Introduction

Modernization is a buzz word. The same can be said for concepts such as modern woman and feminist, which refer to gender and many other hot issues of contemporary social sciences. Yet, these are and should be the essential concepts of this study, which aims to focus on one Japanese and one Ottoman-Turkish "modern" woman, namely (Baroness) Ishimoto (Kato) Shidzue[1] (1897-2001) and Selma Ekrem (1902-1986), and their meeting that was made possible as a result of the international Protestant missionary and feminist networks, in which these two women became involved in their own countries.

Therefore, these networks carry this study one step ahead, and force it to put stress on the particular international links of the modern period. This study can even be considered as a study of the interaction between two modern women of Japan and Ottoman-Turkey, and their American friends who paved the way for them in the international scene and played the vital role for their meeting. Thus, it focuses on the paths that carried Selma Ekrem and Ishimoto Shidzue to meet each other in Chicago in 1933. For that reason, it elaborates the feminist, Christian Humanist, socialist and Protestant Evangelist (missionary) networks of the period; and seeks the traces of these two women within such international networks.

These two women were chosen as two remarkable representatives for this comparative study of Japanese and Ottoman-Turkish modernization, because both of them followed more or less the same path, and faced almost the same crises of modernization in the same period in their own modernizing countries. Moreover, they published their autobiographies almost simultaneously (in 1930 and 1935), early in their lives, in the United

[1] In Japan the family name precedes the given name, and we have followed this order throughout this study. However, in the publications of Japanese authors in Western languages the Western sequence with family names last is generally used. That is the reason for the difference in sequences between the main text and the footnotes.

States for an international (to say more correctly, Western) audience. Not surprisingly, the two autobiographies with their common concern to inform the Western readers about the "authentic" life in the countries of their writers, and to make money in the Western book market, belonged to the same genre within the literary market of the period. However, the paths of these two women would differ, particularly after the World War II. Shidzue turned her story into a success story by becoming one of the important female figures and politicians of post-war Japan, whereas Selma stayed in the United States and tried to sell her "Oriental" stories, as she had in the 1930s, in order to survive.

So as to make a clear beginning, this study starts with an introductory chapter that concentrates on the very concept of modernization, its derivatives, and their differing interpretations and applications in different periods and geographies. Apart from discussing those concepts, this first chapter particularly focuses on Japan and the Ottoman Empire of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and compares and contrasts some of the experiences and applications of modernization in these two countries which shaped the lives of the two subjects of this study.

The study mainly concentrates on the biographies of Ishimoto Shidzue and Selma Ekrem in the 1930s. It even started with the idea of concentrating on Ishimoto Shidzue's autobiography *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life*,[2] published in New York in 1935, and Selma Ekrem's *Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl*,[3] published in 1930 in the same city and for the English speaking world, and its international market. Both of these women writers, therefore, tried to act like modern women representatives of their modernizing societies, and at many points did use methods and stories that would appeal to the tastes of their readers.

[2] Baroness Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart Incorporated, 1935).
[3] Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1930). However, the 1931 UK edition of *Unveiled* is used for references in this study. See Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1931).

For that reason, it is possible to say that the main body of the study starts with the second chapter, which is organized to briefly analyze the 1935 autobiography of Ishimoto Shidzue and her modern Japan. This chapter starts with a general discussion of autobiography as a genre, and how to use autobiography for historical studies, a discussion that the introductory chapter lacks: and later focuses on the modern Japan of Ishimoto Shidzue, and her differing identities that can be found in her *Facing Two Ways*.

In the same manner, Chapter Three concentrates on Selma Ekrem's autobiography *Unveiled*, and analyzes her as "a restless modern soul." This chapter is enriched by autoethnography, orientalism and "Ottoman Orientalism" discussions. Furthermore, it is much more extensive in comparison with the analysis of Ishimoto's autobiography in the previous chapter. The reason for that is the possible difference between Ekrem's motives, and future plans, with the ones of Ishimoto. It is possible to say that Selma Ekrem's *Unveiled* is much more a book on an Ottoman Turkish girl's life, while Ishimoto Shidzue's *Facing Two Ways* is a book written by a Japanese woman with a political agenda to inform its Western readers not only about the social but also about the political life in Japan. In this respect Ishimoto's own life story is told in this book between carefully written accounts of political struggles in Japan (particularly accounts of the efforts of modern women of Japan), and the birth control activism which had been led personally by Ishimoto in this country. Thus, it is possible to consider *Unveiled* as the peak of Selma Ekrem's career, while it will be correct to read *Facing Two Ways* as an account that precedes Ishimoto Shidzue's bright career in post-war Japan.

The last chapter of this study is devoted to the analysis of the international feminist networks of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which were at many points amalgamated with the Protestant missionary and even socialist networks of the same period. It is obvious that it was these networks that made the connection between Ekrem and Ishimoto possible. Subsequently, in this chapter, stress is put on the missionary connected education of

Ekrem at the American College for Girls in Istanbul, where she was educated and made her early connections until her graduation in 1922. In the same manner Ishimoto's education, the impact of her Christian Humanist mentors on her, and her relations with missionaries in Japan and her feminist and birth control activist supporters in the United States are also analyzed in this chapter.

In the conclusion of this study, the early paths of these two women, as can be understood from their autobiographies published in the 1930s in English for the Western market, are taken into consideration for the last time, and analyzed with a concentration on these women's "feminist," political, "literary" and later paths, as well as the future paths of their modernizing societies.

Modernization Revisited:

An Introduction to the Concept and Its Interpretations

The second half of the nineteenth-century and early twentieth centuries, at least until the impact of First and Second World Wars, witnessed an internationalism that had never been experienced before on this planet. There is no doubt that this situation had a lot to do with the emergence of maritime empires with their gunboats sailing in different parts of the world, whether to find colonies or to protect the international trade that worked for their own benefits. This was a period when the anxiety of the old traditional empires, and secluded countries of the world, which had began no more than a century earlier reached its apogee. It was this conjuncture that spurred on the modernization efforts of such empires and countries. The Ottoman Empire, as a traditional empire which was both geographically and historically a part of Europe, had been more aware of the situation beforehand, and started its reform, and one can say "modernization" movements, as the recent scholarship argues, in the late eighteenth century. Far Eastern countries, such as Japan, which had been secluded from the outside world since the 1630s, and had conducted only some trade relationships with the Dutch, therefore had an idea about changes in the Western World via some translations made from Dutch by the Rangaku bureau,[4] the first shake up came with the defeat of the Chinese Empire in the Opium Wars by the British fleet defending the "rights" of the British East India Company. The Coming of Commodore Perry in 1853 and 1856 would end the seclusion of Japan. It would also create an obsession for "modernization" to "be a success" (*risshin shusse*), i.e., a great power in the world.

[4] For the Rangaku and its impact on Japanese "modernization", see Marius B. Jansen, "Rangaku and Westernization" *Modern Asian Studies*, 18/4, Special Issue: Edo Culture and Its Modern Legacy, (1984), pp. 541-553.

Therefore, it seems correct to start this study on "modern" experiences, autobiographies and the connections of one Japanese and one Ottoman-Turkish woman, namely Ishimoto (Kato) Shidzue (1897-2001) and Selma Ekrem (1902-1986), with a brief discussion on the very concept of "modernization" and its connotations, interpretations and applications in Ottoman-Turkey and Japan. Most probably, a few -at least within the contemporary social sciences- would object if one says that ambiguous terms such as "modernization", "Westernization", "Europeanization", "civilization", "civilizing process" and "progress" have to be blacklisted and used with extreme care by social scientists for the sake of their studies, and even beyond their disciplines. It is quite certain that a researcher who is interested in the "change" within societies over the last centuries would automatically find her/himself inside a gallery of words mingled with each other, yet with their peculiar motives behind them. Therefore, s/he first has to think about the differences of these words before using them, and try to avoid any generalizations. However, at this point, this advice does not seem very meaningful. It has to be admitted that the ambiguity in that group of words generally blocks the way of the researcher and forces her/him to pass it without touching the core of these close, but differing, words while going for her/his particular goal.

It is easy enough to suggest that the most generic, and encompassing, term within this group is "modernization." But still, this word goes far beyond "Westernization" and "Europeanization"; has to be different from "civilization" (with which it amalgamates to form an arbitrary term "modern civilization" that it already encompasses), and without a doubt ascends on the very word "progress." [5]

[5] Cyril Edwin Black, who was one of the pioneers of –what is sometimes called- modernization studies, basically defines modernization in his classic book *The Dynamics of Modernization* as: "a general term describing the process of rapid change in human affairs since the scientific revolution." Then he underlines that "within the past generation 'modernity' has come to be rather widely employed to describe the characteristics common to countries that are most advanced in technological, political, economic, and social development, and 'modernization' to describe the process by which they acquired these characteristics." He also focuses on the structure and usage of the word saying: "'Modernization' may at first strike one as a tautology but it is no more a tautology than the use of 'Christianization' or 'industrialization' to denote the introduction of Christianity or of industry. The difference is that there is general agreement as to what Christianity and industry mean, whereas

On the other hand, the two geographically defined words "Westernization" and "Europeanization" have been almost completely discarded especially after the reasonably successful promotion of "cultural relativism" by social scientists, and with the growing attitude within the social sciences that criticizes these words for their Eurocentric essences.[6]

However, it is accepted that the term "modernization" also has a Eurocentric motive within which is inclined to show it as a much more European or – using "one side" of the generally accepted and used binary opposition- "Western" innovation. Cyril E. Black and L. Carl Brown even in the last book of their series of modernization studies, *Modernization in the Middle East*, published in 1992, do not see any harm in categorizing modern societies in three groups as "those that underwent predominantly indigenous modernization (Britain and France, their offshoots in the New World)"; "late comers such as the countries of Central Europe and Japan and Russia, where foreign influences played a major role," and finally, "others which were until the end of the nineteenth century particularly resistant to foreign influences."[7] Even under the light of these recent statements it is correct to say that

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'modernity' does not convey a meaning that is as yet widely understood or accepted." Later on, he goes one step ahead, and gets into a comparison of "modernization" with "Westernization" and "Europeanization": "'Modernization' is not the only word used to describe the process. 'Europeanization' and 'Westernization' are employed in this general sense, particularly to describe the impact in recent times of the more advanced countries on the less advanced. Yet this is only a part of the process, although a very important one, and it fails to take into account not only the initial transformation of the advanced countries themselves but also the impact of the less advanced countries on the still less advanced." C. E. Black. *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* (New York, Evanston, London: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 5-6. And with a much more encompassing definition he adds. "'Modernization' may be defined as the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution." Ibid., p. 7.

[6] Here it will be correct to state that even the very word "modernization" is appropriate to that "Eurocentrism" or "Western-value orientation" accusations. For instance, Robert Scalapino points out this Eurocentric motive that has been put behind the concept of modernization, saying it: "envisages a process whereby 'backward' societies move toward predetermined goals in difficult but relatively unambiguous fashion, and follow the Western model"; and he tries to correct the word, laying stress on the importance of realizing it as an "ongoing process, significantly different from era to era, and society to society, despite certain broad common denominators which must be identified and defined with greatest care." R. A. Scalapino. "Environmental and Foreign Contributions: Japan" in R. E. Ward and D. A. Rustow (eds.) *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 64.

[7] Cyril E. Black and L. Carl Brown (eds.) *Modernization in the Middle East: The Ottoman Empire and Its Afro-Asian Successors* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1992), p. 10. Actually Black in one of his previous works categorized what he calls as "the patterns of modernization" into seven. According to this categorization, France and United Kingdom are the only two members of the first pattern, whereas Russia, Japan, China, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Thailand share the fifth pattern. For more, see C. E. Black. *The Dynamics of Modernization,* pp. 89-128.

modernization is accepted mainly as something that came into being for the first time in the "exact West" (i.e., Britain and France) and propagated from there to the rest of the world. Nevertheless, even if we accept this view, there is one very significant element of this process that must not be forgotten at this level. Although some aspects of modernization were seen for the first time in these Western countries,[8] it is still impossible to talk about only one exact modernization model. Actually, it is quite apparent that this process in all different societies created new models fusing with the preconditions and existing traditions of those societies. However, it is almost certain that for the late-comers of this process, -in P. F. Sugar's terms- this process had been much more an "induced" one, and turned out to be mandatory to follow for those societies in order to survive in a world where a disparity of power between societies and regions started to be fundamental. Thus, we rather think, at least at some point, it would not be wrong to refer to this process as some sort of "Westernization," still keeping in mind that it is merely one façade of the whole modernization picture.[9] To sum up, it is possible to say that the modern societies of the modern world have many features –whether they were imported from the "previously modernized" or the results of a gradual transformation over several centuries- in common, whereas they differ in some aspects which make them different

[8] Still it would be wrong to call it "indigenous modernization" as Black and Brown did. Peter F. Sugar in one of his articles on modernization in Turkey prefers to use the very word "economic and political development" instead of economic and political "progress" and even "modernization." He presumably much more correctly divides this concept into two according to its two main versions. He continues saying, it occurred "organically" in some countries, and "induced" in others which later on created their "own organic models." Peter F. Sugar "Economic and Political Modernization: Turkey" in R. E. Ward and D. A. Rustow (eds.) *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey,* pp. 146-149.

[9] Here another trap is to try to completely detach the two terms "modernization" and "Westernization" from each other, and to interpret those different modernization models as completely out of "Western" influence. This is what even some eminent historians of Japan like Donald H. Shively sometimes does: "As the distinction between Westernization and modernization became better understood, there was more concern in some quarters as to how Japan could modernize without losing, under the flood of headlong Westernization, the qualities that were uniquely Japanese." D. H. Shively "Introduction to Part One" D. H. Shively (ed.) *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 3. Hence, sometimes this new Japanism and the Japanization of the Middle Meiji as "nativistic reaction to Japanese 'Westernization' discussions unnecessarily try to discard the concept of Westernization which mostly moves inside the concept of modernization. Therefore, willingly or unwillingly, they ignore the "imported Western patterns" whose fusion with the traditions of that particular society open a path for the particular modern culture of that society to flourish.

(but not alternative) modernity models.[10] And moreover, these models influenced each other in some particular periods and on some occasions.

Defining "Civilization"

Interestingly, one of the most neglected terms of that group is "civilization." Essentially, it is a derivative of the French word *civilité*, which has attained different meanings throughout the modern age in different cultures and societies, and had combined with its equivalents and connotations. It is certain that for understanding the concept of "civilization" one must first turn to Norbert Elias, one of the most prominent social thinkers of the previous century, who worked on what he basically calls "the civilizing process" in comparison with the French, English and German experiences of this process and its complications. Therefore, the best definition of the concept of civilization has to be sought in Elias' book *The Civilizing Process* wherein he starts with an attempt to define this particular concept with the most definite boundaries:

> The concept of 'civilization' refers to a wide variety of facts: to the level of technology, to the type of manners, to the development of scientific knowledge, to religious ideas and customs. It can refer to the type of

[10] At this point it is useful to recall Harry Harootunian and his quite recent critique of "Western" historiography for repressing the modernity of the world outside of, what he calls "Euro-America." According to Harootunian who is immensely inspired by the time conception of Walter Benjamin, what has to be analyzed first is "the givenness of the historical present and how it showed itself as a present." He also emphasizes the unity of the present, and the processes of modernity as occurrences being experienced throughout the world at the same time. Harry Harootunian. *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (*New* York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 4. Harootunian later on continues with underlining how "Euro-American" knowledge production system "has authorized a binary differentiation between West and non-West, negativizing the second term and identifying modernity with a specific geopolitical site." He goes on pointing out that "such distinctions, despite their 'authorizing' epistemology, are culturally specific concepts that have been used to establish and maintain the fiction of the Western unity and to legitimate its 'moral' superiority, often projected as universalistic, and can no longer be taken for granted. Any critique, indeed any historical practice, must now positioned not inside or outside the 'West', since the West can no longer be thought as merely a geographical concept privileged to designate its absent other and to define its negativity. Rather, we now must acknowledge a different arrangement that locates practice immanently within the temporality of a modernity embracing new cultural forms that are developing everywhere that demand to be considered as coexistent equivalents with the 'West'." Ibid., p. 16.

> dwelling or the manner in which men and women live together, to the form of judicial punishment, or to the way in which food is prepared. Strictly speaking, there is almost nothing which cannot be done in a 'civilized' or 'uncivilized' way; hence, it always seems somewhat difficult to summarize in a few words everything that can be described as civilization.
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> But when one examines what the general function of the concept of civilization really is, and what common quality causes all these various human attitudes and activities to be described as civilized, one starts with a very simple discovery: this concept expresses the self consciousness of the West. One could even say: the national consciousness. It sums up everything in which Western society of the last two or three centuries believes itself superior to earlier societies or 'more primitive' contemporary ones. By this term Western Society seeks to describe what constitutes its special character and what it is proud of: the level of *its* technology, the nature of *its* manners, the development of *its* scientific knowledge or view of the world, and much more. [11]

After giving such a general definition of the concept of civilization with reference to its "Western" foundations, Elias gets into an analysis of how this concept attained different meanings within the Western nations and as a result created different motives. He underlines the "universal" claim of the French and English concepts of civilization, and searches out the particularistic interpretation of this idea in Germany. He compares and contrasts German concepts such as *Zivilisation, Kultur*, *Kultiviert*, and concludes that these terms were much more internally centered in Germany, emphasizing the German way of life, manners, technology and the like. They did not have universal claims like the concept of *civilization* or *civilisation* had in England and France.[12] However, on reaching that point, Elias, curiously, at least to some extent, refuses to connect these particular interpretations with the German enlightenment, the so-called *Aufklarung*, and with one of its main drives, German pietism. But still he finds himself examining German court society and middle class intelligentsia relations based on the "late-comer" characteristic of the German nation, as the so-called "late-comer" of the Western modernization or (more pretentiously) civilization.

[11] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* Translated by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p. 3.
[12] For more, see ibid., pp. 3-28.

Later on Elias turns to an examination of court society, points out how this particular social group shaped the modern concept of civilization with the evolutionary character of their life styles and manners within the court. He underlines how even words have been subject to evolution, as in the case of *civilité* (a French word *la civilité*,which is a synonym of *la courtoisie* and translated (or transformed) into English as *civility* and *courtesy*), and indicated that an interpretation and implication of such words historically spread between layers of societies almost in an hierarchical manner. Thus, this kind of life style, conduct, behavior and the like established first within the upper-class of those societies, that means at courts by the court societies, and then passed to the semi-aristocratic and lower bureaucratic families and from there and via them to the pervasive middle classes of particular societies. Therefore, one could easily claim that courtesy used to refer only to the manners of court society at the beginning; however, later on, it started to act on the whole of society, and took the meaning of "good manners, politeness and civility" of the "good" people which had to be learned and applied to the routine of modern daily life.[13]

So this was generally the case for the Western World (certainly for France and England) in where the concept of *civilité* and its derivatives were born, flourished and most significantly universalized. Consequently, one also has to ask about the situation in the "non-West." With Elias' definition, and socio-historical analysis of *The Civilizing Process,* we have already well informed about the "Eurocentric" essence of the concept of the "enlightened and modern" civilization, and the "myth" of living in a "civilized" way in a chivalrous and courteous world.

In this respect, there arises a new question of how these concepts, and the world they praised (both in socio-cultural, economic, technological, and scientific manners), were

[13] For an analysis of –as Elias calls it- "Civilization as a Specific Transformation of Human Behavior", see ibid., pp. 43-178. Also for a comparison of concepts of *Courtoisie, Civilité,* and *Civilisation* in a chronological manner, which according to Elias "mark three stages of a social development", and had taken place of each other within those stages, see ibid., pp. 83-85.

understood in the "non-Western World." Presumably, the foremost answer to this question would come from an "imperialistic" angle. It is almost impossible to deny that the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries have been remembered as a period wherein a great gap of technology between the West and the "Rest" –a terrifying version of the dreadful "East and West" dichotomy- was observed. This period, as it is generally called today was *The Age of Empire* or again, as Hobsbawm calls it, "the golden or rather the iron age of gunboat diplomacy."[14] As a result, this gap in technology and indeed gap in warfare power completely opened the way for a universal claim of Western civilization to justify itself in the international arena. Moreover, this "Eurocentric" claim, together with its new victories in technologically unequal battlefields everyday, started to find supporters for itself within the "non-Western societies." Those people in a short period of time became ardent supporters of Western civilization in their own societies, and advocated a turn to "Western civilization" in their own manners, if for nothing else, for the security of their country against the Western imperial powers.

Here if we take Japan as our example, we should remark that the general endorsement of the Westernization-modernization policy was based on the adoption and utilization of Western civilization to militarily strengthen Japan in the early Meiji years. In this period, according to the Meiji elites, who were depressed and humiliated by the unequal treaties they were forced to sign with the Western imperial powers, "what had to be done was to penetrate the enemies' camp, grasp their weapons of civilization for use against them, and then turn to use them in the national interest."[15] Therefore it is possible to say that Sugar is quite right with his claim that "All recent 'induced' developments –from the time of Peter the Great to that of Nasser, Mao, and Nkrumah- have had as their immediate purpose the attainment of power comparable to that of the Western World. Viewed in this light, all Westernizers are in a manner

[14] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (London: Abacus, 2002), p. 16.
[15] Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 51.

anti-Western: they hope to eliminate all real or imaginary manifestations of Western power from their countries or regions."[16]

But who were these people? How did they interpret the idea of Western civilization, and planned to transfer it into their own societies? Turning back to Elias it would be absolutely right to look for these people inside the upper class *fields* of their own societies. There is little doubt that these people were mainly the courtiers, bureaucrats and intellectuals of their own countries. They mostly, at least to a certain degree, had contact or access to Western civilization, and were aware of its technological superiority in terms of military power. Therefore, they clung to the ideals of Western civilization, promoted the adaptation of Western norms, manners, life styles and such components of this civilization –as well as technological and economic structures to "progress" in such areas in Western terms- in their own societies. Hence, it seems impossible to discard Elias and his theories which emphasize the avant-garde role of the upper classes in the civilizing process (again with its Eurocentric meaning) both in the West and the non-West.[17]

[16] Peter F. Sugar, "Economic and Political Modernization: Turkey" pp. 147-148. Also it is important to realize that how the Westernizer elites of the Meiji Japan saw international relations in a modern world dominated by the Western imperial powers: "Kido had written in 1868 that 'the law of nations is merely a tool for the conquest of the weak,' and a year later Iwakura wrote his colleagues that 'in the final analysis these countries are our enemies. Every foreign country tries to become another country's superior.' Similarly, Fukuzawa Yukichi would write in 1878 that 'a handful of Treaties of Friendship are not worth a basket of Ammunition'." Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and Its World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 60. This interpretation also gives a hint about how the path to capture modernization and modern state as imperialism and empire in Japan had been opened. Also for a recent study on Western challenge and particular responses it had in that period, see Philip D. Curtin, *The World and the West: The European Challenge and the Overseas Response in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[17] For a study which includes an analysis of the avant-garde role of the Japanese nobility in this process, see Takie Sugiyama Lebra, *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Modern Japanese Nobility* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). It is almost impossible not to think that such a study which also includes an analysis of the reproduction of the Ottoman upper-class families, and their continuity and discontinuity with the Republic would be very useful for Ottoman historiography.

An Approach for Showing "Modern and Civilized Manners:"

Civilization via Dancing in Japan and the Ottoman Empire

From this point, it is possible to take a very brief look at how the concept of civilization was interpreted in Japan and the Ottoman Empire of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Still following Elias, it is possible to identify the supporters of Westernization from the upper-classes of these two societies. Hence the etiquette, *reishiki (reigi)* and *adab-ı muaşeret* books of Japan and the Ottoman Empire seem as some of the best examples to interpret the endeavors of the "national" elite to *civilize* their societies in both of these countries. Actually, these books are also contradictory. In the Ottoman case, there were almost two different approaches for the accepted *adab-ı muaşeret kuralları.* One of those approaches was much more based on criticizing what could be called as over-Westernization and the loss of traditional values in Ottoman society, again with reference to the West. But this time it praised the conservative side of the West instead of the "liberal" West.[18] At the same time, the other approach was much more open to Western "modern" ideals, and generally preferred to outline a list of the components of the "Western" "modern" etiquette –however, still with an emphasis in parallel that modern life did not mean "totally independent life."[19] And for the *Reishiki* books, the main quality that has to be emphasized is their dualistic approach to what could be called modern Japanese etiquette. According to these books the modern Japanese person had to be pure Japanese in her/his domestic life, but also had to be a perfect "modern" individual in the public sphere, especially when s/he was with foreigners.[20]

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[18] As a classical example, see Ahmed Mithad Efendi, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşereti yahut Alafranga* (Istanbul, 1312-1894).

[19] For some examples, see Lütfi Simavi, *Teşrifat ve Adab-ı Muaşeret* (İstanbul, 1334 -1918 / 2nd ed.), Saffeti Ziya, *Adab-ı Muaşeret Hasbihalleri* (Ankara, 1927).

[20] Very interesting anecdotes about this duality of the modern Japanese etiquette can be found in the letters of Tsuda Ume who had been sent to United States in 1871 when she was only seven years old by the Meiji government to be educated like an American girl. According to the governmental plan Tsuda –like many other Japanese students sent abroad- was supposed to be educated as a Westerner –one can say, to gain a Western mind- and later on to return to Japan to educate Japanese youth with her Westerner mind. However, when Tsuda

Magazines that were published to promote Westernization and to educate ("cultivate?") people in terms of Western civilization are also other great sources. In this respect, an analysis of journals like *Terakki* and *Meiroku Zasshi* or *Hochi Schimbun* of the Ottoman Empire and Japan of almost the same periods can be examined in a comparative sense. But this must wait for another time. For the moment, some stress can be put on the similarities of the "slogans" such as *bummei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment) of Japan, and *terakki* and *muasır medeniyet* (progress and modern civilization) of Ottoman-Turkey. It seems possible to use the term "slogan" to refer to these words. *Bummei kaika* is indubitably accepted as a slogan or even as a policy of the Meiji Government within the Japanese historiography.[21] *Terakki and muasır medeniyet* also can be considered as slogans and policies in the Ottoman case. *Terrakki* was even employed as the name of a political party, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, which came to power with the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, and ruled the empire until the end of World War I. Still the differences between the Japanese and Ottoman cases both in terms of the connotations of these concepts and their applications is striking, thus it is not correct to try to analyze both in the some pot.

