

Ottoman Reflections on Gender, Class and Race in Victorian England:

Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan's *Finten*

Sevim Kebeli

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2015

Reading Committee:

Selim S. Kuru, Chair

Walter G. Andrews

Laura Chrisman

Reşat Kasaba

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Interdisciplinary Ph.D. Program in Near and Middle Eastern Studies

©Copyright 2015

Sevim Kebeli

University of Washington

Abstract

Ottoman Reflections on Gender, Class and Race in Victorian England:

Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan's *Finten*

Sevim Kebeli

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Associate Professor Selim S. Kuru

Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization

Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (1852–1937), who spent more than twenty years of his life in London and India, was the first Ottoman author who made India and the British Empire a frequently visited topic in his literary works. This dissertation explores Hamid's *Finten* (1886), his famous drama on London, along with his memoirs and letters that reveal his life in British India (1883–85) and London (1885–94 and 1897–1912). While Hamid's observations on London and its social structure form the central stage of *Finten*, the British Empire with its imperial and colonial history provides its backdrop. Based on a close reading of *Finten* and Hamid's writings on the British Empire, the dissertation analyzes and discusses class- and race-oriented distinctions that inform metropolitan social relations in Victorian England.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would have been impossible without the generous financial support I received from the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, the Middle East Center, the Graduate School, and the Interdisciplinary Ph.D. Program in Near and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Washington. I am very grateful to the librarians at the Milli Kütüphane (Ankara), Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (İstanbul), ISAM Kütüphanesi (İstanbul), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, University Library of the Freie Universität (Berlin), Bodleian Library (Oxford), British Library (London), and SOAS Library (London), who have been very helpful to my dissertation research.

I presented earlier drafts of my dissertation at the “Turkish Circle” at University of Washington, I am grateful to my friends and colleagues for their comments and support. My colleagues at the Social Sciences University of Ankara have been also very supportive of my project. Finally, I would like to acknowledge all my students at the University of Washington—from whom I have learned a lot.

I would like to express my gratitude to my dissertation committee members for their academic support and guidance. Especially Selim S. Kuru’s constant support, interdisciplinary approach, and critical inquiry have significantly contributed to my project. Laura Chrisman has been a great mentor. Her theoretical insights have significantly shaped my work. Our conversations helped me refine my project and situate it within the framework of postcolonial studies. Ottoman

poetry readings with Walter Andrews have transformed my understanding of Ottoman poetics, and our collaborative projects have developed my interest in digital humanities. Reşat Kasaba has been a great mentor who has helped all his students learn how to navigate within the professional academic world. Especially his Turkish Circle has been a great place for me to broaden my interests as a scholar, and provided me with opportunities to meet with amazing scholars in the field of Turkish Studies. Leroy Searle has encouraged me to relate my research to a broader network of world literature. The amazing support he has shown to his students has been very special. Albert J. Sbragia kindly agreed to be my GSR. I would like to also thank Professor Laurent Mignon of Oxford University for his invaluable support from the very early stages of this dissertation.

My family has always been very supportive of me throughout my graduate work. I owe very special thanks to my partner and colleague, Murat Umut İnan, whose constant support, gracious personality and sense of humor made the time I wrote the dissertation a remarkable and enjoyable chapter of my life.

I dedicate this dissertation to Abdülhak Hamid, who inspired me with his quest for a more equal and humanitarian world and with his keen observations of the era he lived in.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
1. <i>Finten</i> : A Dramatic Analysis.....	8
2. The history of a Text: <i>Finten</i> 's Publication History.....	18
Chapter 1: Abdülhak Hamid: An Ottoman Londoner	27
1. Ottoman intellectuals and London.....	28
2. London and Britain in Abdülhak Hamid's Memoirs and Letters	33
The Exotic London: Bombay	33
At the Capital of the British Empire: London	40
Chapter 2: London's Social Panorama.....	62
1. A microcosm of London's aristocracy: the Dick family.....	65
2. When the employees speak.....	77
3. From the margins: aristocracy, class system and urban poverty.....	79
4. Policing the city	83
5. British clubs	85
6. Conclusion	93
Chapter 3: Outcasts of London	95
1. <i>Finten</i> : "American Outcast" of London.....	95

2. “Boomerang Effect” of Colonialism: Finten’s own Colony.....	112
3. Finten’s Hubris: A Burning Flame.....	120
4. Finten’s Nemesis: Sophie, a.k.a. Mademoiselle Blanche de La Tour.....	123
Conclusions	147
Appendix	155
1. <i>Finten</i> : A Summary	155
2. Translation of Abdülhak Hamid’s Introduction to <i>Finten</i>	166
3. Archival Documents and Sample Pages from <i>Finten</i> ’s First Book Edition.....	171
Bibliography	176

INTRODUCTION

In Turkish historiography on the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, Europe is generally seen as a model to which the Ottomans aspired culturally and politically. While in this framework the Ottomans' admiration and emulation of Europe is strongly emphasized, their strong reactions to and criticisms of European imperial powers have remained mostly unexplored. With the occupation of Egypt in 1882, the British Empire emerged as a threat to the Ottoman colonies in the Middle East. During this time, the British Empire and its imperial center London became for some Ottoman intellectuals an intriguing topic to explore and reflect on.

Seen in this context, my dissertation looks into the ways in which nineteenth-century Ottoman intellectuals interpreted and responded to British imperialism, class system and London's metropolitan culture. For my discussion, I focus on Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (1852–1937)'s most celebrated drama, *Finten*, and his memoirs and letters that shed light on his life in British India (1883–85) and London (1885–94 and 1897–1912). Based on a close reading of *Finten* (1886), and with reference to Hamid's writings on the British Empire, I explore and discuss the following two main issues: Hamid's perceptions of the British aristocracy and class system, and the role of London in informing Hamid's critical attitude toward the British class system.

The first issue is significant in terms of revealing the complex relations between the Ottoman and British Empires. In order to untangle this issue, the dissertation focuses on the following question: how did Ottoman intellectuals articulate their criticism of and resistance to British imperial politics? Since it is with Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan that British drama and its themes were appropriated into Ottoman literature, one can trace the motivations and reasons

behind the Ottomans' interest in British drama by focusing on Hamid's dramas. In scholarly writings, Hamid's adoption of British drama is viewed as a case of "literary influence" or of "an imitation of a Western genre" mainly due to the fact that Tarhan's dramas include strong textual references to Shakespearian drama.¹ However, Tarhan's innovative use of the drama genre in criticizing Britain's cultural and political superiority encourages me to go beyond the "influence" paradigm and explore the politics of intertextuality involved in his appropriations. In this regard, the questions I am interested in are as follows: What kind of politics were in play in the appropriation of a European genre? In other words, did he use the European modes of representation to intervene in colonial discourse and expose colonial representations?

Even though London is very central to Hamid's writings, the second issue has received almost no scholarly attention.² The issue is an interesting one because it presents us with an Ottoman intellectual who, while harshly critical of British colonial violence and the racial discriminations inherent in the British class system, is fully immersed in London's metropolitan culture and lively social life. Moreover, as Hamid's memoirs inform us, the metropolitan London of 1880s put him in contact with a number of anti-colonialist intellectuals such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838–1897), Halil Halid (1869–1931) and Selim Faris al-Shidyah (d. 1887), who, like Hamid, developed their critique of British colonialism through interactions with each other and with other political groups based in London. From a literary-cultural standpoint, Hamid was

¹ See Petra de Brujin, *The Two Worlds of Eşber: Western Oriented Verse Drama and Ottoman Turkish Poetry by Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan*, Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1997 and İnci Enginün, *Türkçede Shakespeare*, İstanbul: Dergah, 2008.

² The few available works focus on Hamid's memoirs about London but do not address London's role in Hamid's political and intellectual formation. İnci Enginün, "Abdülhak Hamid ve Sami Paşazade Sezai'nin Londra İntibaları," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 13 (1964): 123–150 and Yusuf Mardin, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Londrası* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1976). Mardin's book is a work of fiction that reconstructs Hamid's life in London based on his own memoirs and epistolary writings.

also in close contact with London-based orientalists such as E. J. W. Gibb (1857–1901), James Redhouse (1811–1892) and Edward G. Browne (1862–1926), and exchanged with them his opinions about Ottoman literature and culture. For these reasons, unlike what most studies assume, it would be better to consider London as a complex, dynamic and diverse locale rather than merely as a source of modernization or Europeanization which nineteenth-century Ottomans relied on. In this respect, exploring London through Hamid’s dramas and memoirs becomes a key to understanding the cosmopolitan nature of the nineteenth-century Turkish modernization and its links with European metropolitan centers.

My main reason for focusing on these two issues is that during the nineteenth century the political and cultural relations between the Ottoman and British empires played a crucial role in the development of Turkish modernization. Therefore it seems a fruitful way to analyze and discuss Turkish modernization within the context of the ways in which Ottoman intellectuals perceived and responded to the British Empire as an imperial power. Yet especially in Turkish historiography, including literary historiography, the Ottomans’ critique of British colonialism, imperialism, and discourse on the Orient and Islam has been severely neglected. Seen in this light, my dissertation aims to problematize and complicate the common understanding of Turkish modernization as a merely imitative enterprise by uncovering the complexity of the multifaceted reactions to and descriptions of the British.

The reason why I focus on Hamid’s *Finten* and memoirs in discussing such a critical yet largely unexplored topic is that Hamid’s writing provides us with rich material to discuss the Ottomans’ interest in British culture and imperialism. Abdülhak Hamid, who spent more than twenty five years of his life in London and India, was the first Ottoman author who made India

and the British Empire a frequently visited topic in his literary works. Centered on the political, psychological and cultural aspects of colonial experiences and relations, Hamid's dramas allow me to discuss the Ottoman critique of British colonialism from a multifaceted perspective.

In the dissertation I use a two-fold methodology. First, I explore Abdülhak Hamid's interest in British culture and imperialism. In this regard, I specifically discuss Hamid's experiences in London by looking at archival sources and his reflective and epistolary writings. Second, through a close reading of *Finten*, I analyze the ways in which Hamid reflects on British society, London's metropolitan culture, and the experiences of foreigners in London. Finally, I interpret and discuss my textual analyses in a theoretical framework that addresses the issues of colonialism, cosmopolitanism, metropolitan culture and the relations between culture and imperialism.

General information about Abdülhak Hamid and his dramas

Born in February 1852 in Istanbul, Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (1852–1937) is the leading playwright and poet of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Turkish literature. His mother was a Circassian slave before her marriage to Hamid's father Hayrullah Efendi (1820–1866), who was a physician, historian and later an envoy in the Ottoman embassy in Tehran. Abdülhak Hamid received most of his education from his private tutors. In 1863, he visited Paris with his brother and attended a small college there for a year and a half. After his return to Istanbul, he continued his studies in the Translation Bureau at the Office of Foreign Affairs. Between 1865 and 1867, he stayed in Tehran, and studied Persian and classical Persian poetry.

In 1873 Tarhan wrote his first drama, *Macera-yı Aşk* (Love Affair), which is a mythical

drama that draws on Persian epics. In 1876 he published the *Duhter-i Hindu* (Indian Girl), which is his first drama about British imperialism, a topic Hamid visited several times throughout his long writing career. From 1876 to 1881 he worked in the Ottoman embassy in Paris as the second secretary. In October 1883 he was appointed consul-general to the Ottoman Embassy in Bombay, which enabled him to observe the British India which he had previously described in the *Duhter-i Hindu*. Because of his wife's health problems, they left India in 1885, and on the way to Istanbul she passed away in Beirut. Deeply saddened by the death of his wife, Hamid wrote his most famous poem, *Makber* (the Grave), which brought him recognition as the greatest Turkish poet of his time. In December 1885 Hamid was appointed as the first secretary to the Ottoman embassy in London, where he stayed from 1885 to 1912 with some intervals. London deeply affected Hamid's personality and writings, as it is in his second year in London that he wrote the *Finten*, which was censured and not allowed to be published until 1898. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Hamid was elected to the parliament and served as deputy for Istanbul, a post he kept until his death in 1937. In the Republican period, Hamid published his memoirs and his dramas *Yabancı Dostlar* (Foreign Friends) and *Cünun-ı Aşk* (Madness of Love).

Hamid's dramas on British imperialism

a. *Duhter-i Hindu* (Indian Girl, 1876): The *Duhter-i Hindu* is Hamid's first drama on British colonialism in India. It was published in 1876, seven years before Hamid's appointment to the Ottoman embassy in Bombay. As Hamid mentions in his epilogue, this drama draws upon French accounts about British India.³ In the *Duhter-i Hindu* Hamid presents us with a love affair

³ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Abdülhak Hâmid Tarhan Tiyatroları 2: Cünun-ı Aşk / Yabancı Dostlar*, ed.

between the Indian girl Surucuyi and the British soldier Thomson and looks into the issues of colonial violence and racism by showing the varying attitudes of the British and Indians towards the practice of *sati* (widow sacrifice).

b. *Finten* (1886): In *Finten*, Hamid explores the relations between British society and the people coming from British colonies. Finten, a Canadian émigré who has recently moved to Berkeley Square in London, is the heroine of the drama. Her desire to be part of British aristocracy by marrying a British Lord fuels the dramatic action, which is set in the upper-class social world of London. Hamid's *Finten* presents a vivid picture of metropolitan London as a city shared by different social classes and ethnicities. Throughout the drama, minorities and working class people criticize the British class system and racism while the aristocrats defend their values. With *Finten*, Hamid exposes his readers to the class distinctions that inform metropolitan social relations.

c. *Yabancı Dostlar* (Foreign Friends, 1924–25): Turkish modernization has been metaphorically described as an auspicious marriage between a Turkish man and a European woman. Voiced first by Şinasi (1826-1871), the pioneer poet and playwright of the modernization period, the motto “Asya'nın akl-ı piranesi ile Avrupa'nın bıkır-i fikrini izdivaç ettirmek” has connoted that in this marriage it is the old wise man who controls over the extent to which the “virgin (new) ideas of Europe” would be brought into the marriage.⁴ *Yabancı Dostlar* puts this metaphor into question

İnci Enginün (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 158–59.

⁴ The motto translates as “to marry the ancient wisdom of Asia to the virgin ideas of Europe.” Quoted from Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 1990), 15. In this dissertation all translations from Ottoman and modern Turkish are mine unless indicated otherwise.

by looking into a marriage between an old Ottoman man and a young English girl who turns out to be androgynous. In the drama, this marriage, which is envisioned to be a productive and fruitful one as the metaphor suggests, develops into a pathetic and isolating one. As a result, the man starts questioning his marriage, which ultimately leads him to compare his relationship to the one between the newly founded Republic and Europe and rethink Turkey's strong interest in European civilization. Among Hamid's dramas, *Yabancı Dostlar* is the only one where Hamid looks at and reconsiders the relation between Turkey and Britain, yet the fragmented structure and ironical tone of the work render its meaning opaque.

d. *Cünun-ı Aşk* (Madness of Love, 1925–26): The drama focuses on the identity crisis of Behav Puneger, an Indian maharaja (prince) who has a degree from the University of Cambridge and is brought up with British values. The crisis breaks out on the eve of his wedding with a British Lady when the ghosts of his Indian ancestors flock wildly around him and blame him for betraying his native people and aligning with the British. Unable to find a way out of this impasse, the prince realizes that he no longer belongs to either side. As such, the *Cünun-ı Aşk* probes into the alienation experienced by the colonized elite and discusses the potential of the elite for supporting anti-colonial resistance.

Review of the literature on Hamid and his dramas on British imperialism

There is a wide range of scholarly works on Hamid and his works, which can be dated back to as early as the late nineteenth century. As far as the scope of my dissertation is concerned, however, the works of two scholars become especially relevant. First, I draw largely on the critical editions of Hamid's dramas, memoirs and letters by İnci Enginün. Enginün has made Abdülhak Hamid's works available in the Latin alphabet, and she has written various

introductory pieces on Hamid's works. Especially, her articles on Hamid's British dramas have been very useful to me in providing information about the publishing history, context and reception of these dramas. Yet, as Enginün notes, the analysis and interpretation of these dramas still await further study.⁵ The other scholar whose works I use in my dissertation is İhsan Safi, whose most significant work is a detailed biography of Hamid that draws on a variety of archival sources on Hamid's life and career. Safi is also the editor of a recent volume that brings together a wide range of significant articles and essays, written mostly between the years 1923 and 1940, about Hamid's works and the stage history of his dramas.⁶

All in all, most of the studies on Hamid's British dramas still remain largely descriptive and do not engage with the theoretical works on colonialism, imperialism and cosmopolitanism. A common thread that runs through these studies is a systematic emphasis placed on the linguistic and textual aspects of these dramas, without much attention to the literary, cultural and contextual ones. In this respect, my dissertation analyzes Hamid's British dramas through a comprehensive approach that engages not only with recent methodological and theoretical perspectives but also with the insights provided by the available scholarship on Hamid's oeuvre.

1. *Finten*: A Dramatic Analysis

Abdülhak Hamid's *Finten* is considered one of the masterpieces of Turkish literature, yet still there is no detailed study on *Finten*'s dramatic features or textual history. Therefore in what

⁵ İnci Enginün, "Duhter-i Hindu, Finten Hakkında" in *Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan Tiyatroları 3* (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 7-33.

⁶ For Enginün's and Safi's works, see the bibliography section.

follows I present a detailed description of the drama and discuss the history of its publication and reception.

Title: The title of the drama is inspired by its heroine Finten. Abdülhak Hamid meets a woman named Finten in one of London's bars and decides to name his drama after her.⁷ Since it is difficult to guess by looking at the Ottoman script how the name Finten is pronounced, this name has led to different readings such as "Finten, Fenten, and Finton".⁸ But because both Abdülhak Hamid himself and the newspaper and journal articles on his works used the name "Finten" as the title of the drama after the alphabet reform in 1928, one can say that the other two readings of the title do not seem to be relevant any more. Though it can be assumed that the name Finten has Western origins, its country of origin is not known. But an anecdote Hamid mentions in his memoirs can shed light on the origins of this name: in 1904, on his visit to Chelsea Hospital, which is also one of the dramatic locations in *Finten*, Hamid meets with Dr. Finten, the chief doctor of the hospital, and finds it an interesting coincidence to run into a Finten embodied in flesh and blood.⁹ As this anecdote shows, Finten can be a male or female name. It is probable that in naming his heroine Hamid was inspired by the Irish male name "Fintan", which means "the white ancient" or "white fire" in Celtic mythology.¹⁰ Since in the drama Hamid emphasizes the extreme whiteness of Finten's skin and describes her as a burning fire, it can be argued that

⁷ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, ed. İnci Enginün (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1994), 207.

⁸ See "Yazdıktan Sonra Finten," *Türk Yurdu* vol. 11 (19 Kanunısani 1332 / February 1, 1917): 3324-3325; Richard Hartmann, "Abdul Hakk Hamid über England Vorredezu seimen Drama *Finton*," *Die Islamische Welt* no. 4 (March 1917): 214-215; Anonymous author, "Fenten'den," *İçtihad* (February 3, 1905): 8.

⁹ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 384. Today, this hospital is called "Chelsea and Westminster Hospital".

¹⁰ James MacKillop, "Fintan," in *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

the Irish name and the mythological references behind underlie Hamid's characterization of *Finten*

Act and Scene Division: Like Shakespeare's dramas, *Finten* is not divided into acts in its original version. In 1916 Celal Nuri İleri (1882–1938), one of the leading intellectuals of the time and a close friend of Hamid, prepared *Finten* for staging and divided it into seven acts.¹¹ In my summary of the drama, I follow conventional dramatic structure and, accordingly, divide *Finten* into three major acts, which correspond respectively to exposition, climax and denouement. Though the drama is not divided into acts, it is divided into twenty two scenes, each carrying the title "manzar" (scene) or "ma'rız" (place/occasion). In the 1916 edition of *Finten*, the first nine scenes are titled "manzar" while the rest carries the title "ma'rız". And while the first serialized edition of *Finten*, which is the 1898 *Servet-i Fünun* edition by Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem, features only the first nine scenes which carry the title "manzar", the second serialized edition by Süleyman Nazif, published in 1912 in the newspaper *Hak*, follows the *Servet-i Fünun* edition in keeping the term "manzar" for the first nine scenes but departs from it for the rest of the scenes. Accordingly, the last thirteen scenes in the *Hak* edition, which are published for the first time, are titled with the term "ma'rız". It can be said that the inconsistency in the use of theatrical terms might result from different editorial choices or point to the attempts at establishing a working theatrical terminology in Ottoman Turkish, or both.

Literary Style: Hamid describes *Finten*'s style as a mix of prose, rhymed prose and poetry that features varying meters and rhymes. Even though the author embraces such an eclectic style,

¹¹ İnci Enginün, "Duhter-i Hindu / *Finten* Hakkında," in *Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan Tiyatroları 3: Duhter-i Hindu / Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1998), 18.

Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-1962), a renowned Turkish author, poet and critic, harshly criticizes Hamid's use of diverse literary forms and styles in *Finten*, arguing that it is Hamid's eclectic style that creates a major flaw in this significant literary work.¹² According to Hamid, however, style is determined by the theme; therefore, the use of verse and prose depends on the theme of the work itself.¹³ At this point, I argue that the ways in which the verse is used in *Finten* are not random but have a pattern related to the theme of the scene itself. While the most mundane dialogues in *Finten* are written in prose, the political, philosophical and existential ideas are expressed in verse. Especially, some of *Finten*'s replies include proverb-like sentences with inner rhyme. The use of verse and prose in the drama is dispersed as follows:

First act: Written in prose

Second act: Most of the dialogues in the tuberculosis hospital are written in verse. Interestingly, the verse dialogues on tuberculosis and death echo Hamid's famous poem "Makber" (The Grave, 1885) in terms of style and imagery. Also, most of the dialogues in the scene where the crowd in front of the church talks about social, political and economic issues are written in free verse.

Third Act: The final act features not only many verse dialogues but also two poems by Davalaciro and Doctor Thomas. Since the third act includes emotionally intense scenes, it is dominated by dialogues in verse.

The drama mostly consists of dialogues and inner monologues, but the narrator himself plays a significant role as well. As is expected, he gives a description of each scene, of its

¹² Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, 1956), 512-13; Orhan Okay, *Batılılaşma Devri Türk Edebiyatı* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), 494.

¹³ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları*, vol. 1, ed. İnci Enginün. (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1995), 448.

location, time, and characters. Besides, he also makes comments on the characters and their actions. For example, in one of the dialogues the narrator describes Davalaciro's voice as "vahŝi" (savage/barbarous).¹⁴ Such comments have a significant influence on the ways in which the characters are formed and presented to the reader. Therefore I think it is not only the dialogues and monologues but also the narrator's interventions that shape the characterization as well as the dramatic action.

In *Finten*, in addition to the dramatic elements such as dialogues and monologues, there are also poems and a lengthy letter. Finten composes a letter to create the Blanche character. This letter transforms the orphan Sophie into the noble Mademoiselle Blanche de La Tour; thus Finten becomes the author of Blanche's history. Creating a rival to herself makes Finten anxious, and at the end of the scene Finten asks Melville "Melville! What is the secret force that pushes me toward this action that I never like? Is that you? Or, like novel characters, are we under the claws of an author?"¹⁵ With such meta-fictional references, *Finten* always reminds the reader of its fictionality. By highlighting the constructed nature of the theatrical event, Hamid makes it clear that the characters and their actions are not real but fictional. In the most emotionally intense scenes, such as the decision to murder Mr. Cross, Finten compares herself to the characters in Shakespeare's tragedies. Thanks to those meta-fictional references, the heightened emotion of the scenes declines and the emotional distance between the audience and the characters is maintained. In this respect, such scenes remind us of Berthold Brecht's concept of epic theatre, which would develop later in the first half of the twentieth century. Moreover, in a couple of

¹⁴ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan Tiyatroları 3: Duhter-i Hindu, Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1998), 193.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 230.

scenes the people on the streets comment on the main characters and their actions and thus function as the chorus in the epic theatre. These scenes interrupt the tragic action and bring the perspective of the working class into focus. Such epic and meta-theatrical gestures mark a modernist tendency in Hamid's playwriting.

Since it looks into critical issues like social injustice and class distinctions that inform the social relations in metropolitan London, *Finten* looks like a realistic or political drama. However supernatural characters like ghosts and dead people give the drama a fantastic flavor. Integrating fantastic and realistic elements in a harmonious fashion, *Finten* diverges from Hamid's previous dramas, which can be classified as either realistic or fantastic, and marks a modernist break from his earlier works.

Dramatic Locations: *Finten* has two major dramatic locations: London and Beirut. The locations in the city of London are as follows: the New Club, Lady Dick's house in Grosvenor Square, Finten's mansion in Saint George's Place, the Brampton Tuberculosis Hospital, Hyde Park, the cemetery, and London's streets. While some locations such as the New Club or Lady Dick's house are reserved for the elite, some public locations like Hyde Park or the streets bring people from various social classes together. The patients in the Brampton Hospital come from the working class, and their stories open a window into the difficult life conditions of the poor.

While London is vividly described with its social classes, customs and locales, Beirut lacks such a description. Beirut is depicted as a remote place where Finten gives up on her social status in London and unites with her Indian servant. In this regard, it appears to be a "natural" space that triggers people's instincts that are suppressed in London's metropolitan life.

Time: The year during which the events of the drama take place is 1873, which is thirteen years before Hamid wrote *Finten*. Although the author does not specify the duration of the dramatic events, it is possible to say that the events take place within a year, especially when we consider the events that take a certain amount of time, such as Davalaciro's visit to Australia, Lord Dick and Blanche's honeymoon in Beirut, and Blanche's recovery.

Genre: The *Servet-i Fünun* edition of *Finten* (1898) introduces this drama with the following words: “*Finten* is an exquisite tragedy about certain secrets in the lives of nobles in London.”¹⁶ Even though *Finten* is introduced as a *hâ'ile* (tragedy) from its publication onwards, interestingly enough, most of the critics have seen this work as a drama in the general sense of the word, without considering it as a tragedy.¹⁷ Since *Finten* has not been approached as a tragedy, its tragic structure, theme and conventions have been overlooked. A significant result of this situation is that even the death scene of the heroine in *Finten*, which is a vital part of a tragedy, has been seen as unnecessary or even irrelevant. Accordingly, the critics have argued that it would be more appropriate if *Finten* ended with the scene in Beirut, the one in which Finten and Davalaciro unite.¹⁸ Seen in this light, approaching *Finten* as a tragedy will not only enable us to see the ways in which the parts of this drama integrate into a coherent composition, but will also lead us to a fruitful discussion about the meaning of this literary work.

Accordingly, in what follows I will discuss *Finten* as a tragedy. At first look, it might be difficult to relate *Finten* to the genre of tragedy, for some questions might arise: What kind of

¹⁶ “Finten,” *Servet-i Fünun* no. 389 (13 Ağustos 1314 / August 13, 1898): 386.

¹⁷ İnci Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2006), 696; İnci Enginün, *Türkçede Shakespeare Çevirileri ve Etkisi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2008), 172.

¹⁸ Kenan Akyüz, “Finten,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Türkoloji Dergisi*, vol. 1 (1964): 15-49; İnci Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e*, 696; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: İbrahim Horoz Yayınevi, 1956), 503.

tragic heroine is Finten? What is her sublime motivation that leads to her tragic end? What kind of an ethical order does *Finten* assume? When we remember that Finten is a manipulative, ambitious person and even a murderer, conceiving her as a “hero” becomes difficult. Then, what is it that makes her a hero to whom the audience can relate? Obviously, as a wealthy and attractive white young woman living in London, at first look Finten has a perfect life without any problems. Starting with the first act, however, her existential dilemma gradually unfolds as Finten, a Canadian coming from the new world, demands to be accepted by the British aristocracy by marrying Lord Dick.

In order to marry Lord Dick, Finten decides to murder her Australian husband who is a wealthy gold dealer. Both Finten and her husband are from Britain’s settler colonies, and the husband financially supports Finten’s extravagant life in metropolitan London. Despite that, in order to advance her social status in London, Finten chooses to kill her financier in the colony and employs her Indian servant for that purpose. In other words, characters from the colonies are sacrificed for the sake of Finten’s integration into London’s aristocratic life, which makes Finten’s obsession with British aristocracy and metropolitan culture seem reprehensible. However Finten’s touching words about how she feels about being an outcast in her social milieu reveal her deep trauma originating from the discriminating British class system. Considered within this context, Finten appears as a tragic hero who is pushing the boundaries of the British class system. But Finten’s fight for social acceptance by the British aristocracy exhausts her psychologically, and she finds herself incapable of escaping from the bonds of the milieu. With her tragic end, Finten pays the price of her tragic challenge, but unlike many tragic heroes she never gets what she desires.

In the end, characters coming from British colonies destroy each other while all British characters continue with their life without even noticing the tragic fall of non-British characters. Since in classical tragedies the ethical order continues to rule regardless of the hero's deeds, we can ask whether *Finten* assumes the British class system as a norm that should be sustained at all costs. Even though as an individual Finten is incapable of changing the aristocrats' class perception, her tragic story, by revealing the alarming negative effects of the British class system on colonized subjects, indicates the urgent need for a change. Therefore Finten's tragedy can be read as a critique of the norm, namely the British class system.

Since in tragedies sympathetic identification with the hero plays a key role, it is also important to consider the ways in which readers of *Finten* relate to the heroine and reflect on her status as a foreigner in metropolitan London. *Finten* presents us with a rich material as a tragedy that looks into the psychology of a North American character living at the heart of the British imperial capital. Thus it explores metropolitan prejudice against white settlers. In addition to its focus on colonial psychology, *Finten* also touches on certain social themes. With its references to the British class system and colonialism, Finten's story goes beyond the tragedy of an individual and becomes a social tragedy on a larger scale. If we take Finten as a representative of a certain class, then, her motivations appear no longer as individual desires but as aspirations common to her class. Economically, as a *nouveau riche*, *Finten* easily blends into elite British circles. However Finten's desire to marry Lord Dick reveals the prejudice of British aristocrats against American parvenus.

In his memoirs, Hamid explains how he was inspired by a wealthy American woman in creating the Finten character.¹⁹ As Hamid writes, he meets a woman named Mrs. Cross in the Bachelors Club in his first year in London, which is the year 1885. Hamid mentions Mrs. Cross as an American high-society woman who has many admirers in London and is in a romantic relationship with Sir James Fergusson, the former governor of Bombay. As this anecdote shows us, the Finten character is rooted in a socio-historical setting in which American parvenus have a strong presence in as well as a profound influence on the aristocratic circles of London. Sometimes, like in the case of Finten, they were criticized by the aristocrats on the grounds that American women did not have refined manners of nobility and aristocracy.²⁰

One other important aspect of *Finten* is that as a product of the Victorian era it offers vignettes on the gender roles assigned to women of the era. At the time, a virtuous woman was supposed to have qualities such as humility, chastity, loyalty and obedience. Seen in this regard, Finten does not have any of these virtues. On the contrary, Hamid portrays her as an ambitious woman who tries to engineer her own fate against all social norms. And in order to achieve her goals Finten uses her sexuality. Finten appears as a *femme fatale*, a seductive woman who manipulates men the way she wishes. Considered along with Finten and Davalaciro's sexually intimate scenes, which are also blended with exotic images, it follows that sexuality and gender appear as significant topics that shed light on the social underpinnings of *Finten*.

¹⁹ Abdülhak Hamid, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 207.

²⁰ For information on the "dollar princesses", see Dana Calise Cooper, "Informal Ambassadors: American Women, Transatlantic Marriages, and Anglo-American Relations 1865-1945" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 2006) and Ruth Brandon, *The Dollar Princesses: Sagas of Upward Nobility, 1870-1914* (New York: Knopf, 1980).

2. The history of a text: *Finten*'s publication history

Because of the strict censorship of Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign (1876-1909), being a writer in the 1880s was a daunting prospect for an Ottoman bureaucrat. It was quite possible to lose one's career because of a revolutionary sentence or idea that would possibly irritate the Ministry of Education, which was in charge of reviewing and reporting on each book that would be published in Istanbul. Especially, tragedies like *Macbeth* that include scenes such as an assassination of the king were banned and not allowed to be staged in Istanbul.²¹ Ironically, in this period Hamid wrote *Finten* in London, a tragedy inspired by Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. And thus its textual history started out in a period characterized by censorship and repression.

After staying in Bombay for two years, Abdülhak Hamid develops a deep interest in British culture, and in his first year in London he becomes a part of British elite circles as an Ottoman diplomat.²² In his second year Hamid writes *Finten* based on his experiences in London, and upon its completion he sends it to an Armenian publisher in Istanbul along with his *Zeynep*, a drama about an opposition to an oppressive ruler.²³ The publisher agrees to publish *Finten* but does not promise any payment for it. In Hamid's words, what he would get as an author is nothing but an addition to his literary fame.²⁴ Even though at that time Hamid is a recognized author, he cannot make a living out of his career as an author in the Istanbul of the 1880s. This little anecdote gives insights into Istanbul's publishing market at the time and shows the difficulty of pursuing literature as a profession.

²¹ Metin And, "II. Abdülhamit ve Tiyatro," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, vol. XI (November 1961): 84.

²² Şahabettin Süleyman, *Abdülhak Hamid: Hayatı ve Sanatkar* (Dersaadet: Cihan Matbaası, 1329/1913), 15.

²³ Abdülhak Hamid, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 418.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 209.

