

"Turkey is the Key": Studies on America's Relationship with the Ottoman Empire, the
Turkish Republic, and Islam in the Near and Middle East

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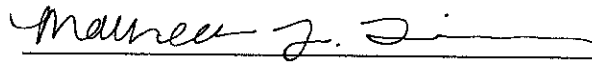
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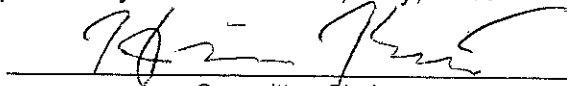
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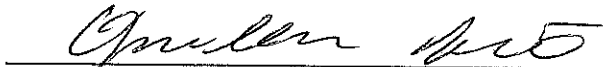
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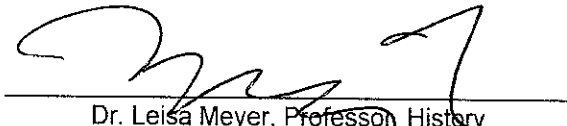


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ABSTRACT

Mission Accomplished: Manifest Destiny and American Foreign Missions to the Ottoman Empire in the 1830s

William Goodell's memoir, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, was a compilation of some of his journals, letters, and other writings during his tenure as a missionary living in Constantinople. This paper analyzes Goodell's motivations, activities, and reflections during the 1830s in order to discuss Goodell's role as an agent of Manifest Destiny. Though the United States did not have the desire or ability to conquer the Ottoman Empire by the sword, some Americans asserted their power through the spread of religion, and many of these Americans supported the efforts of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). William Goodell provides a view into the Protestant missionaries from the United States to the Ottoman Empire and the world at large who, in the 1830s, were intrinsic component of the burgeoning Manifest Destiny mentality and reflected physical American expansion westward in the form of Christian American expansion eastward. These evangelical missionaries were also a force of expansion, and a strand of manifest destiny expressed in the form of ideological imperialism.

"A Colorful and Turbulent Career": Depictions of Turkey in American Tourist Guidebooks, 1920-1935

Americans who wanted to visit Turkey around its establishment as a nation could consult a variety of sources which help to demonstrate the American perceptions of the Turkish Republic and its leaders during the 1920s and 1930s. The ultimate marker of these American guidebooks is the time they devoted to Robert College in Constantinople. These authors' depiction of Robert College as an American stronghold in the Oriental East represents the type of Western gaze that acted as a penetrating force and constituted a mental and physical imposition on Turkey in the 1920s and 1930s, a process which continued as travelers used the guidebooks for their various needs. This paper discusses the differences in wants and needs between the Turkish government and Western travelers, reconciled effectively through the reality of Istanbul as the destination of choice for Westerners who wanted a taste of the Orient that was still comfortably "Western."

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To my parents, my brother, and my family, for everything. To the Wild Bunch, for everything else. Hodu LaShem

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INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY

When I arrived at William and Mary I thought that I wanted to study how countries developed their national constitutions throughout history. My capstone class senior year on the Weimar Republic plus watching too many episodes of *The West Wing* in too short a time might have had something to do with this, along with a belief that I would figure everything out when I arrived in Williamsburg and began research. However, I have a piece of computer paper on which I took notes before classes even started, from an informal sit-down with someone at the Omohundro Institute during apprentice training who was willing to answer questions about pursuing a doctorate in history. In the center of the paper I wrote "IS THIS POSSIBLE?"

This person, to whom I am of course forever grateful, has no idea that simply by saying we should research whatever truly holds our interest, they influenced me to change what I wanted to study in a matter of minutes. I hope that while I sat at the table I maintained a veneer of calm and that my internal shake-up went unnoticed. Once I explained what happened, however, many people asked, in some way or another, if I knew what I was doing, because theoretically I had undertaken the study of at least two languages and six hundred years of history until I narrowed down my focus. For the time being, I decided to say that I study the relationship between the Ottoman Empire or the Turkish Republic and the United States.

Of course, that left me with no notion of what I would research in the fall semester, so I decided to ask around and see if anyone knew of anything in the historiography of Turkey and America that was understudied or where people were just making inroads. Ultimately it seemed that the journals of Protestant missionaries were a good place to start looking for primary sources, but once I realized that Swem Library has possibly dozens of these journals in the stacks, I was all in. I had intended to analyze and compare several of them in the first paper, but William Goodell's memoirs were so loaded that I ended up just focusing on him and returning the rest. While I do not think that such comparisons would have been impossible within the constraints of the paper, I do think adding more journals would have compromised the integrity

of the essay and spread my attention too thin. By using his memoir as an example of what I would now call something like the “informal” American empire, I attempted to discuss a strand of Manifest Destiny that did not necessarily seek to conquer a physical space. Missionaries like Goodell often expressed shock that they just could not convert anyone, that their returns were so limited, and I tried to focus on that sense of shock and where that came from, at least for Goodell.

Changes I would make to that paper largely involve my treatment of gender, which was basically nonexistent and is also something I struggle with as a framework. I would refocus on what Goodell experienced as a Western man entering a space that has so often, in Orientalist or stereotypical images, been depicted as feminine. There is some literature that I have seen documenting missionaries’ encounters with the harem, and I would like to know if Goodell had any of those experiences (I only looked at his memoir for the decade of the 1830s; given that its title is *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, it is probably clear that I did not conduct a study of his whole life). In addition, many of the success stories Goodell had in terms of conversions to Protestant Christianity came from women, especially Greek Orthodox women, and they seemed to have supported his missionary efforts more than any one other group in the community. I do not have any hypotheses about his interactions with women in the Ottoman Empire, especially women who were Christian but ostensibly the wrong *kind* of Christian, but I think an investigation into those interactions would be fruitful at the least.

One of my constraints this year has been my use of only English sources, as my Turkish is limited and I have no Arabic, not to mention Ottoman Arabic. While I practice every day, learning a language to a level of proficiency that would help me in scholarly work requires formal training, which is something I am looking into right now for my immediate future. Thus both my papers center on Americans, their English-language writings, and their perspectives on Turkey and the Ottoman Empire, which in a large way feels like the same old song; my goal is to work on correcting this omission, in the context of these papers and in future research.

This semester, as opposed to the crisis of last semester, I thought I knew exactly what I wanted to study, and part of my problem was that it seemed like such a perfect topic from the jump that I did not consider what I could actually, feasibly add to the historiography. It is embarrassing to recount now, looking back on my confidence, but in honesty I think that had I tried to follow through on my original topic or not switched right when I did, I would be writing a very different biography right now. When I learned that James Baldwin spent significant time in İstanbul, I thought, *there it is*. I will refrain from detailing the steps from “this is an interesting topic” to “I have nothing new to contribute and moreover, someone has already written The Book on this subject.” The denial stage was brief, the matter of a few hours, flipping through that monograph thinking, *there it is*. Every thought, every insight, better said than I could have, better researched, better written, and with *Turkish sources* – I was done for.

I thought I could go back to the missionary journals and flirted with that idea briefly, and truth be told I do not remember exactly how I got from the journals to the tour guides written by Americans, for Americans, interested in visiting Turkey in the 1920s and 1930s. I think I encountered a railway schedule from the 1880s that had every minute accounted for on the Orient Express to Constantinople, and after that there is a mist, and then I am on HathiTrust trying to temper my relief that there is so much travel literature on Turkey, which by the happy coincidence of free online access, was clustered around the years closest to the formation of the Turkish Republic.

I am still too close to this second semester paper to evaluate it with a clear head, but I do know that both papers I wrote were longer than they maybe should have been, this one even more than the last. I killed so many of my darlings in the process of editing that I might have material enough for another paper, and I say that not to brag, but really as encouragement for myself that the sources still have so much to say that I could not fit in my essay. I have to acknowledge ruefully, once again, that my treatment of gender and sexuality is not to my standards, and almost up till the last I was not sure how I would incorporate them as

frameworks in my paper, nor am I sure that I ultimately succeeded. Once I realized that my paper was overlong to such a degree, everything was intertwined and one thing built up to another, and I found myself again in the position of making sacrifices for the sake of the integrity of the paper. Had I more space, or had I the extra weeks from fall semester, or – to take some responsibility for myself – had I planned better, had I chosen this topic from the start, the paper would have turned out much closer to what I envisioned.

I plan to continue studying Turkey and the Ottoman Empire in general, and I was really taken with the guidebooks that I researched this semester, including and maybe especially those that did not make it into the final paper. I am very grateful for all of the opportunities that I had this year and for everyone who helped me, but I have to be honest; I am most thankful for the person who prompted me not only to ask “IS THIS POSSIBLE?” but to answer a few minutes later, “I THINK SO.”

Mission Accomplished: Manifest Destiny and American Foreign Missions to the Ottoman Empire
in the 1830s

“June 9. We all rose at an early hour to see Constantinople. The storm had passed away, the stars were fading out of their places, the winds breathed soft, and the morning had all the freshness and coolness of one at this season of the year in New England after a refreshing shower.”¹

William Goodell and his family arrived in Constantinople in 1831 to a scene that at first had “nothing striking” about it, nothing they had come to expect after reading about the seat of the Ottoman Empire. Then, as they got closer, the ever-famous sights of the Blue Mosque, the Hagia Sofia, the Golden Horn, Galata Tower, and Topkapı Palace were upon them “in all their majesty and loveliness.” So far from the place of his birth in Massachusetts, Goodell sailed the Bosphorus still thinking of home, and still pondering the future of his mission to Turkey. Having already passed through Malta, Lebanon, and Syria, it was here that Goodell and his family would stay for years to come, endeavoring always to preach a form of Protestant Christianity that did not as yet have a foothold in the many neighborhoods of Constantinople, where among the multitudes, competing visions of the world vied for attention.²

While in Constantinople, Goodell would learn Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Armenian, and Italian and would preach and perform services in all those languages; he would translate the Bible into the vernacular of the peoples he encountered; he would establish schools and create an educational infrastructure; he would try to live like the regular citizens of the city so as not to cause undue tension among the different cultures and faiths that had been there far longer than he. Goodell compared his work to the Christian saint Paul, a prolific missionary himself, and set

¹ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., Late Missionary of the A.B.C.F.M. at Constantinople* (New York, 1876), 112.

² Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 112-13.

out to prepare the people of Constantinople, and eventually Turkey as well as the rest of the Ottoman Empire, for the second coming of his messiah Jesus Christ.

Perhaps it is important that William Goodell compared himself to Paul the Apostle, for Christianity was not the only ideology coming from America to the Ottoman Empire. Paul was the model missionary for many who evangelized in the new American republic, for his work had spread Christianity far beyond its humble beginnings as a radical branch of Judaism. The United States itself was in the process of expansion to the westernmost parts of North America. In the 1830s, the formal relocation of Native American tribes began, and what many felt was a divine call to stretch the country from ocean to ocean meant not only physical expansion, but the spread of cultural norms as well. Whose norms would dominate was still to be determined, as a nation bursting with new immigrants and European ethnic groups who had arrived generations before migrated westward, into lands occupied by still other peoples who had legitimate claims to the territories. Since it began as a string of colonies on the Atlantic, the United States sought to spread its values, religion among them, and its people, to the Pacific.

At the same time as Goodell learned to live in Constantinople, where he was accommodated as long as he did not make problems, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 had already demonstrated how the American government viewed those who were outside the pale of cultural norms inherited from Europe – or at least how badly the Americans wanted land. Goodell also worked with and against groups he and his sponsor organization, the ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), felt were in need of reform. The ABCFM had a complicated relationship with the Native Americans they had tried to convert, and several missionaries were imprisoned for opposing western removal even as the ABCFM worked desperately to change Native Americans so that they conformed to Protestant American ideals of proper conduct. To the ABCFM, the Muslims, Greek and Armenian Christians, Jews, and Catholics Goodell encountered would also learn from Protestant Christianity and would not only grow spiritually, but would incorporate those principles into their daily lives. By totally

overhauling their cultural practices, they would help usher in the new millennium and the end times prophesied in the Bible. Native Americans, forcibly moved to reservations, and people of the Ottoman Empire, far away literally and figuratively from Protestant Christianity, all had to convert. The outcome should be the same. The process was by necessity very different.

Not only was Goodell spreading his and his organization's version of Christianity, he was promulgating specifically American values as well. The various locations of missions throughout the world were restricted by the missionaries' country of origin – Malta was off-limits to missionaries from outside of Britain, for example – and thus Goodell faced no competition in Constantinople from other Protestant groups. The Catholic missionaries were often ostracized, and they were sent home on at least one occasion, so in many ways, Goodell was part of the only Christian mission in town. The American Christian vision could speak without dissent from others within the Protestant fold, and Goodell frequently confused, either consciously or without noticing, being an American with being a Protestant American. The goals he set for the people of Constantinople and Turkey were based in American visions of hard work and enterprise, and even though evangelical British and American Protestants often agreed on most issues, Goodell promoted American lifestyles specifically and often worried about British interference.

As the American government removed native groups to make way for more settlers they deemed desirable in the west, Goodell and other missionaries were ready to pave the way for the second coming by converting the world to Protestant Christianity. The people of Constantinople were not ready for the end times, but they would be, and unlike the Native Americans, they were not going anywhere. Americans could not settle the east as they did the western territories, but they could colonize with ideology in order to expand the young nation far beyond the reach of the twenty-four states. Evangelical Protestants believed, in the same way that Americans believed they would take the continent, that inevitably the world would convert and the apocalypse would happen in the new millennium. William Goodell provides a view into the Protestant missionaries from the United States to the Ottoman Empire and the world at large

who, in the 1830s, were an intrinsic component of the burgeoning manifest destiny mentality and reflected physical American expansion westward in the form of Christian American expansion eastward.

THE MOST INTERESTING OF ALL THE ORIENTALS: William Goodell's intellectual heritage

William Goodell would have been eighteen years old when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions formed in 1810. The ABCFM was one of a litany of societies that came together with a common religious interest and stated goal, but none was as influential or had such a scope as the one referred to in so many journals, memoirs, letters, and literature as “the Board.”³ Goodell would have been at just the right age not only to read and discuss foreign missions, but to embark as a sponsored missionary himself, which he did beginning in 1822. He would have also had not only his lifetime's experience in learning and perceiving the world, but the metronome count of a thousand constant years of European opinions on Muslims and the people encompassed by the Ottoman Empire. Goodell certainly did not reinvent anti-Islamicism, or Orientalism, but he perpetuated many of its typical attitudes and manifestations in his mission to Turkey.

European Christians had long contextualized Islam through a comparative lens – they knew that Jesus Christ was their messiah, and they assumed that Muslims viewed the Prophet Mohammed the same way.⁴ But Mohammed could not also be the messiah, and since Jesus had filled that role, Christians viewed Mohammed as an “imposter” and thus his followers earned the inflammatory moniker “Mohammedans.”⁵ European Christians thus set the terms of their encounters by refusing to call Muslims by an accurate name, instead choosing an inherently offensive term. Indeed, possibly the most offensive term; worshipping no other god

³ Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860* (Cambridge, 1969), 32.

⁴ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), 60.

⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 60.

but Allah, Mohammed being His messenger, is one of the five central tenets of Islam. Christians in Europe, by their terminology itself, determined that Muslims were idolaters not only by Christian standards but by those of Islam as well.⁶

Americans continued to abide by the custom of calling Islam “Mahometanism” or “Mohammedanism,” asserting their force in the power that lies in naming. William Goodell would have known the people he met in the Ottoman Empire as “Turks,” or perhaps by “a variety of other protoethnic designations based on geography.”⁷ Moors, Persians, Tartars, Malays – the list continued on, but these designations were not used in the twentieth- or twenty-first-century way; they were meant to denote that all these peoples were the same and that they all worshipped Mohammed. They were all part of an Other that did not include and that actively opposed European and American Protestants. Eighteenth and nineteenth century Americans, like Goodell, “were heir to the same pair of opposing European traditions,” but they were more prone to prefer one over the other. There were two choices: accept that Islam was “the antithesis of the ‘true faith’ of Protestant Christianity, as well as the source of tyrannical governments abroad,” or accept that Muslims, Jews, and Catholics could be tolerated in a largely Protestant society – that they could even be citizens of that society.⁸ It was the first option that most American and European Christians chose to believe.

Islam was not just a vague threat to Christian safety and happiness. Biblical prophecy about the apocalypse recorded in the Christian New Testament resounded with Protestants who, in their preoccupation with the impending millennium, saw imminent signs of destruction at the hands of Islam. While the Antichrist was usually personified as the Pope, Islam “was specifically prophesied as an antichristian force in league with Satan.”⁹ There was a geographic element that aided the othering of Muslims; Protestant Christians believed that the Antichrist’s

⁶ For more on Mohammed as an imposter in Protestant eyes, see Denise A. Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson’s Qur’an: Islam and the Founders* (New York, 2013), 14, and Said, *Orientalism*, 60.

⁷ Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (Cambridge, 2006), 6.

⁸ Denise A. Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson’s Qur’an: Islam and the Founders* (New York, 2013), 6.

⁹ Marr, *American Islamicism*, 91.

empire would be “split into an Eastern and Western manifestation, with Islam and Catholicism as the two legs of a satanic colossus.”¹⁰ A relic of thinking from the Reformation, the physical and spiritual threats of Islam and the Ottoman Empire were tangible to Christians living in America during the 1800s, when Goodell was coming of age and considering his place in the community.¹¹

Protestant Evangelicalism took views of Islam that many already believed and disseminated them via their mastery of the press. “Countless sermons, books, and religious periodicals” circulated and reached a wide audience, accessing American curiosity about places that they could only visit in the imagination, or via the travels of others.¹² It is possible, indeed likely, that Goodell read some of these accounts, but whether he did or not, he was plugged into the New England Congregationalist community from which the ABCFM was born and which it drew upon for the bulk of its missionaries.¹³ American missionaries abroad in turn entered a world already dominated by the British, who had the corner on the market for unconverted souls. This effort with the British to save the world reinforced what missionaries already believed about Islam and Muslims, along with Catholics, Jews, and other non-Protestant Christians.¹⁴

By the time Goodell was born in 1792, “it was still theologically and politically dangerous to suggest that Islam retained some merit even for Muslims.”¹⁵ Already many Protestant Americans thought that only their interpretation of biblical prophecy and scripture was correct, and the sect from which foreign missions grew in particular expressed Orientalist beliefs about one of the regions where many missionaries made their homes and livelihoods. Americans were

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Christine Leigh Heyrman, *American Apostles: When Evangelicals Entered the World of Islam* (New York, 2015), 11.

¹³ See David W. Kling, “The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” *Church History* 72: 4 (2003).

¹⁴ For more on the partnership with the British, see Emily L. Conroy-Krutz, “Engaged in the Same Glorious Cause:” Anglo-American Connections in the American Missionary Entrance into India, 1790-1815,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 34 (2014).

