US DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS ON TURKEY
III

FAMILY LIFE IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF THE 1930'S

•

A Study by G. Howland Shaw

Presented and annotated
by
RIFAT N. BALİ

THE ISIS PRESS
ISTANBUL

US DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS ON TURKEY
III

Published by
The Isis Press
Yazmacı Emine sokak 6
Burhaniye-Beylerbeyi
Beylerbeyi, 34676 Istanbul
Tel.: (0216) 321 38 51
Fax.: (0216) 321 86 66
e-mail: isis@tnn.net
www.theisispress.org

First edition 2007

ISBN: 978-975-428-344-0

US DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS ON TURKEY
III

FAMILY LIFE IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF THE 1930'S

•

A Study by G. Howland Shaw

PRESENTED AND ANNOTATED
BY
RIFAT N. BALİ

THE ISIS PRESS
ISTANBUL

Born in 1948 in İstanbul. Graduate of Sorbonne University Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Author of numerous articles, editor of several books. His areas of studies are: History of the Jews of Turkey in the Republican period, lobbying activities of the Turkish, Jewish, Israeli and Armenian non governmental organizations, Turkish media. He is the author of the following books:
Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri — Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni 1923-1945, İletişim Yayınları, 1999; *Musa'nın Evlatları Cumhuriyet'in Yurttaşları*, İletişim Yayınları, 2001; *Les Relations Entre Turcs et Juifs dans la Turquie Moderne*, İsis Yayıncılık, 2001; *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a — Yeni İnsanlar, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, İletişim Yayınları, 2002; *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri — Aliya: Bir Toplu Göçün Öyküsü 1946-1949*, İletişim Yayınları, 2003; *Anadolu'dan Yeni Dünya'ya, Amerika'ya Göç Eden İlk Türklerin Yaşam Öyküleri*, İletişim Yayınları, 2004 (This book was awarded the Yunus Nadi 2005 prize in the category of Social Sciences Research); *Türkiye'de Yayınlanmış Yahudilikle İlgili Kitap, Tez ve Makaleler Bibliyografyası (1923-2003)*, Turkuaz Yayıncılık, 2004; *Avram Benaroya: Un Journaliste Juif Oublié Suivi de Ses Mémoires*, Les Editions Isis, Istanbul, 2004; *Devlet'in Yahudileri ve 'Öteki' Yahudi*, İletisim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004; *Ümit Kıvanç'a Cevap Birikim Dergisinin Yayınlamadığı Makalenin Öyküsü*, Istanbul, 2005; *The "Varlık Vergisi" Affair: A Study On Its Legacy Selected Documents*, The Isis Press, 2005; *Maziyi Eşelerken*, Dünya Kitapları, 2006; *US Diplomatic Documents* - I - *Turkish Students' Movements and Turkish Left in The 1950's - 1960's*, The Isis Press, 2006; *US Diplomatic Documents on Turkey* - II - *The Turkish Cinema in the Early Republican Years*, The Isis Press, 2007.

INTRODUCTION

This "strictly confidential" study by Howland Gardiner Shaw, American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim in Istanbul, was prepared early in 1933 and and sent off to the U.S. State Department on March 30 of that year. This report was part of a series of research studies which had been commissioned three years earlier. The State Department acknowledged receipt of the report and expressed its appreciation by stating that it had "contributed materially to the Department's understanding of Turkish mentality and institutions during the present period of transition". The report was also enthusiastically received by the Department's Division of Near Eastern Affairs.[1]

Who was Howland G. Shaw?

Shaw's first assignment to Turkey came in May, 1921 when he was appointed as Second Secretary of Embassy for duty in the American High Commission at Constantinople (Istanbul).[2] Shaw was later asked to join the American delegation to the peace talks in Lausanne, Switzerland, which was to be headed by Joseph Grew, future Ambassador in Turkey (1927-1932). The State Department had requested Shaw to assist Joseph Grew because the former possessed a wealth of information and experience that accrued from his intimate acquaintance with all the activities of the High Commission.[3]

After the Lausanne talks had drawn to an end, Shaw wrote to Allen Dulles, Chief of the Near East Section at the State Department, in August, 1923 regarding his future career in the Foreign Service. In his letter, Shaw outlined his hopes and ambitions as follows:[4]

> Instead of going at the Near East in a haphazard sort of way, I should like to be allowed to make a thorough and systematic study, which would naturally involve, in the more immediate future, learning Turkish and, if possible, one or more other languages of general use in the Near East. Under the plan I have in mind I would be allowed to spend a reasonable time in Turkey and it would be possible to give some measure of assurance that other places to which I might later be assigned would have a relationship to the Near East or Russia. I have been constantly struck by the value in Near

---

[1] NARA, RG59 Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey 1930-1944, document dated 30 March 1933, no. 867.405/7.
[2] NARA, DS123, SH 22/1a document dated 26 May 1921.
[3] NARA, DS123, SH 22/8, document dated 3 May 1923.
[4] NARA, 123/SH/22/13, document dated 7 August 1923.

Eastern affairs of the really well-trained specialist, of such men as Ryan,[1] Waugh[2], Ciliere[3] or Kolmodin[4]. The careers of my associates on the Advisory Trade Committee at Constantinople furnish an excellent illustration of what I mean. The Britisher, Woods, as you know, was brought up in Constantinople, speaks Turkish fluently and has been connected with British commercial activities in Turkey and the Turkish Customs Administration for years; the Italian, Melia, had had twenty years experience of Turkey and the Frenchman, Picard, some eight years with a background of northern Africa. I need not remind you that the American representative, when he began his Advisory Trade Committee career, had a Turkish experience of about one month! In short, the other countries have specialists and we have not. I want to become a candidate for the job.

Let me frankly go into the personal factors of the situation in order that you may have all the elements before you. The idea of spending most of my life in the Near East or Russia is entirely agreeable to me personally. I have no family ties, so a whole series of considerations that for many people would make a prolonged stay in such parts of the world a hardship do not apply in my case. The questions of rank and salary are essentially secondary. If the substance of my work is worth while, it matters little whether I am called First Secretary, Consul or Student Interpreter or whether my salary is $3625 or $1000 or $1. Finally, I must candidly admit that a superficial career in the Diplomatic Service does not arouse my enthusiasm. To have, when I am forty-five years old, a somewhat general knowledge of half a dozen countries in different parts of the world and perhaps a certain facility in the mechanics of international politics is not at all what I should most like to look back upon at that age. I want to try and know some part of the world as thoroughly as possible; I want to have a definite unity to my work and therefore specialization is, so far as I am concerned, the one quality that would make foreign service worth while and satisfactory as a career. This is no new idea — in fact, I have been turning it over in my mind for at least a year. I should be thoroughly dissatisfied with a future lacking in unity and logic of purpose and I believe this dissatisfaction would become strong enough to lead to may getting out of the Service in time. I realize, of course, that it would not be reasonable to expect the Department to commit itself in detail regarding my personal career, but, since my views are very definitely such as I have tried to describe above, I should like to begin exploring the Department's mind a bit to see what the possibilities really are.

---

[1] Sir Andrew Ryan (1895-1949) was British Vice-Consul at Constantinople, 1903; 2nd Dragoman, Constantinople, 1907; acted as 1st Dragoman, June 1911-July 1912 and March 1914-15; Contraband Office, 1915-18; CMG 1916; 2nd Political Officer on Staff of British High Commissioner, Constantinople; Chief Dragoman, 1921, with rank of Counsellor; member of British Delegation, Near East Peace Conference, Lausanne, 1922-23. His personal papers are housed at the Middle East Centre in St. Antony's College, Oxford. He is the author of *The Last of the Dragomans* (London : Geoffrey Bles) 1951.

[2] Sir Telford Waugh (1865-?) is the author of *Turkey Yesterday To-Day and Tomorrow* (London: Chapman and Hall) 1930. He was the Chairman of Governors of the English High School in Constantinople.

[3] M. Cilière was the French Embassy dragoman.

[4] Johannes Kolmodin was the dragoman of the Swedish Embassy in Constantinople in the years 1917-1931. For a study on him see Elisabeth Özdalga (ed), *The Last Dragoman: Swedish Orientalist Johaness Kolmodin as Scholar, Activist and Diplomat,* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute) 2006.

The following year Robert College President Caleb Gates would also write to Allan Dulles recommending Shaw warmly:[1]

> I want to commend to your consideration the desirability of having Mr. Shaw retained in the Constantinople Embassy. He has made a careful study of conditions and problems here and has a very good grasp of the situation. It would be a very great pity to have him pulled out of here and sent to some other country where he would have to begin over again and learn things de novo. Moreover, we need him very much.
>
> He knows nothing about my writing. I have had no talk with him on the subject. I am only writing because I have been impressed with his ability and with the great need of having someone thoroughly acquainted with the situation here.

Shaw would serve as First Secretary of United States Embassy in Constantinople from 1924 to 1926.[2] He was then appointed Chief of the State Department's Division of Near Eastern Affairs, where he served from April 12, 1926 until March 14, 1929. In January of 1929 this assignment was extended by another year.[3] He then returned to Turkey in 1930, acting as second-in-command at the American Embassy[4] and was appointed Consul General on May 21, 1936.[5] In September, 1937 he was promoted to Chief of Division of Foreign Service Personel and returned to Washington.[6] Altogether, Shaw remained in Turkey for 12 years. Testimony to his valuable labor on behalf of the American mission would come from Ambassador John V. A. MacMurray, a few months after the latter took up his post in the Turkish capital:

> ..... the public interest is actually better served by his maintaining the direct contacts with the officials of the Turkish regime. For, having been one of their comrades of Valley Forge days, so to speak, he has such relations with them as no American official except Joe Grew, and perhaps Admiral Bristol, has had or can hope to have; and that unique position, as a background to his understanding of conditions, his alert and discriminating sense of what is significant in the political and social development of this country, and his sound political judgment, enables him to accomplish things that are my envy and despair. [7]

Rıfat N. Bali

---

[1] NARA, 123 SH 22/19, document dated 10 June 1924.
[2] Roger R. Trask, *The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform, 1914-1939* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press), 1971, p. 79.
[3] NARA 123, SH 22/39, document dated 22 January 1929.
[4] Roger R. Trask, ibid, p. 79.
[5] NARA 123 SH 22/158, document dated 21 May 1936.
[6] Roger R. Trask, ibid, p. 79 / NARA 123 SH 22/18, document dated 11 June 1937.
[7] Roger R. Trask, ibid, p. 79.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Confidential File

No. 103 May 8, 1933

G. Howland Shaw, Esquire,
American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,
Istanbul.

Sir:

The Department acknowledges the receipt of the Embassy's despatch No. 442 of March 30, 1933, enclosing your report entitled "Family Life in Modern Turkey."

The Department appreciates this valuable addition to the research studies which the Embassy has submitted periodically during the past three years. This study has contributed materially to the Department's understanding of Turkish mentality and institutions during the present period of transition and the Department would be pleased to receive further reports of this nature. It is suggested in this connection that an interesting and valuable subject for report would be the position of religion in present-day Turkey.

Detailed comments on your report, prepared in the form of a memorandum by the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, are transmitted herewith.

Very truly yours,
For the Secretary of State:
WILBUR J. CARR

Enclosure:
Comments,
as stated.

NE HSV&WSM/GC
HSV

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

April 24, 1933

FAMILY LIFE IN MODERN TURKEY

As tales of family life, of conflict of emotions and of ideals, these episodes, the reader is forced to conclude, could be-equally as true anywhere as in Turkey. The domestic dramas they depict could, in nearly every instance, be just as well scenarios for a movie of our own Middle West, whether in the towns of Kansas or on the prairies of the Dakotas. In the hands of an author like Martha Ostenso,[1] for example, many of them might form the plot for a novel, of a people inherently bound to the soil come to grips with advancing modernism in the guise of Fords and radio and the no longer distant roadhouse or movie. Even more so, these tales might, in their uniform unhappiness, form the basis of a play by one of the Ibsen school of dramatists. The Scandinavians or Russians were, at the turn of the century, adepts with material of this kind.

Nevertheless, the injunction of the Introductory Note has been complied with in so far as possible, and an attempt has been made in each case to look beneath the story for the details of Turkish life. Such details, it is admitted, are strikingly illustrated. But if all this is a true cross section of life in modern Turkey, the picture is indeed a drab one. There is present everywhere the battle of the old and the new; and if any conclusion is to be drawn it is that the former is thoroughly on the defensive. Until the elements that go to make up this transition are absorbed and relegated to their proper place in the inevitable spread of Westernization, the ugly features of the

[1] The Mamitoba Author Publication Index is giving the following information for Martha Ostenso (1900-1963). Born in Norway, she came with her parents to North America at an early age, living in various American towns before settling in Brandon, Manitoba. She was educated at Brandon Collegiate, Kelvin Technical High School in Winnipeg, and the University of Manitoba. She taught school in the Interlake region before becoming a *Winnipeg Free Press* reporter. She became romantically involved with novelist/teacher Douglas Durkin, and he helped her with her writing. The two lived together for many years and married in 1945. In 1925 she published *Wild Geese*, a novel that in manuscript won a $13,500 prize for best first novel in competition with 1,700 others. Like many Prairie novels, it features a patriarchal father (whose tyranny is compared to the land he farms) and intergenerational conflict. Ostenso subsequently lived in the United States, publishing a number of other novels and other writings as well as spending much time in Hollywood writing film scripts. Source: http://www.mbwriter.mb.ca/mapindex/o_profiles/hist_ostenso.html (Ed.)

change must perhaps remain paramount. Whether the adaptation can be made swiftly and painlessly enough is without doubt the problem that confronts the family in the Turkish state of today.

In this impact of Westernization and the disrupting influence it is perforce exerting on the Turkish home, the movies — Turkey's "second school" as they are referred to on page 41 — [Case B-3 (Ed.)] stand out as the principal factor. Their importance is evidently so great that one hopes that a good class of films is reaching the populace. But despite the Turkish censorship laws, one fears that if the average film is anything like the type of production shown in the United States, the influence of this "second school" is bound to be an unsettling one, one giving rise to discontent with life as it ordinarily exists, to false standards and unhealthy desires. So many of the unfortunate situations described in these pages appear to be directly traceable to the film factor that one cannot help feeling that its continued uncontrolled presence may constitute a real threat to the course being shaped by modern Turkish youth.

No less vivid than the unstable figure of the modern Turkish young man as presented herein, is the picture of the pretty modern young Turkish girl, who seems to be a recurrent influence for evil. Where else does she get her ideas of up-to-date clothes, spending money, dancing partners, and an easy life than from the widespread gospel of the movies? If the influence of motion pictures is over-estimated, it is only because of the frequent reference there to as an element in the dissatisfaction of the younger members of the family.

As for the traditional aspects of Turkish family life, even the oldest of them seem to be breaking down so completely that one judges it will not be long before these ancient concepts are driven out entirely and replaced with the hard, practical philosophy of the Western world. Case B-9, for instance, plainly indicates that the custom of a son being compelled to wait for his sisters to marry before he himself is free to do so, is no longer regarded as sacred. If that is so, the change must be for the better; such shackles to the past belong to the discarded system of the harem, the veil, and the inferior position of women. And in Case B-8, one can hardly blame the sons for refusing to follow the business of their Muhallebici father. Development of the individual and, therefore, the progress of the State, can never take place where fetters of this kind retard the steps of ambitious and enthusiastic youth.

Nor can one sympathize over-much with the father in Case B-1 whose daughter disobeyed his command not to bob her hair. Whatever may be one's opinion of bobbed hair, the intolerant lack of understanding displayed by this apostle of the old school can excite little support. As an example of domestic conflict in the Turkey of today, the episode is a masterpiece; but as a story, is

it specially significant of Turkey? The tale sounds like one of Strindberg's[1] or Björnsen's[2], of Dostoyevsky's, or of any other member of a morbid school of dramatists capitalizing the theme of filial duty. The scene, one feels, might be an interior city of Sweden or of Czarist Russia, where the same distressing conflicts were staged a few decades ago. Case B-11, where the son desires to marry a girl disapproved of by the parents, is a parallel. It is hard to see how this instance provides any detail of Turkish life very different from any other part of the more primitive world.

Case A-9, of the industrious young man who refuses to go to the Mosque or to say his prayers, is particularly interesting. "Why should I leave my work and perform such antics?" he says. "God is in me and religion is in all good actions." How far this is true of the modern Turkish attitude toward religion should be significant of the whole younger generation and, therefore, of the future social structure of the State. With the influence of the Occident busily at work, and under the present leadership of the Gazi, this new viewpoint, it would seem, must inevitably spread; and if it is sincere, as a substitute for the old time-consuming "antics" it is perhaps sensible and a force for good.

"Never do to your neighbor anything which would be... prejudicial to your own self" (page 84) [Case B-14 (Ed.)] is a curious twist to the Christian admonition. In such cases, there may lurk a danger of misinterpretation of Western doctrines, which demand straightening out and fuller understanding before they can be regarded as beneficial alternates to some of the time tested Islamic virtues. Much that was fine in the old regime is undoubtedly being lost in the tawdriness and clap-trap of Western "civilization." And in that respect one can feel for the older generation which sees its deeprooted traditions and ideals ruthlessly brushed aside for the symbols of the new era movies, cabarets , prostitutes, an easy come, easy go sort of existence, with scant respect for the old folks' principles of right and wrong. The woman who rebuked her sons and daughters by telling them how as a young girl her fiancé had to hide in a cupboard in order to get a look at her (p. 109) [Case B-22 (Ed.)] can only be pitied from the modern point of view for having to endure such restrictions. Yet despite the prevailing sentiment that today's freedom is more wholesome than yesterday's over-modesty, one can well understand the utter bewilderment and indignation of those who have known only the conservative past when they are confronted with the upsetting manifestations of the current social upheaval. It is the suddenness of the discovery that things are no longer what they used to be, the abrupt realization that a wall of

---

1 Strindberg (1849-1912) is a Swedish play and story writer. (Ed.)
2 Björnsen (1832-1910) is a Norwegian writer. (Ed.)

obstinacy is being reared against them by those from whom they are accustomed to receive nothing but obedience, that obviously constitutes the tragedy for these older folk. On the measure in which they may be able to adapt themselves to the differences and the opposing ideals of the new culture will their happiness depend; for today's parents can expect to make no stand against the incoming tide, and when they are gone, one ventures to predict, their ideals will be consigned even more blithely to the limbo that is the Ottoman Empire.

The most individual character in the collection is Mustafa Agha, protagonist of Case B-25, whose pen portrait epitomizes the older generation. No less successful in bringing out the contrast between the old and the new is Case B-24, in which the struggle between the monotonous and melancholy music of old Turkey and the latest American jazz is the cause of domestic strife. Of all the stories in the series, Case C-4 appears to be the only one in which there is a satisfactory outcome, and this is due to the admirable and judicial character of the father. Too often is this the other way, for if the study shows anything definitely, it is that the Turk male or female is an individual of strong and often unreasoning passion. At first it might appear that the Turkish woman was a little less violent in this respect, but by striking an average in these cases, such an opinion would have to be withdrawn.

There remains no doubt, after considering the situation in these many misunderstood families, that the younger Turks who have come into contact with the city have broken with the past and that materialism is at present the guiding star of a large proportion of them. If the social wastage suggested by the episodes becomes in turn anything like as prevalent among the peasants and agriculturists of Anatolia as the stories indicate is the case in the cities, one might well be apprehensive for the future of the State. It has always been the fashion, however, to deplore the activities and the tendencies of the rising generation, irrespective of its nationality. Granted that the social revolution is in Turkey to stay, and that the older generation throughout the country will eventually have to make basic readjustments or be swept aside in the onrushing current of modernism, it would seem probable that the Turk of today is not fundamentally a frivolous type but that he is ready and eager to accept the best that modernism has to offer. That he may not always be able to distinguish between the best and the worst is scarcely his fault as yet; nor more is it his fault that modernism may not always offer him its better side. Meanwhile, his evolution from the traditional to the modern cannot be attended without trial and tribulation, as these stories so eloquently prove. The manner in which he grasps the opportunities which are coming to him as a citizen of the post war world will, no doubt, determine his success as a citizen

of the Turkish Republic and in a large measure the success of the Republic itself. Depressing and even alarming as the symptoms of the transition period are, it is probably still too early to judge accurately as to what the outcome will consist in.

It may be noted that on page 6, [Case A-2 (Ed.)] the statement is made that under Turkish law the father, in case of divorce, keeps the daughters, the mother the sons. However, on page 90 [Case B-16 (Ed.)] is described the case of a daughter living with her divorced father, and the explanation is made that in case of a divorce among the Turks no matter who is in the wrong the child remains with the mother, but the father supports it. Further illumination on this interesting and apparently contradictory point would be appreciated.

HSV/GC

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

FAMILY LIFE IN MODERN TURKEY

G. Howland Shaw

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The effects of Westernization on Turkish family life is a subject which has received little or no attention from students of modern Turkey, who have, as a rule, been more concerned with the external framework, the appearances of modern Turkish life than with its substance. This omission is not hard to explain. The secrecy with which the family life of the Turk has always been surrounded has scarcely relaxed even today, and the modern Turk, thinking of the progress of his country in terms of a rather naive materialism, has steered the foreigner, whether serious student or casual visitor, to the observation of what strikes the eye. The omission is regrettable, both from the point of view of the student of the family as an institution and from that of anybody who desires an accurate picture of modern Turkey, its strength and its weakness. Developing this latter statement somewhat, it is presumably not to be questioned that a serious breakdown in the home, if sufficiently general, is bound eventually to have repercussions in fields of activity quite outside and far removed from the home. The child of a "broken home", we have learned, is a potential source of future trouble for the State and while by no means all such children go to increase the volume of social wastage such is unhappily the fate of a large proportion. The modern Turkish home in the upper groups of Turkish society, and from the point of view of the directing of the life of the country these are the most important groups, has often been profoundly "broken" by the social revolution which reached its maximum acceleration some ten years ago and which is even now seeking to reach out and affect ever wider groups. Many Turkish fathers and mothers today find themselves confronted with the problems of controlling and orienting their children in a world widely differing from that in which they themselves were born and grew to adulthood. The results in many cases have been deplorable. Social revolutions may prove occasions for the strong man or woman, but for average people, by creating a sudden necessity for effecting rapid and often fundamental readjustments, they tend to be disastrous. There is much human wastage, and in Turkey today there has been, there is and there doubtless will continue to be for many years to come a large amount of wastage composed particularly of adolescents caught up in the whirl of materialism and broken by it. That is inevitable, unfortunately, and the best that can be done is to try and reduce the wastage to reasonable limits and to seek to create conditions which will favor the coming younger generation.

Rather than write of Turkish family life in the abstract and produce a rather dull and unsatisfactory study on the subject, it has been thought that a more vivid account and at the same time a more accurate one could be written by setting forth a series of actual examples of the Turkish family life of the present day. The forty-four examples which compose the present study have been collected from a variety of people, each one of whom knew at first hand the family situation described. No attempt was made to prescribe a uniform technique or to control the manner of describing. The results show a certain unevenness of emphasis and of style, but at least it is hoped that in every case the facts are set forth with a sufficiency of detail to give the reader a clear picture.

The samples have been divided into three groups and a word of explanation is therefore necessary. Turkish types and Turkish life present marked contrasts. There is a world of difference, for instance, between the nervous, high-strung, energetic Turk of Izmir and his phlegmatic brother of, let us say, a village near Eskişehir, and both are in contrast with the more sophisticated Turk from Istanbul. Contrast is also to the fore in any investigation of Turkish family life. The present-day apartment home of the descendants of the ruling class of the Ottoman Empire, chiefly to be found in Istanbul, is one thing; what for want of a better term can be called the middle-class home of the small merchant of Istanbul or Izmir is something else; and the peasant home of Anatolia is the setting for still a third type of family life, differing in important respects from the other two. These several elements in Turkish society and their relative importance in terms of influence and of numbers are facts the vital significance of which too often escapes the foreigner, with the result that his picture of Turkey is more often than not a caricature of reality. The Turk who speaks excellent French or German, or even English, and has been educated abroad and who lives in a very new apartment house in the Pera district of Istanbul, with furnishings the most modern and, incidentally, fearsomely hideous, is usually connected with the former governing class of the Ottoman Empire. The strain of Westernization in his make-up goes back to the Tanzimat Period of the 1840s and 50s. His father is more than likely to have been Westernized at least to some extent, to have spoken a foreign language, to have had only one wife, and to have been abroad for his "health" in spite of the watchfulness of Sultan Hamid. With this group – Group A of our series – Westernization has been a more gradual process spread over several generations, and disorganization has therefore tended to be much less in evidence and to take on the form of conflicts over political loyalties rather than over more personal matters. Numerically, Group A is insignificant and is tending to disappear or to lose its identity by merging

with Group B. A generous estimate would place it at the present time at 8,000. The members of this group, furthermore, are concentrated at Istanbul and to a limited extent at Ankara.

