ROBERT COLLEGE, ISTANBUL

<u>THE INFLUENCE OF HALIDÉ EDIB ON CHARLES R. CRANE</u>

Delivered at a meeting of The Chicago Literary Club

At The Skyline Club, Chicago, IL, on March 25, 2012

Preliminary Comments:

Charles R. Crane (1858-1939) was a member of The Chicago Literary Club from 1901 into 1912, when his father died, leaving the control of the Chicago's large Crane Co. between him and his much younger brother. Two years later, having sold his substantial share of Chicago's Crane Co. to that brother, Crane resigned all his offices relating to the Crane Co. other than as a Director, and he withdrew from the Chicago Area, to new homes in New York City and in Woods Hole, MA. This Paper is a study of the relationship between Crane and Halidé Edib (1883-1964), the still famous Turkish writer and feminist, whose quite personal impact on the development of modern Turkey, from about 1908 into the 1940's, is the cause of her continuing fame.

The author acknowledges, especially, first, the courtesy of Thomas S. Crane, a grandson of Crane, for his having authorized access to the Charles Crane Family Papers archived in The Butler Library of Columbia University, and, second, the willingness of Norman Saul, of The University of Kansas, at Lawrence, to exchange views, with respect to his own knowledge of Crane's career, during the course of his (Professor Saul's) research and writing of his biography of Crane, which was published in January, just past (i.e., of 2013). Needless to say, access, by students of the "Life and Times of Charles Crane", to the Charles Crane Family papers has been facilitated by the Finding Aid therefor that was created, principally, by Ms. Tanya Chebotarev, Curator of the Bakhmeteff Archive, Rare Book and Manuscripts Library of the Butler Library

A vast collection of Charles Crane Family Papers is in the Bakhmeteff Archive of The Butler Library of Columbia University. Therein, are 30-odd long letters from Halidé, dated during 1919 into 1937, addressed, initially, to: "Dear Mr. Crane," and, later, to: "Dear Friend." Halidé's *Memoirs* contain but two mentions of Crane – the one that I quoted, and, the other, a credit to him for having seen to the education of her two sons in the United States. While Crane arranged for and financed the publication of those *Memoirs*, he would, probably, have preferred that Halidé not mention his name. Thomas Crane, Professor Saul and I have become confident that, within the current year, The Butler Library will see to the electronic publication of a definitive version of Crane's lengthy *Memoirs*, accompanied by the comments thereon by the late John O. Crane, Crane's youngest child and Thomas Crane's father. Halidé is mentioned by Crane, therein, but with less of the detail, that I provide, hereinafter.





Halide Edib

<u>Charles R. Crane</u> Copyright – John K. Notz, Jr. (2013)

HALIDÉ EDIB AND CHARLES R. CRANE

In 1928, Halidé Edib, internationally famous, as a Turkish author, published *The Turkish Ordeal*, the second volume of her two-volume set of *Memoirs*. The site of the event that Halidé is about to describe, in an excerpt from those *Memoirs*, was a large reception room in the then American Embassy in Constantinople. In this Paper, I use the word "Constantinople" for what is, now, Istanbul and the word "Istamboul", for an old Turkish neighborhood of Constantinople, on the European side of the Bosporus, where Halidé, then, lived. In lieu of an Ambassador, U.S. Navy Rear Admiral Mark Bristol was, then, the Embassy's occupant, holding the title of U.S. High Commissioner for The Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Sultan and the Young Turks' Committee of Union and Progress ("CUP") had made a mistake, in 1914, in aligning the fading Ottoman Empire with the German Powers. A U.S. Embassy was operational in Constantinople, during The Great War, only because neither the U.S., nor Turkey, had declared war against the other.

"Toward the end of [July], 1919, the King-Crane Commission came to [Constantinople]. It was not on their program, to study our Turkish affairs, but, at the last moment, they, courteously, intimated that they would take note of the various complaints of the different Turkish peoples, before they started [back to] the Paris Peace Conference. The Thracian representatives asked me to take them to the Commission and interpret for them. It was not pleasant. I felt as if everything had come to an end, as I walked up the stairs of the American Embassy. Anatolia had some chance, now that the Nationalist Movement was becoming stronger; but these Thracian people, thrown amid hostile races, and cut off from the mother country, were absolutely helpless. **The Commissioners and their support staff were looking ominous.** It made one feel bewildered, and hurt, to be obliged to defend one's own national rights against other nations, before an Embassy. I translated for my three countrymen. I believe that all of us were glad, when it was over."

"I walked, straight away, into a small group of men. One of the men, holding my hand, like a nervous child, said to me, "Do mother us, too, and take us up and translate for us." They were representing Eastern Anatolia [Asia Minor]. They were determined, to get a hearing, as well. The interview was [again] very painful, for me. I was very much aware of the somewhat unsympathetic attitude of the Commission. Like an interpreter (and, perhaps, like a lawyer, too), I was defending the case of Eastern Anatolia. As we walked out of the room, one of the Eastern Anatolians said to me, 'If it had not been for the Muslim-like understanding and benevolence of that old man's face, in the middle, I could not have borne it.' *The Muslim-like understanding face belonged to Mr. Crane.*"

[In the original text of The Turkish Ordeal, "September", rather than "July", is used, which cannot, based on all other sources, be accurate; I have, otherwise, modified the original published text of The Turkish Ordeal, insubstantially, in order to facilitate a smoother oral delivery]

I introduced Charles Crane to our Club in 2004, in my paper subtitled *The Support of the Arts by the Crane Siblings*, the eldest of whom was Charles, I, completely, missed the extensive support that he provided to at least one great artist, Turkey's greatest female writer - Halidé Edib - for the twenty-years of 1919-1939.

Crane was the eldest of those seven Crane siblings that lived into adulthood. He had been the eldest son of Richard Teller Crane, the patriarch founder of Chicago's Crane Co. In 1914, almost five years before the 1919 event that Halidé Edib has, just described to you, Crane arranged for his much younger brother, Richard, Jr., to buy him out of his inherited CEO position and out of his quite substantial stock ownership of the Crane Co. for \$14,000,000 in 5-1/2% Crane Co. gold promissory notes (\$14,000,000, based on the CPI, is some \$325,000,000 in 2013 Dollars).]

