

# TURKEY IN TRANSITION

By Isaac F. Marcossou

BEFORE the World War, if you asked a Turk the question "Where are the Turks masters in their own house?" the invariable reply was "In Hades." This was because the capitulations gave the foreigner so many privileges that he could defy the native. Today when you put this same query you get the response "In Turkey."

It means that again in their long and sinister history the Turks have what might be called a national hearthstone. The only fire that warms it is a fierce nationalism gone mad, which, as the Moslems have already discovered—and they are not alone in this costly realization—is a somewhat unsatisfactory fuel. It wins victories on the battlefields and helps to project politicians into prominence, but it neither feeds nor clothes. What is equally important, it does not always set up an economic machine. Right here you have the most serious problem that confronts the young republic of Turkey.

It seems almost a typographical error to apply the word "republic" to Turkey. To the average man everywhere the very name of the country whose ancient capital broods over the Bosphorus is synonymous with that of a wicked sultanate whose middle name was graft and whose favorite outdoor sport was massacre. Automatically it conjures up the picture of Abdul-Hamid, and with it visions of pashas, harems, veils, all shot through with mystery and intrigue, and with mosques and minarets gleaming over the idle and voluptuous scene.

There was more truth than imagination in this popular impression, and it bears directly on Turkey's present dilemma. In the Turkey that was everybody worked but the Turk. To paraphrase our effective slang expression, he said, "Let the Greek, the Armenian, the Jew, the Syrian or the Arab do it," while he bagged the gain. He picked the brain—and also the pocket—of the alien. His was the glittering and luxurious business of empire. Now he has driven out most of the producers, for those hapless minorities were really the commercial majorities. The one-time imperial domain has shriveled to a single homogeneous state. The Turk sits amid his hard-won nationalism and the whole world is wondering what he will do with it.

In some respects no other country anywhere presents the unique spectacle that is embodied in the revived Turkey. It is a striking study in contrasts and contradictions. From being the Sick Man of Europe, it has passed to the point where it is not only a live international issue but must be reckoned with in any appraisal of that long-deferred new world which was expected to rise out of the debris of the war of wars. There are many people—and this list even includes its well-wishers—who believe that for some time at least Turkey will economically fit the definition given by the schoolboy who, when asked to translate the familiar French motto, *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, said "Liberty, equality, infirmity!" The Turk has all three up to the hilt.

## Allied Blunders Capitalized

YET the economic weakness of the Turk, as he stands at the threshold of a real epoch in his career, may ultimately prove to be his strength. He needs the sinews of peace just as two years ago he required the sinews of war. The borrower can seldom dictate, and future loans to Turkey may therefore assume a diplomatic significance greater even than when the menace of Russia hovered incessantly over the Sultan's domain.

Why is this Turkey in transition, or rather the formula for its recovery, so significant? In the answer you have one of the reasons why Europe has been in confusion since the Armistice, and, to be concrete, why such a vital problem as German reparations remained unsolved until the French took the bit in their teeth, occupied the Ruhr and forced a showdown. As a matter of fact, there is a curious parallel between the Germans and the Turks. Since they were bedfellows in the war, they both naturally suffered in the debacle. What has happened since the Armistice not only makes an interesting tale but constitutes a sad commentary on the utter lack of cooperation in Europe.



Halide Edib Hanum, the Foremost Woman of Turkey

Both nations utilized the discord of the victors to their distinct advantage. In the case of Germany it consisted in dividing England and France on the amount and the enforcement of the indemnity. The Turks took advantage of one of the many supreme Allied blunders. From defeat, disillusion and almost complete disintegration, they became a military power and dictated terms to the victors who had humbled them in battle. At Lausanne, as elsewhere, the Allies were out of tune. England suspected France, France in turn had her doubts of Italy, while everybody looked askance at Greece. The Turks rode roughshod through the gaps in the Allied front and got more than they ever dreamed would be theirs. It was simply a case of capitalizing the other side's suspicions and disagreements. Of all the reversals in a world of almost chronic dislocation, Turkey is the prize exhibit.

In passing, let us briefly get the picture. It will enable us to comprehend more clearly a Turkey in evolution. When the Turks signed the Armistice of Mudros in 1918 they were prostrate, bankrupt and the doormat of the Allies. Constantinople was in the hands of the British. The French, Greeks and Italians had lined up huge spheres of influence. War-weary and disheartened, the Turks were ready to accept anything and to give everything. They were as down and out as a nation could be.

Then came the turn of the tide which not only changed the map of Europe but altered a good many political fortunes. In the latter respect Near Eastern history was merely repeating itself. From the days of Gladstone and Disraeli down to the present period, that uneasy area has been, like war, the graveyard of reputations. Peace is never able to anchor long in the quicksands of the Balkans.

Partly at the instigation of Lloyd George, and also under the hypnotic aura of what looked for the moment to be the glory of a greater Greece, the Greeks were permitted to occupy Smyrna and the rich Anatolian hinterland in 1919. If the secret history of this enterprise is ever written it will be disclosed that while Lloyd George aided and abetted

the ill-fated enterprise to his sorrow—it cost him his job as Premier—the Greeks wanted to beat the Italians to the prize.

Be that as it may, no sooner were the Greeks in Smyrna than they began to emulate the immemorial practice of the Turks in the amiable process of eliminating the undesirable native. This is why the massacre business in Turkey, as between Greeks and Turks, is a fifty-fifty proposition. By their presence and their performance the Greeks ignited the spark of Turkish nationalism, which swept all before it and enabled the Turks to become a sort of consolidated modern Phoenix literally risen from the ashes.

## Producers Expelled

IN THE preceding article, which dealt with Kemal Pasha, I told the story of the aftermath of that Smyrna occupation. It has meant the awakening of Turkey, the overthrow of the Greeks and the rebirth of the nation under the ruthless will and stimulating leadership of the remarkable man who became, for all practical purposes, the dictator of the country. He set up a system of government which is self-determination in the *n*th degree. In fact, it is such a drastic process of self-determination that it may possibly react on him and become an illuminating example of self-extinction. This, however, is a later chapter.

The Turks carried the mascot of victory to Lausanne, where the Treaty of Sèvres, the original document of alleged amity offered by the Allies to the Moslems, and full brother in economic unsoundness to the Treaty of Versailles, was scrapped. As an indication of how the Turks registered their will at Lausanne, it may be worth while to recall that the Sèvres Treaty set up a scheme of local autonomy for Turkish Turkestan; established a free and independent state of Armenia; gave Italy the islands of the Aegean and rich zones of influence around Adalia and Konieh; bestowed Thrace and Smyrna on Greece and recognized the mandates for Palestine and the independence of the Hedjas.

The Treaty of Lausanne wiped out all this except the detachment of the mandated states of Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine. Eastern Thrace is restored to Turkey, thus making her a European nation on a footing of equality. Constantinople is once more Turkish and all the foreign troops are withdrawn. Turkey therefore now consists of a considerable strip of Eastern Thrace, Constantinople, and the whole of Anatolia, an area equal to the combined extent of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, South Dakota, North Dakota and Montana, and with a population not in excess of 9,000,000. It is, however, strictly a Turkish dominion, 100 per cent homogeneous, and on the strength of what I am now to set forth it is possible for the new rulers to proclaim the gospel of "Turkey for the Turks" from the fastnesses of the capital at Angora.

Not only is the Armenian Free State dumped into the discard, but the Armenians are required to leave Turkey. Moreover, one of the most amazing human movements in history is brought about by the section of the treaty relating to the exchange of populations. It provides that the Turkish population in Greece must migrate back to Anatolia, while the Greeks in Turkey must return to a Greece already burdened with refugees. Every Christian instinct revolted against this performance on humanitarian grounds alone, but it has a bigger meaning, which the Turks must inevitably learn to their cost.

When you consider that the Armenians and the Greeks, together with the Jews, who for the moment are left alone, have carried on nearly 90 per cent of the commerce of Turkey, you can begin to understand what I meant by a nationalism that is gone mad. To illustrate, the best tobacco in Turkey is grown around Samsun. Practically all of it has been raised by Greeks, who must now beat it to Macedonia or Greece proper. Thousands were not only born in Turkey but Turkish is the only language they know. In the loss of these 2,000,000 thrifty producers you have the crux of the Turkish economic situation.

Equally important for the Turkish business future are the new regulations affecting foreigners. Gone are the old



capitulations which enabled the alien to be tried in consular courts, to have his own post offices, and to be immune from personal taxation. Henceforth he must live under Turkish law. The only recourse that he has from it is through appeal to certain legal advisers who will be citizens of neutral states in the World War. One of the original incentives for foreign investment in Turkey was the protection afforded capital under the capitulations. This is now removed, and it is hardly likely that the dollar, the pound or the franc will go adventuring where it cannot seek shelter under its flag or get some degree of immunity from Turkish ignorance, superstition and prejudice.

