direct criticism of imitating the West imprudently, of practising a foreign language in your home country and of assuming foreign ways of manners, speech, and address. From the perspective of Siret as the first-person narrator, we come across the portrayal of an ideal woman, Refika, who is a plain-clothed and dedicated mother. As indicated by Seher Özkök in a proceeding called "The Woman of Constitutional Period in Halide Edib's First-Period Novels", the praise of Refika whose love and compassion for her son, Raik nothing can supersede may also be regarded as an acclaim for an Ottoman mother figure, for whom the well-being of the family is of great importance. The novel attempts to reclaim national independence by keeping our national values, national language and institution of marriage. The narrator portrays his ideal woman like this:

See what kind of a woman I want! She may know another language, even two or three languages, if she wants; but she should never bargain in French in Beyoğlu. She shouldn't assume fake smiles, rub hands, nod strangely and walk by jumping and leaping. She shouldn't exclaim at anything unnecessary in French. When she sees her father, she shouldn't say "Oh! Mon per". When she feels afraid, she shouldn't say "Oh! Mondiyö" to God (Adıvar 1967: 21).

The narrator puts a stress on the importance of pronouncing the word "mother" in the native language rather than in a foreign language (French). Sarcastically he refers to

the insincerity of addressing the mother as “mama” rather than “anne” in Turkish. All these criticisms and observations made by the narrator aim to encourage the use of the mother language with all sincerity by putting aside all other foreign words pronounced or fake attitudes assumed in a foreign language in daily life. Only in this way can cultural freedom be acquired and maintained thoroughly. In the memoir Edib quotes Henry W. Nevins: “the thing called liberty, as we know, is something that needs to be earned anew every day, just like love. It is like how we ask for love every day, and lose it, we want liberty the same and lose it the same. The fight for freedom never ends, you can never relax” (Adivar, 2011: 333). This struggle for freedom which constitutes the core theme of Halide Edib’s novels and major works and highlights the significance of different kinds of liberties in social, political and cultural sphere and this includes an ungendered national discourse and an egalitarian society in Halide Edib’s notion of a new democratic nation-state. In the epilogue of the memoir, Adivar emphasizes:

The nation that I am a part of, earned its liberty after one of the most noble and hardest fire tests in history. However, we needed to achieve another ideal also. To achieve this ideal, people die in chains over the gallows, or spend their lives in exile. Only the ones who suffer such a fate can know their test in life. Their wars are never celebrated. They just come and go like ordinary and humble soldiers. This purpose which is fought solely to earn, is the test of freedom (Adivar, 2011: 333)

After passing the test of freedom, the essential duty of the new Turkish government was the maintenance of public liberties was as crucial as their acquisition. Criticising the former ruling system based on the dominance of the sultan, as regards the responsibilities of the new government, Halide Edib points out: “the monarch ruling this establishment has perished because he was degenerate and he betrayed his own people. And now, a new government was obliged to not just protect the independence gained by the blood of the people, but also, to maintain the liberties of the people, no matter what the cost” (Adivar, 2011: 330). Halide Edib could challenge even Mustafa Kemal Paşa who gave orders and asked his companions for absolute obedience about the executive of his orders. Because of her conflicts with Mustafa Kemal, she forced herself to self-exile abroad with her husband and criticised some of the reforms executed in Kemalist Turkey and the despotic aspects

of the regime. One claim about the tension between Mustafa Kemal and Halide Edib was that Halide Edib did not obey order and hierarchy as she wanted to apply her own truth in different processes of the war. When she returned to the front, she expressed: “I went to Mustafa Kemal Pasha with absolute honor in my heart. In that humble room, he represented the decision of the whole youth that risks its life so that a nation can survive” (Adivar, 1962: 250). However, there was a great conflict of power between them on the front in 1920. After a dialogue between Halide Edib and Mustafa Kemal in a debate on the front at that time, upon Mustafa Kemal's request for absolute obedience Halide Edib asks: “do you want it from me too, Pasham? Mustafa Kemal: Yes, from you too, Halide Edib: “I will obey you as long as you serve in the national purposes. M.K: You will always obey my order, Halide: Is this a threat, Pasham? (Adivar, 1928: 18)

Mustafa Kemal Pasha didn't want to confront any criticism or challenge against his orders. However, Halide Edib stipulated that she would obey him as long as he served nationalist targets. In this way, she reveals her unconditional loyalty and attachment to the National War of Independence by putting personal interests or caprices aside. She also refers to the idea that national struggle, values and purposes should outweigh all conflicts of opinion when national independence is endangered. Halide Edib highlights such a claim about the reasons for conflicts among people or civilizations in the memoir: “it seems to me that any misunderstanding and hostility among people can be resolved in time, but just one. And it is the claim of superiority. I thought to myself that day, if the west and the east ever jump on each other's throats, the biggest reason will be a claim of superiority over one another” (Adivar, 2011: 152). This race of superiority and inequalities between different races, nations and cultures leads to the emergence of the occasions of racism. Halide Edib anticipates that “the struggle between classes and nations will continue until people are given equal dignity and rights” (Adivar, 2011: 152). Indeed Halide Edib defended the unification of the West and the East rather than the superiority of one civilization over another. None is perfect without the presence of the other. Materiality and spirituality are combined when the East and the West learn to be modest by giving up

the race of superiority and the feeling of nationalism is reinforced only with this logic.

The family institution is a highly valued topic both for Adivar and Gregory. Adivar handles the structure of family as part of her social criticism in her novels while Gregory put various family structure and types into the center of her plays as well as her own family life and background in her autobiographical books like *Seventy Years* as a core point for exploration and criticism of Irish social, cultural and political matters. While Adivar explores child-mother relationship in her novels such as *Raik's Mother*, and *Zeyno's Son*, it is possible to come across some traces from her own childhood, related to her psychology or biographical facts through her child characters. However, her own children are not referred much in her novels. Both writers successfully combine domestic issues with a larger frame, the perception of 'nation'. For instance, the most obvious reference made about Lady Gregory's son is the poem entitled "An Irish Man Foresees His Death" in which W. B. Yeats referred to Robert Gregory who was killed in World War I. Gregory started to write fairy plays, children's plays and a biography of her nephew, Hugh Lane after her son's death²³. Adivar presents tribulations in family structure as a reference to greater fluctuations in a socio-political context while Gregory analyses and exemplifies family relationships with the aim to demonstrate the social and political situation in the emergent nation-state over the dialectic between society and individual.

Yeni Turan (New Turan) which is fraught with the spirit of nationalism among Halide Edib's most popular novels and exemplifies the nascent nationalist yearnings of the Turks is regarded as the first political/ideological novel of Turkish Literature (Tansu Bele, "Halide Edip Adivar and Yeni Turan"). Having a male narrator called Asım, the book is a turning point in the building process of a new national identity. In *Yeni Turan* the main characters Kaya and Oğuz are Turkish nationalists coming from the French Revolution, liberal, democratic, loyal to universal human values and believers of a kind of religion of working. It pictures Second Constitutional Period

²³ See *Women Writers of Great Britain and Europe: An Encyclopedia*, eds Katharina M. Wilson, Paul Schlueter, June Schlueter

(1908). It is also the Period of New Turan and New Ottomans. Based on the program and practices of an idealist part called “Yeni Turan”, this utopic novel defends the system of decentralization with a focus on the principles of Turkism. The novel also deals with the relation between importance given to women and internalization of New Turan, women rights, 31 March Rebellion against Constitutional Periods, and struggle to take hold of the regime between the Committee of union and progress and the opposition party.

Halide Edib’s idea is to combine all Turkish or foreign communities living in Turkish lands under the same roof without spoiling/undermining Turkishness and Islamism. The aim is to become civilized to provide unity among parties by enhancing culture. Islam is not a barrier for development. As liberal nationalist Halide Edib creates the character of Oğuz, which is representative of liberal humanism and also representative of Halide Edib’s nationalistic views as a hero in the novel. Ziya Gökalp’s influence on Yeni Turan is remarkable owing to Halide Edib’s contacts with Ziya Gökalp and the Turkish Hearth. The protagonist Kaya is a woman who is deeply devoted to her nation and can risk everything at the expense of her life for her cause. According to Lutfi Bey’s proposal, either Kaya will marry Lutfi Bey or Oğuz Bey will stay in prison and thus he will not be able to participate in elections. This is a very hard choice for Kaya. Should she share her life with a human being she has never loved and is forced to marry or should she give up her love for her cause? Her national feelings outweigh and she accepts this indecent proposal. However, this association has remained only on paper. She was not happy in any way. She refused to talk to him. She has been forced to live with him as a living dead and she fell ill.

In her article entitled “Halide Edib Adivar’ın Seviyye Talip’inde Kadın Kimliği (Female Identity in Halide Edib Adivar’s *Seviyye Talip*)” Nazan Aksoy asserts that “*New Turan’s Kaya, Thrash the Whore’s Aliye, and Shirt of Flame’s Ayse* are the patriotic, activist women who fought for the sake of their countries and melted their sexual identities within their societal causes (Aksoy, 1997: 49). Since these women tend to give more importance to their national causes than other things, they can not live their sexuality in critical times like the national struggle. “Although Halide Edib’s early novels except for *New Turan* usually deal with individual desires and

relationships, not only female sexuality but also male sexuality is suppressed, or sexuality results in destruction for female or male characters” (Adak, 2004: 167-8). During the social struggle and war, individual desires are suppressed in national myths and allegories to ensure that individuals fight for the nation with their whole self and do not deviate from national goals. For example, Aliye and Tosun in *Vurun Kahpeye* (*Thrash the Whore*) vacillate between their own wishes and the sacrifices they have to make for the national struggle. Individual desires are pushed to the secondary plan during the war and the fight will be won in this way, and Tosun and Aliye will turn into national heroes. Furthermore, as in *New Turan*, the inability to live sexuality in other early novels of Halide Edib is not only specific to Kaya, but also the male character of the novel, for example, the leader of *New Turan*, Oğuz. Although Kaya and Oğuz are fond of each other, they have preferred to suppress their individual desires and wishes in the New Turanian struggle. This is the product of a general individual-society conflict in national myths and allegories (Adak, 2004: 167-8). The same individual-society problem is experienced by Ayşe and Ihsan in *the Shirt of Flame*. Aisha would prefer not to include individual emotions during the national struggle and rejects Ihsan's proposal. When they died, there was no love between them, but they turn into the heroes who are martyred for the national struggle and will be memorable forever.

On the other hand, focusing on the social and cultural life of peasantry like Halide Edib and striving to learn the native language to decipher the folklore, myths and stories in Irish with the aim to revive the Irish language and endorse cultural nationalism Lady Gregory pursued a policy of opposition against British imperialism in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Ireland. Despite her Anglo-Irish descent she criticised the hypocrisy of British colonialism and took a nationalistic stance in support of Ireland which was colonised, oppressed and regarded as uncivilised by Britain. “Lady Gregory might then be seen as doing the cultural work not of the landed elite but of the women political activists who were her contemporaries, women like Maud Gonne, Constance Markievicz, Kathleen Clarke—the women of Inghinidhe nahEireann, whose patron saint was Brigit, or Cumann na mBan. Like Lady Gregory, they found their public voices not in a

feminist movement but in a rebel one” (Gregory, 1995: xii). With a rebellious nature they reflected their reaction against any imperial movement in art and culture and aimed to serve their national cause through cultural work and political activism. In the lecture themed “Women, Ideals and the Nation” given by Constance de Markievicz (1909) quoted in *In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism* by Margaret Ward, Markievicz articulates:

Regard yourself as Irish, believe in yourself as Irish, as units of a nation distinct from England, your Conqueror, and as determined to maintain your distinctiveness and gain your deliverance. Arm yourself with weapons to fight your nation’s cause. Arm your souls with noble and free ideas. Arm your minds with the histories and memories of your country and her martyrs, her language and a knowledge of her arts, and her industries (Markievicz).

In the creation of the Irish artistic and literary revival besides the political debates and activism in connection with the national struggle women such as Lady Gregory, Maud Gonne, Constance Markievicz played crucial roles. In the cultural construction of Ireland the significance of gendered discourse is undeniable as it paved the way for the analysis of writing by women as well as speeches and writings by Irish men for long pages. To give an example, Gregory’s plays manifest the awareness of women’s marginalized role and position within the cause of Irish nationalism and oppose the ways in which women serve as the passive signifiers of nation within patriotic discourse (Bowles, 1999: 116). Her representative role is felt in the history of the Abbey theatre as a woman writer, dramatist and theatre manager while her representative voice is reverberated in her nationalistic plays. When she played the title role in *Cathleen ni Houlihan* in 1919 at the Abbey, she declared that all she needed was ‘a hag and a voice’ and C.L.Innes commented on this humorous self-depreciation: “her taking the role, her translation (Pearse’s poem ‘Mise Eire’ from the Irish) and her poem (‘An Old Woman Remembers’) suggest that Lady Gregory, had come, like Maud Gonne, to see herself as a kind of embodiment of Ireland, with the right to speak on Ireland’s behalf” (Innes 1993: 160). Most of the time Gregory achieved to handle women’s national cause through drama by making use of history, historical events and figures.

Among Gregory’s Irish folk history plays where nationalism and feminism are intertwined and frustrated women profiles are explored there are *Grania*, *Kincora*,

and *Devorgilla* which can also be considered as melodrama. The purpose of the author is to make Irish history alive in the popular imagination by reinterpreting national events in plain terms. Gregory wrote two tragedies based on Irish folklore and mythology called *Grania* (1911) and *Dervorgilla* (1907). Both plays deal with the issues of infidelity and female responsibility through their leading female characters. While her main characters are present in Irish folklore and mythology, she reflects them as real people with human feelings and motivations rather than only symbols. Gregory creates “real” women, who are part of ancient mythology in her plays, but they have nothing to do with the current issues or problems real Irish women would face. By means of these plays she intends to bring forth women’s voices about women’s writing as opposed to the overall disempowerment of women in mainstream means of artistic expression. In these plays the conflation of woman and nation is obvious as part of the national allegory.

Referring to the historical events of the eleventh century, the play “Kincora” opens in an enchanted forest with the appearance of the guardian spirit of the royal family, Aoibhell. This guardian spirit promises young Brian, King of Munster, happiness and immortal love if he denies his duty to Ireland: “I am come to bid you give up the sweetheart you have chosen—that hard sweetheart, Ireland. Come to me in place of her; and I will bring you into the hidden houses of the hills. I will give you love. Age will never will fall on you” (Gregory, 1905: 6). However, Brian refuses the offer and to go with her: “I will not give up Ireland, for it is a habit of my race to fight and to die; [...] I will never break my faith with the sweetheart I have chosen, not turn from her service till she can lift up her head again in the sight of the whole world!” (Gregory, 1905: 6) The first act illustrates Brian as an old man whose life has been spent at wars and hoping that peace will be restored eventually. Later, Queen Gormleith and her husband Malachi appear. The Queen abandons her husband for the more powerful king, Brian, but she also betrays Brian as she vows to present herself to the Danes. The guardian spirit appears again and offers Brian’s son the same promise. Aoibhell promises him “beauty, riches, sweet music, playing and drinking, love and power” in the Country of Young; however, Murrough refuses: “it is often before now I was offered that life and these gifts, in hills and in the houses of the

Sidhe; but I never gave up for one night my country or my inheritance for them...a few blows on the enemies of Ireland. Ah! That is life. That is the life I want! Not the sluggish life; the feasting and drinking” (Gregory, 1905: 65-66). Murrough does not accept the offer although he is informed to have one hour to live. He is decided to go to the battle and fight fearlessly, like his father Brian, for Ireland.

To arrange the terms of peace Brian, King of Munster, receives Malachy, the High King of Ireland, at his royal house at Kincora. The arrangement provides Brian and Malachy dominion over the South and North respectively. Sitric and Maelmora, son and brother of Gormeleith, Brian’s wife, is against this arrangement. At the instance of the queen, Brian forgives the offenders. But after being a captured Dane, the queen hates Brian. Thanks to the help of her son she joins forces with the Danish conquerors. At the battle of Clontarf, Brian defeats the Danish, but he is killed at the moment of victory, while his spirit is crushed by the treachery of his wife. The play closes with Brian and Murrough considering their deaths. The play has historical importance as the playwright reconfigures what it means to be Irish as a female figure in the early-twentieth century through her nationalist heroes like Brian and Murrough.

Set outside the Abbey of Mellifont, Near Drogheda in 1193 *Devorgilla* is a one-act melodrama which was played at the Abbey Theatre on 31st October, 1907. Presenting an episode of Irish history that took place in the twelfth century the play deals with Dervorgilla who betrays her husband, O’Rourke of Breffney by going off to live with Diarmaid MacMorrough. It is Diarmaid, in turn, whose actions bring the Normans into the country and change the course of Irish history forever. The main female character, Dervorgilla hides herself in the Abbey of Mellifont and devotes herself to charity and cultural work such as donating most of her wealth or encouraging young people to engage in national sports or crafts, as part of distinctive Irish culture, just as Lady Gregory dedicated herself to the Abbey Theatre to promote Irish plays and culture besides being a charitable landlady to her tenants. Another autobiographical similarity is that “the play also simultaneously re-enacts and disguises a more carefully concealed guilt—Lady Gregory’s infidelity to William

Gregory in 1882\83 when she had a passionate affair with Wilfrid Scawen Blunt” (Innes, 1993: 153). Dervorgilla mourns the wrong she did her first husband:

Was it not I brought the curse upon O’Rourke, King of Breffny, the husband I left and betrayed? The head I made bow with shame was struck off and sent to the English King. The body I forsook was hung on the walls shamefully, by the feet, like a calf after slaughter. It is certain there is a curse on all that have to do with me. What I have done can never be undone. How can I be certain of the forgiveness of God²⁴.

Like Brian’s story in *Kincora*, the story of Devorgilla has great importance in Irish history because Devorgilla was responsible for bringing the English into Ireland in the days of her youth, which makes a historical woman legendary as part of Irish folklore in Ireland. According to historians the wife of O’Rourke, Devorgilla eloped with Diarmuid, the King of Leinster in 1152 when her husband set out a pilgrimage to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory. Maybe Diarmuid forced Devorgilla off against her will. For the next step O’Rourke invaded Leinster with his friends in revenge and as a result of the wars that followed, Diarmuid appealed to Henry II of England for help after being driven from Ireland. He was given an army by England and this accounts for how the English was first brought into Ireland. Finally O’Rourke managed to punish Diarmuid and to take her far away from him. Devorgilla entered the Convent of Mellifout and lived a secluded life there by devoting all her life to the service of God. The play has great significance in terms of reflecting the conventionally voiceless allegory of the nation-woman and providing an awareness about the marginalized role of women in the Irish nationalist cause. It also protests how passively women are symbolized within patriotic discourse.

Another play by Lady Gregory dealing with legendary material is *Grania*, which is a three-act melodrama published in 1911. Based on a story in Irish mythology Grania was not staged in Lady Gregory’s lifetime because the story of a woman who refused to repent and openly challenged men was refused by the Abbey stage. The material of *Grania* comes from the legends of the Fenian Cycle. It is centered upon the story of young Grania, who is about to marry old Finn. Grania falls in love with a young

²⁴ Lady Gregory, *Dervorgilla* (1907), in *Collected Plays, Vol. II: Tragedies & Tragic Comedies* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1979), p. 98.

warrior named Diarmuid, with whom she runs away. When Finn confronts them seven years later, he blames Diarmuid for treachery. Full of remorse, Diarmuid rushes away to the battlefield to prove his loyalty to him and there he is murdered. Finn achieves to regain Grania's love and she accepts to be his wife this time. The heroine Grania refused to mourn because of her fierce rage when she discovers the two men she loves care about each other rather than loving her truly. Lady Gregory celebrates rebellious Grania's anger since she is denigrated by both men. A spirited and sensual female character, Grania experiences a transformation in her character from a naive, and traditionally romantic heroine to a woman of action and will while shaping her life.

According to the tale in Irish mythology Grania accepts to marry Finn, a much older man than herself. Before the wedding Grania reveals that she fell in love with a nameless man many years ago and this man who is Finn's close friend and ally is Grania's love interest, Diarmuid. Later when Grania confesses her love for Diarmuid, it is not Diarmuid but Finn who hears this admission. When Finn gets angry and jealous, Diarmuid wants to protect Grania by taking her away without having any sexual relationship with her during this time. Only when another man, the King of Foreign, appears to approach Grania after seven years, Diarmuid is prompted to break his promise to Finn out of jealousy and have an intercourse with Grania. However, when Finn finds out their betrayal, he takes revenge on Diarmuid, who ended up being mortally wounded. Interestingly, however, Diarmuid starts to show greater love for Finn than for Grania. This situation makes Grania angry as she realizes that she was the love object and interest of both men just because of jealousy, not pure love.

Being a victim between two men prompts Grania to take control of her own life. In a way the play concerns Grania's passage to maturity and awareness about the perceptions of men and women about love. She asks old people what love is and they depict it: "three sharp blasts of the wind, a white blast of delight and a grey blast of discontent and a third blast of jealousy that is red" (Gregory, 1983: 183) Throughout the play Grania's choices and decisions are remarkable from the feminist perspective. She chooses to marry Finn first and then she gives up marrying him and decides to

go away from Almhuin. She endures living in the wilderness during seven years despite Diarmuid's indifference. When she comes across the King of Foreign, she accepts intercourse proudly. By wearing the crown which was too heavy for her in the first act, she decides to return to Almhuin and to confront Finn. At the end of Act 3 she steps into a future that she has decided for herself. Although *Grania* is thematically similar to *Dervorgilla*, they differ from each other in the manner of their heroines after abduction. Both plays concentrate on a female character who elopes with another man called "Diarmuid" in a love triangle. In both plays women play a role as leading characters and the plays explore the themes of female responsibility and infidelity. While *Dervorgilla* is regretful after abduction, *Grania* is resolved not to regret.

Acting with these national and feminist motives both Lady Gregory and Halide Edib wanted to be part of the radical change that would take place as social and political transformation coming along with the Republic. Undermining patriarchal society by means of an ungendered nationalism beyond their female identity would lead to the emancipation of women in the newly independent Irish Republic. In addition, the freedom of opinion, gender equality, and liberal humanism were among the major life principles of both Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib Adıvar. Moreover, both Lady Gregory and Halide Edib exhibited feminist nationalism in contrast to the masculinist nationalism emerging as a consequence of the domination of masculine ideology and interests in nationalist movements as these female writers represent the missing sex in recording national history and culture. The critique of classical literature on the nation and state as "gender-blind" by the second wave of feminist scholarship led to an exclusive focus on women, their roles as women leaders, women revolutionists, women's exploitation and women's resistance to domination by gender scholars. The various roles women played as citizens, leaders, activists or the members of the nation in the making and unmaking of states referred to the amelioration in women's political position in the early-twentieth century Irish and Turkish societies as part of the nationalist project like the exalted motherhood as icons of nationalist ideology. To shed light on the role of women in politics and literature in this period it is well worth exploring the lives of Lady Gregory and

Halide Edib as cultural nationalists, social reformers and political activists and chronicling their active participation and leadership in national and opposition politics and movements, which will also provide a significant contribution to the study of women in a transnational context.



CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE: CULTURAL NATIONALISM AND LITERARY REVIVAL

2.1. Literary and Language Revival

Nationalism is marshalled as a protest against being governed by another domineering power, a call to not to be overwhelmed politically, culturally, socially or economically. “Cultural nationalism flourished particularly in the nineteenth century, following the American and French revolutions, the partition of Poland, and the Napoleonic invasion of much of Europe. Nationalist movements developed in the many nations of Europe, in some cases calling for independence from a foreign oppressor” (Wilmer, 2009: 77). Cultural nationalism emerged as a type of nationalism followed by non-European nations and as a reaction to civic/political nationalism and Western values. Distinct from ‘civic or political nationalism’ that ignores ethnic features such as color, race, religion, gender or language, ‘cultural nationalism’ is made up of the elements that unite individuals around the common language, ethnic identity, literary or artistic tastes. Its aim was to turn inwards, to look towards the past and to focus on the importance of history, traditions and folklore with the emphasis on emotional factors. According to Hans Kohn, the cultural form of Eastern nationalism is an organic, mystical, often authoritarian nationalism while the civic and rational is the political nationalism of the West (Rabow-Edling, 2004: 441). As regards the meaning of the state, in an effort to account for the difference between the political and cultural nationalism, John Hutchinson points out that political nationalists idealize a civic polity of educated citizens whereas cultural nationalists take the state as an accidental (Hutchinson, 1999). It means, for cultural nationalists, the state is in the second place compared with the ingrained national past whose power it takes from its distinctive culture, history and geographical features. As far as the role of cultural nationalism is concerned, Hutchinson refers to its concern with the identity and regeneration of the national community (Hutchinson, 1999: 392). In *Poetry of the Celtic Races*, Ernest Renan says:

A nation is a living soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present. One is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down. Man does not improvise. The nation, like the individual, is the outcome of a long past of efforts, and sacrifices, and devotion (Renan, n.d.: 80).

Referring to the spiritual aspect of a nation like a soul thriving in the light of past and present events or situations, Renan stresses the significance of memories as the common heritage of a nation besides cultural elements and traditions which unite people under the same roof. As culture is something learned, not inborn, its acquisition necessitates loyalty, dedication and continuity as part of national feelings and accordingly the concept of nation is a combination of all these endeavors, commitment and cultural heritage of long years in Renan's definition. That's why cultural nationalism aims the arousal of nationalist feelings stemming from sharing a common culture and heritage which consist of the folklore, traditions and literature of a nation. The purpose of cultural nationalism is to reunite different aspects of a nation by creating a literature inspired from a common culture and heritage while civic nationalism is meant to describe a political identity built around shared citizenship in a liberal-democratic state (Stilz, 2009: 257) which does not promote one national culture over others as one of its goals²⁵. In *Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: the Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, John Hutchinson, gives a definition of cultural nationalism:

Although emerging in the 1870s and crystallizing in the 1890s under the inspiration of Macneill and Yeats, up to 1900 cultural nationalism remained very much a movement of small groups of secular revivalists and religious reformists. However, after 1900, when adopted by a new set of modernist intellectuals and a young Catholic intelligentsia, it became a significant political force and the vehicle for a successful independence movement between 1918 and 1921 (Hutchinson, 1987: 151).

One of the principal proponents of cultural nationalism was Johann von Herder, who developed a theory based on the organic growth of the nation, national spirit and its

²⁵ For recent definitions of "civic" nationalism, see Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1993), pp. 5-9; Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 79-109; Andrew Mason, *Community, Solidarity, and Belonging* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 115-47.

language and opposed the dominance of French culture in German speaking lands. Defending cultural unity rather than political unity, he maintained that German culture would never find itself unless it was based merely on traditional popular German culture by encouraging research into German local history, folklore, myths and legends. For this purpose Herder encouraged Germans also to make a “complete critical study of the chronicles and legends of the Middle Ages” (Wilmer, 2009: 78). By highlighting the importance of the German folk traditions he contributed to the formation of the understanding of national cultural unity as a consequence of his efforts. According to Herder other nations should act in the same way to keep and develop their own national spirit since each nation was distinct and organic. That’s why he managed to draw the attention of cultural nationalists in many European countries through his works, methods and attitudes. Wilmer asserts: “cultural nationalism is a Janus-headed ideology with positive and negative effects: on the one hand, promoting a sense of self-worth for the individual who can successfully identify with the nation and galvanizing movements for autonomy and self-government, but, on the other hand, ostracizing or excluding others” (Wilmer, 2009: 78).

Cultural nationalism takes on a similar hue in Turkey. As Jale Parla argues in her article “The Wounded Tongue: Turkey’s Language Reform and the Canonicity of the Novel”, the relationship between culture and nationalism is targeted to improve over language that will be turned into a political vehicle for the national struggle of independence. According to the literary figures of the period or theorists of culture language reform was prerequisite for a new national identity unimpeded by any colonial rule. Indicating Georg Gugelberger’s triadic developmental paradigm that defines the stages of Third World Literature, especially in nations with a colonial past as “(1) narrating the struggle against colonialism, (2) celebrating nationalism and independence, and (3) identifying nation-state formation as “flag-independence” and criticizing neo-colonialism (the class-conscious phase; 513) (Adak, 2008: 21), Parla underscores

As a nation-state without a history of colonial rule, Turkey is unique; hence, Turkish literature may not fit the triadic developmental paradigm of most Third

World literatures. However, the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I and the occupation of Asia Minor and Istanbul (1918-23) caused the nationalist struggle against the allied powers to define itself as an independence struggle and the literature celebrating nationalism and independence (phase 2) in Turkey has enjoyed, to date, an extended golden age (Adak, 2008: 21).

Turkey was not subjected to formal political control by Western powers. However, she confronted western civilisation. Turkish nation was the combination of its distinctive history and culture. The Republic of Turkey was founded on the basis of Turkish cultural nationalism. Turkish cultural nationalism defined by the thinkers such as Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura was turned from an idea into a state philosophy by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. “The distinctiveness of Turkish culture became a major focus among Turkish scholars particularly in the 1890s, when ‘Turkism’ emerged emphasising the ethnic past of the Turks themselves rather than the territorial and political nature of the empire or the Islamic past of the Muslim-Turkish Ottomans, which Ottomanism and Islamism, the previous ideological movements of the mid-nineteenth century, had emphasised in their turn” (Yoshino, 1992: 40). The most significant idea platform of this period was the Turkish hearth. Moreover, the scholarly Turkish Society (Türk Derneği) founded in 1908 with the aim to reveal the culture, history and society of the Turks and the journal *Turkish Homeland* (*Türk Yurdu*) emerging as a political form of Turkism by literary figures were the examples of great efforts to exalt the principal issues of Turkism and to assert the Turk’s own cultural heritage. According to the intellectuals who articulated ideas of national distinctiveness, a language reform based on the language of the people was essential, since language was the pivotal element of nationality. As Jale Parla argues,

adherence to Purified Turkish as opposed to Ottoman Turkish came to be regarded as a sign of being for Kemalism, thus for cultural nationalist homogeneity, territorial unity and autonomy, progress, modernity and contemporaneity. Endorsing purified Turkish became directly related to the new identity designed for the Turkish people to secure the consolidation of the nation-state (Parla, 2008: 28).