¹⁵ Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson’s Qur’an*, 40.

largely unaware of Muslims in their midst, especially because many of those Muslims were slaves from Africa.¹⁶ When Americans advocated for the rights of Muslims, they conjured “imagined Muslims,” who might benefit from toleration, as opposed to Jewish and Catholic people who were already part of society to some degree.¹⁷ Americans of many types thus assumed a great deal of understanding about Muslims and Islam that they did not necessarily possess; they knew that they were different, and they could characterize those differences, often to use them as slurs against political candidates or rivals.¹⁸ Orientalist attitudes that pervaded cast the Ottoman Empire, Muslims, and Islam as the other, but the other whose way of life could be understood, whose lands could be visited, and whose culture could be appropriated (or combated, in the case of Protestant evangelicals). Appropriation, though less violent, was still based on incomplete and often inaccurate knowledge of Islam, and Islam was so frequently used in the pejorative that a psychological violence was inflicted in place of the physical.

That knowledge of Islam was so incomplete but that Americans capitalized on such information indicates that Americans felt that they were in a position to comment on Muslims and then, in the opinion of Protestant evangelicals, to convert them. They were able to “[rise] above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant,” aided in the case of missionaries by their belief in the impending millennium.¹⁹ Goodell would encounter actual Turks, not people given an unfriendly nickname in the place of “Muslim,” but Turkish people living in Constantinople, Smyrna (İzmir), Broosa (Bursa); classical cities, places where biblical heroes and saints had walked and spread the gospel – and that was how he and many other missionaries chose to conceive of them, as they had been, in better, holier times. They felt that they could see the Ottoman Empire “from its origins to its prime to its decline,” that they were

¹⁶ Ibid, 120.

¹⁷ Ibid, 5.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, 32.

now listening to its death rattle, in lands that had once been Christian at their zenith, and would be Christian again after the decline of Muslim rule.²⁰

Thus evangelical Protestants developed their own more specific interpretation of Islam, relative to their understanding of the Bible. In general, Protestant Christians were realized as fully human, with all characteristics available to them, three-dimensional and whole, not easily reduced to generalities. The “Western/Arab-Oriental” binary set the two groups, created artificially in the first place, in opposition, with “Arab-Oriental” people existing for the purpose of embodying the negative version of “Western” people.²¹ Protestants had no “substantial comparative dialogue with Muslims,” they had no “engaged scholarly study of Islamic texts,” but they had conducted “investigation into what the Bible seemed to reveal prophetically about [Islam’s] existence and duration as a worldly challenge to the Christian church.”²² But American evangelical Christians did not need to delve deeper into Islam; a combination of their islamicist inheritance from Europe, their developing American “cultural imagination,” and their “eschatological faith” meant that they felt they had all the information they needed.²³

William Goodell carried this generational baggage with him to Turkey, unaware that it hindered “the ultimate effectiveness of any outreach” in a missionary capacity.²⁴ It was not the religion itself that was insufficient, it was its implementation in a place that was only partially known and understood, and for motives that usually involved insults and slurs against other Christians. Missionaries and missionary organizations usually “affirmed Enlightenment universalism: the belief that human nature is the same everywhere,” which by logic meant that “everyone, the world over, would learn to embrace evangelical Protestantism along with the

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid, 49: “On the one hand there are Westerners, and on the other there are Arab-Orientals; the former are (in no particular order) rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values, without natural suspicion; the latter are none of these things.”

²² Marr, *American Islamicism*, 93.

²³ Ibid, 133.

²⁴ Ibid.

other practices of a clearly superior Anglo-American civilization.”²⁵ Islam had already been turned inside-out, its contents exposed; people knew that Islam was not “one of the world’s great monotheisms,” but rather “a tissue of superstitions, even a sort of paganism.”²⁶ Protestant Americans were able to assume that they could define Islam in the way that they said with certitude that they could know the end of the Ottoman Empire, Islam, and the world.

Converting lands to the East of the young United States would be difficult, but not impossible; in fact, Muslims would inevitably find the true faith, along with Jews, Catholics, and other non-Protestant Christians. Evangelical Protestants knew what they needed to know, and what they did not know, they cast in terms familiar to them. They were in the midst of an upheaval in America that also carried overtones of inevitability, or destiny. The removal and subjugation of Native Americans had shown Americans their current set of choices: accept that Native Americans had traditions that should be tolerated, or kill them and take their lands for the advance of Protestant America. The same set of options faced them in parts east: kill the people of the Ottoman Empire or otherwise displace them, or make them more amenable. For their part, the ABCFM would rather Native Americans and Muslims be converted, because that was prerequisite for the end times. Either way, the millennium was manifest, and though missions might occasionally fail, that the world would ultimately convert was a fait accompli.

THY YEARS ARE ONE ETERNAL DAY: William Goodell, the ABCFM, and the beginnings of the Ottoman mission

William Goodell did not publish his journal during his lifetime, nor is it clear that he directed his writings be published after his death in 1867. His son-in-law, E.D.G. Prime, compiled, edited, and narrated an account of Goodell’s mission to the center of the Ottoman world. *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, published in 1876, was drawn from the source

²⁵ Heyrman, *American Apostles*, 33.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 234.

material that was available to Prime, which he laments as being quite sparse in terms of revealing Goodell's true feelings. Not only were most of the Goodell family's possessions destroyed in a fire in 1831, but Goodell "kept no diary of his varying emotions" and his journals were "simply a record of events."²⁷ However, Prime did have access to Goodell's letters, which he wrote over the course of several decades, and personal experiences from which to draw in order to further illuminate the story of almost half a century's worth of thoughts, feelings, activities, and interactions.

It was too much material for one book, and so Prime had to make decisions based on the constraints of publishing. It is clear that Prime not only edited the letters and journals for space, but for content. Prime wanted to preserve the best of Goodell's Christian works and the descriptive passages about the people the missionary encountered so as to illustrate the process of evangelizing with the utmost accuracy. In his introduction, Prime praised Goodell as a "pioneer" of a "noble band of missionaries" in Constantinople, and went on to say that Goodell was fundamental to the "Protestant Reformation in Turkey."²⁸ Such claims were backed up by the best that Goodell's journals, letters, and other documentation could prove.

William Goodell, "the first missionary on the ground," was born in Templeton, Massachusetts, on February 14, 1792 to a family that was and had everything "which can be predicated of a New England home."²⁹ He came from a Congregationalist background, and from a young age recalled how quickly people could "slide down into Unitarianism" rather than "rise up to what was considered more evangelical and orthodox."³⁰ In addition, he found that "ignorance...on the subject of temperance" ran high during his youth, for him and for the people around him.³¹ When Goodell entered the ABCFM in 1821, he had already thought extensively

²⁷ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, vi.

²⁸ Ibid, v, vii.

²⁹ Ibid, 2.

³⁰ Ibid, 16.

³¹ Ibid, 20.

about his religion, and remembered enjoying his religious experiences sincerely, even as a child.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent Goodell and his wife, Abigail Perkins Davis, to the Ottoman Empire just days after they had been married in 1822.³² However, they could not move to Turkey right away, and on their journey they made several stops before arriving in Constantinople. Goodell had experience as a missionary living far away from home, if not quite as far away as the Ottoman Empire; he had spent time in the western part of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. While traveling, Goodell encountered “unexpected interest in the cause of missions to the dark portions of the world,” anywhere the ideals of Protestant Christianity had not yet made the desired headway, and where he saw there was no knowledge of the gospel, he preached and his sermons were “heard with gladness.”³³ These successes must have encouraged him when he traveled across the ocean to those dark places, inhabited not by Native Americans, who he was delighted to find were now “the people of G-d, some of whom a short time before were savages,” but by people wholly foreign to him.³⁴

Goodell and his family paused at Malta in 1823 for several months to learn the necessary languages (Arabic, Turkish, and Armenian) and to work on some translation projects.³⁵ In Prime’s narration, it was in Malta where they “made some aggressive movements upon the kingdom of darkness,” but the missionaries were restricted from many opportunities for evangelism.³⁶ Goodell wrote in his journal on July 24th of 1823 that “the English government does not permit us to distribute any of *our tracts* here...and (I would say it softly) is far more afraid of the influence, not of us simply, but of all missionaries, than of all the Roman Catholics

³² Ibid, 71.

³³ Ibid, 68-9.

³⁴ Ibid, 69. I am prohibited by my faith from writing the full name of the Divine, which I will not in this case break even in a quote. I would be happy to talk about this with anyone who has questions, but out of respect for the tradition, I have put a dash in the place of the letter “o” wherever the name appears.

³⁵ Ibid, 74.

³⁶ Ibid, 81, 74.

in the world.” Goodell would later encounter similar restrictions in Turkey, and would continue to use Malta as a base from which to print and find guaranteed protection.³⁷

Goodell made several allusions throughout his writings to the Christian saint Paul, who was one of the most prolific transmitters of Christianity in the early days of the faith, such as when the missionaries needed to land at Cyprus for a short time: “it was to Cyprus Paul and Barnabas sailed, after they had ‘been sent forth by the Holy Ghost’ to preach to the Gentiles,” Goodell wrote in his journal. It is perhaps important that Goodell compared the mission to Turkey to those works of Paul, because Goodell was active in spreading American Protestant habits to the Ottoman world with a similar aim. Goodell communicated “many of the customs of America,” not just American Protestantism, in what may have been an unconscious attempt to not only make the people of Constantinople more Christian, but also more American.³⁸ It was not atypical for missionaries to fail to distinguish between the two.

Goodell and his family spent some time in Beyrout (alternately spelled Beyroot, which is present day Beirut), but were forced to leave due to “political disturbances,” and so continued into Syria.³⁹ They had faced “violent opposition” to the mission of an unspecified nature, but thus far considered it “remarkably successful;” however Goodell found Syria disappointing and decided that “in all these churches, Jewish and Christian, ‘there is none that seeketh after G-d.’” They conducted their work “so speedily” and “with such encouraging results” that they had “moved all classes of people” – although no metric existed for measuring those results. Ultimately, they were deeply sad to leave such a fruitful land for the spreading of American Protestantism, but Turkey awaited them.⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid, 106.

³⁸ Ibid, 83.

³⁹ Ibid, 104.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 105.

On May 21, 1831, Goodell and his family left for Constantinople, with the “special object” of connecting with the Armenian population.⁴¹ Goodell recognized them as accessible and potentially friendly, and Prime described them as “an intelligent, enterprising, and wealthy part of the people, who might be expected to exert a powerful influence for good throughout the Turkish empire, when once they should embrace the truth as it is in Jesus.” Goodell would have known from prior ABCFM missions, and would later learn from experience, that proselytizing to Muslims was not only legally inadvisable but that there had been to that point so little success that to attempt to reach them from the outset would be counterproductive. Jewish people were much the same and had stubbornly resisted missionary efforts; the Greeks were corrupted by their form of Christianity and still within reach, but it was the Armenians he desired to meet and speak to because they could influence the entire empire. He needed to go through them first to reach all others.

On June 9th Goodell and his family saw for the first time Top-Hana (Tophane), Galata (Karaköy), and Pera (Beyoğlu), rounding Seraglio Point to the famous sights across the Golden Horn. It is possible to get lost in the scenery with Goodell, overwhelmed by the spray from the Bosphorus and the bright blue waters. They decided to live at Buyuk-Dèrè in Pera, which was at that time “chiefly occupied by the Franks.”⁴² On August 20th, 1831, Constantine Washington Goodell was born, apparently “the first American child born in Constantinople or its suburbs,” aptly named after the capital of the Ottoman Empire and the capital of the burgeoning American Empire.⁴³ Surrounded by “cholera, conflagration, and plague,” the family were able to find happiness; however, Goodell was always conscious of his missionary work and the purpose for which he had traveled from so far away to Constantinople. The weather was unfavorable, to the point of damaging, leaks were sprouting, the threat of fire was never far away, and Goodell was

⁴¹ Ibid, 112.

⁴² This is likely present day Büyükdere Caddesi in Şişli, but there is also a quarter of the Sarıyer called Büyükdere in İstanbul. Ibid, 114.

⁴³ Ibid, 122-3.

certain that “the judgments of G-d have certainly been various and very terrible in the country. ‘He gave them hail for rain, and flaming fire in their land.’”⁴⁴ Quoting Psalm 105, Goodell compares Turkey directly to Egypt under Pharaoh’s reign, and it is possible to imagine that Goodell saw himself and his mission as inheritors of the same legacy as Moses, with staff in hand, watching G-d send the darkness into a land filled with plague, ready to liberate the people and prepare them for the dawn of a new age in the looming millennium.

OF WHICH THE MOSLEM KNOWS NOTHING: Goodell, the ABCFM, and Orientalism

“Our house was next to the Turkish mosque, and five times a day did the white-turbaned muezzin ascend the minaret and proclaim the hours of prayer,” Goodell wrote in his journal on November 15, 1832.⁴⁵ Five times a day the call to prayer rang out, and much of the city of Constantinople would come to a halt to make good on one of the central tenets of Islam. Goodell, a spiritual man to the core, thought that “it seemed to be a call to me to come boldly to the throne of grace by a new living way, of which the Moslem knows nothing, and thus lift up my heart with my voice unto G-d.”

Goodell recorded his musings on the call to prayer and Muslim observance on more than one occasion, and always in relation to what he viewed as the proper practices of American Protestantism – less ritualistic, less superstitious, and less indoctrinated, in his mind, than Islam. The brand of Protestantism he was raised with, and that the ABCFM espoused, was called Congregationalism, though the ABCFM had room in its ranks for Presbyterians and Dutch Reformed Constituencies and “reflected the attitudes of a broad spectrum of evangelical Protestant churches in the United States.”⁴⁶ They had a common belief, however, that they must

⁴⁴ Ibid, 125.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 147.

⁴⁶ Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, vii.

prepare for the upcoming millennium before the prophecies laid out in the Bible could be fulfilled.⁴⁷

Converting the world was one of those necessary goals, and even though it “soon proved unrealistic,” it was “not easily surrendered.”⁴⁸ It was too important to give up. The end of time as people knew it, the promised return of the messiah as they understood him, was a clarion call that sounded again and again, and no matter where they felt they were led, the objective was the same. And it did not matter in a practical sense either – the ABCFM and its missionaries “did not distinguish closely between the American and overseas stations,” or between those overseas stations themselves.⁴⁹ Before they went abroad, however, ABCFM missionaries had a history preceding their involvement in the Ottoman Empire with some Native American groups that impacted all of them, down to William Goodell in Constantinople.

ABCFM missionaries were not supposed to interfere in local or national political matters; Goodell expressly avoided it at all costs so as not to jeopardize their standing in the community. However, in the case of the Cherokee, many missionaries found it impossible not to say something, and several of them were imprisoned for their refusal to acquiesce with the western removal.⁵⁰ Samuel Worcester was the most famous of these, and he drew attention not only to the Cherokee but to the mission movement in general. But missionary efforts to the Native Americans had been expensive and the returns low; schools had failed, the natives had been forcibly moved west, far away from the ABCFM base in Boston, and though some natives converted, not enough of them had accepted Protestant Christianity to justify the cost of the missions.⁵¹ Competition from Catholic missionaries impeded their progress, and the ABCFM had already turned its eyes abroad, where they felt new and more promising opportunities awaited them.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 10.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 11.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 64.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 72.

⁵¹ Ibid, 75.

Expansion westward was not the same as expansion eastward, either physically or mentally. However, there are parallels which are impossible to ignore. The destiny of the United States that so many people believed in had a religious element, and for many of those people that element was evangelically-based Protestant Christianity. The various denominations, at least for the time being, could work together under the umbrella of the ABCFM, for the purpose of converting the world and preparing for the millennium. They may not have had specific designs about moving westward – especially given how many missionaries supported Native Americans in their struggle against the federal government – but “cultural expansion” was another concept entirely, and one that might not have been so difficult to stomach.⁵²

Moving the Native Americans was a process of force and physical violence, but evangelizing had to be conducted in the opposite way, with a delicate touch and no small amount of patience. American missionaries were part of a much larger coalition that started as a project in tandem with the British but which developed into a force of American imperialism. When American missionaries formed little colonies at their stations, “designed to practice evangelical ideals in the sight of heathen,” as Clifton Jackson Phillips put it in 1969, what could be more emblematic of expansion?⁵³ In those little colonies, they too did not distinguish, much like the ABCFM, between the religions that were not their own. Those religions, Islam among them, were monolithic and simplistic. Bottom line: they were not Christian, and even if they were, as in the case with the Greeks and the Armenians, they were not the kind of Christian evangelical Americans could accept.⁵⁴ The millennium was too important. Their cause was literally apocalyptic, and the most extreme views of their time did not allow for a middle ground.

Goodell brought with him into Turkey a conflation of being an American Protestant and being an American. If a person was to be a true American, then they must be a Protestant

⁵² Ibid, 243.

⁵³ Ibid, 244.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 271.

Christian.⁵⁵ What came to be commonly called manifest destiny was a march across the North American continent, a march that involved mass violence and death. Missionaries were not killing anyone, or forcing people to move, but with the help of the apocalyptic language and prophecies of the Bible, their cause was “conceived in terms of the subjugation of enemy territory and embodied in a phraseology of conquest.”⁵⁶ Goodell also brought with him a sense that victory was inevitable. It had been foretold; what remained was the legwork of conversion. Missionaries like Goodell did perpetuate manifest destiny, but very likely it was unconsciously, couched in the language of millennialism, and only a strand of manifest destiny at that.

Such language took conquest, in the military terms so often used, as a foregone conclusion. Native American land had been taken by the United States government with no problem, relatively speaking. The non-Christian could be converted with the same mindset; it might take a little longer than the Trail of Tears, but it was inevitable. Missions to the Native Americans failed because they were too expensive and because the natives pushed back too much to justify the difficulty of the effort, at least for the time being. They had been moved, which solved the government’s problems, also for the time being. Moving them also postponed the missionaries’ dilemma of having failed to convert them.

When the ABCFM reached out to the Native Americans, the initial goal was something akin to assimilation. The missionaries were trying to bring the Native Americans as a whole closer, not push them away or fight them. When missionaries like Samuel Worcester came into direct contact with Native Americans, they felt tied to their cause and pled their case in the highest court of the United States. The situation was different in Turkey and the Ottoman Empire by necessity. No entity was there to clear out the obstacles blocking the path that kept the people from converting as easily as the ABCFM thought they would. There was no explicit goal from the outset of assimilating Ottoman citizens to American society. The notion began as

⁵⁵ Ibid, 251.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 267.

conquest and American missionaries never saw the Muslims as partners or friends, just harbingers. Armenians were treated like allies, as a means to an end, an in to the community, and more souls for the quota, the zero sum game.

