42-Turkey's leadership role in-between the East and the West in Marmaduke Pickthall's novels and travelogues

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Abstract

Marmaduke Pickthall, a neglected British novelist, has written about a dozen Oriental novels and travelogues. Pickthall who often asserts himself to be a lover of the East and Turkey has widely travelled in Syria, Palestine and Istanbul. He was an unusual traveller in the East without any cultural baggage and the frame of mind of a colonizer or a missionary. His sole concern was to fraternize on an equality with Orientals. In his deterritorialised encounters, Pickthall was not completely blind to what he found unbecoming in the Orient following a constructive and symbiotic line of flight ending up as a Turcophile journalist against his government. Despite overtly critical outlook in his novels of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, Pickthall is surprisingly positive and assertive about Turkey and the Turks in his travelogues and two novels and he professes Turkey to be "the head of the progressive movement in the East, the natural head, the sanest head". This study aims to show that Pickthall's preference of Turkey is not biased and results from his deep and concerned observations and retroactive and prospective analyses in his travelogues and two novels, *The House of War* (1916) and *The Early Hours* (1921). It also highlights a spontaneous rhizomatic response in Pickthall's work to Shaw's play *Getting Married* (1908). The study contributes to the debates on alternative Orientalisms and help in shaping the potential 'minor' contributions of Pickthall to postcolonial studies and the future of Turkey as a bridge between the East and the West.

Keywords: Minoriental encounters, Young Turk revolution, Turcophile journalism, Islam, Turkey's leadership role in the Middle East

Marmaduke Pickthall'un roman ve seyahatlerinde Türkiye'nin Doğu ve Batı arasında liderlik rolü

Öz

İhmal edilmiş bir İngiliz romancı olan Marmaduke Pickthall Orta Doğu'yla ilgili yaklaşık bir düzine roman ve seyahat yazmıştır. Kendisini sıklıkla bir Orta Doğu ve Türk aşığı olarak ilan eden Pickthall Suriye, Filistin ve İstanbul'a kapsamlı seyahatler etmiştir. Hiçbir kültürel bagajının ve sömürgeci ve misyoner bir bakış açısının olmamasıyla Doğu'da sıra dışı bir seyyah olmuştur. Tek istediği yöre halkıyla bir eşitlik çerçevesinde kardeşlik geliştirmekti. Yersizyurtsuzlaşma olarak nitelenebilecek olan bu karşılaşmalarında yapıcı ve ortak yaşamsal kaçış hatları boyunca ilerleyen Pickthall karşılaştığı olumsuzluklara da tamamen kayıtsız kalmadı ve kendini İngiliz hükümetine karşı Türk-dostu bir gazeteciliğin içinde buldu. Suriye, Filistin ve Mısır'la ilgili romanlarında açıkça eleştirel bir bakışa sahip olan Pickthall Türkiye ve Türkler söz konusu olduğunda roman ve seyahatlerinde sürpriz bir şekilde olumlu ve destekleyicidir ve Türkiye'nin "Doğu'da başlayan bir ilerleme

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hareketinin lideri, doğal lideri ve en aklı başında lideri" olduğunu vurgular. Bu çalışma, Pickthall'un Türkiye'yi tercih etmesinin bir ön yargıdan öte, derin ve kaygılı gözlemlerinin, geriye ve geleceğe dönük analizlerinin sonucu olduğunu seyahat eserlerinde ve *Dar'ül Harb* (1916) ve *Erken Saatler* [*Duha*] (1921) isimli (henüz Türkçeye çevrilmemiş) iki romanında göstermeyi amaçlar. Ayrıca Pickthall'un eserlerinde Shaw'un *Evlenmek* (*Getting Married,* 1908) isimli oyununa spontane ve köksapsal bir cevaba dikkat çekilmektedir. Bu çalışma alternatif Oryantalizm tartışmalarına katkıda bulunmakta, Pickthall'un sömürgecilik sonrası edebiyata ve Doğu ve Batı arasında bir köprü olarak Türkiye'nin geleceğine ait potansiyel minör katkılarının somutlaşmasına yardımcı olmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Minoryantal karşılaşmalar, Genç Türk devrimi, Türk-dostu gazetecilik, İslam, Türkiye'nin Orta Doğu'da liderlik rolü