In 1887 Hamid mails the only handwritten copy of *Finten* to Istanbul. Shortly after he mails the copy, however, he becomes deeply concerned about the possibility of its being censored or lost, which is an issue he also discusses with Emin Efendi, one of the employees at the Ottoman embassy in London. Emin Efendi thinks that politically *Finten* will not be a problem and adds that it is unlikely for this tragedy to get censored. But he also expresses his concern that if the tragedy is put on the stage some scenes may horrify the audience.²⁵

As Hamid's memoirs inform us, when *Finten*'s copy arrives at the Ministry of Education, Murat Bey, novelist and later the editor of the journal *Mizan*, reviews the drama and finds it suitable for publication. What is interesting is that in the review process he removes only one sentence, which reads as follows: "What stand behind the conflicts in Europe are mostly the minarets of Hagia Sophia." ("Avrupa'daki meselelerin ucunda ekseriyet üzere Ayasofya'nın minareleri görünür").²⁶ Thus one of the few references in *Finten* to the Ottoman Empire gets censored in this review process. Considering that in the late nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire, "the sick man of Europe", was one of the major targets of the European colonial powers, the sentence can be interpreted as a reference to Europe's colonial interests over Ottoman lands. And its removal from the drama suggests that the Ottoman state avoided bringing up such issues into the attention of the Ottoman public. Since none of the available editions of *Finten* include this sentence, the context in which Hamid used this critical sentence in his drama remains ambiguous. Also, this critical anecdote, which is overlooked in scholarship, might give

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 196.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 419. As known Hagia Sophia is a former Orthodox basilica. When Constantinople was conquered by the Ottomans in 1453, the building was converted into a mosque. Since Hagia Sophia's minarets are one of the salient symbols of the Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine capital and its conversion into an Islamic city, Abdülhak Hamid's statement hints at the religio-political significance of Hagia Sophia in the eyes of Europeans.

significant insights into the reception of *Finten* as well as the practices of literary censorship in the Hamidian era.

Even though *Finten* gets through the censorship committee's review with only one sentence taken out, *Zeynep*, on the other hand, does not find its way to publication. The Ministry of Education finds *Zeynep* offensive to the Hamidian regime and suspects Abdülhak Hamid's loyalty to the Ottoman state. Therefore they not only ban the tragedy from being published but also force Hamid to resign from his position in London and call him back to Istanbul in June 1888.²⁷ Moreover, Hamid's falling out of favor with the state influences *Finten*'s fate as the ministry does not issue a permit for its publication. Luckily enough, Hamid manages to get *Finten*'s original copy back thanks to Münif Pasha (1830-1910), who was minister of education at the time. But the cost of this negative aura around Hamid is that *Finten* waits for three decades to be published as a book.

In the Ottoman capital, Hamid spends three months to get his position back, and after promising the Sultan that he will not continue his literary career, he resumes his position at the embassy. However Sultan Abdülhamid II changes his job description, and now he expects Hamid to report all politically critical news and articles about the Ottoman Empire in the English newspapers.²⁸ During this period, Hamid writes reports about Ottoman-British relations and the ways in which the Ottoman state and Turks are perceived. Until the Second Constitution of 1908 Hamid does not write dramas. In his memoirs he writes that in that period he was immersed in English and French literatures.²⁹ Meanwhile, in 1904, an editor of an Egyptian newspaper

²⁷ İhsan Safi, *Altın Suyuna Batırılmış Bir Hayat: Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2006), 170-171.

²⁸ Abdülhak Hamid, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 217.

²⁹ Abdülhak Hamid, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları*, 419.

contacts Hamid to serialize *Finten*. But Hamid thinks that it is a total delusion to believe that the work of a diplomat who is not taken seriously in Istanbul can be published in Cairo.³⁰

At the turn of the century, Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem (1847-1914), the editor of the journal *Servet-i Fünun* (Treasury of Sciences), the most prestigious literary journal at the time, offers Hamid to serialize his *Finten* in the journal.³¹ In 1898, twelve years after it was banned, *Finten* finally meets its readers. At the time of *Finten*'s serialization, the *Servet-i Fünun* features essays on English customs and manners, which indicates a growing interest in English culture by Ottoman readers. In addition, the journal serializes *Finten* simultaneously with Cenap Şahabettin's *Hac Yolunda* (On the Way to Pilgrimage), which narrates the author's journey to the Arab lands. While the *Hac Yolunda* informs readers of the daily lives and cultures of the Arabs, *Finten* opens a window into London's metropolitan life. The *Servet-i Fünun* edition of *Finten* contains only the first nine scenes of the drama. In the same year, the journal *Musavver Terakki* begins to serialize the drama as well; however, this serialization does not go beyond the first scene.³² Accordingly, these two partial editions do not help the drama appear in the literary realm as a complete text.

More than a decade later, the complete text of *Finten* gets serialized in the newspaper *Hak* (Istanbul) in 1912. Süleyman Nazif (1870-1927), editor of the newspaper, introduces *Finten* as "an eternal literary monument by the greatest poet Abdülhak Hamid".³³ Even today, in

³⁰ Abdülhak Hamid, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 388.

³¹ The *Servet-i Fünun* is an Istanbul-based literary journal published by the writers of the "New Literature" (*Edebiyat-ı Cedide*) movement to inform their readers about modern cultural and literary trends.

³² The *Musavver Terakki* is a literary and cultural journal published in the late 19th century Istanbul.

³³ *Hak*, (March 1, 1328/1912).

Turkish literature Hamid is known as the “Şair-i A‘zam” (the Greatest Poet), and the origins of this title go back to Süleyman Nazif.³⁴

With its publication as a book in 1916 by the *Matbaa-ı Amire* (the State Press), *Finten* becomes one of the canonical texts of Turkish literature.³⁵ Ironically, thirty years after it was censored by the state, *Finten* is now published by the State Press as part of the series titled *Asar-ı Müfide* (Useful Books). *Finten*’s 1916 edition features an essay by the editors of the series—Cenap Şahabettin, İsmail Hakkı, Süleyman Nazif, Mahmut Kemal, and Osman Kemal—on the significance of creating a literary canon for the preservation of Ottoman Turkish cultural heritage. The editors define “useful books” as “a treasure that contains the wealth of culture of a nation they belong to”.³⁶ In the same series, they also publish Hamid’s poetry collection titled *İlham-ı Vatan* (Inspiration from the Homeland, 1916), which honors the glorious moments in Turkish history and includes most of Hamid’s nationalist poems. As a nationalist piece, the selection of *İlham-ı Vatan* for the series is not a surprise. However, it is a bit curious that the editors select, out of Hamid’s fourteen dramas, *Finten* to be published in a series that aims to bring together those works that reflect Turkish culture. The editors’ choice may be linked to the high aesthetic value they ascribe to this literary work or to Hamid’s introduction to the drama, which appeared for the first time in the book edition of *Finten*. Perhaps thanks to this introduction, where Hamid harshly criticizes the imperial ambitions of the British Empire, one of the opponents of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, *Finten* is seen as a patriotic drama

³⁴ According to Taha Toros, Süleyman Nazif is the first person who called Abdülhak Hamid as the “şair-i a‘zam” (the greatest poet). Until his death, Hamid was referred to by this title, which is a title reserved, in Turkish literary history, only for him. See Taha Toros, *Türk Edebiyatından Altı Renkli Portre* (Istanbul: Isis, 1998), 76.

³⁵ Abdülhak Hamid, *Finten* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1334/1916).

³⁶ Cenap Şahabettin and others, “Asar-ı Müfide Kütüphanesi,” in *Finten* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1334/1916), i-iv.

and thus becomes very popular at the time, to such an extent that on November 16 of the same year *Finten* is put on the stage of the Tepebaşı Winter Theatre in Istanbul. Organized as a fundraiser for Ottoman soldiers fighting in the First World War, the performance is sponsored by the Caliph and Crown Prince Abdülmecid Efendi (1868-1944), who watches the play with Hamid from the royal box. While Burhanettin Bey (1882-1947), the theatre director who recently returned from Paris, serves as the director of the play, Celal Nuri, (1882-1938), the editor of the journal *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye* (General Literature), adapts the drama for the stage.³⁷

A review by İsmail Subhi Soysallıoğlu appears shortly after the premier of *Finten*. In his review, Soysallıoğlu writes that there was a matinee for women and an evening performance for the male audience, in both of which all the tickets were sold out. The reviewer thinks that such a “national work” meets its audiences for the first time and writes as follows: “we can say that in our country such a significant national work, which has an excellent topic and whose writer, director and performers belong to our nation, is staged for the first time.”³⁸ Because of the ongoing world war, a limited budget is allocated for costume and decor, but still the audience finds the performance very successful. Halide Edib (1882-1964), famous novelist and professor of English literature, mentions the performance of *Finten* in her memoirs and admits that her lifelong interest in India began after watching Hamid’s *Finten* on the stage.³⁹

In 1916, Samipaşazade Sezai (1858-1936), a diplomat, novelist, and one of Hamid’s closest friends, writes a letter to Hamid about *Finten*, which he later publishes in the journal

³⁷ Muhsin Ertuğrul, *Benden Sonra Tufan Olmasın* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2007), 85.

³⁸ [İsmail Subhi] Soysallıoğlu, “*Finten*’in Temsili,” *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası*, vol.1, no.6 (21 Teşrinisani 1332/December 4, 1916): 122-123.

³⁹ Orhan Okay, *Batılılaşma Devri Türk Edebiyatı* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), 512. For further information see: Halide Edip Adivar, *Inside India* (New York: Macmillan, 1939) and Mushirul Hasan, *Between modernity and nationalism: Halide Edip's encounter with Gandhi's India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Edebiyat-ı Umumiye as a review of the drama.⁴⁰ Though Sezai thinks that *Finten* is Hamid's best work, he criticizes some aspects of the drama. He writes:

You, Shakespeare, and Victor Hugo... You all create, in your individual works, characters like a hunchback, a dwarf, a misshapen creature, or souls who cry out in their dying out or extinct bodies. In their dramas these exceptions, namely the freaks of nature, are few. But in yours there are plenty of them. Because of the abundance of these exceptional characters, which violate the overall harmony of nature and of the natural course of creation, some scenes in your drama deviate from the drama genre and become *excentricité lyrique*. Also, while those scenes that are supposed to be the most realistic ones are purely fantastic, the ones that should be fantastic to the fullest extent of the word are described as actual events!⁴¹

In the same year, Yusuf Ziya (Ortaç) (1895-1967), then a young poet, writes a review on *Finten* and describes the drama as follows: "While reading *Finten*, our souls are filled with foreign air and shaken by a wave of poetry, too wild and passionate."⁴² In his *Tarih-i Edebiyat Dersleri* (Lectures on Literary History, 1922), İbrahim Necmi (Dilmen) (1889-1945) likewise draws attention to the fantastic aspects of *Finten* and writes that "in this drama spirits, ghosts, monstrous creatures, graves and supernatural elements are used almost lavishly. The drama consists of verse and prose, and despite the extraordinariness of the events, it glows with its deep poeticness that draws the reader in like a dark vortex."⁴³ As it is clear, mostly it is the fantastic scenes in *Finten* that capture the critics' attention. And although most of the reviews criticize the abundance of fantastic elements, they still acknowledge that the poetic aura of the drama impresses the readers. It is also important to note that none of the reviewers criticize the highly sexual and exotic scenes in *Finten*. On the contrary, Sami Paşazade Sezai, for instance, finds

⁴⁰ *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye* (1916-19) is a literary and political journal published in Istanbul by Celal Nuri (1881-1938).

⁴¹ Sami Paşazade Sezai, *Bütün Eserleri 2*, ed. Zeynep Kerman (Ankara: TDK, 2003), 161-162.

⁴² Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, "Finten," *Türk Yurdu*, vol. 11 (12 Teşrinievvel 1332/1916): 3197-3201.

⁴³ İbrahim Necmi, *Tarih-i Edebiyat Dersleri*, vol.1 (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1338/1922), 198.

such scenes very successful in terms of creating an exotic atmosphere and argues that even Shakespeare, Dante, Victor Hugo, and the Persian poet Sadi would appreciate the details in such scenes which Hamid masterfully crafts.⁴⁴

In 1922, the journal *Mahfel* (Circle) publishes an interview by an Orientalist (*müsteşrik*) with Abdülhak Hamid, in which the sexual scenes in *Finten* are among the questions the interviewer raises. The Orientalist asks Hamid which one of his works has gained the widest recognition among the general public. To the interviewer's surprise, Hamid answers that it is *Finten*. Frustrated by the answer, the Orientalist in turn asks that "while you have books on the virtues of Islam, divine wisdom, patriotism and heroism, the public in your country is not interested in them and rather prefers *Finten*, which is, despite its literary qualities, an erotic (*şehvani*) drama. Isn't it a sad and surprising situation for you?" The interview ends with this question. Interestingly, Hamid adds a postscript comment to this interview and writes that the name of this Orientalist is "Abdülhak Hamid".⁴⁵

What Hamid aims with this rather surprising fictional interview is perhaps to draw some attention to one of the interesting issues related to *Finten*'s reception. As a drama containing erotic and sensual scenes, *Finten* puzzles the Orientalist who observes that it is welcomed in a society that is usually portrayed as "conservative and oppressive" in Orientalist accounts. As a matter of fact, as is implied in his second question, the Orientalist dooms the literary taste of Ottoman readers to religious and epic texts and finds modern drama inappropriate for them. As both his choosing silence in answering the question and his playful tone that underlies the

⁴⁴ Sami Paşazade Sezai, *Bütün Eserleri*, vol. 2, 162.

⁴⁵ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan. *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları* 2, 722.

postscript indicate, such an attitude does not surprise Hamid as it is something he would expect from an Orientalist. So what Hamid tries to achieve by composing such a fictional interview is to caricature how an Orientalist would typically approach a contemporary Eastern literary culture such as the Ottoman.

Despite all the unfortunate moments in its textual journey, which delayed its publication thirty years, *Finten* quickly achieved recognition following its publication in 1916 and became one of the classical works of Turkish literature, giving its author an unprecedented fame. As I tried to show in this chapter, *Finten*'s publication history provides significant insights not only into the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ottoman literary world but also into such practices as censorship, serialization, criticism and reviewing.

Chapter 1

Abdülhak Hamid: An Ottoman Londoner

European metropolitan centers had a profound role in Ottoman modernization as those centers were central in the fashioning of the major reformers of the modernization movement. Especially in the field of literature, many pioneer writers of the modern period visited European metropolitan centers such as Paris and London.

It is generally accepted that “Western civilization was transmitted to Turkish culture through France and French literature.”⁴⁶ In the late nineteenth century, French was the foreign language that was commonly taught in modern schools and widely used in Ottoman diplomacy. But it was especially through literature that French culture penetrated into Ottoman society as first literary translations from European languages started with translations from French writers. Since this is the case, most of the studies on modern Turkish literature have paid special attention to track the French connection of the Ottoman intellectuals and emphasize the significance of French culture and Paris for Turkish modernization.⁴⁷ Interestingly enough, even though in the second half of the nineteenth century many Ottoman intellectuals visited London, stayed in this

⁴⁶ Bedri Mermutlu, *Sosyal Düşünce Tarihimizde Şinasi* (Istanbul: Kaknüs, 2003), 295.

⁴⁷ For more information about French influence on Turkish culture, see: Gül Mete-Yuva, *La littérature turque et ses sources françaises* (Paris: Harmattan, 2006); the Turkish translation of Mete-Yuva’s book: *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Fransız Kaynakları* (Istanbul, Yapı Kredi, 2011); Abdulhalim Aydın, “Batılılaşma Döneminde Şinasi ve Fransız Etkisi”, *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* vol. 17, no. 2 (December 2000): 105-131; Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 45-69; Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Cevdet Perin, *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri* (Istanbul: Pulhan, 1946).

city for a while to pursue education and career opportunities or, as is the case in general, to seek asylum, and wrote about London and English culture, their writings and thoughts about England and English culture are not well known and remain largely unexplored.

Seen in this light, this chapter aims to address this lacuna by providing a brief survey on Turkish intellectuals' visits to London and by taking a close look into the memoirs and letters of Abdülhak Hamid, the most famous Ottoman Londoner. It should be noted that, apart from few anecdotal references, there is no study on Abdülhak Hamid's writings on London and English culture. Therefore this chapter aims to present a preliminary introduction to the author's perception of and interaction with London and English culture based on his memoirs, letters, and other writings.⁴⁸

1. Ottoman intellectuals and London

In the nineteenth century the Ottoman state's interest in Europe, European culture, science and urban development increased dramatically, and the Ottoman government sponsored visits to Europe to receive information about the various aspects of major European countries. Students and diplomats who were sent to Europe under state sponsorship were expected to write their experiences and observations in the form of travelogues, among which the following can be mentioned: Mustafa Sami Efendi's *Avrupa Risalesi* (Booklet on Europe, 1840),⁴⁹ Mehmet Rauf's *Seyahatname-i Avrupa* (Travelogue of Europe, 1851), the *Seyahatname-i Londra* (Travelogue of

⁴⁸ There are a few available works that draw upon Hamid's memoirs about London but do not discuss London's role in Hamid's political and intellectual formation. See; İnci Enginün, "Abdülhak Hamid ve Sami Paşazade Sezai'nin Londra İntibaları", *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* vol. 13 (1964): 123–150; Yusuf Mardin, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Londrası* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1976). Mardin's book is a work of fiction that reconstructs Hamid's life in London based on his own memoirs and epistolary writings.

⁴⁹ See Laurent Mignon, "Portrait of the Traveler as a Young man: Mustafa Sami Efendi and his Essay on Europe" in *Neither Shiraz nor Paris* (Istanbul: ISIS, 2010), 37-49.

London, by an anonymous writer, 1852),⁵⁰ and Hayrullah Efendi's *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* (Travelogue of Europe, 1864). Hayrullah Efendi, a physician and diplomat, is Abdülhak Hamid's father, and in his travelogue he writes about a wide range of cities including Rome, Florence, Livorno, Canova, Paris, Vienna, London, Boulogne, Prater, and Sevres. These travelogues give extensive information about various aspects of the cities the authors visited, including daily life, customs, museums, public squares, palaces, restaurants, theatres, churches, hospitals, schools, climate, and food. Since they give practical information about the cities they cover, these books can be read as travel guides.

In addition to travelogues, the *sefaretnames*, official embassy reports written by Ottoman diplomats regarding their work, experiences, and observations in a foreign country, provide significant information about Ottoman visits to Europe. Unlike travelogues, the *sefaretnames* focus on the economic, administrative, and military situation of the countries in question. There are two available *sefaretnames* on England: Mahmut Raif Efendi's *Journal du Voyage de Mahmoud Raif Effendi en Engleterre* (1793–96) and Yusuf Agah Efendi's *Havadisnâme-i İngiltere* (Accounts of Events in England, 1793–97). In these two *sefaretnames*, the ambassador Yusuf Agah Efendi and his chief secretary Mahmut Raif Efendi write about English people and the political system of England.⁵¹

While Ottoman travelogues and *sefaretnames* give extensive information about the social, political, cultural and economic aspects of England, they do not provide us with much

⁵⁰ Fikret Turan, *Seyahatname-i Londra: Tanzimat Bürokratının Modern Sanayi Toplumuna Bakışı* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009).

⁵¹ A. Nuri Yurdusev, *Ottoman Diplomacy: conventional or unconventional?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 176-177.

detail about their authors' impressions and ideas about the cities they write about. Rather, these sources list all the information that can be useful to the Ottoman state in any practical way. Especially they present us with insights into the Ottoman state's expectations from state-sponsored visits and into what aspects of England and London the Ottomans were interested in.

Besides these two major sources, most of the available work reflecting Ottomans' interest in England belongs to the poets and authors who traveled to Europe on diplomatic duties.⁵² The writings of Abdülhak Hamid and Sami Paşazade Sezai (1859-1936), two key figures in the modernization of Turkish literature, loom large in this regard. Both Hamid and Sezai worked at the Ottoman embassy in London, and their memoirs, letters, and essays about London present us with a detailed and vivid picture of the city and its inhabitants.

Sami Paşazade Sezai's interest in England goes back to his childhood. In 1880, when he was twenty one years old, he writes a letter to his father, Abdurrahman Sami Pasha, to ask for a permission to study in London. Because it gives significant insights into the young Sezai's interest in British culture, I quote the main body of this letter:

I want to go to London because the developments of the nineteenth century are produced in its universities, petrified in its buildings, and embodied on its horizons and in its inhabitants. I want to go to London because I want to understand the philosophy behind the government of a great nation who carefully listens to the noises coming from India with one ear while the other is attentive to the debates in the parliament, a nation who watches the saloons and theatres filled with lights and embellishments with one eye while the other scrutinizes her dominions in Australia, the other side of the world. I want to go to London because I am passionate about learning a language that is spoken by one hundred million people and has been sought to be revived by thousands of authors for centuries.

Besides these benefits which I very briefly summarized, there are also few things that I should be wary of [while visiting London]: first, to be seduced by the love of English

⁵² Especially Rüstem Pasha, Ottoman ambassador of London (1885-1895), favors people with a career in literature for the embassy positions. See, *The Athenæum*, no. 3042, February 13 1886, p. 234.

people to such an extent that it will, God forbid, weaken my national identity; second, to weaken my Islamic faith, whose strength I cannot compare to anything in this world, by getting intoxicated by the cities of this great age; and third, to abandon my language, which I have mastered to the degree of being a writer and which I consider as the motivation behind the continuity of my nation.⁵³

This letter shows how the young Sezai was fascinated with English politics, architecture, social life, culture, language and literature before he even visited England. Especially, England's omnipresence all over the world impresses Sezai, who is witnessing the weakening of the Ottoman Empire's control over its vast territories. Therefore, as a future-diplomat, Sezai aims to understand the secrets behind England's dominance over its colonies that are scattered over the continents. The letter shows Sezai's recognition of Britain's political and cultural strength, and in order to understand the reasons behind this strength Sezai aims to pay a visit to the British capital. This visit seems dangerous however; since the culture he wishes to understand might absorb this young student, who develops a deep interest in and an attachment to English culture already in Istanbul by reading about English culture, history, and the city of London. Even Sezai himself is aware of the alarming magnitude of his admiration: despite his eagerness to see London, Sezai is hindered by the fear that the overpowering strength of English culture might weaken his loyalties to his country, faith, and culture by penetrating into his mind and soul and by converting him into a British ally. Sezai's case shows that during the late nineteenth century the influence of English culture was not limited to Britain's colonies but had a much more far reaching impact as even in Istanbul some Ottoman writers like Sezai were fascinated with English culture.

⁵³ İnci Enginün, "Abdülhak Hamid ve Sami Paşazade Sezai'nin Londra Hatıraları," 142-43.

Perhaps because of Sezai's obsession with English culture and London, his father, Abdurrahman Sami Pasha, does not support his son's plan to visit the British metropolis.⁵⁴ But one year later, in 1881, Sezai goes to London and starts to work at the Ottoman embassy in London as the second secretary. After arriving in London, Sezai exchanges letters with Abdülhak Hamid, his best friend, and writes to him, in one of his letters, that English nation is the "greatest nation of the world".⁵⁵ Sezai's memoirs and letters reveal an Anglocentric perspective towards culture and politics, and he does not direct any serious criticism toward the British class system or the colonial pursuits of the British Empire.

Unlike the young Sezai, however, most Ottoman intellectuals were not very passionate about going to Europe. For some of these intellectuals, London was an exile space or a place to escape from the oppression of the Ottoman rule which was keen on a monarchical regime. In the mid-nineteenth century, in order to oppose the absolutism of Sultan Abdulaziz (1830-1876) political refugees such as Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, and Ali Suavi escaped to Paris and published journals such as the *Muhbir* and the *Hürriyet* to criticize the regime.⁵⁶ The Egyptian Mustafa Fazıl Pasha played a key role in this movement as he funded it to create an opposition against Sultan Abdulaziz's regime.⁵⁷ This movement was later transferred to London, and its members continued to publish these journals. In his memoirs, Abdülhak Hamid mentions the significance of these journals in terms of becoming a voice of resistance during the censorship period.⁵⁸ Later in 1876, when Abdülhamid II ascended to the throne, members of the resistance

⁵⁴ Abdurrahman Sami Pasha (1794-1882) was the first Ottoman minister of education.

⁵⁵ Sami Paşazade Sezai, *Bütün Eserleri*, vol. 2, 152. For Sezai's memoirs of London, see Sami Paşazade Sezai, *Bütün Eserleri*, vols. 1-2.

⁵⁶ Salahi R. Sonyel, "Turkish Migrants in Europe," *Perceptions* vol. 5 (September -November 2000): 147.

⁵⁷ Şerif Mardin, *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 361-62.; M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

⁵⁸ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, ed. İnci Enginün (Istanbul: Dergah, 1994), 92, 95.

movement returned to Istanbul and made peace with the new Sultan.⁵⁹ Among these reformist intellectuals, Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha became the key figures of Turkish modernization. It is also important to note that Kemal's essays on London give the details of this movement as well as his impressions of London.⁶⁰

During the reign of Abdülhamid II, Paris and London were the two major centers where the resistance to the Ottoman state's authority and censorship continued and flourished. Especially, Salim Faris al-Shidyak, an Ottoman subject of Arab descent, became a key figure of the opposition movement during this period. After he fled to England, al-Shidyak wrote essays criticizing the rule of Abdülhamid II and his regime. And while he was in London al-Shidyak wrote against the Ottoman imperial rule over Arab lands.⁶¹ With such resistance movements, London became a place where dissident voices against the Ottoman Empire were being articulated.

When Abdülhak Hamid went to London in 1885, he found himself within a diverse intellectual atmosphere, which included intellectuals who were closely engaged with a variety of issues, including the future of the Ottoman Empire, the British Empire's involvement in the Middle East, the question of Turkish modernization, and British politics and culture.

2. London and Britain in Abdülhak Hamid's memoirs and letters

The Exotic London: Bombay

Abdülhak Hamid's interest in British culture and imperialism goes back to 1876, the year

⁵⁹ Yusuf Mardin, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Londra'sı*, 363.

⁶⁰ Yusuf Mardin, *Namık Kemal'in Londra Yılları* (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1974).

⁶¹ Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 41.

when he publishes the *Duhter-i Hindu* (Indian Girl), his first drama on colonial India.⁶² Hamid's *Duhter-i Hindu* is not based on his observations of England or India; rather, it draws on his own research on French accounts of British India.⁶³ In the *Duhter-i Hindu*, Hamid looks into the issues of colonial violence and racism, and criticizes Britain's harsh tax policy toward the local people during the great famine of 1876.

Hamid spends his childhood and youth in Istanbul, Paris and Tehran, and before visiting Bombay he works at the Ottoman embassy in Paris as second secretary between 1876 and 1881. In 1883 the Ottoman government appoints him as a consul general to the Ottoman consulate in Bombay. This rather unexpected appointment can be related to the success of Hamid's *Duhter-i Hindu* in creating awareness about the imperial politics of Britain. It can be said that the *Duhter-i Hindu*, which is based on Hamid's substantial research on British imperial practices in India, serves to prove Hamid's interest in and knowledge about the topic. Accordingly, the appointment can be seen as the recognition of Hamid's expertise on British India.

With the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), pan-Islamism plays a central role in shaping the Ottomans' relations with Muslim countries under European colonization as the Ottoman caliphate begins to promote the ideology that under the Caliphate's rule Muslim communities all around the world should unite against the burgeoning European colonial powers. In this regard, the Ottoman consulate in Bombay is seen as critical in terms of connecting with

⁶² Abdülhak Hamid, *Duhter-i Hindu*, Istanbul: Tasvir-i Efkar Matbaası, 1876.

⁶³ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Abdülhak Hâmid Tarhan Tiyatroları 2: Cünun-ı Aşk / Yabancı Dostlar*, ed. İnci Enginün (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 158–59.

Indian Muslims as the consulate promotes the pan-Islamist policies of the Caliphate.⁶⁴

When the news of Hamid's appointment to this critical position is publicized, Mehmed Kadri, the previous consul in Bombay, writes a letter to the Sultan Abdülhamid, who was also the Caliph of the time. What is important about Kadri's letter is that it describes the Ottoman consul's post in India as the representative of the Caliphate, and that it states that in India over sixty million Muslims show loyalty to the Sultan Abdülhamid II. It can be said that with such inflated numbers Kadri reminds the Sultan of the strategic significance of the consul's role in the region. What is interesting about this letter is that Kadri ends it saying that Abdülhak Hamid will not suit such an important job.⁶⁵ Though Mehmet Kadri does not give a specific reason for why he thinks Hamid is not a good candidate for the position, one can argue that he might have seen a person like Hamid, who spent most of his life in Europe, a bit "cosmopolitan" or, using the *Tanzimat* intellectuals' term, "Westernized". The reason for arguing so is that Kadri's letter puts special emphasis on the significance of Islam and on finding the "right person" who can connect to Indian Muslims.

Though Kadri attempts to portray Hamid as someone who is detached from Islam and Islamic ideals, Hamid is well known at the time for his dramas on Islamic history. Between 1876 and 1880, Abdülhak Hamid writes four plays on Andalusian history.⁶⁶ Of the four plays, the *Tarık yahut Endülüs'ün Fethi* (Tariq or the Conquest of Al-Andalus) becomes very popular and

⁶⁴ Aziz Ahmed, *Hindistan'da İslam Kültürü Çalışmaları*, Trans. by Latif Boyacı (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1995), 89; Fevziye Abdullah Tansel (ed.), *Hususi Mektuplarına Göre Namık Kemal ve Abdülhak Hamid* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2005), 130-131.

⁶⁵ İhsan Safi, *Altın Suyuna Baturulmuş Bir Hayat: Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan*, (İstanbul: Dergah, 2006), 166-67. For more information on the role of Ottoman caliph in colonial India, see Azmi Özcan, *Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans, and Britain, 1877-1924* (New York: Brill, 1997).

⁶⁶ *Tarık yahut Endülüs'ün Fethi* (1879), *İbn-i Musa* (1880), *Nazife* (1876), *Tezer yahut Melik Abdurrahmani's Salis* (1880).

is translated into Arabic, Persian, Serbian, and German.⁶⁷ As the wide reception of his plays on al-Andalus suggests, Hamid was known, by his contemporaries, as an intellectual who had a deep interest in Islamic history and as an advocate of Islamic civilization. Since this is the case, Mehmet Kadri's disfavoring letter does not exert any influence on the Ottoman ministry of Foreign Affairs, which appoints Hamid as consul-general to the Ottoman consulate in Bombay in October 1883. Also, Hamid's fluency in Farsi, the sister language of Urdu, might be yet another reason for Hamid's selection for this post.

Hamid's visit to Bombay enables him to observe British India which he had previously described in his *Duhter-i Hindu*.⁶⁸ When Hamid arrives in Bombay, what he sees there is a "petite London":

When the steamship stopped, the city's view from afar was a bit scary. Naked boatmen took us and brought to the shore. The cars were ready to take us. We went to a hotel made of iron, which, as such, pointed to the fact that it was an English building. As a matter of fact, the tall buildings, giant roads, railroads, trams, and other signs of civilization we saw revealed that the city was an English city. I quite liked to see Londoners, London's cars, and European houses that were surrounded by nutmegs, date palms, pineapples, and coconut and amber trees native to India, which I had been wondering since my departure from Istanbul. I liked it not because it was new but because the city was just like I had imagined.⁶⁹

As this passage indicates, Hamid likes seeing the juxtaposition of English architecture and culture with the Indian climate. He does not interpret this situation as an imposition of British

⁶⁷ İnci Enginün, "Tarık, İbn Musa, Tezer, Nazife, Abdullahu's-Sagir Hakkında" in *Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan Tiyatroları*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 17. In this regard it should be noted that Al-Andalus becomes a popular topic in the late 19th century Ottoman literary field as writers aim to respond to the European claims that the East fell behind the West because of Islam. The Andalusian history itself, with its achievements in science, stands as a strong evidence for these writers to prove that Islam does not hinder scientific development. For the significance of al-Andalus in the eyes of Ottoman intellectuals, see Enginün, "Tarık, İbn Musa, Tezer, Nazife, Abdullahu's-Sagir Hakkında", 7-30.

⁶⁸ Abdülhak Hamid, *Duhter-i Hindu* (Istanbul: Tasvir-i Efkâr Matbaası, 1876).

⁶⁹ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları*, vol.1, ed. İnci Enginün (Istanbul: Dergah, 1995), 299.

models of architecture and urban planning on the Indian climate, but rather appreciates it as a novelty. Witnessing Britain's strong presence in architecture, Hamid thinks that Bombay is an English city. Interestingly, other than the trees native to India, Hamid does not mention any other Indian imprints over the city.

As Hamid spends more time in Bombay, he gets interested in the lives of British diplomats and officers in India, and especially their flamboyant lifestyle in India surprises him as he already knows about English diplomats' humble life style in Europe. Among British officers, the pompous lifestyle and arrogant attitude of Sir James Fergusson, governor of Bombay, captures Hamid's attention. Hamid understands that the public display of wealth and power is a part of Britain's policy toward India, for, as Hamid notes, in the eyes of British officers "all Indians, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, worship pompousness and become intoxicated by the wine drunk by others."⁷⁰ Here Hamid criticizes British officers' justification of their extravagant life style while Indians struggle with poverty. In this regard, Hamid's *Duhter-i Hindu* can be seen as his attempt to display the critical attitudes of Indians toward the unjust distribution of resources in British India, to debunk the fashioning of Indians as "intoxicated worshippers of power", and to draw some attention to their potential to revolt against injustice by referring to Indians' reaction to the Great Famine of 1876, which is also the year Hamid wrote his drama.⁷¹

In his memoirs, Hamid gives a little anecdote about Sir James Fergusson: as a person who usually does not talk to Indians or foreigners, Sir James Fergusson one day rebuffs Hamid just because Hamid greets him in public. Hamid, who simply wanted to pay his respect to the

⁷⁰ Abdülhak Hamid'in *Hatıraları*, 155.

⁷¹ For more information on Hamid's *Duhter-i Hindu*, see Sevim Kebeli, "Sömürgeciliğe Karşı: Abdülhak Hamid Tiyatrosu," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, 2007).

British governor, gets shocked by this rude attitude and considers it as an assault to himself and to the country he represents. Following this incident, Hamid begins to act indifferently to this British governor who does not treat foreigners with respect. Years later, when Hamid works at the Ottoman embassy in London, he finds a chance to know Sir James Fergusson better in London's elite circles, and thereafter he understands that Fergusson's aloof attitude in India was actually a part of his job and writes as follows: "In India he was a genuine government officer, but in London he became himself, a kind and courteous gentleman."⁷² It can be said that here Hamid implies that the rules of courtesy apply only at home, i.e., in England, and that in the colonies government officers are supposed to be aloof, inaccessible, and indifferent towards the locals and foreigners.