At this point, it is also possible to focus on the role of dancing to display how radically at some point Western civilization was understood in Japan and the Ottoman Empire, two "non-Western" societies with old traditions of secluding women from the public sphere. (But

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returned to Japan after spending eleven years in Georgetown, Washington D.C. what probably made her so much Western minded -she had almost completely forgotten her native language-, in spite of her "missionary" role she was still expected to be purely Japanese in her private life with the Japanese. For more, see Yoshiko Furuki, et al. (eds.) *The Attic Letters: Ume Tsuda's Correspondence to Her American Mother* (New York, Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1991), pp. 14-19. And for a comparison of Ottoman and Japanese "modern" etiquette of the period, see Selçuk Esenbel, "The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks During the Nineteenth Century" *Japan Review*, no. 5, (1994), pp. 145-185.

[21] For an original definition *bummei kaika* by a "provident" member of *Meirokusha*, see Nishimura Shigeki, "An Explanation of Twelve Words, Part One" *Meiroku Zasshi* (Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment), Issue. 36 (May 1875) Translated and reprinted by: W.R. Braisted (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1976), pp. 446-449. For an analysis including other "slogans" of the period such as *fukoku kyohei* and *shokusan kogyo,* see Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 18, 24. And as an imperial policy, see Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 220. About how it had been flourished after the Iwakura Mision see, Eugene Soviak, "On the Nature of Western Progress: The Journal of the Iwakura Embassy" in D. H. Shively (ed.) *Tradition and Modernity*, pp. 32-34.

here, in order to make our terminology clear, we must declare that as the West, we are mainly implying England and France. We are completely against the artificial West / non-West dichotomy as we have obsessively tried to imply until now. Beyond that, we believe that even if one thinks in terms of this Eurocentric dichotomy, one should not be that assured while situating the Ottoman Empire in one of these groups with its history, geography and culture[22]).

There is no doubt that Western style dancing –particularly the waltz- is one of the components of Western civilization. If you want to adapt Western civilization with its all aspects into your own life, then it becomes mandatory for you to learn how to dance and attend Western style balls. Here, we think the curious thing is the way that you interpret dancing. Is it an aspect, component, or vision of Western civilization? Do you want to go that far while modernizing "Westernizing?" your society; or do you only want to adapt the scientific and technological aspects of the West into your life? Is it possible to take only such aspects, without changing your culture, life style, manners, and world visions?

In the early Meiji Era, as a result of the endeavor to revise the unequal treaties that Japan had to sign after the arrival of Commodore Perry, an acceptance of Western civilization without any reservations –for modernizing the country to compete with Western imperial powers- was deemed as the best path to follow. (In some instances in the Ottoman case which still looks much more evolutionary in comparison with the revolutionary character of the early Meiji reforms) However, this point of view lost its popularity in the middle of the Meiji reign and was replaced (at least within the mainstream) with a criticism of declining Japanese morality and a new Japanization discourse. *Rokumeikan*, a two-story brick building in an Italianate style, which had rooms for card playing and billiard inside, and where balls and dancing nights for the Japanese upper-class (for both men and women) were organized every Sunday, starting in the summer of 1884, were the very target of the critics of over-

[22] For a study which inclines to see Ottoman history inside European history, see Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Westernization in Japan. In a short-period of time, *Rokumeikan*, in where Japanese aristocratic women had danced with, and beside, Western visitors for the sake of their country, actually to show those Westerners how much Japanese society had been civilized via dancing, their gloves and their décolletage together with the hope that they could make a revision of unequal treaties possible, started to be seen as a symbol of losing self-spirit and traditions in Japanese society.[23]

This is what even a liberal man like Ozaki Yukio writes in his autobiography about this period, and also about the aim and the consequences of dancing at balls at the *Rokumeikan*:

> Now, what is dancing? It is nothing more than a Western *bon odori*. While prohibiting our traditional *bon odori* as vulgar and unrefined, these people had no shame in enjoying Western *bon odori*. As if they imagined that dancing would solve the problem of the Unequal Treaties, the dignified Yamagata and Saigo, the self-proclaimed country gentleman, danced the night away in fancy costume. This was not just ridiculous but pathetic.[24]

This ball room phenomenon marked the years between its establishment in 1884 to the early 1890s, and this period is called *the Rokumeikan Era* in Japanese history. The Ottomans were not that active in organizing Western balls for Westerners as a result of the complete segregation of the sexes in Islam. However, Ottoman upper class men obviously saw dancing with Western women at such balls in the same manner as the Japanese.[25] The similar usage of

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[23] An interesting account for this craze of dancing for Japan can be found in Meech-Pekarik's book *The World of the Meiji Print* where Pekarik analyzes this topic with quotations from magazines and written memoirs of the period. She even does not pass without putting Pierre Loti's impressions of Japanese balls, and Japanese comments about the scandalous masquerade ball hosted by Count Ito in 1887. For more, see Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New* Civilization (New York, Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1987), pp. 144-157. Also see Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, pp. 389-395; Selçuk Esenbel, "The Anguish of Civilized Behavior," pp. 159-160; Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City, Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake: How Shogun's Ancient Capital Became a Great Modern City, 1867-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 97-100, 104.

[24] Ozaki Yukio, *The Autobiography of Ozaki Yukio*, Trans. by: Fujiko Hara, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 88. For traditional Japanese dances like *bon odori*, and also for the illusion and disillusion of the Japanese about Western dances, see Basil Hall Chamberlain's classical reference book, *Things Japanese* (London: John Murray, 1905), pp. 112-113, 438, 462-464. And for waltzing as a "fashionable craze," see ibid., p. 158.

[25] See Baykara who declares (with references to the accounts Western observers of 1827 and 1830) that the echoes of "civilization" between the Turks in this period "as drinking alcoholic beverages, openly gambling, and dancing with women." Tuncer Baykara, "Değişme ve Medeniyet açısından XIX. Asırda Osmanlı Yöneticilerinin Aile Yapısı" in *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi* (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayınları, No. 71, Cilt I, 1992,) p. 203. Also see *Adab-ı Muaşeret* books of the period which give information about such manners.

Western balls and dancing as an indicator of civilization in the Turkish case would later be seen with the Republican era balls and the way they were interpreted in the Western press of the period.

Still one has to think about historical periods with their own structures and auras. It is always possible to sense some sort of anachronism while reading lately written accounts which criticize people of that "induced development"[26] period for interpreting modernity as dancing, balls, and Western garb and hats.[27] We even consider such aphorisms not only as anachronisms but also as exaggerations. Those people of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presumably had hoped to grasp Western civilization in all of its aspects (possibly with its technology, economics, science and culture and even more). It is also important to remember that this period was mainly the time when the belief in social Darwinism had reached its apogee, and consequently Westerners colonized the rest of the world with the justification, and even beyond with the total belief that they were going to bring civilization to "primitives." Therefore, the "early struggle" of the "non-Westerners" to become "Westernized" in their all aspects has to be analyzed with a point of view which also includes that aspect.

It is also necessary to remember that those were the times of Queen Victoria, and the London, Paris and Vienna seasons of the Victorian, Faubourg Saint-Germain and Viennese societies. They were times when dancing skills, gloves and wittiness were worshipped at the core of the "Western civilization." Hence, it is not hard to understand why rulers and intellectuals of the "non-West" at any rate obsessed about dancing or other aspects of the material culture of "Western civilization." Nevertheless, it is also not difficult to grasp the motives that made dancing and these kind components of "Western civilization" vulnerable in

[26] For Peter F. Sugar and his "organic" and "induced" development idea, see footnote 8.
[27] Baykara's article is a good example of this attitude. However, here it is necessary to remind that original, first account, over-Westernization critiques of the period which generally had political and other implications behind cannot be analyzed inside this category of recent critiques.

"non-Western societies," such as Japan and the Ottoman Empire. As we have already emphasized, these societies had their own traditions such as strict division between the sexes, and seclusion of women from the public sphere. Thus, "Western civilization" in its some aspects was completely alien to them, and they most likely needed centuries to digest those new cultural codes within their daily lives. To give a good example about the cultural shock that social dancing created in the heads of the members of the first Tokugawa mission to the United States, we can quote what one of the members of this group noted in his diary in 1860: "It was, of course, with no small wonder that we witnessed this extraordinary sight of men and bare shouldered women hopping around the floor, arm in arm, and our wonder at the strange performance became so great that we began to doubt if we were not on another planet."[28]

It was this modernizing environment into which the two subject of this study, Ishimoto Shidzue and Selma Ekrem were born. Their lives were marked by the crises of modernization they faced in their modernizing societies. Both Ishimoto and Ekrem came from upper-class families, had proper Western educations and became militants of the new ways in their own countries. Both can be considered as radical and avant-garde members of their societies. Moreover, they even had international reputations that they had achieved by playing the role of "modern women representatives" of their modernizing societies. That is the reason why this study begins with putting such a stress on the very concept of modernization, its derivatives, and the experiences of the upper classes of Japanese and Ottoman-Turkish society in this process. And that is why it will try to capture the inner voices of these two subjects at the micro level, first by focusing on Ishimoto Shidzue's and then Selma Ekrem's autobiographies in the following chapters.

[28] "*The First Japanese Embassy to the United States of America,* Tokyo: American Japan Society, 1920, p. 43"quotated in Haru Matsukata Reischauer, *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 99.

An Autobiography of a Japanese Feminist for Westerners:

A Brief Analysis of Ishimoto Shidzue's *Facing Two Ways* and Her Modern Japan

It is certain that autobiography has been a major interest within the social sciences over the last decades. The dispute over it, one can say, has been much more between literary and cultural theorists and indeed historians. Some of those social scientists trace autobiography back to St. Augustine and his *Confessions*, and accept it as an aspect of Western Christian civilization,[29] while others draw attention to the different forms of the genre that can be found in different periods and in different parts of the world. According to them, even ancient tombstones have to be accepted as some sort of autobiography revealing very simple aspects of the life stories of the people whose remains they mark.

This discussion has started to attract much more interest from different disciplines and is becoming more complicated day by day. Still, without a doubt, Wilhelm Dilthey must be cited as "the father" of this awareness; and using Laura Marcus' words, ascertain that he "has been seen not only as the founder of a scholarly approach to autobiography, but as the progenitor of the idea that 'autobiography occupied a central place as *the* key to understanding the curve of history, every sort of cultural manifestation, and the very shape and essence of human culture itself.'"[30] After that, it is necessary to quote Dilthey, who emphasizes the importance of autobiography, saying "autobiography is the highest and most instructive form in which the understanding of life confronts us. Here is the outward,

[29] See Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography" in James Olney (ed.) *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 29-30. Also for Autobiography as "an essentially European form," see Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 180. And for a recent discussion of the topic, see Laura Marcus. *Auto/biographical Discourses: Criticism, Theory, Practice* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp.1-3, 33, 43, 155-156, 163-164, 183.

[30] Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses.* p. 137.

phenomenal course of a life which forms the basis for understanding what has produced it within certain environment."[31]

In this chapter, keeping all these discussions on our agenda, focus will be directed first at Baroness Ishimoto Shidzue's 1935 autobiography, *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life*.[32] Before getting into this analysis, however, a brief discussion of some of the main points of those autobiographical discussions is in order.

For such an attempt, first of all, some stress must be put on the very "subjectivity" of the narrator of an autobiography and his/her own truths. The second point to be emphasized is the "temporality" of his/her life, and of course his/her memory upon which the autobiography is built. Subjectivity has actually been a major topic for the theorists of autobiography from the very beginning. Positivist historians –even prior to the impact of theoretical thinking on autobiography- have accepted autobiographies, indeed because of their subjective bases, as unverifiable and unreliable records; and reject them as sources of history writing. The subjectivity discussions concerning autobiographical discourse, however, became much more significant and complex in the same period as when positivist historiography found itself in a crisis of historicism based on the subjective identity of the historian while writing historical "facts."[33]

The second great wave in this field came with the flourish of first "existentionalist" and then "post-structuralist" critique within the social sciences in the second half of the twentieth century. These new approaches extended and deepened the dispute over subjectivity, and inevitably brought out new perspectives for its interpretation, or "de-interpretation." At this point literary scholars even tried to "save" autobiography from the

[31] Wilhelm Dilthey, *Pattern and Meaning in History: Thoughts on History and Society,* edited by H. P. Rickman. (New York: Harper & Row. 1962), pp. 85-86.
[32] Baroness Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life*.
[33] For the crisis of historicism and autobiography as products of the same epistemological shift, see Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses*, p. 202. Also see Paul Jay, *Being in the Text: Self-Representation from Wordsworth to Roland Barthes* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1984).

hands of historical studies, celebrating it as a "literary form" which performs "the magical act of mediating the antithesis between fiction and reality."[34] Today, as the last step of this discussion, especially after the rise of deconstructive criticism, we mainly can talk about two different types of approach to autobiography. One of them is much more following the "continental theory" in reasserting the "essential irreducibility of subjectivity and the absolute value of subjectivism", and the other one is completely "deconstructivist" and "use(s) autobiography as an exemplary instance of the impossibility of self-presence, the radical split between the self that writes and the self that is written, and the crucial role of language in the constitution of the subject."[35]

Trying to stand away as far as possible from a deconstructive stance in this study, still some stress must be put on the relation and the split between the self that writes and the self that is written. And for that we must first elucidate the structure and more specifically the "I"s that create the basis of autobiographies. Recent literature on *the* "I" of autobiography emphasizes the essentiality of other unknown "I"s in an autobiography sometimes in parallel and sometimes in opposition with the flesh and blood "I" of it. Among these unknown "I"s which may constitute the flesh and blood "I" of the autobiography, it is important to keep in mind the narrating "I", the narrated "I", the ideological "I" and the like varying according to different cases.[36] One even can claim that what composes an autobiographical narrative is much more the "dynamic" relation between those "I"s of its "owner." Therefore an analysis of the tensions between those "I"s, their distance, closeness and difference have to be situated at the very core of a study over a particular autobiography.

[34] Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses*, p. 202. It is important to recall that many social scientists claim that the same can be said for history as well.
[35] Ibid., p. 183.
[36] For an analysis of those "I"s; and how to read autobiography with following them, see Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

Here also the notion of experience and the role of memory must be recalled. It is well known that memory depends on temporary acts like remembering, forgetting, interpreting, re-interpreting and the like. However, when an autobiography has been written the very temporary memory of its narrator becomes fixed and "materialized." Going one step ahead, many theorists even assert that it is nothing but the remembrance of self experiences that creates "selves" and "identities," and therefore life stories and autobiographies.[37]

From this point,without getting much more into the dispute over the genre of autobiography and its components, we will turn into an analysis of one particular autobiography, namely *Facing Two Ways* by Ishimoto Shidzue; and focus on Ishimoto Shidzue's "I"s and "identities" as a Japanese upper-class girl, and later as an avant-garde feminist and birth control activist in prewar Japan.

Ishimoto Shidzue and Her "Modern" Japan

Helen Hopper, the only biographer of Ishimoto Shidzue, declares in her study that it was the famous American historian and feminist Mary Ritter Beard who encouraged Ishimoto Shidzue to write her life story in New York in the early 1930s. According to her, Beard, who had spent much of her life writing and speaking on women's historical roles and devising a world-encompassing theory on that subject, asked her Japanese guest to write her life story to show how Japanese women fit into her scheme. Hopper writes, "Shidzue demurred at first, she soon saw it as an opportunity to expose the family system that had exploited her and all

[37] For a recent interesting study which analyzes making of selves, with using both literary, philosophical and psychological methods, see Paul John Eakin, *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1999). Analysis of "identity-identities" is also one of the main points of autobiographical studies. Identities in an autobiography have to be considered as very fragile entities. They are directly related with the "I"s of an autobiography; shaped in provisional, contextual, conflictual, dialogical, multiple fashions and change according to situations. For more see Sidonie Smith & Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives.* Also for a study of my own which focuses on a particular autobiography with references to the discussions over its genre, see Kutluğhan Soyubol, "Mevhibe Celalettin, Bir Osmanlı 'Prensesi,' Bir Türk 'Vatanperveri'" *Journal of Turkish Studies* (Şinasi Tekin Memorial), forthcoming.

women, and the lordly manner of the Japanese husbands. It could be both a personal history and a handbook for securing women's rights. She would do it."[38]

At this point, before getting much more into the autobiography of Shidzue two very important issues that would situate this autobiography inside a specific period of time and occurrences within Japanese and also feminist history must be discussed.

Ishimoto Sihidzue was born in 1897 in the late Meiji era (1868-1912) into a wealthy former samurai family in Tokyo. She was fifteen when Emperor Meiji passed away. Later she entered her adult life in the Taisho era (1912-1926) and became a central figure of the Japanese feminist and particularly birth-control movement in the Showa era (1926-1989). After the surrender of Japan at the end of World War II, she was among the first women to be elected to the Japanese diet. Yet despite of her avant-garde stance within Japanese women's history, she has to be analyzed as a "modern individual" of her country; and her life story, together with its parallel and conflicting directions, has to be interpreted with a focus on the history of the Japan of that particular period.

It is well known that the Meiji era started with the Meiji Restoration of 1868, and was a period which devoted itself to what was called *Bummei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment). This guiding principle was much more a result of the new world scene with its emerging maritime empires, which eventually had forced Tokugawa Japan to abandon its seclusion policy and to open its ports to international trade. Japan had been forced by these powers to sign unequal treaties; consequently the main goal of the country developed into a mania for reaching the "civilized and enlightened" level of the Western powers (and "be a success," *risshin shusse*) in order to revise the unequal treaties that Japan had been forced to sign.

[38] Helen M. Hopper, *Kato Shidzue: A Japanese Feminist* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2004), p. 50; and *A New Woman of Japan: A Political Biography of Kato Shidzue* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 53-55. Mary Ritter Beard also edited Shidzue's autobiography before its publication in 1935.

Therefore the Meiji elites in this period introduced a set of radical reforms to modernize their country vis-à-vis the Western powers. Actually their interpretation of modernization was diverse; it changed from one person to another, and one can say was much more based on uncertainty about Western civilization and how to adapt it to Japanese society. As a result, they pursued their campaign in different aspects of Western civilization varying from following Western clothing fashions and organizing parties in the Western style, to adapting Western laws, science and technology. Yet for the topic of this particular study the radical reforms that were realized in the field of education were among the most important changes of this period. The reformers of the early Meiji period particularly understood the importance of modern education to create a modern country. Thus, they first decided to send Japanese students to the West, and later to establish modern education centers within their country which would later be directed by the Japanese students who had been sent to the West to learn Western civilization and science –in other words, to gain Western minds. Hence between 1868 and 1902, 11,248 passports were issued in Japan for study overseas, a figure, according to Marius Jansen, that indicates the first great student migration of modern times.[39]

Mori Arinori's educational reforms, the newly established imperial universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, Fukuzawa Yukichi's books and the private school *Keio* and its rival Okuma Shigenobu's *Waseda*, represented the fundamentals of the educational field of Japan in this period.[40] Also the studies of *Meirokusha*, translations of Western books and missionary activities and schools probably should to be added to that list of change within the educational field.[41]

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[39] Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and Its World: Two Centuries of Change*, p. 65.

[40] Tsuda College and its founder Tsuda Ume (later Umeko) also has to be remembered among the fundamental names of reform in women's education in this period. Even Ishimoto Shidzue talks about Tsuda Ume; how she had been sent to United States to be educated there and established "the famous Tsuda College in Japan." See Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways.* p. 362.

[41] For more about educational reforms in this period, see Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 402-411, 460-463; Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852-1912*, pp. 323-330; Mark E. Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis and*

The Japanese students who were sent to West by their government to be educated in Western educational institutions later on became the first generation of "modernizing" Japan. Many of them became the leaders and important names of the Meiji period. They were the ones that shaped the Japanese master plan for the future of the country. They were the first fruits of the Japanese modernization program. Still it has to be underlined that they were much more like Japanese seeds cultivated in the West. But one generation later, Japan with its new vision and Western educated elite directing both government and newly established educational institutions, was ready to cultivate its own seeds within its borders. As a result, in the first decades of the twentieth century the tide of student migration would change its direction, and Japan would become the educational center of the Far East, attracting thousands of Chinese and other Asian students.

This was the real blooming phase of Japanese modernization and its fruits were yet delightful and beneficial. Japan throughout the Meiji era completely modernized its judicial system, revised the unequal treaties it had had to sign previously and even became a part of the great powers. Intellectually it was at a level where different political and cultural views could co-exist at least to some extent without giving much harm to each other. The parliament was working and elections were conducted.

In 1912 when Emperor Meiji passed away, the country was shrouded in black. He left behind a kind of modernized Japan with an oligarchic rule and a master plan for the future of Japan as a "modern empire." Still the Meiji legacy was open to dispute at some points. Liberals like Ishibashi Tanzan were much more in favor of remembering the implementation of democratic reform in all political, legal, and social systems and thought, as the greatest enterprise of the Meiji era, rather that the advance of imperialism.[42]

Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995). Also for the "enlightening" journal of *Meirokusha*, see *Meiroku Zasshi (Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment)*.

[42] Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), p. 29.

Without getting more into the Taisho political crisis about the priorities of the Meiji legacy,[43] the democratic character of this period must be noted and that the very roots of the characteristic features that would emerge later in postwar Japan had been established. The Taisho era that followed was a period in Japanese history that was blocked by its predecessor the Meiji era and its successor, the early militarist Showa era and World War II. Therefore this period, despite its importance in Modern Japanese history, is generally overlooked. Actually this was the period when the democracy established within the Meiji era reached a second level; for the first time the genuine Japanese fruits of modernization started to be collected. To understand this period more clearly, first of all, we have to recall the significant role of World War I in the shaping of it and its Japan. Japan not being actively involved in this war, still took the side of the victorious allies, providing them with technical support and manufactured goods according to their wartime demands. Thus, it is possible to say that this war was an opportunity for the Japanese economy, and indeed modernization. And Japan had gained a lot as a result of these wartime politics and structures.

After the victory of the Allied Powers in 1918, democracy, the self-determination of nations and pacifism became the popular ideas that were spread all around the world by those powers. There is no doubt that it took a very little time for this recently stressed, victorious world vision to reach Japan. Another great idea and world vision also came to Japan almost in the same period, this time from a neighbor, the former Tsarist Empire, the new Socialist Republic. Not surprisingly, the Bolshevik Revolution and its radical leftist ideas, became in a

[43] Following Dickinson's analysis we can say that on the one side of this crisis "stood the Yamagata faction and its vision of progressively expanding empire supported by great investment in arms (particularly the army) and a hegemonic military and bureaucratic elite (the Yamagata faction itself). On the other side was poised a disparate group consisting of the enemies of oligarchic rule, members, particularly, of Japan's rapidly rising political parties, who pictured greater civilian uses for the national budget and envisioned an age when party cabinets would be the principal locus of decision making." Ibid., p. 32.

short period of time popular among the university students and intellectual circles of Taisho Japan.[44]

However this change was not restricted to the political scene and new ideas also rapidly invaded social and cultural realms. This period actually was the period when Japanese urban society encountered the emergence of mass or popular culture in Japan, as a result of further advances in public transportation, communication, higher education, publishing, and journalism. It was nothing else but these developments which "contributed to the widening of opportunities, especially for middle-class urban dwellers, to participate in a new kind of up-to-date 'cultural life'"[45] Also a new kind of modernism, still following the path of civilization and enlightenment policies of the Meiji era, but this time reaching more Japanese people from different classes and "engendering in them a more cosmopolitan outlook and a stronger sense of internationalism than they had ever had before"[46] started to be seen. The "new woman" (*atarashii onna*), her successor the "modern girl" (*moga*)[47] and her partner the "modern boy" (*mobo*) with their fashionable Western clothes and ideas became the symbols of this period.

But indeed there was, however, discontent with this new age and its modernism within Japanese society. The old discourse about the superiority of Eastern and particularly Japanese morality was still in use. Hence, the decline of this morality, as a result of this "second wave of modernization" (the first wave had been observed after the "opening" of Japan with the arrival of Commodore Perry and the Meiji Restoration of 1868) had been the main targets of

[44] Ishimoto Shidzue even wrote an interesting chapter about it, entitled "The Influence of the Russian Revolution in Japan." Shidzué Ishimoto. *Facing Two Ways.* pp. 167-173.
[45] Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), p. 286. Also see Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan.* pp. 548-555, 568-575; and Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City.*
[46] Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p. 287.
[47] *Moga* generally considered to be the successor of the *atarashii onna* (New Woman). Still *moga* considered to be less intellectual and indeed less political in comparison with its predecessor, *atarashii onna.* "The Modern Girl's crime, in other words, was a culturally colored crime. Thus, a father in the 1920s could beg his leftist son to become a Modern Boy or even a Modern Girl as long as he did not 'go red.'" Yet she was "an emblem for threats to tradition, just as the Good Wife and Wise Mother had stood for its endurance: To talk about the Modern Girl was to talk about Modernity." For more, see Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant" in G.L. Bernstein (ed.) *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 239-266.

harsh criticism in this period. Consequently, it is possible to say that the main question of the period was how far Japan would or should go in this process of modernization.[48] Actually this question was neither new nor peculiar to that period. It is clear that it had flourished with the "opening" of Japan and it would not disappear even after the Taisho era, or World War II.