Zero sum: the missionaries had no other option. Their failure to convert the Native Americans had global implications to them, and the same was true about the Muslims, Jews and non-Protestant Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Inevitability aside, their goals were too important for them to waste time. The ABCFM did not start in eastern Anatolia or somewhere out of the way for reasons beyond the logistical; they had to go for the jugular. Constantinople was the gateway to the rest of the Empire, and this was not India, or the Sandwich Islands; this was the Muslim government that held the Holy Land at arm's length from Christians. This was manifest destiny in biblical terms: the apocalypse is inevitable, like taking the North American continent was inevitable. Missionaries conflated being an American Protestant and an American. They had inevitability swirling all around them. They knew the future. They just had to make it happen

THE GROSSEST SPIRITUAL DARKNESS: William Goodell and the Lancasterian schools

Constantinople was already a city of 1,000,000 when William Goodell arrived, including those areas then called suburbs which would now be considered part of the central metropolis. E.D.G. Prime roughly broke down the demographics of those million people: approximately 500,000 people were “Turks and other Mohammedans;” 150,000 Greeks, 150,000 Armenians, with “the former being the more numerous;” 50,000 Jews, and “the remainder was made up of Franks and people from almost every other part of the world.” Usefully, for those familiar with the city, Prime also described who lived where, and gave a sketch of the state of Ottoman governance for readers unfamiliar.⁵⁷ The environment that Goodell entered with his family was

⁵⁷ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 126.

cosmopolitan, ancient, urban, and ethnically and religiously mixed in a way that Americans were growing more and more accustomed to as their country admitted more and more immigrants.

Goodell's mission was to the large community of Armenians who had historically been Christian, however, under the assessment of the ABCFM, the Armenian churches "had become exceedingly corrupt," in the way the Oriental churches appeared in Evangelical Protestant eyes. The Armenian church "was almost wholly given up to superstition and to idolatrous worship of the saints, including the Virgin Mary," and like Catholics, "hold to transubstantiation, and worship the host; and, indeed, have adopted most of the errors of popery."⁵⁸ However, despite the continuous negative comparisons with Catholicism and the accusations of entrenched corruption, Goodell and Prime as his narrator valued the Armenians for their usefulness: they were a group with intersections throughout Turkish society, and if they could be convinced to spread the gospel then they could potentially reach a much larger base, including those non-Christians to whom the Board found it consistently difficult to evangelize, Jews and Muslims. In addition, "as priests and people were alike in the grossest spiritual darkness...the first mission to Constantinople was for their special benefit."⁵⁹ The need of the Armenians for a teacher and their vast wealth, both referred to in Goodell's memoir on multiple occasions, made them the perfect target demographic.

From the outset of the ABCFM effort, education was a priority as a means of conversion and assimilation. Though several of their efforts had failed to result in significant change and had even produced relatively negative community outcomes, once the Board decided to send missionaries overseas those efforts continued. While in Constantinople, Goodell established several Lancasterian schools, especially among the Greek population. He explained the shift of focus away from the Armenians in a journal entry from November 21, 1831: the bouts of plague that had wracked the city had kept Goodell away from the Armenians and pushed him towards

⁵⁸ Ibid, 126-127.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

the Greeks, and in regards to the Armenians, they had no materials and no infrastructure, “nothing to begin with,” and he had difficulty providing them with a model of what the schools would actually be like.⁶⁰ Prime wrote that Goodell had set up four Greek Lancasterian schools in only a few weeks and that number was “largely increased.”⁶¹ Lancasterian schools were all the rage when Goodell was in Constantinople, and the advantage to them was that they offered a consistent model that could ideally be applied anywhere, regardless of content or curriculum or locality or population. The Board had a lot of experience with Joseph Lancaster’s model, as they had tried implementing it among various Native American communities.

The only hope for making sure that Native Americans became an acceptable part of Protestant culture in the growing United States, even though they were not taxed and so not quite a domestic entity, but not quite a part of foreign policy either, was assimilation. “Whites viewed established religion as the primary vehicle to achieve assimilation through religious instruction and conversion,” and the Lancasterian model was viewed as the quickest and most efficient educational scheme.⁶² Lancasterian schools were invented by Joseph Lancaster in 1798 in England, the “fundamental premise” of which was “mass public education utilizing older and more advanced students, or ‘monitors,’ as instructors,” and simply put, revolved around rote learning and manual labor.⁶³

If the schools could be the “ultimate panacea to the entire Indian question,” then they could also possibly provide the ultimate solution to non-Protestant Christians in the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁴ If Cherokees could learn American Christian ways, then so could Greeks and Armenians, and eventually Jews and Muslims. Civilizing, assimilating, acculturating, converting – no matter what word was thrown around, the intended result was the same. The Board knew it

⁶⁰ Ibid, 128.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ronald Rayman, “Joseph Lancaster’s Monitorial System of Instruction and American Indian Education, 1815-1838” *History of Education Quarterly* 21:4 (1981), 395.

⁶³ Rayman, “Joseph Lancaster’s Monitorial System,” 396-397.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 397.

would be that much more difficult to reach Jews and Muslims; in no way would the Lancasterian schools have the same pull as synagogues and madrassas. However, among the Greeks and the Armenians, who were already Christians, the ABCFM saw an easier opening. Corrupted though they might be, too superstitious, too tied to ritual, Armenians and Greeks were accessible in the same way that Native Americans were in the United States: they were there, and they wanted the schools for their children, even if they were not buying the missionary program in full.

In the United States, where some Native Americans (for example, the Cherokee and the Choctaw) had originally liked the Lancasterian model, “support waned substantially as the emphasis upon manual labor instruction increased.”⁶⁵ Ultimately the system was abandoned completely by the 1840s; western removal rendered the point by and large moot.⁶⁶ William Goodell ran into problems of a similar nature among the Greeks, who had also initially been enthusiastic. As with the Native American schools, even when support declined among the target population, government fascination with the program kept it alive – the Greek people grew less fond with the schools over time, as did the Armenians, desiring instead “that their children should be taught the doctrines and trained in the ceremonies of the church, rather than that their minds should be developed and enlightened.”⁶⁷ What mattered, however, was that foreign ambassadors, such as those from Russia and Spain, gave their support. It was not important that one school was “broken up;” there were more, and more could be built, especially with official support. Eventually the effectiveness of the schools would override their religious connotations.⁶⁸

The schools continued to come and go throughout Constantinople, and Goodell continued to seek out new mission sites for the ABCFM. He traveled extensively; in May of

⁶⁵ Ibid, 401.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 404-405.

⁶⁷ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 129.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 177.

1832, he traveled to Broosa (Bursa), by way of Nicomedia (İzmit) and Nicaea (İznik). His goal was to “examine the religious condition of the country,” and he took the long way around in order to see as much of the area as possible. In a nearly textbook example of Orientalism, both he and Prime project an ancient imagining of the past onto the present people, who are deemed comparatively irrelevant except in terms of their religious status. Nicomedia is where “Dicolesian had his winter palace, and from this place he issued the edicts against Christianity, and began the terrible persecution by which he hoped to erase the Christian name from the earth.” Prime also described Nicaea as “almost deserted.” More than likely, he did not mean the city was empty, given that 22,000 people live in İznik now, but rather that it was empty of the faithful Christians he hoped to find there.⁶⁹

In taking this molehill and from it making a mountain, a larger point is evident. Goodell perpetuates an Orientalist belief that the ancient, ancestral European heritage is more important than the people who actually live in the place at the present. The persecution of Christians is made no more or less heinous by the fact that Muslims lived in Nicaea. It is perhaps more important how Goodell perceived Nicaea, because after the time spent at Broosa, he wrote to the board that Broosa was “a desirable point to be occupied for missionary labor.”⁷⁰ Not only was Goodell evangelizing in Constantinople, but he was also looking to expand the mission farther east into Turkey, which it did, when the Board acted on his recommendation and established a station at Nicaea in 1834.⁷¹

THERE IS SOMETHING OF THE TURKISH CHARACTER WHICH I ALWAYS ADMIRE:

William Goodell and the legwork of conversion

“There is but little in this part of the Old World that looks like the industry, virtue, thrift, enterprise, rising greatness, and moral dignity of your part of the New.” In a lengthy letter dated

⁶⁹ Ibid, 140.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 142.

⁷¹ Ibid, 142-143.

October 17, 1832, William Goodell mused on the “Turkish character,” especially in comparison with the combined American/American-Protestant image he believed defined the “New World.” “A striking trait in the character of the Turks, as you probably know, is indolence.” According to his stereotypes, they were not masculine, and could not be bothered to work, the antithesis of purportedly American characteristics.⁷²

However, the Turkish people were not completely backwards in Goodell’s sight and there were aspects to admire aside from their “ignorance, grossness, barbarism and ferocity, as it has been sometimes represented, for they have certainly some redeeming qualities.” According to Goodell, they refrained from drinking, they were careful with money, and they did not eat too much meat. But for all the parts of their daily lives which were good and admirable, they were “much inclined to superstition” and focused more on the “externals” of Islam than true belief. Finally, they had “a lofty national pride, which is in some instances so prominent as to be extremely offensive.”⁷³ It was apparently impossible for Goodell to see that many would have said the same things about Americans, and indeed about the contents of his letter. But more importantly, Goodell had comments regarding the Turkish ability to spread the gospel: if they could be converted, “they would, to my taste, be the most interesting of all the Orientals.” Goodell could be a lovely writer, and described their gardens, city, countenance, and habits in beautiful language – the people, less so. The Turkish man refrained from discussing politics and the weather, and if he needed entertainment, “the Jews and the Greeks will do anything for money to amuse him.”⁷⁴ Goodell disapproved, and upon attending a religious circumcision, was reminded only of how badly the Muslims needed to be converted.⁷⁵

⁷² Ibid, 154.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 155.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 158. Goodell wrote “Assuredly the time will come when these followers of the false prophet shall be enlightened by the True Prophet, and forsaking their delusions, shall be ‘looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great G-d and our Saviour Jesus Christ.’ Let us pray and labor that the day may be soon ushered in.”

But the missionaries found that their efforts were being thwarted from multiple angles. Goodell blamed “Romish” priests for spreading misinformation about the mission, and for “breaking up” the schools as well.⁷⁶ Though the end times carried the weight of inevitability, and all missionaries, including Goodell, believed that eventually everyone would be converted, it fell to them to do the work. G-d Himself, after all, had not created the world in a day. Goodell strategized with his colleagues and superiors about the best tack to take in reaching the deepest heart of the Ottoman Empire, and chose to go back to the source. “Christ always adapted His instructions to the circumstances of the people;” there was no reason to believe that Greeks or Armenians should be approached the same way as Native Americans.⁷⁷ In fact, a missionary’s primary goal should be to ensure that they did not confuse their cultures or lump them together, and instead they should “simply mix with the people, and learn how weak and ignorant and foolish they really are,” which “would be an acquisition worth a million times more than that of all the languages spoken in the Ottoman empire.”⁷⁸

Missionaries should not make people think that the Protestant evangelicals had designs on building new churches, or lead them to believe they wanted to change daily life for the people, even though that was the case. They should say only, “We have come to do all the good in our powers, and to assist in raising your whole population from the state of ignorance, degradation, and death into which you are fallen.”⁷⁹ But the millennium was still on the approach, and soon enough, there would be so many new Christians who would need American Protestant missionaries to guide them through the preparations for the apocalypse. Goodell advocated patience, because having been in Turkey, he knew that future would be long in the making, and thought it was more important to “bring men to an acquaintance with the Holy

⁷⁶ Ibid, 166.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 172.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 173.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 174.

Scriptures and to a knowledge of salvation.”⁸⁰ The missionary movement would be unwise, in his estimation, to draw attention to themselves in a land where they were a minority among minorities, and reminded his colleagues that “a great deal can be done in a silent, harmless, ineffusive [sic] way in these countries, but nothing in a storm.”⁸¹

The storm raging in the United States while Goodell was in the Ottoman Empire could not be replicated by evangelical Protestants if their aim was to have any chance of success. In the United States, Native Americans might have resisted conversion and assimilation, but they could not resist the military might of a young country thirsty for land. The obstacles to reaching the Pacific were physical more than mental. The opposite was the case in the Ottoman Empire, because it was souls the missionaries needed, not land, and the various peoples were attached to their traditions and faiths that in some cases were older than Protestantism or Christianity itself. If the missionaries went too far too fast, they could be the ones deported or killed as opposed to the natives. The factor that tied the religious iteration of manifest destiny to the political was the teleological sense of inevitability. In both cases, destiny was operative, and had been since America’s earliest days. Goodell compared his efforts with those of George Washington, who “might have obtained for himself momentary glory and renown, by rushing into battle and dying like a brave man, but – our country would have been lost!” Goodell thus made two strong allusions to famous figures, Paul and Washington, and it was after their example that they “should labor for the salvation of these people, and not for a martyr’s crown.”⁸² American soldiers were enough in number that some could die for the cause, but American missionaries were not.

Strategically, it was sometimes better for the missionaries *not* to be among the populations they sought to reach: Goodell wrote to a missionary stationed in Scio that maybe the people could be guilted into conversion if that missionary left. “They might blame

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid, 175.

⁸² Ibid, 180.

themselves, and blame one another, and deeply regret the privileges they had lost,” Goodell wrote, and thus rationalized the failures that the missionaries experienced.⁸³ By such logic, the Native Americans might feel so bad that the Lancasterian schools among them had failed that they changed their ways of their own volition, or that they had rejected the missionary efforts sent their way might make them feel so guilty that they would prepare themselves for the millennium. The religious manifest destiny could work without the participants even knowing consciously.

In March of 1837, Goodell relayed the story of a meeting with an Armenian teacher in his journal. Constantinople had been crippled with bursts of plague over the course of Goodell’s tenure in the city, and the teacher wanted to know if the schools had resumed classes since the last outbreak. “I told him that our school no longer existed, but that there would be another and better one at Hass Keuy [Hasköy, then a suburb of Constantinople].” The teacher was unaware of the removal of one of the Lancasterian schools, so Goodell informed him that “the chief men of the nation became a little alarmed about our high school, not knowing what might grow out of it.”⁸⁴ Goodell went into no further detail regarding the incident, but remarked in a letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM in May of that year that the mission had heard “not a word of opposition from any quarter.”⁸⁵ They had even managed to convert some Roman Catholics, and “every thing betokens a great revival of pure and undefiled religion in this mighty city.” It is possible that no one wanted to bother with the mission because they did not disagree with its goals, but it is also possible that they were so small a presence that they did not warrant the full force of the Sultan’s opposition.

Lack of formal resistance did not quell Goodell’s frustration at the stubbornness with which the people of Constantinople clung to their religions. “G-d is desolating them with judgments, which follow each other in quick succession;” presumably here Goodell refers to the

⁸³ Ibid, 194.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 195.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 197.

plagues and natural disasters that befell Constantinople, which many missionaries took to mean that G-d had deemed the city and its people wicked. "The high probability is, that they will never see the good land, but that the greater part of them will be swept off by the desolating judgments of heaven," Goodell wrote in conclusion to his letter to the Board.⁸⁶ Angry though he might be, it lasted only momentarily, for the next letter Prime included in Goodell's memoir was a plea to "retrench" even in difficult financial and moral times.⁸⁷ Goodell and the Board knew the outcome, but Goodell felt they "ought to be careful not to mark out beforehand the form which the reformation shall take;" it was but their job to usher in its arrival.

Meanwhile, Goodell visited Trebizond [Trabzon] for the purpose of establishing another mission in June of 1838.⁸⁸ The ABCFM had Trebizond in its sights for some time as a possible station, and while there, Goodell examined the call to prayer once again in a letter. At first, he said "that it was a special call on me to attend to mine," but he did not credit Islam with creating a system of "acceptable prayer."⁸⁹ If Christians stopped to pray in the street five times a day in Europe or America, Goodell mused, they would be called "bigots, fanatics, hypocrites, and more names and worse than could be found in any dictionary." He compared the call to prayer to an American washing their hands in public – "it is the custom to do it. Everybody does it. No one could be admitted into good society without doing it."⁹⁰ Because prayer was a cultural custom, it did not carry real, soulful meaning: in the same way as an American would be ashamed not to wash their hands, a Muslim would be ashamed not to pray.

The letter is quite lengthy, and Goodell exerts a great deal of energy in describing the lack of moral fortitude that Muslim prayers had, by implication, in comparison to Christian

⁸⁶ Ibid, 201.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 213-214. The ABCFM was concerned about the difficulty of achieving real success in India, but Goodell placated them with a reminder that every mission should be treated differently. He makes an interesting point about other missionary groups, "English bishops or American presbyters," "taking the lead" over the ABCFM, but he is not as worried as his superiors. There were enough people in India to go amongst them all.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 215.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 218.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 218-219.

prayers. Goodell clearly did not consider that a person growing up in a largely Christian place might feel compelled to attend church out of the same type of societal pressure that he felt he observed among Muslims in Constantinople. Perhaps Goodell's frustrations were growing due to the lack of success not just among the Muslims and Jews, but among the Greeks and Armenians they thought would find Protestant Christianity a natural choice. But the mission was soon to experience less success, not more, and Goodell would be caught in the thick of it.

BRIGHTER EVEN THAN THE MID-DAY SUN: The end of the 1830s in Constantinople

"The opening of the year 1839 marked a new era in the history of the American mission at the Turkish capital," Prime wrote. For the first time since Goodell arrived in Constantinople, the missionaries faced tangible "bitter hostility on the part of the ruling powers of the Armenian Church," which had been the most amenable authority to the goals of the mission. Of course, it was this church which had broken up the Lancasterian schools and "prejudic[ed] the minds of the people against the foreign teachers," along with spreading misinformation and threatening to excommunicate those who heard the Protestant message. However, these oppositions had largely been conducted verbally, but "the storm broke suddenly, and those who had renounced the superstitions and idolatries of their church were almost overwhelmed by its violence."⁹¹ At the peak of this wave, several people were imprisoned and exiled, which Goodell reacted to with strong language in a letter to his brother Temple, a missionary in Smyrna, in February of that year – "This is, indeed, a day of rebuke and blasphemy."⁹²

But at the most fortuitous moment, Prime wrote, when everything was coming to a head, "G-d Himself suddenly interposed, and by a series of striking providences arrested the hand of persecution."⁹³ The fighting between the Ottoman Empire and rebellious Egypt resumed, and the Sultan was compelled to conscript soldiers from the Greek and Armenian communities. The

⁹¹ Ibid, 229.

⁹² Ibid, 233-234.

⁹³ Ibid, 237.

people could not help but be angrier with their government, according to Prime, and so the persecutions ended for the time being. Meanwhile, those who had been exiled seemed to be doing well enough, and Goodell wrote in his journal on June 24th that “the storm may be expected soon to pass away.” The Armenians were misled by their leaders and their corrupted church, “but a light from heaven, brighter even than the mid-day sun, may yet shine about [them], as it did about Paul.”⁹⁴ Difficult times had visited the missionaries, but G-d had ordained that they should continue their efforts.