Introduction

Marmaduke Pickthall is best known in the world, as a translator of the Qur'an into English language, and as a nonconformist or dissident journalist in his home country England. His real carrier as a novelist which brought him to fame in Britain in the first decades of the 20th century has long been forgotten in England. And his outstanding literary achievement is very little known in the world including Turkey and the Middle East. Between 1900 and 1922, Pickthall has produced about twenty works of fiction including three short story collections and two travelogues about his travels in Ottoman Syria and Palestine in the last years of the 19th century as a teenage boy, and his travel to Istanbul as a journalist in early 1913 during the First Balkan War. His second but the first oriental novel, *Said the Fisherman* (1903) brought him instant success carrying him to the peak of his career. It is based on his travels in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. The novel reaches the fifth edition within one year. H. G. Wells comments on it enviously, and E. M. Forster praises the work as Pickthall's "most ambitious novel" commenting that "He does not sentimentalize about the East, he is a part of it, and only incidentally does his passionate love shine out" (as quoted in Fremantle, 1938, p. 54). Even more than twenty years later D.H. Lawrence (2015, pp. 1033-34) finds Pickthall's first oriental novel fresh and writes a review in 1925 with enthusiasm and "instinctive sympathy" toward Pickthall's Arab characters.

When Pickthall's passionate love for the Middle Eastern life and people includes the Ottoman Turks, and when Pickthall becomes politicized with the Young Turk revolution of 1908 in Istanbul on the side of the Turks as an ardent "Turcophile" journalist against his government and the majority of his nation, his quick rise to fame in Britain is reversed into a quick downfall, as Nash (2005) comments that, Pickthall's "choice of the Turks as the vanguard for a revolutionised Islam was his unquestionable disqualification from that gambit of fame" (p. 171).

Pickthall's passion for the East progresses through a few stages as he becomes fluent in Arabic in a short time and gets more and more acquainted with the life, customs, folklore, beliefs, geopolitics and history of the Middle East. In an essay, I have classified these stages in terms of desire and gender in a series of Deleuzo-Guattarian becomings in respective order as "becoming-boy, becoming-Arab, becoming-woman, becoming-revolutionary, becoming-Turk, becoming-Muslim, and finally becoming-imperceptible" (Kökoğlu, 2017, p. 199).

This study will concentrate on Pickthall's becoming-revolutionary, becoming-Turk, and becoming-Muslim which are inseparable from each other and inseparable from Pickthall's work and life. These

three becomings also link Pickthall to George Bernard Shaw indirectly through their common friend and Guild socialist Alfred Richard Orage's weekly magazine *The New Age*: Shaw was the devotional and spiritual owner of the magazine for donating half the money for buying it (Gibbs, 2001, p. 374), and Orage supported Pickthall's Turcophile journalism by publishing whatever he wrote for the magazine regularly "from 1912 until 1920 almost every single week" (Fremantle, 1938, p. 190). This is a weak corporeal connection between Shaw and Pickthall, but there is a stronger incorporeal one between them in their becomings as revolutionary encounters and enunciations for "a people to come" or "the will of the future": Pickthall became one real-life manifestation of Hotchkiss's enunciation and call for a "reformed Mohammedan" England in Shaw's play of 1908, *Getting Married* (Shaw, 1920, p. 202). We have no idea if Pickthall read and saw *Getting Married* published or performed, but he came out of it as a reformed Hotchkiss. This shows the strength and power of Shaw's reading of both his society and the "will of the world". It was not my original intention to make this study a sequel to my other study in this volume, but Shavian becomings and revolutionary encounters create such a powerful vortex that it became inescapable.

The study will begin with an analysis of the background of Pickthall's Turkophile journalism and will continue with his historical and geographical encounters with the Turks both in his readings and travels which constitute the background of what we might call his "journalistic fiction" in *The House of War* (1916) and prophetic and apocalyptic fiction in *The Early Hours* (1920) with almost the same three-level becomings in Shaw's post-Ibsen "discussion plays".