The Turkish language signified Turkish national identity. Turkish nation had a distinct language and literature before Arabic and Persian influences. During the formative period of becoming a nation-state “language was the main preoccupation but was viewed as only one element of the national culture which also included,

among other things, literature, poems, music and visual arts” (Yoshino, 1992: 41). Turkish art and music possessed its own original character, distinctive melodies, harmonies and meters despite foreign influences. Daily behaviour, customs and morals were also regarded as part of national culture. Accordingly Parla also stresses:

Language reform was not the sole factor that inhibited the construction of a canon. Unlike other explicit or implicit interventions in the culture sphere to make literature ideologically functional in building a national consciousness, the reform did not specifically target literature. It was meant to encompass all social and cultural practices, from bureaucratic correspondence to the language of education in secondary schools and universities. In time, however, literature was affected the most, for the obvious reason that the reform interfered with the medium of expression (Parla, 2008: 28)

Furthermore, Parla asserts that the purpose of the language reform was to sever the people’s ties with the Ottoman past and constructing a new national identity based on a total embrace of Kemalist principles (Parla, 2008:28) as part of the modernising project of the Kemalists. This situation was criticised as the new reform led to the severance of Turkish people with their deep-rooted past embedded with the richness of other cultures such as Arabic and Persian, while it gave the Turkish language an emancipatory feature from the fetters of foreign powers through a purification method. Fundamentally interested in the cultural heritage of her nation rather than being an advocate of political nationalism Halide Edib gave importance to the exaltation of Turkish language and culture. She spearheaded cultural nationalism by highlighting the distinctive cultural elements of her nation on the national and international platform. She drew attention to the personality, mood structure and behaviors of strong female protagonists that she portrayed and idealised in a western sense in her novels. The enunciation of nationalist feelings in her novels and memoir is striking particularly because of its unification with the feminist perspective, which is complementary to male-dominated nationalist discourses.

Well-known as modernist and nationalist intellectuals, Halide Edib and Lady Gregory also use an international language (internationalism versus localism) to realize their ideals of cultural nationalism as well as their national language. They both maintain and transfer the cultural elements of their nations by using an international language. Lady Gregory made translations from Irish into English with

the intention to help the Irish find their voice in the language of the colonizer in a sense. Although Halide Edib mostly wrote in Turkish, she also has literary works written in English. She also translated from other languages into Turkish with the intention to enrich the national literature. Halide Edib spoke Turkish, French, English and Arabic. The principal need of her period is to build a national/Turkic identity rather than modernization. Halide Edib writes her stories with the aim of creating and reinforcing an awareness of Turkishness. The idea of Turkish identity was based on 3 basic ideas: the idea of Turkism and Turkist utopian quest, westernism and western judgements of value, understanding of a modernist religion (Mohammedanism) in Halide Edib's time. However, she defended the policy of purification in Turkish language, which can be regarded as an anti-imperial stance because the Ottoman language included words from different languages such as Arabic and Persian. Favoring a nationalised culture, Halide Edib's orientation toward Turkism is not political or economical but cultural.

When we look at Lady Gregory, adaptations of old Irish folklore stories as well as many Irish and Hiberno-English translations make Lady Gregory a great contributor of the Irish Literary Revival. Despite her Anglo-Irish descent and the affinity of her family for the British rule she is inspired to learn the Irish language and native traditions of her original country. In cooperation with Yeats, Lady Gregory looks for the ways "to add dignity to Ireland" (Yeats, 1956: 456). They stimulate each other to achieve their goals in terms of literary productivity, creativity and nationalist ideals. Irish Literary Revival which was pioneered by Gregory with the intention to consolidate cultural nationalism accomplished its revolutionary goal by way of translation. Translation activities conducted by Gregory opened a new path, a new window through the ignored and chained stories of Irish people as a consequence of British colonialism. To give an example, "Gregory composed her most influential work, her translation of the tales of the Ulster cycle, in a concerted effort to forward the nationalist cause" (Maria-Elena Doyle, 1999: 37).

A new literature based on the manifestation of Irish culture and identity was needed for the maintenance of national culture and it was possible with the cooperative efforts of translators and archeologists. Related to the necessity of a new literature

with the translation method and reacquisition of living Irish folklore into the written literature, Edward Hirsch puts in *The Imaginary Irish Peasant*: “the contemporary (living) folklore of the Irish countryside and the ancient Gaelic literature (revived by archaeologists and translators) served as dual sources for a new Irish literature” (Hirsch, 1991: 1121). Stimulated by such figures as Lady Gregory, William Butler Yeats, Edward Martyn, “AE” Russell, and Edward Plunkett and emerging as a new appreciation of traditional Celtic literature and Celtic art in the late 19th and early 20th century, the Irish Literary Revival was a literary attempt to revitalize Ireland’s native past, legends, myths and folklore as well as encouraging the production of literary works to denote the distinctness of Irish culture from English culture and to promote an individual Irish identity in the nation-building phase of Ireland.

Following after the fall of Parnell in 1891, political convulsion triggered the emergence of efforts for cultural revival and the birth of cultural nationalism. In *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879-1923 (Problems in Focus)* D. George Boyce concludes: “if political failure inspired cultural regeneration - a regeneration seen in the foundation and growth of the Literary Revival and the Gaelic League alike - then it could be argued that these cultural movements in their turn fed the revival of politics, and of revolutionary politics at that” (Boyce, 1988: 115-6) In this process the leaders of nationalist movement wrote many plays and articles on the political situation of Ireland to nourish the spirit of Gaelic revival and Irish nationalism. In his article named *The Irish Literary Revival*, Cornelius Weygandt stresses: “Irish writers have contributed what is most important to English literature of the accomplishment of the so-called Neo-Celtic Renaissance” (Weygandt, 1904: 420). Lady Gregory strove to revive the Irish language and recover its rural dialects. She also tried to learn the Irish language and to rework most of the dialogues of peasants. In his speech called “On the Necessity of de-Anglicising the Irish People”, Douglas Hyde argued “the loss of their language coincided with a loss of a distinct Irish nationality and Irish customs” (Grote, 2003: 89). On the other hand, Lady Gregory’s preference for English as the language of her Celtic folk stories and translations may seem surprising in terms of nationalist stance as it subverts the tradition. However, Augusta’s choice was correlated with her approach and strategy in constructing the future she dreamed for

Ireland. She regards English as the language of Ireland's new future in order to move forward. Since Irish Gaelic and its dialects had not been actively used for quite a long time and most people in Ireland spoke English and only a minority could understand Irish Gaelic, she chose to use mostly English in her works.

The postcolonial period after the Irish War of Independence (1919- July 1921) was a resistance period for Ireland to protect their cultural values against British imperialism by writing back to the empire thanks to her Anglo-Irish writers. As Lennon also indicates, "on the microlevel, Irish cultural nationalists could create the voice of an Oriental speaking back to the metropole about issues relevant to Ireland" (Lennon, 2004: xxviii). Thanks to these cultural nationalists holding on to their pen with the aim to recapture their ancient history and culture Ireland could have the chance to preserve her national independence to a great extent. Similarly, the Young Turks played an important role in Turkish history of politics with their modern way of thinking and educational background intertwined with scientific and philosophical concepts in Turkey. They were notable with their innovative ideas in arts and aesthetics characterized as a way of "returning to the essence" besides their political struggle to create a Turkish Renaissance as the members of the Committee of Union and Progress. They dreamed a parliamentary regime and a more homogenous nation by means of greater government centralization.

Organizing activities in Europe against Abdülhamid because of his repressive policies by publishing periodicals as Unionists Young Turks struggled to create a modern frame of mind, language and thinking after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and throughout the Revolution of 1908. For instance, they established a Council named "İstilahât-ı İlmiye Encümeni" [Council for Scientific Terminologies] which was established in 1913 with the aim to find Turkish equivalents for foreign scientific, philosophical and aesthetical concepts (Taştan 2013: 8) and the activities of this council led to the emergence of three dictionaries²⁶. Moreover, the 1908

²⁶ The respective titles of these dictionaries are as follows: *Islahat-ı İlmiye Encümeni Tarafından Kâmus-u Felsefede Münderic Kelimât ve Ta'bîrât İçin Vaz'-u Tedvîni Tensîb Olunan Islahat Mecmuası* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1330 [1911]); *Islahât-ı İlmiye Encümeni Tarafından Sanâyi'-i Nefisede Mevcûd Kelimât ve Ta'bîrât İçin Vaz'-u Tedvîni Tensîb Olunan Islahât Mecmuası* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire 1330 [1911]) and *Kâmus-u Islahât-ı İlmiye*. For a detailed information with regard to

Young Turks Revolution becomes a springboard to the Turkish War of Independence in 1919. The rebel literature, or in other terms, protest literature, created by these nationalist writers who felt intense love and loyalty for Ireland and Turkey respectively, was the name of literary resistance as a rewarding way of service to their country. In this literary struggle their weapon is their pen that serves the mother tongue and culture. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson refers to the crucial function of the mother-tongue:

What the eye is to the lover-that particular, ordinary eye he or she is born with-language-whatever language history has made his or her mother-tongue-is to the patriot. Through that language, encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed (Anderson, 1983: 154).

Interlinked with one another, the concepts of language and nation also signify the fact that a nation is unimaginable without a distinctive language to maintain its culture. This chapter mainly focuses on what Halide Edib's and Lady Gregory's contribution was to the debates of nation building through cultural and literary revival. Inseparability of culture and language necessitates the examination of archive documents or literary texts written in the original language which is the carrier of culture. The concrete form of culture lies in the spoken or written stories, myths, tales, poems, or songs of a nation. In *Literary Ideals in Ireland*, William Kirkpatrick Magee notes: "I am not sure that these ancient legends refuse to be taken out of their old environment. I think that the tales which have been preserved for a hundred generations in the heart of the people must have had such a power, because they had in them a core of eternal truth" (Magee, 1858: 50). Therefore, conscious of necessity Lady Gregory gave a lot of importance to the preservation and maintenance of folk literature and contributed a lot to Irish cultural nationalism by transferring cultural motifs and elements from the Irish language into the English language which has now become the language of the Irish. In *Ireland Real and Ideal*, Lady Gregory stresses the importance of the Gaelic League for the revival of the Irish language by drawing the attention to its loss as a spoken language:

the studies of the Council of Scientific Terminologies see İsmail Kara, *Bir Felsefe Dili Kurmak: Modern Bilim ve Felsefe Terimlerinin Türkiye'ye Girişi* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2005), p. 392.

The Gaelic League, which has come into being during the lull in politics, is a popular movement for the revival of the Irish language. A society for its preservation had been in existence for some time, and had done good literary work. But as a spoken language Irish was dying away [...] Old people tell how they were forced to speak English in their school days. 'I used to have a card tied round my neck,' an Aran man says, 'when I was going home from school, and if I spoke one word of Irish there was to be a mark put on it, and I'd get a beating from the master next day [...] There is no danger now of any child growing up ignorant of English, the people are too well aware of its value in the battle of life. But the child in learning it has too often lost his own language, and with it lost the keen edge of his intelligence (Gregory, 1995: 249)

On the other side, when we look at the westernization process after World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey, we observe that the building process of a new nation was loaded with conflicts and confusion owing to the in-between situation of Turkish intellectuals facing with the danger of losing their cultural identity while striving to imitate the West in order to keep up with contemporary world. Cultural conflicts emerging from the encounter and confrontation of two distinct civilizations have also been reflected on literature. In the Second Constitutional Period when nationalism was in the forefront, a synthesis of the Eastern and Western values was targeted along with Turkism. The West demonstrated its imperialist aspirations in the First World War and following this, westernization movements intensified in the Republican Period. Having felt the contradiction of the East and the West as the opposite influences in her private life profoundly, Halide Edib conceived the West as materialistic, while she described the East as spiritual. According to Halide Edib

This emphasis on matter has produced scientific miracles in the West. Nature has been unveiled and its powers utilised for the benefit of mankind. Just as the sages of the East faced martyrdom to bring comfort to the spirit of men, so the savants of the West faced martyrdom to make a better world for man, to free him from a great many ugly diseases and bodily suffering (Adivar, 1935: 7).

However, this one-sided progress in the East and West was not favourable or satisfying by itself in the long term because of its seamy sides, she said. She says that "man being a combination of matter and spirit, this sole emphasis on the spirit (or on the matter) has produced disastrous results in the long run" (Adivar, 1935: 4) in the East. In *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* Halide Edib points out that over-emphasis on spirit and on matter are the basic distinction between East and West.

That's why she identifies the basic conflict of East and West as the lack of proportion between the material and spiritual values. She explains that like the East of the old West "the supreme ill of which the West's suffering is also due to a lack of proportion between the material and the spiritual nature of man" (Adivar, 1935: 8) and she explores this conflict as well as the cooperation of these two states of mind, "namely those of over-emphasised spiritualism and over-emphasised materialism throughout the three phases of Turkish history, (1) State-building, (2) Culture and (3) Social life" (Adivar, 1935: 8). By referring to the fact that the Ottoman Turks are a mixed race and so there is very little of the original Turkish race left, she draws our attention to the fact that "for in spite of alien influences in the way of thought and of the large number of foreign words which have become current at different periods, the Turkish language has retained its structural uniqueness and its peculiarities" (Adivar, 1935: 125). Halide Edib foresees that "the key of the future will belong to that nation which knows how to blend the material and the spiritual in as near and equal a proportion as it is possible to do" (Adivar, 1935: 247). To lay the foundations of a new nation-state identity this combination was as essential and significant as going forward on an equitable and human basis.

Halide Edib's idea of westernization seems to have changed considering the different viewpoints about the dilemma of the Eastern and the Western culture in her different novels. While she put an emphasis on adopting the West scientifically and technologically and adopting the spiritualism of the East on a balanced level at first, she turns back to the idea that the foundations of a new nation cannot be laid under the effect of foreign values. Her global sense of anti-imperialism affects her local sense of nationalism and turns Halide Edib's focus more to the national essence in the construction process of a new nation-state identity. In *Zeyno's Son*, Halide Edib criticises that we imitate the destructive elements that have destroyed the western society just for the sake of westernization. On the other side, *Sinekli Bakkal* has a distinctive place in Halide Edib's literary life as it presents us a chance to gain a new perspective on our own national values resisting against the efforts of extreme westernization in the Republican Period. The character of Peregrini heading from the West towards the East in terms of lifestyle on his cultural journey is the concrete

example of the defense of intrinsic values against extrinsic values that do not stem from national and cultural roots. Furthermore, Halide Edib encouraged the idea of a simple and popular Turkish language ideologically. She indicated that she felt a stranger to their older poets in spite of “the grandeur and perfection of form” in them and said:

While the simple and original expression of the people in their songs, stories, music, and mystical literature of the religious kind charmed me and made me feel akin to them. The familiar, simple, and laconic way of telling about spiritual ideas as well as about human weaknesses, their humorous outlook on life, their familiar chidings of Allah for the apparent muddle of human destiny, their mystical adoration of the perfect order of the universe, were the expression of a child's simplicity and humor (Adivar, 1926: 183)

In her point of view developing Turkish language, literature and art was necessary to raise individuals with well-developed personalities. That's why she consciously chose to use a spoken Turkish style. Granting the connection between language and consciousness, she paid attention to strong ties between language and thought. In her lecture called “Turks and Their Literature”, Halide Edib interprets the meaning of national, Turkishness and asserts that it is without foreign influences and is from a Turkish nationalist point of view. Halide Edib states: “a nation's literature is a reflection of its characteristics” (13-10b). When we look at the Irish situation, we observe that “Yeats spent a lifetime determined to reclaim independence and to ‘nationalise’ writing in Ireland” (Pierce, 2002: 7). In “Letters to the New Island” in *The Collected Works of W.B. Yeats*, Yeats puts forward: “there is no great literature without nationality, no great nationality without literature” (Yeats, 1989: 30). As can be perceived from Yeat's famous quote nationality and literature cannot be imagined separately from each other. The literature of a nation is the mirror of that nation, just as a nation expresses itself through its literature thoroughly. Each literature is the representative of the nation that it belongs to and so Irish literature bears the mindset and characteristic features of Irish nationality, while Turkish literature epitomizes the feelings and thoughts of the Turkish nation.

2.2. Consolidating Cultural Nationalism by Language

Cultural nationalism which focuses on the revival of a national community's culture concerns ideas or practices related to the identity and history of a nation. It is concerned with the preservation of national culture. It spread outwards from Western Europe contributing to decolonising movements of the twentieth century. Again emerging as a popular phenomenon all over the world this movement is spearheaded by Johann Gottfried Herder as a precursor who elucidates the ideology whereas an early exemplar of this approach is Miroslav Hroch. Anthony Smith claims that all kinds of nationalism have a cultural aspect as part of an ideological movement. According to Smith's first Phd student, John Hutchinson's argument, cultural nationalism constitutes the starting-point of long-established national states and underlies independence movements. Kosaku Yoshino is striking for his much cited study of cultural nationalism in Japan which deals with the work of Smith and Hutchinson in a new light. They were also influential in the elaboration of the moral community in the nineteenth-century. Thanks to intellectual and artistic developments new practices and new cultural forms emerge and they lead to the emergence of a national ideology. That's why both Halide Edib and Lady Gregory paid great attention to the improvement of cultural nationalism by language and they were conscious of the significance of cultural nationalism in the progression of particular national movements.

Lady Gregory and Halide Edib's approach to the male-dominated historical discourse as well as their anti-imperialist struggle for constructing a nation-state identity became a significant mechanism in the construction of national myths and symbols within their countries. Aiming to consolidate their struggle for cultural nationalism by language both Halide Edib and Lady Gregory anticipated that social and literary revival was fundamental to the cultural awakening and the reinforcement of national connections. As David Pierce notes in his article named *Cultural Nationalism and the Irish Literary Revival*, "language and culture provided the driving force behind claims to nation status (Pierce, 2002: 13). As regards the notable figures who played a crucial role in the building process of the New Ireland, Lady Gregory refers to

Douglas Hyde who was also the founder of the Gaelic League and his deeds for the sake of a revived Irish culture through language. Related to the significance of this league she notes:

It restored the language to its place in the reverence of the people. It revived Gaelic culture; while being nonpolitical it was, by its very nature, intensely national [...] Irish history will recognize in the birth of the Gaelic League in 1893 the most important event of the nineteenth century but in the whole history of our nation. It did more than any other movement to restore the national pride, honour and self-respect. Through the medium of the past it linked the people with the past and led them to look to a future that would be a noble continuation of it (Gregory, 1974: 306).

Language was crucial to associate people with their origins and to revive national culture and accordingly Lady Gregory and Douglas Hyde engaged in folklore collection among peasants or local people. This search for tradition and folklore helped Irish nationalists restore national dignity and paved the way for self-determination. What is striking is that like Douglas Hyde, Lady Gregory realized that traditions, culture and language could be passed from generation to generation only by people. That's why she inclined towards local people who were the carriers of oral tradition, myths, songs, tales or stories. "Spending her days with people of the lower social classes, Lady Gregory found herself in the midst of a contemporary world saturated with devotion to an ancient Celtic culture" (Fogliani, 2014: 1). While collecting the myths and legends of Galway, Gregory became very aware that folklore had a very profound effect in people's minds as they strongly believed in a supernatural world. She showed her devotion to Irish nationalism with her plays and works including fundamentally folk tales, history or poems. Her main contribution to literature was to strengthen the awareness of the national unity and identity with the promotion and revival of the Irish language through an emotional call based on the heroic tales of Ireland. In *Selected Writings* Gregory expressed how astonished Dr Douglas Hyde was when he discovered how quickly language and oral tradition were decaying:

Even in England the name of Dr Douglas Hyde is known through his beautiful translations of *The Love Songs of Connacht*; and on the Continent it is well known as that of a scholar, a poet, a man of letters. He had devoted himself to finding and preserving what fragments of folklore, poetry, and tradition might have remained among the people from the time of their literary greatness. [...] Though he found

much that had remained, he was shocked at the swiftness with which the language and its traditions were passing away. He saw that if it was to be saved it must be saved by the people themselves (Gregory, 1995: 250-1).

Hyde was anxious about the future of Irish language and he felt the need to stress the importance of protecting national language from being corrupted as a consequence of Anglicisation of Ireland. In his inaugural lecture to the Irish Literary society in London on 'The Need and Use of Getting Irish Literature into the English Tongue', Stopford Brooke emphasizes the necessity of "a hybrid literature which derives from a culture neither wholly national nor colonial but both of them." This kind of a transmission between two languages facilitates the realization of cultural nationalism contextually as it enables cultural elements in the native language to be conveyed into the colonial language more easily. In this way culture penetrates into the language of the colonizer and maintains its influence in that language as another field of living just to get rid of being condemned to extinction. In this context, however, Hyde exhibits extreme devotion to the national language and absolutely invites Irish people to de-Anglicise themselves against the possibility of the loss or extinction of the language:

I have no hesitation at all in saying that every Irish-feeling Irishman, who hates the reproach of West-Britonism, should set himself to encourage the efforts which are being made to keep alive our once great national tongue. The losing of it is our greatest blow, and the sorest stroke that the rapid Anglicisation of Ireland has inflicted upon us. In order to de-Anglicise ourselves we must at once arrest the decay of the language (Hyde, 1894: 136-7).

As C.L.Innes puts it in *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society* (1880-1935), "Douglas Hyde himself wrote poetry, prose and drama in Irish, and argued that the recovery of Irish as a living language was necessary for the "De-Anglicisation' of Ireland and the creation of a separate and 'genuine' Irish identity involving a resurrection of the 'Gaelic past which, though the Irish race does not recognize it just at present, is really at the bottom of the Irish heart" (Innes, 1993: 57). Furthermore, acting in cooperation with Dr. Hyde in the activities related to exalting the Irish language over English by giving language classes, Lady Gregory portrays how Dr. Hyde showed his reaction to the English and the English language sharply in one of her memories in *Seventy Years* when a branch of the Gaelic League was formed:

Dr. Hyde made a very eloquent speech in Irish, not that I understood it, but it roused the people. Then he made one in English in which he drew attention to the inferiority of the vocabulary of the English peasant to that of the Irish. All very good, except that he came a little too near what may be taken for politics in saying, 'Let the English go their road and let us go ours, and God forbid their road should ever be our road' (Gregory, 1974: 320).

Thus what was important for Gregory was the very articulation of Irish, even when she didn't understand it. Beyond the meaning, Irish as an artefact was an element that strengthened Irishness. The Gaelic League and Irish language classes refreshed and reinforced the Irish national spirit overshadowed by English. As well as drawing our attention to the profound effect the Irish language left on people, Lady Gregory mirrors the superiority complex between the Irish and English over language in this quotation. Gregory devoted herself to social and cultural work to highlight the importance of Irish language and culture and to raise awareness about the language in the public eye. She primarily put three things into the center of her life: language, theatre and folk literature. She revealed her ambition in life like this:

And so I found my work in Ireland and could claim comradeship with other workers. The threads of new interests began to be woven into the pattern of my life. The theatre, the folk legends, the language. And as to this last, I sometimes think with a little pride that when Michael Collins and Eamonn de Valera were in their short jackets going to school or marching from it, I was spending time and money and energy in bringing back the Irish among my own people (Gregory, 1974: 322).

In other words, the native language has great impact on behaviors and ideas which constitute the essence of one's spirit and one's reason for existence. Having as much importance as language and folk legends, theatre was a significant national institution which elevated the dignity of Ireland in Lady Gregory's view. She expressed: "we have shown the world, who knew it not, that the old culture of Ireland had not died, but was still with us" (Mikhail, 1977: 73). With a focus on the lively feature of theatre within its dramatic magic in terms of both content and the form of presentation Gregory says

We believe and know that our theatre, taken as a whole, has added to the dignity of Ireland. It is watched with the greatest interest and appreciation on the continent of Europe; Australia and South Africa are trying to found repertory theaters on its model, and the desire to do so is being very widely expressed in America in intellectual centers and educational institutions especially (Mikhail, 1977: 74).

As a consequence of her efforts in the Irish National Theatre Gregory came to the realization that Irish language had not died, and was ready to be revived. We come across a similar realization on the part of Halide Edib which is related to Halide Edib's deep interest in the cultural heritage of the Turkish nation. This forms the basis of their conservatism. Halide Edib's realization depended on the idea that the true Turkish culture stemmed from its pre-Islamic past and Turkish should be purified from Arabic and Persian words to maintain its originality and distinctiveness. Having an important impact during her lifetime both as a novelist and as a political agitator Halide Edib aimed to synthesize the two prevailing ideologies of her time, Turkish nationalism and the Westernization ideal. While Halide Edib favors modernization scientifically, she points out that socio-cultural roots should also be maintained. As far as Halide Edib's political analyses or literary works are concerned, as part of her conservatist attitude, it is possible to see the reflections of the idea that defends a return to the authentic essence preserving cultural traditions while westernizing technologically.

Linking tradition to modernism by using the sources of modernism was the underlying idea of Halide Edib's conservatism. Rather than bringing social norms back completely, her conservatism puts the traditional idea and cultural norms into the central point in the formation of new things. Her conservatism means conserving national traditions. For Halide Edib understanding of tradition involved both maintaining the essential characteristics of a nation and embracing the new things or being open to change just for the benefit of nation. Hence with a conservative mindset Adivar insistently stressed the importance of East-West synthesis in the nation building process of the new Turkey. Her conservatism was not a barrier against novelty or radical reforms. In her novels and other studies from the end of the Ottoman period to the beginning years of the young Republic the theme of westernization was debated over the dualism of culture and civilization. This dualism is a consequence of the western-type education Halide Edib got and the influence of the traditional Ottoman family she grew up in. Halide Edib favored a policy of westernization based on the condition that nations preserve their own cultures and self-esteem not with a feeling of imitation but by way of development. In her writing

published in *Akşam* newspaper in 1943, Halide Edib clearly exposes her cultural conservatism and internationalism at the same time like this:

No nation can exactly be a model to other nations. Each nation develops and advances on the way their own spiritual values refer to. However, some values are the common property of all nations, as long as the difference between permanent and temporary values is big enough to choose easily, and a nation can maintain the sources of power and value in its national culture while it struggles to take part in an advanced stage of life formally and scientifically together with the changing world (Adivar, *Bir İngiliz Profesörün Dedikleri*, 1943)

Halide Edib stresses that Ottoman history, institutions, traditions and knowing national culture are all significant. She points out that most revolutions in the Republic Period were carried out under the dictatorship of one-party. In *the Principles of Turkishness* Ziya Gökalp argued that true Turkish culture lay in its pre-Islamic past, and therefore it was imperative to purge it of the impact of Arabic and Persian influences (Gökalp, 1996 [1923]: 34-48). According to Gökalp imitating the West in every sense is wrong, as this case causes the loss of identity. Halide Edib says:

It was the beginning of my acquaintance with Yousouf AKchoura and Keuk-Alp Zia which led me for the first time to our racial past, and distinctly further away from the Ottoman past. I had been always strongly drawn to folk-lore and to the unpretentious but elemental beauty of the popular literature, and so the early days of the race allured me as perhaps the purest sources of the unwritten poetry and stories of the nation. Cultural curiosity as well as the tyranny of external events was throwing most intellectual Turks back into an intense study of the beginnings of the race (Adivar, 1926: 312).

In her book published in 1936 under the title “Clown and His Daughter” firstly and under the title “Sinekli Bakkal” in Turkey the same year, Halide Edib stresses that East and West can be united at specific points instead of being concepts that reject each other. The character of Rabia in the novel was brought up by her highly conservative grandfather and mother in an environment away from foreign influences. Getting hafiz training in her young age, Rabia also has a remarkable talent for religious music. When Rabia encounters the westernized “alafranga” world, she both manages to keep up with this world and she does not lose her traditional and religious identity and seriousness coming from her way of upbringing²⁷.

²⁷ Halide Edib Adivar, *Sinekli Bakkal*, 13. bs, İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2013.

Halide Edib's concern for "westernization" and Gregory's concern for "Anglicisation" had almost the same basis: the fear of cultural corruption and deterioration of cultural heritage. Like Halide Edib, Lady Gregory dreamed about realizing cultural revolution and social transformation by language. She acted with a similar ideology as Halide Edib: she believed alienation from cultural roots condemns a culture or nation to extinction, so she found it essential to turn back to the core and revive the native culture. She believed that only in this way could a nation find its identity. However, she chose to transfer the native culture, folk tradition and stories into the language of the colonizer. She transformed Gaelic language into modern English in the process of Irish Literary Revival to help regain Irish culture and folklore. In Lady Gregory's ideal of nationalising literature as content was essential whereas nationalising literature as style was essential to Halide Edib. Lady Gregory was especially anxious about the cultural and spiritual losses that came with the loss of the native tongue. As in the introduction part written by Lucy McDiarmid and Maureen Waters in *Selected Writings* by Lady Gregory in relation to the content of Lady Gregory's Journals:

a careful reader of the complete journals will see the continuation of some of the rituals of Anglo-Irish life even as the class is in decline, as well as Lady Gregory's own attempts to 'de-anglicize' that life: her objections to the singing of 'God Save the King' in church, for instance, or her substitution of Irish names for English ones during the prayer for 'those appointed for the government of this land' [...] Talking and visiting in the country and in the city, balancing on the hyphen between Anglo and Irish, Gregory recorded the lore and stories of many Irelands between 1916 and 1932 (Gregory, 1995: xxxvii).

Having a conflicting life under the influence of an identity as Anglo-Irish, Lady Gregory aimed at realizing cultural nationalism by both reviving the native language and the cultural elements which are transmitted by it from time to time. As the co-founder of the Abbey Theatre, she intended to contribute to cultural nationalism also with her plays because she was very conscious of the significance of a national theatre in arousing national feelings and activating cultural nationalism. In 1902, the year *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* (a one-act patriotic play written by William Butler Yeats and Lady Gregory collaboratively) was first performed, Arthur Griffith, founder of an Irish republican political party, Sinn Féin and editor of the United

Irishman said: “we look to the Irish National Theatre primarily as a means of regenerating the country. The theatre is a powerful agent in the building of a nation. When it is in foreign and hostile hands, it is a deadly danger to the country. When it is controlled by native and friendly hands, it is a bulwark and a protection (Richards, 2004: 2)”. Deanglicizing her life both in the language and in practice became Lady Gregory’s main purpose because of her in-between position because she believed that learning English through the native language would turn out to be ineffective as it would restrict the capacity of learning. She says: “the Irish-thinking child set to learn English through Irish on his arrival at school has round shot attached to him at once, with the inevitable result of dulling his power off learning anything at all” (Gregory, 1995: 250). Related to the loss of the native language Gregory also adds: “under the system I have described the native language began to die away rapidly. Dignity and power of expression were to a great extent lost with the tongue that, like all other tongues, expressed the spirit of the race” (Gregory, 1995: 250). As inferred from all these, native language meant the culture itself, the seeds of Irish nation and race to Lady Gregory, which signifies Irish identity. In *Seventy Years* it is indicated that Lady Gregory “thanks God that she has been able to work so long, and above all that anything she has done that is worth the doing has been in Ireland and through Ireland, and for Ireland’s sake” (Gregory, 1995: 4). She was so devoted to her nation that cultural nationalism was identified with her as if it were an indispensable mission of her life.

