INTRODUCTION

Modernization in Europe has been a driving force of improvements in all fields including the artistic and literary studies for centuries. Modernization should be considered within a certain period of history in order to investigate modern philosophy in line with the relevant economic, political and socio-cultural events. Bryan S. Turner's way of "periodizing modernization" draws attention to this need:

> Although Weber is often narrowly associated with a debate about the origins of capitalism in the famous Protestant Ethic thesis, it is more appropriate to interpret him as a theorist of modernization, of which the key component can be identified as rationalization. Modernity is thus the consequence of a process of modernization, by which the social world comes under the domination of asceticism, secularization, the universalistic claims of instrumental rationality, the differentiation of the various spheres of the life-world, the bureaucratization of economic, political and military practices, and the growing monetarization of values. Modernity therefore arises with the spread of western imperialism in the sixteenth century; the dominance of capitalism in northern Europe, especially in England, Holland and Flanders in the early seventeenth century; the acceptance of scientific procedures with the publication of the works of Francis Bacon, Newton and Harvey; and pre-eminently with the institutionalization of Calvinistic practices and beliefs in the dominant classes of northern Europe. (Turner, 1991: 6)

With reference to this broad analysis, modernity encompasses a large period in which various forms of thinking were launched. Among these forms are secularization, rationalization, liberalization and equality. Being loyal to the historical chronology, these will be investigated within the frame of philosophical and artistic studies. Scholars like Turner date modernity back to the sixteenth century: "Thus, modernity is broadly about the massive social and cultural changes which took place from the middle of the sixteenth century, and it is consequently and necessarily bound up with the analysis of industrial capitalist society as a revolutionary break with tradition and a social stability founded on a relatively stagnant agrarian civilization" (Turner, 1991: 4). In other words, economic advances triggered the philosophy and the aesthetics of Europe. Considerable effect of modern philosophy is witnessed in the intellectuals' minds and works regardless of their nationalities.

Just as in the West, Americans who originated in Europe followed the latest movements in Europe from the first decades of their national freedom, European colonies in the East

were also attracted to European norms and values in the course of modernization and eventually the Ottoman Empire, neither a colony nor a Western country, inevitably experienced a major transformation under the impact of European modernity. However, to what extent the intellectuals with various cultures wrote novels, composed musical pieces or painted pictures under the impact of modern thought is subject to discussion. Modernity "beginning with the Renaissance and continuing until the middle of the 20th century" (Epstein, 1997) is a Western phenomenon, which originated in Europe. Thus, the effects of spatial and temporal aspects of modernity on the intellectuals from the Western and Eastern lands would not be the same. This study will mainly focus on the crises to which this kind of an effect has led two leading novelists from the opposite sides of Europe although they have somewhat similar experiences. Since James's *The Ambassadors* (1903) and Adıvar's *The Clown and His Daughter* (1935) are autobiographical to a significant extent, both can be taken as expressions of the personal conflicts of cultural identity of the author.

Henry James and Halide Edib Adıvar, both emerging hybrid identities at the turn of the twentieth century, found themselves in-between two cultures because of their multicultural upbringing which was stimulated by European modernity. The concern of this study is the ambiguous position of these literary intellectuals, who are born on opposite sides of the old continent and are torn between Europe and their respective cultures. In this respect, the dilemmas of these writers, who share similarities yet differ in other ways, will be discussed at length. The Europe versus America dilemma in Henry James, and the East and West conflict in Halide Edib Adıvar, a Turkish novelist with her attachment to Western culture, diverge in nature, yet the influential forces affecting their lives are similar. Both novelists have dual identities as a result of their multicultural backgrounds and migrant lives. The international conflict and the cultural dilemma in James and Adıvar come to the surface because of their contact with countries and cultures other than their own. However, these contacts with Europe enriched by its modernization resulted in quite different perceptions and representations. Hence, this study aims to reveal to what extent each author from different cultural backgrounds manages to construct hybrid identities at the turn of the twentieth century as reflected in their masterpiece novels. It should be noted that although Adıvar's novel was first published in 1935, the setting of the novel is the Istanbul at the

beginning of the twentieth century. There are several factors that led both novelists into a cultural dilemma, both personal and cultural. Cultural interactions were coming to the fore due to economic and social reasons such as Europe's increasing impact on America and the Ottomans' ultimate need for a transformation in favor of a modern nation. Apart from these external forces, both James and Adıvar experienced a cultural duality for personal reasons. The rather rigid moral concepts of James's Puritan background and his exposure to more sophisticated European norms with his ongoing transatlantic journeys contributed to his dilemma, while Adıvar's attachment to Western/European system of values along with the Ottoman culture simultaneously from the early years of her childhood caused a constant tension in her cultural identity. As will be discussed later, the protagonists in their masterpiece novels mirror the basic characteristics of the novelists both personally and culturally.

Secularism and modern philosophy, which originated in Europe, have given shape to the literary products as well as other works of men since the Renaissance. As a result of modernism, the medieval spirit respectful of received doctrines was replaced by the modern willingness to do research and to examine. This led to a man-centered way of interpreting life. The Age of Reason was the climax of secularism in the sense that it led most intellectuals of the era to being empirical scholars, artists and scientists as Preserved Smith remarks in the second volume of his extensive study, *A History of Modern Culture* (Smith, 1957: 17-23). However, the reassertion of the spiritual side of man by the Romantics pushed the pendulum back merely to be challenged by the harsh realism of the Industrial Revolution (Major, 1966: 630). Europe, intellectually, was such a rich land that the seeds of modernist movement were naturally sown in European cities. Shortly, this profound productivity of the intellectuals in the old continent attracted a great deal of attention from its neighbors on both sides and inspired many literary figures, two of which will be examined closely along with their major novels. The Western dilemma in the American novelist Henry James, who had an aesthetic and intellectual attraction toward Europe, will be compared with the East/West conflict in Halide Edib Adıvar, a Turkish novelist having close contacts with the Western culture. Therefore this study aims to trace the nature of modernization in Europe which gave rise to the conflicts in the novelists in question.

The extent of James's and Adıvar's attachment to Europe differs as a result of America's and Turkey's historical relationship with the modernized European culture and values. Since the first modern inhabitants of the United States were Europeans, Americans kept their relationship to Europe always fresh and close. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire, the ancestor of today's modern Turkey, remained distant from European modernity for centuries and the eventual confrontation was not without cultural crisis (Black and Brown, 1992: 23). While systems of thought were transforming gradually, literary works also changed in content and form in line with this transformation. In other words, the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth was a calm period in America compared to a nation redefining itself by transforming severely. Early Europeans who had migrated to America for various purposes inevitably imported and followed some of their ancestral cultural norms and attitudes while building their authentic American spirit in their new homeland. The emerging intellectual and cultural movements in the United States were mainly derived from European sources and were modified in accordance with native color and soul. American Romantic Emerson, Realist Mark Twain, and the early-modernist Henry James were all inspired by European-based ideas. James is in a unique position among all others and deserves special attention as his aim in most of his novels was the formation of an American self in a European land or vice versa. James made the tensions between Europe and America the subject of his fiction. Here comes the question of how James approached Europe.

Europe was the ancestral land for America, and James felt this heritage deeply by turning his face to Europe from the very beginning of his career as a novelist. Art and literature in Europe influenced him profoundly. The rather naïve and literal view that the Puritans developed in New England seemed restrictive to James and fostered his ambition for artistic and intellectual freedom in the European countries. James believed in a promising future for the United States, but felt it had a lot to learn from the European experience. For James, like most of his contemporary intellectuals, Europe was the old and ancestral land whose more nuanced values the American intellectuals needed for comprehension and appreciation without any prejudice in order to enjoy a better future in the United States. In other words, art and the ways of life in the old continent were needed as a guide for the

American people, whose parents had been inhabitants of European countries before emigrating as Christof Wegelin states in the Prologue of his extensive study on James called *The Image of Europe in Henry James* (Wegelin, 1958: 3-8). In this respect, the new land was "innocent" and inexperienced, and called for a better understanding of the inherited values to construct an ideal society with democracy and modern institutions. Since American people had enjoyed the democratic rule of a country earlier than the people of the Europe, James's concern was mainly personal rather than social or political. Moreover, he was not dealing with two distinct cultures as Adıvar was doing. He criticized the rigid materialism of the Puritans in New England at a personal level by describing the protagonist's dilemma with a full concentration on the character's personal experiences especially in the novels of his major phase. James's words in the Preface of *The Ambassadors* clearly reveal how he puts the protagonist at the center of the novel and identifies with his hero whom he calls his "friend":

> In consequence of all which, for the interest of the matter, I might seem here to have my choice of narrating my "hunt" for Lambert Strether, of describing the capture of the shadow projected by my friend's anecdote, or of reporting on the occurrences subsequent to that triumph. But I had probably best attempt a little to glance in each direction; since it comes to me again and again, over this licentious record, that one's bag of adventures, conceived or conceivable, has been only half-emptied by the mere telling of one's story. It depends so on what one means by that equivocal quantity. There is the story of one's hero, and then, thanks to the intimae connexion of things, the story of one's story itself. I blush to confess it, but if one's a dramatist one's a dramatist, and the latter imbroglio is liable on occasion to strike me as really the more objective of the two. (*The Ambassadors*, ix)

In this respect, his main characters suffering from a double identity have a similar sort of inner journey as James himself. The American expatriate, who initially undertakes an adventure in Europe and his eventual appreciation of the European values, reflects the author's gradual development in acquiring a cultural mixture of his native and ancestral lands as Oscar Cargill declares: "Strether has grown emotionally and intellectually and now all but speaks for the author himself" (Cargill, 1961: 321).

The Ottoman Empire did not find it necessary to emulate Europe's modernizing trends until the eighteenth century. Having incorporated official Islamic teaching into its social and cultural life, the empire kept itself apart from the innovations and systematic improvements taking place in Christian countries for many centuries. Paul Kennedy states

the distinct qualities of the Empire in comparison to Europe in his *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflct from 1500 to 2000*:

> For centuries before 1500 the world of Islam had been culturally and technologically ahead of Europe. Its cities were large, well-lit, and drained, and some of them possessed universities and libraries and stunningly beautiful mosques. In mathematics, cartography, medicine, and many other aspects of science and industry—in mills, gun-casting, lighthouses, horsebreeding—the Muslims had enjoyed a lead. The Ottoman system of recruiting future janissaries from Christian youth in the Balkans had produced a dedicated, uniform corps of troops. Tolerance of other races had brought many a talented Greek, Jew, and Gentile into the sultan's service – a Hungarian was Mehmet's chief gun-caster in the siege of Constantinople. Under a successful leader like Suleiman I, a strong bureaucracy supervised fourteen million subjects—this at a time when Spain had five million and England a mere two and a half million inhabitants. Constantinople in its heyday was bigger than any European city, possessing over 500,000 inhabitants in 1600. (Kennedy, 1989: 12-3)

The Ottomans considered their culture and norms superior to those of the Christians, who were condemned as infidels. It was not an easy process to destroy this prejudice and apply the modern political, social and military systems of Europe to some of the institutions of the empire. An urgent program of modification to army was put in hand as the first example of reformation to defend the empire from the "infidel" enemies. However, this rather superficial attempt was soon understood as insufficient to save the empire from decadence. Modern Western utilitarian philosophy was very different from Ottoman Islamic philosophy in nature. Therefore, every struggle to adjust the new system to Ottoman institutions was met with reactionary responses particularly from the army and the ulema[1]. It was not only the modern technical achievements that were essential but modern Western philosophy was eventually to be integrated into the Ottoman Empire (Toker and Tekin, 2002: 82). During the hard times of the Ottoman Empire, groups of intellectuals and writers gathered to form their own assemblies through which they could criticize the Sultan and his men for their flawed treatment of the empire. Democracy and freedom of expression in Europe were admired, yet there was an ongoing dispute about to what extent a severe secession from the inherited values was necessary as Berna Moran points out (Moran, 1998: 9-20). This cultural conflict prevalent during the dissolution of the empire stimulated Adıvar to focus her novels on socio-cultural issues. On the other hand, James's dilemmas were predominantly personal, his characters' struggles are individualistic and self-referential.

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[1] Ulema='ulama', learned men of Islam, interpreters of the Quran.

Among other literary and intellectual figures Adıvar has a distinctive place in Turkish literature because of her international concerns and restless nature. The representation of Europe in Adıvar's literary productions is somewhat different from James's perception. For Adıvar, Europe remained as a distant land, which deserved considerable attention, yet for other reasons than those of James. The Turkish Republic was the heir of one of the greatest empires history had ever witnessed and its intellectuals were the successors of this empire with a profound cultural heritage. Being aware of the enormous changes that the coming-of-age promised, Adıvar, as an intellectual and a novelist, was an enthusiastic promoter of importing the modern world view from the West, namely from Europe in the first place. In this sense, Europe served as a perfect model with its democracy and energy for the new-born Turkey. Being a member of a conservative community in a declining empire, she considered Europe a democratic land with a secular system that respected human rights and new ideas as Gökhan Çetinsaya puts forth (Çetinsaya, 2002: 91). Therefore, she was able to behave as an assertive intellectual woman on the basis of her upbringing within the European system of values. Such an interpretation runs counter to Henry James's approach to Europe as an old continent with traditional values. Conversely, Adıvar considered Europe the future, the new, and the modern. James's experience of living modernization in the United States and Adıvar's in a Turkey founded from the ashes of the long-lived Ottoman Empire is the main reason for why the representations of Europe by the two novelists are so different from one another. However, thinking of Europe as a land providing freedom of choice and expression is similar in both novelists. James's creativity was nourished by European wisdom and aesthetic beauty as opposed to the materialism and the strict morality of the naïve continent which he felt weakened his imagination as specified by Edwin T. Bowden (Bowden, 1956: 114). In other words, Europe was meant to be a fertile place for the productive artist with a free mind. Adıvar was also influenced by the new ideas flourishing in Europe. Either old or new, it was regarded as a land of open-minded people by both authors.

Despite their basic differences, James and Adıvar had many qualities in common, which caused them to become dual identities. If the positions and representations of people and places in their works could barely be reconciled, the international interaction counts as a

common concern for both writers. What distinguishes James's works from the works of his contemporaries is his ongoing oscillation between the two continents due to his close attachment to Europe. His association with Europe began in his early years for educational purposes. In his later years, James took frequent trips to Europe to seek a spiritual home and to attempt to escape the restrictive morality and lack of aesthetic qualities in New England. Nevertheless, those travels were far from providing him with a true home (Parrington, 1945: 128-9) because he never really rejected his commitment to his American heritage. As a matter of fact, his introduction to European life by his wealthy father and his regular trips to Europe played a major role in James's displacement and his search for an identity combining his native land and Europe.

The impact of such a dual intellectual background also applies to Halide Edib Adıvar because she followed a Western education as her father wished, beginning with kindergarten. Adıvar lived primarily in her grandmother's house where she was exposed to mystical religious influences and to Ottoman forms of behavior (Arslan, 2004). Adıvar led a migrant life like James. Her travels to England after her marriage no doubt affected her thoughts and works for the rest of her life. Adıvar's dilemma intellectually, though not contextually, resembles that of James. Their views on life and their choices were both shaped by their aristocratic intellectual background and personal experiences, such as their unorthodox and multi-dimensional educations and their lives in voluntary exile. Not only were their fathers' decisions in their education responsible for their secession from their native lands in favor of a double identity, but also most of their personal experiences and personal relationships distanced them from their countries of origin. Nevertheless, this can hardly be considered an absolute isolation from their inherited cultures as both novelists were still sensitive to their countries' values. Both James and Adıvar, who were leading novelists and thinkers in their countries, were in search of peace and tranquility that would help to resolve the contrasts troubling their minds.

These authors were both modern identities under the impact of several distinct systems. Both figures were in search of novelty in life and a new identity in the kind of "modernité" that Douglas Kellner describes:

> Further, modernity also involves a process of innovation, of constant turnover, and novelty. Modernity signifies the destruction of past forms of life, values, and identities, combined with the production of ever new ones (Berman 1982). The experience of *modernité* is one of novelty, of the ever-changing new, of innovation and transitoriness (Frisby 1985). One's identity may become out of date, or superfluous, or no longer socially validated. One may thus experience anomie, a condition of extreme alienation in which one is no longer at home in the world. (Kellner 1998: 142)

This enthusiasm for a new hybrid identity caused isolation from the society in both James and Adıvar. In other words, they were destined to feel displaced in their cultures because of their challenging attitudes. James's departure from his homeland for Europe and Adıvar's residence in England and France for many years can be considered consequences of their alienation. They took a further step and ventured to achieve a mixture of the cultures they were exposed to simultaneously. The struggle of constructing a hybrid identity to escape the paranoia stemming from the ambiguous atmosphere of the era can easily be viewed in both novelists as reflected in most of their works. James found his own ways to situate himself between America and Europe, whereas Adıvar found it difficult to locate her Western background in her Ottoman heritage. One can hardly trace any evidence of James's preference of one culture to the other neither in his private life nor in his novels as he never abandoned his American self to undergo an absolute conversion to a European identity as Georges Markow-Totevy mentions (Markow-Totevy, 1969: 39). On the contrary, as Brian Lee declares, he appreciated the American energy, which was a promising quality for a hopeful future of a nation (Lee, 1987: 12). His close connection and competition with his brother, the famous American psychologist William James, kept him in touch with the American drive for fame and financial success. On the other hand, Adıvar was not able to maintain the West/East interaction in balance for a lifetime. For her, the tension of inbetweenness increased as time passed and resulted in the triumph of the Ottoman heritage over the European modernity.

Having been raised in Puritan New England, James was unsatisfied and disillusioned by the strict doctrines and the absence of aesthetic spirit restricting his artistic endeavor. It is for this reason that he regularly traveled to Europe to search for spiritual relief. (Parrington 1945: 129) Louis Leverett, in *A Bundle of Letters*, is James's mouthpiece in his letter written from Paris to a friend, Howard Tremont in Boston:

> I don't consider that in Boston there's any real sympathy with the artistic temperament; we tend to make everything a matter of right or wrong….This is why I've always been so much drawn to the French, who are so aesthetic, so sensuous, so *entirely* living. (Cargill, 1961: 304)

James declares his hatred for the American narrow-mind in *Letters* affirming Louis Leverett's self-criticism as follows: "I hate American simplicity. I glory in the piling up of complications of every sort. If I could pronounce the name James in any different or more elaborate way I should be in favour of doing it" (James qtd. in www.poemhunter.com). The old continent was an ancestral realm in which James could enjoy freedom of artistic expression having been inspired by the intellectual and literary activities undertaken throughout the history of modern Europe. However, American drive was still at work in James's works. It was hard, yet not impossible to reconcile the two forces which seemed to have almost opposite effects on the author's life. His ambition for a hybrid identity was reflected in most of his novels in which American and European characters confront one another, which Markow-Totevy calls "the meeting of America and Europe" (Markow-Totevy, 1969: 24). James seems to have achieved a peaceful resolution of this problematic confrontation, especially in his later novels. American energy was mingled with European sophistication**.** James was able to take advantage of being introduced to both cultures at once, an advance reflected especially in his later works. Owing to his exposure to European values through his education, James benefited from the European intellectual atmosphere. He also appreciated American dynamism as an outcome of the impact of his country of origin on him.