The **ominous-looking men** were headed by the two Commissioners appointed by President Wilson, to recommend positions for him to take at the Paris Peace Conference, with respect to governance of The Ottoman Empire, which was, then, under military occupations – the occupation of Constantinople being under the British, as they wished to control the Bosporus Straits. One Commissioner was Henry King, President of Oberlin College, a recognized expert on American missionary activities. The other Commissioner was Charles Crane, to whom I have introduced our Club, previously; in 2004, in his role as a supporter of, not the arts, but of individual artists. Together, these two men constituted the entire King-Crane Commission. With them were three advisers and four support staff, only one of whom - Albert Lybyer – appears in this Paper. Because Lybyer had taught at Oberlin, his expertise on the history of The Ottoman Empire was well-known to King. Previous to the assembly of the Paris Peace Conference, neither King, nor Lybyer, had known Crane, except, perhaps, by reputation, as Crane was quite generally known to be a close friend and confidante of Wilson.

Halide's *Memoirs* were published in the late 1920's only in English, but they were, soon, translated into other languages. In the 1960's, Halidé revised both volumes, and she republished them, in Turkish. Over the decades since their first publication, these two books have been as widely read, as have been any other books, scholarly or otherwise, that relate modern Turkish history.

From and after 1920, Crane supported Halidé, morally and financially, to an extent comparable to the moral and financial support that he provided to Alphonse Mucha, the great Czech artist, patriot and Slavophile, that I described to you in my *Crane Support of the Arts* Paper for our Club of 2004. My study of Mucha's career introduced me to Crane. My study of Crane's career, since then, introduced me to Halidé. Crane's support of individual artists, such as that that he provided to Mucha and to Halidé, was, quietly, arranged by him, for not only the two of them, but for far more other artists than I can count. To vary the book title coined by David Hapgood, the first of Crane's two biographers, "Crane not only 'bet on men', he 'bet on women'."

Two descendants of Crane commenced, but did not complete, biographies of their forebear. Crane's two published biographers are David Hapgood (2000) and Norman Saul (2013). Saul's biography contains the 1879 photograph of a youthful Crane and a photograph of a 1923 Mucha portrait of Halidé that I have distributed to you, this evening. Hapgood no more than mentioned Halidé's name; Saul said more, but not a great deal. Crane's own Memoirs – copies of which are accessible at Columbia University, the Chicago History Museum and at Stanford University – but still not published – speak of Halidé a good deal.

King, Crane and Lybyer had been in and about Paris during the first several months of 1919, observing, with dismay, the infighting among The Allied Powers, for control of pieces of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires of 1914. Wilson suggested to The Allied Powers an Inter-Allied Commission, assigned to investigate and provide recommendations with respect to the vast lands that had been controlled by the Ottoman Empire. Wilson designated King and Crane to be the two American Commissioners, but no other Allied Power appointed a Commissioner willing to participate. Giving up on the other Allied Powers, Wilson authorized King and Crane to proceed, on their own.

The published versions of one Halide's much later lectures contains:

"[In Paris,] . . . President Wilson . . . enunciated his Fourteen Points, four more than those of Moses. But, unlike Moses, [Wilson] had no power to enforce his commands. He wandered, in and out of a World Council, laying down the law for those over whom he possessed no authority. Peace was made by statesmen of the old school, . . . too short-sighted to read the handwriting on the wall. . . . " [Halidé Edib, Conflict of East and West in Turkey]

Crane, writing to his wife from Paris, observed,

"It is a morass."

In mid-May, 1919, by manipulating the puppet Ottoman Sultan, the British took complete control of Constantinople, the entire Bosporus Straits and all the railroads of Anatolia and supported a Greek invasion and takeover of the greater Smyrna Region, which led to ethnic cleansing by the Greeks, of Turkish communities.

Coincidentally, later than month, Crane, while on his way from Paris to Constantinople, wrote to his wife,

"We are on our way to carving the Turkey."

"The carving of the Turkey" - Crane's sardonic description of his Commission's mission -bore no resemblance to what the peoples of The Ottoman Empire expected of his Commission, as they had read and absorbed Wilson's much publicized Fourteen Points, which had urged that the Peace Conference take into account local nationalist aspirations. Over the course of the next few weeks, Crane's attitude towards the peoples of The Near East, especially towards the Turks of modern Turkey, became much more developed.

In 1901, when Halidé had been the first Turkish Muslim graduate of the American College for Girls in Constantinople, she had become well-known in the American community of Constantinople, which included the Bristols, notwithstanding her marriage. Halidé had been a favorite at her College – a "pet" student of a very small class. Shortly after her graduation, Halidé married one of her College instructors - Salih Zeki – 20 years her senior. Like a good Turkish wife, Halidé, quickly, in 1902 and 1904, bore two sons - Ayetullah Zeki, known as "Ali", and Hikmatullah Zeki, known as "Hassan", whom I will call the "Zeki boys".

By 1910, Salih Zeki wished a second wife. Atypical of Muslim custom, Halidé, promptly, divorced him. Consistent with the then accepted practice for a single woman having a child or children, Halidé arranged for the Zeki boys to live with her elder half-sister (her *abla*), in

the latter's home on the Asian side of the Bosporus, and Halidé acquired a place to live, for herself, alone, in Istamboul. Salih Zeki seems, never, to have paid the slightest attention to either of his sons. In 1917, Halidé married, again, a second time, a Dr. Adnan, her family's physician, but a scholar and an activist Nationalist, in his own right.

By the Summer of 1919, when she was 35, Halidé was, easily, the best known woman in Turkey - as a published author of fiction; the first female Turkish political leader; and a vocal Turkophile. Her public political activities had started with early support of The Young Turks, and those activities had led her, by 1919, into, twice, self-exiling herself from her native Turkey, once to Egypt and, once, to Syria.

Robert College, originally, was a boys' school on the European side of the Bosporus, on the model of a French lycée. In 1971, Robert College merged into a comparable women's "school", named The American College for Girls, and the combined entities have, since, been co-educational, operating under the name of Robert College. As Charles Crane referred to the girls' school as "Constantinople College", I am, so, doing.

Crane, apparently at the behest of Cleveland Dodge, a descendant of the founder of the Phelps-Dodge Company, a major supplier of copper products to the businesses of the Crane Co., and a fellow extraordinarily generous supporter of the political campaigns of Woodrow Wilson, had become a Trustee of both Colleges in 1910. Crane was the only individual to have, simultaneously, been a Trustee of both. Soon after becoming a Trustee, Crane took to funding scholarships at both Colleges.

In 1910, Crane had selected Boston's Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge architectural firm, to design a new Campus for Constantinople College. Thus, after the new Campus was completed, in 1914, whenever Crane was in Constantinople, he tended to stay in the College's guest quarters. I expect that, there, he could expect privacy, which would facilitate his being able to meet non-Europeans, face-to-face, which was his personal practice..