Therefore, thinking in terms of this particular period of Japanese modernization, one can easily argue that Shidzue was much more a "modern product" of this world and its trends. To use the exact definition s/he would add that she was an *atarashii onna*, a new woman of Japan. This new woman concept (or label) gained currency in Japan in 1910s, and was based on a reference to the "new woman" image in Western literature and theatre, particularly to Ibsen's Nora, Sudermann's Magda, and Shaw's Vivie. Hiratsuka Raicho, the founder of the legendary women's literary journal, *Seito* (Bluestocking), which was established in 1911, put more stress on the word with her poem, which starts with the verse "I am a New Woman. I am the Sun!" In January 1912, *Seito* ran a special edition devoted to the discussion of Ibsen's play, *A Doll's House*, and its so-called "new woman" heroine, Nora. And subsequently, these women became the (generally misread) symbols and representatives of the "new woman" of Japan.[49] There is no doubt that a few years later Shidzue was considered a "New Woman" as well. That was how she was labeled in the Japanese press of the period, particularly after her return from the United States and Europe in 1920. Shidzue and her husband after their return became newsworthy, and their "exotic" travels were the focus of interest especially within their circle of friends. Baron Keikichi even wrote some articles for a newspaper about their

[48] Elise K. Tipton, "Ishimoto Shizue: the Margaret Sanger of Japan" *Women's History Review* 6, no. 3 (1997), p. 338.

[49] Apart from Hiratsuka Raicho, *Seito* women include names such as Fukuda Hideko, Yosano Akiko, Tamura Toshiko, Yasumochi Yoshiko, Nakano Hatsuko, Osugi Sakae, Yamakawa Kikue and Ito Noe. For more on the Bluestockings and *Seito,* see Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in the Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), pp. 163-188. For new women and *Seito*, see ibid., pp. 173-179; Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 45-72. And for the "Taisho debate over the 'New Woman'" between four writers of *Seito*, namely Yosano Akiko, Hiratsuka Raicho, Yamakawa Kikue, and Yamada Waka, see Laurel Rasplica Rodd, "Yosano Akiko and the Debate over the 'New Woman'" in G.L. Bernstein (ed.) *Recreating Japanese Women*, pp. 175-198.

exotic experiences. Shidzue was also acquainted with several members of *Seito* such as Hiratsuka Raicho, Yosano Akiko, and Yamakawa Kikue.[50]

Nevertheless, it is still important to keep in mind that she was a young woman of that period, who had taken feminist ideas and particularly birth control activism from among the international ideas and manifestos that had been flowing inside the urban culture of interwar Japan.[51] Yet it would also be correct to call her first husband Baron Ishimoto Keikichi a new man. Even Shidzue in many parts of her memoirs "blames" her husband for pushing her to become "modern," or one step ahead, a "self-supporting women."[52] It can be maintained that Shidzue as a girl of an upper class Tokyoite family, and a graduate of the Peeresses' School, had an education and life standard that had opened her way for becoming a "new woman." But would she become the person she was without the mentorship of her husband, her Uncle Yusuke, their tutor Nitobe Inazo or other such people; her early travels to the United States (where in order to become a "self-supporting" woman, she graduated from the secretarial course of The Ballard School in New York) and Europe between 1919 and 1920? Answering such a question with a big "no" would of course be nothing more than speculating, yet at many points it is hard to resist.

[50] See Helen M. Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan*, pp. 18-19; *Kato Shidzue*. p. 18.
[51] Actually feminist ideas had reached Japan earlier, and one can recall many active Japanese feminist women of the Meiji period such as Fukuda Hideko, Hatoyama Haruko, Kanno Suga, Kishida Toshiko and the like. For more, see Sharon L. Sievers. *Flowers in the Salt.* Also for a general comparative framework, see Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London, New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1986), pp. 226-253.
[52] See Baroness Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*. pp. 174-185. Baron Ishimoto who was in the United States in 1919 wrote to his wife, inviting her to join him if she would wish to "educate" herself: "Don't come abroad if you seek pleasure and new fashions in clothes or are planning to spend your time only at the theatres or motoring like other 'bourgeoises mesdames'. Come to me if you will educate yourself, to feed yourself with knowledge of the world, to prepare yourself to swim abreast the world's new tide." Ibid., pp. 171-172.

Ishimoto Shidzue and Her *Facing Two Ways*

Ishimoto Shidzue with her autobiography *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life* appeared to her readers not only as a distinctively modern Japanese woman, but also with a bulk of identities that sometimes went in parallel and sometimes contradicted her "modern militant" tone. Still three of those identities can be cited as the most significant and striking. First of all, it must be remembered that Shidzue wrote this autobiography in English in 1935 for a Western audience. The book even had to wait for fifty years to be translated into Japanese, probably as a result of its radical stance against feudal Japanese (Bushido) traditions.[53] Therefore to reach the very essence of this narrative, one has to concentrate on the dialectical relationship between the Oriental writer (Ishimoto Shidzue) and her Western audience.

It is quite apparent that "non-Western" writers, who wrote in English or French for Western readers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, shared a common approach on many points. First, they automatically become the representatives of their societies and cultures, and this forced them to act and write according to these roles which were shaped for them within the Western "Orientalist" market. Hence they had to play their parts within this Orientalist environment, use its terminology and methods of displaying "the Orient." Yet they did have a small chance to correct some mistakes and misinterpretations or stand against some small prejudices and stereotypes of this field, which they usually did. However, at the very end they had to correspond with the general tendency of the field; even talk about the

[53] For a classical study on *Bushido*, see Inazo Nitobé, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (New York, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905). And for *Bushido* and "The Training and Position of Women," see ibid., pp. 138-157. Actually both Baron Ishimoto Keikichi and Tsurumi Yusuke (Shidzue's uncle) were disciples of Nitobe Inazo. Shidzue joined them later. She remembers him many times in her autobiography with full respect and admiration: "Another person who colored my thinking was Dr. Nitobe, well-known in the Western world as an interpreter of Bushido…. Dr. Nitobe was a big man to me, as he was to uncle Yusuke. Motionless I watched him talking to these men about Goethe, Wordsworth and Tennyson…. I read books given to me by Dr. Nitobe. Among them were two big volumes called *Character Building* and *Path in Life*. I read them over and over like a Christian girl reading her Bible. Thus I was baptized by the spirit of humanism. Uncle Yusuke was my mentor: Dr. Nitobe was my reverend minister." Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*, pp. 94-97.

traditions of their own society in accordance with Western thinking and approach, and even not hesitate to exaggerate in order to become publishable and readable in the West. In this respect it is not surprising to see that Ishimoto Shidzue starts her narrative with a description of Japanese life. Considering that she was a late Meiji baby, we can say that her Japanese childhood was a half-Westernized one. Aware of that fact Shidzue also chooses this term for the title of the first chapter of her autobiography: "My Peaceful Childhood in Half-Westernized Tokyo."[54] Still in this chapter she prefers to talk more about Japanese life in the old days before it was touched by the Westerners. More than that, she almost never leaves her Japanese women narrator identity from the beginning to the end of her story.

Another significant characteristic of Shidzue's 1935 autobiography is its feminist tone. It is obvious that Shidzue became a part of the international feminist network of the period. She had direct relations with the internationally active Western feminists of her age such as Margaret Sanger, Mary Ritter Beard, Dorothy Hamilton Brush, Carrie Chapman Catt and Agnes Smedley. Feminism was already something publicly known at that period in Japan, due to the activities of the first generation Japanese feminists. In this respect, Shidzue's feminist tone and discourse in her autobiography can be analyzed as the one of a second generation Japanese feminist with international links and support. Therefore it is not surprising to witness her fight with Japanese and neo-Confucian morality and traditions in her narrative. Certainly this fight was one of her leading motives while writing her story not only as a Japanese feminist activist but also as a "New Woman," who more or less had to be feminist as a "militant of modernity." [55] Hence, the main target of Shidzue under those circumstances was the seventeenth century Kaibara Ekken and his *Greater Learning for Women*, the idealization of female subservience, which was seen as the main threat for the modern life style and ideas

[54] Even the very title of her autobiography, *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life*, speaks for itself. With the "two ways" Shidzue is referring to the Western and Eastern ways that a modern Japanese woman of that period had to face.
[55] See Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," in G.L. Bernstein (ed.) *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945,* pp. 239-266.

of a "New Woman" and her successor *moga* (modern girl). Shidzue attacked this kind of neo-Confucian morality throughout her book. Furthermore, she wrote a chapter in her autobiography entitled, "Obedient-Wife-and-Wise-Mother Principle and Artistic Culture"[56] to directly attack this morality and display its negative role in shaping the lives of Japanese women. In this particular chapter, she also points out this principal within Japanese social life even after the Meiji reformation and its new social order:

> In spite of the tide of liberalism that had been breaking over Japan with the new social order, influencing literature, men's education and other aspects of culture, women's world remained true to the conception which survived from the feudal age.
>
> "A Good wife" and "a wise mother"! How well these words sound! Indeed, there could seem to be no objection to them in any society or age. But when we peel off the skin from this perfect fruit of feudalism, we expose bondage to husbands and subjection to the tyranny of the family system as a whole.[57]

By the end of the book, Shidzue has become directly involved with "The Feminist Front in Japan,"[58] which is then the title of the eleventh part of her autobiography. This part consists of two chapters entitled "My Relation to Feminism" and "History of Feminism in Japan." In these two chapters Shidzue continues to talk about what she calls the "master and servant" relation between Japanese man and woman,[59] and emphasizes how she has tried to form a theory of her own with combining the history of Japanese woman and Western social theories, especially Neo-Malthusian doctrine, to create an alternative path for the emancipation of Japanese women. She also carefully analyzes the Japanese feminist movement, almost with the attitude of a social scientist. According to her, the two streams that the formed the Japanese feminist movement were "the middle class struggle for equality

[56] Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*, pp. 77-86.
[57] Ibid., pp. 77-78. Still it would be correct to say that she even justifies her birth control activism inside this principle. According to her, birth control was the most efficient way for Japanese women to become better mothers.
[58] Ibid., pp. 349-366.
[59] She underlines that "it is the relationship between the absolute possessor and the property." Ibid., p. 349.

with men [what she calls as the bourgeois feminism] and the proletarian struggle for class equality [proletarian feminism]."[60] However, she underlines that she had chosen an "independent path."[61] Moreover, she adds a brief history of the Meiji restoration and the role of women in it for her Western readers.

The many different identities of Ishimoto Shidzue are revealed in reading her first autobiography, published in 1935 in English.[62] Among them, first of all, is her anti-imperialist stance, which was very radical in 1930s Imperial Japan. Nevertheless, it is important to remark that this anti-imperialist vision was something that had been shared in this period in the Christian humanist and socialist circles of the country. In 1921, when Shidzue made a trip to Korea, Manchuria and China, where she experienced the face of Japanese imperialism in the field for the first time with her first husband, Baron Ishimoto Keikichi, she wrote:

> Now, I pondered on the way Japan is growing bigger and stronger, at the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of my countrymen's lives.[63]

It is also possible to say that she even foresaw that a disaster would befall Japan as a result of those imperial deeds:

> Oh, how often have such war tragedies repeated themselves since the beginning of human history, and how long is mankind to repeat the process of construction and destruction? Will not defeat some time visit our nation, now victorious?[64]

Her birth control activism has to be considered as a part of her anti-imperialist stance as well. She praised, in accordance with her Neo-Malthusian ideas, a small Japan adequate for itself, instead of an Imperial Japan competing with Western imperial powers. This clash of the imperialist ideology of early Showa Japan and her birth control activism resulted in her imprisonment for two weeks between December 15 and 29, 1937. After her imprisonment,

[60] Ibid., p. 351.
[61] Ibid., p. 353.
[62] After 1948, (she had been elected as one of the first woman members of the Japanese Diet in 1946 after the democratic election in Japan, which included women voters and candidates for the first time, therefore she had become publicly more visible and interesting after this year) she wrote an estimated ten autobiographies in Japanese and also published her diaries. She died on December 22, 2001 at the age of 104.
[63] Ibid., p. 215.
[64] Ibid., p. 217.

together with the rise of the extremist right wing in Japan, and the acceleration of war with China, her anti-imperialist tone was reflected more clearly in her personal writings. In April 3, 1939, she wrote to her American friend and counterpart, the famous birth control activist and feminist writer, Dorothy Hamilton Brush:

> I have some bad news to tell you, that Dr. Takeo Ohota, who as you remember, had sponsored the B.C. meeting at Hashidate near Kyoto has been arrested in Kyoto prison since last fall. The news has been concealed so that I heard it only recently. His charge is said to have been a sympathiser of an (a)unti-war movement, for which he had contributed some money. (Of course he did it sometime before this war had happened.) … Like Germany, our jails have been crowded with liberals. So many friends of mine are being shut in behind the bars. Japan is laboring to give birth for New Japan and under this process so many fine people are forced to sacrifice their life under new movement in history.[65]

In August, her cry was much more powerful and she labeled the army and fanatic nationalists of Japan as "(some) of the world's best organized barbarians:"

> The war with China and the political situation here is moving from bad to worse, I regret to say. I see such a different Japan and people than it used to be in two years ago in summer when you were here. After long propaganda and complete blindness from outside world's or even internal situation, more Japanese went to mad. Today, many believe that we are going to rule entire Asia, driving the western influence out. While conservative force trying to bring some conclusions with Britain, in Tokyo conference, army and fanatic nationalists trying to break it in order to overturn the conservatives. The clash(es) between these two forces are the fundamental reason for such prolonged war and indescribable huge sacrifice on people of both China and Japan. I am now very pes(si)mistic for the future outlook, and afraid that army might take hegemony and a real dark age may come to settle in the Orient… But now one of the world's best organized barbarians are armed with twenty century's armament, only miracle could stop them form going ahead and destroy the happiness of the entire people of the Orient. How helpless we individuals are! Though I am indignant at this sight, I have no place to run away, but accept the reality it turns out to my presence every day. This is a sad period to live. You and my

[65] Letter from Shidzue Ishimoto to Dorothy Hamilton Brush, April 3, 1939, *Dorothy Hamilton Brush Papers,* Box 2, Folder 7, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College. For more on the relationship of Shidzue with Dorothy Brush, other American feminists and their correspondence, see Chapter 4.

> other close friends in America are my mental prop for me to stand through in this air. Please believe me, I am always the follower of noble ideas, and if there is a day to come in Japan that individual spiritual freedom is to be denied, I better finish my life, than to surrender to such barbarism.[66]

Here, in addition to her anti-imperialist stance, Shidzue's leftist but never communist pro-American attitude (an attitude and reputation that would make her life quite easy later on in occupied Japan) has to be emphasized, since it most probably created the basis of her stance together with her Christian humanist ideas.

Above all, however, her overall identity must be interpreted clearly. Whether modern, feminist, anti-imperialist or activist, it should be remembered that Ishimoto Shidzue was a Japanese woman captured between traditions and modern ideals that were flowing within the Japanese urban life of that period. There is no doubt that she was an ardent supporter of modern ways and was in a fight against feudal traditions; still she saw herself compelled to explain in her narrative why she could not exist as an "obedient wife and a wise mother." For this, in absolute accordance with the traditions, she "blamed" her first husband for changing her attitude and encouraging her to learn to express herself:

> He insisted on my changing my attitude even toward him from a meek feudal wife to an alive, liberal and understanding companion … After his long and hard effort to put spirit into a doll-like creature, and just as his labor began to bear fruit – that is to say, just as I learned to express myself, my husband said to me one day that he thought my appearance was losing charm for him.[67]

Eventually it can be claimed with full assurance that Ishimoto Shidzue was an avant-garde crusader for the new order in Japan, a "New Woman" and feminist, a birth control

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[66] Letter from Shidzue Ishimoto to Dorothy Hamilton Brush, August 4, 1939, *Dorothy Hamilton Brush Papers,* Box 2, Folder 7, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[67] Ibid., p. 298. Shidzue divorced her first husband, Baron Ishimoto Keikichi in November 1944 and her name was stricken from the Ishimoto family register. She married Kato Kanju in the same month despite the resistance of her family, particularly her mother and uncle, who panicked at Shidzue's decision to marry a labor organizer with a proletarian class background. See Helen M. Hopper, *Kato Shidzue.* p. 93-96. It is clear that even in 1935, nine years before her divorce, Shidzue felt obliged to explain the situation of her disastrous marriage with many references to Japanese traditions and neo-Confucian morality.

activist, and last but not least an upper class Japanese wife and mother. As we have already emphasized her fight was mainly against Japanese feudal traditions. She had started this fight together with her husband but later continued alone. To analyze her fight and its chronology more accurately, it is correct to turn to what Shidzue wrote in her autobiography about her returns to Japan from United States, (first one in 1920 with her husband, second one alone in 1924) where she had opportunities to meet with her Western counterparts and was encouraged by them. Shidzue wrote about her return to Japan with her husband in 1920:

> Both my husband and myself could not avoid feeling vaguely depressed at the thought of the 'heavy fetter of tradition' awaiting us, to bind us again to the past. The invisible but powerful feudal bondage loomed quite beyond the moment of the world. 'How shall we fight against this power?' was the question we asked ourselves on our way across the Pacific.[68]

Yet in 1924, returning alone this time, she was much more efficient in expressing herself:

> The youthful democratic country worked like magic on the subject of an ancient state. I felt fresh energy springing up within me. I was ready once more for the battle at home.[69]

Still Shidzue's first autobiography, *Facing Two Ways*, which was published in 1935 in New York, has to be viewed primarily as the autobiography of a feminist, and therefore should be analyzed within the feminist literature of that particular period. In terms of feminist history, this book not only gives information about Ishimoto Shidzue's feminist deeds in Japan, but it also shows us the international feminist links and cross-currents of this period. Furthermore, it presents the spirit of an age, and the clash of traditions and modernization drives in a late comer to modernity society in the Far East.

[68] Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*, p. 202.
[69] Ibid., p. 263.

As pointed out, despite the fact that Ishimoto Shidzue was representing a very small, radical and avant-garde milieu of modern Japan, the impact of Japanese feudal traditions on her life story, expression and narrative is clear.

Also it must be stressed for the last time that Ishimoto Shidzue wrote this autobiography in English, hence for a Western audience. Thus, it is possible to think that she also had become a representative of Japan, Japanese women and feminism to Western readers. She was completely aware of her situation and at least at some points wrote accordingly. A comparative study of her autobiographies both in English and Japanese would be interesting in that sense.

Ishimoto Shidzue wrote her first autobiography with a collage of modern and traditional identities in accordance with her modernizing Japan. She lived in three centuries and in four eras of Japan, and tried to serve her country on its way to modernity and democracy. She later represented her country in the international scene not only as a Japanese woman and feminist, but also as a woman politician. Her biography is a story of struggle and activism, yet ultimately it is a success story. Thus, she left many things behind to be studied and appreciated.

As for her first autobiography, it is possible to say that she shows a tortuous path to follow via her different identities to reach the very essence of a period, its conflicts and peculiarities. She left a first hand account of her age full of careful observations, sophisticated analyses and witty anecdotes. Still we have to point out her shadow that can be seen behind her account. In the end, *Facing Two Ways* is a creation of Ishimoto Shidzue's mind and subjectivity, as all autobiographies are. It is the materialization of her memory as it was in 1935. And there is no doubt that it is about her past, her Japan, the world in which she lived and for which she fought. Hence throughout her narrative we are obliged to follow the path she shows us, and learn what she teaches. Yet her story displays the modern, feminist vision

of the “New Woman of Japan” of that particular period. It stimulates us to search for her achievements and international connections. It makes us understand the way a Japanese activist woman of the 1920s expressed herself in the international circles, and the reasons that diverted her to such an expression. Moreover, it shows us the “modernizing” Japan of such an avant-garde woman and her efforts to represent it internationally, whether with the aim of informing Western people about her country, or securing an advantage for herself both inside and outside of Japan.

Orientalizing and De-Orientalizing in Balance:Selma Ekrem and *Unveiled*

Selma Ekrem (1902-1986) was a member of an old Istanbul Ottoman family. She was the granddaughter of the famous Ottoman poet and intellectual Namık Kemal, who is considered one of the pillars of modern Turkish literature, and the daughter of Ali Ekrem (Bolayır), the Ottoman governor and man of letters. She received the education of a typical Ottoman-Turkish upper-class girl of the period, but she later embarked on an interesting path which was opened to her as a result of her social status and education, and which took her to the United States as a member of the extraordinary international network of the period.

It would not be incorrect to claim that Ekrem was a restless modern Ottoman-Turkish woman. Her story is much more the story of the restlessness within her own country, which she insisted that she loved and longed for when she was abroad. She mainly pointed out the reasons for this restlessness, such as the *çarşaf* (tcharshaf) and the veil, problems which were resolved within the first years of the republic.

It is even possible to say that her story can be considered somewhat disingenuous, and that many of the motives she used were subterfuges. Actually, it was a part of the game for Ottoman and many other "Oriental" writers of this period to become publishable and to find readers in the Western world, and therefore many of Ekrem's contemporary compatriots followed the same rules while writing for a Western audience. Presumably, as a result of this ability to appeal to the taste of Western readers and their Orientalist fantasies, Ekrem's stories, and particularly her autobiography, *Unveiled*, which was published for the in 1930 in New York, met with great success in this period. *Unveiled* was re-published three more times in New York in the following years and also in the UK. Ekrem also wrote two other books in

1947 and 1964, and continued to write about her old Turkey regularly for the *Christian Science Monitor* until the early 1970s. However, with the 1970s, her Orientalist stories lost their audience, and Ekrem started to be seen as someone belonging to a defunct world. She most likely understood that she had reached the end of her performance as a modern Turkish woman who had fused the West and the East in her very persona, just as her country had. Most probably, she thought that she had completed her service in promoting her modernizing country with her anecdotes of her early years in old Ottoman Turkey to satisfy her Western readers with Orientalist adventures and tragedies. Eventually, she ended up in a small town in New England where she died in 1986, far from her country with which she no longer had any ties.

In this respect, this chapter will focus on Ekrem's autobiography and her general voice in her writings, which fluctuates between Orientalizing and de-Orientalizing motives to surprise and satisfy her Western readers. A careful analysis of her autobiography, *Unveiled*, which constitutes the apogee of her career as a writer, will reveal not only the very persona and perhaps suspect methods Ekrem used to support her life in the United States as an Oriental woman, but also will make it possible for us to understand the spirit of an age in which the "other" was known much more from stereotypes and prejudices which might continue to survive at different levels even today.

Selma Ekrem, a Restless Modern Soul:

A General Introduction to Her Biography and Writings

Selma Ekrem left Turkey for the United States in 1923, the first year of the Republic, declaring that she was tired of the uncertainty of the future of women in the country and had lost her patience with waiting and seeing how the new leaders of the republic would deal with

the women's issue. To her surprise, when she returned to Turkey one and a half years later, the problem had been solved. As soon as she landed on Turkish soil, she saw new Turkish naval officers with their new "Western" caps. She immediately asked her sister Beraat, who had come to greet her, about the nationality of the officers with the caps. Beraat declared that they were Turkish and added with joy, "they can wear hats now and so can you!"[70]

Ekrem continues, explaining her feelings about the surprise she felt and the new "situation" of women in Turkey in her autobiography, *Unveiled*:

> This sounded even more unbelievable than the wonders of New York. I had been prepared for a struggle, for the eternal question of the veil, and now I was told that I could wear a hat in peace and that the new government would even smile upon me for doing so!
>
> It was a new Turkey to which I had come. I felt it, looking at the faces round me, I felt it in the streets and in the air. This was no longer the land of shackles. I had fled to America for freedom and now America had come back with me to Turkey. Turkish women were free. When I saw them in theaters, restaurants, and cinemas I could not believe that the pupils of my eyes were my own. The red dividing curtain in the trams was gone, gone were the lattices and the cumbersome tcharshafs. The new republic was not strong and united, but it was also a country where one could breathe.[71]

However, despite the fact that Ekrem could breathe in this new Turkey, she would return to United States and would never settle in Turkey again:

> But no matter how happy I was in Turkey, the far–off call of America would never leave me, I would feel the need of that tonic even in this new Turkey that was marching with great strides toward the West. Once again and once again I would go to America, once again the breath would be taken out of my body.[72] My life would be a see-saw, now touching Turkey, still carrying in its meshes the fragrance of the East, still reflecting as in a pool the slow beauty of centuries that had gazed therein, and then falling to America,

[70] Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled*, p. 275. At this point one has to ask if it was possible for her not to have heard about it as a Turk in the United States, or at least on the ship in which she had sailed to Turkey.
[71] Ibid., pp. 275-276.
[72] In order to explain the breathing "capability" and "problems" of Selma we have to keep in mind reference to her description that she could not breath in the "Old Turkey," but believed that "one could breath in the "New Turkey"; however, eventually she chose America which took her breath "out of her body."

> the young and breathless West, the builders of centuries to come, creator of the swift beauty of action.[73]

Hence, one can claim that her restlessness was about her "breathing" problem, the *çarşaf* and the veil. It is even quite possible to think that there was another issue that made living abroad indispensable for Ekrem. In this respect, in the beginning her family relations were examined as a source of tension, as any problems there could have been the reason for her departure, and she possibly might have wanted to be distanced from her family, which indeed would have remained at the center of her life had she not left the country. However, in her autobiography, Ekrem always talks about her family in a positive way and with great affection. The same tone can be found in her father's autobiography, which Ali Ekrem wrote while Ekrem was living in the United States. In this book we even encounter a father's concerns about his daughter who was living far from him and his ability to protect her.[74] Ali Ekrem's letters also reveal how he had tried to use his connections to help his daughter abroad.[75]

In this respect, at first it was difficult to connect Ekrem's restlessness to her family. However, after becoming much more familiar with her life, it emerged that the answer to that question might be found in a more private, even hidden realm of her life.