Hamid observes a similar attitude in the way in which the English respond to Islam and Muslim communities in India: "Even those Englishmen who are friendly to the Islamic community in England become the enemies of Islam in India. This is because they consider the Muslim community [in India], who are the spiritual subjects of the Caliphate, as the enemy of England. And the British are very scared of this relationship. Because of their fear, they are determined to cut off the relationship between the two."⁷³ Therefore, in Hamid's view, while there is not much reaction against the Muslim communities in England, the situation becomes problematic when it comes to India since England is very anxious about Indian Muslims' efforts to connect with the Islamic world under the leadership of the Ottoman Caliphate.

One of the issues that occupies Hamid's mind during his stay in India is the question of

⁷² *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 154-156.

⁷³ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 156.

how the Ottoman Caliphate could become influential against the British rule in India.⁷⁴ Hamid takes up and discusses this question in the *Cünun-ı Aşk* (Madness of Love), one of his dramas which focuses on the identity crisis of Behav Puneger, an Indian maharaja (prince) brought up with British values and educated at the University of Cambridge, to probe into the issue of alienation as experienced by the colonized elite in India. What is particularly significant about this drama is that it fosters the idea that Indian elites have a potential to lead the anti-colonial resistance movement against the British rule and that the Ottoman Caliphate can serve in this regard as an ally to help Indian Muslims.⁷⁵ That Hamid envisions the Ottoman Caliphate as a potential savior of the Muslim World from British colonial expansion is not unique to his *Cünun-ı Aşk*, for this is an issue he frequently visits in his memoirs as well. As such, it is clear that Hamid believes in the Caliphate's symbolic power to unite Muslim communities all around the world. Witnessing the gradual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, however, Hamid is also aware of the fact that the idea of an Islamic unity, similar to the one found in his *Cünun-ı Aşk*, looks like a utopia that fades away day by day.

Even though Hamid enjoys living in Bombay, he is also deeply shaken by the illness of his wife Fatma, who was taken ill with tuberculosis in their second year in Bombay. Seeing that Fatma's illness deteriorates in the Indian climate, Hamid decides to take his wife to Istanbul in 1885, but on their way to Istanbul she passes away in Beirut. Deeply saddened by the death of his wife, Hamid writes a poem titled *Makber* (the Grave), a requiem which becomes one of his most famous poems and leads him to be recognized as the "şair-i azam" (the greatest poet) of his

⁷⁴ Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, *Hususi Mektuplarına Göre Namık Kemal ve Abdülhak Hamid* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2005), 130.

⁷⁵ *Cünun-ı Aşk* was written between 1914 and 1917, but it was not published until 1925, which is the year it was serialized in the newspaper *Vakit* between May 13 and July 26.

time. After the loss of his wife, Hamid does not want to return to Bombay, which is now, for him, a city loaded with the memories of his wife, and instead asks to be appointed to one of the embassies in Europe.

At the capital of the British Empire: London

In December 1885 Abdülhak Hamid is appointed as first secretary of the Ottoman embassy in London. Shortly after Hamid's arrival in London, a notice welcoming "this young and hardworking diplomat" appears in the news section of the *Athenæum*, the famous British literary journal of the time. The anonymous writer of the notice introduces "Hamid Bey" to London's literary circles, of which Hamid will become a member in the years to come, as a "popular poet and dramatist" and writes the following:

With Rustem Pasha as ambassador here, the Porte has returned to the old traditions of sending literary men to London, as in the case of Aali and Fuad. The Sultan has appointed as first secretary of embassy Abdu ul Haqq Hamid Beg. This young and hardworking diplomatist is the popular poet and dramatist Hamid Bey, whose successes at Stamboul have from time to time recorded in the *Athenæum*. Some of his poems have been translated by our Turkish scholar Mr. E. W. J. Gibb. English Orientalists remember gratefully the elegy of Hamid Bey on the death of the lamented Prof. Palmer. In London the secretary will find small leisure for playwriting, but he may find material in the society he studies. One may speculate what he will do on his return. It may no longer be a sketch of Turkish manners, but of English, for the Stamboul stage.⁷⁶

At the age of thirty three, for the first time Hamid comes to London, the city he would gradually fall in love with. Although Hamid imagines the city of London and its culture based on his observations in India, he does not have a chance to visit London before the year 1885. Thus his stay in London, the imperial metropolis, gives him an opportunity to encounter English lifestyle

⁷⁶ *The Athenæum*, no. 3042, February 13 1886, p. 234. In his memoirs Hamid notes that the anonymous author of this notice is Mr. Hyde Clarke, the former secretary of the British Embassy in Istanbul. See *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 201.

and culture, which he first became interested in while he was in colonial India. As a city where he lived, with intervals, from 1885 to 1912, London had a deep influence on Hamid's personality and writings, which can be seen especially in his *Finten*, his masterpiece which he wrote in his second year in London.

Besides his experiences in colonial India, Hamid's readings about London also helped him get acquainted beforehand with the city and English culture. His father Hayrullah Efendi's *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* (1864) provides basic information about London and its inhabitants. In his memoirs, Hamid also mentions his other sources on London: his brother's travelogue on London, his literary mentor Namık Kemal's articles about the city, and the letters Samipaşazade Sezai, one of his best friends, sent him from London.⁷⁷

Arriving in the city with a heavy heart, and being overwhelmed by the feeling of loneliness following the death of his wife, Abdülhak Hamid finds consolation in London's lively social life. Eventually, as a diplomat, he gets to know the British aristocracy and elite, and, thanks to his Indian friend Nahüda, he also makes friends with the Indian elite as well. Though Hamid stays in a modest studio apartment in the embassy compound, his diplomatic connections carry him to the elite circles of London, and thus he spends most of his time in the city's high-class clubs and restaurants. In his memoirs, Hamid proudly narrates his integration into the elite circles and speaks very highly about his first year in London, admitting that he was then "addicted" to London's social life.⁷⁸ The city in fact epitomized to Hamid the "good life", the ideal form of elegance, status, and sophistication that he aspired to. Hamid was fascinated by

⁷⁷ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 172.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 209.

crowds, by streets and public spaces, by clubs and cafes, by the language, architecture, smells, foods, and sounds of the city, and called London “the censer of perfection”, “the spring garden of beauty”, “the embodiment of heaven”, and “the great city of liberty”.⁷⁹ He expresses his fascination with the city with the following words: “Even if written on the pages of the skies, one cannot properly describe and depict the many great things I saw in the astonishing landscape of this vast capital.”⁸⁰ As such, Hamid’s romance with the city inspires his poems on London, which are eulogies to the city.⁸¹

Soon after his arrival in London, Hamid starts to dress like a Londoner with his custom-made suit, shiny shoes, and elegant monocle in his eye. With his new image, Hamid mimics the British elite and shows his willingness to fit into the elite circles. In his memoirs he writes that the dressing up as such was a necessity of his job:

Whether civil or military, all embassy officers going to Europe must absolutely be presentable in all ways, in both appearance and personality. To be destitute in appearance means that you are destitute of success. Even a rich diplomat should not have an ugly countenance. I remember that the son of a pasha was officially appointed to serve in the retinue of one of the Ottoman ambassadors in Europe, and that one of our supervisors abstained from sending him to an embassy in Europe because he had an ugly face. Especially, London’s places of social gathering are full of with people who highly worship appearance. And especially when it comes to us, they even become fault-seekers. In their eyes, not to know English is absolutely a drawback, if not a fault.⁸²

Even though Hamid dresses up like British gentlemen, he still finds English society too obsessed with appearance and notices how the English impose their standards on London’s diplomatic circles.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 174.

⁸⁰ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, “Mukaddime,” in *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 157.

⁸¹ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Bütün Şiirleri*, ed. İnci Enginün (Istanbul: Dergah, 1979).

⁸² *Abdülhak Hamid’in Hatıraları*, 246.

In his memoirs Abdülhak Hamid writes in detail about his favorite districts in London, among which Mayfair and Belgravia are the ones he favors most. The districts he does not like much, on the other hand, are Earls Court, Kensington, Fulham, and Battersea.⁸³ As his preferences reveal, Hamid spends most of his time in those districts located in central London. Interestingly, in his memoirs he does not talk about the suburban or impoverished districts of the city. Even though his famous drama *Finten*, for instance, looks into the lives of London's different social classes, including the lives of people who are struggling with poverty, Hamid's memoirs mostly focus on the elite circles of the city. This actually reflects one fundamental aspect of his life in London: as a diplomat he most of the time finds himself socializing with the elite. Not only does he frequently visit such prestigious clubs as the New Club, Saint James Club, and Travelers' Club and regularly dine at the Carlton Hotel and the Café Royal, he also attends the balls of the Buckingham Palace. As the literary historian Şahabettin Süleyman (1885-1921) puts it, "the dear poet glows in London's richest and most distinguished communities" and "leads an elite life in London."⁸⁴

Hamid revels in London life to such an extent that he even declines an offer of ambassadorship to Tehran, an offer which pays him three times more than what he earns in London. Until his appointment to the embassy in London, Istanbul and Paris remain Hamid's favorite cities. Shortly after his coming to London, however, the city not only becomes his favorite one but also serves as a muse for his most famous drama, *Finten*, which takes as its setting metropolitan London and its habitants. Compared to London, Hamid finds Paris and

⁸³ Ibid., 385.

⁸⁴ Şahabettin Süleyman, *Abdülhak Hamid: Hayatı ve Sanatkar* (Istanbul: Cihan Matbaası, 1329/1913), 15.

Istanbul quite ordinary, and does not want to leave the city even for short intervals.⁸⁵ It is only for his diplomatic duties and family visits that Hamid goes to Istanbul. A year after his arrival in London, when Hamid leaves the city to pay a short visit to Istanbul, he feels deeply saddened, for he finds it very difficult “to leave the city of perfection and beauty”.⁸⁶ Interestingly enough, in Hamid’s memoirs Istanbul is not depicted as a home he is emotionally attached to or as a city towards which he feels a sense of belonging. Perhaps because he comes to London after having lost his wife, Hamid sees Istanbul as a city laden with the memories of his wife, a city where he lamented over his wife’s death. London, on the other hand, is a fresh start in his personal and literary journey, a city where he finds a cosmopolitan life style that celebrates uprootedness and cultural plurality as liberating processes.

After settling in London, Hamid wants to live nowhere else but in the British capital. Comparing London with Paris, for instance, he writes: “In Paris I barely found time to think as I was very much enjoying the city itself. In London, however, no time is left to enjoy the city because of too much thinking.”⁸⁷ Hamid sees London as an intellectual place, as a space that gives character to its inhabitants, and as a city that increases creativity and thinking. Since Hamid writes his masterpiece in this city, he gives credit to London for *Finten*’s success: “As understood from the fact that it inspired this humble author to write this book, and also from the fact that the book itself is superior to all of the works within my oeuvre, the British capital is a distinguished and charming milieu of nobility, a milieu of perfection and beauty.”⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Abdülhak Hamid’in *Mektupları*, vol.1, 437.

⁸⁶ Abdülhak Hamid’in *Hatıraları*, 257.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 393.

⁸⁸ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, “Mukaddime,” 157.

Despite London's often foggy and overcast weather, Hamid still appreciates the energetic nature of the city. In a letter dated January 14, 1888 and addressed to Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem, one of his literary fellows in Istanbul, he writes: "O Ekrem, what weather this is! It has been night for five days now! Gas lamps have been burning continuously for five days, and yet it is still dark! But still, no one cares: civilization does not quieten down, nor does progress cease. And the streets are still full of cars and trains. On one side there is the funeral of the sun; while on the other there is the crowd of beauties."⁸⁹ Hamid admires London's ever crowded streets and consider them as signs of civilization and progress. In his first day in London, on a cold and foggy day, Hamid takes a walk in the city and "blends into the magnificent crowd which is the public spectacle of that great city of liberty".⁹⁰ Hamid has a special relationship with London and especially with its crowds, which he associates with healing and personal growth. After the tragic loss of his young wife, Hamid comes to London as if he has just escaped a "fatal sickness."⁹¹ The city's crowds welcome this foreigner, who is numbed by the death of his wife, and alleviate his grief which, to his surprise, fades away day by day. Hamid sees this as a mysterious transformation: "The storm of my tears reached to the shores of England, and ceased only in London. It was as if a mysterious voice had told me, 'Since you did not die in Beirut, you will live in London.' As a matter of fact, in London I became inclined to live different lives and to live in different souls."⁹² While immersed in London's crowded streets, Hamid forgets about his loss, and London gives birth to the new Hamid who will open a new chapter in his literary career by writing dramas inspired by London and English writers.

⁸⁹ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları*, vol. 1, 447-448.

⁹⁰ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 175.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 417.

London's crowds are a significant part of the city experience for many English writers. Charles Dickens, for instance, elaborates on London's crowds in his writings. Unlike Hamid, who finds it rejuvenating to blend into crowds, Dickens sees crowds as a threat to the individual and associates them with the growing capitalism:

Dickens seems to suggest that the city's commercial character is ultimately responsible for the loss of identity that takes place in its crowds. As people come to be regarded as part of a system, an animate resource necessary for the operation of the commercial machine, the sheer numbers involved make them as faceless and indistinguishable from the commodities themselves.⁹³

Dickens describes the loss of the identity of the individual in a crowd as "collective violence."⁹⁴ Even though they assign different meanings to London's crowds, both Hamid and Dickens find crowds inspiring for their writings: "Throughout his private writings, Dickens shows that the life that characterizes his fiction comes from his immersion as an author in the crowds of large cities. In a letter to Forster, he acknowledged his acute consciousness of dependence upon London for the production of vibrant art."⁹⁵ As a writer Hamid, too, acknowledges his interest in the crowds of London and states that "human beings crave the people of this world."⁹⁶ Crowds have an ontological significance for Hamid since they provide the means of resurrection for his creativity. After finishing his work at the embassy, Hamid enjoys blending into the crowds and watching the tragedies and comedies acted by the people on the streets of London. Like a flâneur he strolls the city and observes its inhabitants. He prefers this experience over anything else. "At times when I was by myself, I would mount to the top of an omnibus at nights, and would prefer

⁹³ Karl Ashley Smith, *Dickens and the Unreal City: Searching for Spiritual Significance in Nineteenth-Century London* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 184.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁹⁶ Yusuf Mardin, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Londra'sı* (Istanbul: İş Bankası, 1976), 79.

entering into the darkness of human beings over everything, whether mundane or spiritual, and over all sorts of desire and pleasure, whether literary or social. Yes, to enter into the darkness of human being! The most profound spectacle!”⁹⁷ Hamid’s interest in “entering into the darkness of human beings” has its origins in his readings of Shakespeare, whom Hamid looks up to:

In London, in a small square with a garden, which is called Leicester Square, there is a blackish statue of Shakespeare. Twilight covers the vicinity of that small square at nights. It is as if a voice from the spirit of this poet of the world were being heard from that statue: “There is no darkness but ignorance.” It was precisely because I wanted to think about this maxim that I was wandering in the darkness of human beings.⁹⁸

Hamid revels so much in watching the Londoners that he finds going to theatre not as exciting as it was when he used to go to theatre almost every night during his stay in Paris (1876 -1881).

Hamid now enjoys city life more than anything else:

It was not the case that I did not go to theatre in London. I went to theatre but did so as a mere formality, because for me the most important and greatest scene of spectacle, the most stunning theater was London itself, especially during nights. The evils of this mysterious city and the thousands of tragedies and comedies on its stage, which is reality’s realm of imagination, would become visible, suddenly and altogether, to the one who looked with an eye of insight and attention. Why should I take pains to dress meticulously and imprison my poor faculty of thinking for hours to attend an ostentatious gathering to see a limited and pre-arranged play, an imaginary event or a falsified dream? Those who know the troubles of mankind and the good and bad of this world have already experienced all sorts of things that I would see in a theater.⁹⁹

For Hamid the city of London presents a stunning spectacle every night, and he very much likes to be part of London’s cosmopolitan culture, some aspects of which he appreciates more than his own culture. Throughout his life Hamid lives in various countries, including Turkey, Iran, Germany, Italy, India, France, and England, speaks different languages, such as Persian, French,

⁹⁷ *Abdülhak Hamid’in Hatıraları*, 219.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 219.

and English, and moves easily through culturally, linguistically, and socially diverse environments. As such, this diversity lends a cosmopolitan character to his life in various cities of the world. As a poet and dramatist, Hamid values cosmopolitan experience, enjoys spending time with people from various countries, and wholeheartedly embraces London's transcultural and polyglot social life. The cosmopolitan community Hamid belongs to is one in which individuals from different places form relationships of mutual respect. One of the members of this community is Novini Bey, one of Hamid's diplomat friends, who knows English and French cultures very well and acts like a perfect gentleman. What Hamid particularly admires about Novini Bey is his cosmopolitan identity: "He is Arab by descent but remains a Turk at heart, and though he is a Beirut nobleman, he has become a Parisian."¹⁰⁰ The various aspects of the cosmopolitan environment Hamid lives in have a far-reaching effect on his writings. It can be said that it is London's cosmopolitan environment that fosters Hamid and inclines him to be a writer who is engaged in such global political issues as colonialism, social class discrimination, and racism. His attitude toward global issues is humanitarian, and he condemns torture, racism, and class-based discriminations and believes in the equality of people from various racial, social and economic backgrounds.

Even though Hamid appreciates, and is interested in, other cultures and literatures, he still prefers to write only in the vernacular and sees himself as a "foreigner" to English literature:

Of course, the world of literature, too, exists in the universe called London. But it is not, or scarcely, seen through my windows or through my lenses. It is foreign to us as much as we are to it. Every bird's language varies. I would like to tweet in my own language and tweet with birds from my homeland. But the case is that all the birds in my homeland are sentenced to silence.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 380.

¹⁰¹ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları*, vol. 2, ed. İnci Enginün (Istanbul: Dergah, 1995), 527.

As is sensed from the tone of this quote, here Hamid sounds certainly nationalistic, and thus sees the practice of literature as intrinsically related to mother tongue. With the metaphor of birds, he almost denies the possibility of one's becoming a writer in a language other than his mother tongue. Ottoman authors of the time were subjected to strict censorship regulations of the Hamidian regime (1876-1909) which limited Hamid's literary and intellectual exchange with his fellow writers.¹⁰² Unlike, for instance, his close friend Halil Halid (1869-1931), who has many books and articles in English, Hamid prefers writing only in Turkish and does not write in the language of the country where he stays for a long period of time.¹⁰³ As the passage above shows, even though Hamid appreciates English culture and life style, he relates literature to identity, and associates it with sense of belonging as well as with his home country. In Hamid's case, then, cosmopolitanism seems to involve a co-existence of universal belonging and national attachment.

Hamid's fascination with London grows as he falls in love with an English woman named Miss Gorst, whom Hamid meets at one of the meetings of high society. Hamid asks Miss Gorst whether she can help him improve his English. Miss Gorst gladly accepts. Miss Gorst and Hamid begin to meet regularly for tutoring, and they eventually become close friends. After a while Hamid proposes marriage to this high-society woman. Miss Gorst tells Hamid that she should get her parents' approval. Meanwhile Miss Gorst visits Hamid's hometown, Istanbul, which she finds "half-civilized".¹⁰⁴ After a while the Gorst family responds to Hamid's

¹⁰² For more information on censorship, see Ali Şükrü Çoruk, *Abdülhamid Döneminde Kitap ve Dergi Sansürü: Örnek bir Vaka Işığında* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2014).

¹⁰³ For more information on Halil Halid, see Tanvir Wasti, "Halil Halid: Anti-Imperialist Muslim Intellectual," *Middle Eastern Studies* vol. 29, no. 3 (July 1993): 559-579.

¹⁰⁴ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 194.

proposition by sending a letter to let him know that they do not approve of such a marriage, for the family believes that “since there is a wide gap between the two in terms of personality and social class, Hamid’s love for their daughter cannot be genuine” and that “even if his love is genuine, such a marriage will not last.”¹⁰⁵ Even though as a diplomat Hamid integrates himself into English society, he realizes the significance of social class and race in that society when it comes to the issue of marriage. With the rejection of his marriage proposal, Hamid feels depressed for a while.¹⁰⁶ Coming from one of the elite families of Istanbul, he finds such treatment quite humiliating. Few years later he marries Nelly Clever, a woman coming from a modest middle class family, and they stay married for twenty one years, until Nelly’s death from tuberculosis. But still, the vanity of the English against foreigners becomes an issue Hamid frequently visits in his works, among which his most famous drama, *Finten*, is distinguished as an inquiry into the pride and vanity of the English. In his foreword to *Finten*, Hamid describes the English as follows:

Even one of them does not show any sign of ordinariness. Yet they have the flaw of despising other nations. For instance, they say “This man is quite perfect, but regretfully he is not English!”, “That man is known to be very rich, but unfortunately he was not born English” or “This woman is exceptionally beautiful, but she is not English!”¹⁰⁷

In this monologue, Hamid presents the reader with prejudices against the foreigners and draws attention to the tendency in the English class system to stigmatize the non-British as the inferior “other”. As an Ottoman diplomat living in London, Hamid himself experiences this stigmatization:

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 209.

¹⁰⁶ Şahabettin Süleyman, *Abdülhak Hamid: Hayatı ve Sanatkarı*, 15-16.

¹⁰⁷ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, “Mukaddime,” in *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 156.

The English capital is a distinguished and charming milieu of nobility, a milieu of perfection and beauty. But even though I became familiar with the outward and inward aspects of the city, admired and was astonished at her ever dynamic inhabitants, from the lowest to the highest classes, I still felt that I was in a hostile country and was among those who disregarded the existence of humanity outside of England.¹⁰⁸

Though appreciating the lively social life of London and the manners and culture of the English, Hamid still feels that the xenophobia against the non-British is very much alive, a xenophobia that has its roots in British racism and class distinction and does not allow Hamid to integrate into a society he lived in for approximately twenty five years.

Hamid's disappointment in his relationship with Miss Gorst shows the other side of the coin, which is the one that lies behind the glamour of English social life. He now not only deeply experiences the prejudice against "foreigners" but also thoroughly realizes that one is esteemed according to his social class, wealth, and appearance rather than to his personal virtues.

Following his dispiriting break-up with Miss Gorst, Hamid gives up frequenting social clubs and gatherings, and beginning with his second year in London he becomes more and more interested in the lives of poor working-class people. After observing the racial discriminations inherent in English society and the vast gap between the poor and the rich, Hamid feels ashamed of his bourgeois values and privileges. He describes his changing attitude as follows:

This year I attend social gatherings quite rarely. At nights, I prefer being alone in a park over anyone and any place. Dressing up four times a day... What madness! I do not even like to dress up once a day. Should I flatter those fake creatures that I neither know nor like just to appear nice? No way, my suffering is enough already. I am not interested in the elite! I want to be wretched and despicable. I need to flirt with one of those peasant girls who dance on the streets in worn out clothes. I prefer that girl to the ones in Hyde Park, and this street gathering over the parties at the Buckingham Palace. Oh, I want to be

¹⁰⁸ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, "Mukaddime," in *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 157-158.

the most wretched human being on the earth! [...] It's incredible! I have become the world's most savage and wildest man in this great city of civilization.¹⁰⁹

The elite's obsession with appearance and formalities wears him out after a while, and he gradually distances himself from elite circles. Hamid romanticizes the "peasant girls" on the streets of London as more genuine than members of high society; that is why he thinks that flirting with such a girl will purify him of the formalities of the society.

He starts to connect to people who are considered as "wretched and despicable" by the elite. Now he begins to see London through different lenses and develops a habit of detachment from his beloved city:

The Tower of London, which I visited once, is one of the seven pits of hell, a historical dungeon, and a frightening place of execution. Many kings and queens were beheaded and disrowned in and around this tower. One can feel that with their cut-off heads on one side and their bodies on the other some members of the royal family are still wandering in darkness in and around this tower, as if they still want to live. It is always night there; even if you go there daytime, it is still night. Only a white scene of ghosts looks like a shadow from the world to come, and only this scene could be called daytime! It looked to me that the keepers and jailers of this tower, who were standing there in silence, were of the dead too. I thanked God for having come through them alive, for I feared that I, too, would become a deserter of grave, a deserter of coffin, or one of Shakespeare's creatures—a ghost, a revenant, a night specter, or a sleepwalker. Whether because I was born under savage horizons or because I wandered in wild seas, or whatever was the cause, in London I would mostly go to a zoo located in one side of a promenade called Regents Park, an avenue of wilderness in the city, and there I would always stand at the place where eagles gathered. I wonder: why did I love these predatory birds?

They were imprisoned. They were strangers to the city. They were looking at me with red and bloody eyes, and I was looking at them too. It was as if we were saying to each other, "Let's go! Let's go! Let's go out of this vile and contemptible world of humanity! Let's go up to the clouds! Let's go to the horizons and infinities! And there let's settle at the nearest observatory of our Lord!"¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları*, vol. 1, 455-56.

¹¹⁰ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 222.

Historical sites, especially the Tower of London, remind Hamid of the execution of royals throughout English history. He experiences the Tower as a bewildering place where the most tragic crimes against humanity were committed. The Tower of London evokes the historical London Hamid knows, while at the same time rendering it wild, bleak and scary. Especially, Hamid fears to be hunted by London's historical sites and turn into "one of Shakespeare's creatures". Out of this paranoid fear, he betakes himself to the zoo, a refuge for the city's outcasts. Like the eagles, Hamid does not belong to the city, for the city reminds him of being a foreigner, of being seen as "the other" of a civilized society. Coming from a country which is depicted in Orientalist discourse as wild and uncivilized, Hamid feels displaced in London and becomes, in his own words, "the world's most savage and wildest man in this great city of civilization". Thus he seeks for a romantic escape from an over-coded city to find refuge in the zoo, which Hamid describes as the "avenue of wilderness in the city". The zoo keeps him away from the city, from the "vile and contemptible world of humanity" which he finds dangerous to human soul and mind. Thus, interestingly, in a "great city of civilization" like London Hamid chooses wildness and savagery over the city itself, which stands as the embodiment of English civilization. And he associates the zoo, eagles, wildness, and savagery with eternity, transcendence, and divine infinity while identifying the city and civilization with the "vile and contemptible world of humanity". As such, Hamid seems to problematize and even deconstruct such binary oppositions as civilization/savagery and city/nature.

The attempt to make sense of the complexity of modern urban life is what informs Hamid's memoirs. During his reclusive period, he starts to wander through London and searches for some sort of meaning: "I wonder what I was looking for? [...] I had stopped frequenting those historical and mythical sites, each of which was an exhibition of arts and sciences. What I

was looking for was not in history, nor was it in the ancient works. What was I supposed to look for so that I could go after it? And I wonder, what was I looking for?”¹¹¹ As an Ottoman diplomat, he tries to understand and untangle the city, its culture and inhabitants, but everywhere he goes, he comes across a strong English identity that dominates London’s metropolitan life:

If there is something in London that stands for ever, it is Englishness. London is a city that thinks and makes you think. Everything there thinks: the sun, moon, stars, trees, houses, and every single part of the city. Everything there is English, and every Englishman is England. In this city hotels differ from each other, streets and houses change in size and number, but the only thing that does not change is the eternal panorama of the city, which is a panorama of the past, present, and future as well as a panorama that is both historical and mythical.

Palaces of the kings, the Lord Mayor’s building, the land registry building, churches and the parliament building, the Tower of London, the famous park, the square named after the famous naval victory, the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Saint James and Windsor Palaces, Guildhall, and Somerset House—all of these stand for ever. Saint Paul, Westminster, Hyde Park, Trafalgar Square, and the like stand for ever and never change. There is also the Foreign Office, which has a political tradition that is impossible to change. Kings come and go, cabinets come and go, and political parties proliferate and renew themselves, but the Foreign Office is still what it has been, and will be so forever. What lies at the basis of its policy is the ambition for profit. The Foreign Office governs the Palace, the Assembly of the Lords, the House of Commons, and even the whole England, including its trade, military forces and dominions. It is a profitable strength [for England]. And its members can be considered as belonging to a group of people who are called “geniuses”, a group that almost universally consists of people who have graduated from Cambridge and Oxford Universities. Accordingly, we can consider these two universities the same as those never-changing historic places I have listed above and compare them to centers that provide training for service [in the Foreign Office].¹¹²

From Hamid’s perspective, Englishness holds sway over London despite the seemingly cosmopolitan nature of the city. Especially, the entrenched institutions of Britain signify, to

¹¹¹ Ibid., 221.

¹¹² Ibid., 184.

Hamid, a strong sense of English identity. Thus, even though he lives in London more than twenty years, Hamid still does not feel like a Londoner, but rather as if a stranger to the city who identifies himself with the eagles in the Regents Park. Hamid finds Paris, on the other hand, a city welcoming foreigners: “Paris is an international city. It is the capital of the world. A foreigner who spends, let’s say, three years there is a Parisian regardless of his nationality.”¹¹³ While the class-oriented society of London makes Hamid feel like a foreigner, Paris gives him a sense of belonging, in other words, a city identity.

Hamid was initially struck by the deeply rooted tradition he found in London, and gradually London’s strong ties with its past make him uneasy. Also, the well-organized outlook of the city gives him an impression that everything is controlled. What particularly receives Hamid’s attention is the strength of the cultural and political traditions of Great Britain, thanks to which, Hamid thinks, Great Britain dominates most of the world. By highlighting the panorama that defines London’s “past, present, and future”, Hamid implies that England’s future will possibly be bright and prosperous too, thanks to the Foreign Office which not only controls England’s external affairs but also England itself. As an Ottoman diplomat, Hamid is thus concerned that Great Britain, the rising empire built on a long-standing tradition, might extend its rule over his own country.

Similar to Hamid, John Ruskin (1819-1900), English thinker and art critic, argues that England’s strength comes from its strong tradition. But unlike Hamid who identifies a line of continuity between Britain’s past and present, Ruskin identifies a rupture with the tradition. In

¹¹³ Ibid., 121.

Ruskin's thinking, the space is seen as the carrier of tradition, and he interprets the changes in the city space as a threat to the present and future:

In elaborating his defense of England's authentic and identity-fashioning spaces, Ruskin took over, refined, and helped to preserve a romantic ideology that identified Englishness with certain symbolic *and* literal spaces of belonging, and in so doing he passed on to many of his contemporaries and successors a conviction that the unsettlings of English identity were located where he found England's deformation lurking: in riot, trespass, and the imperial shadows falling on the nation's walls.¹¹⁴

Even though both authors consider the strength of tradition in England as an asset for the county, they have different reactions to it. Ruskin fears that England might change due to such processes as industrialization, colonialism, and cosmopolitanism and that these changes might eventually undermine English tradition and the political strength that the tradition entails. Hamid, on the other hand, fears the possibility that there will not be any major changes in the main institutions of Great Britain, and that the Foreign Office will continue to govern Britain and its colonies in the years to come.

As an Ottoman diplomat in London, what troubles Hamid most is what he calls the "imperialist atmosphere".¹¹⁵ The issue of British imperialism sometimes creates tensions in Hamid's relations with his English friends and leads to his divergence on the issue of Britain's imperialist policies toward the Middle East. In one of his conversations with Miss Gorst, for instance, the issue of British rule over Egypt comes up: "I hope one day you will evacuate not only Egypt but also India! Places inhabited by Muslims will belong to Muslims. Let all the seas of the world be yours!" Hamid bursts out at Miss Gorst, who responds as follows: "As long as all

¹¹⁴ Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 50.

¹¹⁵ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 326.

the seas belong to us, no such goal can be achieved. While seas hold sway over countries and cities, England presides over all the regions and seas of the world. I even wish that all hearts and minds belonged to England!”¹¹⁶ Even though after 1882 the Ottoman Empire exerts diplomatic pressure on Britain for the invasion of Egypt, Hamid does not think that Britain will evacuate Egypt at all, for he thinks that “imperialists have the intention and habit of not leaving the places they occupy and of throwing anchor on lands in the same way they anchor in seas.”¹¹⁷ In his memoirs, Hamid mentions an anecdote about his conversation with English officers about Britain’s colonial ambitions:

Imperialist atmosphere had taken over the minds of these loose cannons, too. Not contented with the world’s lands and seas, they even wanted to raise England to the skies! I said to them, “No doubt, God created the earth for you! The other nations exist by sheltering in your protection. Germany, your concubine, is preparing herself to serve only you. You should give patronage to her. And you can employ us, the Turks, for the maintenance of some of the appurtenances of your mansion. That is it! Then this world will turn around your pathological arrogance, and as such it will serve as a model for the other worlds!”¹¹⁸

As is clear, here Hamid makes fun of the Anglo-centric world view and of Britain’s arrogance. But still, English officers do not even recognize the irony and rather appreciate the words of this Turkish diplomat. In particular Hamid criticizes imperialist understanding of the world as a place granted to the British by God to rule over. Hamid’s words are reminiscent of Bible’s following verses: “And God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.”¹¹⁹ Other parts of the world seem significant only if they relate

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 186.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 186.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 326-327.