In 1915, the President of the Board of Trustees of Constantinople College – Dodge's sister - as had been expected for some months, died, and Crane, succeeded her. Crane took his Constantinople College Presidency seriously, making an effort to be present and give a speech at every June's Commencement Exercises and becoming a close friend of and adviser to the President of the its Faculty, Mary Mills Patrick. Ms. Patrick, in turn was, justly, proud of her College's most famous alumna. Halidé was a frequent guest at her College, giving well-

publicized and well-attended lectures to its faculty and students – always in English. Thus, from and after 1915, Crane would have had ample opportunity to become aware of Halidé's political reputation and activities.

Crane observed, in his own *Memoirs*,

"... Upon being invited to speak at the Commencement Exercises at Constantinople College [on June 5, 1919], I met Halidé Edib, with whose story I had, long, been familiar."

Contemporaneously, one of the King-Crane Commission's support staff observed,

"[Shortly after our arrival in Constantinople, in June 1919,] there was an evening reception, **given by a Turkish lady,** which was quite a departure from the traditional exclusion of Turkish women. The lady was Halidé [Edib], that brilliant and talented leader, whose writings are exceedingly influential, today. Many regard her as one of the foremost figures in the new Nationalist Movement, that is seeking to build, out of the ruins of The Ottoman Empire, a new, and a smaller, Turkish state, that shall be, really, national, that shall give the Turks anew chance to develop their own civilization and abandon the old policy of exploiting their subject peoples."

[Memorandum of Donald Brodie, Crane's long-time personal assistant, and Business Manager for the King-Crane Commission, October, 1919.]

Because of the then general restrictions on contacts between the sexes in any Muslim-controlled community, even one as sophisticated as was Constantinople of 1919, the only plausible place for that reception to have taken place was at Constantinople College.

The first two letters from Halidé to Crane are dated from Istamboul on June 6 and 7, 1919 - the two days immediately after they had met – just as the Commissioners and their Staff were about to depart Constantinople on a U.S. destroyer made available to them by Bristol, for the commencement of their interviews of local Nationalist groups, elsewhere in The Near East of The Ottoman Empire. Halidé delivered her letters to Crane, in care of the U.S. Embassy, and the Embassy Staff saw to their immediate delivery to Crane. Both letters are addressed, formally, "Dear Mr. Crane." Both seek opportunities for non-Christian Turks of The Ottoman Empire to be heard by the King-Crane Commission.

During that June 6 day, Halidé, according to her Memoirs, had been much occupied:

"Whenever people speak in Turkey about the 'Meeting' [at which I spoke], they mean the one [in the square] at Sultan Ahmed [Mosque] on June 6, 1919." [On my way to the mosque,] I had entered The Hippodrome through a narrow street. Not only the square, but the thoroughfares [in its neighborhood], were blocked by a human mass, such as Istamboul had never seen and will, probably, never see, again. . . . As I set foot on the tribunal, I knew that one of the rare . . . moments of my life had come to me. . . . I believe that the Halidé of the square of the Sultan Ahmed [Mosque] is not the ordinary, everyday Halidé."

Halidé had given such a speech during the prior day (June 5), as well, on the Asian side of the Bosporus. Halidé wrote in her *Memoirs* that she had had no script for, and she kept no copy of, either speech. While she admitted that her voice could not have been heard beyond a small area, her speeches had been wild successes.

This is Crane's version of what Halidé described:

"Because of the complete failure of The Allies, to live up to the promises made, or to take into account, in the slightest degree, the wishes of these people; because of the most brutal suppression of any manifestation for freedom or independence, a deep wave of anti-Western feeling had spread all over the East. Settlements which, in 1918, would have been, readily, accepted were, no longer, possible, and an estrangement arose, which will take many years to allay. . . . "

"... A great mass meeting was formed in The Hippodrome, [in front of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque] and, among others, Halidé Edib, the Jeanne d'Arc of the [Nationalist] Turks, and a graduate of [Constantinople] College, was called, to speak to them."

"In a few days, the whole situation changed; there was no further hope of peace, and all those who could escape fled to Angora [today's Ankara]. The British, instead of recalling the Greek fleet and sending it home, in disgrace, arrested the most important Turkish leaders and tried to find Halidé Edib, who, disguised as a peasant woman, escaped across the Bosporus and drove in a peasant cart to Angora. She realized, as did the others, that the situation of the [Nationalist] Turks was desperate, and [that] no reliance was to be placed in The Allies." . . . "This little band, at Angora, without friends, money or equipment, then proceeded to organize a government and to put up one of the fights of history." [CRC *Memoirs*, at pp. 272-275]

When, a week later, a Dean at Constantinople College had the temerity to scold Halidé for having advocated the massacre of Christians, Halidé immediately arranged for translations, into English, for Miss Dodd and all interested others, of the many news reports that had followed her speeches. Halidé's speeches had been no more that articulate appeals to the Turkish masses - attacks, on behalf of the Muslim majorities of Turkey, on the European Powers that were controlling the Paris Peace Conference. These speeches did, just that, from the British point of view - "rouse the rabble" that, then, were the Turks. Halidé she had "earned her spurs", as a Nationalist leader, during those two days.

That June 6 evening, before Halidé reached her Istamboul home, she was told of rumors that the British had arrested all of the known foremost members of the known CUP Opposition to the Sultan and had sent them, for internment, to Malta. The rumors included one of her own arrest. Later that evening, a British Colonel called on Halidé. Halidé said to him,

"The rumor of my arrest is all over the town."

"The Colonel blurted, 'We gave up that idea. [However,] we know about your activities in the Nationalist Congress; we know that you intend to hold another meeting." [*The Turkish Ordeal*]

Understandably, Halidé took the Colonel's approach to her, as well as his words, as a personal threat.

The Colonel's knowledge of that planned meeting had surprised Halidé. Several years before, the British had used such a meeting as a means of arresting all of the then known Opposition leaders. Thereafter, whenever any Opposition group planned a meeting in British-controlled Constantinople, they sent, as speakers, no member of the Nationalist Movement, the arrest of whom would damage their cause.

In early July, Crane mailed to his wife a copy of "the contribution" that he made to the official telegram to Wilson. According to Hapgood, the Commissioners, believing that Wilson had an immediate need to know their views, had cabled Wilson, more than six weeks before they completed the writing of their Report, the substance of what their written Report would contain. The Report summarized their recommendations, with respect to Turkey:

"All plans for cutting up Turkey, for the benefit of outside peoples, into spheres of influence and exploitation areas, should be abandoned."

I expect that the Commission's July cable to Wilson contained exactly the same words. Simply, the Commission recommended no "carving of the Turkey". By mid-1919, however, even the Commission's endorsement of Wilson's Fourteen Points had become obsolete, as Wilson had dropped his Fourteen Points, in favor of a "League of Nations".