Encounter 1 (defensive): "always remember that when you hear Turks accused"

Before he begins his juvenile travel, Marmaduke, despite his inborn talent in foreign languages, fails the exam for his dream career of working in the Consular Service in the Middle East in early 1894. Both in order to compensate for this failure, and to learn Arabic to increase his chances of a job in the Consular Service in the Middle East, he travels in the Ottoman Palestine and Syria for about two years. With the support of local Arabs who he fraternises with, he "throw[s] off the European and plunge[s] into the native way of living" (Pickthall, 1918, p. 4). Young and immature Marmaduke goes so native that, most British residents in Syria become hostile to his changing appearance and mentality (pp. 7-8).

Some answers to the questions of what attracts Pickthall to this culture which his grown-up fellow Englishmen regard as inferior culture and what relief Pickthall as the son of a clergyman and a relatively wealthy middle-class English family finds among the poor of Syria and Palestine can be found in the following lines from his *Oriental Encounters*:

> In all my previous years I had not seen happy people. These were happy. Poor they might be, but they had no dream of wealth; the very thought of competition was unknown to them ... Class distinctions, as we understand them, were not. Everybody talked to everybody. With inequality they had a true fraternity. People complained that they were badly governed, which merely meant that they were left to their devices save on great occasions. A Government which touches every individual and interferes with him to some extent in daily life, though much esteemed by Europeans, seems intolerable to the Oriental. (p. 6)

Already in these lines, Pickthall who succeeds to penetrate ~~to~~ the hearts of the local Arabs in a short time attempts to correct a misconception about the *laissez-faire* attitude of the Turkish rule in Ottoman Syria and Palestine. He calls attention to a major difference between the West and the East

which he learns well with the help of his Palestinian friend Suleiman who was a professional dragoman ("*tercüman*" in Turkish) and his Arab servant Rashid whom he bought out of the Turkish army.

Pickthall's desire for becoming-Muslim was already prevalent at the beginning of his juvenile travel in Syria when he visited the imam of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus. But he delayed it until (1) he completed his in-depth study and evaluation of the Islamic history and culture, (2) he resolved some of the contradictions he observed between the current defective lives of Muslims and actual universal tenets of the religion, (3) he met his true Muslim-doubles in Istanbul, and finally, until (4) he was forced by his British citizens in his homeland to make a serious choice at the break of the World War I as Fremantle (1938) comments that "he did not become a Muslim until the behaviour of Christian Europe forced him to it" (p. 102).

The first Turk Pickthall meets in his juvenile travel to Syria and Palestine is his servant Rashid's captain Hasan Agha when Rashid induces Pickthall to buy him out of the Turkish army he then served for. Hasan Agha is the commander of the Turkish mountain garrison in Karameyn. Pickthall has a very warm impression of him as an old fatherly figure, a very modest, compassionate and hospitable "alaili" officer, whose whole training is acquired "from service in a regiment or 'alaï,' instead of from instruction at a military school" (Pickthall, 1918, p. 24). Pickthall spends the whole day among Turkish soldiers. He is taken around the garrison and he has a big luncheon with the captain and the whole regiment. Before departing with Rashid with an official document stamped by the captain, Pickthall is very touched by Hasan Agha's fatherly advice and farewell speech to Rashid, and to see the wet eyes of all the soldiers present including Hasan Agha's. Pickthall is so impressed by Hasan Agha that the latter becomes the inspiration of a central figure, "Hasan Pasha", of his 1913 novel *The House of War* in which Pickthall works toward multiple accomplishments. The major ones are a defence of the Turks against the claims of the Armenian genocide and other atrocities, a criticism of the harmful activities of British protestant missionaries in the Ottoman Levant and a defence of Islam and Muslims against prejudices of Christians.

Written 5 years after Shaw's *Getting Married*, the novel appears to be a sequel to it in its enunciation with the exception of the defence of the Turks. It also proves to be a response to the main discussion of Shaw's play, that is, the marriage problem and the revolt against it in Britain. In the novel, Elsie, a young protestant missionary in the Ottoman Lebanon, and Fenn, a British soldier returning home from India, love each other but resist getting married. This insoluble problem is resolved with an amusing Oriental touch in the novel when the couple is locked in the same room by a local servant. Fenn, an atheist detesting missionary activities of his citizens, promises Elsie to accept her as she is as long as the marriage means her belonging to him alone as his wife: "I don't care what you believe or say or do—I mean I should be interested in it all and learn from it, so long as you are you, and I have got you for my own" (Pickthall, 1916, p. 305).

