The Anti-Imperialist and Nationalist Struggle of Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory

The Anti-Imperialist and Nationalist Struggle of Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory

By

Neslihan G. Albay

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

The Anti-Imperialist and Nationalist Struggle of Halide Edib Adivar and Lady Augusta Gregory

By Neslihan G. Albay

This book first published 2020

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-5275-4602-0
ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-4602-8

To my family…

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This book examines how Halide Edib Adıvar and Lady Augusta Gregory participated in the process of the formation of cultural identity in their emerging countries, as reflected in their respective nationalist discourses and peasant ideologies. Focusing on their roles as anti-imperialists with an emphasis on their respective political struggles, contributions to post-colonial history as well as feminist activities, this book employs a comparative study of their roles as social reformers, contributors to the cultural aspects of their respective nationalist struggles, as well as the development of the national theatres of Ireland and Turkey, while simultaneously examining their roles as pioneers in the reenvisioning of their emerging nation-states. This book explores how Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib Adıvar used literature both as a means to examine the imposed ideology of English colonialism as well as other dictatorial regimes and as a lens through which to promote a new national consciousness and cultural identity, based on their respective national heritages. The book will also explore how the anti-imperial stances of Lady Gregory and Halide Edib shaped or influenced their sense of national identity, investigate the ways in which they took a critical stance against British colonialism, and expose how their subjective elaborations and interrogations of anti-colonial nationalisms in other countries influenced their sense of "nationhood." Accordingly, I will investigate the similar nationalist ideals of anti-imperialist social reformers who were contemporaries of Halide Edib Adıvar and Lady Augusta Gregory, with a focus on maintaining national values and traditions as part of a resistance against cultural imperialism. In this book I will investigate the following questions:

1) What did Halide Edib and Lady Gregory contribute to the debates of nation-building through cultural and literary revival?

2) How were their political positions viewed by their contemporaries?

3) How were their changing political ideas influenced by international events and particularly transnational encounters?

4) What were their influences on the creation of a new female identity?

5) How did these female writers deal with the problems of engaging with nationalist discourses, often defined in masculinist terms in their different contexts?

The transnational encounters and exchanges of Lady Gregory and Halide Edib developed their appreciation of nationalism along with perspectives shaped by international anti-imperialism. This book will analyze the components of national identity such as gender, language, and transnational exchanges by showing how they shaped the nationalist ideas of Lady Gregory and Halide Edib.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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

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

I also want to thank Associate Professor Çilem Tercüman for her contributions to my book. Her deep knowledge of the literary period of Halide Edib Adıvar, as well as her suggestions related to the content of the book, were very precious. I am very grateful to her for her critical feedback and positive approach.

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

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

I am indebted to all my friends and colleagues who supported me throughout the writing process of this book and helped me with their insightful comments and suggestions for its review and revision.

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

Neslihan GUNAYDIN ALBAY
ISTANBUL, 2020

INTRODUCTION

GENDER, LANGUAGE, AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Turkish society in the early twentieth century, much like contemporary Irish society, saw nationalism as a springboard for social transformation. Nationalism was considered a cornerstone that would fuse conservative local values that would strengthen the cultural roots of their respective nations. For Ireland, nationalism signified rebellion against British colonialism and the foundation of the Irish Free State, while nationalism in the nascent Turkish Republic was based on the use of the simple Turkish language. One distinctive aspect of nationalism in twentieth-century Turkey as well as Ireland was the interplay of gender and nationality, as perceived in the cultural conceptions of Turkish and Irish national identities. The early twentieth century required clashes with imperial authority and the construction of a nation-state independent from the fetters of cultural imperialism imposed upon them by foreign powers. The process by which the Ottoman Empire transitioned into the Turkish Republic required the reconstruction of the nascent nation in interaction with the contemporary international movements towards modernization, westernization and secularization. Ireland was similarly on the brink of a period of national struggle against the British Empire to gain her own self-determination.