The Commission returned to Constantinople on July 21, having conducted six weeks of Hearings in a remarkable number of locations, other than in Constantinople. Halidé's next letter to Crane was dated just as the Commission had returned to Constantinople; it includes:

"The leading men of the National Movement [include] Mustafa Kemal Pasha), . . . and Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the head of it all."

Halidé closed this letter with:

"If you and I do not see each other again, we Turks are doing our best, to make our country ideal."

Mustafa Kemal is, today, known, by Turkish Government decree, as Atatürk – "The Father of the Turks. Even after that official designation, Halidé never referred to him other than as "Mustafa Kemal Pasha" – "Pasha" is a proper term of address to a high-ranking military officer. As Halidé used only Mustafa Kemal Pasha, I do the same.

The "July, 1919" date with which I commenced this Paper, was the date of Halidé's presentations, on behalf of Turkish groups. That day, Crane wrote to his wife that he had received fine presentations from Turkish representatives, and, two days later, he wrote, to her:

"We are seeing a few Muslims, whom we know about, such as Halidé Hanoum, who is the heart of Turkey."

"Hanoum" is a polite manner of addressing a Turkish woman; Mustafa Kemal Pasha, always, so addressed Halidé. "The Heart of Turkey" – who has, sometimes, even been referred to as "The Mother of the Turks", was, soon, to become one of the many people, upon whom, to use Hapgood's phrase, "Crane bet".

In early August, having been influenced by her exposure to Crane, Halidé wrote to Mustafa Kemal Pasha (whom she had, then, not, yet, met), urging that he [Mustafa Kemal] look, for help for his Nationalist cause, to the Americans. One can assume that she and Crane had talked, much, immediately following July 27.

An August 10 letter from Halidé to Crane provided an analysis, man by man, of the leadership of the several Turkish groups making up the Opposition to the then Sultan's Government. This is what she had to say of Mustafa Kemal Pasha:

"A learned man and a very brave officer; one of the heroes of [the desperate Turkish defense, against the 1916 British invasion of] The Dardanelles. A personal and a political enemy of Enver [Pasha, who led The Young Turks, organized in 1908, into Turkey's alignment with Germany, rather than with The Allies]. Perfectly determined keep out of the [Nationalist] Movement the prominent men of the [CUP] in political action during the last five years, either good or bad. His declarations are moderate, patriotic and make a good effect on the intellectuals of all parties. . . . The rest of the leading men are, more or less secondary, Mustafa Kemal Pasha being the head of it all."

A decade later Halidé, in her *Memoirs*, elaborated on what she had written to Crane:

"[Mustafa Kemal Pasha in mid-1919] ... was a man of extraordinary intelligence and cunning, as well as abnormal ambition. ... I did not trouble myself about the various rumors about his personal ambition, desires for despotism, and so on. As long as he retained a clear vision of the Turkish future and managed to serve the Turkish cause, I, for my part, would not have objected to his asking for any position that he might have liked, as a reward for his services to the Turkish nation." [The Turkish Ordeal]

On that last date [August 10], Louis Edgar Browne, a young reporter for *The Chicago Daily News*, left Constantinople, for the then scheduled Turkish Nationalist Congress in Sivas, Turkey, bearing two letters - one from Halidé to Mustafa Kemal Pasha - introducing Crane and Browne to Mustafa Kemal Pasha - and one from Crane asking, not as a Commissioner, but in his personal capacity, that cooperation be extended by Mustafa Kemal Pasha to Mr. Browne. The exclusive interview, that followed, was an international journalist coup. Later, Mustafa Kemal Pasha gave such an interview to a reporter named Williams, from *The Chicago Tribune*. (Williams may have been an assumed name for the young William Shirer, who had, by then, been assigned by *The Trib* to cover The Near East.) I expect that Williams bore such an introduction from Crane, endorsed by Halidé, as she was, by then, running the Press Agency for the Nationalist Government.

In September, 1919, Wilson, knowing of the hostility of the U.S. Congress towards involvement of the U.S. in a League of Nations and towards any American Mandate, left Paris, to "sell" his League of Nations to the American public, in hopes that they would pressure Congress into supporting it. By then, Wilson saw no point in advocating any American Mandate other than one over the Armenians. Late that month, Wilson collapsed, and, soon, suffered a serious stroke, which resulted in his physical disability and withdrawal from public contact. The Commission's formal Report, when delivered in Washington during that September, made its way into "Foggy Bottom" – the then State Department, the leadership of which had no interest in American participation in a League of Nations, let alone in any American Mandate in Turkey. These circumstances could have led to the King Crane Report never seeing the light of day. However, press pressure, in which neither King nor Crane appears to have been involved, brought about a publication of the Report in December, 1922, more than two years after its receipt by the Wilson Administration. Of course, by then, no recommendation of the Commission would influence anything. However, both King and Crane were gratified that their work product – no matter how then inapt as its contents - had become available to all those interested. For instance, Crane wanted his favorable views of the nationalist movements, throughout The Near East and The Mid-East, to be known. Crane's then feelings about the U.S. State Department were expressed, tersely, in his Memoirs:

"Apparently, any report that is, at all, carefully made and that, fearlessly, exposes a situation, gets, quickly, strangled, as soon as any Foreign Office expresses uneasiness about it." [CRC Memoirs, at p. 273]

A September, 1919, letter from Halidé to Crane started with a discussion of the then local state of affairs:

"Mustafa Kemal Pasha has not fallen into the trap of the British. It is admirable, that Europe and America set a value on Christian blood, but some just person or power must set a certain value on Turkish and [Muslim] blood, as well."

Halidé went on to provide to Crane a detailed analysis of the half-dozen Turkish high school graduates - some from Robert College - whose travel to New York and full scholarships at Columbia University were to be funded by Crane. She closed that letter with:

"I thank you, very much, [for saying what you said] about my sister and, especially, about my boys. I had a very difficult time over the boys' past, especially. As these last [few] years were my hardest service [to Turkey], I had very little time, to think for their future. . . . You are an old friend, in spirit, but a

new one, in fact and in time. . . . I leave a moral charge to you, *my friend*, if I fail to provide for their future, for a reasonable time, or if I am called away, entirely, in any way: I want you to give my sons their education in America. A visit to America is, also, in prospect, for me. . . . The Broussa [today's Bursa] boat is about to depart, looking even smaller than when we travelled in it."

This was Halidé's first reference Crane, as "Friend". Soon, that would become her form of address to him. Any use of the Broussa boat, even now, will be of sufficient length that a long, quite private, conversation could have taken place, without any of it being overheard. Halidé had sent this letter to the American Embassy, but, as Crane by its date, had left Constantinople, Halidé had to retrieve and resend it, which resulted in its late delivery at the same time as the next.