¹¹⁹ *Genesis* 1: 28.

to Britain's imperial project. A similar attitude is seen in Charles Dickens's *Dombey and Son* (1846–48):

The earth was made for Dombey and Son to trade in, and the sun and moon were made to give them light. Rivers and seas were formed to float their ships; rainbows gave them promise of fair weather; stars and planets circled in their orbits, to preserve inviolate a system of which they were the centre. Common abbreviations took new meanings in his [Dombey's] eyes, and had sole reference to them. A. D. had no concern with anno Domini, but stood for anno Dombei – and Son.¹²⁰

While in Hamid's passage lands, seas, and skies are made for the British; here the Earth even the Sun and the Moon serve to Dombey's will. Unlike Hamid who openly criticizes such an imperialist attitude, Dicken's *Dombey and Son* seems to "disseminate and naturalize the British imperial rule:"

One account of the relation between empire and the Victorian novel might put this passage in evidence to argue that Dickens and other novelists functioned as apologists for empire. According to this account, their fictions reflected imperialist assumptions and aspirations, including most crucially an anglocentric world view and a sense of obvious, perhaps divinely sanctioned British superiority. With that superiority came, in turn, the implication of a right or obligation to seize other lands, subdue other peoples, replace outmoded customs and pernicious superstitions with British laws, mores, and religion – in short, to rule the globe. Moreover, because of the far-reaching influence of the Victorian novel as an instrument of instruction as well as entertainment, texts such as *Dombey and Son* might be understood not simply to have reflected but in fact to have disseminated and naturalized the correctness, desirability, and inevitability of British imperial rule. The earth was made for the British to govern, Dickens and other novelists seem to say, and the sun and moon were made to give them light; history signifies nothing but a prelude to their rule, futurity nothing but its triumphant, infinite extension.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Cannon Schmitt, "'The sun and moon were made to give them light': Empire in the Victorian Novel" in *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Francis O'Gorman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 2.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

While Dickens seems to support Britain's imperial project, Hamid exposes and criticizes the narcissistic aspects of this Anglo-centric imperial project.

The person Hamid finds particularly responsible for the growing "imperialist atmosphere" is the British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), whom Hamid sees as the major figure behind Britain's colonial ambitions. In his memoirs, Hamid also describes Gladstone as a man blindly opposed to Islam, writing ironically that his knowledge about Islam and its prophet is limited to Dante's *Inferno*.¹²² In this regard, Hamid appreciates Halil Halid's writings which center on the critique of British imperialism in general and of Orientalist attitudes towards Islam and Turkey in particular. Besides being a political activist, scholar, and diplomat, Halil Halid is the author of books in English, Turkish, and German, including *The Diary of a Turk* (London, 1903), *A Study in English Turcophobia* (London, 1904), *Cezayir Hatıratı* (Memoirs of Algeria; Cairo, 1906), *The Crescent versus the Cross* (London, 1907), *Panislamische Gefahr* (Pan-Islamic Threat; Berlin, 1916), *The Turcophobia of the English Imperialists* (Berne, 1919), *The British Labour and the Orient* (Berne, 1919), and *Türk Hakimiyeti ve İngiliz Cihangirliği* (Turkish Sovereignty and English Imperialism; Istanbul, 1925). As a figure known for his harsh criticisms of British imperialism, Halid is, in Hamid's words, "the hyena who looks for the grave of England in every part of the world." Hamid mentions him in his memoirs as follows:

Halil Halid Bey is the only Turk who over the years has continuously advocated Turkishness and Islam in his many books in English as well as in his many articles published in various newspapers, where he has demonstrated with irrefutable proofs the aggressions inflicted on us by Christians one by one. He is the only person among the Turkish community in London who has not only mastered English perfectly but also thoroughly studied every aspect of England, from its history to its present situation, from

¹²² Ibid., 250.

its morals and customs to its celebrations and traditions. Because he constantly struggles against the Christians of our time with a banner of crescent, or its harbinger, in his hand, some of his important works have been translated into Persian, Arabic, and Urdu languages and well received in the majority of the Islamic world.¹²³

Hamid not only speaks of Halil Halid as a close friend and source of inspiration with his anti-imperialist writings, but also speaks very highly about him and respects his anti-colonialist attitude. It can be said that while Abdülhak Hamid expresses his critical attitude against Britain's colonial politics through his dramas, Halil Halid "writes back" to the British Empire in his books which he writes in the language of the empire.

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented and discussed Abdülhak Hamid's observations, descriptions, and impressions of London in his memoirs and letters along with the details of his life in the British capital. As an Ottoman diplomat who lived in London more than two decades, Abdülhak Hamid presents us not only with a lively portrayal of London of the late Victorian era but also with significant details about the historical, social, cultural and even political aspects of the city and its inhabitants.

Hamid describes his experience in London as a life-changing one. London, its inhabitants and famous crowds become inspirations for his most famous drama, *Finten*. Even though Hamid likes London's social life, he notices xenophobia against non-Europeans. Especially, racism and the English class system do not allow him to fully integrate into this society. Strong English imprint on London and the imperialist atmosphere surrounding the city constantly remind this

¹²³ Ibid., 255-256.

Ottoman author that he is a foreigner to this city.

While embracing English culture and social life, Hamid is also harshly critical of British imperialism and the social discriminations inherent in the English class system. This is an interesting issue as it presents us with an Ottoman intellectual who finds himself within a double bind: appropriation and admiration of British culture on one hand, and strong criticism of British imperialism, on the other. Since this double bind informs *Finten*, I will look into this issue more closely in the next chapter, where I will discuss the ways in which Hamid portrays English society in his drama.

Chapter 2

London's Social Panorama

*My task is, by the power of written world, to make you hear, to make you feel—it is, before all, to make you see. That—and no more, and it is everything.*¹²⁴ Joseph Conrad

Written in Victorian England, *Finten* is an anatomy of the genteel society of London where people from British colonies try to be a part of that society. The drama dwells not only on the experiences of people from the colonies, such as Finten, Davalaciro, and Mother Roberts, but also on the reactions of Londoners to these newcomers. Throughout the drama the Dick family, in particular, and Londoners, in general, come into contact with people from British colonies. Through these encounters Hamid shows us the ways in which both parties perceive, respond to, and develop ideas about each other.

The drama starts with a dialogue in which Lady Dick talks about the “trouble” that has taken over her family. As literary critic İnci Enginün notes, “[t]he first word of the drama is ‘our trouble’. And even this beginning is intriguing. If we take the Dick family as a symbol for England, then, it follows that there is trouble in England.”¹²⁵ According to her, people from the colonies create the “trouble” inflicting the metropolis.

Written in the late 19th century, *Finten* looks into the relations between British society and the people from British colonies. By exposing class- and race-oriented distinctions that inform metropolitan social relations, *Finten* deals with the question of representation in Victorian

¹²⁴ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness and Selected Short Fiction* (New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2003), 251.

¹²⁵ İnci Enginün, “Abdülhak Hâmid’in Oyunlarında İngilizler,” in *Mukayeseli Edebiyat* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2011), 145.

London at a time of social change. Especially in the late nineteenth century London received more visitors from the colonies, which influenced changes in the ways in which the English defined themselves:

Since the age of European expansion in the sixteenth century, colonial encounters between the English and their Others had shaped England's sense of self. The racialized construction of the British Empire translated into an exclusionary definition of Englishness when, in the latter half of the twentieth century, masses of the formerly colonized immigrant Others flocked to England to complicate the meaning of nationalism.¹²⁶

This chapter explores the ways in which English characters are portrayed in *Finten* in terms of their group identity and their approach to issues such as social class, race and gender. Social clubs, society events and public spaces provide the backdrop to the drama, while Dick family and Finten's interactions and dialogues with them occupy the foreground. Seen in this light, it is possible to read *Finten* as a drama that presents a panorama of English society, from the common people to the elite, and of London, from its streets and parks to elite clubs. *Finten* introduces readers to English characters from a range of classes. Particularly the drama scrutinizes the perspectives of English characters about class and race and the ways in which they treat foreigners. İnci Enginün finds the representation of London's lively social life in *Finten* sophisticated:

In *Finten* Hamid discusses England's relationships with its colonies and the distance between the common people and the elite. Contrary to what is generally assumed, the drama well reflects the social life of London. Hamid finds it difficult to understand the ways in which the differences between social classes in England form walls that are too powerful to transcend even by love. But he is aware of the fact that those who come from the colonies and have not yet been accepted into the society have their own potentials (like wealth, sexuality, and attractiveness) that can have impacts on that society.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Awam Amkpa, *Theatre and Postcolonial Desires* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 143.

¹²⁷ İnci Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2006), 696.

While my next chapter focuses on colonized people and their experiences in London, this chapter explores the lives of Londoners from all corners of the metropolis—streets, aristocratic residences, parks, hospitals, cemeteries, clubs and so on—to analyze and discuss the ideas of racism and clash of classes that have come to define London in the late Victorian period.

Abdülhak Hamid's *Finten* takes place in London and does not address to Turkish culture or Turkish literary tradition. Rather, it is based on Hamid's personal and professional experiences in London as well as on his readings about English society, politics, culture, and literature. While Hamid's observations about London and its social structure form the central stage of the drama, the British Empire with its imperial and colonial history provides its backdrop.

In Hamid's *Finten* English society is portrayed as a social space that has pretty well defined social roles for everyone depending on their social class, gender and age. As people from the colonies of the British Empire join London's society, however, some questions arise, such as: Do the newcomers have a capacity to affect and transform London's class-based social space? And how the locals will respond to these new people? Almost like a biological experiment, Hamid places her character Finten in a hierarchically structured society like London's to examine how such a society would respond to this "foreigner". Finten's skin color, wealth, and strong social connections make her a "problematic" case as she does not easily fit into the categories of the English social class system. On the one hand, as a woman who has exceptionally white skin, Finten does not belong to the category of the colonized other who is believed to have different racial and cultural roots than those of the British. On the other hand, she does not belong to the middle class or the bourgeoisie as she has obscene wealth. Finten resembles an English aristocrat yet she does not have aristocratic roots.

As an ambiguous character who is not quite an aristocrat or a bourgeois, or the colonized other, Finten has a strong desire to be a part of London's aristocratic circles, which is, she believes, a social circle where she would find her niche. Like an experimenter, Hamid sets out to explore whether an ambiguous character like Finten would fit into the class of aristocrats and how she would be treated by the members of this class. As such, London becomes a laboratory where Hamid records the ways in which the locals respond to this newcomer. Since the drama is a genre where characters are given a chance to voice their opinions without a narrator's intervention, *Finten* becomes a testimony to how English characters respond to Finten in particular and to foreigners in general.

As the drama unfolds, the reader is given an introduction into English social life and its classist, imperialist and sexist underpinnings. By looking into discursive formations that shape English characters, it reveals the values, practices and ideologies that inform the social formations of the self. Thus *Finten* enacts the socialization of ideologies by revealing the ways in which various factors such as gender, class and race inscribe and codify the characters' values. Abdülhak Hamid seems attentive to those moments and processes when binary notions of self/other are constructed and subject positions are formed. Therefore a close look into the characterization in *Finten* can give us an understanding of the writer's perspective on self-formation and its connections to prevailing ideologies and practices.

1. A microcosm of London's aristocracy: the Dick family

Throughout the drama what is especially distinctive about Lady Dick is her contempt for foreigners and her class arrogance, which are particularly visible in her disapproval of foreigners' attendance at aristocratic gatherings. In particular, Lady Dick does not like Finten, her son's Canadian girlfriend, and repeatedly makes it clear that Finten should remain in her

place and not overstep her limits. That is why she criticizes Lord Dick for his relationship with Finten:

In our time the doors of the high society would not be open to the ones like your partner. Even now it is only thanks to you that she can enter the world of high society. And perhaps thanks to her you will be expelled from that world. [...] Just because she brought from America a ship full of gems she deserves to enter the clubs of London. How is that so?¹²⁸

As seen in this quote, old aristocrats like Lady Dick find it difficult to tolerate London's new, much more cosmopolitan makeup. This is why, for instance, Lady Dick identifies Finten as a threat to her social status, even though both women are of similar economic status and race.

Class so powerfully structures Lady Dick's character that she sees the differences in social class as unbridgeable.

Interestingly enough, despite her hatred for Finten, in the attic of her mansion Lady Dick takes care of Finten's child, Ucube, whom she believes to be her own grandchild. Ucube's presence in the Dick residence is kept as a secret from everyone. Only Doctor Thomas, Lady Dick and Lord Dick know about Ucube's presence in the mansion. Even the servants do not know anything about Ucube who is locked up in the attic. One of the servants gets curious about the secrecy of the upstairs:

The son is on one floor, the girl on the other, and the old mother is always on our own floor! We are living in a bizarre and hypocritical house that has turned upside down. No one in the downstairs knows what is happening in the upstairs. A doctor comes by and leaves but there appears to be no sign of a patient. In the downstairs there are visits every day and banquets every night. In the upstairs there is always the silence, which is the layer of secrets and the center of the dead! The downstairs is the daytime, the upstairs is the nighttime. In the upstairs there are two maids who always complain and a woman wearing a nursing dress. They do not speak any language when they come to downstairs. All three of them are mute, deaf, and even worse than deaf: they don't have ears! One can say that on top of red, blue, green and yellow rooms there is a black room, which is like a

¹²⁸ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Finten*, ed., İnci Enginün. (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 166.

cloud over the rainbow. On this floor everything is open and unveiled; on the other floor everything is closed, everywhere is locked, the mouths are sealed, the ears are soldered, and the eyes are kohled, veiled and blindfolded. All faces are veiled! It is a place where the residents, like ghosts, lie awake at nights and vanish in the daytime.

While ascending the stairs Lady Dick is always in suffering and Doctor Thomas is furious. While coming downstairs the lady is filled with hate and the doctor is hesitant and pensive. Lord Dick climbs up the stairs like an acrobat, but is brought downstairs like a statue! I wonder what is happening above the ceiling on my head. The downstairs is an observatory, a telescope that shows you all the stars of England. The upstairs is a pit! I dream about being a ghost and go upstairs one night to go down that pit. Alas, my previous master, a sophisticated and wise man, used to say: "If we are to look into any scene, it would lead us to a pit. And if we are to excavate that pit nothing but more scenes will surely come out of it." I now begin to understand the meaning of this saying!¹²⁹

The metaphor of separate floors might refer to the British Empire, where London, the metropolis, stands at the center of the empire while the colonies are located at the margins, remaining away from the center's spotlight. While various newspapers and journals record almost daily what is happening in London, the colonies remain largely a mystery to the metropolis. Colonial violence, lack of human rights and equality, and all other "sins" committed in the colonies are largely kept away from the social panorama of the metropolis. Like Ucube, who is locked up in the attic of the Dicks' house and thus kept away from the main floor, colonized people also do not have much voice or subjectivity at the metropolitan center. Amidst the celebration of the glories and achievements of the empire, the voice of the colonized is not much heard in London.

As the embodiment of disease and physical decay, Ucube is such a source of shame that the Dicks do not even mention him to anyone. Depicted as a clinical anomaly, Ucube is the "other" of civilized England, and as such represents the epitome of anxiety of dealing with the colonized. But at the same time Ucube seems to be the only way for the Dick family to continue

¹²⁹ *Finten*, 175-76.

its line of aristocratic succession and to keep their estate and fortune through a male heir. Therefore, for the sake of the family's future, Lady Dick continues to keep him, which is comparable to the relationship between the British Empire and its colonies: the reason for the empire to keep its colonies is that the imperial metropolis is financially dependent on them.

While Ucube's existence provides Lady Dick with relief from lineage concerns, Finten, with her strong ambition to climb the social ladder, is a constant source of worry for her. Lady Dick firmly believes that Finten is in pursuit of nothing but an aristocratic title. That is why she does not believe in Finten's love for her son, Lord Dick, nor does she view her as a caring and loving mother. On several occasions, Lady Dick pours out her hatred against Finten. In one of those occasions, she remarks, while talking to Doctor Thomas, that "whoever kills that unchaste woman helps heal one of the wounds at the heart of humanity."¹³⁰ Lady Dick cannot even address Finten without withering her with contempt. When she speaks of Finten she adds insulting adjectives to her name, such as violent, carnal and anarchic. Thus she associates Finten with emotionalism and irrationality, which stand in sharp contrast to Europe's rationalism and sense of moderation. She repeatedly refers to Finten as an "outcast" and does not even call her by her name. Sometime after Blanche's marriage to Lord Dick, Finten breaks down in tears and pours out her heart to Lady Dick, telling her how she is afraid of losing Lord Dick. Even in such a tragic scene Lady Dick does not engage with her as a person, telling her only that what she does is shameful. What is particularly interesting about Lady Dick's attitude is that she refuses to view Finten as a woman capable of love and instead labels her as an insidious woman who, "thanks to her power of imagination," fabricates scenarios that are far from convincing.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Finten , 164

¹³¹ Finten, 312

Instead of hearing her out, Lady Dick systematically refuses to listen to Finten. Even though Finten speaks about her reality and her experience in London as a foreign woman coming from British colonies, Lady Dick does not listen to her. Treating Finten like a problem, Lady Dick denies any moral significance to her, and dismisses her as irrational and over-emotional. Informed and circumscribed by Finten's social class, Lady Dick's attitude toward Finten resembles that of the colonist toward the colonized:

Both in the colony and in the metropolis, indeed, the colonised, as exemplified by Rambai, Sorabji and Malabari, were continually under the imperial eye of surveillance that checked their social moves and reminded them of their difference. Thus far, movement from the colony to the metropolitan centre undoubtedly reduced geographical barriers, but did not remove the cultural and racial prejudices sustaining the core periphery axis.¹³²

Lady Dick's bullying attitude toward Finten seems deeply ingrained in an upper-class mentality and is informed by imperial hierarchies. Thus the relationship between Lady Dick and Finten shows us the impossibility of a genuine relationship between a traditional English aristocrat and a foreigner. Although Lord Dick and Finten's love seems to undermine this argument, later the relationship takes a tragic turn and becomes an impasse.

Unlike his mother who hates Finten, Lord Dick enjoys having a girlfriend that often shines out as the wittiest, most beautiful, and socially attractive person in any social gathering they attend. He also sometimes stays in Finten's mansion and benefits from the privileges of Finten's financial resources. A gentleman is described as one who is "free from concern for the grubby particulars of self-interest that characterized 'trade', a traditional object of aristocratic

¹³² Amar Acheraïou, *Rethinking Postcolonialism: Colonialist Discourse in Modern Literatures and the Legacy of Classical Writers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 51.

disdain.”¹³³ True to this description, Lord Dick seems disinterested in money and wealth, though he enjoys Finten’s limitless financial resources.

In the beginnings of the drama Lord Dick wants to marry Finten as he seems to have fallen under the spell of her beauty. Thus Lord Dick appears as someone who does not share his mother’s or sister’s perspective on class and marriage. On the other hand, he does not seem to share Finten’s vision of a more inclusive England either, for though he enjoys sharing his life with Finten, he does not seem interested in the problems and discrimination Finten faces in the aristocratic circles. Even though his family and friends do not consider Finten as a proper match for him, Lord Dick does not deal with that problem. When Finten comes up with a plan that will make their union possible, he does not give a clear reply either. Instead, he first avoids the plan, then, upon Finten’s insistence, reluctantly agrees on the plan which involves a fake marriage with a sick orphan girl and a murder. Being a part of this vicious plan, Lord Dick thus takes some responsibility which he will firmly deny later on. After getting married to Blanche he experiences some sort of enlightenment and holds Finten responsible for the murder of her Australian husband and for Blanche’s abduction. He gradually assumes moral superiority over Finten by holding Finten solely responsible for the plan. Though Lord Dick is both the motivation behind Finten’s plan and her accomplice, he later claims to be one of Finten’s victims. While their affair shakes Finten to her core, he comes out of it almost unaffected.

In *Finten* Lord Dick is portrayed as a well-mannered gentleman who frequently appears at social gatherings. But what is interesting about him is that he does not show any interest in anything in a professional way. Lord Dick is immersed in aristocratic lifestyle and becomes a

¹³³ James Eli Adams, “‘The Boundaries of Social Intercourse’: Class in the Victorian Novel” in *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed., Francis O’Gorman (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 56.

frequenter of clubs as a regular gentleman. Unlike Finten who challenges status-quo, Lord Dick embodies forms of tradition and continuity set against the currents of social change. Though in the beginning Lord Dick shows interest in Finten, he eventually makes more traditional choices. In a way, within a more volatile world of capitalism and industrialism, he chooses stability and eventually starts to live with Blanche in a county estate in Scotland, cutting his ties with Finten and her milieu altogether. Thus he embraces the traditional norms of inherited rank and puts an end to his involvement with foreigners.

In the drama Viscount Rose takes a critical stance against the Dick family's class arrogance, and he especially criticizes Lady Constance, who is Lady Dick's daughter and Lord Dick's sister. In the Hyde Park scene Lady Constance flirts with the Viscount, however he finds Constance's vanity and obsession with social class problematic:

Other than her beauty, she has no poetic aura. She is not natural, nor is there any moment when she manifests herself in a manner close to that of humanity or heart. She is a cavalry who always carries with her the cold and lifeless manners and formalities of the society she was raised in with grandeur and pompousness. She is used to flattery and derision, and perhaps mocks at the sick and unfortunate. She does not believe in death or perhaps in the creator of death and life. In her view, a nice carriage is more virtuous and meaningful than a talented poet or a master of music, a bank more sacred than a temple, a piece of precious stone more luminescent and valuable than the gem-like essence of an individual and the spark of intelligence. A girl who finds Shakespeare as absurd as ghosts, Milton as dark and empty as dreams and the blind, and Byron worthy of reading only because he is a lord... She sees heart as an organ like stomach. Her brain is made up of phosphorus, her nerves of cords, and her tongue of bones. She is such a thing that sometimes even her beauty seems metaphorical or artificial. So I have affection for that cavalry, that girl, that thing! [...] I will either repair that artificial baby or break it into pieces. I am going to show her that in this world there exists a light, a fire or a catastrophe that would melt the ice which is nothing but the ceremonies and manners of society; a tool, an eternal stroke or a law of nature that would crush all the artifice and spuriousness! And she is going to agree that a human being is more powerful than a machine, that a soul is more honorable and dignified than a title.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ *Finten*, 248.

In this scene Viscount Rose tends to suspect the very concept of civilization as understood by racial and class-based hierarchies. In a system where aristocracy represents high civilization the case of Constance, an aristocrat who obviously is not interested in arts and culture, implies that the correlation between one's social class and his/her level of civilization might be an arbitrary one. Here Viscount Rose questions the idea of aristocracy's assumed moral and cultural superiority through a critique of Constance's materialistic worldview. Constance, a true believer of aristocracy and class system, fails to empathize with other people: she not only does not have any interest in the experiences of the people outside of her social network but considers non-aristocratic people unworthy of exploration and knowing. Walling her off from other people, her vanity, coupled with her firm belief in the British class hierarchy, encloses her in a narrow self-absorbed world that predisposes her to stigmatize and mock people from other social classes and especially the foreigners.

Viscount Rose, on the other hand, identifies empathy and creativity as the real traits that make us human. In Viscount Rose's view, being able to appreciate arts, poetry and music testifies to the degree of moral and cultural development. According to him, Constance fails to recognize the potential of human beings; a real poet, a professional musician, a good personality, sparkle of intelligence do not mean much to her. Unlike the Viscount, who thinks that it is the human virtues that matter regardless of class, title and race, Lady Constance values social position, money and material objects. Ignoring the artistic and creative aspects of humanness, she reduces the human experience to a materialistic one. In this regard, her lack of artistic sensibility also means lack of self-expression and of human connection.

In the passage above Viscount Rose criticizes Constance's ignorance of English literature. Though she comes from an aristocratic family, Constance finds reading Shakespeare

and Milton useless. Since in the nineteenth century English classics were the key in promoting England's cultural superiority, appreciation of English literature and its classical texts was considered as an indicator of a higher level of civilization. Especially in colonial education, classics and in particular Shakespeare played a significant role in the demarcation of binaries such as barbarism/civilization or tradition/modernity. Identifying English literature with progress and civilization, the British presented their culture as a signifier of civilization.¹³⁵ This Anglo-centric approach to civilization is clearly seen in Viscount's emphasis on English literature. Constance's ignorance of English classics; arts and humanities, however, implies that aristocrats are not necessarily the most civilized members of the society.

Viscount Rose argues that race and class alone do not bring any superiority. As a reformist and humanitarian aristocrat, Viscount Rose challenges aristocratic arrogance and biases, and thus he presents a meta-criticism of British aristocracy. In this regard, his attitude towards the aristocracy echoes that of the middle class. During the nineteenth century middle class reformers constructed a British discourse of humanitarianism partly due to their opposition to aristocratic hegemony both in colonies and the metropolis:

In contrast to an aristocratic identity founded on natural hierarchy, heredity and stasis, middle-class British identity was being constructed around a qualified universalist conception of human nature; of the capacity of each individual, given freedom from confining regulations, to progress spiritually and materially, thus contributing to the greater good of society.¹³⁶

The relationship between Constance and Viscount Rose reveals the dynamics of love and pride in a relationship. Constance, a paragon of high society, and Viscount Rose, a liberal

¹³⁵ See Chapter Four (Shakespeare and the "civilizing mission") in Jyotsna G. Singh's *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: "Discoveries" of India in the language of colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).

¹³⁶ Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-century South Africa and Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 24.

aristocrat, constantly argue with each other, but eventually the two fall in love and marry. In this respect, their relationship evolves in a way similar to those of some famous nineteenth-century literary couples such as Elizabeth Bennet and Mr. Darcy (in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, 1813), and Margaret Hale and John Thornton (in Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South*, 1855). As exemplified in the case of Constance and Viscount Rose, the interaction between different perspectives on social class often generates tensions and conflict. In addition, the dialogues between the Viscount and Constance remind us of Hamid's relationship with Miss Gorst as described in his memoirs.¹³⁷

Lady Constance finds Viscount Rose's egalitarian perspective on life unrealistic. She thinks that human beings are greedy by nature, and that throughout their lives they compete with one another to receive the most of what the world has to offer:

You poets live on imagination. You do not eat or drink water, or even tea, do you? [...] Oh poor Rose! Just know that people who want to be fed by dreams are the ones who do not know how to benefit from the material world. No matter what they say, in this banquet of life we all are obedient to the law of "I, not thou, am the one who is permitted to eat the food of God for I am good, you are evil." No patient goes on a diet willingly. In fact he diets with the hope of eating more later. If our appetite is ravenous, then we can even eat each other."¹³⁸

Constance's words are significant in that they uncover the subtle connection between the mechanisms of imperialism and racism. The formula expressed in "I am good, you are evil" translates into colonial binaries like "white and black", "colonizer and colonized", and "aristocrat and commoner." In particular, Constance's words reveal insights on the ways in which the colonizer establishes his legitimacy for ruling the "other". Colonialism operates through Manichean splitting of the world along racial and class-based lines. While attaching positive

¹³⁷ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 194.

¹³⁸ *Finten*, 369.

attributes to the British, it assigns a negative, lower value to non-Western people. In such a racist framework, non-Western people are treated as primitives and barbarians who need the leadership and discipline of civilized Britain. Such a Manichaeian understanding of the world legitimizes the British rule over its colonies.¹³⁹ The right to exploit the resources of the colonized is justified by the logic Constance formulates as “I am good, you are evil”. As such, discriminations and inequalities within Britain’s social system are seen as a natural phenomenon, because social hierarchies are designed to advance the benefits of certain classes. As Constance puts it, when the “other” is declared “evil,” it becomes acceptable to exploit his resources and even to “eat each other”.

Even though Constance is well aware that the motto “I, not thou, am the one who is permitted to eat the food of God for I am good, you are evil” is devised in favor of economic interests, she still embraces a class-based society and consistently disparages people whose social rank is lower than her own. For example, after her brother Lord Dick marries Blanche, Constance still does not treat her as a family member but rather as someone lower than her social class. She even refuses to read Blanche’s book, for she finds it not worthy of reading just because of Blanche’s humble origins.¹⁴⁰ As a character, Constance illustrates the inability of the individuals to communicate meaningfully with each other in a racially and class-wise stratified society. Constance’s egocentrism reflects her insecurity and anxiety over the unfamiliar and new, and thus she simply refuses to get to know people outside of her social class. She tries to contain those who come from a lower social class, or from another country, by reducing them to

¹³⁹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Trans. by Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004).

¹⁴⁰ *Finten*, 367.

stereotypes that can be safely handled. She does not see foreigners as equals even when they are educated and titled:

Lady Alice: Who is that foreigner? I come across him quite often at this club.

Lady Constance: He is an author. He goes everywhere and speaks many languages. He has a nice countenance and reputation. He is an excellent man, yet he is a foreigner!

Lady Alice: Since he is a foreigner, does he at least own any wealth?

Lady Constance: I don't think so.¹⁴¹

Perhaps nothing characterizes Constance so well as her remark that “He is an excellent man, yet he is a foreigner,” which also encapsulates her dismissive attitude toward foreigners. In his preface to *Finten*, Hamid identifies an attitude like Constance's as the major flaw of English people. Even though Hamid lives in London for more than two decades, he still feels burdened by this dismissive approach to foreigners.¹⁴² Constance also considers the “Orient” as a distant realm with its exotic character, as a land of pleasures and desires, while equating Britain with rationalism, practicality, and power. For instance, she thinks that Viscount Rose's passion for literature and art is a result of his stay in the Orient, for she believes that the Orient is the realm responsible for disrupting his connection to the material world and transforming him into a man of imagination and dreams.¹⁴³ Since she equates the Orient with harem and its pleasures, she asks the Viscount why he did not bring wives from his trip to the Orient.¹⁴⁴ With such Orientalist beliefs Constance seems like the embodiment of the prejudices against foreigners.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 199.

¹⁴² See, Abdülhak Hamid's “Introduction to *Finten*”

¹⁴³ *Finten*, 171.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 243.

2. When the employees speak...

In *Finten* Doctor Thomas is one of the few middle-class characters who mediates between different social classes. He is the one who informs the Dick family about Finten and her plans while at the same time helping Finten carry out her plans. Unlike the aristocrats who value social position more than anything else, Doctor Thomas is portrayed as a character who believes in humanistic values. It can be said that, as a doctor, he tries to “cure” English society of the underlying biases against the foreigners and the working classes. In his conversations with the aristocrats, he discusses some issues regarding the social value of people. According to him, what constitutes the social value of an individual is not class, beauty, or wealth but rather honesty and goodness.¹⁴⁵ As a person who believes in a world of mutual relevance and dependency, Doctor Thomas tries to bridge the differences between classes, emphasizing the commonalities of human experience.

The doctor is characterized as an alternative to the materialistic characters such as Lady Dick and Lady Constance. Unlike Lady Dick and Lady Constance, who consider society as a human construction that consists of social classes and hierarchies, Doctor Thomas searches for a cosmic explanation for human affairs. As someone questioning the “the world of rank and land”, he challenges the existing apparatus of power. He believes that the modern hierarchies of civilization have been instrumental in the production of forms of social, racial and economic subjugation of the less powerful. He finds the distinction between civilization and savagery a tenuous one. When Blanche asks him to take to a hospital, he prays God for help and he says: “The truths discovered by civilization are deceitful and dangerous. The justice of our age is

¹⁴⁵ *Finten*, 325.

superstitious and perilous. O God! You and only You are the real truth, the one merciful to humanity. You and only You are the real justice, the one which protects the rights of men and women, of orphans and widows.”¹⁴⁶ Although he is a doctor, Thomas still thinks the truths discovered by civilization or science are deceitful. In his opinion modern society fails to protect human rights and provide justice. Therefore he seeks a divine intervention.

In his comments about human nature, Doctor Thomas in a sense diagnoses humanity’s problems and reveals its weaknesses and obstacles. He becomes a close friend of Finten and witnesses her tragedy. Unlike Lady Dick who identifies Finten as a foreigner, Dr. Thomas can see Finten as a person not just the foreign other. Lady Dick’s attitude echoes the fears and anxieties of the British about contact with the foreign other. Doctor Thomas finds such an attitude towards the foreigners problematic. He also finds the imperialist motivation to possess, rule over, exploit and define “the other” pathological. As the voice of science and medicine in the drama, the doctor reveals a more humanistic understanding of human differences, and thus exemplifies an alternative to Lady Dick and Lady Constance’s xenophobic view.

In *Finten* both the Dick family and Finten’s extremely wealthy household have many servants as they signify the social status and respectability of the family they serve:

In the midst of social flux, for prosperous, upwardly mobile Victorians, servants, were now signifiers of social respectability. Hence, census figures demonstrated that the servant-keeping classes now varied greatly in station, from modest, lower-middle-class homes that employed a single maid to do all work, to the great houses with their elaborate retinues of stewards and butlers, scullery maids, and footmen.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ *Finten*, 272.

¹⁴⁷ Jean Fernandez, *Victorian Servants, Class, and the Politics of Literacy* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010) 2-3.

As close witnesses to the lives of their masters, servants at times aspire to and often parody and criticize them. This is the case with both Finten's and the Dick family's servants. Exposed to inhumane treatment from their masters, servants frequently criticize the attitudes of the members of the household. Constance and Finten do not see themselves as belonging to the same species as those who cook their food and organize their household. One of the servants in the Dick family complains about their masters' lack of communication with them:

Since they don't consider us as human beings but as machines made up of wax, they don't believe in our eyes and ears, they don't take our mouths and noses seriously. Since they think that our words should always be confirmations and answers of obedience, they compare our words to the sound of a clock they set or to the melody of a piano they play. Thus they don't consider it likely that we can voice our opinion when we are alone or accompanied by friends. But I, whom in the eyes of Lady Constance, created out of calcium oxide and comes out of a wall, know that I have seen and heard many things with my glass eyes and tile ears.¹⁴⁸

The Dick family treats their servants like machines that have no function but to do the chores for them. Thus the very limited contact between the masters and servants lead servants to feel worthless and unvalued. They crave for a human contact with their masters as they feel unnoticed like ghosts whom no one sees or recognizes.

3. From the margins: aristocracy, the class system and urban poverty

Finten represents a world in which social class seems interwoven with virtually every facet of experience. Class structures characterization and conflict in the drama so powerfully that London appears as a world of distinctly demarcated, separate spheres of social classes. In one of the scenes of *Finten*, however, people across various social classes come together. A big crowd

¹⁴⁸ *Finten*, 260.

of people gathers on the street outside the church where the wedding of Lord Dick and Blanche takes place. The aristocratic wedding becomes a spectacle for the crowd. As a space where various characters from different classes come together and interact with each other by chance, the street itself serves as a medium through which Hamid opens up the city space of London to readers.