A still further evidence of this mania for self-determination is the imposition of a high protective tariff, which will be regulated according to the rise or fall in value of the Turkish pound, and which is bound to be a serious hindrance to the commercial expansion of a country still primitive for the most part, and enfeebled after twelve years of almost continuous warfare.

At almost every stage of the game at Lausanne the Turks had their way, even in the matter of payment of interest on the Ottoman debt. Most of the bondholders are French, so the Turks announced that they would pay interest in French paper money, which at that time was at one-third of its par value. The French insisted upon being paid in pounds sterling and the other powers backed them up. The conference almost broke up because of Turkish insistence upon the payment in depreciated values. In the end no settlement was made, and the matter is still in the air. I cite this episode to show that at Lausanne the invariable combination of bluff and procrastination carried Turkish diplomacy to victory. It has been so since the days of Solyman the Magnificent.

Although the Turks lack business sense, they are the master manipulators of other people's money. The reparation feature of the Lausanne Treaty is an illuminating example. Instead of paying reparations, they are the only ones who received them. The Allies are required to pay the cost of occupation and the Turkish war debt to Germany and Austria is canceled. Thus, while all the Allies are loaded up with war debts, Turkey is only required to pay her comparatively trifling internal war loans.

#### Opening of the Dardanelles

ON ONE vital point alone did the Allied will prevail at Lausanne, and even here the value to civilization was more sentimental than practical. I refer to the freedom of the Dardanelles. Since that historic day in the fifteenth century when Mohammed II battered down the gates of Constantinople and the Moslem rule began on the Bosphorus, those storied straits—the Hellespont of Hero and Leander—have been perhaps the most guarded waterway in the world, and likewise the most desired. Russia, in particular, has always coveted it, because the Dardanelles was a link between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. It was to open these straits for the British fleet that England spilled her blood and treasure in vain on the rocky beaches of Gallipoli in the early days of the World War.

The Dardanelles is now open to the warships and the merchantmen of all nations, and the contiguous territory is demilitarized. The advantage for which empires have struggled is somewhat lessened, because the aeroplane and the submarine were unknown when the straits possessed their historic strategic advantage. The Turks know how to play at the game of war in the air and under the sea.

Wherever you turn in the consideration of the new Turkey you find some vital point of international significance. Angora today is much more than the capital of a reconstituted nation whose victories in diplomacy match her triumphs on the battlefield. In reality, it is the main-spring of a revolutionary nationalism that bodes no good for Britain. Here again you have the persistent evidence of how the beaten Turks put it over on their conquerors.

To get this phase we will have to go back again for a moment to those months following the Armistice of 1918.

Transcaspia, in Transcaucasia, and his power was potent in Iran—which is the proper name for Southern Mesopotamia—Palestine and Arabia. He was in possession of Constantinople, and the Sultan and the Grand Vizier ate out of his hand. That much-discussed new world of Islam was on the point of becoming a British dependency, not in theory but in fact.

Along came that stupendous blunder of Lloyd George, which put the Greeks into Smyrna and fanned the flame of Turkish nationalism; you have already learned the consequences. The point to be emphasized is simply this: In achieving militant nationalism for themselves the Turks have pointed the precedent for the whole Islamic domain, which stretches from Bengal to Constantinople and from the African lakes clear to the Caucasus. In other words, Egypt, India, Afghanistan, to say nothing of lesser Moslem fry, are looking to Angora as the inspiration for the realization of their ideal of self-determination.

#### Church and State

THEY have seen what the Turks have done to the Westerners and they will move heaven and earth to do likewise. Britain is slowly but surely losing ground throughout this Middle Eastern area. She is cordially distrusted by the Turks, who have not forgotten the deportation of their ablest patriots to Malta.

The birth of Turkish nationalism and the kindred inflammation of the nationalistic spirit elsewhere in the Moslem world must not be construed as meaning new life for the Pan-Islamic idea. It has passed, temporarily at least, from the councils and the aspirations of the East. Nor have the new masters of Turkey shed any tears over this temporary eclipse of the plan which was to redeem the East from the vandalism of the West. They are liberal and modern and they know full well that Pan-Islamism is inimical to any kind of radicalism. Based entirely upon religious co-

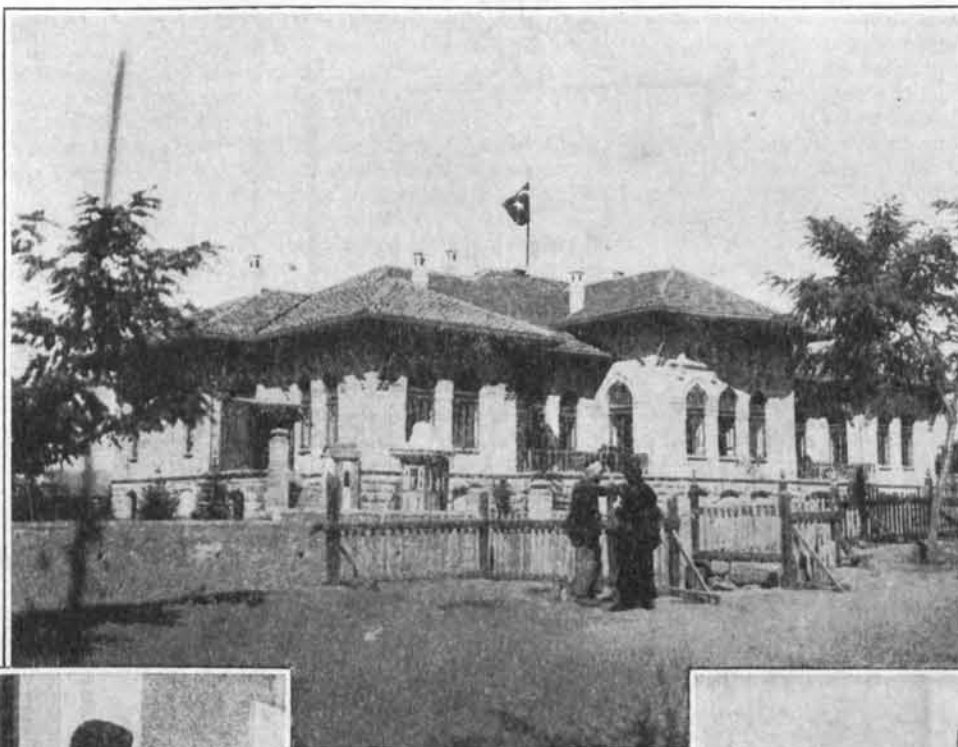
hesion, it frowns upon the many drastic innovations that Kemal Pasha has introduced.

For one thing he made the Grand National Assembly, which is the official name for the parliament of Angora, the supreme and sovereign power of the land. Formerly this was vested in the Sultan by virtue—or the lack of it, as was the case in Turkey—of the divine right of kings. Kemal ended the old arrangement by which the Sultan was also the Caliph. In the separation of church and state he aimed at the very root of Mohammedan power in Turkey. There is still a Caliph at Constantinople, who is deferentially referred to as his majesty, but he is merely the pope of the Moslem world, and so far as politics is concerned he might be a rank outsider. His temporal power is abrogated.

In the turbulent outburst of Turkish nationalism the traditions of Islam are becoming more and more insecure. Not only is the Caliph a decorative figurehead but the so-called Sheik ul Islam, his spiritual chief of staff, as it were, who of late years was a member of the cabinet, and who was called upon from time to time to issue futwas, or authoritative interpretations of Islamic law in regard to current events, no longer bears that name. No futwas have been issued for some time and the Kemalists appear to take little account of the religious law. It means that the bonds that united Turkey to the whole world of Islam are being steadily weakened.

Another evidence that Pan-Islamism is sidetracked in Turkey lies in the unveiling of the women. On this point

(Continued on Page 164)



The Grand National Assembly Building at Angora

At the Left—Refet Pasha  
At the Right—Ismet Pasha  
Below—Rauf Bey



At that time it looked as if the whole Middle Eastern world would be absorbed in the British system. Britain's ancient rival for the stewardship of Turkey, Russia, had vanished from the scene, because communism and international commerce are not exactly compatible.

John Bull apparently had the whole rich field to himself. He had his troops in the Russian zone of Persia, in



# Two-Ton Haulage One-Ton Costs

6  
speeds  
forward

Would you buy a 2-ton truck that carried one ton FREE? Gas, oil, tires, fees, overhead on 2-ton haulage virtually the same as for a 1-ton truck? It can be done, thousands of owners of Warford-equipped Ford trucks will tell you.

Warford selective transmission gives the Ford six forward speeds—an UNDER-DRIVE for 2-ton pull that laughs at sand and gumbo. An OVERDRIVE that cuts the loss on empty runs. Warford saving in dead weight alone makes the usual 2-ton costs seem out of reason. End all truck waste. Save dollars, not just pennies. Buy the Ford truck with Warford transmission—the biggest seller in the 2-ton market today. See your Warford dealer or write us.