The British Consul in the region dubs Elsie as one of "hopeless" English women by contending: "I've seen her kind before. They generally end up by becoming that which they at first most hated. This one will die a Muslimah, I shouldn't wonder!" (p. 304). Elsie detests the Turkish governor Hasan Pasha most whom she, like local Orthodox Christians and other missionaries, accuses of massacring Armenians. Fenn on the other hand admires Hasan Pasha and the Turks' unique skill in governing. He claims that "No government on earth could do all that is expected of the Turkish Government without intelligent collaboration of the people" (pp. 250-51).

Elsie's dangerously provocative missionary activities in some villages lead to the killing of a Muslim boy by local Christians. Muslims gather for revenge and the Christians are all armed. Hasan Pasha, with his uniquely unbiased, unselfish, compassionate and skilful attitude, manages to pacify both crowds and to save Elsie's life. And he is very kind to Elsie never mentioning her irresponsible provocations. Meanwhile, Hasan Pasha is shot in the arm by a fanatic Christian but he hides it from everyone not to lose his already established authority in the case which might disturb peace. He does not even look at who shot him. Elsie, after learning about Hasan Pasha's injury, is very apologetic but confused as she still accuses him of massacre. Fenn gives her a historic lesson about the Turks: "The Turks neither offer nor expect apologies. They are too proud. They never even plead their case before the world. The native Christians make the most of theirs. Always remember that when you hear Turks accused." (pp. 303-4). When Elsie visits Hasan Pasha and his daughter Emineh in their house, they respond to her accusation with a proud collective devotion to their country and religion. Hasan Pasha speaks first:

> "We love our land and our religion, and when either is assailed we kill. If I knew that my own daughter were a traitor – which God forbid – I would kill her with my own hand".
>
> "And I would kill my father and myself if such dishonour were to come upon our house through him!" exclaimed Emineh proudly, taking her father's hand and kissing it. (p. 76)

Encounter 2 (retrospective): "it was not their fault"

As for Elsie's prejudices about Islam, Fenn advises her to read about Islam and its history "before presuming to attack it", and he continues in a similar manner to Hotchkiss, "The best thing for a missionary to do out here is to aim not at conversion, but at inspiring toleration" (Pickthall, 1916, p. 251). That was what Pickthall himself had done in real life leading to his firm conviction in the universality of Islam which unfortunately had no living example left today although, to his great surprise, his studies of the religion revealed that Muslims "had once possessed the material prosperity which Europe now can boast, in addition to that inward happiness which [he] so envied" (Pickthall, 1937, p. 37). Pickthall regards not propagation by the sword as the propaganda goes in the West but in "their righteousness and their humanity" as the reason of the manifest superiority" of "the early Muslims which enabled them to conquer half the then known world, and convert half that world so firmly that the conversion stands unshaken to this day" (p. 25).

In addition, for Pickthall, Islam has a "world-wide outlook" which has a single law for Muslims and non-Muslims alike. This world-wide outlook can be tested not by the "profession of a creed, but [by] conduct" as the history has shown many times: "non-Muslims who conform to it are more fortunate than professed Muslims who neglect or disobey its precepts" (p. 23). The abolishment of aggressive nationality and class distinction are other tests as Pickthall quotes from the prophet that, "an Ethiopian slave who does right is more worthy to be made the ruler than a Sharif of Quraish who does wrong" (p. 54). He describes Islam favourably as "The Natural Law in the Spiritual world and in the Social world and in the Political world." (pp. 16-17). This is the gist of what Hasan Pasha tells another British missionary woman concerning the similarity between the British and the Muslims: "the English were good Mussilmans without knowing it" (Pickthall, 1916, p. 28). This implies, and this is also what Pickthall believes, Islam is not a dogmatic religion out there but a self-discovery of one's true nature and the British are ahead of all other nations in that. Finally, Pickthall makes the following revolutionary, or some might posit futuristic or utopic, claim to the whole world about Islam, which might also be a commentary on Shaw's (1949) assertion that "only a reformed Islam can conquer the world today" (p. 63):