In the ten years of journals and letters that Prime included in his volume about his father-in-law during the 1830s, William Goodell compared the mission to only two famous characters from Western history: George Washington and the saint Paul. Those allusions were not made without thought, because here was a thoughtful, meticulous chronicler of his opinions and events he experienced. Both men, Paul and Washington, were emblematic of destiny – the destiny of the Christian church, continued past the life of Jesus instead of fading into oblivion as a short-lived radical denomination of Judaism; the destiny of the American colonies to achieve independence from Great Britain and grow and expand past the bounds of the Appalachian Mountains, ever westward. The comparisons Goodell made indicate that he believed the mission at Constantinople, and at the other stations within the Ottoman Empire and around the world, were imbued with the same gravitas and the same potential, foreseen in the Bible and aided by G-d. In this strand of manifest destiny, the Protestant church and the American people were one and the same, and the Pacific coast of the continent was but part of the reach and scope of the ultimate outcome: the conversion of the world in preparation for the second coming of the Christian messiah. What could endow expansion with more divine weight than the apocalypse – and since they were to inevitably succeed and take the world, what could endow expansion with more confidence than divine blessing? As G-d had blessed a general and a saint, so too did the ABCFM have the blessing to continue their work towards the millennium.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 235.

THE HISTORY OF SUCH A LIFE: The memoirs of William Goodell

This paper has provided an in-depth analysis of only part of *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*. As the title of his memoirs signify, William Goodell spent several decades following the 1830s in the Ottoman Empire and his journals, letters, and other memorabilia document his actions and opinions in the same manner as those investigated here, up until his death in 1867.⁹⁵ In addition, Goodell wrote for publication extensively, in the form of sermons, translated Bibles, and tracts, the most famous of which is *The Old and the New; or the Changes of Thirty Years in the East*.⁹⁶ In short, as E.D.G. Prime noted himself in the introduction to his edition of Goodell's memoir, there is much material worth exploring.

Goodell spent his earliest years as a missionary outside the continental United States in the decade when the American government asserted itself politically and physically as a force of expansion. Missionaries were directly involved with the process of Native American removal, often in opposition, and yet chose to spread their ideology in a similar fashion across the ocean in a land where various religious authorities and bodies already existed, often for centuries or more before the advent of evangelical Protestant Christianity. They and their parent organization, the ABCFM, had explicitly stated goals of converting the entire world to their religious beliefs and ways of life, as they frequently conflated being an American Christian with being an American. Thus, the evangelical missionaries were also a force of expansion, and a strand of manifest destiny expressed in the form of ideological imperialism.

William Goodell was not a missionary who went to jail to oppose Native American removal. He frequently expressed highly racialized and anti-Islamic views in direct comparison with the values of Protestant America. Goodell provides a view into the tensions in the ABCFM, an organization with inherent contradictions in programming and means to their end, the advent

⁹⁵ Ibid, 465.

⁹⁶ William Goodell, *The Old and the New; or the Changes of Thirty Years in the East, with Some Allusions to Oriental Customs as Elucidating Scripture* (New York, 1853).

of the millennium. Goodell was one of many and his views are not necessarily representative of the ABCFM as a whole; however, he was remembered as a pioneer in the mission to the Ottoman Empire and “the Protestant Reformation in Turkey.”⁹⁷ As such, he is at least representative of the explicit goals of the ABCFM, which in turn were a manifestation of American ideological expansion.

Edward Dorr Griffin Prime was born in 1814 and after his general education was finished, he “decided to devote his life to the Christian ministry.”⁹⁸ He married William Goodell’s daughter Abbie and together, after Prime experienced a bout of poor health, they decided to travel the world.⁹⁹ He documented their journey in a work called *Around the World: Sketches of Travel through Many Lands and over Many Seas* as well as in correspondences with the *New York Observer*.¹⁰⁰ “One special object he had in view in selecting this extended route of travel” through the Middle East, Prime wrote of himself, “was to study in person the religious condition of those remote countries, and especially to note the progress of the work of Christian missions in the east.”¹⁰¹ In his writings, Prime hoped to communicate “a hopeful view of the great work of Christianizing the nations,” much in the same way that Goodell did in his letters to the Board.¹⁰²

Thus Prime had several reasons for wanting to publish a narrated memoir of his father-in-law’s life. He was a genealogist, even though he did not write the *Notes Genealogical* for public consumption, so he had the experience to produce *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire* and the interest in his family’s history to make the story compelling from a biographical standpoint. That Prime was in the clergy was also certainly a factor in why he put together Goodell’s memoir, as evidenced in part by his rationale for traveling the world in order to see how well the

⁹⁷ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, vii.

⁹⁸ E.D.G. Prime, *Notes Genealogical, Biographical, and Bibliographical of the Prime Family* (N.p., 1888), 91.

⁹⁹ Prime, *Notes Genealogical*, 93-94.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 94; *Around the World: Sketches of Travel through Many Lands and over Many Seas* (New York, 1873).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 94.

various missions fared. Prime had both the religious and personal inclination to publish *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*; in addition, since it was printed after Goodell died, it is also possible that it was in part a memorial to Goodell and his works, which might explain some of the more effusive praise with which he described Goodell and his actions. What is clear is that Prime felt that someone should document William Goodell's life and works, for personal posterity and for public edification, in order to provide a comprehensive portrayal of the evangelical mission. There was clearly a market for such books; in the back and front matter of many missionary journals there are pages and pages of advertisements for other, similar missionary journals.

The ABCFM also published a remembrance of the mission to the Ottoman Empire that was less like *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire* and more like a survey of the ABCFM's work in the region. *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, written by S.C. Bartlett and also called *Bartlett's Sketches*, was published by the ABCFM in 1878, with its main focus resting on Turkey itself, not including the Levant and Northern Africa. "Turkey is the key of Asia," Bartlett wrote, referring especially to the Armenians, who had been "prepared" for "Christian influences."¹⁰³ God had "blessed the missionaries with wisdom, interposed continually for the protection of their work, and led them forward to a success already so broad and deep, as to be silently molding the destinies of the empire." Published only two years after *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, it carries the same clear indications of inevitable success towards readying the world for the millennium.

Bartlett's work does have several similarities with Prime's; in his survey, Bartlett uses similar language to describe the people the missionaries encountered. The Armenian "standard of moral purity" was far higher than the Turkish standard, and as opposed to Muslim and Turkish people, the terms used in the same interchangeable way as Goodell and Prime, the Armenians had "a conscience which can be touched and roused." They were "enterprising,"

¹⁰³ S.C. Bartlett, *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey* (Boston, 1878), 1.

they had a sense of national pride and “unity,” and their general usefulness with languages and in navigating the empire was documented in the same fashion, emphasizing their importance to the missionaries and not their characteristics in and of themselves, perpetuating the same Orientalist standards as Prime and Goodell.¹⁰⁴ People were cast in terms of their compatibility with American Christian values and their usefulness to the mission.

Bartlett’s outline correlates with what Prime included of Goodell’s mission quite closely. He calls Goodell one of “the first missionaries” who set out to “reach the people, at first, chiefly by means of schools and the press.”¹⁰⁵ Bartlett describes Goodell’s translation work, and in the same style of military language explained by Clifton Jackson Phillips, portrays the use of the press as “the planting of siege guns, and the unlimbering of heavy artillery.” The missionaries and the ABCFM thus could and were expanding militarily into the Ottoman Empire in a metaphorical sense, being that the pen was mightier than the sword – especially when any sword the ABCFM would have was a penknife compared to the armies of the Sultan.

The *Historical Sketch* also correlated Prime’s descriptions of several of the most high-profile incidents Goodell and the mission faced but was more objective about their outcome; perhaps that was due to his lack of family relationship with Goodell, and thus Bartlett felt less compelled to memorialize him. For example, Bartlett was more straightforward about the initial success of the mission – “for nearly two years the missionaries gained little access to the Armenians” – even so, the inevitability of the millennium and the outcome of events colored Bartlett’s writings: “But G-d brought the Armenians to them.”¹⁰⁶ Even in failure events were ordered towards the success of the mission.

Bartlett included other events that Prime had documented, such as the visits to Broosa and Trebizond and the establishment of one of the schools at Pera (most likely the one that was later closed), but spends the most time describing the “deep-laid plot for the expulsion of

¹⁰⁴ Bartlett, *Historical Sketch*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 5.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Protestantism from the land” in 1839, the “new era” that Prime also covered extensively.¹⁰⁷ In the same way as Prime, Bartlett noted that “the hand of the persecutors was arrested by the hand of G-d” and the missionaries “soon found that they were in the midst of one of the most extraordinary religious movements of modern times, silent, and sometimes untraceable, but potent and pervasive.”¹⁰⁸ It is difficult to know exactly how the missionaries and the ABCFM as a whole defined their success, or knew that people were being converted without their joining the church, and even they sometimes worried that the people were only converting on the surface. When describing the state of the mission in Turkey in 1876, Bartlett gave some statistics of churches, students, priests, schools and the like, “and a general diffusion of light among both Armenians and Mohammedans, which no figure can display.”¹⁰⁹ If there was no measurement mechanism beyond their own internal numbers, then the missionaries could promote their efforts as successful no matter what, especially when framed in the context of the certain millennium.

HERE EVERYTHING SEEMS NOW READY FOR THE SICKLE: In conclusion

“In the city, mosques, domes, and hundreds of lofty minarets were starting up amidst the more humble abodes of men, all embosomed in groves of dark cypress, which, in some instances, seemed almost like dense forests; while before, behind, and around us were, besides many boats of the country, more than twenty square-rigged vessels, bearing the flags of different nations, under full sail, with a light but favorable breeze, all converging to one point, and that point Constantinople.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 6-7 (7).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 8, 11.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 18. For some figures that Bartlett does provide, see page 31 of *Historical Sketch*. Bartlett also provides some charts which I have totaled: In 1876, there were 22 missionaries to European Turkey (12 women, one of whom was single); 61 missionaries to Western Turkey (38 women, 13 of whom were single); and 22 missionaries to Central Turkey (14 women, 6 of whom were single).

¹¹⁰ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 113.

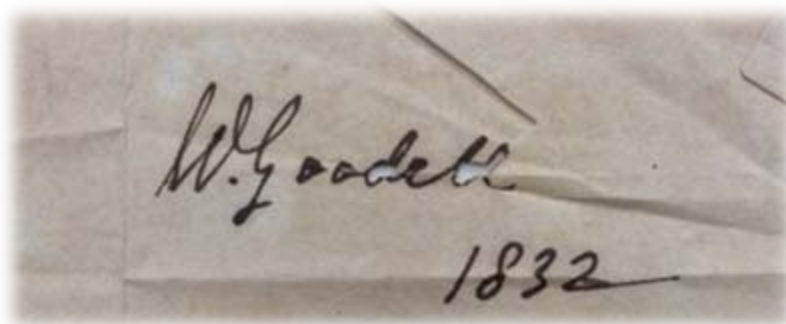
At first William Goodell had been disappointed in the views of the city now called İstanbul. He might have even been a little nervous, or excited, feeling apprehension, or anticipation, upon his arrival in his new home where so much work needed to be done. He was not underwhelmed for long, and was soon overcome by the vision that still greets travelers down the Bosphorus – though not exactly the same vision. And Goodell had a vision for himself, and for his mission: Convert the world, one Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Catholic, or Muslim person at a time. Prepare for the second coming of his messiah Jesus Christ. Spread the gospel like Saint Paul in the first century, and be cautious like General George Washington in the American Revolution. If he could do all of these things, or at least help to do them, though it was only 1831, the year 2000 would arrive carrying with it one thousand years of peace.

Goodell not only promoted evangelical Protestant plans for the future, but in his organization's conflation of America with Protestantism, he in part advocated for manifest destiny, the same process occurring in the United States when Goodell set out for the Ottoman Empire, namely in the form of Native American western removal. The missionaries had tried to convert the Native Americans in readiness for the millennium but their efforts had largely failed; they had decided to try other, farther-reaching foreign missions with the same goal. The American government wanted the natives' land, and had both killed them and moved them en masse. The missionaries did not have the same options, nor did they necessarily want those options, for either the Native Americans or the various peoples of the Ottoman Empire. Instead, they took America to Turkey; the Native Americans were not going anywhere. They would be reached in due time. The Muslims and Jews of Constantinople were in much more urgent need of proselytizing and conversion – the process had to be started right away if it could be accomplished before the millennium.

In the same way that the United States government believed that the American people would inevitably take the continent, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions believed that the American Protestant mission would inevitably take the world. William Goodell

had the millennial conviction in the 1830s, and Prime echoed him in 1876 in his narrative of Goodell's life and implicitly in his choice to publish the account of Goodell's time in Turkey. The same sentiments were reflected at an organizational level, when the ABCFM either commissioned Bartlett to write *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey* or accepted and published his manuscript, which is an outright sponsorship of his views, given the absence of a disclaimer; more likely, the ABCFM did endorse Bartlett's work because it presented a highly positive outlook of the mission field, which needed to justify its work and expense when asking for donations and government assistance. Non-evangelical Protestant Christians had to be convinced of the immediate necessity for the Board's activities.

Bartlett wrote that in Turkey "everything seems now ready for the sickle."¹¹¹ All the ABCFM needed for success was the missionaries and financial support – everything else was prophesied, a guaranteed outcome. How could a destiny be any more manifest than that which had been prepared for Protestant Christians in the Bible? Goodell advocated for this destiny, advocated for the means, and advocated for the chance to carry it out on behalf of the ABCFM, because even if he could not convert all the people of Constantinople, the millennium was coming and asked of him only his time and constant effort. No one could stop it, because it was as unavoidable as time itself ticking away. No matter what happened, the ABCFM could not fail. It was written. Mission accomplished.



¹¹¹ Bartlett, *Historical Sketches*, 28.

Image from the William Goodell Papers at the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Box 2, miscellany folder.

“A Colorful and Turbulent Career”: Depictions of Turkey in American Tourist Guidebooks, 1920-1935

“It takes a good deal to cause excitement in a country whose chief product for the last three thousand years and whose by-products have been massacre, rapine, and pillage. However, we had been noticed, and presently a fine-faced old gentleman, with that gravity of manner which marks the Turk, came to greet us and invite us to his home.”¹

Few Americans wrote about traveling all the way across Anatolia, far from the Mediterranean coast with its modern, seaside cities and European comforts, but Major Robert Whitney Imbrie was one such traveler who documented his journey in an article for *National Geographic* in October of 1924. The issue was published a year after the formation of the Turkish Republic when the steady decline of the Ottoman Empire came to a final, grinding halt with the takeover of the Young Turks and their unlikely but charismatic leader Mustafa Kemal; Imbrie traveled to Turkey in the thick of the turnover as secularization began across the peninsula.

The American travel guides surveyed here mostly ignored or refused to comment on Turkish politics in any substantive fashion. Instead they devoted large amounts of space not to Turkey or the Ottoman Empire, but to early Christianity and classical Greece and Rome. The Turkish Ottomans were often treated as if they were nothing more than invading hordes who wrested Constantinople from the Greeks and converted the city to Islam, and their descendents were portrayed as different only in situation, not character. However, the ultimate marker of these American guidebooks is the time they devoted to Robert College, founded by the Christopher Robert and the missionary Cyrus Hamlin in 1863, located in Constantinople. These authors’ depiction of Robert College as an American stronghold in the Oriental East represents

¹ Robert Whitney Imbrie, “Crossing Asia Minor, the Country of the New Turkish Republic,” *National Geographic* (October 1924), 445.

the type of Western gaze that acted as a penetrating force and constituted a mental and physical imposition on Turkey in the 1920s and 1930s, a process which continued as travelers used the guidebooks for their various needs.

A variety of sources demonstrate the American perceptions of the Turkish Republic and its leaders, with occasional commentary on its citizens and societal customs. The guidebooks vary from twenty to six hundred pages, and some of the authors limit their scope from the outset to Constantinople and İstanbul, while others purport to cover all of Turkey, though the reader never encounters any of Anatolia east of Ankara. In addition, a guidebook published in Constantinople during the 1920s provides a stunning point of comparison between how these American writers and one of their European counterparts read into the same location and sold it to would-be travelers. The reader of these books can have no doubt when Americans were the target demographic, as opposed to any English-speaking, presumably Western audience.

In addition, the authors of these guidebooks did not ignore, indeed could not ignore the degree and scope of the changes taking place in Constantinople, which became İstanbul after the Turkish language reformations of 1928.² Many factors contributed to the state of relations between America and Turkey, ranging from formal political disagreements between governments to the stereotypes proliferated in popular culture. The United States might have existed only for a small portion of the Ottoman tenure, but Christian Americans especially maintained a cultural tie to Anatolia. These Americans forged a connection to Turkey via their missionary activities as well as their response to the Armenian Genocide. The “Terrible Turk” infused American political dialogue, an imagined specter of Turkish conquest and destruction that stole away the land of the classics and Christianity and delivered it into the hands of

² In order to maintain both consistency with the pace of language reform and the nomenclature used in the sources, I will continue to use both “Ankara” and “Angora” as well as “Constantinople” and “İstanbul” depending on the year to which I refer (pre- or post-language reform) or which name the source in question uses, and will provide the present-day names in the text where other place names occur.

bloodshed and Islam; the Terrible Turk who kills Christian Armenians even today, as the stereotype went.³

Every pitfall, drawback, potentially more salient alternative, and scholarly disagreement inherent in Edward Said's *Orientalism* framework is at play in every work that references either the person or the theory.⁴ However, regardless of the framework or the opinions surrounding it, as far as Orientalism goes in these guidebooks, sometimes it is obvious in such a way that a person would not need to have heard of Edward Said to think perhaps that some American writers might have an unduly negative opinion of Turkey. Thus Kevin M. McGeough and Joseph Allen Boone's uses of Said's framework are apt baselines for this survey as well; in short, that "this is not the place to summarize Said's work and the multiplicities of responses that emerged from it," even though one must acknowledge at a minimum its foundational usefulness as well as the flexibility of the framework.⁵ In this paper, "Orientalism" is defined as the Western predilection for a fantasy of the "Orient" in spite of the myriad changes in Turkish society, which constitutes a Western gaze, a need to transgress societal norms and impose Western desires, marking such Western penetration as a violation.

When Westerners looked at Turkey – in their minds and imaginations, or in person as foreign tourists – they projected their views, morals, suspicions, fantasies, and prior knowledge onto the space and the people. This Western gaze impacted everything they encountered, whether this was Orientalism as Said defined it or not. American writers were simultaneously able to praise Turkish reform in regards to women's rights and station while bemoaning the loss

³ I do not mean to imply that the killing of Armenian Christians did not take place. The Armenian Genocide deserves a fuller treatment than I can here give. My hope is that I will not confuse the reader with those references, but that if they are unfamiliar, they will forgive me my elisions. Erik J. Zürcher writes that "all too often in the field of Turkology we forget that the modern state of Turkey was built on ethnic cleansing on a massive scale." I wish to be clear, given that the Turkish government denies that "genocide" is what took place and the topic is extremely sensitive. At a minimum, the term "ethnic cleansing" is accurate; for my paper, I choose the word "genocide." Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (London, 2010), 49.

⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1977).