The street crowd consists of a wide range of people, including a homeless, a drunkard, a farmer, a prostitute, a nun, a preacher, a beggar, a couple, a little girl with her grandparents, a large group of unemployed men, a maid, a police officer, a cavalryman, a foreigner, a poet, a teacher, and a philosopher. The crowd talks about various topics such as aristocratic marriage, unemployment, hunger, tuberculosis, the unbridgeable gap between the rich and the poor, and the sovereignty of money. After a while, a group protesting the government also blends into the street crowd, and people start voicing loudly their criticism of the government as well. From the late sixteenth century onwards, urban crowds become one of the key features that defines the city experience:

[M]etropolitan London quadrupled in size between 1500 and 1600, and one of the things that this population crisis triggered was a social crisis about the symbolic meaning of the city. Urban crowds became an inescapable presence during the late sixteenth century, and the literature and official proclamations of the time reflect a pervasive unease about the crowdedness and human disorder of the city. [...] The crowd operated as the visible manifestation of an increasingly incomprehensible city, the tangible referent onto which the desires and fears provoked by London's swelling mass were projected.¹⁴⁹

In a similar vein, the crowd scene in *Finten* reflects the variety of people, their different social positions and concerns, and how they feel about their experience in the city of London. In

¹⁴⁹ Ian Munro, *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1.

particular, people complain about the difficulties of life in London and the lack of social solidarity. The following dialogues are revealing in this regard:

Beggar: The hungry do not eat but drink! Drinking is a way of forgetting our hunger, isn't it, madam? "Stay hungry, but do not beg!" says the police.

Young prostitute: If your problem is hunger, no one here knows about it... If you want bread, you should beg it from the poor (the young woman gives him money).¹⁵⁰

Husband: Oh my dear! My feet are killing me, and my back is aching. I wish we could find an empty sidewalk and lie down a bit!

Wife: I am also tired, my dear... Hang on a little more; we will surely find a corner or a sidewalk and take some rest.

Husband: The law looks down on old and worn-out people like us who want to take some rest.

Wife: Let us not damage the image of our society! Let us not ruin the eyes of the society! Let's go!¹⁵¹

What is striking about these dialogues is that they show us the bonds of solidarity among the poor and the compassion they show for one another. What is also striking is that people complain about being identified as a "problem". Since the system treats urban poverty almost as a crime, their presence in public areas is seen as a problem. In this regard, the police serve as a disciplining force that tries to keep those who are begging on the streets or lie down on the benches of a public park away from the sight of the public:

By the late 19th century, anxiety over the conditions and behavior of the urban working classes was widespread in social commentary. These fears reflected a sense of social and moral disarray, which accompanied rapid urbanisation and industrialisation and unease that the class of outcasts may expand to infect the 'respectable' working classes and threaten the middle class. The growth of large working class populations in south London and the East End, mass demonstrations of the unemployed and bread riots in the East End in the 1860s and 1870s resulted in a heightened sense of insecurity among middle-class liberals and commentators (Stedman Jones, 1971, pp 238-41). Poverty was viewed as a problem for the poor themselves as moral agents and for society as a legitimate social order.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ *Finten*, 285.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 289.

¹⁵² David M. Smith. *On the Margins of Inclusion: Changing Labour Markets and Social Exclusion in London* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005), 43.

In the late nineteenth century, the rise of Social Darwinism also contributed to an understanding of poverty as a sign of weakness in the survival processes of humankind. Such an understanding of poverty holds the poor responsible for their condition while it justifies competitive and discriminative systems such as laissez-faire capitalism, racism and imperialism. In *Finten* the conversations among people from lower classes show Hamid's thorough understanding of how the system constantly treats these people as a problematic issue that is pushed under the rug. They feel utterly alienated by the rest of the society and the system, and try to keep themselves off the government's radar.

Watching the aristocratic wedding from the side, most of the working-class people among the crowd are exposed to a public display of obscene wealth and start feeling the large gap between their lives and those of the aristocrats. An old man talking to his friend says: "We have become the porters of the burden of life not to live but to approach death."¹⁵³ A girl who is watching the wedding asks her boyfriend when they are going to marry, and his answer is: "When we make some money to feed ourselves. Now we are in the age of the stomach, Annie, the age of the heart is over."¹⁵⁴ Even the prospect of a modest marriage seems far from them. A "wretched man" and a woman chatting on the street find the aristocratic wedding not only quite dramatic but tragic as well:

Woman: Weddings of the wealthy look like a drama.

Wretched Man: To us it is a drama, but to them it is nil. Their dramas are horrific to the world.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ *Finten*, 289.

¹⁵⁴ *Finten*, 291.

¹⁵⁵ *Finten*, 282.

In these dialogues, Hamid treats class difference as a significant factor that disrupts social harmony. As such, social segregation by class receives strong denunciation by the playwright. What is also significant is that looking at the margins of society, Hamid can see and show us the social structure of English society as a whole. This tactic accounts for the realistic side of the drama as well as for the ways in which it narrates the working-class's perspective on life.

4. Policing the city

As the core of the British Empire where imperial policies were conceived and implemented, London was generally represented as the locus of law, order, urbanity, and rationality. The social pressures of industrialization and urban growth, however, resulted in an increase in the city's crime rate. As a response to the rising crime rate, there was a dramatic increase in the policing of London,¹⁵⁶ which is one of the significant themes of the drama. In *Finten* the London police appear as the force of discipline and order. Interestingly enough, in every scene set in London's public areas like streets or parks the police have a strong presence, and those scenes reflect a growing fear of working-class criminality as the wealthy characters in the drama believe that poor people are more inclined toward crimes. In one of those scenes, Finten goes to her house in the Berkeley Square in the middle of the night after attending Lord Dick's wedding. While she passes by Hyde Park, a police officer, with a lantern in his hand, stops her for an identity check. Finten finds the officer's treatment disrespectful and responds to him with the following words: "Lower your lantern! Instead of inspecting me with the electric eyes of the government, you should watch out for those wretched people who, out of hunger,

¹⁵⁶ Andrew T. Harris, *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780-1840* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004).

graze in the park and sleep under the trees! You should take care of homeless people, not the ones who are going to their own homes.”¹⁵⁷ Here Finten complains about the omnipresence of the London police in public spheres and about the consequent interference of the police in the daily lives of the city’s inhabitants. She displays an elite attitude toward public order by arguing that the duty of the police is to discipline the homeless living in the parks, not the wealthy residents of the city.

In metropolitan London the working-class and the poor were associated with civil disorder, and the expansion of policing was related with urban poverty:

Though policing carried many possible connotations in the eighteenth century, by the 1820s the idea had become more precise, losing some of the meanings that had made it such a generally applicable concept in earlier decades. What had encompassed a system of regulation, especially the morality and relief of the poor, became, discursively at least, an ideal of efficiency confined to criminality and public order.¹⁵⁸

In scenes set out in public spaces, the police appear as a force which disciplines the urban poor. In the scene set in Hyde Park, for instance, the police collect fee for public benches, and in another one they control the crowd outside the church where the royal wedding takes place and keep them away from the aristocrats. Such scenes reflect the tension between classes, which results from elite attitudes concerning social order and criminality.

¹⁵⁷ Finten, 302.

¹⁵⁸ Andrew T. Harris, *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780-1840* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004), 4.

5. British clubs

British clubs have a significant place in the lives of the characters. Especially, the British aristocracy and gentry build their social life around social clubs, which host various parties, dance parties, and afternoon teas. As such, one of the lengthiest scenes of *Finten* is set in the New Club, and the social calendars of the characters are filled with events and meetings organized in clubs. For instance, the following dialogue between Lady Alice, Viscount Rose and Colonel Arbuthnot gives us some details regarding their social calendar:

Lady Alice: Where did you go dancing yesterday, Viscount Rose? No one saw you at the party.

Viscount Rose: Last night I contented myself with attending a party at Albert Hall and then with killing my future at the Carlton Club.

Colonel Arbuthnot: I was among a wave of people at the New Club. (Talking to Lady Alice) Therefore I could not have the honor of coming across you at Portland Place.¹⁵⁹

This conversation reveals the centrality of the clubs in the lives of the characters. In her article titled "Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere," Mrinalini Sinha explores British club culture both in the metropolis and in the colonies. Sinha informs us that during the late nineteenth century the Bachelors' Club and the New Club, the two significant settings of *Finten*, were among London's most exclusive clubs.¹⁶⁰ She argues that due to their exclusiveness such clubs served as a social status marker:

The emergence of a distinctive clubland culture in Britain, consisting of a variety of private gentleman's clubs for the elite, was part of the recreation of urban elites in the specific conditions of the social and economic changes of the nineteenth century. The heart of this clubland culture was located in central London in St. James's Street and Pall Mall. The clubs on St. James's Street had their origins in the "aristocratic" eighteenth century and had a clientele drawn mainly from the British aristocracy, while the clubs on Pall Mall were mainly nineteenth-century creations, and their membership was predominantly bourgeois. Membership in particular gentleman's clubs became a passport

¹⁵⁹ *Finten*, 170.

¹⁶⁰ Mrinalini Sinha, "Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India," *Journal of British Studies*, no. 4 (2001): 494.

for entry into the culture of the ruling elites in Britain and helped to sustain an elaborate system of old boys' networks. By midcentury, these private gentleman's clubs, whose function was to mediate and distribute elite power, had, like the Great English Public Schools and Oxbridge, become naturalized as important, and seemingly timeless, monuments of national English culture.¹⁶¹

Apparently such clubs provide the elite with a common ground where they can meet with each other. In the colonies, the club also functions as an imperial institution which separates the colonizer from the colonized. As Sinha notes, in the colonies those institutions were “equally the objects of ‘native’ desire and resentment” due to their exclusive characters.¹⁶² Such institutions make the colonized feel alienated by drawing race and class oriented boundaries. Abdülhak Hamid’s *Cümmun-ı Aşk* (Madness of Love, 1925-26) looks into the influence of the club culture on the life of Behav Puneger, the protagonist who is an Indian maharaja living in London. Like Behav Puneger, Finten also takes her club memberships very seriously, and she is often resented for not being able to get a pass to certain British clubs.¹⁶³ She interprets club membership as a sign of her integration into London’s social life, while a denial of membership seems like an exclusion from British elite circles. The rapid change and transformation of both metropolitan and colonial societies during the nineteenth century make certain status signs like a club membership an important part of social acceptance:

In a world where personal or family history no longer offered a ready guide to social identity, the interpretation of strangers had to rely more on palpable social signs: dress, speech, behavior, place of residence, style of living. Thus the emblematic social importance that so many novels locate in outwardly trivial distinctions: whether one used wax or tallow candles, for example, or wore satin rather than silk dresses. Much of the elaborate etiquette we think of as distinctively Victorian – rituals of introduction, calling cards, the chaperoning of unmarried women, intricate decorums of dress – is at root a strategy for dealing with social mobility.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 495.

¹⁶² Ibid., 490.

¹⁶³ *Finten*, 182.

¹⁶⁴ James Eli Adams, “‘The Boundaries of Social Intercourse’: Class in the Victorian Novel” in *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed., Francis O’Gorman (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 51.

In this context clubs have a special significance as status markers. Therefore membership to a certain club speaks volumes about a character's social position. Especially for foreigners, club membership appears like a significant step towards their integration into England.

In *Finten* the scene set in the New Club features many foreigners including a group of Americans, Chinese and “Indians covered in pearls and diamonds,” a Jewish, and the *fesli*, most of whom are not members of the club but guests for a big dinner party.¹⁶⁵ Taking demographics into account, one can say that the club looks like a cosmopolitan space; that is to say, it is not exclusively British. However when we look closely into the attitudes of English characters toward the non-English, the presence of foreign characters in the club seems a bit unusual. For example, Lady Constance and Lady Alice gossip about the Jewish character and the *fesli* who happened to attend the dinner. Just as they call Finten as the “American outcast,” they misname or subsume foreigners according to their nationality, origin and appearance. They do not like her being popular thanks to her beauty and expensive jewelry: “Beauty became the biggest virtue of a woman. There is no shortcoming that cannot be covered by that pleasant veil. [...] Do you see the American outcast? The diamonds she is wearing tonight are red!”¹⁶⁶ The way they talk about non-English people reveals little respect for their individual identity and personality. Such an attitude exaggerates the differences and creates a social distance. Social class snobbery and making dualist distinctions seem endemic to the social life of these characters. Interestingly, Lady Constance and Lady Alice dismiss the *fesli* by saying that “[h]e is an excellent man, yet he

¹⁶⁵ *Finten*, 197. The fez is a hat that was popular among the Ottomans especially in the nineteenth century. *Fesli* literally means someone who wears a fez. As Hamid notes in his memoirs, diplomats working at the Ottoman Embassy in London were required to wear a fez in public places. In this context, here *fesli* means an Ottoman or a Middle Easterner.

¹⁶⁶ *Finten*, 197, 199.

is a foreigner.”¹⁶⁷ As a good looking, well-educated and multilingual man, the *fesli* reminds us of Abdülhak Hamid himself. In his preface to *Finten*, Hamid describes similar situations where he felt that regardless of his achievements he can only be a foreigner in the eyes of English. Such a situation reminds us of the Orientalist tendencies as explained by Edward Said: “[t]he general category in advance offers the specific instance a limited terrain in which to operate: no matter how deep the specific exception, no matter how much a single Oriental can escape the fences placed around him, he is first an Oriental, second a human being, and last again an Oriental.”¹⁶⁸ By fixating individuals to the category of “foreigner”, or of “Oriental” as in the case of the *fesli*, Lady Constance and Lady Alice approach him from an essentialist standpoint. In myopic fashion, they perceive themselves as superior to any other social group. Hamid portrays such characters in order to anatomize the attitudes of ignorant, hollow and parochial aristocrats.

In the scenes set in the clubs, gossip emerges as a significant plot motivator. As “a form of narrative which requires only one point of view,” gossip seems like a threat to a candid world.¹⁶⁹ It provides a spirit of communal exclusiveness which curbs individual differences. The aristocrats position themselves as the only authentic self while treating the non-English characters as people who are trying to be like them. Lady Constance and Lady Alice criticize Finten’s appearance, her expensive clothing and jewelry. Her attempt to live like English aristocrats is mocked and ridiculed. They frown upon anyone who tries to join their group. Since “[i]mperialism is based on the fallacy that the imperialist spectator, who maintains an ironic

¹⁶⁷ *Finten*, 199.

¹⁶⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 102.

¹⁶⁹ Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *The English Novel in History 1840–1895* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 172.

distance, is the only authentic self in the *mis-en-scène*”,¹⁷⁰ Lady Constance and Lady Alice position themselves as the core of the club culture while foreigners’ attempt to join them is regarded as vain.

Interestingly, in club meetings while male characters seem more open to a dialogue with foreigners, women characters seem much less tolerant to difference. They gossip about other people’s looks and wealth, and especially make catty remarks about other women in the club. In this respect *Finten* resembles Victorian novels:

When their very bread and shelter depends upon their ability to compete with each other in the marriage market, women have a hard time in Victorian novels establishing firm and lasting alliances. When women are commodities their relation as ‘goods’ puts them into a system of value that has nothing to do with their actual weaknesses or strengths, their actual prospects and options. Women frequently resist, even deny the marriage market in Victorian novels, but they rarely escape from it. They are bound to a system of competition where ‘success’ is not so much to achieve something in particular, as to reduce the ‘value’ of others in the marriage market and to elevate their own.¹⁷¹

Especially, Lady Alice and Lady Constance identify *Finten* as a rival who is most of the time taking the center of the stage at club events. While most of the males flock around *Finten*, English women watch her with envy. Being jealous of her beauty, wealth, and social skills, they mock *Finten*, calling her the “American outcast.” Lady Constance finds it bizarre that, thanks to her beauty and charm, *Finten*, a non-British woman, can obtain a membership to exclusive British clubs. She says “[a] woman’s beauty is now considered as her most significant attribute. That graceful veil covers every fault.”¹⁷² In such aristocratic circles, marriage, title, class, and wealth are considered as signs of achievement and superiority. Especially, a woman’s worth is

¹⁷⁰ Ben Grant, *Postcolonialism, Psychoanalysis and Burton: Power Play of Empire* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), 143.

¹⁷¹ Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *The English Novel in History 1840–1895* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 202.

¹⁷² *Finten*, 197.

measured by her husband's title and money. Although both Lady Dick and Lady Alice complain about society's pressure on women, they still continue to evaluate other women based on their class, appearance, wealth, and marital status.

In a period like the Victorian era, when women do not have an occupation, marriage, social events and clubs occupy a central position in elite women's lives. Finten, too, seeks to find happiness by trying to carve herself a place in these clubs and making plans in order to marry Lord Dick. In this respect, Finten looks like a classical Victorian type who, other than frequenting clubs and engaging herself with marriage plans, does not have much in her life. In such a context, social acceptance becomes a key to the character's survival. Seen from this perspective, she resembles the famous nineteenth-century protagonists Anna Karenina and Emma Bovary:

Women are everywhere ritual sacrifices of societies that offer them no space but privacy, no time but odd times, and no profession but 'love'. Tolstoy's Anna Karenina finds her future blank and without options when the love affair fails that had substituted for her failed marriage; when she reaches the end of the railway platform from which she falls under the train she only confirms in physical death what she has already experienced as an individual in her so-called 'life'. Flaubert's Emma Bovary, her imagination trained by romances and boredom, pursues to the point of dissolution her ever more desperate search for 'love', and in the process Flaubert even dissolves momentarily the very single-point perspective system that has sustained the narrative of Emma Bovary (Ermarth, 1982). The problem of women and time belongs to European culture at large.¹⁷³

Given the limits of her milieu, Finten finds herself confined within the British class system in general and the British aristocracy in particular. In the beginning she believes that an aristocratic marriage would shield her against brutal social criticism and gossip. But when her relationship with Lord Dick turns into an inconclusive love affair, she chooses to die to escape from the

¹⁷³ Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *The English Novel in History*, 216.

judging eyes of the society. Her death in the finale testifies to the difficulty of liberation from social boundaries.

Even though British characters act cruelly toward other women, they also appear as the victims of society. Since women's positions are traditionally envisioned as "the angel in the house", especially unmarried characters like Lady Constance and Lady Alice find that their lives are stunted by social confines. For example, Lady Constance expresses her desire for meaningful work. Women's decision to extend their lives beyond the given limits poses a problem in a conservative and traditional society. Especially Lady Dick, a defender of tradition, criticizes Lady Constance's unconventional behavior and clothing, and leaves no room for her personal decisions. Lady Dick reinforces the image of women as the embodiment of the domestic ideal and wants to maintain the traditional gender roles that are transformed by modernity, women's movements, and the changing society.

Both Lady Alice and Lady Constance complain about the ways in which traditional roles are confining their lives. The following dialogue between Lady Constance and Lady Alice offers an example of women's complaints of traditionally defined gender roles:

Lady Constance:

Brothers are always strong while sisters are helpless
Such a society where maidens are the most wretched members
But it is a society that has built up its fame and reputation on the shoulders of them
The custom—its heart is infected with poison while its eyes squint
There are very few who can disregard the opinions of acquaintances without any
resistance

Lady Alice:

As you know, there are just very few things that this society does not reprove.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ *Finten*, 235.

By displaying the ways in which people from different generations react to the transformation of women's role in the society, Hamid shows how traditional gender roles in general and aristocracy in particular confine women's presence in the public domain to circumscribed roles. What is also interesting about the dialogue above is that it echoes, in the context of British women, Hamid's famous saying that "[t]he progress of a nation is measured by the status of its women".¹⁷⁵

In *Finten* aristocracy does not seem like an inclusive, open entity; rather, it reminds us of Foucault's "panoptic" which serves as a surveillance mechanism that controls difference.¹⁷⁶ Especially, aristocrats like Lady Constance, Lady Dick, and Lady Alice tend to speak disparagingly and sarcastically of the foreigners and members of the bourgeoisie who are wealthy but not noble. Their attitude reveals their anxiety about the bourgeoisie whose wealth and power enable them to ascend the social ladder. According to İnci Enginün, the aristocracy portrayed in *Finten* is very insular and resistant to change. As she puts it, "[i]n this society [of aristocrats] even love itself cannot change the given structure or the way people behave. There can be quakes, shakes or scandals, but that is it. The core structure of the society never lets in the foreigners who would destroy it."¹⁷⁷

Class difference in *Finten* disrupts social wholeness; therefore Abdülhak Hamid criticizes social segregation by class. Especially aristocracy's dismissive attitudes to non-aristocrats receive a strong denunciation by Hamid. Biases and the hubris of aristocrats like Lady Dick and

¹⁷⁵ Halide Edib [Adivar], *Turkey Faces West* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 84-85.

¹⁷⁶ See Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *The English Novel in History 1840-1895* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 118.

¹⁷⁷ İnci Enginün, "Abdülhak Hâmid'in Oyunlarında İngilizler" in *Mukayeseli Edebiyat* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2011), 155.

Constance reveal their social unfitness. In the drama Doctor Thomas character describes the lack of communication between classes with a certain apocalyptic undertone. Abdülhak Hamid views English society not only from the eyes of the elites he also maintains his vantage point at the margins of social life. In a world divided along race and class lines, building bridges and creating pathways for a dialogue seem crucial. Blanche and Lord Dick's marriage in the finale suggests that an alternative world is possible. However *Finten* only reflects on social order and its problems, but does not offer any solutions. Racial and class-based biases become the target of *Finten*'s social criticism and *Finten* shows such biases form obstacles on the way to a democratic and inclusive society.

6. Conclusion:

Looking into the ways in which English characters are portrayed in *Finten*, this chapter reveals how social class, race and gender shape these characters. Hamid emphasizes the systemic and constructed nature of all values. Characters' opinions or stances are largely dependent upon social position, and social position is in turn related to class, nationality, race, gender and experience. *Finten* portrays society as a laminated and complex entity by capturing the strands of tone in characters' speech, and it seeks to juxtapose different stories to show us the diversity of London's social panorama.

Instead of treating the English aristocracy as a group which has a shared world view, Hamid captures the nuance in the characters' different outlooks on life. Characters like Lady Dick, Lady Constance and Lady Alice fully embrace a hierarchically structured society and the English class system, and they believe foreigners cannot be a part of London's elite. Lord Dick also enjoys his privileges as an aristocrat but does not show any interest in the class system. He

neither supports it nor opposes it. Viscount Rose, on the other hand, believes in equality of people and finds aristocratic snobbery unbearable. The Viscount functions as a vocal satirist of the aristocracy, but Hamid never puts him in a position to radically question the class system. Rather, he seems more of a romantic, artistic character who values human achievements regardless of social class and race. As a middle class character, Doctor Thomas diagnoses England's social problems and finds social inequalities very problematic, but he does not share his concerns with the aristocrats.

Fintan not only tells the elite's story but it also gives voice to urban poor and working class. On the street, poor people complain about their conditions, but the elite seem oblivious to their poverty. The elite not only try to keep poor people at bay through police, but also define themselves in opposition to less privileged social classes. In such a vignette, poor people seem alienated and cut off from the rest of the society. By showing the anxieties of poor people, how they feel unrepresented in the larger picture of society, *Fintan* calls attention to the strong need for a fruitful communication and solidarity between social classes.

The stories of London's newcomers are seldom represented in this chapter, but it hovers on the edges of their social network. The next chapter focuses on the stories of the colonized people and their experience in London to parse the ideas of racism and clash of classes that have come to define London in the late Victorian period. In this chapter London appears as a hierarchically well-defined social space, and the next chapter explores whether people coming from British colonies can have an impact on the social panorama of the metropolis.

Chapter 3

Outcasts of London

I am a notorious woman, a Canadian outcast, a tree, a rock and you are a most respected member of human society, God's greatest gift to the globe. Is that so? Finten

1. Finten: "American Outcast" of London

Finten, a Canadian living in London, finds herself in an unsettled and uprooted experience of expat life. In London Finten is dislocated, bereft of her own family connections and culture, and seeks a family or a social class where she can belong and fit in. Her first marriage with an old Australian gold dealer, whom she doesn't love, seems purely an economic decision and grants her a tremendous amount of wealth. Finten values the world of money and rank, and she plots the murder of her Australian husband not to lose his fortune through divorce. Finten's second marriage prospect also originates from her concerns about social class. For Finten, marriage functions as a means for social advancement.

Finten's craving for social acceptance and approval fuels her social ambitions. As a foreign married woman who is having an affair with a British lord, Finten is not very popular among the elite circles. She confesses her isolation to Melville: "Look, Melville, my female friends are not visiting me anymore. When they see me indoors or outdoors, they barely say hi to me. Above all, the American embassy does not recognize me at all."¹⁷⁸ At the beginning of the drama, Finten is determined to resolve her complicated affair, find a way to marry Lord Dick, and thus to have an esteemed status in the British aristocracy. For her purpose she is ready to sacrifice whatever or whoever stands in her way.

¹⁷⁸ *Finten*, 182.

Finten's desire to marry Lord Dick is largely shaped by the social system, for a marriage with Lord Dick would provide Finten with an aristocratic title and status she fancies. Being an aristocrat or a member of the ruling class would save her from being a bloody foreigner in the eyes of English people. Therefore Finten desires to marry Lord Dick and become the next Lady Dick. Finten's relationship with Lady Dick resembles the dynamics between the colonizer and the colonized as described by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Finten's ambitions to socially rise seem similar to a colonized subject's desire:

The gaze that the colonized subject casts at the colonist's sector is a look of lust, a look of envy. Dreams of possession. Every type of possession: of sitting at the colonist's table and sleeping in his bed, preferably with his wife. The colonized man is an envious man. The colonist is aware of this as he catches the furtive glance, and constantly on his guard, realizes bitterly that: 'They want to take our place.' And it's true there is not one colonized subject who at least once a day does not dream of taking the place of the colonist.¹⁷⁹

While Finten makes plans to be part of the Dick family, Lady Dick seems aware of her desires and ambitions. Lady Dick claims that Finten lacks moral values and appropriate manners that aristocracy requires.¹⁸⁰ She also considers Finten's marriage plans with Lord Dick as *mésalliance* because Finten lacks title and status. As Fanon describes it, 'the colonist turns the colonized into a kind of quintessence of evil' as "the native is declared impervious to ethics, representing not only the absence of values but also the negation of values."¹⁸¹ We see a similar colonial discourse in *Finten*. From the first scene onwards, Lady Dick describes Finten as "the wound on the chest of humanity"¹⁸² and discusses any chances of getting rid of her from their lives.

¹⁷⁹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 5.

¹⁸⁰ *Finten*, 162, 166.

¹⁸¹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 6.

¹⁸² *Finten*, 164.

Finten also seems aware of Lady Dick's dismissive attitude toward herself. After Lord Dick's marriage to Blanche, Finten finally confronts Lady Dick in Blanche's mansion (which is lent to her by Finten), and tells her that Blanche is not an aristocrat but a poor and sick girl. Lady Dick briefly answers, saying that Finten is no longer a part of their lives. She also asks Finten not to visit her again and adds that if she has anything to say, she should instead write to her.¹⁸³ Then she calls Finten's carriage and shows her the door, upon which Finten bursts out:

Whose carriage are you calling? How dare you show me the door in my own house? Are you now going to snatch my son away from me because you couldn't restrain your own son at the right time? Until when will you take what is rightfully mine while I lap up your poison? For what do I, in suffering, commit this many sins in the service of your fancy for nobleness? Look at my face carefully! I want to know. Weren't you young once? Or haven't you experienced a human adventure called love? I don't know who you are now, but weren't you once a kid, a girl, a woman? How is it that you don't understand me? How is it that your indigo eyes do not see this pallid youth of mine? Why don't you believe that I am a woman and have a heart? Don't you see my inner darkness when you look at my transparent face? What is the reason that I should die and you should live? Why should I get tuberculosis and die at the first phase of my youth while a third-degree tuberculosis heals? My lady, have mercy on me! Have mercy on me! I have been carrying my grave on my back for the last five months! Centipedes have been eating my heart for five months! Don't you see that I am more terrifying than insomnia and nightmares, and skinnier than skeletons? Don't you see that I have been living among ghosts and have turned into a delusion, a shadow of calamity, a convulsion, a snake? Haven't you heard that I have been waking up with screams and fighting against death? Haven't you heard that sometimes I attack like a convulsion but in a minute I stand like a statue? Don't you see or hear that like those flaming substances erupting from volcanoes, my thoughts and dreams burst out of my head and then spill on me like pieces of stone? Ah! As I think about my future, I see a deep abyss lying before me. I feel dizzy, my eyes become dim, and I fall. Look, my lady, I am twenty three! A twenty three year old woman looks like you, madam. Have mercy on me! Instead of calling my carriage, please do me a favor and let me call for you a huge, awful carriage. It is such a carriage that when it sets out, together with its occupants who are gloomier than nights and more dismal than a mourning, all the churches of London will run away to a corner of the sky like a star and start crying out amid mists! Madam, have mercy! Ah! Don't you see that wherever I set my foot there happens a tumult or scandal? Like carriage horses galloping foolishly, without knowing where to go, I have been suffering from the curse of your son for five months. Do you mean that I have become despicable in your eyes because I did not reject that unfortunate man who has been loving me madly for years and get him away from

¹⁸³ *Finten*, 312.

me? Or does this notorious woman become sinful because she couldn't love an old man? I am a notorious woman, a Canadian outcast, a tree, a rock and you are a most respected member of human society, God's greatest gift to the globe. Is that so? Of course not! God knows I can plunge you, your family and nobility into flames with a spark. Madam, have mercy on me! Have mercy!

Of course not! I am not a Canadian outcast. I am the calamity of the New World. I am the one who grew up in the jungles burning for years and under the thunderbolts raining down from the bursting skies for months. I am the one who saw the waves rearing up from the sea shaken by an earthquake and collapsing on the domes of temples and the hills of high mountains. I am the one who witnessed the earth swelling with dreadful sounds of thunders, the villages, towns, woods, and graves hurtling into the air together with their inhabitants. But I stayed put. I am the one who made God's most powerful creature prostrate in my presence. I am the one who sent Solomon's biggest giant to oceans. Ah! Look at my situation and have mercy on me. Madam, have mercy! How can you expel me? This house is mine, this room is mine! Servants, horses, carriages... They are all mine! (She walks around the room, opens one of the doors as if to break it down, leaves the room and then comes back) These furnishings and curtains are mine! These small furnitures, this wall, these doors... They are all mine! (Disappears into one of the doors she broke) This inauspicious demon is mine! This demon who communicates with genies is mine! This ever-silent demon is mine! This demon who dies and rises again a thousand times a day is mine! (She comes back with the monstrous child) This deaf little Gog who hears the voices coming from the vilest of the vile is mine! (She throws Ucube on the ground, Lady Dick shrieks and flings herself over the child. The nanny and two maids rush into the room in panic. Ucube cries out in a terrifying manner) They cry out with one voice, saying: "She killed her husband!" Don't you see that that old man who rises from death only at nights now started coming over me during daytime too? How is it that he is dead? Get out! Shut out that sinister sound! Call the carriage of Lady Dick! Tell Davalaciro that he should come and find me in Beirut! Why are you standing shocked? Why are you gaping at me like that? Don't you understand that I want to be alone? Get out! (She takes a step and stumbles. She steps back) Ah! No, no! For God's sake, don't leave me alone with this old man! If you know what mercy is, if your hearts are not of stone, if your eyes are not glazed, if you have suffered the pangs of a miserable love, if you know what man is, if you are truly a woman, then have pity on me! Have pity! Have pity!.. (She falls to the ground with an epileptic seizure)¹⁸⁴

Until this point in the drama, British characters including Lady Dick despise and gossip about Finten. They do not even refer to her with her name but instead simply call her the "American outcast." However when Lady Dick expels Finten from her own house, this becomes

¹⁸⁴ *Finten*, 314-16.

the last straw, and Finten, for the first time, responds back and even explodes with anger. Finten reminds Lady Dick that the house from which she is expelling her is in fact her own house. Just like the colonized subjects who are being treated inferior by the British Empire within their own country, Finten, too, faces a similar treatment from Lady Dick. She ironically highlights that while every item in the house belongs to herself, Lady Dick can still feel entitled to expel her from her own house. Lady Dick patronizes, bullies and even expels Finten from her own house in a self-assured manner, without even realizing that her attitude is riddled with irony. Therefore Finten rhetorically asks Lady Dick until when this unequal, unjust, and exploitative relation will continue. In her long response, Finten reminds Lady Dick that she will no longer condone Lady Dick's appropriating her own house, life or narrative.

In the monologue, Finten attempts to take back her narrative and presents her own perspective on her experience of being a foreigner in London. This monologue gives a chance to see the mixed emotions Finten experiences in her relationship with the Dick family, in particular, and British society, in general. In London Finten's position toward the British seems ambivalent: she wants to be part of British society but at the same time suffers from an excruciating humiliation as a result of discriminative class system. She desperately seeks to be part of this "world which excludes yet at the same time incites envy."¹⁸⁵As a result, Finten's emotions and mood oscillate between envy and hatred, despair and revenge, belonging and alienation, and being rational and delusional. In the monologue, Finten presents herself both as the victim and as the antagonist of the class system and British aristocracy.

¹⁸⁵ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 16.

Finten's confrontation with Lady Dick leads to a self-disclosure. By opening her heart to Lady Dick, Finten wants her to see the woman and the human soul beyond the "American outcast" whom she systematically despises. She lays bare her soul, her inner world, her suffering and trauma, and candidly talks about her ordeal, her disappointments, her regrets, and her despair in London. In other words, she wants to show Lady Dick that her aggressiveness, her crimes, and her neurotic behavior are the result of her futile attempts to be a part of British society. Finten wants Lady Dick to understand that she is not just an American outcast who is unconnected to her, but on the contrary that she is the very creation and result of Lady Dick's contempt. According to Finten, she commits the crimes she does in order to please Lady Dick's obsession with class and status. Lady Dick despises Finten for her immoral actions, and Finten tries to show her that the reason or the motivation behind her actions is the class system that Lady Dick endorses. That's to say, Finten functions as a mirror that reflects back the psychological violence the Dick family, in particular, and Britain's class system, in general, impose upon foreigners. Therefore Finten insists Lady Dick to look at her face carefully and see the person she created through her contempt. Finten's suffering and her tragic condition testify to the psychological violence the class system and its systematic discrimination imposed on her. Her tragedy, which is almost like a crucifixion, shows that the British aristocracy and their arrogance and vanity have tragic consequences on the lives of people like Finten. It is as if Finten suffers, and eventually dies, so that the humanity can see the tragedy the class system inflicts upon people. In a sense, she sacrifices her youth and her innocence to reflect back to the British aristocracy the catastrophic effects of the class system and the psychological and epistemic violence it entails.