> Islam offers a complete political and social system as an alternative to socialism, fascism, syndicalisms, bolshevism and all the other 'isms' offered as alternative, to a system which is manifestly threatened with extinction. The system of Islam has the great advantage over all those nostrums, that it has been practised with success—the greater the success the more complete the practice … and men without the revelation of them, must find their way to them in course of time and painfully, after trying every other way and meeting failure. (Pickthall, 1937, pp. 19-20)

Pickthall adopted and practiced the universals which he associated with Islam ever since his first travel to the East and later when he was still a practicing Christian (this can be observed throughout his literary and journalistic oeuvre). He sadly witnessed at the same time the bad condition, poverty and moral decadence of the East and the Western aversion to and prejudice towards it.

Pickthall accounts for three reasons for the prejudice against and dislike for Islam in the West. Firstly, calling Islam as a false and inferior religion by the church prevented western people from thinking that Islam "might hold anything good and useful to mankind." Secondly, "the tradition of war between the followers of the two religions has been a mighty barrier until the present time, perpetuating intolerance". And finally, Muslims' current life and practices are far from the true teachings of the prophet and that is the cause of the debasement of Islam in the West. Pickthall adds "It is their falling away from pure Islam which has brought ruin to the Muslims" (p. 21).

Ottoman Empire also gradually had its share of this decline in which the learned Arab-Muslims who were not able to serve as the true translators and interpreters of the Quranic message had more responsibility, since the "Osmanli Turks" for Pickthall, were not chiefly theologians. They were, Pickthall argues "soldiers first, poets second, politicians third, and theologians fourth", and, "It was not their fault if they took the word of others in the matter of religion" (p. 46). Hence Osmanli Turks were misguided in religious matters "in such a way as to imprison the intelligence" (p. 46). Yet, Pickthall, with his first-hand observation, found Turks more capable of recovery and revival:

> The machinery of justice, sanitation, police and public works still existed, only it had ceased to function properly. It was not until some Powers of Europe began to interfere in order to improve the status of the Christian subjects of the Porte that the Turks became aware that they had dropped below the standard of the times. It was only after they had met a modern army in the field that they realised that their whole military system and equipment was now antiquated; and then, to do them justice, the Turks tried with all their might to recover the lost ground. (p. 46)

Encounter 3 (prospective)—Lesson III: "If we cut off that head …"

Pickthall's whole literary oeuvre, which I related above to his belief in the universality of Islam, can be viewed in two parts. The first part is diagnostic and critical and the second part is therapeutic, clinical and revolutionary. Pickthall loved his Muslim-Arab friends, but he was unable to see in them, the all-embracing initiative to guide the Muslims of the world in education, socio-economic progress and modernization in all aspects of life, the revolutionary zeal to revive universal principles of Islam in both secular and religious terms, and the consolidative compassion and power to stand against injustice in the world on the side of the oppressed. Pickthall had the first glimpse of these therapeutic, clinical and revolutionary energies in the 1908 revolution of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in Istanbul which he rejoiced when he was on another trip to Syria with his wife. He was revolutionized with the CUP becoming an ardent supporter of them from afar:

> The glory was still about him of what he saw as the dawn of a new Jihad—the Young Turk Revolution, that for him seemed a Holy War waged by Islam, not against outside foes, but against the despotism, the ecclesiasticism, the ignorance within itself—and for the last time in his life he was intensely hopeful, confident of the future. (Fremantle, 1938, p. 176)

Turkish revolution needed long peaceful years to succeed, but the European powers including the British politicians would not allow it and they would encourage the Balkan minorities to arm against Turkey which was against what they had promised in the treaty of Berlin. Pickthall could not stand all the unlawful acts of the Powers and began writing in defence of Turkey against the Powers and his government prior to the Balkan wars. He defended Turkey against both the claims of the Armenian genocide and Bulgarian atrocities in the British media while continuing to write fiction.