As far as the definition of ‘nation’ is concerned, Benedict Anderson describes: “it is an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 6). According to him, the nation is the product of our imagination especially shaped by the development of modernization. The nation is “imagined because the members of their fellow members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 1991: 6). As a force that tries to counter cultural imperialism, nationalism has been a way of political defense both for Turkey and Ireland in the national struggle of independence in the early twentieth century. Both

Lady Gregory and Halide Edib Adivar perceived literature as a representative platform to mirror the national struggle against the oppressive political authority. While cultural imperialism strains the nerves of individuals and triggers them to react with nationalism, the written record of all that has been experienced in the history of colonized countries or people emerges as “national literatures” after the defeat of independence struggle against the imperial power or authority. Arising also as “protest literature”, a national literature cannot be expected not to bear the traces of their national origin considering the identification of the ideology of nationalism with the culture of a nation. Since each literary work reflects the identity of the nation which they belong to, a nation is represented through its vernacular language best.

In its nature nationalism conceals a revolutionary spirit that spreads all over the world extensively and generates a flow of influence among various countries stealthily. Even if the phenomenon of ‘nationalist revolution’ occurs differently in different countries based on the context and circumstances of those countries, it is basically centered upon strengthening the self-image of a nation which has been undergoing the process of a crisis of self-determination in a confrontation with cultural colonization. The nationalist wave triggered by national wars across the whole world in the early-twentieth century is in fact the epitome of the universally-felt national consciousness that is awakened by successively arising cultural and social revolutions. This correlative global phenomenon is the reflection of consecutive events of radical changes in society such as the decline or fall of the old empires, independence wars or the making of new nations through revolutions. To exemplify, Calhoun denotes

The wave pattern continued after the mid-nineteenth century, with nationalist movements informing each other on an international scale, and in many cases linked to revolutions. In the 1910s, World War I coincided with the break up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and helped to launch both the Russian Revolution and the League of Nations. US President Wilson led the League’s call for ‘national self-determination’ but this reflected as much as influenced the nationalist movements of the day. Just as the ‘Young Europe’ movement of the 1840s had been echoed immediately by ‘Young Turks’, the War and the Fall of the Ottoman Empire brought the successful Turkish nationalist movement which gained control of the state in 1923 under Kemal Atatürk (Calhoun, Nationalism, 24).

As referred by the Palestinian American literary theorist Edward Said in *The Pen and the Sword*, the French philosopher Michel Foucault said that, the pen becomes a literary means of political ideas for social reformers who seek to challenge authority for the purpose of the cultural transformation of their societies. This political activism is realized by the hand of intellectuals who are very well-aware of the strong relationship between power and knowledge. In her article entitled “The Wounded Tongue: Turkey’s Language Reform and the Canonicity of the Novel”, Jale Parla insightfully observes: “language had become the linchpin to preserve and perpetuate the collective self-representation of the nation” (Parla, 2008: 30). Based on this perspective such leading writers as Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Gregory adopted local language just to exacerbate their contributions to self-representation period of their countries. They regarded language as the mirror of all cultural elements belonging to a whole society and as a transference tool of folk history, culture and traditions.

Therefore Gregory and Adivar ventured into a transformative role by taking language as the starting point for their nationalistic cause. In regards to the connection between language and culture in nationalist movements, Anthony Smith articulates: “the ideologies of nationalism require an immersion in the culture of the nation—the rediscovery of its history, the revival of its vernacular language through such disciplines as philology and lexicography, the cultivation of its literature, especially drama and poetry, and the restoration of its vernacular arts and crafts, as well as its music, including native dance and folksong” (Smith, 2001: 7). Likewise, both Lady Gregory and Halide Edib were involved in writing plays as well as putting great importance on the examination of the vernacular language and folk stories as part of their innovative activism. In Turkey’s case, “endorsing purified Turkish became directly related to the new identity designed for the Turkish people to secure the consolidation of the nation-state” (Parla, 2008: 28).

CHAPTER THREE

ANTI-IMPERIAL PERSPECTIVE AND TRANSNATIONAL EXCHANGES

3.1. Opposition to Imperial Ideologies and Mindsets

Adivar and Gregory's anti-imperial perspective was strengthened by transnational exchanges and international influences. Exploring how their changing political ideas were influenced by international events and transnational encounters particularly, this thesis also acknowledges Lady Gregory and Halide Edib's connections to the colonial and/or eastern worlds, and so discussions of feminism in the third world are relevant to my discussion. In *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, Kumari Jayawardena stresses that "feminism, like socialism, has no particular ethnic identity: further, any movement for liberation and social change in the Third World can be strengthened only by the participation of the women at all levels and, in so doing, they are able to free themselves from exploitation, oppression and patriarchal structures (Jayawardena, 1986: ix). Opposition to any kind of imperial authority or pressure is one of the common features of Lady Gregory and Halide Edib's anti-imperialism. Both for Halide Edib and Lady Gregory "culture helped constitute sites of resistance to the dominant order, drawing on history to recover social imagination" (Kirby, Gibbons, Cronin 2002: 199), especially through literary revivals they guided. According to both writers social imagination corrupted and undermined by colonial powers and imperial acts could be recovered only with a return to the history, language and native culture. With an international outlook of anti-imperialism they challenged the colonial activities, cultural imperialism, patriarchy, and masculinist national discourses of their period all over the world.

As intellectuals striving for the social, cultural revival and transformation of their societies, Halide Edib and Lady Gregory adopted an anti-imperial perspective against colonial powers for the national independence of their countries, while constructing a new national identity after the period of empires. Their national outlook was shaped by transnational exchanges and their interactions with significant characters or

national leaders from other cultures. Their views on nationalism were informed by cross-cultural travels, experiences and observations. Their international outlook of anti-imperialism enabled them to reinforce their local outlook of anti-imperialism by arousing their curiosity on national feelings and reviving their interest in the local culture and language. In *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, Kumari Jayawardena evaluates the dilemma that this kind of socially mobile women experience from the perspective of the feminists of the third world: “the pioneer feminists of the Third World, despite all constraints placed on their physical mobility, were able to find the resources and opportunities to travel widely at home and abroad, and contact women’s associations and political groups” (Jayawardena, 1986: 21). The cross-cultural connections and associations of both Gregory and Halide Edib gave them a chance to be informed about the current social and political events of their period and to meet prominent feminists, thinkers, educationists or social activists all over the world.

Halide Edib is local but global with her ideas as an activist, feminist and nationalist like Lady Gregory who was talented at creating dramatic plots from simple anecdotes and “raising an anecdote from the particular to the universal”²⁸. She hoped to obtain nationalism through internationalism. I mean, first she tried to perceive the inner meaning of her nationalism by going deep down to the roots of the nation and analysing itself or its individuals sincerely. She believed that one would make the first and right attempt to acquire international understanding and love of the nations and peoples through this deep self-duty and national self-study. With all earnestness she elaborates: “it is after I have loved my own people and tried to understand their virtues and their faults with open-minded humility that I begin to have a better understanding of other people’s sufferings and joys and of their personality expressed in their national life” (Adivar, 1926: 326). Furthermore, addressing global matters such as national freedom, women’s freedom, gender equality, social activism and cultural nationalism by dealing with local issues Halide Edib defended the necessity of anti-imperialist struggle on a universal platform. In *Encyclopedia of Women Social*

²⁸ Eds. Katharina M. Wilson, Paul Schlueter, June Schlueter, *Women Writers of Great Britain and Europe: An Encyclopedia*, pp. 182-183.

Reformers, Helen Rappaport notes that “during World War I, Edib developed a reputation as a Turkish Florence Nightingale when she undertook relief work in Syria and Lebanon and set up Turkish schools and orphanages for refugee children in Damascus and Beirut²⁹” (Rappaport, 2001: 218). She tells the intellectual world and reading public about her local (inner) world. Halide Edib, like Lady Gregory, did not have the luxury to be apolitical, considering her mobile life because of her husband’s job position in the empire. She translated her own literary works into English, while Lady Gregory translated the songs, poems, stories, myths or folk tales in Irish culture into English, which makes their works universal. Halide Edib was also a great appreciator of her own culture and a passionate defender of the eastern world. In the article entitled “Inside India, Outside of Kemalism: Analysis of Halide Edib’s Writings on Anti-Colonialism”, Alparslan Nas points out how she conflicted with the Kemalist regime in Turkey and how she was influenced by anti-colonial movements in other countries and transnational exchanges between different cultures:

After the foundation of the republic in 1923, Edib got disillusioned with Kemalist regime and went to Britain for self-imposed exile. Throughout 1930s, she made frequent visits to India where she had the opportunity to closely monitor the anti-colonial resistance led by Gandhi. Edib published three books during this period, “Turkey Faces West”, “Inside India”, and “Conflict of East and West in Turkey” where she compared Indian experience of decolonization with Turkish experience (Nas, 2013: 187).

Halide Edib, who was writing for important newspapers after the declaration of the Republic, conflicted with Mustafa Kemal and the Republican People's Party in terms of political views. As her husband, Adnan Adıvar, took part in the establishment of the Progressive Republican Party, they were alienated from their ruling circles. With the declaration of the Takrir-i Sükun Law after Progressive Republican Party was closed, the single-party period began and Halide Edib was forced to leave Turkey and went to England along with Adnan Adıvar owing to a precarious political situation as a result of press ban and an oppressive atmosphere in Turkey. Edib’s self-imposed exile enabled her to interact with other cultures under colonialism. Indian fight for independence enabled her to draw parallels and interrogate anti-colonial nationalisms actively engaged in in India and Turkey during 1920s and 1930s.

²⁹ See Mor Salkimlı Ev (The Wisteria-Covered House), pp. 233-296.

Witnessing the anti-colonial resistance led by Gandhi in India, Edib observes that Gandhi's anticolonial nationalism is based on both spirituality and materiality and this observation deeply affects Halide Edib's construction of a new national identity. Clashing with the Kemalist regime owing to its focus on materiality and formalism more than the spiritual values of society for the sake of reforms and social transformation Halide Edib got disillusioned and chose to go to Britain for self-impose exile and then went to India very often to observe the anti-colonial resistance led by Gandhi closely. During this time period she had the opportunity to compare Indian experience of decolonization with the Turkish experience of resistance. Nas comments:

Contrary to Kemalism, which fails to reconcile the spiritual with the material, Edib finally argues that Gandhi is truly the revolutionary figure to come up with the perfect synthesis of the East and the West. While Mustafa Kemal was ruling the country as a dictator, referring to Gramscian terminology, Gandhi succeeded to establish the consent of different social classes. Edib's intellectual works that he wrote during 1930s comprised of a radical critique of Kemalism. Furthermore, Indian case of anti-colonial resistance encouraged Edib to manifest her proto-hybrid ideas regarding postcolonial condition (Nas, 2013: 193).

While Gregory was inspired and impressed by the Egyptian anti-colonial resistance, Halide Edib was highly influenced by Indian anti-colonial resistance. These anti-colonial movements in the East are like milestones in Gregory and Halide Edib's lives which arouse curiosity in them to search for their national past in detail and reinforced their sense of nationalism. Regarding Gandhi as the political idol of her life, Edib identified with his idea of the synthesis of the West and the East and proposed the unity of materiality and spirituality for the essential cornerstone of the new Turkish Republic. In her view the Kemalist regime was not be able to meld western values with the eastern values which constitute the essence of Turkish society successfully. This, according to Halide Edib led to a resistance in the acceptance of new reforms by people easily out of their lack of trust and prejudices against the westernization project. While Edib was greatly influenced by Gandhi as an Indian figure and his life philosophy, Gregory was also influenced by the Egyptian revolutionary leader, Arabi in her travel to Egypt with her husband, Sir William, which signifies a pivotal period in terms of her political development. Gregory started to develop an interest in Arabi's anti-colonial stance and activities in

the face of colonisation activities of France and Britain in North Africa (Sihra, 2007: 30). Lady Gregory's known first work, which is a pamphlet entitled *Arabi and His Household*, is the sign of a turning point that changes all her life and influenced her political ideas profoundly.

Lady Gregory's transformation from an imperialist to a nationalist is the story of a traveller to Egypt that was fascinated by the nationalist cause in Egypt and even started a romantic affair with Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who was fighting against English supremacy in Egypt that time. In the introduction part of *Selected Writings* Lucy Mcdiarmid and Maureen Waters refer to Lady Gregory's affair with Blunt and indicate the common point that brought them together: "she was passionately involved with the English poet Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, a romantic Byronic figure and an active anti-imperialist to whom she wrote a number of poems. Their intimacy (according to Blunt) grew out of their joint efforts to influence British public opinion about the Egyptian nationalist known as Arabi Bey and to save his life" (Gregory, 1995: xiv). Colm Toibin also portrays Lady Gregory's transformation like this: "the ten years in Lady Gregory's life between the death of her husband in 1892 and the first performance of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* involve what is ostensibly a complete transformation in her life. A landlord's daughter and widow, steeped in the attitudes of her class, she became an Irish nationalist and leader of a cultural movement that was more powerful than politics" (Toibin, 2002: 24). While Lady Gregory once implied that having and using a toothbrush was a mark of the difference between gentry and peasantry jocularly as handled by Colm Tóibín who was in favor of the toothbrushless, she inclined toward the lower class people under the effect of her fervent nationalist feelings strengthening with her folklore studies, cultural work, and theatrical world.

Moreover, in his article entitled "'Wage for Each People Her Hand Has Destroyed': Lady Gregory's Colonial Nationalism", Sinéad Garrigan Mattar states: "the Arabi affair was the spur to Gregory's first published literary work, *Arabi and His Household*, and that pamphlet, as much as the 'Emigrant's Notebook', depended upon a careful use of the picturesque to tame all implications of otherness in her depiction of the Egyptian nationalist leader. It is very surprising and remarkable that

“there are no racial markers in Gregory’s description of Arabi” (Mattar, 2004: 58), which refers to her international outlook of anti-imperialism and her critique of stereotypical colonialist terms used to depict the Orient or Oriental figures. This case also shows Gregory’s intimacy with the cultural groups oppressed by British imperialism as well as her empathy for the Arabi Bey as the representative of Egyptian nationalism. The fact that an Irish woman can be influenced and inspired by an Egyptian man’s nationalism is a great signifier of the universality of national feelings and their justification in the face of colonial and imperial targets or activities wherever a defence for national goals is radically made. Gregory’s international outlook on nationalism spurred her to appreciate Irish culture and history more and more. Accordingly she awakened a deep interest in and an understanding of Irish nationalism and nationalist feelings despite her in-between situation as Anglo-Irish.

Sharing a universal sense of anti-imperialism with Gregory and inspired by Gandhi’s pacifist nationalism, Edib’s status as a self-imposed exile, disillusioned with Kemalist republicans who took negative measures against Islam, gained the sympathy of Indian Muslim community. Edib was also perceived as an Islamist female intellectual, who took an active stance against British colonialism (Nas, 2013: 189), which was spreading all the world and was also targeted at Turkey as a potential country to be colonized. Nas expresses explicitly:

Edib categorically believed in the decisive utility of the “nation” in anti-colonial struggle against the colonial domination. However, she believed Kemalism to become instrumentalized, as the derivative discourse of the colonial will. Kemalism preferred certain form of nationalism on the basis of homogenizing the society and assimilating the multiplicity of ethnic, religious and cultural actors into national whole. Such policy attached to the anti-colonial nationalism resulted in a totalitarian dictatorship, which imitated the West by cutting off its Ottoman and Islamic past (Nas, 2013: 192).

The gap between the ancient history of Ottomans and the scope of Atatürk’s Reforms led to some complications in taking further steps in the modernization movement. For instance, the letter reform perforce caused the loss of the cultural richness that depended on the Ottoman and Islamic historical background and put a barrier in front of the historical and cultural memory of Turkish people and their perception of national identity in the construction process of the new Turkish nation-state. Turkish

people were alienated from their cultural roots to some extent with the change of the alphabet and with the restricted literary sphere. However, as far as the anti-colonial nationalism was concerned, Halide Edib worked with nationalist leader Mustafa Kemal in cooperation despite the imposing instructions and management of the Kemalist regime. On the other hand, Halide Edib was very impressed with the nature of especially Indian independence movement because of the “satyagraha” philosophy and passive resistance that Gandhi adopted and developed against the unfair laws put by the British government whose authority was decreasing in India gradually.

Inside India, in which Halide Edib gave an account of her impressions on India in the 1930s and the significant events that influenced the history of India, proposes the theoretical issues as regards Indian independence against British colonialism. In this book Halide Edib shares the observations she acquired in her travel to India during which she had the chance to meet prominent figures such as the political and spiritual leader of Indian Independence Movement, Mahatma Gandhi, a Pakistani Islamic scholar, poet, philosopher and politician, Muhammed Iqbal and the Indian independence activist and poet, Sarojini Naidu besides documenting the important current events such as the Hindu-Muslim separatism and the Gandhian movement. In *Turkey Faces West*, in which Halide Edib touched on a series of political topics from a criticism of the Abdul Hamid regime, the rise of the nationalist movement, the problems emerging from the infiltration of western influence to the tribulations of the war period and an evaluation of the new republican system, it is mentioned that Halide Edib played a prominent role both in the Young Turk Revolution of 1908-09 and in the Nationalist Revolution under Mustafa Kemal Pasha from 1919 to 1924 and it is stressed that “in the politics of her own country she has always been a liberal; in her outlook upon world affairs she is an internationalist” (Adivar, 1930: xi). In the Preface to *Turkey Faces West*, Edward Mead Earle explicates:

Although she was a Turkish Nationalist—embracing nationalism as the only emotional and moral force capable of saving the Turkish people from complete domination by Allied and Greek imperialism—she is of the opinion that political nationalism is as ugly as any other creed which tends to make men exterminate each other. Her fundamental interests are not in politics, but in the cultural heritage of the Turkish nation. Her sympathies are not with the army or the bureaucracy or even with the middle class but rather with the Anatolian peasantry, whose qualities

of forbearance, courage, determination, and industry arouse her profound admiration (Adivar, 1930: xi-xii).

Halide Edib opposed patriarchal culture, imperial ideologies and mindsets as the defender of feminist nationalism and anti-imperialism on a universal platform. Putting the stress on the cultural progress of Turkish people instead of focusing on political nationalism Halide Edib depicted the vicissitudes of her people having gone through hard times during the national struggle in *Turkey Faces West*. Furthermore, Halide Edib revealed: “I who had dreamed of a nationalism which will create a happy land of beauty, understanding, and love, I have seen nothing but mutual massacre and mutual hatred. I have seen, I have gone through, a land full of aching hearts and torturing remembrances, and I have lived in an age when the politicians played with these human hearts as ordinary gamblers play with their cards” (Adivar, 1926: 375). In the Preface to *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* M.A. Ansari asserts that Halide Edib’s own “cultural attainments and social and moral outlook are a harmonious fusion of all that is best in the East and West of to-day (Adivar, 1935: i)” and “over-emphasis on spirit and matter are the basic distinction between East and West” (Adivar, 1935: iii-iv). Adivar attributes the supreme ill both the East and the West are suffering from to “a lack of proportion between the material and the spiritual nature of man” (Adivar, 1935: 5, 8).

On the other side, Halide Edib personally preferred leading the life of an exile on a foreign land owing to her conflicting political ideas with the authority. Like an outcast, she defended the inside, namely, her country, from the outside on exile by her pen. She searched for different ways to declare Turkish national identity and self-determination to western powers through her identity as an independent rebellious nationalist. Their opposition to authority, which connected both writers to the same political platform, required the life of an outcast for them no matter what challenges they came across in this turbulent period of political activism and cultural nationalism. Halide Edib can be regarded as an individual outcast in society. She went against the authority of the Kemalist regime and chose to lead self-exile like an individual outcast in different countries. She endorsed free thinking for the sake of her own choices and nationalist ideals. She thought that many of the traditions

regarding women and adopted by her society were untrue as they did not bring them happiness. She wanted to obtain her freedom by reforming her society with changes in the status of Turkish women. She was socially active and she was adopted as a Turkish novelist and political leader for women's rights. All these show that Halide Edib made a critique of patriarchal culture, imperial ideologies and mindsets in her local circles with a nationalist, feminist spirit combined with an anti-imperial life philosophy.

Adivar's first newspaper article was published in a publication called *Tanin* in 1908, the year in which the revolutionary Young Turks began their nationalist uprising against Abdülhamid. Adivar's friends among the revolutionaries saw her as a useful ally. It would be her job to tell the world press about the objectives and the political agenda of Young Turks. But Adivar had little appetite to be the cheerleader of a political movement headed by men. Neither did she have much sympathy for the destruction of tradition and culture; indeed, it was the foreign powers' threat to destroy them that got her into politics in the first place. Perhaps the anti-imperialism in her was stronger than the revolutionary. She named the condescending attitude of invading powers as "the insufferable assumption of superiority by the West"³⁰.

Portrayed as the rebellious daughter of Republic by Ayşe Durakbaşa, Halide Edib led her life as an anti-imperialist social reformer like rebellious Gregory. With the public speeches she gave to set people in Istanbul into action against the occupation of the country, her conferences and books written in Turkish and English Halide Edib contributed also to post-colonial literature and anti-colonial liberation movements spreading all over the world in the mid-twentieth century as a war witness having experienced the tribulations of the battlefield and telling the stories of Turkish freedom fighters. She served as the Girls' Schools General Inspector when the First World War started and she went to Lebanon and Syria to open schools there. After living abroad for many years succeeding after the War of Independence she returned to Turkey in 1939 and established the English Language and Literature Department in Istanbul University where she lectured until 1950. In addition, as a writer

³⁰ <https://logger.believermag.com/post/2014/04/30/adivar-the-name-behind-the-crater>

influenced by Gandhi as the leader of the decolonization movement in India and by the inspirational ideas of such libertarian personalities as Isabel Fry, Nevinston, Bertrand Russell, Dr Patrick, Mr Dillon, Grace Ellison, Edmund Burke, Arnold Toynbee, Nehru, George Eliot, and Emile Zola Halide Edib achieved to gain recognition internationally through her egalitarian, anti-imperialist way of thinking, transnational exchanges and liberalistic outlook on human values.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century society female activism in national struggle and in the re-envisioning of new nation-states gained as much importance as Fraser's critique highlighting the significance of asking how women can be legitimate actors in the public sphere. Lady Gregory was firmly attached to people and the nationalist cause. Hence as well as her nationalist writings and activities her performance in the Abbey Theatre can be viewed as both the manifestation of her national identity and national affinities, and the embodiment of the breakdown of class distinctions in a nation changing into an independent nation, the Republic of Ireland, the Irish Free State. History witnessed the long-lasting conflict between the Irish and the English before Ireland initiated its independence movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which would be successful ultimately. This political movement which aimed at some sort of Irish autonomy was indebted to the cultural movement. The involvement of the ruling Anglo-Irish class was crucial for the political cultural development of Ireland as it endorsed the cultural movement that would revive traditional Irish arts by promoting Irish theatre, music and dance, arouse interest in traditional Irish culture, and help create a distinctive Irish culture.

Halide Edib's dissident activism was primarily connected to her passion for struggling for the freedom of opinion and individuals besides her opposite manner against the Kemalist regime owing to its top-down reforms and its dictatorial rule. Her liberal humanist aspect urged her to take action against any repressive force in the name of all humanity regardless of their race, nation, colour or gender. For instance, on the occupation of Izmir the speeches she made in Kadıköy, Üsküdar, Fatih and the famous Sultan Ahmet Meydan refers to her fervent activism. Her multi-dimensional feature as a writer, soldier, deputy and activist was a reflection of female activism for the sake of national struggle from the first Constitutional Period to the

Republican Period as the period when educated women desired to be social actors in public sphere as part of II. Abdülhamid's reforms about women. Lady Gregory also took administrative positions as the co-founder (1899) and co-director (1904) of the Abbey Theatre (National Theatre of Ireland) as part of her project of social reform. Geared by cultural motives rather than political ideals like Gregory, Adivar made her own position distinctive by writing in English as well, which opened another door to freedom for her. Gregory's overtly nationalistic drama and literary translations along with her roles as folklorist and theatre manager shows her contributions to literary revival and social transformation while Halide Edib contributed to social reform and activism through her campaign for Turkish independence, public speeches and addresses in support of national independence at mass meetings, her active roles with the ranks of "corporal" first and later "major" by accompanying with Mustafa Kemal in front lines during the war and some of her celebrated works such as *Shirt of Flame* (1922), *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928), and *Thrash the Whore* (1926), which include her detailed account of her observations and experiences during the war as well as having vital importance in informing future generations about the origins of modern Turkish Republic and its socio-historical background.

3.1.1. Halide Edib's Antiwar Stance in *Masks or Souls*

Although Halide Edib is a very well-known historical figure and one of the distinguished intellectuals of the Republic period, there is very little analytic criticism and research on her literary and philosophical life. The unstaged play *Masks or Souls* is one of Halide Edib's less-known works which shows her anti-war stance. It reflects Halide Edib's outlook on totalitarian regimes from Nasreddin Hodja's perspective. Laughing is a rehabilitary solution to the mechanization of human beings. The binary opposition of "machine versus individual" is one of the cornerstones in the play. Halide Edib puts forward a humorous/witty criticism on all kinds of religious, political, social or cultural problems of humanity. That's why the play itself has very symbolic importance both for Turkish and World Literature. The universal messages that engage with various cultures, races or regimes in the play impose a burden of representation on the play. There is stress on "peace" while there

is criticism of modern nation states in the play. Modernisation, resistance and binary oppositions in society, and totalitarian regimes are commonly explored topics. Inefficiency and absurdity of reforms are discussed throughout the play. Halide Edib was anxious that human beings would be in danger of losing their souls owing to the idea of “single nation” as she thought that Anatolia was similar to India because of its ethnic and cultural diversity. Besides racism the play makes a criticism of the concept of the sole leader and single nation associated with Mr Timur and Timurlenk, who is actually identified with Mustafa Kemal, while Gandhi also considered being a multi-cultural and multi-religious society a richness (Saban, 2016: 47).

An example of anti-war literature *Masks or Souls* is a play which reflects the pacifist aspect of Halide Edib’s nationalism. Halide Edib was critical of some of the ideas within the military and intellectual world of Turkey led by Mustafa Kemal and she mirrored her opposing stance against the reforms and the westernization process that were followed and adopted immediately after the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 through the comments of characters in the play. Like Gandhi whom she came across in her stay in India, she was both a nationalist and a pacifist. In the play Halide Edib questions racism, Europeanness and the modernization targeted by non-western cultures as well as making a criticism of the hierarchies prevalent in some nations and regions. Besides, there are arguments over separating human beings from their souls, which is thought to be a solution to all problems of humanity, such as sadness, craziness or remorse. The conflict between the East and the West over focusing only soul or only matter is explored throughout the play. In his dialogue with Seyk, the character Nasır implies that the West and the East changed roles and the West got bored of matter and started to explore soul, while the East gave up being identified with soul and oriented towards matter. This East-West division signals soul-machine division for Halide Edib who were inclined to imply that each was dependent on the other to make progress and reach success. In one sense Halide Edib made the line between the two ambiguous by bringing them closer to each other and wanted to avoid the construction of this kind of binary. That’s why the character of Nasr comes closest to representing Halide Edib’s views in the play.

However, Mr Timur claims that humanity will reach happiness forever in a concrete way through mechanization in the governmental system based on science and technology. Seyk opposes this idea and asserts that the real ingenuity is to find harmony between different opinions rather than creating a society made up of individuals having similar faces or sharing the same ideas forever, killing their souls and making them puppets manipulated by the state machine. In Act IV, Scene I, Karel also confesses that Christian civilization is a civilization of mechanisation and self-abasement. She reveals that their only focus point is their stomach and physical body. She tells Olga that she warns foreigners against imitating their artificial, soulless civilization. In Act IV Scene V, the character Şekispir sarcastically expresses his observation that the world is full of mechanized people wearing a mask made of flesh. The only anxiety in the world is to feed the stomach. In the twenty first century you are in trouble if you mention “soul”. Either you are sent to the madhouse or you are excommunicated. Even the way Halide Edib transliterates the names refers to the connections, comparisons and proximity between the Eastern and Western figures or personalities in terms of life philosophy. Şekispir is Nasreddin Hodja’s greatest helper in protecting soul in the play. Bringing the character Şekispir and Nasreddin Hodja together signals that the figure of Shakespeare actually represents the East and soul instead of wearing the mask of the West. Shakespeare’s appearance in Seyk’s spirit shows that Shakespeare adopted the Eastern philosophy more than the western one. Nasreddin Hodja’s appearance in Nasr’s spirit refers to another comparison between Nasr who tries to serve the new order by vacillating between his soul and mask but fails to fulfill his duty and Nasreddin Hodja who serves the same purpose.

In Act III Scene I the character Ibn Haldun explains that it is not possible to recover mortals from their souls because the soul is not a temporary germ or disease but the existence itself. Human beings cannot survive without souls as they are part of invisible existence. The ability to create, develop and live lies in a person’s soul. Ibn Haldun stresses that the human soul has created the human world. The principal message to be given throughout the play is that masks are temporary, whereas souls are eternal. Although some characters like Remziye are inclined to ignore the past, old traditions, religious values or underestimate the relics like the Nasreddin Hodja’s

tomb for the sake of modernisation, some characters like Selime favor maintaining their adherence to old traditions or customs for social and personal peace, happiness and satisfaction. Lady Remziye Bektay, the wife of Akşehir's governor, imitates the West and mixes being innovative with a formalist. As she was biased against different cultures, she exhibits a racist attitude. She adopts changes without questioning or thinking a lot on them.