Adıvar, on the other hand, sought to profit from her Western background without ignoring her Eastern side, which was rooted in Ottoman traditions. Nevertheless, Adıvar could hardly distance herself from the Ottoman traditions, which were long-lasting heritages of an enormous empire. In other words, she was not able to cope with her nostalgia for the Ottoman way of life quite successfully. Therefore, she could not construct a balanced self and struggled to situate herself in one of the cultures. That is why her characters, oscillating between East and West, either fail to find peace by harmonizing the two forces or are only relieved owing to the triumph of the cultural heritage as in the case of Rabia in *The Clown and His Daughter*. These two cultures had opposite qualities which even today are hard to reconcile in the Turkish Republic. The traditional and Islamic nature of the Ottomans did not comply with the modern, rational, and secular systems of the

Western/European culture. Hence, the transformation process of Turkey has had tearing effects on the Turkish nation and the institutions. Adıvar finally felt obliged to locate herself in one side, which proved to be Eastern. Otherwise she felt like she was betraying her inherited culture as long as she oscillated between the two forces without placing her ancestral culture in a superior position in the first place. Her honest remarks on national belonging and cultural heritage are worth mentioning as a way of proving her escape from such betrayal:

> As a true Nationalist myself I thought that every one ought to know his own country's language and culture. As a fact the girls, who were mostly from French schools, knew nothing about the country they lived in and despised their own language as inferior to French. The new schools which we had opened took the teaching of Arabic very seriously. (*Memoirs*, 440)

Adıvar and most of her major characters pretended to escape their crises by taking a side in favor of the inherited culture. Even the Italian originated character, Peregrini, in *The Clown and His Daughter* is ready to give up his past and stay in Sinekli-Bakkal for the rest of his life after he marries Rabia. It will be a tough transition, yet not an impossible one:

> "Strange that I should accept a new credit? But am I accepting it really? Islam to me is not a religion, it is a way of living, a mere label and a code of human relationship. I can't enter the Sinekli-Bakkal as an inhabitant without that label pinned on my coat. I shall still have my back garden, the preserve of my private life and thoughts. I shall pass under the purple wisteria every day, joking with the women at the fountain. We will let Rakim carry on with the shop. Damn it, why can't I see my future wife and talk things over with her before the marriage ceremony? Well, it is going to be a happy life, good days following good nights, when we will sleep together to begin it all over again. She may bear me sons, sons to play with, to teach, to scold. In the month of Ramazan we may give shadow-plays for the street children when our bambini are big enough. One of the boys must be like his grandfather—a great clown! Oh, it is going to be as fascinating as a circus." (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 273)

Peregrini is aware of the troubles of conforming to a new culture, yet even his dreams about his son have Eastern influences. Adıvar's close contacts with Europe, personal experiences in the Western countries and upbringing with strict Ottoman values doubled her problematic identity formation. With respect to this fact, it could be argued that James was in a privileged position in comparison with Adıvar because he already possessed a Western identity while she was faced with the clash of civilizations. That is to say, West (America) against West (Europe) is a less problematic conflict in Henry James's case than the clash of East (Ottoman) and West (Europe) in Adıvar's life.

Both authors' attempts to find a location between cultures will be discussed in relation to their two major novels, which mirror the true feelings and experiences of the authors themselves. James's and Adıvar's semi-autobiographical novels, *The Ambassadors* (1903) and *The Clown and His Daughter* (1935) respectively, are two major novels in the American and Turkish literature which highlight the dual identity of the novelists through their protagonists. The international theme dominates both novels, and the characters' responses in each novel reveal the respective novelists' attitude to their cultural dilemmas. James was not satisfied with his American identity, which is obvious in his reconstructed consciousness with no total sense of an entire belonging to either culture. Adivar's inability to reconcile her dual identities originates from the incompatibility of the two cultures to which she was exposed. If the issue of America and Europe is the predominant concern in *The Ambassadors*, the West-East confrontation is the focus of *The Clown and His Daughter*. Strether, the protagonist in *The Ambassadors*, can be identified with James because of the appreciation that he develops for both the ancestral Old World and his country of origin. This unforced synthesis is suggested as a peaceful resolution in James's later works. Adivar's protagonist, Rabia, in *The Clown and His Daughter* is supposed to be the heroine mediating between East and West. The author's true intentions for such a harmony are revealed in the passage in which Vehbi Effendi, the mystical figure in the novel, gives his honest impressions of Rabia:

> In Vehbi Effendi's interest, on the other hand, there was no such obsession, no such effort to monopolise Raiba's attention. He had received as clearly as the Italian the dual nature of the girl. But he also knew that human nature was sometimes a thousandfold. He had really adopted her spiritually. He meant to guide her throughout life. None of her faculties should be thwarted. Rabia's extreme Puritanism, as well as her infinite capacity of abandoning herself to the dictates of her heart, was a precious human quality. She could steer her way through…she mıst be trusted to do so, for she was profoundly intelligent, the sanity of her mind was remarkable. Even at her tender age, she judged clearly and decided justly. (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 102)

Rabia, a woman with an Eastern background, could be a perfect mediator by marrying a Western man, yet with a moderate attitude away from any absolutism. In the second part of the novel, however, her Eastern side overrides the Western, which is not consonant with the previous sections of the novel. Rabia's inner voice mirrors the irreconcilable nature of the two cultures when she draws an exact line between her and Peregrini:

> The girl herself went on glibly with her tale, while her mind battled valiantly with a vision of a middle-aged man with a tortured face. The Evil One was behind that face; she must fight it as the old heroes had fought the dragons; she must obliterate that vision, or it would damn her immortal soul. How she had hurt him when she had told him that he couldn't attend a Mevlut-chanting! That served him right. Rabia must barricade herself behind religion, tradition, everything and anything which her old country could supply. Never allow him to step over the barrier…Yet her ears listened for a knock on the shop door. Peregrini might call her. (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 249-50)

Peregrini could step over the barrier only by converting to Ottoman/Islamic traditions in the end. This forced finale can be explained by Adıvar's own conflict in trying to balance the two sets of values in her life which, proving irreconcilable, ends by her favoring one over the other. Adıvar, although staying abroad for many years returned to her homeland and continued her literary career with a concentration on authentic values. Her ultimate tendency toward Islamic mysticism at its extreme level is obvious in her autobiography, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, which she wrote as a second version of *Memoirs*. Her former reactionary attitude as an assertive active woman is witnessed to shift to a calm and peaceful state of mind in tranquility.

This thesis will explore the autobiographical elements of these two novels within modern identity theories and the shifting performances of these leading intellectuals to postmodern identities in the context of cultural hybridity. While European modernity greatly influenced both figures from its opposing sides, the homogenizing nature of modern philosophy was abandoned in favor of mixing selves as a pioneer attempt for the future intellectuals as well as common people confronted with several systems at once. In this respect, it is essential that the ways in which correlation between the hero and the heroine of both texts are modeled on the authors' lives be proved with specific extracts and relevant sections from the novels. The next chapter will investigate the novelists in question with emphasis on their modern selves serving as transitory figures from dominant-culture-specific nature of modernity to cultural dualities and mixtures in a period of transformation. Before such a particular analysis, it is necessary that a broad survey on identity formation and the various forces at work in the course of shaping our identities be made.

CHAPTER 1

Europe as a source of cultural inspiration and hybrid identity

In fact, both Henry James and Halide Edib Adıvar were trying to shape their own identities at a time when America and Turkey were redefining themselves, and when Europe itself was undergoing drastic change to its own self-image. Our culture constructs our identity regardless of the policies and ideologies of the community we belong to. We define our position within the society as well as our self in its most personal sense under the impact of the cultural system surrounding us. Our personal experiences are also shaped within a cultural frame. In other words, it is the culture (outside) rather than the nature (inside) that determines one's identity (Storey, 2003: 91). However, increasing cultural interactions and the cross-cultural quality of the twentieth century has paved a way to major changes in identity politics as well as identity formation. Former theories in favor of single identities were devastated by the concept of plurality, which domains almost every aspect of society. The singularity of identity is no more regarded as the basic characteristic of identities due to the contact between cultures. The differences between cultures are no more suffered but entertained as Homi Bhabha puts in *The Location of Culture*:

> The stairwell as liminal space, in-between the designations of identity, becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white. The hither and thither of the stairwell, the temporal movement and passage that allows, prevents identities at either end of it from settling identifications opens up the possibility of cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy. (Bhabha, 2003: 4)

Bhabha's brief definition of cultural hybridity has penetrated into the cultural studies jargon in the second half of the twentieth century, yet it should be noted that cultural hybridization is not limited even to the twentieth century. The intellectuals of the late nineteenth century, as the leading figures of their ages were the first to experience the tearing effects of the identity construction and the suffering process of hybridization. This study aims to discuss different positions of the intellectuals from the opposing sides of Europe in an era of progress that promised inevitable changes worldwide and the cultural dilemmas of two leading novelists, who were unique in their attempts to construct a hybrid identity.

Prior to the special positions of the literary figures in question, a brief survey on the cultural identity issue is necessary in order to acquire a better comprehension of these intellectuals' dualities. An investigation on cultural identities necessitates an accurate definition of culture in the first place. Anthony D. Smith offers a good working definition of culture in his *Nationalism and Modernism*:

> Culture, therefore, the meanings and representations of symbols, myths, memories and values, is not some inventory of traits, or a 'stuff' enclosed by the border; culture is both an inter-generational repository and heritage, or set of traditions, and an active shaping repertoire of meanings and images, embodied in values, myths and symbols that serve to unite a group of people with shared experiences and memories, and differentiate them from outsiders. (Smith, 1998: 187)

One may argue that our past is the major determinant of our identity, yet this assumption remains defective as long as it insists on the individual quality of memory as John Storey argues: "First, memory is as much collective as individual […] In other words, what is provisional in our memories is confirmed by the memories of others" (Storey, 2003: 81). That is to say, one can hardly limit his identity to his individual memory. A remembered event may not be complete and coherent in our memory, yet it will likely be elaborated and completed by the remembrances of others, or else after listening to the same event from the others or exposed to a same photograph many times, we may also presume to have a specific memory even if we actually do not (Storey, 2003: 82). In the case of James, he went after a European heritage, which he did not himself experience firsthand. However, his father's Irish family ties and his studies led him to such a cultural quest.

Adıvar, similarly conjured up images from the Ottoman culture as she listened to her grandmother's stories and memories. She was very willing to identify with these memories and the forgotten days of her childhood in her grandmother's old mansion. Apart from that, memory is not fixed in the past as Storey argues: "Therefore, the profound interaction between memory and identity formation does not necessarily depend on the truth of what is remembered" (Storey, 2003: 83). In this respect, when we locate ourselves in a culture, we transfer our memories into our time in the context of the present. In other words, our memories are de/reconstructed along with our identities as Storey states: "Put simply, our memories change as we change" (Storey, 2003: 84). He also puts emphasis on our identity

politics in the course of identity formation. One constructs his/her cultural identity in line with his/her objectives: "Our identities may seem grounded in the past, but they are also about becoming who we want to be or being who we think we should be in particular contexts" (Storey, 2003: 86). Even our most personal experiences and wishes are directed and framed in culture rather than nature. In this respect, James and Adıvar are both products of their cultures. Their search for identity was a consequence of their cultural ties with other nations and the selfhood of each of them is the outcome of their cultural interactions no matter how personal it may seem.

One basic characteristic of identities even at the turn of the twentieth century is that they are traveling back and forth between various cultures. This ongoing journey causes an everlasting search for a new self in its own space. The forerunner hybrids in the last decade of the nineteenth century were struggling between their native lands and the cultures they were exposed to. Their reasons could vary, yet the tension was inescapable. Their ways to handle the suffering consequences of their spiritual journey between the two cultures were not the same either. No matter what, the shift from the former singularities to the inbetween position of the subject encompassing a multitude of variants is significant as Bhabha declares in *The Location of Culture*:

> The move away from the singularities of 'class' or 'gender' as primary conceptual and organizational categories, has resulted in an awareness of the subject positions – of race, gender, generation, institutional location, geopolitical locale, sexual orientation – that inhabit any claim to identity in the modern world. What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives or originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These 'inbetween' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies or selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself. (Bhabha, 2003: 1,2)

Socio-cultural norms of non-European countries were inevitably influenced by the European systems of thought and interpretation of life, which received considerable attention especially from the intellectuals. This enormous effect of modern philosophy is witnessed in the works of these intellectuals from different parts of the world. Since this study is dedicated to a comparative survey of two authors from two specific countries, namely the United States and Turkey, it will not go into detail with the tendencies to conform to the European forms of thinking in other countries. Broadly speaking the

European culture had an enormous impact both on its former colony, North America, and the Eastern countries, among which is the Ottoman Empire. Strong attachment to Europe planted the seeds of cultural hybridity as an inescapable outcome of cultural interaction. For whatever reasons, European culture caused non-European intellectuals to question their sense of belonging to their nations at the close of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, some were able to deal with the process more easily than others.

To be more specific, American intellectuals went through identity formation with considerably less effort than the Eastern. The reason for that lies in the nature of their cultures' relationship with Europe. The dominant power of the West and the silence of the East were the characteristics of modernity which was identified with the "rational colonizer" Europe as opposed to the "emotional colonized" East (Said, 1978: 40). The Western imposition of its superiority caused the colonized Eastern people to internalize their inferiority and to be isolated from their own cultural and national identity (Said, 1994: 134, 140-1). However, the nation-states and the formation of a national-self stimulated the former colonies to write the West back (Fanon, 1994: 45-7). In other words, the colonial discourse of the Enlightened scholars was challenged by the earlier condemned philosophers of the colonized countries. This challenging response left the Eastern intellectuals at a problematic condition of cultural dilemma. Therefore, the Eastern intellectuals were the first to experience the ambiguity of their era either suffering from the in-betweenness or enjoying hybridity. The modern philosophy of Europe, earlier respected in the East, was then questioned and challenged in terms of its superiority over the Eastern. Nevertheless, there is no need to deny the European/Western influence on the Eastern cultures. Countries outside of European borders were under the impact of the European philosophy embracing a modern culture of diverse national characters.

This was not the case on the other side of the Atlantic. Considering the fact that most of the inhabitants of America at the turn of the twentieth century when James lived, were the children of their European ancestors, who had migrated to America long ago, a new culture was born out of an ancestral one with a new spirit. Despite immigrations from different parts of the world, a significant proportion of the American population has the European origin even today. Therefore, the effects of European modernization have been more

profound and nostalgic in the United States than it had been in Turkey, which was a country founded on the basis of European modernism, yet with a different conception of Europe. Turkey was the successor of the Ottoman Empire, which had a culture of its own for centuries. In this respect, it was a tough process for Turkey to become European. The United States, exempt from the West-East confrontation, did not suffer from the cross-cultural tension of Turkey, which underwent a painful transition period. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire put the country into a series of crises and the once powerful and self-reliant inhabitants of the Empire sought to regain their honor against the European invaders. The Turkish intellectuals of the era were in search of a position between the Ottoman heritage and the Western culture.

Rather than experiencing an East-West dilemma, the United States has been a leading promoter of multiculturalism because of its multicultural structure. In this respect it exemplifies the cultural diversity of the post-colonial era as Paul Michael Lützeler argues: "The theory of multiculturalism has essentially been developed in the U.S., Canada, and Australia, the so-called settler colonies…..What these theories share is that they replace the older cultural identity paradigms such as specific national identity or the so-called 'melting pot' with models that propagate the acceptance of the diversity and hybridity of varying, even contrasting cultures" (Lützeler, 2001). American intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century experienced the hints of this hybridity within their own identities traveling to and from Europe. There was an ongoing tendency toward forming a self benefiting from the European heritage as well as the American dynamism. Turkey, on the other hand, suffered from its dual position between the modern West and the traditional East although it was never colonized. In both cases, America and Turkey, the cultural identity issues came to the foreground as the colonial/imperial discourse was fading and losing its dominance all over the world. It will be in order to refer to Lützeler's views on the different discourses of the Eastern and Western intellectuals in the post-modern era:

> Feminism and multiculturalism are emancipation discourses typical of the West. The theory and practice of postcolonialism, however, has its roots in the so-called Third Word, that is to say, in the former colonies as well as in South Africa. In a modified way, postcolonialism continues the anticolonial discourse of earlier decades; one must mention here the works of Frantz Fanon. It is significant for the postmodern concept of Western countries that the postcolonial theory was developed above all by academics from colonial countries who are teaching today at leading universities of the West, particulary North America, like Edward Said, Gayatri Chakratovorty Spivak, and Homi Bhabha. It is no coincidence that the discourses

of multiculturalism and postcolonialism overlap and strengthen each other, as is especially the case with Homi Bhabha. (Lützeler, 2001)

The multicultural discourse, cultural hybridity and even the origins of the anticolonial discourse may date back to the beginning of the twentieth century in the sense that cultural, social and national interactions were increasing greatly (Williams and Chrisman, 1994: 15-7). The rise of plurality even caused the Eastern intellectuals to take challenging steps against the colonial discourse on the ground of the ideal imported from the West in the second half of the twentieth century (Smith, 1998: 73).

James and Adıvar were struggling to define an identity at a time when nations themselves were working out individual destinies and identities. As cultural identities can hardly be considered out of the national context, nationalism should also be investigated within a cultural approach. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are regarded the periods in which the rise of nationalism occurred (Burke, 1998: 294). Nationalism, inaugurated by the French Revolution, was based on the idea of a unified national identity as Edward Said points out in his *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*:

> It would therefore be nothing short of a historical amputation to excise this material from Renan's writings on what constitutes a nation, or, for that matter, from all those late nineteenth-century writers who contributed so much to the making of a national and cultural identity. The field they worked in, so to speak, was an international and global one; its topography was determined principally from within the domestic realm that intellectuals such as Arnold and Renan were so active in shaping; finally and most important there was races and languages that they governed, herding everything under their strict, almost Darwinian rubric. Thus all Orientals were Orientals, all Negroes were Negroes; all had the same unchanging characteristics, and were condemned to the same inferior status. (Said, 2000: 419)

However, this kind of a unity simply ignored the cultural interactions of civilizations and of their people. Detachment from the tyranny of the absolute monarchy was the main concern of the nationalist movement, which promoted modern notions such as democracy and human rights (Smith, 2001: 46). The modern centralized national state was fostered by the revolt against multicultural empires like those of Ottomans (Smith, 2001: 116). By the end of the nineteenth century, the colonial empires began to dissolve and gave way to independent nation-states. However, the popular European idea of nation-states with a single culture and language applied to only a few of these flourishing nation-states. Despite the rise of nationalism at the turn of the twentieth century, cultural conflicts and crises

came to the surface for various reasons as Smith states, drawing attention to the inevitable and eventual presence of cultural hybridity:

> For Homi Bhabha, for example, the very idea of a 'national identity' has become problematic. The idea had first emerged in the totalizing project of the Enlightenment which sought to incorporate all being, including the Other. Hence the nationalist narratives of the self (which was, in fact, always constructed and defined by the Other, the significant outsider) always claimed to incorporate the Other and purported to create total cultural homogeneity. But such a claim is fictitious. Cultural difference is irreducible, and it reveals the hybrid quality and ambivalence of national identity in every state (Bhabha 1990). (Smith, 1998: 202)

The Western colonists may have designated the colonized people as the "other", yet they could not assimilate the natives in their national hegemony, nor could they impose their idea of a single culture with one language on these brand-new nation-states grown out of former colonies. In respect to the countries that are the focus of this study, the Ottoman Empire was neither a colonizer nor colonized in its decaying period. It simply struggled to retain its independence and security against the European invaders, which tried to apply their colonial wishes to this empire with a large territory (Akman, 2002: 88). Turkish intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century confronted the duality of integrating the modern systems of Europe into the Ottoman heritage. The national struggle was meant to avoid further loss and draw a line beyond which the Western invader forces could not advance. Being aware of the so-called superiority of the Europeans to the colonized East, they wrote back to the West emphasizing their Turkish, Islamic and Eastern identity. Nevertheless, defining their new borders meant defining the nature of a "modern" Turkish nation-state (Akman, 2002: 88). Hence, the Western/European culture of modernity inevitably penetrated into Turkish culture and left the Turkish people in a cultural dilemma. Americans, on the other hand, were simply questioning their American self within the ancestral culture, namely the European. While declaring their independence and self-sufficiency against colonial Europe, they were also seeking to acquire the artistic freedom back from the old continent. In both cases, hybridization was inevitable.