A photograph of the graduating class of 1922 of the American College for Girls in Istanbul shows the twenty-seven girls who graduated from the college that year. All of the girls are in white long dresses with lace. All of them have carefully combed long hair adorned with white ribbons, pulled up in ponytails or chignons. The only exception among them is Selma Ekrem. She is sitting on the floor in the first row. Like the other girls she is all in white,

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[73] Ibid., pp. 276-277.
[74] See Ali Ekrem Bolayır, *Ali Ekrem Bolayır'ın Hâtıraları,* Haz: M. K. Özgül (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991), pp. 116-117.
[75] See Ali Ekrem Bolayır." *Ali Ekrem Bolayır'dan Suut Kemal Yetkin'e Mektuplar,* Haz: M. K. Özgül (İstanbul: Oğlak Yayıncılık, 1996), p. 69.

but above her long, white skirt she has a white jacket, white shirt and a white tie. Her hair is short and bushy and has been cut like a boy's. She looks like George Sand.

Furthermore, an issue of *(Constantinople Women's) College Quarterly* from March 1921 which was published by the college students reveals her style in more detail. In this issue Alexandra Panayotides of the class of 1921 published her "college alphabet" wherein every letter was represented by a student of the college. All of the students (hence the letters) in this alphabet were described by six characteristics. Among the students we encounter interesting names and characteristics such as: "I is Irene Stepannoff: Queenly,: Boldy, Calmly,: Stately, Serenely,: Fondy, Irene Stepanoff … R is Miss Selma Rıza: Kindy,: Softy, Quietly,: Smily, Mindy,: Lofty, Miss Selma Rıza … Y is Yone Mostratos: Lady,: Humory, Coldly,: Widey, Maidy,: Rumory, Yone Mostratos" In the Same alphabet Selma Ekrem had been characterized as "S is Selma Ekrem: Boyly,: Mighty, Lively,: Gamy, Joyly,: Fighty, Selma Ekrem"[76]

Selma Ekrem died in 1986 in New England, where she had lived with her friend Betty Anderson and her dog Gigi. She had never been married. Considering her George Sandian poses in the 1920s, how her character was described by her friends in 1921, and knowing that she never got married and ended up in New England living with a Betty Anderson until her death in 1986, her possible sexual preference might be considered as a reason for her restlessness within her own country. If she had stayed in Istanbul for the rest of her life she at least would have been forced to marry by her family. Many potential husbands would have been found for her and she would have had no chance to act "independently." Still this remains speculation, and it would be better to keep that in mind only as a possibility explaining her restlessness within her country which differentiated her from her contemporary

[76] See *(Constantinople Women's) College Quarterly* (March 20, 1921) p. 60.

compatriots who lived and wrote in the West using the same Orientalist discourses but never lost their ties with their own country.

Yet following her "tonic" story it can be argued that Ekrem wanted to live in the United States as a result of the American education and inspiration she had received in Istanbul, and more accurately after experiencing life in the United States for one and a half years. Nevertheless, it should be noted that while writing her autobiography, which she published in the U.S., she was really addressing her American audience while talking about her "breathing problems," "the new and old Turkey" and America as her "tonic." Even her great efforts to picture a fantastic Eastern (Oriental) world with its fragrances and slowness which at many point contrasts the "Western" world of her readers has to be understood in this respect. Apparently, Ekrem liked to distinguish between these two worlds as clearly as possible; still she sometimes put her "new Turkey" and much more of herself in the middle of these two worlds and accepts her country, or her very self, as a kind of bridge between those two "different" worlds. And she emphasizes the role that she and her country can play in binding those two different worlds together.

In this respect, we can claim that one of Ekrem's minor motives in her book is to promote her country and its new regime for an international and especially American audience. In 1947 she published another book entitled *Turkey; Old and New*,[77] which is mainly concerned with this "national promotion." In this book she takes on the identity of a modern republican Turkish woman who has had an American education; and more importantly has lived and published in the United States. As a modern republican Turkish woman she might even consider promoting her "modernizing" country in the West by using her capacity and social relations as her mission. And it is possible to say that with her books and articles she almost accomplished this. Actually, the theme of *Turkey; Old and New* was

[77] Selma Ekrem, *Turkey; Old and New* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947). The book can be considered as a kind of guide book for "old and new Turkey," or as a children's history of it.

already a minor one in *Unveiled*, which comes with its very last chapter; but still it is there and ready to be developed in fifteen years time in parallel with the "developments" in the new Turkish Republic:

> Turkey had become a bridge between the East and West. I was standing on that bridge which now lay between my past and the new life that stretched me since I had gone to America. I who had been born into an old Turkey struggling with death saw a new Turkey in its place. One by one the shadows had fallen from me, days of exile, of tyranny, shadows of war and shadows of despair. But I had discarded this skin of trouble when I had run away to America, and with the spring of my life a new and shining skin had come upon me. The child of old Istanbul would live as a dim memory in my mind, for old Stamboul was dead and buried under the centuries. There was no place for the old Stamboul in this young, busy new republic.[78]

Hence, Ekrem emphasizes that her complaints were about the old Istanbul of the Ottoman Empire, but not the new Istanbul of the modern Turkish Republic. But here, we have to emphasize once again that this old and new Turkey dichotomy is not peculiar to Ekrem, but is much more the discourse of the new republic, which sees itself as a break with the "archaic" Ottoman Empire. Ekrem, in following this discourse, only turns out to be one of its representatives in the English literary world, and it is possible to say that she accomplished her mission as a modern female representative of this new republic.

In this respect, we can assert that Ekrem was not –or at least did not accept herself as- a Turkish woman stuck between the Eastern and Western worlds as a result of the conditions and traditions of her own country, and her "Westernized" upbringing by her upper-class Ottoman family and later her education at the American College for Girls in Istanbul. Instead of that she declares herself, her family and their milieu and even her "modernizing" country as a bridge in harmony between the Eastern and Western worlds, an interpretation that is still very much in use in contemporary Turkey today. Yet to reach the very core of her vision one

[78] Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 276.

has to analyze her autobiography, *Unveiled*, inch by inch. That is what will be done in the following part of this chapter.

Selma Ekrem and *Unveiled;*

Her Childhood Years in Istanbul and Jerusalem

Selma Ekrem starts her autobiography *Unveiled* by drawing an "Orientalist picture" of an upper class Ottoman household trying to survive in the claustrophobic atmosphere of the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II. Therefore the first chapter of her book is entitled "The Shadow of Fear." Ekrem introduces the cosmopolitan members of her household and their main nightmare, "the Oriental despot" Sultan Abdulhamid who, according to little Selma, was an "ugly and wicked man." Child Selma "hates him" because he had killed her grandfather, Namık Kemal.[79]

The first chapters of *Unveiled* generally focus on the fearful atmosphere of the Hamidian reign constantly threatening the Ottoman upper classes and describe the delicate situation of a family of that class in this period. In her second chapter, "Fear Knocks at the Door," Ekrem tells us how her father, Ali Ekrem Bey, was accused of plotting with Kemal[eddin] Pasha to depose Abdülhamid and put Sultan Murad V back on the throne.[80] This atmosphere continues until the fourth chapter, which combines fear, hopes, the

[79] "He has a crooked nose, bead-like eyes that never look anywhere, he is all bent over and ugly, so ugly, more so than Isaac. And I know he is wicked more so than any djinn. I hate him because he killed my grandfather." Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 8.

[80] Kemaleddin Pasha (whose name is shortened to Kemal Pasha by Selma Ekrem, probably for her American readers) was the son of Gazi Osman Pasha. He married Naime Sultan, the favorite daughter of Sultan Abdulhamid II. However, he later entered into a clandestine love affair with Hatice Sultan, daughter of the deposed Sultan Murad V. This was the major scandal of Istanbul in this period. After his ensuing divorce from Naime Sultan, Kemaleddin was imprisoned in Bursa until the Young Turk revolution of 1908. According to Selma he was a friend of her father and her father had been accused of plotting with him after the pasha's arrest: "He was accused of plotting with Kemal Pasha to poison the Princes Naime and her little son. Kemal Pasha was then to marry the Princess Hadidje, daughter of Sultan Murad, and run off to Europe where father was to follow as secretary. Once in Europe they were going to carry on a campaign against Hamid, depose him and put Murad back on the throne." Ibid., p. 16. But according to Nahid Sırrı Örik, Kemaleddin Pasha was not a friend but a student of Ali Ekrem Bey. Nahid Sırrı Örik, *Bilinmeyen Yaşamlarıyla Saraylılar,* Haz: A. Kabacalı (İstanbul: T. İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2002), pp. 43-44.

questioning of fate and every other possible emotion that can be felt when one receives the unexpected news of a semi-banishment (banishment "in a sweet way,"[81]as Ekrem describes it). According to Ekrem it was Naime Sultan who had forced her father to send Ali Ekrem Bey out of Istanbul[82] and Abdulhamid finally decided to send him out of the city in a gentle way, that is, by appointing him governor to some distant place. His first decision was to send him to Çatalca for an unimportant post, but later Ali Ekrem Bey secured a better position in Jerusalem. Consequently, he was appointed governor to Jerusalem and his family was to make ready for the journey as soon as possible. These sudden developments created two different types of attitude within Ali Ekrem Bey's household. Ekrem's mother, Zeyneb Celile Hanım, for instance, was in a panic at being banished, while the children of the house were excited at the thought of going to "a city of the Arabian nights probably with palaces of gold and emeralds,"[83] while the Christian maids of the house prayed to God to help them be asked to accompany the family in their trip to the Holy City.

At this point the appointment to Jerusalem can be seen as something that emancipated the family and took them far away from the direct threat of Abdulhamid, at least to some extent. However, it has to be pointed out that life in Jerusalem would come with its own dangers, fears and life style.

It was in this city that Ekrem Bey's family had to live in a divided house (with a *Haremlık* and a *Selamlık*) for the first time. Ekrem, who without any doubt writes for a Western and particularly an American audience, uses this strange memory from her childhood with content to give information about harem life and "modern" families of Istanbul in the late years of the empire:

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[81] Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 32.
[82] Actually Selma also reminds us that the story about Princess Naime and her wish not to see Ali Ekrem in Istanbul "could very well have been born in the fertile brain of his majesty … His crime lay in the fact that he was connected with Kemal Pasha and he was the son of a man whom the sultan had dreaded. Abdulhamid could never forget that." Ibid., p. 33.
[83] Ibid., p. 34.

> We children roamed from one bare room to another, sneaking into the selamlick amidst a crowd of men and being dragged again into the harem. We had never lived in such a house before, never had known a divided home. But here a selamlick was essential, there would be so many men whom my mother could not see, as women could not appear before strange men. And now that mother was the wife of the governor she had to obey that old custom. In Constantinople we had not needed a harem, for my father, unlike most of the Turkish men, allowed mother to appear before any friend of his whom she wanted to see. She had not been brought up in that narrow atmosphere where it was considered a sin to show one's face to men and to expose one's hair to casual glances in the streets. Her father was extremely liberal, and she had brought to her home these liberal ideas which revolted the old heads.[84]

Ekrem afterward complains about the difficulty of finding liberal people in Jerusalem. She worries about her mother who was taken out of her liberal milieu in Istanbul and had to continue her social life in the non-liberal circles of Jerusalem: "Jerusalem had depressed her. What was she going to do here among Arabs and priests and the wives of officials narrow in their outlook?"[85]

Moreover, life in Jerusalem came with its own threats and fears for the family. Ekrem had learned that in a short period of time. This city would give her a lesson about politics, enchant her with its mystical face and divert her to possess an Orientalist discourse as a member of an Ottoman elite family living and "ruling" in the "Orient" of the empire.[86] In this respect Ekrem very significantly concentrates on the "dirty Arabs,"[87] their ignorance and superstitions in the chapters of her autobiography concerning her life and experiences in

[84] Ibid., p. 49.
[85] Ibid., p. 50.
[86] For Ottoman Orientalism and about the vision of Ottoman elite concerning the Orient of the empire, see Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism" *The American Historical Review* 107/3 (June, 2002) pp. 768-796; Also for the self-perception of the Ottoman elite, their "*mission civilisatrice*" and Ottoman "image making and management" see Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London: I.B. Taurus, 1998), pp. 101-104, 135-165. And for Selma Ekrem's perspective in tune with the general Ottoman elite vision, see Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 88-94, 106.
[18] Ibid., pp. 53, 87-88, 91.

Jerusalem. Christians and Jews also take their share inside this Orientalist discourse, and are mocked by Ekrem again and again as a result of their lack of rationalism.[88]

In the chapters about Jerusalem, Ekrem possesses the tone of (a Western?) travelogue writer writing for a Western audience to inform them about the Oriental world (particularly about the Holy Lands), to amuse and enthrall them with Oriental fantasies. She focuses on giving details about the life there for her readers, to make sketches of these places and their inhabitants as well as possible so they can imagine them. Thus, she talks about different ethnic communities living together in the city, describes their authentic clothing, ethnic masquerades and gives detailed accounts of the captivating ceremonies of the different religious sects and ethnic communities.[89] One can even claim that at these points she writes like an ethnographer writing after his/her fieldwork.

Furthermore with her descriptions of the life, people and places in Jerusalem and around, Ekrem almost becomes a kind of tourist guide writing for a Western audience with references to her childhood years and memories in Jerusalem. She also uses the spiritual atmosphere of Jerusalem to give a short lecture on Islam and the image of Christ in it for the "prejudiced" Christians. In this respect, she recalls a discussion at home in Jerusalem:

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[88] Ibid., p. 78, 84-85.

[89] See Ibid., pp. 66-69, 74-79, 92-93. Her interest in the costumes and traditions of different ethnic communities in different parts of the empire is not surprising when we again consider the world and "imperial" visions of the Ottoman elites of the period. This interest had given its first fruit in 1873 with a book prepared by Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay which was the first of that kind written by an Ottoman-Turk for a Western audience. The project for writing this book was planned and supported directly by the Ottoman government to be presented in the International World Fair held in Vienna in 1873. The book can be considered an authentic version of previous books like *Picturesque Representation of the Dress and Manners of the Turks* or *La Turquie ou costumes, moeurs et usages* that had been published in Western Europe in the early 19th century. In this respect we can say that the Ottoman government had taken the task of picturing the habits and costumes of its "native and peripheral" citizens in a "modern" way and with a "modern" discourse for the Western world. Ussama Makdisi, in an article entitled "Ottoman Orientalism," analyzes this book with a focus on its "Orientalist style" which according to him Osman Hamdi Bey had used while presenting those local costumes with his own vision as a "modern" Ottoman elite. However, Makdisi probably was not aware of the fact that the Ottoman government also was involved in this presentation. If he had been aware of that he could have directly put the Ottoman government to point out to the concept what he has called as "Ottoman Orientalism" instead of using the humble deeds and vision of Osman Hamdi Bey to represent the Ottoman Imperial Center. For more, see Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay. *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (Istanbul, 1873); also for Ussama Makdisi and his discussion of this book within the concept of "Ottoman Orientalism", see Makdisi "Ottoman Orientalism," pp. 785-787.

"Mother," I asked, "who is Christ?"
"He is a prophet," answered my mother.
"But Mohammed is the prophet," I objected.
"There have been many prophets," my mother explained. "Mohammed is one, Christ is another, and there are prophets who came before them."
"But I thought, mother," put in my sister, "that Christ was the prophet of Christians only."
"No, my dear," answered mother. "He is a prophet, too, in the eyes of all Moslems. We revere him and believe in him and all the other prophets too."[90]

At this very point Selma goes one step ahead and criticizes the Christian dogma via the dialog between her sister and mother:

"But the Christians don't believe in Mohammed," answered my sister, who knew so much and had silenced me.
"It shows their prejudice," replied mother.[91]

Ekrem later gives details of life in those "exotic" places, the political balances an Ottoman governor had to stabilize, and the rivalry between different sects and religions in the Holy Lands. Eventually, she reaches one of the main motives of her narrative: a vague description of an "oriental fear" to capture and motivate her readers in the need for exotic adventures and thrills. Away from the Oriental despot Abdulhamid, this time Ekrem finds perils in the socio-political vulnerability of the Holy Lands. She declares she has learned that "knives were flashed too quickly in Jerusalem" and takes her readers into the fearful, gloomy and desperate side of her life which, according to her, was common in the Eastern world: "Were we then never to find peace and happiness? Life was one long shiver of fear. We would run madly, flee from city to city and at our backs still would follow the shadow of fear. The sunlight only came in streamers of tinsel to be crumpled quickly and suddenly by the dark hand of our fate."[92]

[90] Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 55.
[91] Ibid., pp. 55-56.
[92] Ibid., p. 63. Also for an academic analysis of Ali Ekrem Bey's governorship years in Jerusalem, see David Kushner. "Ali Ekrem Bey, Governor of Jerusalem, 1906-1908" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28/3 (Aug., 1996), pp. 349-362.

1908 came with the shocking news that a constitution had been granted by a group of men in Istanbul who called themselves the Committee of Union and Progress. "Abdul Hamid, after thirty-three years of tyranny, was to succumb to a power greater than his own. And this marked the beginning of Hamid's downfall" Ekrem announces the news, "It seemed unbelievable. Sultan Hamid, who with a flutter of his hands could shake Constantinople and the whole of Turkey, now lay trembling in his palace."[93]

Nevertheless, Ekrem does not like the leaders of the CUP either. She compares them to the first generation "glorious" Young Ottomans, a political group in which her grandfather Namık Kemal had played an important role. To Ekrem, the leaders of the CUP, who saw themselves as successors of the first generation Young Ottomans (or Turks, as the second generation was called), were "neither great nor honest, nor were they, as before, the prominent educated men of the country."[94]

She also later writes about her father's disappointment after visiting Salonika to meet with some of the leaders of the committee. "He left us with the hope of a nation in his eyes," Ekrem dramatizes, "but when he returned from Salonika he was looking tired and depressed." Ali Ekrem Bey told them about one of the conversations he had with a leader of the CUP about the plans of the committee to manage the press. According to that story, the "arrogant" leader of the CUP told Ali Ekrem that whoever worked against the sacred society or insulted the members would be "shot down like dogs." Following that, Ekrem underlines (at least at some points for her "liberal" Western audience) how her father had been disappointed and

[93] Ibid., p. 95. Second constitutional government had taken the power in the summer of 1908, and the constitution of 1876, which had been in use only until January 1878, had been immediately revived. Sultan Abdulhamid II continued to sit in his throne symbolically until the March 31 incident in 1909. He was deposed after that in April 27, 1909.

[94] Ibid., p. 96. For the Young Ottomans and their thought, see Şerif Mardin's classical study, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Political Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).

depressed in response to despotic expression: "To shoot anyone like a dog, this did not invite him to admiration. One does not govern with a smoking revolver."[95]

The coming of the new government indeed meant modifications in the government offices. People who had been waiting for critical moments such as this therefore began to talk against Ali Ekrem Bey to their own benefits.[96] Ali Ekrem Bey sent a telegram to the grand vizier asking to be allowed to return to Istanbul. However, the response of the Sublime Porte was to appoint him governor-general of Beirut. Yet when the Ekrem family reached Beirut, they found the city in an unruly and demoralized mood under the newly established regime. "The previous governor had fled with his life" and without any doubt the Ekrems were not welcomed by the local population. "A night of fear again, even worse than those in Constantinople. The shadows of fear close upon us once for all," Ekrem declares about their first night in the city. Ali Ekrem Bey, after a short period of time in this rebellious city, decided to send his resignation to Istanbul. According to Ekrem, he was "risking the Sultan's fury," but she was wrong. The Sultan's power had actually been castrated in the 1908 revolution and Ali Ekrem Bey as an Ottoman bureaucrat was completely aware of that. Now it was time for the family to go back home to Istanbul.

The Good-Old Days in Istanbul and the Aegean Islands

In Istanbul the family had immediately moved to Ekrem's maternal grandfather Celal Pasha's house in Arnavutköy. Ekrem loved this house and the years she had spent there with her extended family. She describes this Turkish upper class household and its inhabitants with

[95] Ibid., pp. 122-123

[96] The same kind of stories about how local people began to decry their governors in Ottoman provinces in this traumatic period can be found in many autobiographical accounts of the members of other governor families. For an example, see Naciye Neyyal, whose husband Tevfik Bey was the governor of Bursa in that same period. Tevfik Bey had also been the governor of Jerusalem between 1897 and 1901, before Ali Ekrem Bey. For more, see Neciye Neyyal (Biren), *Ressam Naciye Neyyal'in Mutlakiyet, Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet Anıları,* Haz: F. R. Hürmen. (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2004), pp. 209-230.

many details for her Western audience. She even compels her creativity for this: "The white house stands amidst this world of gardens catching the sun in all its windows and opening to us a world of high-ceilinged rooms, rooms that are big as boats and where one can sail the seas of one's imagination."[97] She also underlines the combination of Eastern and Western elements both in the house and its inhabitants: "Grandfather's house was a mixture of East and West. Here he lived like a patriarch of old surrounded by his family, his numerous attendants and their children….. And through it all my grandfather dominated the house, the figure round which everything revolved and which held the house together. He had brought to this Eastern atmosphere his Western ideas and culture that made him different from other people whom I had known."[98] However, here we have to ask how much the atmosphere in Celal Pasha's house was Eastern. This question seems impossible to answer since it depends on an unclear dichotomy, i.e., East and West. Still it is possible to say that there was nothing surprising in finding Eastern and Western elements fused with each other in upper or middle class Ottoman-Turkish households in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[99]

What is odder and more interesting in Ekrem's story considering Celal Pasha concerns his education. According to Ekrem's story, his Egyptian mother (who was actually a Greek girl who had been adopted by Mehmet Ali Pasha of Egypt) sent Celal to France to be educated at St. Cyr, the famous military school, when he was only seven. Ekrem underlines this situation, declaring "all Egypt was aghast. To send her little boys to France, it was scandalous."[100] And she was right. Still one thinks that she was exaggerating a little bit about Celal's age at when he was sent to France. It was not style of the Ottoman elite families to send their very little boys to the West to be educated like the Japanese. They would, at least,

[97] Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 102.
[98] Ibid., pp. 102-103.
[99] For more, see Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 194-238. Also, for a comparative study on Western and Eastern elements in Meiji Japanese and Ottoman-Turkish upper-class households in late nineteenth century, see Selçuk Esenbel, "The Anguish of Civilized Behavior."
[100] Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 105.

wait for them to reach their teenage years. Ekrem probably goes one or more steps ahead in exaggeration, with her story about her grandfather's acceptance at the court of Napoleon III while he was a student in France. She even tells us that Celal "was nicknamed 'Le Beau Djelal' and was a great favorite of the emperor and of the flirtatious empress, Eugénie."[101]

The Celal Pasha family in Arnavutköy consisted of many aunts and elder cousins whom Ekrem describes in great detail and much emphasis on their modern education that combines Eastern and Western motifs. The same mixture is also seen in their eating habits. According to Ekrem, Celal Pasha without a doubt preferred French habits:

> It was a huge room with a big table where everyone had his special place. The meals lasted long, the butler serving course after course. If he made a mistake or a course was delayed, grandfather was furious. Wine was always served and even we children had a few fingers. Only religious Little Aunt did not drink at all, as wine is forbidden in our Moslem religion.
>
> "Take a few drops, hanoum," grandfather would turn her. "You are sure to go to paradise, anyhow!"
>
> But she was firm. Everyone else in the family drank, for no one else was religious like Little Aunt. Grandfather could not live without his wine.
>
> If one of us did not eat at table, grandfather would notice it and say, "Again you have filled yourself with black hens. I don't see how anyone can eat them." 'Black hen' was his nickname for ripe olives, a favourite food of the Turks, but spurned by him. He loved French cooking above all and would make fun of my father, who loved pilaff.[102]

Another interesting member of the Celal Pasha household for this study was Cousin Kerime's dog, who as Ekrem underlines "went by the proud name of Togo." It is well known that the Muslim world turned its face and hopes to Japan, a country that had started to be seen as the "Rising Star of the East" especially after the defeat of the Tsarist Empire in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War. In the following years of the war, the name of Admiral Togo, one

[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid., p. 113.

of the Japanese heroes of the War, as could be seen in Celal Pasha's household, was popular in the Muslim world.[103]

However, Ekrem's life at Maison Celal Pasha would have been interrupted two times, at the very beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, with Ali Ekrem's appointments to the Aegean Islands as the governor-general. On first of these occasions the family would stay on Rhodes, where Ekrem would spend probably her happiest childhood days under the Mediterranean sun. The second time would come in a period of crisis. The first Balkan War between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan States was about to start, when Ali Ekrem was appointed to the Aegean Islands back again this time to stay on Mytilene. The war started just after Ali Ekrem and his family had reached the island. Ekrem, who does not have as interesting stories for her Western readers on those islands as she had in Jerusalem and Istanbul, this time prefers to go back to one of her main themes to make this chapter about those Aegean Islands more stimulating. What could have a better effect than war in this respect? She actually knew it very well. Therefore she turns back to her "fear" theme and underlines the defenseless situation of Mytilene and themselves in that war. "There were only six hundred soldiers in Mytilene." She therefore declares, the island "was at the mercy of any gunboat."[104]

And the gunboat did really come. The family officially became prisoners of the Greek Kingdom. Ekrem's mother, acting very much in tune with modern romanticism refused to leave her husband, so the whole family had to be taken to Athens as prisoners. There they would have to wait for freedom in a dirty hotel in Piraeus. Finally Ali Ekrem Bey went to the German consulate and with the help of the Germans, who were "taking care of the Turkish subjects,"[105] secured an interview with Venizelos, who eventually set them free. Now it was

[103] For more, see Selçuk Esenbel, "Japan's Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900-1945" *The American Historical Review* 109/4 (October 2004), p. 1140.
[104] Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 187.
[105] Ibid., p. 214.

time for them to return to Istanbul once again. "Had we not suffered enough to deserve the peace and love of Stamboul?" Ekrem asks while returning to Istanbul from "the enemy's land." However, Istanbul was not the city of love and peace as it had been before Ekrem and her family had left it. They would realize this just after landing there. "It was a grey, sad world, not the Stamboul of sunshine and flowers. This war of misery had crushed her spirits. It was war and defeat, and now that our misery had ended we thought of it. Stamboul also marred by war, it was not the haven of rest we had dreamed of in our dirty inn in Piraeus. Disaster lay heavily on the city."[106] Yet the worst would come with the approaching Great War and the "veil" waiting for Ekrem in this city.