THE WARFORD CORP., 44 Whitehall St., New York City

## Warford

AUXILIARY TRANSMISSION  
for Ford Trucks

## TURKEY IN TRANSITION

(Continued from Page 7)

Kemal is determined, for he believes that the seclusion of the female operates against national progress. Thus it is evident that the Juggernaut of nationalism has, for the time at least, flattened out that element which puts religious authority above everything else. Like many other joy rides, this hectic journey of Turkish nationalism may end in some kind of disaster, for the fanatical group is bound to try to regain its old prestige.

The new nationalism has even assailed the Turkish language, which has been made flexible and literary by a considerable incorporation of Arabic and Persian words. Angora has now cast out all traces of alien speech and is replacing them with old Turkish words to such an extent that the inhabitants of Constantinople are frequently unable to read government notices because they contain expressions borrowed from the medieval poetry of Central Asia. It is from Central Asia that the original nomad Turk sprang.

How does all this affect England? Perhaps the best answer is the observation of a clear-thinking British observer in the Near East, who said:

"The success of Angora is, in fact, a portent which ought to make the British nation take stock of its relation to its Oriental dependencies. We originally went to the East for trade. In pursuit of trade we acquired an empire. Are we now prepared to preserve our trade by liquidating our empire, supposing that we have to choose between them, or has our political ascendancy become our paramount concern? And if it has, do we intend to maintain it by force over peoples who revolt against it? The chief danger of our position is that we do not yet know our own minds, while men's minds in the East are traveling so fast that we have little time left for making our decisions."

This situation has a direct bearing on American commercial aspiration in Turkey. England, as we have seen, went to the East for trade and then lost a good deal of it by subordinating the economic to the political ambition. France has done likewise, because the Turks are sore over her occupation of Syria. If we are to make good in Turkey we will avoid all political inclination and concentrate ourselves solely and squarely on the business of selling goods.

### The Asiatics of Europe

Still another significance attaches to this new deal in Turkey. It grows out of the fact that Kemal's domain literally links the East and West. Figuratively, its guns point both ways. The country holds the real key to peace in the Near East, whose gory history makes it practically a synonym for near-war. A satisfied and prosperous Turkey is therefore the best guaranty of stability and harmony in those troubled Balkans. Perhaps the nationalism that I have described embodies the formula for it.

What then is the equipment with which Turkey faces the future? How can she make good economically on her dramatic political comeback?

You cannot appraise the Turkish economic capacity—I might say right here that for the present it is largely incapacity—without taking some measure of the character of the people. Business is largely a matter of dealing with human nature despite the fact that human needs enter largely into it.

There is a widespread belief that the Turks are a Western, or rather a European, nation. One reason is that Constantinople is in Europe and the Turks have had their finger in nearly every European diplomatic pie. In addition, nearly all Turks with any kind of education speak French. Culturally, France has been the mentor. Pierre Loti, for example, is the literary god in every smart Constantinople conversation. A street in the capital is named after him.

Then came the Germanic invasion, less aesthetic, in which culture was written with a bloodless K. Where the French used the Turks for more or less artistic dissipations the Germans were more practical and got their hooks into trade. When the Great War began they not only dominated the Turkish political will but controlled every concession worth grabbing. The Anatolian railway was a link in the Berlin-to-Bagdad scheme, which was to Teutonize the whole of the Near East. The Deutsche Bank was

the clearing house for a big section of Turkish commerce.

Despite his Western wearing apparel and his knowledge of French and German, the Turk is fundamentally an Asiatic, although he resents the imputation. When you meet him in a club and begin a conversation, you are at first inclined to believe that here is a man of your own world, for your man is suave, plausible and amiable.

Before long a little mental shutter drops and you find yourself focused on the Asiatic. It becomes difficult to get a direct yes or no. You are combating evasion, which is one of the fundamental weapons of the Oriental.

But this is only one of many traits which, like the impressions on a photographic film, slowly become tangible. Another is the instinct to regard every concession, whether in diplomacy, business or even ordinary talk, as an act of weakness to be capitalized.

So, too, with discord, which for years has been meat and drink to the Turk. He has gone on the theory that time does not heal, but foments European differences. Traditional foreign policy pivoted on the belief that safety lay in antagonism between England and Russia. They fomented it to the limit and even enlisted so astute an ally as Disraeli. What happened at Lausanne was merely the repetition, but with bigger results, of what they had achieved at Rome, Berlin, Paris and London.

### Turkish Traits

In the old days, before the war, the British used to say, "The only way to deal with a Turk is to buy him or beat him." That is the one safe policy in handling any Oriental. It is primitive, but effective.

The Turk, and especially since he has achieved his nationalism and national homogeneity, is inclined to minimize the foreigner and delude himself with the idea that he does not need him. He is likely to have a costly readjustment of this view.

Deep down in his system the average Turk is a haggler. He mistakes dicker for frank negotiation. Give him an inch and he wants a mile. When all is said and done it is merely the mood of the market place that asserts itself. If you have ever tried to buy anything in the Constantinople bazaar you know exactly what I mean. Pay a Turk what he demands for a commodity and he will set you down as a fool or a madman. This principle underlies nearly every phase of Turkish economic life.

In ordinary transactions the Turk seems to shy at finality, because he has a tendency to leave things in the air. This attitude gave rise to a saying which was formerly popular amongst aliens in Turkey, and which ran: "The Turks never finish anything, not even a massacre."

There is no intention here to indict the Turkish people because of their racial shortcomings. Every nation has its defects. The qualities that I have pointed out, and they are essential to any understanding of the transition period, as well as to any future commercial transaction with them, are usually most conspicuous in the official and trading classes.

The Anatolian peasant—the backbone of the country—is a simple and, in the main, an honest soul, with an inherent sense of justice and loyalty. For centuries he has been the real goat, so to speak, of Turkish ambition. Anatolia was the reservoir of human war material, and those sturdy farmers were sent year after year into Arabia, Palestine, Bulgaria, Tripoli and elsewhere to obey the bloody behests of the military masters. They did not know why they went, but they did their bit willingly if stolidly. The loyalty to emperor that has made the Japanese perform miracles of sacrifice and valor has had its replica with the Anatolian peasant in the stimulating inspiration of Mohammed.

I met a Turkish soldier in Anatolia who told me that he had been under arms continuously for twelve years. This explains why the Greeks and the Armenians were able to become such agricultural factors. The Turk has essentially been a fighting man. He made more out of war than out of grubbing the ground, for he still uses a crude wooden plow drawn by oxen or water buffalo. Even with this primitive scraping, it yields excellent crops because of the richness of the soil. With tractors, which are



## 18 or 80

Here's  
Cash For

## Your Spare Hours



Whatever your age, we will offer you liberal payment to care for our present subscribers and enroll new readers for *The Saturday Evening Post*, *The Ladies' Home Journal* and *The Country Gentleman*. "Curtis work is my main source of income," says Mr. Charles W. Matthews, a High School boy in Wisconsin, "and I have made about \$5.00 in one day." Mr. W. E. Dockry, of Michigan, on the other hand, is a Civil War veteran, a college graduate and a retired physician, who earns extra money by our plan every month.

## You Need no Experience

We need more men and women workers in your locality right now. You need only the willingness to try work that is easy, pleasant and dignified. To learn all the attractive details of our offer just send the coupon which is printed below.

## For Your Convenience

THE CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

605 Independence Square, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen: If you have a proposition which will pay me up to, say, \$1.50 an hour for my spare time, please tell me about it, but without obligation.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_



now slowly coming into use, and other improved and scientific methods, Turkey can go a long way towards achieving a healthy reconstruction.

The reason, of course, is that the country is essentially agricultural. Save for silk and carpets, there are practically no native industries. Thus the bulk of the population is that stout Anatolian peasantry, the majority of whom are still rooted in a sort of primitive self-sufficiency. It is by increasing the wants of the peasantry that the country can expand. This can be done only through education. To the credit of the Kemalists let it be said that they have outlined a program of rural instruction based on the most advanced American lines.

That the Anatolian peasant is in sad need of mental and business awakening is shown by the story told me by one of the leading American merchants of Smyrna, who does a large export and import business. Until 1920 most of his clients up-country were Greek tobacco farmers who knew all the ropes of commerce. When the Greeks were driven out the Turks took up tobacco raising and began to send the product to Smyrna to be sold. The case in point deals with a certain Turkish farmer who had piled up a neat little surplus with the American, who asked him if he did not want some cash, which he refused. Upon being told that he could get interest on his accumulated money he naively asked, "What is interest?"

After the Greek debacle in 1922, thousands of Anatolian peasants believed that having conquered their hereditary enemies, the Hellenes, they could now lick the world, and especially the British part of it, because at that time England was in particularly bad odor with the Turks. In a speech to a group of these jingoes Ismet Pasha, just back from the first Lausanne conference, told his hearers that London had more people than Turkey and that her budget was bigger than the whole Turkish national expenditure. It was the first time that most of the hearers had the slightest idea of the extent of the British capital.