The dissolution of a national singularity can derive from ethnographic developments as well as socio-cultural reasons even within the historical Ottoman Empire. People from different classes and levels of society were subject to temporal/spatial shifting, which undermined single identities. Geographical movements of people for various purposes and

the modernizing tendencies of some of the Eastern countries triggered the problematic quality of a nationalist monism. In either case, the intellectuals were the first to undergo cultural exchanges and crises. Immigrants, *gastarbeiters* and asylum-seekers extended this crisis into lower levels of the society. Eventually, "today, every collective cultural identity has become plural" (Smith, 1998: 203). In other words, hybrid identities, influenced by more than one culture as a result of a multicultural relationship, came into existence. Put simply, these identities were mainly interested in achieving hybridization by mixing cultures exceeding the temporal and spatial boundaries: "Time-space compression brings into close contact images, meanings, ways of life, cultural practices, which would otherwise have remained separated by time and space. This can produce a certain homogeneity of cultural experience or resistance in defense of a previous way of life, or it can bring about a mixing of cultures, producing forms of 'hybridization'" (Storey, 2003: 108). Not only do the challenging attempts of Eastern thinkers to experience Western philosophy but also the Western intellectuals' circulation of thoughts and life styles among themselves deserve attention. In other words, West is not limited to certain countries or continents; even Europe is divided into various sub-cultures under the European Union umbrella. America, a great Western power, was able to construct its own culture out of a European heritage in the first place. Cultural hybridity is by no means an easy process to undergo either for a West-West experience or an East-West journey.

As to the hybridization of the intellectuals from the two sides of Europe, the natures of their dilemmas are different from one another. The American literary figures were writing back to their European heritage. In other words, earlier colonist settlers in the United States were then seeking cultural richness by integrating their national identity into the old continent (Lee, 1987: 12). This early attempt of the Americans to declare their cultural identity while being influenced by the ancestral culture of the Old World deserves attention for its multi-cultural quality. As discussed earlier, Americans aimed to become multicultural because of the country's unique entity encompassing a variety of nations and cultures. European settlement in the New Land was the initial motive for cultural interactions and transfers, which was a relatively rapid transition. Turkey, however, experienced a dramatic de/reconstruction of cultural identity because of its confrontation with Europe, which was a metonymy for the West. Turkey, as a nation-state did not allow

a variety of cultures, languages and religions. Even the multi-cultural quality of the Ottoman Empire did not contribute to the formation of a Turkish cultural identity as the Empire mainly consisted of Muslim communities. This is why it dissolved so quickly for such a big Empire as soon as it had to face the Western power, norms and culture. That is to say, re/construction of a national identity coincided with exposure to a new culture, which made the hybridization process quite difficult. To put it simply, Turkish novelists, poets, intellectuals broadly wrote back to the European modernity and the Western invaders, who were new and unknown, while reconstructing their national identity. Elif Şafak refers to these literary scholars in her article "Accelerating the flow of time: soft power and the role of intellectuals in Turkey" as follows:

> Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Turkey…were all cases of belated modernity where the state elite, rather than the society, was the leading force. In this context, literature has not only been one of the many constitutive forces of the nation-building process, but rather the constitutive force. The literary figures in countries of belated modernity assumed a far more commanding social role in society than Guy de Maupassant or Thomas Hardy ever did in their lifetime. (Şafak, 2006)

Henry James followed American intellectuals, who had been exhausted by the recent industrial innovations and the lack of aestheticism in the United States at the close of the nineteenth century. Some of them were preoccupied with romanticizing the American past in order to cope with the materialistic nature of the country. Storey defines this romantic fantasy as follows: "It was fantasy intended to heal the wounds of the present and safeguard the future by promoting a memory of a past which had little existence outside the intellectual debates of the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries" (Storey, 2003: 13). Others emphasized the democracy and drive in their native land. Most of the American intellectuals of the era turned to Europe for a certain period of time in search of refined European aesthetics. The idealization of Europe by the New World; "the American nostalgia for the fine virtues and values of the Old World" (Turner, 1991: 7), led the country to a cultural crisis. Henry James furthered the international aspect of the crisis with his ongoing transatlantic journeys. Although both American heritage and the ancestral culture were "Western" and could be reconciled without great difficulty, it was still a cultural crisis, which led James to deal with it in the personal level, especially in his late career.

On the other hand, the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire resulted in the foundation of a national state. The first half of the twentieth century favored the nationalist inclinations of such lately emerging nation states, and their citizens celebrated their democratic and modern structure. It was a problematic transformation, though, since the nation had to take the European modernity as a model for its new structure while avoiding a total rejection of the Ottoman heritage (Moran, 1998: 18-9). Turkish intellectuals of the era were the first to bear the burden of this cultural dilemma as in the case of the Americans. However, their duality was far more troublesome due to the different nature of the cultures in question. Adıvar suffered from this dilemma as if presaging the ongoing cultural oscillation of Turkey between European modernity and the Ottoman traditions. Her failure in constructing a hybrid identity resembles that of her nation. Despite their basic differences, both James and Adıvar struggled to form a modern self, which is "aware of the constructed nature of identity and that one can always change and modify one's identity at will" (Kellner, 1998: 142) as Kellner perfectly remarks concerning the nature of the modern self. Both James and Adıvar were against the idea of a national homogeneity comprised of a single nation. In Bhabha's view, "the official texts give way to everyday, 'performative' narratives of the people in which perceptions of history and identity become split and doubled, the nation is fragmented into its constituent cultural parts and national identity becomes 'hybridized'" (Smith, 2001: 127).

Although it was too early to speak of postmodernity, critical progress in the late nineteenth century gave way to a transition period from modern to postmodern identities and this transition necessitates a brief survey of both types of identities in order to analyze the cultural crises of the novelists in question. The fixed, stable and coherent self are the main characteristics of identity in modernity: "From Descartes's cogito, to Kant's and Husserls's transcendental ego, to the Enlightenment concept of reason, identity is conceived as something essential, substantial, unitary, fixed, and fundamentally unchanging." (Kellner, 1992: 142). Since the modern self longs for a change and a challenge to the past, what is new and novel is respected. There appears to be identity crisis in case of either a strict or a complex structure of society as Kellner states: "Indeed, only in a society anxious about identity could the problems of personal identities, or self-identity, or identity crises, arise and be subject to worry and debate (Kellner, 1992: 143). When we take the issue in a

cultural context, the same dilemmas are experienced in a society where cultural concerns are in the foreground. No doubt, both America and Turkey were anxious about cultural identity in the course of their transition periods. In this respect, the intellectuals of the era sought to construct their identities at will. Adıvar, especially was exhausted struggling to fit herself into the right position where she would feel safe from the troubles of inbetweenness. James felt comparatively more comfortable while placing himself between his native and ancestral lands.

Due to the confrontation of cultures for various reasons especially in the first half of the twentieth century, singularities of cultural identity have been questioned and rejected in return for multiplicity as Storey points out:

> Over the course of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth a number of major intellectual challenges were made to this way of seeing identity, each in its different way making a successful challenge to the idea of a fixed and coherent self. In different ways, Charles Darwin's theory of evolution (the evolving self), Karl Marx's concept of history (the situated self), Sigmund Freud's theory of psychoanalysis (the unconscious self), and Ferdinand de Saussure's theory of language (the self enabled and constrained in and through language), all helped to "decenter" the traditional concept of the fixed and stable self. Out of these challenges, and more recently out of the theoretical work of post-structuralism and postmodernism, another way to understand identity has emerged. This view posits identity, not as something fixed and coherent, but as something constructed and always in a process of becoming, but never complete - as much about the future as the past (Hall 1996b, 1996e). (Storey, 2003: 79)

In fact, one's attempts to achieve a mixture of the cultures he is exposed to are an explicit illustration of such an ongoing process of becoming. It is an unknown journey promising no ultimate destination. To give a banal example: if one, who is exposed to more than one culture during his lifetime, is asked to announce his/her cultural identity, he/she will hesitate to identify with a single culture. Since cultural interactions come out increasingly in a world of communication, people experiencing cultural duality have found their own ways to intermingle various forces at work in their lives. The last decade of the nineteenth century planted the seeds of cultural hybridity in the sense that especially the intellectuals were preoccupied to redefine their cultural identities in a flux of intercultural interventions. This study explores cultural hybridity as a way of profiting from various forces at work in one's life and establishing a fruitful interaction with these distinct forces at a time. In this respect, it should be noted that James was an American novelist in search of a dual identity and Adıvar was a Turkish novelist with an anxiety to construct a right position for herself

between Turkey and Europe. They share this common tendency toward a hybrid identity, yet differ in their achievements. The American novelist took advantage of his dual background and Western origin in the course of his refreshment in Europe as he points out the intimate relation he develops with Paris in the Preface to *The American*:

> This resurrection then took place in Paris, where I was at the moment living, and in December 1875; my good fortune being apparently that Paris had ever so promptly offered me, and with an immediate directness at which I now marvel (since I had come back there, after earlier visitations, but a few weeks before), everything that was needed to make my conception concrete. I seem again at this distant day to see it become so quickly and easily, quite as if filling itself with life in that air. The objectivity it had wanted it promptly put on, and if the questions had been, with the usual intensity, for my hero and his crisis—the whole formidable list, the who? the what? the where? the when? the why? the how?—they gathered their answers in the cold shadow of the Arc de Triomphe, for fine reasons, very much as if they had been plucking spring flowers for the weaving of a frolic garland. (*The American*)

Apparently James's earlier contact with Europe and the American nostalgia for Europe contributed to the resolution of his identity crisis and to his hybridization as well as his heroes'. Adıvar, on the other hand, was extremely disillusioned by the cultural crisis in her country, where the identity crisis of the intellectuals was so extreme and seemed desperate. Adıvar stressed the different characteristics of the intellectuals at the time of nation-building of modern Turkey in her description of Ziya Gökalp, a leading Pan Turanian, in her *Memoirs*:

> He believed that the Turk must be Westernized at any cost. Among the many definitions which he tried to give the Turks, the best is his last one: 'I am of the Turkish race, Moslem religion, Western civilization.' His book called *Turkization, Islamization, Westernization*, contains his philosophical and sociological ideas. (*Memoirs*, 319, 320)

This brief reference to a well-known nationalist poet illustrates the dualities of the prominent thinkers of the era. In any case, Europe served as a motive for James and Adıvar's search for cultural identity, either modern or postmodern.

CHAPTER 2

The Old World versus the New World: Henry James's *The Ambassadors*

Formation of a national and cultural identity has always been problematic as reflected in the literary products. The American self was put into question in poems and novels in different forms. The Puritan past with its focus on the sinful character of man and the redemption by working hard to obtain wealth was replaced by a spiritual revival also described as an awakening. The Age of Reason with its emphasis on the material world had reigned in America as well as in Europe as Francis E. Skipp points out (Skipp, 1992: 18). American intellectuals needed shelter from this harsh materialism in the European romantic tradition. Although American Romanticism was based on English Romantic poets and German Romantic philosophy, it characterized American self reliance in the form of American transcendentalism, which was directly related to the "Quaker inner light, the Puritan divine and supernatural light, and in the secular egalitarianism fostered by the American Revolution"(Skipp, 1992: 28). The transcendentalist spirit aimed to reinforce the nation's self-confidence in the age of confidence and progress. The Puritan idea of original sin, the feeling of guilt, the need to limit worldly pleasures, and the escape from guilt by engaging in trading activities were replaced by the transcendental spirit of hope and imagination. In other words, the past no longer dominated the people's lives, nor did its restrictions limit their imaginative capacity. It was rather the present actuality and the freedom of expression in the new world that shaped people's lives. Ralph Waldo Emerson was a prescient transcendentalist celebrating the emergence of self-reliance and intuition through an appreciation of nature in order to apprehend the Ideal. His ongoing optimism is mentioned by Ruland and Bradbury as follows:

> Today transcendentalism is still celebrated as the optimistic center of the American imagination, the source of its new language and vision; a recent critic, Richard Poirier, has seen Emerson as the great renewer of all literature and language, the philosopher of natural form, and art beyond artifice from which truth will emerge. (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 144)

The geographical locus of this movement was New England and its motive was a rejection of a Puritan past. American imagination, though inspired by the European tradition and modernity, was based on the American characteristics such as its Puritan concern with

moral conduct and simplicity. Due to the lack of a past enriched by a variety of aesthetics and art, American romance and poetry were not expected to have European profoundness. American romantics had only simple themes to deal with as their native land did not go through all the ruin and experience that Europe did. American innocence was attributed to its artlessness. A new formation of literature as well as philosophy was the reason why this period in the United States was also called "The American Renaissance". The literary figures in the second half of the nineteenth century believed in a promising future in their country although they did not deny European success in art and literature in its modernization period (Skipp, 1992: 28). European tradition was appreciated, but not taken as a model as a whole. It was rather the future of America that the American thinker was concentrated on and was hopeful for. American Renaissance claimed the power of a man, a moment and a nation (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 156). To support this argument, novelists like Herman Melville and poets like Walt Whitman highlighted the democratic quality of their native land and the necessity of preserving the traditional institutions of Western culture. Melville revealed American attitudes toward European modernity:

> Some may start to read of Shakespeare and Hawthorne on the same page….But Shakespeare has been approached. There are minds that have gone as far as Shakespeare into the universe….Believe me, my friends, that men not very much inferior to Shakespeare, are this day being born on the banks of the Ohio. And the day will come, when you shall say who reads a book by an Englishman that is a modern? (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 156-7)

It is because of this freshness, dynamism and the lack of a profound culture in the United States as opposed to the rich culture and the experienced state of Europe that Henry James defined being an American heir to European culture as a "complex fate" (Markow-Totevy, 1969: 23) . Integration of the ancestral values after modifying them for the needs of the New World extended the meaning of Western culture from the old continent to the New Land across the Atlantic. Owing to this extension, one thinks of both America and Europe when he/she is asked to describe Western tradition and norms.

Wolfgang Schivelbusch indicates in *The Culture of Defeat*, while the intellectuals in the North were dealing with freedom, equality and democracy, the South was claiming the necessity of slavery for the economic and social survival (Schivelbusch, 2003: 42, 44). This huge gap between the two regions started a modern war, which would end with the victory of the North. The Civil War had serious effects on the nation. As a major result, the

nation united within a Union as a whole (Schivelbusch, 2003: 87). Secondly, Southern feudalism based on agricultural activities and slavery plantation and the entrepreneurial democracy of the North were both destroyed in return for a modern, imperial nation-state. (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 186) This enormous change from the earlier idealism to a mechanized formation in the country is pointed out by Ruland and Bradbury as follows:

> Few wars have been as fully recorded by the direct participants in memoir and annual, as the upheaval forced language toward a new realism to undermine old myths, ideals and faiths. An old eloquence died to be replaced by a new plainspokenness, the note of Lincoln's great speeches. The war destroyed two social orders, both justified by the same God: not just the "race of stately planters" and their Southern feudalism, but the old entrepreneurial democracy of the North. What replaced them was a modern, imperial, industrial nation-state. (Ruland and Bradbury 1991:186)

After the order was replaced, the nation diverted its attention to reconstructing the country with technology and industry. In this respect, a shift in the direction of "self" took place. The earlier tendency toward a transcendental self ceased to meet the needs of the individual. Therefore, a modernizing self turned its direction to industrialization, technology and new inventions. Aggressive capitalism dominated the country until the 1890s (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 187-8). The spread of industrial innovation gave way to metropolitan cities and a vast population because of the increasing number of immigrants with the desire to acquire wealth and power. The transcendentalists and the novelists of American romance had predicted this huge change in society and had earlier reacted against this loss of spiritual self under the impact of harsh realism that was to come soon after a few decades. However, their works did not apply to people drowning in the severe capitalist system. The alienation of the individual from the society needed to be described in detail. The European intellectuals wished to deal with the problematic position of the middle class and his painful struggle to survive. The Victorian Era novelists scorned the decline of man's taste in arts, literature. The American intellectuals also felt the need to depict the miserable condition of working people during the post-Civil War Reconstruction of the United States. European social concern also applied to American reality and the realist American fiction emerged and developed under the guidance of the European novel. Again a literary movement had already started and its products had been witnessed in Europe well before in America. Novelists like William Dean Howells, Henry James and Mark Twain exercised the realistic methods of Europe in American fiction. In other words,

they looked back to the European tradition of the realist novel to adapt it to their native land.

The post-Civil War novelists in the United States were moved by the contrast of disparate sections of the country. Their curiosity to learn about these distant provinces and the growing nostalgia for the past, which were pictured as times of a simple way of life with no hint of the problems that the men in industrialized cities were facing, led them to writing about regional flavor and local color. The regional tradition romanticized the fading past in literature while introducing the new problems of the nation. While idealizing the old and simple way of life in different regions of the country, this form of writing exceeded the limits of the particular region and linked the local to the national and eventually to the universal. American romance and the depiction of the country as some sort of a myth were exhausted after the Civil War and the massive change in the country which followed it. Rapidly growing cities were far from providing their people with any kind of relief and sympathy. Social problems and the suffering of man needed to be depicted in detail within a realistic tradition, which is indebted to its forerunners in Europe (Skipp, 1992: 44-5).