The Coming of the Terrors of the "Prison of the Black *Çarşaf*" And the Years of "Black Bread and Paper Dresses" in Istanbul

The last chapters of Ekrem's *Unveiled* are about her life in Istanbul from 1913 to 1923. In these chapters we mainly encounter Ekrem's adolescent crises and the leading events of the period, such as World War I, the occupation of Istanbul and the social psychology of the inhabitants of this city under those circumstances. Also in this part we read about Ekrem's years at the American College for Girls in Istanbul (which was also called Constantinople Women's College), which provided her with many of the connections that she would use later in her life in addition to the education that shaped her. After graduating from ACG Ekrem would leave for the United States, which had become her utopia as a result of her education. Still above all, the last chapters of Ekrem's book are much more about the veiling crisis that had become fundamental for the adolescent Ekrem. Eventually this would become the name of the book, Ekrem's excuse for leaving her country, and primarily her main tool for making

[106] Ibid., p. 218.

her book popular among the Western readers, who had a tremendous interest in the hidden lives of Oriental women behind veils and lattices.[107]

There is even a chapter in *Unveiled* entitled "The Black Tcharshaf" in which Ekrem recalls the Koran lessons she took together with her Turkish and French lessons at home in her early childhood. This kind of education was called a *konak* (mansion) education and was the typical education given to upper class Ottoman girls in this period. But the Koran lessons and the black tcharshaf which Ekrem's elder sister had to wear only gave Ekrem nightmares of the coming of "the black prison of a tcharshaf"[108] for her as well. "Apparently this covering of one's face was not a vital question to mother or to Abla" Ekrem says in *Unveiled*,

> But I knew it would be different with me … I could not wrench the idea from my head, and the dread of it was worse than any fear I had known. One escaped sultans and cyclones, but not the tcharshaf. Millions of women had worn it before me. And to my eyes came these women in thick clusters, wrapped in blackness, their faces covered. These millions of black bundles of resignation smothered me. The storm closed over my head, but I rose above it, lifting my face wildly. I would fight, I would tear these shadows from me, the million bundles could sneer at me and revile me, but I would not be a bundle. I wanted to feel the wind and the air on my face for ever, I wanted to dip like a sea-gull in the freedom of life … What was the law or the will of my elders to me? I would stand against them with the recklessness of youth.[109]

But the real threat for her was neither her elders nor the laws that were not as strict as they had been under the reign of Abdulhamid II. Although her war would be against a fanatic traditionalist group who, one can say, constituted one side of the Ottoman Muslim population

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[107] For the curiosity of the Westerners about Ottoman woman and the "veil" as her main outdoor symbol, see Reina Lewis, "On Veiling, Vision and Voyage: Cross-Cultural Dressing and Narratives of Identity" in R. Lewis and S. Mills (eds.) *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), pp. 520-541; Meyda Yeğenoğlu, "Veiled Fantasies: Cultural and Sexual Difference in the Discourse of Orientalism" Ibid., pp. 542-566; also for ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters, see Kader Konuk, "Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters: Reenacting Lady Mary Wortley Montagu" *Criticism* 46/3 (Summer 2004) pp. 393-414; and for an interesting article on Oriental tropes, women of Ottoman-Turkey and "the construction of Europe's spaces of otherness by establishing the alterity of the non-European, see İrvin Cemil Schick, "The Women of Turkey as Sexual Personae: Images from Western Literature" in Z. F. Arat (ed.) *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 83-100.

[108] Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled,* pp. 153-154.

[109] Ibid., pp. 154-155.

that had been stuck in between old Eastern traditions and new Western discourses. In this respect, both the fanatic traditionalist group, and the other group who the traditionalists saw as the over-Westernized and "corrupted" Ottoman fobs were creations of this new modern world.[110] And indeed the tension between them was modern, and something peculiar to the period. Ekrem no doubt being closer to the "fob side," decided to bring a new dimension to the game. Her struggle was not with her family or friends, thus it would be enough for her to create an illusion in the public sphere to get out of it. Hence she had her hair cut like a boy's, always left the house wearing a hat, and spoke in French or English but never Turkish with her family members when there was a stranger in the vicinity. "With that hair and a hat I could not be Turkish," she remarks, "Surely I must be an eccentric American left for Stamboul by mistake. Thus with pretence and fear I wore my hat."[111]

Actually the tcharshaf issue also gave a space for Ekrem to express her feminist consciousness and secular mind to her Western readers. "I could be a Moslem and a Turk and still wear the hat,"[112] she says in her 1930 autobiography, a discourse which already had been possessed by the secular Turkish Republic, where the fez, turban and veil had been officially replaced with hat and guaranteed by law in November 1925.[113] Furthermore, Ekrem takes on an activist feminist tone while talking about her fight against the tcharshaf and other restrictions that had blocked the way of the Turkish women for her freedom:

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[110] For this tension between traditions and Westernization and the critique of over-Westernized fob in late nineteenth century Ottoman Muslim culture, see Şerif Mardin. "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in P. Benedict, E. Tümertekin and F. Mansur (eds.) *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 403-445. This critique was among the main themes of the Turkish literature of the period. For an analysis of this literature, and over-Westernized fob as one of its main characters, see Robert P. Finn. *Türk Romanı: İlk Dönem: 1872-1900.* Çeviren: T. Uyar, (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1984); Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1967).

[111] Ekrem, *Unveiled,* pp. 232-233.

[112] Ibid., p. 231.

[113] Ekrem, later in her children's history book, *Turkey: Old and New,* talks about these reforms with praise for the new republic and its founder, Kemal Atatürk: "Kemal Ataturk showed us the way, and those who wanted to follow could do so. Henceforth the police could not arrest a woman if she appeared in a public place or wore a hat." Selma Ekrem, *Turkey: Old and New,* pp. 81-82. For some classical studies on reforms in Modern Turkey, see, Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 250-278; Toktamış Ateş. *Türk Devrim Tarihi* (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1997), pp. 289-354; Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), pp. 473-478.

> Now I had grown older, and the restrictions piled on the Turkish women irritated me. Women could not go anywhere. They had to sit in their houses and not be able to shake off the gloom of the war with some distraction. An Austrian company had come to town and gave musical comedies. But the Turkish women were barred from the representations. Two Turkish girls had gone wearing hats. The police dragged them away. And later we heard that they had been exiled to the interior. We did not know if this was true, but the police had arrested them for wearing hats and appearing in a public place. The question was discussed loudly at home, side by side with the war.
>
> "The Turkish women should rise," I shouted. "Why do they accept this tyranny? The government cannot send us all to prison. We should take our rights if no one will give them us."
>
> To think that in the tram-cars an ugly red curtain separated the Turkish women from the men. That small place was jammed with women and they could not step out of it even if they suffocated. Women could not work, if they belonged to the higher classes, women could not enjoy themselves, women could not live. Their fate was to sit behind lattices and curtains and peer at life with a sigh. It was time someone should stand up for their rights. And with this spirit of defiance I wore my hat.[114]

Still one has to remember that Ekrem wrote these sentences in 1930, when these problems had been almost completely solved, and more than twenty years after the activities of the *Müdafaayı Hukuku Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Community for the Defense of Women's Rights) and Nezihe Muhiddin's proposed *Kadınlar Fırkası* (Women's Party*)*, which stood up for women's right on an institutional level.[115] Hence, it again has to be emphasized that Ekrem took on an activist tone, presumably to impress her Western readers.

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[114] Ekrem, *Unveiled,* pp. 231-232.

[115] Ekrem also talks about the change in women's lives in the new Turkish Republic in *Turkey: Old and New.* The fifth chapter of this book is titled "Out of the Harem into the World"; and it is about (in Ekrem's words) "the emancipation of women which changed the face of Turkey just as the Latin alphabet did." See *Turkey: Old and New.* pp. 67-82. Also for Ottoman feminism, *Müdafaayı Hukuku Nisvan Cemiyeti* and *Kadınlar Fırkası,* see Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994); Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Hikayesi* (Ankara: İmge Yayınevi, 1993); Nükhet Sirman, "Feminism in Turkey: A Short History" *New Perspectives on Turkey* 3/1 (Fall 1989), pp. 1-34; Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003). Also a very interesting account on the Ottoman-Turkish feminism was written by two faculty members of The American College for Girls, namely Ellen Deborah Ellis and Florence Palmer in *The Contemporary Review* in 1914. See Ellis and Palmer. "The Feminist Movement in Turkey" *The Contemporary Review* 105 (January-June 1914) pp. 857-864. According to the *List of Former American Teachers* of Near East College Association, Inc. that had been published in 1952, Ellen Deborah Ellis taught history and economics in ACG from 1913 to 1915. After reading Ellis and Palmer's article on Turkish feminism, one can easily claim that they had direct contact with the members of the *Müdafaayı Hukuki Nisvan Cemiyeti* in that period. Ellis left ACG in 1915 while Ekrem was

Another important characteristic of Ekrem we encounter in this part of *Unveiled* is her nationalist stance, which at some points even, one can say, mingles with a kind of xenophobia. Actually it is not surprising to hear a nationalist voice in the daughter of an Ottoman Muslim diplomat and intellectual in this period, since it was a time when "nationalism" was quite a trend in intellectual circles internationally, and moreover, for the Ottoman side, it was something that was fed by the nationalist movements and revolts of the other nations living within the Ottoman territories.

Ekrem's nationalism would become more indispensable after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Great War together with its allies in 1918. The occupation of Anatolia and later Istanbul would have a tragic effect on her, and her wound would be exacerbated by the joy of the "non-Turkish" population of Istanbul, which she refers to as the "the non-Turkish element in the city" who "received the allies as their savior."[116]

> Our feeling toward the people, who were born and bred in Turkey and were not Turks, was more intense. Their joy over our defeat, their flauntings, their exuberance, we hated. Stamboul was occupied and yet the cabarets were full and heavy with flags that were not Turkish, there was music and laughter that hurt every Turk. The city should have been silent and grave like every Turk living in it. We would not forget easily this demonstration of the different elements who lived in our country and had grown rich on our soil.[117]

Ekrem encountered the same attitude among her friends at her college. She even learned of the arrival of the Allied fleet to the city at school while her "non-Turkish" schoolmates were celebrating this event: "The long corridors of the American college were

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probably a freshman there. Still there is almost no doubt that the feminist atmosphere of the college, which had displayed itself and its connections on an international basis with the article of Ellis and Palmer, had continued in the following years. After leaving ACG Ellis had returned to the United States, and continued to teach economics and political science in Mount Holyoke College where she became the chair of the Political Science Department in 1939; she died in 1974, leaving her personal papers, which include a lot of information about her life in Istanbul and ACG to Mount Holyoke College Archives. In this respect it is possible to say that a study on Mount Holyoke Archives can provide a lot of material to enlighten an interesting part of the international feminist networks of the period. See Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections. *Ellis (Ellen Deborah) Papers, 1888-1983*. Manuscript Collection: MS 0533.

[116] Ekrem, *Unveiled*, p. 236.

[117] Ibid., pp. 240-241.

alive with girls, girls that run and, running, laughed and shouted: 'they are coming, they are coming.' The buildings were emptied of girls and teachers. Now the noisy group invaded the gardens and ran headlong to the plateau that overlooked the Bosphorus … I heard the shouts of the girls drifting from the gardens, and then I knew that the Allied fleets were sailing up the Bosphorus."[118]

The November 1918 issue of *Constantinople College News* shows the atmosphere at AGC just after the surrender of the Turkish government to the Allies. The first page of this paper is embellished with a photograph of Constantinople. The article under this photography is titled "Constantinople a Free City":

> No one has watched the developments of events in the Near East more eagerly than the friends of Constantinople College. How often have our hearts been filled with despair at the seemingly invincible power of German influence in Turkey, or the failure of the Allies to capture the Dardanelles, or the apparent impossibility of thwarting the German plan of domination in the Near East. But the miracle has happened! Now our fears are dispelled! We have learned within a few weeks of the complete surrender of the Turkish Government to the Allies. The British and French fleet have entered the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and to-day their ships are anchored in the very harbor of the city.
>
> What will it mean for the college? It will mean everything for which we have prayed and hoped. It will mean freedom to grow and expand, to develop along lines which it considers most useful to help in its own way, the people of the country, in equal measure. It will mean a just government will reign at Constantinople (whatever form it takes)…
>
> With what abounding joy and thanksgiving must the faculty at Constantinople College have first heard of the capitulation of Turkey to the Allies.[119]

Still Ekrem recalls ACG as her haven during these years, and never mentions the inclinations of the faculty members of the college, presumably because of their success in not showing it to their students or because of Ekrem's reluctance to accuse the American faculty members in front of an American audience: "During the Allied occupation and our days of

[118] Ibid., p. 235.
[119] *Constantinople College News,* 3, no. 1, New York (November, 1918), p. 1.

sorrow the college had been my haven," she says in her autobiography, "Perched on a hill and cut off from the rest of Stamboul, we lived days of our own. I had turned more and more towards my college which I loved. She had given me action which I needed. It was impossible to watch the Allies with folded arms … And in these days of oppression, the college was the one place where I felt free. There the clutches of the Allies did not reach, and there I could wear my hat in peace and dream of better days."[120]

At the same time Ekrem follows the republican discourse about the period in her autobiography. While labeling the Istanbul government and Sultan Mehmed VI as "traitors to their own country" and talking about the tragic developments in Istanbul, she starts to praise Mustafa Kemal[121] and the movements in Anatolia: "Among the hills of Anatolia was rising a new and young power, obscure and weak, struggling night and day, moneyless and friendless, but it had the faith and courage to stand against the world."[122] And later, just like a very typical "citizen" of the newly emerged Turkish Republic, she recalls that period, underlining that "every real Turk was with the Kemalists, and the traitor sultan and his puppets were hated."[123]

Despite the fact that the Allied powers were leaving the country as a result of the successful military campaigns of Mustafa Kemal and the government of Ankara while Ekrem was graduating from her college, she was still not completely content with the situation: "and now a new government controlled the destiny of Turkey. What would be the attitude of the new republic towards Turkish women? The republic was at present concerned with vital questions, and we Turkish women had to be patient. But I felt that my patience had burst at last. I could not remain in this atmosphere of doubt any longer. I had finished at college and

[120] Ekrem, *Unveiled*, p. 248. For more about Selma Ekrem's college years, and her records at ACG, see Kutluğhan Soyubol. "Commemorating an ACG Graduate: Selma Ekrem'22" *RC Quarterly,* 30 (Fall 2006) pp. 42-43.
[121] "Moustapha Kemal had saved us at the Dardanelles, Moustapha Kemal had saved us at Palestine, and once more Moustapha Kemal would save us." Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 241.
[122] Ibid., p. 242.
[123] Ibid., p. 247.

found my self idle and unhappy. I wanted work, but where would I find it and how would I dare look for work wearing hat?"[124] Thus, she was determined; she would go to America, the country of the American women who had seemed to her as free as the wind while she was studying in an American college in Istanbul.

Ekrem's "American Venture"

Ekrem left her country at the end of 1923 for America, the country of freedom and opportunities, as it was called then. Indeed what made this journey possible were her education and the connections that she had made while she was a student at ACG, one of the top American colleges out of the United States. But her identity as a daughter of an Ottoman upper-class family was still essential for her story. In this period it was only that kind of family within the Muslim-Turkish population of the empire that had sent their children to such colleges. And these children had developed their minds in an avant-garde atmosphere which they were exposed to both at home and at school on different levels. They assimilated the Eastern and Western elements of their households and school education probably a little bit more successfully than their parents, who had not a chance to go to such colleges in their childhood. Hence, this new generation embodied a new phase of Ottoman-Turkish modernization history that fused Muslim-Turkish and Western elements in their personal lives. Accordingly, we would argue that this process of "mingling" and "fusing" is not a mere

[124] Ibid., p. 249. At this point it is possible to say that Ekrem was exaggerating the "desperateness" of her situation a little bit. First of all, it has to be underlined that she had stayed at ACG as a graduate student after her graduation in the class of 1922. See the "College News" section in *Constantinople College Quarterly* (November 1922) p. 31. January 1924 issue of the same magazine informs us that she had "recently left Constantinople for America." *Constantinople College Quarterly* (January 1924) p. 91. Ekrem probably left her country without looking for a proper job for herself. Her sister, Beraet Ekrem, graduated from ACG in 1924 two years after Ekrem. November 1924 issue of the *Quarterly* informs us that she started to work in the Ionian Bank just after her graduation. We also learned from the same issue that Seniha Fuad a classmate of Ekrem also was working as an English teacher in the Erenköy Lycée and as a Turkish teacher in the English High School. See *Constantinople College Quarterly* (November 1924) pp. 48-49. "Actually "Alumnae Notes" of different issues of the *Quarterly* are full of news of Ekrem's schoolmates who had found proper jobs for themselves right after graduation.

"dichotomy" of East and West that is frequently used to explain the character of modernization in the late Ottoman society.

Carolyn Goffman, who has written a new introduction for the recent edition of Selma Ekrem's *Unveiled* is a case in point for the latter view. Goffman in this introduction tries to create a dichotomy between "Muslim-Turkish loyalties and Western sensibilities" of that generation of Muslim Ottoman-Turkish elites. She seems amazed while saying: "Despite her Western sensibilities, Ekrem bitterly resents the British occupation of Constantinople. She shares the helpless anger of the Muslim Turks at the triumph of a Christian army; and she portrays a divided city in which Muslims are the losers, and the Ottoman Armenian and Greek Christians rejoice, at Muslim expense, in the Allied victory."[125]

Actually, there is nothing surprising in Selma Ekrem's attitude. She was an Ottoman-Turkish upper class girl and presumably had the idea of Turkish nationalism as the only possible savior of the Turkish Empire, an idea that was an offspring of her modern education. A few would object if we claim that the modern (or Western) education of the period empowered nationalistic ideas and visions which were among the top trends of the period. It is a fact that students who had educated from Missionary or independent American Colleges of the Near East in this period generally got out of those schools with nationalist visions. Many of them later became famous thinkers or politicians with nationalist stances and discourses. The best example for our case would be Halide Edib (Adıvar), a graduate of the 1901 class of ACG, who is without doubt the most important woman figure of Turkish nationalism, both as a writer and a political figure. Halide with this career also was considered the pride of ACG by all college members.[126]

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[125] Carolyn Goffman, "Introduction" in Selma Ekrem, *Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* (Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2006), p. XX.

[126] For the mania about Halide Edib's successes within the college circles, see almost all issues of *Constantinople College Quarterly* and *The Alumnae Magazine* of the Alumnae Association of Constantinople Woman's College. Also see Mary Mills Patrick, *Under Five Sultans* (New York, London: The Century Co., 1929); and *A Bosphorus Adventure: Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman's College, 1871-1924,* (Stanford:

Hence, it is hard to claim that Ekrem had an "ambivalent cultural identification," which had been deepened by her education in ACG as Goffman does.[127] The cultural identification which Goffman calls "ambivalent" was common in the "modernizing" classes of the Ottoman Empire, just like in other modernizing societies of the same period, Japan constituting the most well-known example in this respect. Still Ekrem, a "fighter" by nature, would use some other interesting methods to express herself within this game and tensions of modernization. The United States would give her another space in which to perform her narrative. Just like her other schoolmates she would use her connections as well to perform in this "wild sea." And she would be successful literally as a writer and lecturer using Orientalism and de-Orientalism as her main technique to attract an American audience until the 1970s.

In her *Unveiled,* with an Orientalist tone, Ekrem declares that she "from the land of incense and beauty had traveled those hazardous miles of storm to be able to wear a hat in peace."[128] "I was really running away from uncertainty," she continues, "What lay ahead of Turkish women I could not fathom. And no more could I bear the struggle for liberty, the restrictions imposed on Turkish women. All my life had grown into struggle and sorrow, and one more struggle would break my spirit."[129] However, she would soon realize that the life in America was not devoid of struggles as well:

> When the mist finally cleared the tall skyline rose before me like the walls of a fortress, formidable and foreboding. And behind that physical wall, I felt another wall, even more stupendous, stretching its arrogant head-wealth.

Stanford University Press, 1934). Also for nationalism and American Colleges in the Near East, see Robert L. Daniel, *American Philanthropy in the Near East: 1820-1960* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1970), pp. 87-89, 93-147; Mary Mills Patrick also talked about how to "promote national life in the Near East" in a conference of WSCF held in Robert College in 1911, see Mary Mills Patrick, "Students and the Application of Christ's Teachings to Modern Life: Women and National Life in the Near East" in *Report of the Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation: Robert College, Constantinople, April 24-28 1911*, (WSCF, 1911), pp. 139-143.

[127] See Carolyn Goffman, "Introduction," p. XIX.

[128] Ekrem, *Unveiled,* p. 251.

[129] Ibid., p. 252.

> Here was a new world, a new people whose very thoughts were different from mine; how was I to lift that veil, tear down those walls and come in? I had been too confident. My passport was liberty to the land of liberty, and I had thought there would be no walls to scale, no veils to tear.[130]

Ekrem also became distressed by the Orientalist fantasies that the American people had when they had heard the word "Turk." "I saw vague ideas of daggers, veils, ephemeral silks and heavy incense drifting on their faces," she says and later tries to warn Americans about the stereotypes they had about Turkey and particularly about the harem life there. "This hay-rem you speak about exists only in your imagination," she says, mocking her American friends. "You here in America with your clubs and hotels reserved specially for women have better harems than we have in Turkey. They made me go on and explain to them my life my home that was so much like any European home, my travels, and of how I had learned basket-ball at the American college. My listeners were aghast with disappointment, for I was crushing their imaginary picture of an exotic land all entwined in the soft mystery of silks and perfumes and tinkling music."[131]

Nevertheless, while trying to destroy these stereotypes, Ekrem also realized that they were basically her best bet for making herself more interesting to an American audience. When she decided to give lectures and write about Turkey to earn her life in the United States (actually it seemed the only possible way for her to do so), she also decided to use these Orientalist stereotypes in a kind of balance. Accordingly, she henceforth tried to repel some of these stereotypes whereas she used some of them in her narrative to attract American readers. *Unveiled* is full of examples of this dichotomy. Actually, it was Ekrem's mind that pretends to interpret America as an Oriental mind has to do, and speaks about it as an Oriental woman

[130] Ibid., pp. 252-253.
[131] Ibid., p. 270. Almost the same comparison of the harem and the women clubs (and the fusion of Orientalizing and de-Orientalizing motives) can be found in another autobiographical narrative of an Ottoman woman, who is famous for using Orientalist stereotypes to deceive Pierre Loti in order to gain his support to live in Paris inside the Parisian high society of the period. For more, see Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* Edited by Grace Ellison (Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2004), (First pub.1913), pp. 183-186, 194.

shocked by the wonders of the "modern world" has to speak. Consequently, analyzing American life with a so-called Oriental perception was what Ekrem tries to do in order not to disappoint and disenchant her American audience.

> To me New York was the modern fairy city" she thus remarks, "There were no marble palaces, no trees laden with emerald leaves and turquoise flowers, no fairies flying in aerial chariots drawn by nightingales, no djinn brooding in underground caverns, and yet there was magic, the magic of modern inventions and the American mind, fairy lore to an Eastern eye…
>
> I wished, then, that I had a hundred pairs of eyes to look at the thousands of wonders that New York spread before me. Ahead of me was Brooklyn Bridge lying on volumes of air. This, I said to myself, is the magic carpet of old that could transport one from country to country in the days of fairy lore. We in the East dream of such wonders, and you in the West create them.[132]

She also praises America for its freedom and individuality:

> Though in America there were no neighbours from whom I could borrow cauldrons or sugar, there were also no neighbours who pried as they did at home into my private affairs and gossiped over my infidel hat. Free from neighbours, free from gossip, free from the hat question and the dread of prison. I was born again to a land of freedom. No longer would I peer at life behind the stifling lattices of prejudices that were reared in Turkey, but I, too, would be free to walk over the peaks of life and set my sail over the shoreless sea of my freedom.[133]

Still with time Ekrem started to miss Turkey. She started to experience the harsh capitalism of American life and realized that she could use her "Oriental" identity and knowledge as something to put on the capitalist market. So, she started to give lectures and traveled through the United States lecturing on Turkey. She was content with breaking the Orientalist prejudices in representing the modern Turkish women in those public gatherings, while she used a good amount of Oriental motives at the same time to satisfy her audience. This would go on with her writing career, *Unveiled* being the apogee of it. Yet she cannot

[132] Ekrem, *Unveiled,* pp. 254-255.
[133] Ibid., p. 262.

hide her disillusionment with America in *Unveiled*: "I had thought that in America I would find complete happiness. It is true that I found happiness through my freedom and my work, but I did not find the perfect country that I had dreamed of. America was far more interesting than that, and far more terrifying."[134] Ekrem later would return to Turkey, which this time she praises for its Eastern morality that the new regime mingled with Western innovation. "This was no longer the land of shackles" she cries:

> I had fled to America for freedom and now America had come back with me to Turkey. Turkish women were free. When I saw them in theaters, restaurants, and cinemas I could not believe that the pupils of my eyes were my own. The red curtain in the trams was gone, gone were the lattices and the cumbersome tcharshafs. The new republic was not only strong and united, but it was also a country where one could breathe.
>
> Turkey was a bit of America, tamed and softened by the East. The Land was at last alive and active, but not with that terrific activity that had dropped me breathless by the roadsides of America. Turkey was free, but not with that ruthless freedom which had hurt the centuries of submission in my blood. Turkey had become a bridge between the East and the West.[135]

Nevertheless she would go back to America again, and her life henceforth would be split between the United States and Turkey. She would publish two more books,[136] continue to give lectures on "old Turkey" and attend feminist circles in America. She would also work in the Turkish Consul's office in New York and in the Turkish Embassy in Washington D.C.; and write regularly for the *Christian Science Monitor* from the late 1950s until 1972.