⁵ Kevin M. McGeough, *The Ancient Near East in the Nineteenth Century: Appreciations and Appropriations I. Claiming and Conquering*, Hebrew Bible Monographs, 67 (Sheffield, U.K., 2015), 21.

of “Eastern culture.” Western travelers were not only pushed to possess what they traveled by purchasing souvenirs that represented the cultural space they visited; by gazing on the East as Westerners, they “produce[d] a sexual script.” The Western, “curious, penetrating gaze...is a micro-level reflection of the cultural heterosexual and masculine position. It satisfies curiosity, gives victorious pleasure to the gazer – the pleasure to transgress,” writes Sertaç Sehlíkoglu.⁶ Thus by continuing to force their ideals on the Turkish republic, to transgress the boundaries of the wants and needs of the new government, these guidebooks and their authors violated and decried Turkish norms while seeking to find the Eastern, non-normative, Oriental other.

CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY [1920]

Only one guidebook in this survey was published before the formation of the republic. No individual name appears in the text as an author; instead *Constantinople, Turkey* was written “under authority of the Secretary of the Navy.” The Bureau of Navigation states its mission in the foreword: “to furnish valuable information to officers and enlisted men of the Navy, who visit these foreign countries.”⁷ The Constantinople volume is only one of the “Ditty Box” series of guidebooks, also published by the Bureau of Navigation in 1920 or 1921.⁸ The Navy’s evaluation of Constantinople as one of the most important ports of the world is unsurprising, despite the political uncertainty in Turkey – or perhaps due to the such uncertainty.

The guide reads like a history book for large swaths of the forty-six pages. “An aristocrat among ports” that “ranks...as one of the principal strategic positions in the world,” Constantinople has had a “colorful and turbulent career” at the hands of its Muslim leaders who gave it “a more or less malodorous reputation in international affairs,” writes the Navy’s

⁶ Sertaç Sehlíkoglu, “The Daring Mahrem: Changing Dynamics of Public Sexuality in Turkey,” in Gul Ozyegin, ed., *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures* (Farnham, U.K., 2015), 239.

⁷ *Constantinople, Turkey*, Published by Bureau of Navigation under authority of the Secretary of the Navy [Washington, D.C., 1920], 7.

⁸ The Ditty Box series includes Gibraltar, New York City, Canton, Montevideo, Hong Kong, Port Said, Ceylon, Lima, Paris, and San Francisco – and these were only the ones available on HathiTrust.

appointed tour guide.⁹ The only mention of any current turbulence is that Turkey “seems to be slipping gradually from its present rulers,” the Ottoman government.¹⁰ Mustafa Kemal does not appear by name, nor do the Young Turks or any of their members. Instead, the “romantic history of the city and the sometimes quaint and sometimes startling bits of legend and folklore which have descended through the centuries” will make any trip to Constantinople “fascinating.”¹¹

Even though the guidebooks in this survey might not include current political information, they usually make a nod of a paragraph or two towards the changing of the guard in Turkey. The Turkish War for Independence started in 1919, and the Allies had already begun to draw and quarter the Ottoman Empire – these guidebooks do not like to remind readers that Turkey was not on the side of the United States and Britain during World War I. Perhaps that is why, especially when there was only an exiled sultan and nationalist war of uncertain outcome, the Bureau of Navigation dwells on history for the majority of the book and provides limited practical advice.

The tone in the introductory pages differs strikingly from what comes afterward. The author makes sure to remind the reader that “we are not Mohammedans, only *giaours*,” which the 1911 *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines as “a word used by the Turks to describe all who are not Mahommedans, with especial reference to Christians.”¹² The intentional differentiation between people living in Constantinople who are Muslims and people visiting Constantinople who are assumedly Christian sets up the roles that each will play as monolithic, oppositional entities. The Muslim residents are extras in the backdrop of the romanticized version of Constantinople the guidebook provides towards the end of the introductory portion: they are “shopkeepers [who] sell black coffee and tobacco,” or among the “many races of men

⁹ *Constantinople*, 9-10.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 10.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 10-11.

¹² *Ibid*, 12; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Volume XI: Franciscans to Gibson, entry “giaour” (1911), 927. The *Encyclopedia* author does go on to note that “the word, first employed as a term of contempt and reproach, has become so general that in most cases no insult is intended in its use.”

picturesquely clad” that a visitor will see on a stroll “at night while the crescent moon looks down from the eastern sky.”¹³ These lines cross, however, when the author writes that “we become, by imagination, modern Haroun-al-Raschids.”¹⁴ When the reader mentally becomes a character in the *One Thousand and One Nights* who was also a real-life caliph, they imagine themselves as the other, implying a Western desire to return to the “pre-modern” as a reaction to rapid modernization.

American readers would have certainly been exposed to a catalog of negative Turkish traits, resulting especially from the Armenian Genocide. Prior to 1923, “political relations between the two nations [the Ottoman Empire and the United States] were limited, depending principally on economic and missionary interests,” which left room for misrepresentation, since direct contact occurred so rarely.¹⁵ In conjunction with the knowledge Americans had of the Armenian Genocide, this lack of familiarity with Turkish society “resulted in the formation of a ‘Terrible Turk’ stereotype in the United States.”¹⁶ The Terrible Turk, simply put, had inherited an “unsavory reputation...from the time of the Crusades,” and the Turkish people had misgoverned their way down the centuries so much so that the Ottoman Empire became “the sick man of Europe,” according to the stereotype.¹⁷

Aside from racialized and primitive imagery ascribed to Turkish people, “the Turks were considered incapable of self-government and unworthy of being treated as equals.”¹⁸ Because of the amount and depth of negative propaganda against Turkish people in general, not just those who carried out the genocidal acts, there was a great deal of pressure on the United States government not to normalize relations with Turkey. Given that this *Constantinople*

¹³ *Constantinople*, 12.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Şuhnaz Yılmaz, “Challenging the Stereotypes: Turkish-American Relations in the Inter-war Era,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 42:2 (March 2006), 224.

¹⁶ Yılmaz, “Challenging the Stereotypes,” 224.

¹⁷ Robert L. Daniel, “The Armenian Question and American-Turkish Relations, 1914-1927,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46:2 (September 1959), 253-254.

¹⁸ Daniel, “The Armenian Question and American-Turkish Relations,” 255.

guidebook was published by a governmental source, it seems safe to speculate that the Navy and Bureau of Navigation were aware of the Armenian situation and that this author had it in mind.

After the introductory matter, the tone slowly shifts to a much more balanced depiction of the Ottoman Empire and Islam, especially when compared to guidebooks written later.

Constantinople was the only American book surveyed in this sample that even attempted to give a history and explanation of Islam and Islamic practices and which does not privilege Christian history over other narratives of the Ottoman past to the same degree.¹⁹ The anonymous author finds their footing in the section called “Voyage of Columbus,” in which Constantinople is credited with Columbus’ voyage west.²⁰ An author writing on behalf of the Navy might have a reason to stress the past at the expense of the present beyond a bias that might be grounded in Orientalism. Clinging to history, even distant, ancient history, does not necessarily reflect a desire to erase or de-emphasize the current state of affairs in Turkish society, especially because this guidebook does not exclusively provide Christian or Western narratives at the expense of Ottoman or Muslim narratives. The comparatively well-balanced, cause-and-effect driven recounting of history and Constantinople (as opposed to resorting to crude stereotypes) indicates that the author felt it would aid or enhance the travel experience of someone serving in the Navy to know the context of the city and its involvement in crucial events in Western history.

The elision of present-day issues in Turkey, such as the overhaul of hundreds of years of civil and religious governance, could reflect the perceived instability in Turkish society which the US government attributes to the Ottoman leaders losing power so decisively. Thus this book

¹⁹ I felt that the tone shift began on *Constantinople*, 13. My interpretation is partially in response to not having read this guidebook first and already having a baseline of comparison. Another reader might approach these books differently, which might invite different interpretations of the material.

²⁰ “The Greek scholars who fled from the Byzantine Empire interested the vigorous people of the west in the arts and sciences of ancient Greece, and this interest was one of the chief causes of the revival of the idea that the world was round. Columbus seized upon the theory – which of course later proved to be fact – and it influenced him in his decision to explore the unknown waters west of Europe.” *Constantinople*, 15.

does not really read as a guide for traveling in Constantinople for a few days, but rather as an introduction for Navy personnel to a part of the world where they may be spending a lot of time in the future as a stabilizing power should the Turkish war for independence render a continued American military presence necessary. The potential for a greater American force in Constantinople than that already part of the Allied occupation also helps to explain the attention to detail in regards to Islamic practices. Without making value judgments, the book helps its readers to understand the basic elements of Islamic life.²¹ Orientalist wording still exists throughout this book, however, and the roles of Muslim and Christian, or Oriental and Westerner, are reified even when the author more or less fairly represents Islam and the Ottoman Empire.

For example, not ten pages later, the author again reminds the reader of their position in relation to the Muslim Turkish person, this time in the context of buyer and seller, of possessor and possession. "Travelers in search of souvenirs will find a variety of handmade articles for sale in the bazaars, but should not purchase too readily, since haggling is customary among Orientals," the book advises.²² While reproducing a stereotype of an Eastern custom in a specifically Turkish context, the author also constructs a rudimentary checklist and set of instructions for travelers that falls into line with patterns of travel guide literature. McGeough explains that, at its most basic definition, travel literature is what "emerges from the intersection of two or more cultures," and that "that intersection is fundamental to the genre." Writers of such books have to portray perceived difference between these cultures in a format that the general reader can understand.²³

Moreover, "guidebooks helped identify and standardize what the tourist was supposed to 'do' and see while touring," McGeough writes, and thus travel becomes hyperreal for the tourist.

²¹ This first section with detailed description of Islam is from pages 20-24 of *Constantinople*.

²² *Constantinople*, 32.

²³ McGeough, *The Ancient Near East in the Nineteenth Century*, 19. McGeough also uses the work of Chloe Chard to make this point; Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830* (Manchester, U.K., 1999).

Travelers operate under the burden of a “virtual checklist,” which guidebooks offer as part of their very nature, in order to “provide some focus of accomplishment for the otherwise ‘unproductive’ act of travel.” The guidebooks surveyed here encouraged visitors to Turkey, especially Constantinople and İstanbul, to visit the Grand Bazaar and not only engage in the Orientalized act of haggling, but come back with physical items “to commemorate the fact that they had visited.” These souvenirs would, once the tourist returned home, or to at least a Western space (if they were, for example, officers on shore leave who returned to their vessel) offer a means of expressing what the tourist had done or accomplished while ostensibly on vacation – an act which, by definition, should mean one has not set out to accomplish anything.²⁴

Another result of this process is that, upon visiting an ultra-famous site, travelers are underwhelmed “because by visiting them, one is doing what one is expected to do, not what one wants to do.” Each guidebook, American or not, recommends roughly the same set of sites in Constantinople, which results in hyperreality; for McGeough, this specifically means the capitalistic need for tourism to be a productive activity combined with overexposure to cultural icons prior to travel. However, *Constantinople*’s virtual checklist is much subtler than the other American books, probably because the author is well aware that not only would sailors likely have a limited amount of time in the city, but they might not be in Constantinople strictly for leisure. This checklist is another indicator of the author and audience and how they function uniquely in each guidebook. In this case, the Navy does not have to worry about marketing a guidebook for Navy personnel and making a profit off of sales the way a private author would.

More detailed descriptions of Islam immediately follow, including a thorough outline of the pilgrimage to Mecca and “‘Lent’ in Turkey,” or Ramadan.²⁵ However, at the very end of this

²⁴ Ibid, 309.

²⁵ *Constantinople*, 32-35. The hajj is from pages 32-35; Ramadan is on page 35. This book calls it Ramazan, which is an alternative transliteration, as well as the Turkish word for Ramadan (Ramazan Bayramı).

section, the Orientalist overtones return, with the specific connotations of Constantinople as the city of excess: “During the remaining eleven months of the year [that are not Ramadan] the people of Constantinople completely make up for their month of fasting and abstinence by the pursuit of their various pleasures.”²⁶ In the most surface-level reading of this guidebook, it is clear that the author has inherited the perceptions and stereotypes of Ottoman, Turkish, and Muslim people. Unintentional Orientalism thus seems to be a facet of the American imagination of Turkey, even as this author consciously and quite accurately explains Islamic practices without comparing them negatively to Christian practices – even though Christians also return to pursuit of their various pleasures at the end of Lent without the same connotation of excess.

There are other notable differences between the book written under authority of the Navy and the civilian publications. However, one of the similarities among all of the American works is the seemingly requisite recognition of Robert College. The praise of Robert College is unequivocal: it is “the most important educational institution in Turkey.”²⁷ In keeping with the near total absence of Christian history, the book makes no mention of the school’s missionary roots. Robert College’s constant appearance throughout American guidebooks seems to occur for different reasons depending on the author or publisher. In this case, it is likely that positive descriptions of the school are at least a subtle effort to sell the concept of an American school in Constantinople to Americans, due to the possibility of a greater American presence in Turkey.

After the section on Robert College the book is close to finished, which is where the practical information for visitors really begins. “Stambul,” or the old city, “is without good hotels, and the number of hostelryes is...now more limited than ever, since many have been taken over by the police forces of the Allied Powers.” The treatment of the Allied presence in Constantinople presented in this book is typical of the other American books – there is no real

²⁶ *Constantinople*, 35. Boone writes that “the image of Istanbul and its empire as a bounty of excess was already being promoted by Ottoman writers, anticipating and helping to shape the metaphors found in the thousands of Western travel narratives that proliferated once the Ottoman Porte and Europe initiated formal trade and diplomatic relations.” Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, 114.

²⁷ *Constantinople*, 38.

explanation, and it is only mentioned in passing. Perhaps there was a military or political reason for the missing context; discussing World War I might still make people uncomfortable, given the scale of destruction; it might perhaps be such common knowledge that there was no need to describe the occupation in detail, especially for members of the United States Navy who might be involved in the occupation. Whatever the reason, the Allies exist in the guidebooks only as ships in the night on the Bosphorus, always there but never discussed, always mentioned but never with substance.²⁸

That is how the book ends; the final page tells the reader where to find “information regarding trips, or other matters of interest to Americans” in Constantinople.²⁹ Given that only two pages are devoted to truly practical advice for tourists, in which the information is somewhat scant or only points to further resources, it seems that it was not really meant as a tour guide, or even a visitor’s guide, for people in the military, but rather a general introduction to Constantinople and Islam for American Christians who might end up in Constantinople in a military capacity.

The evidence for this speculation lies in what the guidebook does not say, what historical events the guidebook leaves out, and which people the guidebook does not mention. This guidebook reads as if its anonymous author, who by remaining anonymous therefore expresses the opinion of the Bureau of Navigation and the United States Navy, was keenly aware of the uncertain present situation in Turkey and decided to eliminate it from the narrative altogether. Uncertainty in one of “the principal ports in all quarters of the globe” could not be reflected in a guidebook given that the US government must also have felt a great degree of uncertainty about what would happen next. While the Ottomans seemed definitively defeated, questions

²⁸ Unfortunately, one can see that in my paper I have accomplished almost the same feat; treatment of the Allied occupation is limited, except in reference to the guidebooks, but a discussion of the impact of the occupation on the citizenry of Constantinople had to be eliminated for the sake of space.

²⁹ *Constantinople*, 42. One of those locations is a YMCA; I have not looked into scholarship on American YMCAs in Turkey, but among the many other topics that have arisen throughout the research for this paper, their presence as a cultural influence in Turkey has piqued my interest.

remained about who would fill the power vacuum and what their new country, if it ever came together, would look like. “Since warships flying the American flag have made the world of waters their cruising grounds and since they carry with them scores of thousands of seagoing Americans, the personal interest of the Nation in ports, far and near, has necessarily increased in recent years” – that is how the book begins.³⁰ There might be more warships in these ports at some point, the foreword implies, and in Constantinople, that point might not have seemed too far off in the distance.

TOURIST GUIDE TO CONSTANTINOPLE [1923]

Though not published by the United States government or military, the Near East College Association’s *Tourist Guide to Constantinople, Robert College and Constantinople Woman’s College* has more in common in terms of purpose with the Navy’s *Constantinople* than with the guidebooks written by individual authors; once again, the author is anonymous, and writes with a similar informative style. Though the exact publication date is unknown, the contents of the book demonstrate that the war for independence has ended in 1923 with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in the Anatolian holdings of the former Ottoman Empire, including Constantinople on both sides of the Bosphorus. The *Tourist Guide* and its author still operate in a time of uncertainty, given the newness of everything around them, but not the same type of uncertainty as in 1920. However, as with *Constantinople*, the *Tourist Guide* focuses on history while paying scant attention to the present, and this time, it seems clear that the reason is to market the most attractive version of Turkey to American visitors. The profit, though, would ideally not come in the form of revenue from selling the book, but from donations to the schools as a result of the book.

Documenting every instance of Orientalist thought can be counterproductive when analyzing a text on the whole. The front matter of *Tourist Guide*, however, sets the tone for the

³⁰ *Constantinople*, 7.

reader. The short paragraph reveals that the focus is not really on Constantinople as a city that happens to host two American schools, but on the two American schools that happen to be in Constantinople: “In a city such as Constantinople, where Time is measured by centuries, where war and tradition have combined to strangle new ideas, it would not be expected that any new institution or movement could, in less than a century, make its impression upon the heterogeneous community.” The paragraph continues: “But the American institutions, Robert College and Constantinople Woman’s College are the striking exceptions for, in slightly less than half a century, they have become the educational centers of the Near East.” The people living in the Ottoman Empire had all these centuries, but in fifty years the Americans were able to better the entire education system, the front matter implies. “Their influence has spread throughout the Balkans and Asia Minor wherever their alumni have entered upon their life’s work, rising from obscurity to positions of great influence, confidence and prominence” – most universities would say this of themselves when seeking donations. However, not many would say that they are “the hub of advancing civilization in the capital and heart of the old Roman Empire.”³¹

The first page after the front matter begins with only a brief retelling of the Byzantine Empire and then quickly moves to the Ottoman Empire, but not before establishing the Christian legacy.³² In the section “Becomes Oriental City,” the author writes that Constantinople “changed in many ways” after the institution of the Ottoman government. “In race and garb and speech the population became more Oriental. Most of the churches which survived the occupation of

³¹ *Tourist Guide to Constantinople, Robert College and Constantinople Woman’s College*, Published by the Near East College Association (New York, [1923]), front matter.