With all its corrupt nature, the Gilded Age in the United States gradually swept the romanticizing attempts away in order to provide the innocent America with the necessary input that would come from Europe. The agrarian nature of the prewar era was replaced by the industrial characteristic of the postwar period (Lee, 1987: 3). In other words, the speed of industrialization and the rapidly increasing commercial activities entailed a corruption in the individual morality and the wealthy middle class merchants and businessman tried to act in an elegant and a refined manner. They were respectable gentlemen and ladies with a lack of profoundness and artistic taste. Despite their efforts to transfer the polite and stylish way of life in Europe to their hometowns, these American Puritans, who indulged in making profits, preserved their provinciality in spite of their lavish way of life. Mark Twain, William Dean Howells and many other novelists of their age tried to reconcile the American self-reliance, individual morality and democracy with this Genteel Tradition of the nineteenth century (Skipp, 1992: 46, 50). However, this attempt was destined to fail since the competitive nature of the capitalist New York was about to defeat the idealizing

Boston optimism. The intellectuals of the Gilded Age were in search of a shelter to take refuge from immoral materialism. The realist novelists had their own ways to juxtapose the conflicting forces at work in the United States. Mark Twain sought for a solution by reconciling his nostalgia for a moral and confident life away from the problems of the industrialized cities and the new forms of life within the modern process. Another realist novelist, William Dean Howells, also tackled the issue of forming a self-reliant American self along with the materialistic principals that shaped the lives of men and women. In attempts to escape their crisis in placing themselves in the society, most of these literary figures looked for "aesthetic complexity and artistic cosmopolitanism as a way to discover the nature of a serious realism" (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 194). This cosmopolitan reaction directed the intellectuals to the Old World. Both separation from American commercialism and the lack of an artistic taste were the main motives for many trips to Europe. Earlier inclination for European sources reached its peak level in the aftermath of the Civil War. Mark Twain and Henry James were the leading figures who ventured to take exploratory trips to Europe, which had been going through a rich modernity, in search of experience and the ancestral culture and past. Ruland and Bradbury define the necessity of the discovery trips to Europe:

> For James, it was the destiny of the American writer to be cosmopolitan. The rise in American expatriation after the Civil War was not due only to dissent form American commercialism and opportunism; it was also a response to artistic hunger for more complex literary awareness and forms. Even the regionalist spirit has its European sources; writers like Joaquin Miller, Ambrose Bierce, Bret Harte and Mark Twain spent considerable time in Europe, and Howells himself, who attacked 'literary absenteeism', was greatly tempted to say on in Venice. As American writers in the aftermath of the war confronted the land spread of the nation and the new cityscapes, the conflict of moral faiths and material processes, nostalgic reminiscence and radical changes, they began to encounter the complications of modern art. (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 194)

It was very popular to trace the ancestral culture in Europe and most of the American intellectuals found themselves joining this movement. American pragmatism was promising, yet far from suggesting a profound way of interpreting life. Ironically, the European immigrants sailing on big ships to find jobs and take the opportunity of gaining profits coincided with the intellectual transatlantic journey to the Old World in search of a "cultural, social and an artistic romance". Mark Twain describes the American tendency toward experiencing such a continental journey in his own experience in 1867:

> Everybody was going to Europe--I, too, was going to Europe. Everybody was going to the famous Paris Exposition.--I, too, was going to the Paris Exposition. The steamship lines were carrying Americans out of the country at the rate of four or five thousand a week in the aggregate. If I met a dozen individuals during that month who were not going to Europe directly, I have no distinct remembrance of it now. (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 210)

Among all efforts to situate the self in the right position, Henry James's quest took the issue onto a deeper level by emphasizing the crisis between America and Europe. Due to the rising determinism, self questioning was in the heart of the modern spirit and self-reliance would be replaced by the doubtful and uncertain characteristic of man. Literary figures at the turn of the century were all concerned about this self-positioning, yet Henry James deserves a special attention among his contemporaries. While most of the others returned to their homeland after a refreshing short break in Europe, Henry James continued to visit Europe, which resulted in his permanent settlement in England. His oscillation between the two continents continued throughout his lifetime, yet caused less trouble in his isolation than in other American writers. His final synthesis of the two opposing forces in his life is the outcome of the years spent outside America. The triumph of Northern business and finance after the Civil War and the inevitable defeat of the Puritan morality by Charles Darwin's ideas caused a desperate loss of confidence within the nation as well as conflict (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 200-1). The country was divided between the "material and the abstract" (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 38). Some novelists, also known as regional writers and local colorists, like Mark Twain, George Washington Cable, Hamlin Garland and Sarah Orne Jewett tried to recapture the old days of innocence by sentimentalizing an American past. However, this attempt was quite suffering and not promising as they probably ignored the fact that as Storey says: "Remembering is always situated in the present; memories do not take us into 'the past', rather they bring 'the past' into the present…..Remembering is in part about organizing and managing the past in relation to the present. The past is not preserved and recalled, it is actively and continually constructed in the context of the present."(Storey, 2003: 84). Some other American novelists like William Dean Howells in the late nineteenth century sought for peace in the American democracy and commercial integrity quite optimistically. Neither Twain's romantic attempts in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) nor Howell's search for a solution within the nation in *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885) was so challenging as James's transatlantic quest. His travels were long-lasting unlike others' short trips. The international conflict was painful, yet more challenging than being destined to alienation in

the restrictive borders of the New World. With James's rediscovery of Europe, and finding and constructing new methods in literature he diverges from his contemporaries and is designated as a pioneering figure for his successors:

> Many who stayed at home--Melville and Whitman, Howells and Twain--displayed their inward expatriation, showing themselves increasingly alienated from their times, their audience and the confident illusions of material progress. Others followed James on the path of expatriation, temporary or permanent: Bret Harte, Howard Sturgis, Bernard Berenson, Stephen Crane, Henry Harland, Edith Wharton, Gertrude Stein--some seeking Europe's 'civilization', others the radical bohemia of art for its own sake, the path of experiment. James himself had sought both social Europe, the Europe of the past, and the aesthetic Europe, the Europe of artistic innovation. (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 218)

Social disintegration and the essential isolation of the protagonist were carried to an international level by Henry James. The way James handled the cultural transfer in temporal and spatial means is unique because he never got lost in the European past or the American nostalgia. Nor was he stuck in the Old World physically. He found his own ways to preserve his cultural integrity by a considerably successful mixture. In this respect, he achieved the cultural 'hybridization' that Storey defines as mixing of cultures (Storey, 2003: 108).

James's gradual development in his literary career is strongly related to his personal experiences and choices, which are also bound to cultural conditions that shape man. In this respect a brief survey on his youth and private life is in order. Henry James was raised in the competitive New York City and in the cities of the Puritan North namely Newport, Rhode Island; Boston, Massachusetts. The impact of these cities would be obvious in the following years of his life. Henry James, Sr., his father, the son of an Irish immigrant, was very definite in his practice of exposing his children to the best of both American and European cultures, which is the reason for the family's regular trips between the United States and Europe. According to Ruland and Bradbury, the motive behind his ambiguity may derive from the Irish/European consciousness in effect or his attachment to the transcendentalist Emerson and his preference of spiritual existence to natural existence (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 211). The James children had unorthodox education, which would affect and enlarge their viewpoints throughout their lives. Their trips to various European cities, mainly to London and Paris also had a great impact on their choices. Henry James, Jr. obtained a familiarity with the European culture and values through these

long trips. The educational system, artistic activities and literary studies all shaped his attitude toward Europe. James was inevitably influenced by the New England Puritanism in Boston and he mentioned the inconvenience of his native land for a creative artist several times (Parrington, 1945: 128-30; Levin, 1994).

The fact that James spent a significant stretch of time in the Puritan North affected his disillusion with the restrictive morality and lack of aesthetic quality in the New England. The sudden industrialization along with the imbalanced social class development in the North created more hostility to the artist than in the South, which was superior to the North in the cultural sense and "appeared by comparison more European and aristocratic" (Schivelbusch, 2003: 40). His regular trips to Europe to seek a spiritual home are an outcome of this discontent. Nevertheless, those travels were far from providing him with a true home, because he never really rejected his commitment to his American heritage. As a matter of fact, being introduced to the European life by his wealthy father played a major role in James displacement and search for a cultural identity between his native land and Europe. James acquired the energy and time to be involved in such an intellectual crisis as a member of a cultivated American bourgeois (Wilson, 1945: 172). He did not get engaged in any kind of business activity except for the careful investment of his royalties and inheritance and paid his full attention to his personal dilemma of being torn between the New and the Old Worlds. Like most of the major writers of his generation, Henry James did not enlist in the army to enter the Civil War.

As a consequence of his immediate optimism right after the Civil War, James appeared as a strong believer in his American potential to acquire a promising future like many other American thinkers as he declares himself:

> We are American born…I look upon it as a great blessing; and I think that to be an American is an excellent preparation for culture. We have exquisite qualities as a race, and it seems to be that we are ahead of the European races in the fact that more than either of them, we can deal freely with forms of civilization not our own….We must of course have something of our own--something distinctive and homogeneous--and I take it that we shall find it in our moral consciousness, our unprecendental spiritual lightness and vigour (James qtd. in Markow-Totevy, 1969:23-4).

Nevertheless, American *nouveau riche* innocence and cultivation did not seem to be adequate in respect to life and James felt the need to be a voluntary exile in order to experience the spiritual journey himself. Unsatisfied by the culturally impoverished New England in the United States, Henry James ventured to Europe in search of an experience that would liberate his mind. James' acquaintance with the English type of literature in which issues such as courage, nobility of soul and duty were the primary concerns and with the French type, which mainly focused on the passion of love, ambition and greed, helped him a lot in reaching his ultimate evaluation of the two continents in his later years. Balzac and George Eliot were both influential figures in his treatment of morality, consciousness and evil (Kelley, 1965). It is because of this proximity to Europe that the America-Europe dilemma was the prevailing theme in his earlier novels.

As could be seen in most of his works of his mid-career, James explored the international theme through which the American-European contrast arising from his earlier years spent in Europe was dealt with. Not surprisingly, what causes James' works to be distinguished from the others is his ongoing oscillation between the two continents due to his close attachment to Europe from his very young years and the maturity he attained gradually.

His earlier works with this theme are reflections of James's self-confidence as an American through which he puts the land of his birth in a superior position to Europe. European characters are villains of the dark and corrupt cities in which danger of immorality reigns. In contrast to this bad scenario, America is portrayed as a place embodying innocence with its inexperienced people. Americans' travel to Europe results in a capture of a cultivated understanding of life and artistic manners shaped by their new measures and standards of the new continent, which will improve them with the advantage of their moral consciousness. Either the Americans traveling to Europe or vice versa is the main issue in his works before the twentieth century. In such novels James overemphasized the contrast between the Puritan Americans with a simple style and the Europeans with a rich culture (Markow-Totevy, 1969: 26), yet in stories like *Daisy Miller* (1879) the innate goodness of the innocent American was superior to the immoral and evil Europeans. Lee supported this argument as follows:

The New England brand of Puritanism may not be conducive to much pleasure ('amuse ourselves?--we are not children'), yet when one considers their obvious virtues: their goodness, honesty, nobility, their own particular refinement, one is made aware that in any product of James's civilization these are the basic American characteristics which may be supplemented but not superseded. (Lee, 1987: 87, 88)

In other words, James sided with American values, which represented the confidence of a new nation. He was well aware of his nation's dependence on Europe and defined being American as "complex fate" because of the difficulty of integrating the European tradition into American dynamism. His earlier novels were based on the native proud of being young who had a promising future ahead.

The America-Europe conflict in Henry James's earlier novels was drawn to an extreme point in which the American expatriate could not survive in the foreign land nor could the European visitor fit in the American culture. In his first novel, *Roderick Hudson* (1875), a talented American sculptor, who has come to Italy to discover a great sense of beauty and apply it to his art, falls in love with an Italian woman. However, he falls into a state of losing his self-reliance when he fails to achieve a fruitful relationship with his Italian lover. Their lack of mutual understanding results in Roderick's loss of hope and confidence. Eventually, James reveals the opposing characteristics of two cultures as irreconcilable by sending Roderick to Switzerland only to make him kill himself in the Alps. The corrupt and glorious nature of European art was meant to be emphasized in this novel. Despite its depth in quality, artistic and cultural tradition, Europe led the innocent American to his ultimate downfall. In other words, his development of aesthetic consciousness cost him his life. The innocent American with all his naïveté is unable to survive in the Old World of "traditions" and "prejudices". As Ruland and Bradbury point out, old literary polarities: ordinary American life and the rich art of Europe, between the plain present and the dusky deep past, innocence and experience were the major themes of James's early novels (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 212). The Jamesian hero suffers from the irreconcilable values of the two continents all the time. This way of an approach did not let the characters from the opposite sides of the Atlantic rest in peace with one another. James also criticized the common American tendency to interpret the European tradition as a myth and to romanticize it in a simple way. He defines the responsibility of being an American as "a fight against a superstitious valuation of Europe" (Markow-Totevy, 1969: 23). The romanticized image of Europe, particularly of Italy in this novel, is typical of James's

interest. The American visitor wishes to enjoy the colorful side of the cities to enhance his artistic quality while enjoying a romance with his Italian lover.

Such an emphasis on the false interpretation of the Old World by Americans continued in *The American* in which the American tourist gaze was unable to apprehend and appreciate the profound nature of European art and its aesthetics. Christopher Newman, a young American millionaire renounces his commercial activities and travels to Europe hoping to experience and entertain its romance. However, his lack of insight prevents him from activating his imagination and acquiring a true apprehension of the artistic integrity in Europe. He was rather determined to see the magnificent cathedrals, the handsome churches, the enormous mountains and the finest paintings in the Louvre (Markow-Totevy, 1969: 28). Despite his fortune, Newman is rejected as a potential husband to the French countess he intended to marry. French arrogance is the main reason for their refusal of the American millionaire. James depicted this final picture of irreconcilable images to stress the international contrast of America and Europe.

James furthered his emphasis on the young Americans' downfall in the old continent in the person of a young American woman who travels to Europe for experience. *Daisy Miller* (1879) and *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881) are both based on the idea of an independent young American lady challenging the strict rules imposed on young ladies and the enthusiasm to find the truth behind the pretended cultural and intellectual superiority of European society. However, the self-reliant American is not safe in Europe and could easily be vanquished. Isabel Archer of *The Portrait of a Lady* mirrors James's belief in the superiority of American values by "her determination to see, to try, and to know" (Lee, 1987: 96). She feels free to experience European civilization. However, she was not ready to face the cruelty and the inflexibility of Europe. Her Puritan pride and conscience lead her to marry Osmond, an American filled with European immorality, which is an illumination of the danger of Europe for an American. Too much self-reliance and order would be the potentials of both good and evil. Just like his criticism of the American conception of a European romance in his other works, James, in this novel, scorns the Puritan obsession for expansion and too much self-reliance. Bhabha describes Isabel's cultural crisis in her ambitious wish for expansion:

> The unhomely moment creeps up on you stealthily as your own shadow and suddenly you find yourself with Henry James's Isabel Archer, in *The Portrait of a Lady*, taking the measure of your dwelling in a state of 'incredulous terror'. And it is at this point that the world first shrinks for Isabel and then expands enormously. As she struggles to survive the fathomless waters, the rushing torrents, James introduces us to the 'unhomeliness' inherent in that rite of extra-territorial and cross-cultural inititation. (Bhabha, 2003: 9)

However, given his definition of unhomelieness: "…the relocation of the home and the world – the unhomeliness – that is the condition of extra-territorial and cross-cultural initiations" (Bhabha, 2003: 9), Bhabha seems to exaggerate Isabel's success in constructing an unhomeless space where she can find access to extra-territorial and cross-cultural activities. The introduction of an innocent American to dangerous Europe is depicted in the person of both Isabel and Osmond. Osmond has been the victim of European corruption and he even desired to corrupt Isabel's moral integrity and restrict her in traditional Europe. Both Isabel and Osmond fail to situate themselves in Europe with their inherited perspectives in life as a whole. Their final position is more of a loss than a gain. Romanticizing Europe on a low level of comprehension receives a devastating response from the Europeans. The hunger of American innocence for experience in the Old World and the sharp contrast of the two Worlds as presented in the American character's renunciation, misery or death both mirror James's own dilemma. In his early novels, James suggests no peaceful meeting of the continents located on the opposite sides of the Atlantic. His complete confidence in the American pragmatism and energy leads the novelist to take an absolute side in favor of his native culture:

> In his previous works, he frequently finds fault with continental society, its exclusiveness, prejudices, corruption: it seems to have reached a point of immobility, lacking henceforth decency and real strength. The European characters are less honourable, attractive, and next to the Americans, they most often assume the part of villains; in the case of the Bellegardes and the Proberts, respectability hides more than one vice: lies, adultery, theft and even murder. (Markow-Totevy, 1969: 34)

By the 1900s the hopeful atmosphere in the United States in James's work was replaced with a dark one as witnessed in the literary works at the turn of the century. James' nationalist point of view ceases to be dominant in his later novels. At his/her first acquaintance with the European culture through a hopeful journey, James had furnished his American protagonist with a moral sensibility and a high degree of self-confidence. He, however, was not able to benefit from the rich civilization because of his naïve idealization

of Europe and its corruption. The young hopeful adventurer traveled to Europe only to face its cruelty. Leaving this contrasting theme behind, James portrayed the moral and aesthetic development of the American expatriate through his/her spiritual journey in his later novels. The self-questioning movement among the intellectuals at the turn of the century captured James as reflected in his works of his major phase. Therefore, a sincere probe of the relationship between America and Europe is witnessed in his later works. In other words, his fascination with Europe was replaced by a true appreciation of the civilization. The values in the old civilization are rediscovered in the presence of shifting conditions as J.A.Ward states: "In these novels the personal drama reflects social disintegration, the ultimate betrayal of the past. The veil of pretense, lending beauty to corruption, is ripped aside with the climax of each novel" (Ward, 1961: 157). In *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904), James's novels in his late career, the American and the European conceptions of morality and art are mingled in a paradoxical synthesis. Moreover, stressed and unresolved conflict in his earlier novels develops into a true appreciation of European values in James' later novels, which end up in a final synthesis. As a land of escape and freedom against restricted wishes and deeds, Europe is the focus of his major phase works in which the contradicting projection of the two continents ceases to rule as Markow-Totevy highlights in his study *Henry James* (Markow-Totevy, 1969). The same point is made by Wegelin in detail in *The Image of Europe in Henry James* (Wegelin, 1958: 32-5). The emphasis shifts from the early interest of stressing the oppositional forces to the benefits of the experience earned by the American through his visit. The romantic view of experiencing the adventure of Europe is replaced by a rediscovery of the wisdom and reality free from the constraints of America. James's works in his mature years coincide with the growing American intellectual pessimism no longer hopeful of forming a perfect nation by being exempt from the deficiencies of Europe.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Henry James was more aware of the roots of his crisis between the two continents and his emphasis on cultural differences shifts in favor of the reconstructed moral consciousness in the personal dimension. The individual oriented works of his major phase are among the best examples of early modernist works. Ruland and Bradbury remark: "As perhaps his most cunning admirer, Gertrude Stein, was to see,

there were two Henry Jameses--the nineteenth-century realist allured by Europe, and the twentieth-century Modernist who set American writing free to tell the story of the nation's new era" (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 218). The harsh capitalism and the rising industrialization of the modern world triggered James's self-consciousness. James abandoned his early realism, which misled the intellectual into a flawed conception of the Old World as well as the New. Rather than suffering alienation from the material progress of his time as many of his contemporaries did by staying in the United States, James continuously traveled across the Atlantic both to seek Europe's civilization and the radical bohemia of art for its sake own sake (Ruland and Bradbury, 1991: 218). Thus, James ventured to experiment with new ways of expressing his relation to Europe. In this respect, the experimental quality of the modernist movement is witnessed in his later novels.

James extends the scope of his fiction with his later novels in which the international theme comes to the foreground once more. In all three novels; *The Ambassadors*, *The Wings of the Dove* and *The Golden Bowl* the perception of morality remains, yet its qualification alters. The old order of Europe is already dead in *The Wings* if the last traits of it are still visible even in the widespread corruption in *The Ambassadors* (Ward, 1962: 126). They basically deal with the embrace of the evils in Europe by the American foreigner along with a sense of nostalgia for the old traditions and culture, which are no more than the remnants of a great civilization. Strether, in *The Ambassadors*, has been sent to Europe from Woollett, Massachusetts, by Mrs.Newsome to retrieve her son, Chad, from the wicked hands of a disreputable French woman, Mme. de Vionnet, who is believed to be having a love affair with Chad. Strether is motivated to fulfill his mission in order to marry Mrs. Newsome, who is wealthy enough to provide him with a life of comfort. It is no surprise that Strether initially falls into a narrow-minded observation of Paris and morality, which has been the inherited tourist gaze from the New England Puritanism in his native land. However, his prejudices stemming from the ignorant understanding of the shallow Woollett are changed by the knowledge he attains from his "missionary journey". Imagination and desirable knowledge reach their highest level by the experimental visit of Strether as opposed to the New England fear of experience and knowledge. Strether's desire for knowledge, a modern inclination, is recalled by James in his Preface as the essence of the whole novel:

> Live all you can; it's a mistake not to. It doesn't so much matter what you do in particular so long as you have your life. If you haven't had that what have you had? I'm too old—too old at any rate for what I see. What one loses one loses; make no mistake about that. Still, we have the illusion of freedom; therefore don't, like me to-day, be without the memory of that illusion. I was either, at the right time, too stupid or too intelligent to have it, and now I'm a case of reaction against the mistake. Do what you like so long as you don't make it. For it *was* mistake. Live, live! (*The Ambassadors*, v, vi)

In the person of Strether, James reveals his reliance on the American youth and energy, which could benefit from their freedom to its fullest. Innocence must be mingled with knowledge for a better future in the New World. His initial wish to be a successful ambassador is replaced by the desire to comprehend the nature of the relationship between Mme. de Vionnet and Chad. At first, he is obsessed with the immorality of this affair according to the criteria stemming from his Puritan background. Strether had acquired a plain and a limited view of religion and morality in New England because of its strict Puritanism. However, as he begins to understand the meaning of morality in France, he begins to apprehend the nature of that relationship from a different angle.