National independence in both Turkey and Ireland was supported through literary and cultural revivals, and was also influenced by radical changes in art and society. It is not merely a question of preserving the boundaries of a land in a specific region, but a question of clinging to cultural values, norms and mores, repossessing national literatures, and maintaining national customs and traditions without being overwhelmed by the influxes of cultural erosion, corruption and imperialism.

The gender aspect of this process of constructing a new national identity with regard to the Irish and Turkish cultures must be considered, as well as anti-imperialism/anti-colonialism and the issue of language in the twentieth century. The assertion of national identity in the postcolonial nation and the presence of the female subaltern created tension as a result of a focus on

women's rights. Halide Edib Adıvar and Lady Augusta Gregory problematized the concepts of nation and gender by dealing with the conflicts resulting from retrieving their national literatures in line with female perspectives. Nationalism also functioned as a means to the ends of improving the conditions of women and extending their rights. While nationalism placed individuals into a distinct group called a "nation", feminism placed women into a distinct category in the process of constructing gender, thereby exceeding national boundaries. On the other hand, women mostly benefited from the emancipatory principles of the nationalist movements. Thinking critically about gender, language and nationhood means not simply about thinking about women, but also about examining and understanding Irish and Turkish history, culture and identity.

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

Lady Isabella Augusta Gregory was born to the Persse family in Roxborough, County Galway, on March 15, 1852. Two things were remarkable about her birth. Her mother had hoped to give birth to another son after having already given birth to four girls and four boys, and this initially led her to ignore her daughter as a child. She discovered that she was exceptional when she read the warning of the soothsayer in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, who said "Beware the Ides of March", because she had been born between March 14-15 at midnight, the Ides of March (Hill, 2011: 1). This meant that Lady Gregory was perceived as dispensable and unimportant to her mother because she was a female; on the other hand, she was exceptional because of her birthday. Similarly, Halide would also repeat the sentence "Beware the Ides of March" to herself when she was awakened by unfamiliar and far-off gunshots on the morning of March 31, 1909 (Adıvar, 1926: 277). The preference for boy babies, common to many cultures in the past which showed a preference for boys over girls, was also valid for the families and societies of both Halide and Gregory. Halide said that "before my birth, it was very much hoped that I should be a boy, and my father had vowed that he would name me, after the saint Halid [Khalid, a Companion of the Prophet Mohammed]. When I disappointed them by turning out to be a girl,

they persisted in giving me the feminine form of Halid, which is Halide" (Adıvar, 1926: 98-99).

Similarly, Gregory's mother was disappointed by her birth because "she liked boys better than girls and wished for more sons than daughters, and so was sorry this was not a boy" (Gregory, 1974: 1). Despite being little-welcomed at birth, Gregory was aware of the enormous potential lying within her female identity. She married Sir William Gregory, who was a former Member of Parliament for County Galway and for Dublin, and also Governor of Ceylon in 1880. She travelled throughout Asia and Europe with him. After the death of her husband, she pursued an interest in literature and even decided to edit his autobiography. She published it in 1894. Her meeting with William Butler Yeats became a turning point for the arousal of her interest in theatre, which would also help lay the foundations of a national theatre in Ireland. At Coole, Lady Gregory lived among the peasantry. During her youth, she was greatly interested in peasants' folk-songs and folk-stories, which she started to collect systematically, compiling a vast reservoir of the beliefs, thoughts, customs, folk songs and tales of the people of Western Ireland. This provided her with rich material from which she drew for almost all of her plays. Motivated by the desire to do something for her country, "she gradually gained an empathy with those from whom she was separated by birth, education, culture, habit, dress, manner of speaking and family allegiance, to become a nationalist" (Hill, 2011: ix).