Group B, if the idea of class were applicable in Turkey, would be called the middle-class. It is composed of small merchants, petty Government officials and army officers of the lower ranks. This group has felt the full impact of the recently accelerated Westernization, and it is the group in which the greatest number of conflicts and the more serious conflicts are to be found. The reasons are obvious. The fathers and mothers of this group have largely maintained the old social and religious traditions. Few of them have travelled abroad or learned a foreign language, and their contact with the more Westernized Turks of Group A has been limited. The sons and daughters of Group B, however, are being subjected to the full blast of modernism through the schools, the movies, the sport club, the dance halls, etc. Group B, at a generous estimate, would include a million and a half persons.

Group C — the Anatolian group, composed chiefly of peasants and agriculturists, is numerically by far the most important. It may be estimated at not less than ten million and not more than twelve million out of a total population of thirteen and a half million. In this group Westernization has only just begun to penetrate. An hour's walk from Ankara will bring one to a village where life is going on much as it was a hundred or two hundred years ago. If it were possible for the present plans of the Government for the education of this group to be fully carried out, we might anticipate a considerable amount of disorganization in family life; but, because of lack of adequate teaching personnel and financial resources and also because of the scattered type of settlement characteristic of Anatolia, the process of modernization is bound to be a very gradual one.

The lines which divide the three groups are not to be thought of in too definite a fashion. They are fluctuating. Especially is this the case with the line which marks off Group A from Group B. The groups do represent, however, three types of family life in present-day Turkey. The first has been under Western influences for a couple of generations; the second, representing about 10% of the population, is in the throes of intensive Westernization and the third, representing about 80% of the population, has as yet scarcely been touched by Westernization.

It is hoped that this study will have a few careful readers and by careful reader is meant somebody who will read not for the mere story as such but with an eye to the details of Turkish life, whether traditional or modern. In each of the three groups an attempt has been made to put first the samples which bring out the more traditional aspects of Turkish family life: in Group

B, for instance, the authority of the father, the unique position held by adopted orphans, the respect for the aged, etc.

I am most grateful to the people who have made this study possible. It is far more their work than mine.

Ankara, February 1, 1933.

GROUP A.
1 - 9

A — 1

In a family composed of father, mother, two sons, and two daughters, the father, formerly a member of the Ottoman high bureaucracy, is now obliged to earn a precarious living for his family by operating a small farm which he owns near Istanbul. He has still all the dignity of his former rank, is conservative and a strong adversary of the present régime. His wife used to be one of the most beautiful women at the Imperial Court. She too yields to the weakness of a lady of honor, deploring the loss of the luxury and prestige of her past mode of existence. Both of them hope to rise in society once more through their children. For this reason they try to provide the necessary education for them and choose beforehand their studies and profession. Their dream is to see the two sons rise some day to the same rank as their father formerly held.

But the life which they have to endure until then is a daily humiliation. The mother cannot appear in society for lack of leisure and proper clothes and the father is very particular in his choice of social connections. Besides, they both must attend to the hard task of looking after a farm, a garden and the livestock. In view of these circumstances their desire to be rehabilitated through their children, at least during their old age, becomes stronger every day. Unfortunately, the oldest son on whom all hopes have been placed, does not agree with them. Having completed his studies in a lycée, where his father supported him with the hope of making of him a state official, he suddenly decides to continue his studies at an engineering school in Zonguldak. He has no inclination whatever for office work and prefers work of a technical nature. This does not satisfy the ambition of the father who is opposed to his son's intentions. The father claims that the unfavorable trend of his business prevents him from providing an education for all his children. They do not reach an understanding, but the son remains on the farm not only because he rather likes to follow his father's present profession, but also because he finds great pleasure in taking care of the garden and the livestock. On the other hand, the father cannot get used to the idea of seeing his son engaged in the same "ignoble" profession, he who had expected the latter to reintroduce him into good society some day. He feels very much grieved and does not conceal his dissatisfaction from his son. A full-fledged dispute begins between them.

"I wish you would become a statesman," the father often says with bitterness, criticising the tastes and more liberal ideas of his son according to his own conservative conceptions of a bureaucrat. On the other hand, the son in his turn does not hesitate to criticise his father:

"Why don't you invest in business the money which you continue to spend for luxuries and useless things? (The father and the mother still live in a certain state of luxury thanks to the jewelry saved by the latter.) What a model farm we could run with all mother's jewelry! Is there any nobler profession than that of cultivating the soil?" And to his mother who always complains of an ordinary country life, as unworthy of them, he says:

"All your misfortune comes from the fact that you do not want to forget your past of the days of the Sultan, and lead a simpler life."

He insists that the farm be cultivated and the livestock be taken care of with greater energy. All this, rather than making them happy, disappoints the parents.

"I expected something else of my son", the father sighs to the mother, "he has not justified my expectations. It is not a bahçıvan (gardener) that I wanted to make of him."

"Whose fault is it?" replies the mother even more desperate. "We lost the respect of our children because you did not know how to retain our position in society."

The other children likewise show no consideration for the past of their parents and often make fun of it. "The times of the Sultan" has become a subject of laughter and mockery in the family.

Business is not successful. Money is often lacking. The father falls back on his son. The son has always been saying: "My father lacks initiative and energy." They fight, they quarrel. The son does not refrain from criticising his father even before other people.

"My father," he says one day, "is ready to gratify the smallest wish of my mother and pays no attention to the desires of his children. Of course, she is his wife, but isn't it funny to see him do something just because she wishes it, and disregard any wishes of mine? My mother is still young and pretty; he is poor and old; he is afraid to contradict her! Yes, my father is a cowardly egoist!" Thus, their dissensions steadily increase.

One day, without notifying his parents, the son leaves for Ankara to take up a course in automobile driving. His letters from Ankara, full of new ideas and enthusiasm about everything which is done in that city are not of a nature to reconcile him with his father. On the contrary their disagreement becomes more serious.

"My son," says the father to his friends, "is already entirely under the influence of the Kemalists. He is lost to me!" Yet the young man shows virtues which are rare among Turks: he is diligent, energetic, persevering and has initiative. With such qualifications he soon succeeds in becoming a good chauffeur, a good technician and can earn his living better than his father.

One day, already finding himself in easy circumstances, he sends 100 Pounds to his mother. The latter immediately boasts before her husband and this sets him even more against his son. He gets angry and writes to him immediately:

> "You meant to parade as a good son in sending money to your mother only, but in doing so you have shown a lack of respect for your father and I cannot consider you as a good son."

Upon his return from Ankara the young man does not call at the paternal home but rents a room elsewhere. He establishes himself as a chauffeur, earns his own living and goes to see his mother from time to time. The father continues irreconcilable, obstinately opposing anything which tends to make him give up his ideas and weaknesses of an old bureaucrat. He is dissatisfied with his profession, his fate, the present period, his son and the present political régime. Above all, the independence and self-confidence of the young man irritate him.

This independence soon manifests itself in an entirely disagreeable manner for the father. Without asking for the consent of his parents the young man gets married one day to a girl of good family but poor morals. When the father hears of this through his wife he is enraged and says to her:

> "My son shall never enter this house. It is not enough that he has not lived up to my expectations and has become an ordinary man, a chauffeur, but finally it had to come to the point where he has dishonored the name of our family by marrying a prostitute."

Some time following his marriage the son secretly visits the house of his parents, accompanied by his wife; they receive the blessings of the mother. But the little sisters report the visit to their father and the latter once more finds himself humiliated by his son. He strictly forbids his wife to receive him again in his house.

It so happens that the young son soon accuses his wife of unfaithfulness and divorces her. This offers a pretext to the father to justify himself and to triumph but he never changes his decision towards his son, despite their increasing misery which calls for the young man's assistance. Notwithstanding the mother's entreaties and the son's repentance and his desire to return to the paternal home, he replies categorically: "My son is lost to me."

A — 2

The son of a pasha marries three times and divorces three times. He has a child from each wife. According to Turkish law the father, in case he divorces, keeps the daughters, and the mother the sons. Thus it is that in the end he remains with his three daughters. He is a rich man but being given to drink he dissipates his fortune. He neglects taking care of his children's education and there comes a time when he no longer has the means to provide for their maintenance. The mothers though separated from their children have never ceased to watch over them and contribute to their well-being. The first wife marries again but her second husband being poor she takes the position of servant in a family for the sole purpose of being able from time to time to purchase something for her child, and to assure her a high school education. As a result the girls, although well treated by their father, seek out their mothers of their own accord. And although they do so in secret, he finally learns of it. It is not the visits to their mothers which displease him as much as the knowledge that the mothers have succeeded in making themselves more loved than he. Hurt in his fatherly feelings and jealous of an affection which he has failed to win, he categorically forbids his daughters to have any relationship with their mothers and to accept any presents or help whatsoever from them. "I shall redouble my efforts to supply you with all you need," is what he tells his daughters, and begins to lavish upon them present and money. The girls, still too young to reason it out with him, hypocritically agree. They not only conceal more cleverly their relationship with their mothers but also their warm feelings for them. Realizing furthermore all the advantages of the situation in which both sides are trying to win them over by generosity, they do their best to profit by it. However, they do not always succeed in concealing their relations with their mothers and therefore quarrels with their father are endless. The girls always have the last word because they are now older and having attended school they learn to reason, and drive him wild with their arguments. They know how to defend their rights and as they need more and more money for movies and for clothes they tax their father's affection more and more heavily. Their tuition and exigencies soon place him in a very embarrassed financial position. In order to meet all these expenses he borrows the money, resorts to all kinds of dubious business transactions, etc. But in spite of all his sacrifices the rebellious daughters continue to prefer their mothers. The latter still full of the old rancour toward their former husband and not content with the victory their affection has gained over him strive to discredit his moral authority in criticising him in the presence of their daughters. At every new meeting they repeatedly ask, "does he treat you

well?" and getting the reply "yes, he is very kind to us, but we would prefer staying with you", they are far from satisfied and redouble their efforts to discredit the father still more and simultaneously they increase their attentions to outdo the "drunkard", "the bad father", "the bad husband". Such behavior naturally has disastrous results. The girls are brought up as spoiled egoists. It is they who rule at home and whenever the neighbors hear them quarrel they know that the feud between the father and the mothers continues.

One day during the Ramazan holidays the father overhears on entering the house the following statement by one of his daughters who is in the drawing room: "Won't somebody come", says the eldest girl, "to tell us that our father has been run over by an automobile or a tramcar — so we could freely visit our mothers." "Look here", says the father entering suddenly the drawing room with tears in his eyes, "I have brought you beautiful presents for Ramazan and I will give you plenty of money so you may buy all you want — only don't be so cruel toward your old father who is so fond of you."

When his first wife who works as a servant hears of the incident from her daughter, she says: "Your father, who is the son of a pasha, was so haughty with his wives that Allah now punishes him for it by depriving him of the love of his own children."

A — 3

This is the family of a high government official under the old régime which still enjoys general consideration. The father whose fanaticism is well known lost his position with the advent to power of the Kemalists. He is a very wealthy man and as such desires to give his daughters the best education. They all go to the best schools in town. The oldest daughter, a beautiful and frivolous girl, who is studying in a foreign school manages to visit a public dancing hall in Pera in spite of the very strict and close watch of her father. A friend of the family sees her there and tells the mother. The latter is very much upset but, afraid of the violent temper of her husband, she conceals this fact from him in her desire to avoid dissension in the family realizing that the father with his very conservative ideas would be intransigent. She severely reprimands her daughter who has but one reply to all her mother's reproaches: "We must comply with the conditions of modern life and do what life expects us to do." Finally, it is the mother who has to give in and being not strong enough to break the obstinacy of her daughter she becomes her accomplice by doing everything in order to conceal from the father the fact that the girl while attending school at the same time amuses herself by going to public dancing

halls. The teachers complain about the absent-mindedness of the girl whose progress at school is most unsatisfactory. This too is concealed from the father by the mother who complains that in her time everything was much better because "students concerned themselves only with their lessons whereas nowadays girls have too many things on their mind — studies as well as amusements." Gradually, the girl begins to return home at very late hours, her lessons are altogether neglected, she begins to paint her face, rouge her lips and the mother grows more and more worried about the turn things are taking. But at the same time she still takes every precaution with a view to keeping her husband in ignorance of the actual state of things. In spite of her threats to disclose everything to the father, the girl pays absolutely no attention to her mother's remonstrances. The father full of rancour for the changes which manifest themselves in everything quarrels with his wife and daughter for the most insignificant reasons. But his advanced age and ignorance of contemporary life make it impossible for him to grasp the truth and he is easily deluded.

It is the beauty contests which particularly frighten the mother as the girl declares that she intends to participate in them. The fact that no girl of a good family takes part in these beauty contests is not the reason of her fear; she likes the idea that everybody considers her daughter beautiful for it flatters her vanity, - it is the possibility of her daughter being elected, her picture published in the papers, her name advertised which terrifies the mother, because this publicity would reveal to the father all the things of which he is ignorant. She feels a great relief when some unforeseen events prevent her daughter from carrying out her project.

Then one day the mother is told that a man with a dubious reputation is courting her daughter and that he accompanies her to all the dancings. A violent dispute takes place between mother and daughter, but nothing can make the girl change her conduct. Shortly after that the girl falls ill. Various doctors are summoned who, to the consternation of the mother, state the same thing: that the girl is pregnant. But even now, the mother succeeds in hiding the truth from the father. Only, what will she do when it is impossible to conceal the truth any longer? She knows that the father would be capable of killing his own daughter for such an outrage to his honor. But there is still another thing to be considered — what is she to do to save the family from disgrace in the eyes of society? In the face of this imminent danger she finds a means of salvation. With some money she has saved she finds a husband for her daughter, a chauffeur, who agrees to marry the girl on the condition that they shall establish themselves in Anatolia. This rather sudden marriage is presented to the father as an affair of youth and love and although he is not

quite satisfied with his daughter's choice, the marriage takes place quite normally and does not call forth in his mind any doubt whatsoever. Thus things are settled, but the unhappy mother continues to live in fear lest the real nature of things be disclosed to him and his wrath fall on her.

A — 4

In a Turkish family consisting of father, mother, son and daughter the affection of the parents for their children is so strong that it calls forth the criticism of their neighbors. The son, eighteen years old, on the point of graduating from a school in Istanbul one day tells his parents of his desire to go abroad in order to continue his studies in some western higher school. Both his father and mother flatly refuse to listen to his plan, not because they are hostile to education — the father himself being the principal of a school — but because they are too fond of him to tolerate the idea of a separation. Besides the father is afraid that the boy who is still very young may get ruined by the easy western life. The mother, a former lady–in–waiting in the Seraglio of the Sultan, is still imbued with all the former prejudices and most of all dreads the idea that her son may eventually fall in love with a Christian girl, marry her and thus be lost to the family forever. Every means is resorted to make him change his mind but he is determined to have his way and the conflict between father and son grows so bitter that they both lose their self-control. The father in trying to justify himself before his neighbors sets forth the following argument: "My son is handsome and impetuous, if he goes away from home I shall lose him forever."

One day the young man in his despair leaves the house and starts a vagabond existence, strolls from one café to another and from one bar to another. He meets a young Jewish girl of bad repute and enters into an intimate relationship with her, not that he has any inclination for an immoral existence but rather by way of protest against his parents. He does not divulge to the girl his real position, and promises to take her some day to his parents' home. One night the young girl meeting him, reminds him of his promise by saying: "I am already yours, you should take me to your house or else I shall think that you have deceived me." Finding himself in an embarrassing position he suddenly makes up his mind to take her home. It is his mother who opens the door and who, seeing that her son is accompanied by a strange girl, begins to cry. But she controls her feelings, lets the two lovers in and takes them to a side room in order to conceal their presence from the father. Humiliated in her love, astonished at such a reception or else driven away by

some other delicate reason the girl leaves the house in the middle of the night and disappears. Her lover, not finding her in the morning accuses his parents of having driven her out of the house or persuaded her to leave him and begins to look for her all over the town, but in vain. His feelings for his parents remain hostile and when after two years he marries against the will of his parents a Turkish girl he definitely separates himself from them.

Relations between the parents and their son remain strained and they see very little of each other. The unhappy mother recommends to the neighbors to keep close watch over their children and to show a better understanding for "the mind of the young people of today which is different from that of the old generation."

A — 5

In a wealthy and aristocratic family consisting of father, mother and daughter, - the latter, a fairly well educated girl but spoiled being the only child, continually worries her parents by her way of living, her ideas and behavior at home. In the section where the family lives she is the first woman to put on a hat, to discard all the former prejudices paying no attention whatsoever to public opinion. She leads a luxurious and giddy life, always preferring Pera to Stamboul because only there she meets the people and finds the entertainments she likes. Her father in spite of his reputation of a rounder, having in his time largely abused his wealth and privileged position, refuses to grant his daughter the same rights and does not allow her to act independently in order to preserve his authority and standing in the family. But the girl always finds a way of deceiving the father. She goes out on the pretext of visiting a friend concealing her dates with one man or another in a theatre or drawing room in Pera. Her subterfuges are always carried out with the help of her mother who, kind and weak, sacrifices her authority to avert a scandal and to give her daughter whom she adores the opportunity to enjoy herself. It is she who at night opens the door to her daughter when she returns at late hours from her escapades in Pera.

Thus spoiled from her childhood the girl behaves at home as the mistress of the house. It is not the mother, it is the daughter who says "Give me a glass of water". She does no work whatsoever; she gets up late in the morning and spends all her time before her looking glass busy with her manicure, her make-up, her dresses or reading a light modern novel. The mother on the contrary, very active, tries to interest her in some work which always ends up in a useless quarrel. To the criticisms of the neighbors who

forbid their daughters to play around with such a dangerous person she replies as follows: "I am awfully sorry that we Turkish women are not yet fully free to arrange our lives to suit ourselves. We are not allowed to marry according to our choice; husbands are thrust upon us. I am regarded as immoral because I intend to choose myself my husband. I shall have to live with him all my life, therefore shouldn't I have the right to make my choice before I marry? No, I am absolutely determined to marry the man I love."

And so she does. The man whom she chooses is not quite according to the taste of the parents but they yield before their daughter's desire, in spite of a certain resistance on the part of the father. The latter dies soon after the wedding. After his death the daughter's authority in the household encounters no obstacle. She already makes her husband feel that the money is hers and that it is she who must govern and keep her freedom. The husband is a sensitive and weak creature. The child which she bears him is his and the old mother's only hope. The daughter is a very careless mother and the child becomes for them the cause of continual quarrels. It is the mother and the son-in-law who both take care of the child. One day the parents with the child take a trip on the Bosphorus. For a second the father leaves his wife with the child alone, but the latter forgets it in the crowd where it has its leg broken by a carriage. The child becomes a cripple. The father and the grandmother are altogether heartbroken and ascribe the accident to the mother's carelessness. The latter defends herself by saying that it is the husband who is responsible because it was his duty to take care of the child. "The mother" says she, "has to take care of the child at home, but outside the house this duty belongs to the man; the woman has to be free in society." Soon after that the husband dies from grief.

Now that she is a widow she altogether neglects the child and resumes her giddy Pera life. And taking advantage of her mother's kindheartedness and love for her she goes so far in her dissoluteness as to force the latter to become her accomplice in collecting her pay from the men she invites to the house. Tears, quarrels, -nothing can make her change her conduct.

One day, a little tired, she marries a student of medicine, ten years her junior, whose tuition she pays at the University on the condition that he will be a "modern husband."

A — 6

Rabyé as a young girl of sixteen or seventeen, very pretty and charming was employed in the Palace of the Sultan where she attracted the attention of her superiors by her diligence, docility and honesty.

She comes from a poor family; she lost her mother some years ago; her father could not work on account of his poor eyesight. And although she had a brother who was employed with the police, his salary was just enough to cover his pocket money.

It was young Rabyé, therefore, who had to provide for the maintenance of her father and their small household. Her employers who were fond of her and wished her well thought that it would be best for her to marry a Palace official. Their choice fell on one of them, no longer young but earning a good salary.

Young Rabyé refused at first but as her father and brother urged her to accept the proposal she finally gave in and married.

But husband and wife failed to live in harmony. Rabyé who did not love her husband and who has never loved him tried to put up with her lot because she had a little daughter on whom she lavished all her care and love.

Two years after their marriage, Rabyé's husband was sent to Izmir for a certain time. He wished to take his wife with him but she refused as she did not want to be away from her relatives. And then as this transfer was only for a short time she refused to move.

The husband left alone. He stayed at Izmir several months and caught a dangerous venereal disease which he neglected to cure radically. He had to tell his wife about it upon his return to Istanbul. Rabyé hanim was indignant and terrified; she demanded explanations; she forbade her husband to have any contact with the other members of the family; he had to eat alone; he was treated like somebody struck with the plague; she was afraid her child or she herself might catch the disease; she wanted to leave her husband's house and take her child with her — she wanted to divorce.

But the husband did not agree with her. The religious law was on his side and he refused to divorce.

The relations between husband and wife were exceedingly strained. Rabyé hanim systematically avoided her husband but the latter, in spite of his disease, insisted on his marital rights. At last she ran away from him with her baby and returned to her father. The husband came to fetch her but she refused to return with him. A few days afterwards while he again insisted upon his wife's and child's return, and Rabyé hanim again categorically refused to follow, he abused and struck her. Her brother intervened in order to protect his

sister. This aroused the husband's wrath who now turned against his brother in law and dangerously wounded him several times with his knife. He was arrested, brought to trial and sentenced to several years of imprisonment.

Rabyé hanim's father died, her brother who was taking care of the family left Istanbul having been transferred to Ankara. She remained alone with her child — now quite a big girl.

By the time Rabyé hanim's husband leaves the prison the new régime has been established. He returned to his wife, settles down with her because in the first place he has no home, no work, he has to be taken care of. His disease is beginning to show outwardly which makes it impossible for him to find an occupation.

Rabyé hanim who can now easily obtain a divorce pities her husband and gives him shelter. She works in a tobacco concern together with her daughter who is now sixteen years old. Their wages are small and whatever they manage to save is spent for the necessary medical treatment of the head of the family. The latter continually quarrels with his wife on account of his extreme irritability. He periodically stays at the hospital without any prospects of getting cured. His disease grows worse and it obliges him to remain indoors where the home life has become altogether unbearable for both women.

It is particularly the young girl who suffers acutely from this state of things, because her father's illness is no secret to anybody and it exercises a detrimental effect on her prospects for the future. Continual are the reproaches of the two women and continual likewise the quarrels of the family to which everybody in the neighborhood has grown accustomed.

A — 7

The two daughters of Halil Efendi, an important business man in town, received their education at a French Catholic school for girls, where they were sent as children. Though they left school several years ago, they still love to revisit their old school to see the Mother Superior and the Sisters. During the few years which they spent in the school, the daughters of Halil Efendi came under the complete influence of these Sisters who supervised their education.

It is not so very long since all the students in the foregoing religious school were obliged to follow Catechism courses, to go to Chapel and to be present at all religious services, no matter to what creed they belonged.

The daughters of Halil Efendi, being boarders, naturally as a result developed religious beliefs and moral conceptions which were altogether different from those taught in Turkish families. So, when they left school for home, their mentality was hardly Turkish and still less Moslem.

The father was quite aware of the state of mind of his daughters, but hoped that in the course of time new contacts and the change of environment would soon improve matters. Their mother felt desperate, all the more so as she was under the influence of her mother-in-law — a really fanatical Moslem.

From time to time divergencies between parents and children arise on various matters. Thereupon the girls sulk for days, refuse to speak and the company of their relatives and especially that of Turkish young men is strictly avoided.

As they belong to a rich family, candidates for marriage are not lacking, but alas all offers are flatly rejected by both young girls. As time passes they become more and more obstinate and stick to their own conceptions and beliefs.

The parents finally decide to force them into marriage, all the more so as good offers are not lacking. The young girl categorically refuse, saying they would prefer to use the money to continue their studies in France instead of placing it in the hands of just any man whom they know nothing about.

The idea of continuing their studies abroad, especially in France, occupies the minds of the two young girls to such an extent that they are in danger of becoming sick. They keep up continuous correspondence with some of their school friends in Europe. They never leave the house except to go to visit the Catholic Sisters. The year before they refused to spend the summer on the Princes Islands for the simple reason that family friends would also be there and they would be forced into their company.

Thus relations at home are always strained. They no longer agree on anything, and especially do they disagree with their mother and their grandmother who strongly object to their going abroad and who care for one thing only, namely, to get them married off.

One day an officer presents himself at the house and asks for the hand of the oldest daughter. The latter is called to the parlor and is informed of the young man's offer. For her answer, she gets up and leaves the room without saying a word. From that day on the relations between parents and children become impossible. The father does not speak to his children, the mother and the grandmother are always angry, whereas the two young girls stay in their rooms all day reading and often crying. They have been forbidden to go to the Sisters' convent and have thus been deprived of the only walk they enjoyed.