After the outbreak of the First Balkan War, Pickthall pays a four-month visit to Turkey in early 1913 which he accounts in his travelogue *With the Turk in War Time* in a fictional way. He wants both to investigate the above claims and to get rid of the disturbing atmosphere in Britain caused by the fanaticism of the anti-Turkish media and public:

> The English Press and public had, in this twentieth century, responded with fanaticism to the cry of a Crusade against the Turk raised by some cunning Balkan rulers; and that fanaticism had been fostered, as it seemed to my intelligence, by British statesmen … The solidarity of Christendom against a Muslim power was reckoned a fine thing by many people; but it broke the heart of Englishmen who loved the East. (Pickthall, 1914, p. ix)

After all his encounters with the locals, Pickthall prophetically foresees the future of the Middle East, and the disastrous outcome of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire by Western powers which can be better understood today, after more than a hundred years:

> Turkey, a country in close touch with Europe, was the head of the progressive movement in the East, the natural head, the sanest head that could be chosen; for the Turk was capable of understanding Europe and acting as interpreter to those behind him. If we cut off that head, … a hundred mad fanatic heads would rise instead of it, a monster would be formed which would devour our children. (*p*. xii)

Back in England before the end of 1913, Pickthall founds the Anglo-Ottoman Society with a few friends. The First World War begins the following summer. And a few months later, Pickthall is devastated to hear Turkey's entry into the war on the side of Germany and foresees its collapse. A month after that event, in December 1914, he stops going to the church and becomes a Muslim although his public declaration of it takes place in 1917 (Clark, 1986, p. 38).

Throughout the Great War Pickthall was on the side of Turks with his journalism. While the Turks fought against the powers all around Turkey with guns, Pickthall carried the same fight against the Powers, including his government with his pen. To illustrate this state of affairs, Mark Sykes writes a warning letter to Pickthall with an angry tone: "I do not consider that it is proper that you should assume absolute friendship to an enemy State, … and further speak in a distinctly hostile tone of your own Government (as quoted in Fremantle, 1938, pp. 275-6).

Last two encounters (the apocalyptic & the poetic): "'… and thou shalt know his favour.' / "And hear the bulbul, how he pipes in clear Osmanli …"

The fall of the Ottoman Empire following the Great War was a big disappointment for Pickthall and ~~for~~ his dream of an Ideal, prosperous Muslim state with universal values. He was also aware that he could not continue his life as a novelist in Britain. But he was more worried about the future of Islam and Turkey than his own. He immersed himself in the Quran for a sign of Muslim victory and ~~for~~ a glimmer of hope while at the same time serving as the acting imam at London mosque temporarily in the summer of 1919. He finds that glimmer of hope in Chapter 93, "The Early Hours", a Meccan surah

revealed when the prophet was in desperate condition with no revelations coming and his enemies were persecuting his followers and humiliating and insulting the prophet by saying: "Allah has forsaken Muhammad and become displeased with him" (Pickthall, 1919, p.6). Surah 93 comes as a response to the insults of his enemies and give the prophet the good tidings of prosperity in the near future. Since Pickthall believes that the Quran's messages are timeless, the same massage and the same good tidings are as fresh and valid today. He first shares the good tiding of Surah 93, "The Early Hours" with the congregation in the London mosque in Camden Hill Road at a midsummer Friday sermon in 1919:

> Surely those were "the early hours" of the faith, surely "the night when it sheds darkness" was around Muhammad (may God bless and keep him) at that time.
>
> And then there was revealed to him this Surah:
>
> "By the early hours, and by the night when it sheds darkness, thy Lord has not forsaken neither does He hate thee. And verily the latter portion shall be better for thee than the former, and verily thy Lord shall give to thee, and thou shalt know His favour."
>
> Was not that promise abundantly fulfilled? Was not the latter portion of his life better far than the former portion to which he then looked back as to a happier day? ... (Pickthall, 1919, p.6)