This new understanding of virtue is a challenging step taken by Strether after he is saved from the fearful pressure of Mrs. Newsome on the other side of the Atlantic. Contemplating the unknown is the key to knowledge, which is gradually achieved by Strether as the novel progresses. His innocence and flexibility detach him from the other characters in New England, who possess blind intolerance (Cargill, 1961: 313). His desire for knowledge is a point by which Strether may be identified with James. However, our hero does not take his journey voluntarily, as opposed to James, who chose the life of an exile himself. As he attains knowledge, Strether develops into a man with a different conception of moral integrity. It should be noted that both Strether's isolation from the society and his search for a new meaning of morality parallel James's modern self.

Europe conquers James's protagonist with its aesthetic quality. Strether is attracted to the old continent in different levels as the novel progresses. His simple admiration of Paris is not free from the prejudices of his Puritan heritage. Calvinist hostility toward the immoral characteristic of any thing European is still visible in his first days as an expatriate on mission. His innocence has romanticized the Old World being unaware of its dangers and

ruins. As he spends more time in European society, he begins to realize that its beauty does not remain without its evils. Interestingly enough, his response to the evil side of Europe is not as harsh as other Americans of New England. The concept of morality gradually diverges from its earlier attribution and finds a more cultivated meaning in its relation to artistic beauty.

However, Strether' development does not come so suddenly. He goes through various experiences all complementing his development. Gloriani's garden scene is crucial with its perfect synthesis of evil and beauty. Strether is greatly impressed by European beauty through this Italian sculptor's garden. However, his first temptation to escape from either the American focus on commerce or their evil prejudice over the Europeans by appreciating the aesthetic grace is no more than an elusive sanctuary. Strether needs some time for such a challenging change in his view of life. As a hint of his eventual realization of the true link between art and morality, our American expatriate notices the "inseparability of beauty from evil" through Gloriani's artistic manners. Physical beauty is tightly bound to the sexual energy in Europe, which also applies to Mme. de Vionnet (Ward, 1961: 122). Strether's impression of the garden reveals his attribution of sexual image to the European aesthete:

> Were they, this pair, of the great world?—and was he himself, for the moment and thus related to them by his observation, in it? Then there was something in the great world covertly tigerish, which came to him across the lawn and in the charming air as a waft from the jungle. Yet it made him admire most of the two, made him envy, the glossy male tiger, magnificently marked. (*The Ambassadors*, 115)

The tiger image refers to sexual passion. As physical beauty is strongly connected to sexual energy, morality in New England loses its meaning. Americans of the Genteel Tradition are bound to the proper connection between beauty and morality. James suggests that the romantic and innocent American should break with his/her earlier prejudices over Europe and develop a new form of conception with his/her morality. The commercial activities and the simplistic way of the United States are far from providing the entrepreneur with a proper evaluation of European aesthetics. Strether is willing to attain an appreciation of European art and its evil nature from the very beginning of his journey. However, one cannot be sure of his fulfillment in this attempt without observing his gradual development. Interestingly enough, Strether learns to validate his new assessment

of Europe as his criteria in judging the qualities in people develops more towards the end of his adventure in Europe. The day he learns about the love affair between Mme.de Vionnet and young Chad, Strether is shocked and disillusioned as a consequence of his Puritan background from which he cannot distance himself entirely. His Puritan self is repulsed by this adultery, which is considered an immoral activity that causes perversion within the society. However, it does not reach the level of Calvinistic hostility. The moment he notices them together in a boat during his journey through the countryside near Paris cannot contaminate Mme. de Vionnet's image for Strether. The French elegance of Mme de.Vionnet and her delicate way of life, which remind one of the glorious era of Louis XIV, has attracted him so much that he finds a way to intermingle aesthetic beauty and sexual energy:

> Her bare shoulders and arms were white and beautiful; the materials of her dress, a mixture, as he supposed, of silk and crape, were of a silvery grey so artfully composed as to give an impression of warm splendour; and round her neck she wore a collar of large old emeralds, the green note of which was more dimly repeated, at other points of her apparel, in embroidery, in enamel, in satin, in substances and textures vaguely rich. Her head, extremely fair and exquisitely festal, was like a happy fancy, a notion of the antique, of an precious medal, some silver coin of the Renaissance; while her slim lightness and brightness, her gaiety, her expression, her decision, contributed to an effect that might have been felt by a poet as half mythological and half conventional. (*The Ambassadors*, 142-3)

Strether's ambition for knowledge proves to be sincere in keeping with his sympathy and his ultimate achievement of such a harmony in art. He is now perfectly aware of the true meaning of "living". Life promises both good and evil and one must face the evil side of life in order to obtain the true knowledge he had been searching for. The old civilization still embodied the beauty and aesthetics as a source of inspiration for the New World despite its collapse.

Strether's spiritual development, which has come gradually, is witnessed in his perception of Paris. He abandons romanticizing the city and fearing its dangers as his development progresses. His initial perception of the city through a Puritan gaze changes when he realizes the true beauty of it in the architecture of apartments furnished in European style, especially that of Mme. de Vionnet:

> The place itself went further back – that he guessed, and how old Paris continued in a manner to echo there; but the post-revolutionary period, the world he vaguely thought of as the world

of Chateaubriand, of Madame de Staël, even of the young Lamartine, had left its stamp of harps and urns and torches, a stamp impressed on sundry small objects, ornaments and relics. He had never before, to his knowledge, had present to him relics, of any special dignity, of a private order – had little old miniatures, medallions, pictures, books; books in leather bindings, pinkish and greenish with gilt garlands on the back, ranged together with other promiscuous properties, under the glass of brass-mounted cabinets. His attention took them all tenderly into account. They were among the matters that marked Madame de Vionnet's apartment as something quite different from Miss Gostrey's little museum of bargains and from Chad's lovely home; he recognised it as founded much more on old accumulations that had possibly from time to time shrunken than on any contemporary method of acquisition or form of curiosity. Chad and Miss Gostrey had rummaged and purchased and picked up and exchanged, sifting, selecting, comparing; whereas the mistress of the scene before him, beautifully passive under the spell of transmission – transmission from her father's line, he quite made up his mind – had only received, accepted and been quiet. (*The Ambassadors*, 128)

The wicked and immoral city of old traditions, a description based on the Puritan perception, takes a different shape with Mme. de Vionnet. Her immoral relationship does not cause her any disgrace that would put her in a shameful position. Her impact on Strether is inseparable from the strong influence of Paris on him as Mme. de Vionnet is a Parisian lady embodying the full meaning of Paris. Her Parisian quality is obvious in her physical appearance, her manners, and her house. Paris, as a corrupt city also corrupting its inhabitants, is no longer identified with an ugly and undesirable image of moral decay in the works of James's major phase. It is rather a city of profound refinement with all its evils in which Mme. de Vionnet lives a dignified and noble life surrounded by a charming old civilization. Therefore, the evil and the beauty once more juxtapose in the novel.

The contrast of the women throughout the novel is remarkable in terms of projecting the change in James's moral consciousness without any loss of it. Strether puts Parisian Mme. de Vionnet in a privileged position because of her European elegance. Her house not only encompasses the culture of Paris but reveals the delicate way of life, which helps Strether to realize the difference of Mme de Vionnet from the others (Bowden, 1956: 97-8). Mrs. Newsome and her successor, Sarah Pocock, are depicted as cold and utilitarian characters in contrast to the emotional and giving Mme de Vionnet. Strether reveals the Puritan woman's lack of sensitivity by identifying her with a block of ice:

"Fancy having to take at the point of a bayonet a whole moral and intellectual being or block!" [Maria Gostrey gently admonished him]
"It was in fact," said Strether, "what at home I *had* done. But somehow, over there, I didn't quite know it." (*The Ambassadors*, 281)

James also portrays an American woman living in Europe in the person of Maria Gostrey. Although she is inferior to Mme. de Vionnet in refinement and sensuousness, Miss Gostrey does not posses the American narrow mind and pride of Mrs.Newman. Miss Gostrey has gained some good qualities from Europe as reflected in the comparison of two American women by Professor Bruce McCullough:

> It is clear…that she is different from Mrs.Newsome. Strether, to whom the emancipated woman is something of a revelation, cannot but be struck by this difference. Mrs.Newsome…is a managing type of woman, prim, respectable, unyielding. She is capable of sending Strether an ultimatum, of cutting off her correspondence with him abruptly, and of carrying on further negotiations behind his back. She does not budge an inch to meet his changed views, being so narrow and unimaginative that she cannot accept any more lenient view of her son's affair than she has worked out in advance. Miss Gostrey…is none of these things. She knows too much of the world to be surprised. She is helpful without assuming an air of patronage. She adapts herself readily to every situation, takes things easily, and is always calm and unruffled. (qtd. in Oscar Cargill, 1961: 324-5)

James stresses the necessity of experiencing the European atmosphere without any prejudice in order to benefit from its culture. It seems that the two women have only their nationality in common. In a similar respect, Paris and Woollett are portrayed as opposing cities with different understandings of life. The restricted ethics of inexperienced Woollett cease to dominate our hero's views after he realizes the relation of freedom to art and morality in old and wise Paris. As opposed to his earlier siding with America, James criticizes the restrictive New England harshly in *The Ambassadors* through the Puritan characters he has chosen as symbol figures. Mrs. Newsome never gives up, though, in her determination to release her son from immoral Europe with all its potential dangers. She takes a further step by sending her daughter, Sarah Pocock, to complete the mission unfulfilled by Strether. Sarah's husband, Jim, is an American businessman, whose main interest is limited to making money by his activities in industry. James depicts this character as a caricature of the new American capitalist:

> Small and fat and constantly facetious, straw-coloured and destitute of marks, he would have been practically indistinguishable hadn't his constant preference for light-grey clothes, for white hats, for very big cigars and very little stories, done what it could do for his identity. There were signs in him, though none of them plaintive, of always paying for others; and the principal one perhaps was just this failure of type. It was with this that he paid, rather than with fatigue or waste; and also doubtless a little with the effort of humour – never irrelevant to the conditions, to the relations, with which he was acquainted. (*The Ambassadors*, 196)

The way James defines Jim as quoted above strengthens Ward's assumption that Jim is "an enemy of the fine and the noble" (Ward, 1961: 114). He is also Sarah's immoral husband, who wishes to enjoy the delights of Paris, which is an allusion to his lack of understanding of the true nature of Paris, which Strether gains from his experience. "Europe is considered as a toy to be used and discarded at will" as Wegelin (Wegelin, 1958: 97) describes the function of the Old Continent for the young American businessmen. The Woollett view of Paris is revealed through Chad, as well as Jim. Mme. de Vionnet has been Chad's toy during his holiday in Paris, and he returns to his work after he is done with her. Shortly after his visit to Paris, Strether gets the impression that Chad has improved a lot owing to his profound relationship with Mme. de Vionnet. Nevertheless, it does not take him much time to realize that Chad has not really changed at all. It is Strether this time who tries to convince Chad to stay with Mme.de Vionnet. Strether's betrayal of his appointed mission counters Chad's inability to comprehend the depth of his lover and the city. Despite all the hope James had that Chad could "live and experience" in Europe, the young American man fails to do so because of his strong Puritan heritage and materialist interests. James, being perfectly aware of the American idea of Paris, has equipped his American characters with their well-known prejudices against Parisians and the city itself.

On the other hand, Paris appears to be a place of relief for the Americans, who are seeking knowledge by heart. Strether's first stop in the novel is England, yet James' concentration is not England but France, particularly Paris. The author may have chosen Paris to project its traditional aristocratic taste and the immorality of the corrupt city. However, it presents an artistic freedom and a more profound way of comprehending life, which is the reason for the emergence of modernism in France. James's depiction of Woollett and Paris as contrasting cities may seem to be a continuation of his interest in polarizing the two civilizations. Some critics support this argument by stating that James is on the side of Europe this time and shifts the direction of his earlier concern, reversing the superior position in which he had placed America. However, a deeper reading shows the reader that there is more beneath the surface. This interpretation is far from revealing the true intentions of the author. James is far from idealizing the European cities and figures. In other words, he is mainly preoccupied with de/reconstructing the deceptive perception of Europe by the innocent Americans. While doing that Strether never deserts his moral

integrity completely, which is a revelation of his Puritan heritage. It is not that he is unable to detach himself from Puritan morality despite all his efforts, but rather his main interest is to formulate a true conception of Europe. He not only demands such a fruitful formulation for himself, but for the American youth, who is the future of the United States. That is why James continuously implies that Strether has experienced such a change in his life too late: "He would have done anything for Mrs.Newsome, have been still more ridiculous--as he might, for that matter, have occasion to be yet; which came to saying that this acceptance of fate was all he had to show at fifty-five"(45);

> "I haven't done so enough before— and now I'm old; too old at any rate for what I see. Oh, I *do* see, at least; and more than you'd believe or I can express. It's too late. And it's as if the train had fairly waited at the station for me without my having had the gumption to know it was there. Now I hear its faint receding whistle miles and miles down the line. What one loses one loses; make no mistake about that." (114)

Strether advises Chad to take advantage of his youth by constructing a beneficial connection between America and Europe in the earlier years of his life. He intends to raise the consciousness of the American youth. Nevertheless, this is not an easy task especially in capitalist America where the commercial activities mean more than anything else. In this respect, James's contrasting of the two cities should not be interpreted as a continuation of his interest in placing America and Europe in opposite corners. Nor would it be an accurate evaluation to assume the polarizing descriptions of the women as James's attempt to foster the irreconcilable nature of the two continents. Despite the earlier mentioned contrasting of women, James still mentions the good qualities of his native America through a young French lady. Jeanne de Vionnet, Mme.Vionnet's daughter, finds self-confidence in American freedom: "Oh but I'm almost American too. That's what mamma has wanted me to--I mean *like* that; for she has wanted me to have lots of freedom. She has known such good results from it" (136). James reaches the ultimate synthesis of the old and new with this novel of his major phase in the person of Strether. That is why his main character decides to go back to his native land in the end in order to reconcile ancestral wisdom and intellect with the American drive and desire for a better future in his country of origin. His earlier concern for depicting the opposite qualities of the American and European cities is cast onto a different level by Strether's position between the two continents.

James went through a similar kind of spiritual development as his protagonist in *The Ambassadors.* The shifting of Strether's relationship with Europe applies to James's rediscovery of the old continent:

> Europe does not merely stand for *adventure*, but for a journey toward something different and better, something that they have not yet experienced but crave to know, toward a flight from the self and a longing to rediscover the self. Enabled at last to break loose from the standstill and boredom of American realities, they clash with portentous happenings and sacrifices, they come forth with a new sense of liberation into the open field of choice and acceptance. In this way, the international theme of James no longer relied on a contrasting of continents and cultures; this confrontation, not without interest in itself , has found its dramatic counterpart in a psychological crisis and an existential inquiry. (Markow-Totevy, 1969:35)

James was able to locate his "self" between his native and his ancestral lands. In this respect, the novel is also a work of self-discovery. This aspect of it reveals the psychological depth James has acquired. Being impressed by the old civilization, which was a product of European modernity, James's response to his ancestral land was an early attempt to write novels on a psychological level. Freud's insights were observed in James's later works even before they appear in European works of literature. James's preoccupation with discovering the "self" is obvious in his reference to the protagonist. He does not mean to stay away from the experiences Strether goes through in his choice of the third person narrator. His point of view does not call for an indifferent observation. The reader rather realizes the novelist's identifying himself with his hero as Strether is often referred to as "our friend"(e.g., 3, 25, 298), or less frequently, "poor Strether (e.g., 62, 223), or he is even distanced from the other characters: "These others appeared to him now horribly complex; they bristled with fine points […]"(309). James's identification with his hero and their common physical and spiritual journey between the continents both indicate the semi-autobiographical nature of the novel. Bowden stresses the connection between the author and his protagonist by calling Strether the "Jamesian reflector" (Bowden, 1956: 97).

As a forerunner of the stream of consciousness in the late years of his career, Henry James was very much interested in the revelation of the gradual improvement of his hero through an Odyssean voyage (Lee, 1987: 100). James's absorption in the character's consciousness became a pioneering style for future writers. In this respect, the individual in search of a true appreciation of Europe is the author's main concern in his major phase novels. As we have seen, one of his later works, *The Ambassadors* ends in a kind of cultural synthesis

which suggests an identity struggling to gain a place beyond national boundaries. Although James seemed to be attracted to the ethnic consciousness and characteristics mainly of Italy, England and France, he, just like his main character in *The Ambassadors*, never deserted his American identity, nor did his morality totally disappear as he came to appreciate the values and culture of Europe: "If I were to live my life over again, I would be an American. I would steep myself in America, I would know no other land." (James qtd. in www.poemhunter.com) Conversely, he was determined to find a space between the two continents by achieving a cosmopolitan vision of life and cultural hybridization, which was an attempt beyond his age. Therefore, the international theme is also at the heart of this novel as the core of his cultural dilemma. The final settlement of James in England should not be contrasted with Strether's return to the United States since James's message in the return should be interpreted as the completion of an improvement and the fulfillment of a mission which will show its impact at home. The national tendencies are not restrictive, nor do they cause prejudice in this novel. James's attempt to find a balance between the continents could be an early struggle for a "supranational" identity construction (Smith, 1998: 201), and he was able to situate himself as a hybrid by acquiring personality traits from both sides of the Atlantic. The tension between the continents in his novels loosens, if not fully ceases, toward the end of his career as a writer. He is not forced to resolve the dilemma in favor of one culture, and the clash of old and the new does not call for an impossible crisis like the one faced by Halide Edib Adıvar.

CHAPTER 3

Halide Edib Adıvar's dilemma in *The Clown and His Daughter*

The cultural dilemma in Turkey mainly derives from the country's interaction with the Western nations. The inherited culture from the Ottoman Empire was East-centered and destined to fall into fragmentation once confronted with the European norms and forms of thinking (Moran, 1998: 18-9). European modernity extended not only toward the West but also toward the East. Its impacts on Turkish land throughout history has been a host for many civilizations, yet the ongoing penetration of the West into the lands inherited from the Ottoman Empire has definitely been the most challenging and shaping experience. The Empire encompassing different ethnic and religious communities was primarily populated by the Turks. Religious doctrines were the leading force on the Islamic communities including the Turkish people who were predominantly Muslims. The Empire kept itself apart from the European civilization for centuries since the early Islamic traditions were believed to be superior to any other forms of thinking in the world. The Ottomans formed their unique culture by integrating Islamic tradition and Eastern influences to the Turkish characteristic of the society (Moran, 1998: 9-19). This idea remained as the main philosophy of the Empire facing no counter argument from the early stages until the first signs of its decline. The Empire was so powerful that it could create an imperial system of flexibility and self-sufficiency to handle its multireligious, multilingual and multiethnic structure (Black and Brown, 1992: 30). In other words, there was no significant threat against the cultural integrity of the Empire during its great times. The common belief that there was no need to exchange the European norms remained in the heart of the Ottoman mentality. The feeling of superiority reached its climax in line with the military power of the state. However, this period of undisturbed power and cultural harmony came to an end with the ongoing military defeats of the eighteenth century when Ottoman self-sufficiency and its supercilious attitude toward the outside world were shattered, never to be restored (Black and Brown, 1992: 35). Western ways of doing things and organizing life as a model to be imitated were first introduced to the Ottoman Empire in the form of military innovations of the eighteenth century, which were put in hand to defend the Empire from the "infidel" enemies and to reconstruct its power. The West was identified with Europe at

those times because of the massive improvements of European modernity. It was confirmed that the enemy could be defeated by copying its superior qualities. Although the first attempts of the first reformist Sultans to save the Empire from dissolution concentrated on military westernization, it was soon understood that reforms in other fields such as administration, law and education were also necessary. This was a gradual process and the urgent need of the practical measures was the motive behind such a reform. In other words, taking immediate action to restore the power of the state and the necessity of partial reform, but not innovation, were the main policy of the Empire until the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Despite the restricted way of adopting the European ways of doing things the Ottomans were destined to undergo a drastic duality as a result of breaking with the past. The partial reformist amendments on certain institutions paved the way for a crisis between the traditional mentality and a new set of values. Adopting Western type of measures was unable to save the Empire from dissolving but instead they served to delay its long-lasting decay. The reforms furthered in the following years. There were the reformists on the one hand the traditionalists on the other. The ulema and some other reactionary elements remained as an obstacle to modernization. European modernity was officially declared as superior to the Ottoman Empire by the Tanzimat Fermani[2]. It was a West-oriented document, which aimed at copying the West in many ways. The acknowledgement of inferiority toward the West was so extreme that a group of modernists dared to criticize the creators of the Tanzimat. The Young Ottomans, with the idea of applying the necessary Western treatments without compromising the basic cultural values were against a total conversion in favor of the West. The Young Ottomans[3] sided with the Western/European norms such as liberty, equality and science as long as they were along Islamic lines. While they were influenced by the ideals of the European Enlightenment, it should be noted that

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[2] The Tanzimat Period is considered to fall between 1839 and 1876 by most scholars as it begins with The Hatt-i Sherif of Gulhane also known as The Tanzimat Fermanı, which announces major westernizing reforms and ends with the establishment of the Otoman constitution creating a parliament. See Black and Brown (eds)., 1992, *Modernization in the Middle East:The Otoman Empire and its Afro-Asian Successors*, p.55-7 for more information on the Period and the Tanzimat Fermanı.