A November letter from Halidé to Crane started by reporting that, notwithstanding massacres of Turks by the Armenians in Eastern Anatolia and by the Greeks in Smyrna, the several Turkish students, vetted by her, for whom Crane was providing travel expenses and scholarships, in American universities, had started for America. She went on, relating that Bristol had, in an official Report, confirmed that ethnic cleansing by Armenians and by Greeks, had been taking place. Having, just, attended a lecture by one of Crane's friends at Robert College, she mentioned her awareness of the American Senate's hostility towards any American Mandate sought by the Turks.

In February, 1920, Crane gave a speech at Constantinople College; presumably, Halidé was in his audience, and they spoke. A March letter from Halidé – the first addressed "Dear Friend", reported that the British military had occupied Constantinople, going on to say,

"My husband has not, yet, been taken [by the British patrols, which are assisted by the Armenians, in identifying their targets]. I may be shot, or taken, or I may pass on, safe. . . . I am, still, in Istamboul, veiled and in hiding [but not in my own home]. "So, *Friend*, this may be my last letter, . . . in which case, I shake hands and thank you and say, "Goodbye; . . . My land is so different, from eleven years ago, when I was hunted, once more, . . . The only thorn in my flesh is if the British will take my sons, young as they are, from Robert College, and torture them. . . . I believe and trust in the American manliness of Robert College. . . . I want you to write Robert College and ask them to protect the boys, if the British carry on their infamous terrorism to that extent. "

We can assume that Crane did, as asked.

In April, Crane was advised that he had been appointed by President Wilson, as "Envoy Extraordinary, Minister Plenipotentiary to China. (This was an assignment to which President Taft had assigned Crane in 1909, but Taft had been pressured by Wall Street bankers interested in Japan to withdraw that first China appointment for Crane – an act of Taft foolishness that he lived to regret.) Crane left the United States, for China, on May 20. On May 24, Halidé, without being aware of Crane's departure to China, wrote to him:

"Can you get [my boys] to America, as you promised, last year (1919)? Will you cable your answer to Admiral Bristol?"

On July 15, Crane wrote, from China, to the United States Consul General in Constantinople,

"In regard to the two sons of our friend, I will see to their education. You are authorized to contact my New York office. You are to get a letter from our friend. The Allies have blundered in their management of affairs in the Near East, caused much unnecessary suffering, and, I fear, they have added, very much to the [religious] hostility, which was, already, bitter enough."

Crane closed, by referring, discretely, to his having been in Constantinople in 1919 and, pointedly, gave his regards to Admiral and Mrs. Bristol.

More than a decade later, Crane wrote of Halidé:

"Halidé was to become the inspiring genius of the Kemalist Movement and Minister of Public Education; her husband, Dr. Adnan, was to become Minister of Public Health. At first, she could not put forward her best efforts, because of her fear for the fate of her two boys, who were students at Robert College. Any fate might befall one, in Constantinople. After her two sons were sent to America, where their education could go on, she, then, took part in the campaign, with all her powers and all her spirit." [At p. 275]

Consistent with his personal practice, Crane made no mention of his personal participation in the removal of Halidé's sons from Turkey. Crane's office in New York City made the arrangements for the Zeki boys -then aged 17 and 15 - to leave Constantinople, presumably incognito, on an Ottoman boat, for New York, where they were met on October 20 by Lybyer, who was prepared to be their guardian. Lybyer took the boys with him to Urbana, IL, where, for almost five years, he arranged private housing for them and their attendance, first, at the local University High School and, then, at The University of Illinois, all at the expense of Crane. Once Lybyer had made these arrangements, he advised Crane's office, later than month, and transmitted a snapshot of two quite well-dressed handsome young men. In November, 1920, Crane authorized payment those expenses, among those of the dozen, or so, other students from The Balkans and from The

Near East for whom Crane was providing scholarships and travel and maintenance expenses in the United States.

A May letter from Halidé' to Crane related that she and her husband had escaped from Constantinople's Asian side, on foot and by cart, and that they had joined the Nationalist Movement, led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in Angora. This is the first of Halidé's letters received by Crane that was typed, evidence that Halidé had become the press representative for the Turkish Nationalist Movement. A substantial part of Halidé's *Memoirs* provides much detail of that harrowing trip. Halidé related that, at the instance of the British, the Sultanate had caused a *Fetwa* to be issued, applying to the ten most important leaders of the Nationalist Government, including Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Halidé's husband and herself. Halidé was the sole woman, so designated. While, in return, the Nationalist Movement caused a *Fetwa* to be issued against those who had issued the first *Fetwa*, the risk to Halidé and to Dr. Adnan of assassination, by any remaining Muslim adherent to the Ottoman cause, was much increased.

In June, a general invasion of Turkey by the Greeks commenced. In August, the British forced the Sultan to sign the Treaty of Sevres, which was a British and French imposition on the Nationalist Turks that that would, due to dogged resistance of the Turks, and after the shedding of much blood and extensive destruction of Anatolian and Thracian Turkey, be abandoned. Lybyer, in his own writing of that period, described the then state of affairs in Anatolia, as,

"The Greeks fought for glory and the 'Big Idea' [of a resurrected Greek Empire], but the Turks fought for their hearths and their homes."

In November, from his Embassy in China, with respect to the then scheduled Meeting of the Trustees of Constantinople College, in Boston, Crane wrote that, while that College remained "very close" to him, a successor, to him, as Board President, should be elected. A few days later, writing his own letter to Crane, Dodge discussed only the then poor state of President Wilson's health. One can assume that Dodge believed that, notwithstanding Crane's absence in China, this was not the time to make a change in Crane's much valued roles in Constantinople.

During late 1920, the Turkish resistance, which received support from the entire Muslim world, had begun to have successes, resulting in Armistices with Armenia and with France in early 1921, leaving only the Greeks and the British in active military conflict with the Turks.

Bristol, in January, 1921, wrote to Crane, describing the damage done to American interests in Turkey by the failure of the United States to see to corrections of the injustices that the European Powers forced on the then Sultan in the foolish Treaty of Sevres. Therein, he mentioned that, once in a while, letters were left at the U.S. Embassy from Halidé, and that she had, recently, sent him a letter via the Head of Robert College

In March, Halidé's husband, Dr. Adnan, already Minister of Health in the new Nationalist Cabinet of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, was elected Vice President of the new Grand National Assembly. In August, in aid of the Nationalist cause, Halidé, with the personal blessing of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, enlisted, as a Corporal, in the Turkish Army, going with it, for the next year, receiving a promotion to Sergeant-Major, until the Greeks had been driven out of Anatolia, followed by an armistices with the British and the Greeks, late in that year.

In December, a letter from Halidé to Crane repeated her gratitude for what he had done for the Zeki boys, including her expectation that they would be fine specimens of American men, when they returned to Turkey.