³² *Tourist Guide*, 3: “The city was founded by Constantine the Great on the site of Byzantium, 328 years after the birth of Christ and was inaugurated as the capital of the Roman Empire on May 11th, 330. For more than eleven centuries until 1453 it was the ‘New Rome,’ then it became the capital of the Ottoman Empire.” Given the emphasis on centuries in the front matter, it makes sense that an author wishing to call attention to the Christian heritage of Constantinople would frame the Byzantium Empire in such a way, which makes the five hundred year lifespan of the Ottoman Empire seem short by comparison. I believe that was the intended goal, given that it is consistent with the front matter and stays on message.

the Turks were turned into mosques.”³³ This part of the guidebook demonstrates that contradiction and confusion that American guidebook writers seem to have encountered constantly. Their apparent upset that churches had become mosques runs headlong into their love of Constantinople as an explicitly “Eastern” or Ottoman city. When the churches were gone as a result of the “coming of the Turks,” in their place rose “stately mosques in the most commanding situations, where domes and minarets and huge rectangular buildings present a combination of mass and slenderness, of rounded lines and soaring pinnacles, which gives to Constantinople an air of unique dignity and grace, and at the same time invests it with the glamour of the Oriental world.”³⁴ In some of the loveliest writing in any of the guides, the anonymous author of *Tourist Guide* seems to have found the silver lining of Turkish conquest, except that the reader has in mind the front matter, as well as the first paragraph of the book. Such cognitive dissonance is pervasive; Constantinople was “the arena where essentialized oppositions – East versus West, Islam versus Christianity, and local versus global – were played out,” not only for citizens of the city, but for foreigners who visited.³⁵

The polarizations extended to Ottoman versus Nationalist, or Ottoman versus Republican. In Western thought, Turkish people might not necessarily be “primitive,” but they “could nonetheless be considered to exist in a separate temporal zone.” Ottoman Turkey seemed to offer a look back at the pre-modern for Westerners, especially in the existence of the harem. “Part of the attraction of visiting or reading about the harem was that it permitted Westerners to imagine they had access to this separate temporal realm, a space for them infused with nostalgia,” but which was “under threat from the rapid modernisation (Westernisation) of Ottoman society,” writes Reina Lewis. Such nostalgia reflected Western attitudes about themselves and their own struggles to modernize while also fearing the loss of a

³³ Ibid, 3-4.

³⁴ Ibid, 4.

³⁵ Çağlar Keyder, “The Setting,” in Keyder, ed., *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 9.

perceived traditional past.³⁶ The same sort of dissonance occurred for these guidebook authors as a result of Kemalist reforms. Instead of churches turning into mosques, or the exchange of the harem for women's rights, traditional clothes gave way to European modes, and with them went the very sense of Eastern-ness, or Oriental-ness, that tourists desired.

The first mention of the change in government comes under the heading "The Sublime Porte," explained as the "former seat of the government."³⁷ In present-day Yıldız Sarayı, then called Tcheragan Palace, "the Young Turk Senate met in session here from October, 1909, till January, 1910, when the palace was destroyed by fire."³⁸ What does the author have to say about the Young Turks, in their first appearance in these guidebooks? Details the author provides include the change of capital from Constantinople to Angora [Ankara], and such government functions as term limits and the legislative branch. This paragraph also includes the first presence of Mustafa Kemal in the guidebooks, but the statement of his name and his election as president of the new republic in 1923 is also the last the reader sees of him.³⁹

That there was not much for the authors of the 1920 and 1923 guidebooks to say about the Young Turks or Mustafa Kemal makes sense; in 1920 nothing was certain about the direction of the Young Turk movement, and the republic was declared on October 29, 1923, late in the same year as the publication of *Tourist Guide*. It may have felt to the authors that commenting or speculating would be both the result of incomplete information and also injurious to their needs, which in the case of this 1923 book were financial; civil and military unrest might not be conducive to receiving monetary aid from Americans who relied on their descriptions of the city.

³⁶ Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2004), 254.

³⁷ *Tourist Guide*, 10.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 13. The author has confused Yıldız with Çırağan Palace, which is connected to Yıldız by a bridge; it was Çırağan Palace that was destroyed by a fire.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 14-15.

However, as with the front matter, small examples can provide insight into the perception of the former Ottoman Empire, now officially the Republic of Turkey. The author had already mentioned the change of capital and does so again in order to reiterate the differences between the two cities: "The Turks have declared that for political and strategic reasons Angora shall be the capital of the nation....But Constantinople as queen city of the Orient still smiles serenely at the futility of human decrees."⁴⁰ The differences between Constantinople and Angora were stark, at least to outside, American observers. Writing only a year later, Robert Whitney Imbrie called Angora "imposing," but only "from a distance."⁴¹ For paragraph upon paragraph Imbrie lays out his perception of Angora, its "débris-cluttered streets" with "mud fetlock deep."⁴² Compared to Constantinople, Angora seemed like an inappropriate site for a new government – if that government was capable of creating a country and becoming involved with the world. For an author who might not have seen the new government as legitimate, Angora might have been well-suited as the capital of the nascent republic.⁴³

Upon the establishment of Turkey, when Angora became "the symbol of the new republic, of secularism and enlightenment," Constantinople "symbolized the decadent capital of the corrupt Ottoman Empire and its entrenchment in Islam."⁴⁴ Americans continued to prefer Constantinople precisely for the reasons these guidebooks point to: its mixture of the cosmopolitan and the Oriental or Islamic, its European-style hotels and American schools alongside the mosques that had once been churches. The Turkish government in the early Republic, however, wanted to avoid any emphasis on the most "Oriental" traits of Turkey and instead focus on redefining Anatolia as a Turkish space, both for its citizens and for foreign

⁴⁰ Ibid, 35.

⁴¹ Imbrie, "Crossing Asia Minor," 457.

⁴² Ibid, 460.

⁴³ I must include the following paragraph in fairness, for even though Imbrie describes Angora as an "isolated, uncomfortable town," in the same sentence he seems to pass a much less harsh judgment on the actual people in the government by saying that in Angora "the farmer sits with the *hodja* (teacher [*hoca*]), the dervish with the soldier, and the professional man with the merchant in democratic conclave."

⁴⁴ Ayfer Bartu, "Who Owns the Old Quarters? Rewriting Histories in a Global Era" in Keyder, ed., *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, 33.

visitors. As Arzu Öztürkmen notes, the tourism industry was not “a part of state policies in Turkey” officially until after the 1950s; in the 1920s and 1930s, the priority was building and promoting the Turkish Republican ideal.⁴⁵

Thus, Angora “was a showcase for the new regime to illustrate its success and youthful vigour,” making it the “city of the future” while Constantinople was “the city of the past.” The marketing of Angora as the “secular hub of the new Turkish nation” did not have much appeal for Americans.⁴⁶ But Angora and Anatolia on the whole were not for Americans, nor indeed for Westerners; rather they each represented “the homeland that had to be secured at all cost” with the ultimate goal of “establishing a strong, modern and unified state.”⁴⁷ While the Turkish Republic wanted to project an image outward of secular and modern Turkey in the form of the republican capital, the American guidebooks still clung to the Oriental imagery of the seat of the Ottoman Empire; this divergence of wants and needs best represents the miscommunication between the desired message of Turkey and Turkish-ness and the popular American perception of a still-Islamic and largely Ottoman present.

The next section in the *Tourist Guide* turns to Robert College, which reads like any report to investors or shareholders, but much like the front matter, what stands out is the language about the people who attend the school. The author writes that “Robert College had perhaps the first apostles of the ‘dignity of labor’ idea in Constantinople.”⁴⁸ Perhaps this statement is one of those that does not require much analysis to take the author’s meaning, and in the interest of space, turning to another case of comparatively vague language will yield more productive results.

⁴⁵ Arzu Öztürkmen, “Turkish Tourism at the Door of Europe: Perceptions of Image in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 41:4 (July 2005), 607-609 (quote on 609).

⁴⁶ Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City* (London, 2009), 85.

⁴⁷ Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building*, 120, 231.

⁴⁸ *Tourist Guide*, 31.

“Robert College does not denationalize but...trains them [the students] for loyal and good citizenship in their own lands” – the author explained prior to this page that the students learn their own languages, as well as Turkish if they are citizens of Turkey.⁴⁹ Here the same dissonance between the desire to erase the East but maintain the parts desirable to Westerners reappears. In the section titled “Aims of Robert College,” the reader learns that Robert and Hamlin wanted Robert College to offer “something as nearly as possible like a first class New England college, thoroughly Christian in spirit but non-sectarian.”⁵⁰ Perhaps in trying to teach students the Protestant work ethic but also their native languages, Robert College sought to find a compromise.

If the author of the *Tourist Guide* does have a trademark style, it is in making bold statements about the American schools in Turkey, and the author opens the section on the Woman's College by writing that “more than any other institution in the Near East, [the college] measures the astonishing progress of women in the Orient during the past fifty years.”⁵¹ The same dissonance of the Robert College portion appears once again in this section and perhaps even more explicitly. Praise for “the natural love of music in the Orient” is followed closely by “the cheap evaluation of human life in the Orient.”⁵² The Woman's College holds chapel every Sunday morning, “the college day is opened with a chapel exercise,” and “twice weekly there are lectures on moral and social subjects which the students are required to attend,” once again demonstrating that the pride of diversity in the student body runs counter to the school's desire to inculcate Christian values.⁵³

⁴⁹ Ibid, 37-38.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 37.

⁵¹ Ibid, 43.

⁵² Ibid, 54, 55.

⁵³ Ibid, 57. Due to a law passed by the Turkish government, “the attendance of students at religious exercise must be voluntary;” however, the end of that sentence, “but this does not diminish the loyalty to the spiritual uplift which is the essential feature of the service of the college,” leaves any illusion of a secular education firmly in the realm of fantasy. Where the author struggles is where the school struggles, in keeping the students part of an ideal Orient while also making them more palatably Western.

The presence of American schools such as Robert College with Turkish, often Muslim students is no small matter, given that Turkey in the 1920s and 1930s can accurately be “characterized by transformative destabilizations in which national, ethnic, and religious boundaries [were] being re-imagined and remade.”⁵⁴ Holding students to Western standards would have directly countered the wishes of the Turkish government, which is indeed what Robert College attempted to do; in 1927 military service became mandatory for male citizens, which “provided the political elite of the newly founded republic a useful institutional means to access the male half of the population.” Like those students at Robert College, Turkish men in the military “were remade as acceptable national subjects” via the teaching of “Turkish literacy, ‘correct’ forms of belief and worship, body care, and social decorum.”⁵⁵

Thus, investing in the idea of the American college abroad, its historically misunderstood “extraterritoriality,” and its influence on Turkish life and culture constituted, at the most extreme, a crisis of sovereignty and a literal American incursion or penetration.⁵⁶ The Western, Christian, American presence, much less gaze, was a “micro-level reflection of the cultural heterosexual imagination of the masculine position,” in which Americans had the authority to impose on the Turkish body – both in the physical and politic sense – and claim the right to determine what it meant to be a Turkish person.⁵⁷ That Robert College was not legally American land in the extraterritorial definition does not impact the imagining of the college as American, by the *Tourist Guide* or the other guidebooks which insisted Americans spend time there on a visit to Turkey. In the way that tourists were expected to become possessors of their destination via

⁵⁴ Gul Ozyegin, ed., *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures* (Farnham, U.K., 2015), 1.

⁵⁵ Salih Can Açıksöz, “In Vitro Nationalism: Masculinity, Disability, and Assisted Reproduction in War-Torn Turkey,” in Ozyegin, ed., *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures*, 21.

⁵⁶ Aslı Gür, “Robert College: Laboratory for Religion, Shrine for Science – Transculturation of Evangelical College Model in Constantinople,” in Nur Bilge Criss et al, eds., *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989* (Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K., 2011), 49-50. Gür writes that “The founders [of Robert College] were under the impression that Robert College had been granted extraterritorial rights by the Sultan and that it was considered American land. They were not alone in this misapprehension. American diplomats and tradesmen shared a similar perception of extraterritorial sovereignty in the Ottoman lands” that persisted well into the twentieth century.

⁵⁷ Sehlükoglu, “The Daring Mahrem” in Ozyegin, ed., *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures*, 239.

souvenirs, Americans who visited and donated to the colleges became possessors of all of Turkey, or at least Turkish man-, woman-, and personhood, including their ultimate desired status as masculine (or feminine), heterosexual, Westernized Christians.

The reader then arrives at the motivation in writing and publishing this guidebook. Two pages say more than the other sixty, and explain what whole enterprise has built up to, both titled “Needs of the College.”⁵⁸ In building funds alone, Constantinople Woman’s College requests \$300,000, and Robert College requests \$150,000. This book contained little in the way of guiding visitors to Constantinople as it was essentially a brochure for the colleges. Including *Tourist Guide* in this survey further demonstrates that some of these American authors were not necessarily trying to write guidebooks or accurately depict Turkey. Rather, the guidebook served as a framing device for their other intentions: for the Near East College Association, it appears to have been requesting money from American donors to American schools. The next guidebooks are much more straightforward in their motivations, and are both written by individual authors, which will provide a point of comparison for these anonymously penned texts.

SO YOU’RE GOING TO THE MEDITERRANEAN (1935)

Clara E. Laughlin was a prolific writer who did not limit herself to travel guides. Although she did not write a book devoted to Turkey, her guide to the Mediterranean includes a chapter on Turkey, including İstanbul, Bursa, and Ankara.⁵⁹ “I believe ardently in the Mediterranean for

⁵⁸ *Tourist Guide*, 40 (Robert College), 62 (Woman’s College). For the woman’s college, academic needs range from \$4,000 to \$6,500 for student endowments, \$25,000 to \$50,000 for professorship endowments, and unspecified amounts in special gifts and endowment funds in general. The campaign for monetary aid is very similar for Robert College, which requests gifts of scholarships “to needy students,” endowments for the college in order to pay instructor salaries and maintenance fees, and gifts for the purchase of books for the library. The requested \$150,000 would build the library to house the books, a music building, and a laboratory.

⁵⁹ In the future, it would be interesting to learn more about Laughlin and provide more context on her as an author. Given the limitations on the scope of this paper, it was disappointing to have to leave out many topics for further investigation, not the least of which was Clara E. Laughlin’s life and works. Clara E. Laughlin, *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean!...* (Boston, 1935). The chapter on Turkey spans the

people of many ages, many needs,” Laughlin writes in the preface, and indeed her style is reflective of a desire that the reader get the very most enjoyment out of their trip.⁶⁰ Judith Adler writes that “travel undertaken and executed with a primary concern for the meanings discovered, created, and communicated...can be distinguished from travel in which geographical movement is merely incidental to the accomplishment of other goals.” Unlike the previous guidebooks analyzed in this survey, it does seem that Laughlin has no other design than to help the reader achieve the most fulfilling aspects of travel for leisure. Given the personal fulfillment she experienced while traveling in Turkey, Laughlin’s guidebook and the travel it encourages “serves as a medium for bestowing meaning on the self and the social, natural, or metaphysical realities through which it moves.” Travel and travel writing such as Laughlin’s constitute travel “performed as an art,” which “becomes one means of ‘worldmaking’...and of self-fashioning” and ultimately has more to do with the traveler than the destination.⁶¹

Should the reader only have an interest in Turkey, they would flip about four hundred pages past the preface and begin with the history of Turkey that Laughlin presents. Published ten to fifteen years after the first two guidebooks, the history in *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean* does not completely pass over World War I. “Probably one of the first questions in your mind will be, ‘Where is Gallipoli?’”⁶² Laughlin starts several sections in this fashion; another stylistic hallmark of hers is telling the reader that there is no time to cover an event in detail and then doing just that, or making that disclaimer after having spent pages in such a description.

pages 395-442. Constraints on the scope of this paper also forced me to focus almost exclusively on the Turkey chapter.

⁶⁰ Laughlin, *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean*, viii.

⁶¹ Judith Adler, “Travel as Performed Art,” *American Journal of Sociology* 94:6 (May 1989), 1368.

⁶² Laughlin, *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean*, 397. Yet another interesting but all too-engrossing topic for this paper would have been tourism to places like Gallipoli, known basically for death and destruction, and disaster tourism in general to Turkey.

Laughlin is conscious that time and memory have passed and moved in unpredictable ways, and so wishes to provide information on Gallipoli “so that no one need approach the Dardanelles without some knowledge of that campaign.”⁶³ More specifically, and perhaps more importantly, Laughlin also introduces the reader to the dominating individual person in her guidebook, a brave leader of the Turkish forces, who influenced the campaign, the battle, the war, and “the destiny of a nation,” as she quotes from a British account of Gallipoli. “The name of this Turkish officer is Mustafa Kemal!”

Laughlin's portrayal of Kemal is some of the most confusing material of any guidebook in this survey. She writes a sympathetic account of the Turkish campaign at Gallipoli, given that she spends several paragraphs outlining how the great world powers would divide up Anatolia and Constantinople; Kemal is commanding in every sense, and he “was to decree otherwise – as effectively as he had decreed that the Turks must hold at Gallipoli.”⁶⁴ The only mention of present-day Greek people, however, is in condemnation of Kemal's activities after the Treaty of Sèvres, which allowed for the Greek occupation of İzmir, then Smyrna, for five years, but ultimately “the Greeks lost favor with the Allied Powers, and were without aid when Kemal's army, with their race's war-cry, ‘Soldiers, your goal is the Mediterranean,’ came sweeping in and drove the Greek army and many thousands of Greek citizens and Greek refugees from all parts of Asia Minor.”⁶⁵

The words “their race's war-cry” stand out. Laughlin's phrasing presents one of the most clear-cut representations of the Terrible Turk imagery that reappeared most recently after the Armenian Genocide twenty years before Laughlin published her book. Though Şuhnaz Yılmaz argues quite convincingly that the Kemalist reforms following the establishment of the republic “significantly challenged the prevailing ‘Terrible Turk’ stereotype commonly held in the United States,” Laughlin's own language indicates that she did not necessarily believe that the Terrible

⁶³ Ibid, 399.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 400.

⁶⁵ Laughlin, *So You're Going to the Mediterranean*, 430.

Turk was wholly imagined – and nowhere does she mention the Armenian Genocide.⁶⁶ One can only speculate that Laughlin represented a segment of the population which held, perhaps, similar suspicions.

After the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, when İzmir fell under Turkish purview once again, “fire broke out in the Armenian quarter, and three-fifths of the city was destroyed.” No evidence on who was responsible surfaced, but Laughlin quotes General Sherrill, who says that “it is only fair to point out that while the Turkish quarter was burned to the ground, the European section of the city, including Greek homes, was left intact.”⁶⁷ General Charles H. Sherrill, who appears multiple times in Laughlin’s narrative, is an important factor in understanding Laughlin’s confusion over Mustafa Kemal. Sherrill was an ambassador who wrote, among other works, *A Year’s Embassy to Mustafa Kemal*, published just a year before Laughlin’s guidebook, Sherrill’s account shows how taken he was with Kemal and with the still-young Turkish Republic.⁶⁸ Sherrill was also a member of the International Olympic Committee and worked on the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. Though “one can safely assume that he favored many elements of fascism,” Sherrill supported the inclusion of Jewish athletes on the German national team, at least in principle.⁶⁹ However, in seeking this inclusion, Sherrill visited Berlin where he “had two audiences with Hitler” in 1935, from which he returned “mesmerized by the force of Hitler’s personality and charisma,” and he toned down his support for Jewish athletes.⁷⁰ Sherrill’s fascination with Hitler and with fascism is important in conversation with Laughlin, given Sherrill and Laughlin’s shared, if not always clear, opinions on Mustafa Kemal, and Laughlin’s reliance on Sherrill as a source of authority on Turkey.