Unfortunately, by the 1970s she had completely lost her audience as a writer. She was still trying to write about the old Turkey, the beauties of the Bosphorus, cosmopolitan Istanbul life and the tyranny of the sultans. Consequently, she became seen as someone belonging to a

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[134] Ibid., p. 274.

[135] Ibid., p. 276. Praising Eastern morality against Western materialism was quite popular at this period as it still is in some social circles. For an original account of that kind of examination written by the legendary schoolmate of Ekrem, see Halide Edib, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (Delhi: Jamia Millia, 1935).

[136] After publishing *Unveiled* in 1930 in New York (Unveiled was republished four times in the United States and also published in UK in 1931), Ekrem published two other books again in New York: *Turkey: Old and New* in 1947, and in 1964 an "orientalist" story book entitled *Turkish Fairy Tales.*

world which no longer existed. And eventually she got out of the scene, and ended up in a coastal town in New England where she died in 1986.[137]

The most important point that has to be emphasized, at the end of this chapter, is the ambivalent stance of Selma Ekrem both within her life story and her writings. It seems impossible not to agree with Kader Konuk, who in one of her articles puts Ekrem's *Unveiled* (together with many other famous texts of Ottoman writers written in Western languages) into a category that (using Mary Louise Pratt's terminology) she calls "autoethnographic." There she also underlines that she categorizes "these texts as autoethnographic in order to emphasize the fact that Ottoman subjects represented themselves in ways engaged with European representations of the Orient."[138] But here we believe that the very word "engaged" has to be accepted as essential. Self-representation of those "Eastern people" in ways that engaged with European representations of themselves did not necessarily mean for them to completely obey and follow those European representations. On the contrary, they with their claims of authenticity generally dared to challenge those representations and stereotypes; still they knew where to go in hand with them not to look completely alien and absurd in front of their Western audiences. This is actually the very method Ekrem follows in all of her writings. On one side she challenges Western stereotypes of Eastern institutions like the harem, but on the other hand she uses stories of Eastern despotism and "exotic" life to make her stories more attractive.

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[137] See Kutluğhan Soyubol, "Commemorating an ACG Graduate: Selma Ekrem'22" pp. 42-43; Carolyn Goffman, "Introduction" pp. V-VI; Yayıncının Notu, "Bu Kitabın Öyküsü," in Selma Ekrem, *Peçeye İsyan.* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1998), pp. 10-12.

[138] Kader Konuk, "Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters," p. 400. Also for the very concept autoethnography of Pratt, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 7-9.

Even her language and writing style could be seen as products of the combination of these Eastern and Western elements. Quite interestingly, she translates many Turkish phrases and sayings into English and uses them in her writings without any reservation. Some of those translations indeed do not give their exact meanings with their English versions, but still they provide an authentic aura around Ekrem's narratives. Ekrem's command of English also at many points reveals the American college education she had in Istanbul. The general phrases and the clichés she uses in her writings reveal the characteristics of the English language and literature education at AGC in that period.[139] A similar style can be found in the issues of *College Quarterly Magazine* of ACG that were published by Ekrem's schoolmates in this period.

It is truly hard to put *Unveiled* and Ekrem's other writings within the borders of feminist literature. Certainly, Ekrem talks a lot about the rights that Ottoman women did not have in the Ottoman Empire, but gained with the republic. However, her feminist interest was limited much more to a stand against the constraints of Islam on the Muslim women of the Ottoman Empire. Yet she found herself a place within the feminist circles in the United States as a result of her writings and her social connections. This will be analyzed within the context of the international feminist movement in the following chapter.

Ekrem wrote books and articles on the Turkey of her early life for a Western audience, *Unveiled* constituting the peak of her career in this respect. She also wanted to represent and promote her own country, which had achieved many successes and done many radical arrangements on the way of "modernization" in a short period of time. She most probably believed that her country had become a bridge between the Eastern and Western worlds, and saw herself (or tried to show herself) as a flesh and blood example of this combination active in the American publishing world.

[139] Here I am grateful to Carolyn Goffman who has made me aware of the general phrases and clichés Selma constantly uses in *Unveiled*.

Unfortunately, within the new world structure of the 1970s, Ekrem almost completely lost her audience as a writer and became seen as someone belonging to a world which no longer existed. She was still trying to write about the old, “exotic and despotic” Turkey. Eventually she got out of the scene, and ended up in a coastal town in New England, where she died in 1986, leaving three books that had been lost in the bookshelves of some libraries, some popular daily articles waiting in the archives, and traces of networks that are waiting to be studied.

Ishimoto Shidzue, Selma Ekrem and the Amalgamated Web of International Feminist, Missionary Movements

The last chapter of this study concentrates on the complex international relationships of the early twentieth century, which had different facets and branches. At the beginning of this study, Selma Ekrem and Ishimoto Shidzue were chosen as two remarkable representatives for this comparative study of Japanese and Ottoman-Turkish modernization, because both subjects followed more or less the same paths and faced crises of modernization in the same period in their own modernizing countries. Moreover, both of these women published their autobiographies almost simultaneously, at early ages, in the United States, and for an international Western audience. Not surprisingly, the two autobiographies with their common concern to inform Western readers about authentic life in the countries of their writers, and to make money in the Western book market, belonged to the same genre within the literary market of the period. Therefore, my plan had been to focus on these two texts and on their writers' biographies until the 1940s. These two subjects, who had gone through very similar experiences and achievements until that period, seemed perfectly suited. Thus began the examination of these autobiographical narratives, which would constitute the backbone of my thesis on modernization paths as viewed through the experiences and discourses of these two women.

Actually, the plan was to re-read these texts, under the overall theme of "modernization," and to compare the Ottoman-Turkish and Japanese versions of this complicated and ambiguous process. Taking gender, stratification and self-presentation as secondary themes, my hope was to deconstruct these autobiographical narratives together

with an emphasis on the "modern" discourses of their avant-garde writers, and then to embark on a discussion of such complex and often interchangeably used concepts as "modernization," "Westernization," and "civilization," together with references to the ideals, manners and biographies of Ekrem and Ishimoto. However, near the end of Ishimoto Shidzue's autobiography, *Facing Two Ways*, the author suddenly starts talking about Selma Ekrem. She praises her, describing their meeting at an international gathering of women held in Chicago in 1933:

> Thus I had the pleasure of feeling rather more dignified than exotic as I sat beside Selma Ekrem of Turkey, for example, who wore her fascinating native dress. She is the author of that important book on Turkish women, *Unveiled*. I was deeply impressed by her skill in handling the English language, by her directness of expression, and by her knowledge. But I did the best to represent my race too. Since the general theme set by this conference was 'Our Common Cause-Civilization', the speeches all revolved around the idea of women in a changing world.[140]

The discovery that the two women had known each other brought a new dimension to the study, which diverted my attention towards the international "feminist network" of the period to which both Ekrem and Ishimoto gained access in their home countries. Moreover, this brought into the picture many internationally well-known feminists of the period who had contacts with Ekrem and Ishimoto subjects, particularly the Americans, such as Mary Ritter Beard, Margaret Sanger and Grace Gallatin Seton Thompson. It also introduced the assumption that those "avant-garde" women, whether Ottoman-Turkish, Japanese, or American, had followed different paths in different geographies and cultures to reach the very same point, which was internationally determined within that feminist movement.

Nevertheless, the continuation of research would reveal that the international feminist network was not the only source for the connection of such women of different geographies.

[140] Baroness Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways.* p. 372.

Essentially, rather than being the only network that united the women of the world in this period, feminism was a branch or facet of a grand and amalgamated international web of the period. It even most probably came late to that web. Thus, based on the case at hand, it is possible to say that the first and foremost part of this international web was organized and used by the Protestant missionary movement. Later the socialists created a new network which became a new branch of this internationalism, and amalgamated with the previous missionary branch via Christian Socialism, and the like, at many points. The feminists would also join the web, and would use missionary and Christian Socialist connections since these networks were there and most of the feminists were either missionaries or socialists, if not both.

In this respect, the aim in this chapter is to focus on Ekrem and Ishimoto and their possible connections within these international networks. The amalgamated nature of these networks will be examined with an analysis of their different facets and branches. How Ekrem and Ishimoto became subjects of these international networks according to their respective situations will also be discussed.

Selma Ekrem, a Girl of an Ottoman Well-To-Do Family Educated by American Feminist Missionaries in Istanbul

Selma Ekrem's path eventually took her to an international feminist meeting in Chicago in 1933 as a representative of her country, where she was made to sit next to Ishimoto Shidzue, who was the representative of another part of the world. First of all, it must be kept in mind that Ekrem was a member of an Ottoman elite family. She was born in Istanbul in 1902 and started her education at home and then was enrolled at the American

College for Girls (ACG) in Istanbul, most probably in 1913 or 1914.[141] At this point, a few words must be said about the history of this college and its situation in this period since it is posited that it provided the basis for Selma Ekrem's future "feminist" activities and life path.

The ACG was established in 1871, in rented quarters in Gedikpaşa under the name of the "Home School,"with the support of a group of women from Boston headed by Mrs. Bowker, and of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). The school was later moved to Üsküdar in 1873 and its first building on this campus, Bowker Hall, was completed in 1875. This year witnessed another important event in the history of the ACG since it was that same year that Mary Mills Patrick, the legendary president of the college, joined the teaching staff of this institution, which was yet not a college but a high school for girls and was still called the Home School. Mary Mills Patrick and Clara Harriet Hamlin, the daughter of Cyrus Hamlin, the well-known missionary and founder of Robert College, became the co-principals of the school in 1883 after Mrs. Williams retired for reasons of health in 1883. Clara Hamlin would also leave the school in 1889, after which Mary Mills Patrick would become its sole principal. In the following year The Home School was granted a college charter by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts under its new name, "The American College for Girls at Constantinople" (ACG), and Mary Mills Patrick became the first president of the college, a post she would hold until 1924. In 1908 the ACG was granted a second charter by the Legislature of Massachusetts, which made it a completely independent college just like Robert College (RC) on the hills of Rumelihisarı in Istanbul and the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut (SPC, later known as the American University of

[141] It is not possible to know the exact year of her enrollment since her registration file cannot be found in the ACG archives at Robert College in Arnavutköy. Still, according *Unveiled,* Ekrem was registered at ACG after the Balkan War and right before the beginning of the Great War in 1914. For more, see Ekrem, *Unveiled,* pp. 221. She graduated in 1922. See *Who is who in the RC/ACG Alumni Community,,* p. 129; also see "Alumnae Notes" of the various issues of the *(The Constantinople) College Quarterly* from 1922 to 1930. Also see *The Alumnae Magazine* of the Alumnae Association of Constantinople Woman's College (March 1931), p. 28.

Beirut). But with one major difference, of course, RC and SPC were for boys only, whereas the ACG was for girls.[142]

As for education at the ACG, just like the other two independent colleges, Evangelicalism was an issue. The ACG was established by a group of women missionaries supported by American philanthropists and the ABCFM, the first and major American missionary organization active abroad, which had its center in Boston, Massachusetts, and had been founded by Congregational and Presbyterian officials.[143] Hence, it was not an independent institution, although it is possible to say that it was established as an autonomous school with a secular tone under the control of the Women's Board of the ABCFM. However, when the board placed a certain Dr. and Mrs. Smith as the board directors of the school in 1883, the intervention of the American Board started to be seen as something against the founding principles of the school, and this definitely created tension between Patrick and the American Board and its representatives, the Smiths. According to Robert Daniel, the Smiths by "taking a narrow, evangelistic outlook, resented both the autonomy of the Home School and its secular tone. Miss Patrick, on the other hand, increasingly regarded herself as an educator rather than a representative of sectarian religion, and she was determined to prevent the American Board from swallowing up the school."[144]

Still the American Board and Patrick continued to work in agreement until 1905, when fire destroyed Barton Hall, the principal class building of the ACG on its Üsküdar campus.

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[142] For the chronology of events in the history of ACG, see "Chronology of Events in the Histories of the American College for Girls and Robert College" in *Guide to Sources, Robert College and ACG Archives,* unpublished catalogue by May Fincancı, pp. 1-5; also for the history of ACG, see May Fincanci, *The Story of Robert College Old and New: 1863-1982* (Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1983), pp. 37-64; John Freely, *A History of Robert College,* vol. 1 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), pp. 139-153, 187-251, vol. 2, pp. 7-64; and for original accounts, see Mary Mills Patrick, A *Bosporus Adventure: Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman's College, 1871-1924* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1934), and *Under Five Sultans* (New York, London: The Century Co., 1929).

[143] For the history of the ABCFM, see, William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910); also see Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), pp. 5-42; Daniel, *American Philanthropy in the Near East,* pp. 18-24, 38-40, 52, 56-57, 60-61, 66-70, 95, 273, 283. All of the activities of ABCFM can be traced from the *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* which was published in Boston annually starting with the year 1810.

[144] Daniel, p. 85.

"The fire" Daniel declares, "brought to a boil the long-simmering differences of opinion."[145] Eventually, with the support of people like Caroline Borden, a long-time patroness of the school, Charles Cuthbert Hall, Grace H. Dodge of the Dodge family, who marked the history of RC, SPC and the ACG, an amendment to the college charter was secured, and the new charter issued in 1908 made ACG an independent college.[146]

Now it was time for Patrick to modify her entire curriculum with liberal and feminist motives. Still the College continued to be criticized by people like Sir Edwin Pears, whom Mary Mills Patrick called her lifelong friend in Istanbul. Pears, in his book *Turkey and Its People* published in 1911, recalled the College as a school that could only be compared to an English or American secondary school.[147]

The college had offered a choice of three baccalaureate programs (classical, literary and scientific) since 1894 and doubtlessly became much more liberal after 1908. The ACG moved to its new quarters in Arnavutköy in 1914. By that time, as Daniel remarks, "it had recapitulated the experience of the two men's colleges (RC and SPC). It was a non-sectarian college serving a multi-ethnic student population. Although a Christian institution, it had recognized the necessity of incorporating the sciences into its curriculum."[148] It was probably more liberal than RC and SPC. According to Daniel, Patrick "was more assiduous than either Daniel Bliss or George Washburn in keeping the curriculum of the college up-to-date."[149] It is actually possible to see this difference when comparing the curricula of these three Near-Eastern Colleges.

To understand this liberal stand one can also focus on the character of the faculty of these Colleges. For example, the Robert College administration did not have an inclination to hire Harvard graduates to teach at RC, since they most probably saw the graduates of this

[145] Ibid.
[146] See Patrick, *A Bosporus Adventure,* pp. 116-125.
[147] Sir Edwin Pears, *Turkey and Its People* (London: Methuen & Co., 1911), p. 388.
[148] Daniel, p. 86.
[149] Ibid. p. 85.

college as too liberal, yet the faculty body of the ACG was full of graduates of this university as well as of graduates of other American universities famous for their liberal education.

Actually, it is possible to call the ACG a "post-missionary" institution of education which "saw no philosophical conflict between its avowed secularism and the religious instruction that it required;" as noted by Carolyn Goffman: "Indeed, similar religious components were an established part of the liberal arts curriculum in most American colleges at that time."[150] The 1921-1922 academic year bulletin of the ACG, i.e. *Calendar 1921-1922*, reveals the requirements that Ekrem, who was a senior at ACG in that academic year, had to fulfill to obtain her Bachelor of Arts degree. In order to graduate, an ACG student had to complete at least 144 semester-hours of credit in her whole college course, had to have a general average of at least seven and a half in her Senior year, and a grade of nine or more in at least four semester credits or of eight or more in at least twelve semester credits of her Senior year.[151] The courses offered went from ancient languages and literature to economics and sociology; and from Biblical literature to chemistry and applied design.

The ACG faculty boasted women and some men with degrees from some of the top, and most liberal, colleges of the Anglo-Saxon world of the period. Among them the most significant ones were women colleges such as Smith, Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Vassar and Radcliffe. In other words, it is possible to say that the faculty body of the college generally consisted of the alumnae of the Seven Sister colleges, and universities and colleges like Oberlin, Syracuse, Pennsylvania, Cornell, Wesleyan, which had opened their doors to co-education in the late-nineteenth century. Still it is a well known fact that when Ekrem was a student at the ACG, the women's issue was not something that had been solved

[150] Carolyn Goffman, "Introduction," in Hester Donaldson Jenkins, *Behind Turkish Lattices* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2004) p. IX. For the religious essence of the American Universities and Colleges of the period, see George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[151] For more, please see *The American College for Girls at Constantinople. Constantinople College, Calendar 1921-1922,* pp. 24-27; also see *Bulletin of The American College for Girls at Constantinople. Constantinople College, Calendar 1923-1924,* pp. 25-28, 34-37.

even back home in the United States; and topics like education, profession, suffrage and the home life of women were burning issues in almost all Western countries.

At this point, following the American experience, it is necessary to concentrate on the change in women's education and therefore the change in the social positions of American women throughout the nineteenth century. The daughters of the well-to-do families of the Northeast had started to attend female academies in the late eighteenth century. Still these schools were generally far from offering a truly academic curriculum and were much more concerned about preparing their students for married life. However, by the 1820s, some of these female academies or "seminaries," as some of them were later called, particularly in New England, started to become the very foundation of the changes that women would experience within a short period of time. Similar schools spread throughout the Northeast, Southeast and Mid-West between 1830 and 1860. "Although connected to the rising income and ambitions of middle-class families, the very existence of such schools also signified a rise in women's status, especially to advocates of 'female improvement.'"[152] Among these seminaries the most significant ones were Emma Willard's Middlebury Female Seminary (opened in 1814), Troy Female Seminary (opened in 1821), Catherine Beecher's Female Seminary at Hartford (opened in 1828) and finally Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke Seminary opened in 1837. However, it seems that it was Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke who brought a complete new dimension and level to women's education by introducing high academic standards, a selective admission policy and curricular offerings similar to those at the men's colleges of the period. Still her seminary was geared specifically to women's roles. "Students performed domestic chores, contributing at once to the school's support and their own preparation for domesticity. Most important, Mount Holyoke fostered an extreme emphasis on piety, since Mary Lyon conducted regular revivals among her students. A graduate, according

[152] Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), p. 126.

to the 1839 catalogue, was expected to be 'a handmaid to the Gospel and an efficient auxiliary in the great task of renovating the world.'"[153] Most of the graduates of Mount Holyoke Seminary would succeed in this task not only as missionaries, but also as educators in other female seminaries and academies both inside and outside the United States. In 1888 the seminary would be accredited as a women's college and would be the fifth women's institution in the country educating women at college level.

At this juncture, there is little doubt that the birth of women's colleges was one of the biggest steps in women's history. Actually at the very beginning, some institutions which were nothing more than typical seminaries freely adopted the name college, and as a result, several of them, without hesitation, claimed to be the first women's college.[154] Yet it is clear that Vassar College, which opened its doors in 1865 and was credited with offering a curriculum equal to that of the best men's colleges in the country, has to be accepted as the first women's college. Vassar would be followed by Wellesley in 1870, Smith in 1871, Bryn Mawr in 1885, and Mount Holyoke in 1888. Other prominent women's colleges such as Barnard and Radcliffe, which were affiliated with some other prestigious men's colleges, would also be established in the following years, and the ACG would be an extreme American example of these developments in women's education in another part of the world.

Graduates of such colleges, nevertheless, despite their college education, did not have many opportunities for professional life. Their best options were to become teachers mostly at lower levels and sometimes at college level (and as a result of the low salaries they had to accept for such posts, they won over in the competition with their male counterparts), librarians, nurses and later doctors, and missionaries. Actually, they could enter all those other professions under the banner and support of missionary organizations, which were powerful and influential in that period. One can even argue that becoming a missionary was the easiest

[153] Ibid., p. 127.
[154] Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p.6.

way for an educated woman to lead a self-sufficient life. Once a woman became a missionary she would no longer be criticized for not being married, and even more, she would be praised for being a pious and devoted mercenary of the Gospel and of the "true faith" in domestic or foreign lands. An article on the work of women missionaries in Turkey from an 1872 issue of *The Missionary Herald* magazine of the ABCFM displays the value that was given to single women missionaries working in Turkey. It also shows the capacity of those women to teach in their mission fields with the hope of teaching future native teachers who would enhance their efforts by teaching what they had learned from them. This essentially is a vision that had been formed by early avant-garde women educators such as Mary Lyon and her sort, who had educated middle and upper-class white American girls. Later on, those educated white American girls transferred this vision to a missionary "carrying the torch" scenario:

> With a single exception, one or more unmarried ladies, in most cases two, are to be found at each mission station of the Board throughout the Turkish Empire. They constitute an integral part of the missionary force; and the value of their work, the necessity of their cooperation in order to the true success of the missionary enterprise, in reaching the homes of the people, is now conceded on every hand …
>
> As this new movement for the education of women was mainly begun by the example and efforts of the missionary ladies, married as well as single, so it now falls naturally very largely under their guidance and supervision. It is not their object to engage in the general work of teaching, earnestly as they are besought to do this in many instances, but rather to teach the teachers of the people, and then to guide them in the early stages of their work, till their success is secured. The influence of one Christian women of culture from this country is thus multiplied, vastly beyond what would be possible did she confine herself simply to the work of teaching in the ordinary way.[155]

The extract above is taken from an article that was published in *The Missionary Herald* in 1872. And it goes on, asking support from the readers for a school for women in this part of the world, "a home for Christian work," "which already happily began." Most

[155] "Work for Women in Turkey" *The Missionary Herald* (for the year 1872) vol. 68, (Cambridge: Riverdale Press, 1872) pp. 299-300. Also for an original account of the history of women's work for missions, see Louise Creighton, *Missions: Their Rise and Development,* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1912), pp. 112-127.

probably, the "home" mentioned there was "The Home School," which was established in 1871 and would later become the ACG. News from The Home School could also be found in the magazine together with two other female seminaries that were operating in Anatolia at that time. One of those seminaries had a curious and little known name, The Mount Holyoke Female Seminary at Bitlis (or Mount Holyoke Seminary of Kurdistan),which was established in 1868 and was under the care of Misses Charlotte E. and Mary A. C. Ely of the class of 1861 of Mount Holyoke Seminary, Massachusetts.[156]

So that was how those women came to Istanbul and other cities or provinces of the Ottoman Empire to "carry the light" to "Oriental" people, and to lead their own self-sufficient lives. Actually the very word "self-sufficient" is important here because it refers to one of the most central common ideals of those women. It is correct to connect the goal and ardor of self-sufficiency of those well-educated "new women" with a new ideal that had re-shaped their lives and objectives starting with this particular period.

This ideal was feminism, and it had many different facets at the beginning. In point of fact, one can evaluate the rise of feminism as a cyclical process. The movement started with the egalitarianism discussions of some European women such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Olympe de Gouge in the second half of the eighteenth-century. In the middle of the nineteenth-century these ideas were revived and new avant-garde women started to show themselves in literary and artistic circles such as the eccentric George Sand in France, and her contemporary opposite in terms of lifestyle, the Congregationalist writer Harriet Beecher Stowe in the United States. These women became famous and successful symbols of the new woman, a role of which they most probably were not aware, and had not planned to play. Consequently, the number of those kinds of eccentric well-educated women from well-to-do

[156] For more, see Sarah D. Stow, *History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Massachusetts during Its First Half Century, 1837-1887* (South Hadley, Massachusetts, Mount Holyoke, 1887) pp. 339-340. Also for a personal account on Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, Bitlis, see Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, *Knapp Papers*, *1893-1953,* MS 0809.

families increased and they started to declare with higher voices their "odd" claims such as those for more freedom and education for women within the public sphere. Focusing even only on the American case, it is possible to say that this was the result of the improvement in the education of the girls of upper class families. These were the years when the graduates of women's seminaries and academies had reached a critical mass. The path that was opened in this educational environment in the end resulted in prestigious women's colleges as well as co-education at universities. At the same time the gathering of women in clubs and organizations of their own to ask for their political rights such as suffrage and the like would be supported by the alumnae of such colleges and universities. Hence, it is possible to say that every step in this movement carried it forward and fortified its very essence by providing new supporters for it. Moreover, this movement had its connections with other significant movements of the period such as evangelism and socialism, and rose within the milieus of these movements as well.

The late nineteenth century was a period of internationalism which was possibly imposed through the imperialist policies of the Western powers and their so-called "gun-boat diplomacy." Still this internationalism did not have to be imperialist-oriented and could have had different facets (which, of course, at many points were supported by the "gun-boats"). Thus, one can claim that the unarmed element of this internationalism started first within the Western world (Europe and across the Atlantic) under the banners of movements such as the Evangelist movement (Protestant missionary movement), feminism and socialism,[157] and that

[157] The international character of socialism and evangelism is well known in comparison with the one of feminism. Yet it is possible to find very few old and some interesting recent studies on this topic. For an early French vision of feminist internationalism, see Magdeleine Boy, *Les associations internationales féminines* (Lyon: Paquet, 1936). Leila Rupp's recent study on the history of the three well known international women's organizations (International Council of Women, The International Woman Suffrage Alliance [later The International Alliance of Women], and The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom from the 1880s to 1945 is one of the best contributions to the field. See Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). Margaret McFadden also in her recent book follows the traces of an intricate network of contacts among women in Europe (England, the Continent including especially Scandinavia and Finland) and across the Atlantic in North America over the course of nineteenth century. Quite close to what we are going to witness in the following part of our study,

it spread out to the world, which was now opened to the circulation of these kinds of international movements.