Meanwhile, the atmosphere is intolerable in the house — it is now always closed — and the windows are down and the curtains drawn.

A — 8

A family of mother and four children, two sons and two daughters. Their father, now dead, was a high ranking military doctor and well-known in society.

The authority of the father is so strong in a Turkish family that his influence guides his family even after his death. Such is the case in this family. His will provides both for the distribution of his wealth as well as for the education of his children.

The military profession being a tradition in the above-mentioned family, the father in his will specifies that his sons have to attend a military school and become good military officers and carry on his work as he and his forebears have done.

As for the daughters, he being to the end a faithful adherent of the old régime and very strongly opposed to the education of girls, he desires that they become good housewives. The children being still very young the mother makes it her sacred duty to execute her late husband's will to the last word and registers the boys in a military school. She is guided in this not only by the abovementioned will, but also by her own ambition to keep the prestige of the family on the same high level. She keeps the girls at home for a while according to the expressed desire of their father, but fully aware of the rapid progress and changes which are taking place around her, and seeing women gaining freedom from day to day, — girls being sent to school — she changes her mind and registers her daughters in a school. The younger boy is being prepared to become a military doctor like his father. Everything runs smoothly in the beginning while the children are so young, but by and by, the conduct of her children troubles her and she is greatly disappointed to see her hopes and dreams collapse. She finds to her great sorrow that she is no longer strong enough to protect the authority of her dead husband, her scolding has no effect upon them. From all sides one hears complaints that the children have lost respect for their parents — the poor mother is frantic and loses her head over this change in customs. Her eldest son, who has been attending school for some years, is a bad student, lazy and dreamy. He justifies his weaknesses with a whole lot of new ideas which he has picked up from the company of a few revolutionaries; he takes part in a school strike, and one day to the great shame and desolation of his mother, he is expelled from the military school.

Then and there begin the quarrels between the son and his mother who cannot easily accept that an honorable family tradition should come to such an end.

Losing all faith in her eldest son, she gives him his share of the inheritance and lets him act as he wishes, devoting herself entirely to the education of her younger son. But soon she is disappointed in him too and she realizes that her last ray of hope is gone. The younger son is not a student either and more or less follows in his brother's footsteps. As to the daughters, after continuing their studies for a few years, they leave the school of their own accord considering their education good enough for dances and society.

The mother is desperate, in vain she complains that they have brought disgrace upon the family and violated their dead father's wishes.

The oldest son now devotes his time to politics. Ambitious he wastes his father's money in the company of political parasites and frivolous women.

"If you do not wish to carry out your father's last wishes, at least abstain from bringing shame on your own name," weeps the mother. But she finds that her children are now trying to educate her instead, scoffing at her religious beliefs, the old traditions and moral standards. To her friends the desperate mother explains: "It is not for lack of talents or brains that my children have been such bad students. It is this disrespect for religion and parents that is the underlying cause of all the trouble."

Desperate, she definitely takes refuge in religion and solitude, passing the great part of the year alone in their summer residence on the Bosphorus.

From officer, according to the father's wish, the eldest son after having spent all his father's money finds a job as a simple clerk at the Post Office justifying himself as follows: The foolish notions of the older times are now gone. Everybody is a democrat today, and everybody is more sensible. There is advancement in every profession. Everybody is a "Bey" and a "Pasha" now.

A - 9

A young Turk, who graduated from a technical college in Germany, upon his return home severely criticises the old spirit still prevalent in Turkey. He is regarded by his compatriots as a model of energy and initiative, but most of them are unable to understand him, particularly his own mother. She is a widow, and has three sons of whom he is the eldest. Vain by nature and having inherited from her husband a fortune which enables her to live a life of leisure, she has all the weaknesses of a woman of the world. She loves luxury, cultivates relations with people of society and adores the easy and superficial atmosphere of drawing rooms. Her son, on the contrary, does not

care at all for social life, theatres, movies, and the only thing he enjoys is his profession, his daily and strenuous work. He is extremely active and the laziness of the Turks arouses his indignation. When he sees them day and night sitting in their coffee-houses quietly smoking their nargiles, he says indignantly: "We, Turks, are such a lazy and sluggish people that, in order to build up a new Turkey, we shall need several generations."

His modest way of living, his contempt for luxury is greatly disliked by his mother. Small conflicts take place between them. Not only does she resent his not caring for society, his careless way of dressing, his forward ideas which find no sympathy in the smart drawing rooms which are so essential to her, but she simply hates his work. A son who comes home every day with his clothes smelling of machinery, stained with oil, and whose hands resemble those of a workman is no credit at all in her eyes and in no way satisfies her ambition. She openly tells him of her disappointment and repeatedly states that he has chosen for himself an ugly and disagreeable profession.

The first serious conflict takes place in connection with the marriage question. His mother dreams of marrying him with a girl of some wealthy and aristocratic family and takes the necessary steps to find such a suitable match. Some ladies, who serve as intermediaries, discover the desired young girl. But when the young man learns that he is to marry a young, rich and spoiled woman, he categorically refuses to comply with his mother's desire on the ground that the girl whom she has chosen will never be able to sympathize with his career and with his modest way of living. His mother, although greatly disappointed, does not renounce her projects to see her son married according to her ideas because his friends keep her informed of his love affairs and she knows that he is in love with a rich and well-born girl. But when her son finally tells her that it is his intention to marry a cousin of his, a penniless girl with modest tastes and who has all the qualities of a good housewife, her indignation is great. Violent quarrels take place between mother and son and she does everything in her power to destroy their marriage. But all her efforts are useless and her son opposes all her remonstrances with a calm firmness. "I cannot understand why you do not marry the girl you love?" his mother asks him. "Because she is too young and too beautiful for me, whereas I know my cousin and am convinced that I can be sure of the future", replies the young man who, like all Turks, is of a jealous disposition and whose desire it is to settle down to a quiet and modest life which corresponds with his tastes.

The young people marry. The mother continues to resent it and she never fails to find some reason to quarrel with her son or daughter-in-law. If he buys a present for his wife, his mother withdraws into her room because he

has hurt her feelings. The fact that her daughter-in-law has no desire whatsoever to indulge in the life of leisure which constitutes her whole ambition, exasperates her. But gradually things take on a more or less normal character.

However, mother and son continue to disagree on many points. She asks him all the time not to work with such zeal and cannot understand his love for the profession he has chosen. Sometimes he does not finish his dinner in order to go back to some design on which he is working. "Why should I not make this or that engine?" is his exasperated query. The continual strain tells on his nerves.

It happens that one day, in repairing the motor of an automobile, the great muscular effort which the repair necessitates causes the breaking of a blood vessel on his face. He has to be take to the hospital, undergoes an operation but never stops worrying and thinking about his machines. This accident serves his mother as a pretext to renew her criticism of his disgusting profession.

When he, after completing his studies in Germany, returned to Turkey he found a position in an oxygen factory which belonged to an Armenian who, seeing the young man's interest in his work as well as his unusual capacities, gradually leaves everything to his care. After working for a while the young Turk manages to save some money and decides to establish himself independently. He obtains from his mother the necessary balance and starts to build his own factory. He works all the winter side by side with his workmen (it was in 1929 and the winter was particularly cold) and when at last his factory begins to function the Armenian, whose factory till then had been the only one producing oxygen in Istanbul, lowers the price of a bottle from 10 to 3-1/2 Turkish Pounds. Although he has invested every bit of his capital, he does not lose his courage and accepts the challenge. He too sells his oxygen at 3-1/2 Turkish Pounds the bottle. His mother is horror-struck. She accuses him of having wasted his father's money, tears flow and quarrels ensue. He has to close his factory of oxygen, but full of energy and of a tenacious disposition he takes up something else, makes again some money and with it reopens his closed factory and begins to compete with the Armenian. The latter calls on him one day and offers him one hundred thousand Turkish Pounds for his factory as this is the only means, he thinks, to do away with a dangerous adversary. But the young Turk categorically refuses to sell his establishment. "I would not sell my factory even if you were to offer me twice the amount. Because I am not working to make money, but in order to produce something," is his reply. This makes the Armenian realize the real worth of his former engineer and they agree to come too terms. "You have

won," says the older man to the young one, "let us make peace and resume our former price — ten pounds the bottle." This issue again arouses the disappointment of the mother who accuses her son of having made an unpardonable blunder in letting slip away an opportunity of making a fortune.

The generous attitude of her son towards his workmen irritates the mother. He defends the people who work for him and says: "All humanity rests on the working classes and it is with their help that capital is being made." Three times a week they are given dinner and whenever they work overtime, they are paid for it separately.

It can be said that sport is his sole entertainment. But on this point his mother and wife agree — they both do not sympathize with his excessive love for all kinds of outdoor exercises. The two women are afraid of the risks which the latter involve and often conceal the programs and invitations which are mailed to him. His particular hobby is bicycle riding. He participated in the Ankara bicycle matches and was awarded the first prize, - but his success does not change the attitude of his mother and wife. They say: "You might have fallen and broken a limb, or catch some illness and die." "Never mind," is his reply, "the only thing that matters is to win."

He never goes to the mosque. His mother who is very much concerned about it, points out to him one of their neighbors who five times per day leaves his work in order to say his obligatory daily prayers. But it is exactly this circumstance which arouses his disgust. "Why should I leave my work and perform such antics?" is his reply: "God is in me and religion is in all our good actions."

Healthy and energetic, he is moreover extremely conscientious in everything he does. Firm convictions and clear ideas are the basis on which his work rests. He has been from the very beginning a convinced and ardent partisan of the new régime in Turkey and enthusiastic about every reform. He is very Americanized in his conceptions. In his opinion Turkey's future depends entirely upon her industrialization. "If we expect an indolent nation like the Turks to progress without being forced nothing would be achieved. I sometimes think that Kemal Pasha has not done enough in this respect.... Turkey needs factories and more factories..."

GROUP B
1 - 28

B — 1

A Turkish major, a man of culture and refinement, was very happily married to a distinguished Turkish lady. One child of great beauty was their only offspring. As the little girl grew up, the parents, particularly the father, worshiped her. The father being wealthy, nothing was spared to make her happy and the best education was given her.

The child was fair and had the most magnificent golden hair which she wore in two braids. When she was fifteen, bobbed hair came into fashion. One day the young girl expressed her longing to have her hair bobbed and begged her father to let her do it.

To her father, however, the idea was not at all pleasing. "I have always given in to all your whims and desires so that you may have all the pleasure in the world and you are free to follow every fashion to your heart's content, but bob your hair, never! Your long fair tresses have had a great charm for me ever since you were a little girl. My child, you must respect your father's desires. For the sake of your father you shall keep the beautiful fair hair with which God has blessed you."

A few days passed. One evening the young girl entered the room of her parents, with her hair bobbed…!

At the sight of her the father, pale with anger but controlling himself calmly stated:

> "Ismet, since an insignificant whim of fashion means more to you than the wishes and pleading of your father, your father who adored and worshiped you up to the present moment, you cease from now on to be his child and the paternal house is closed to you henceforth. It will be my duty to provide for your comfort and pleasure all my life, and you will be the sole heiress of my fortune, but, my child — no, you are no longer that!"

The frantic mother in vain pleaded for her daughter, but her tears and supplications were of no avail. "I am a man of action, a man of my word, and my decision is definite and final."

These fearful and apparently decisive words threw the mother into a faint.

The major immediately sent for a relative requesting her to come to his house to fetch his daughter, and orders were given to pack her belongings right away. When the relative arrived, the father asked her to take his daughter to the American College in Arnavutköy and to register her there as a full-term boarder.

It was pathetic, this forced departure of the young girl from the paternal house, from her home, deprived even of the privilege of saying "good bye" to her father.

As the years went by the young girl continued her education at the College, where she lacked nothing. When sick the father was informed about her health through the school doctor and even sent his own doctor to consult with the College physician. But the paternal house remained closed.

The girl having finished her schooling was placed with a family to whom the father paid a regular allowance for his daughter's expenses. When the girl became engaged she begged to be allowed to introduce her fiancé to her parents. But the father remained firm, neither the fiancé nor the daughter could come to the house. So, the young lady, broken-hearted, was married outside of her home. All wedding expenses were provided by the father and a proper trousseau given; there was no question about that!

The major, her father, was promoted to a high rank in the army and was still active. But during the course of a few years, his hair had turned white. The mother was sad and melancholy longing for her daughter, but nothing could move the father.

The girl could not come home. Her life of course was not very happy; she had destroyed the happiness of her parents by preferring a whim of fashion to her father's wish. He worshiped her up to that wretched moment when she bobbed her hair.

B — 2

When the father of a Turkish family has several wives, all living in the same house, and all being treated equally, the children of the different mothers usually live with each other and their father in harmony. Quarrels among them or with their father only arise when their mothers live in separate houses, apart from each other and especially when the father favors one wife more than the others. Hatred, fierce hatred, disguised under cover of apparently friendly relations and which burns in the hearts of the sons is aroused by the humiliating treatment of their mothers who disapprove of the conduct of their father in an age when so much progress is being made in the country. Not only do these young men defend their mothers but they openly show disgust for polygamy.

In a certain family of Istanbul in accordance with her husband's wishes, the mother is sent away from her child and is forced to live in an Anatolian village. Up to a certain age the son endures this separation, although with

deep grief but as the time passes and he becomes of age, encouraged by the new spirit in Turkey, which definitely opposes polygamy, he begins to criticise his father and demands his mother's return from Anatolia. His dissatisfaction becomes even stronger when he learns that his father has relations with other women whom he prefers to his mother. Finally, after long discussions and disputes, the father gives in to his son's request as he is afraid of creating a scandal and besides is very anxious to keep up his good reputation in society. He agrees therefore to the return of his wife to Istanbul to live with him and with his son under the same roof.

But peace in the house, after this, does not endure very long. On the one hand the son feels encouraged by his success and at the same time, carried away by the new tendency of ideas and life in Turkey, begins to claim more and more of his own and his mother's rights. On the other hand, the father a man of great severity, zealous for his authority, reactionary to the point of fanaticism, nourishes a resentment against his son for having forced on him the return of his mother, and because both mother and son always act together. What irritates him most though are the son's exceedingly modern ideas.

The son constantly asks for money. Father and son work together, the former being quite a wealthy business man established at the Bazaar at Istanbul. In the beginning he trusts his son and gives him the money he needs. But on several occasions the young man abuses his father's confidence and squanders large sums of money which are entrusted to him for business purposes.

The young man, who is practically uneducated, allows himself to be carried away by the loose ways of modern life in Turkey and wastes his money in gambling and with public women. When the father learns of this he is very angry indeed.

Among the Turks, whenever a serious quarrel arises between parents and children — a quarrel which threatens to divide them or to make them enemies — it is a traditional practice, especially among the old people, and in spite of the reserved character of the family life, to look for an intermediary, a good friend, a neighbor and sometimes, but very rarely, a cousin, to reconcile them. Among the aristocratic families this rôle is played by the "Dadıs" (negro nurses). Often this gives these "Dadıs" a very important position in the intimate life of the family. Only when a quarrel becomes very serious do the opponents enter into direct argument, for the authority of the father is such a powerful tradition among Turks and so sacred being a part of their religion and therefore deeply rooted in their customs, that even to this day it is a rare thing for a son directly to oppose his father. In the case of the family mentioned above, the father approaches one of his neighbors requesting him to advise his

son to change his manner of living, lest he should ruin the whole family. But the advice is of no avail. The young man insists that he lost the money in business which only infuriates the father even more.

One day the father calls his son to him and asks him to account for the 1200 Pounds which he had given him, but the son denies having squandered the money. A quarrel so violent breaks out between them that it rapidly assumes a fierce character. The father, through the neighbors and friends, becomes acquainted with the true facts and learns how and for what purpose his money had been squandered. He is beside himself with rage. "See," he said "my son who criticises me for having several wives, robs his father in order to change mistresses every night. Those few women of ours, we have them lawfully and according to the law of the Prophet — but today.... what kind of respect and fear is this that my son has towards me?" The neighbors think that the story about the son squandering all the money was a pretext on the part of the father to revenge himself for the forced return of his wife which his son imposed upon him. The son loses control of himself in turn and attacks his father. One day the conflict becomes so violent that the father gets hold of a hatchet and rushes upon his rebellious son with the intention of killing him. Thanks, however, to the immediate intervention of the desperate mother, who grabs in time the arm of the old man and calls the neighbors for help, the son is saved. After such a scene it is no longer possible to live together and the son is turned out of the house. The father forbids the mother to even mention the son to him and under no circumstances to aid him with money or food. The mother, however, does it secretly.

From then on, husband and wife become the worst enemies. The husband spies on her and when she succeeds in doing something for the son, the old man leaves her for days as a punishment without money and even without food. He retains his wife only out of vengeance holding her entirely responsible for the offence committed against his authority as the head of the family. The poor mother endures this atrocious matrimonial existence for the sake of her son for whom she hopes to save the inheritance.

The son turned away from the paternal house — shelterless and without food, passes his nights in coffee-houses, in the yards of mosques, even going so far as receiving alms from people who pity him. Only his father will not relent, though he is well aware of his son's miserable state. He even wishes to avoid him on the street. To friends, however, the old man tries to justify his actions by his beliefs and ideas claiming that his son has dishonored him, that he has rejected faith, religion and every moral ideal. The old man feels he is therefore justified in getting enraged against New Turkey sometimes calling the present Turks "Jews" and sometimes "Parents of the Christians" unworthy

of respect and love. But the neighbors regard the father as a man not worthy of esteem and are convinced that his ideas merely serve to mask the bad sentiments of an ambitious, wretched and savage individual.

B — 3

A father, a widower of 50 years, and an only son 18 years old. Despite his advanced age, the father remarries, this time to a young girl of 22, and places his son as a boarder in a commercial school, he himself being a merchant by profession. Now and then during vacation the boy comes home where the young wife receives him most affectionately. Soon the young man discovers that he feels differently towards her and realizes that he loves her. On her side the young wife, married to this elderly man for the sake of his wealth, feels attracted to this youth and is flattered by his attentions.

One day profiting by the absence of the father, whose business takes him to Izmir for a short time they exchange confidences and thus a love-liaison begins. They are able to keep this from the father for two years. The father is a very pious man, a man of old-fashioned ideas, who despises the new age, and who still wears the fez at home.

The young wife hates these ideas of her husband but finds herself obliged to live his life. She must wear a Ferace — stay indoors all the time (the practices of the old régime are strictly carried out in this house), the husband even threatens to divorce her if she adopts the modern way of dress. She can't even go to the doctor alone and what makes her feel worse than anything is the knowledge that her servants are bribed to spy on every move she makes.

The son full of new ideas and influenced by the school and the movies (which he considers his second school) cannot bear this mode of living imposed upon the young wife by her husband, all the more so because between the young son and the young wife there already exists a liaison. Although emancipated from the past the son does not acknowledge it openly to the father but contents himself with ridiculing him to his wife. He intimates to her that she is not meant to be his father's wife, being young and up-to-date, and that he himself is ready to steal her even from his father, but alas he has no fortune. The two resolve to wait patiently for the death of the old man, and then to inherit all his money.

One night at a party with their cousins, the father, who was weak enough to drink too much, falls into a deep sleep and remains there in a stupor. Then the young couple, giving as a pretext that the house must not be

left empty, return home together. The next morning, however, when the father returns rather earlier than expected, and discovers the liaison, a violent quarrel takes place and the son is ordered to return to his school and never to come back again. But the wife, by her false explanations, by tenderness and supplications, successfully covers up everything.

Soon after, the son graduates from school and comes home. To get rid of him the father proposes to give him his share, a sum of ten to fifteen thousand Turkish Pounds on condition that he go to Izmir and establish himself there as a merchant. The father, not trusting them completely, made this offer with the definite purpose of keeping the son away from his wife. The son finds pretexts to decline the offer and is aided and abetted in this by the wife who uses all her feminine charms to persuade her husband to change his decision. "We must take into consideration public opinion. Everybody will say that we turned out our only son." The father allows himself to be convinced against his will, trusting that his son will lose himself completely in his new work but insists he live and work alone. The latter does so but never ceases his visits to the house. What exasperates the old man most is that the son, because of his newly acquired independece, dares criticise him in the presence of his wife. The free life which the son leads since graduating makes him decidedly bold and he finds the situation of the stepmother unbearable and so informs his father. "She is young, she needs amusements, just as all other young women do, she should be taken to the theatres, the cinemas, the dancing halls. Times have changed and life must change accordingly." The father enraged replies as follows: "The woman's place is indoors — she should be obedient to her husband. Our fathers, our grandfathers have so treated their wives and we shall do the same for such is the law of our Ottoman religion and besides, it is quite evident that the morals of those days were far superior to those of your free days. At present an honest man is ashamed even to walk on the street. I have given you plenty of money to work; you are now free. I ask nothing of you but to keep away from my house and not to mix in my affairs." The son stubbornly refuses; so there are quarrels, but the young man finds a way for reconciliation after each of these quarrels.

Together with the young wife, they invent different means to hide their love and to avoid suspicion. Profiting from the frequent absences of the father, whose business obliges him to go to Izmir the son and young wife often go out together, visit theatres, movies and most of all dancing halls. The servants are bribed to keep silent and often the young woman goes out in disguise to avoid recognition by the neighbors.

But one day, the father instead of leaving for Izmir returns suddenly to the house, and finds no wife. Forced to tell the truth, the servant confesses everything and even names the dancing hall the young couple are visiting. When the wife returns, the husband beats her. She runs away and appeals to the police. The matter ends in a divorce. Soon after the poor woman dies suddenly and the two rivals — father and son — separate forever after a terrible fight. "You misled my wife" he said to his son, "you spoiled my peaceful home, and troubled the peace of my old age. The day will come when you will realize your mistake; forget not that sooner or later everybody will return to the old religion and to the good old morals of the past."

B — 4

Baghip Bey is quite a wealthy man. He is about 65 years old and lives on his private fortune. Unfortunately he lost his wife six years ago, and, in the beginning, his daughter looked after the household and took care of her father and her two brothers.

But the young girl is now married to a naval officer and can hardly take care of her own house.

Baghip Bey's house is in a state of unbelievable disorder. A servant attends to the housekeeping, but she steals anything she can lay her hands on. The two sons are never home regularly; one does his military service and is seldom at home, whereas the other — who is already 23 years old — does nothing special and merely loafs about in cafés and restaurants. From time to time he brings home a few friends to play cards. Usually he takes his meals outside and thus most of the time the father is all alone at the table, his daughter running a separate household.

Baghip Bey distressed and irritated with such a life decides to remedy these conditions, to remarry and find a wife of about 40 years of age who eventually would take care of him in his old days. His sons are very much opposed to such a marriage, being afraid incidentally that the number of heirs would increase by at least one person, which does not suit them at all. The sons, the daughter and the son-in-law all agree that the father must be prevented at all cost from getting married. Baghip Bey is determined to remarry and his determination to do so creates dissension in the family. But if the marriage cannot be stopped the children must see that their father finds an elderly woman so that the fear of heirs is eliminated. They actually find some woman of about their father's age, but the old man has his own way, and in spite of their fierce opposition he marries a woman of his own choice.

Family quarrels are endless. At first they all sulk, then they exchange bitter words and finally, when the new wife gives birth to a baby boy, the conflict reaches its height. The daughter gossips with the neighbors that the newborn does not belong to her father, as he is already too old, that their stepmother was determined to have a baby, no matter by what means so as to obtain a greater share of the inheritance. The son-in-law even goes so far as to pretend that he had once seen his stepmother-in-law coming out of a cinema accompanied by a young man, to all of which the stepmother replies by striking him.

But Baghip Bey who knows how to please his wife, turns a deaf ear to all these insinuations. This exasperates even more his grown-up children.

The sons are obliged to stay in their father's house and even to partake of their meals there, although not at the same table with their father, for the old man has categorically refused to grant their request for the distribution of the inheritance before his death. He gives them practically no pocket-money, thus forcing them to look for a job if they do not wish to take their meals at home. The older son continues to do nothing, but he no longer invites his friends to the house. The younger son, who has just completed his military service, runs all day after women, and all of them look forward to their father's death, so that they may one day soon come into some means and be able to live at least for some time without having to work.

On the other hand, Baghip Bey is well taken care of by his second wife, he is very contented, is in excellent health and has no intention of quitting life so soon.

Meanwhile, whenever parents and children meet by chance quarrels between them are unending, they insult each other, and it often ends in a public scandal.