⁶⁶ Yilmaz, “Challenging the Stereotypes: Turkish-American Relations in the Inter-war Era,” 223.

⁶⁷ Laughlin, *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean*, 430.

⁶⁸ Charles H. Sherrill, *A Year’s Embassy to Mustafa Kemal* (New York, 1934).

⁶⁹ Arnd Krüger and William Murray, *The Nazi Olympics: Sport, Politics, and Appeasement in the 1930s* (Champaign, Ill., 2003), 22.

⁷⁰ Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, “Architects of a Masquerade Peace: The United States and the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games,” *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 20 (2009), 79.

In one brief sequence, Laughlin writes that moving the capital from İstanbul to Ankara “only symbolizes what has been accomplished throughout Turkey, under his leadership,” for Kemal was “one of the very great men of modern times, along with Mussolini and – who else? Lyautey, in a lesser degree. I don’t know what other, in their class of greatness, to name. Do you? Many others in other departments of achievement. But in *their* department are there any?”⁷¹

Laughlin means the comparison to Mussolini as high praise of Kemal and refers to them both as “very great men,” which is the most obvious evidence, along with her inclusion of General Sherrill throughout her book. Support of Hitler in 1935 was already indicative of possible, if not likely, anti-Semitism and pro-fascism beliefs, even for Americans. Laughlin’s use of Sherrill as a source points to her support of Sherrill, and by extension one can speculate her support of fascism, perhaps Nazi fascism.

Why Laughlin compared Kemal to Mussolini and not Hitler requires further investigation, but perhaps Laughlin sought to differentiate between Hitler and Mussolini and viewed it as a matter of politics. Kemal was a nationalist and had success in Turkey, and Mussolini also had success in Italy; perhaps that was all the comparison Laughlin wished to make. Maybe the presence of the comparison is what matters the most, given the hefty, almost crushing weight of the implications. Of course, Laughlin might not have known about Sherrill’s politics, or might have truly meant that Kemal and Mussolini were both successful nationalist leaders. However, conducting more research into Laughlin will help explain her stance on nationalism and fascism; it is unclear whether or not it will aid in understanding why she brought up Hubert Lyautey, whose name is without a doubt much less generally well known than that of either Mussolini or Hitler.

The political connection between Lyautey and Mussolini is one reasonable explanation. A French general who served during World War I and died in 1934, Lyautey was involved with

⁷¹ Laughlin, *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean*, 436, emphasis in the original.

the fascist Jeunesses Patriotes, who took inspiration from Mussolini and so, again by extension, did Lyautey.⁷² The lines from Mussolini to Lyautey to Kemal seem fairly clear with that knowledge in mind; whether or not this link would have been clear to someone writing in 1934 or 1935, if not beforehand, is uncertain. There is another possibility, however, which would cast an entirely different light on Kemal than the specter of Italian fascism. Lyautey's homosexuality was, apparently, "an open secret" – "in his own era he was openly homosexual," "many assumed Lyautey to be homosexual," and "homosexual contemporaries...considered him one of their own."⁷³ It is possible, whether or not it is also likely or provable, that Laughlin meant to imply by comparison that Kemal shared the same tendencies in this respect as Lyautey.

The realm of possibility certainly extends out this far; in discussing the "fluidity between cultures" represented, in one aspect, by travel, there are "homoerotic subtexts and sexual politics attending these encounters of cultures."⁷⁴ Boone writes that "excess and eroticism went hand in hand with Ottoman representations of its vibrant culture for a period of several centuries," during which "boundless excess and variety also figured as a key trope for representing Ottoman difference" in the eyes of European travelers.⁷⁵ Given that she inherited a canon of European portrayals of Ottoman society – as well as a series of more recent American stereotypes – Laughlin's comparison of Kemal to Lyautey might also be loaded with the subtext of non-normative tendencies. Boone writes that throughout history, "Istanbul has represented in Western imagination...a liminal space in which sexuality loses its moorings and simply drifts, slipping through the scrim of taxonomies evolved in European culture to distinguish normative

⁷² Jacques Szaluta, "Marshal Petain's Ambassadorship to Spain: Conspiratorial or Providential Rise toward Power?" *French Historical Studies* 8:4 (Autumn 1974), 517; Robert Soucy, "Centrist Fascism: The Jeunesses Patriotes," *Journal of Contemporary History* 16:2 (1981), 349-368.

⁷³ Andrew Hussey, *The French Intifada: The Long War Between France and its Arabs* (London, 2014); Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (New York, 2008). See also Jeffrey Merrick and Michael Sibalis, eds., *Homosexuality in French History and Culture* (New York, 2013), in which Lyautey's orientalist tendencies further add to the discussion of the homoerotic orient as viewed from the west.

⁷⁴ Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, 26-27.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

and non-normative sexual practices and desires.”⁷⁶ The leader of republican Turkey would not necessarily be exempt from the Western imaginings of an anything-goes Istanbul, or a sexually non-normative Orient; in the mind of an American author who lends at least some credence to the stereotype of Turkish violence, it might not take a leap in logic to believe in the predominance of “an *ars erotica* associated with the East.”⁷⁷

Laughlin and her trusted source Sherrill by this point had connected Mustafa Kemal to Mussolini, Lyautey, fascism, and possibly homosexuality. Laughlin seems to have had numerous opportunities to say that she viewed Kemal as a complicated man, neither wholly good nor bad, but she seems unsure herself. Even her attempts to describe the formation of the republic do not provide context, maybe intentionally, but maybe because Laughlin by her own admission spent so much time covering the Crusades that there was no more room. Laughlin does provide several paragraphs of information about Kemal, following her pattern of saying she will not discuss something and then doing just that, and concludes by writing, “Here I may say only that Mustafa Kemal, when setting out to create a new Turkey out of the wrack and ruin of the decadent Ottoman Empire, felt that he must take the government far away from Istanbul and all it stood for; and create a wholly new set of precedents, to express new ideals, new aspirations.”⁷⁸

Once again the Ottoman Empire was composed of villainous, licentious rulers, in this sparse retelling, and Mustafa Kemal is a great reformer, dragging Turkey forward into the twentieth century despite its roots and origins. However, the portrayal of Kemal as a great man is also tempered by Laughlin’s inability to reconcile Kemal’s greatness and reform-minded politics with his actions in World War I and his status as an Eastern person, a Turk, potentially a Terrible Turk. After the defeat of the Greek forces at Smyrna and the return of the city to Turkish

⁷⁶ Ibid, 161.

⁷⁷ Valerie Traub, “The Past is a Foreign Country? The Times and Spaces of Islamicate Sexuality Studies,” in Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi, eds., *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs XXXIX (Cambridge, Mass., 2008), 11.

⁷⁸ Laughlin, *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean*, 436.

control, after Kemal let loose his “race’s war-cry,” after scene upon scene of destruction and death, Laughlin writes: “You’ll find a bronze equestrian statue of Kemal at Smyrna, pointing to the Mediterranean,” that goal which necessitated the slaughter of Greeks. Orientalist or not, the elision of Ottoman and any real Turkish Republican history in conjunction with how Laughlin describes Kemal does not lead the reader to value Turkey and Kemal on the level of the Romans, the Crusaders, or the Byzantines. Laughlin, on this subject, is confusing, often contradictory, and perhaps helps illuminate American perceptions of Mustafa Kemal and the new Turkey.

But as much as time as Laughlin spends vacillating between awestruck and disgusted by Mustafa Kemal, there is double the material on the ancient history of Anatolia, especially the Christian presence in Constantinople. “Perhaps your second question as you approach the Hellespont (if not your *first!*) is: ‘Where was Troy?’”⁷⁹ One of the common aspects of all of the guidebooks in this survey, American and otherwise, is how much time they spend discussing the ancient past and, in the case of the American guidebooks, how little time is spent providing practical information for tourists. Without even using an Orientalist framework, it seems clear that they all want to establish a Western, often Christian heritage in Anatolia for the reader, and by so doing, diminish the Islamic Ottoman or Turkish present.

When it comes time to actually help the tourist around the city of İstanbul or Anatolia, a peninsula roughly the size of the southeastern United States, the information is incomplete, brief, and sometimes not the point of the publication at all. Laughlin’s book is meant to be a tour guide, but the portion on Turkey is largely history that, while interesting, does not help a traveler to Turkey, not in 1935. Laughlin admits that she only had so much time to talk about the history of Constantinople, and so she “chose to refresh your memory about the Crusades.” Every writer struggles with this dilemma of what words to put in a finite space, and it is somewhat endearing when Laughlin writes “I hope it wasn’t the wrong choice!” But when her history of Turkey finally

⁷⁹ Ibid, 400. “Hellespont” is now called the Dardanelles.

reaches the Ottoman Empire – “Between 1204 and 1261, Constantinople was the seat of a Latin empire. Then the Greeks recovered it, and held it, with one interval of Turkish conquest, till May, 1453, when the Turks took it finally and it became the capital of their Ottoman Empire” – that is all she wrote.⁸⁰

Immediately thereafter, Laughlin begins to inform the reader of hotels and places to visit.⁸¹ Though a couple of the hotels are very high-end, Laughlin would have likely been aware of her readership and its interest in travel, even during the Great Depression. By the late 1920s, 250,000 Americans a year traveled across the Atlantic, “enabled by a creation of a ‘tourist third class’ category that was relatively inexpensive, and reasonably comfortable.”⁸² Despite the Depression, between 1865 and 1947, “as the numbers of American travelers increased, the class backgrounds of those travelers became more diversified.”⁸³ Laughlin did include a variety of hotels to meet the needs of different budgets; however, this scant information seems to barely approach helpfulness, given that there are no tables, no lists, or even mention of hotels in the index. If a reader had Laughlin, and only Laughlin, they might want for more practical details.

That the devotion of so much space to history precluded the inclusion of concrete, present-day help for the would-be traveler has been established as something all the guidebooks share. Another common element is the near omnipresence of Robert College. Laughlin first calls attention to the school and its “tremendous importance” in order to encourage Americans to visit the campus and “pay their respects to an institution which has been an

⁸⁰ Ibid, 417. There was one other mention of the Turkish takeover, but it was one of those occasions where I felt it would look like I was picking the most charged sentence out of the lot with which to condemn Laughlin. Nevertheless, here it is, from page 410: “Then, in 1071, Jerusalem was captured from the Arabs by the Seljuk Turks, from the deserts of Turkestan – the forerunners of the Turkish Empire – a rougher, ruder race than the Arabs.”

⁸¹ Ibid, 418.

⁸² Mark Rennella and Whitney Walton, “Planned Serendipity: American Travelers and the Transatlantic Voyage in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” *Journal of Social History* 38:2 (Winter 2004), 372.

⁸³ Rennella and Walton, “Planned Serendipity,” 377.

inestimable power for good.”⁸⁴ A further mention occurs a few pages later, a recommendation to visit Seraglio Palace and then “sail up the Bosphorus or possibly [to] drive out to Robert College and its near neighbor, Constantinople Women’s College.”⁸⁵ Seraglio Palace was where, according to Laughlin, “nearly four centuries of Turkish monarchy plotted and murdered and maintained – or lost – despotic sway.”⁸⁶

The juxtaposition of Turkish despotism, in Laughlin’s estimation, with Robert College’s goodwill, is reminiscent of the front matter from the *Tourist Guide* of 1923. Erasure of Ottoman history or diminution of its relevance, except to make a comparison to how much more Americans in Constantinople and İstanbul accomplished in a fraction of the time, brings these two guidebooks together and distinguishes them from the other books in this survey. A campaign for funds would by necessity exaggerate the institutions’ importance and a person writing to Americans, presumably Christians, would want to include information about American importance in the region in order to make an Eastern, Islamic, foreign city seem more accessible, familiar, safe, and consumable.

Lest the reader forget that the chapter is meant to cover all of Turkey and not just İstanbul, Laughlin turns to Brousa (Bursa) and İzmir, where the emphasis once again rests on ancient Greek and Christian history.⁸⁷ Thus, perhaps, the next destinations, Selchook (Selçuk) and Ephesus (Efes); the Christian connection to Ephesus is biblical.⁸⁸ However, Laughlin admits

⁸⁴ Laughlin, *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean*, 419.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 425. The college guidebook from 1923 refers to the school as the “Constantinople Woman’s College,” not “Women’s College.”

⁸⁶ Ibid, 426. Based on these comments I thought it would be interesting to compare her treatment of Turkey with her treatment of the rest of the Mediterranean, and especially Italy, but as I hesitate to mention yet again, the constraints of the paper prevented such an undertaking. It seems unnecessary to delve too deeply into such a statement in order to continue discussing the schools, and let this example of overt orientalism speak for itself.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 430.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 431: Laughlin most likely included Selçuk because no one lives in Efes, nor indeed has anyone lived there for the last 500 years. Selçuk, only one mile away, is the closest inhabited city.

that there is not much new going on in Ephesus, and that the last really exciting stop on the trip, halfway through Anatolia, should be Ankara.⁸⁹

Laughlin's method of describing Ankara is by means of comparison, between Robert Whitney Imbrie and General Sherrill's accounts of the city made respectively in 1924 and 1933. The reader of this paper has already encountered Imbrie and his description of Ankara, and Laughlin quotes from *A Year's Embassy to Mustafa Kemal* for Sherrill's account. According to Sherrill, Ankara "physically resembles our own capital, Washington," in that there "is a broad tree-bordered boulevard strangely reminiscent of Washington's Massachusetts Avenue....Several of [the] embassies are as fine or finer than any we can boast of in Washington."⁹⁰ In the guidebooks from 1920 and 1923, comparisons to the United States were rare. Indeed, when the Navy's guidebook praises Constantinople, it is in its retention of the less modern technology of horse cars rather adopting than streetcars, which is not in the same vein as comparing modernized Ankara to the nucleus of American power.

Ankara is not only aesthetically similar to Washington in Sherrill's eyes, but the fine embassies also represent Turkey's station in the world and its ability to draw a level of international political attention. That a representative of the United States finds the new capital and its power intriguing is no surprise given the nature of the debates about relations with Turkey. By signing the Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1923, the United States officially recognized Turkish sovereignty. However, this treaty led to such calamity in the United States, for reasons that John M. Vander Lippe lays out, that it was rejected in 1927 and replaced by "another, yet virtually identical, treaty with the Turkish Republic."⁹¹

⁸⁹ Laughlin continues to use the old spelling of Ankara "because it is used by many of the best English authorities and is, I think, more familiar to English-speaking people," even though by 1935 the world would have known Angora as "Ankara" for seven years. Ibid, 433.

⁹⁰ Sherrill, *A Year's Embassy to Mustafa Kemal*, 13, quoted in Laughlin, *So You're Going to the Mediterranean*, 433.

⁹¹ John M. Vander Lippe, "The 'Other' Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations," *Turkish Yearbook* 23 (1993), 31.

Once again, the “Terrible Turk” stereotype had reared its ugly head, and “many in America saw the post-war Allied occupation of Ottoman territory as a way to protect the Christian minorities;” they trusted neither the Ottoman administration nor the nationalist movements in that regard.⁹² Ultimately, the United States came to view Turkey as “an elusive ally,” marred by the Terrible Turk, but also a strategic part of “open door” policy in the Middle East.⁹³ Such elusiveness and ambiguity also pervades the American-authored guidebooks, but none more so than Laughlin’s, especially in her depiction of Turkey and Mustafa Kemal.

Laughlin’s narrative moves from Ankara to Cyprus, another guidebook that chooses to bypass the rest of Anatolia in favor of the west coast of Turkey or the islands.⁹⁴ There the chapter on Turkey concludes, though Laughlin carries the Crusader theme into the next chapter on Syria, where Laughlin finally explains that “I may be, more or less, of an idealist, but I *love* Crusaders. Not many individuals among them, and certainly not much in their behavior. But I love stories about them, as we all love that whereon we were nurtured.”⁹⁵

Perhaps had she been nurtured on stories of the Ottoman Empire, even if they had concerned their “sordidness,” as Laughlin writes of the Crusaders, there would have been a stronger Ottoman presence in Laughlin’s guidebook. *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean*, written almost certainly for profit as opposed to governmental or institutional motives, opens up avenues of discussion about the American perceptions of Turkey more than ten years after its formation. In this survey, there was no practical American-written guidebook for American tourists. The one guidebook analyzed here published outside the United States, however, provides a dramatic contrast in scope, content, and message.⁹⁶

⁹² Vander Lippe, “The ‘Other’ Treaty of Lausanne,” 41.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 63.

⁹⁴ Laughlin, *So You’re Going to the Mediterranean*, 437. Laughlin does spend a lot of time, relatively, discussing Cyprus mostly for its importance to and relationship with Christianity. “If you are on the track of the Crusaders, you’ll want to go to Cyprus.”

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 442, emphasis in the original.

⁹⁶ I want to do Laughlin some justice, or at least give her some room to talk about her love of the Crusaders. With hope, she writes that in the same way as people view the Crusaders, “Perhaps some day, centuries hence (or even less), people dropping in on ‘the shores of sunrise’ will think of the vast

CONSTANTINOPLE TOURIST'S GUIDE (1926)

Ernest Mamboury, a professor at the Galata Serai Lyceum, published the first edition of *Constantinople Tourist's Guide* in 1926, which contains "events up to and including the autumn of 1924," thus encompassing the formation of the Turkish Republic.⁹⁷ The preface by Emine Bey, the Prefect of Constantinople and President of the Turkish Touring Club, gives the book what essentially amounts to the endorsement of the city of Constantinople. Emine Bey writes that Mamboury's work "fills a regrettable need," as "guides published abroad have contained many anachronisms or inaccuracies and give a false or incomplete idea of the beauties and monuments of our town, as well as of Turkish manners and customs."⁹⁸

After the index is a picture of Kemal, and throughout the book are, according to the publishers, over three hundred images, maps, diagrams, and panoramas. Mamboury's guidebook is devoted to Constantinople and the immediate area surrounding; sections on geography, history, topography, demography, and art precede practical hints for tourists, including five detailed itineraries based on the traveler's available time. The third and fourth parts are illustrated indices of monuments and sites and addresses that visitors might find helpful, followed by a final part with tables and indices for the whole book. It is clear that Mamboury set out to write a completely different guidebook from the U.S. Bureau of Navigation, Near East College Association, or Clara E. Laughlin.

Beginning with the section on history, there is no mention of the Young Turks or recent events in Turkey in the summary of the historical survey. Mamboury does provide the first

welter and waste of the World War, not as we think of it, with shame and loathing, but as a cataclysm which broke down an existing world to make way for one a little better." Ibid, 442-443.

⁹⁷ Ernest Mamboury, *Constantinople Tourist's Guide* (Constantinople, 1926), title page. Mamboury was Swiss, not American, and spent a considerable amount of time in Constantinople, primarily as an art scholar.