For Pickthall, the fall of the Ottoman Empire after the Great War is the darkest time in the history of Islam: "There has been many a dark hour in the history of the faith since then, though never any quite so dark as this" (p. 6-7). His conviction for a near victory and the brightest day to come soon was very strong and very moving for the congregation: "by Allah's mercy to us in the past, 'by the early hours and by the night when it sheds darkness'—phenomena which must precede the brightest day—I swear we should be ingrates, unbelievers, were we to despair" (p. 8). He also believed, in parallel with Shaw's (*real-life*) and Hotchkiss's (*dramatic*) enunciations about Islam, that: "The thinking world is much more tolerant to¬day. I make bold to say that never until now has the world been ready to receive the message which Muhammad (may God bless and keep him) brought to men" (p. 8). What Pickthall meant was not a military but a peaceful intellectual triumph. He was so impatient to see the triumph, the intellectual and cultural revival of Islam, and he foresaw that Turkey would not be able to recover from the blow of the Great War in a hundred years: Thus, he looked for a different place to continue his political activities to set up his intellectual kingdom of peaceful Islam. He left for India in 1920 only to return just before his death in 1936.

Before leaving for India he left the manuscript of his last novel *The Early Hours* to his publisher. With this novel, he meant to compensate the Turks for their losses in the first world war. The setting of the novel covers the events of the 1909 counter-revolution in Istanbul and the end of the First Balkan War, as an analogy to the Great War. The hero of the novel is a Macedonian Muslim, Camruddin, which means the moon of the Religion as analogous to the "darkest hour". He joins the Young Turk army in Macedonia and marches with them to Saloniki. He arrives in Istanbul to find himself among a crowd celebrating the counter-revolution. Camruddin's understanding of Islam is somewhat different than his Young Turk friends in Istanbul: he is a reformed Muslim, which Pickthall refers to as a true Muslim. He is like the prophet who comes to Istanbul to teach the Turks how to become true Muslims. This leads to some clashes especially in his first marriage: his wife accuses anti-sentimentalist Camruddin of not being a possessive husband which meant lack of affection for her. All the discussion of marriage in the novel can be read as a direct response to Shaw's discussion in *Getting Married*.[2]

[2] Pickthall (1937) was the first person to call Mohammed "the greatest feminist": "The historical truth is this: that the Prophet of Islam is the greatest feminist the world has ever known. From the lowest degradation, he uplifted woman to a

In *The Early Hours*, we often read manifestos of Pickthall's revival of Islam in the mouths of Young Turk officers, and banners like "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Justice" under which "a medley of good Muslims, Bulgars, Greeks, Serbs, Valachs, Jews" wildly rejoice "in a veritable frenzy of enthusiasm" (Pickthall, 1921, p. 130).

In the novel, Pickthall defends the Turks against the claims of Armenian genocide and atrocities in the Balkans with journalistic pieces of evidence. He also accounts for the atrocities the Muslims faced in the Balkans integrated into the plot of the novel. When the first Balkan War breaks out, Camruddin takes his wife and children to Macedonia and he joins the war in Adrianople. His family and children all become victims of the atrocities in Macedonia and his first wife Gul-raaneh kills herself unable to protect herself from the Greek bandits. Camruddin himself is wounded in the war and his left arm is amputated back in Istanbul. Reshideh, the daughter of an old Pasha who supported Abdul Hamid and the wife of a Young Turk who just died in the war, proposes him at the end of the novel.

Camruddin in *The Early Hours* stands as the symbol of the reformed and vitalised spirit of Islam which was rendered one armed by the West. Camruddin's Balkan and European origin, instead of an Anatolian or Eastern origin, might imply that this spirit is to come from the West: a Shavian spirit? A feminist spirit, the spirit of a British convert like Pickthall? or the spirit of whoever is capable of teaching true Islam to the Turks? A task in which the Arab theologians had failed on a nation who were "soldiers first, poets second, politicians third, and theologians fourth" (Pickthall, 1937, 46)? Aren't the Turks capable of self-reform? Or to pose the question positively by following the lines of flight the language itself offers: do the Turks need a military reform first, followed by poetic and political reforms, and finally a reform in religion?