B — 5

Father a widower fifty years old and the son nineteen years old. The father has put away all thought of getting married again, wishing to devote himself entirely to the education of his son. Yet, friends, neighbors and relatives all urge him to get married, and say to him: "When your son marries, he will surely leave you; who then will take care of you during your old days? You certainly realize that nowadays children are not the same as formerly; they do not worry much about their old parents." Finally, the father is persuaded and decides to get married to a young and pretty widow who was chosen for him by one of his cousins. The woman is still very young, too young really for such an old man. For this reason, the son, who is already 19 years old, is

not satisfied with his father's decision and in his turn makes up his mind to prevent this marriage which for him is sudden and undesirable. He advances as his main reason for being against the marriage her extreme youth as he would find it difficult to accept her as his mother and he is convinced that the marriage will expose his father to public gossip. "I will find in her", says he "qualities which my father will never see, for he is old and I am young. I know far better the women of today and I fear that he will not be able to rely on her faithfulness. I myself am not at all sure that I can remain indifferent to her youth and beauty. The above might make me lack in respect as a good son."

Not being able to tell all this directly to his father, he calls on the relatives who are handling the latter's matrimonial affairs and exposes to them his reactions on the subject with the request that they pass the information on to his father.

When the father learns of his son's attitude hes is shocked and astonished that his son at that early age should dare to contradict him in a matter as personal and intimate as his marriage. Then turning to those who put him au courant of all this he says: "Perhaps my son is in love with this young woman and out of jealousy wants to prevent my marriage. Pay no attention whatsoever to what he says and continue your negotiations with the young lady."

So a bitter conflict between father and son arises just about the time when the preparations for the wedding are almost completed. The young lady frequently visits the house, coming between father and son. Although the young man is always sulky and avoids the company of his future mother, his father mistrusts his presence, pries into all his movements, frequently humiliates him before the young lady and even forbids him to dress well or to shave when she is in the house. Seldom though do father and son sit down together at the same table for meals (a custom looked upon with veneration among Turks, and violated only in the event of a serious quarrel) since they are no longer on speaking terms.

While the father takes every precaution in the house against the son, the young man outside the house and with the assistance of several young men who pretend to have courted the young widow, succeeds by intrigues between her and his father in putting an end to their relations and makes their marriage impossible.

But after the success of the son the father gets more and more irritated against him, quarrels with him daily and looks for an opportunity to take his revenge.

Such an opportunity soon presents itself. The son in his turn decides to get married to a pretty but poor girl whom he loves. The father categorically refuses to give his consent, prompted entirely by a desire to revenge himself. Not having any money of his own, and not wishing to lose his inheritance, the young man cannot make up his mind to marry and therefore leaves the girl. Thus, the father triumphs over his son, but the hatred between them, which is profound and hidden, continues until death.

B — 6

A certain grocer, a very pious and honest man, takes into his family a ten-year old orphan girl as a servant, but with the intention of taking care of her and educating her as one of his own children. Although he is a nervous man, he not only tries not to scold or beat the orphan girl, considering such behavior a grievous sin, but he often quarrels with his wife for having spoken a harsh word to the little girl and even goes so far as beating her for making the orphan girl suffer. The grocer often punishes his own children: one three years old, another five, but never the orphan. His wife patiently bears these disputes because she loves him, but she does not change her attitude towards the servant girl. One day the latter, while working, lets slip through her hands a very precious crystal vase, which breaks into a thousand pieces. As the vase is a souvenir from the wife's parents and therefore very dear to her she feels as badly about it as if an accident had happened to one of her children, and on the spur of the moment, contemplating the harm done, loses her temper, furiously attacks the child and beats her soundly. In the evening when the husband returns home he finds his wife in an angry mood and the little girl sobbing desperately.

"Why are you crying, my child?" he asks. The child, with tears in her eyes, tells the whole story. Her frightened look and tearful eyes, fill his heart with so much pity that he runs to his wife and, without paying any attention whatsoever to her protests, beats her unmercifully, so much so that she falls unconscious. Even the little girl, frightened by his fury and perhaps a bit apprehensive of the consequences to her the next day, intervenes, and begs him to have pity on his wife.

Just at that moment the brother of the wife drops in by chance. "What is it all about, why do you behave in this manner towards my sister?" he asks. "Go to her for explanations", rudely replies the husband and goes out to the garden. A little later the wife regains consciousness and relates everything to her brother. She keeps nothing back and tells him that her husband not only

often quarrels with her but beats her on account of the orphan girl. The brother is naturally infuriated.

"Since your husband illtreats you for the sake of an orphan girl, you should not remain his wife any longer", says he, and proposes to take her home with him right away. For a moment she hesitates as she still loves her husband, but in the end decides to leave him, taking with her the two children. Surprising as it may seem, the husband is even willing to give up his own children rather than illtreat or chase away the orphan girl whom he adopted considering it his sacred duty to make her happy.

The formalities of the divorce take three years and during this period he lives separated from his children. His great sorrow consists not so much in the fact that he is separated from them but because he is not allowed to give them any financial help whatever. For a religious minded man he sees himself forced against his will to commit a sin.

Meanwhile, the brother succeeds in marrying his sister off to a poor village teacher and is therefore obliged to return the children to their father. The latter, in order to provide for their education and bringing up, marries a relative of his, a widow, and much older than himself, to whose care the children are confided.

The years pass — he fulfils his last duty towards the orphan girl by marrying her off. She leaves the house to live elsewhere. The children grow up and are in school. He takes good care of them but is often nervous and very strict with them and also punishes them severely. It becomes soon apparent that the children do not care much for their father and are more attracted to their mother, who from time to time comes to see them. She usually stays at an Inn when she comes to their village and through some intermediary lets them know that she has arrived. With their father's consent the children go to see her. Her husband, the teacher, accompanies her on these visits and succeeds in winning the children's love and sympathy, more so than the father, because the teacher is a better educated and a much better-natured man than their own father. No doubt the tastes which they acquire at school predispose them to prefer the latter. Their father is aware of their sentiments, and of course does not feel happy about it. But jealousy plays no part in this, it is merely because he is anxious to do his duty by them till the end and to give them their education and a trade necessary to them in life.

"What will become of you if you do go out there to live with your mother, in that small village, where you can learn nothing of life?" But the children have already begun to oppose their father's will on different matters and quarrels often break out.

In the beginning the mother stirs them up against their father wishing to attract them to her. But when her husband receives a long letter from the father setting forth all his good intention, she has to admit — and the teacher agrees with her — that "her former husband, although rude and nervous, is a just and honest man".

"Let them complete their studies and start working," writes the father, "after which they shall be free to go to their mother — you may be assured I shall in no way prevent them from doing so. Today I ask you only to let a father accomplish his duty". The mother agrees to wait, but the difficulty arises, alas, with the children, who openly declare that they would prefer to live with their mother. Realizing that he cannot retain them by persuasion, he locks their birth certificates in his desk, - for without them they are helpless and cannot travel. In this way by sheer force he obliges them to stay with him and to continue their studies.

B — 7

In a Turkish family composed of a grandmother (80 years old) a father, her son (55 years old) and a grandson (26 years old) and a daughter-in-law (20 years old), the grandmother and father strictly follow the old traditions and customs and attach particular importance to the respect which should be shown by the young to their elders. The old grandmother, despite her advanced age, still works energetically and insists upon recognition of her authority in the house. The relations existing between the old woman and her son are a good example of the old hierarchical order. For every step he takes, the father seeks the grandmother's advice and although he himself is quite advanced in years he is always extremely respectful towards his old mother. He gets up every time she enters the room; at the table she is the first to take her place and the first to be served. In the evening when he returns home, the first thing he does is to inquire after his mother's health. "Where are you mother, dear? What are you doing? How do you feel today?" and often taking her by the hand he leads her from her room to the dining room.

However, the good example set by the elders does not save the young man from the conflicting influence of the outside world. Up to the time of his marriage the peace of the family remains intact — somewhat hypocritically nevertheless on the part of the son who has long been under the influence of the new age and leads a free and dissipated life outside the house.

The grandfather, before his death, calling his wife to his bedside had said to her: "I charge you with the care and instruction of my daughter, but

above all I want you to make a 'man' of my son." The grandmother often said to her son, "I brought you up as a son worthy of your father, now it is your turn to follow my example and make a 'man' of your son." To accomplish this nothing is spared, and the grandmother who still has some means left from her husband, spends generously for the education of her grandson. The latter however is lazy and not at all interested in studies, and one day returns from school firmly determined not to go back again. Not prepared for any life work and realizing that he cannot anticipate a bright future, the young man patiently endures all the reproofs and remarks of his parents with a view to assuring his future material interests.

Here, it should be explained that it often happens among Turkish families of today where there is a difference of opinion between father and son that the young men who are in government employ or who expect material benefits from the State, are the ones who most energetically oppose their father's will and principles. Moreover, those who have an independent profession, not only do not compromise in any way with their parents, but even try to dominate them.

In the case of the family mentioned above, the apparent harmony of the house is broken as soon as the young man is married. The daughter-in-law also brings in disputes and disorder. Even on the wedding day the disagreement between her and her husband's parents begins. Every one is shocked to see the bride appear in a modern dress, with her head uncovered except for the thin traditional white veil, and especially upon such a solemn occasion! She must wear the "Ferace" over her dress right away, otherwise the marriage ceremony will be stopped! The poor bride and her mother, having no other alternative, are obliged to obey. So, from the very beginning, the relations between the boy's parents and the daughter-in-law are unfriendly and hostile.

The grandmother is shocked to see the young bride appearing in short, sleeveless dresses, and the freedom she enjoys before men provokes the grandmother still more. "Why! At least she should cover her hair with a veil when before men" commands the old Moslem. But the young wife merely laughs at the idea and pays no attention whatever to the remarks made to her.

The severe criticisms and the inevitable quarrels begin only a few days after the wedding. The son, who loves his wife passionately, naturally takes her defense. His father, though dissatisfied, is tactful in his attitude and advises his mother to be prudent, as otherwise they might make things worse by forcing the young couple to extremes. The grandmother, however, does not agree, and loudly protests against the provocative conduct of the young bride. She simply cannot endure the daughter-in-law's free manners, her disrespect of her authority, her frivolous ways, the dancing halls, the cinemas and her

extravagant and idle life. The family is divided on one side the grandmother and her son, on the other the newly married couple.

In the meantime the financial situation of the family changes, the father's business is not too prosperous, the old woman's savings all gone, and it is only the grandson who earns a little as a painter-decorator, after having tried several other trades. The latter, tired of quarrels, definitely forbids his grandmother to criticise his wife. "How much I have spent to make a 'man' of you" complains the old woman, "and now I am even denied the right to express my opinion!"

"But what more do you want" argues the grandson "you have your coffee, cigarettes, a bed to rest in, and everything that should make you happy and contented. If you cannot tolerate my wife, shut yourself up in your room, and leave us alone!"

Soon, however, the quarrels in the family circle become of secondary importance. Misunderstandings and jealousies arise between husband and wife, and they begin to abuse the freedom which they enjoy. To the parents the life of the young couple becomes an unbearable spectacle! Late one night the modern wife comes home all alone and very drunk. She is dressed in a new dress which is a present to her from a certain young man with whom she has danced all night long in a bar. Seeing this her husband forces the truth from her and prompted by his grandmother he cuts the dress into pieces. The pieces are placed in a box and sent to the girl's mother with a note that if the incident should be repeated, her daughter will be sent back to her. The following day, the mother-in-law, very much hurt and insulted, comes to her son-in-law for explanations. There is a big scandal; the indignant mother calls the police and wants to take her daughter back home. "They have made a prisoner of my poor daughter" she exclaims, "she has grown so very thin now, whereas she was so well and strong before her marriage!"

However, to the great disappointment of both parents the daughter-in-law does not want to go with her mother, and using all her feminine charms she finally makes peace with her husband, and out they go the movies to quiet their excited nerves!

The grandmother overwhelmed, locks herself up in her room, praying to God that He may save her from such a terrible world.

Soon after another quarrel — this time provoked by the young man — upsets the house, and from then on quarrels and harsh words become quite a common thing in the family.

The father, an intelligent and educated Turk of the ancient type, respected by his friends as a prudent commentator of the Koran, and a devout Moslem, often complains of his son before his European friends (generally the

Turks of today approach foreigners with more confidence than they do their own nationals), the moral situation being such that the father has no confidence in his own son, nor the son in his father.

"What a sad age we have come to! Wherever one goes one hears of nothing but quarrels between the old and the young! The good old days! Look at our young women of today — no honor, no modesty, nothing is left! We look upon the European women with much more respect than our own women nowadays!"

Aside from these foreigners, he has still another confidant with whom he likes to discuss the evils of the new age. This is an old man from Anatolia who remains at a hospital in Istanbul due to a long illness. The two are in perfect accord, not only because they share the same ideas, but more so because they are both victims of the same evil — youth! The old man likes to take refuge in the hospital, away from his own village in Anatolia, which has already fallen under the demoralizing influence of the new age.

"I have no heart to return home to the village which was so dear to me" sadly admits the old man, "because it is not I, but my daughter-in-law who now commands at home. My son does not take sides with me because he is afraid of his wife. Can you understand that? A man afraid of his wife! A man ruled by a woman! It is unbelievable and yet so true! Was such a thing possible in our day?"

"What a shame" replies the other, "to see one's daughter-in-law almost naked, spending the day before the mirror; one is ashamed to look at her, painting herself like a clown."

"In our village," exclaims the other, "when that dirty new governor, whom they sent us, allowed his wife to go in the streets almost naked (and in our small village where the women were so modest!) all the other women began to copy her, including my daughter-in-law".

Then the old follower of the Koran gives his explanations: "It is because they fear God no more, because they emptied the mosques that the good "Bereket" (crops) come no more. It is for this reason that every year we have so many floods and earthquakes. These are surely signs from the Almighty which they do not want to understand… It is that Jew (meaning the President)[1] who is pushing us into the abyss" exclaims the sick man, "but we shall live to see the end…"

---

[1]The author is referring here to President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Atatürk was born in Salonica, a city whose population was made up predominantly of Jews and Dönmes who were crypto Jews, followers of Sabbatai Sevi. There was and up to a certain extent there still exists a popular belief among the Islamists both in Turkey and in the Middle East that Mustafa Kemal was of Dönme origin and because of his alleged ethnic roots he abolished the Caliphate, established the Turkish Republic and imposed secularism. (Ed.)

Later the conversation turns to the execution of those sentenced because of the Menemen incident[1].

Referring to the family, the quarrels become less frequent, as the desperate parents retire to their rooms, leaving the couple alone; but the enmity between them becomes deeper. If, once in a while the grandmother dares to give any advice, a small criticism, they stop her, saying "Go back to bed! Our life does not concern you; your only concern should be your bed!" And more than once they have cruelly and carelessly remarked "Why do you mix in our lives when all you need is a few boards — a tiny bit of a coffin?"

B — 8

A rich Turkish "Muhallebici" (merchant and salesman of milk and sweets) who at the same time is also a "Hoca", decides of his own accord to educate his sons and daughters in different lay schools. In sending his children to such schools he feels convinced that this education will not be detrimental to the training which they receive at home; but he particularly does not want to leave his children unprepared for the exigencies of modern life.

One of the sons becomes an officer, the other a lawyer, the girls become teachers and the youngest son, a dentist. The influence of their father, an "intellectual" of the old type, has awakened in them all from their early childhood, a taste for the more intellectual professions. The pious "Muhallebici" never interferes with their occupations, but there is just one condition which he demands of his sons: that one of them must undertake to carry on his business. Among the old Turks, whether shopkeepers or artisans, the tradition of the son succeeding to his father's profession or trade, is very strictly observed. Inasmuch as the father did not specify beforehand which one among the sons should take over his business, each one continues his studies, hoping that he will not be the one to be chosen to replace the father. The sulking which occurs among the boys does not change anything in the situation, as the father is still strong and able to attend to his business himself.

---

[1] "Menemen is a little town in west Turkey. On December 23, 1930, Dervish Mehmed, a Sufi and self-proclaimed prophet, arrived in Menemen with six followers in an attempt to incite rebellion against the secular government and reestablish Islamic law. Mehmed and his enthusiastic supporters overwhelmed the local army garrison and killed the commander, Lieutenant Mustafa Fehmi Kubilay. Kubilay's severed head was put on a pole and paraded through the town. The army soon regained control, killing Mehmed and several of his followers.

The young Turkish Republic considered the incident a serious threat against secular reform. After a series of trials, 37 people were sentenced to death and later hanged in the town square; and several others were sent to prison. In 1932 a monument was erected in Menemen to commemorate the incident."

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Menemen_Incident" (Ed.).

But there comes a day when the father feeling tired of working and, wishing to retire, calls his children and tells them that the time has now come for one of them to replace him. Faithful to his principles, he reminds his sons of the duty which one of them must assume to keep up the trade and preserve the wealth of their father. All three sons have completed their studies and have taken up their respective professions. No one wishes to give up his profession to become a "Muhallebici". This renders the choice among them still more difficult, but the father comes to their assistance, fixing his preference upon the eldest son whom he considers to be exceptionally well-fitted to look after his business. The latter, however, who has already become an officer, refuses to submit to his father's wishes and not only opposes the old man, but, in unison with his brothers, proposes that his father sell the shop as a solution to the problem and give each one his share of the inheritance. They try to persuade their father that it is humiliating for an officer or a lawyer to become a "Muhallebici", but the father insists and reminds them of the condition demanded prior to giving them their education.

The situation becomes serious because each one looks forward to receiving his share of the father's great wealth. The chaos in the house reaches a climax when the eldest son suddenly, and without asking the consent of his parents, marries a "modern girl." From the very beginning this young girl, in her dignity as an officer's wife, wishes to show of her position, and drags her husband into a current of amusements and large expenditures. This behavior of the eldest son definitely prejudices his father against him, and the conflicts with his daughter-in-law becoming steadily more serious and noisy in the house, the newly married couple on day leave the home of the father.

Nevertheless, the old "Muhallebici" is no more fortunate with the other sons; they all marry in their turn and quit the paternal house. Not one of them wishes to lower himself and continue the trade of the father. The latter begins to regret that he let his sons be educated, and complains to his friends.

Upon learning that his neighbor, the well-known milkman, has allowed his son to enter the University of Istanbul, the old "Muhallebici" warns him to profit by his own sad experience with his three sons, if he does not wish to regret the day. He says "By sending our sons to the present-day lay schools, we shall lose them some day!"

His desire to pass on to his own kin the trade, which in turn had been handed down to him from his own father, prompts him to write to his nephews in Anatolia to come and take over his business so that it does not pass to a total stranger.

When the sons learn that their cousins have already arrived and are installed in the shop, naturally they are afraid lest their relatives gain favor in their father's sight at their own expense. Especially the eldest son, who does not show himself capable of winning promotion as an officer, and who with

his modest salary does not succeed in meeting the demands of his extravagant wife, becomes alarmed. Constant privations and cares stimulate his desire to come into possession of the wealth which the father must bequeath to him. This prompts him to take an active part in his father's shop, but then he merely exasperates the old man who is already very well satisfied with his nephews' management of his business. The latter are uneducated but good and faithful employees. The oldest son of the "Muhallebici" has now realized that he is not fitted for the career of an officer, but his pride prevents him from substituting his father's trade for an officer's career. Moreover, his wife, who has much influence over him, will not even hear of such a change. How can an officer's wife become the wife of a "Muhallebici?" "For me to become a "Muhallebici", exclaims the son to his mother, "will mean disgracing the dignity of an officer, for, having once become an officer, I cannot take to anything else. My father has old-fashioned ideas on these matters; he is unable to realize the requirements of the present age. Why did he ever give us an education if he expected us to attend to his trade?"

The mother who suffers a great deal because her children have left the paternal home and because of their disagreements with their father, tries to convince her son that it is for his own benefit that the father persists in his decision and wishes his fortune to remain safely in the hands of his children after his death. If her husband's wishes are realized, her children will all be united again in their parental home, and this is why she concurs with the views of her husband.

Yet, the oldest son, pushed by his shrewder brothers who use him to persuade their father to distribute the inheritance, causes more and more of an uproar in the house of his parents demanding that they be given their share of their father's wealth. The conflict between father and son becomes so violent that one day after a big scandal, the oldest son is driven out of his parents' home.

Tired of work and burdened with sorrow the old man retires with his wife to their villa on the Bosphorus, forbidding their son and his wife to come and visit them. The shop is left to the care of the old man's nephews.

But suddenly the old "Muhallebici" dies, leaving to his poor wife his property and estates as well as the job of distributing the inheritance in accordance with his will. It is the mother who is now attacked in turn by her children who seem less embarrassed at quarrelling with their mother than they were with their father. The old woman is exasperated by their demands and their mutual quarrels.

Overwhelmed by her troubles, the old mother shows symptoms of insanity, until one day she is found hanged (suicide or murder?) in the basement of the villa on the Bosphorus before having distributed the father's riches among her children.

B — 9

A family consisting of father, mother, son and two daughters lives in Istanbul. The son thirty years old, is a pharmacist by profession and at the same time owner of a macaroni factory, which he inherited from his father. The daughters are somewhat younger than the son. None of the three are as yet married. The son educated abroad and entirely emancipated is not always in accord with the ideas of his parents who remain good Moslems, but notwithstanding this, peace and harmony reign in the house till one day the son falls in love with a young girl and wishes to marry her. The household is greatly alarmed. The parents protest strongly. The son to marry before the daughters — what a scandal! It is not customary with the Turks for the sons to marry before the daughters, particularly so when the latter are older but not even when the sisters are much younger. The difference of age has to be very pronounced indeed before the son is free to marry first. Very often it happens in Turkish families that a brother will remain a bachelor for no other reason except that one sister could not find a husband. This custom is tending to be less rigorously observed now due to the general change in ideas. It is felt that for the brother to marry before his sisters will do great harm to the prestige of the sisters and to the standing of the family in society. In this case it is chiefly the mother who is troubled by the decision of her son. "You will dishonor our family with your marriage", says she to her son. "Consider the great unhappiness you are causing us". The father, a good old conservative Turk, who is well aware of his duties towards his family, also strongly objects to his son's wishes. But the son is bent on carrying out his plan and replied: "Your arguments show plainly that it is merely a prejudice on your part and our happiness must not be sacrified to old prejudices. The world has already changed and it is only the ignorant and the stupid people who still attach any importance to such ideas. What harm can there be if I do get married before my sisters? Each one will be married in her turn and each one according to her own Kısmet (Luck)." All in vain. He cannot convince his parents and the conflict lasts three years. The sisters also protest and point out certain families as striking examples, neighbors or relatives, where the brothers patiently waited for their sisters to get married first. They often repeated to him the threatening words which one of their friends used to her own brother when the same danger existed: "I will scratch your face with my nails if you dare marry before me."

The son who continued his visits to his sweetheart found himself one day in the embarrassing situation of being obliged to marry her. He conceals the true state of affairs from his parents but announces his firm intentions of

marrying and ending this depressing existence for his sweetheart. He proposes living apart, but the mere suggestion alarms the parents; they fear to be thus even more at the mercy of society which would naturally conclude that the daughter-in-law cannot live with her in-laws they being very hard to get along with. This act would also tend to compromise the girls. After this last quarrel with the family he calls on his sweetheart with the object of testing her love and says to her: "Do you accept to come and live with me at my parents' house?" "With you", replies the young girl, "I can live anywhere". To his parents he merely remarks that his wedding day has been fixed and the separate living quarters arranged. This tragic announcement is received with great concern; endless weeping follows; the father is very angry and addresses him as follows: "You ungrateful son, how can you repay with evil all the good you have received from us; was it for this that we gave you your education, to bring unhappiness on your family?" The son remains unmoved, celebrates his marriage against their will and installs himself in a separate apartment, and only goes occasionally to visit his mother whose tears never cease to flow from grief.

B — 10

A young Turk, who received his education in a religious school at Istanbul and who now earns his living as a teacher of the Turkish language has been in love with a young girl for some time. He is the only son of an Anatolian family of Hocas. It was in accordance with his father's dying wish that he was sent to a religious school.

His mother, who considers it her sacred duty to fulfill the last wish of her late husband and who deeply loves her only son, closely follows his every act with the ambition of a mother who sees in her son the carrying on of the family traditions.

The young man, being by nature mystical, finds that the path chosen for him by his father is his true vocation in life. He does not, however, approve of his mother who is vain and jealous in character, and he, remaining true to his own convictions, often acts contrary to her desires. It is thus that he becomes engaged to a young girl, extremely pretty but rather poor. In addition, instead of making religion his goal in life, as his mother wants him to do, he prefers teaching as a profession, and takes special pleasure and interest in giving instruction in the Turkish language and literature. To respect his father's wishes and memory, however, he consents to become a "hafız" (singer) in a mosque.

His mother, displeased with both his ideas and plans, is on the lookout for a rich wife for her son, and moreover, wants him to occupy a prominent place among the clergy.

As she lives far away from him, however, her home being in a small village of Anatolia, she cannot actively interfere with his private life, except to send him her motherly advice from time to time and to receive news of him through travellers who go back and forth.