The ACG in Istanbul, as a women's higher education institution in the Ottoman capital, was one of the centers and best examples of this internationalism. As mentioned above, it had started as a missionary institution and had later secured an independent college charter. Hence, it was a women's college, just like its sister institutions in the United States, which gave importance to piety while following secular curricula. It was an institution that housed many women missionaries. Even Patrick, the legendary president of the college, was a missionary. She worked for the Women's Board as a missionary for many years which lead to her posting at the college in 1875. At the same time, the ACG was an institution where feminist ideals were promoted by feminist missionary and even Christian socialist faculty members. Thus, it was an institution where feminist women were produced, just like in the American women's colleges of the period from where most of its faculty members had their degrees.

Feminism was a characteristic of the ACG as much as Evangelism. It even surpassed Evangelism with time, since it was applicable to all students of the college regardless of their religious and ethnic backgrounds, and became the main characteristic of the school. Moreover, the ACG as a representative of American feminism in Istanbul also evolved into a link to international networks of feminism. Faculty members of the college most probably had some connections with the Ottoman feminists and their organizations, which were established after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Actually the school was full of examples of this kind. As mentioned before, two faculty members of the ACG, namely Ellen Deborah Ellis and Florence Palmer, wrote an article on the feminist movement in Turkey in 1914, wherein they

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McFadden claims that this network was blossomed because of increased travel opportunities; advances in women's education; increased activity in the temperance, abolitionist, and peace reform movements; and the emergence of female evangelists and political revolutionaries, with other words female missionaries, socialists and suffragists. See Margaret H. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999).

criticized the image of Turkish women in Western literature, and tried to inform the Western audience about the changes on the lives of Turkish women after the Young Turk revolution. Ellis and Palmer outlined the aims of the Turkish feminist society of the period, *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti,* (The Society for the Protection of the Rights of Women) and their weekly official organ, *Kadınlar Dünyası* magazine on whose activities they concentrated, and with whom they probably had some connections. They also praised the policies of the Union and Progress government which, according to them, strongly supported the program of the *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* and "was working in everyway for the intellectual and moral development of the future wives and mothers of Turkey."[158]

Ellen and Palmer continued, describing the Turkish girls who had been sent abroad to be educated by the new government as well as to ACG where Selma was a freshman at that time. Ellen Deborah Ellis left ACG for America in the following year; there she would continue teaching economics and political science at Mount Holyoke College, where she had taught before coming to ACG. She later became chair of the Department of Political Science there in 1939 and retired in 1944.[159]

Another example of the interest that was shown in the Turkish feminist movement by ACG faculty members is Hester Donaldson Jenkins, who taught History and English at the ACG between 1900 and 1909, and published a book on the story of Mary Mills Patrick and the ACG in the United States and the United Kingdom in 1925. Jenkins was not only hired to teach English and Latin at the ACG, but also to "write on behalf of the College in American publications, with a view of making the College more widely known in America"[160] She left the College in 1909, but continued to publicize it in the United States and reached the peak of

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[158] Ellen Deborah Ellis and Florence Palmer, "The Feminist Movement in Turkey" *Contemporary Review,* 105, (Jan. / June 1914), p. 858.
[159] For more about Ellen Deborah Ellis and her papers at Mount Holyoke College, see chapter 3, footnote 115.
[160] *The American College for Girls in Constantinople. The President's Report to the Board of Trustees for the Year 1900-1901* (Gloucester: John Bellows, 1901), p. 8, quoted in Carolyn Goffman, "Introduction," H. D. Jenkins, *Behind Turkish Lattices,* p. IX.

her efforts first in 1910 with *Behind Turkish Lattices: The Story of a Turkish Woman's Life,* a work which Carolyn Goffman claims "reflects Jenkins's experiences at the school and her vision of the American College as an educational and cultural reformer of Ottoman women."[161]

A second but more relevant peak came with the publication of *An Educational Ambassador to the Near East: The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient* in 1925. Jenkins started the book by focusing on the missionary side of the story. Comparing what she calls "the Oriental girl" with the American girl in 1876, the centennial year for the American, and the beginning of the reign of Abdülhamid II for the "Oriental" one, she put some stress on the very role of the American girl of this period who gave her "sympathetic help" to her Oriental sister.[162] For Jenkins, it was none other than Patrick who, by becoming a missionary, had devoted herself to helping her sisters in their native land. Nevertheless, more interestingly, Jenkins followed the very same route as pursued in this study for understanding the missionary and feminist networks that paralleled each other in the international arena, or as in our case, in the ACG, an American College in the capital of the Ottoman Empire with students from different parts of the world. Hence, she also chose to start her book by concentrating on the missionaries and later turned to the feminists.

In this respect, Jenkins entitled the twenty-second chapter of her book "Feminism in the Near East in 1924." This chapter is quite like an updated version of the Ellis and Palmer article of 1914. Here Jenkins, like Ellis and Palmer, talked about *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* and *Kadınlar Dünyası.* Moreover, writing her account eleven years after Ellis and Palmer she presented an update on the developments in the intervening years. In point of fact, Jenkins left Istanbul in 1909, even before Ellis and Palmer came to work there, but it is

[161] Goffman., "Introduction," p. V.
[162] Hester Donaldson Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador to the Near East: The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient* (New York, Chicago, London, and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1925) p. 15.

apparent that she continued to follow the developments concerning the lives of women in Turkey. In her account, most likely as an ardent suffragist, she sought to concentrate on the level of suffragist tendencies of Turkish women, and to inform her readers about the very recent and radical efforts of some Turkish women to form a political party, an attempt that had been rejected by the new Kemalist government.[163] The political party that women such as Nezihe Muhhiddin had attempted to establish was *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (Women's People's Party). The organization that would emerge from this attempt would be *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (the Turkish Women's Association).[164]

Not surprisingly, Jenkins also talked about the success of the ACG alumnae in terms of the "emancipation of the Oriental women" and within the feminist field that was thriving there in stages. And she recalled the heroines of this story such as Halide Edib [Adıvar], her sisters Nigâr and Belkıs, Baidzar Dayan, Victoria Ravouna, Bedriye Veysi Hanım, the Kyrias sisters of Albania and the like. In addition to that, she also described the feminist tendencies of the ACG president, Mary Mills Patrick, who, she claimed, could be considered the very person who had shaped the life and education at the ACG since 1908, if not from 1889.

> Mary Mills Patrick has always been a feminist in the very best sense of the word, trusting in the ability and character of women. She was a suffragist long before it was popular in America or heard of in the Orient, and she has lived to see women ready to claim the vote in most of the Balkan States, Greece and Turkey...
>
> She has made education for women popular in the Orient, a considerable feat… Now that the day has come when women, through the force of circumstances, are called to take a share in the leadership of the Near East, it is the women trained in this American college who are ready to answer the call.[165]

[163] Ibid., p. 299.
[164] For *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası*, *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*, and Nezihe Muhiddin, see Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Fırkası, Kadın Birliği.*
[165] Hester Donaldson Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador to the Near East,* pp. 303-304.

Later in 1934, Mary Mills Patrick declared her suffragist ideas and the education style in the College that lead its students to these ideas:

> Ever since that period (1892), independence of action by the students has been an important element in preparing our graduates for woman suffrage in Turkey and in many countries of the Balkan Peninsula.[166]

After Mary Mills Patrick's retirement in 1924, feminist ideas would continue to circulate in the long corridors of the ACG. For some time, the president of the college would be the first Dean of Women at the University of Chicago, Marion Talbot, whose avant-garde ideas are considered to be among the intellectual roots of modern feminism.[167] Again, as an extreme example, Bernetta Miller, the third woman to hold a pilot's license in the the USA and whose solo flight in 1912 made aviation history, was appointed bursar at the ACG in 1926. Flying was considered to be the utmost modern activity in those years, and as can be easily imagined, women pilots were the most ostentatious argument for the feminist idea, which was based on the consideration that man and woman had equal capacities. Later Mustafa Kemal's adopted daughter, Sabiha Gökçen, would be the first Turkish woman pilot, and she would be presented as a symbol of the modern and emancipated woman of the new Turkish Republic.

However, at this point it is necessary to turn back to Ellen Deborah Ellis and to a notebook kept in the ACG/RC archives in Arnavutköy. Box 8-C in the ACG/RC archives in Arnavutköy holds a very interesting notebook signed and presented to the AGC library presumably around 1915 by Ellen Deborah Ellis. The *Guide to Sources, Robert College and ACG Archives* catalogue, which was prepared by May Fincancı, the former archivist of the College, filed this notebook not under Ellis' name but under the title of "Women's Suffrage

[166] Mary Mills Patrick, *A Bosporus Adventure,* p. 98.
[167] For a study which claims that Marion Talbot and other four women played an important role in laying down the intellectual roots of modern feminism, see Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1982)

Pamphlets." Obviously this is the correct way to catalogue this notebook, since apart from showing the vision and enthusiasm of Ellis, this notebook demonstrates the suffragist ideas that flowed in the corridors of the college, and how they were preserved in the shelves of its library. This notebook was prepared and presented to the library by Ellis probably in late 1914 or 1915 and it consists of women's suffrage pamphlets from the United States that she had collected. Among the writers of the pamphlets the best known is Jane Addams, the renowned suffragist and founder of the legendary Hull House in Chicago in 1889. Her famous twenty-page pamphlets, *Why Women Should Vote*, and *Women and Public Housekeeping* both published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), are presumably the most eye-catching pieces of Ellis' anthology of women's suffrage pamphlets that she prepared for the girls of the ACG. Among other pieces it is possible to find maps and news of women voters in the United States; one of these maps is dated "Nov. 1914" by Ellis in her handwriting. She put question marks on Montana and Nevada where, according to that map, there was no woman suffrage. Some of the pamphlets bear the stamp of the Woman Suffrage Headquarters, and there are two by Frances Maule Björkman that give information about woman's suffrage in Norway and Finland.

This notebook is worth some consideration and could be the object of an article; however, it must be left aside for the moment being. Still it shows the ideas that circulated in the ACG in that period. It is also important that the notebook has been protected in the college to this day in spite of the radical changes in the college structure. Both Daniel and Grabill, writers of the two most influential and canonical books on Near East, American and Protestant Missionary relations, also underline the feminist character of the American College for Girls in their studies. Grabill for instance, emphasizes the role of the ACG, a girl's school run by missionaries, which supported feminist ideas that were considered quite radical even in the United States in this period:

> Educational internationalism from America had its most revolutionary effect within the Ottoman Empire through a third institution, Constantinople Woman's College (later Istanbul Woman's College), which began in 1871. Thus, only a decade after the start of the feminist school of higher learning in the United States, Vassar College, missionaries exported to a fairly closed society an idea which was quite radical at home. The American Board, which had by then become less conservative, nurtured Constantinople Woman's College.[168]

Saying that the missionaries exported feminist ideas to "a fairly closed society," i.e., Ottoman society, is, of course an over-generalization, and indicates ignorance about the international feminist movement and Ottoman feminism in particular. Still it is quite true that the feminist ideas back then were considered radical in America and it is important to put stress on the existence of an educational institution for girls with feminist tendencies in Istanbul which was established in 1871, and run by American women missionaries and educators. In a way, it shows us the connection between missionary women, feminists and women's colleges at an international level. Daniel, almost in the same manner as Grabill, underlines "the unique impact" of the ACG in "fomenting feminism and creating the first generation of female intellectuals in Turkey." He tries to give more details than Grabill:

> The Woman's College made its unique impact by fomenting feminism and creating the first generation of female intellectuals in Turkey. Within the framework of standard college courses, women were inspired to strive for social, economic, and political equality with men. Students wrote essays which proclaimed that excessive domesticity thwarted development of the female mind and soul.[169]

Yet, if we look at the Ottoman feminist movement and connections, apart from the impact of missionaries and particularly the ACG, we see other connections with the Western world on much more personal bases. The most accurate connection can be traced in *Kadınlar*

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[168] Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East,* p. 25. Also for more on missionary and independent American educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire, see Andrews Frank Stone, *Academies for Anatolia,* (New York: University Press of America, Incorporated, 1984), Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleri ile Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları* (İstanbul: ARBA, 1989).

[169] Daniel, *American Philanthropy in the Near East,* p. 88.

Dünyası, the official magazine of the *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* that was published first daily and, after its hundredth issue, weekly between the years 1913-1921. It is possible to find many articles in this magazine written by some Western "feminist and suffragist" writers such as Odette Feldmann, Grace Ellison, Amélie Frisch and Berthe de Launay, who had connections with Ottoman feminists. According to Serpil Çakır, these women were also members of the *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* and had visited Istanbul at least once in this period.[170] *Kadınlar Dünyası* even had a French edition starting with its issue 121, published at the end of 1913; and presumably by publishing an edition in French the feminists at *Kadınlar Dünyası* tried to reach an international feminist audience of whose existence they were quite aware.[171]

Still, studies on Ottoman-Turkish feminism are limited and it seems practically impossible to trace the feminist activities of Muslim Ottoman women before the revolution of 1908. At this point, one has to recall Demetra Vaka Brown, and her written account of life in the Ottoman harem, *Haremlik,* which was published in 1909 in the United States. Vaka Brown was an Ottoman citizen of Greek origin who had moved to the United States in 1894 and had married the American writer Kenneth Brown in 1904. *Haremlik* was her first book and was about one of her trips to Constantinople before her marriage. Although it necessarily

[170] Odette Feldmann was a journalist from *Berliner Tageblatt* who wrote articles for Kadınlar Dünyası quite regularly. Grace Ellison was introduced in *Kadınlar Dünyası* as "a journalist from Times, one of the most ardent suffragists." See Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi,* p. 86. Ellison later wrote many books on the social life and her experiences in the Ottoman Empire and early Republic as well as in the French Firing Line within World War I and Occupied Germany after the war. She also edited *La désenchanté* Zeyneb Hanım's book, *A Turkish Women's European Impressions.* See Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem,* (London: Methuen, 1915); *An Englishwoman in Angora* (London: Hutchinson, 1923); *Turkey To-day,* (London: Hutchinson, 1928); also for an analysis of her studies and connections with the "Oriental women" see Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

[171] The magazine had a world news (*havadis-i dünya)* column that gave information about the developments in the feminist and suffragist movement in the West. Western writers of the magazine also wrote about what was going on in the West. Odette Feldman, for example, wrote an article on the International Council of Women in Issue 133. See Odette Feldman, "Kadınların Beynelmilel İçtimaı" *Kadınlar Dünyası* 133 (1 Mart 1330/16 Rebiyülahir 1331) pp. 3-4. The result of a survey that was conducted by the magazine in 1921 also shows the admiration of Ottoman feminists for the American feminists and their achievements. According to that Ottoman feminists wanted to follow the ways of their American counterparts and even emphasized the possible advantages of translating *Ladies Home Journal*, where famous well-known feminist such as Jane Addams regularly wrote. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi,* p. 147.

describes events before 1904, it includes a chapter entitled, "Suffragettes of the Harem," about a gathering of Ottoman suffragists in a certain Zeybah Hanım's house that was decorated with banners "embroidered in silver with *'Freedom for Women!'* and *'Down with Old Ideas'* slogans.[172] According to Vaka Brown, "suffragettes of the harem" were discussing the situation of Western women, by citing George Sand, George Eliot and others naively, and more radically they were in preparation for an immense protest. Vaka Brown depicts those women as naïve and irrational versions of the radical and militant suffragists of the period such as the Emmeline and Christabel Parkhurst of England and their "comrades." Actually, those British militant suffragists were quite popular among one of the wings of the women movement in the United States in the early twentieth century, when Vaka Brown published her book. The Pankhurst sisters even visited their counterparts in New York and spoke at their meetings to give them support.[173] Thus, the radicalism in Vaka Brown's depiction of those Turkish women with militant suffragist tendencies was a well-known story to her Western readers, and definitely added an exciting touch to her story.

Nevertheless, it must be said that her depiction and story seem to be quite remote from reality. Vaka Brown described the preparation of an appalling protest by those "Oriental" suffragettes under the leadership of Zeybah Hanım. According to her story, six members of this "secret suffragist harem society" were planning to kill themselves following the decision of the society to "teach man a lesson on the capability of women for going to any lengths to get what they want."[174] This alone must have been quite stirring for a Western audience in a book about the ladies of a harem, yet Vaka Brown put one final touch for the sake of the ultimate joy of her readers: She persuaded those poor suffragists of the harem not to kill

[172] Demetra Vaka Brown, *Haremlik: Some Pages from the Life of Turkish Women,* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909; new ed. (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2004) p. 164.
[173] For the connections between Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the founder of the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, and Pankhursts, see Anne F. Scott and Andrew M. Scott, "One Half the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage" in Linda K. Kerber and Jane De Hart-Mathews (eds.), *Women's America: Refocusing the Past (*New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) p. 300.
[174] Brown, *Haremlik*, p. 173

themselves, but to use more "rational" methods to promote their campaigns. This was quite an appropriate role for someone who published in America and had married an American man of letters; however there is no doubt that the story is disingenuous.

On the other hand, the possible insincerity of Vaka Brown's story does not mean that there were no suffragists beyond the latticed windows of Ottoman harems in this period. The first official society that those women would establish was *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan,* but certainly feminist ideas had been circulating among upper class women of the period for some time. It is also obvious that those discussions became indispensable for a particular group of Ottoman women as a result of the modernization discourses, and the importation of Western ideas and life styles into their lives. In this respect, the ideas that were brought into the country by Westerners and particularly by Protestant missionaries deserve some consideration. The ACG, as their first women's institution, which acknowledged itself as feminist and suffragist, played an important role in educating some of the early feminists of the country. It was there, after the 1908 revolution and even earlier, that the Muslim girls of the revolution such as Halide Edib were educated. Halide Edib, who was a graduate of the 1901 class, had to get into the college from its backdoor not to be seen by the spies of Sultan Abdülhamid, who had prohibited his Muslim subjects from attending missionary schools.

Without a doubt, apart from evangelist and feminist ideas, some other fashionable ideas of the period such as socialism and the like were also flowing inside the ACG campus. It is possible to see many references to socialism and even reports of lectures on Bolshevism that were organized for students in various issues of the *College Quarterly*.[175] Actually, the idea of Christian socialism was very popular in those years and this is very important for the study at hand, since it posits that Christian socialism provided the basis for Ishimoto Shidzue

[175] A good example can be seen in March 20, 1920 issue. Selma Ekrem was a student at the college in that year. See "College News," *College Quarterly* (March 20, 1920), p. 38.

to get into the international network, which would carry her to Chicago to meet Selma Ekrem in 1933.

Ishimoto Shidzue, A Feminist Japanese Baroness

Ishimoto Shidzue was not educated by missionaries, as was the case for Selma Ekrem. Actually this could have been an option for her since there were many high schools, junior and even two senior colleges that had been established and were governed by Protestant missionaries in Japan.[176] There were also colleges such as Tsuda College that were not directly related to missionary boards, but run by Japanese Christians who had connections with Protestant missionaries. Shidzue, however, was not an early but a mid-Meiji baby[177] and it was not proper for a samurai family to send a daughter to be educated by missionaries, especially after the second half of the Meiji period. After all, the duty of such a girl was to be a good wife (*ryosai*) and a wise mother (*kenbo*) as the seventeenth century document *Onna Daigaku* (Greater Learning for Women) by Kaibara Ekken proposes. Right before and after the birth of Ishimoto, missionary schools were harshly criticized "for failing to pay attention to the 'special characteristics' of Japanese women and for being 'insufficiently protective' of traditional Japanese virtues."[178] As Sievers emphasizes, "the mission school, according to its critics, was a place where foreign women, in addition to making every effort to convert

[176] For details, see *Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, Regional Reports of the Commissions of Appraisal: JAPAN,* vol. 3, Supplementary Series Part One (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1933) pp. 86-148; and Sugaya Naoko, "Kirisutokyo to sono shuhen no joseikan" in Tanaka Sumiko (ed.), *Josei kaiho no shiso to kodo* (1975), pp. 64-65.
[177] For the difference between early and mid-Meiji periods, see Donald H Shively 1971. "The Japanization of the Middle Meiji," in Donald H. Shively (ed.) *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, pp. 77-119.
[178] Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, p. 105.

paying students to Christianity, filled their heads with subjects totally inappropriate to the reality of women's lives."[179]

In this respect, Shidzue, as the daughter of an upper-class samurai family, attended the girls section of *Gakushuin*, *Kazoku Jogakko,* the Peeresses' School, which was established in 1885. Ishimoto's first autobiography, *Facing Two Ways,* gives many details about the life at *Gakushuin,* both in its co-educational kindergarten, and in its primary and high school sections for girls. Ishimoto talks about the education in the high school section of the Peeresses' School and complains about the difference between the boys and girls sections at the school, a difference presumably less observable in the harshly criticized missionary schools:

> At the age of twelve, I finished the primary course in the Peeresses' School and entered the high school in the same compound, which was supposed to correspond to the Boys' middle school. In reality there was a distinct difference between the two in the standard and character of learning. Boys were taught to be "great personalities"; girls were first and foremost taught to become obedient wives, good mothers and loyal guardians of the family system. This discrimination was not calculated to encourage girls to be pioneers in any enterprise.
>
> The five years' education in the girls' high school was looked upon as the grand finishing course, so that few girls remained at school for postgraduate work. Arithmetic, algebra, Euclid, physics, chemistry, national and foreign geography and history were taught, but we were only allowed to peep into the world of science and did not spend much time or energy on any one of the more approved subjects. Japanese literature, both classical and modern, covered the largest part of class assignments, for as a matter of fact well-educated Japanese citizens had to learn at least four or five thousands Chinese ideographs, most of which are pronounced in three or four different ways and written in at least three styles. A vast amount of attention had to be bestowed on these. Besides this strenuous memory work, penmanship, painting, drawing, music, sewing, embroidery and cooking were taught in both the Western and the Japanese manner. The girls were kept quite busy.[180]

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[179] Ibid. At this point, it is possible to argue that the Ottoman critics of the same schools would have agreed completely with the "dangerous" efforts of foreign women converting paying students, and most probably would not have agreed with the idea of the inappropriateness of the subjects that were taught there.

[180] Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways,* p. 53. *Facing Two Ways* can be considered as one of the primary sources of historians and anthropologists writing on modern Japanese nobility (*kazoku*) and their school *Gakushuin,* thus many such scholars refer to it in their studies. For a good example, see Takie Sugiyama Lebra, *Above the Clouds,* pp. 66-67.

Actually, in terms of the history of the Peeresses' School, this distinction between the education of boys and girls was something that was secured at the very beginning. Even Emperor Meiji in 1885 used the pretext of the appointment of Tani Kanjo as the first president of the newly created Peeresses' School to remark on the importance of differentiating between education for men and for women.[181]

Consequently, Shidzue was educated accordingly and became a prospective upper-class "good wife and wise mother" as an alumna of the Peeresses' School. Nevertheless, because of the influence of her liberal Uncle Tsurumi Yusuke, who came to live with them in 1908 while he was studying at the Imperial University in Tokyo, and their mentor, the famous Christian humanist and scholar Nitobe Inazo, Shidzue was inspired to search for another way. She was trained for her role as a typical Japanese woman of her class by both her mother and her school, but the liberating mentoring of Uncle Yusuke and the inspiration of Dr. Nitobe, her "reverend minister," bit by bit pulled her in a different direction.[182] There is no doubt that Uncle Yusuke, who later gained national recognition as a bureaucrat, politician, intellectual, writer, novelist, lecturer, and unofficial ambassador to the United States, was an important figure for Shidzue. Later he would also play an important role for Shidzue's international connections and introduce her to a number of people including Charles and Mary Ritter Beard. Thus, Shidzue declares in her 1935 autobiography: "My young uncle, Tsurumi Yusuke, was the one who first developed the intellectual side of my life."[183]

Another figure for the intellectual awakening of Shidzue was her first husband, Ishimoto Keikichi, who was also a disciple of Nitobe Inazo, and was praised as "one of the brightest disciples of Dr. Nitobe, and as a humble student of Christian humanism, although he

[181] See Nagai Michio, "Westernization and Japanization," in Donald H. Shively, *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture,* p. 45. Also see Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt,* p. 106.
[182] Helen M. Hopper, *Kato Shidzue,* p. 7; *A New Woman of Japan,* p. 5.
[183] Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways,* p. 87.

was born to a family of wealth and honor"[184] by Uncle Yusuke when his marriage to Shidzue was decided. It would be Keikichi who would force Shidzue to become a self-sufficient woman. For this reason, just after their marriage, Keikichi, while he was in the United States, called Shidzue to join him there to educate herself.[185] It was hard for Shidzue to leave her two baby boys behind, but she had to be the wife that her husband wanted. She was the daughter of a samurai and a wife of a Japanese baron. Thus, ironically it is possible to say that it was still the traditional ideas that paved the way to Shidzue's transformation into a modern, self-sufficient woman.

In the United States Ishimoto Keikichi was, of course, in connection with Christian humanist, socialist and even radical circles. Therefore, in accordance with his plans to make his wife self-sufficient, he took her to the Y.W.C.A. (Young Women's Christian Association) to consult with an advisor at their Training School. As a result, Shidzue registered for the secretarial course at the Ballard School, which was in the Y.W.C.A. building. One month later Keikichi left New York to attend the first meeting of the International Labor Organization in Washington D.C. According to Shidzue, her husband had "thrown her out in the wilderness of human life where she was unable to rely upon anybody else but had to stand up firmly on her own feet."[186] Yet she was trying to stand up on her own feet, and adapt herself to the "Bolshevik" standards of her husband in the U.S. when Keikichi returned from Washington D.C. with plans to go to Europe, and particularly to the Soviet Union to meet with Lenin, Trotsky and other leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution. "Moving steadily to the left, my husband's Christian humanism paled in the face of his radical economic convictions," In her words, "However, his fundamental belief in Jesus Christ remained even if he did doubt the efficacy of Christianity in furthering social reform."[187] But she could not pass without

[184] Ibid., p. 105.
[185] See chapter 2, footnote 23.
[186] Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways,* p. 180.
[187] Ibid., p. 188.

emphasizing that "it was not Christian humanism that brought my husband to the extreme faith in Soviet Russia. Experiences in the United States had refashioned his thinking."[188] Yet she did not consider a possible link to follow between these ideologies and their realms.