Now for the application of these facts. The destiny of Turkey depends upon her peasants, if the present nationalistic plan sticks. Can these rude delvers of the soil gather up the threads of trade scattered and torn by twelve years of continuous warfare? Can they become the artisan, the money changer, the hotel keeper, the barber, the interpreter, and the importer and exporter, for these are the functions that the Greek and the Armenian, together with the Jew, performed? Can they build the railways which the country so sorely needs, and can they revive the silk and carpet industries?

#### The Future of Constantinople

Whence will come the labor to take the place of those 2,000,000 or more Armenians and Greeks now lost to Turkey, and who will fill the gaps left among the Turkish youth and manhood in the succession of wars? Some economists would recruit it from Daghestan and Turkestan. Such men, however, would be highly unskilled for some years to come. On construction it may be possible to utilize imported Italian, Chinese or Egyptian labor. Here, however, you run afoul of the new nationalism, which stipulates in every concession that all the labor done in Turkey must be Turkish. I can only ask these questions; it is up to the Turk to answer them.

The Turks have scarcely begun to realize that the heritage of this new nationalism is not the Turkey of other days, whose watch fires once gleamed from the Piave to the Persian Gulf; whose legions smashed at the gates of Vienna; whose prowess made Budapest a suburb of Constantinople. The old, comfortable, easy-going Turkey is gone, and in its stead is a war-racked, desolate and well-nigh impoverished land which, according to schedule, must be remade by their own efforts. Even Constantinople is going to rack and ruin, yet it is a vital asset to the new democracy, which persists in temporarily keeping its stronghold in ruined Angora.

The problem of the political future of Constantinople enters largely into the appraisal of a new Turkey. For various reasons the Nationalist Turk hesitates to re-establish his capital in historic Byzantium. How Constantinople's position as a commercial center of strategic importance would be affected by the loss of prestige that attaches to a capital can only be conjectured. Whether or not Constantinople comes back to her own as a center of government,

she has a bright future as a distributing center, deriving her importance first from the unparalleled strategic water advantages that lie in the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn and the further fact that she is a free port.

At the time of my visit to Turkey, which coincided with the conclusion of the Lausanne peace, the Turkish National Assembly was considering the establishment of the capital at a point in the interior of Asia Minor, other than at Angora, which is small, squalid and overcrowded. Indeed, the best evidence of the loyalty and patriotism of the Nationalists is in the fact that they have been willing to stand the discomforts of life there.

No question is of closer interest to the Turkish Government than its installation in the heart of Anatolia, the cradle of the race and the source of the industrial and agricultural wealth. Many Nationalists with whom I talked believed that a permanent capital at such a place as Konieh, which is the center of a fertile plain and on the Constantinople-Bagdad railway, is highly advisable. They contend that it would mean a resuscitation of Asiatic Turkey—practically the whole of the new Turkey is in Asia—politically, economically and intellectually. It would assure, moreover, the material and moral independence of the government, so difficult to maintain in a large cosmopolitan port such as Constantinople, which is constantly menaced by foreign sea power, exposed to the intrigues of minorities and the schemes of foreigners.

#### Expansion Toward the East

In this connection let me quote what a well-informed Turk said about Constantinople and its relation to the new Turkish Government. It was:

"In the eyes of Europe and of the whole world the true character of the Turks as a nation has been misrepresented by the spectacle furnished by the history of Constantinople. The Turkish National Government cannot find the solid and dependable support, in a population so mingled and with so many foreign cross currents as that of Constantinople, that the French Government, for example, has found throughout the history of France, in the people of Paris.

"Constantinople is and will continue to be the respiratory organ of economic Turkey, the spiritual center of religious Turkey, and undoubtedly also the museum of history and art. To make her the political capital would expose her—and through her the nation—to international cupidity.

"It is on the Eastern side that Ottoman expansion should normally develop, Asia Minor being eminently Turkish in population, religion, language, customs and economic interests. A Turkish capital in Asia Minor will therefore create new intellectual centers, large schools, universities and technical institutions, which will modernize the new Turkey to the general advantage of civilization. Finally, the development of the natural wealth of Turkey will be facilitated and will redound to the greater prosperity of Asia and Europe."

After the incessant warfare that has ravaged Turkey for the last twelve years, and the deportation of so many economic producers, you would naturally think that the national finances were in a deplorable state. The opposite is true. Here you have one of the first hopeful signs of stability in the reborn nation, and the reason, incidentally, why the Turks have been so cocky about foreign loans.

Although for a time Turkey had two governments, one at Constantinople and another at Angora, neither one of them incurred any considerable obligation. The Grand National Assembly was able to conduct the war against the Greeks out of customs receipts, taxes, requisitions, sales of abandoned property and similar internal revenues. With the public debt apportioned among the component parts of the former Ottoman Empire, and with the war debt to Germany canceled by the peace treaty, the nation is able to face the future in a better fiscal position than any of the other countries which lost out in the World War.

The Turkish currency is an interesting as well as odoriferous exhibit. The Turks have printed no new money since the Armistice, which is in striking contrast with the avalanche of bank notes poured out by Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia. In Constantinople the issue of new notes was forbidden by the Allies, and in Angora it was not attempted. As a result there are

## Smart styles for Young Men

RALSTONS are designed especially for the red-blooded young men who are exacting in their style demands and fastidious and discriminating in their dress.

They always reflect the latest note of style tendencies without descending to freakishness. For sound values and good fit they are a market standard.

Most styles \$9.00. Some a little more—some a little less.

Send for Fall Style Book

RALSTON SHOEMAKERS 964 Main Street, Brockton, Mass.



STYLE 520  
made in Brown Calf



## Cold Weather Motor Efficiency

After you install a Winterfront you save money on every mile, not only during Winter, but in Spring and Fall, because it regulates the operating temperature of the engine and insures the most economical use of oil and gas; it also eliminates some of the repair bills.

Winterfront banishes the worries and troubles of cold weather driving and keeps your car in continuous satisfactory service.

It will start readily after several hours' standing in the cold because the heat of the engine is held under the hood.

This hot air brings the engine to a working temperature in much less time and also helps to keep the driver comfortable.

These results are brought about by the opening and closing of shutters operated automatically, without thought or attention from you.

The automatic operating device is controlled by the heat from the engine so that the engine determines whether it is to have more cold air or less.

Winterfront can be installed in a few minutes and accentuates the beauties of any car.

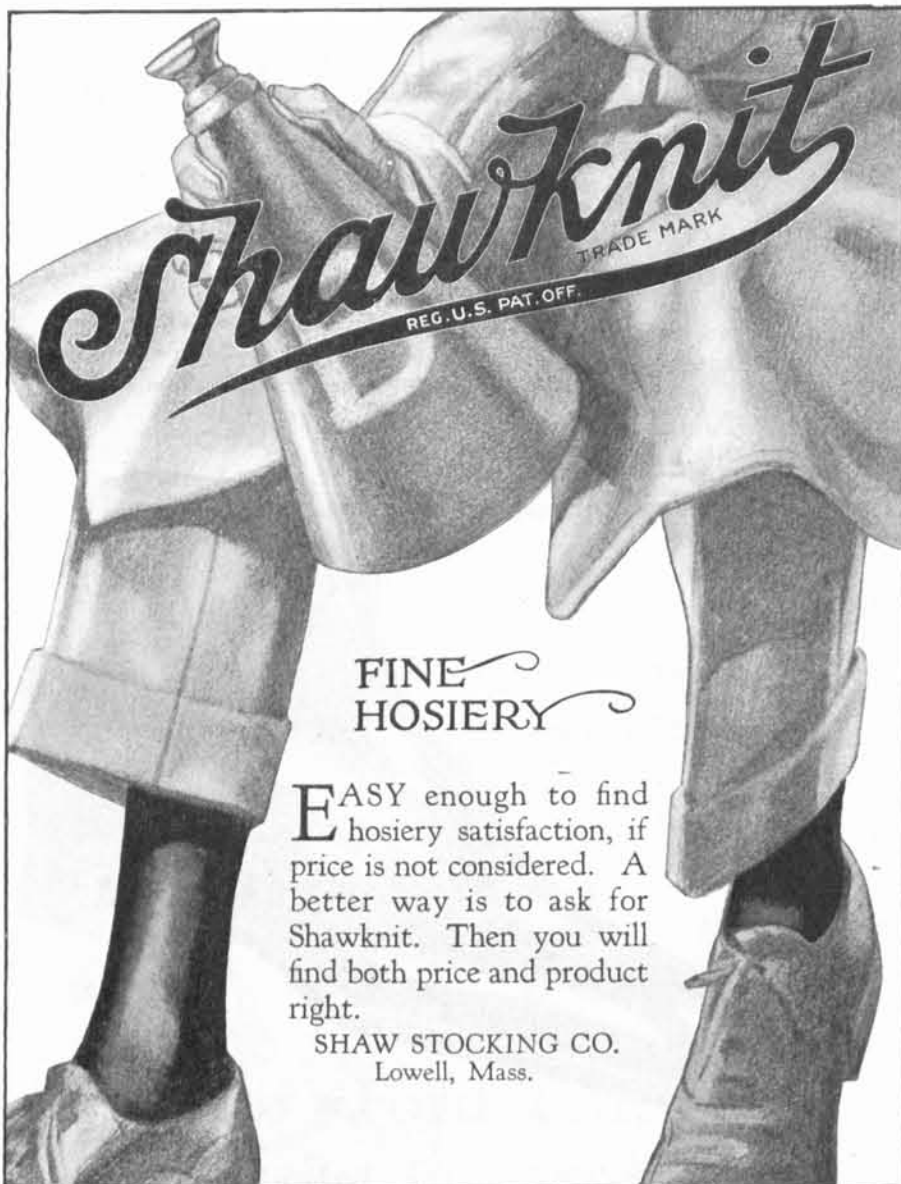
PINES MANUFACTURING CO., 404-412 N. Sacramento Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Should your dealer not have the right model on hand he will gladly get it. For further particulars please write us.