While discussing with her daughter Selime, Remziye reveals that she persuaded her husband to have the outdated tomb of Nasreddin Hodja transformed into a playground for children after a long period of insistence. However, Selime defends that old people used to love the former appearance of the building. At this point feelings surpass the desire for mechanization which is the symbol of modernization. In response to this Remziye says: "yes, old people always love useless things, bad things. The actual modern age will start when we are practically minded to get rid of not only the old, useless buildings, but also the old people" (Adivar, 1968: 85). Suggesting she was not narrow-minded, Remziye asserts that she was in favour of new, modern things while she was against superstitious ideas. Even she talks scornfully: then what I will have our Mr do next is to ban the gypsy dance, the gypsies from walking on streets. What is happening to these gypsy melodies when there is a civilized music like jazz? (Adivar, 1968: 86) Sacrificed for a mechanized culture generation gypsies stands for a destroyed culture in the play. Remziye associates the conversion of Nasreddin Hodja's tomb into a playground for children with modernisation in a world where nature is devastated for the sake of technology.

3.1.2. Halide Edib's Anti-War Stance in Zeyno's Son

Zeyno's Son is Halide Edib's another novel which reflects her anti-war stance absolutely. Giving the messages "no obstacle can shake our national unity and solidarity" and "to be western is not to imitate the west formally", Halide Edib's novel *Zeyno's Son* deals with the events that took place immediately before a Kurdish rebellion planned in the Eastern Anatolia. Discussing the topics such as nationality, nation-state, gender and civilization the novel revises the assumptions about the dualities already available within Turkish society with binary oppositions

such as East/West, old/new, modern/traditional, old/young, male/female, Kurdish/Turkish and reinterprets them in the light of the new Republic. In the novel the character Lady Mesture regards herself as the so-called pioneer of modernization in Diyarbakır, a city in the south-eastern part of Turkey and her future plans on modernization are depicted like this:

Moreover, she used to express herself as a modern woman who brought civilization to Diyarbakır. As soon as she was there, she was going to replace the old fashioned and outdated thoughts, and gather a modern community of men and women around herself, and hold tea times, play bridge and poker, put dancing into fashion and become somewhat a queen of this new way of life in Diyarbakır (Adivar, 2001: 49).

Pretentiously Lady Mesture expresses her plans to bring a western lifestyle to Diyarbakır. She also mixes innovation with formalism like Lady Remziye in *Masks or Souls* and assumes the mission to change old-fashioned things in Diyarbakır for the sake of modernity whatever their spiritual value is. The new Turkey intended to take radical steps on the way to modernization during the nation-building process as denoted in *Zeyno's Son* although it took quite a long time to put new reforms into practice: This new Turkey which wanted to create this wave of modernization in a single stroke which was gaining ground for the last fifteen years but constantly delayed, and now finally, freed from the constraints of wars, it was time to put on the mask that the new world has put on after the war and participate in the carnival of nations with utmost enthusiasm (Adivar, 2001: 174). On the other hand, the character Saffet is critical of the western civilization owing to its one-sided aspect focused on materialistic values and ideologies. He especially draws attention to the internal destructiveness of the materialistic feature of the western civilization and blames westerners themselves on the collapse of the Western civilization and

Especially the materialistic philosophy that created the public delusion, which considers the civilization only in terms of economy, science and machinery; a mind without soul and spirituality! This kind of civilization is represented only by the skyscrapers in the USA, the monetary system which rules the world through harsh vigor and countless different means, and enormous killing machines invented by these people to kill each other in the most rapid and gruesome ways (Adivar, 2001: 267).

According to Saffet these appalling scenes are not only the results of the western civilization's materialistic side, but they are also part of a mechanism that could be

used to disperse the communities of this civilization and to destroy it once and for all. Obviously a sense of civilization that does not give any value to the spiritual satisfaction of its individuals and overvalues materiality as the single way of development prepares its tragic end itself. Not being able to maintain a balanced lifestyle between materiality and spirituality each civilization is doomed to disappear sooner or later unless it orients towards humanistic values. For the preservation of cultural values, traditions and historical roots Halide Edib and Lady Gregory collected folklore and preferred examining people closely as the essence of culture (like Halide Edib's interest in Nasreddin Hodja and Ibn Haldun). Both believed that the maintenance of humanist values was possible only through a revitalization of local traditions. They were anxious about the loss of the local culture, language and customs owing to their profound nationalist feelings and they were ready to challenge any foreign attack that would result in cultural destruction. Particularly concerning the time of national struggle and the acquisition of national independence they wielded their pen to fight back to the empire. It seems that both Halide Edib's personality structure and Lady Gregory's political attitude in her plays exhibit an opposite manner against the British.

Halide Edib's memoir *Ateşten gömlek (Shirt of Flame)* and her novel *Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı (Turkish Ordeal)* which are considered to be the first Turkish nationalist narrative and literary works of the republican era can also be analysed from an anti-imperial, anti-colonial perspective. For instance, as the example of the opposition to British Imperialism, Halide Edib's *Shirt of Flame* is worth analysing. In *Ateşten Gömlek*, the character of Ayşe is a significant prototype for a nationalist ideal woman considering that her husband and son were killed in the war and she served as a nurse in the front. In the memoir sarcastically Halide Edib tries to portray the distorted impressions of other nations about the new Turkish nation which was accused of being the "enemies of civilization" as she collaborated with the Germans, who were the enemies of civilization and expresses the anxiety of Turkish nationalists to justify themselves in the face of some lies and accusations by resorting to propaganda. By stressing that even the old slums of Babıali, princes and the sultan himself believed this and the whole nation including the unionists and the allied forces embarked upon

propaganda Halide Edib justifies propaganda for the acquittal of her nation in public opinion:

We regarded propaganda as the greatest medicine of our national troubles [...] I remember trembling, all humanity of the world, suddenly glued a bad, dark stamp on our foreheads [...] We were the one who made the Armenian genocide We were the cruel and barbaric people who were required to be eliminated. We had no dismay, we just decided to correct this idea of the modern world with our fresh spirits. As soon as we can prove that we are not cruel, and the things said were just lies, Europe would think that we were actually right (Adivar, 2007: 31).

Physical or verbal, any attack that undermines the pride of a nation is unacceptable as it insults the presence of that nation or country and discredits it in the eye of other nations. Nationalism is to oppose any imperious attitude and it does not accept submission to any oppressive or overbearing power. In the memoir *Shirt of Flame* colonialist and invading British are depicted to have an overbearing attitude. For instance, as a response to Mr Cook, who explains like: “OK madam, I am not insulting the Turkish blood. What I am trying to say is that you need to ask forgiveness from the British”, Halide Edib challenges fearlessly:

You have to ask forgiveness from us. Yesterday you made a truce, and made us leave our weapons. Today you are sending thieves and killers to our land and your historic honorable fleet has protected these thieves and killers. You've left the green İzmir in blood and flames. Look at the streets of it, uniformed thieves and killers are murdering the unarmed people with bullets and rifle strokes [...] They aim at a five year old child, just for fun. Poor little thing, was shot in the heart, with tears in his eyes, it was such a precise shot in the heart, he couldn't even call for his mom (Adivar, 2007: 53).

As can be inferred from the above quotation, Halide Edib is frustrated with the devastation that Greek soldiers caused in İzmir and tries to reveal us the hypocrisy exhibited by the Greeks during the time of national struggle. She depicts that “from each house a Greek soldier comes out with a bag in his hand and old people with their heads smashed with stones, women in black constantly trying to avoid this wild pack” (Adivar, 2007: 53). In the memoir Halide Edib condemns the western powers due to the various crimes they commit in her country, such as murder, looting, violence, theft, torture or robbery, let alone apologizing to them. This attitude actually shows us the anti-imperial stance that Halide Edib assumed adamantly during the years of national independence and Halide Edib reveals her inner feelings full of anger, courage and rebellion through the voice of the character Ayşe in the

face of devastating foreign powers. She dramatically portrays how Greek soldiers were stabbing the innocent detainees with bayonets, spitting in their faces, and dragging them in blood in front of Greek ships. They were “tearing apart a man of honor just because he didn't applaud the banditry, a lot of Greek soldiers, tearing him apart in front of his own apartment, screaming and shouting” (Adivar, 2007: 53).

To compensate for the damage British imperialism did to eliminate the cultural history of her subject peoples Lady Gregory resorted to the appropriation of the English language as a counter discourse in order to revive ancient Irish folklore and traditions in a connection with a literary past that would endorse the struggle for independence and self-determination. In the *Kiltartan Poetry Book*, Gregory suggests: “this discovery, this disclosure of the folk learning, the folk poetry, the ancient tradition, was the small beginning of a weighty change. It was the upsetting of the table of values, an astonishing excitement” (Gregory, *Kiltartan Poetry Book*, p. 19). Being the intrinsic observer and witness of British colonialism owing to the position of her husband as a governor in colonies caused a backlash effect on Lady Gregory's view on British colonialism as she awakened to the two-sided mechanism of British colonial process. Gregory's tendency to politics and arousal of nationalist fervour date back to her encounter with Arabi Pasha and his household during the Arabi Revolt led against the colonization in Egypt in 1882. In *Seventy Years*, she denotes

That was the end of my essay in politics, for though Ireland is always with me [...] “I am not fighting for it, but preparing for it.” And that has been my purpose in my work for establishing a National Theatre, and for the revival of the language, and in making better known the heroic tales of Ireland. For whatever political inclination or energy was born with me may have run its course in that Egyptian year and worn itself out; or it may be that I saw too much of the inside, the tangled webs of diplomacy, the driving forces behind politicians (Gregory, 1974: 54).

In the preface of *Lady Gregory: An Irish Life* Judith Hill states: “post-colonial studies have drawn attention to the wider issues of colonialism, so that Lady Gregory's early experience of the British Empire from two very different angles—as a consort of a politician and administrator, and as a champion of Egyptian nationalism—is now of crucial interest” (Hill, 2005: xiii). Her extraordinary status, posture and viewpoint in cultural and political life of the early twentieth century Irish society was based on the

fact that she was the internal observer and witness of British colonialism in overseas countries. Her firsthand experience of British imperialism as Anglo-Irish helped the arousal of her interest in the nationalist cause of Irish people. As expressed by Kathleen Vejvoda in her article *Too Much Knowledge of the Other World: Women and Nineteenth-Century Irish Folktales*, “Lady Gregory, a member of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and one of the leaders and writers of the Irish Renaissance, is a noteworthy exception to the predominance of male folklore collectors” (Vejvoda, 2004: 42). She was a challenge both against the colonial rule of the British Empire in overseas lands as well as in Ireland and against the masculinised way of nationalism that had deprived women of the equal participation in the nation with men. For fighting back she exploited the power of her pen and the language of the colonizer and pioneered in the project of cultural and literary revival of old Gaelic language with the hope of reaching the universal by folklore. And Halide Edib was the external observer as she presented the West as a solution to problems with the perspective of an outsider orientalist, but still touched by the British invasion of Istanbul (1918-1923), especially during the national struggle years.

In his article named *The Imaginary Irish Peasant*, Edward Hirsch claims: “what distinguished Irish from English writers was a complex national identity, and in searching for that identity Irish writers turned, as if naturally, to the people they imagined to be most distinctively and authentically Irish: the peasants” (Hirsch, 1991: 1121) and he observes: “peasant life was always projected to the center of the attempt to regenerate and transfigure Ireland” (Hirsch, 1991: 1122). Lady Gregory who created effective and realistic dramas with peasant dialogues aimed at portraying Irish peasant life in a poetic and distinctive way. Using poetic realism in her plays Lady Gregory used myths which symbolize real life for the audience to experience some unpleasant plots without definitely being carried away by them. Much of the poetic realism that was used during the beginning of the twentieth century in Ireland was intended for integrating “poetic” with “realistic” by depicting peasant life, roles, speech and mind. As Hazard Adams notes, “within the bounds of her own capacity for mythmaking, [Gregory] is a kind of realist” (Adams, 1975: 50). He also stresses about Gregory: “while she is working within the mythology, her “characters are

people, not gods” (Adams, 1975: 50). Through the feminist and psychoanalytic approach Halide Edib demonstrates the existential struggles of women for the construction of a “self-identity” in a patriarchal system, particularly in her novel *Handan*. She also points out that the process of female identity construction is directly influenced by the dictators of the patriarchal system as regards to religion and moral values. This case naturally restricts the female creativity, literary creativity and subjective experiences of female writers including also Halide Edip Adivar. Halide Edib reflects her realism over her feelings. She’s an outstanding figure of opinion and ideology. She was influenced by determinism and empiricism. Her characters are idealised without losing their realism. In *Handan* we come across a sentimental way of narration. Halide overcomes her personal problems by orienting towards social matters. To her the realism of emotions is important, which is part of Sentimental Realism. Halide Edib examines “emotions” in terms of civilizations.

Arising as a reaction to modernisation and representing the goal of revitalizing traditional Irish literature and poetry, the revival was not so focused on the effects of gender in terms of equal participation in the process of nation-building. As Maria-Elena Doyle also points out, “many Revival writers overlooked the possibility of reconstituting Irishness by rethinking what it might mean to be a woman” (Doyle, 1999: 34). At this point Gregory had a representative status both as a political activist defending the Irish nationalist cause against the British colonialism and as a female social reformer that was convinced that political and national freedom is only possible with going deep into the native culture, language and folklore with the intention of reclaiming them back and changing the available masculinised nationalist discourses by using her own pen to be influential in the reconstruction and reformation process of her country. Doyle asserts: “Gregory found new freedom in her political activities, particularly the freedom to employ her intellect in a socially acceptable way” (Maria-Elena Doyle, 1999: 36) and she also adds: “Gregory’s vigorous participation in the nationalist movement suggests that she too preferred active engagement with the social world to passive isolation, although the particular milieu in which she moved placed certain requirements on that involvement” (Maria-

Elena Doyle, 1999: 41), which responds to my second question as regards how she was positioned by her contemporaries politically.

As indicated by Maria Mies and Kumari Jayawardena in their article entitled “Feminism in Europe. Liberal and Socialist Strategies, 1789-1919, from the time of Mary Wollstonecraft and Flora Tristan, European feminists were great travellers within their countries and abroad (Mies and Jawardena, 1981: 17 and 61). Like Halide Edib’s anti-colonial stance for Turkey, Lady Gregory’s anti-colonial efforts in Ireland can be associated with her transnational connections observations and folklore studies. A trip to Inisheer in the Aran Islands in 1893 also re-awoke her interest in the Irish language and in the folklore of the area in which she lived. Throughout her life Lady Gregory visited different countries such as Ceylon, Spain, India, Italy and Egypt with her husband. Especially she was influenced by the Urabi revolt in Egypt, which was an 1879 Egyptian nationalist revolt against the oppressive regime of the Khedive and European domination of Egypt. According to the expression of Joseph Lennon in *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History*, “for Irish cultural nationalists, the Orient was a strategy to help obviate Empire. Historically, then, Irish Orientalism was both a way to participate in imperialism and a way to deny it. It offered a path of resistance (disguised or obvious) as well as, at times, a path of collusion” (Lennon, 2004: xxxi). Endorsing the ancient Irish history and culture as a way of rejuvenating Irish language and literature in favour of Irish anti-imperial discourse Irish Orientalism shares a proximity with Celticism. This kind of attempts for reviving culture resulted in the reinforcement of self-determination along with the reinforcement of the links with the ancient Irish cultural roots, history and nature. In the history of Ireland which witnessed several rebellions and had an Independence War for national freedom felons and sacrifice were inevitable for the sake of liberty. The patriotic feelings of Irish nationalists prompted them to take action against British colonial attempt or plot over their country. A street ballad composed by a Dublin Street singer touches with some precision as to facts on the felons of those years of struggle as also quoted by Lady Gregory in *Selected Writings*:

The Felons of Our Land

By Memory inspired,
And love of country fired,
The deeds of them I love to dwell upon—
And the patriotic glow
Of my spirit must bestow
A tribute to O'Connell that is gone, boys, gone.
Here's a memory to the friends that are gone.

In October '97—

May his soul find rest in heaven—
William Orr to execution was led on;
The jury, drunk, agreed
That Irish was his creed;
For perjury and threats drove them on, boys, on.
Here's the memory of John Mitchel that is gone.

We saw a nation's tears
Shed for John and Henry Sheares,
Betrayed by Judas, Captain Armstrong;
We may forgive, but yet
We never can forget
The poisoning of Maguire that is gone, boys, gone.
Our high Star and true Apostle that is gone!

.....

September, eighteen-three,
Closed this cruel history,
When Emmett's blood the scaffold flowed upon—
Oh, had their spirits been wise,
They might then realise
Their freedom—but we drink to Mitchel that is gone, boys, gone.
Here's the memory of the friends that are gone! (Gregory, 1995: 258-9)

Glorifying national sacrifice with the memories of fallen Irish heroes the ballad implies that their names will be forever remembered by referring to their names personally. As a consequence of these kinds of uprisings Ireland got closer to independence. All this sacrifice seems like a penance for the acquisition of national independence in the construction of a free nation-state. That's why the revolt against authority figures has a good deal to do with the demand for Irish and Turkish cultural self-determination. As in Synge's *Aran Islands*, these writers had to fight against the

authority of a civilised society that was permanently menacing their conventional way of life. Sinéad Garrigan Mattar argues that Gregory's nationalism is closely related to her early development of a 'colonial consciousness'. He explains that Gregory's mindset was encompassed by an imperial worldview and until very recently it has been realized that this case was an obvious obstacle to her Irish nationalism. Her problem, as Christopher Murray refers in *Twentieth-Century Irish Drama: Mirror up to Nation*, was to be "immersed in the very culture she opposed" (Murray, 1997: 41). Her opposition to colonial abuses took its inner power from the fact that she was immersed in the British culture. Mattar elaborates

Gregory, as an Anglo-Irish woman, 'both colonizer and colonized', occupied the sort of liminal position most recently explored by Joseph Lennon in his excellent essay on Irish Orientalism, but in her case the complexity of this position was intensified: her more than usual implication in the position of 'colonizer' (as wife of a former colonial governor, and friend of viceroys) itself became the pivot for a radical swing in allegiance towards the 'colonized' (Mattar, 1997: 51).

Gregory's conversion from a colonial mindset to nationalism depends on her colonial experience as a product of British imperial society. By colonial mindset I mean her way of life with her husband Sir William Gregory which took various positions within the colonial establishment and accordingly travelled to different colonial countries. As regards her marriage life Kohfeldt indicates: she was more ordinary. Her wifely duty to Sir William coincided so well with her sense of performing before God and His angels that little else was required. Serving Sir William permitted her to do almost everything she wanted to do (Kohfeldt, 1984: 45)". Thanks to her marriage to Sir William Augusta reached more freedom like a bird released out of a cage into a room and became familiar with a wider world in which she was presented to the Queen Victoria, Disraeli and other prominent political personalities wherever they travelled to. As Sir William served as the formerly member of the Parliament and as the colonial governor of Ceylon for a while, it was inevitable that Lady Gregory observed the colonial activities of the British Empire very closely as well as witnessing its double-faced policies within the empire and overseas.

Her close friendship with some British administrators, explorers or travellers gave her a chance to make an internal critique of empire in the British imperialist system. By turn, her own critique of empire stimulated her nationalist side! Some influential

names like A.W. Kinglake, Henry Layard and Wilfried Scawen Blunt were conducive to Lady Gregory's literary presentation of "otherness" as they both aroused her deep interest in the Irish country people and influenced her to have a judgemental manner against the British rule over Ireland. Gregory's imperial background became a prop to dig into the nature of Irish cultural nationalism. As also expressed by Mattar, "her 'education in politics', amongst British men not always associated with nationalist causes, had in part been an education in the manipulation of the picturesque for political ends. Paradoxically, her first lessons in cultural nationalism had been taken at the very heart of the British Empire" (Mattar, 2004: 64). All these life experiences in politics based on the colonial plots of the British Empire in overseas countries made Gregory's political transformation from unionism through cultural nationalism easier just as Halide Edib's political involvement reinforced her nationalist side both locally and globally by removing her from unionist circles.

3.1.3. Defense of Freedom of Opinion: Halide Edib and Lady Gregory's Intellectual Milieux

Playing a major role as one of the leading writers in the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period in Turkey, Halide Edib was influenced by inspirational personalities politically and ideologically. She was inspired by such liberals as Isabel Fry, Nevinston, Bertrand Russell, Dr Patrick and Grace Ellison she met in England. It is observed that Halide Edib's life bears traces from the real life stories of western women such as Isabel Fry and Grace Ellison because of their similar life stories. Coming from a well-known reforming Quaker background, Isabel Fry shares an intimacy with her lifelong friend and contemporary, Halide Edib in terms of her roles as educationist, social activist and reformer, her preoccupation with political and social affairs, political reforms and emancipation movements in the East, her involvement with feminism, socialism, anti-militarist movements besides her pacifist role against wars and friendships with liberal intellectuals. Isabel Fry devoted herself to the education of children and Halide Edib's correspondence with her began a lifelong friendship and enabled her to contact with many prominent figures among

English feminists. Their encounter started when Halide Edib wrote a letter intended as an appeal to the “Nation” which attracted Isabel’s attention and then they exchanged letters. Isabel Fry came to Turkey in February, 1909 for the first time for three weeks and met some Turkish women who were interested in reform. She also visited a few schools and wrote a perfect article for “Tanine” on women’s education³¹.

Her preoccupations with political and social reforms in different parts of the world, teaching and educational activities, and also proximity to anti-militarist movements brought her closer to Halide Edib coming from an established family with good ties to the government and having friendships with liberal intellectuals like her. Being appointed in wars, getting rid of being imprisoned at home, travelling all over the world, the improvement of their education opportunities, finding the ways of making their own living, maintaining their life in the new social relationships they built independently from traditional family connections were the main common points of these women. Three of them got education in private schools and home-schooling and worked as volunteer nurses in wars and established schools. It is seen that these women made great efforts to organize children from different cultures, to reach humans and to understand their values with an understanding of pedagogy based on a universal share of knowledge apart from their traditional rights as housewives. Religion has a significant role in the lives of all these women. Religion was regarded as a means of social share and a universal human value rather than being only a system of individual belief for them (Durakbaşı, 2000, pp. 221-229). These cultural encounters made great contributions to Halide Edib’s identity as a Turkish woman who was a fervent defender of the case of Turkish nationalism. Moreover, she was deeply influenced by the speech that Irish nationalist, John Dillon made in the British Parliament (Adivar, 1926, p. 293, Akt: Durakbaşı, 2000, p. 194) (Gözütok 429)

In the adoption of a stance as a feminist, liberal humanist and cultural nationalist Halide Edib was influenced by such personalities as Henry W. Nevins, Edmund Burke, Mahatma Gandhi, Yahya Kemal, Arnold Toynbee, Nehru, Isabel Fry and

³¹ For more information, *Memoirs of Halide*, p. 275-76.

George Eliot. She met Bertrand Russell personally. She talked to Bertrand Russell about feminism, the equality of men and women, democracy and republic. While she was in Oxford, she stayed at Russell's house as a guest, which were memorable days. She cannot forget the questions asked to herself in a conference she gave during a lunch. She was fed up with the topic of giving women the right to vote as this topic was constantly discussed instead of art issues. Becoming familiar with the political rights of women in London, Halide Edib criticised the hard way the suffragettes used and never look at the British suffragettes resorting to violence moderately. Çalışlar comments: "she must have thought that it would be madness to act like this on their own lands. It seems that she did not participate in the famous demonstration in Hyde Park on 20 July, 1909" (Çalışlar, 2010: 80). Similarly while comparing Lady Gregory with Annie Horniman, Judith Hill points out that "they were both equally independent-minded. Neither was supportive of the suffragette movement, content to be exceptional women in a male-dominated society" (Hill, 2011: 273). In this case it is obvious that both Halide Edib and Lady Gregory were not in favour of the suffragettes emerging with a tendency to violence to reach their goals. Ayşe Durakbaşı notes that Halide Edib collected impressions from these liberal intellectuals on her novels and essays and in her memoirs she told how these cultural encounters saved her from her childish withdrawal and that these experiences contributed to her growing up as a Turkish woman advocating the Turkish nationalist cause (Durakbaşı, 2000: 193). In writing the Preface to *Türkiye'de Şark-Garp ve Amerikan Tesirleri* (East-West and American Impacts in Turkey) Halide Edib points out that Edmund Burke's ideas, her personal contact and opinions, her readings on national life and history were influential and she regards Burke's first two works³² as experience in a sense (Enginün, 2007: 404). Halide Edib was influenced by French writer, Emile Zola (Adivar, 2007: 143) and mentions him "as perhaps the most powerful educator of her life" (Adivar, 1926: 208). She expresses:

To me he represented that rare idealist fight for truth in which he persisted, just as an ordinary man fights for breath if his mouth is closed by force. Zola's soul sensed an invisible oppression created by the lower powers which dominate men and make him eager to suppress truth. There is no other writer I know who stands up for truth with such temperamental passion (Adivar, 1926: 208-9).

³² His Works: *Vindication of Natural Society*(1756); *Reflections on the Revolution in France*(1790)

She even dedicated her book *Mev'ud Hüküm* to the soul of her favourite author Emile Zola. Zola was herself caught in the illness of “syph” just as her unforgettable female hero Nana was caught in “syph” and she died of it. Similarly Halide Edib’s favourite authors, Daudet, Zola and Maupassant were all the victims of “syph”. This epidemic reached serious numbers in Turkey as well as France and that’s why Halide Edib’s treatment of the same topic with Zola in *Mev'ud Hüküm* was highly important as as a female author who first attempted to write a novel centered on a sexually transmitted disease while the society was vitally suffering from this illness. She was influenced by Edmund Burke’s idea of “the continuity of the nation”. Halide Edib’s conservatism shows parallelism to Edmund Burke’s liberal conservatism. Halide Edib read the works of George Eliot, with ideas about women’s independence in her mind, she decided to become a writer and a defender of women’s rights. Thanks to her governess, an interesting English lady who was the wife of a well-to-do tea-planter in India, Halide Edib started to read more serious literature, Shakspeare and George Eliot, which awakened her first ambition to become a writer.³³ Elizabeth Coxhead notes that Lady Gregory and George Eliot have a good deal in common especially related to the failure of nerve to which women wilters are prone while discussing the effects of criticism on the creative force of writers and touching on the importance of ‘confidence’ as the essential feature of any writer of fiction. In addition, by referring to Lady Gregory again, Coxhead comments that “George Eliot had been fortunate in acquiring for life the most loyal of literary comrades, always ready to buttress up her failing confidence; even so, she sometimes falls” (Coxhead, 1961: 106).

Moreover, Enginün suggests that Halide Edib was influenced by British historian, Arnold Joseph Toynbee’s ideas. Halide Edib, who agreed with the idea of Toynbee, who finds the caste system to be contrary to human nature, was against mentality production like the production of robots. She said that the states in the West attempted to produce not only caste but also nations. Building nations within the cast system led to the appearance of robot humans as criticized by Halide Edib herself in

³³ *Memoirs of Halide* (London:1926, p.180), *Halide Edib:Biyografisine Sigmayan Kadın* (Istanbul:Everest, 2010, p.25)

her works. As it is seen that Halide Edib was against this idea (robot human) in her various novels, it was best addressed in *Masks or Souls* (Enginün, 2007: 400-401). In the play while discussing the meaning of soul and modernity with Selime Nasir expresses: “there is a revolt against the material values, machine civilization all around the world” (Adivar, 1968: 93). Sarcastically Selime criticises his way of talking: “right, there are writers who speak in this way here, but you can not talk about it like that. (mimicking the voice and condition of her mother), the machine is still the embodiment of the world and the uniform of civilization” (Adivar, 1968:93). Nasir responds: “You remind me of Seyk. He says that there is a secret power in the world which wants to transform people into automatons and kill the souls of people (Adivar, 1968: 93).

Halide Edib mentions Henry W. Nevinston as the person who left the first great impact on herself among the artists she met in Miss Fry’s House in London. She says: “Mr. Nevinston perhaps is the last but the strongest figure that stands out in my memory. He struck me as one of the few true idealists I have met in life [...] I have sadly learned to question the personal motives of most men who profess an ideal or a principle, but Mr Nevinston’s I have never questioned” (Adivar, 1926: 294). She portrays him as a person who does what he knows is always right and criticizes his own homecountry obviously. According to her, Nevinston is the one of the two people who remained loyal to what he believes despite everything among the idealists she met in her life, while the other is her husband, Adnan Adivar (Adivar, 2007: 174-5). When she considers the actions of idealists outside her country, she confesses that she has never come across any idealism like Nevinston’s that depends on only religious faith. As to his first encounter with Halide Edib and his impressions on her Henry W. Nevinston narrates:

I met her at the house of Mrs. Isabel Fry and I listened to what she told me for hours alone. If it hadn’t been her captivating beauty that made me feel like Byron closed in a room with ‘The Light of the Harem’, I would perhaps have had his political ideas in my mind more. I noted her on my memory book as “the most exquisite creature I have ever seen with her soft languid gaze that resembles a gazelle, slightly upturned tiny upper lip, elongated nose and wavy copper, brown hair weaves, thin and supremely elegant figure. She was a woman who upsets men; I blushed slightly when they left us alone, we might both be a bit embarrassed. However, she immediately embarked on a serious conversation and proceeded to

tell me Young Turks feverishly... (Henry W. Nevinston - from *Biyografisine Sığmayan Kadın*)

In *Mor Salkımlı Ev (The Wisteria-Covered House)* Halide Edib also mentions Mr. Dillon as an inspirational person who fascinated her with his spirit of nationalism. While Halide Edib was in Cambridge, she stayed at Professor Browne's house and one day Professor Browne³⁴ took her to the university where she listened to a very significant and historical debate on the independence of Ireland as a guest and she met Mr. Dillon as the most famous orator and nationalist of that day that defends Irish independence (Adivar, 2007: 176). She expresses that his friendliness and sweetness aroused excitement in her, which causes tears in her eyes (Adivar, 2007: 176). Forced to go to Egypt because of March 31 Incidents Halide Edib goes to England from there on the invitation of her friend, Isabel Fry. This journey allows Halide Edib to be a witness to the discussions of male-female equality and giving women the right to vote that went on in England at that time and enables her to meet with the key opinion leaders of the period like Bertrand Russell, who was one of the important advocates of woman-man equality. Halide Edib observed that a deepening spiritual development is remarkable in Russell besides his great scientific genius. She also indicated that he worked for world peace with the same intimate convictions he exhibited about. Standing out as a prominent anti-war activist, pacifist and liberal, Bertrand Russell was an inspirational personality who influenced her profoundly about feminist issues and worldly matters with his erudition and broad horizon.