Suddenly things take a different turn, when her son's fiancée becomes the victim of an accident and her face is seriously disfigured. Not only does she lose her beauty, but with her nose mutilated and a big red scar on her face, she becomes unbearably ugly. This unfortunate accident puts both the young girl and her lover to a physical and moral test. The girl locks herself up in her room, overwhelmed with despair and gloom. In spite of the faithfulness of the young man, who true to his religious convictions, is ready to fulfill his promise to marry her, she considers herself incapable of holding his love and wants to give him back his liberty. For a while they keep away from each other, but all the time the young man makes it known to everybody that he is as true to his love as ever, and that he is ready to marry the unfortunate girl, no matter how disfigured.

When the mother is put au courant of all this, she hurries to Istanbul at the earliest possible moment and raises a big row with her son. Why should he, so young and educated, sacrifice himself for an unfortunate girl? She now finds in the physical defect of the poor girl the strong weapon for which she has been looking for a long time. "You will be unhappy all your life" she argues, "for you cannot love her in that condition. The day will come when you will not be able to live together and then you will both be miserable. Let God be the one to take pity on her, you should seek your 'Kısmet' (Fate) elsewhere."

"No", answers the son, "I shall feel more unhappy if I leave her now. She will think I have never loved her, that my love has always been superficial. The misfortune is great, her face is terribly disfigured, but that is my 'Kısmet' (Fate) and I must resign myself to it. I must suffer with her, for that is the will of Allah!" But the mother insists, "I would rather see you married to a gypsy but never to her. Rest assured that you will never receive my consent to this marriage."

Seeing that her attempts to persuade her son are of no avail, she now begins her machinations through the girl's relatives and her intrigues are for a while crowned with success; the young girl is persuaded that her lover does not care for her any more and that she will only be a burden to him all her

life. But the unfortunate girl still loves him and their separation becomes more and more trying to her.

After the departure of the mother to her own village, the son, left alone with his troubles, tries in vain to find solace in his books. He is a man of profound religious convictions but also there is one person during his troubles who becomes his real confidant and that is one of his Christian pupils. They become great friends, but more or less in secret for fear of his co-religionists. "How I would love to have long talks with you; we understand each other so well, but the Turkish environment in which I live is such that I cannot become friends with a woman openly and freely without putting myself in danger of severe criticism". Seeing the free and natural way in which this girl is on friendly terms with men of her own religion, he writes to her: "How lucky you Chiristians are, you can cultivate friendships freely between men and women! With us such behavior is far from possible — yet." And what is so rare among Turks, even amongst the most advanced, is that this young man likes to discuss freely with his girl friend the most delicate questions concerning the sexual life. In spite of his liberal-mindedness, however, when they go out together in the street, fear of his neighbors obliges him to say to her: "Mademoiselle, you walk ahead — I will follow you."

This friend is kept regularly au courant of his tragic love affair. To her he freely expresses his feelings, once deciding to sacrifice himself for his love, the next time doubting and complaining of his fate. But faith remains always the basis of his thoughts.

One day, with tears in his eyes, and a letter in his hand, he goes to his friend and says: "Look, it is decided, I am going to marry her!" The letter is from his fiancée who not being able to bear her miserable life any longer, prefers to die rather than remain separated from her love. "She must be saved, I must marry her!" exclaims the young man crying desperately.

"But then why cry about it?" asks the girl.
"Well, I don't know myself; we shall be unhappy!"
"Then don't marry!"

"No, no, she will kill herself, she may die of grief, and I can't be the cause of such a grievous sin. Besides, you must have heard that with us the highest duty of the parents is to marry their children off when young. If a father dies before assuring his daughters' marriage he dies with a grievous sin on his soul. The same can be said of a young man who hinders a young girl from getting married."

A few days later, he goes to his friend again, this time with a letter from his mother. The latter having heard of his decision threatens him and begs him not to marry the girl. "If you prefer her parents to me" she writes, "then marry her. From then on I shall cease to be a mother to you and you shall be deprived of my maternal blessings."

Even before such a terrible threat, the son remains faithful to his duty and soon marries the disfigured girl.

B — 11

Young Djemil is only nineteen years old. He is a painter-decorator by profession and has been doing this work for the past three years. He does not earn much, because he has a fixed salary and besides painter-decorators do not always find a job, especially in winter. Yet, whatever Djemil earns goes to the support of his family which is quite large and consists of two sisters, and two brothers, all younger than himself, his father and his mother.

One of his sisters works in a canning factory and earns very little. Nevertheless, every Thursday evening she too places her weekly salary in the hands of her mother who looks after the savings of the house. The father of Djemil is a harness-maker, and as there is very little work in this trade, he does not always find a job. So the whole family is obliged to depend almost entirely upon the income of Djemil and his sister, which, after all, does not amount to much.

But then, one day, Djemil falls in love with a young girl and wishes to marry her. His parents refuse to give their consent, not only because they are in need of his financial assistance and he himself is still very young and has not yet completed his military service, but chiefly because the girl is two years older than himself. Besides, the parents do not like the stories about this young girl who works in a tobacco factory. Djemil holds to his decision. He spends all his time with his girl friend, often buying her presents which involve unforeseen expenditures which greatly tax the small family budget.

The father cannot and does not make any observations, for he is often without work and, due to his dependency upon his son, he does not feel himself in a position to make any complaint against him. The mother, however, is in despair about her son's decision. If he marries there will be misery at home, lack of food for her children, and privations for the entire family. She begs her son to forget this girl who has such questionable morals anyway. Djemil pays no attention to her pleadings and even feels offended at her remarks about the girl; he insists upon getting married and tries to console

the old woman by promising her that he will continue to live at home. He tells her that his marriage might even assist in reestablishing the family income, as his future wife will continue to work and will contribute her earnings to the joint family funds. Notwithstanding, his mother remains obstinate. Her pleadings change to threats and she informs him that he will have to choose between his family and his future wife. Djemil lends a deaf ear and continues his relations with his fiancée.

Finally, seeing that prayers and threats do not produce the desired result, she goes to Beşiktaş and at the door of the tobacco factory waits for her son's girl friend to come out. As soon as she meets the girl she raises a terrible row, overwhelms her with all sorts of charges and insults her in the presence of all her friends and, among other threats, assures her that she will never permit her son to marry a girl from the low city districts of Istanbul. They fight, pull each other's hair and, as all this takes place on the open street, the policemen finally take the two women to the police station.

This great scandal has terrible consequences. The same evening Djemil learning from his fiancée all that has happened during the day, immediately goes home and there enters into a fierce quarrel with his mother. The latter categorically declares that under no condition will she permit his girl to enter her house and that if he continues his relations with her, she will take very definite steps. However, when her son informs her that his marriage is to be considered as a fact which absolutely will be accomplished shortly, she flies into a temper, screams, cries and finally faints.

The next day, when Djemil returns in the evening, he finds his mother in bed in a lamentable condition. He is told that she tried to commit suicide by throwing herself into the sea, but that she was rescued by some boatmen. Naturally, Djemil feels remorseful, but just the same he has neither the desire nor the moral force to sever his relations with his girl friend. He postpones his marriage hoping that with time his parents, and especially his mother may change their opinions.

But meanwhile a very strained atmosphere prevails at home, affecting Djemil's relations with his kin.

B — 12

İsmail is a young man, twenty-three or twenty-four years old. He acquired a certain amount of education at a French Lycée, which he left before graduating. The young man does not like to study and prefers to work in his father's furniture store.

Although quite advanced in years, the father, Youssouf Efendi is fond of life and is anxious to enjoy it while he is still able to do so. He likes gambling and has a weakness for women and never misses an opportunity to enjoy both. The presence of his son at the store leaves him plenty of leisure time and enables him to stay away for whole days from his work. When Ismail therefore decided to leave school and remain in his store, the father was not in the least annoyed. The son in his turn has also certain weaknesses. In the first place, like his father, he is extremely attentive to women, especially the young and pretty ones. One of these charming creatures — a Russian — has initiated him in the art of debauchery and in this respect İsmail has made great progress in the course of the past few months.

Youssouf Bey runs a large, well-known and especially well-equipped store; his business is successful and his profits are more than enough for the requirements of the whole family, which consists of his wife, his mother, his sister and two sons.

They lack nothing at home, everybody is well fed, well dressed, well served, they have their entertainments, their walks, they receive guests, etc. But then, first the father and then the son frequently do not come home for dinner, they do not go out with the others for a walk, and quite frequently stay away from home all night.

Youssouf Effendi's wife, his mother and his sister are apprehensive; they suspect something and subsequently begin to have certain doubts regarding the explanations which the father and the son give for their absence from home. The next thing which they hear is that the furnishers of the store are not regularly paid. Creditors sometimes come to the house to look for the father or the son, explaining that they have found the store closed although this was not a holiday. Finally the women hear about Ismail's behavior and learn that he has a Russian mistress whom he supports by drawing money from his father's store, and it is with this girl that he spends his nights, often closing the shop during the daytime to take a walk with her.

One day, while the whole family is gathered around the table, Youssouf Effendi's wife takes advantage of the opportunity, and in his father's presence asks İsmail for an explanation about his conduct. She wants to know why her son does not often come home at nights, what he does, what he spends and where the money which he spends comes from. She also inquires why the store is often closed during the day, and why the furnishers are not paid regularly. She further states that creditors have already come to the house to look for him or his father.

Naturally, İsmail does not want to tell the truth and finds some clumsy excuses for himself. The father also joins in and makes a few mild remarks to his son. But he fares badly. For İsmail immediately seizes the opportunity to change his tactics and in his turn he now lays various charges against his father. İsmail reproves his father for squandering large sums of money, entertaining several women, going to gambling establishments, neglecting his trade, etc. Father and son start quarreling in the presence of the three women. They insult each other and each one accuses the other of being responsible for the failure which threatens their business.

The next day, when going out in the morning, İsmail leaves the key of the store on the table in the corridor together with a note saying he would work with his father no more since he is being held responsible for the bad turn the business is taking. Youssouf Effendi's wife is the first to find the key and the note. She immediately makes her decision. She informs her husband that her sister-in-law will henceforth replace her son in the store. Youssouf Effendi is obliged to "grin and bear it." He accepts his wife's proposition and both of them go to the store.

For the past few months, since the above incident, İsmail has not shown up any more either at the store or at home. People say that he is still living with his Russian mistress and that he still has some of the money which he obtained from sales in his father's store. He seems to have severed relations with his family. His mother, however, determined to safeguard her own and her other children's interests continues to superintend the store and shows an astonishing amount of energy to which her husband has had to bow.

B — 13

A middle-class family composed of father, mother and two sons, the oldest of whom is eighteen years old. The latter is in love with a Greek girl but he keeps this a secret for a long time. He has many friends among the Christians and his meetings with his girl-friend take place in one of their houses. His parents who jealously guard in their home all their old traditions and are hostile to anything that is new, do not at all look with sympathy upon his having close relations with Christian young men to whom they give the insulting name of "gâvurs".

Soon they learn of his love affair with a young Greek girl and of his determination to marry her. This news takes them all by surprise. The mother and father well-known for their fanaticism, energetically oppose this love affair and want to separate their son from the Greek girl at any cost. Never in

the world can they admit a "gâvur" into their family which boasts of pure Moslem ancestors. The quarrels gets very serious through the constant intrigues of the parents. The son still very young and passionate, is desperate and threatens to kill himself, but the father says: "It is better that you kill yourself than bring a disgraceful "gâvur" into our family. Here, take my revolver from the wall and kill yourself if you wish to."

The mother is in tears, and tries to win her son back by persuasion and kind words: "It is a shame, my child, to think what the neighbors will say if they hear that we have received a "gâvur" into our family."

The son, loving the Greek girl to madness, is determined. After a violent quarrel he leaves his home, lives with his Christian neighbors and continues his relations with his sweetheart. Then the father takes steps to take his job away from him, hoping that when he is left without a cent the girl will not care for him, as he is firmly convinced that Greek women are after the money of the Turks. This of course makes the situation worse for the son but his love grows all the stronger.

One day, after a few months' miserable existence, desolate at not being able to buy even a New Year's gift for his sweetheart, whom he keeps in ignorance of his situation, he takes a boat to the Princes' Islands and throws himself into the sea somewhere near Moda, thus putting an end to his life.

The mother, repentant, weeps and says: "I never thought my son capable of killing himself for a Greek girl!"

But the father, fanatic that he is, and who holds the Christian friends of his son responsible for his death, many a time declares to his neighbors: "It is better that he killed himself, otherwise he would have brought disgrace upon our family by marrying a "gâvur".

B — 14

In a Turkish family composed of father, mother and two children — a daughter and a son — a constant conflict has been going on for the past few years between father and son. The father is a pious man, but his son who studied in an American institution, likes to act more and more in a modern way and often contradicts the old fashioned ideas of his father. The latter observes strict moral precepts and therefore cannot tolerate the loose ideas and scandalous behavior of his son. The young man enjoys walking about with young and fashionable ladies of Pera, as well as taking from time to time a few glasses of "douzico" with his friends. He gets no pocket money from his

father, but his mother and sister, who are devotedly attached to him, let him have money in secret. His sister is older and works in a bank.

The son's love for an Armenian girl offers the first cause for an open quarrel. (Family quarrels among Turks are usually concealed from the public as far as possible). The young man has concealed his relationship with the Armenian girl for a long time from his parents, and now reveals everything to his sister. In spite of her more advanced ideas she tries to separate the young lovers in order to prevent a family conflict, but fails in her attempt.

One morning, the young man having lost patience, drives a nail into his father's shoe which, among the old Turks, is an indication on the part of the son of his desire to get married. Before having done so, the young man told his mother that "his bed is already narrow for him," which intimates the same idea. The father finds his shoe nailed to the floor, understands his son's wishes and immediately agrees with his wife to get him married but on condition that he himself will choose a wife for his son among the latter's cousins. Then the young man informs his father that he loves an Armenian girl.

The father becomes enraged. "No unbeliever has as yet entered our family" says he to his son. "I want her, or I am no longer your son," retorts the son categorically.

The old man turns his son out of the house. The latter stays for a few days with a Christian friend living in the neighborhood, but his mother through entreaties and tears succeeds in prevailing upon him to return home. Yet the atmosphere between the young man and his father remains strained.

Soon after his return he invites to the house the brother of the Armenian girl, but his father overhears by chance a few words of the conversation between the two young men dealing with the question of a marriage to take place shortly. Furiously he enters into the room, dashes upon the "dirty little gâvur" (unbeliever) and thrashes him thoroughly.

After this scandal the son runs away to Anatolia where he remains for two months. Meanwhile the Armenian girl leaves Turkey with her family. Upon his return the young man again reconciles himself with his father, but shortly thereafter quarrels arise again between them on account of numerous other reasons.

Time goes by. The young man's course at the American school contributes to further consolidate his ideas. The father requires though that the young man should go from time to time to the mosque and say his prayers. The son replies to his father: "The Prophet ordered that the daily prayer (the namaz) be said, but at his time the ignorant people had no other exercise. Prayer was therefore imposed upon the people by way of a compulsory faith.

In a like manner people were compelled to wash their feet and hands before entering the mosque. Why should I go to the mosque for prayers when I do some daily exercise at school and at our sporting club?" To this the father responds "that prayer is not said by way of exercise but for the purpose of imploring God's pity." The son makes fun of his father's faith. "The American system is what I have for my ideal" he observes to his father. Faith means this to me: "Never do to your neighbor anything which would be useless and prejudicial to your own self." The father flies into a temper, but can do nothing to change his son's ideas.

They quarrel and again reconcile themselves for a while. Exasperated at his inability to change matters, the old man one day says to his son: "As your father and as a good Moslem it is my duty to show you the path of faith, but you are now sufficiently old to be able to understand for yourself. Do whatever you wish, but because of your attitude I cannot recognize you as my son." To his wife and his daughter the old man often says with sorrow: "It is no fault of his, it is your fault for you spoiled him with your indulgence, and above all it is due to your insistence that he attend that cursed American school —so, now there's a "gâvur" for you!"

During "Ramazan" the father gets angry at seeing his son taking food. But the son always repeats the same sentence: "Never hurt others if you do not want to be hurt yourself." "This", he boasts to his father, "is the principle which I have learned in the American school."

The divergency in life which exists between the parents and the children becomes more acute every day. The father dresses modestly, still wearing the fez at home (he was mixed up in the movement at Diyarbakır which was directed against the reform of the headgear, was sentenced and then set free again) and with horror witnesses his children conforming to the latest European fashions. His son who already likes to behave like a gentleman, is nicknamed in the district "The English-man". And the daughter not only dresses according to the latest Parisian fashion, but cannot bear her mother still wearing the "ferace", and therefore forces her to throw it away and to put on a hat instead. The mother is too fond of her children and cannot oppose their ideas in the same manner as her husband. She gradually yields to their wishes.

The entire aspect of the house gradually changes. Formerly one never saw a single picture in the house, but now the house is full of pictures, especially pictures of the various movie stars. Movies have become the passion of the children.

In the long run, the father one day hopelessly says to his neighbors: "I am not so much worried that they should have become "gâvurs", but rather at the idea that they may gradually make a "gâvur" out of me likewise. Some day I shall have to account before God and his supreme council, for I am the head of the family, and I shall have to answer for its perdition."

B — 15

In a family composed of a mother, son, daughter and daughter-in-law, the son after having squandered his father's fortune is now obliged to work in a shop as an ornamental painter. He is a well educated man but of weak character, and loose morals. His weakest side is for women. He neglects his work for the sake of women and is capable of spending his last piastre for them. But he is as fickle as he is ardent, and rapidly changes mistresses.

Having already married and divorced on two occasions, he now falls in love with a young Jewess who runs an embroidery shop where he undertakes to prepare drawings from time to time. The Jewess is a very diligent and energetic girl and thereby wins the sympathy and esteem of the young man's mother who is anxious to marry her son to an honest and diligent girl, a girl capable of pushing him into the right track. Besides, the family's financial situation is not very satisfactory, and the mother is well aware of the assistance which they may expect from the Jewess' activity.

The Jewish girl has already entered into an intimate relationship with the son, staying with his family and having become his mistress. However, during a short absence from town, having been called away to take care of her sick father who lives in another city, she learns that her lover has deceived her. The latter is rapidly drawn into the net of another girl — a very young Turkish girl, hardly 19 years of age.

Upon her return to Istanbul, the Jewess finds the young man's studio abandoned, his palette covered with long dried colors thrown away into some corner. She hurries to his house and is met by his mother who is in great distress. The Jewess learns from her that her son is madly in love with a young street-girl who is just as passionate and loose as he himself, and that he is getting ready to marry her. The mother does not conceal the fact that her son has managed to squander for his new love the last means of the family. What kind of a wife and daughter-in-law may one expect such a "street-girl" to become? And how will she treat her poor little sister-in-law who is a cripple?

The mother and the Jewish girl join their efforts to prevent the marriage of the young man, but in spite of quarrels with the son, in spite of all their cunning schemes, their intrigues and the precious time wasted by the Jewess who is obliged to keep her shop closed to assist the mother in preventing the marriage with the Turkish girl, they fail in their attempts. The marriage is soon contracted before a notary, the contract providing an indemnity of 2000 Pounds to be paid by whichever party should wish to obtain a divorce. The contract unites the young husband and wife, but does not ensure their happiness.

The quarrels of the newly married couple with the mother start from the very beginning. The mother soon realizes that her daughter-in-law has all the vices which may definitely bring about the ruin of her son. The young wife is lazy, coquettish, loose and uneducated. She has no respect for her old mother-in-law and soon even takes the liberty of commanding and treating the old lady like a servant. She demands that in the morning her tea be served to her while she is still in bed and that she be always waited upon. If the old woman cannot do so, her little infirm daughter must do it. But the slightest awkwardness of the child exposes her to the young wife's temper. It is above all for the sake of this poor child, who should be treated more humanely, that the mother and the daughter-in-law frequently get into hot quarrels with each other. In spite of daily complaints which are made to him, the son pays no great attention to such quarrels between women. Soon, though, these quarrels end in blows and although it is the mother who is always beaten, the young wife knows better how to exploit the weakness of her husband with her tears. The son suggests to his mother to stop interfering with his wife and to be blind and deaf if she wishes to live with them in peace.

But the old woman cannot help comparing daily the Jewess to her daughter-in-law, and she thus becomes steadily more dissatisfied and hostile towards the latter. Besides, misery also begins to threaten the family. All the savings are spent, the young couple already begins selling their furniture, the last remnant of their former wealth. Love is already exhausted; the privations which they must endure result in making the young couple hostile to each other, but nobody dares even to think about a divorce inasmuch as both lack the 2000 pounds which have to be paid in this case by whoever claims a divorce. This apprehension in itself still keeps them together. Yet, their ideas have now become of such a nature that their matrimonial existence no longer imposes upon them a sacrifice of their individual liberty. The son lives one way, and his wife another.

During all this time the mother continues her friendship with the Jewess who still loves her son with devotion. The old lady does not entertain any religious or national fanaticism. She often admits to her acquaintances that she would prefer to see her son married to a diligent Jewess rather than to a lazy Turk. She also does not conceal her feelings either from her son or from her daughter-in-law who is now obliged to tolerate the visits of her husband's former sweetheart. The old lady's room is full of gifts from the Jewess.

The family which is now obliged to live in two rooms, is divided into two camps, one room being occupied by the mother and the former sweetheart, and the other by the son and his wife. In vain the son tries to arbitrate between the three women. In the long run he is always forced to defend his wife. His temper now having been affected by misery also stimulates quarrels.

One day, in his absence, the mother and the daughter-in-law come to fierce blows. Upon his return a great scandal arises. The young man finally decides to keep the women apart, he rents a separate room for his mother and sister, and undertakes to pay them 20 pounds each month. But then the Jewess, as a good friend of the mother and as a fervent lover of the son, comes to their rescue, rents an adjacent room and lives with them. The son is very happy to learn all of this and one day he says to his old sweetheart: "I think that after all I will return to you again."

Another day he confesses that only the 2000 Pounds bind him to his wife. But then his mother and the Jewess decide, in full accord with the young man, to double their efforts in order to earn the 2000 Pounds which will enable them to rescue the son and the lost lover from the clutches of his wife.

B — 16

A husband and wife, who have been married over a period of years, have just divorced. They have a daughter who lives with the mother. In case of a divorce among the Turks — no matter who is in the wrong — the child remains with the mother, but the father supports it. Hence in this particular case the father assumes the child's entire expenses, demanding however that he receive gratitude in return. He is conservative, conscientious and dutiful but very fanatic. He selects as husband for his daughter a young man according to his own taste but the daughter is in love with another young man whom she marries with the help of her mother and without the father's permission. This young man is exactly the opposite of the one her father had chosen for her. He is a lazy loafer, likes to drink and gamble, but has charming manners and is a

"modern" young man, dresses well, and in short has all the charm with which to attract a young girl.

The candidate chosen by the father, has no brilliant qualities either, but he regularly goes to the mosque five times a day to say his prayers and that is quite sufficient in the eyes of the father. Furthermore, at a coffee-house, during a discussion over the present situation, his daughter's lover has wounded the father's feelings and this made the two enemies for life.

Therefore when he learns of his daughter's choice he is furious and urges her to leave her husband if she wishes to continue to receive his financial support. The daughter pays not attention to him but continues to live with her husband. Soon, however, misery and poverty open her eyes and she understands what life will mean with her incorrigible husband. In the beginning she bears it all, until she becomes a mother. Then, not wishing to see her child suffer, she decides to leave her husband and to ask again her father's help. But the father's fanaticism can go very far; cruelly he asks her to let the child go if she wants any help as it is the child of his enemy. This makes the young mother frantic, since it is for the little one that she left her husband and is ready to make any sacrifice. Not being able to separate herself from her child she becomes a servant and even goes so far as begging in order that the child may be well-fed. Her husband who, notwithstanding all his faults, has a good heart, takes pity on her and steals the child, hoping in this way to reconcile her with her father and save her from misery. But the young mother searches wildly for her child everywhere and absolutely refuses to return to her father without it.

After a few months the husband realizes that he will not be able to provide for the child. Besides, as he is living with another woman, a Greek, he sees that the child is an obstacle in their way. This obliges him to return the child to its mother, who in her great joy runs to her father naively thinking that everybody will rejoice with her at finding the child and that he will at last be persuaded to receive them. But the old man thinking it all a mean trick played by his son-in-law, categorically refuses to give any aid. "I cannot have a brigand in my house", he says, "for one cannot expect anything better from a father like your husband — a father without a God!"

Thereupon, his daughter definitely takes up work in a tobacco factory. After a while her husband, driven out by the Greek woman, and touched by the conduct of his wife who still loves him, comes back to her and to his child with the firm decision of doing better in the future and proving himself a better husband and father.