Associated with the Irish nationalist movement and the Abbey Theatre as part of the cultural and literary movement, Lady Gregory is renowned for her plays and folklore as a seminal writer in the canon of Irish modernism. She recreated Irish myths and transmitted folklore, especially in her wonder[1] plays. Most scholarship written on her is restricted to her involvement at the Abbey Theatre and her connections with the leading male figures of the cultural movement, such as William Butler Yeats, J. M. Synge and Edward Martyn. However, recent research has explored her as a playwright and political activist (Bell, 2008: 1-2). Born into the Ascendancy class of Ireland, Lady Gregory was a member of the Protestant Anglo-Irish gentry. Born into a class that identified closely with British rule, her

[1] Lady Gregory wrote wonder plays such as *Three Wonder Plays* (1922) (comprising *The Dragon*, *The Jester*, and *Aristotle's Bellows*, which are fantasies based on folklore and mysticism), *A Book of Saints and Wonders according to the Old Writings and the Memory of the People of Ireland* (1906) and *The Kiltartan Wonder Book.*

conversion to cultural nationalism, as evidenced by her writings, was emblematic of many of the political struggles that would occur in Ireland during her lifetime. Like Halide Edib, Gregory attempted to construct a new national identity through a more liberal point of view that opposed class distinctions in the new nation. She underwent a political conversion and devoted herself to her people and the nationalist cause. "In her many years of travelling, listening, transcribing and publishing, Lady Gregory did what the first modern government of an independent Ireland did: she gave value to the stories, to the mind and imagination of Irish country people" (Gregory, 1995: xxv). Her biographer Judith Hill summarizes Lady Gregory's political opinions at that time:

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

From a young age, Lady Gregory bore a rebellious nature both in terms of gender and mind. Starting her revolutionary literary life by reading the songs of Young Ireland poets from a generation earlier who had rejected their Anglo-Irish background and put their focus on common people, Lady Gregory oriented herself towards social idealism by emphasizing her self-sufficiency as a strong woman, as referred by Declan Kiberd in *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of a Modern Nation* (Kiberd, 1996: 84). Lady Gregory's literary intimacy with W.B. Yeats stemmed from their union for a sacred cause: for the Irish literary and cultural revival. As far as Lady Gregory's first interest in politics is concerned, it dates back to her encounter with Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and her witness in Egypt of the Revolt of the Colonels led by Ahmed 'Urabi, better and contemporarily known as Arabi Bey. Kiberd portrays Blunt's influence on her: "Blunt was a horseman, a poet, and an uncommonly dashing womanizer: an English Tory landlord by background and conviction, he was, nonetheless, a supporter of independence for the colonies. Meeting him at Shepheard's Hotel in Cairo,

Lady Gregory 'first felt the real excitement of politics' and 'tumbled into a revolution'" (Kiberd, 1996: 84). She commented herself on Blunt's struggle for freedom:

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

Lady Gregory's first published work was a pamphlet called *Arabi and His Household*, an account of her visit to Arabi's wife and children in 1882 while British troops advanced on Arabi's forces. In *Lady Gregory's Toothbrush,* Colm Tóibín notes: "to win support for Arabi in England, Lady Gregory wrote an account of visiting his house and meeting his wife and children. Sir William gave her permission to publish it, and then restored permission when Arabi faced possible execution. It was her first published work, printed in *The Times* and later separately as a pamphlet" (Tóibín, 2002: 18). In this pamphlet, Lady Gregory noted her observations of Arabi's household, with great stress laid on their generosity and dignified manners. The letters written by Lady Gregory's husband, Sir William Gregory, who was also a former governor of Ceylon, and by Blunt in *The Times* in defence of Arabi and of the Egyptian cause, however, could not save Arabi from pleading guilty and being banished to Ceylon. Nevertheless, this whole experience served to push Lady Gregory to write, and her cultural horizon was shaped by Irish nationalism over the coming years. Lady Gregory narrates her intimate observations about Arabi in the light of her husband's interest in him, which reflects how they supported Arabi with regard to the Egyptian national cause. In *Seventy Years*, Lady Gregory notes how her husband absolutely favoured Arabi in every case, even when Arabi was sentenced to death:

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

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

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

Lady Gregory's coming to terms with Irish history stimulated her to delve into cultural nationalism and the Irish language. She preferred to claim her place within the patriarchal structure of the national movement as a translator of Celtic mythology, a playwright, and a director of the Abbey Theatre. On the other hand, a radical Irish nationalist women's organization led by Maud Gonne that lasted from 1900 to 1914, Inghinidhe na hÉireann, "had deliberately included within their manifesto a pledge to combat the English influence they considered so injurious to 'artistic taste'" (Ward, 1983: 55), as denoted by Margaret Ward in *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*. Ward explains how the Abbey Theatre emerged with reference to the political mission of this women's organization to challenge the cultural oppression of British imperialism in Ireland:

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

The idea of an Irish theatre would help both form a new identity for Irish people and provide the motive for the birth of a new generation of Irish writers. Connected to the idea of a theatre in Ireland planted at Duras House

in 1897 under the guidance of Gregory, Christopher Murray indicates: "that idea germinated to produce countless new writers and offered the emerging nation a cultural means of formulating its own identity" (Murray, 1997: 39). In *Autobiographies*, Yeats wisely observed: "Lady Gregory, in her life much artifice, in her nature much pride, was born to see the glory of the world in a peasant mirror" (Yeats, 1955: 457). By taking peasant life as the inspirational source in her works and being involved in collecting Irish folklore, she aimed to realize an Irish literary and cultural revival in cooperation with William Butler Yeats, J. M. Synge, George Moore, and Edward Martyn, who were also the founders of the Irish Literary Theatre. Irish folklore helped her find well-known female heroes or historical figures in Irish mythology. Yeats gives a portrayal of Lady Gregory as follows: "when in later years her literary style became in my ears the best written by woman, she had made the people part of her soul; a phrase of Aristotle's had become her motto: 'to think like a wise man, but to express oneself like the common people'" (Yeats, 1955: 395). Making an effort to evoke the folk spirit through folklore and literature all her life, Gregory asserts:

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

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

endeavours made by women for the sake of an independent Ireland in its most turbulent years of upheaval.

Related to the representation of women in a nation emerging from colonial rule, in her essay entitled "Representations of Women in the Abbey Theatre", Christina Wilson refers to "an idyllic male image of womanhood generally conservative in nature" (Wilson, 2006: 330). To be able to function within the patriarchy, Gregory chose to behave and think like a male because, as Cynthia Enloe remarks, nationalisms have "typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope" (Enloe, 1989: 44). Thus, Gregory forced herself to suppress her femininity and to act with a masculine imagination, and she aimed to represent her nation through her plays and translations. Murray indicates that "the people she most admired were all strong men, not women: Parnell, Roosevelt, Shaw, Collins, de Valera and, in a rather different way, Yeats. She had little in common with radical women such as Countess Markievicz or Maud Gonne. They were never invited to Coole. She stood up to Annie Horniman, the formidable patron of the Abbey, but she never admired her" (Murray, 1997: 56). As regards why Lady Gregory deserves our attention today, as an opponent of colonialism at an intellectual level from an earlier date, Gregory is recognized as "as much a rebel as any one of her detractors" (Kopper, 1976: 138), while in 1910 Shaw called Gregory both a "born playwright" like Moliere and "one of the most remarkable theatre talents of our time" (Laurence and Greene, 1993: 63). From the feminist perspective, it can be thought that "hers is a gender-based art" (Murray, 1997: 55). Una Ellis-Fermor concluded her chapter on Gregory in the revised edition of *The Irish Dramatic Movement* with the declaration that Gregory's literary contribution was 'characteristically feminine': it provided "the means or the medium by which men [sic] of genius could realize themselves" (Ellis-Fermor, 1954: 162), while it has also been asserted that "her political unconscious was matriarchal" (McDiarmid and Waters 1995: xii).