In her article entitled "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kemalist Kadın Kimliğinin Oluşumu (Formation of the Kemalist Women's Identity in the Republican Era)" and her book published in 2000 and entitled "Halide Edib: Türk Modernization and Feminism" Ayşe Durakbaşa expresses that Halide Edib emerged as both nationalist and feminist during the formation process of Turkish nation after the disintegration of the Empire. Durakbaşa foresees that analyzing Halide Edib as a historical figure will also serve the purpose of writing an alternative history of the Republic Period because Halide Edib was both the exemplary and controversial woman of Kemalist Turkey. Durakbaşa analyses the alternative feminism Project that the Kemalist discourse

³⁴ See *Mor Salkımlı Ev (The Wisteria-Covered House)*, pp. 175-6.

presented Turkish women and Halide Edib's connection with this discourse in detail and points out that she was not sympathetic to the western feminism:

as women's issues were formulated at the moment of a nationalist awakening and the issues related to social gender were discussed in such a nationalist framework, Halide Edib could more easily emphasize with the women's movement that lead social welfare, education and social assistance in the public sphere in the West. She did not sympathize with the feminist action that requires female gender to fight against male gender. Therefore she continued her friendship with a person of case who is an idealist teacher like Miss Fry working especially for women's education and education reform like herself faithfully while the Suffragettes appear quite far and foreign (Durakbaşı, 2000: 196-97) [. . .]

By alternative feminism Durakbasa means restricted feminism which offers women new rights in social, political and educational sphere but does not lead to conflicts between male and female gender. Halide Edib agreed with the Republican alternative feminism. She was only against the authoritarian orders of Mustafa Kemal. She shared the same opinion with Atatürk about the new modern profile of women. However, her exile had nothing to do with her feminism but with her political disappointment in Mustafa Kemal. If she had not had political obstinacy and rebelliousness, she could have been included into the 'republican woman profile' that Atatürk himself envisioned.

In Durakbaşı's book we come across an identification of Turkish national history with Halide Edib's own life-story because of her central position in the independence war. Portraying Halide Edib as a Turkish patriot, Durakbaşı suggests exploring the contacts of such personalities as Isabel Fry and Grace Ellison with Halide Edib as part of a further academic study. In her book Durakbaşı puts forward such questions about these women: how do these women describe their status as female by making use of the differences in their cultural backgrounds and how do they use these differences? Both Halide Edib and Lady Gregory were within the same national project through their literary works although their origins were totally different. Their transcultural encounters shaped their political views by orienting them towards cultural nationalism.

In her work on Halide Edib Ayşe Durakbaşı portrays Afet İnan as the loyal daughter of Republic, while she depicts Halide Edib as the rebellious daughter of Republic,

which reminds us that there were several roles available for the female nationalist. They assumed the mission of recording the history of Republic Period although there were differences in their writing styles due to their differing motives and sources of inspiration. She also exposes the bilateral, dual image of Halide Edib in Turkish public opinion and media both as a pioneering and exemplary Turkish woman in the liberation of Turkish woman and a demonic figure that betrayed Atatürk's revolution and was covetous of political power. She attributes Adivar's writing her memoirs first in English to her personality who desired to be the mouthpiece of the Turkish fight for Independence in the whole World. Based on Adivar's memoirs, Ayşe Durakbaşa explains how her contact with liberal intellectuals such as Nevinnson, Bertrand Russell through Miss Fry protected her from childish shyness and how these intellectual experiences contributed to her development as a Turkish woman who defends the cause of Turkish nationalism. Durakbaşa asserts that women rights have become a part of the Turkish Revolution. According to Halide Edib, the most humiliating situation for women is to turn into social parasites, she puts.

While introducing her novel *New Turan* published in *Tanin* in 1912, Halide Edib says she wrote this novel under the influence of Ziya Gökalp and refers to his influence on her early works through her memories in *Mor Salkımlı Ev* (*The Wisteria-Covered House*): "Ziya Gökalp would come to visit me often in my house in Fazlıpaşa those days. The difference in our views on the field of nationalism after 1915 separated us for a time. (Adivar 2007: 180) [...] He has the influence on my first works, among which *New Turan* comes first (Adivar, 2007: 188)". Adivar suggests that he is the pioneer of Pan-Turkism, which is a movement aiming for the cultural and political unification and freedom of all Turkic people. Her fervent Turkish nationalism which was reinforced thanks to the interactions with prominent historical personalities through her travels was based on the freedom of opinion, liberal humanism, gender equality and pacifism which invigorate a society in all respects. Her travels to Syria, India, Egypt, England, France or America for different purposes enabled her to keep contact with the notable thinkers and philosophers of these countries and to discuss with them about the topics such as women's education and emancipation, the suffrage movement, feminism, or democracy. Halide Edib also led

to the exacerbation of nationalist sentiments in India with her book *Turkish Ordeal* and became popular with her speeches in India which were noted in *Inside India* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*. *Inside India* Halide Edib proposes an idea of a unified socialist India against colonialism and endorses non-violence for resistance. In the book she also portrays such significant Indian leaders and activists she met as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohammed Iqbal, Dr Zakir Hussein, Zohra Ansari, Abdülgaffar Han and Sister Kasturbai by recounting their biographies, educational backgrounds, political ideas, their similarities or differences from their European or Turkish contemporaries, their importance in Indian history or their utopias for India as referred by Hülya Adak in her article “Swaraj/Biographic Dictionary of Political Resistance: Halide Edib and Inside India.”

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was the charismatic leader that Halide Edib had been looking for and found out as a result of her experiences in India. He was highlighted as a leader that resonated with various classes of people in the same location without resorting to violence. Another inspirational personality in Halide Edib’s life, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru favors independence through peaceful ways like Gandhi. *Inside India* Edib compares Gandhi with Nehru and comes to the conclusion that Gandhi prefers life over soul and religion while everything turns on the axis of economy for Nehru. Gandhi intended to maintain Hinduism with its main lines by making very small changes whereas Nehru was in favor of eliminating the old system. Nehru regarded socialism as the remedy for India and aimed to change the old Hinduism radically. With her active position in politics, education and activism, Sarojini Naidu is an inspirational female poet and orator who impressed Halide Edib with her extraordinary talents, projects and political life. Her eloquent speeches and success in rhetorics served the Indian struggle for independence. She managed to fascinate women from different classes and religions around her by making them believe the dream of an independent Ireland. Her feminist activism and political work invigorated Halide Edib’s interest in the activist roles of women like Gandhi’s wife, Sister Kasturbai and his adopter daughter, Sister Miraben in national struggle. In *Inside India* in which Halide Edib elucidates the philosophy of Satyagraha by

identifying it with different cultural groups, religions or philosophical debates non-violence is represented as a political and philosophical model of resistance. Non-violence which is adopted as a form of using power is also accepted by Halide Edib as an effective way of gaining national independence.

On the other hand, under the effect of her roles as an Irish dramatist, ardent cultural nationalist, folklorist and theatre manager, Lady Gregory was influenced by such personalities as W. B. Yeats, Douglas Hyde, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Sir William Gregory's grandfather, Mr Gregory and Ishbel Maria Gordon. Her interest in Irish language influenced other writers such as Douglas Hyde and J. M. Synge. Her attempt to learn Irish language in 1898 helped her to translate the works of Douglas Hyde in Irish. Her retellings of epic stories taken from Irish mythology including *Cuchulainn of Muirtheimne* (1902) and *Gods and Fighting Men* (1904) in fact reflect her great strength in folklore as she desired that “the stories speak for themselves without comment from her” (Hill, 2011: 411). Folk-tales were highly influential on the writers of the period as a well established genre and by focusing on the often-told folk stories of the *Sidhe* usually related by men and explored often by male folklorists Augusta showed special interest in recording

spontaneous personal accounts – experiences, beliefs, recollections and confidences – regardless of how fragmentary and shapeless they might seem. Many of these came from women [...] she arranged them into themes—sea stories, the evil eye, banshees and warnings, the unquiet dead seers and healers, ‘away’ (the fairies’ propensity to take people and perhaps replace them with changelings) – and showed how people expressed love, grief, pain and loss through them (Hill, 2011: 411).

In a parallelism with Gregory’s treatment of Irish folk figures Halide Edib’s treatment of Nasreddin Hoja well-known as one of the masters of humor and a legendary character in Turkish literature was an indication of her romantic vision to regard folk tales, stories or jokes as a mystic expression and humorous understanding of the human condition like Gregory. Following the death of her husband, Sir William in 1892, Lady Gregory inclined towards nationalism under the influence of W. B. Yeats. Lady Gregory’s first meeting with Yeats in 1894 bore immense importance for the history of Irish drama for their collaboration in the formation of

the Irish Literary Theatre and the Abbey Theatre Company as well as for their talents for writing countless short works for both companies. They collaborated in mythmaking. Gregory contributed a lot to Yeats' art as she knew Irish and the dialect "Kiltartanese" well and made translations into this dialect after collecting legends, history, folklore and old songs. A staunch exponent of the nationalistic cause, Yeats memorialized her son, Robert Gregory shot down over Italy in the First World War in several poems like "An Irish Airman Foresees His Death". On the other hand, Halide Edib was also mythmaking. Each of the prosaic poems and first stories of Halide Edib are mysterious and they contain fantastic elements. İnci Enginün says she was under the effect of the mystic movement and it can be thought that especially some of his (Rıza Tevfik's) ideas on women's rights affected Halide Edib (Enginün, 2007: 23). Rıza Tevfik, who was one of the intellectuals of her period and Halide Edib called "Hocam", was the representative of this philosophical movement. It is obvious that Halide Edib was influenced by mysticism and the representative of this movement, Rıza Tevfik as the heroes in her stories written in the Second Constitutional period exist in an infinite space, in the world of souls and in dreams (İnce 2015: 32). She wrote such stories as "Efe'nin Hikayesi" (Efe's Story) in her book "Dağa Çıkan Kurt" (Wolf Climbing the Mountain). In "Dağa Çıkan Kurt" Halide Edib tells the struggle of the nation for independence with the metaphor of a "forest" which includes mythological figures (Adivar, 2001).

The Gregorys first met the English poet, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt during their trip to Egypt in 1881. The Gregorys and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt supported Arabi Bey in an Egyptian nationalist revolt against the oppressive regime of the Khedives although the British government supported the Khedive against Arabi, which made all of them frustrated. "The larger context in which she and Wilfrid met was, most specifically, the common cause of Egyptian nationalism, and more broadly, their decorous resistance to established authority" (Kohfeldt, 1984: 65), Mary Lou Kohfeldt notes. During her visit in Egypt Lady Gregory and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt became lovers and Gregory continued seeing Blunt until his death in 1916. Lady Gregory wrote poems about her affair with Blunt, but kept them secret by pretending that Blunt was the author. Blunt made very few changes on them and remodelled 12 sonnets that he

published two months before Sir William's death. Halide Edib was also influenced by Salih Zeki, who was her Maths teacher at college first and became her husband later. While Halide Edib was taking Maths lessons from Salih Zeki, Çalışlar indicates that "he made it possible for Halide Edib to knead the knowledge rooted in her head in the way of positivist idea. Her analytic perspective which unified the stories of 'Battal Gazi' with Emile Zola and brought together the east and the west sprang in the mind of the young woman with his help. Now she has begun to think mathematically and her ideas gained a new depth" (Çalışlar, 2010: 37).

Salih Zeki admired Halide Edib's intelligence and power of learning as he respected intelligence a lot. After getting married to him, Halide Edib turned into a woman who was totally dependent on her husband. While depicting her mood, she compares herself to Circassian slaves: "no little Circassian slave bought from the slave-market at the lowest price could have entered upon our common life in such an obedient spirit as I did" (Adıvar, 2005: 206)³⁵. Salih Zeki decided to remarry and asked Halide Edib to continue as his first wife, but Halide Edib refused it and preferred getting divorced. Despite the distress that he caused, Halide Edib mentioned him passionately as the single man that she would love all her life. She knew that Salih Zeki deceived her and this decision of remarriage separated them and they got divorced. İpek Çalışlar notes that Salih Zeki was like a God in Halide Edib's sight. Using her as a helper in his work and encouraging her to write repaired the imbalance between them. She mentions him both in Turkish and English versions of her memoirs as a "Salih Zeki Bey", whereas he had an oppressive, insulting attitude towards Halide Edib. He used to frighten her with his gaze. He addressed her with a whimsical but compassionate tone that emphasized his superiority, calling her "poor girlfriend". They often argued (Çalışlar, 2010: 64). After starting to write for the newspaper *Tanin* in 1910 Halide Edib left Salih Zeki and in her book entitled *Biyografisine Sığmayan Kadın* called İpek Çalışlar tells this situation like this:

Salih Zeki did not hide his interest in other women from Halide Edib. She also felt humiliated, so she did not want to continue. Halide Edib, for a time, decided to go to his father, who was appointed to Yanya as director of the Reji (tobacco administration). [...] But she could not forget that she was an excommunicated

³⁵ *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, Gorgias Press, NJ, USA, 2005.

woman both in her love life and in society. The political marks of March 31 have been abandoned, but the mark that it left in her spirit left behind a very wounded woman when combined with Salih Zeki's attitudes (Çalışlar, 2010: 82).

Nearly seven years after she left Zeki Bey she married Dr Adnan Adivar who was a medical professor. Ömer Sayar, Halide Edib's grandson, reveals that his grandmother's marriage with Adnan Adivar was not an emotional one although it was a love marriage for Adnan which was cherished with the unity of ideas and reinforced with solidarity. Adivar was deeply attached to Halide Edib even though Halide Edib was harsh from time to time and silenced him about the topics she was determined about³⁶. Both men had a great influence on Halide Edib's world of thought intellectually besides playing the role of a "husband" for Halide Edib. Similarly Gregory was influenced by two men during her life both intellectually and romantically. Her activist voice in newspapers and magazines about women's education and their participation in public life was not reflected in his first-term novels. In her early novels there are not any traces from her nationalist views either. These novels, which do not have any information about the proclamation of Constitution II, Tripoli and Balkan Wars, historical and political developments, are based on individual love relationships. A five-year writing process during which she wrote her first novels was a very depressing period in Halide Edib's personal life as she felt she had to endure Salih Zeki's extramarital affairs maybe because of her children or her love for him. After the divorce she experienced a period of depression (Adivar, 1926: 308-311).

On the other side, while Lady Gregory respected Sir William Gregory as her husband, she admired the handsome English poet, Wilfred Scawen Blunt as a lover. In her introduction to the American edition of Blunt's diaries Gregory implies how much she and he had in common by discussing his lifelong sympathy with nationalist causes in different countries such as Ireland, Egypt and India and notes: "an unusual and gallant record for a Sussex gentleman of many acres, of inherited wealth and ease" (Kohfeldt, 1984:274). Gregory's literary career did not start until her husband's death while Halide Edib was released from being the slave of a man after the divorce

³⁶ "none of your business" (Çalışlar 2010:469).

and turned her literary talents to feminist novels such as *Seviyye Talip* and *Handan*. Blunt supported the Egyptian leader Arabi Bey in his cause of freedom from the dominance that Britain and France exercised over Egyptian affairs and Gregory preferred being on Blunt's side about the cause of Arabi Bey. As Sir William abstained from going against British policy, he withdrew his support unlike Blunt and Lady Gregory collaborating upon the affairs between Britain and Egypt with the same opinion. Whether Sir William was aware of it or not, Blunt and Lady Gregory fell in love and started an affair during their time in Egypt. Gregory refers to various reasons for her admiration for Blunt: "the adventure of his personal life, the life of love, the romance of travel, the delight in woods and fields and skies, the pride of ancestry and race ... the many gifts, the mastery of living that seem to belong to the heroic ages of the world, that show him out as one of Plutarch's men" (Kohfeldt, 1984: 274). Much later, Gregory fell in love with John Quinn, the great patron of arts as she was nearly sixty although he was eighteen years her junior. In the following poem Gregory documents her specific relationships with men during her lifetime and reflects the personal sadness, loss and tragedies she suffered within her lifetime as a widow who lost her husband, a mother who lost her son as they were very central to her life and thought.

'Alas! a woman may not love!

In full the love she gives away –
Be in a brother – soon some other
Sweet maiden passing holds his eye
And in his thought she stands for naught
His second self in days gone by –
Be it a husband – ah! how soon
The rainbow-coloured honeymoon
Fades in dull tints of common life
With misty cares and clouds of strife –
Be it her sons – some few short years
They cling to her in smiles and tears
But childhood passes fast and then
The boys look on themselves as men
And learn too quickly to despise
The love lore in their mother's eyes –
But here, a woman may not love – (Gregory, 1995: 431)

On his lover Lady Gregory, Blunt noted in his “Secret Diaries 1913-14”: “she has been the real inspirer of the Irish Literary movement having created Yeats out of almost nothing and half the young Irishmen who now have names, while the Abbey Theatre has been wholly her work” (Fryer, 2012: 139). In the first years of the Irish literary movement Lady Gregory’s economic and spiritual support is of immense value and considering her indefatigable efforts William Butler Yeats portrayed her: “during these first years Lady Gregory was friend and hostess, a centre of peace, an adviser who never overestimated or underestimated trouble; neither she nor we thought her a possible creator. And now all in a moment, as it seemed, she became the founder of modern Irish dialect literature” (Yeats, 1955: 276). In fact, Yeats was slow to recognize her talent as a writer. As expected from a male writer brought up in a patriarchal society, he preferred having the boss position in spite of his impressive acts of homage while they were managing the Abbey theatre together.

Yeats also praises Gregory with these complimentary words: “she is the only woman I have known of real intellectual power equal to men and that without having anything unnaturally masculine about her. She is an admirable writer, something of a poet, a good speaker and lecturer and an entirely practical business woman” (Longford, 1987: 95). When her husband, Sir William Gregory died in 1892, Lady Gregory decided to edit her husband’s autobiography and it was published in 1894. As she was encouraged by the positive reception of her editing, she also attempted to prepare some selections from Sir William Gregory’s grandfather’s correspondence and they were published as “*Mr. Gregory’s Letter-Box 1813-30* (1898). This editorial project had a pivotal role in reshaping her political views as it required delving into Irish history of the period and led to her transformation from Unionism in her writing related to Home Rule to an obvious support of Irish nationalism. Most importantly, her involvement in this editorial project provoked a distrust of England in her. In *Seventy Years 1852-1922* Gregory reveals: “even my growing friendship with Yeats did not bring me into that National struggle in which he had a hand, although my feeling against Home Rule had gradually been changing³⁷. It is hard to say how the

³⁷ In 1895, Lady Gregory had been sufficiently anti-Home Rule to get published anonymously her *Phantom’s Pilgrimage or Home Ruin*, which showed what terrible things would happen to Ireland if

change of mind came. There was preparation for it in my husband's liberal views, (though he, too, had cried out against Gladstone's proposals) and in my friendship with Wilfrid Blunt, and my always friendly and affectionate intercourse with the people" (Gregory, 1974: 310). Consequently, in this chapter I tried to refer to inspirational personalities which influenced Lady Gregory and Halide Edib intellectually and inspired them in terms of freedom of opinion also by answering my second argumentative question "how were they positioned by their contemporaries politically".

3.2. Nationalism and Anti-Imperialism in Lady Gregory and Halide Edib's Dramatic Works

Early 20th-century Irish and Turkish dramatists represented ethnic and national identity by reviving old literary forms, which also contributed to their own narratives in the form of drama. Accordingly Lady Gregory and Halide Edib revealed their anti-imperial and anti-totalitarian view through theatre. They exploited the representative feature of theatre for the sake of the representation of national ideals and views. Their works deserve close attention for what they unveil about the exclusive nature of nationalist ideology and its influence on the conventionally voiceless symbol of nation-woman. There is comparatively little current scholarship examining their significance as playwrights. As an Irish political writer and nationalist, Lady Gregory endorsed national independence. As noted by Lucy McDiarmid and Maureen Waters in the Introduction to *Selected Writings*, "using folk materials soon involved Lady Gregory, far more than Yeats or Synge, in an effort to dramatize Irish history. By turning to the expressly historic, however, Lady Gregory directly engaged the political despite her preference for 'staying out of politics'" (Gregory, 1995: xxx). In her full-length plays such as *Kincora*, *Dervorgilla*, *The White Cockade* Gregory also coped with critical turning-points in Irish history. In addition to her interest in history, literary reputation was boosted by her one-act plays which portrayed contemporary Irish life. Related to her one-act plays, it is noted that "their powerful nationalist and militant tone, denouncing the English, sympathizing with the rebels of

the Bill was passed. The Earl of Wemyss drew a cartoon for its frontispiece, which was not used: it shows a ghostly Gladstone deated on top of a railway engine steaming into the night.

1798, with Jacobites and Fenians, was an important reason for the English theatre manager, Annie Horniman's suspicion of Abbey policies and her dislike of Lady Gregory" (Gregory, 1995: xxx). Lady Gregory uses her plays as a platform from which she announces the needs, desires, dreams or expectations of Ireland as a distinct nation from England and her characters are mostly representative.

all of these plays, like *Grania* and *The Gaol Gate*, are ultimately concerned with questions of representation: who is speaking for whom? Whose version of truth will have the stronger claim? Lady Gregory saw clearly the relation between discursive power and political power. In her lecture 'Laughter in Ireland' she anticipates post-colonial theory in her analysis of the way nineteenth-century comic fiction and drama were used to debase and disenfranchise the Irish peasant to please an English audience: They wanted, and got what they wanted, Mickey Free, Handy Andy, the butt, the blunderer, the inferior, who to them symbolise Ireland, whose mistakes would make them feel comfortably superior, over which they would comfortably laugh (Gregory, 1995: xxxiv)

While plays were written to amuse the English audience by putting Irish characters into a ridiculous position in the nineteenth century, Lady Gregory wanted to reverse this situation by adding the representative voice of Irish characters into her plays. "Lady Gregory's nationalism was expressed publicly and unequivocally in her plays, but her feminism tended to be disguised" (Gregory, 1995: xxxii). She engraved the nationalist voice of Irish people into plays by using the local language. Many of her plays written for production at the Abbey Theatre were created as a consequence of attempts for the transliteration of the Hiberno-English dialect widely known as Kiltartanese in the nearby village of Kiltartan and spoken around Coole Park. After gathering Irish folklore, Gregory tried to rewrite them faithfully in the language of the Irish people by using the dialect which was a mixture of Irish and English. She explained why she preferred this dialect in her works:

When I went looking for the stories in the old writings, I found that the Irish in them is too hard for any person to read that has not made a long study of it. Some scholars have worked well at them, Irishmen and Germans and Frenchmen, but they have printed them in the old cramped Irish, with translations into German, French or English, and these are not easy for you to get, or to understand, and the stories themselves are confused, every one giving a different account from the others in some small things, the way there is not much pleasure in reading them...I have told the whole story in plain and simple words, in the same way my old nurse Mary Sheridan used to be telling stories from thre Irish long ago, and I a child at Roxborough (Coxhead, 1966: 57).

Moreover, in regards to the production of plays with this dialect for the national stage, Gregory commented: “by using dialect rather than standard English for all her characters, high and low, Lady Gregory eliminated the invidious contrast of earlier comedy, such as Lover’s *Handy Andy*” (Gregory, 1995: xxxiv), like Halide Edib resorting to dialect in *Masks or Souls*, particularly in the wording of Nasreddin Hodja. In the relevant play Halide Edib gave place to Nasreddin Hodja’s local speech and view of life from the perspective of the fourteenth century in a defense of traditions, local culture and moral values as opposed to the sanctions of the materialist world. Likewise, by making use of local culture and language Gregory achieves to liberate drama from the pressure of being a one-sided discourse that serves only the satisfaction of English audience. “*Kathleen ni Houlihan*, written with Yeats, draws on Irish history and poetic form in commemorating the Rising of 1798. The original inspiration, according to Yeats, was his “dream almost as distinct as a vision, of a cottage where there was well-being and firelight and talk of a marriage, and into the midst of that cottage there came an old woman in a long cloak. She was Ireland herself” (Gregory, 1995: xxxi). That’s why *Kathleen ni Houlihan* is a nationalist play which took inspiration from the depiction of Ireland as a feminine figure in Yeats’s dream. Like Halide Edib, Lady Gregory is also in favour of pacifist nationalism as evidenced by the characterization in her plays as well. Putting humanist values in front of nationalism Gregory’s “plays *Spreading the News*, *Kincora*, *the Gaol Gate* are anti-English, but their characters are always human first and Irish second” (Gonzalez, 2006: 135), which refers to her liberal humanist and cultural nationalist side at the same time. Moreover, *Ideals in Ireland*, which is a book of essays edited by Lady Gregory in 1901, justified Irish nationalism by criticising English domination. It favoured the revival of Irish culture, which was central to the future of Ireland.

Lady Gregory’s first tragedy, “*The Gaol Gate*” is the reflection of an incident of local terrorism which includes agrarian violence. It is a play that fused Christian iconography with republican ideals. The play is based on the dialogue of two women called Mary Cushin and Mary Cahel, who are the mother and wife of the executed Denis Cahel. The “Kiltartan dialect” spoken in the play is remarkable as it reflects

and symbolizes the Gaelic speech of the people of Lady Gregory's district. Two women start their journey to arrive at the Galway jail on foot to find out if the rumors in their home village about Denis are right or wrong. According to the rumor, Denis has betrayed his comrades. Two women learn that Denis was arrested and imprisoned for "firing a shot" in the nighttime and he has also been executed because of his footprint found as an evidence, but his comrades have been released for lack of evidence against them. In this case two women realize that all rumors against Denis are false and Denis is gone forever. In fact Denis did not betray his comrades, Terry Fury and Pat Ruane. The play is, in fact, the portrayal of the native Irish dislike of British law. It glorifies a man who sacrifices himself for his neighbour. 'It was not a little thing for him to die, and he protecting his neighbour!' (Gregory, 1915: 184)

Rising of the Moon is a political play in which Lady Gregory draws our attention to the national unity and solidarity of Irish people from an Irish rebel to an Irish police officer serving the English government while Ireland is fighting for freedom from English domination lasting for ages. This collaboration is achieved through myths, folklore and rebel songs shared nationally. Conflicting with the ideas of duty and patriotism, the characters in the play find a way of uniting together as Irishmen by means of the myths, folklore and songs shared in their history as a nation. The feeling of being the citizen of a country outweighs the feelings of having a duty towards a foreign nation. The scene in the play is a harbour in Ireland where the British are the rulers and the Irish patriots are fighting for their national independence. As Alexander Gonzalez notes in *Irish Woman Writers: An A-to-Z Guide*, "The Rising of the Moon (1903) illuminates the human condition of two native Irishmen while at the same time encouraging revolt against England" (Gonzalez, 2006: 135). It is an Irish ballad recounting a battle between the United Irishmen and the British Army during the Irish Rebellion of 1798. It gives an insight into Irish character. The main plot circulates around two main characters who are an Irish patriot with a prize on his head and a sergeant who is on the look-out for him. At first the sergeant is decided to find the rebel because of his duty to England and the reward of \$100 that will help him support his family.

However, his intention changes when the patriot appears in a disguised way as a ballad singer and starts a dialogue with the sergeant with the intention to arouse his nationalistic feelings. Hence in the play the feelings of nationality overwhelm the sense of duty towards England. There is a reference to Cathleen Ni Houlihan, also sometimes referred to as the Sean-Bhean Bhocht. In the play the man addresses the sergeant and makes some inquiries: “and maybe one night, after you had been singing, if the other boys had told you some plan they had, some plan to free the country, you might have joined with them ... and maybe it is you might be in trouble now.” The sergeant puts himself instead of the criminal and speculates: “if it wasn’t for the sense I have, and for my wife and family, and for me joining the force the time I did, it might be myself now would be after breaking gaol and hiding in the dark, and it might be him that’s hiding in the dark and that got out of gaol would be sitting up where I am on this barrel”. The man says: “Maybe, sergeant, you’ll be on the side of the country”. Under the effect of this dialogue the sympathy of the sergeant increases towards the rebel and the sergeant supports his escape. While the man is singing Irish rebel songs, the sergeant accompanies him with excitement. These two characters become united through songs and ballads as part of Irish cultural heritage and they symbolize unity as people of Ireland at this point as far as nationality is concerned. The Ragged Man reminds the sergeant that he is an Irish citizen more than an English civil servant and in this way he gains the trust and support of the sergeant. Finally the man expresses his gratitude for the sergeant and says: “I’m obliged to you. Maybe I’ll be able to do as much for you when the small rise up and the big fall down when we all change places at the Rising of the Moon.” At the end of the Rising of the Moon, ‘Ragged Man’ predicts a wishful glimpse of that future time ‘when the small rise up and the big fall down’...when all change places.

Spreading the News which is a drama comedy by Lady Gregory is a story based on misunderstanding and error judgements. The setting of the drama is a fair in a district. The play starts with the Magistrate’s judgement of the district as a bad place, but the judgement is paradoxical since the chaos in the district is caused only by the misunderstanding between people. The tension is created by irony, paradox and

ambiguity in Gregory's drama. Full of bad judgements and paradoxical statements, chit-chat between characters, the story becomes totally chaotic. *Spreading the News* is, in fact, made up of paradoxical judgements unified with the spreading news including ironies and ambiguities. Gossip is one of the main themes that Gregory criticises in the play in which characters are ready to believe the worst about their neighbours. They talk without thinking and this case causes distortions, misunderstanding and violence in order. Although people go to America to escape prosecution, it is thought to be a dangerous place by characters in the play. Related to Ireland, Bartley claims: "indeed it's a poor country and a scarce country to be living in. But Im thinking if I went to America it's long ago the day I'd be dead!" (Gregory, 1915: 5). When we analyse the play from the socio-political context, we see that it is a comedy based on both Irish and English stereotypes. Depicted in a small village of rural Ireland, the play opens with the appearance of the magistrate in the village to inspect the stalls at the local fair with the expectation that people are committing crimes. Actually the magistrate imposes his idea on them and they live up to it. Gregory satirizes the English governing class by the character of the Magistrate. It is really hard to find out if things are historically true or not in the play. Furthermore, Gregory creates various stereotypes about Irish people by reproducing the lower-class dialect and colloquial speech of workers as the representative and supporter of Irish culture and identity.