B — 17

This is the second time that Hasan has been sent away from the home of his father. He is the oldest son of Lutfi Bey, a leading Istanbul merchant. He left his Turkish school — where he received his education but failed to obtain his diploma — two years ago, and now he devotes practically all his time to sports. He has two other brothers and one sister who are still in school.

Hasan is a member of the Sports Club of their district and his time is devoted either to sports or gambling in coffee-houses or taking long walks in town or in the country. The young man has no foundation whatsoever for any kind of work, which is most disappointing to the father whose observations and advice are of no avail. In reply to his mother's remarks he claims that his father is rich enough and can afford to let him enjoy his youth.

One day, Lutfi Bey reproves his son very severely. Among other things he points out to him that he sets a bad example to the younger brothers and sister and that if he continues his irregular life, he will be obliged to turn him out of the house.

On the evening of that same day Hassan does not come home; the next day he keeps away too. His parents become alarmed especially the mother who is afraid lest some misfortune should have happened to him. She runs to a friend who informs her that her son passes the nights at the Club. Several days pass and still no word from him.

At last the mother succeeds in locating him and begs him to come home. "On one condition" he replies "that you leave me alone, and let me live the way I want". The mother promises but the father is of a different opinion.

In the fall of that year Lutfi Bey proposes to his son to enter the Régie as an apprentice and prepare himself to become a tobacco expert. The son consents and begins to work. To go through his apprenticeship Hasan must begin from the bottom so as to be able to follow all the stages of the profession. In his work he comes in daily contact with the common workmen and women in the factory and soon falls in love with one of the women working there. This is noticed by his employers who observe that he becomes more absent-minded every day, and neglects his work. Furthermore, both the woman and Hasan are quite often absent from the factory at the same time. The employers approach his father, since they have remonstrated with Hasan in vain, and inform him that unless Hasan changes his conduct they refuse to keep him on their payrolls. The father calls his son to him and demands that he sever his relations with the working woman who is so much below his social standing. The son promises, but does not obey. He continues the same

mode of life and is now impertinent even towards his employers. The latter, on the request of Lutfi Bey and as a personal favor to him, dismiss the woman.

The next day Hasan asks his chief for an explanation of the dismissal of his girl friend. The chief of course refuses to give it and advises him to go to work promptly and not to mix in other people's affairs. As Hasan further insists and behaves impertinently he is asked to leave the place and never to return again. Hasan insults his chief by striking him and general confusion ensues. A number of workmen drag Hasan down the staircase after giving him a good shaking.

Upon hearing of the incident the father loses all hope for the improvement of his son; there is a violent quarrel and Hasan definitely leaves the house for good.

Several months have already elapsed since his departure but Hasan has never returned. He rents a small room in another district and there receives his girl friend. But it is his mother who provides for his requirements through the intermediary of her other children and without the father's knowledge. Hasan continues to do nothing and to live his own way.

B — 18

A middle class family of Istanbul. Their only son is a physician by profession. For some time he has been of a marriageable age, but his parents, particularly his mother, are very particular in their choice of a daughter-in-law. This continues until the son falls in love with a young girl and wishes to marry her. She too is an only child of a rich family of Istanbul, but belonging to an aristocratic family. Knowing well the kind of life the daughter of such a family is accustomed to lead, the parents of the young man, although very much attracted by the rich dowry of the girl, lay down certain conditions for the marriage, emphasizing above all the fact that she must be obedient to the in-laws, ready to forego her former ways of living and to adopt a more modest and isolated one. At that time it was only among the aristocratic families that women enjoyed a certain liberty which was not at all approved of by the middle class. The latter class dreaded the presence of these aristocratic women for fear they might birng disgrace upon their family name.

On the other hand, the parents of the young girl, having in mind the wealth of the young man, accept all these conditions without even consulting their daughter's opinion on the subject. For a little while after the marriage the parents live in peace with their daughter-in-law. Soon, however, the latter

begins to behave like a spoiled child and neglects her promises. She takes on aristocratic airs becoming very exacting in her wishes, demands a carriage with two horses, etc. She is not content with only an old woman to wait on her, but demands a host of servants, refusing to work in the kitchen for fear of spoiling her hands. Naturally all this is very displeasing to the parents especially to the mother-in-law who feels herself humiliated by the conduct of the young lady. She considers every whim and every caprice of the young wife as directed exclusively against her authority, and so the quarrels soon begin.

The son, who devotedly loves his wife, and considers her superior to anybody in their society, justifies her acts always, but never in her presence — only when he is alone with his mother. Before his wife he tries to quiet the two women, without criticizing the mother but rather urging his wife to submit to the mother's will. As soon as his wife retires to her room, however, angry with them all, he disapproves the attitude of his mother and asks her to make some concessions. This naturally makes matters worse as she believes implicitly in her authority. Seeing how much her son loves his wife she tries to test their love by various ways and means. She even locks her daughter-in-law in the kitchen, ordering her to prepare the dinner, with the mean thought in mind of exposing her as a lazy and incompetent housewife. However, when she sees that her son is not only pleased with the meals prepared by his wife and cannot say enough in favor of them and appreciates her good taste, she is mad with jealousy and decides to stop at nothing to compromise her. Secretly she puts lots of salt in the food and bad eggs in the cakes which the young wife prepares, and with the help of her servants she tries to spy on her, puts her things in disorder, etc. etc. The young man, well aware that it is the work of his mother, attributes none of these things to his wife, and secretly scolds his mother for all her plots. Not in the least discouraged, the mother-in-law, is on the contrary spurred on to more and more intrigues which finally begin to have the desired effect. Fearing that living with his mother would become disastrous for his married life he decides firmly to separate and to establish his own quarters, of course intending to keep up his filial relation towards her. Though thus installed the mother still demands her rights as mother-in-law and never ceases her plotting — she even in the course of years takes advantage of her grandchildren and warps their minds against their mother. The latter finally rebels and complains bitterly to her husband.

"Since you have gone this far", said the son to his mother, "to carry your hatred so far as to warp my children's minds against their own mother it is no longer possible for us to receive you in our home — stay away — I will

visit you now and then, ask of me what you require, but my house is forever closed to you."

Thus the mother remains separated from her son for several years — and eventually dies — but without ever having forgiven her daughter-in-law.

B — 19

The only daughter of a wealthy Turk very much under the influence of modern ideas abuses her freedom by leading an altogether dissipated life. She squanders the money of her avaricious father, disregarding everything and is occupied only with her love affairs and a luxurious existence. Her father who is extremely fond of her is unable to turn her away from the wrong path in spite of all his recommendations and severe measures (he locks her up for days and sometimes even beats her). One day she elopes with an old rake who seduces her and goes to live with him in Anatolia. The father looks for her everywhere with the help of the police and when he finally finds her he gives the lover some money on the condition that he should turn her out which he does immediately. After that she returns to Istanbul and being without means she goes back to her father. In spite of all the gossip aroused by her flight the father tells everybody that his daughter has been visiting an aunt in Anatolia.

As the girl is a great beauty, typically Turkish, and moreover a rich heiress, this event and the scandal do not prevent a number of suitors from presenting themselves at once. Her choice falls on a chauffeur and the father, pleased that the young man has a profession, gives his consent. The young man is intelligent, a good worker and free of all the old prejudices. While settling with his future father-in-law the marriage question, he makes the following condition: "As I am poor and have not enough means to enable your daughter to lead the life she loves and as on the other hand I do not want to live at your expense I ask you but one thing: to buy me an automobile which will permit me to work and to be independent." Thus from the very beginning he gives his father-in-law to understand that he intends to retain his full independence. This is not at all agreeable to the old man but in his desire to hush up as quickly as possible the gossip aroused by his daughter's flight he agrees without any objection whatsoever.

The difference in the mentality of the two men, the father-in-law and the son-in-law, manifests itself right away after the marriage takes place, but for a long time the old man says nothing. But when after a certain time his daughter gives birth to a boy, he considers that his son-in-law is now sufficiently bound to the family, and decides to thwart him. Being exceedingly

avaricious the first pretext which he chooses is the car. He not only wants the money back which he advanced to purchase the car, but desires to deprive his son-in-law of the principal means of retaining his independence. Carefully concealing his real wealth, he tells the young man that the money paid for the car has been borrowed and must be reimbursed. He also finds a false intermediary in order better to conceal the truth. At first the son-in-law lets himself be deceived, permits the car to be sold, and finds work as a chauffeur with somebody else. But he soon learns the truth from the intermediary. This puts him in such a rage that he immediately quarrels not only with the father but also with the daughter thinking that she had been her father's accomplice. The quarrel assumes such a bitter form that he leaves the house and settles down away from them in Pera. He lives there openly with another woman in order to arouse the jealousy of his wife and also to show his father-in-law that he can very well manage his affairs and is not a man to be domineered over. His wife however continues to love him, and quarrels everyday with her father begging him to make up with her husband. The latter always tells her that he has now what he ardently desired — a male heir, and as regards the father — he does not in the least care about him. But seeing how much his daughter loves her husband and afraid of some new scandal he sends her off to some cousins, somewhere far away in Anatolia.

One night after her departure the neighbors suddenly are witnesses of a noisy scene: after a long separation, right on the street, in the presence of everybody, father and son-in-law confront each other in great wrath. The dispute assumes such a violent character that the old man seizes a coffee-stool in the neighboring café and throws it at his son-in-law who immediately does the same. Neighbors rush forward and separate them. "You are not an honest man", shouts the son-in-law, "you have done an inhuman thing in separating me from my wife and my child. You are worse than a brigand because you have robbed me of my very soul." The father-in-law likewise says hard and insulting things. But when his son-in-law tells him that "Your daughter told me what a robber you are," alluding to the dishonest way in which according to rumors he has made his fortune, the old man losing all self-control curses his son-in-law and his daughter in his wrath and calls all the neighbors to witness. "May the devil take you both, you as well as my daughter and all the young generation of today — you are all of the same stamp. If I had had an honest daughter I would not have had a son-in-law like you."

B — 20

In a family composed of father, mother and son, the father, a small trader, is a man of conservative ideas, whereas the son, in complete accord with the new ideas, likes sports, entertainments in Pera, cabarets, theatres, and the company of prostitutes. The father, on the other hand, disapproves this conduct and often criticises his son. Nothing, however, will change the young man who not only imposes upon his father the new mode of life, but also his ideas on society and religion. This exasperates the old man, not only because he cannot adapt himself to such new ideas, but even more so because the son is still very young — hardly 19 years old — and the father realizes that young men at this age can be permanently led astray. Fearing that the old-fashioned standards may gradually disappear altogether, the father decides to have recourse to a last resort frequently adopted by Turkish fathers of the middle class, namely to marry his son, despite the fact that the latter is still very young. He hopes that with marriage his son will change his mode of living and perhaps even his ideas. The father chooses for a wife, the daughter of a wealthy man, who is a friend of his, and who shares the same old-fashioned ideas. Prompted by mutual hostility against the new regime established in the country, the two fathers agree to unite their children in the hope of transmitting to them the old traditions of the past. When the son learns of his father's decision to marry him off according to his own choice, he rebels since he is already in love with a young girl who is his neighbor and who is pretty and intelligent and likewise enjoys a good reputation. But in the eyes of the old man she has two faults; first, she is poor, and secondly, she shares the new ideas of the son. This naturally causes quarrels between them.

At this point the mother, who is devoted to her son, intervenes, and shows a more conciliatory attitude towards his ideas. She staunchly defends him saying to her husband: "Do not forget that we married because we loved each other and therefore you have no right to demand that our son marry against his wishes. He is our only child and in insisting upon a marriage contrary to his desires we risk the loss of his esteem and affection." So a long quarrel starts between the mother and the father.

Irritated all the more by this the father wishes now at all cost to see his plan carried out and, one day, without saying anything either to his son or his wife, the old man arranges for his son's betrothal at the home of his wealthy neighbor. To his wife and son he gives as his principal reason for this marriage the wealth of the young girl, which as a matter of fact is not far from being the truth. To the public, however, he justifies himself by implying that he is protecting his son against the temptations of present-day life by

marrying him into a respectable family where the best traditions of Turkish life are strictly guarded.

To his son he complains of their misery, and says: "We are in desperate need of money, business is unsatisfactory, you must come to our aid a little with your marriage." He learns of the secret betrothal through the neighbors' intrigues. To forestall the father's restraint and, being as yet dependent upon the old man as he is not of age, he decides after having obtained his mother's agreement, to elope with the young girl he loves (which is often done among Turks) and thus place his father before an accomplished fact.

He carries out his scheme immediately; there is now nothing left for the father to do but to accept. He remains, however, embittered and discontented.

From the very beginning the life of the young couple is poisoned by the father's ill humor and intrigues. The old man can tolerate least of all the liberty and the progressive ideas of his young daughter-in-law. During the first two years of their married life, while the young people still love each other very much, the quarrels pass off without leaving much of a mark but finally the intrigues of the old man gradually take effect, and one day the young married people are forced to separate.

But now the girl, preferred by the father, is already married.

The son divorced from his wife, remains at home and is in continual bad humor as well as extremely hostile towards his father, and frequently violent quarrels are the result of this situation.

"There now," he says to his father, "I am free again, you separated me from the woman you detested, choose for me now the woman who pleases you, but remember that I can no longer love and respect you as my father."

B — 21

Mehmet Efendi is a contractor of public works; his business is very successful as he is a hard-working man. Unfortunately his wife is not at all interested in her husband's work, for she is a very narrow-minded and uneducated woman. She is not even a good housewife. An elderly maid attends to the house-keeping and an extremely dirty cook is in charge of the kitchen.

Mehmet Efendi has also two sons, seventeen and nineteen years old respectively, who have been working with him for the past two or three years and whom he wishes to initiate in his work, since the two young men show no inclination for science and general education. They left school at an early

age against the wish of their father who had the means necessary to give them a thorough education.

The real trouble in the family is due to the fact that the two young men have fallen a prey to the influence of bad companions, bad friends, who wish to lead a life of debauchery at the expense of Mehmet Efendi.

For some time the sons of Mehmet Efendi come home late at night; they take their meals outside and go to work late in the morning. The father is suspicious and anxious to know where his sons pass the nights and what they are up to. He charges one of his employees to follow them after they leave their work. This employee discovers that they frequent a house of prostitution. A few days later he finds them entering a gambling place. His inquiries reveal that they often risk large sums of money.

Mehmet Efendi to his great surprise learns that the money squandered by his sons is money stolen from him. He has a violent scene with his sons and from that day on the father takes the necessary steps to protect his business. He no longer entrusts them with collections or the cashing of money at the banks, and informs all credit institutions with whom he has business relations, that his sons no longer enjoy his confidence and that in the future the purchase of the necessary materials will be attended to either by himself or by one of his employees.

The two sons continue to go to work, although very irregularly. One day they have a quarrel with the employee who spied on them and they give him a beating. There is a big scandal and the police are called. The father, who witnesses the spectacle condemns his sons, and the latter decide never to work for him again.

Not a day passes without endless quarrels between father and sons, the mother always siding with her children. She even manages to take money from her husband's pockets and to give it to her sons, thus making it possible for the young men to continue to lead a life of debauchery and to spend their nights away from home. Of late it has even happened that the sons returned home completely drunk.

The father no longer speaks to his sons and even avoids talking to his wife whom he regards as their accomplice. He does not come home for lunch any more, and it is said that he even neglects his work to some extent.

B — 22

Peace and harmony reign in a wealthy Turkish family as long as the father is alive. He and his wife having conservative ideas the old Turkish

customs are strictly observed. There are two daughters who stay at home, and an only son who attends a religious school (medresse). After the father's death it is the son according to the law who inherits the whole estate. The young boy, influenced by new ideas in Turkey decides to introduce them little by little into his family which is now dependent upon him. The first thing he does is to send his sisters to school. But the mother fights these intentions and cannot admit the carrying out of any such plan. She therefore calls together a family council which consists of people of her own age and views, who declare themselves against the education of the young girls. The son is determined to carry out at all cost his ideas and thus quarrels between him and his mother continue till now.

His sisters although in accord with their brother conceal their thoughts and occupations from their mother due to the great respect for parents customary in all Turkish families. The boy leaves the medresse and attends a private technical school. The mother still highly disapproving these innovations continues to reproach him incessantly. "When they (the sisters) were small and did not as yet frequent school, they never missed saying their prayers (namaz), - now they no longer believe in God, entertain no esteem for me. This is the result of the school."

There are two living-rooms in the house, one entirely Turkish, furnished in the old-fashioned way, and the other a modern room, European, arranged by the son. It is in the first that the mother receives her visitors, but she frequently appears in the other, forbidding her daughters to appear when their brother receives his friends, particularly foreigners. The boy is desperate and greatly embarrassed that his friends should witness the dissension which reigns in his family. He tries to conceal it as best he can but often these quarrels break out in the presence of strangers. The mother often goes into that cursed room in order to make fun of her son and daughters before their guests. "Look at them how modern they are; they go to school and are no longer ashamed of anything. This was not so when I was young. When I was a young girl may fiancé in order to have a look at me had to hide in a cupboard without my knowing anything about it."

She has no use for photographs and movies for which her children have a particular liking. Her daughters are obliged to hide their pictures because their mother already has destroyed them twice. You hear her repeatedly say on the subject of the movies: "It is this invention of the devil which has caused the ruin of the former Turkey."

The son has placed his money in a bank and draws a certain interest; he does it without his mother's knowledge as she refuses to accept any interest as contrary to the Koranic Law. "Whoever draws such an income does not believe in God and will be punished for it in his after life."

She continually asks her sons' friends whether he is loaning money for interest. She herself is continually loaning money to many people, which is never repaid. She does not mind — "everyone will receive his reward from God", and loans again.

Their last quarrel was about the window lattices. The son had them taken off and the mother, after protesting vehemently, left the house and went to stay with relatives. Upon her return the quarrel broke out anew. "If you do not care to have your windows latticed you should at least have left those lattices in front of my windows" is her argument. But the son is determined to finish with the past. "It would be shameful indeed to have those lattices put up again" he says to his friends.

B — 23

In a family composed of a father, mother, daughter and several young sons, the daughter, who is 20 years of age, is passionately fond of movies and collects a large number of photographs of the different movie stars. Her father is very much opposed to this hobby, considers it waste of money and says to his wife: "I am afraid that some day all this will turn the head of our daughter who is quite nervous and capricious anyway." The mother must frequently tolerate her husband's reproaches, and quarrels break out between them rather than with the girl.

During the "Ramazan" holiday of this year, the family according to its old tradition, usually spends the evening at the theatre or takes a walk. Nowadays instead of looking for entertainment at the "Orta-Oyun" (a grotesque Turkish national theatre) and at the varietes in the Shah-Zade Bashi [Şehzadebaşı] district, the better class families of Pera and even of Stamboul meet at the "Darülbedai", the national Turkish theatre located in the Pera section, where national plays are given frequently during Ramazan. One of these plays, "Bir Kavuk Devrildi" (A hat fell down), has been long advertised this year and arouses general interest. Everybody hurries to see this play and to laugh at their "past" which dates back to their "yesterday" only. The old people who do not care much for the "Darülbedai", too European for their taste, exchange their own impressions with each other.

The father of the family who has heard so much about the above play, proposes one evening to go and see it, but the same evening the announcement of a film which has met with success everywhere, attracts his daughter's attention. She is not in the least interested in seeing a play showing "ordinary and old-fashioned things, Turkish nonsense" with which they are all familiar, and to see which at the "Darülbedai" would be a waste of time. She decidedly prefers the movie. But the father insists on his own suggestion. Their discussions end in long disputes, nervous outbursts and bitter words. The good humor is spoilt and the family returns home having gone nowhere.

A few days later a new quarrel breaks out. This time the issue is between the "Darülbedai" and the "Théatre Français". The daughter who has been educated at a French school, seizes the opportunity of the arrival of a French theatrical troop, to avenge herself for the preceding night and insists on seeing it. The father does not want to go to the French theatre, since he does not understand French and does not care for the European theatre. But thanks to her mother's intervention, the daughter succeeds in having her way. They take a box. The expensive European clothes of the people around them make the father knit his brows, but his daughter finds the people very distinguished. The old parents follow attentively the first act, without understanding a thing. They understand the second act still less, by then they begin to close their eyes, and at the end of the performance, much to their daughter's embarrassment, they must be awakened to go home.

On the way home they quarrel. The father blames his daughter for forcing them to waste their money for something so very tiresome and altogether uncongenial to their tastes. The daughter, enraged, complains of their ignorance and of their inability to change their life and their ideas. She is especially grieved that they do not know how to behave in good society and that they have shamed her before the fashionable public at the theatre. At home their quarrel becomes even more violent. The father, angry and irritated, forbids her ever to revisit the movies and the theatre. She cries and insults him, and he strikes her, whereupon follows an attack of nerves. For a long time after, father and daughter do not speak to each other and the entire "Ramazan" passes without any distraction for the family.

This continues until one evening the girl firmly declares that she will take poison if they forbid her to go to the movie and the theatre. The mother, startled, is the first to give in, but soon after the father finds himself beaten and agrees to a compromise.

B — 24

A father, a widower, lives with his son, his only child. He loves him dearly and allows him full liberty, outside of the house, but at home the son must respect traditions and customs. Under such conditions father and son live together peacefully for a long time. When the young man comes home in the evening, he finds his father busy reading the Koran or smoking his "nargile" (hubble-bubble pipe); happy on his rug, and in his room where the walls are covered with various sacred texts from the Koran. Being good natured and a bit dreamy by nature, absorbed in reminiscences of the past, about which he loves to relate long stories, the old man never thinks of asking his son where he comes from and what he has done during the day. On the other hand, being free to amuse himself as he chooses, the son in his turn never interferes with the worries and ideas of his father.

The old man leads a sedentary life and rarely leaves the house. When he is not at home, his son knows where to find him; he sits in a small coffee-house in the neighborhood, where a phonograph is kept going day and night, playing the old Turkish songs of which the old man is a passionate lover. He also visits from time to time "Dar-ul-Talimi", a sort of a café-concert in Stamboul where many Turks, often with their families like to go to hear old Turkish music.

Watching all these old men, with their heads down, listening in perfect silence to the plaintive notes of the old Turkish songs, it would seem that the soul of ancient Turkey lives again and laments, awakening memories and sadness. One evening, upon returning from this coffee-house, all enthusiastic, the old man suddenly expresses his desire to buy a phonograph. The son does not object and the father's wish is soon realized. Along with the phonograph the old man also buys records, exclusively old Turkish songs, and every evening the house is filled with the monotonous and melancholy songs of the days gone by. However, just when the happiness of the old man is at its height the son comes home one evening with an American jazz record. In the beginning through kindness and politeness the father does not object to it. He tolerates it one day, two, three, four days, but on the fifth he throws the record out of the window. When the son learns of this he is very angry and thus father and son quarrel for the first time.

After the day's work the old man loves to come home and rest on his rug and cushions, with his Koran, his rosary, his coffee, and his memories; entirely shut within himself and thus at peace with the world, he listens to his monotonous, sad and peaceful music. But all of a sudden — like a clap of thunder — comes the jazz to burst in on his peace: "It is to rest myself after

my day's work that I purchased this phonograph," he says to his son, "and now you want to wreck my peace of mind and deafen my ears with your horrible music! What does it mean? What does that music resemble?"

"It is because you old folks are used to remain in the same spot in your coffee-house, without ever budging, that you like that stupid music of yours which makes one wish to fall asleep", replies the son.

The young man likes to go to dancing halls, bars and movie theatres which, for him, is "modern life"; it is here that he has acquired his excessive taste for American music — the jazz, the foxtrots and the charlestons. Not only does he not like his father's "music", but he is ashamed to have to play nothing but "funny old-fashioned" Turkish songs before his friends, and each time he expresses his loathing for what is called "oriental music". It is a general characteristic of the youth of present day Turkey — the more nationalistic they become through political motives, the more they diverge in daily life from everything originating from national sources. For instance, a young musician laughs at a request to play a Turkish popular song; an artist refuses to paint a mosque or a picturesque corner of Stamboul. Yet, they consider the cheapest imitation of the West as a cultural acquisition.

Exasperated at the impossibility of taking advantage of the phonograph during his leisure hours, the son decides to oppose his father. He buys once more new foxtrot and charleston records and invites his friends for a good time and dance at his home. The impressive peace of the house, where the father quietly has his "namaz" (prayer) five times a day, is now violated by savage and gay sounds. This brings about a new quarrel, desperate and decisive. Other violent disputes follow. Father and son exchange harsh and bitter words. The old man protests and refuses to make out of his home an "eğlence evi", a pleasure house, whereas the son will not stay in a house which is like a sepulcre.

And one day, after a new dispute, the young man runs away from the gloomy paternal home to the extreme despair of his father. For a few days the old man is obliged to search for him with the aid of the police, but in vain. At last he finds him in the house of one of his cousins. There his love for his son already gets the better of him and very soon he makes peace with him, which they seal with a little contract: each will use the house and the phonograph at a fixed time — the son will play his jazz music and his American foxtrots during the day when the father is usually away from home, and the old man will enjoy himself reading the Koran and playing his old Turkish songs in the evening when his son is at a dance in Pera.