In Gregory's outlook on the social position of women, the woman is regarded as a saint and an inspirer of men, as in the Victorian idea of the woman as the angel in the house. In her play *Grania*, which deals with the relations between the sexes, Gregory uses a feminist voice, through which she makes a study of an idealized woman and reflects the woman as the spiritualizing force in a male-dominated world. Among her wonder plays, *Aristotle's Bellows* is a political allegory which reflects women as agents of change, according to Gregory's conservatism. *Dave* is a play which champions women as the spiritual regenerators of the brutalized and

colonized Ireland. According to her political viewpoint, Gregory called for a republic or a "commonwealth". *The Story Brought by Brigit* (1924) is a symbolic allegory which embodies Gregory's prayer for peace and attempts to knit it into Irish culture through the local witness of Brigit, as well as the overcoming of imperialism by Christianity and the woman's role in the last stages of colonized Ireland. Drawing different portraits of the emblematic national female in her plays, Gregory contends that women played complementary roles as the spiritual and inspirational agents of revolutionary change in the patriarchal structure of early twentieth-century Ireland for the maintenance of peace in the face of British imperialism. She chose to exploit Irish folklore and mythology and the mythological women as the means by which to create an Irish literature. "She believed that women should put men first, or at least be seen to, and so she concealed some of her successes and made her presence felt indirectly. She made no public statements about the role of women in society, and lived her life as though there was no need for change. Yet in several of her plays she demonstrated an interest in questioning traditional female roles, and she explored the lives of strong men" (Hill, 2011: ix-x).

Halide Edib Adıvar was born in 1884 in Istanbul to an elite, well-educated family. Adıvar was the daughter of Mehmet Edip Bey, the private treasurer of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Her mother died when she was young. She received private tutoring from well-known personalities in the fields of Philosophy, Mathematics, and Social Sciences. She was sent to the American Girls College in Üsküdar from 1899 to 1901, and she became the first Muslim Turkish girl to graduate there. After she graduated, she married her tutor Salih Rıza Bey in Istanbul in 1901. The couple had two boys, named Ayetullah and Hikmetullah. After 1907, she started to publish articles in the newspaper *Tanin* under the pen name of Halide Salih. When Salih Rıza Bey chose to take a second wife in 1910, she decided to divorce him. In 1918, she married Adnan Adıvar. As Dr Adnan was a member of the reformist Committee for Union and Progress, Halide was drawn into involvement in nationalist activities. On May 16, 1919, Halide was the first female speaker at a mass meeting in Sultan Ahmet, Istanbul, protesting the occupation of Izmir by Greek armed forces. This established her reputation as a national hero for her defence of national liberation and justice. With her passionate public speeches, Halide transformed herself into a more prominent figure. After the occupation of Istanbul by the British in March 1919, she fled to Anatolia with her family to join Mustafa Kemal's forces as one of the leading female heroes of the national struggle. She was promoted to the rank of 'sergeant'. However, she rejected dictatorship and

broke with Atatürk after the War of Independence. She passed away on January 9, 1964.

Having a rebellious nature like Lady Gregory, and being a multi-dimensional author whose name was associated with literature and politics, Halide Edib Adıvar maintained that love and freedom should be regained every day for the sake of the absolute independence of a nation (Adıvar, 2011: 333). Ayşe Durakbaşa, in *Halide Edib: Turkish Modernization and Feminism*, states that "the dynamics of a dispersed empire and the creation process of the Turkish nation urged Halide Edib to be both a nationalist and feminist simultaneously" (Durakbaşa, 2000: 29). Distinguishing Halide Edib as "not the first, [but] the most prolific Ottoman-Turkish woman writer, with twenty-one novels, four short story collections, two dramas, four scholarly works and a two-volume autobiography in *An Epic For Peace*" (Adak, 2004: v), Hülya Adak underscores Halide Edib's active political involvement and signals to her fluctuating political ideas in different time periods:

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

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

In this study, we cannot ignore the fact that despite Halide Edib's and Lady Gregory's contributions to cultural nationalism through language and translation, most of their works have received insufficient attention. In *Edebiyatta Tercümenin Rolü* (*The Role of Translation in Literature*, 1944), Halide Edib Adıvar looks at translation studies during the period of the early Republic and refers to the fact that translation studies were more intense at that time than during the Constitutional period. Through a comparison of Turkish translation studies with British translation studies during the Elizabethan era, Halide Edib asserts that English translation studies played a substantial role in the greatest age of British literature by enriching the literary material, although she also observed that there were some points open to criticism in the translation studies of both English and Turkish literature. Adıvar was pleased with the prospective result, although she foresaw some imminent criticisms of Turkish translation studies and believed that although Turkish literature seemed to have lost its vitality, these translation studies would assist the birth of a more creative literary age. She herself translated some English books into Turkish, including George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet, Antony and Cleopatra,* and *As You Like It,* not to mention translations of her own works from Turkish into English. She contended that translating from various sources may endow the Turkish nation with a very rich literature in terms of gender, but if it could not find a way to harmoniously blend these opposite tastes, opinions and styles with their own indigenous styles, an anarchic rift may emerge in intellectual and artistic life and produce a verbose, clamorous and valueless literature.

Similarly, Lady Gregory translated Irish stories, myths and tales as part of her project of cultural nationalism. However, Halide concentrated on the present more than the past in contrast to Gregory, who focused on the Irish and Gaelic historical past. Adıvar points to the use of the local soul, national resources and national heritage from the whole of Turkish history and literature as the essential way to overcome this imminent danger. As in Lady Gregory's view of art, we observe that the nationalism of the peasantry is superior to the nationalism of intellectuals in Halide's sense of art. Halide encouraged reading, especially the translations of literary works that have appeared in the intellectual and artistic spheres. Moreover, she suggests reading old or new Turkish texts as well as translations by selecting a few of them according to taste and carrying them with you in reference to the British intellectuals who mostly read the Bible and Shakespeare and carried them with them. By this, she stresses the need to give much more significance to our own culture in the face of these rich but miscellaneous

materials. She indicates our duty is to form a completely new orchestration out of these materials, not a rumble.

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

Hence, the main focus of the present book is to explore how the anti-imperial stances of Lady Augusta Gregory and Halide Edib Adıvar shaped or influenced their sense of national identity. Moreover, the book will analyze how Gregory and Adıvar draw on transnational elements to develop a critique of masculine nationalism, constructing new forms of feminist nationalism through it. I will answer the following questions:

1) What were Halide Edib's and Lady Gregory's contributions to the debates of nation-building through cultural and literary revival?

2) How were their politics viewed by their contemporaries?

3) How were their changing political ideas influenced by international events and particularly by transnational encounters?

4) What were their influences on the creation of a new female identity?

5) How do these female writers deal with the problems of engaging with nationalist discourses that are often defined in masculinist terms?

Focusing on the contributions of these two female intellectuals to the construction of a new national identity in their respective countries struggling for independence, this study will, as I mentioned in the last question posed, illustrate how traditional nationalism in Ireland and Turkey was defined as masculine, and then demonstrate how these writers altered this nationalism to turn it into another form of defence that promotes women's equal participation in the nation. *Arabi and His Household* by Lady Gregory and *Inside India* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* by Halide Edib, along with other selected writings by Edib and Gregory, will help me assess their position as anti-imperial activists. I will also investigate the ways in which they took critical stances against British colonialism, and expose how their subjective elaborations and interrogations of anti-colonial nationalisms in other countries influenced their sense of "nationhood". Halide Edib and Lady Gregory were inclined to seek freedom in unknown lands with the intention of bringing it to their home country. For both, the Other has an appeal, but is not considered as the end per se. The appeal of the "foreign" serves just as a means to their end, which is to reach national freedom and independence without being corrupted by cultural assimilation.