This is what Crane had to say in his own *Memoirs* of the events of the next year:

I went out [to Constantinople] again, in [November] 1922, because, as the [Nationalist] Turks began to approach Constantinople, there was a good deal of panic in the American Colleges around the Bosporus. For some years, I had had a certain part in both [Constantinople] College for Girls and Robert College for young men, . . . I arrived in Constantinople, just as the [Nationalist] Turks were approaching Smyrna, an historic time. . . . "The [Nationalist] Turks came into Constantinople, while I was there, . . . [The Turkish Army Commander] was quite prepared for a brush with Europe; for a while, there was some [Turkish] disappointment that the brush did not occur; there was some [Turkish] resentment; and the [Turkish] military leaders were criticized." When the [Turkish Commander] had the town in his hands, he turned it over to [Dr.] Adnan, the husband of Halidé Edib, . . . " [CRC Memoirs, at p. 273-277]

Dr. Adnan resigned as Vice President of the Grand National Assembly and took his new office, as the Nationalist Governor of Constantinople – meaning that he and Halidé could, at last, return to Constantinople, in safety. In the next month (January, 1923), Crane received another thoughtful letter from Bristol, in which Bristol observed,

"The Turks are, still, very suspicious of The Allies, and I cannot see how The Allies have done much, to inspire any confidence in themselves, on the part of the Turks. This has been bad policy, on the part of The Allies." In February, 1923, concerned about the lack of agreement during peace negotiations of the Turkish Nationalists with the British at Lausanne, Halidé, then in Angora, wrote Crane, providing an analysis of the current political issues in Turkey. She closed by saying that, while she longed for her sons, if the war (with the British and the Greeks) should resume, as appeared to the Nationalist Turks to be in prospect, she would, again, be at the front, and:

"You cannot imagine, how deeply I feel the fact that the boys are in friendly and fatherly hands, in these moments. Allah, bless you and your friend [Professor Lybyer]."

In April, the Lausanne Treaty between the British and the Turks having been signed and accepted by the Greeks, Halidé wrote Crane, requesting funding for two years of writing by her, in Europe, starting before the then coming July. Crane, readily, agreed to what she requested.

In May, Lybyer reported to Brodie on the Zeki boys and their plans to join their mother in Munich, as Halidé was to go there from Turkey. A July letter from Halidé to Crane was from Munich, where her sons had arrived, carrying a letter from Crane, for the first reunion, between mother and sons, since Halidé's having joined the Nationalist Forces in Angora in 1920. Her husband had stayed in Constantinople. After their Summer vacation, her sons were to return to school in the United States. During that Summer, as Crane had asked that she submit to a portrait by Mucha, Halidé spent sufficient time in Prague, for Mucha to collect his thoughts for the 1923 portrait of her. The balance of 1923 appeared to be a start of a quieter life for Halidé. This was not to be.

In October, Bristol, who, still, remained High Commissioner in Constantinople, expressed his awareness that Halidé had visited Crane in Carlsbad (where Crane, annually, took a "Kur") and that the Allies had been forced to recognize the reality of the control of Anatolia and of Thrace by the Nationalist Turks, with the prospect that the Lausanne Treaty would correct the actions of the Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Sevres.

In November, Bristol advised Crane that Halidé wished not to return to Prague, for the finishing touches of her portrait, and she wished that it be sent to Crane, not to her.

In December, Crane stopped in Urbana, on his way to his Winter home in Pasadena, CA - that being, perhaps, the Zeki boys first and only meeting with their benefactor.

In March, 1924, the Head of Robert College, who had been with King and Crane in Paris, observed to Crane that, Mustafa Kemal Pasha had not since, the Turkish victories over The Allies, visited Constantinople, from which he inferred that the Nationalist Turk Government would never, return to "The City of Constantine". In 1930, the name of Constantinople was changed to Istanbul, causing Constantinople College to revert to its "American College" name.

During that Summer, Mary Mills Patrick retired, at age 74, after 50 years, as President of the Faculty of Constantinople College. In her retirement, she wrote two books of her experiences. Because the publisher of the first had published Halidé's two volumes of Memoirs, one can assume that Crane provided introduction to that publisher and the funding necessary for its publication.

According to Halide's *Memoirs*, toward the end of that Summer, there was a storm:

One evening, Mustafa Kemal Pasha came to [visit me at Dr. Adnan's and my home, in Angora]. He was in a very queer mood. . . . So, I was not paying much attention to what he was saying, when he addressed me."

'What do you think, Hanoum Effendi; am I not right?'

'I do not understand what you want to say, Pasham.'

'What I mean is this: I want everyone to do, as I wish and command.'

'Have they not done, so, already, in everything that is fundamental and for the good of the Turkish cause?'

'I do not want any consideration, criticism or advice. I will have only my way. All shall do, as I command."

'Me, too, Pasham?'

'You, too.'

'I will obey you and do, as you wish, as long as I believe that you are serving the cause. Is that a threat, Pasham?'

"... I would not threaten you."

"I knew that he would threaten anyone and everyone, including the most powerless; but, I, also, knew that, at that moment, he had not mean to threaten me. . . . He took his leave with his customary cordiality. [Those who overheard] seemed to regret what had happened. This was the only incident, in my whole intercourse with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, which, at all, approached a scene."

[W]hen in my presence, his attitude towards me was that of a perfect gentleman. . . . [However,] he, always, considered every Turkish subject to have been brought into the world, especially to serve his purpose; each was a member of the collective mass of Turkish humanity, which he wished to possess and command. . . ."

"That night, I did a lot of thinking. . . . Just then, I could not [go on] working, as though nothing had happened. . . . So, I decided to do something else, . . . I would try to recreate that period of Turkish history, by preserving a faithful record of my experiences, during that great ordeal [that had started in 1908]. I would try to tell the story of Turkey, . . . in order that the world might, some day, read it not as an historical record, nor as a political treatise, . . . I would write it in a language far better fitted to reach the world, than my own. . . . I determined to write my *Memoirs* in English."

In November, following, Dr. Adnan chose to participate in the organization of The Progressive Republican Party, the first and the sole Opposition Party to Mustafa Kemal Pasha's People's Party. The following June (1925), by direction of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, The Progressive Republican Party was dissolved. Dr. Adnan "concluded that Halidé required medical treatment in Vienna". I suspect that Halidé had what used to be called a "nervous breakdown". By July, both Halidé and Dr. Adnan had left Turkey, for Europe. Promptly, Mustafa Kemal Pasha arranged for a tribunal in Angora to declare Dr. Adnan to be a traitor. My Turkish daughter-in-law tells me that Halidé was, also, found to be a traitor, but Halidé's letters to Crane and her books refer only to such an action against Dr. Adnan.