B — 25

In one of the burnt sections not far from Pera (Istanbul) is situated the cottage of Mustafa Aga. It is built of brick, stone, and mud and has a roof made of sheet-iron and parts of oil tins. It is Mustafa Aga himself with the help of his wife who has built the cottage.

The little house has two rooms, which communicate through a door made in the middle of the partition. In the room with the fireplace live Mustafa Aga, his wife, his two sons 17 and 19 years old, and his little 13 year old daughter. There are no beds in the room. Their bedding which consists of mattresses and blankets is rolled up and placed in a corner of the room. They unroll them for the night on mattings because the place has no floors, and so they sleep. There are also three chests in the room in which the linen and clothes of the family are kept; these chests are also used as chairs. Next to the chest pushed against the wall is a small table with a little mirror above it. Four chairs and a small divan complete the furniture. There are no windows except for a small opening made in the wall close to the door which lets the light into the room, because fresh air comes in through the chimney when the door is shut. So much for the furniture and comforts.

The other room is much larger because it is built to shelter Mustafa Aga's herd of 60 goats. He spends all his time in tending his flock which constitutes his fortune and provides him and his family with the means which they need for their living. It is Mustafa Aga himself who in the morning leads them through the streets of Pera in groups of 10-15 goats, stopping at his clients' doors to sell the milk; it is he who takes them to their pasture grounds during the summer and brings them home for the night. His wife meanwhile takes care of the household, the little girl goes to school, whereas his two sons are of the opinion that while the raising of goats provides you with your maintenance it is a messy job — it pays well but what a dirty business!

It is necessary to point out that while Mustafa Aga's sons are neither drunkards nor regular coffee-house customers, they love sport, music and the movies. Although they sometimes go late to bed, they are always early risers and practice in front of the house their gymnastic exercises; after breakfast each goes his own way — the elder brother to the Beşiktaş sport club for the whole day, and the younger to the Tobacco Régie where he is employed as a workman. The elder boy earns nothing at all apart from such small allowances as the club distributes from time to time; the younger brother earns just enough to pay for his midday meal and to have some pocket-money. Everything else is taken care of by the father — it is the goats which provide

for it and this is not a mere trifle. Mustafa Aga's sons have comrades, boys of wealthy families; they need decent clothes, pocket money, bicycle rides, movies, a camera and new records for their phonograph.

Mustafa Aga's little cottage stands isolated from all the other houses of that section. A few trees have been planted in front of it and it is in their shade that on hot summer days the little table and chairs are placed. It is here that the sons receive their friends almost every night and particularly on Fridays. They dance, enjoy themselves, take pictures, exercise, wrestle, sing and the noise and racket they make keeps the whole neighborhood awake late into the night.

Mustafa Aga who is as kindhearted as he is weak is at a loss to understand this sort of a life. He regards his sons as loafers who can do nothing else but enjoy themselves. When he returns home at night, tired from his day's work, he cannot even get the rest he needs on account of all the noise around the house. To the reproaches he makes his sons respond rudely and sometimes even threateningly. It often happens that they find fault with the way they are served at home, the way their linen is being laundried and with the way their collars and shirts are ironed. Their mother tells them that she cannot do any better. The two fellows then take their linen to a laundress which increases the expenses of Mustafa Aga. Quarrels break out and grow more and more frequent every day.

One day the eldest son strikes his mother for having sent away during his absence one of his friends and for having told the latter that it is a shame young men of their age should loaf around and let themselves be supported by their poor parents. When in the evening Mustafa Aga returns home with his goats the mother complains to him about it. The father requests an explanation from his sons. No explanation is given; all he gets are rude replies. He suggests finally that they should leave the house and go and earn their own living. At the end of his patience he slaps his elder son in the face, who returns the blow. The scandal begins. The whole neighborhood rushes up, the police intervene and want to arrest the two trouble-makers, but it is the offended mother who protests against it and both sons remain at home and continue to carry on their former way of living. They terrorize their parents, abuse their little sister and are the regular tyrants of the family.

The neighbors have grown accustomed to listen to the quarrels between parents and children in the cottage of Mustafa Aga, and everybody is sorry for the two old people who work and slave all day long and are not even able to get their night's rest.

B — 26

Up to the age of twelve the son of a hoca studies at a medresse. Following the establishment in Turkey of the republican regime the medresses are closed and the boy is obliged to go to a lay school. The father does it very much against his will; in the boy the desire to study and to change his environment develops quickly under the influence of his schoolmates and teachers. In the new schools prayer (namaz) and the study of the Moslem holy books are done away with. This increases still further the indignation of the hoca. In order not to leave his son without religious instruction, the father forces him to say his prayers several times a day and to recite verses from the Koran instead of occupying himself with his school books. But soon the boy who grows older begins to resist his father. One day he firmly tells his father that he can no longer do a thing which nobody else does at their school. But the father wants to force him not only to say his prayers but ascend from time to time the minaret of their mosque with his school cap on his head and chant verses from the Koran. The boy persists in his refusal and the fanatical father does not hesitate to resort to the severest punishments in order to make him give in: he locks the lad up leaving him for two days without food, and sometimes he even beats him.

"Prayers are for hocas and old people but not for us young ones," declares the boy to his friends. According to the neighbors quarrels break out every day. The hoca does not give his son any money, either for the school or for other items, he even refuses to eat with him. "You study", says the hoca to his son, "not to save your soul, you study to become gâvurs. It is better to give the money to the beggars than to your school."

All the expenses of the boy are paid by his uncle who has a more up-to-date point of view.

One day he cannot go to school having been detained at home by work or illness. The next day at school he is told to bring a written statement setting forth the reason for his absence and signed by his guardian - in this particular case his father, the hoca. The boy tells it to his father who writes a few lines, seals the envelope and gives it to the boy. The latter hands it to his teacher and is stupefied and ashamed when the teacher reads aloud the following: "You may write to my son as much as you like, I do not want to send him to school". It is then that the teachers take a greater interest in their persecuted pupil and promise to defend him against his reactionary father.

The boy continues to attend school but has no peace at home, as the father quarrels with him every day. The boy loves to go to the movies and the theatre but has to do it in secret, afraid that the father may drive him out of the

house for good. "The decline of the young people", says the hoca to his neighbors, "is caused today in Turkey by schools and movies."

B — 27

It is with the proceeds from a small shop — half restaurant, half grocery — that a Turk has managed to make a living for his numerous household for some twenty years. He lives in one of the most remote sections of Stamboul. His shop is on the first floor of an old house, his family occupying the two small rooms of the second floor. Thanks to the exceedingly modest way of living which he compels his family to follow, he succeeds in saving some money and is looked upon by his neighbors as a wealthy man. His wealth, which is the result of the toil and saving of many years, as well as the harmony reigning in his household win him the esteem of all the respectable people of the neighborhood. It enters nobody's mind to criticize him for accumulating money instead of employing it to improve the living conditions of his family — to repair the house and make their life more comfortable. But how can one criticize a person who is kind and gentle to his own kind and to strangers, and who as a rule enjoys the reputation of a man with a very kind heart. "Usta" (master) A.... is the most amiable man of his quarter. When in the evening he goes to the little coffee shop opposite his own (which, by the way, is his greatest pleasure) he is always the center of those present and his utterances are considered as wisdom itself. The fact that two of his children die of tuberculosis does not affect the consideration he enjoys. God gives, and God takes away. Everyone is anxious to express to Usta A... their condolences on the death of his children and the general sympathy which he enjoys manifests itself more markedly. They sigh, cite the Koran, pray and submit to the divine justice.

But time goes on and the world changes... It happens that it is his only son — and not a stranger — who takes it upon himself to criticise the attitude of the father and to blame him for his wrong ideas. After having attended several schools he succeeds in registering at Istanbul University despite the opposition of his miserly father. For a long time he has been silently in revolt against the latter, and it is his mother who tries to avert a crisis and conceals her son's rebellious spirit. But gradually his associations with other students reveal to him his own cramped condition and he decides to free himself of the paternal yoke and to oppose a firm resistance to his father's ignorance and blind authority. He is assisted in his endeavor by his elder sister who shares his ideas and is trying to free herself from certain restrictions

which interfere with her freedom. The two main objects of their criticism are the house — too small and dark for a numerous family which is compelled to live in the most unhealthful conditions, and further the shop, filthy and always with the same customers, namely workmen and all kinds of shabby people. The young man is ashamed to invite his comrades to his house where the miserable way of living and the ignorance of his parents make him wince all the time.

Then, one evening, the little coffee shop is in an uproar. Usta A... has just announced to his friends the monstrous news, namely that his son has told him that he is not a good father. That to him, Usta A....! What a strange revelation to the visitors of the coffee shop! But who then can be called a good father? The astonishment and embarrassment grow still greater when the old man tells them the exact expressions of his son: "You are kind at heart but the ideas in your head are wrong." and after learning the details of the quarrel, certain things begin to dawn upon them. Nobody remembers that anything has ever been changed in the shop or house of Usta A.... Having always liked him such as they know him, they immediately agree with the poor father that his son is evidently intending to ruin him. The next day the rumor is beginning to circulate that Usta A....'s son suffering from megalomania tries to put on airs. It is his ambition, they say, to have the shop and house enlarged and adorned in the most modern and extravagant manner.

In spite of his work at the University, the son is always helping his parents in the shop and one might even say that he does the greater part of the job. But he declares now that he no longer can remain in so disagreeable a place. He points out to them others who having adapted themselves to the requirements of new conditions are getting along much better and have thus been able to secure an extensive and superior circle of customers. But all his arguments fail to convince the father of the necessity of making changes. "How can I", he says, "spend my money, which I have saved during times of prosperity by working hard, on superfluous things at a time when we do not know what might happen next." It is his stubbornness in considering the exigencies of a more hygienic and civilized life as "unnecessary things" which sets the young man's blood boiling. In the course of one of their quarrels the son reproaches his father for having caused the death of his children, referring to the two who died of tuberculosis. The father is speechless. But when he realizes that not only his son and daughter but his wife likewise share these modern ideas he tells them that they are free to do whatever they please but that they should not expect from him a single piastre, and goes to his little coffee shop where he is always sure to find peace and consolation.

It is then that the mother comes to the rescue of her children. She decides to sacrifice her little savings for the cause of her only son whom she adores. The amount thus obtained is not large enough to carry out all their plans, but they hope that the father when he sees the beginning will join in their project. They decide to improve first the shop.

The visitors of the little coffee shop are greatly surprised one day to hear a loud hammering in the shop of their friend Usta A..., who has fled in order not to be present at the demolition of his old shop. But the work proceeds quickly and within a few days a large and fine restaurant has taken the place of the old and filthy shop. "But who will come to our new place?" asks the father. "You know the people — a workman will feel embarrassed to enter for fear of ruining your furniture. We shall lose our good old customers who have helped to make our fortune." But the son replies: "We shall get better customers and as for the people — they will learn something from our beautiful restaurant."

But the money supplied by the mother has all been used up before they begin to improve the living quarters. Every piece of furniture calls forth endless disputes with the father. He gives them some money, in small amounts. The little coffee shop devotes a great deal of its attention to the matter, and Usta A... begins to yield, as do some of his old friends. One evening he sighs and says! "We are old, and shall die. Young people must have their way. We can do nothing to revive the good old times." His audience sadly admits the truth of his statement. They agree again that the young people have no desire to preserve the past and care very little about the treasures which their fathers have left to them.

As regards the house, it is not yet rebuilt. But the father is yielding more and more because he loves his only son and feels that he cannot carry on indefinitely his opposition against the young man's projects. The later has already fixed the date on which the repairs are to begin. He already enjoys the idea of having in the new house his own study nicely furnished, in which to work and to receive his fellow students.

B — 28

Hikmet Bey is known to everybody as an honest man, and as one who earns his living by sheer hard work. He has a family consisting of wife, two daughters and a little boy, hardly five. The daughters are sixteen and nineteen years old respectively. They have not received much education because Hikmet Bey is not a man of ample means; he is simply an "Esnaf" (middle class) as

the Turks classify him. He has a shop in the closed bazaar where he sells and repairs all sorts of slippers. In the evenings, after a busy day in his shop, he makes a few purchases for his children, and then goes directly home. The whole family then gathers around the table for a hearty supper. Immediately afterwards the family comes together in the sitting-room and enjoys a short chat together. Then they go to bed as Hikmet Bey must get up early in the mornings.

Lately, the father has noticed that his oldest girl is generally not at home when he returns in the evenings. The mother justifies the absence by saying that she has gone to the neighbors or is visiting some relatives. As a matter of fact, the young girl, who has recently found some friends, is out enjoying herself with them. Hikmet Bey soon realizes the truth and gives strict orders that the girls shall not go out unless accompanied by their mother.

One day a friend of his tells him that he has seen his daughters in a dancing hall in Pera, at about ten o'clock at night. Hikmet Bey cannot believe his ears because he knows the whole family goes to bed immediately after supper. So at first he does not mention the fact at home, but being repeatedly told that his daughters have been seen coming out of dancing halls in the company of young men, he is determined to find out the truth for himself.

One night, a short time after everybody has gone to bed he hears footsteps, and a door being opened. Immediately he runs downstairs only to find his two daughters having a good time with other men and women, all strangers to him. At the sight of their father the girls are terrified; the guests steal out. Hikmet Bey following them up to their room asks for explanations and losing his temper, resorts to beating. Hearing the cries of her daughters the mother arrives on the scene and tries to justify their conduct by explaining that their night excursions are known to her, that the young men with whom they go about are good men, and that she couldn't have done otherwise as the present age demands that young girls appear among people, learn to dance, make acquaintances, and dress well; otherwise, they could never get married, and especially when they have no dowry, no education and no work. "After all they couldn't risk remaining old maids all their lives!" The mother further explains that she herself urged the younger girl to go with her older sister not wishing to see her left alone at home. She tells him that knowing his strict views she did not let him know about it all, and besides she was sure her daughters behaved decently, and that they did not go wrong.

But Hikmet Bey cannot understand her point of view. He insults his wife and strictly forbids his daughters to leave the house without first obtaining his permission. He hardly speaks to his family after this and the

girls seem resigned. Always doubting, and suspicious of his wife and children, one Sunday Hikmet Bey closes his shop early and comes straight home to find his daughters gone. Their mother tries to explain that they have only gone out for a short walk, that he shouldn't lose his temper; during these modern times it was impossible for girls to live the old way, and that it was he who should change his ideas and adapt himself to the new age. He will have none of it; Hikmet Bey is furious and this time it is his wife who is beaten. The neighbors hearing her cries come to her rescue and there is a big scandal. Towards evening, the girls return home very casually. They enter the house cheerfully but their surprise and fright is great when they find their father already at home. There is a new scandal. Mother and girls are in tears; their father is furious and the mother at a loss to explain things. He uses his fists and kicks them all. Since then there is no peace in Hikmet Bey's house.

GROUP C.
1 — 7

C — 1

It is from a far away village, lost in the depths of Anatolia, that the good old Mustafa starts out for a trip to Istanbul where he intends to visit his two sons whom he has not seen for more than twenty years. With a little money in his pocket he mounts his donkey and proceeds in the direction of the sea, followed by the blessings of his poor old wife, his daughters, sons-in-law and grand children. Before he left he had to promise his poor crying wife that he would return with both his sons that she might see them before she dies. It is with a like feeling of affection for his boys that old Mustafa ventures on such a long and difficult trip. The money he carries would not suffice to pay his fare till the nearest town, but thanks to his donkey and the hospitality of the Turkish peasants who never fail to provide a traveller with food and shelter in their famous "misafir odası" (a special room reserved for visitors in every village) particularly in the case of an old man, he arrives at the Black Sea coast without having spent a cent of his cash. He meets everywhere kindness and sympathy. In the minds of the peasants his journey assumes an extraordinary character, because he will cross the limits of their world in order to enter a world unknown and frightful — especially at a period of great disorder. In every "misafir odası" at nightfall, they gather around the Baba traveller and their conversation invariably reverts to the journey of the poor father who is going to look for his sons lost in a great city full of the malignant spirit of the epoch.

When he at last arrives at the sea, Mustafa Baba has no money to buy a ticket. He therefore sells his donkey and the parting from his faithful and affectionate little beast is a pathetic thing. But he is ready to make every sacrifice in order to see his sons. Thus with the money obtained from the sale of his donkey he purchases a ticket and sails for Istanbul.

But his joy at seeing his sons promptly changes into disappointment after he has learned about their lives and ideas.

His younger son has established himself as a grocer. His shop and living quarters consist of two tiny rooms, a kind of closet such as there are many in Istanbul. It is with his younger son that Mustafa Baba decides to stay. His arrival coincides with the desertion of his son's wife, who shortly before has left her husband. The abandoned husband who loves his wife suffers greatly and is not in a mood to feel very elated over his father's arrival. His other son, a small tradesman suffers from the effects of the general economic crisis. Day and night he concerns himself about his business and likewise fails to express the joy which their father had anticipated. Both had left their village

when quite young and had gone to Istanbul to make a living, and their feelings as regards their family and native land are somewhat vague. After a while his presence begins to embarrass his younger son; his natural gentleness and candor are too much for the tortured heart of the younger man who seeks oblivion in solitude and sometimes in leading an irregular life. Realizing that his father would be never able to understand him, he conceals his real feelings and being compelled all the time to play a part, the presence of his father begins to irritate him. Religious, but in a kind of unhealthy mystical way, weak by nature, he mixes his faith with his passion. Although he performs his five daily prayers in his shop and visits every night the mosque, jealousy and love consume his heart. He cannot forget his wife who has left him for another man. In order to arouse her jealousy, he invites into his shop pretty women, pretends to be in love with them and spreads the rumor that he is thinking of marrying again. Sometimes, prompted by despair and resentment he seeks consolation in wine and in the company of light women neglecting all the while his work. But despite his efforts to conceal from his father the real state of things the latter guesses the truth and tries his best to comfort his boy. But this irritates the son still more and he reacts to his father's good advice by leading a dissolute life which he no longer tries to conceal. Very soon the old man finds himself in a most embarrassing position; he has to stand the company of his son's frivolous friends, light women; he has to listen to their conversations and witness various scandalous scenes. His conscience of an honest and faithful man does not permit him to bear all this in silence; his sense of duty compels him to criticize the conduct of his son. But his reproaches call forth disputes. These disputes which are more and more frequent increase the moral sufferings of the son. He calls on his brother and tells him: "It is seven months that I have taken care of the old man; now it is your turn to do the same. You must take him into your house because I want to have some peace — he is impossible with his mania for poking his nose into my life."

Thus the old man goes to live with his elder son where he is to meet with further disappointments. The life which his son is leading is not at all in harmony with the ideas of the father. There is no intimate drama to ruin the disposition of the young man. He has not married preferring the freedom of a bachelor's life; he loves to stroll around the wineshops. But there are two things which irritate him, namely the economic crisis and the "village goods" meaning thereby the religious ideas of his father. Naively and good-naturedly rather than for any fanatical reasons the old man criticises the various business methods of his son and some of his friends. The son quietly, without feeling angered, orders his father to mind his own business because otherwise he

would see himself obliged to send him back to the village in the midst of the winter.

But without waiting to be sent away by his sons, the old man is already himself contemplating leaving Istanbul as soon as possible. He is anxious to get back to his little Anatolian village. There is one reason which keeps him staying with his sons: the hope that one or the other might go back with him to fulfill the promise he has given their mother. It is with great depression that he prepares to start on his trip home. He tells the neighbors who inquire about the causes of his sadness that although he is returning home, he cannot enjoy the idea because he has promised his wife to bring back at least one of their two sons. "How shall I go back to her? I know what she is going to say to me: 'Are you coming back alone? Then why did not you stay there and let my boys come back? Why have you come back without bringing me joy?' And she will cry and curse me."

But his words fail to produce an effect on his sons who are absorbed by their affairs. The abandoned husband thinks of killing his unfaithful wife who is happy with another man, and the other son altogether engrossed in all sorts of great schemes regardless of the failures which he encounters daily. They try to console the old man with money, presents and eloquent words. But his sadness grows greater and greater and then, one day, giving up hope of persuading his sons to accompany him back to their native land, he decides to leave. "I feel that my end is near", he says to the neighbors, "and I must hurry because I do not want to die here; I want to die in my native land." And then he leaves, returning by the same way by which he came, and telling in the same "misafir odası" about the disappointments of his great journey.

C — 2

The father is 50, his two sons — 27 and 24 years respectively. Considerable time has passed since the death of their mother. The three men are feeling more and more the necessity of having a woman in the house to keep order because servants are far from being efficient. They are wealthy, have money to employ several servants but it proves to be impossible to get along without a mistress in a household.

The sons have for a long time already been waiting for a permission from their father to marry, this still being the custom in the villages of Anatolia. But the father postpones the carrying out of their matrimonial schemes for one reason or another, waiting for a more propitious moment. In reality, he himself desires to marry before his sons and he has already made his

choice — a very young woman. To spare his young wife the necessity of living from the very beginning with two daughters-in-law is the reason why he desires to marry first. He does not tell them of his intention but when they are pressing him for his consent, he informs them of his plans. "You must still wait a little", he says to them, "because you can easily understand that there will be no peace in the house if we bring almost simultaneously into the family three young women, one of whom would be your second mother and the other two her daughters-in-law." The sons, upset by their father's explanation, reply that at his age he ought to abstain from marrying whereas they are just of the age when men ought to marry, and that therefore it is his duty to see that they are married first. But the selfishness of the father triumphs over their reasonings and he marries, very much to their grief, a woman below their age. All the relatives, neighbors, in fact the entire village, severely criticize the conduct of the father. And in the dissension which manifests itself and which takes on a rather acute aspect, everybody sides with the young men. The father's selfishness and obstinacy are blamed. The bride takes part in the general commotion by intriguing and causing quarrels. Realizing the increasing hostility on the part of the two brothers she shows them that she hates them, and on the other hand she tries in every manner to arouse the jealousy of her husband against his sons. Opportunities are easily found for a display of shrewdness and even calumny. She spreads the rumor among the villagers, who know all about these quarrels, that the eldest son was in love with her before her marriage and that it is out of sheer spite having been displaced by his father, that he tries to avenge his defeat. She further tells everybody of their disregarding the father's authority and religious precepts in an endeavor to discredit them in the eyes of the people. But the villagers, however, persist in their opinion that it is the father and his young wife who are responsible for their troubles. Relatives take it upon themselves to make it clear to the father that he ought to marry his sons as soon as possible and that he should not give too much credit to all that his young wife is telling him. The father who is completely under the influence of his young wife refuses to follow their advice, and the young woman afraid that should the two sons marry she might find it rather difficult to separate them, persists in insinuating that the two young men are attempting at her honor. In spite of the general sympathy which they enjoy, the young men try not to lose their self-control and make every endeavor to conceal from others their revolt against the father. But one day, exasperated by the provocations of their second mother they give her a thorough beating and flee from their home. When the father returns the young woman furious over the outrageous treatment of her sons, falls sobbing on his neck and tells her husband that his sons having in

vain attempted to win her favors have treated her ignominously. The father who is deeply affected by her revelations curses his sons. The latter exasperated by their father's curse and unable to put up with such a disgrace in the face of the other peasants leave the village and go to Istanbul where they work as servants. The father makes no endeavor to get in touch with his sons and continues quietly to live with his young wife.

C — 3

No sentiment is as strongly developed in the Turk as jealousy caused by love. Most of the crimes committed in this country, in villages and in cities as well, are due primarily to jealousy caused by love. It may even be said that proportionally love crimes occur more frequently in the villages where murders practically always result from this sentiment.

In an Anatolian village a young man falls in love with a young girl of the same locality. In spite of all his love he cannot propose to her since his parents categorically object to the marriage, disapproving both of the girl and her family. In Turkish villages parents can still marry their children according to their own choice. There, the father's will continues to be of great weight in directing the children's life at the expense of their happiness, the father being guided either by prejudice, ambition or egoism.

The young man finding himself in the difficult position of choosing between his love and his parents, decides to postpone his marriage for a year or two in the hope that during that period he may succeed in winning his parents' consent. He takes this decision, of course, with the understanding that the girl will remain faithful to him.

Soon, however, the parents of the girl objecting to a delayed and possibly doubtful marriage, force her to break her engagement and to marry a man from a different village.

Broken down and desperate at the sudden betrayal of his beloved, the young man yields entirely to the will of his own parents who hasten to marry him to a girl of their own choice. No great attention is paid to his grief, it being believed that the planned marriage will bring him consolation and oblivion in due time. Although he becomes a good husband and continues to be an obedient son, his sorrow does not cease. He never finds fault with his parents, but this does not prevent a silent conflict from arising between them. His parents are well aware of his hostile feelings and try to pacify him — a vain attempt, he is more dead that alive. His mother suffers to see him in this

condition but not so the father, who gets angry and reproachfuly asks whether he will never cease to mourn "over a woman" and darken their old days?