Lady Gregory and Halide Edib favoured cultural nationalism as an essential vehicle of transformation in the processes of westernization and modernization. They aimed at the creation of a distinct national culture, which refers to the first question related to Halide Edib's and Lady Gregory's contributions to the debates of nation-building through the cultural and literary revivals explored in my book. Therefore, both writers followed the policy of a return back to a cultural essence to help their nations acquire their political independence and to repossess their national culture and identity with an ideology/mind-set that I describe as conservatist, by which I mean to draw a distinction between these views and being conservative, or being willing to protect cultural and national values based on a shared cultural heritage for the sake of a genuine national unity. I analyze their understanding of cultural nationalism through components of national identity such as language, gender and transnational exchanges. By stressing the importance of language, gender and transnational exchanges to nationalism, I will explore how they shape the idea of nationalism. Cultural nationalism intends to restore communal solidarity and cultural nationalists aspire to revive a distinctive community. To legitimate Ireland and Turkey's status as a distinct nation in the struggle for a separate identity, the revolutionary intellectuals of both countries attempted to restore the archaic past of their nation.

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

Lady Gregory and Halide Edib argued that social conformity with the movement of westernization is possible only with the equal participation of men and women in cultural and political life, fostered by the education of "women" and clinging to a "native language". Some research has focused on the vital relation between language and culture that is essential to the maintenance of national identity. While some of the more popular works of this type, such as Jale Parla's *The Wounded Tongue: Turkey's Language Reform and the Canonicity of the Novel* (2008) and G. Timothy McMahon's *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910* (2008), lack a critical dimension, the emphasis on the revival of simplified and pure native language as the emblem of national identity has nevertheless been valuable in fostering research into and in emphasizing the need to see women's participation in literary and political life. They both use similar methodologies in their works by giving great importance to the close relation between language and national identity and to women's active participation in social life and the elevation of their status in society as it was significant not only as the identification of the 'missing sex' with the patriarchal system but also as a significant signifier of a more liberal and democratic social order.

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

Halide Edib's political idea was not the same at all times owing to the influence of the turbulent and fluctuating political life in Turkey over her. Halide Edib Adıvar was given the title of "Holy Mother of Turkism" by the Turkish Corps in the period of constitutionalism. She wrote Turanic novels such as *Yeni Turan* and *Raik's Mother* and defended a liberal ideology based on decentralization. In the period of the early Turkish Republic, she followed a Kemalist and Turanic policy. Following her return from her travels, she was also a humanist. She was a mouthpiece for the Turkish nation overseas and was seen as an epic hero. Nationalism was considered a means to liberal humanism. Halide Edib's intellectual influences include such prominent thinkers as Henry W. Nevinson, Mahatma Gandhi, Bertrand Russell, Yahya Kemal and Isabel Fry.

Lady Gregory was a thoroughly rebellious nationalist. She stood out with her masculine way of thinking and behaviour. Kiberd stresses that "her closest collaborator, W.B. Yeats, would respond warmly to her androgynous style, singling out her 'masculine imagination' for particular praise" (Kiberd, 1995: 84). As was also reflected in the spirit of postcolonial literature, Lady Gregory, who devoted herself to reviving Irish culture and literature, was writing back to the empire by means of her translated works. Writing in the language of the oppressor (the empire, or the 'centre', in other words) was crucial to Lady Gregory to make the voice of the oppressed Irish heard. Halide Edib's anti-imperial stance was a challenge to the oriental image of the superior West constructed within the European imagination as a result

of a polarization between the East and West, while her masculine stance was a reaction to the patriarchally-constructed identities of femininity and masculinity.

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

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

that nationalism has been a significant facet of theatrical expression since the Greeks in *Theatrical Nationalism: Exposing the "Obscene Superego" of the System*, Steve Wilmer explains that