[3] The Young Ottomans were a group of intellectuals known as critical of the Tanzimat. They accused the new bureaucratic elite of being pure imitators of the European system of values. See Mardin, 2001, "Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesi", T.Bora and M.Gültekingil (eds.), *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* p.42-53 and Deren, 2002, "Kültürel Batılılaşma", T.Bora and M.Gültekingil (eds.), *Modernleşme ve Batılcılık, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, p. 382-402

they liked to be identified with the Ottoman reformists. Among the group the Ottoman heritage was highly respected as obvious in the name they adopted. They aimed at Westernization without losing the Eastern/Ottoman quality. Due to the difficulty of such a task, the Empire fell vulnerable to every exterior influence. Being perfectly aware of the duality of the Ottoman intellectuals and the state itself, the Europeans and the Americans engaged in missionary activities all over the country. Moreover, the European effect on the Empire was observed almost on all the levels of the society. Istanbul, the capital, was about to lose its Ottoman characteristics that had been so unique and marvelous for centuries. The depiction of the city was so pathetic that it represented a half Eastern half European city with no sense of hybrid quality as it merely copied the European style rather than integrating it into its Ottoman/Eastern structure. A partial denial of the cultural heritage was witnessed in architect, literature, daily activities, musical performances and many other areas. Opera, the furniture of Louis XV style, Baudelaire, the nineteenth century Italian gothic were all introduced to the Ottoman culture along with the westernizing attempts (Şener, 1992: 107).

Following the Tanzimat, the first constitution of 1876 was proclaimed with the efforts of the Young Ottomans, who were not satisfied with the Tanzimat reforms. However, Sultan Abdulhamid[4] had no confidence in liberal views and acted against the constitution which he thought would limit his power (Ergin, Kaplan, Timurtaş, 1977: 374). His policy was grounded on an oppressive regime that limited the nationalist and liberal movements. Strict measures, which were considered necessary to prevent the decline of the Empire, were implemented because of the uprising of nationalist rebels (Black and Brown, 1992: 57). Though The II.Abdulhamidian[5] Period is known for its oppressive regime and the Sultan's repressive manners, it was he, nevertheless, who fostered Western scientific and technological progress along with educational studies throughout the Empire for its survival (Şener, 1992; Akün, 1992: 78). He was also, however a strong defender of the monarchy and took restrictive measures rather than allowing freedom. Therefore, while

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[4] The period in which Sultan Abdulhamid II reigned is called the Abdulhamidian Period of the Ottoman Empire. Dissolution of the Empire takes place in this period. Abdulhamid is known to have enacted strict measures to prevent the dissolution.
[5] This late period of the Ottoman Empire refers to the Abdulhamidian Period (1876-1909) in which Adıvar spent her childhood.

new schools and research centers were opened in the country, every means of expression was harshly restricted in political and social matters (Ergin, Kaplan, Timurtaş, 1977: 394). The Sultan aimed to minimize the bad effects of copying the Western norms into the Ottoman way of life. Therefore, he encouraged adherence to the Islamic ideology of the Empire. His strong belief in the Islamic quality of the nation and the oppressive regime resulted in rebellious movements from the intellectuals during his reign.

As a reactionary attitude toward the Abdulhamidian regime, a political group called the Young Turks, the successors to the Young Ottomans, fostered their liberal, modern and Western ideals all over the nation. They turned toward the West, which was identified with Europe at that time, and turned their backs on the Ottoman Islamic traditions unlike the Young Ottomans (Toker and Tekin, 2002: 83). In other words, it was only by the end of the nineteenth century that a total commitment to the West was considered as the ultimate way for a better future. As the promoters of this policy, Young Turks attempted to put the country on track within the framework of Western values. In this respect, these young policy makers were meant to draw an absolute line between reason and tradition (Toker and Tekin, 2002: 83). The Young Turks, who were totally against the oppressive regime of the period, had to flee from the country in order to exercise their Western objectives, and to enjoy the freedom of expression in Europe. This group, also called the Jeunes Turcs[6], was extreme in its assertion and lacked the Islamic ideology of the Young Ottomans (Moran, 1998: 17). Because of the strict policy of the Sultan most of them were sent abroad into exile. This period of oppression continued until the victory of the Young Turks in 1908.

The second constitution was proclaimed and Sultan Abdulhamid descended from the throne. This was the beginning of a chaotic period in the country, which was then open to any kind of external influence. Ottoman and Islamic inclinations had been tested and proved to be insufficient for the survival of the Empire. Nationalism was favored as a

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[6] The Young Turks were a group of reformists, who aimed at westernizing the empire by turning their back on the Ottoman cultural heritage. They founded a Turkish nationalist reform party, officially known as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) — in Turkish the *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* — whose leaders led a rebellion against Sultan Abdulhamid II (who was officially deposed and exiled in 1909). They ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1908 until the end of World War I in November 1918. See Hanioğlu, (1986), *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak 'Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve 'Jön Türklük'*, vol.1. and Toker and Tekin, (2002), "Batıcı Siyasi Düşüncenin Karakteristikleri ve Evreleri: 'Kamusuz Cumhuriyet'ten Kamusuz Demokrasi'ye", U.Kocabaşoğlu (ed.) *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, vol. 3 for more information on the Young Turks' extremely positive attitude toward westernization.

movement to defeat the enemies with the help of the Turks inside/outside the borders of the country. Westernization was also gaining power as the only way to keep up with the modern system and institutions of the West and was getting more extreme as its main purpose was to internalize the Western forms of thinking as a whole, which were based on science and rationality (Toker and Tekin, 2002: 83). This kind of a radical rejection of the cultural heritage in favor of a Westernized Turkey would lead the nation into an ongoing cultural dilemma. Since this chapter concentrates on the identity crisis of a Turkish novelist with an emphasis on cultural duality, some words on the cultural dilemma of the literary figures and intellectuals will be in order.

Beginning with the first attempts of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) and Mahmud II (1809-1839) to modernize the state through military measures, the state had to bear the burden of duality (Black and Brown, 1992: 37). The policy makers were not quite sure about the degree of their reforms. Nor were the intellectuals of the era comfortable with the transition period of the Empire. Most of the intellectuals were in a cultural dilemma as they were both acquainted with the Western mentality through their trips to Europe and still attached to their Ottoman Islamic traditions. The Ottoman tradition had borrowed mainly from the sources in the Islamic world and integrated them into its structure. It was not the western Christians that the Empire had taken as a model, but the Eastern culture sharing the same religion. The infidel enemies were despised let alone taken as a model:

> Europe was contiguous but was the infidel enemy. The Ottoman tradition was of borrowing from within the larger Islamic world, adapting both material and ideological culture from Persian, Arabic, and indeed (especially in matters of government) central Asian and Turkic sources, not from Christian Europe. That Christian and Jewish subjects of the Ottoman Empire often served as the westernizing vanguard made it psychologically even more repugnant for Muslim rulers and the Muslim majority to mimic the despised and now threatening European enemy. (Black and Brown, 1992: 151)

Therefore, it was not an easy task to reconcile Ottoman values with Western norms during the modernization of the Empire. Such a drastic transition has been witnessed within few cultures in history.

Like most of his contemporary Tanzimat novelists, poets and playwrights, Namık Kemal, a leading playwright of the nineteenth century was an enthusiastic promoter of

modernization with an Islamic ideology (Moran, 1983: 14). The modern philosophy of the French philosophers was taken as a model to modernize Ottoman institutions and the society. To him and most of the other intellectuals of the age, literature was an effective means of educating the public in that period of crisis. Progress could be achieved by integrating certain Western forms of thinking into Ottoman values and Islamic doctrines. In other words, they pretended to overcome the West-East conflict with an ideal synthesis (Moran, 1998: 17). Nevertheless, it was almost an impossible task to reach an ultimate synthesis because of the late introduction of Western norms into the Ottoman culture. In the later years of transition, most of the intellectuals, who had sincere proximity to Europe, detached from their cultural heritage in favor of a European way of life. The classical Ottoman literature, namely the Divan literature, was abandoned and replaced by new forms and expressions, most of all to replace the earlier valued themes with new ones. Spiritual content ceased to prevail in the literary works of the era, while worldly affairs dominated novels, plays and poems. New forms of literature such as the novel and drama were introduced to Turkish literature and some of the intellectuals of the era went too far to integrate the European modernist spirit into their native literature. They adapted lately emerging literary movements in Europe such as symbolism into their poetry[7]. The works of literature project the characteristics of this movement with new forms and the personal concerns in content. Most of the leading figures of the era had close attachments to Europe for various reasons and had been educated in European countries free from traditional tendencies. Some of them went into voluntary exile in order to benefit from intellectual progress in the leading European countries, while some others escaped from the pressure of the repressive regime in their homelands.

After the downfall of the Abdulhamidian regime, the intellectuals took different directions in expressing their views on the future of their nation. This variety of directions mirrors the ambiguous characteristic of the era. The dissolving Empire was in great trouble and every attempt to restore order resulted in failure. Turkish nationalism emerged as a major movement to defeat the enemies and send them away from the national territory. A

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[7] Ahmet Haşim (1884-1933) was a leading poet of the Fecr-i Ati movement and is best known for his symbolist poetry. The group he belonged to aimed at copying the Western norms that were identified with reason and science. See Banarlı, 1987,*Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, vol.2., p.1902-5 for more information about his period.

sovereign nation gaining victory against the enemies was depicted in the novels, poems and plays of the early twentieth century. A social way of expression reenters Turkish Literature with the national anxieties in the twentieth century. The exalted Turkish identity in search of victory is highlighted as a counter force to the invading West in nationalist novels.

Halide Edib Adıvar is regarded as one of the major novelists of the nationalist movement in Turkey founded as a new republic from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. Although the nationalist literature of the age did not consist of definite forms of thought, it was mainly based on constructing a Turkish identity free from European hegemony. Some of these writers felt close to Ottoman culture while others put greater emphasis on the earlier Turks with a modern spirit (Türkeş, 2002: 811-28). Nevertheless, Adıvar's case is relatively different from other nationalist writers. She inherited aristocratic Ottoman traditions and a religious way of life from her grandmother and acquired a Western set of values from her father, who was an admirer of Anglo-Saxon culture. This cross-cultural conflict was reinforced by her journeys abroad, which she could experience as a member of the upper class. As discussed earlier, Adıvar's attachment to these opposing forces affected her views throughout her entire life. Therefore, she struggled continuously for a peaceful synthesis.

Halide Edib Adıvar was given a Western education as her father wished. She was the first Muslim Turkish girl to be graduated from the American College for Girls (Koçu, 1968: 317), which is a sign of her privileged position during the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Her father's choice to furnish her with Western values originates from his attachment to the Young Turks, who were known to be revolutionaries against the oppressive minds of the Abdulhamidian Era. The members of the Yung Turk community were usually the ones with close attachments to Europe, especially France (Hanioğlu, 1986; Kabaklı, 1990: 164-5). As mentioned earlier, these foreign schools were founded by the European and American missionaries to impose their cultures in Eastern countries and the members of the Young Turks were sympathetic toward every kind of Western norms especially in the field of education including such foreign schools. Adıvar faced the crisis of West versus East with the representations of each culture as a result of being raised by her grandmother in favor of the conservative Ottoman and Islamic values. She was also taught pieces from

folk literature and enjoyed the traditional shadow play. Owing to her aristocratic life, she had access to various sources of the Ottoman cultural heritage as well as Western values. Her dual position between her grandmother's house where she grew up and the college where she received Western education was obviously stated in *Memoirs*:

> College had not only taken me away from home and family worries; its free atmosphere, with normal and intellectual people around me, had out of my thoughts the suspicious, smothering, and over-oppressive machinery of absolutism to which my home life was constantly exposed. So when Miss Prime proposed to take me with her to visit some people on an American yacht that was anchored in the Bosphorus I went with her as naturally as an American girl. (*Memoirs*, 198)

While learning about Islamic mysticism from private tutors she was at the same time supposed to memorize extracts from the Bible at school. She was assigned a study on the Bible, while at the same time she was expected to learn extracts from the Koran as she relates in *Memoirs*. It was in the American College for Girls where she was introduced to Christianity, which led to confusion in the very early years of her life. However, it was more than a clash of religions as she took math courses from the rationalist Salih Zeki, who would be her first husband in the following years. The rational characteristic of the Enlightened Europe was reflected in Salih Zeki's devotion to reason. Adivar expresses the impact of his lectures on her thoughts in *Memoirs*:

> He opened entirely a new life for me. It was a positive world, a world where no half lights and shades were allowed. He was a great admirer of Auguste Comte and published a great deal about him in Turkish. I had belonged to a world of mystical and spiritual absorption. This new phase was therefore of great educative value to me and acted as a counterpoise to my natural bent. (Memoirs, 204)

All these various forces were shaping young Halide and each leading her to different directions. She was exposed to distant forms of thinking simultaneously and was supposed to overcome the tearing effects of this exposition. Because of the irreconcilable nature of these forces, it was not easy to handle such a conflict. Her contact with a variety of values at once inevitably caused a constant duality in her mind which she honestly puts forth in *Memoirs*:

> Yet it is strange to me to recall at this earlier period the action and reaction of my soul and of my thought as distinctly dual personalities. While I was free from all material and past influences in moments of unrepressed thinking, some other part in me, a strange and distinct part, claimed to be an outcome of Islamic culture, a product of mosques, candles, cemeteries,

and set prayers. With strange insistence I held on to the outward aspect of Islamism, and in some mysterious way I struggled to fit all the new outlook of life, acquired through my education in the college, into Islamic experience and belief. (*Memoirs*, 192)

It is interesting to witness Adıvar's articulation of her remembrance of childhood in the sense that she reconstructs her thoughts about Salih Zeki and impressions on her dual state in the context of the present, which mirrors her cultural identity. The cultural conditions surrounding her are the major stimulants of her present selfhood.

Within the nationalist attempts to save the Turkish nation from the imperialist invaders, Adıvar was in close contact with the Turk Ojaks (Turkish Hearths)[8] This kind of a nationalistic tendency also reinforced Adıvar's commitment to her ancestral values, although she felt desperate about the independence of Turkey at times and even supported the idea of accepting American hegemony over the new Turkish Republic for some time. Nevertheless, it did not take her long to abandon this desperate wish and regain her courage to work for her nation's interests. She was attracted to the nationalist movement as a literary figure as well as an activist. Adıvar took an active part in the War of Independence as a strong woman and a defender of the national values. Her enthusiastic speeches before the public to promote national solidarity and to hearten them in the face of the enemies during the War of Independence are among the unforgettable incidents in Turkish history as Mehmet Kaplan mentions in his *Edebiyatımızın İçinden* (Kaplan, 1978: 115).

Adıvar, for whatever reasons, led a migrant life, like James. Her travels, no doubt, affected her thoughts and works all through her life. It is especially obvious in her late novels and non-fictional works written under the influence of her long trips to England and France taken with her husband. Her cultural crisis was reinforced by her regular journeys abroad, which reached its peak level with the uninterrupted settlement in Europe for fourteen years during which she also had interactions with the United States, where she gave conferences in prestigious universities and colleges as İnci Enginün puts forth in her research study, *Halide Edib Adıvar*, which is an extended version of her post-doctoral study (Enginün, 1989: 43-4, 49). After a long departure from her culture and society, she wrote novels that

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[8] See Çetinsaya, (2002), *Halide Edib Adıvar* p.88-90 and Kabaklı, (1990), v.3., p.665-6 for a detailed information about Adıvar's attachment to nationalistic endeavors.

revealed her nostalgia for the social life of her childhood. The duality of Adıvar, not contextually but intellectually resembles that of James for their views on life and relations were both shaped by their private matters such as the unorthodox and multi-dimensional education and their lives in voluntary exile.

Çetinsaya points out that Adıvar was also fascinated with the liberated system in Europe as she was an enthusiastic promoter of individual freedom (Çetinsaya, 2002: 91). However, her understanding of Europe as a democratic land was based on the freedom of choice and speech allocated by the system. She was able to appear as an assertive intellectual woman on the basis of her upbringing within the Anglo-Saxon system of values. It should be noted that Adıvar's interpretation of Western values is relatively simple compared to that of James, and far from achieving a profound comprehension of the characteristic differences in the Western countries. James was in full comprehension of the critical differences between the variations of the Western system within a large spectrum of values as opposed to the plain understanding in of the West by the Turkish intellectuals including Adıvar, who considered Europe and the United States as modern representatives in the same class regardless of their characteristic differences. James mentioned the local characteristics of the artistic styles and cultural qualities in the European countries he was in touch with, while describing their impact on his protagonists. However, Adıvar's concern for basic modern values prevented her from achieving such a deep and personal analysis.

For Adıvar, a secular way of interpreting life did not necessitate a total rejection of the spiritual values inherited from the ancestors. The egalitarian system of Europe had to be followed in sincerity for the welfare of the society along with an appropriate unification of the Turkish national, cultural and religious notions to the Western ideals. Her compromising views, at this point, differ from the contrast- based philosophy of the Young Turks. Adıvar believed that it was possible to put her nation on track by turning to European secularism and rationality, only on condition that they stuck to the national heritage properly. In this respect, the past is never abandoned for a better future. This sort of a solution is identical to that of Henry James's in the sense that the old continent was needed as a guide to construct a strong nation with definite roots and a sense of understanding life as a whole. However, Europe was the past, the old, the traditional in

James' point of view whereas it was the future, the new, the modern for Adıvar. Her struggle to unite the distinct value systems continued throughout her entire life. The modern values of Europe reinforced with the Enlightenment needed to be reconciled with the traditional ways of living in Adıvar's mind as well as in her novels. As Çetinsaya points out, her preoccupation with the West and East was so deep that she presented introductory papers in conferences most of which were published as compiled books named *Turkey Faces West* (1930) and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935) (Çetinsaya, 2002: 90).