In the play called *Hyacinth Halvey* which was first performed in 1906 and a comedy in one act by Lady Gregory, the English are portrayed as greedy people who eat up everything by referring to their exploitive feature. In the play the character Mrs Delane responds angrily: "And let me tell you, James Quirke, that I would sooner starve and see everyone belonging to me starve than to eat the size of a thimble of any joint that ever was on your rack or that ever will be on it, whatever the soldiers may eat that have no other thing to get, or the English that devour all sorts, or the poor ravenous people that's down by the sea!" (Gregory, 1915: 52, 53) In another play of Lady Gregory, *the Jackdaw* there is a reference to Orangemen and landlordism. An army pensioner, Joseph Nestor reads a horoscope: "the angry appearance of Scorpio and the position of the pale Venus and Jupiter presage much

danger for England. The heretofore obsequious Orangemen will refuse to respond to the tocsin of landlordism. The scales are beginning to fall from their eyes” (Gregory, 1915: 107). In *Literary Ideals in Ireland* William Kirkpatrick Magee points out: “nationalism built upon the belief that landlordism was an alien institution imposed upon the Irish and at variance with the traditional modes of land use to which the Irish were culturally attuned” (Magee, 1858: 27).

Lady Gregory produces *The Workhouse Ward* as one-act comedy based on the life of workhouse. The former neighbours in *The Workhouse Ward*, Mike McInerney and Michael Miskell, are confined to beds in an Irish workhouse and in this comedy they maintain their dialogue full of physical complaints, quarrels and accusations in a rich Kiltartan dialect. The play sets in the late 18 century and early 19th century Ireland which was still under English rule. The workhouses which appeared as a result of the Poor Laws were very significant for poor people who could find no accommodation. Not finding any financial help and resorting to a local workhouse, Mike McInerney and Michael Miskell portray an example of life and conflicts in a workhouse as workhouse dwellers with their unceasing quarrels with each other. In Notes to *The Workhouse Ward*, Lady Gregory says: “I sometimes think two scolding paupers are a symbol of ourselves in Ireland—‘it is better to be quarrelling than to be lonesome.’ The Rajputs, that great fighting race, when they were told they had been brought under the Pax Britannica and must give up war, gave themselves to opium in its place, but Connacht has not yet planted its poppy gardens” (Gregory, 1915: 199). In the play Michael Miskell and Mike McInerney never leave fighting and scolding and attacking one another. Sparring at one another like two young pups and threatening one another after like two grown dogs. In connection with this manner of scolding Gregory makes a comparison between India and Ireland. Even she may have had more hopes of a revival in Ireland by imagining the whole of Ireland as a ‘workhouse’ because there is a tradition of arguing’. Mike McInerney says: “you were no grabber yourself, I suppose, till your land and all you had grabbed wore away from you” (Gregory, 1915: 140). At this point there is a reference to the situation that the colonized imitates the colonizer as the psychological reflection of colonialism on colonized people.

One of Gregory's folk-history plays, *The White Cockade* reflects the period between the Battle of the Boyne and the final escape of King James. This play is significant as it sheds light on Gregory's sense of politics by means of the characters of James and his general, Patrick Sarsfield. Related to Gregory's play *The White Cockade*³⁸, in his book entitled *Journey Westward: Joyce, Dubliners and the Literary Revival*, Frank Shovlin indicates: "*The White Cockade* also deals with the aftermath of the Battle of Boyne, with King James depicted as a bumbling coward and Patrick Sarsfield as a virtuous hero" (Shovlin, 2012: 82). The character of Sarsfield is a key figure for Gregory, since he manages to merge "integrity with practical force" (Richards, 2004: 73). In *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth Century Irish Drama*, Shaun Richards depicts Sarsfield like this: with his blend of visionary energy and pragmatic sense, Sarsfield is a figure both for Lady Gregory's ideal of a transformative Irish political leader, and for the artist who has the potential to change real-world conditions by inspiring others. His final self-sacrifice, knowingly fighting in a losing cause like the defeated rebels she had celebrated in 'Felons of Our Land', offers those around him the potential for 'spiritual vision', even though they prove too debased to profit from his example" (Richards, 2004: 73). At the end of the play *The White Cockade*, the character Mrs Kelleher expresses Sarsfield with a warning tone: "look, now, the skin is nearer than the shirt. One bit of a rabbit is worth two of a cat. It's no use to go looking for wool on a goat. It's best for you fight from this out for your own hand and for Ireland. Why would you go spending yourself for the like of *that* of a King?" (*The White Cockade*, 170). Sarsfield is deeply loyal to James and he burns with the excitement of battle.

However, James and Sarsfield are contrasting characters. Sarsfield expects James to do what is best for Ireland and warns him against betraying the troops coming to

³⁸ "Lady Gregory, through books such as *Poets and Dreamers* and essays such as 'Jacobite Ballads' wished to distance herself from the worst excesses of her colonial ancestry on both sides of the family tree. Though she had begun her writing career with a stern attack on Home Rule and with supportive biographical pieces on her powerful and much-despised late husband, by the later 1890s she had become more recognizably the Lady Gregory of the Revival who is, for the most part, fondly remembered in Ireland today. While Gregory had revealed her interest in Jacobitism through her essay on the Aisling tradition, she had a more personal interest in the events of Williamite War as is evident in the naming of her beloved young son Robert's first horse 'Sarsfield' after the popular nationalist hero of the war. Her focus on this period reaches its clearest manifestation with the publication in 1905 of her play *The White Cockade* (Shovlin 2012: 82)".

them as they believe in the king. James responds carelessly: “I have business in France. You may stay here, General Sarsfield, if you will. But I will lead you no longer; I will fight no more for these cowardly Irish. You must shift for yourself; I will shift for myself” (Gregory, 1912: 13). Startled with the final flight of James, Sarsfield expresses his frustration: “gone, gone; he is gone - he betrayed me - he called me from the battle - he lost me my great name - he betrayed Ireland. Who is he? What is he? A King or what? (He pulls feathers one by one from cockade.) King or knave - soldier - sailor - tinker - tailor - beggarman - thief! (pulls out last feather.) Thief, that is it, - thief. He has stolen away; he has stolen our good name; he has stolen our faith; he has stolen the pin that held loyalty to royalty! A thief, a fox - a fox of trickery!” (Gregory, 1912: 13) That’s why Sarsfield deserves to be associated as a hero while King James is portrayed as a craven coward. The character of Sarsfield is important to reflect Gregory’s ideal political leader and the play bears significance for its content that focuses on the aftermath of the Battle of the Boyne and the cowardly flight of James II, which also reflects Gregory’s interest in the details of Williamite War.

Both Lady Gregory and Halide Edib seem to have been influenced by Shakespeare considering the references they made to him in their works for different purposes. For instance, Lady Gregory pays homage to Shakespeare by maintaining the tradition of writing “wonder” plays with an emphasis on the theatrical experience of wonder as encountered in Shakespeare’s plays such as *Pericles*, *The Winter’s Tale* and *The Comedy of Errors* through their extended readings. By focusing on the feelings of characters in his wonder plays Shakespeare believed in the power of emotions and dealt with the experience of power emotions which has always been fundamental to audience response and dramatic presentation as integral part of theatre in medieval and classical drama as referred by T.G. Bishop in his book called *Shakespeare and the Theatre of Wonder*. Bishop argues that “wonder provides a turbulent space, rich at once in emotion and self-consciousness, where the nature and value of knowing is brought into question” and “Shakespeare uses wonder as a key component of his dialectic between affirmation and critique. Wonder is shown as vital to the

characteristic self-consciousness of Shakespeare's plays as acts of narrative inquiry and renovation" (Bishop, 2004, back cover copy).

The sense of wonder was one aspect of Shakespeare that influenced Gregory. Traces of Shakespeare can also be found in the work of Halide Edib. In her essay "Shakespeare's Birthplace" in the journal *Yedigun* Halide Edib expresses that she had been reading Shakespeare for thirty five years and he still maintained his place among a few artistic stars maybe because she regarded him as a light directed to life rather than a human (Hepcilingirler, 2017: 151). The influence of Shakespeare can also be seen in her play *Masks or Souls*, which I will talk about in the next part entitled *Halide Edib and Theatre*. She notes that although German critics and translators first introduced Shakespeare to the world and Germans liken him to a German than an English, she likened him to a Turkish rather than other nationalities, but not to a Turkish intellectual but to a Turkish peasant, a character that finds embodiment in Nasreddin Hodja. Halide Edib shares her experience related to her encounter with one or two old peasants and she felt like as if they had been reading a page from Shakespeare while they were speaking. She comments that "perhaps with a very simple language, but like this great poet, they also perceived the values that have not changed over time, - like him they appreciated the concept of human unity that geographical, cultural, and even religious boundaries cannot separate" (Hepcilingirler, 2017: 152). At this point it is evident that Halide Edib admired Shakespeare's use of the dialect of peasantry and endorsed the nationalism of peasantry just as Lady Gregory emphasized the importance of peasantry and peasant language to authenticate Irishness, native culture and literature against British colonialism.

Inspired by Shakespearean tradition of theatrical wonder, Gregory wrote three wonder plays entitled "The Dragon", "Aristotle's Bellows" and "The Jester" which include fantasy elements based on folklore like Halide Edib's *Masks or Souls*. Dragons which are legendary creatures both in Eastern and Western civilization have different meanings although they are physically similar. Western dragons represent evil and enemies, whereas Eastern dragons symbolize power, good fortune or

immortality. Dragons are the symbols of evil in the European civilization while they are the symbols of positive things in the Eastern civilization. While the Dragon represents the evil or enemy for the Princess at the beginning of *The Dragon: A Wonder Play in Three Acts* written by Lady Gregory, it is tamed and mastered by Manus, the King of Sorchu so that it cannot harm anybody. The Dragon is the symbol of a change of heart. This positive transformation of the dragon in a conciliatory way may give us a signal about Gregory's proximity to the Eastern philosophy which harbours positive associations about dragons. The play is mystic and fantastic in terms of having such a mysterious plot based on the prophecies of the Astrologer, Fintan about the future of the Princess forced into marriage by her parents insistently. The idea of "being eaten by the Dragon" itself is fantastic besides being part of folk tales dealing with dragons.

Gregory creates another fantastic and imaginative atmosphere with her play *Aristotle's Bellows*. This play is utopic as it is in search of an ideal world in Ireland. The main character, Conan intends to change and reconstitute society with the bellows he finds, but he fails as all bellows are wasted without changing anything for the better except for his step-sister's transformation. This denotes that maybe there is very little hope for change in the new Irish society. Moreover, *the Jester* is another mystic play by Gregory which leads to a convergence between the lower class and high class people by a change of places with the spell cast by the jester fantastically. The Princes learn to empathize with the Wrenboys when they wear the masks of the "wrenboys" staying near the Ogre by force. The wrenboys are inspired to acquire the blessings of knowing a language and artistic wisdom from the Princes while the Princes are eager to learn wrestling, to harden their minds with courage and to learn the wisdom of the woods from the wrenboys, which is essential to defend the nation physically in a possible battle successfully. The Princes learn to value the wrenboys both ethically and emphatically. The friendship achieved across class lines creates ambivalence about the social class borders in Gregory's time and urges us to question and reflect on the British class structure. This convergence between the Princes and wrenboys offers an ambiguous reading of the social class hierarchy in the early-twentieth century Ireland. Hence all these three wonder plays put emphasis on

learning to use a sword, learning the art of fight bravely in case of a danger or war by means of the characters desiring to change their world.

The Dragon is Gregory's full-length, fantastical tale based on legends and replete with curses, subterfuge and cures, in which a re-married King with an unhealthy appetite must find a husband for his daughter if she is to be saved from a dragon. Concerning the play Kohfeldt indicates: "Augusta wrote *The Dragon*, the second of her delightful fairy-tale plays in which evil is conquered and harmony reigns" (Kohfeldt, 1984: 249) after Easter Rising in 1916. In the play in which bravery is exalted over timidity Gregory creates a fantastic tale with the portrayal of the Dragon with six or seven heads and as big as a whale which will devour the Princess according to the prophecy of Fintan, the Astrologer. Both the Queen and the King try to persuade the Princess to get married as soon as possible, but the Princess defies this idea and refuses her suitors. For example, she is introduced to the son of the King of the Marshes as the first match in Ireland. The Prince with seven aunts is very timid. The Princess makes up a story to dissuade the Prince from getting married with herself. She says there is a spell put upon her by a water-witch which was her kindred. She explains: "at some hours of the day I am, as you see me, but at other times I am changed into a sea-filly from the Country-under-Wave" (Gregory, 1922: 36). The Queen scolds the Princess because of her nonsense talk and insists on her wedding with the Prince. However, the Princess is decided not to marry anyone. This marriage issue causes a disagreement between the Princess, the King and the Queen. When the King expressed his fear that the father of the Prince may not be well-pleased, the Princess ironically says: "which now of the two of you is the most to be pitied? He to have such a timid son or you to have such an unruly daughter?" (Gregory, 1922: 42) Upon this frank speech the Queen is anxious about the King's going into fight just because of the stubbornness of the Princess. She warns the King: "it is likely he will make an attack on you. There was a war made by the King of Britain on the head of a terrier pup that was sent to him and that made away on the road following hares. It is best for you to make ready to put yourself at the head of your troop" (Gregory, 1922: 42). The King's comment is interesting: "if the rest of

Adam's race was of my opinion there'd be no fighting in the world at all" (Gregory, 1922: 42), which refers to his peaceful nature as an Irish ruler.

Meanwhile, the King needs a cook and Manus, the new King of Sorcha, arrives to work as a cook. Dall Glic leans out the window and sees and calls Manus as someone with the appearance of a cook. Manus is employed as a cook by the King to dress nice dinners. Manus conceals his real identity. He tells the nurse that he dreamed that the King's daughter is in a great danger and he came to save her from every troublesome thing that will disturb her. After a while, Manus learns from the Queen that the King was after promising the Princess Nu in marriage to the first person to come into the house and after being sure of this promise Manus warns the King to be just and to keep his word by giving his daughter to no other one than himself as he is the first to come into the house. However, the King is unwilling to keep his promise as Manus is just a serving lad in his eye. On the other side, When Taig hears that the Princess will be given as a wife to the first man that will come into the house, he comes to talk and ask her in marriage. However, the Nurse talks to the King and reveals that Taig is actually a schemer who is letting on to be the King of Sorcha and he stole grand clothes which were left in his mother's charge to pretend to be like a King. Fintan, the Astrologer, arrives and foretells that they will be eaten and "devoured by a scaly Green Dragon from the North" (Gregory, 1922: 47). When Fintan comes the second time, he explains about the birth details of the Princess: "she was born under a certain star and that in a score of years all but two, whatever acting was going on in that star at the time she was born, she would get her crosses in the same day" (Gregory, 1922: 100-101). And the cross he foretells to her is to be eaten by a Dragon.

Taig (the Tailor), tells the Queen he will knock the life out of the Dragon without any fear. The Queen praises his great courage. As the Gateman rushes in, Taig slips away. The Gateman informs everybody that he has seen the dragon coming and the whole country is gathering to see him devour the Princess. The Dragon comes up toward towards the flaggy shore by rearing his head and tail. The King, Queen and Dall Glic look from the window and the Princess trembles and sinks into a chair. First the Prince of Marshes fights with the Dragon. He casts spears into its jaw but

the Dragon spits at him and never gives up. His two aunts push him into the coach and close the iron door. Then another champion appears to fight with the Dragon and manages to master him and drives him to its knees on the floggy shore and the fight is ended. Manus brings the dragon to bow itself at her feet. The Nurse says: “No man in Ireland ever was half as good as him. It was himself mastered the beast and dragged the heart out of him and forced down a squirrel’s heart in its place, and slapped a bridle on him” (Gregory, 1922: 119). And she also reveals that it was no clown fought for her, but a king, the young King of Sorcha.

The Princess falls in love with the man who died for her after wrestling with the Dragon “whether he is of the noble or the simple of the world” (Gregory, 1922: 118) by drawing the attention to the high importance loaded onto the class or the social status of people in Ireland. She supposes that the champion Manus is killed in the fight and she feels frustrated and ashamed since she humiliated him once. Suddenly she faints and dies. Manus comes to see the Princess after the tough fight with the Dragon and learns that the Princess Nuala is dead although she was living half an hour ago. The Prince of Marshes takes a bag from his aunt and gives it to Manus. Inside this bag there are three leaves from the Tree of Power that grows by the Well of Healing and they have the power to bring one person only back to life. When the Nurse puts a leaf on the Princess’s mouth, she wakes up and comes back to life hopefully by remembering the hard fight he gave with the Dragon for her. At the end of the play the Prince of Marshes wants to learn to fight with his own hand because he is a timid and frightened man and he wants to get over this weakness. The Dragon is tamed by Manus and experiences a change of heart. Manus changes the heart of the dragon for the heart of “a little squirrel of the wood”. He gives it a coco-nut and the dragon starts to eat it by crunching. It is disgusted by blood after this change. Maybe this peaceful ending refers to sweet beginnings which will take place with the emergence of nation-states after the bloody wars or fights between countries.

A fantastic little play which are also called a wonder play made up of three acts, *Aristotle’s Bellows* can be assessed as a farcical comedy due to its very imaginative and whimsical character. It also contains an element of enchantment, droll and

whimsical, salutary. The first-night reviewer for the Evening Telegraph presents an effusive assessment as well as a concise plot summary of the play:

Conan, a sort of half crazy old peasant scholar in the West is wondering what Aristotle left Ireland before his departure. He hears it was a bellows with extraordinary power and virtues. Anything on which it has blown has changed to the reverse: black being made White, deafness turned into good hearing, and so forth. But the bellows has only seven blasts and its owner must need husband its magic powers and employ each blast in some great and worthy work.

Conan finds the bellows and determines to change the face of Ireland and, indeed, reconstitute society and save the World. He thinks of the bellows as Mr. Wilson thought of the League of Nations. He gets ready to leave Connacht for Dublin but loses his temper with his indolent step-sister and blows the bellows upon her. Instantly she becomes the soul of energy, and her activities are soon a nuisance rather than a blessing. Soon, unheeding, a neighbour wastes another blast on Conan's stupid old mother, whose memory returns in a flash and trots in many disconcerting things. She in turn restores the hearing of the deaf serving man that she may plague him with her vivid recollections. A little later two neighbours exchange their natures, the one generous and kind, the other mean and hard as flint by virtue of the wonderful bellows.

At this moment Conan enters and sees how all his blasts have been wasted—only one is left—in doing petty things, while the world is still unchanged. He regretfully sees that his friends and kinfolk are all changed for the worse, and allows them to break the spell. However, his step-sister uses the last blast on himself, and from being a sour old crotchet, he becomes a kindly old fellow enough, and is the only change for the better in all the bellows transformations (Hogan&Burnham, 1992: 37).

Jester is another of Gregory's fantastical plays in which an Ogre, a Jester and Dust of Mullein create a mythical atmosphere for shaping the destiny of the wrenboys and princes changing places under the effect of spells. At the beginning of the play the second wrenboy mentions he has seen a lot of strange things in the night time referring to "fairies" (Gregory, 1922: 236) when princes wonder about them. The third wrenboy even asserts that "hares are the biggest fairies of all" (Gregory, 1922: 236). The jester encourages the princes to change places with the wrenboys. He throws a handful of dust over all the boys and pleads Dust of Mullein to cast a spell on them. The princes wear the masks and clothes of the wrenboys and arrive at their old home. The Ogre arrives to urge them to spy out the living place of the young princes to find out where the treasure and the golden-handled sword of Justice used by Guardian are hidden. The Ogre threatens to boil and bake them if they do not help him to search out the golden-handled sword. Later, the Dowager Messengers arrive

to prepare a report about the self-development of princes in various subjects such as music, poetry, languages, numbers or history. They are expected to submit this report to the Queen-Godmother. When the messengers start to question the wrenboys who pretend to be the princes, they realize they have forgotten everything they knew last year. However, the servant suspects that there are enchantment and spells on them. The messengers think there is something wrong in their minds.

On the other side, the princes pretending to be the wrenboys quarrel with the Ogre when he asks them the place of the sword. Finally the ogre captures the sword despite the digressive/distracting efforts of princes. Upon this the first prince runs toward the house hastily to awaken all and rings the bell. When the guardian comes, he calls the princes “thieves”, “robbers”, and “burglers” by misunderstanding their role. The Ogre accuses the princes (under the mask of wrenboys) of stealing the sword and robbing the house and acquits himself in the face of the guardian. In this case the guardian orders soldiers to put a gag the upon the mouths of the princes and to tie their hands behind them with ropes. He wears his Judge’s wig and his gown and consults his book of punishments and rewards. The wrenboys wearing Princes’ clothes are called by the guardian to see justice done by him. However, when they come in, they are surprised to see a gag on the Princes’ mouths and their hands tied with a rope. For the judgment everybody takes their places in the court and the Judge (Guardian) decides to cut off the left thumb of the Princes as a punishment to their theft. Even the Guardian reads this rule directly: “in the case of the first act of theft the left thumb is to be struck off” (Gregory, 1922: 280). Theft is regarded as a crime in all religions, law and morality systems. Maybe Gregory deliberately makes use of such a quote to demonstrate the reconciliation of the West with the East like Halide Edib’s view on the interaction of the Eastern civilization with the Western civilization. Later in the play, the Guardian finds an executioner to do this job of cutting. The jester disguised as Executioner with a long cloak comes in and intends to cut off the left thumb according to the book by taking the sword from the guardian, but the wrenboys protect the Princes by announcing their innocence at the moment when the jester holds up the sword. They reveal that they changed places with the

Princes to enjoy a Prince's life. The jester takes off the gags of the Princes, lets them free and finally throws some dust over all boys.

The jester is, in fact, "the great Master of all magic and all enchantments, Manannan, Son of the Sea" (Gregory, 1922: 284). When the wrenboys strip their arms and show the dowager messengers the mark on their right arm, the dowager messengers recognize that the wrenboys are actually the five little royal cousins of the princes stolen away from the coast by the Grugach, that is, the Ogre to be kept in his service through the years. As the Ogre has been an enemy to these young boys as the sons of a King for seven years by keeping them in dirt and ignorance, the jester turns the Ogre into the shape of a rat to go groping through dirt, holes and darkness three times seven years. The princes become companions with the wrenboys to help each other to learn each other's work. The Princes wants to learn the wisdom of woods and to harden their minds with courage and harden their bodies with wrestling from the wrenboys while the wrenboys desires to learn the manners, music, the art of the language poets and the news of the War of Greece from the Princes as "candles of knowledge". The play ends by giving the message "that comradeship is better than the parting of the sword, that if ever two natures should join and grow into one, they will do more together than the world has ever done" (Gregory, 1922: 287).

Bravery and courage are exalted features that Gregory highlighted in her plays, especially both in *the Dragon* and *the Jester*. Knowing how to use a sword in a fight or how to defend yourself without any fear is a desirable skill. In *the Dragon* the timid King of Marshes desires to fight with his own hand, while the Princes desire to learn the wisdom of wrestling by hardening their minds with courage. Once national for the island the language of the Irish mythological world was mostly available in the Gaelic language. Through her plays Gregory reproduced ancient favourable values, such as bravery, loyalty and honesty which started to disappear in the nineteenth century prevailed mostly by rationalism and physical science. She could write about Irishness and Irish folklore without mentioning politics like other contemporary writers with an educational purpose - she could talk about her homeland through her works without direct commentary. As indicated by Matilde Fogliani, "in avoiding contemporary politics, the authors depicted an ancient Ireland,

characterized by strong and fighting Gaelic men and their epic heroism, which appeared nobler and more honest than the evolving homeland they inhabited” (Fogliani, 2014:3).

3.2.1 Halide Edib and Theatre

Likewise, endorsing pacifist nationalism and liberal humanism Halide Edib reflected her egalitarian world vision on theatre as well. As the first female professor in Turkey she made significant contributions to theatre with her translations of Shakespeare’s plays into Turkish besides one libretto and a pacifist play titled *Masks or Souls* that she wrote as a criticism of the horrors of war. She employed folkloric elements in her plays with the aim to represent Turkish cultural identity and aimed to denounce dictatorship and despotic regimes all over the world through the ideas of leading Turkish historical figures and folk heroes. For her theatre was an effective way of dramatizing Turkish history with a view to referring to local and political issues of the period ironically. In other words, theatre functioned as a political tool in the service of the Turkish state during the nation-state building project in the Early Republican Period. Halide Edib was the first woman to appear on stage with her Muslim identity, and also worked hard for the Turkish woman to be on stage and on the screen. It should be emphasized that Halide Edib who made her own stage appearance in 1913 devoted an important part of her life to the education of Turkish girls and showed great sensitivity about their stage appearance (Çalışlar, 2010:110-11). Furthermore, Halide Edib thought that the Turkish woman befits the stage and the screen and struggled a lot in this regard. She was fascinated the day when she met the theater. She tells: “a French troupe came to Beyoğlu. Among the friends of my father, Sırrı Bey took me with him, tried to tell what happened on stage. Of course, I didn’t understand it. But the brilliant blue costume of Primadonna who was playing the leading role and the strange shapes of her mouth when she was singing amazed me. While my eyes were staring at her mouth, I fell asleep” (Adivar, 2007: 74).

As one of the inspirational shadow plays that initiated into theatre, Halide Edib also refers to Karagöz plays and improvisers that she watched in the month of Ramadan in her childhood in her novel “Mor Salkımlı Ev”: “Kel Hasan was the last great

improviser of the Turkish scene. Particularly the moment when he was seen in the role of servant in stage, he used to move audiences from their seats. At the same time, Mrs. Peruz also still impressed the spectators with both her cantos and her main roles on stage” (Adivar, 2007: 108). In addition, Halide Edib described: “Orta Oyunu (a theatrical genre once popular in Turkey), which is equivalent to Europe’s open-air theaters, was the product of the local scene. These plays based open and implied satires and criticisms about domestic disgrace and political problems to the various classes, nations and members of the country” (Adivar, 2007: 96-7). She explains the influence of the play ‘Karagöz’ on literature: “Karagöz is gone, but this life view is eternal in different clothes as an example of character” (Adivar, 2007: 103). She was interested in French Literature in her marriage years and focused on Zola. At first she was mostly impressed by the eloquence and rhetoric of French language and then she was fascinated by the great importance the French nation gave to the honor and freedom of opinion (Adivar, 2007: 143). “Delving into Zola at such a young age and seeing humanity with his eyes led to a long-standing insomnia vigil... I stayed in bed for quite some time, I was going to burn out as if death were inevitable... In this narrow cell I turned from Zola to Shakespeare” (Adivar, 2007: 145-6). It is mentioned that she often went to exhibitions and theater plays in the years she was abroad. “the most interesting aspect of the exhibition which opened on the banks of the River Sein in the summer of 1937 for her was that it included Shakespeare’s works, dance and theatre performances and light games organized at nights” (Çalışlar, 2010: 395). She is anti-communist but a fan of Nazım Hikmet. The fact that the first conference she gave when she returned to her homeland after a long life of exile was about the theater also proves the author's love of theater.

The moment she appeared on stage, there was a big applause. The subject was National Theater. She talked about the theatrical company called “Kel Hasan” and the play “Leyla and Mecnun” which she went to see with the money she collected during her childhood days. She commemorated Güllü Agop and Minikyan who served the theater in Turkey. When talking about theater writers she did not forget Nazım Hikmet. She was making suggestions to comprehend the various ideas in Turkey. She mentioned the names of Resat Nuri Güntekin, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and Muhsin Ertuğrul (Çalışlar, 2010: 408).

Gregory also used “her folklore studies and her plays of dialect to full advantage in her plays...Writing primarily one-and two-act plays, she worked with tragedies, comedies, and farces. She wrote peasant plays, folk history plays, a passion play, and adaptations (as well as translations) from Moliere and Goldoni (Wilson&Schlueter, 2013: 182). For instance, “her last translation of Moliere, *The Would-Be Gentleman*, was produced at the Abbey in January 1926” (Kohfeldt, 1984: 285). In Turkey “Ahmed Vefik Pasha, besides being a famous figure of the Tanzimat as a statesman and administrator, is also notable for having most beautifully rendered Moliere’s work and spirit into Turkish” (Adıvar, 1926: 244). “Through him Moliere became the leading influence in the development of the comedy side of the Turkish theater. Moliere’s spirit, so different from that of the other French classical writers, so human and full of common sense, made an immediate appeal to the simple and sound humor of the ordinary Turk, for not only in “Orta Oyoun” but even in the “Karaguez” one finds the traces of his wit and spirit” (Adıvar 1926: 245), Halide Edib comments. From all these examples it is clear that both Halide Edib and Gregory were impressed by French literature by adoring French soul.

Just like Turkish literature, Halide Edib was interested in works in translation. Prof. Enginün regards her work of a translator important in terms of the works she chose, whether she was a successful translator or not (Enginün, 2007: 357). For instance, according to the Tanin Newspaper, the play of Julius Caesar by Shakespeare that she translated in December 1908 began to be played on the National Stage. “like most of the time the translation of this work can be attributed to revolutionary purposes as often. 1908 is the date of the end of the despotism, and in this respect the translation of Jules Caesar is meaningful. As a matter of fact, Abdullah Cevdet, who is a revolutionary, translated this work into Turkish on the same date” (Enginün, 2007: 357)

Ken’an Çobanları is the first opera attempt based on Joseph’s story in the Bible and written by Halide Edib for the children in the School of Nakiye Hanım in 1916 (Enginün, 2007: 347). This play was performed by the children in this school and through this play feminist and Semitic ideas were instilled upon these children under

the pressure of social and political conditions. The play whose theme comes from the Bible as the well-known parable of Joseph is focused on child psychology. The first act of the play which consists of two acts deals with the jealousy and enmity that Joseph's stepbrothers feel against him. That Joseph is loved by his father very much, tells his father every detail about his brothers and could interpret his dreams create jealousy and lead his brothers to like Joseph less day by day. Joseph's stepbrothers made a plan to annihilate him. His aunt's son and also his stepbrother, Yehuda expresses he wants to kill Joseph instead of seeing him as a ruler (Adıvar, 1968: 21) in accordance with the interpretation of Joseph's dream. Six children from three separate women attempted to kill Joseph by throwing him into the well just because of their jealousy and then they planned to sell him to one of the Ismaili caravans. In one sense this disparity between siblings impairs brotherhood and associates the turmoils within a family, country, or a nation which needs collective solidarity for survival.