Here Finten's social status, color, race and nationality are especially important. As a fabulously wealthy, white Canadian woman, Finten does not necessarily seem like a potential

victim of racism and class system. Yet her monologue reveals how deeply she is wounded by the system that treats foreigners without much respect. In England, Finten cannot exist as an individual and is ruthlessly bullied as an outcast. This treatment eventually leads to her tragic downfall. Hamid shows the alarming magnitude of the damage imposed by the class system through a character who is not a subaltern subject. If a character like Finten feels marginalized within such a system, the tragedy of colonized subjects, people of color or the poor, in other words, “the wretched of the earth,” seems unspeakable.

Finten believes that the British are full of themselves and that their system is built on exclusion. According to her, Britons do not even recognize the nobility of other countries: “In the eyes of the people of this country, nobility in particular is exclusively peculiar to England; there is no nobility even in France.”¹⁸⁶ In her opinion, the island of England would not survive on its own as it isolates itself from the rest of the world with its class system denying any humanitarian values to other nations:

This country, this island ... A foreigner to the whole world! I wonder it is the result of which inauspicious flood, the relic of which ominous earthquake. [...] When the people of this country, which abounds with foreigners, come across a foreigner, they find it bizarre at how this foreigner happened to come to their country, at how he even dared to come. Stranger than this is that these people are surprised if a well-dressed gentleman, a beautiful or charming woman is not English. In order to be a foreigner, in order to be considered in this country as a foreigner, one must necessarily be a poor, servile, coarse and sluggish one. [...] I am sorry Doctor but this is the reality.¹⁸⁷

Finten describes England as an island which is a “foreigner” to the world. While Londoners call non-English characters foreigners, here she argues that England itself is the foreigner. She tells Blanche that “the sea will consume this island by eating it piecemeal.” In response, Blanche says

¹⁸⁶ *Finten*, 273.

¹⁸⁷ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 273.

“Perhaps this island will drink all the seas.”¹⁸⁸ According to Finten, an island which does not recognize the world around it would be doomed to be extinguished by what surrounds it. As an English character, Blanche, on the other hand, hints that perhaps the island will subjugate and eventually wipe out its surroundings. In Finten’s perspective, Britain will perish because of the vanity it has created, for she thinks that such a system cannot survive. In the end, the death of Davalaciro, Ucube and Finten signals that England, the island, is powerful enough to destroy dissent.

Finten finds it unfair to be a victim of this system and asks Lady Dick “What is the reason that I should die and you should live?” Finten, who has been to Canada, America, Australia and India, positions herself as the nemesis of Britain, and calls herself as the “calamity of the New World.” Finten threatens Lady Dick that people of the New World will question and challenge their social system. She believes that people of the New World will eventually threaten England’s status-quo and triumph over the Old World. She depicts her experience of growing in the “wilderness” of the New World as her strongest asset. America was a rising power in the 1880s, and perhaps that is why Finten firmly believes that Americans are better suited to the changing world, where aristocracy’s right to rule is no longer unchallenged.

As someone who survived natural catastrophes such as storms, earthquakes, and tsunami, Finten thinks she has proven her strength. While these catastrophes destroy villages and swallow mountains, Finten emerges untouched through these experiences. Referring to her influence over Davalaciro, she proudly says that “God’s most powerful creature prostrated himself in her presence.” With such examples, she implies that she has almighty power beyond human

¹⁸⁸ *Finten*, 273.

capacity. In her monologue, Finten tries to silence Lady Dick's arrogance by revealing that she is not convinced by Lady Dick's superiority over her in any way. Frantz Fanon's observations on the colonized subject's reaction to colonialism seem similar to Finten's behavior:

The colonized subject is constantly on his guard: Confused by the myriad signs of the colonial world he never knows whether he is out of line. Confronted with a world configured by the colonizer, the colonized subject is always presumed guilty. The colonized does not accept his guilt, but rather considers it a kind of curse, a sword of Damocles. But deep down the colonized subject acknowledges no authority. He is dominated but not domesticated. He is made to feel inferior, but by no means convinced of his inferiority. He patiently waits for the colonist to let his guard down and then jumps on him. The muscles of the colonized are always tensed. It is not that he is anxious or terrorized, but he is always ready to change his role as game for that of hunter. The colonized subject is a persecuted man who is forever dreaming of becoming the persecutor.¹⁸⁹

Finten oscillates between being a persecuted subject or a victim and her desire to be the persecutor. She feels both too strong and too weak to fight against the class system. The bifurcation of her consciousness causes "disintegration, dissolution or splitting of the personality."¹⁹⁰ As a result, she experiences a metamorphosis, which transforms her from a healthy young woman into a delusional, neurotic woman who is daydreaming, night walking, and talking to ghosts. Her nightmares and ghosts also reveal her shattered consciousness and her traumatized psychology. She seems filled with anxiety and tension, and as a result of her overwhelming emotions and ideas, she experiences an epileptic seizure. While Finten experiences a break down, Lady Dick silently leaves the house, and she does not respond to Finten and maintains her distance.

¹⁸⁹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 16.

¹⁹⁰ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 20.

Mother Roberts's confrontation with Lady Dick also provides an enlightening case into the psychology of the people from the colonies of the British Empire. Mother Roberts, an Irish nun who works at the Brampton Tuberculosis Hospital, visits Lady Dick with Finten in order to testify to Blanche's true identity. Lady Dick does not believe that Blanche is an orphan and accuses Finten and her witness of lying. Mother Roberts becomes upset with the situation and answers back to Lady Dick:

I know, you wouldn't condescend to listen to my testimony again. But you can be sure that I will no more consider coming to your presence and experience your arrogance. My lady, I am seventy years old. Though I am not of your rank, I am of your age. I am proud of my poverty which you despise. Because the wealth and high rank that make you pride are the fruits of our poverty. My lady, I am a seventy-year old poor and miserable woman, a hospital keeper, a nothing. But I am Irish. If, in your view, being non-English is a shortcoming, for me, being Irish is an excellence.¹⁹¹

Mother Roberts has no connection with Lady Dick, nor does she expect anything from her. But she still feels disturbed by her attitude and defends herself. Even though Lady Dick does not make any comment on her social status, poverty or origins, she assumes that Lady Dick "despises her poverty," and considers her "flawed because she is not English." However Lady Dick does not surprise her and responds to her in an unsympathetic and conservative way: "In our old days, the people of Ireland were not that daring! Of course, when a woodcutter comes to power, we are likely to receive such treatment from a hospital keeper or a jungle woman and see such Canadian vagabond sitting right before us."¹⁹²

Another example of confrontation comes from a scene in Hyde Park. When Lord Dick tips an Irish park officer in an arrogant way, the park officer replies to him with the following words: "He thinks he is a giving a tip. May God help him! This is not tipping but an act of

¹⁹¹ *Finten*, 313.

¹⁹² *Finten*, 313-14.

flaunting. (Suddenly getting very emotional) Is it tipping? Tipping is not worth a penny if it is not accompanied by politeness. My lord, I am Irish! I will take your tip and give it to your carriage drivers and servants dressed in silver and gold embroidered uniforms.”¹⁹³ As seen in the above scenes, in their confrontation with the Dick family, Finten, Mother Roberts and the park officer tend to interpret each word, gesture and silence as a contempt for their Irish or Canadian origins and identity.

In Hamid’s first drama, the *Duhter-i Hindu*, British rulers in India not only exercise violence and torture over the colonized, but also limit their space economically, politically and physically.¹⁹⁴ *Finten*, on the other hand, portrays the British elite in London, the imperial metropolis. In the drama, the British elite attend tea parties, garden parties, and club meetings, and promenade in parks. Other than gossiping, which seems endemic in their culture, they seem polite, well-behaved and humane. In this respect, their life seems impeccable. Occasionally, however, Finten or other non-British characters, such as the Irish policeman or Mother Roberts, snap at them. In other words, people from British colonies complicate and even challenge this otherwise civilized and flawless picture of the metropolis. They undermine London’s civilized panorama as their stories leak behind the spotlight of London’s social life. Thus the “foreigners” of British society constantly reveal the pain that the society inflicted upon them. Then the question follows, what is the reason for their suffering in London? In other words, what makes these people so sensitive to any single remark? Why does Finten fall apart and even explode upon Lady Dick’s one inconsiderate gesture or comment?

¹⁹³ *Finten*, 242.

¹⁹⁴ Sevim Kebeli, “Sömürgeciliğe Karşı: Abdülhak Hamid Tiyatrosu,” (Unpublished M.A. Thesis: Bilkent Üniversitesi, 2007), 46-61.

These questions and their answers seem deeply engrained in the colonial history and racial and class-based hierarchies. The colonial ideology operates on cultural, racial and ideological lines. Colonial policies, studies on human race, and discourses on the hierarchical structure of humanity place foreigners into a different category of people.¹⁹⁵ The class system constantly bullies the foreigners by the act of categorizing. The system, by default, categorizes, brands, and describes foreign people as if they are the objects to be studied and defined by the British. The system links social status, origins, and race to the level of civilization, morality and, in turn, to the level of humanity. The very act of such categorization imposes both epistemic and psychological violence on the colonized, that is, those who are non-British. Foreigners seem well aware that they are within a system which denies the humanity of non-Britons. Volumes of academic, literary, and political texts that are produced from such racist points of view threaten the very existence and dignity of foreigners in London. Abundant with foreigners, *Finten's* London is diverse, but this diversity is treated with suspicion and contempt. The foreign characters in *Finten* do not feel welcomed in London.

When foreigners confront British characters, they seem to be in a state of hyper vigilance. Being on the alert for rejection, they are more inclined to perceive social interactions as tinged with hostility or contempt. A persistent sense of insecurity haunts them. They interpret any single negative remark as an insult, and they all seem traumatized and even on the verge of explosion or break down. Even though British characters stay aloof from them or do not openly confront them, foreign characters interpret any silence or look as a despising attitude toward them. Lady Dick and Finten's scene is an example of how silent treatment alienates them. Lady Dick's silent

¹⁹⁵ See, Hamid's Introduction to *Finten*.

treatment is an act of social rejection which denies Finten any kind of recognition. Lady Dick shuts her down by refusing to interact with her. Such a behavior causes a sense of loss and lack of belonging, and it breaks Finten into pieces. Perhaps that's why Finten tries to get Lady Dick's attention through violent gestures, and makes a dramatic speech to convince her that she is also a human being, a person with feelings, ideas and opinions. Finten's monologue is also a gesture that proves that she is not just an object of the British class system or of Lady Dick's contempt. Instead, she is a subject on her own right who has the power to respond back. As a subject, she is also capable of despising, criticizing and cursing a system which treats her without respect. As such, Finten's breakdown marks her subject position and reveals the pain she experiences, which, in turn, emphasizes her wounded self.

However, it seems that Finten's monologue and break down do nothing but make Lady Dick further convinced that Finten is not civilized and that she should keep her distance from her. When characters like Finten, Mother Roberts or the park officer burst out, they lose control. Because of the overwhelming emotions they experience as the victims of contempt and discrimination, they cannot present their critique of the system in an elegant, eloquent, and civilized manner. The more they become agitated, alienated, or outcast, they turn out more unruly. Therefore, confronted with a British character, they express their perspective in a vigorously emotional manner. Such forms of expression, which are mostly driven by emotions and rage, further consolidate the idea that foreigners are emotional and violent by nature.

As aristocrats, both Lady Dick and Lord Dick sometimes encounter criticisms from people who question their privilege. Such confrontations with the commoners seem plagued by the dynamics of the class system. In their confrontations, however, unlike foreign characters such as Finten, Mother Roberts or the Irish officer, Lady Dick and Lord Dick never lose their control.

They respond with silence to the inveighing of the people despised by the class system. As such, both Lady Dick and Lord Dick avoid empathy, because empathy means recognizing inhumane treatment the British class system adopts towards those people who are placed in the lowest ranks of the society. They also never take any responsibility over their tragic situations. Rather, they act as if these people are not significant to be taken seriously. As such, they fashion themselves as high-minded, generous people who forgive and even ignore the foreigners' blasts of temper. They rise above the situation and act as if the incidents did not even happen. In the *mise-en-scènes* that are depicted above, to an outside observer with no knowledge of context, the aristocrats look classy, noble and forgiving while the foreigners look like angry, whining, self-pitying, unstable, child-like creatures who are driven by jealousy, frustration and inferiority complex.

Silent treatment not only makes aristocrats appear as humble, forgiving and noble on the surface, but it also undermines the foreigners' self-confidence. Therefore it becomes an effective strategy for encounters with foreigners who come from British colonies. Given the dynamics of the relationship, in *Finten* confrontation with aristocrats does not appear as a subversive strategy as it reenacts the colonial tableau, where foreigners act like crazy violent creatures while the colonial aristocracy selflessly carry their burden and try to save the colonized from themselves.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, despite her confrontations with the Dick family or the other members of aristocracy, *Finten* cannot make an impact on them. In the finale, the aristocratic characters happily continue their lives as if *Finten* has never existed. Especially, Lord Dick feels relieved that *Finten* is no longer a part of their lives.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ "The White Man's Burden" (1899) is a poem by the English poet Rudyard Kipling. The poem describes imperialism as the white man's burden in order to civilize the world.

¹⁹⁷ *Finten*, 364-65.

In *Finten* the people from British colonies seem wounded by the very system which promises to protect and rule them in justice. The lack of meritocracy and the absolute nature of the class system constantly deny the foreigners any recognition. In the 19th century differences between people were perceived from a racial point of view, therefore it was absolute: “Although Europeans during the Enlightenment, for example, ranked themselves at the top of a hierarchy of peoples, the qualities that they believed placed them there could be learned, acquired. The nineteenth-century sense of ‘race’, by contrast, anchored perceived differences in biology and, hence, understood them as permanent.”¹⁹⁸ As such, in the metropolis’ stratified system, foreigners can only exist as the other of the British. As it is seen in *Finten*, foreigners, in turn, also position themselves in opposition to British characters.

Finten’s identity is constructed in relation to and against British society and its class system. In London, Finten is taken as emblematic of a larger group of “foreigners” or “Americans.” She is branded as the “American outcast” by British characters regardless of her personality, history or background. British characters do not even differentiate Canada from America, and they simply call Finten the “American outcast.” Therefore in London Finten exists as a translated subject, and her history, roots, and culture are lost in the process of translation. When she is translated into London’s aristocratic circles, she is no longer Finten but the “American outcast.” She is identified with the American continent, and her status in London is fixed with the term “outcast;” in turn, her subjectivity is lost in translation. In other words, she is sealed in her “foreign” identity. Therefore in the final scene, Finten longs for her past and her identity, and repeatedly says “I want Finten.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Francis O’Gorman (ed.), *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 18.

¹⁹⁹ *Finten*, 376.

Since Finten attaches so much significance to her integration into London, the rejection becomes a lot painful for her. In the end, she finds herself rejected by London's class system. In Hamid's *Cünun-ı Aşk*, Behav Puneger, the Maharaja, also experiences alienation in London. A graduate of Cambridge University, he is raised as a perfect gentleman. Later, however, he realizes that he does not belong to London as a colonized Indian ruler. In this respect, both Finten and Maharaja's alienation in London seems to be determined by their identity and their country of origin. But their experience seems to be different from modernist experience of alienation from a space:

The modernist experiences of alienation, ennui, the unheimlich and the sense of being an outsider do not preclude subtle and probing investigations into the complex interrelationships between particular individuals and particular spaces and places. Here it is alienation in a foreign country within a class system. Once we recognize this double element of belonging to a place while simultaneously feeling alienated both from it and from the people who live in it, Conrad's Marlow returning to a Europe to which he no longer feels he fully belongs has perhaps more in common with Hardy's returning native than we have hitherto conceded.²⁰⁰

Finten and Maharaja's alienation is deeply rooted in their position in London because as foreigners they are not connected to the society as the society and class system underwrite the human connections in *Finten*.

When Finten moves to London, she cuts her ties with her roots. She focuses on the person she wants to become and on the social class she wants to belong, and as such she disregards her past, her background, and her family. In the beginning of the drama Doctor Thomas gives Lady Dick some information about Finten: "This Canadian woman prefers to live in London under the name of Ms. Finten since Lord Dick loves this name so much. [...] This

²⁰⁰ Attie De Lange, Gail Fincham, Jeremy Hawthorn, and Jakob Lothe, eds., *Literary Landscapes: from Modernism to Postcolonialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), xii.

woman, who looks like a girl and whom your son Lord Dick calls Finten, is known as Mrs. Cross in her homeland. Her husband, who is an unfortunate man named Mr. Cross, has been involved in gold trade in Australia for many years.”²⁰¹ In London Finten does not even use her married name, but instead uses her first name, Finten, because Lord Dick loves it. In the drama, she barely mentions her background or her life in Canada, Australia and India as if her history has only started in London. She destroys the only family she has by giving her son, Ucube, to the Dick family, arranging the murder of her Australian husband and later killing Davalaciro, Ucube’s real father. By turning her back to her family and her past, Finten wants to blend into London’s elite circles. Therefore when her plans fall apart, it pains her too much to see the future she planned in London is like “an abyss lying before her.”²⁰²

Finten’s refusal of her assigned position as a disarticulated foreigner is a significant phenomenon though it is not a well-planned resistance strategy. Finten’s resistance to the class system seems driven by her resentment to aristocrats, and therefore it seems as a reactionary and impulsive response to the class system in general and to the aristocrats in particular. Finten articulates her identity through collusion with British aristocrats. However her personal critique does not bring any outcome, and appears as a nihilist self-assertion. Yet it marks her refusal to be defined and treated by the system as inferior and brings the idea of aristocracy’s ascendancy into dispute. According to Benita Parry, such personal criticisms of imperial systems can also be functional and cannot be reduced to “a mere inveighing against iniquities.”²⁰³ As Parry argues, “[A]nti-colonialist writings did challenge, subvert and undermine the ruling ideologies, and

²⁰¹ *Finten*, 163.

²⁰² *Finten*, 314.

²⁰³ Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique* (London: Routledge, 2004), 40.

nowhere more so than in overthrowing the hierarchy of colonizer/ colonized, the speech and stance of the colonized refusing a position of subjugation and dispensing with the terms of the colonizer's definitions."²⁰⁴ Though fruitless, Finten's struggle to overcome the class restrictions placed on her, therefore, still matters. Her resistance to class system offers a disenchanting perspective on aristocracy and on their assumed superiority over the rest of the society.

Finten maps different forms of resistance onto fiction. In the beginning Finten tries to be accepted by aristocracy and seeks their approval and recognition. However, after her Australian husband's death, she regrets her decisions and in turn disavows the class system. She turns away from the aristocrats and no longer models herself after them. Through the diversity of Finten's responses to aristocracy and the class system, the drama portrays a foreigner's psychology in London.

2. "Boomerang Effect" of Colonialism: Finten's own colony

"I am not a Canadian outcast. I am the calamity of the New World." Finten

Even though Finten firmly defends her own rights, in her own life she neither embraces egalitarian and humanitarian values nor respects others' rights and boundaries. She uses others as a means to accomplish her goals and controls, dominates and exploits them for her own interests. In this respect, Finten resembles a colonist who assumes power and right to rule others for his own benefit. Her relationship with Blanche especially reveals her dark side. In order to get Lady Dick's approval to marry Lord Dick, Finten needs to find a way to make Ucube a legitimate heir

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

for the Dick family. According to the plan, a noble bride who would be a legitimate mother for Ucube can solve the problem. Therefore Finten decides to find a sick orphan girl who would play the role of Ucube's noble mother. She visits the Brampton Tuberculosis Hospital and meets with Sophie, an advanced tuberculosis patient with no family. Finten tells the girl that her parents are French aristocrats who have died in a shipwreck. She reads a letter packed with carefully thought details to convince Sophie that her real name is Mademoiselle Blanche de la Tour. From their first meeting on, Finten thus manipulates Blanche and takes control of her history and narrative. She even changes Sophie's name to Blanche. Upon Finten's order, Dr. Thomas drugs Sophie, and the hospital staff assume her dead and bury her in the cemetery.

When Finten and Doctor Thomas dig up her grave, Finten sees the beauty of the girl under the moonlight. She tells Dr. Thomas that she is the "creator" of this girl and that she wants her to live just long enough to serve her plans and no more.²⁰⁵ The possibility of Blanche's recovery would ruin Finten's plans, therefore she feels hesitant to create a rival, and talks to the sleeping girl:

Still beautiful! Still beautiful! O miserable girl! But your beauty, too, is mine. My compassion will be the mother of your days of happiness that have not emerged yet. Your forehead, which couldn't be damaged by the most dangerous sickness, is under my feet! Your hair, which couldn't be scattered by storms, is in my hands! Your arms, which couldn't be beaten down by the claw of destiny, are in my hands! These eyes which cannot be closed by death are not yours but mine! (Getting more angered) You will become beautiful and Melville's nails will not scratch the skin of your face. No way! You will be well and happy and Finten will not plunge her teeth into your heart. No way! They still call her beautiful! Doctor, doctor! Tell me, where is her beauty? [...] Davalaciro is still on the earth. Your whole life is only his breath! Your whole life is nothing but a half heart! You, the crippled creature! Are you going to race against this thunderbolt which came from America and hit London? With your pale body, decayed beauty, and half femininity, will you be able to extinguish me? What did you say? What did you say? Let the power of God give you all the beauties of the earth and the sky. I will take them from you and bury them here! In one of my hands I will have the head of

²⁰⁵ *Finten*, 255.

death which scatters dust, and in the other I will have the devil's brain that scatters sparks. I will then smash them into your deceitful life and into your insidious beauty! (Turning to the invisible world) O the dead who have no eyes and ears! O graves! O cypresses! O people of silence! O ghosts of the night who are deprived of sense and mind! Do you all hear me? You all be my witnesses! (Pointing to the man [ghost] and the shrouded body) This man will drink the blood in that sack. [...] Doctor, make sure that this girl will not recover! Make sure that she will not be beautiful! Ah! Let me erase her destiny! (She walks raising her arm as if to hit the girl) Let me scratch her future with my nails smeared with dust of death."²⁰⁶

Finten wants to have a total control over Blanche's existence and destiny, and the possibility of Blanche's agency or even recovery terrifies her. She knows that if Blanche does not die within a year, she will jeopardize her plan to marry Lord Dick. Therefore Finten considers Blanche's recovery as a threat or an act of defiance to herself as Blanche's creator. As such, she threatens Blanche, who is asleep at the moment, not to defy her. Finten tells her that any act of defiance would be inconclusive as she is powerful enough to crush resistance thanks to her accomplices Melville and Davalaciro. In her monologue, Finten describes Blanche as "the crippled creature" while she introduces herself as "the thunderbolt which came from America and hit London." Even though Finten employs tropes and images that emphasize her power, the passage itself reveals her insecurity in her relation with Blanche. As an oppressor, she wants to make sure that the oppressed will accept the suppression and not rise against the oppressor. In particular, she wants to convince Blanche that she is weak by nature and that therefore she cannot fight back against Finten. Finten's words above are full of violent images like "the teeth plunging into Blanche's heart," which she uses to scare and discipline Blanche. In other words, Finten tries to undermine her opponent's self-confidence by defining her as an inferior creature. She wants

²⁰⁶ *Finten*, 256.

Blanche to internalize her condition as the oppressed and recognize Finten's privilege as the oppressor.

Finten values physical fitness and emphasizes her good health, saying: "I am at the highest level of health and wellbeing and of life. [...] I will live exactly a century."²⁰⁷ She also appreciates Davalaciro because of his physical strength. In the Hyde Park scene, she gets upset with Lady Alice and Lady Constance and later she talks behind their back: "Hey, you gazelles of Hyde Park, camels of nobility! You should know that if I wanted to run I would outrun all of you. I have under my order an elephant that walks step by step from one part of the world to another. If it is now in Australia, tomorrow it will be in England. Its slowest walking pace is running."²⁰⁸ Here, Finten threatens her enemies with Davalaciro's physical strength. In her perspective, lack of good health means weakness, and therefore she thinks that Blanche does not deserve to live because of her health condition. Her attitude reminds us of the idea of the "survival of the fittest":

'The survival of the fittest', perhaps the most frequently evoked of nineteenth-century phrases, repays close attention. It was coined not, as is the common assumption, by Darwin, but by Herbert Spencer (1864, ss. 164: 165) who did more than anyone to popularize the term 'evolution'. Spencer's ideas lent themselves to a biologization of racial and social hierarchies that would underpin late nineteenth-century 'social Darwinism' – the selective application of Darwinian ideas to society. The idea of the survival of the fittest is predicated on the idea of difference, which was becoming central to the Victorian world picture. It raised the question, what was to be done about the unfit – at home and abroad? Were they biologically destined to become extinct, or at least subject to imperial rule for, among other things, their own good? [...] Several New Woman writers argued that the unfit should be left to die out; Sarah Grand remarked 'Let the unfit who are with us live, and save them from suffering where you can, by all means; but take pains to prevent the appearance of any more of them. By the reproduction of the

²⁰⁷ *Finten*, 182-183.

²⁰⁸ *Finten*, 238.

unfit, the strength, the beauty, the morality of the race is undermined, and with them its best chances of happiness.’²⁰⁹

Even though Finten believes in the survival of the fittest in terms of one’s physical qualities, the drama itself reveals that survival is also highly related with one’s social position. At the end of the drama, the aristocrats continue to live in prosperity while Davalaciro and Finten become extinct. Therefore it seems that in *Finten*’s England physical strength does not ensure survival; on the contrary, social class seems much more important for one’s survival.

Finten only values those people whose social class is equal to or higher than hers. She does not show any compassion for the poor. On the contrary, she severely criticizes them. For instance, when Melville tells Finten that she is hungry and needs a break for a meal, Finten scolds her, saying, “Melville, hunger, and getting hungry in particular, is something bestial, fit for animals. Those who know themselves are always satiated... Those who die of hunger cannot be considered as having lived at all.”²¹⁰ Melville responds ironically, “Indeed, in this country it is such that the satiated always eat and drink while the hungry go on a diet.”²¹¹ While Finten desires the best of everything for herself, she does not approve of other people’s desires or needs. She criticizes even the slightest mentioning of Melville’s need. According to Melville, Finten would not tolerate “even a slightest disagreement with her opinions or whims” and “would like to destroy that person.”²¹² Finten always keeps Melville close because Melville serves her well. She tells Finten:

As for me, I am a mirror that shows you the beauty and ugliness of your imagination.
That’s why you take my face and look at it to see yourself. I am an open eye which is

²⁰⁹ Francis O’Gorman, ed., *A Concise Companion to The Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 203-204.

²¹⁰ *Finten*, 280.

²¹¹ *Finten*, 280.

²¹² *Finten*, 178.

awake and occupies your thoughts during the hours you are asleep. I am the watchman of your deeds and actions which you would like to hide even from cats and dogs, let alone from servants and maids. When you cut off a part of your honor and throw it away, I snatch, eat, and digest it, and then sleep. You wander and I both see and cover your shortcomings. I show them to you and hide from others. That's why I am standing next to you.²¹³

The servants in her household especially notice Finten's desire to control others. Annie, one of her servants, thinks that Finten's endless desires and ambitions will eventually consume her:

I don't know where he [Davalaciro] went. I just know that my mistress has been anxious and restless since he went. I don't know how to describe it. Sometimes she is unable to contain herself as if she has gone mad. And sometimes she stays put as if she is shot dead. She faints now and then. Sometimes she acts as if she would attack an army like a tigress which has lost her baby. But sometimes she acts like a monkey scared of babies or of four- or five-year-old kids. During the day she is asleep like a flame of insurrection. Then at night she is sleepless like a firebrand of love. She is scared but does not know why she is scared. She wants something but does not know what it is. When she turns into a frozen body, she would not hear anything even if earthquakes shook the earth and walls and rocks collapsed on her shoulders. But at those times when cities and villages are asleep and the sounds of life die away, she seems as if she can hear the movements under the ground, like the movements of worms and scorpions wandering among corpses and skeletons. Sometimes she does not recognize us or herself, but she knows, for instance, what happens in Australia. Though she knows the secrets beneath the farthest seas or what happens in electric wires, she doesn't know that death is coming nearer day by day. As you said earlier, there is no need to put poison in her wine. This leech, who has clung to a suffering organ of human society, will one day drown in the blood she drank. That hungry lobster will eat herself up.²¹⁴

According to another servant, Finten's obsession with Davalaciro makes her restless:

"Mrs. Cross is sure that she will find, or did find, so many others to substitute for Lord Dick. There is a completely different thought in her mind. It is a poisonous thought that colors the cannibal blood in her veins green."²¹⁵ What is particularly interesting is that Finten's servants

²¹³ *Finten*, 178-79.

²¹⁴ *Finten*, 258-59.

²¹⁵ *Finten*, 259.

describe her as a “cannibal” or a “leech who has clung to a suffering organ of human society” because of her invasive, controlling and oppressive personality.

Finten also seems to be aware of her own self-destructive desires and behaviors. She tells Melville, “You may laugh as much as you like, but this woman you see is a dreadfully wild beast. No one but her can eat her flesh.”²¹⁶ Finten knows her ambitions and is also aware that her desire to control others will bring her doom: “Look, Melville, I am one of those geniuses who can realize what they imagine. If I fall, I must fall with grandeur and victory. All circles of the society must be shaken by my fall. When I fall on the ground, my place of worship must fall with me. My tomb must be a summit made up of a few ruins of the niche of a mosque.”²¹⁷ Finten considers her schemes as a sign of her genius. Even though she believes her tragic downfall would shake the whole society, ironically, no one even notices her downfall at the end of the drama.

Finten lives in London, a city where wealth, social class, appearance, skin color and race are much more important than a good character, good morals or personal achievements. In such an environment, the British mock her as the “American outcast” because of her origins. Therefore Finten focuses on changing her foreign status by marrying Lord Dick. In a superficial society such as the one portrayed in *Finten*, Finten does not expect to receive social approval by adopting high moral values, good behavior or charitable actions. Rather, she disregards all values as they seem irrelevant within the context of the British class system and instead narcissistically promotes her social status.

²¹⁶ *Finten*, 178.

²¹⁷ *Finten*, 179.

Finten mimics the colonial system and creates her own colony, a small group of people she controls. Her colony includes Blanche, Melville, Davalaciro, and her servants. Eventually, however, these people question Finten's power over their lives. In the end, even her faithful Indian servant, Davalaciro, who is, in Finten's words, "the faithful dog of the Canadian vagabond, alias her Indian vagabond," rises against his mistress.²¹⁸ He does not trust Finten anymore and starts to question her actions: "My lady, whose arms were you in yesterday from morning till night? Whom did you seduce, whose desires did you satisfy with your long hair? These hands, these hands... Whom did you seduce with these little hands? What great betrayal did you bury? Which dragon did you embrace with your white arms? Why did we come to this house? I must understand!"²¹⁹ Davalaciro's questions surprise Finten and make her very furious, and she dismisses him from her home, saying "You are only a moment's pleasure for me. Today you are my still my servant as you were yesterday. I can kick you out of this house and out of London."²²⁰ In this quarrel Davalaciro kills Ucube, and Finten shoots Davalaciro dead. Aghast and horrified, Finten talks to ghosts: "Oh fairies and genies, where are you? Help me! Help me! Look what I did! I set my house on fire with my own hands! I tore down the edifice of all my hopes and laid it in ashes! I ruined my possessions with my own hands! I ruined my beloved and my benefactor with my own hands!"²²¹

In the end, Finten, who set off to control people's lives with determination and confidence, turns out to be a complete failure. She destroys her chance of happiness, and her fantasy of controlling others becomes a nightmare. Her colony rises up and questions the

²¹⁸ *Finten*, 357.

²¹⁹ *Finten*, 373.

²²⁰ *Finten*, 374.

²²¹ *Finten*, 374.

authority of the oppressor. Finten, who is seen as the “cannibal” of London, cannot fight against the system, and London eats up its foreigners.

3. Finten’s Hubris: A Burning Flame

At the end of the drama, we see Finten displaying a hyperbolic drive towards self-destruction, which now seems to have replaced her hyperbolic self-assertion. As her name suggests, Finten destroys herself and her family in the end. Lord Dick describes her extinction with the following words: “Finten was a moth, and she eventually burned up.”²²² Unlike Lord Dick, Finten describes herself as the fire that burns moths. She talks to the ghosts around her: “Oh dreadful moths! Don’t approach the dawn-colored torch that you see! Don’t approach this fire of revenge that lies in a pool of blood! I feel sorry for you all! If you approach, then, you will all burn and intensify its flames.”²²³ Finten never settles down for her assigned position in the society, and her hubris leads to her downfall. She pursues her doomed journey as she wanders alone and continues her path fruitlessly and destructively.

In the end, Finten finds herself lost and in search of meaning in the world of London. She tries to make sense of her journey:

Illusion! Illusion! It is all illusion! It is all dream!
False and countless illusions!
These strange creatures, these shapes,
Those dreadful nightmares, those shadows,
These sounds I hear, this blood I see,
The Crosses and Melvilles who go into the grave
and come out of the grave,
that beheaded head, that sharp sword,
that epileptic boy, that voyage, that doomsday,

²²² *Finten*, 366.