From Prague, Halidé reported that, Mucha had become interested in doing a second portrait of her, as if she were an ancient heroine who had lost her children or her husband. Consistent with his then practice, Mucha took photographs of Halidé, and, in 1929, Mucha executed such a portrait, which he described, thusly:

"The portrait is life-size, with black colour predominant, in a carved wooden [frame] in the Turkish style, of a dull gold colour. I wanted to give to the pose - to the expression on the face - and to the whole apparition, a serious and tragic character, to express the importance to Turkish history, which was, so wonderfully, accomplished by Mrs. Edib."

[The word "passe-partout" was used in the letter, itself.]

I expect that Crane paid for both portraits of Halidé, in the belief that she would wish them.

Later that year, Halidé wrote to Crane:

"I will not speak of my unhappy country; it is like picking at a wound. One can never tell what direction the Westernization of Mustafa Kemal Pasha will take"

In October, 1925, Lybyer commented to Crane's Secretary, "We lost the Zeki boys, this year," as they had joined their mother and Dr. Adnan in Europe, never to return to the United States.

Halidé, soon, wrote to Crane, to the effect that she was about to send the manuscript of the first volume of her *Memoirs* to a publisher in New York that had been secured for her by Crane [The Century Co.] The content of first volume - *House with Wisteria* - was innocuous; the content of second - *The Turkish Ordeal* - was not, at all, as it contained analyses of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and of other notable Turkish political figures of 1919-1925, that, to Kemalists, would give offense. Crane is likely to have arranged for the publication of both books. Each volume drew the public attention in the English-speaking world that Halidé intended, as, from and after her and her husband's 1925 self-exile from Turkey, she had been intending to support herself and her husband, by writing and by lecturing. A good part of that lecturing was arranged and paid for by Crane.

In early 1926, Halidé, living in the U.K., wrote to Crane, to his Winter home in Pasadena, CA, that the typescript and the photographs for the first volume of her *Memoirs* had been sent off to their printer, with the understanding that Mucha's first portrait of her would be used as a frontispiece. Mucha arranged for the necessary photographs, therefor.

In early 1927, Halidé wrote Crane from the U.K., reporting that her husband had been pardoned, from the charge of having been a traitor, saying,

"It means, of course, that they are trying, hard, to [lure] us back; they will dispatch us to Heaven, by one way or another. At the present, we are not returning, and it would be foolish, to allow us to be killed, for the pleasure of [Mustafa Kemal Pasha]."

[*In the original letter, the word "dupe" is used.*]

However, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's self-justifying six-day *Nutuk* (Speech) of October 15-20, 1927, he is said to have included Halidé, if not, also, Dr. Adnan, in his long list of "traitors" to the cause of Nationalist Turkey.

In early 1928, wrote Crane, that she had finished *The Turkish Ordeal* and that she expected that the title of her keynote lecture at The Institute of Politics, at Williams College, Williamstown, MA, that coming August, would be: *Modern Turkey and Its Problems* and that planned to stay in the United States into November, giving lectures at The University of Wisconsin, at Harvard University and, again, at the University of Illinois. As Crane counted among his regular correspondents the Presidents of a remarkable number of the large universities that could be willing to provide a forum for Halidé, one can assume that Crane arranged Halidé's lecture tour.

Two sets of lectures by Halidé stand out – one, in the course of a 1927 nationwide tour, which included The University of Illinois, where she and Lybyer renewed their acquaintance, and the one at The Institute of Politics, where she was the first woman in such a lead position. As Crane is known to have funded some of the operations of this Institute, we can assume that Crane arranged for and funded the presence of Halidé. While the papers presented at the Institute were not published by it or by the College, a version of Halidé's lecture at The University of Illinois exists in the papers of Professor Lybyer at The University of Illinois, and a much expanded version of Halidé's Williamstown lectures was published, in 1930, by Yale University Press, under the title of *Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent Changes and their Origin.* One can assume that Crane provided the introduction of Halidé to that press.

In 1927, Dodge had died. In October, 1928, Crane resigned, as President of the Board of Trustees of Constantinople College, remaining as a Trustee of both Robert College and Constantinople College.

In 1930, Halidé wrote Crane, from Paris, in which she observed,

"There are queer events, towards changes, in Turkey. It may be for the better of the worse, but there will be changes of some sort."

In December, 1931, Martin Ryerson, Crane's lifelong closest friend wrote to him (Crane), commenting on the financial difficulties of the Crane Co. and the lack of funds available for the payment of death duties arising out of the sudden death, that year, of Charlie's brother, Dick, who had been a suicide. In February, 1932, Crane was dealing with financial issues within his own family. In November, 1932, in two unusually formal letters, saying nothing of any regret, Crane resigned as a Trustee of both Robert College and of Constantinople College.

In 1934, Halidé wrote to Crane, from the U.K., commenting on a recent visit by him to her and observing that, while she had decided to speak in public, no more, and she was, no longer, able to travel, unaccompanied, she had been invited to give a series of lectures in India. Assisted by an introduction, in person, by Mahatma Gandhi, those lectures were successful. They were, later, published, by a Delhi publisher, most likely with some assistance from Crane.

In April, 1935, Halidé acknowledged to Crane, that he had offered to fund a place for her to be able to write up, for publication, her experiences in India. As Crane had been in India in 1925, he was in a position to assess the merits of her proposal. In October, 1937, Halidé wrote to Crane, from Paris, telling him that her *Inside India* was about to be published - that her son Ali had returned to Turkey, where he was married - that her son Hassan was married, with a three-year-old son, and that her husband was working on his History of Science among the Ottomans, in French. Dr. Adnan's book was a success. That letter was signed, for the first time, "Yours affectionately." According to David Hapgood,

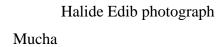
"In 1938, . . . Crane was arranging for the publication of a book translated by his old friend from Constantinople, Halidé Edib. [Hapgood *Biography of CRC*, at p. 88]

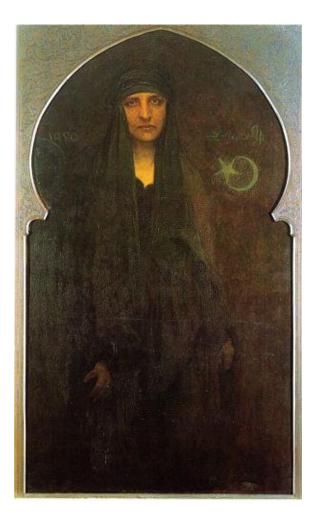
I know of no later communication with Halidé, to or from any member of the Crane Family.