His young wife though suffers from this attitude more than anybody else. She hears him in his dreams at night calling his lost sweetheart's name and blaming his parents for his misfortune. In dreaming he gives vent to all the violent and bitter expressions which he withholds from them out of filial respect. The old people are greatly concerned. Before such a well concealed but steadily growing jealousy they lose their head and are at a loss how to act. Special prayers are said by the hoca of the village; the mother consults fortune tellers with the full conviction that her son is a victim of a magic love spell. But nothing can cure him!

Seeing that he still cannot forget his love and jealousy for another woman, his wife begins to realize that she is a burden to him. One day she finally gets so exasperated that she decides to run away to her parents. The latter are utterly scandalized and horrified at their daughter's act. They force her to return immediately to her parents-in-law, inasmuch as they do not wish to assume any responsibility for their daughter's great sin. Just imagine, their own daughter deserting her husband and seeking shelter in their house! Notwithstanding all her suffering, neither pity, interest nor any consideration could possibly persuade her parents to violate the sacred laws of religion. The old Turks maintain that according to the prescriptions of the Koran a woman has no right to break matrimonial bonds. She belongs to her husband just the same as any ordinary object, and must endure everything. Otherwise she would be considered a woman who changes her husband just to suit her pleasure, such as any ordinary prostitute. In the villages every woman's fate depends upon her master — her husband.

Her parents-in-law, however, appreciating her great sorrow, defend her cause and reproach their son his coldness towards his wife. The son already made resentful by too much suffering responds very bitterly. His daily work offers him steady pretexts for disputes and he gives way to his ill humor with his parents. This only makes much worse the atmosphere at home. The son is drawn away from it and is more and more attracted to the forest, where he becomes a charcoal-burner, staying away for long periods and thus avoiding his parents and his wife. Nothing can cure him of his savage jealousy, neither quarrels nor good advice or entreaties.

One day, upon learning by chance that the woman he still loves, would pass on a certain day through the forest where he works, accompanied by her husband, on her way to her parents, fiendish jealousy gets hold of him again and he loses all control of himself. The next day his wife sees him get up very

early and notices that he grinds his ax more carefully than usual. She thinks he is getting ready for work and lets him go without a word.

He hides himself in the forest, near the road, and waits for the couple to arrive. They soon make their appearance. He suddenly dashes upon the woman, kills her with his ax and also tries to kill himself, but in the course of his struggle with the woman's husband he is disarmed. Blood-stained he escapes to the village and there surrenders himself to the police.

To the people gathering around him he says: "I have calmed down; they may do with me now anything they wish."

C — 4

There lives in a small Anatolian town, a widower with three minor children, of whom the eldest, a boy, is 19 years old, and his mother-in-law, an old woman a hundred years old. His work takes all of his time and he cannot take care of his children and the old woman. In order to remedy the situation, he decides to marry off his son hoping that a daughter-in-law may take the place of a mother with his little children. He does not therefore object when his son asks for his permission to get married. The young woman he chooses has been born and brought up in the same town in which the ideas and customs of the inhabitants have changed but little under the influence of all the new reforms. It is however apparent from the beginning that the bride is very much inclined to adopt new customs particularly in her dress and behavior, which the old man views with tolerance considering that her energy and independence may prove to be an asset and that she will be the more capable of taking care of his children.

In the beginning everything is all right. But gradually the energetic attitude of the young woman becomes dictatorial which does not please the old man. His son, a weakling, submits to his wife's peremptory ways and thus it is that she turns into the ruling member of the family. The old man can stand it no longer, but it is to his son that he expresses his indignation and not to his daughter-in-law. He accuses him of being a husband having no prestige, no authority over his wife, in a word a bad husband. He tries to make clear to him the contemptible part he is playing in his own family and to inculcate into him the precepts of the good old days. "You must treat your wife gently, but firmly and not permit her to interfere with your authority, because it is the man who should rule." He tries to arouse the self-respect of his son by treating him ironically. He always draws comparisons between him and the men of his own time. "This used to be different in my time", or "If my father

should see such a thing, what a shame it would be", is what he says all the time. The young man who loves his wife but who at the same time realizes the situation, turns his anger against his father.

But neither her dictatorial manner, her bold bearing, her modern clothes (bare neck and arms, very short dress) nor the criticism of the neighbors as regards her emancipation, provoke a conflict between the father and daughter-in-law, - this only happens when she begins to abuse the orphans. Instead of taking care of them, as the father had hoped she would, she at first neglects them and then begins to ill-treat them. When asked to comb the little girl's hair she refuses to do so on the pretext that children must learn to do everything themselves. But when she beats them and leaves them without food the father looses his self-control and they quarrel. The old woman is completely neglected and it is the father who has to look after her, to help her to wash herself and to support her when she moves around.

He accomplishes all these little services very conscientiously as it would be a sin to act differently. His daughter-in-law is particularly heartless as regards the old woman and expresses her astonishment that he should show so much solicitude to the mother of his dead wife. But he only says that "he would not try to get rid of his mother-in-law for a hundred beautiful girls." To turn out an old woman a hundred years old! One who had been kind to him! He would not even admit of such an unspeakable sin.

He does not agree with her modern way of dressing but he would let her have her own way in this matter if she would only take good care of the orphans and of the old woman. "She might walk around naked if she liked, provided she does her duty as regards the orphans and the old woman, and I would be content", is what he says. But the young woman's only concerns are her clothes and her calls in town and she neglects everybody and everything in the house which is full of dirt and disorder. This exasperates the father who loves order and cleanliness. He suffers greatly at seeing his children grow up in filth. He finds out, moreover, that she steals things in the house in order to give them to her own family. Having himself a kind heart he never neglects his obligations to poor relations, but the idea of being cheated and taken advantage of, is repugnant to him. However cautiously he tries to point out to her the inadmissibility of her conduct, nothing can make the young woman change her behavior. On the contrary, her cruelty towards the children increases and she begins to squander even worse than before.

It happens that the father has to absent himself for a while from town. Returning home from Istanbul he finds his house in absolute desolation. The old woman, almost dying, complains that she has been treated with the utmost brutality; the children have been ill-treated in such a manner that the

neighbors had to interfere and save them from the cruelty of their "stepmother", his children, children of one of the most respectable citizens of the town, were infested with lice; the house was in the most deplorable condition. Realizing at last that nothing could change his daughter-in-law, he calls for his son and tells him:

> "Somebody else might have given her a beating but this is a thing which I could not do. Now listen to me: you know very well that in allowing you to marry that girl I myself made a sacrifice in your favor, because I might also have married a woman of a certain age, who would have been more capable of caring for my children. I am a man of 50, and if I did not marry myself when you married, I desired to avoid possible dissensions between the two women. You know how much money I spent when I celebrated your wedding and you likewise know the money which I spent to settle you. I am willing to spend more than that if you wish it, but I demand that the orphans should not be abused because this is the greatest of sins. If you love your wife more than your family, take her and leave the house, but if you prefer to stay with us, she has to leave the house immediately and you must divorce her at once."

He loves his son, and being afraid that he might follow his wife, he threatens to disinherit him if he should leave them to follow her. This proves an effective way to free the young man from his wife, because he was beginning to get tired of her rudeness and laziness. The father insists that the separation should take place with the utmost discretion. He calls for his daughter-in-law and says to her: "My dear, I regret it, but you understand that you are not the person who fits into our house; take what you want and return to your mother. I wish you to be happy all your life."

The young woman leaves the house from which she takes everything even the razor of her husband. The father considers that he has accomplished a great duty in separating his son from his wife. "I have saved", he states, "from the clutches of a wicked woman orphans who are my own children."

C — 5

Some fifteen years ago, the old Moslem spirit and peaceful provincial habits of an Anatolian family composed of a father, mother, two sons, the older of whom is married and has three children, and two sisters, are threatened by the first breath of the new spirit. Notwithstanding the high walls surrounding the house and the wooden lattices on all windows, the new spirit which has developed after the proclamation of the "Hüriyet" (Liberty — Constitution) has already found its way into the family. Some of the women

have already dared to throw away their "yaşmaks" and to walk about freely in public places. The example which they have set seems to be very contagious, and the parents have taken severe measures to protect their daughters from such a dangerous contagion.

The older daughter of the family in question must ask her father for permission to go out even with her brother. This permission is not always readily granted, for the older brother who likes to go out with her, has returned from his studies in Istanbul very much influenced by the new spirit, and therefore his father does not trust him entirely. But sister and brother care a great deal for each other, and always find pretexts for going out together to take a walk or to visit some place of amusement. This creates quarrels not alone with the old parents, but with their daughter-in-law as well, who is as conservative as the parents and in addition very jealous, and hates to see her husband prefer the company of his sister. To her reproaches he replies: "You have three children and your duties consist in looking after them at home. What kind of amusements do you expect since you are opposed to the liberty of women? My sister is a young girl and, besides, she understands the new life; amusements to her are a necessity."

Although the old habits are strictly observed in their presence, the parents shake their heads at those walks of the brother and sister. The two now begin to go out secretly . Outside the house the brother himself pulls off the black veil from his sister's face, being convinced that no man can recognize her, never having met her at the house where the partition-wall separating women and men is still used. Brother and sister visit evening parties given by the more emancipated families. There the pretty sister meets with brilliant success and her brother not only does not feel jealous about it, but rather takes great pleasure in seeing her dancing with all the young men.

Her intimate friend is a Jewish girl, a neighbor of hers. Every day she hurries though a small gate in the adjoining wall and immediately throws her "yaşmak" into the court of her friend, breathing a sigh of relief at her liberty. Her Jewish friend is the confidant of all her intimate thoughts. She complains to the latter about her secluded life and often says to her: "How I should like to see just once the face of the man whom my parents will choose some day as my husband!"

At about that time a European, who is well known to the Jewess, stays temporarily in town. He is very much interested in Turkish women and after having learned from the Jewess a lot about the rare and very typically Turkish beauty of her girl friend, he takes a fancy to the latter without having even seen her, and expresses a persistent desire to make the acquaintance of the Turkish girl.

The Jewess cannot arrange a meeting at her house, being afraid to irritate her father who is anxious to keep up friendly relations with his Turkish neighbors. So they decide to look for a good opportunity outside.

The Turkish girl who has already learned of the interest which she has aroused in the foreigner, is full of curiousity. In her mind the European personifies liberty and she connects him with all her dreams of a free life. Her imagination has already been stimulated considerably by the ideas of her brother who has felt the influence of the culture and free life of Istanbul.

Thus, it happens that while taking a walk in town with her mother, she meets her Jewish girl friend accompanied by the European, and immediately falls in love with him.

But the young foreigner cannot see her face, as she is veiled. So, when the Jewess informs him that the Turkish girl has seen him and has fallen in love with him, he is all the more desirous of meeting her. And now various attempts are made to arrange a meeting, but without success. Thus, for instance, the Turkish girl attempts to appear unveiled at the window in the house of her Jewish friend, but her fear of the prying eyes of the neighbors makes her unsuccessful each time. She does not want to confide her desire to her brother so that he should not feel she has abused his confidence and his liberal ideas. Besides, the intrigues committed against her by her cousins, who are dissatisfied with the great liberty which her brother accords her, make the father even more suspicious. He no longer permits them to go out together and when they do so occasionally, the brother no longer dares to take off the veil from his sister's face.

Quite a long time goes by, and in spite of all his efforts, the European does not get a chance to see the girl's face.

For the young girl though, who has entertained dreams of love for so many years, this innocent story takes on serious significance. All the craving for affection which she has retained within herself so long goes towards that stranger whom she has already seen on several occasions. But due to the impossibility of approaching the "gâvur" (unbeliever) and not having the right of freely choosing a Turk, she begins to suffer and falls sick. Constant nervousness and loss of weight, the cause of which is not known, alarm her people. Suspecting nothing of her inmost thoughts, her parents attribute her condition to some magic spell. Even her brother, who is ignorant of everything about her secret love, is inclined to concur in the other's apprehensions. Does not magic always pursue a pretty girl? They call the hoca of the district, but he finds that this particular case of magic is beyond his ability and suggests to the parents to go to some other town and look for a better magician.

After the recovery of the girl, her parents decide to accelerate her marriage. Aged relatives are entrusted with this task. They soon find a suitable candidate and all the terms of the marriage are fixed, nothing being told to the young girl. Upon learning everything, she runs in despair to her girl friend and amidst tears tells her that her happiness has now been destroyed. The Jewish girl friend tries to comfort her, tells her that everything is not yet lost and suggests to her that she may object to her parents' will. "But what trouble shall I then cause my brother", replies the Turkish girl, "for my parents will hold him responsible."

Nevertheless, in despair she is prepared for anything. Upon learning from the Jewess that the parents of the Turkish girl, whose slim figure and flashing eyes piercing through her veil give him no peace, are getting ready to marry her against her own will, the European proposes to run away with her and leave the country. After some hesitation the Jewess finally communicates these proposals to her Turkish friend. But the Turkish girl has already taken a different decision: "Knowing my father well, I am sure that if I cause such a scandal to my parents, he will hold my brother responsible for it and will even disinherit him and refuse him his blessing. No, I have decided to sacrifice my love for the sake of my brother for I do not want to repay with evil all the good he has done to me."

"If I could just see her before I leave", exclaims the stranger, giving a camera to the Jewess to take a picture of Turkish girl in secret. The Turkish girl agrees to be photographed, but in spite of all the exact instructions he gave the Jewess how to handle the camera, he receives in the evening a blurred picture. Thus, the last hope of seeing his Turkish girl is lost to him.

Soon thereafter begin the preparations for the wedding. While applying her "sürme" (black dye applied to the eyebrow) and her "kanat" (a dark yellow nail polish) she cannot help confiding to her Jewish friend: "I have seen him at least and shall retain his image all my life within my heart, but I am sorry that he could not behold me and that in his memory I shall continue to remain the woman veiled in black."

On the wedding day, just as her fiance removes the white veil from his face and she thus sees him for the first time, the face of an elderly and ugly man (a marriage of convenience), nervous spasms shake her all over. Being unable to control herself any more, she begins to scream: "I have another fiancé! Let me have my own fiancé!"

This causes utmost confusion among the family and guests. What a scandal: a young girl who dares to reject her fiancé on the wedding day! The father is beside himself with rage; the fiancé wishes to leave; everybody is astonished and frightened. The parents and cousins blame the girl's brother for

having corrupted his sister's mind. But the hoca's intervention saves the situation: the girl who had been sick before has fallen again a victim to magic. When she recovers, the malicious spirit has already left her and with a voice weakened she herself realizes that all has been a bad, a very bad, dream.

C — 6

In a village in Anatolia, the young people remain altogether indifferent to the movement of reform notwithstanding the efforts of each new teacher to win them to the new spirit. They have already succeeded in driving away from the village the last young and bold champion of culture among them, and have replaced him by a young instructress who, to their great disappointment shows the same spirit and, in addition, the dangerous example of a liberal woman who threatens the good morals of the village.

According to the old custom the peasants conceal their intimate family life from their own relatives in the same way as from strangers. Very often serious conflicts which arise in a family remain unknown even to the relatives and neighbors. At any rate, it rarely happens that such a conflict is made public by a member of the family. The father will never criticise his son, and still less will a son criticise his father. The incident is always repeated either by some confidant — a friend, neighbor or a cousin.

Such is the case with a family composed of a mother (widow), three sons who are already married although very young and a daughter who is still younger. The family is not wealthy and the three sons are hardly able to provide for its needs. The young girl is sent to the village school to work as a servant so as not to be a burden to her brothers. She is obliged to stay at the school and to wait upon the instructress who also lives at the school. The latter has already scandalized the whole village by her liberal attitude and her ideas, and the peasants shake their heads when they learn that a simple peasant girl will live with her. The peasant women are shocked especially by the instructress' free and easy friendships with men. Under the influence of the general opinion the brothers also begin to look with mistrust upon their sister living with the instructress. But the mother, a very simple woman of no character, feeling flattered by the attention paid to them by a learned and distinguished woman, and seeing her daughter steadily excelling the other village girls and speaking and dressing better than the latter, not only disregards everybody's comments, but feels rather proud of them.

This arouses disagreement between her and her sons, the disagreement gradually developing into constant quarrels. These quarrels are always aggravated by the criticism and intrigues of the peasants over the fatal influence of the instructress upon the poor girl. Even the latter's friends now begin to dodge her at the request of her own relatives. Only her mother remains dazzled and stubborn.

At about the same time as the instructress a young man from Istanbul came to the village as a policeman. His habits and ideas also are not to the liking of the peasants.

The young policeman and the pretty and young servant girl of the school soon fall in love with each other. In her simplicity and being unable to appreciate fully the behavior of the instructress who knows more of how to protect herself, the young girl trusts the young man entirely and for a while they live like husband and wife, carefully hiding themselves from the peasants who steadily keep spying on them.

But then the day comes when, due to the first signs of pregnancy, the young girl is compelled to confess everything to her mother. The latter, utterly shocked and terror-stricken at such an unexpected confession, dashes upon her daughter and beats her mercilessly. But she cannot conceal matters from her sons inasmuch as nothing can be done without their assistance to save the honor of the girl and that of the family. Thereupon the sons and the mother engage in fierce quarrels. They immediately wish to drive their sister from their home, without at first thinking of the consequences, as they do not want to permit a dishonored girl to live under the same roof with their wives. The mother who has already realized her blindness, is anxious to quiet them in order to conceal everything from the public and to save her daughter from the street. For a while the brothers maintain their decision and even refuse to hand over to their sister the dowry which was saved piece by piece for a great many years. Gradually, however, and out of respect and pity for their old mother, also out of shame of the public from whom they wish to conceal matters, they calm themselves and decide to send to Istanbul the two women, the mother and the daughter, and thus conceal the scandal.

The policeman, who was told of the situation, being afraid of the vengeance of the brothers and of the criticisms of the peasants, succeeded in getting a transfer. One evening he leaves the village quietly, without even saying good-bye to his mistress. Soon after his departure, giving up every hope of a more happy issue, the mother and the daughter leave for Istanbul. There, after having given birth to a dead child at a hospital, the girl takes up work in a factory.

The family tries to conceal everything from the peasants, but even before the departure of the two women the whole village has become acquainted with their misfortune. Pitying not only the brothers and the mother, but the deceived girl likewise, the peasants accuse the instructress, and consider the poor peasant girl a victim of the former's bad example.

C — 7

In a village near Istanbul lives a family consisting of father, mother, two sons, one married daughter, her husband and their two children. The father is wealthy and has a good reputation among the peasants for being faithful to the old customs which still reign in the village. But his eldest son who often accompanies him to the city on business starts gradually to develop certain bad traits. Like all the village boys, the only things that attract him to the city are women and alcohol. He gradually participates in his father's business, becomes entirely independent, and starts visiting the town very frequently and there wastes his father's money. The latter, extremely displeased with his son, often quarrels with him. All the family side with the father, with the exception of the mother who, in the beginning prompted by weakness and later through spite against her husband, often defends her son and says: "He is still young — it will pass in due time and by and by he will become more reasonable." She too disapproves of his irregular life, but can never refuse him any money, and even closes her eyes whenever he robs her, although she knows perfectly well where he intends to spend it.

One day the son accidentally learns of the former escapades of the father and discovers that he also has had a mistress in the city for a long time. He immediately reports the city for a long time. He immediately reports the fact to his mother, as he wants to antagonize her still more against his father. This grieves the mother, but in order to avoid a great scandal, she prefers not to say anything to her husband and begs her son to keep it secret. "If we utter a word", says she, "we shall be humiliated even more and everybody will laugh at us." Yet despite her own recommendations, she herself confides and complains of it to some friends, and finally the father happens to know from others about the espionage his son has committed in his own house. This aggravates the conflict to such an extent that he declares in the presence of friends: "A son who discredits his father in front of his wife does not deserve to live under the same roof; tell my son either I must kill him or else he must mend his ways and cease forthwish calumniating me before his mother. Otherwise how can I live with her? He will spoil our home life."

At the same time, the son feeling that he is beyond criticism after having challenged his father, goes almost every day to town and returns late drunk. When others reproach him for his behavior, especially his sister who finds his example very bad for her children, he simply answers: "Now everybody has a good time. Go to Istanbul and see for yourself.... But you think that the old men in their day lacked their amusements. The sole difference is that at that time they did it secretly, whereas now we do it openly."

In spite of the mother's resistance, the father becomes more and more irritated against his son. Business goes badly and one day on the verge of ruin, when his creditors tell him clearly: "Why do you want us to give you money? Is it just for your son to waste it?", he decides to turn his son out of the house and to his wife he says: "I forbid you to open the door this evening to my son." But secretly she lets him in and he sleeps at home.

The father knows, of course, that they are deceiving him and he puts the ax behind the door and says: "If my son comes this evening, I shall kill him." He says this with a view to threatening his wife. For a few days, the son remains away and spends the nights with his mistresses. But one day having been expelled by them, he arrives home very late. His mother quietly goes down stairs and tries to open the door noiselessly, but the father hears her steps and comes out. On seeing him armed with the ax the mother terror-stricken pushes him back instinctively with such violence that he falls down unconscious. In her alarm, she thinks it is her son who killed him and shrieks: "My son has killed his father." The neighbors come running in and meanwhile the father recovers consciousness. "You pretend to love me", says the soon reproachfully, "but you expose me publicly before the whole village with your shrieks. It would have been better if I had been killed by my father."

But such were the customs in this family of the village that even after such a scandal, peace is promptly reestablished amongst them. Only the son did not mend his ways and he ruined his family by his conduct. Just about this time, the son announces his intention to get married. His father wants him to choose as his wife the daughter of a rich peasant, thus hoping to improve his business, but he is both surprised and indignant to learn that he has already chosen his wife himself, and what is worse a woman from town. The parents' opposition is vanquished beforehand when he confessed that the only thing lacking was his official wedding. The hope that perhaps their son may improve after his marriage, makes them more indulgent.

As customary, they called on the daughter's family, so as to ascertain under what conditions she would enter their home. From their first interview, they receive bad impressions on account of the dress and up-to-date style of the

young girl and of her modern home. The mother inquires of her future daughter-in-law: "When you are used to such a life, will you be able to live in the village with us?" and the young girl answered: "For the sake of love, I shall bear everything. Besides the city is not far away from the village." Nevertheless she lays down certain minor conditions; she wants to have a modern room, to be free to dress as she pleases, to visit the city often and when she wants to. They agree, but the mother complains and says in front of the others: "Allah! (My God) what a tango-woman will enter our house! We shall be the laughing-stock of the village."

The marriage was soon celebrated. The daughter dresses in an ultra-modern and luxurious way. During the festival neither she nor her husband keep up the old traditions to the great horror of the peasants and shame of the parents. According to an old custom, the bride must fast during the whole day preceding the wedding ceremony. Yet in this case the bridegroom boasts in the presence of his guests of having secretly given his bride food on the very same morning. The above-mentioned custom also forbids the bridegroom to enter before the marriage ceremony the room where all the women and the bride stay, but he just laughs at all this and merrily spends his time among all the women. The peasants become indignant. This irritates his father all the more, who can bear it no longer and who enters the women's room and in front of everybody insults his son: "What are you doing here, you, young bridegroom, among the women? Get out of here. Your place is in the men's room." The son answers: "She will be my wife tonight, why not remain with her from now on? I do not care for your nonsense." The quarrel starts. They exchange hard words. The son infuriated runs to the neighbors. At last with great difficulty they prevail upon him to return home. The old parents are very grieved about the scandal, but the young people soon forget everything and the wedding continues with great gaiety.

For a short time after the marriage, the young couple live peacefully in the village, but before long the daughter-in-law is more and more discontented with the life she is obliged to live in a country house. She longs for the city and insists on going there more frequently. This is not to the liking of the old people and thus disagreements soon arise between them and the young woman. Neither does the husband care to be shut up in the village but prefers the city to which he is drawn for strolling and drinking. Soon after, the daughter-in-law uses this as a pretext and insists on being separated from the parents. They leave the village and go to live in town, but there they find only misery and poverty. The father declines to help them, likewise the parents of the girl, they being displeased that their daughter imposed upon them a son-in-law who was not according to their tastes. Only the son's mother helps them,

and that in secret. This however, does not prevent her from complaining in front of the women of the village and saying: "One must be a fool to marry a son to a girl from the city. They are not as they used to be in the old days.... I foresaw it and asked her: 'My girl, will you be able to live with us?' She has separated me from my son. No, it is impossible for a young city-bred girl to become accustomed to living in a village."

US DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS ON TURKEY
III

FAMILY LIFE IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF THE 1930'S

•

A Study by G. Howland Shaw