²²³ *Finten*, 376.

that passion of revenge, this regret,
 The Dicks, Blanches, those loves and desires,
 those orphanages, those hospitals,
 Doctor Thomas, the perfect human,
 that wilderness of madness, this imaginary land,
 Lady Dick, the skeleton,
 Davalaciro, the creature bigger than giants,
 the statue above millions of people!
 Finten, the beautiful, the ostracized beauty,
 that violent, ambitious, and despicable love;
 It is all illusion! It is all dream! It is all an uninterpretable dream!
 The past is a nightmare, the present is a sleepwalker,
 The future is the dust on the ground or a vapor ascending to the heavens!
 Neither this nor that can frighten me.
 I keep going on my way
 without looking right or left!
 Where is the truth? It is all dream!
 Where is the punishment we are waiting for?
 Since nature doesn't show it to us, then,
 the truth is here.
 Shadows are utterly defeated, ghosts are silent.
 All illusions no longer exist. But I am right here.
 Where are Cross, Melville, and Davalaciro?
 They don't exist. What exists is only Finten!
 Innocence, betrayal, rewards, forbidden things,
 death, resurrection, fear of death...
 All are nonsense!
 All are torn down by reason!
 Where is the truth?²²⁴

Finten takes a journey to convince aristocrats that she is not just a foreigner whom they can easily dismiss but a human whose life matters. In the end, however, she recognizes the futility of her search for approval from people who do not value her. She realizes that the only person who matters is herself. While searching for approval from others, Finten wastes her life by hoping to promote herself in the eyes of others. She never focuses on her own life, but rather devotes all of her energy to fighting against the class system and the aristocrats. She remembers her past with a

²²⁴ *Finten*, 377-78.

sense of detachment and calls it an illusion. She finally gives up on her self-destructive ambitions and recognizes the futility of her endeavors and her relations that lacked love and affection.

In the final scene of the drama, her grave invites her in:

Grave: Oh, you exhausted shadow! Come to your bed!
Finten: Ah! Ah! (Falling down) Whose hand is this that hit me?
(Looking angrily in one direction) Lord Dick! He is with Blanche: they have woken up from the sleep of coquetry. (With a poisonous smile on her face) Ah! He is not even looking at me. Oh, you brutal!
Grave: Finten! Finten! Repent your sins!
Finten: (In the agony of death) No, I don't!
Grave: Oh, the wicked genius! Vanish! Vanish!
Finten: (Standing up in bewilderment) No, I will not vanish!
I will go away! Get out of my way!
Oh, grave! You are not the place where I will disappear!
Oh, dark wave! You are not my grave!
My grave is a red sea. Ah! (She cannot continue and falls to the ground)²²⁵

In the end Finten does not repent for her sins, and accepts her past as it is. She reaches a level of consciousness where she no longer needs to prove herself. She realizes how the system manipulates her as long as she embraces it. By giving up, by agreeing to disappear from London with her own will, she cuts her ties with the system. As such, in the end Finten seems liberated from the class system as well as from her own ambitions that the system fuels. She refuses to recede quietly into any form of domestic tranquility; rather, she chooses to disappear. Finally she withdraws herself from her life in London without any reconciliation.

In the finale, Davalaciro, Ucube and Finten die and disappear from London. They cannot survive in London, and eventually they destroy each other. The longed-for resolution never materializes, and the story ends with a lack of resolution, with a tragic silence. In the last scene,

²²⁵ *Finten*, 378-379.

Davalaciro kills Ucube, Finten shoots Davalaciro dead but no one enters into the scene. Not even a police officer checks their house. They all die in solitude, no one witnesses their downfall. The drama ends with this tragic solitude. *Finten* shows that in London their lives, their stories did not matter much for the English people. In other words, Finten cannot accomplish anything with her death, as her tragic sacrifice does not have a significant impact on the society.

4. Finten's nemesis: Sophie, a.k.a. Mademoiselle Blanche de La Tour

*The whole society of humanity is foreigner to me, and I am a stranger to the whole universe!*²²⁶

Blanche

Both Finten and Blanche have names that are congruous with their particular character or behavior. Both names mean “white,” though with some nuances, and refer to the whiteness of their skin. While the name ‘Finten’ is associated with fire and passion, Blanche’s name emphasizes purity. As suggested in the way the two names are used antithetically in the drama, Finten appears to be driven by the fire of passion while Blanche appears as the embodiment of the purity of character and soul.

In the drama Blanche first appears as a weak and voiceless character, set in contrast to the ambitious and assertive Finten. Partly because of her illness, and partly because of her ignorance of Finten’s plan, Blanche initially does not fight back against Finten. Therefore she easily falls prey to Finten’s plan. First, with the assistance of Dr. Thomas, Finten drugs orphan Sophie, and makes her look like dead. Later Finten digs her out of the grave and gives her a new aristocratic identity. Thus Finten creates Mademoiselle Blanche de La Tour, the daughter of César Marquis

²²⁶ *Finten*, 317.

de La Tour, out of an orphan with tuberculosis named Sophie. Until this point in the drama, Blanche seems like a puppet in Finten's hands.

Owning Herself: Agency

Later on, however, Blanche resists Finten, the creator of her new identity. As her wedding day approaches, Blanche begins to understand the ways in which Finten takes over, controls, and manipulates others' lives. She also feels uncomfortable about being a part of a lie and being treated as a noble French mademoiselle. When Lord Dick visits her, Blanche tells him the truth that she is not a noble girl but actually a poor orphan: "Lord Dick, please be aware that I am not, contrary to what you might think, related to a noble French family, nor do I own this very house that you see. I am an illegitimate girl who has been taken from Brampton Hospital or rather a girl without roots."²²⁷ In the same scene, Blanche also reveals to Lord Dick that it is Finten who gave her an aristocratic identity and thus made up the story of noble roots: "The person who fabricated my nobility, organized our marriage, provided this house, and, in short, made and unmade everything is the woman to whom you just referred with an unusual phrase."²²⁸ Here instead of introducing herself as a noblewoman, Blanche owns her social status. She honestly accepts that she has no family, wealth, health, and title of any kind. Thus she does not try to hide her lack of any social standing and asserts her social status without any apology. This gesture is significant in terms of asserting Blanche's agency and emphasizing her resistance to Finten's plan, in particular, and to British class system that attributes negative qualities to people of unknown roots, in general.

²²⁷ *Finten*, 270-71.

²²⁸ *Finten*, 271.

Unlike Finten or the British characters who try to appear much better than they actually are, Blanche embraces her social status. Considering the class system which instills shame and embarrassment on people who are placed in the lowest ranks of society, Blanche's attitude becomes particularly significant. As German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche famously argues, owning the self cannot be achieved easily: "The individual has always had to struggle to keep from being overwhelmed by the tribe. If you try it, you will be lonely often, and sometimes frightened. But no price is too high to pay for the privilege of owning yourself."²²⁹ Owning the self often times requires one to challenge and question established ideologies, social structures and beliefs. By owning herself as she is, Blanche sets herself free from the so-called "tribe." This way she does not perform the scenario which Finten has written for her and everyone expects to see. She does not seek to be loved or approved by others. Instead, she strips away this false persona that Finten and her crew have created for her. Dispossessing nobility and wealth, Blanche seems to free herself from social expectations and asserts her selfhood.

Living in London's highly coded society where social hierarchies prevail, Finten seeks to be accepted and respected by everyone and works her way up through the society to be an aristocrat. Blanche, on the other hand, chooses to acknowledge that she is at the bottom of the hierarchy and does not try to socially rise. After her marriage to Lord Dick, Blanche becomes an aristocrat, yet she continues to define herself as an orphan. Instead of being an aristocrat, a highly regarded social status, she chooses to be an outcast, someone outside class divisions. This shows that, unlike Finten, she is not driven by society's judgments and hierarchies. She acknowledges her wretched social status and does not seek others' approval. Instead of trying to

²²⁹Anthony Kelly, *The Intellectual Capital of Schools* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004), 81.

make herself acceptable to others, she seems interested in following her own path, rather than conforming to social expectations and norms.

Seeking others' approval appears as a hindrance on the way to one's freedom, because within such a framework people would do whatever they are expected to do. In the drama seeking social approval is also presented as a major reason behind Finten's tragic downfall. As the class system is closely linked to social approval and popularity, Finten, who desperately needs social approval, does whatever it takes to be an aristocrat and strives to achieve a well-respected social status. To this end, she gets involved in murders and crimes, such that eventually she herself cannot even understand what made her to do all these terrible things. In a sense, then, Finten is subconsciously manipulated by the social system and is urged to do whatever increases her social status and, in turn, her popularity.

In contrast to Finten, Blanche owns herself and does not let social hierarchies manipulate her. She is portrayed as a free person who pursues her own choices and is not constrained by the class system. Blanche's owning herself can be interpreted as a stage of personal development and self-actualization. A society where everyone is comfortable enough with themselves can create a harmonious atmosphere for individuals to flourish, but a class-based society might control people by exercising social approval or shame. Seen in this light, Hamid's Blanche proves that an alternative position is possible in a society dominated by hierarchies.

Having witnessed Finten's terrifying ambitions and bloody plans, Lord Dick tells Blanche that he is not interested in Finten anymore and that he would like to open a new chapter in his life with Blanche. After learning about Blanche's history, Lord Dick respects her for being

honest with her past and wants to marry with her not as a part of Finten's plan but because he starts to love her. In this case, Blanche's honesty grants her Lord Dick's love that Finten has been striving for. After their marriage Blanche insists Dr. Thomas to tell her real story to Lady Dick as well:

“If you are a real doctor, take pity on me and save me from this grief of nobility and disease of lineage. Write to Lady Dick and tell her I have nobody and don't want those I have around me. Isn't it better to be alone than to have the kind of people like I have? [...] Let the world know that I am of no nobility and born of a stone. I came into existence from a grave. The whole society of humanity is foreigner to me, and I am a stranger to the whole universe!”²³⁰

As an orphan, Blanche is quite aware that a world beyond class divisions does exist. As someone who does not have a lineage, Blanche seems to be outside the class system, and does not seek to be a part of a society that values lineage more than anything else. In the same scene, she also disowns the Dick family by saying that she does not want to be with people who are looking forward to her death.²³¹

Blanche's acquaintance with the elite starts off on the wrong foot and goes terribly bad. Following her abduction, she is buried alive and experiences a symbolic death in the hands of Finten and her crew. One result of the traumatic and horrifying experience Blanche goes through in her initiation into the world of elites is that it causes her to alienate herself from that world. And, naturally, she seems neither interested nor excited to be a part of it. She identifies aristocrats' obsession with lineage as a “disease” and is perfectly aware of the fact that this disease might lead its sufferers to terrible crimes. As a victim of Finten, she eventually gets to

²³⁰ *Finten*, 317.

²³¹ *Finten*, 319.

know her perpetrator well. She understands that Finten commits her crimes because of her social ambitions and of her desire to be an aristocrat. Therefore, unlike Finten, she never fixes her ambitions on social rising and prefers to be alone rather than with those around her. She feels like a foreigner in a society obsessed with lineage, as she finds herself a stranger to this artificial social system.

Blanche prefers death to life in such an inhumane world. She disowns social distinctions as the social world perishes before her eyes. She tells Dr. Thomas:

Have mercy on me and let me become a lonely and, yes, silent grave on the edges of this poetic shore, of this desolate place. Alone forever... You all, the earth, the heavens, sunrise and sunset, worlds and centuries, the universe and its creator on one side, and I alone on the other! [...] This is what I want: I want a world of silence, in whose court there would be no difference at all between the judge and the judged, a body and a corpse, a thousand respectable women or noblemen and a person of no nobility, a bastard, a piece of dust or a worm, and even between a family whose lineage is traced all the way back to the beginning of creation and a piece of bone!²³²

Blanche's response to her surrounding is to reject both material and social world. She wants to be in harmony with nature or the divine and longs for a place devoid of social titles, criticism and hierarchy, a place where a nobleman and a bastard are not very different from each other. For Blanche, even death seems to be a way of connecting with the divine as it signifies exaltation above the finite and vulgar world and implies a reunion of the natural and spiritual.

Blanche's depiction of the ideal world echoes Sufism (Islamic mysticism). Sufism recognizes one central truth, which is the unity of being. In terms of its understanding of the universe as a reflection of the divine, Sufi philosophy resembles Panentheism, a belief system

²³² *Finten*, 317.

which posits that the divine and the universe are interrelated.²³³ In Sufism, everyone and everything are considered as reflections of the divine and, as such, deserve love and respect. Therefore all humans are considered significant and special regardless of their origins, social class, race, looks and wealth. The realization of this connection to the divine leads to an understanding that everything is interconnected and that people are a part of the web of life. However individualism, personal ambitions, attachment to the material world and to the social world of titles keep people away from the divinity and love.²³⁴

Sufi philosophy supports love and respect towards people and nature; therefore, it is diametrically opposed to systems that discriminate people according to social class, ethnicity, and wealth or to the systems that exploit the world's resources and eco system for material gain. Systems such as colonialism, imperialism and capitalism threaten both social and natural harmony by exploiting people and world's resources. While Sufism emphasizes interconnectedness, unity and harmony, colonial and imperial systems, in particular, work through hierarchies and Manichean thinking that destroys the harmony by creating hostility and rifts among societies. As Frantz Fanon explains it, colonial world operates through binary oppositions: "This compartmentalized world, this world divided in two, is inhabited by different species. [...] It is clear that what divides this world is first and foremost what species, what race one belongs to. In the colonies the economic infrastructure is also a superstructure. The cause is effect: You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich."²³⁵ Colonial

²³³ Loriliai Biernacki and Philip Clayton, eds., *Panentheism across the World's Traditions* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1-17.

²³⁴ Arsalan Mozaffari Falarti, *Meditations on Sufism: the Way of Modern Darwish* (Bloomington: Balboa Press, 2012). 34-48.

²³⁵ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Trans. by Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 5.

system treats the colonized people as “the other” of the so called “civilized” colonizer and thus dehumanizes them:

The colonial world is a Manichaeian world. The colonist is not content with physically limiting the space of the colonized, i.e., with the help of his agents of law and order. As if to illustrate the totalitarian nature of colonial exploitation, the colonist turns the colonized into a kind of quintessence of evil. Colonized society is not merely portrayed as a society without values. The colonist is not content with stating that the colonized world has lost its values or worse never possessed any. The “native” is declared impervious to ethics, representing not only the absence of values but also the negation of values. He is, dare we say it, the enemy of values. In other words, absolute evil. A corrosive element, destroying everything within his reach, a corrupting element, distorting everything which involves aesthetics or morals, an agent of malevolent powers, an unconscious and incurable instrument of blind forces.²³⁶

This Manichaeian thinking stands at the core of the late-nineteenth-century British Empire and seeps into the social structure of its metropolis. Manichean logic also translates into class hierarchies where aristocrats represent the values of higher civilization while people at the bottom of the hierarchy represent the lack of social values and are seen responsible for social evils. In such a logic, social class not only means difference in wealth but, more significantly, implies different moralities and values. Othering people of different color, race, culture or social class disrupts social harmony and humanistic values. It only serves the narcissistic interests of a certain society or group that embraces the system. In this context, Sufism seems to be an antidote for such exploitative systems. While the British class system promotes self-righteousness and vanity, Sufism identifies such qualities as demoralizing and instead promotes the values of humility, respect and love.

²³⁶ Ibid, p.6.

A dervish in London: Blanche

Blanche is represented as the only character in the drama who is free from vanity and ego. Though she is, physically, the sickest character in the drama, mentally she seems to be the healthiest one who is not haunted by obsessions of class, wealth and racism. Blanche is introduced as an advanced tuberculosis patient, and doctors all over the Europe are in consensus that she is going to die.²³⁷ Secluded in her sickroom under special care, she suffers from tuberculosis until the finale. In the finale she miraculously recovers. The sickroom scenes in *Finten* remind us of Victorian fictional representations of the sickroom which serves the character's self-development:

This study takes as its point of departure the pervasive presence of the sickroom scene in Victorian fiction and claims for such scenes a crucial therapeutic function within Victorian realist narrative and within the society such narratives represent. At their most familiar, scenes of illness are employed as registers of emotional tumult, as crucial stages in self-development, and as rather high-handed plot contrivances to bring events to their desired issue. I hope to demonstrate that for all their predictability these scenes serve, in themselves and in their relations to larger narrative structures, as an adaptive strategy to encode and mediate competing personal, social, and aesthetic imperatives. The sickroom scene, I argue, is staged to call forth (in the breach) the conditions under which both the intelligibility of realist aesthetics and the viability of realism's social ethics of cohesion could be affirmed.²³⁸

In *Finten* Blanche is also the only character who gets closest to death while living. She not only suffers from a mortal disease but also symbolically experiences death when Finten and Dr. Thomas bury her at the cemetery. Thanks to such lethal experiences, Blanche appears to be purified of worldly ambitions. Her illness functions as a redeeming power and keeps her away

²³⁷ *Finten*, 347.

²³⁸ Miriam Bailin, *Sickroom in Victorian Fiction: Art of Being Ill* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 1.

from worldly attachments. Therefore Blanche emerges as the most spiritual character in the drama, as opposed to Hamid's Finten or British characters who are represented as the embodiment of vanity.

Blanche's illness prevents her from getting actively involved in social life. She spends most of her time at the Brampton Hospital with nuns and lives in isolation until Dr. Thomas becomes her sole companion. Like a dervish, she experiences both isolation from society and physical suffering, thanks to which she learns humility and resilience. Thus she gets closer to her inner self and frees herself from the constraints of society and its expectations. As such, she does not compromise what is right just to achieve social approval.

Blanche's illness also transforms the people around her. Lord Dick and Dr. Thomas, for instance, take care of the sick Blanche and seem to be humbled by that experience. Especially Lord Dick undergoes a major transformation. After meeting Blanche, Lord Dick who was previously madly in love with Finten breaks up with her. Blanche appears to give him a strength to cut his ties from his infatuation with Finten. Lord Dick is confident that Blanche's innocence will help him open a new chapter in his life and save him from his sin of being involved in Finten's schemes and of starting an affair with Finten and then forsaking her: "I am sure that this sacred and legitimate love will be the repentance of that sin."²³⁹ In Lord Dick's perspective, he will be absolved from his sins by marrying and caring for an orphan and sick girl like Blanche. Likewise, after he meets Blanche, Dr. Thomas, who has been Finten's accomplice all along, also cuts his ties with Finten and helps Blanche recover from her illness. By dedicating their life to

²³⁹ *Finten*, 270.

Blanche, who is portrayed in the drama as the symbol of purity of heart and soul, both Lord Dick and Dr. Thomas appear to find a chance for redemption from their past with Finten.

The wild stormy seas: Beirut

The city of Beirut on the shores of the Mediterranean plays a key role in the transformation of *Finten*'s major characters, whose journey to the city gives them a chance to change the course of their lives. In a scenic city like Beirut, they leave the social protocols of London behind and become closer to nature, which in turn leads them to follow their instincts and be driven by their emotions, not by social expectations. In the drama Beirut emerges as a place where Finten and Lord Dick break up, Blanche and Lord Dick become a couple and have their honeymoon, and Finten and Davalaciro finally reunite after months away from each other. But particularly it is a city where Blanche miraculously overcomes her sickness and recovers after a stormy night at sea. According to Dr. Thomas, Blanche owes her recovery to this sea storm, which provides a healing connection between Blanche and the divine:

It was four months ago when the waves of the Mediterranean, which, like hurricanes, ascended to the clouds, were breaking off the rocks with blows violent enough to shake islands. It was four months ago when thunderbolts, which were big, far away and looked like endless divine swords coming from the heavens, were raining down, eternally burning the veil of the secrets of nature called darkness. It was four months ago when, by the fear of this storm, which appeared all of a sudden, tamed animals fled to the wilderness of savagery, the fish rushed in bewilderment to the shores, and birds flew screaming from one part of the world to another. At that time we boarded an excursion ship at Beirut to see the flood! Why? What was the reason for that? Because Countess Dick [Blanche] said the salvation is in that flood. [...] Our sick girl on deathbed recovered thanks to the miracles which rained from the sky that night.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ *Finten*, 348.

The chaos of sea, especially of ocean, has been a frequently visited topic in literature. For Lord Byron, “the ‘deep and dark blue Ocean’ represents the true face of Nature, the thing that always exceeds humanity’s control.”²⁴¹ The sea or ocean signifies a nature which is beyond human control and therefore embodies a divine, mystical and ungraspable character. In Shakespeare’s dramas the ocean also plays a significant role: “Shakespeare portrays the ocean as both a nearly inconceivable physical reality and a mind-twisting force for change and instability. Ariel’s famous ‘sea-change’ imagines the combined physical-and magical powers of the ocean transfiguring human bodies.”²⁴² Likewise, in *Finten* the sea storm destabilizes the characters’ lives, such that while former relations fall apart, new alliances are formed: Lord Dick and Finten’s relationship comes to an end while Lord Dick and Blanche’s marriage begins, and after a while Finten reunites with Davalaciro.

In Abdülhak Hamid’s life Beirut plays a transforming role as a site of loss. On their long, difficult sea journey from Bombay back to Istanbul, Hamid’s wife Fatma Hanım dies in Beirut from tuberculosis. Hamid loses his wife in a foreign land and buries her there alone, without anyone to console him. And he finally leaves Beirut alone without her wife. This experience shakes Hamid’s world, and after this tragic experience he composes his famous poem *Makber* (Grave), a few lines of which read:

Alas! All I have left of the companion of my heart
is a grave in Beirut²⁴³
How quickly my mood changed!
Neither my mind nor my imagination is capable of understanding it²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Steve Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare’s Ocean* (London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), 5.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, x.

²⁴³ Agah Sırrı Levend, *Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri: Tanzimat Edebiyatı* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1935), 133.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

In Hamid's memoirs, and especially in his *Makber*, Beirut is associated with uprootedness and appears as a place where his life fell apart and changed its course.²⁴⁵ After the death of his wife in Beirut, Hamid returns to Istanbul and shortly after is sent to London to work at the Ottoman embassy. Therefore in Hamid's life as well as in his memoirs Beirut functions as a threshold between a farewell to the past and a new beginning. In *Finten*, too, Beirut plays a key role in the characters' lives as a place of transformation, loss and rebirth.

Authorship: Blanche's *Autobiography of an Orphan*

Towards the end of the drama, the audience learns that Blanche has recently published her autobiography which is titled *Bir Yetimin Sergüzeşti* (Autobiography of an Orphan). The scene is set in Scotland, in Lord Dick and Blanche's estate named the "Orphan House."²⁴⁶ The scene opens with Colonel Arbuthnot and Dr. Thomas discussing Blanche's book while Blanche plays cricket with her husband and friends. This vignette captures the transformation of Blanche from a poor, lonely, sick orphan girl into a healthy, social and intellectual woman and a successful author. As such, Blanche's story unfolds like a bildungsroman, where the protagonist is transformed through her journey.

While Colonel Arbuthnot and Dr. Thomas discuss Blanche's book, Colonel argues that if the book belonged to a famous author it would be widely appreciated. Dr. Thomas, on the other hand, replies that the book stands strong on its own literary and philosophical merits and does

²⁴⁵ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 175.

²⁴⁶ *Finten*, 346.

not need a renowned author to be appreciated. Colonel also asks about Blanche's education and inquires which college she attended.²⁴⁷ To his question Dr. Thomas gives a perplexing answer:

No school has yet been built for the study of the intellect. Geniuses are the students of the school of illiteracy. They go to infinity in the same way they come from eternity. They are those spiritualities that look like corporeal. They are the messengers of divinity in the space of creation. They transmit the lights of inspiration from the highest of the eight Paradises to the lower world. They are above the human and angelic realms and able to fly without wings. Above them is only God. They are neither children nor young persons, nor old people. During their journey, they not only stop by planets and fixed stars but also descend for a moment into the earth to leave some footprints or written works that would give rise to big revolutions in human society. Then they continue their journey. Now to ask an unlikely question like "Where did they get their education?" is similar to a question like "Where did the divine knowledge originate from?", isn't it?²⁴⁸

Colonel seems to be surprised by this answer as he does not see a connection between Blanche and geniuses. In order to convince him, Dr. Thomas further argues that Blanche's miraculous recovery from advanced third degree tuberculosis, which was diagnosed as fatal by all the doctors in Europe including Dr. Thomas, is a sign of her being extraordinarily special.²⁴⁹ According to the doctor, Blanche's recovery and her book attest to her uniqueness.

Moreover, he views Blanche as one of those geniuses who leave "footprints or written works that would give rise to big revolutions in human society." This depiction of her almost like a prophet, as someone who transmits divine message and leads to change or revolution in humanity, seems very significant. Since he is a "doctor," the character Thomas is authorized to diagnose and treat people. Therefore among all the characters of the drama, the doctor appears as the one who has the authority on human physiology, psychology and intelligence. Seen in this

²⁴⁷ *Finten*, 346-47.

²⁴⁸ *Finten*, 347.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

light, his comments on Blanche can be read as a medical diagnosis of Blanche's extraordinary qualities. By depicting her through Doctor Thomas' eyes as a divine angel or an extraordinary human being like a prophet, Abdülhak Hamid presents Blanche as a model person who is above and beyond worldly affairs. Therefore it is possible to argue that in *Finten* Blanche is portrayed as an idealized character, who appears to have overcome personal and social challenges and strives against all the odds that transformed her life. Especially, her attitude toward life and society can be seen as a way of moving forward from an otherwise disadvantaged status.

Blanche's writing of her autobiography also shows that she is now the agent of her own life. Blanche, who has been initially abducted and given a new identity by Finten, later on takes control not only over her life, but also over her own story. Blanche's life story resembles the coming of an age story which recounts Blanche's growth within a well-defined social order and her quest for identity within and against this social system. In the beginning she is uprooted, taken from the hospital and the orphanage she grew up in. Then she is introduced into a new world, which is the world of aristocrats and wealthy people. In this new environment Blanche meets a wide range of people from the humanitarian Doctor Thomas to Lady Constance, the paragon of class arrogance. Instead of adapting and fitting into her new environment, Blanche holds on to her own values and even promotes her own vision of a classless society. Ironically, by rejecting to fit into the aristocracy, Blanche finds acceptance within the world of aristocrats. She later publishes her autobiography and describes her journey.

Despite her lack of proper education, Blanche is able to write a successful autobiography. According to Doctor Thomas, Blanche's lack of education or illiteracy is a positive attribute, a quality that makes her perceptive to divine knowledge. Sufism, mystical Islam, consider prophets

and some mystic poets, such as the Turkish poet Yunus Emre, illiterate.²⁵⁰ In this context “ümmilik” (illiteracy) is used as a positive term. It implies a condition of being unaware of stilted knowledge and, therefore, of being open to spiritual development. Central to Sufism is the belief that people are born with innate ideas and concepts that make them receptive to divine message. In this framework, inner goodness and good character seem more important than a good education or social upbringing. Gesturing towards Sufi philosophy, *Finten* draws on the significance of the nature of human character. This reference reminds us of nineteenth-century philosophical debates on nature versus nurture.²⁵¹ While in *Finten* both nature and nurture account for social and personal phenomena, nature appears to be more dominant and deterministic than nurture when it comes to Blanche’s characterization.

Blanche’s book gives more information about her world view. The scene where the audience learns about her book does not present much detail as to its content. However, since it is an autobiography, we might speculate that it offers vignettes on her ordeal with Finten, her affliction from a deadly disease and later her recovery and marriage. What is particularly striking about this narrative is the title itself: *Autobiography of an Orphan*. Blanche writes her autobiography after her marriage to Lord Dick, and at the time her title is Lady Blanche or the new Lady Dick. However she does not entitle her book as “Lady Blanche’s Autobiography” but prefers to introduce herself as an orphan. Even her estate is named as the “Orphan House.” With such small gestures, Blanche shows that her life story and what she achieved in life are much more important to mention in her book than an aristocratic title, which is not based on personal merit. As such, Blanche disowns the aristocratic title, for which Finten literally commits murder.

²⁵⁰ Turan Karataş, *Ansiklopedik Edebiyat Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İzmir: Sütun Yayınları, 2011).

²⁵¹ Sally Mitchell, ed. *Victorian Britain: an Encyclopedia* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 533.

Unlike Lady Dick and Lady Constance who despise commoners, Blanche takes pride in her non-aristocratic past and life story even after she becomes Lady Dick. By being proud of her humble or even wretched background, Blanche balks at class arrogance and vanity.

Writing: act of sharing

Even though Blanche's book seems like a diversion from the tragic flow of the drama, it has a significance in the dramatic structure. It signals both Blanche's psychological and moral growth and her attempt to share her experience with others. After publishing her book, she is no longer just an orphan but an author who shares her ideas through writing. Writing an autobiography is a venue for philosophical introspection to explore the self and the experience of personhood. While writing about herself, she becomes both subject and object of the act of writing:

As the *subject* of first-person writing, autobiographers extract and convey the meaning of individuated existence through the uniqueness of their lives. As the *object* of written inquiry, authors present records of their experiences and beliefs apart from the emotional and psychological nuances of their lives. Another way that self-disclosure via autobiography occurs is through the sometimes tacit appropriation of ontological views of the self and rhetorical dimensions of self-identity. Thinking and writing as both objective author and subjective source bifurcates the self into two distinct philosophical presences within the text: a rhetorical self and an ontological self. This bifurcation generates a unique bilateral perspective on the self—an external (Outer) perspective of the self as the referent of particular statements and actions, and an internal (Inner) perspective of the self as the active creator of one's statements and actions.²⁵²

It is possible to read Blanche's autobiographical self-narration as an attempt to communicate her identity to others and explain the relationship between her and her surroundings. It is therefore an

²⁵² Lenore Wright, *The Philosopher's "I": Autobiography and the Search of the Self* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006) 31.

act of contributing to society by sharing her ideas and letting others see things from her perspective. Seen in this light, Blanche's autobiographical writing implies her attempt to reach out to society. Dr. Thomas and Viscount Rose's discussion of Blanche's autobiography proves that her writing reaches out to people, starting from her immediate surroundings. This also shows that it has a potential to introduce an orphan's perspective of life to others and even to some aristocrats.

However, not everyone reads and acknowledges Blanche's book. Especially, Lady Constance does not seem to be impressed by Blanche's book at all. She comments that "the book is something, but the author of the book is nothing."²⁵³ To her condescending comments on Blanche's book and her lack of social status, Viscount Rose replies as follows:

What makes her great is her nothingness. Her ingenuity comes from her simplicity. Her art is her naturalness. Blanche's merit is her innocence, which cannot be acquired through education. Her virtue lies in the purity of heart, which flows into the divinity that cannot be attained by knowledge and reason. Yes, the book is something, but the author of the book is nothing. Together, the author and the book are a visible beam of the invisible light—an image of the essential truth. It is a maxim that there is no smoke without fire. The darkness of truth in which the universe is sunk is the smoke of the divine light. This book is Blanche's adventure.²⁵⁴

According to the Viscount, Blanche's orphanhood and lack of any roots provide her with ingenuity, naturalness and divinity that is otherwise impossible to be acquired through education or social status. Like Dr. Thomas, Viscount Rose also identifies Blanche with angelic qualities, and his remarks echo the Sufi philosophy on the concept of "hiçlik" (being nothing). Being a Sufi means

²⁵³ *Finten*, 368.

²⁵⁴ *Finten*, 368.

“a state of possessing nothing and being possessed by nothing.”²⁵⁵ This state consists of “total obliteration of the individual ego which is aware, from that point on, of being nothing but the instrument of divine Might.”²⁵⁶ Thanks to her selflessness and her control over her ego, Blanche can be graceful and humble despite being surrounded by narcissistic people like Finten or Constance.

Within her social milieu, only Dr. Thomas, whose profession is to know human nature, and Viscount Rose, who has a passion for arts, can see the depth behind Blanche’s quiet character. On the other hand, Constance who is fully committed to class system rejects such an understanding. As a response to the Viscount’s speech on the significance of being nothing, Constance tells that she does not understand his words, and adds: “I hope I can’t find time to understand what your words mean.”²⁵⁷ As Viscount Rose praises the condition of nothingness, Constance does not even want to understand such philosophy, which would make her equal to, perhaps even lesser than, commoners. Constance knows very well that once she starts to empathize with Blanche, the walls of class difference between them would erode eventually. Therefore Constance evades from any philosophy which would bring her closer to common people, and instead keeps her distance and detachment from commoners. Because her distance from commoners makes her an aristocrat or “special,” she does not want to jeopardize her distance and refuses to listen, understand or empathize with the so-called “other.” Even though Blanche’s philosophy or book does not reach people like Lady Constance who define themselves with their social status and not with personal merits, her message still reaches out to people like Dr. Thomas, the Viscount or the Colonel who are willing to listen and understand her

²⁵⁵ Paul Culp. *Nothing New Under the Sun: An Introduction to Islam* (Florida: Universal Publishers, 2007) 105.

²⁵⁶ Eric Geoffroy. *Introduction to Sufism: Inner Path of Islam* (Indiana: Word Wisdom, 2010) 43.

²⁵⁷ *Finten*, 368.

perspective. This implies that in *Finten* there is still hope for the English society since people like Blanche can influence the ways in which people think about the class system. Writing, in this context, appears as a transformative force and has the power to cure social ills and prejudices. In this respect, Blanche's book seems like a way of dealing with social hierarchies and prejudices that disrupt social unity.

Angel versus femme fatale

Finten explores Victorian gender construction by juxtaposing the seductive Finten and the angelic Blanche. In the drama Finten uses her sexuality and attractiveness to manipulate the men in her life, and her sexuality is highlighted particularly in her erotic scenes with Davalaciro. Blanche, on the other hand, is portrayed as an angelic figure who is purified of worldly desires and sexuality. Toward the finale we also learn that she is expecting her first child. Presenting Blanche first as a virgin and then as an expecting mother, Hamid thus does not give any details regarding her sexuality.