Apart from the idea of brothers turning against one another, something that should have no place in nationalism, Halide Edib also takes the opportunity to criticize polygamy. Another brother of Joseph's, Cad complains about Joseph to his other brothers: "Yusuf simply tells (our father) your misdemeanors, and at the same time does not forget that we are also the children of a concubine. He's doing what Lee does not do to his children" (Adıvar, 1968: 19). Halide Edib seems to suggest that men and women should cooperate for the removal of flawed customs. One of the main issues that Halide Edib stressed is the feeling of jealousy and enmity that polygamy leads to between both women and their children while the other issue is the bad effects of the discrimination that fathers make between their children. In this sense the play can be considered as a criticism of the custom of polygamy in the Ottoman society (Enginün, 2007: 349). This situation affects the behaviors of both children and wives to each other negatively. In his article entitled "Halide Edib Adıvar'ın Feminist ve Semitik Bir Operası: Kenan Çobanları" (Halide Edib Adıvar's Feminist and A Semitic Opera: Kenan Shepherds) Çitçi, indicates that the feminist elements in the play emerged under the effect of the Constitutional Monarchy. While men are depicted as the prisoner of women's love, Zeliha's relation with Joseph is

never mentioned in the work. The relation is never mentioned throughout the play. “All the sources, however, refer that Zeliha is madly in love with Joseph. Halide Edib never touches on the points such as Zeliha's becoming the prisoner of her lust, the condemnation of Züleyha by the ladies of Egyptian society, her lying and etc. As Joseph's wife Asenat is given a large place in the play. However, there is not much talk of Asenat in both Islamic sources, and Bible” (Çitçi, 2009: 655-667). Çitçi opposes Halide Edib's criticism of polygamy which was regarded usual at that time by saying “that Joseph's siblings boasted not of their father, who was a prophet, but of their mother reflects a semitic attitude because the generation continued from the mother for both Feminists and the Jews”.

As regards the inspiration source of writing the play *Masks or Souls* Halide Edib said she was very influenced by Nasreddin Hoca's philosophy on the journey to Akşehir during the Independence War and years later she wanted to write a play that looks at life from the perspective of Nasreddin Hoca. “the fatigue caused by the affairs that threaten civilized world and civilization before the war gave me the desire to look at these with a look of Nasreddin Hoca” (Adivar, 1945: 38). The play in which the 14th and 21st centuries are fictionalized together deals with Nasreddin Hodja and Shakespeare as heroes who evaluate the world affairs and the course of the age together and as the representative of the common values of mankind. By comparing the East and the West they make a universal criticism of the point that humanity has reached. The Turkish humorist and folk philosopher Nasreddin Hoca is a constructive figure to restore hope and peace in *Masks or Souls*. The play depicts the disappearance of soul in the new world order in which the material is in the first place. In the play that touches on the contradiction of mask and soul, the relation of traditionalism/modernity, the destruction of individuality, creativity and original thought, the mechanisation and ordinariness of men to keep up with order and the loss of soul, culture, traditions, and the enjoyment of life by creating uniform behavior and thinking are mentioned. In the play the character of Shakespeare clearly reveals that he liked Nasreddin Hodja as he did not feel bored near him by referring to his witty intelligence (Adivar, 1968: 67) and he says he would liken Hodja to his Falstaff character if he had a bigger stomach and a red face by confessing that Hodja looked

like a strange guy (Adivar, 1968: 64). From this comparison between Shakespeare (his Falstaff character) and Nasreddin Hodja it is obvious that Halide Edib was highly influenced by Shakespeare since she read and translated a great many of his works.

Masks or Souls is a very significant work bearing Halide Edib Adivar as a writer from nationalism to anti-war line, as Özlem Eser Boyd states in her essay "MOS: Halide Edib's Pacifism as a Playwright": "I regard this play as a contribution of an intellectual Turkish woman and activist, H.E, to anti-war literature in the world, as a sign of the reshaping of her ideas between the two world wars" (Boyd 2012:Çeviri:NS). In her article "An Epic For Peace" in the part "The Dialectics of National Struggle and International Peace" Hülya Adak refers that Halide Edib who was considered to be on an ethnic nationalism line in history always opposed monoculture, conflicted with Turans in many issues such as "Armenian relocation" and made a call for war because she regarded the Independence War as an anti-imperialist struggle, but she made a pacifist approach by making humanist in many cases in which she witnessed the brutality of war. In her article Adak mentions that there are swings between military power and anti-war in the writing of Halide Edib by giving important female writers like Virginia Woolf as example. In both Adak and Boyd's related articles it is told that Halide Edib adopted a completely anti-war attitude just before the Second World War and these views are located in the English version of the play *Masks or Souls* and already partly available in the previous Turkish version. That one of the last works of Halide Edib, who lived as a theater lover throughout his life is a theater play and she expresses herself in a theatrical form should also be considered important.

Halide Edib was in the self-struggle psychologically during the War of Independence, but she had to suppress her feelings in the intensity of the war both as an individual and as a woman. She pictures her tumultuous period: "although we were not much interested in the world at that time, we were experiencing depressive and anxious moments for our country. But the main cause of the uneasiness which is called 'I' inside most of us disappeared and left its place to a mighty ideal based on

the salvation of the country and the nation (Adivar, 1945: 38)". Halide Edib's devotion to her country and involvement in politics were recognized internationally as well. Halide Edib is the first woman to be invited to Williamstown Policy Institute in history. In every speech she gave she stressed that she was not a politician but a woman of letters and she refused to joust about her country. The words such as liberalism and freedom of thought in the post-war world lost their credit. Dictatorships were the latest fashion in politics. Dictatorial regimes in Turkey were conducting their reforms with the methods of terrorism (Adivar, 1929: 221-237). In her article titled "Dictatorship and Reforms" that she wrote for *Yale University Journal* she emphasizes that the only thing that turned Turks from a flock to a nation was not the Republic, that the change did not take place in a night, emphasizes that the enlightenment has a rooted history. As stated by Professor Hülya Adak the author had a pessimistic mood about the philosophy of Kemalism (Adak, 2003).

Dictatorship which is one of the main themes of the play *Masks or Souls* is about the changing world order after wars in addition to being an expression of the problems with the Kemalist regime that the author experienced. Being one man, dictatorship, and leadership concerned Halide Edib not only as an activist, but also as a literary woman, and they played a major role in her translation of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* into Turkish. Dictatorship is the other name of the encirclement which tries to capture the soul of man. The concept of dictatorship in the play is applied not by surrounding the world as it was in many cases in history, but by killing the diversity in human psyche and multiculturalism in the new order where even the death penalty is removed. The concept of being the only leader in *Masks or Souls* is related to dominating or capturing the subtleties of human soul rather than dominating the whole world physically. In the rewritten version of the play titled *Masks or Souls* during World War II the concept of dictatorship has been identified with Mussolini and Hitler, but in its first version it is expressed in a so-called democratic regime, endorsing multiculturalism and individuality.

The main conflict of the text based on the story that Nasreddin Hodja wants to go back to the world one more time and take his donkey with him before going past the

heaven after his death refers to the duality between the soul and the mask. The dichotomy which is generally expressed as soul and body in philosophy and literature, is here discussed in terms of soul and mask. The idea that it is not possible for the soul to disappear completely in the world but it is frozen by being masked in one sense is dominant in the whole play. Modernization does not penetrate human spirit but eradicates all expressions about human being by covering the face of a person as a mask. Just as there is an intensive effort to mechanize human beings in the World, so there is an intense effort and power conflict not to abandon the world in the afterlife. The dramatic conflict of the play is not the conflict of the people. The play will be interpreted in a deeper way if it is seen as a struggle of spirits that refuse to leave the world despite hostility and war. Nasreddin Hodja's philosophy is the symbol of tolerance, smile, lightness, The new regime is also hidden underneath this mask. He resorts to every method to keep the spirit. The most important of these methods are externalization, isolation and uniformization. Fertility, contrary to mythology, is not a symbol of blessing but mechanization. Youth is not a reporter of change, but a persistent organizer of a strict order. The theme of mechanization in the play is not based on just one type of thought and behavior. Their inability to speak their language, their inability to apply traditions, the impossibility to say their songs, even not being able to dance in the way as in their cultures, serving a will that they do not actually choose are all an extension of mechanisation. In the main conflict of the play men conflict with the order they created themselves. Moreover, since they are the victims of a machine that they have developed themselves in this process, it is not easy to beat the enemy. Men have become the victim of the machine and dictator that they have created themselves.

Halide Edib Adivar embraced individualism and individual freedom as a world vision. In order to understand the author's works and worldview in *Masks or Souls* clearly, the idea of individualism needs to be investigated in detail. "personality matters not only in *Masks or Souls* but in all her works. Personality means a person who does not consent domination and pressure. The social commentary refers to democratic people who do not allow the totalitarian regime" (Enginün, 2000: 84). In her workshop Nükhet Sirman presents Halide Edib from a new perspective by

saying: "the meta-narrative behind Halide Edib's novels and intellectual writings can be labelled as 'liberal humanism'. For Halide Edib nationalism should be assessed as only one stop in this adventure" (Durakbaşı, 2000: 242). Durakbaşı underscores that Halide Edib defended the human and individual understanding of humanism and she thought that humanity values could be reached by knowing and internalizing your own culture.

Masks or Souls was written in the period when the author oriented from nationalism to an anti-war attitude and most importantly when she believed most in individualism. She also contradicted with Ziya Gökalp about Turanism and developed a different understanding of nationalism. In her understanding the rights of the individual, the rights of minorities and the rights of women always were among the major issues of the period. Halide Edib Adivar objected to not only westernization as an intellectual but also the creation of the confusion of concepts and the loss of the soul by mixing national and spiritual values with formality. Writing the preface to the second edition of Halide Edib Adivar's *Conflict of East and West In Turkey* in 1946 Dr. Ensari states that Halide Edib has an East/West dilemma. He articulates: "the main contention of Halide Hanım, that the East has succumbed to Western aggression owing to its inability to organise its material and social life cannot be challenged. And if she maintains that this has been one of the fatal consequences of the over-emphasis on spirit, she states no less clearly that over-emphasis on the material side of existence is proving equally disastrous for the West" (Edib, 1935: iv).

The typical eastern house in which Halide Edib lived, the problems of her period and her education brought her, face to face with the West. Those who experienced this conflict personally either become the copies of the West by denying the East and their own culture, or take shelter in the old days as they don't risk encountering new responsibilities. Halide Edib was thrown into battle and became victorious. She conceived the core values of the West. These are freedom, organization and social co-operation. In addition, she united these with the comprehension of the spiritual harmony whose foundation can only be in the East, the love behind every kind of hatred and the union beneath all the pieces (Enginün, 2007: 397).

As humans are made up of matter and spirit substantially, civilization which owes its birth to the East has risen with the values of the West. The play *Masks or Souls* was

exactly founded on this point of view of the author (Dicle, 2014). Agreeing with Gokalp's word "the Turkish came from the East and are going to the West", Halide Edib attracted attention to the fact that even conquests were made in this direction. "With their own desires, the Turks accepted the Western civilization that cost a lot to themselves" (Adivar, 1930: 35). The point that Halide Edib most emphasizes is the idea that erroneous and wrong things were borrowed from the Byzantine. As seen in the examination of her novels, she reiterated that they were ready to be corrupted while in contact with the West, the high society received the formal elements of the West wrongly and the general public did not look ridiculous like upper classes because of the traditions that they were tightly bound to (Enginün, 2007: 388). Halide Edib believes that "the artist must absolutely know the past and the spirituality of his people" (Adivar, 1939). She says this richness will not be acquired just by reading and it is necessary to live it. According to her, "the lullabies said to put us to sleep, the tales they told us, essential and local atmosphere and traditions of our home life deeply instill this culture on us" (Adivar, 1939). Halide Edib intimated that traditions acquired by experience and science and technology are the inseparable parts of a civilized world like matter and spirit. Hence the union of spiritual and material values is fundamental to the development of civilization. In addition, she pointed out that the Turkish nation would be exposed to lose its spirit in the face of the Western civilization if it did not struggle culturally.

On the other hand, as Enginün indicates, "it is examined how the Ottomans passed on necessary initiatives by recognizing the superiority of science at the turn of their decline. Halide Edib finds it remarkable that institutions received help from them about the most vital issues by affirming the material superiority of a world which took action to destroy themselves" (Enginün, 2007: 389). Likewise Gregory was of the opinion that "the violence and hatred corroding Ireland and the sorrows in her private life made her pray more fervently and believe more completely that only the surpassing love of Christ could triumph over such evil" (Kohfeldt, 1984: 275). She wrote John Quinn: "How can you doubt the Divinity of Christ? There is something of the divine in all of us, enclosed in the animal body, one conquering or being conquered by the other, and Christ's was the nearest to that completely divine nature

we know of' (Kohfeldt, 1984: 275). As I mentioned before, Gregory retells the crucifixion story in her play *The Story Brought by Brigit* through interesting characters who aim to demonstrate that the political situation of occupied Jerusalem was similar to the political atmosphere of occupied Ireland. Even the intensive grief for the death of a beloved son throughout the play can be associated with both Augusta and Christ's mother as the symbols of the poor Mother. Kohfeldt also mentions when a Pharisee worries that Christ will lead a revolt against the state, a Roman official foresees: "to tell the clean truth, a little Rising now and then is no harm at all. It gives us an excuse to get rid of disturbers and to bring in our armies. A Rising too is very apt to lead to splits, and splits are a great help when you want to keep a country down" (Kohfeldt, 1984: 275). Spirituality and materiality are intermingled in Lady Gregory's works through literary devices as reflected in Halide Edib's works, based on their life philosophy, beliefs and experiences. Nationalist feelings find their expression most effectively thanks to religious motifs, beliefs and spiritual values in Gregory. On the eve of the new nation-state Gregory believed that national evils and troubles would be solved like her personal sorrows with the power of spiritual values.

One significant detail about Halide Edib's dilemma of the east and the west is that "Halide Edib, who finds taking the example of the West for some reform attempts unnecessary, criticized the attempt III. Selim made to enhance the situation of women. II. Mahmud centralized the government and prepared the way to the Tanzimat. Halide Edib evaluated II. Mahmud's reforms as being external, formal and practical measures though deep they were and criticized the dress revolution" (Enginün, 2007: 389-90). Critical of formalism and imitation in reform movements for the transformation of society Halide Edib asserted that mindsets should be changed first rather than the appearance. For instance, "it is Tanzimat that brought deeper and constant changes because now soul is more western. The Tanzimat grants Muslims and Christians the same rights" (Enginün, 2007: 390). Once spirit and mind are changed, social changes will be more influential and acceptable. That's why Halide Edib favored gradual changes rather than instant changes based on formalism:

Almost a century-old of westernization efforts will be wasted. Believing that the Westernization of the Turks is a profound and significant development, Halide Edib is convinced that it is not possible to move from the east to the west in a night and so she is against the westernization which is based on formalism and imitation. She reviews the reforms implemented between 1925 and 1929 in this respect. Considering the hat reform in 1925 as the most formal of reforms, Halide Edib highly criticizes this reform by saying that what is important is that the head inside the hat is western (Enginün, 2007: 396).

Giving importance to the profoundness of reforms Halide Edib strived to elevate the living standards of people in an egalitarian society order both materially and spiritually throughout all her life. She did her utmost for the freedom of opinion, people and nations in accordance with the principle of liberal humanism. Firstly, in 1917 she said: "nations are our friends, governments are our enemy". She always believed in this and criticized all kinds of regimes and has always kept the happiness of the person and the freedom of the individual in the foreground (Çalışlar, 2010). Halide Edib was very uncomfortable about the concept of one-man sultanate. That all the people who gained the War of Independence together could not benefit from the blessings of the new order equally hurt her. There was no freedom of expression in the new order. Just strong people were respectable. People were treated as a mass and their will was humiliated. Halide Edib was of the opinion that the people who struggled a lot for independence were worthy of the better. She noted that the new ruling elite turned into a small minority and this elite turned their back on the friends they struggled with (Çalışlar, 2010: 314). On the other hand, Augusta was at Coole with her grandchildren on Easter 1916 when the Irish Volunteers proclaimed the Irish Republic after their rebellion and fight with the British Army in the center of Dublin for a week. As a consequence of lack of communication, rumors of killings and arrests the Volunteers ended up with being surrendered while the example of another rebellion was recorded in history books. After Lady Gregory was informed about the death of her fellow workers and acquaintances during the Rising and the execution of their leaders later, she turned her sympathy to their national cause and felt the need to write Yeats visiting Maud Gonne MacBride in France: "I have been a little puzzled by your apparent indifference to Ireland after your excitement about the Rising [...] You have a big name among the young men" (Kohfeldt, 1984: 249) by encouraging

him to take a position. Yeats wrote: “Easter 1916, a terrible beauty is born” (Kohfeldt, 1984: 249). Not wanting to be part of the conquest regiments entering Izmir in the last days of the war, Halide Edib expressed that she struggled to save the Greeks in Izmir in a letter to H.W Nevinston (Nevinson, 1925: 244-245). Halide Edib was like the conscience of battlefields. The people around her were worried as they thought obsessively “oh no, what will Halide Hanım say now?” (Çalışlar, 2010: 284). Although Halide Edib led her life as a brave man-like intellectual because she spent much of her life in the front, she was not worried about being opposite for the sake of finding the truth as in every aspect of her life (Saban, 2016: 58).

Masks or Souls emphasizes the danger of racism in the world. In the first scene of the second act Nasreddin Hodja communicates with angels in the afterlife the color of whose faces varies from the brightest brunette to the darkest chocolate. While depicting the scene Halide Edib gives these details: “angels sing songs and the language of the song is just one language spoken in the Heaven, so everybody can understand each other. The music reminds the hymns of African niggers that date from the time when they were captive. A sadness that touches the heart is felt” (Adivar, 1968: 57). Later, two angels whose faces are brown like Yemen coffee appear under a date tree and Hodja asks them why that place is under the old World. The angel answers: “here is called ‘African Dream’ ”(Adivar, 1968: 58). When Hodja wonders why that place is full of black faces, the angel explains: “the black faces suffering from white faces suffering from difficulties, go to the land of white-faced angels which is the more luminous side after resting and getting accustomed to the air of heaven. Even we never leave here” (Adivar, 1968: 58). Expressing her dislike for the World, the angel tells that she was born in a cotton field in the South of America where black-faced people worked, they were captive and a white-faced man saved them from captivity; however she died (Adivar, 1968: 59).

Halide Edib opposed discrimination and the murder of people because of their religion, race, origin during her lifetime. In a letter she wrote to Crane in 1919, she said: "I do not mind whether the names such as Enver and Talat are Turkish, the names such as General Antranik are Armenian, the names such as Venizelos are

Greek. The murdered person is a murdered figure. Whether they are Turkish, Greek or Armenian, changes nothing. The anguish that people suffer does not change with race or creed" (Adivar, 1919). In Scene II Act II the turquoise-winged angel introduces the representative of black-colored ones to Nasreddin Hodja. The Hodja asks the representative who has just visited the world: "what is going on in the World?" The representative narrates: "in the old days, there was a religion that separated human beings from each other in the World, but when they came here, that separation used to be lifted. Now there are a thousand of diversity that separate humans from each other. The biggest one is color and race discrimination. The yellow man, the black man, Ari' Turani, I do not know what the named races are, all separate everybody from each other" (Adivar, 1968: 60-61). The Hodja realizes that this representative is Bilal-i Habeşi when he starts to call to prayer suddenly.

While advocating a secular sense of a nation-state, Halide Edib also supported the idea that one should be able to live his religion comfortably. One question asked by Halide Edib's western audiences: "As Islam is Law as well as Religion, do not the Turks cease to be Moslems?" (Adivar, 1935: 123). Halide Edib answers by stressing the importance of Religion and its separation from the state policy with a secular mind: "No. Whether one agrees with the other aspects of the policy of the dictatorship or not, one must say that it has restored religion to where it should belong, to the spirit, to the soul" (Adivar, 1935: 123-4). Furthermore, in his article entitled "Religion/Islam as a Social Issue in Halide Edip Adivar's Novels" Ramis Karabulut emphasizes: "in Halide Edib's novels, "religion" has an important role in forming and preserving national identity in the period of westernization and constant change of Turkish society. However, this understanding of religion comes out as a unique interpretation that is close to the "heterodox" understanding with its secular, loving, and reasoning orientations embracing every human being" (Karabulut, 2017: 177). In favor of secularism Halide Edib foresees: "therefore if the State lets the Islamic community evolve its own moral and spiritual destiny, free from the corruptive influence of politics, I should not be surprised if Turkey became the cradle of a great movement of spiritual reform" (Adivar, 1935: 124). By thinking that some reforms, such as hat revolution and letter revolution would distract the people from

their past, she believed that reforms should follow the evolutionary process and the masks worn in a night would harm individuals in a society in the long run. She indicated that laicism was not accepted in a night and the genes of the society in this direction had changed for almost a century in both New York and India conferences (Saban, 2016: 139).

In *Masks or Souls*, which can also be considered as an example of anti-war literature we come across the war Halide Edib fought against the different ideologies such as racism, anti-imperialism and dictatorship within the military and intellectual milieu of Turkey as well as her critique of the reforms and Westernizing Project which was carried out immediately after the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The play makes a criticism of not only contemporaneous governments in Europe but also the top-down nature of the reforms implemented by the Kemalist regime which caused pessimism and frustration in Halide Edib. Halide Edib criticizes the process of westernization just as Lady Gregory criticized Anglicization in her play *Rising of the Moon*. Halide Edib also criticizes the structure of reforms through the comments of a surprising cast of characters such as Shakespeare, Socrates, Bay Timur, Ibn Khaldun and Tamarlane, just as Lady Gregory brings in characters from Irish history to comment on current Irish situation. Halide Edib uses the binary opposition of soul and body to discuss the decreasing importance of soul among mortals in the modern world from the perspectives of such historical personalities and existential philosophers as Socrates, Shakespeare, Ibn Khaldun and Nasreddin Hodja. They all deal with the issue of “human spirit” as the only concern of the mortals now and Baskan (President) elucidates the problem of the whole world and reflects the removal of soul either as the cause of the confusion in the world according to the defenders of Platon or the only solution to get rid of wordly troubles according to their opponents. After taking an active role as a fervent nationalist in Turkey’s War of Independence considered as an anti-imperialist struggle against the Allies by Halide Edib, Halide Edib transformed into a pacifist through the Second World War. Considering the gloomy atmosphere in Europe and her own complicated feelings and experiences in war and exile she intended to write this play from the vision of the peacemaker Nasreddin Hodja. The character of Nasreddin Hodja assumes the

mission of connecting the cultures of the Islamic East and the Christian West to each other in the play by enabling a cross-culture dialogue.

Throughout the play we realize that Halide Edib creates a contrast like spirit versus body/matter, culture versus technology or traditions versus mechanization. In the symbolic city of robots and machines Halide Edib draws the image of an ideal World just based on science. Especially In Act III Scene 7 Halide Edib creates a city made up of a nation which will crush the head of the dragon with seven heads called “the past” and which will adjust life according to the rules of only science and technology. Mr Timur wants to send Nasır to Kalopatya which is the city of machines and robots for exploration. Şeyk is also sent to this city for business and he explains he will write an essay on this city after exploration. Mahir asks Mr Timur to send Ms Zehra to this city as a typist. The Governor introduces Ms Zehra as a primary school teacher in Akşehir who spends her time by making her students sing the song “I want to mechanize” in Akşehir Park every day. Zehra is a mechanical teacher who instructs her students to sing monotonous songs in the park transformed from Nasreddin Hodja’s tomb after the restoration. Mr Timur is associated with Timurlenk, but he does not accept this by claiming that Timurlenk was a ruler who wanted to see the world under his own feet by depending everything on himself while he is more modern with his peaceful ideology that opposes wars and fights. He asserts that they encouraged cooperation and consensus among nations while they desire to establish a state mechanism which cares about the happiness of the people within the nation. Mr Timur imagines the mechanism of state that he will lead like that:

Dominating the world with swords and punches cannot be named “modernity”. When they die, their works die with them. whereas the world we build will be a powerful state mechanism that is so far from personal and arbitrary influences and will be so based on the science and technique that it will not lose its form and strength as long as the world exists. We will not just give happiness to people, but we will put a blessing on that happiness forever (Adivar, 1968: 102).

However, Şeyk opposes Mr Timur’s ideal of state by asserting that the world will be transformed continuously and people will certainly ask for very different and various things as long as the thing called “spirit” remains everlasting in humans because

future generations will find Mr Timur's mechanism of state old-fashioned. According to Şeyk, "ingenuity is not to compare the thoughts of people to the series of articles that repeats itself as if people were twins born from a single womb and their faces are the same as if a mask made of flesh were put on them but to find a harmony between this otherness. The ingenuity is to kill the souls of people and not to count them as puppets which the state mechanism plays and pulls their ropes behind them" (Adıvar, 1968: 102).



CONCLUSION

THE POETICS OF FEMALE LITERARY ACTIVISM IN NATIONAL STRUGGLE

In this study I tried to redefine the emerging Irish and Turkish national consciousness in terms of the parts played by feminist and nationalist women, like Lady Gregory and Halide Edib in the creation process of the new Turkish and Irish nation-states. There was a parallelism between stressing the importance of national culture and improving women's status in Ireland and Turkey as women were a central part of nationalist movements. Coming to terms with their respective cultural past and engaging with their cultural traditions enabled both Gregory and Adivar to reconceptualise the ideas of nation. Their reflections on Irish and Turkish nationhood and gender in historical and literary research within and outside their countries both question the dominant ideas of nationhood and present new perspectives on Irish and Turkish history, gender and cultural heritage.

In the present study I have attempted at showing how Lady Gregory and Halide Edib assumed gender-neutral women roles to overcome the national crises and to address the social ills within their countries and to make this national and political struggle as the core of their works. I have discussed how these modern women reformed society by their prominent positions in intercultural exchanges between the East and the West by going beyond the requirements of being a woman and appear as "androgynous heroines" thanks to their masculine roles to be able to serve their nations as sincere patriots. I have made a comparative study of their roles as writers, dramatists, social reformers, contributors to nationalism and pioneers in the political struggles of their countries. Considering there is no critical research on the comparison of Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory, I explored their works in terms of cultural nationalism with an emphasis on their political struggles and contributions to war history, by drawing on a variety of secondary sources from various research areas to connect the life stories of these women writers with the war

history of their period, with the analysis of nationalism, and with the gender issue in their writing styles. By mainly focusing on the roles of women in the national process as anti-imperialists, I analysed the works of Lady Gregory and Halide Edib from a distinctive angle which integrates literary analysis with the study of cultural reception to provide a better understanding of the cultural significance of these political works in their own day.

No academic work has been written on the comparison of Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib Adivar in terms of anti-imperial struggle for constructing a new national identity. There was a gap in Lady Gregory and Halide Edib research which needed to be filled through deep analysis and close examination and evaluation of the literary works of each writer in the social, political and cultural frame of their period. Each writer has been examined separately as part of a master's dissertation, a PhD or post-doctoral dissertation, or an academic book. Analysing the contribution of the present study to the field, this academic work has played the role of a synthesizer of the social ideals, literary dreams, and political views of two writers from almost the same period under the same roof of national goals. Their national cause puts cultural nationalism into the core for the transformation of society in the nation-building process with the equal cooperation and participation of women with men in political, social and literary world. Both writers desired the attainment of a new national identity with the defense of a freedom-based national policy under the impact of transcultural encounters. In a way their case reflects that they employed nationalism as an act of self-defense for the protection of the distinct characteristic features of their nations against the restrictive bonds of imperial forces. That's why the thesis tried to analyze how anti-imperial stances of Lady Gregory and Halide Edib influenced their representative roles in the construction process of a new national and female identity against empires.

Throughout the thesis I tried principally to answer the following questions: What was Halide Edib's and Lady Gregory's contribution to the debates of nation building for the sake of cultural and literary revival; how were they positioned by their contemporaries politically; how were their changing political ideas influenced by international events and transnational encounters; particularly, what were their

influences on the creation of a new woman identity; and finally how did these female writers deal with the problems of engaging with nationalist discourses often defined in masculinist terms in their different contexts. This illustrates how traditional nationalism in Ireland and Turkey was defined as masculine, and then demonstrates how these female writers altered nationalism to turn it into another way of defense that promotes women's equal participation in the nation as anti-imperial activists. It has also investigated the ways in which Gregory and Adivar took a critical stance against British colonialism and exposed how their subjective elaborations and interrogations of anti-colonial nationalisms in other countries were influential on the reinforcement of their sense of "nationhood". I examined the reasons how both Lady Gregory and Adivar favored cultural nationalism as an essential vehicle of transformation in the process of westernization and modernization for the creation of a distinct national culture with the policy of a return back to cultural essence to help their nations acquire their political independence by a conservatist ideology/mindset.

Surviving in conjunction with literary and cultural revivals and radical changes in art and society, Irish and Turkish cultures have been reshaped in the context of gender, anti-imperialism/anti-colonialism and language in the twentieth century. Putting stress on the significance on transnational encounters in the development of new forms of feminist nationalism, Halide Edib and Lady Gregory reinforced their sense of nationalism and anti-imperial stances with their real-life experiences worldwide. Acting with a conservatist ideology, both writers favoured the policy of a return back to cultural essence. Their conservatism was in line with their transnational outlook, which was open to new influences. For the legitimization of Ireland and Turkey as distinct nations both writers played the role of revolutionary intellectuals and social activists aiming to restore the archaic past of their nations. They are striking with their gender-neutral literary language and rebellious female nature, which may be considered a reaction to the patriarchally constructed identity of femininity and masculinity.

Halide Edib and Lady Gregory are similar to each other in terms of their roles as social reformers, pioneers in the national struggle and contributors to the world of theatre. Lady Gregory primarily put three things into the center of her life; language,

theatre and folk literature. An idealiser of the peasantry, and a major cultural figure in Irish cultural history, Lady Gregory furthered her studies in the Irish language and gathered and translated folk stories from the Irish-speaking peasants in the West of Ireland, which served cultural nationalism, made important contributions to the Irish Revival and enabled a resurgence of Irish drama and poetry. On the other side, a prominent novelist, journalist, nationalist and social activist, Halide Edib played a pioneering role in the emancipation of women in Turkey, especially in the Young Turk and early Republican period. As an ardent patriot and political leader for women's rights, she became actively engaged in the cultural, social and literary movements of the new Turkish nation following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and the demise of the Ottoman Empire in 1918.