Hitler's "Anschluss" took place in March, 1938. Neville Chamberlain's "Peace in Our Time" statement was made in September, 1938. On March 16, 1939, Hitler took over the balance of Czechoslovakia; Mucha was, promptly imprisoned, but, after he fell ill, he was released; but he died soon thereafter.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha died in November 1938. Crane died in February, 1939. In March, 1939, with Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Crane having died, and the flow of funds, for the benefit of Halidé from Crane suspended by his death, Halidé and Dr. Adnan returned, from Paris, to Turkey. Halidé became a Professor of English Literature at Istanbul University. Both were elected to serve in the Turkish Parliament - Dr. Adnan for 1946-1950, and Halidé, for 1950-1956. Both lived for a good many years after their return to Turkey, and both died natural deaths - Dr. Adnan in 1955 and Halidé in 1964. Both are interred in the Merkezefendi Cemetery, near the old Istamboul neighborhood in Istanbul that is noted for its interments of artists. My Turkish daughter-in-law tells me that, in the 1960's, Halidé translated her Memoirs, from English into Turkish, much tempering her critical comments about Mustafa Kemal Pasha.







Halide Edib Portrait by Alfons

Some Authorities:

- Norman Saul, The Life and Times of Charles R. Crane (1858-1939) (Lexington Books, 2013)
- David Hapgood, *The Man Who Bet on People* (Copyright, Institute for Current World Affairs, Xlibris, 2000)
- Halidé Edib, *House with Wisteria: Memoirs of Turkey, Old and New* (The Century Co. New York and London, 1926); republished by Gorgias Press (1972) and, again, with an Introduction by Sibel Erol of New York University in 2009
- Halidé Edib, *The Turkish Ordeal* (The Century Co., New York and London, 1928), republished by Gorgias Press with an Introduction by Hülya Adak of Sabanci University, Istanbul
- Halidé Edib, *Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent Changes and their Origin* (Yale University Press, 1930) This is a much-revised version of the lectures given by Halidé at The Institute of Politics, Williamstown, MA, in August, 1928)
- Halidé Edib, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (Jamia Press, Delhi, 1935) These eight lectures were given by Halidé Edib at The National Muslim University in New Delhi, India, on the invitation of a Dr. M. A. Ansari, former Director of the Indiana Red Crescent (equivalent of the American Red Cross), whom she had met in Constantinople in 1913. Mahatma Gandhi introduced Halidé, for her delivery of these lectures. In the lectures, Halidé spoke the name of Mustafa Kemal Pasha only in connection with his military activities, with no mention of him, after he assumed his office, as Presidential.

Mary Mills Patrick, *Under Five Sultans* (The Century Co., 1929)

Mary Mills Patrick, *A Bosphorus Adventure* (Stanford University Press, 1934)

The full texts of both volumes of Halidé's *Memoirs* and of Halidé's 1930 and 1935 books are available on the Internet. Neither of Mary Mills Patrick's books are, yet, so available.

Related recent scholarly material:

- Ansev Demirhan, "Halide Edib: Turkish Nationalism and the Formation of the Republic" (2012). Graduate School Theses and Dissertations: http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/4028 (M.A. Thesis, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL (2012)
- Özgün Bazmaz, "The Rebellious Daughter of the Republic" or "The Mother of the Turks: Reconsidering the late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic through the Politics of Halide Edip Adıvar", M.A. Thesis, The University of Akron, OH, 2008)
- Hülya Adak, "National Myths and Self Narrations: Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk* and Halide Edib's *Memoirs* and *The Turkish Ordeal*", The South Atlantic Quarterly, No. 102 (Spring/Summer, 2003)

CHARLES R. CRANE – HALIDÉ EDIB – TIME-LINE

<u>1908</u> – Revolt of The Young Turks; Halidé Edib commenced her anti-Ottoman political activities; <u>1909-1910</u> – President Taft offended Crane; Crane supported Wilson, from then on; Crane became a Trustee of both Constantinople College and Robert College; 1910 – Halide's divorce; <u>1914</u> – Crane sold out of and ceased to be CEO of the Crane Co.

<u>1915</u> – Crane became Chair of the Trustees of Constantinople College of which Mary Mills Patrick was the Head – Ms. Patrick having been a sponsor of Halidé among Americans.

1919—January- Paris Peace Conference commenced; May - British take-over of Constantinople and Bosporus; start of Turkish War of Independence; Crane left Paris for Constantinople; June-Halidé's "rabble-rousing" speeches; King and Crane arrived in Constantinople, met Halidé at Constantinople College; July—King-Crane Commission returned to Constantinople; Hearing at U.S. Embassy at which Halidé represented Nationalist Turkish groups; August — Halidé urged that Mustafa Kemal Pasha ("MKP") turn to Americans, for support; Halidé commented to Crane on Nationalist leadership; September — Nationalists organized a Turkish Government; Halidé asked Crane to educate her two sons — the Zeki boys - in America; November — Wilson's Campaign for re-election failed; American national mood supported neither an American Mandate over Turkey nor American participation in The League of Nations

<u>January – February, 1920</u> – Treaty of Versailles took effect – British-supported invasions by Greeks and by Armenians commenced; French and Italian invasions of Turkey; <u>May</u> – Crane became on-site U. S. Minister to China; Halidé and her husband fled Constantinople for Angora; <u>October</u> - Crane's office had arranged for the Zeki boys to leave Constantinople for Urbana, IL; Turkish defense of "The Homeland" commenced. <u>Summer, 1921</u> – Turkish armies drove Armenia, Italy and France out of "The Homeland", leaving only the British and the Greeks still in active hostilities.

<u>Summer and Fall of 1922</u> – Halidé joined the Turkish army as a corporal; the Turkish armies drive the Greeks out of Turkey, and the British recognized that they had to leave Constantinople; panic in the American schools; so Crane stayed at Constantinople College, "for the duration"; <u>December, 1922</u> – Halidé's husband became Nationalist Governor of Constantinople; Halidé had left the Turkish army, as a Sergeant-Major, but was prepared to re-enlist, if peace efforts failed.

<u>Summer, 1923</u> – Lausanne Treaty negotiated, to void the Treaty of Versailles of the Paris Peace Conference; Halidé in Europe with her sons and in Prague with Mucha, for first portrait; Turkish Republic founded; Halidé's "scene" with MKP.

1924 - Lausanne Treaty effective; Mary Mills Patrick retired from Constantinople College; Halidé and her husband participated in organizing Opposition Party to Mustafa Kemal Pasha; Ottomans out. 1925 - Halidé and her husband fled Turkey; Mucha's photograph of Halide, for his second portrait of her. 1927 - Mustafa Kemal Pasha, publicly, called Halide a "traitor". 1939 - Halide and Dr. Adnan returned to Turkey; Crane's death; his support of her ceased.

March 31, 2013, version