As a leading novelist of her age, Adıvar went through three different, yet complementary, stages in her literary career (Özkırımlı, 1987: 37). Interestingly enough, all these stages reflect her unresolved dilemma from different angles. Her first novels were mainly concentrated on the emotional conditions of the female protagonist depicted as a desperate lover or a suffering woman. Critics like Enginün agree that in most of these novels, the author compares the European cities to the Istanbul of the era and depicts London, where she lived for a while, as superior to Istanbul, which had lost its charm as the capital of a great Empire. As the conditions got worse and the Empire lost power, it became more vulnerable to the dangers that were to come inside and outside of its borders. Eventually, as it entered World War I, the patriots organized to defend the nation from its enemies. Adıvar was not indifferent to the nationalist movement prior to the foundation of the new Republic. The influence of such national hard times could be witnessed in the novels that were written abroad during her voluntary exile. *Turkish Ordeal* (1928) is one of those novels originally written in English while she was residing in England (Enginün, 1989: 43). The gloomy atmosphere of the war years was the driving force determining the themes of these works. After the victory of the Turkish nation and the foundation of a new republic, Adıvar's concern changed from depicting the hard times of the war. A shift in her main interest in favor of social concerns is perfectly witnessed in her society oriented novels, one of which is *The Clown and his Daughter* (1935) in which Adivar's absorption to portray the political and mainly social conditions of the Abdulhamidian Era is quite obvious. She could define her cultural duality in these major phase novels having been relieved from the high tension caused by the shock of invasion and war.

Female characters in Adıvar's novels are the leading figures with the courage and strength to overcome the harsh nature of the circumstances affecting their lives as well as the public. Human independence and freedom were the essentials of a dignified life for Adıvar. In this respect, European democracy had influenced her during the years of the oppressive regime of the Abdulhamidian era. Adivar was determined to pursue the rationalist idea that she received during her youth, in the modern civilization of Europe. That was the only way to promote the emancipation of women from their constrained space within the traditional system. In *The Clown and His Daughter* she mentioned the pathetic role of the women in the Ottoman Empire through her fictional character, Hilmi's harsh criticism, who reflects Young Turks' appreciation of Europe because of his close contacts with this political group. Hilmi, the son of Selim Paşa, who is a senior officer in the Sultan's government, is even critical of his mother for her desperate position in her private life and vanity in the society:

> "She has luxurious tastes; she insists on supporting a horde of parasitic entertainers. She has beautiful jewels and expensive carriages. It is her love of display and her senseless waste that creates such tyrants as my father," he argued himself. But he too held his peace, for he loved her dearly, above every other human being.
> "There is something essentially wrong with the women of our country," he murmured softly after a time.
> The wrinkles around her eyes deepened with laughter. "What is wrong with women, my dear?" she asked sweetly.
> "Everything. They are being used for nothing but pleasure and the propagation of the race—they are all slaves, although the chains they wear are sometimes golden."
> "Who should propagate the race, Hilmi? Do your European men make their own babies? It must be either their wives or their mistresses. When did you hear of cocks hatching eggs?"
> He brushed aside her levity, continuing, with disconcerting earnestness, in his lisping voice, till she wanted to cry, she wanted to laugh, for the eternal seriousness of her son touched her strangely.
> "One half of the race absorbed in administering to the beast in the other half! It does not matter who breeds the offspring. But who brings them up? The gilded creatures who do nothing but flaunt their sex, or miserable drudges. Not a single one of either kind is interested in ideas!"
> (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 42-3)

A contrast with the European women, who are asserting their rights and working for the welfare of society as well as to satisfy their self-esteem, is implied in Hilmi's criticism of Ottoman women. Europe was a democratic land with new ideas flourishing as a precedent for other civilizations. Such an interpretation is a counter argument to Henry James' treatment of Europe as an old continent with traditional values. However, considering Europe as a land providing the freedom of choice and expression is similar in both novelists.

Adıvar's modern identity, having emerged from her Western education, can hardly be identified with a total denial of the Ottoman values, nor is it possible to interpret it as a rejection of the national attachment. In *Memoirs*[9] her depiction of the houses where she once lived is the hint of her nostalgia for the Istanbul of that time, which appears as a romanticized capital of the Empire. As a matter of fact, she never approved of a sudden and total conversion from traditions to new values. Considering the fact that Adıvar wrote *The Clown and his Daughter*, like *Memoirs*, during her voluntary exile, the modest little street in the novel is another clue that reveals her attachment to the traditional social life in Istanbul at the beginning of the twentieth century. The residents of that street were a miniature Ottoman society. It is because of this nostalgia that she opted to write about the past Abdulhamidian Period (1876-1908) as if longing for those days in her exile. Amongst her major concentrations is the dominant Abdulhamidian regime with all its effects on people with its characteristic traditional way of life in various parts of the country. Adıvar's anxiety to illustrate the social life of that period reinforces the idea of her attachment to her society as well as her need to depict the social conditions of a country oscillating between two distinct systems.

The social characteristic of her novels is different from Henry James' personal journey of consciousness. Adıvar is busy with this huge difference in the society and in her mind as could be perceived in most of her novels as opposed to those of Henry James, whose dilemma is an unforced one within the individual frame because of the more gradual changes taking place in American society. This explains the replacement of personal issues in Adıvar's earlier novels with social concerns in her later works. Prior to the nationalist movement in literature there was a modern tendency predominant with a strong adherence to Western applications both in content and spirit. However, since this personal tendency was greatly detached from the realities of the existing conditions in the country, a thematic and formal conversion took place in Turkish Literature soon after. It was similar to

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[9] Halide Edib Adıvar wrote her autobiography twice as two narratives with different intentions. The first of these is *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (1926), written in English during her voluntary exile and targeted for the British reader. *Memoirs*(1926) opens with the detailed depiction of the house where the author spent most of her childhood. Her nostalgia for the house can barely be divided from her nostalgia for the beauty and delicacy of the İstanbul in the late period of the Ottoman Empire. The second version of her autobiography is called Mor Salkımlı Ev (1963).

Adıvar's case in the sense that her first novels deal with personal emotions and women's issues, which would soon to be replaced by more societal concerns in her later novels.

The cross-cultural—West versus East—dilemma in Adivar is explicitly revealed in her concentration on socio-political issues in *The Clown and His Daughter*, which was originally written in English during the writer's exilic settlement in England. The setting of the novel is a small residential area in Istanbul, and it describes the area's inhabitants and their way of life in the Abdulhamidian Period. The social aspect of the novel with the projections of the period in remarkable detail reveals Adivar's nostalgia and her interest in political and social conditions of the era. While romanticizing the modest Ottoman street with its traditional elements and practices as Enginün points out in *Halide Edib Adıvar* (Enginün, 1989: 74), she is also, in a subtle way, critical of the intolerant Ottoman regime, which sent people with opposing ideas, including the advocates of the Young Turk movement, into exile. Adivar's reaction to the oppressive regime originates in her Western idea of democracy.

On the other hand, we observe, throughout the novel, a harsh criticism of the so-called intellectuals copying Europe (Moran, 1983: 129). The Italian Peregrini's inner voice when he makes the acquaintance of Rabia, the female protagonist and Peregrini's wife-to-be reveals Adıvar's appreciation for authentic qualities as well as her mocking criticism of copying Europe:

> The three men laughed, but Peregrini seemed pleased. He found her a soothing contrast to the other Turkish children whom he had taught. They all appeared to be second-hand copies of European children, while this child, in her sober Turkish dress, with her sleek head, and the five bright brown plaits hanging down her back, seemed the genuine article. (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 57)

The Young Turks are also depicted with their hostility toward religion and their attraction to the European secularism. Adıvar is critical of this extreme adoption of worldly affairs with no sense of spiritual concern as she states Peregrini's European influence on Hilmi and his friends, who are enthusiastic members of the Young Turks:

> "I am going to play to you," he whispered to Rabia a minute later, for his wistful mood was returning. The three young men, who admired, and had regarded him as a master, had never before seen him in this curious state of mind. Apart from his musical talents, his wit and

learning, his knowledge of the Turkish language, literature, and philosophy, and his quick judgement, had enabled him to impose himself upon them as a pattern. The fact that he had defied the all-powerful Catholic Church was a factor in their friendship for him. They believed that they had cast off the bonds of religion, holding as they did that Islam was responsible for every obstacle to progress. They thought of Peregrini as a kindred soul in his bitter and critical attitude to religion, but Rabia's chanting seemed to have thrown the man into almost a religious mood.

"Wouldn't you like to train that voice?" Hilmi asked.

A quick defiance shone in the eyes of the girl.

"No, let the child go on with her own perfect art. Render unto Ceasar the things which are Ceasar's! The child belongs to Allah; let her remain where she belongs." (*The Clown and His Daugther*, 58-9)

The young men are unable to understand Peregrini's appreciation of Rabia's voice while she was chanting a part of the Koran. They are so obstinate in their evaluation of her singing that the quality of the melody and rhythm cannot penetrate into their hearts. Adıvar criticizes the Young Turks' defective interpretation of westernization very often throughout the novel.

Adıvar's modern self is apparent in her inescapable duality, which was the quality of the Turkish modern literature at that time. She was challenging the total loyalty to the West as practiced by some communities and the blind adherence of others to superstitious beliefs, both of which she fought against by educating children and young people in different parts of the country. Her criticism of strict religious doctrines has its roots in her mystical religious background rather than orthodox religion (because of her acquaintance with Islamic mysticism in her childhood). Islamic mysticism, with its spiritual quality, was in total compliance with her views, which mostly countered the confined notions of the religion. The novel partially qualifies as an autobiographical work for the struggle of its female protagonist to resolve the West versus East conflict as well as for other similarities to the author's life. Rabia's Eastern side is displayed as dominant particularly in the second part of the novel, which in fact is the projection of Adıvar's own choice. By examining the novel in close analysis, I offer my reasons for interpreting the novel in its unbalanced resolution. As the novel progresses to the second part, the author begins to lose her balancing treatment of the characters who were exposed to different cultures and were in search of a harmonious unity. The way Adıvar finalizes the story is an explicit illustration of her favoring her Eastern side over the Western quality in her.

Rabia, the main female character, has been furnished with Islamic traditions and strict doctrines imposed by her grandfather, who is a notorious hodja[10] with unfriendly manners. He has chosen isolation from the society having also rejected his daughter because of her marriage to an actor, who performed the female characters in the "ortaoyunu"[11], a traditional Turkish theatrical genre. Her grandfather's Islamic fanaticism is not a preferable quality as it is criticized by the author through its negative effects on Rabia. She is portrayed as an extremely disciplined girl with almost no sense of humor and joy. At first she also possesses the narrow-minded quality of her grandfather. Despite her dislike of the fearful image of her grandfather, she will never be able to totally ignore these negative effects, which she received during her childhood. While talking to Vehbi Effendi about her grandfather, Rabia expresses her dislike of him with sincerity and desperately confesses the permanent effects that he had left on her:

> "If he were to die…wouldn't you like to receive his last blessing? You should have more filial affection, Light of my Eye."He was probing her soul a little further."
> "He has no blessing to give. Let him die and be buried in the dark earth. Let him be eaten by centipedes and snakes!"
> "Shuuuut," said Vehbi Effendi, almost distressed. But he couldn't stop her now.
> "But he frightened children with those horrible things, Effendim. He gave one no peace, he constantly prophesied a horrible life after death, and painted the picture of a savage God. I hate him because I can never get rid of the fear he has stamped on my heart." (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 299)

Rabia's father, on the other hand is an actor known for his close contact with the Young Turks. The traditional Turkish theater and the Young Turk movement are combined in the father character, which is another clue to Adıvar's wish to form a cultural synthesis. Her father is a lively and critical figure, who enjoys playfully teasing people. Nevertheless, his sense of humor is not welcomed by the oppressive regime in the country, and, as a result, he has been sent into exile. Hülya Adak confirms the historical account of such restrictive measures of Abdulhamid's government in her article "Intersubjectivity: Halide Edib (1882-1964) or the Ottoman/Turkish Woman as the Subject of Knowledge" in which she states that the Clown himself or versions of him did exist in the pre-1908 period and Abdulhamid

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[10] A Muslim religious figure

[11] Ortaoyunu is a theatrical performance in the Turkish folk tradition, which consists of joyful and witty characters. It became real popular in the second half of the nineteenth century through the first decade of the twentieth century. Among other performances in the traditional Turkish theater are shadow play (Karagoz) and meddah. Rabia's father performed the 'Zenne' character; the name given to the female characters performed solely by men in the play.

did indeed send karagoz ventriloquists and meddah reciters into exile. (Adak, 2001). Rabia is similar to Adıvar in terms of the duality of her upbringing. She is forced to choose her own way after being introduced to the joyful and tolerant Western way of life as a consequence of living with her father. After Rabia's father is back from exile, she chooses to live with him. The reason for this is she feels free from the oppressive doctrines imposed by her grandfather while she is with her father and his friends. This new life, offering her freedom and joy, also confuses her and troubles her mind, leaving her in conflict with traditional values. There is yet another force at work in Rabia's which has a balancing function between the strictness of the religious doctrine that stifles her childish joys and the secularist attitude towards life. It is the Islamic mysticism[12] of Vehbi Effendi, which plays a comforting role in Rabia to overcome the tearing effects of her crisis. Adıvar's preference for the evolutionist way of internalizing Western values to the revolutionist can well be perceived in the presence of the mystical figure, Vehbi Effendi (Moran, 1983: 124, 133). Despite her positive attitude toward modernization, she also criticizes the extremity in the Young Turks' admiration of the West. For her, the West is not exempt from violence and cruelty in its attempts to be modern. In this respect, as opposed to James's appreciation of the artistic quality in France, Adıvar puts emphasis on the devastating effects of the French Revolution through the confession of Hilmi, who is one of the Young Turks in the novel:

> "Is violence an inevitable historical force?" he was asking himself. Was anything ever done without the use of violence? Sultan after Sultan had used it either to enforce new ideas or to prevent their influx. Perhaps it was so all the world over. Now that the glorified and idealized West….He had talked of the culture and progress of France in a heated room while he drank iced sherbets. Was the Great Revolution only a thing of beautiful ideas? He tried to visualize France during the Great Revolution. What an effect it must have had on the women! He could see mothers with swollen faces and dumb, fearful eyes all over the world. (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 186,187)

This confession simply destroys the idealized image of the West. Adıvar seeks peace in Vehbi Effendi's mysticism. However, Rabia's relation with Vehbi Effendi is not the key to a peaceful state of mind. The gradual development of her acquaintance with Peregrini, an Italian pianist, leads Rabia to a series of choices. Ironically, it is Peregrini who makes the compromises and tough decisions rather than Rabia.

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[12]Islamic mysticism (Sufism) originated as a reaction to Orthodox Islam in favor of an inner/personal experience of the Divine through mediation and other means.

The first part of the novel presents a mutual interaction between the Western musician, Peregrini and the Eastern hafiz.[13] Each is impressed by the specific cultural qualities embodied in the music of the other. During each musical performance, either a Western piece is being played or a section of the Koran is being chanted. Both Rabia and Peregrini are highly moved by the other's performance. Rabia is attracted to the European melodies, which are quite new to her, and Peregrini is impressed by the Islamic rhythm. Adıvar's attempts to unite the two opposing cultures in harmony are remarkable in Rabia's chanting:

> "He created man of crackling clay like the potters, and He created the firmaments from the smokeless fire….The Lord of Two Easts and the Lord of Two Wests....His are the ships which rise from the sea like mountains. Everyone upon it is transient, but the Face of my Lord, endowed with majesty and honour, shall endure." (*The Clown and his Daughter*, 97)

However, the second part of the novel is very far from the natural interactions that are necessary to the creation of a synthesis. The contrasting characteristics of both cultures are remarkably stressed in various ways. Music is integrated into the novel very skillfully in terms of mirroring the opposing qualities of the two cultures:

> "No one in the country plays German music as well as the Prince," she was saying. "Yet I don't understand it. His Majesty loves it."
> "I don't understand it either. It sounds like a mighty monument of sound created by a super-sound engineer. Only a mathematical genius could conceive it."
> "What sort of interiors would such monuments have?" the Princess asked.
> "I should imagine them to be very logical. Every piece built for some useful purpose. Not like ours, which have such useless but such cosy and intimate nooks and corners."
> "Have I bored you?"
> The Prince was standing at the door. Rabia rose.
> "It was very beautiful, Your Highness," she said, really grateful for the respite it had given her.
> "I was telling the Princess how alien and how incomprehensible the German music is to me," said Vehbi Effendi. "Yet I love Italian music, and I find some of Peregrini's improvisations wonderful."
> "What puzzles me," said the Prince, "is the appalling difference between the internal rhythm of the Western and the Eastern music."
> "The West has no melody to speak of…."
> "Hasn't it, though? However, its harmony is great. The single melodies of our music make me feel so lonely. In the East we seem to be separated, so utterly shut up within ourselves."
> And Rabia felt too like that. (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 254-5)

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[13] Hafiz (also spelled hafez) is a title given to those who memorize the Koran by heart.

The rational quality of Europe, which was inherited from the Enlightened philosophers and musicians, is stressed through the mathematical and logical nature of the German music with its blended melodies. The Eastern music, on the other hand, which Vehbi Effendi defines as "our" music, is emotional and constitutes of single melodies. In other words, while the Eastern music leads one to a spiritual alienation within himself, the Western music stimulated the reasonable side and the secular interests of man. As the novel progresses, this contrast suddenly shifts to the superiority of the Eastern culture. Peregrini and Rabia's marriage causes a sacrifice by one party while the other upholds the dominant position (Moran, 1983:132). Peregrini converts to Islam and even changes his name to a Turkish one, Osman, in order to comply with the traditional Muslim way of life. Osman expresses the way he yields to the Ottoman culture and the Islamic life that are to change his life forever continuously throughout the rest of the novel: "I see that I must become a Moslem and marry you. Will you be my wife then, Rabia?" (260-1); "I also cannot live without you, Signor. But how can we marry? We belong to two different Faiths." "We could go away to a place where such things don't matter. You can stick to your Faith. I have none." (259-60); "She knew that she could no more break the chains of custom than she could fly. Further she could never leave her environment……He himself was a wander. He must leap over the barriers and accept such a life as she lived if he wished to have her for his wife. No other way of having her was possible" (260).

Rabia's duality, on the other hand, continues even after marrying Peregrini. She continuously tries to shape Osman within the frame of the Ottoman values and falls into misery and anxiety whenever she feels something wrong with her husband that would detach him from her. Rabia wants to make sure that Osman is in total compliance with his new life as a Moslem and she is ready to let this happen no matter what:

> He always improvised in the evenings, and for her his improvisations were the milestones of hs progress through life in the Sinekli-Bakkal. She studies his moods through those errant airs, measured his nearness to her by the proportion of minor tones that crept into his playing, by the incursion of Oriental rhythms into his brilliant Western harmonies. When nothing familiar, nothing reminiscent of the tunes of her own land appeared in his improvisations, she was disappointed, even a little anxious. They were the golden webs which she was weaving round her man's heart. To-night, as she watched the play of muscles on his bent back, while his fingers wandered over the keys, she felt herself up against the tightly closed shutters of his soul. He was purely alien to-night. Perhaps he felt lonely among them all. He might one day leave them with that suddenness and incalculableness which charactrised all his actions. No,

she would yet acclimatize his soul, domesticate his body, tie him to herself.... (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 280)

When Osman insists on moving to a mansion on the Bosphorus to spend the summer, Rabia is worried about losing Osman even during their stay in the chalet away from Sinekli-Bakkal: "But she said to herself: 'He was getting settled down. The old restlessness may take hold of him after a taste of aristocratic life'" (301). She fears that Osman's current alienation would lead him to a total separation from Sinekli-Bakkal and his new identity. Therefore, after spending some time in the chalet, Rabia, with the aim of escaping her dilemma, persuades her husband to live in her grandfather's house, where she grew up. Her struggle to unite the opposing forces at work in one identity is similar to that of Adivar in the sense that they are both unable to escape the discomfort of not achieving full conformity with either culture. Rabia reveals her true feelings about the Western/European culture at a time of an uncontrolled response to Osman: "I would like to put you on the European stage." "To hell with your European stage!" (339). Like Rabia, who is unable to enrich her Eastern identity with Peregrini's Western culture, Adıvar cannot achieve hybridization by mixing conflicting forces in her life. She rather struggles to reduce the tension of conflict by putting her Eastern side in a superior position. The extremity of the conflict is hardly reduced to a reasonable level because of the cultural distance between the Ottoman Empire and Europe. The empire located in the East was identified with the Islamic tradition as opposed to Europe in the West, which struggled to reconcile Christianity with reason only to witness the triumph of secular interests in the end. The presentation of the West and East as two conflicting forces goes back to the Crusades. The argument was based on the distinction between the two religions, Christianity and Islam. The idea of such a conflict continued with the Renaissance in the sixteenth century with its focus on human potential and the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century with its science-oriented views. This hypothesis highlighting the differences between the Western and Eastern cultures and designating them as "we" and "other" is unsurprisingly at work in the social sciences and literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to Edward Said, a major thinker with a perfect analysis of the colonial and oriental discourse, rationality was identified with the Western system of modernity, whereas religious and traditional doctrines represented the Eastern civilizations (Said, 1978: 40, 45, 63). With a background incorporating both Western and Ottoman values, Adıvar was unable to depart

from the issue of identity crisis in most of her novels. The late introduction of the Western mentality to the Ottoman Empire created such a problematic atmosphere that it was hardly possible to escape the oscillation between cultures in that period.