⁹⁸ Mamboury, *Constantinople Tourist's Guide*, preface.

concrete demographic information, and the survey opens with Byzantium and church history.⁹⁹ That Mamboury did not begin with the Crusades or ancient Greek and Roman history, however, demonstrates that this is not a Christian history of Turkey, as does the description of the “Turkish conquest in 1453.”¹⁰⁰ Mamboury’s Ottoman history is the most detailed of any guidebook so far, and he emphasizes how the other occupying powers in Constantinople prior to 1453 left numerous openings for the Turkish conquest; in short, Mamboury writes that there was a reason that Mehmed II was able to capture the city, and a lot of the responsibility lies with the Byzantine government. While Mamboury clearly admires Constantine, that emotional connection does not lead him to deride Mehmed II; indeed, he calls the victorious sultan “magnanimous” in that “he permitted the Greeks to exercise their religion freely.”¹⁰¹

In Mamboury’s history the reader does not encounter the Terrible Turk stereotype. He affords detail to all imperial history, after his starting point, not just history deemed relevant or palatable to Western Christians. When compared to the authors of the other guidebooks, Mamboury shows a great deal of authorial restraint in that one can never be sure how he feels about the Byzantine or Ottoman eras, aside from his more or less open respect for Constantine. This sample of guidebooks is indeed small, and one European-authored example cannot demonstrate European opinion of the Ottomans or Young Turks, the way that a handful of American guidebooks do not represent all American opinions. However, given that one guidebook presents such a vivid counterexample, and that a handful of guidebooks in many

⁹⁹ Ibid, 19 (“According to statistics compiled in June 1924, Constantinople has 1,063,866 inhabitants, of whom 656,281 are Musulmans, 279,788 Greeks, 73,407 Armenians, 56,390 Jews”), 21 (the history of Byzantium).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 33. Unbeknownst to me, the word “conquest” in reference to the transfer of power from Byzantine to Ottoman hands has a loaded history; Orhan Pamuk describes how a professor, an American, “accused [Pamuk’s wife] of nationalism” because she had “used the word *conquest* in an exam.” This, to me, is further evidence that Mamboury did not mean to write a history of Turkey for Christian readers, if indeed the word “conquest” referred in Western minds to Turkish nationalism and misplaced pride in the Ottoman Empire. Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories and the City*, trans. Maureen Freely (New York, 2004), 172.

¹⁰¹ Mamboury, *Constantinople Tourist’s Guide*, 41. Mehmed II is also known as Mehmed Fatih, or Mehmed the Conqueror.

ways are so similar to one another, a reasonable conclusion can be drawn in which the American guidebook authors had an agenda unlike that of Mamboury.

In regards to contemporary history, Mamboury has less to say. After explaining the Tanzimat reforms of the nineteenth century, Mamboury writes that “not until the present century was Constantinople to see effect given to the expansion of the so much to be desired reforms. In 1908 Constitution was established in Turkey; in the same year the liberating army of Mahmoud Chefket Pacha and the Young Turks occupied Constantinople.”¹⁰² Not Mustafa Kemal Pacha; Mamboury does not commit a teleological fallacy by giving Kemal attention from the start, when others were more prominent than him for some time. In the next paragraph, Mamboury describes the Allied presence in Constantinople during World War I by writing that “Constantinople had to suffer the control of the victors and foreign military occupation.” Mamboury is the only author to call the presence of Allied forces an occupation, though in a similar fashion as the American guidebooks from the 1920s, that is where the Allies both appear for the first time and disappear for the last time.¹⁰³

Kemal, for his part, also arrives in the guidebook “during this time (1919),” in which he “prepared the bold movement of renovation in Anatolia and in the following years...assured the complete independence of Turkey. Important reforms were introduced; judicial, religious, and educational.”¹⁰⁴ The Young Turks are treated as the competent rebels who established a legitimate government after removing the Ottoman Empire from power. There is comparatively very little mention of Mustafa Kemal, and while this treatment of Kemal might simply indicate a stylistic difference, and probably does, it represents but one of the clear differences in purpose and message in the American guidebooks and Mamboury’s guidebook.

Pages of lineages follow for emperors both Byzantine and Ottoman, along with the most notable activities of each ruler – including the “transformation” of churches into mosques, which

¹⁰² Ibid, 46.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

carries a different tone from how the college guide described the change.¹⁰⁵ The ethnical survey, as Mamboury calls it, comes after, where once again, Mamboury writes that as the Orthodox Greeks and Catholic Latins were “continually battling,” “it remained for the Musulman Turks to overcome these two irreconcilable Christian rivals who, too much occupied in discussions on secondary questions of religious supremacy, did not see the ground crumbling beneath their feet.”¹⁰⁶ It might be too obvious to require mention that there was no acknowledgment of any internal Christian disagreement in the American guidebooks.

The text that is the most similar in the treatment of Turkish citizens and Islam to Mamboury’s is the *Constantinople* guide from 1920; Mamboury takes the things that the Navy’s anonymous author did well and provides more information. The Navy’s guidebook describes Galata and Pera as the most European parts of Constantinople, as discussed earlier.¹⁰⁷ The author also notes the diversity of the city by saying that the shopkeepers in Pera “may be French, German, Greek, Italian, Armenian, Persian, or Jewish.”¹⁰⁸ Of course, this survey has already discussed the author’s treatment of Islam, which was more accurate than any other American guidebook.

Mamboury covers the same topics, but with additional detail. Galata and Pera “are one and are inhabited by a very cosmopolitan population,” and describes where each ethnic group tends to live throughout the city, but makes sure to add that “it must not be thought, however, that these groups form homogenous and isolated masses, for all the elements live more or less in contact with each other.”¹⁰⁹ When Mamboury discusses Islam, he makes the surprising distinction between Sunni and Shia Islam: “The official religion of the Turkish Republic is

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 53.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 89.

¹⁰⁷ *Constantinople*, 37-39.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 38.

¹⁰⁹ Mamboury, *Constantinople Tourist’s Guide*, 92.

Islamism; the greater number of Musulmans are Sunnis and there are but few Chiites (Schismatic muslimans, who are recruited from the Persians)."¹¹⁰

It is worth noting once again that no other American guidebook mentioned Islam in a more than passing fashion, or as anything other than a faith from which people convert to Christianity. Thus it matters a great deal that the book closest to Mamboury's was published by the government, in terms of accuracy and scope, and that the privately published books were by most counts wholly dissimilar. Laughlin's book had a more entertaining writing style, to be sure, and was not limited to Turkey; the American college guide had more to accomplish than provide advice for travelers, as has been demonstrated. But more importantly, they offer a look into American popular imagination of Islam and Turkey, given that they are the two most likely written for general consumption. This perspective privileged the Christian history and thus elided the Islamic presence that was essential to Turkish heritage and society, and often portrayed their Ottoman predecessors as unmitigated libertines and killers while the violent and hedonistic acts of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and even Crusaders were downplayed or ignored.

At his most judgmental, Mamboury makes a critique of modernization in the new republic. The prohibition against fezzes, according to Mamboury, "has caused the disappearance of all common types," or people one could typically have seen around Constantinople. The various traditional and cultural styles of dress gave way to "the entire rich gamut of clothing, sadder, severer and more serious, but which is more in harmony with modern ideas."¹¹¹ Mamboury thus reflects that cognitive dissonance that occurred for Westerners who desired that Turkey remain equal parts "Eastern" and "Western," or "pre-modern" and "modern," that many of the other guidebook authors encountered in such events as the changing of churches to mosques. For all his finesse, in this moment Mamboury becomes one of the

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 93/5 [printer's numbering]. Surprising to perhaps only me, but surprised I was; maybe I have internalized *The Newsroom* ("Can you tell me three differences between a Sunni and a Shia? Could you before 9/11? Could anybody?").

¹¹¹ Ibid.

Western observers who project confusion about their own modernization onto the still-modernizing Turkey.

After extensive surveys of Byzantine and Turkish art, Part II, or Practical Information, begins, which promises to provide useful hints to tourists, itineraries, and landmarks of interest.¹¹² Mamboury's advice for travelers is far and away more detailed than any other guidebook, given that he provides five separate itineraries based on how long a traveler plans to stay in Constantinople to aid in "methodical sight-seeing" (See Figures 1 and 2).¹¹³ None of the American works surveyed here resemble Mamboury's work in this respect, not even the book by the Navy.

Another crucial difference between Mamboury's guidebook and the American publications is the absence of Robert College. Not one of Mamboury's itineraries recommends that visitors to Constantinople take the time to go see Robert College; Robert College does not make the extensive list of landmarks in Constantinople; no American school is mentioned by name in *Constantinople Tourist's Guide* at all. In the summary of Part III, the Illustrated Descriptive Index of Monuments & Places of Interest, one of the categories of sites is "Schools," but when the reader turns to that page, there are no American schools named.¹¹⁴ Mamboury only describes two in any detail: Galata Serai and "The University," presumably present-day İstanbul University.¹¹⁵ Mamboury pays no special attention to any foreign schools; the European and "American communities possess lay secondary schools," as do the "foreign Christian communities," but that is all.

Given that Mamboury does not at any point concentrate on Western Christianity, the separation from the American guidebooks is almost complete, aside from the similarities to the

¹¹² Ibid, 99 (Byzantine art), 109 (Turkish art). Mamboury's study of Turkish art contains some of the most opinionated passages in the whole of his guidebook, in defense of Turkish art against those who doubt even its existence.

¹¹³ Ibid, 118.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 166 (summary of Part III), 410-411 ("Schools").

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 411. I might not need to say "presumably," given that all the details Mamboury provides match those of İstanbul University, but I thought to play it safe.

Navy's guidebook. However, Mamboury's work, the only one covered in this essay that was not written by an American or published in America, is not analyzed as a judgment on the American authors for what they did or did not include. The comparison helps to demonstrate what all of these American guidebooks, which are very different on the surface, presented, including: an unclear view of Mustafa Kemal and the Turkish Republic; Orientalist and stereotypical imagery of Turkish people and their Ottoman predecessors; and a perspective on Turkey seemingly tailored for Christian Americans. They also often did not include Ottoman history at all, even with a negative view of the Ottomans, and only one American guidebook tried to help the American Christian audience understand contemporary Islamic practices.

Mamboury, on the other hand, avoided talking about Mustafa Kemal and the republic in general; did not offer an overwhelmingly negative view of Ottoman history; did not focus almost exclusively on ancient Greek or Roman pasts, to which Christians might feel a stronger connection; presented a very detailed history of the Ottomans in Turkey, including an extensive survey of Turkish art; and though he did not outline Islamic practices with the same breadth or depth as the Navy guidebook, did not treat Islam as a secondary religion.

It will require a further study with more non-American guidebooks to Turkey from this time period to draw more definitive conclusions, but this survey thus far indicates that American guidebooks to Turkey from the 1920s and 1930s – both before and after the formation of the republic – struggled to define Turkey in such a way that Americans would want to go there and, more importantly, ally with the Turkish people. This struggle was a result, at least in part, of the prejudicial views against Islam and the Ottoman Empire and the lack of understanding of the nationalist movement and Mustafa Kemal, indeed of Turkish culture in general. The best guidebook, objectively, was the one that was written by an author who had studied Turkey and Turkish history and who did not have a political angle, and whether it was the coincidence of this sample, or the result of larger patterns to be studied further in the future, that author was the only one who was Western, but not American.

CONCLUSION: “BETTER THAN WORDS IN STONE”

The authors of the travel guidebooks surveyed here did not necessarily have the purpose of depicting a destination as it actually was, if the authors could indeed discern what a place was *actually* like. No slight is intended – the authors, more than likely, had experienced in some way the hyperreality of travel. Having been to a place once, or at least infrequently, they had visited in the same way their intended readership would, in which incomplete or imperfectly remembered moments were frozen and then disseminated as concrete, factual knowledge, which meant, of course, that the Turkey they presented could never be complete, and perhaps not even realistic.¹¹⁶

As a result of the cultural reforms, İstanbul was too Eastern, too Muslim for the new Turkish government whose goals ran in the opposite direction, towards ethnic Turkish values which eschewed luxury and religious ritual. Instead, Ankara was built up and remade in the ideal image which could not exist in İstanbul. Thus, İstanbul was deployed very differently from Ankara in the realms of foreign relations and tourism; Westerners felt an allure and fantasy in İstanbul that resulted from its Eastern-ness, its “Muslim” characteristics (even as the city sat on generations of Christian history, in some eyes), its most perceptibly “Oriental” qualities. The differences in wants and needs between the Turkish government and Western travelers was reconciled, effectively, through the reality of İstanbul as the destination of choice for Westerners who wanted a taste of the Orient that was still comfortably “Western,” which preserved Ankara as the real political center of Turkey without the corrupting influence of foreign travelers who might want something from Ankara that the Turkish government was unwilling to provide. In short, the Turkish government continued to further differentiate between the city of Islam and the city of the Republic, because only one of those had enraptured Westerners for centuries.

¹¹⁶ Adler, “Travel as Performed Art,” 1383: “Travel landscapes, once left behind and frozen in memory, are more suitable for idylls than are the spaces in which daily business continues to be transacted.”

These guidebooks each had different goals which are exemplified, for instance, in their telling of history with special emphasis on those aspects most related to Christianity, but they were all responding to the same stimulus: modernization. The divergence of the reality of Turkish life and Western perception, embodied by the Kemalist reforms, plagued the guidebook authors. American travelers' frozen information from voyages and visits reinforced their perceptions of Turkish people as microcosms of the whole, representative and emblematic of all Turks, all Muslims, all *Orientalists*. This Western predilection for the Orientalist's fantasy, the Western penetration as a violation, culminated in the presence of Robert College.

The special, disproportionate attention to Robert College is characteristic of this selection of American guidebooks and what their authors wanted, or needed, Americans to see and experience. According to the American authors, one of the most important sites in Constantinople and İstanbul, among the palaces, walls, waters, mosques, churches, bazaars, and towers, was an American college, but a college imbued with the Western gaze and notions of extraterritoriality. This confusion over modernization in Turkey – and modernization in general – confounded Western authors, and was reflected in the Americans' inability to reconcile the Ottoman past with the Turkish present. The symbol for this confusion was İstanbul, the most Eastern of Western cities, or the most Western of Eastern cities, and American guidebooks latched on to the most American element in the transitional space of Turkey in the 1920s and 1930s. By continuing to force their ideals on the Turkish Republic via Robert College, they reified the Western penetration and imposition on Turkey, and ensured that American tourists who used their guidebooks would do the same, over and over again.

ITINERARIES for methodical sight-seeing :

A few words on Itineraries.

ITINERARY A: For tourists staying in Constantinople *only one day* and sight-seeing *on foot and by tramway*.

ITINERARY B: For tourists staying *one day only* and sight-seeing *by motor car*.

ITINERARY C: For tourists staying *two days* and sight-seeing *on foot and by tramway*.

ITINERARY D: For tourists staying *two days* and sight-seeing *by motor car*.

ITINERARY E: For tourists staying at least eight days and who can choose the method of sight-seeing they prefer.

Figure 1. Mamboury's summary of "Itineraries for methodical sight-seeing" (page 118)

ITINERARY E.		ITINERARY E.	
1st Day: Afternoon.		2nd Day: Morning. Hippodrome and Neighbourhood.	
Antiquities Museum. G. H. 6 (page 365)	Return to tram stop at Sirkeci and take tram No 12, 23, 31, 32 or 33 and ask for "Sulkin Seeyud" (1st Stop in direction of St. Sophia). On leaving tram, follow route keeping wall of Serai on left. Enter park by gates on left, and take right hand path leading uphill between trees; after first turn, the court of the Museum is seen on left.	If using motor car ask for "Yere Batan Serayi." " " Tram Take No 12 from Pera	
Tehinili-Kiosk. G. H. 6 (page 366)	Opposite Museum entrance.	" No 12 or 23 Galata	
Old Serai Palace (*) H. 6 (page 396)	Leave courtyard of Museum, and turn to left into road going uphill; a square is reached; turn to left towards a gate that borders two square courts (Orta Capou Gate).	" No 12 or 23 Emin Eunu Square	
Park of the Old Serai. Goths' Column (page 287)	Regain gates by which Park was entered. Follow main pathway; at foot of hill on right is a Byzantine cistern; proceed until Railway bridge is reached, and turn to right. The Gothic Column will be seen above the Theatre substructure. Proceed downhill to iron grille, where, near a marble basin, a fine view is obtained. Go along grille on right and follow road between supporting walls of the Serai; the Roman wall can be seen on the right in two places; finally you reach a square extending between depots and the wall of the railway line.	" No 31, 32 or 33 Emin Eunu Station.	
Substructure of Theatre of Septimus Severus. H. 7	Alongside the wall of the railway on the left, a semi-circular hole gives access to the cistern of the old Byzantine Convent of St. George of the Mangana.		
St. George of the Mangana. H. 6 (page 271)	Continue alongside the railway line wall; several gaping holes mark ancient Byzantine building. Two last holes give access to the cistern of the Palace (take lamps).	PLACES TO VISIT	ROUTE TO FOLLOW
Mangana Palace. H. 5 (page 395)	Remounting on the right and below 4th and last stone depot is the marble basin of the Fountain, discovered in 1923. Numerous Byzantine relics are found in this quarter. Return to St. Sophia by road in front of depots and which then climbs to right. Take N. 12 tram to Pera.	Yereh Batan Cistern. G. 5 (page 477)	Take turning opposite tram stop (Cheftali Sokak), 20m. down on left is the entrance to the Cistern.
Aghiasma of St. Mary Hodighitria. H. 5. (page 169)		Hippodrome. G. 4 - 5 (page 306)	Return to St. Sophia Place and follow tram route uphill till garden on left is reached: this is the site of the Hippodrome.
		Fountain of Kaiser Wilhelm. (page 297)	In Turkish "Alman Tchehmesli". Visit monuments which still exist in the Hippodrome. It occupies the place of the imperial lodge of the Hippodrome called Kathisma.
		Sultan Ahmed Mosque. G. 4 (page 350)	Is about the middle of the Place on left.
		Theodosius' Obelisk. G. 4 (page 383)	Is opposite the Mosque.
		Serpentine Column. G. 4 (page 290)	Is by the side of the Obelisk.
		Walled Obelisk. G. 4 (page 386)	Is at southern extremity of Hippodrome.
		Bin-bir-Direk Cistern. G. 5 (page 478)	Take uphill road, opposite Serpentine Column, along wall of big building; turn into 1st Road on right; a square is reached on left after 100 m. walk, which is over cistern. Entrance through a maisonnette in middle.
		Constantine's Column. F. 5 (page 286)	Regain tram route and follow in westerly direction: the Column (Tchemberli Tach) is 150 m. along.
		Lunch in Bazaar. F. 5-8	Take road (Rue Vezir Hani Djadessi) to right of column; 200m. down on left is the Nouri Osmanie Mosque; go through and emerge from opposite gate, which faces Bazaar entrance. Ask for: "Tokatlian locantaasi", or lunch in Turkish restaurant on right of Bazaar entrance.

(*) The Old Seraglio can only be visited on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, from 12 to 4.

Figure 2. "Itinerary E: For tourists staying at least 8 days in Constantinople"