Any Motor Will Run Better With A  
PINES AUTOMATIC

**WINTERFRONT**  
TRADE MARK REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.





**Shawknit**  
TRADE MARK  
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

**FINE HOSIERY**

**E**ASY enough to find hosiery satisfaction, if price is not considered. A better way is to ask for Shawknit. Then you will find both price and product right.

SHAW STOCKING CO.  
Lowell, Mass.

only about 150,000,000 Turkish pounds in circulation. This money shows evidence of usage and is about the most battered medium of exchange anywhere in the world. It is so tattered that the ordinary pocket-book must give way to a bag, and likewise a disinfectant. Its constant usage begets the atmosphere to which I have referred.

The par value of the Turkish pound is \$4.40. At the time of my visit to Turkey it was about sixty cents, while on the day this article was written it stood at fifty cents, about one-eighth of its prewar value. Considering what Turkey has gone through, the money has held its own fairly well. Because of the failure to print new money Turkish securities and Turkish currencies still command respect. The per capita debt of Turkey is relatively small as viewed with postbellum eyes.

Not only is the financial situation fairly sound—it lacks the inflation now so chronic in European currency—but the Nationalists have outlined a thoroughly progressive program so far as their state funds are concerned. In the old days of the sultans, and especially during the régime of Abdul-Hamid, Turkish finance was operated for the benefit of the few and at the cost of the many. Foreign loans were usually dictated by concessions which were bestowed on those who paid the most baksheesh, which is the Oriental word for graft. Practically every public concession of any kind was on the sultan's civil list, which meant that it was his private property.

The government was largely financed through semiprivate transactions in which the sultans and the pashas kept most of the funds appropriated for salaries. No under-official ever got more than six months' salary out of the twelve. The deficit was made up to him by the lavish bestowal of royal decorations and favors, which, of course, did not pay for food or rent. In this failure to receive salary you find the provocation for a great deal of the corruption that has existed in the administration, or lack of administration, of Turkish affairs.

The Young Turk revolution of 1908 produced a budget system for the first time in Turkey. The initial budget showed an enormous deficit and recourse was had to a loan to make good the shortage. Expenses were cut, fresh revenues discovered and improved methods of tax collection introduced. Gradually the gap between income and expenditure diminished, and it seemed possible before long to arrive at a budgetary equilibrium without recourse to foreign loans. Much of the credit for the financial house cleaning was due to the Ottoman Public Debt Commission, which supervised the payment of interest on the foreign debt, and to the foreign financial adviser of the government.

#### Turkey's Financial Program

Then came the first Balkan Wars, which shot holes into Turkish finances, followed by the Great War, which wiped them out. Present solvency is due entirely to the excellent management of the Kemalists, who have made this country almost fiscally self-sufficient, for the time being at least.

The Grand National Assembly has re-introduced the budget system. The estimated revenues for the fiscal year 1923-24 are \$94,000,000, while the estimated expenditures are \$104,000,000. In view of Turkey's great territorial and other losses, these figures speak well for the recuperative power and financial capacity of the country.

If the Turks can get away with their announced financial program they will be achieving one of the miracles of modern administration. Chief among the innovations is the determination not to contract a foreign loan, which means that they hope to balance the budget. Instead of a loan, foreign capital will be invited to come into the country to build roads, bridges and railways. It is the intention to set aside 2,000,000 Turkish pounds annually for the amortization of the public debt. The present deficit is expected to be overcome by taxes on alcohol and salt. Since Turkey is nominally dry, this means that a wet era may be imminent. This phase of Turkey's life, however, will be discussed in a subsequent article.

Other financial reforms to be instituted include the payment of land taxes in kind, so as to help agriculture; the readjustment of all indirect taxation and the imposition of drastic income and consumption taxes; a determination to exterminate brigandage and a stringent reduction of the army and navy. In this connection it may be well to

list another reform embodied in the proposed reduction of compulsory military service from three years to eighteen months. This step is absolutely necessary because of the deportation of the Greeks and Armenians.

Despite their growing jealousy of their sovereign rights and their avowed intolerance of foreign interference, it is believed that the Turks will best serve their own interests by voluntarily inviting a sufficient number of American and European advisers and experts into the councils of the government. If foreign capitalists go into Turkey they will demand these guaranties. A convincing example of the benefits derived from such a system was furnished prior to the war by the customs régime introduced under Turkish auspices by Sir Richard Crawford. The Ottoman Public Debt administration under Sir Adam Block is another illustration.

#### Rauf Bey and Mr. Roosevelt

Perhaps the best way to express the aspirations and possibilities of the new Turkey is to present them in the personality and point of view of the man who, after Kemal Pasha, and with the possible inclusion of Ismet Pasha, has done more to bring the nation out of defeat and chaos into order and world authority than any one of his compatriots. I refer to Rauf Bey, who was prime minister when I visited Turkey, and who represents the best that there is in Turkish vision, character and statesmanship. His recent defection from the Kemal cabinet bodes no good for the Angora dictatorship, for he is certain to rally about him the most enlightened and progressive elements of the nation.

Rauf Bey is a thoroughgoing man of the world. Educated in England and Germany, he early became an officer in the navy, and at the high tide of Turkish power commanded the famous Hamidieh, the crack ship of the Turkish fleet. In 1903 he came to America in order to inspect our torpedo and submarine station at Newport. One of the first questions he asked me was, "Is Juggie Nelson still in the American Navy? He was a great friend of mine and my chaperon at Newport."

In connection with his visit to Newport is a characteristic story. It is typical of the man that with the first practical demonstration of the utility of the submarine he wanted to find out all there was to know concerning it. At the great Vickers plant in England he was turned down, so he decided to try the United States. He was told that he would have to get permission from the President. He therefore went to see Roosevelt, who was so impressed by the Turkish sailor's blunt and frank manner that he not only gave the desired permission but said to him, "If Turkey had six more men like you she would be a world power."

In the Balkan War Rauf Bey broke the Greek blockade of the Dardanelles and made a daring sortie into the Mediterranean with the Hamidieh. When the Great War broke he was in England negotiating for the two Turkish dreadnoughts that Britain seized. During the war he held a responsible command among the Kurdish tribes along the Turco-Persian frontier. He was a signatory of the Mudros Armistice and was one of the Turkish leaders deported from Constantinople to Malta by the British authorities in 1920. After his release he was among the first to rally around Kemal Pasha when the Nationalist government made its precarious start at Erzerum.

I first met Rauf Bey in the unpretentious Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Angora. He is more like a brisk and businesslike American banker than the sailor premier, as he was then called. In this respect he has a kinship with Admiral Horthy, the Regent of Hungary. He is in the early forties, has a compact, well-built frame, and his broad face is keen and alert. Unlike most of his colleagues in the government, he speaks admirable English and has even acquired some knowledge of American slang. He acted as interpreter for me when I had the interview with Kemal. He affects none of the evasion which so often impedes conversation with the Turk. On the contrary he is frank and outspoken.

I asked Rauf Bey to outline the Turkish program, and he replied:

"There is nothing mysterious about the ideals of the Nationalist government. Its aim has been self-determination, a homogeneous population and freedom from

(Continued on Page 168)

## \$100.00 for Your Christmas

**B**ETWEEN now and Christmas literally scores of our representatives will earn more than \$100.00 extra—just by sending us new and renewal subscriptions for THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL and THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN. Especially will they profit through forwarding the subscriptions which thousands of people annually send as favorite Christmas gifts.