Rabia's search for relief in loyalty to the traditional social system is an ongoing process throughout the novel. She is trying to form a whole self without breaking down into pieces:

> This change of background gave her the feeling of having turned a corner in her life. She didn't like corners. The moment you turned one you were somebody else. You could never get rid of your former self; so that self on self accumulated, the newest on the top. (*The Clown and his Daughter*, 303)

She feels extremely displaced after moving into the mansion on the Bosphorus with Osman as the move means an absolute detachment from the neighborhood where she grew up. She feels as though she is being torn from the little street, Sinekli-Bakkal, from which she acquired a strong sense of belonging. The society of Sinekli-Bakkal represents the typical local Ottoman society with its distinctive characteristics. It leaves permanent effects on Rabia, encompassing many of the day-to-day routines and social life. The way Adıvar describes the "the tiny back street" at the beginning of the novel illustrates her nostalgia for the local and simple life in Istanbul and it is far from portraying a decaying capital inferior to European cities as she did in her earlier novels:

> Ramshackle, cracked wooden houses, richly darkened with age, leaned towards one another from either side of the street, their eaves nearly touching. Red geraniums blossomed in the windows, and the heads of women, mostly old, bent over their embroidery. The lattices were often lifted to give light to the workers, perhaps to enable them to see one another too, for they carried on a lively gossip from window to window.
> Brilliant patches of blue sky peeped between the staggered eaves, but the depths of the street remained cool and full of shadows. Dirty pools formed among the dilapidated cobbles and caught the gold light of the morning. Wisteria trellises, extending from side to side over the fountain at the corner, cast a purple shade. Women, barefooted, women with red kerchiefs over their heads, swarmed round the fountain, holding red copper cans in their hands, waiting for their turn to fill them with water. Children, half-clad and dirty-nosed, played around the puddles. Above the somber purple of the wisteria and the dark house-tops a single slim white minaret pierced the blue.
> In the middle of the street stood its solitary shop with an enormous placard over its door, 'Istanbul Groceries'. The humbler the quarter the more pretentious the name, for that was the rule of the place. The building of next importance was the house of the Imam by the fountain. Its door opened on another street. Only the back windows, overlooked the Sinekli-Bakkal. But as it had three stories, and, moreover, dispensed birth and marriage certificates, and permits for burials--all of which were to be obtained only from the Imam—people pointed it out to strangers as if it really were in their own street. (*The Clown and His Daughter*, 5-6)

The author's sympathy for the local life is obvious in this depiction. Considering her settlement in England while writing the novel, she could be missing her childhood and the simple life in the Ottoman capital after a long stay abroad. Rabia has constructed a space-based identity throughout the novel. Her spiritual attachment to the little street is so strong that she feels as if connected to it physically as well as by heart:

> She looked away from him. The colour was fading from her cheeks. She had the air of one who had thought out things carefully and had come to definite conclusions. Fate had struck her its last blow. She had been unconsciously expecting a different proposition. She knew that she could no more break the chains of custom than she could fly. Further, she could never leave her environment. She realised that it had even a stronger hold upon her than her faith. It was a complete knock-out. (*The Clown and his Daughter*, 260)

This kind of a strong attachment to a certain place illustrates Adıvar's desperate striving for a cultural harmony. The reader, expecting action to unite two opposing forces in her life and adaptation to a new order from Rabia, may be disappointed by her eventual move to her dead grandfather's house after having it restored and may be shocked to realize her ongoing proximity to the Sinekli-Bakkal and the intense attachment to the old house where she spent a fearful childhood: "I am , but I want my child to be born in the house where I myself was born" (341).

Leaving such a place for an isolated neighborhood closer to the Western social life does not indicate a promising future to Rabia. Traditional local life is presented in opposition to Western aristocracy and Rabia's hatred toward class distinction derives from such spiritual as well as physical distance of the two neighborhoods: "The difference of culture, background, race, and the rest meant nothing to her. But class-consciousness she could never tolerate. He almost hated her at that moment. She and her Sinekli-Bakkal!" (333). Ironically, cultural differences meant a lot to Rabia and her local attachment is very much related to this cultural belonging. She is well aware of the possible changes in her mind and heart awaiting her in this new mansion, yet whether or not she is ready for such a change is questionable. The necessity of choosing between the ones she has left behind and the ones lying ahead, rather than constructing a new space, causes a crisis in Rabia as well as in Adıvar. Although Adivar wished to achieve a harmonious mixture in her life owing to her close attachment to both Western and traditional values, one can witness her fear of facing the dilemma of such a synthesis in the character of Rabia. Obtaining an ideal

synthesis is extremely hard; identity construction is no doubt a painful process, yet it is inescapable in certain conditions as in the case of Rabia:

> "What is that?"
> "An organ; they are playing it in the American school for boys."
> She was hearing the organ for the first time, and it took her fancy captive. Hitherto all Western music, even the airs which had charmed her, had too much of the staccato element in them. There was something sustained in this; the passage from one note to another one could hardly be distinguished. It conveyed a sense of continuity; it reminded her of Koran-chanting.
> "If we ever have a boy, I'll send him there."
> "Never."
> "Why, Osman?"
> "You must keep your son away from everything that is not Sinekli-Bakkal. In any case, those who have different blood in their veins have a perpetual warfare in their hearts."
> "We are all of different blood in this land, Osman, and we are all so peaceful."
> "It isn't only blood, Light of my Eyes. Difference of culture is still more bewildering. Those who are subject to different cultures will have to face a hell of a struggle in their hearts and minds." He stopped for a while, and when Rabia's arm slipped through his he began again, almost hoarsely: "I should like my son to be a harmonious being; no contrasts, no hostile influences tearing at him, pulling his mind hither and thither. You do not know how mixed natures suffer!"
> "It would be nice to be mixed like that," Rabia was saying. "You are so many persons at the same time." She chuckled softly to herself as if the son they spoke of were really a reality. But at the bottom of her heart she was a little uneasy. She had a vague realisation of Osman's own conflicts. There might be sounds and memories which were pulling him away from her.
> "Let us go in," she said, with a catch in her voice. (*The Clown and his Daughter*, 304-5)

Rabia and Osman's dialogue is an explicit illustration of the ongoing crisis in Adivar, who confesses her own dilemmas through the couple's relationship. Rabia's search for a peaceful unity is even reflected by her relating Western music to Koranic chanting (Moran, 1983: 132). This relation projects Adivar's own anxiety to achieve an ideal synthesis. However, both Rabia and Adivar attempt to avoid suffering the consequences of being torn apart while confronting with an opposing culture. Rabia's declaration of living in peace as stated by her words "We are all of different blood in this land, Osman, and we are all so peaceful" seem to be an endeavor to alienate herself from the complex and challenging nature of identity construction, as well as an underestimation of this concept. Pretending to be strong and to feel comfortable with the new values penetrating her life is one dimension of this struggle, while Osman's confession of the high pressure he is exposed to is the other side of the coin. Osman longs for a harmonious identity for their son to free him from all the troubles and suffering of an inevitable cultural hybridization. His voice is in fact Adivar's uneasy subconscious, full of contrasts at work. Rabia's illusion of peace is destroyed by Peregrini's confession of his trouble in his conversion.

Selim İleri's[14] final notes for the novel, where he argues that Adıvar had achieved an accomplished synthesis, ignores the fact that Adıvar's treatment of Rabia and Osman's marriage hardly paves the way for her desired synthesis of the two opposite forces. My reading here is confirmed by Moran's discussion that the way the author ends the novel does not come out naturally in the sense that it places the conventions and the traditional life in a superior position to new ideas and styles. Adıvar does not let Rabia and Peregrini negotiate, and makes Peregrini change and compromise. This kind of an unbalanced resolution does not let a fruitful interaction between cultures take place (Moran, 1983: 132).

Rabia is in fact intended to experience a conversion that is supposed to mold her into a tolerant woman, freed from the negative effects of the old-fashioned religious fanaticism imposed by her grandfather. Yet, her return to his house in the end, which reminds one of Adivar's return to her native country after a long stay in Europe, negates this intention. The reader is disturbed by the sudden change of direction in the second part of the novel and becomes more aware of the true intentions of the writer. *The Clown and His Daughter* reflects Adivar's social observation and dilemmas. The harsh conflict within her mind and heart is meant to be resolved peacefully in this autobiographical novel, yet, Adivar certainly fails to achieve such an end.

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[14] Selim İleri is a leading Turkish writer, critic and researcher of literature. İleri, in the final notes of *Sinekli Bakkal* (2005), Turkish version of *The Clown and His Daughter*, argues that Adıvar achieved a unique and well-maintained synthesis of West and East in the novel after having been troubled by this dilemma throughout her life. I find serious deficiency in this argument, which ignores the unnatural development of Rabia and Peregrini's marriage.

CONCLUSION

These two novelists from opposing sides of Europe enable one to have a better understanding of the tough process leading to cultural hybridity. Despite the physical distance between the two countries, the intellectuals of the same period may have similar experiences. There are certain points that place them in a different position from the common people deriving from their dual cultural upbringing and personal choices. Both individual and social effects are at work while the authors' personal tendencies are mostly shaped by the inner forces in the modern era in which they emerged as productive authors. Rapid industrialization in the United States stimulated the American nostalgia for the Old Continent, while the Ottoman modernization taking the West, mainly Europe, as a model reinforced the cultural dilemma of the intellectuals of the era. Both countries at the turn of the century were undergoing a critical change. The narrow-minded Puritans who were mainly interested in financial profits and the restrictive Abduhamidian regime in the declining Ottoman Empire were far from providing the intellectuals with circumstances in which they could express themselves in liberty. In this respect, Europe served as a shelter for both novelists where they could enjoy the freedom of expression. The struggle of constructing a hybrid identity to escape the paranoia stemming from the ambiguous atmosphere of their countries in that era can easily be viewed in both novelists as reflected in most of their works.

It is no coincidence that this kind of an identity crisis is observed in the two novelists from two sides of the Atlantic, who seem extremely distant in the physical and cultural sense. The construction of a national sense in the United States after the Civil War coincides with the foundation of a Turkish solidarity to fight the enemies, who had the common wish to destroy the declining Empire and to obtain the lion's share from its profitable lands. Within the ambiguous conditions in both of the countries the thinkers were in need of a new set of systems, which also applied to literary figures. Some of them borrowed new techniques while some practiced unique methods. However, under the impact of the political and social progressions James was trying to fit himself in the right position between America and Europe. The modernist movement was only in its early years when James wrote his late career novels having been attracted by liberation in Europe. He would be a pioneer in

his attempts to liberate the intellectuals' minds free from national and cultural boundaries. However, he was not exempt from cultural and personal dilemmas of identity. Similarly Adıvar experienced the cultural crisis between the modern and traditional rather different from the other thinkers due to her own case. Modernization in Turkey with the Young Turks at the turn of the twentieth century emerged as a more challenging movement than that of the Young Ottomans, who aimed to reconcile Western values with the basic traditional applications (Deren, 2002: 385). The Western modernism was also influential in the literary works of the Turkish Literature. However, the West and East conflict is real problematic in the works of Adıvar because of her own experiences and gender. She was an enthusiastic supporter of Turkish nationalism, an eager advocate of the assertive woman and a follower of the Ottoman values at times to avoid betraying the inherited traditions.

Nevertheless, hard times in America and Turkey are far from explaining the identity crises in James and Adıvar. They both deserve special attention because of their private lives. James and Adivar share dual cultural upbringings, upper-class status, and multicultural educations in their migrant lives. Their fathers encouraged them both to gain access to cultures other than those of their own. Not only are their fathers' decisions in their education responsible for their secession from their native lands in favor of a double identity, but also most of their personal experiences and acquaintances with certain people have caused their adherence to the inherited culture. The sophisticated kind of education and being members of the upper class are the first signs of their departure from the common people in terms of contemplating life. The freedom received from the intellectual background shaped the two literary figures for a lifetime and developed them into exilic identities in search of new ways of perception and consciousness. Their regular trips to Europe continued as an indispensable activity throughout their lives and these voluntary journeys led them to be exilic figures oscillating between cultures. Their unorthodox education along with their continuous attachment to various cultures at once had a lifelong effect on their identities. In this sense, those early experiences have caused an inevitable crisis in each novelist, which is never left out in their novels no matter the purpose for which they were written.

The autobiographical novels written by James and Adıvar reveal the degree of the tension in their lives. Their cultural dilemmas were obvious in their early works and gradually came to the foreground in their later novels. They became more concentrated with the international theme and negotiation in their later careers. However, the representations of the countries and continents are quite different in the each author. While America was considered inexperienced, dynamic and new; Europe was reflected as traditional, conservative and old by James. He was in search of a hybrid entity benefiting from the experiences and wisdom of Europe for a better future in his land of birth. As he became more acquainted with his ancestral land, he began to appreciate the condemned old Continent by acquiring a true relationship between immorality and artistic quality and by freeing himself from the superstitious beliefs of Puritan New England. James was able to reach an intellectual level of enjoying the artistic taste in Europe from a profound personal angle owing to his ancestral relationship with the old Continent and for his own intellectual capacity fed by his earlier acquaintance with the Continent. This fact explains his fundamental role in the modernist movement, which emerged in Europe. The contrast of the two continents is not great by nature due to their originally Western heritage. James, therefore, was able to form a hybrid identity that would rest in comfort enjoying the ideals from the two sides of the Atlantic.

As to the representation of Europe in Adıvar's novel, it diverges from that in James' novel seriously since the Ottoman Empire is portrayed as profound, traditional and old while Europe is considered as modern, democratic and dynamic in *The Clown and his Daughter*. Her Western education created an everlasting dilemma even in the period of her national interest. She could never distance herself from Western secularism, which was also strictly related to her gender in terms of claiming women rights and capacity to take active roles in the society. In this sense, she appreciated the egalitarian regime in Europe in the social level as opposed to Henry James's treatment of the Continent as a land of freedom in intellectual terms. Besides her optimistic attitude toward modernization, Adivar's views on the Turkish Revolution, which came about so suddenly, were not all positive because she was seeking a balanced system; a mixture of the old and the new. That was a tough struggle and an almost impossible task to be fulfilled because of the imposed division between the West and East and the late introduction of the Ottomans to European values.

Adivar could not achieve the ideal synthesis she was longing for even in her later career, nor could she ever find peace. One symptom of her failure can be regarded as her referring to Peregrini as "satanic" even in the first half of the novel: "Was it possible that Rabia, in future years, might be the force that would burn to ashes the satanic intellectual pride of Peregrini?" (103). Rabia's peaceful façade in the novel merely reflects Adivar's tendency to ignore cultural tensions. Rather than profiting from her rich background, Adivar felt it necessary to choose one of the cultures to become a whole being, and this attempt ended up by giving superiority to the traditional Ottoman heritage. This is the very reason why it is Peregrini who always compromises for the sake of establishing a dialogue with Ottoman society.

In-betweenness is definitely not the ideal, yet it is inevitable taking the conditions of those times into consideration. Both figures, who were the leading novelists and thinkers in their countries, were in a search of comfort that would keep them away from the contrasts troubling their minds. Such a struggle paved a way to a vulnerable relief at its own cost. Considering the hardness of locating self between the land of birth and elsewhere, an identity benefiting from both parties does not seem to come out easily, nor is it a promising journey to seek a peaceful home in the era with none of the communication facilities and mobility of our time. As to our novelists from two "opposed" cultures, they do not qualify for this task equally. Henry James's cultural crisis was comparatively smooth and led him to a spiritual dilemma, which did not require an absolute uprooting from the main Western inheritance, while Adıvar was stuck between two irreconcilable forces; the unknown West and traditional Turkey. The applicability of a hybrid identity remains problematic in our Turkish novelist because of her trouble in placing herself within either culture while not betraying her ancestors. Despite all her efforts to acquire cultural hybridity, Adıvar turned to Islamic mysticism, which she thought to be the key to a peaceful resolution, in her late years as could be witnessed in her autobiographical piece, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*.

It is for this unresolved dilemma that Adıvar was absorbed in picturing the social and political conditions in her later novels. Her nostalgia for the late Ottoman era and her critical attitude toward the extreme Westernization and the oppressive regime of the period constitutes her main concerns. On the other hand, James was safe from such an extreme

conflict, which allows him to indulge in more individual worries. The post-Civil War period in the United States, namely Gilded Age, was the beginning of unbalanced industrialization in which realism and romance were combines within the novels of the era. James' attempt to combine his social observation with individual identity was a pioneering practice to the later modernist writers (Lee, 1987). His emphasis on individual experience through a set of thoughts troubling one's mind is dominant in most of his novels, which is a sufficient clue that he is the "forerunner of modern expression" (Parrington, 1945: 130). His moral and aesthetic interests are not as troubling as the great differences in the religious, cultural and social matters in Adıvar's life.

James's awareness of his condition and the opportunities before him helped him exceed the national boundaries in his own way by forming a Western mixture:

> In addition, in preferring to observe existence on the level of Western civilization, James becomes an advocate of a supranational consciousness and the universality of man's fate. He wished to be a writer detached from a national identity and--like his protagonists--to define his creative work not so much in terms of circumstances and environment, as in terms of a experience and a questioning found in no condition other than the human: 'I have not the least hesitation in saying,' he confessed,' that I aspire to write in such a way that it would be impossible to an outsider to say whether I am at a given moment an American writing about England or an Englishman writing about America (dealing as I do with both countries), and so far from being ashamed of such an ambiguity, I should be exceedingly proud of it, for it would be highly civilized'. (Markow-Totevy, 1969: 36-7)

Such a supranational wish never applied to Halide Edib Adivar since the East versus West conflict was so problematic that it led her to make a definite choice. Her displacement in Western society led her to restore order in her life by returning home after living abroad for many years. Conversely, James dealt with his identity crisis peacefully by staying abroad, even by changing his citizenship, about which he did not feel the least discomfort. Rabia and Strether are probably the most autobiographical figures of both novelists. They each represented the author's personal dilemma and the ultimate vision of life. Whatever resolution the novelists chose for themselves as well as their characters, these writers existed as forerunners in their countries by challenging the standards of the time and places of the era. They have evoked a sense of awareness in the reader of their age and of the present time in the sense that distant cultures may interpret the progresses taking place in a land from different angles. The novelists in question reflect their countries' position to a large extent. Although their personal experiences are similar, the reason for the difference

in their evaluation of Europe can be traced in the socio-cultural conditions of their countries. In this respect, that their responses to European modernity and their success in constructing a hybrid identity are different from one another, contributes to the reader's investigation of such dual identities, Western or non-Western.

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