Shidzue asked her husband to take her to Europe with him. Keikichi's answer was clear, "Are you going to miss your chance to study? Is it your idea to cling to me all the rest of your life? Don't you want to make yourself useful to society?" She says she could not answer him, but his attitude confirmed her determination to remain in the United States until she had finished her course at school. She must study, she must be a self-supporting woman, she repeated to herself.[189]

Shidzue stayed in New York for six months after the departure of her husband for Europe. She graduated from the Ballard School's secretarial course, and more importantly made many new acquaintances that would play significant roles in her future. Among them, without a doubt, the most significant of these was the famous birth-control activist and feminist Margaret Sanger, whom she calls "one of the greatest women of the world." In fact, Keikichi had introduced Shidzue earlier to the famous socialist journalist and birth-control activist Agnes Smedley,[190] who had worked with Margaret Sanger on many occasions. Shidzue followed the path that had been opened to her via her husband's Christian humanist and socialist connections. Shidzue asked Smedley to introduce her to Sanger. On January 17,

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[188] Ibid., p. 192.
[189] Ibid., p. 181.
[190] Agnes Smedley is one of the most enigmatic figures of twentieth century feminist history. She had direct relations with many radicals such as Emma Goldman, Eugene Debs and Alexander Bergman, moved to Germany in 1920 with the Indian revolutionary leader, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and set up Berlin's first birth-control clinic. She went to Russia in 1921 and China in 1928 where she worked as a reporter until 1941. She had been arrested and charged in 1918 under the Espionage Act for attempting to stir up rebellion against the British rule in India. She also was charged for seditious acts. Margaret Sanger and John Haynes Holmes led the campaign for her release. After World War II, she claimed to have been part of a communist espionage ring based in Japan during the 1930s. Actually she was a friend of the German journalist, Richard Sorge, who was spying on the Japanese government on behalf of the USSR, and had been arrested by the Japanese authorities in 1941. He was executed three years later. Smedley and Sorge were close friends in China in the 1930s. Yet Smedley's involvement in Sorge's spying activities is unknown and any charges were ever brought against her. Smedley wrote many books particularly on China. Her autobiographical novel *Daughter of Earth* was considered "America's first feminist-proletarian novel." She died in Oxford, England in 1950. For more on Agnes Smedley, see Janice R. MacKinnon, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Times of an American Radical* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

1920, Smedley took Shidzue to see Margaret Sanger, "in whom she had been deeply interested," and there, as Shidzue describes in her *Facing Two Ways,* listening to Sanger's account of the birth control movement, the memory of the overcrowded miners' huts in Western Japan came back so vividly that the idea of her true mission in life flashed over her. "Yes," she cried, "Mrs. Sanger's fight has to be fought in my country too! I will carry the banner of Birth Control in Japan."[191]

Shidzue's friendship and collaboration with Margaret Sanger would continue until Sanger's death in 1966. Sanger would visit her many times in Japan to give her support for birth-control activism as Shidzue visited her many times in the United States. Via Margaret Sanger. Shidzue would meet many people involved in birth control activities and the feminist movement. Among them were Dorothy Hamilton Brush and Mary Ritter Beard. Dorothy Hamilton Brush eventually became one of Shidzue's best friends and supporters. Brush became like a member of the Ishimoto-Kato family, the Dorothy *Obasan* (aunty) of Shidzue's children.[192] It was Brush whom Shidzue asked for the things that her family needed after the American Occupation:

> I feel shame to ask you this, but there are things (we) are in need (of) in our family. If you feel that you can spare some things below, it will be most appreciated by me.
>
> Anything for Takko to wear. Underwears, knitted things, clothers, coat or materials. She will be five next March, rather large size for age. Suits, over coat swe(a)ters anything for me to wear. Women improved their wearings here, inspite of meager income and high costs of living. My size is 16…
>
> Sheets, bed covers, pillow case and towels are badly needed.[193]

The gift package that was sent by Brush reached the Ishimoto-Kato family on February 18, 1950:

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[191] Shidzue Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways,* p. 183.
[192] See letter from Shidzue Ishimoto Kato to Dorothy Hamilton Brush, June 27, 1955, *Dorothy Hamilton Brush Papers,* Box 8, Folder 12, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[193] Letter from Shidzue Ishimoto Kato to Dorothy Hamilton Brush, December 10, 1949, *Dorothy Hamilton Brush Papers,* Box 8, Folder 12, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

> Your gift package reached me this morning at the same time with the boxes form Margaret. You can imagine how our whole house was excited with the wonderful American's new look! Takko was so pleased with Margaret and Nancy's cute dresses and I was just trilled with the attractive wool tweed suit, sweater, three pairs of nylon stockings and the smart looking over coat…
>
> Dear Dorothy, when I received your letter announcing about these gifts of yours, I was sick in bed… So I read your letter again and again and appreciated you(r) expression of genuin(e) frie(n)dship. I felt your tender heart so near to mine, and thought that having a close friend really makes one's life rich.[194]

Brush also financially supported Shidzue's birth-control activities, a support she gave to Margaret Sanger as well,[195] and co-authored a book on Japanese women with Mary Ritter Beard entitled *The Force of Women in Japanese History,* in 1953. Shidzue met the famous historian and feminist Mary Ritter Beard not via Sanger, but via her uncle Tsurumi Yusuke, who, as a student of Christian humanism, had many connections in the U.S. Tsurumi was also the son-in-law of the Tokyo mayor Viscount Goto Shimpei. When Goto established a Bureau of Municipal research and sought an advisor for the modernization of the city's government and services, both Goto and Tsurumi thought of calling the famous historian Charles Beard whom they had met in New York. Thus, Charles and his wife and colleague Mary came to Tokyo on September 14, 1922. And there Shidzue would be the host of Mary Ritter Beard at her uncle's behest. Her "knowledge of English and her familiarity with the West made her a perfect host. As a bonus, Shidzue was a representative Japanese 'new woman' and was, therefore, of intellectual interest to Mary Beard, an observer and writer about women's lives."[196] So, this was a beginning of a friendship that would develop over the years. In the following decade, Mary would become an important conduit for Shidzue's writing projects (she would encourage her to write her autobiography for the international

[194] Letter from Shidzue Ishimoto Kato to Dorothy Hamilton Brush, February 18, 1950, *Dorothy Hamilton Brush Papers,* Box 8, Folder 12, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College

[195] See Ellen Chesler, *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America* (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1993), pp. 365, 410.

[196] Helen M. Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan,* p. 28; Mary R. Beard wrote an article entitled "The New Japanese Woman" in 1924 in *The Woman Citizen,* the article was a product of her observations in Japan in that trip.

market and find the necessary connections for publication processes), and "help to keep Shidzue intellectually stimulated and economically solvent during the traumatic years of militaristic repression,"[197] just like Dorothy Hamilton Brush did.

Those three women, namely Margaret Sanger, Dorothy Hamilton Brush and Mary Ritter Beard became the actual friends, supporters and connections of Shidzue in the U.S. and also in the international scene. Her correspondence and collaboration with them continued until the end of their lives. Whenever she visited the United States she met with them, and they provided her the necessary connections and organized her program in the U.S. It is possible to see the same expressions in her many letters about her plans to visit the U.S. and how "anxious" and "thrilled [she was] with the idea of seeing Dorothy, Margaret and Mary Beard again."[198] Shidzue's correspondence with these three women can be found in the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.[199] In addition to that, some of the correspondence between Sanger and Shidzue can be found in the Margaret Sanger Archives of the Library of Congress. Even a glance at these archival materials would reveal the personal connection between these four women more clearly.

It is important to keep in mind that Shidzue met these three important women of the feminist network via her (i.e., her husband's and her uncle's) early connections in Japan. Therefore, it is impossible not to recall names such as Dr. Nitobe Inazo, Shidzue's "reverend minister," Christian humanist scholar, and the interpreter of Bushido for Westerners who had an American wife; and Christian-Socialist Professor Abe Iso (1865-1949), who was considered the father of Japanese socialism. Abe was a graduate of Doshisha University, the first and most important Protestant Missionary University in Japan, which was run by the

[197] Helen M. Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan* p. 29.
[198] For some examples, see letters from Shidzue Ishimoto Kato to Dorothy Hamilton Brush, February 28, 1950, and May 31, 1951, *Dorothy Hamilton Brush Papers,* Box 8, Folder 12, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College
[199] A serious amount of her correspondence with Sanger there was also published in microform in the series of *Research Collections in Women's Studies*, with the title, *The Margaret Sanger Papers Microfilm Edition: Collected Document Series*.

ABCFM. He later went abroad to further his education at Hartford Theological Seminary in Connecticut, and at the University of Berlin. He spent his career advocating pacifism, Christianity and labor rights in Japan. He helped launch Japan's most important socialist parties and organizations. He was also one of the founders of the Birth Control League of Japan, and the Birth Control Study Society with Ishimoto Shidzue. [200]

A photograph of Shidzue in *Facing Two Ways* can also be considered as an indicator of her milieu in Japan. There Shidzue in her traditional kimono sits with a Western woman in a garden. A house at the top of the garden dominates the picture. The subtitle of this picture reads: "Miss Anna Birdsall, hostess secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Tokyo, and myself in Dr. Inazo Nitobe's garden."[201] This photograph is not interesting since Dr. Nitobe's house (and its garden in summer) is a possible place where Christian humanists gathered, and the Ishimoto couple was a member of this milieu. Moreover, Shidzue worked as private secretary for Anna Birdsall, hostess secretary to the National Y.W.C.A. of Japan. Yet the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. connection here is important, not only because the Y.W.C.A. provided education for Shidzue in New York, but also because of the role it played in the feminist movement in Japan, and the support it gave to feminist activities in that country. As an example also directly connected with Shidzue, one could recall the New Women's Association, a liberal feminist organization of the 1920s the first meeting of which was held on February 21, 1920 in the Y.M.C.A. hall in the Kanda area of Tokyo. The Y.W.C.A. of Japan was also associated with the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Japan (*Nihon Kirisutokyo Fujin Kyofukai)*, which was led by Yajima Kajiko and was very influential in the formation women's suffrage groups in the 1920s. Apart from the role that the Japanese branches of such international Christian organizations played inside the feminist movement

[200] For more on Abe Iso, see Cyril Powles, "Abe Isoo: The Utility Man," in John F. Howes and Nobuya Bamba (eds.) *Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition* (Kyoto: Minerva Press, 1978); and on Nitobe Inazo, see John F. Howes (ed.), *Nitobe Inazo: Japan's Bridge Across the Pacific* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995)

[201] Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways,* between pages 184-185.

in Japan, they were also obviously noteworthy because of the potential they offered to the "new Japanese women," such as Ishimoto Shidzue, to establish or develop their international connections.[202]

Shidzue was of course a member of this milieu and a part of those connections both in side and outside of her country. It also should be remembered that some of the American Protestant missionaries were close friends and supporters of her activities. Among those many names Elizabeth Coleman (Mrs. Horace Coleman) is probably the first name to come to mind. Coleman had accompanied Shidzue when she gave a speech about birth-control to the miners and their wives at the Ashio Copper Mines in 1923. It was Shidzue's first public talk, and the support of her friend and neighbor quieted her fears.[203] Coleman was a supporter of birth control activities both in the U.S. and in Japan, and provided first hand information about the developments in Japan for the Americans (particularly for her friend Margaret Sanger), and about events in the U.S. for her Japanese friends such as the Ishimotos. In 1921, in the very early days of birth control activism in Japan, she wrote to Sanger informing her about the developments in Japan and praising the Ishimoto couple for being "unusually radical and progressive for Japan."[204]

More praise for Shidzue's uncle Tsurumi Yusuke, for her second husband Kato Kanju and indirectly for herself would later came from Darley Downs, a Congregational missionary, who lived and taught in Japan from 1919 to 1941. As a missionary, Downs was a member, or associate, of Shidzue's social circle in Japan. He was interviewed by the Director of Security and Intelligence in Washington in 1945, after Japan's unconditional capitulation at the end of World War II. There Downs "described thirty-nine Japanese whom he believed would be useful to occupying forces. Both Kato Kanju and Tsurumi Yusuke were among

[202] For the connection between feminist activity and such Christian organizations in Japan, and their international connections, see Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Japan,* pp. 30, 58-65.
[203] See Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*, pp. 233-234; and Helen M. Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan,* p. 32
[204] Letter from Elizabeth Coleman to Margaret Sanger, May 16, 1921, *Margaret Sanger Archives*, United States Library of Congress, quoted in Helen M. Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan,* pp. 21, 37.

those "personalities who, in his opinion possess liberal attitudes on political, economic or religious matters [and were] were probably anti-militarist and could be expected to help the Americans."[205] Thus, connections would work once again, and this information would open a new path both for Shidzue and her family in post-war Japan.

There is no doubt that the careers of Selma Ekrem and Ishimoto (Kato) Shidzue went in different directions especially after 1935. The difference was actually apparent from the very beginning, when Selma Ekrem moved to the United States with the aim to live there. For Ishimoto Shidzue, the United States was not a place to live, but much more a place to educate herself, find some connections to support her work in Japan and to earn some money to use in her home country. Indeed, the life styles of these two women were also different, Shidzue traveled to the U.S. to meet her husband, Baron Ishimoto Keikichi, leaving her two babies at home under the care of her mother. Ekrem, in contrast, traveled to the U.S. alone, only relying on the connections she had at the American College for Girls in Istanbul. She had left her affectionate family behind, yet it was not something that bound her to her past as Shidzue's babies did. Furthermore, she did not have plans of returning to her country to be active in its socio-political life as Shidzue later did. Still it is apparent that both Ishimoto Shidzue and Selma Ekrem used the same kinds of international connections to reach the United States and to be active there. They were the representatives of their countries within those networks; thus it is not surprising to find them sitting next to each other at an international gathering of feminist women and women writers in Chicago in 1933. Both of them had been invited by the American suffragist and writer Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson (1872-1959), who was also the president of Pen and Brush (1898-1939) and the National

[205] Helen M. Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan,* p. 157.

League of Pen Woman (1926-28, 1930-32). She was one of the major names for these networks. She had direct connections with feminists and women writers from all over the world. She helped to organize the international conference of women writers in Chicago in 1933, and arranged an exhibit of 3,000 books by women. She visited Japan, China, Indochina, Hawaii, Egypt and Latin America in the 1920s and 1930s, and later wrote books about her travels such as *A Women Tenderfoot in Egypt* (1923), *Chinese Lanterns* (1924) and *Yes, Lady Saheb* (1925).[206]

That Selma Ekrem and Ishimoto Shidzue met in the U.S. is also substantiated by the book that was published after this particular congress.[207] It is hard to find their names together apart from this book and Shidzue's *Facing Two Ways*. However, there is still a possibility that they met again because of their common connections and 'cause.' Even if they did not it is for sure that some other women came together, occupying their positions as representatives of their countries in similar or different contexts and occasions, using these international networks which presumably did not lose their character and force until the end of World War II.

[206] Apart from her books, her personal papers can be found at the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College under the title *Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson Papers*.
[207] See National Council of Women of the United States, *Our Common Cause, Civilization: Report of the International Congress of Women,* (U.S.A: National Council of Women of the U.S, 1933), pp. 9, 85-89, 226, 705-706, 711-712, 773, 960.

Conclusion

At the end of this study, it is possible to say that both Ishimoto Shidzue and Selma Ekrem followed rather similar paths to create space for themselves on the international stage. They both joined the amalgamated international networks of missionaries, feminists and even socialists from their own countries, and wrote and acted for their American audiences, particularly in the 1930s. They both acted as examples of the "modern" and "new" women of their countries, and personally attempted to represent those countries in an international context.

Yet in this conclusion, a final stress has to be put on the "feminisms" of these two women. In fact, it seems even absurd to compare the feminist activities of Ishimoto and Ekrem, since Ishimoto can be considered as one of the central figures of the Japanese women's movement, whereas Ekrem's feminism remains a question mark. Ekrem was a graduate of the ACG, a college which, as noted in the previous chapter, offered a liberal education that included suffragist ideas at the time when she was a student there. The college was also a center of the international feminist and missionary networks of the period. After her graduation, Selma moved to the United States, where she published her autobiography in English in 1930. She named it *Unveiled*. In those years, even being an author was probably enough for a woman to be considered as a feminist. There is little doubt that an Oriental woman writing about her "unveiling" for an international audience in those years would easily be promoted to the upper levels of the feminist scene. This, it seems, was very much the case with Selma Ekrem. We lack any additional information on her feminist activities that could compare to the rich documentation on Ishimoto. In fact, Ekrem's feminism seems to have

been much more a publicity move on the international market via her autobiography, than a genuine example of activism. Moreover, she can certainly be regarded as a woman who knew how to promote her image in the Western world. Yet she had also been educated mostly by feminists and missionaries at the ACG, and had been considered a feminist in the United States in the 1930s. This actually is one of the main problematique of studies concentrating on micro issues within a macro structure. For that reason, Selma Ekrem, at least with respect to her stance in the United States in the 1930s, was accepted as a feminist in this study.

When Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson, the chairperson of Letters of the National Council of Women, invited Ishimoto Shidzue to attend the meeting of the International Women of Letters in 1933, Ishimoto demurred. In her letter to Seton-Thompson dated June 29, 1933, she said that she would come to the conference as "a feminist and birth control worker"; however, she added, "I am quite inadequate to put my name among the distinguished international writers. For this reason I wish you will release me from your program."[208] Hence, it is clear that in 1933 Selma Ekrem's "feminist writing" career was much more advanced in the eyes of Ishimoto Shidzue. Ekrem had already published her autobiography in 1930, and was one of the "distinguished international writers" Ishimoto mentioned in her letter to Thompson. That is most probably why she openly praised Selma Ekrem in her autobiography, *Facing Two Ways*, published in 1935. Ishimoto, therefore, attended that particular meeting as "a feminist and birth control worker," and presumably as "a prospective woman writer from Japan." However, it is possible to say that she was yet at the beginning of her career, both as a writer, a feminist and a birth control worker. In comparison, this was the period when Selma Ekrem was at the apogee of her career. It is probably safe to assume that her autobiography, *Unveiled*, was the highest point of her writing

[208] Letter from Shidzue Ishimoto Kato to Grace Thompson Seton, June 29, 1933, *Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson Papers*, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College. Here, I am grateful to Helen M. Hopper, who informed me about this letter and other details about the international gathering of women writers organized by the National Council of Women in conjunction with the World's Fair held in Chicago in 1933.

career (or of her feminist career, if she ever had one). This book was re-printed three more times in the United States until 1936. In this period, Ekrem most probably continued to attract interest within the feminist circles. Nevertheless, this interest would gradually fade away within the following years when Ekrem had no new stories to tell.

The peak of Ishimoto's career would come in the post-war years of Japan. Before World War II, Ishimoto was one of the leading feminists and birth control activists in Japan, a role that had put her in jail for a short period of time. However, after the American occupation of her country, Ishimoto, because of her well-known pro-American attitude and connections with American missionaries, feminists and socialists, came to be considered as a possible ally by the American occupiers. Consequently, she was elected to the Japanese Diet in 1946 as one of the first women to be elected to that post. She would continue to be politically active until the 1970s, and would publish about ten more autobiographies as well as her diaries in Japanese. Apart from *Facing Two Ways*, she published a book on family planning in English in 1985, under the title of *A Fight for Women's Happiness*.

The paths of the two women clearly started to diverge in the second half of the 1930s. One can even claim that Ishimoto would not have praised Ekrem particularly after World War II, as she had in her earlier *Facing Two Ways*. After the war Ishimoto achieved an important role for herself, within the Japanese public sphere, both as a feminist and a politician while Ekrem was declining from the peak of her career, which she had reached as an "Oriental" female author with her *Unveiled.* Furthermore, apart from her political career, Ishimoto Shidzue had become one of the major birth control activists in Japan. Selma Ekrem's career is much more blurred and irresolute when compared to Ishimoto's. In this respect, Ekrem seems to have been a woman who played her part in order to survive in the United States. She also saw birth control activism as something unnecessary in Turkey. In her guide-like children's history book, *Turkey: Old and New*, which was published in New York in 1946, she declared

that in Turkey: "There is no question of overpopulation; a little less than 19 million Turks are spread rather thinly over Asia Minor and Turkey in Europe. Although the birthrate is high, the many wars, exchange of populations and infant mortality have taken their toll in the past so that the country is still under-populated."[209] It is clear that Ekrem, in contrast with Ishimoto, did not see any need for neo-Malthusian theories of population to be used in the Turkish case. Yet these ideas, and birth control activism in a very limited extent, had entered the country beforehand.[210]

At this point, the role of the new Republican government of Turkey must be recalled. It is well known that this newly emerged government wanted to play the role of the emancipator of Turkish women on the international scene. This republican "idealism" at many points mingled with international relations strategies, and as a result, the feminists of the second constitution period lost or had to surrender their space to the republican government. This was followed by women's suffrage and changes in social life in Turkey, where the participation of "modern women" in the public sphere was required. However, this participation remained "symbolic" and for show. Women had to know where to stop.

It is correct to analyze Selma Ekrem in these terms. There is no doubt that she became a "modern" woman of the new Republic, who lived abroad, and wrote about the breathtaking changes in her modernizing country for an American audience. Actually, this situation can even illuminate to some extent the difference between the later careers of Ekrem and Ishimoto. Ishimoto played an important role in her country, which, one can claim, had a better-organized feminist league with international connections. She became very influential in post-war Japan, because of her previous international connections. Moreover, she had a chance to become a candidate in the 1946 elections as a feminist figure. Yet in the Turkish Republican case of the same period, it would not have been possible for Ekrem to act as a

[209] Selma Ekrem, *Turkey: Old and New*, pp. 84-85.
[210] See Doktor Fuad, *Gebe Kalmamak İçin Ne Yapmak Gerekir* (İstanbul: Sevimli Ay Matbaası, 1927).

citizen who declared her feminist demands in the political sphere. It was the government that thought and spoke for the women of the country. In addition to that, the political spectrum of the country included only one party, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası,* which was established by Mustafa Kemal until those years.

In this environment, Selma Ekrem preferred to act as the kind of woman that the new Republican discourse idealized. She left her country for the United States in the same year as the Republic was proclaimed in Turkey. Although she lived in the United States from then on, she continued to follow the changes in her country and wrote about them in the American publishing world. In these publications, one comes across her Republican female discourse, which concentrated much more on praising the achievements of the new Turkish Republic on the international stage. In this respect, one could call her a Republican woman living abroad. Nevertheless, some emphasis must be put on her situation as a Turkish woman living abroad. There is no doubt that she had to find a way to support herself in the Western world. The way she found there was what many other well-educated "Oriental" women had used before: Using previous connections, playing the "Orientalist" trump card, and writing silk- and spice-scented Orientalist stories for the American audience in order to appeal to their curiosity and taste.

Certainly, Ishimoto Shidzue brought some Oriental touches to her *Facing Two Ways*, too. However, she was much more of a political persona, and would turn out to be a very important political figure in post-war Japan. This is something that can be understood easily with a focus on her *Facing Two Ways.* It is even possible to read this book as an original account on Japanese social life and especially the situation of women. Yet, in contrast, Selma Ekrem's *Unveiled* is much more about her personal life story in Ottoman Turkey and in the United States. Thus, one can rightly claim that Selma Ekrem did not and could not have a political agenda as Ishimoto did, since the new Republican government had taken over the

role of emancipator of the Turkish women and silenced the very small Ottoman-Turkish feminist wing in the process. Consequently, it is correct to say that Ekrem just wanted to live in the United States and wrote her stories with Orientalist touches in order to survive there as a Turkish woman writer, who wrote for the English-reading public. For that reason, the chapter which analyzes Ekrem's *Unveiled* is more profound in comparison to the one on Ishimoto's *Facing Two Ways* in this study, since Ekrem's stories had more personal details to be analyzed between the lines, whereas Ishimoto's were generally plain political declarations.

At the very end, in order to produce an all-encompassing conclusion, we can argue that Ottoman feminism was a slighter and a less organized one compared to its Japanese counterpart. This difference can also be viewed in the writings of the two subjects of this study. Certainly, the feminist tendencies of Ishimoto and Ekrem are not comparable, and it is even possible not to accept Ekrem as a feminist. However, it is also clear that it is not possible to find an Ottoman-Turkish version of Ishimoto Shidzue, who fought for her feminist ideals as a young woman, had connections with Western feminists, and later on worked for her feminist ideals actively as a politician and a member of the parliament. The best Ottoman-Turkish examples that may allow for a comparison at this level, feminist women with political discourses such as Halide Edib or Nezihe Muhiddin, were all pushed out of the political sphere in the early years of the Turkish Republic, and their feminist tendencies were never to come into action as Ishimoto's.

Yet it is possible to say that a comparison of the Japanese and Ottoman-Turkish versions of feminism can reveal the common and diverging paths and activities of the same modern period, which made international connections between the feminists of different geographies possible, together with other international networks such as the Protestant missionary and socialist ones. Furthermore, concentrating on two different subjects of these networks, as in our case, can show us the rules and methods of representation in these

international networks. A study of Ishimoto Shidzue and Selma Ekrem, therefore, provides us with a breathtaking story of the encounter of two "avant-garde women" in the United States via the feminist, missionary and Christian socialist networks of the period; and demonstrates the way such figures had to act and pretend in order to survive within these networks.

Additionally, it shows us the impact of American foreign missions on indigenous subjects. This vision, in a wider perspective, points out to the overall impact of these missions on the modernization processes of the countries they were established in. It also make us aware of the character of missionary institutions in different parts of the world as gates for the international stage, from where missionaries at the center could reach out to their "fields" and people at the fields could reach out to the "center."

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