### You Need no Experience to Win

**W**HEN you tell your friends and neighbors that these three publications answer almost every reading need, that a subscription makes an ideal gift—and lasts all year—and that we send a handsome gift announcement with each gift, in the name of the giver, you will be surprised to find how quickly and easily the hundred may be yours. But you must start at once—there isn't a moment to lose. That's why the coupon is below. Use it.

The Curtis Publishing Company  
494 Independence Square  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen: While I assume no obligation in asking, please tell me how I may earn \$100.00 for Christmas.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_





## Depends Upon Efficient Refrigerators

AND this means efficient refrigerators, not only in your home, but in the store of the dealer who sells you food.

Unless food comes to you fresh, pure and wholesome, your own refrigerator cannot save it. You are vitally interested, therefore, in the refrigerator equipment of your grocer, your meat dealer, delicatessen store, dairy—every dealer in perishable foods.

Properly preserved in a good refrigerator or cooling room, such foods are a delight to the taste—healthful, nourishing. Without the service of such a refrigerator they become, first unpalatable, and then positively dangerous, a menace to health and life!

So the dealer who possesses modern sanitary refrigerator equipment is doing his duty in protecting your health. The commercial refrigerator manufacturer is his ally, providing equipment to meet his needs and keep the food you buy in wholesome, tempting condition.

To acquaint you more fully with the important part which refrigerators play in protecting your health, we have prepared a series of interesting folders which are free. Send the coupon NOW, checking the ones which interest you.

- No. 1—"Your Health Depends Upon This" (General)
- No. 2—"Protecting Your Guests" (Hotels, etc.)
- No. 3—"Protecting Your Customers" (Grocers, Markets, etc.)
- No. 4—"An Expert Service at Your Command" (Architects)

Better Refrigerators for Business Uses

## COMMERCIAL REFRIGERATOR MANUFACTURERS

517 MURRAY BLDG.  
GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

Commercial Refrigerator Manufacturers,  
517 Murray Bldg., Grand Rapids, Mich.  
Kindly send, without charge, the folders checked.

No. 1 ( ) No. 2 ( )  
No. 3 ( ) No. 4 ( )

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
P. O. \_\_\_\_\_

(Continued from Page 166)

foreign interference. These things we have achieved and we propose to defend them at any cost.

"The greatest need of Turkey today is economic and industrial expansion. We have a rich and undeveloped country and a hardy, thrifty peasantry. All we need is foreign capital, but this capital must be free from intrigue. This is why the Nationalist government is so eager to have American cooperation.

"I believe that I am more responsible than anyone else for the ratification of the Chester concession. We fondly expected that, in paying what we believed was a tribute to the American people in the bestowal of this rich grant, it would be immediately appreciated. Instead, the concessionaries seem to have involved themselves in all kinds of internal troubles, quite forgetting Turkey's need of the railroads and other improvements that are stipulated. If this concession is not carried out under American auspices it loses a great deal of its value for us.

"Let me add that despite the assaults made on the Chester concession by the British and French the title is clear and will stand as drawn. British and French hostility to this enterprise is well known and easily understood. This is why I have been so insistent all along that the Americans should capitalize the great opportunity that we have given them to become part and parcel of our economic life.

"The Turkish Government is ready and willing to study any business project submitted to it. The only condition that we impose is that undertakings by foreigners must not imply anything incompatible with the economic and political independence of Turkey. We look with favor upon monopolistic development concessions that combine Turkish and foreign capital. Again let me emphasize that our sole objection to the alien doing business in Turkey rests upon his desire to make political capital out of it. We want no national flag reared upon enterprises that take root in our country.

"I am strongly in favor of the organization of Turkish-American chambers of commerce at Constantinople, Smyrna and elsewhere in Turkey, and I hope that there will be corresponding organizations set up in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco.

"For the first time in her history Turkey means to take the business bit into her own teeth and become what she has never been before, a commercial power on her own. We feel that Americans can better understand that situation than any other people. This is why we want their capital and their help."

### Unwritten History

In making this declaration about the foreigner Rauf Bey showed the independence of thought which less than a month later led him to resign from the Kemal cabinet. Just why he did this you shall presently see.

On one subject of interest to the whole world Rauf Bey made the following illuminating observation:

"We have had much to do with the soviet government of Russia. In the early days of the Nationalist movement we were looked upon as easy prey. The Bolsheviks have discovered, however, that we are not to be used as tools in the red conquest of the Near East. As a matter of fact, the soviet power is losing its grip and my own impression is that it will not last."

I had my talk with Rauf Bey during the most critical hour of the Lausanne conference and when rupture seemed imminent. His eyes flashed when he declared, "We stand pat. If they want war they can have it." His comment on the Allied delegates was amusing. He said, "The Great Powers sent clerks without authority, while we sent representatives vested with full powers."

In the course of our conversation he disclosed an interesting piece of unwritten history. It related to the time when, after the Greek debacle in 1922, the British and Turkish troops faced each other at Chanak. A collision seemed inevitable. What the world does not know is that Kemal Pasha favored hostilities and that it was Rauf Bey who restrained him.

No one can talk with Rauf Bey without realizing that he is sane and constructive and the best type of Turk to wield power in the critical period of transition. He was just the sort of balance wheel that Kemal Pasha needed. Now that he is out of the

councils of the government and the leader of the opposition wing, his loss will be felt at Angora.

It only remains to deal with the phase of Turkey in transition which, for obvious reasons, has the widest human interest. It is the evolution of women. Probably more misinformation has been disseminated on this score than on any other Oriental subject.

The average Westerner has been led to believe that the Turkish harem is a syndicate of wives immured behind walls and veils, whose sole occupation is the reading of French novels and the continuous consumption of that prize first aid to indigestion and corpulency—the pasty candy popularly known as Turkish Delight. Idleness and voluptuousness appeared to be the principal objectives.

So far as the upper classes are concerned, this state of affairs obtained in Turkey for many years; but long before the Young Turk revolution first projected women in politics, the Turkish peasant woman, like her sister in France, had borne the brunt of the manual labor in agriculture. Nor has she been less thrifty than her Gallic sister.

### A Blow to Polygamy

The word "harem" is a distinct misnomer. It does not mean unbridled polygamy. It is that part of the domestic establishment reserved for women, which may include not only the wife or the wives of the master of the household but his mother, mother-in-law and sisters. The harem was responsible for the seclusion of women, which has not only rendered family life in Turkey impossible but retarded the intellectual development of the female sex and the progress of the nation as well. With emancipation has come a kindred increase of literacy, and with literacy the Turkish woman is coming into her own.

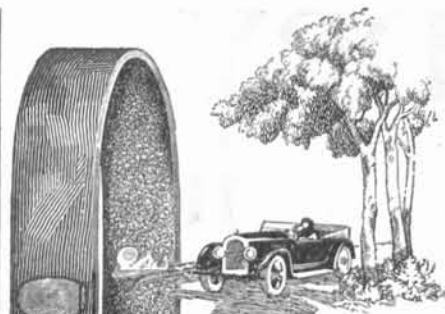
One of the first reforms advocated by Kemal Pasha and his associates—and he subsequently found an enthusiastic helper in his wife, Latife Hanum—was for the broader education of women. Linked with this is the growing tendency to remove the veil. Most people believe that the teachings of the prophet dictated that the face should be covered. This is not so. If the truth were known it would reveal the fact that the Turkish husband from time immemorial has been a selfish individual who did not want the light of the vulgar world to shine upon his mate or mates. Whether it was a case of safety first I cannot say, but it is probably due to the same reason that commanded the mutilation of the feet of Chinese women for centuries. This barbarous practice prevented the wife from running away from her husband.

It was not until the rise of the Nationalists that you saw many unveiled women in the streets of Constantinople or Smyrna. It is now so common that it causes no comment. Curiously enough, the Anatolian peasant woman is still more modest about her face, which she keeps covered as she stoops over her work in the furrows. With her baggy pantaloons and shrouded visage, she presents a curious picture in the field.

The Kemal movement in Turkey has dealt a real blow to polygamy, which is lawful to all Moslems. The habit of having more wives than one is decreasing. The new patriotism, however, is not altogether responsible. It is the economic factor that always counts. The high cost of matrimony is doing more than anything else to establish monogamy.

On one point the Turkish woman in general is still up against it. Though a wife has certain property rights recognized by the law, she remains the creature of her husband. In no other civilized country save Japan is separation easier. The Japanese rids himself of the undesirable matrimonial appendage by merely striking her name off the family register. In Turkey the husband repeats the words "I divorce you" to his wife three times in the presence of witnesses, and the amputation is effected. This amiable process is called repudiation. Now that the Turkish wife is removing the veil, there are growing signs that she will demand a different divorce procedure. It is one more evidence that she is asserting herself as never before.