After the failure of the soldiers and the politicians in the war, it is now the poet's and the theologian's turn in the last two chapters of *The Early Hours*. The theologian is a simple "khôja who gave lessons to the sons of Ferid Bey", a Young Turk friend of Camruddin. He represents the apocalyptic turn in theology by hopefully reading aloud Surah 93 and adding that:

> That word is spoken to Islam to-day. ... five years ago was born a new, more fervent spirit in Islam, drawing men nearer to the Prophet (Allah bless and keep him), and his fortunate companions, away from dead traditions of the schools. From that we reasonably date a new beginning. My brethren, it is once again the early hours. And that new, faithful spirit which we cherish and defend will not be lost, for it is good; it cannot die, for it is part of Allah's mercy. Here, or elsewhere among the Muslim peoples it will triumph, and in triumph flourish and become a blessing to the world —if Allah wills! Not all the might of all the Christian powers can extinguish it. What matter then though we all suffer, though we die a cruel death, so long as we are servants of the Heavenly will against the Powers of Evil which must pass away. (Pickthall, 1921, p. 270)

And finally, the poet Turk is represented by Reshideh sitting next to Camruddin in the night and signalling to the romantic turn in Turkish poetry:

> 'It is a midnight of old Turkish poets,' murmured Reshideh, clasping the arm of Camruddin. 'The light imprisoning those trees is like a milky gem. And hear the bulbul, how he pipes in clear Osmanli: "Rose, Rose, Rose, Rose! Open, open, open! " ["Gyul, Gyul, Gyul, Gyul, Achil, Achil, Achil!"] Surely he must understand. The frogs, too, speak good Turkish, so the children say. ["Omar Agha!" "Neh var o?" "Burjum var!" "Ver da kurtul!" (Omar Agha!—Yes, what's the matter?—I am in debt.—Pay and get free!).] All harmless creatures choose our language as a compliment because we

position beyond which she can go only in theory" (p. 148). Pickthall defends monogamy as the ideal of Islam and discusses the place of women in Islam and ~~in~~ the West in a lecture given in India. It is printed with the title "The relation of the sexes" in *The Cultural Side of Islam* (Pickthall, 1937, pp. 135-160). See also Kökoğlu (2017) for a detailed discussion of Pickthall's search for a balanced relationship between the sexes in his oriental novels.

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> are not proud and cruel towards them like the other nations....Hear that faint sighing of the trees! How exquisite! Man's lordship over other creatures seems an empty boast. The other creatures are to-night in full command. They make their voices loud and beautiful, to calm our grief. It is as if they took us in their arms. Poor, poor Osmanlis! Efendim, I have always been in love with night. It seems to understand the feelings of a tragic race. Its very sadness used to fill me with wild pleasure when I was a child. And all the creatures of the night are kind, I think, since it is theirs, and yet they welcome us.' (Pickthall, 1921, 275-276; interpolations from Pickthall, 1914, p. 137)

Conclusion

Pickthall's Encounters with the Turks in his travelogues and fiction are too numerous to be covered in an essay. I have given only a selection in this study. Each of his geographical and historical encounters has an important place in his oeuvre. His encounters until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 which I have briefly dealt with are all necessary stages in the making of him as a Turkophile journalist. His journalism in turn renders his life and fiction inseparable from each other leading him to some dangerous lines of flight, such as being dubbed as an enemy of his own country. He finally feels he has no other choice but to leave England for India after the Great War to continue his journalistic, political and intellectual task of reviving Islamic culture and belief. Abdal Hakim Murad, alias, Timothy Winter, another exemplary manifestation of the Shavian enunciation of reformed Islam in Britain and Pickthall's enunciation of intellectual triumph, mentions a rumour about Pickthall in England that "he was the Fielding of E.M. Forster's novel *A Passage to India*" and that, Pickthall had always denied it (Murad, 2015). But Pickthall is an undeniable manifestation of Hotchkiss's enunciation for reformed Islam in Shaw's play *Getting Married* (1908). Pickthall's two travelogues and two journalistic novels about Turkey are experimental writings about how would a reformed Muslim Turk would look like. Although his enunciation of Turkey as the leader of the Islamic world seemed only a dream in early 1921, it seems to be a strong "will of the world" today including most Muslim populations of the world who are unable to speak for themselves. Pickthall's two novels of Turkey, *The House of War* and *The Early Hours,* both desperately waiting to be translated into Turkish, give useful insights into the role of Turkey as a bridge between the East and the West even after a century. And the novels themselves serve as bridges between the past and the future of Turkey through retrospective observations and prospective enunciations.

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