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

The National Theatre of Ireland had a pivotal role in the politics of the new nation-state's identity and in the forthcoming revolution by contributing to Irish cultural nationalism with such plays as *Cathleen ni Houlihan* at the beginning of the twentieth century, while Turkish writers used theatre as an effective genre to make the public adopt the concept of "homeland" with literary works such as *Vatan Yahut Silistre* (*Homeland or Silistre*) in the late nineteenth century. For instance, "the founders of the Irish Literary Theatre (the precursor of the Irish National Theatre) asserted that the new theatre would no longer demean the Irish people in the way that the British theatre had done in the past" (Wilmer, 2009: 79). On the contrary, its commitment to folk and nationalistic drama was part of a project to create a new national literature for Ireland and to promote Irish culture to the world. For this purpose, "Irish nationalist theatre at the beginning of the twentieth century employed historic struggles, folklore myths, and stories of idyllic rural life as a means of showing the distinctiveness of Irish (as opposed to English) culture" (Wilmer, 2009: 79), as exemplified by *Cathleen ni Houlihan* in which the mythical figure of Cathleen calls on young Irish peasants to fight for Ireland against British rule in the 1798 uprising. Expressions of nationalism continue to shape the content of theatrical texts today, just as the theories of such philosophers as Johann von Herder shape nationalist discourses. Exploring the relationship of nationalism, anti-imperialism and postcolonialism with theatre will help us to better understand the ways in which nationalists have utilized performance both to define the nation and to challenge imperialism. Up to now, various artists, scholars and playwrights like Lady Gregory and Halide Edib have staged the nation and have staged national resistances to imperial authority and colonial domination.

Their roles as activists, writers and soldiers who were active in the political, cultural and social settings of their respective countries in the twentieth century define Adıvar's and Augusta's literary and political identities. They are multi-dimensional figures, considering their pioneering roles in the

theatrical world, national wars, the literary world, and national politics. Through her fictional and actual memoirs, Halide Edib shed light on the momentous Turkish War of Independence. Portraying Abdürrezzak as one of her favourite actors from her first encounter with theatre, Halide says "the love and admiration of the people for him aroused Abdülhamid's doubt, and Abdülhamid took him to the palace to distance him from the people. Real despots are always afraid of all kinds of fame, whether it is political or not. He retreated from the stage until the 1908 Revolution" (Adıvar, 2007: 97). Art has great power and influence on the people and "it cannot be dethroned from the public heart. A despot is not a real despot if he is not jealous of every popular talent not exclusively used for his royal pleasure, and permitted to the public only through him [...]. Nero's theatrical caprice was only a despot's natural desire for lasting power" (Adıvar, 1926: 124). From the example of Abdürrezzak, it is evident that theatre had a revolutionary aspect and a very strong influence on pushing people towards a certain social or political target, as can be understood from Abdülhamid's concerns about his authority in the public eye in Halide's period.

Most important of all, Halide was remarkable as the first Muslim Turkish woman to appear on stage under her own identity, as Halide Edib Adıvar (Saban, 2016: 31-32). Nedim Saban, in *Halide Edib Adivar Tiyatrosu*, an adaptation of his Master's thesis on the theatre of Halide Edib, refutes the misconception that Afife Jale was the first Muslim Turkish woman in recent Turkish history to act on the stage, and he notes that a woman called Seniye Hanim (the wife of a comedian, who had to work as an actor because he had lost his fortune) acted on the stage under the name of 'Amelya' with a fake Armenian identity, as noted in the stage memoirs of Ahmet Fehim Bey, who lived between 1856-1930 (Sevengil, 2014). Halide Edib was a dramatic persona in most plays of her period as a national figure as well as being a dramatist, while Lady Gregory mirrors the political conflicts between Ireland and England in her patriotic plays in a symbolic way. No critical research on a comparison of Halide Edib Adıvar and Lady Augusta Gregory has been done. The exploration of their works in terms of cultural nationalism is the most substantial analysis that has been conducted and, with its emphasis on their political struggles and contributions to war history, will provide a crucial background to this book. I will draw on a variety of secondary sources from various research areas to connect the life stories of these female writers with the war history of their period, with their analyses of nationalism, and with the gender issue in their writing styles. By mainly focusing on the roles of women in the national process as anti-imperialists, this book will take a distinctive angle that integrates literary analysis with the study of their cultural reception to provide a better