Let us pass now from these generalities into a concrete illustration of the evolution of woman in Turkey. Just as Rauf Bey visualizes the best that there is in statesmanship, so does Halide Edib Hanum incarnate the advanced spirit of her sex. She is not only the foremost woman reformer



### The less slip—the cooler the motor

If you had to ooze along in low for a long time, it's a cinch your feet would begin to fry because your fan would be runnin' in low, too. Now, when you've got a fan belt that slips a lot, because it don't grip as it should, or because it's stretched like a short guy's neck at the beach, or because it wore out before it oughta accordin' to price, your car is always in low as far as any fan speed is concerned.

Of course, you could fix things if you had a lot of ice water. But it's cheaper and easier to put in a Hilab Leather Fan Belt, because it's what keeps motors cool by not slippin' or stretchin' or wearin' out when you ain't lookin'. You can buy one from most any dealer—I'll tell you the nearest one if you can't find him easy.

Low priced for all cars Flat and V-Type

Hide Leather & Belting Company Indianapolis, Indiana

# HiLAB

Gets more out of any cooling system

## HOME HAIR CUTS

American Gentleman

THE BEST HAIR CLIPPER MADE

Cuts fast and easy; stays sharp for years and years. Finest cutlery steel blades hardened and tempered—will not give out.

We have made quality hair clippers for 34 years and the American Gentleman is our best. Get one at your hardware or cutlery store for only \$2.50, in individual carton, or we will send it prepaid from here.

Chicago Flexible Shaft Company  
5688 Roosevelt Road Chicago  
Canadian Factory: 349 Carlaw Ave., Toronto



## Gem NAIL CLIPPERS

"They're Tested"

Made to trim nails easily, neatly and quickly. Work with either hand. Two styles: The Gem 50¢; Gem Jr. 35¢ at your dealer's or by mail from us.

THE H. C. COOK CO., Ansonia, Conn.



## The Advantages of the Spool Link



Kremenz spool links have a one-piece, inseparable post. This post is the proper length for holding the cuff in its correct position, with its rigidity making it easy to quickly "button" the link into the cuff with one hand. Pair shown in green gold, \$2.00.



A Kremenz collar button never "green spots" you, as only 14 kt. gold touches the skin. This gold is in such a liberal quantity, and is so hard, that it successfully resists the combined action of body acids and perspiration without leaving an ugly green spot on the skin. 25 cents each.

Correctness is an absolute essential in a man's evening jewelry. Kremenz tuxedo and full dress sets are standard. They completely meet every requirement of correct evening dress. A wide variety of designs from which to choose. Many of the better shops carry Kremenz exclusively. Set illustrated has dark center with whole pearl; rims in Kremenz white gold. Complete in box, \$15.00. Others from \$4.50 to \$25.00.



Illustrated booklet upon request. Address us, please, at 49 Chestnut St., Newark, N.J.

**Kremenz**

of her country but she has done a big man's work, both in war and peace. Barring only Kemal Pasha, she is the most interesting Turkish personality with whom I came in contact. Her life story is a continuous record of achievement, unique because it literally blazed the way for the progress of her sex.

Halide Hanum, as she is best known, was born in Constantinople, where her father was a civil servant under Sultan Abdul-Hamid. From him she inherited the progressive idea, because when she was a mere child he sent her as a day pupil to the admirable American College for Girls at Constantinople. Abdul-Hamid, however, frowned on foreigners and foreign education, and she was compelled to withdraw for a time. Later she returned as a boarder and was the first Turkish woman to receive the degree of bachelor of arts. Halide Hanum showed her appreciation of her alma mater by preventing the Germans from commandeering the American college for a hospital during the World War.

The instinct to write early asserted itself. At twelve she translated into Turkish an American book called *Mother*. By the time that the Young Turks registered their coup against Abdul-Hamid in 1908 she had become the leading poet and novelist of Turkey. She realized that the best way to educate the Turkish woman into the ways of the Western world was to make those ways attractive, so she put them into the form of fiction. In her novel entitled *New Turania* she forecast the whole new-woman movement in the country, and at the same time was the prophet of the nationalism that has come to pass and in which she has been such a factor.

It is worth while recounting that Halide Hanum was the pioneer in exposing her face in public. Incidentally, she could well afford to do so, because it happens to be exceedingly attractive.

Her first husband was Salih Zeki, one of the noted mathematicians of Turkey. He subsequently acquired a second wife, and she—here again the pioneer predominated—succeeded in reversing the usual procedure and got a separation from him. In 1918 she married Dr. Adnan Bey, the most distinguished of living Turkish medical practitioners, who is now the representative of the Angora foreign office at Constantinople.

### A Chat With Halide Hanum

Long before her second marriage she had molded herself into the destiny of the new Turkey. During the World War she established a chain of schools for women in Syria and subsequently converted them into hospitals. It was not until the Armistice of Mudros that her real work as a patriot began. She was in Constantinople when Kemal Pasha unfurled the flag of nationalism at Angora. The Greeks controlled the railroads, so with her husband she made the long and difficult journey to the new capital on horseback. It took them nearly a month to get there. When Kemal launched his drive against the Greeks she enlisted in his army as a sergeant and was at his side throughout the entire Battle of Sakaria, which lasted twenty-three days. She wore the regulation Turkish uniform, endured every hardship, and at the end of the struggle wrote the official account of the devastation. After the Turkish triumph, Halide became one of Kemal's most trusted counselors, and it is due to her efforts that the first ministry of education was organized.

With this stirring prelude of performance we can now get a close-up of Halide Hanum herself. At Constantinople I learned to my regret that she was at Munich, where she had gone to meet her two sons, aged sixteen and eighteen respectively, who are students at the University of Illinois, and who had returned to Europe for their holiday. Dr. Adnan Bey gave me a letter of introduction to her, and when I reached Munich on my way to Berlin I had the good fortune to find her there. She was living at a pension in the Maximilian Platz.

Halide Hanum bears no evidences of the strenuous life she has led. She is almost slight of stature, with abundant auburn hair, reddish brown eyes, and has altogether a most winning personality. She was the first Turkish woman I had seen with her hair exposed, because, despite the passing of the veil over the face, it is still regarded as bad form in Turkey to uncover the head. She wore a simple blue frock far more European than Turkish, black silk

stockings and patent-leather pumps that were distinctly American.

This leader of Turkish women speaks admirable English and in a voice that is rich and appealing. As I looked at her it was difficult to realize that this lovely and fragile person had ridden side by side with Kemal Pasha on those rocky, shell-swept heights at Sakaria, where the Greek dream of control of Turkey was shattered.

At once we launched into a discussion of the new Turkey. She has a man's grasp of big facts and she knows how to express herself. When I asked her about the future of the Nationalistic movement, which she so valiantly helped to put on its feet, she answered:

"Enver Pasha's Pan-Turanian dream of a political, racial and religious hegemony was a great mistake. For one thing, it enabled the East Indians to use Turkey for their own ends. Turkey's destiny does not lie in racial or religious amalgamation, but in a Turkey for the Turks. Within her own racial frontiers she will be able to work out her own fate."

### The Future of Turkey

"For decades the Turks were badly governed and they had too much government. Like England, we had an excess of territory. Turkey was wearied with the business of ruling and it was her undoing. Now that we are a small, compact, homogeneous nation, we know where we are and what we can do. In the knowledge of limitations lies the success of nations as well as individuals. My idea of Pan-Islam is not a militant federation for force, but a group of detached nationalistic units."

"The danger of Europe today lies in overnationalism. It has been abused instead of being used. With some countries, such as Poland or Czechoslovakia, a little of it goes a long way. Turkey may suffer from an excess of nationalism which will frustrate the economic expansion. We cannot function as a democracy without foreign capital, especially American."

"Another possible menace to the future of the new Turkey is the possibility of a dictatorship. I admire Kemal Pasha tremendously and believe that he has been the inspiration for the regeneration of his country, but he must curb his ambition. Our nationalism is essentially a people's movement and only as such can it endure. "The great fact in our life is that the sultanate is gone. We are not Ottomans, but Turks. I detest the word 'empire,' and in the relentless march of world democracy all empires are doomed."

"What about the future of Turkish women?" I asked.

"The evolution of the Turkish woman," she replied, "is one of the most significant spectacles in this world of changes. Many of our women suddenly emerged from the veil after the triumph of the Kemalists. This, I think, was a mistake, because they were not ready for it. Sex emancipation in Turkey must be a process of evolution and not swift revolution. It can be achieved only through education. This is why I have so strongly urged the establishment of schools in all the villages. The combination of good schools and sanitation, for our infant mortality is appalling, will do more to emancipate Turkish women than anything else. That will give them knowledge and health, and these are the important things."

"The veil is doomed; but veils or no veils, the Turkish women are today as important in the affairs of the nation as the men. Physically they are as strong as the men, and they do double service, for they are the mothers of the men of the future and share the toil. Remember that Turkey has been at war for more than twelve years, and from the day the wars began the women began to do the work of the men. At first it was manual, but now it extends to nearly every activity."