Lady Gregory and Halide Edib's approach to the male-dominated historical discourse as well as their anti-imperialist struggle for constructing a nation-state identity became a significant mechanism in the construction of national myths and symbols throughout the nineteenth-century Europe and Turkey. My aim in writing the present thesis was to contribute a comparison of these writers defending "free opinion" and freedom in nationalist discourses and political skirmishes reversing the influence of gender and foreign powers through language has contributed a new perspective to Critical Cultural Studies. I hope I have contributed to this field by providing a new critical outlook on gendered nationalist discourses and to assess the contributions of Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Gregory to cultural nationalism for the realization of social transformation through their roles as political activists and social reformers. There is not a comparative study on the anti-imperial activism and perspective of Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib Adivar although they are mostly depicted with their feminist and nationalist roles. I have dealt with these two writers in an opposition to British imperial culture and politics and exposed how they were nourished by leading political and ideological figures in the construction of their idea of "free nation". By analysing how they constructed England in their writings I have shed light upon the importance of intercultural relationships and transnational encounters in reaching a sound national policy within the country. I tried to refer to the similar nationalist ideals of contemporaneous Halide Edib Adivar and Lady

Augusta Gregory as anti-imperialist reformers. Through the application of post-colonial theory, feminist theory and extended analyses of selected literary texts I illustrated how Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory undermined the masculinised national texts by actively involving in the nationalist struggle against foreign domination and cultural imperialism. I have found out how both writers endeavored to introduce their national culture on an international platform with a focus on preserving/sticking to national values and traditions as part of resistance against cultural imperialism during the formation process of a new nation-state identity.

Halide Edib's and Lady Gregory's historical contexts are similar enough to produce similar gendered nationalisms. Changes in the social position of women were among the principal determining factors in the construction process of new Turkish and Irish national identities as Gregory and Adivar forced their ways into nationalist projects and struggled to change the format of nationalism from being an all-male project into an ungendered project of nationalisms. They shared similar nationalist ideals as anti-imperialist social reformers, since they served as the external social reformers of their country by being internal reformers in family and society. Using male pen names to be accepted into literary world and assuming a masculine stance within a male-dominated society were expected to bring further freedom to women writers in the formation process of their new nation states in the early-twentieth century. Gregory and Adivar were involved in social activism with an ungendered position and desired to make their voice heard in national and literary discourses.

For both writers women and women's education were essential to social transformation and the amelioration of women's social and political positions. Gregory and Adivar contributed to feminist nationalism with masculine imagination but feminine feelings in a clash with their patriarchally structured society and male-dominated literary and historical discourses. Despite taking masculine roles in life, their language was ungendered. For instance, by using a male narrator Adivar tried to make her writing gender-neutral. Differently from men, they put love stories at the center of their narratives about the national struggle. Nevertheless, they do not permit their tragic heroines to remain as social victims forever or to be condemned to a

domestic life which promises them nothing but love and romance. In their literary works they portray socially and politically active women who have the right to speak on behalf of their nations to change the current situation of women for the better. They become the mirror of their authors' distinctive viewpoint on history, literature, and society, who dismantle stereotypes as regards religion, civilization, gender and nation.

Adivar and Gregory create allegorical relationships between their woman characters and their nations to oppose patriarchal authority. Gregory's plays present an awareness about the marginalized role of women within the national cause and challenge the ways how women were represented in patriotic discourse. Her cultural nationalism necessitated living among the people to witness their way of life and traditions more closely and it aimed to repossess Irish national culture and identity. The gendered discourse and the gendering of Ireland were created as a consequence of some racial categories and gender stereotypes formed to justify British colonization and imperialism. Because women contributed to war history in various roles, they needed to have the same social and cultural rights with men. The intersection of gender with national identity was essential to reassert both Irish and Turkish cultural heritage. Particularly, women's support of the national cause in accordance with the same national aims and ideals like men cannot be underestimated. With a focus on the dialect, folklore and cultural work Gregory and Adivar aimed to rewrite the symbols of Irishness and Turkishness respectively.

Although they have been restricted by gender stereotypes and the gendered discourse of nationalism throughout history, women's contribution to nationalist politics is crucial because of the parallel progress of nationalism and feminism as the embodiments of national collectivity. Owing to their gender and the unconventional positions they embraced within their societies Gregory and Adivar endorsed social transformation through cultural nationalism and offered a new outlook on the concept of nationalism. Through their literary works they aimed to change women's consciousness and to encourage them to fight for their own demands through participation in political activities. Halide Edib gives us a critique of patriarchal nationalism using allegorical feminist figures in a dilemma between their personal

love and the national cause in her memoirs. Halide Edib was also in a dilemma between being female and being masculine. She ignored her female sexuality and desexualized her female characters because she aimed to redefine femininity by othering sexuality. While depicting the conditions of women's existence in the male-dominated society Halide Edib veils their womanhood and femininity, and presents them as man-like. Thus, women do not pose a threat to men sexually. For instance, the femininity/womanhood of the idealized female characters Handan, Ayşe and Lâle, is underrepresented.

Through the female characters she portrayed in her novels Halide Edib sheds a light on the ups and downs of being a woman trying to find her place in social life in a modernized world despite her restricted freedom under social pressure. Her strong female characters like Seviyye pursue for their own preferences and decisions in a challenge to social norms or expectations. The determination to shape their own lives is a major cornerstone for Halide Edib's women to make themselves accepted into public life, as is for Gregory's women profiles who changed the flow of history in her plays. The underlying reason why Adivar and Gregory targeted at using strong women characters and depicted them with masculine roles and stances like themselves is their conviction in the possibility of a transformation within the scope the patriarchal society marks out because only in this way do they expect to gain social respectability. Their masculine stance was a way of defence in a confrontation with the male-dominated historical, cultural and national discourses in their period while striving to revive Irish and Turkish culture and language. Desexualization was a deliberate choice for these writers to keep up with the literary world oriented by men and to assert themselves as successful writers in equal terms with men despite all patriarchal prejudices.

Their cultural work was highly integrated with feminist and national ideals as they would change the way of chronicling and fictionalizing historical facts, narratives or representations of gender which were socially determined and stereotypical. Through literature both writers were inclined to assign women active roles by increasing their self-awareness about their oppression in a patriarchal society. Adivar and Gregory were inclined to use a gender-neutral language in their works and forced

their way into social and cultural life by abstracting themselves and their fictional characters from their feminine identities. Witnessing cross-cultural events of nationalism and having transnational connections led both writers to forge new understandings of gender and race in the late-nineteenth century Ireland and Turkey. They endorsed national freedom, women's emancipation, cultural traditions and further liberties for all humanity.

Throughout the thesis I have pointed out that obviously there is scope for a great deal more research that will develop a critique of masculine nationalism considering its restrictive effects in Ireland and Turkey on the participation of women in the nation-building process. In the thesis I have exposed the critical stance adopted by Lady Gregory and Halide Edib against British imperialism in favor of all worldwide anti-colonial nationalisms. The literary works of Halide Edib and Lady Gregory have helped me (and in particular Halide Edib's *The Shirt of Flame*, *The Turkish Ordeal* and Gregory's *Our Irish Theatre*, *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland*) to find out if these writers exhibit a local or international outlook of anti-imperialism and how their experiences of war affected their political views and status as anti-imperialist, political activist, social reformer and cultural nationalist. Both writers played a significant role as the external social activists by being the internal reformers within family and society.

Despite coming from different cultural backgrounds Halide Edib and Lady Gregory shared similar ideas as the products of their time. Both writers followed a folk-based strategy in their literary life to consolidate the new social order and the new nation-state in the early-twentieth century. In addition, Halide Edib's sense of nationalism is not expansionist but humanist and liberalist like Gregory's. As in Lady Gregory's view of art, we observe that the nationalism of peasantry is superior to the nationalism of intellectuals in Halide Edib's sense of art. As a woman who wanted to serve the people, Halide Edib was of the opinion that "a craftsman is, first of all, the child of the land where his roots are buried but at the same time he is the servant of justice, people and truth" (Adivar, 1937: 9)³⁹. To establish solidarity with the people

³⁹ Feyza Hecpilingirler, *Halide Edib Adivar: Halka Dogru*, p. 239

Gregory regarded learning and speaking Irish fundamental to her studies on cultural nationalism just as Halide Edib considered it crucial to acquaint herself with folkstories/dialects.

Considering that the rural-intellectual divide that can be seen in their works is a central faultline in Gregory and Adivar's sense of nationalism, Gregory and Adivar go beyond gender differences to identify it as the equally important aspect of their national cause. One of the leading figures of the Irish Celtic Revival at the beginning of the twentieth century Lady Gregory strived to elevate the oral literature of Ireland to the medium of written prose for the sake of a new national establishment. She was lucky as she had a Gaelic-speaking nurse in Roxborough. This enabled her to be exposed to the Irish folklore, traditions and the Gaelic language. Her charity work in small villages before starting her career to contribute to Irish literature helped her a lot to observe and collect Irish folklore as an integral part of daily life closely. Celtic beliefs which were preserved in the Western coasts of Ireland maintained to survive in colloquial Gaelic. Through her retellings and narrations Gregory aimed to bestow prestige upon Irish identity and culture in danger of corruption under British hegemony. The underlying reason why she used Irish folklore as the prevailing theme of her writing was to elevate the Irish language into the international stage by strengthening the Irish identity and dignity. The main focus in her literary works was Irish people and their language rather than Irish folklore directly. While Gregory concentrates on folk traditions in her works such as *Grania*, *Kincora* and *Dervorgilla*, Halide Edib, as well, made use of folk traditions in her plays and works such as *Tatarcik*, *Sinekli Bakkal (The Clown and His Daughter)* and *Masks or Souls*.

As with Gregory's treatment of Irish folk figures Adivar's treatment of Turkish folk figures such as Nasreddin Hodja was a reference to her romantic vision to regard folk tales, stories or jokes as a mystic expression and humorous understanding of human conditions like Gregory. Both writers collaborated in mythmaking combined with fantastic elements especially by making use of local dialect in their works or making translations, which refers to the influence of Shakespeare, Shakespeare's plays or his theatrical traditions on their writing style. The world of theatre had great impact on the life philosophy and political views of Adivar and Gregory because of its

representative role for these scholars. Theatre had a pivotal role in Turkish and Irish politics of a new nation-state identity. Due to the close relation between theatre and nationalism Turkish and Irish nationalists, playwrights, or artists, utilized performance to define the nation and to stage national resistance to imperial authority or domination. Both Halide Edib and Lady Gregory were closely related with the theatre and wrote plays, Lady Gregory more so. A prominent leader of the Irish Cultural Renaissance, Lady Augusta Gregory made efforts to establish an anti-imperialist Irish national theatre, the Abbey. As well as being popular for her redaction of Irish epics as a folklorist, Lady Gregory was well-known with her history plays that she wrote to popularize old Irish myths that would contribute to the cause of nation-building. Her politically engaged plays were emblematic of the critical outlook on British imperialism in Ireland. Her plays mirror an anti-imperialist attitude via a populist impulse.

Both Lady Gregory and Halide Edib contributed to their national theatre more or less as theater lovers. As co-founder of the Abbey Theatre Lady Gregory took part in some performances of the plays she co-authored with W.B. Yeats as a symbolic marker of a new or changing Ireland. Her involvement in the Abbey gave support to the development of Irish nationalism as well as the development of her own artistic talent, since theatre enabled Gregory to work for the people and educate them for the reassertion of Irish cultural identity through political change by telling their stories on stage. Her devotion to the Abbey theatre was concerned with the significance of the Abbey Theatre for the cultural movement and as a powerful agent of regenerating the country. Instilling people with the idea of Irish autonomy through theatre was one of her principal objectives to achieve as both a dramatist and a theatre manager who geared towards cultural nationalism after her political conversion. On the other side, Halide Edib, who wrote an opera libretto called “Kenan Çobanları” and a play called “Maske ve Ruh” (*Masks or Souls*) besides two lost theatrical texts during her long life, contributed to Turkish theatre as actor, player, translator, director and critic as well.

Both writers opposed empire in favour of the construction of a new national identity. Language, gender and transnational encounters are three main dimensions which are

explored in the thesis in terms of shaping their sense of nationalism. They chose to exhibit an ungendered nationalism, anti-colonial resistance and anti-imperial perspective against any oppressive power in cultural, social or political sense. Besides their feminist and nationalist roles, Lady Gregory and Halide Edib also had a pioneering role as anti-imperialists. Both intended to create a new national identity by following a liberal point of view and devoted themselves to people and the nationalist cause. They focused on cultural nationalism for social and literary revival of their countries reinforced through transnational encounters. They were critical of imperial colonization and hence they adopted an anti-imperial stance against any colonizing power in the nation-building process of their countries.

Like Adivar, Gregory explored the social and cultural life of peasantry, tried to learn the native language in order to collect the folklore, myths and stories in old Irish. She aimed to revive the Irish language through cultural nationalism and took an opposite stance against British imperialism in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century Ireland. Despite her Anglo-Irish background, she criticised the hypocrisy of British colonialism and took a nationalistic stance in support of Ireland under the dominion of Britain. Gregory's plays raise the awareness of women's marginalized role and position within the cause of Irish nationalism while her representative role is reverberated in her nationalistic plays. Gregory aimed to make Irish history alive in the popular imagination by reinterpreting national events in her folk history plays. Liberal humanism, freedom of opinion and women's social and cultural emancipation were among the common life principles of Gregory and Adivar defending feminist nationalism.

Reflecting her interest in Irish history with her portrayals of contemporary Irish life and deeply nationalist tone denouncing the English, Gregory's plays and characters are mostly representative. Both Gregory and Adivar were influenced by Shakespeare and his literary works in different ways. They stressed the importance of peasantry, peasant dialect language and culture to authenticate Irishness and Turkishness as a natural result of their familiarity with Shakespearean language and traditions. They were both inspired by Shakespearean tradition of theatrical wonder and consequently they wrote wonder plays or folk-based plays which also include fantastic elements.

Adivar's and Gregory's anti-war stance are also similar because of having the motives such as the feeling of rebelling against the imperial authority, foreign occupation, and cultural imperialism with a sense of pacifist nationalism. Gregory had concerns about 'Anglicisation' because of its alienating and corrupting effect on Irish culture while Adivar had anxiety about the westernization process in Turkey considering its negative effects that may lead to cultural decadence in Turkish society in the long process. Their criticism of western civilization is similar as both writers opposed its warring and colonizing aspect. Their perspectives on British imperialism and the new nation-state identity are similar; however, the contexts of their nations differ from each other in that Turkish nation was fighting against imperial powers (including Britain) in the position of a foundational state which was already independent while Ireland was under British control as a former colony of Britain and struggling against British rule for the recognition of their sovereignty, and particularly for the emergence of the Irish Free State.

It is significant that their resistance was twofold as both against the British and their own governments founded after getting rid of the British. They had a twofold or two-sided critical attitude or stance. Adivar was against the foreign occupation of Anatolian cities such as the occupation of Istanbul by the British. She was also against the despotic aspects of the Kemalist regime and she was disillusioned with Kemalist republicans. That's why Adivar's resistance was both interior and exterior. On the other hand, as a necessity of nationalism Lady Gregory was against the imperial plans and activities of the British in Ireland in spite of her Anglo-Irish cultural identity. An opponent of colonialism intellectually Gregory resisted British imperialism through cultural nationalism due to her deepening nationalist feelings. A nationalist female writer who was principally influenced by the national movements in other countries and then started to feel interest in the history of her own nation, Gregory's resistance against the British was twofold considering that Ireland was a British colony before Independence and thus exposed to cultural corruption and manipulation like other countries or cultural groups colonized and oppressed by Britain. Gregory's nationalism sprouted from the outer through the inside. The transnational encounters and exchanges of Gregory and Adivar led them to gain an

appreciation of nationalism in local sense with an international outlook of anti-imperialism. Gregory and Adivar's international outlook of anti-imperialism along with the transnational feminist solidarity reinforced their sense of nationalism, their liberal outlook on social and political affairs and their liberal-humanist sides. Their inclination from the margins to the center, from the outside through the inside, from the exterior to the core is indicative of their praise of local traditions within their countries as they gained awareness about the national spirit through transnational encounters and exchanges.

The tendency to draw a parallel between Halide Edib and Lady Gregory's lives, either in terms of their leading roles within their communities or with respect to the way they contributed to the nation-state identity of their countries was discussed in terms of how this tendency stems from similar national views, similar methodologies they followed to achieve their national goals and similar social and political projects they carried out. Their comparison led to immense ramifications in terms of postcolonial and gender studies, and nationalist politics. This study demonstrated how two female writers go beyond their gender and social restrictions by being aware of their particular female positions in a patriarchal society and marginalized positions within the nationalist cause and the patriotic discourse.

The gendered discourse created based on gender stereotypes and gendered prejudices served to justify the mechanism of a patriarchal and sexist society which inflicted upon both colonized cultural groups and women all over the world. Halide Edib and Lady Gregory challenged the idea of starkly oppositional identities and sought the ways to deconstruct racial, ethnocentric or gender-based stereotypes and assumptions rooted from western knowledge based on the binary oppositions such as man/woman, civilized/uncivilized, black/white, colonizer/colonized, or modern/primitive which was created in order to denigrate the "other". Their contributions to nationalist politics are huge although they were restricted by gender stereotypes like every woman throughout history and nationalist politics is alleged to be a masculinist enterprise. They challenged gendered nationalist discourses based on the masculinist view and defended a more egalitarian sense of nationalism. They "were writing back to the empire by their literary works. Opposition to authority was one of the common

features of these two writers. Both wanted to contribute to cultural nationalism through language and translation. They put a lot of importance on local language, folk history, culture and traditions to perpetuate the self-representation of their nations. They also preferred English as an international language for the transfer of the cultural elements of their nations into other cultures easily.

While Ireland was struggling under British colonial domination and the colonial discourse influential in the establishment of racial and gender stereotypes, Turkey was also struggling to prove her national independence and self-determination against the foreign occupying powers and gendered historical texts imbued with stereotypical representations of gender, race and ethnicity. What brought Adivar and Gregory together was their profound nationalist feelings that exceed all stereotypes about their own gender and the anti-imperial perspective they had against any danger of physical or mental occupation of their countries by foreign powers. While Gregory uses both Irish and English stereotypes which can be analysed from a socio-political angle in her comedies, Halide Edib tackles social problems such as the misconception of westernization, moral decline, education of women and conservatism in religion through stereotypical personifications of Turkish male and female figures, and stereotypical depictions of other cultural and ethnic groups in her works.

Adivar and Gregory reproduce the national masculinist discourse by identifying both men and women with the nation but giving them different roles, which is great contribution to Irish and Turkish Nationalist Discourse in terms of highlighting also the various roles of women in the configuration of the new nation-state identity. In this way they shed light on another significant facet of gendered nationalist discourse, and also present feminist or gendered critiques of nationalist discourse which had negative ramifications on the part of women. Gregory creates various stereotypes about Irish people by reproducing the lower-class dialect and colloquial speech of workers as the representative and supporter of Irish culture and identity. Furthermore, through her plays Gregory reproduced ancient favourable values, such as bravery, loyalty and honesty which started to disappear in the nineteenth century prevailed mostly by rationalism and physical science. By reproducing the national

masculinist discourse Halide Edib identifies the woman with the nation, that is, the one which is passive, holy and needs to be saved, while she identifies men with the nation, people and the savior which is active. Gendered nationalism analysis done for Irish literature sheds new light on the kind of gendered nationalism that Halide Edib practiced. Their active participation in public sphere in different roles as well as getting educated altered the mode of formerly-constructed male-based political texts or literary works.

Halide Edib played a major role in structuring the profile of a “new nation” and a “new woman” during the formation process of Turkish Republic both as a visionary and an activist like Lady Gregory. Exalting women as nation-builders, Halide Edib demonstrated women’s restricted role in domestic sphere was extended through their active involvement into politics by subverting the sheer division between gender roles. Lady Gregory and Halide Edib argued that social conformity with the movement of westernization is possible only with the equal participation of men and women in cultural and political life fostered by the education of “women” and clinging to “native language”. They both use similar methodologies in their works by giving great importance to the close relation between language and national identity and to women’s active participation in social life and the elevation of their status in society as it was significant not only as the identification of the ‘missing sex’ with the patriarchal system but also as a significant signifier of a more liberal and democratic social order. The thesis also exposed the critical stance adopted by Lady Gregory and Halide Edib against British imperialism in a favor of all worldwide anti-colonial nationalisms.

Halide Edib’s notion of nationalism was based on liberal humanism and the idea of balance between spiritual and material values. She believed that extreme movements of nationalism is dangerous as it prepares the end of humanity, peace and civilizations. Knowing the complicity of feminist orientalism and western feminism with colonial and imperialist projects, Halide Edib was against adopting or imitating western values as they were. She suggested questioning the meaning of being “western” before accepting westernization as a form of social transformation in the new civilization. She was also of the opinion that if men and work cooperatively

without gender discrimination, Turkish nation and society can overcome violence, bigotry and dysfunctional education system with her self-confident individuals while struggling for national independence. She promoted the new nation and the new civilization with socially oriented women. In her view the new nation can survive in every case with the hope of prosperity only if she does not deny her past and becomes open to change at the same time.

Closely interested in the tenets of pacifist nationalism and liberal humanism Adivar and Gregory reflected their egalitarian world views on theatre and theatre was an influential way of dramatizing Turkish and Irish history with a reference to the cultural and political issues of their period sarcastically. Moreover, both writers were influenced by Moliere specifically and French literature in general. While Gregory made translations from Moliere, Adivar was aware of the Moliere's spirit on Turkish theatre and she was fascinated by him as she found him so human and full of common sense when compared with the other French classical writers. Adivar's *Masks or Souls* reflect both Adivar's anti-war attitude and her support of the idea of individualism and individual freedom. She thought that the union of spiritual and material values in harmony was fundamental to the development of civilizations. She criticised formalism and imitation in reform movements for the transformation of society. Based on the principle of liberal humanism she endorsed social reforms for the elevation of the living standards of people in an egalitarian society which has a balanced order between its material and spiritual values and promises its individuals more freedom in terms of rights, expression of opinion and national independence. Halide Edib criticised the structure of reforms through the comments of a surprising cast of historical figures in *Masks or Souls*, just as Lady Gregory brought in characters or legendary figures from Irish history to criticize current Irish affairs. Halide Edib evaluated the process of westernization from good and bad sides while Lady Gregory criticized Anglicization in her plays.

Playing leading roles in the liberation of their countries in different ways Lady Gregory and Halide Edib were the heralders of cultural nationalism rather than a political one. Having almost similar historical but different cultural backgrounds, both writers played similar roles such as cultural nationalists, social reformers,

soldier, mother, playwright or feminist writers within the same time period. Undermining the social stereotypes about their own gender these writers contributed to national war history both physically and literarily. Reflecting their dilemma between their nation and personal feelings on their fictional characters, Adivar and Gregory envisioned the new nation as an ungendered republic over the role of a 'mother'. Adivar and Gregory question idealism, love, sacrifice and commitment to national duty. They take the duty of dying for the nation (identified with men before) from men and gives this holy duty also to women as the emblems of the new nation. Women are accepted into public and political life as genderless or deprived of their femininity. Women also have the same rights with men to share national feelings or duties. Both use motherly figures to underscore the desexualized profile of their woman characters personifying the nation and participating in the national struggle. They inspire the idea of sacrifice for the nation by putting personal choices or feelings into the second place. During the social struggle and national war individual desires are suppressed in national myths and allegories to ensure that individuals fight for the nation with their whole self and do not deviate from national goals.

Adivar's novels and Gregory's plays offer an anti-imperial perspective because they either depict the years of resistance against occupation or chronicle the national struggle years for independence. For the national liberation of Turkish and Irish countries women from different social backgrounds contributed to the independence movement and the writing process of the history of the national war in various forms of femininity. Adivar implies that the liberation of the country depends on the concerted war struggles of women and men that have fought the National War of Independence and instills the idea that personal love should be sacrificed for the sake of country love like Gregory. According to Adivar the birth of the new Turkish nation was possible with everyone's particular participation in the nation-building process regardless of gender, race, or status. Based on the exalted motherhood as icons of nationalist ideology in both Ireland and Turkey former constructions of gendered nationalism (mostly masculinized) turns into ungendered or genderless nationalism over the concept of "mother". Adivar stresses the importance of women's contribution to national struggle, equal to masculine power, which obscures

the sharp divisions between genders. Adivar's novels attempt to reclaim national independence by preserving national values, national language and the institution of marriage.

Lady Gregory and Halide Edib's approach to the male-dominated historical discourse as well as their anti-imperialist struggle for constructing a nation-state identity became a significant mechanism in the configuration of feminist nationalism and in the construction of national literature. Linking cultural nationalism with social and literary revival, Adivar and Gregory saw language as the primary step for the cultural awakening and national consciousness. Secondly they oriented towards folklore collection among peasants. Restoring national dignity on the way to self-determination was realized mostly thanks to this collection of folklore and oral traditions. That's why they targeted at local people to reach this cultural treasure. As in Adivar's center of life, language, theater and folk literature had an integral place in Gregory's thread of life. Both regarded theatre as a medium to add to the dignity of their nations. As part of their conservatism they defended the revival of the native language and culture, and the idea of a return to the authentic essence. Gregory's concern for 'Anglicisation' and Adivar's concern for 'westernization' had almost the same motive: the fear of cultural corruption and deterioration of cultural heritage. To tackle this problem they believed in the necessity of cultural revolution and social transformation by language. Gregory's and Adivar's efforts for a national theatre in the building of a nation had deal with regenerating the country through theatre in service of cultural nationalism. Both Gregory and Adivar looked at literature as a representative platform like theatre in order to struggle against the oppressive political authority. Therefore, as a way of political defence in countering cultural imperialism, nationalism was a crucial feeling for Adivar and Gregory in the Turkish and Irish national struggle of independence in the early twentieth century. Their focus on local language led to their contributions to the collective self-representation of their nations. Setting out from the transformative role of language for society, Adivar and Gregory valued the connection between culture and language a lot for their nationalistic cause. Their involvement in writing plays, examination of

the vernacular language, folklore and the woman issue urged them to social and innovative activism for the consolidation of the new nation-state identity.

Halide Edib and Lady Gregory, who acquired an anti-imperial perspective by transnational exchanges and international influences, helped recover the social imagination of their nations and showed their reaction to the dominant order or imperial authority through literary revivals and social reforms. They supported the view of a return to the local language, history and native culture and promoted their international outlook of anti-imperialism by challenging patriarchy, colonial activities, cultural imperialism and masculinized national discourses of their period. Sharing the great responsibility of intellectuals striving to elevate the dignity of their nations with cultural revivals, literary works, and social transformation, Adivar and Gregory shaped their views on nationalism through their cross-cultural travels, observations and interactions with prominent national leaders. These international connections enabled them to be informed about the current social and political occasions of their period as well as to encounter leading feminists, philosophers or political leaders worldwide.

Adivar and Gregory address to global issues or problems with their radical views, actions or roles they played in their local circles. Thanks to national self-study they reach better understanding of other peoples and nations while their international connections reinforce their sense of nationalism and aroused their curiosity in the inner meaning of nationalism. They moved from the particular to the universal in terms of theme, vision and social actions. While Gregory was influenced by the Egyptian anti-colonial resistance, Adivar was greatly influenced by Indian anti-colonial resistance, which refers to their connections with the Eastern world inspiring them with the idea of anti-imperialism. Indian and Egyptian examples of anti-colonial struggle enabled both writers to draw parallels and interrogate anti-colonial nationalisms actively engaged in India, Irish, Turkey and Egypt during the early twentieth century. In Gregory and Adivar's adoption of an international outlook of anti-imperialism these examples of anti-colonial resistance were influential and this interaction helped them to appreciate their own culture, history and traditions more and more. Having a universal sense of anti-imperialism, Gregory and Adivar were

liberal in the politics of their own country, while they were internationalists in their outlook upon world affairs. Their fundamental interests were not in politics, but in the cultural heritage of their nations, under the fascination of Irish and Anatolian peasantry. Adivar and Gregory searched for different ways to declare their national identity and self-determination to imperial powers through their multi-dimensional identity as independent rebellious nationalists. Their opposition to authority carried them to the same political platform in a turbulent period of cultural nationalism and political activism. They made a criticism of patriarchal authority, imperial ideologies in their local and international circles under the inspiration of their cultural attainments, nationalist and feminist spirit and anti-imperial perspectives. They achieved to gain recognition both nationally and internationally because of their egalitarian and liberalistic outlook on human values and anti-imperialist way of thinking against colonization, occupation or invasion.

With her play *Masks or Souls* Halide Edib both reflects her anti-war, pacifist stance in life and her outlook on totalitarian regimes from Nasreddin Hoja's perspective. Referring to the pacifist aspect of her nationalism, the play questions racism, materialism, Europeanness and modernization movement followed by non-western cultures for all humanity in search of happiness. The main message the play communicates is that souls are eternal, whereas masks or bodies are temporary. Another novel reflecting Halide Edib's anti-war stance, *Zeyno's Son* favors national unity and solidarity while it disagrees with formal westernization because of its superficiality and incompatible aspects with Turkish customs and traditions. The novel also criticises the negative influences of the materialistic focus of the western civilization on the collapse of this civilization. Both Adivar and Gregory wielded their pen to fight back to the empire especially during the national struggle years. Another common point between these writers is the opposite manner they had against the British in their works and real life out of their political views, cultural attainments and moral outlook. Protesting the occupation of Izmir by the Greek armed forces, Halide Edib was the first woman speaker at a mass meeting in Istanbul in 1919 and also she was the first public speaker to mobilize Turkish public opinion. What makes Halide Edib unique is her feature of being the chronicler of the independence war as

the firsthand witness of the war front. As quoted by James E. Kitchen, Alisa Miller and Laura Rowe state in *Other Combatants, Other Fronts: Competing Histories of the First World War*, “in her autobiography she (Halide Edib) tried to circumvent the Turkish state’s monopoly on how history should be written by offering her own story as an alternative history of the Turkish liberation struggle” (Kitchen, Miller and Rowe, 2011: 290)⁴⁰. Like Halide Edib’s anti-colonial stance for Turkey, Lady Gregory’s anti-colonial stance for Ireland can be related to her transnational connections, experiences and folklore studies. The patriotic feelings of both nationalist writers induced them to take actions against British colonial plans over their countries. The revolt against authority figures either through uprising or exiles both in Turkey and Ireland has a good deal to do with the social demand for Turkish and Irish self-determination.

⁴⁰ This has been argued by Hülya Adak, ‘National Myths and Self-narrations: Mustafa Kemal’s “Nutuk” and Halide Edip’s “Memoirs” and “The Turkish Ordeal”’, in Irzik Sibel and Güzeldere Güven (eds.), *Relocating The Fault Lines: Turkey Beyond the East-West Divide*, a special edition of *South Atlantic Quarterly* 102/2-3, (spring/summer 2003): 509-527.

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