"I believe that not only should the Turkish woman have the vote but that she should be a member of the Grand National Assembly. During the first election for the assembly I received enough votes in various towns and cities in Anatolia to have elected me had they all been given in one place. With suffrage, as with all other activities, the Turkish women must have education first. They must know what the vote means. The transition from autocracy to democracy may be achieved overnight so far as political system is concerned, but not in the brain of the peasant. You have only to look at what has happened in Russia to



## For two—

The little Eskimo is a sociable kid—every bottle he brings you has enough ginger ale for two friendly glassfuls.

People always want lots of Clicquot Club—its tang and freshness appeal to nearly everybody. It's one of the best thirst-quenchers there is—and *they all like it*.

And Clicquot Club is such a pure drink. Crystal clear spring water, real Jamaica ginger, the best fruit flavors—everything that goes into it is the best that can be had.

All these good things are blended in the friendly taste that has made Clicquot Club popular for thirty-eight years.

Order by the case from your grocer or druggist. Get the other Clicquot Club beverages too—Sarsaparilla, Root Beer, Birch Beer. They're all good.

The Clicquot Club Company  
Millis, Mass., U. S. A.

**Clicquot**  
Club  
GINGER  
ALE





## Last winter's furs and woolens— CLEAN, FRESH, SAFE!

NO moths, no dust nor dampness can spoil the furs and woolens so conveniently stored in a LANE Red Cedar Chest. The LANE is the chest for the things you prize—from the least expensive sports apparel to the costliest of winter coats. It keeps them safe!

These LANE Chests of fragrant red cedar heart-wood are built to last for generations. Each of the many different sizes and styles (all cedar or cedar lined mahogany and walnut) is as beautiful as care can make it and as decorative as one's heart can desire. Cushioned, the LANE provides a charming window seat or convenient lounge at the foot of the bed. It is the chest which every woman should have.

LANE permanence is insured by dovetailed panels and interlocked corners. Lids are dust-proof, bottoms damp-proof. Yale locks and the finest hardware only are used. Because no other chest has so many unusual features see that the name, LANE, is burned inside the lid of the one you buy. If your furniture or department store cannot supply you with the genuine, write to us for name of LANE dealer near-by.



THE LANE COMPANY, Inc.  
Altavista, Virginia

# LANE

## CEDAR CHEST



see the results of the bestowal of suffrage rights upon a people incapable of intelligently employing them."

In reply to my request for a message to the women of America, Halide Hanum responded in this wise:

"I hope that the bulk of American womanhood will not think that the Turkish woman is emerging from the veil and seclusion amid a cloud of cigarette smoke and nothing more. Our women have a serious realization both of the opportunity and the responsibility that are theirs, and they will render a good account of themselves."

I told her of my visit to Kemal Pasha at Angora. Tears came to her eyes as she said:

"That makes me think of Anatolia, where I long to be. I am homesick for Angora. There the new Turkish nation was born and there my place is."

On the day that I met Halide Hanum, Munich was alive with rumors of a revolution that was to break the following morning. I asked her how she felt about being exposed to it; whereupon she responded:

"Revolutions mean nothing to me. I have been through three and I should welcome any change in Germany that would lead to something like the stabilization of Europe."

We had talked all through the afternoon, dusk was settling over the city, and it was time to go. I inquired about the two sons, and Halide Hanum naively retorted:

"They're at the movies. They have acquired the habit in America and retain it over here."

I accepted her invitation for dinner. When I called for her I met the boys, who gave every evidence of their experience in America. With their advent the mother said with a smile, "These boys will be happy to talk with you in American slang, because I must confess that I cannot understand some of their English."

It is typical of Halide Hanum's practical sense that one of the lads is studying scientific farming while the other is taking the course in electrical engineering. When she told me this she said, "These sons of mine must help in the reconstruction of Turkey."

### Literary Likings

That night we dined in the huge restaurant of the Regina Palast Hotel. Halide Hanum had changed from her blue afternoon costume into a smart brown Parisian dinner frock. In addition, she wore the charming Turkish headdress from which the veil is usually suspended. More than one admiring glance was bestowed on her as we moved to our table.

That night we forsook politics and talked of other things. I found that Halide Hanum was a great admirer of O. Henry. Keats, Byron, Poe, Hawthorne and Henry James are among her favorites. She does not share the usual Turkish admiration for Pierre Loti, but added, "I hope that some American will do for Turkey in English what Loti has done for her in French."

As I walked back to my hotel an ominous quiet brooded over Munich. It seemed to be the lull before the much-advertised revolutionary storm. German politics, however, were far removed from my mind. I was thinking of the achievements of the extraordinary little woman whom I had just left and who had been poet, novelist, revolutionist, nation maker and leader of her sex. Like Kemal, she has written herself large in the history of her time. Whatever happens in Turkey, the nation is much in her debt.

Such is the picture of an awakened Turkey. From Ottomanization with fire and sword outside her domain, the country has turned to an intensive nationalism with

pen and plow within. What has the future in store? Will it be dictatorship or democracy?

That self-determination as an achievement through valor in the field is one thing and the translation of it into productive and harmonious realities is quite another has been demonstrated by recent events, which have not culminated up to the time I write. It shows that nothing is ever stable for long in the Balkans.

When I departed from Constantinople late in July, Kemal Pasha was undisputed master at Angora. He had just elected a Grand National Assembly that was apparently united behind him. His lieutenant, Ismet Pasha, had triumphed over the Allied powers at Lausanne. The Armies of Occupation were departing, and at last the Turk was master in his own house.

Just before I sailed for America in September dissension arose. The Grand National Assembly developed into a glorified and Orientalized Tammany Hall under the thumb of Kemal, who became to all intents and purposes a dictator. In this he betrayed a new angle of his character, for hitherto he had heeded the counsels of his advisers. He persisted in withholding the declaration of a republic, which was the best evidence that at last he had become the full-fledged autocrat. Rauf Bey resigned as premier to head the opposition, whose slogan is an out-and-out republic and a general election which will name a president.

### When Victors Fall Out

Once the rift showed in that one-time solid Angora front, other long-restrained forces came out in the open. Refet Pasha, governor-general of Eastern Thrace, and one of the ablest of contemporary Turkish soldiers, unfurled the banner of reaction, demanding a return to the sultanate and a restoration of the union of church and state.

He has the backing of the fanatical group which has looked with growing disfavor upon Kemal's sweeping introduction of Western ideas and ideals, and particularly the sterilization of the power of the church.

A fourth dissenting group is a sort of military junta headed by Nouredine Pasha, a capable soldier, who has rallied about him a big following of demobilized officers who are little more than soldiers of fortune ready to join any group that offers the highest price.

Then, too, there is a lesser fifth wing which is almost 100 per cent Bolshevik and which would not hesitate to set up a sovietized government.

Here then is the line-up. It is the old story of the victors falling out over the spoils. On a showdown between Kemal Pasha and Rauf Bey, victory will rest with the leader who controls the army, and Kemal will probably prevail. There is reason to believe, however, that he will be wise enough to effect some compromise which will not deprive the Turks of their hard-won victory. In reaching the impasse which for the first time threatens his authority, Kemal proves again that a great soldier usually goes wrong when he dabbles in politics.

Regardless of the outcome of the latest crisis, the past is at least secure. The Turks have performed little short of a miracle of political and military regeneration. They should be permitted to have every opportunity to test their capacity for self-determination, economically and otherwise. It is not likely to disturb the peace of the world and it may contribute to the general prosperity.

Editor's Note—This is the fourth of a series of articles by Mr. Marcossian. The next will be devoted to America in Turkey.

## NEW-SKIN

For  
Little Hurts

Jab of a needle—scratch of a pin! Unimportant little accidents, perhaps, but they open the way for dangerous infections. Use New-Skin promptly, as directed. This antiseptic liquid forms a film that protects against germs. Keep it in your sewing basket.

"Never Neglect a Break in the Skin"

NEWSKIN COMPANY  
NEW YORK TORONTO LONDON

15c., 30c., and 50c. sizes. At all Druggists'. Genuine New-Skin is always sold in glass bottles, in red and gold paper cartons, never in tin tubes.

## VENUS

Box of  
12 Leads  
15¢

### VENUS THIN LEADS

Fit all makes of thin  
lead Metal Pencils—

and give your metal pencil the same marvelous writing qualities which have made VENUS PENCILS—the largest selling quality pencils in the world.

7 degrees: 2B-B-HB-F-H-2H-4H  
If your dealer cannot supply you write us

American Lead Pencil Co.  
218 Fifth Ave., Dept. P, New York  
FREE—Sample tube of 3 leads



New in size and shape, but made according to the old SPRATT'S stamina-building formula. About 120 of these tempting crackers to the pound. All sizes and breeds like them. They make an ideal change from the steady diet of SPRATT'S Dog Cakes and Puppy Biscuits.

Write for sample and send 2c for new catalog P 23, on feeding.

SPRATT'S PATENT LTD.  
Newark, N. J.  
San Francisco St. Louis