In this respect *Finten* seems to reiterate the angel versus the femme fatale binary opposition which was quite common in Victorian novels: "By polarizing female identity into two neat categories – virgin and whore, angel and demon, victim and queen – novelists associate goodness with asexuality; badness with hypersexuality."²⁵⁸ Such a polarization of female identity was linked to the Victorian domestic ideal of white, middle-class femininity. Women were associated with home and homemaking, and therefore sexual purity and maternity were seen as key to their roles as wives and mothers: "The supposedly physiologically determined qualities of

²⁵⁸ Carolyn Dever "Everywhere and Nowhere: Sexuality in the Victorian Novel" in Francis O'Gorman (ed.), *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 164-65.

the Angel were extreme emotional sensitivity, weakness of intellect, unlimited selflessness, and, crucially, a lack of ‘animal’ passion. Paradoxically these marks of women’s inferiority were coded positively as concomitants of moral excellence.”²⁵⁹ With her “purity” and lack of desire, Blanche can be seen as the paragon of the Victorian domestic ideal. Her writing a book and her assertion of identity, however, seem to challenge the domestic quality of the Angel who is usually depicted as selfless and intellectually weak.

Finten, on the other hand, evokes the femme fatale image as a woman who uses her sexuality for manipulation. However, her character appears much more complex than a femme fatale type would suggest. Finten is presented as a multifaceted character who finds it difficult to conform to gender, class and race stereotypes and hierarchies of the Victorian era. She has personal and social desires, and throughout the drama she tries to reconcile her personal desires with social expectations. As a heroine in a tragedy, she suffers from her flaws, social ambitions and desires. But at the same time it is precisely her flaws, desires and ambitions that make her a tragic heroine who is worthy of appreciation and sympathy. The drama presents Finten with the attributes of femme fatale, but the tragic storyline makes us appreciate those attributes or her flaws as a sign of Finten’s humanness. Even though Blanche embodies angelic or divine qualities, she does not seem to belong to this world. Finten, on the other hand, exists first and foremost as a human being. She experiences and expresses human feelings and emotions such as desire, love, passion, pride, frustration, jealousy and resentment. As someone who follows her desires, Finten does not conform to social expectations, but, on the contrary, she subverts the

²⁵⁹ Patricia Ingham. *The Language of Gender and Class: Transformation in the Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 1996), 23.

domestic ideal. Through this subversion, Finten rises as a tragic heroine who is brave enough to pursue her passions regardless of social expectations and face the consequences of her actions.

Finten seems ambiguous toward the angel versus femme fatale binary opposition.

Abdülhak Hamid shows that within the Victorian social system, domesticated women like Blanche can become a part of the society while a woman like Finten, who does not conform to that system, experiences a tragic fall. Although the drama seems to reproduce the domestic ideal, it also highlights that the social system does not give much room to Finten's desires and personality and forces her to become a femme fatale and eventually an outcast. Seen in this light, it is possible to read *Finten* as a portrayal of a social system that punishes female desire and valorizes angelic characters like Blanche.

In the drama, London's hierarchical world is redeemed by Lord Dick and Blanche's marriage across class barriers. The cross-class marriage between Blanche and Lord Dick gives hope, and this marriage becomes a domestic solution to a social problem such as class discrimination. In the finale, Blanche and Lord Dick are happily married and expect their first child. According to Lord Dick, he owes his happiness to Blanche: "Our present happiness is the gift of your orphanage and the fruit of your innocence. A manifestation of love is the grace of God and of you. And I partake in it."²⁶⁰

In the end Blanche finds a chance for happiness, and her perspective is appreciated by other characters such as Dr. Thomas and Viscount Rose. What is interesting about Blanche is that she never openly challenges the class system or social ills. Rather, she rejects conforming to social hierarchies and values associated with social class and asserts herself as she is. Unlike

²⁶⁰ *Finten*, 365.

Blanche, Finten tries hard to convince the aristocrats that she is one of them, not an outcast. She even commits crimes, including murder, to be accepted by the aristocracy but eventually finds herself ruined by the violence she performed. Blanche, however, does not try to prove her value to anyone. She asserts herself as an orphan and takes pride in doing so. Also, Blanche does not turn to violence to change the system, but rather embraces a non-violent approach toward the ills of class system. Finten uses manipulation and violence to struggle against the violence of the class system, but this struggle eventually demoralizes her. Blanche, on the other hand, turns away from greed, manipulation, and violence and rather seeks harmony and unity with nature and society. As such, Blanche embraces a philosophy akin to Sufism, which proposes selflessness as a solution for the selfishness that fuels racism and class system.

Finten and Blanche differ in terms of the way they adopt an oppositional stance against the class system. As summarized by Benita Parry, various oppositional stances seem possible in relation to a discourse:

The weak and strong oppositional discursive practices have been designated as re/citation and de/citation by [Richard] Terdiman and counter-identification and disidentification by Michel Pêcheux. For Pêcheux a 'discourse-against' is that in which the subject of enunciation takes up a position of separation 'with respect to what "the universal subject" gives him to think . . . (distantiation, doubt, interrogation, challenge, revolt) . . . a struggle against ideological evidentness on the terrain of that evidentness, an evidentness with a negative sign, reversed on its own terrain'. Disidentification however 'constitutes a working (transformation-displacement) of the subject-form and not just its abolition'. In Terdiman's terms, the technique of re/citation seeks 'to surround the[ir] antagonist and neutralize or explode it'; whereas de/citation, a total withdrawal from the orbit of the dominant, strives 'to exclude it totally, to expunge it' (Discourse/Counter Discourse, pp. 68, 70). Neither writes off the force of the counter-discursive, and Terdiman, who concedes that reverse-discourses are always interlocked with and parasitic on the dominant they contest – working as opposition without effacing the antagonist, inhabiting and struggling with the dominant which inhabits them – maintains that they function to survey the limits and weaknesses of the dominant by mapping the internal incoherences: 'From this dialectic of discursive struggle, truths about the social

formation – its characteristic modes of reproduction and its previously hidden vulnerabilities– inevitably emerge.²⁶¹

Re-citation or counter-identification marks a reactionary response to the dominant discourse through questioning and revolt. De/citation or disidentification, on the other hand, marks a withdrawal from the dominant ideology. In *Finten* it is possible to see these strategies at work. Finten employs a variety of strategies to deal with the dominant class system. She first tries to be a part of aristocracy, but after her failure, she begins to criticize the aristocratic class system. In the finale she withdraws from English society. On the other hand, Blanche, from the beginning onwards, finds the class system and the obsession with status irrelevant to her world view. Rather than focusing her energy on struggling against the system, she promotes her own perspective which is akin to Sufism. While Finten's stance seems close to de-citation or counter identification, Blanche's response to the class system is characterized by disidentification. Perhaps through Blanche, *Finten* promotes disidentification as an effective way of opposing dominant ideologies.

Blanche owns her vision, and her choices do not mimic those around her. Finten, on the other hand, pursues her pre-conceived visions of an ideal lifestyle. She believes that being a part of the aristocracy will make her happy. However she later discovers she does not belong to that world. Chasing aristocratic lifestyle drains her from her own emotions, desires and identity. After murdering her Australian husband, she loses her innocence. Though Finten later disidentifies with the aristocratic lifestyle, she cannot move on with her life with her husband's blood on her hands.

²⁶¹ Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique* (Routledge: London, 2004), 40-41.

CONCLUSIONS

Abdülhak Hamid's *Finten* and his memoirs open a window into Victorian England and particularly into the city of London. As an Ottoman diplomat who lived in London more than two decades, Abdülhak Hamid's writings on London and on England present us not only with a lively portrayal of the London of the late Victorian era but also with significant details about the historical, social, cultural, and political aspects of the city and its inhabitants. As a playwright, Hamid finds London's vivid streets and social life inspiring. In his introduction to *Finten*, he particularly emphasizes that what inspires him to write his favorite drama is the city of London itself. Therefore he calls London the "most stunning theater" with "thousands of tragedies and comedies on its stage."²⁶²

As a diplomat in London, Hamid finds himself within an elite international community. He regularly attends aristocratic and even royal circles, events and parties. In his memoirs he mentions his encounters with the eminent literary, political and intellectual figures of his time. However, despite having lived in London more than two decades, Hamid still feels that he is a foreigner in that city. In his introductory words to *Finten*, he remarks that "even though I became familiar with the outward and inward aspects of the city, admired and was astonished at her ever dynamic inhabitants, from the lowest to the highest classes, I still felt that I was in a hostile country and was among those who disregarded the existence of humanity outside of England."²⁶³

²⁶² Abdülhak Hamid'in *Hatıraları*, 219

²⁶³ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, "Mukaddime," in *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 157-58.

Despite its large international community, the hallmark of London is, in Hamid's opinion, Englishness, for, in Hamid's words, "everything there is English, and every Englishman is England."²⁶⁴

While embracing English culture and social life, Hamid is also critical of British imperialism and the social discriminations inherent in the English class system. This is an interesting issue as it presents us with an Ottoman intellectual who finds himself in a double bind: appropriation and admiration of British culture on the one hand and strong criticism of British imperialism on the other. Hamid's double bind can be especially seen in the way he characterizes Finten, protagonist of *Finten*, who also seems torn between her critique of British society and her strong desire to fit in and belong to London's elite circles. What haunts Hamid's memoirs of London is a sense of being a foreigner to his favorite city, which, in his words, turns him into "the world's most savage and wildest man in this great city of civilization."²⁶⁵ In London he sometimes seeks refuge from his busy life and visits the zoo in Regents Park, which he calls the "avenue of wilderness in the city." There he spends time looking at encaged eagles. According to him, his interest in eagles originates from his own background. In his words, he seems interested in the zoo and its eagles perhaps because he was born under "savage horizons" or because he "wandered in wild seas."²⁶⁶ Because he lived in London and among the English who, in Hamid's opinion, "disregard the existence of humanity outside of England," perhaps Hamid was aware that he was an exotic subject to Londoners.²⁶⁷ He feels alienated and trapped

²⁶⁴ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 184.

²⁶⁵ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları*, vol. 1, 456.

²⁶⁶ *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, 222.

²⁶⁷ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, "Mukaddime," in *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 158.

in London and sympathizes with those eagles who are offering spectacles of wild life to the curious onlookers at the zoo.

Hamid seems sensitive to the racial and class oriented distinctions in London's social system. It is interesting that Hamid, a white Ottoman author and diplomat who is coming from one of Istanbul's elite families and dresses and acts like a British gentleman, still feels alienated in the late nineteenth-century London. Even though he initially does not see himself quite different from English people, his experiences in the city make him feel like an outcast or Other of English society. Hamid truly enjoys London's social life, but at the same time he notices xenophobia against the non-British. Especially, racism and the English class system do not allow him to fully integrate into this society. The strong English imprint on London as well as the imperialist atmosphere surrounding the city constantly remind this Ottoman author that he is a foreigner to this city. In his memoirs, other than few salient remarks on being a foreigner in London, Hamid does not reflect much on his perspective on class system and racism. His *Finten*, however, presents us with a story where a rich, white Canadian woman feels alienated in London. Like Hamid, Finten also tries to be a part of London's elite circles. Both Finten and Hamid himself admit that in London they are sealed in their foreign status.²⁶⁸ In other words, London both attracts and rejects this foreign author; therefore, he seems ambivalent towards British society, culture and its metropolitan center, London.

Hamid's *Finten* explores how social class, race and gender shape the characters' position in London. *Finten* portrays the British society as a complex entity by capturing the strands of

²⁶⁸ *Finten*, 273.; Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, "Mukaddime," in *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 158.

tone in the way characters speak, and it seeks to juxtapose various stories to show us the diversity of London's social panorama. Hamid emphasizes the systematic and constructed nature of the values the characters embrace. Characters' opinions or stances seem largely dependent upon social position, and social position, in turn, seems related to class, nationality, race, gender and background. Instead of treating British aristocracy as a group who shares a certain world view, *Finten* captures the nuance in the characters' different outlooks on life. For instance, characters such as Lady Dick, Lady Constance, and Lady Alice fully embrace a hierarchically structured society and the English class system, and they believe foreigners cannot be part of London's elite. But, on the other hand, characters such as Viscount, Lord Dick, and Doctor Thomas do not treat foreigners or commoners with contempt, though they still do not criticize the class system. *Finten* not only tells the elite's story but also gives voice to the urban poor and working class. The drama features vivid scenes where the poor on the streets of London complain miserably about their conditions while the elite seem oblivious to their poverty. By showing the anxieties of the poor and how they feel unrepresented in the larger picture of the society, *Finten* calls attention to the strong need for a fruitful communication and solidarity between social classes.

What is particularly eye catching about *Finten* is that it is a drama where the lives of the characters at the opposite ends of the spectrum of class relations intersect with one another. Through interactions between foreigners and the English, *Finten* gives us vignettes of Victorian England. London's foreigners complicate the hierarchically organized social panorama of the city as they appear to question their assigned position in English society. Especially, Finten does not accept the position the class system puts her in. She confronts the system which systematically treats her as an exoticized foreigner. The discourse of imperialism surfaces

especially in encounters between aristocrats and people from British colonies. In these encounters foreign characters take any negative comment or gesture by the aristocrats as an insult on their origins. In this regard, the foreign characters' country of origin and economic status play a key role in their integration into London's social life. *Finten* gauges the dynamics of its milieu by showing us the way in which the British imperial system, with its hierarchal structure, not only shapes the foreigners' social ambitions and expectations but also demarcates the scope in which they can act.

In the drama characters from British settler and exploitation colonies, such as Finten, Mother Roberts, and Davalaciro, function as metonymy for the British imperial enterprise during the Victorian era. Their presence hints at the diversity of London's social panorama. In particular, they contest a unitary sense of Englishness through their critique of xenophobia and exclusive class system. In a sense, their stories open up a new space for dissent at the heart of metropolitan London, where their critique demystifies the omnipotent power of the empire and its rulers.

Hamid presents his critique of London's class system through a wealthy, white Canadian woman character who is fluent in English. With such qualities, Finten seems an unlikely victim of the class system and racism, yet her tragedy indicates that British exclusiveness had a wider impact zone that would even include wealthy and white non-Britons. The drama records her different reactions to the class system and aristocracy. In the first scene Finten appears as someone who has mastered Britain's club culture and social traditions. Yet she still feels rejected by the society and comes up with a plan to promote her position in London. Her plan involves controlling and subduing other people for her own interests. With her Indian servant and Australian gold dealer husband, her household also looks like a microcosm of the British Empire.

Her relationship with her surroundings is a form of appropriation that involves controlling the others. She mimics the hubris and vanity of aristocracy, and wants to be the master of her surroundings. Her actions appear as a reiteration of colonial violence and arrogance. Despite her efforts to subdue and control the people around her, in the end her project falls apart. In the finale she wants to return to her roots and longs for her past which is not tainted by her struggle with British society and her crimes. She finally concedes and gives up on her fight. Interestingly, no one notices her tragic downfall, and especially English characters seem oblivious to Finten's pain and suffering.

Finten single-handedly fights against her destiny of being treated like a foreigner in London. However her individual fight with the system proves to be fruitless. By allowing his heroine to struggle against the status quo, Hamid honors human freedom. Finten seeks an alternative world, and she pronounces her criticism and imposes her agency. Unable to prevail against the class system, she succumbs to her faith in the end. Yet as an individual, she is able to articulate her criticism. Finten's end does not offer any resolution or reconciliation between foreigners and English society. Finten, Davalaciro, and Ucube cannot be contained in London and in the end they all die.

Unlike Finten, who valorizes external approval, Blanche owns herself and her background and does not seek social approval. Instead of using her energies to struggle against the system, she focuses on improving her health and spreading her own ideas. Though Blanche is a poor orphan with bad health, she manages to overcome her situation and survives within the system. She is also a victim of Finten's violent plans, yet she is not driven by victimhood psychology. Rather she moves on with her life. Blanche's character shows us that there are other ways of relating to the world and that her philosophy, Sufism, stands as an anti-thesis or

alternative to a class- and race-oriented society. Her happy ending and miraculous recovery imply that her perspective might be an ideal way of dealing with a hierarchical system.

The drama renders Finten's search of appreciation and acceptance inconclusive. Yet it shows that class system and the racism and psychological violence it entails have catastrophic influence on people. As Hamid's introduction to *Finten* points out, the British imperial system promotes the interests of a small group of elites at the expense of the rest of the world.²⁶⁹ In the drama Finten repeatedly remarks that such a system would not survive and that the New World will eventually triumph over the Old World. Thus *Finten* hints that America and Canada, former colonies of the British Empire, might eventually eclipse the British Empire.

Gender is another issue *Finten* visits and revisits. As a male author, Abdülhak Hamid reproduces the angel and femme fatale binary. The obvious modesty, chastity, and innocence of Blanche provides a foil for Finten who is depicted as an ambitious, unruly, and sensual woman. Hamid celebrates Blanche's innocence by giving her a happy ending. Finten, on the other hand, suffers a tragic downfall. Yet Finten's pursuit of her passion and ambitions as well as her rebellious attitude toward the status-quo also make her a tragic heroine who questions the society she lives in. Finten cannot exist in her milieu, because London does not offer her an alternative life beyond the domestic one. Her characteristics make her a misfit in London, and therefore she becomes a candidate for extinction. Her death implies that in *Finten*'s London an ambitious and rebellious woman like Finten cannot be contained due to the strict social boundaries.

Hamid's *Finten* presents us with an Ottoman author who is interested in the dynamics of colonial and imperial relations. Interestingly, *Finten* seems more sympathetic to the stories of

²⁶⁹ *Finten*, 273.; Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, "Mukaddime," in *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. (Istanbul: Dergah, 1998), 156.

London's foreigners than to those of the British elite. Hamid's introduction to *Finten* also contains a criticism of British imperial policies, colonial violence and exploitation. As such, Hamid sympathizes with the colonized while he repeatedly voices his critique of colonialism. As a diplomat of the Ottoman Empire, Hamid does not criticize imperialism as a concept but presents a critique of British imperial politics and its practices.

In Turkish literary historiography Abdülhak Hamid is usually portrayed as a poet and playwright who focuses on "individualistic and psychological topics" rather than "political and social issues."²⁷⁰ Operating within a literary milieu controlled by strict censorship, Hamid's works do not openly comment on the Ottoman politics of his time yet his dramas on British imperialism and colonialism prove to be political, as it is in these dramas that Hamid not only analyzes British-Indian imperial relations but also explores such political issues as social class discrimination, racism, civilizing mission and the hegemony of imperial culture. Therefore, I think, Hamid's dramas on British imperialism and colonialism enable us to view this major literary figure of Turkish literature primarily as an intellectual who wrote extensively about modernization and colonialism in general and brought new perspectives into the issues of colonial subject formation and psychology in particular. In this way, my dissertation demonstrates that Hamid's writings can be read as burgeoning examples of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman critique of imperialism and colonialism.

²⁷⁰ İnci Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e* (Istanbul: Dergah, 2006), 499.

APPENDIX

1. *Finten*: A Summary

Characters

Finten/Mrs. Cross	a rich Canadian woman
Davalaciro	Finten's Indian servant, responsible for her parrots
Melville	Finten's chief maid
Lord Dick	an English lord, one of Finten's lovers
Lady Dick	Lord Dick's mother
Blanche de La Tour	a poor girl who will be Lord Dick's wife
Doctor Thomas	a friend and doctor of the Dick family
Lady Constance	Lord Dick's sister
Viscount Rose	the man who will be Lady Constance's husband
Ucube	Finten's bastard child
Mother Roberts	An Irish nurse at the Brampton Tuberculosis Hospital
A Diplomat with a fez	
Duchess of the Island	
Lady Alice	
Lady Cecile	
Lady Ramsay	
Miss Cecile	
Lord John Talmas	
The Marquis and Marquises of Rushton	
Colonel Arbuthnot	
Lombardo	

People in the club, People at the races, People on the ferries, Servants, Maids, Countless poor men and women on the streets, Police officers, Sick girls and the nurses at the Tuberculosis Hospital, Dead people, Ghosts.

Act 1²⁷¹

Scene: Lady Dick's residence in Grosvenor Square in London.

Lady Dick and Doctor Thomas talk about Finten and her relationship with Lord Dick. Doctor Thomas reveals that Finten is married to an elderly Australian man, who is a wealthy gold and jewel trader in Australia. Lady Dick wishes to find a suitable mother for her Ucube, who is Finten and Lord Dick's illegitimate child and lives in the upstairs, in the hidden attic. Lady Dick does not approve of their relationship as Finten is married and is not an English aristocrat. Lady Dick asks Doctor Thomas to help her to get Finten and Lord Dick separated.

(Lord Dick enters)

They talk about their evening plans. Lord Dick plans to go to the clubs with Finten. Lady Dick says that Finten should not be accepted to the clubs as she is not a member of the aristocracy, upon which Lord Dick replies that for a person of enormous wealth this should not be a problem at all, for, Lord Dick adds, "Money is such a ticket that it opens every door".

The Marquis and Marchioness of Rushton, Lady Alice, Lord John, Lady Cecile, Miss Cecile, Colonel Arbuthnot and Viscount Rose join them and have a chat on British society and clubs

²⁷¹ In *Finten*, there are twenty two scenes in total, and the author does not divide his play into acts. In the summary above, I divided the drama into three main acts. And leaving those minor and thematically insignificant scenes out, I divided the number of scenes in the play into fifteen.

including the Carlton Club and the New Club. Lady Alice makes fun of Finten and her ostentatiously expensive jewels. While they chat, Lord Dick whispers to his mother that his shift with Ucube is about to start. He describes his shame of Ucube, and they decide to keep Ucube a secret from all but Doctor Thomas.

After the guests leave, one of Lady Dick's servants describes, in a monologue, the hypocrisy of the household and the stark contrast between the first and second floors of the residence. He associates the first floor with daylight, parties, and high society, and the second floor with darkness, silence and secrecy.

Scene: Finten's well-decorated mansion in Saint George's Place.

Melville and Finten talk. Finten tells her that the only way to her salvation is the death of her sixty five year-old husband Mr. Cross, for Finten wants to find an immediate end to her marriage so that she can marry Lord Dick. But Finten has another problem as well: Lady Dick insists that her grandson Ucube should have a noble mother; that's why, she does not see Finten as a proper bridal candidate for her son. In order to overcome this complicated situation, Melville and Finten come up with a plan. According to this plan, Davalaciro takes care of the murder of Mr. Cross while Finten finds an orphan girl, who is close to death due to advanced tuberculosis, to marry her with Lord Dick. Since Lady Dick insists that Ucube should have a legal status and proper title, Finten also makes the necessary arrangements to create out of this poor girl a French lady to be introduced to the elite circles. Thus Finten hopes that this plan will eventually open the way to a marriage with Lord Dick, which is crucial for her to achieve social acceptance and a noble status in London. Melville wholeheartedly supports the plan, for she thinks that if Finten gets married, Davalaciro will be hers alone. At the end of the scene, Finten reveals in a monologue

that the real father of Ucube is not Lord Dick but Davalaciro, which is something no one knows yet. Upon Lord Dick's visit to her residence, Finten tells him what her plan is, but Lord Dick does not agree with it as he does not want to marry with an unknown girl who is close to death with tuberculosis. But still, after Lord Dick leaves, Finten invites Davalaciro to her chamber to discuss the plan. In a ravishing red satin nightgown, she seduces Davalaciro and convinces him to kill her Australian husband by promising to marry him. Though reluctant and terrified to accept this duty, Davalaciro cannot resist Finten's seductions and agrees to kill Mr. Cross. In a long dialogue between Finten and Davalaciro, Finten depicts him as "her savage desire".

Scene: *The New Club*

The characters in the scene: Lord Dick, Viscount Rose, Colonel Arbuthnot, Doctor Thomas, Lombardo, Lady Alice, Lady Constance, Lady Ramsay, Lady Cecile, and Mrs. Cross (Finten)

Judging people by their looks, social status and wealth, the ladies gossip about people in the club and especially about the non-Britons. The Fesli (the diplomat wearing a fez) joins them for the dinner. The ladies see him as a true gentleman, but since he is a non-Briton they do not include him in their circle.²⁷² Meanwhile Finten, bedecked in jewels, is surrounded by her admirers in the other corner of the room. Especially, Viscount Rose makes compliments to Finten and describes her as "the foreign sun on the horizons of England". But across the room, the ladies mock Finten and nickname her "the American outcast". Throughout the night, Lord Dick tries to talk to Finten but she continually ignores him and thus implies that if he does not agree on her plan she will

²⁷² At that time Ottoman state officials were wearing fez, which suggests that the drama features an Ottoman character. In this regard, most critics argue that the Fesli is Hamid himself.

move on with her life without him. At the end of the scene, Lord Dick talks to Doctor Thomas and tells him that he accepts the plan.

Act Two

Scene: *The Brompton Tuberculosis Hospital*

Characters in the Scene: Mother Roberts, Sister Mudi, Sister Lizy

They prepare the breakfast lounge and discuss the terror of tuberculosis. Finten, along with Doctor Thomas and Melville, comes to the hospital while the patients have their breakfast in the lounge. Finten approaches a brunette girl named Sophie, who suffers from advanced tuberculosis, and asks her whether or not she has any relatives. Learning that the girl is an orphan, Finten thinks that this is the girl she is looking for. Thus Finten begins to narrate the story she made up and tells Sophie that her real name is Mademoiselle Blanche de La Tour, the daughter of César, Marquis de La Tour. To convince the girl, Finten takes a letter she composed from her bag and reads it to Sophie as if it had been written by her father. The letter establishes Blanche's royal history and thus turns Sophie into a person of nobility. To make this story more convincing, Finten also gives Sophie a large sum of money as well as her own house in the Berkeley Square as if they were bequeathed from Sophie's noble father. At the end of the scene, Finten confesses, with anxiety, to Melville that she is now creating a new Lady Dick, a potential bride for her own fiancé.

Scene: *Hyde Park*

Doctor Thomas tells Lady Dick the good news that he found a proper bride for Lord Dick, which pleases her because finally a mother for her grandson Ucube is found. Upon hearing this news,

Lady Constance and Lady Alice feel very happy to see that with Finten and Lord Dick's split Finten will no longer be involved in their lives. Passing by them, Finten overhears their conversation and starts to talk to herself, saying that everyone around her in London is an enemy except Davalaciro. Finten misses Davalaciro very much and wishes that he were with her. While absorbed in these thoughts, a park officer wakes her up and asks her to show her ticket for the park chair she was sitting in. But Finten refuses to pay and leaves. Lord Dick, who just arrives at the scene, pays her fare but refuses the change in an arrogant manner. Upon so, the officer becomes very angry at Lord Dick's attitude and tells him that as a proud Irish he does not need his tip.

Scene: *Cemetery*

Ghosts talk about death and life. Doctor Thomas and Finten arrive at the grave of Blanche who had been put to sleep and buried assuming that she was dead. Finten and Doctor Thomas dig up the grave and take Blanche out. Seeing the beauty of Blanche under the moonlight, Finten shudders with the idea that this girl might replace her. She says that she is the one who created Blanche and can take her life if she wishes to do so.

Scene: *A quiet, secluded street in London*

Lady Dick's and Finten's maids and servants gossip about their ladies. Annie, one of Finten's maids, says that almost every day since the day Davalaciro left for Australia Finten is driven insane, cannot sleep or rest and constantly hallucinates. And she adds that "the poisonous idea in Finten's mind is stimulating the cannibal blood in her veins". Another maid, Helen, replies that though it is the maids who know their ladies' problems and secrets best, ladies do not notice that

at all as they consider their maids as machines made of wax. Interrupting the conversation, George, Lady Dick's servant, rushes the news that he finally discovered the secret in the attic and calls the Ucube as the scariest creature he has ever seen. But interestingly enough, George remarks, Lady Dick kisses and hugs this monstrous creature with affection. George describes the Ucube as a creature who has a single eye in the middle of its forehead, two long teeth protruding from its nose, and arms and legs longer in proportion to the rest of its body.

Scene: Blanche's House in Berkeley Square

Blanche desperately thinks about her approaching wedding, her fiancé she barely knows, her stepson she has never seen, and especially about Finten, whom Blanche sees as the one hoping for her death. Completely confounded, Blanche feels that everyone around her will benefit from her death. Finding herself entangled in a lie, she also feels uncomfortable about being treated as a noble French mademoiselle. When Lord Dick visits her, Blanche tells him the truth that she is not a noble girl but actually a poor orphan. Having witnessed Finten's terrifying ambitions and bloody plans, Lord Dick, however, replies that he is not interested in Finten anymore and that he would like to open a new chapter in his life with Blanche.

Scene: In front of a Church

Following the Lord Dick and Blanche's wedding ceremony, the bride and groom walk out of the church. A crowd forms outside the church. It consists of a wide range of people including a homeless, a drunkard, a farmer, a prostitute, a nun, a preacher, a beggar, a couple, a little girl with her grandparents, a large group of unemployed men, a maid, a police officer, a cavalryman, a foreigner, a poet, a teacher, and a philosopher. The crowd talks about various topics such as

aristocratic marriage, unemployment, hunger, tuberculosis, the unbridgeable gap between the rich and the poor, and the sovereignty of money.

Scene: Finten's mansion in Saint George's Place

In the days following the wedding, Finten's hallucinations increase in frequency and intensity. Now Finten sees the beheaded head of her husband and fears that they will hang up Davalaciro and her because of the murder. And she begins to see Blanche as responsible for her unhappiness and discomfort. Therefore, in the middle of a night, Finten sleepwalks out of her house with a sharp knife in her hand to kill Blanche in her mansion in Berkeley Square. She arrives at the mansion but learns that the newly wedded couple left for honeymoon in Beirut. Frustrated, Finten passes the whole night sleepless.

Scene: The House in Berkeley Square

While Lady Dick visits to check on her grandson, Finten arrives. She confesses to Lady Dick that she fabricated the lie that Blanche is a rich noble French woman while she is indeed a poor orphan. Listing all the sacrifices she made to marry Lord Dick, Finten eventually asks Lady Dick's permission to marry Lord Dick after Blanche's death. Finten opens her heart to Lady Dick and expresses how upset and resentful she is since as a Canadian no one appreciates her in London. Lady Dick, however, replies that she will never approve Finten's marriage with her son and asks Finten to leave the house. Finten gets very upset and reminds Lady Dick that the house and the every single item in it belong to her own and that no one can kick her out of her own house. Upon Finten's saying so, Lady Dick does not bother to say a word and simply leaves. Finten, on the other hand, experiences a nervous breakdown.

Act Three

Scene: *Beirut, a hotel room*

While Blanche thinks she is approaching to death, Doctor Thomas heralds that she is recovering from tuberculosis. Masquerading as a nun, Finten visits Blanche in Beirut, wishes her happiness and prays for her recovery. At this point in the drama, Finten realizes that what she really wants is Davalaciro and decides to continue her life with him. At the moment Finten gives up on him, however, Lord Dick walks into the room and gets bewildered at seeing Finten there. He shouts at her, calling her a calamity, and threatens with a revolver. Devastated by humiliation, Finten takes an oath for revenge.

Scene: *Beirut, in the middle of a sea*

Sailing in a small boat on a dark night, Finten looks for Davalaciro in the middle of a stormy sea. The ocean liner carrying passengers including Davalaciro notices Finten's boat and rescues her. Davalaciro walks Finten to his small room. Even before they get to the room, Finten bursts out that she is deeply wounded and that her mind would not be at rest without taking revenge. And she tells him that she has to own this liner no matter how much it would cost and catch the small ship sailing ahead of them to cause it to crash and sink. Even though Davalaciro repeatedly asks her who the owner of the ship is, Finten avoids answering, for she does not want to mention Lord Dick's name, which is a name that would awaken, she fears, the dragon of jealousy inside Davalaciro. Finten believes that her Davalaciro is the only one who can take her revenge. With a deep exhausting desire, Finten craves for union with Davalaciro but fears that the fever of her passion would burn him up. Meanwhile, Melville, who boarded the liner in one of the harbors en

route, interrupts their conversation to say that she is in love with Davalaciro and that Finten should not come between the two of them. Upon this, Melville and Finten start to scuffle. Davalaciro stabs Melville and dives into the sea carrying Finten under his arm as horrified onlookers watch. The two disappear in the waves.

Scene: Lord Dick's summer house in Scotland

Doctor Thomas and Colonel Arbuthnot talk about the book Blanche recently completed, which is titled "Adventures of an Orphan". Meanwhile, Finten visits the Dick family to demand her child and confesses that Ucube's real father is not Lord Dick but Davalaciro. She also adds that she is happily married to her Indian servant. Lord Dick and Blanche, who expect a baby, feel relieved by the news that the Ucube is not Lord Dick's own child.

Scene: The House in Berkeley Square

Finten brings the Ucube to her house, and thus the long divided family is now united. But Davalaciro, who has been waiting Finten all day, starts to question Finten as soon as she enters the house, asking her where she has been all day and who the child she brought with her is. Imbued with an overwhelming jealousy, Davalaciro blames Finten for cheating on him. Although Finten takes pains to convince Davalaciro that she loves no one but him and that the Ucube is the fruit of their love, her words do not even penetrate as he is already lost in anger. In the middle of this furious quarrel, Davalaciro strangles the Ucube and throws him on the floor. In a reflex to rescue her child, Finten shoots Davalaciro and kills him. The moment she shoots him a great sadness comes over her, and almost all day she sheds tears imploring Davalaciro's dead body to resurrect until she notices the coldness of the corpse. At that time Finten accepts that

Davalaciro is gone. When she finally stands up, she notices the ghosts flocking around her. Finten especially notices that Lord Dick's ghost does not even glance at her in her last moments, which causes a deep resentment in Finten who has gone through this tragic journey to marry Lord Dick. Thus she finds herself in a great solitude. Her grave asks her to repent and seek God's forgiveness, but the dying Finten rejects to do so. Then the grave calls her in but Finten replies that her grave is "a red sea". Thus she falls to the ground.

2. Translation of Abdülhak Hamid's Introduction to *Finten*²⁷³

As it is partly shown in *Finten*, the English nation is one of the great nations. One can see that each individual in this nation has a bit strange sense of being privileged. In their manners and behaviors, there is an attitude that looks like arrogance and grandeur, which is nothing but politeness and modesty. In terms of their characters and habits, that is how the English people are. Even single one of them does not show any sign of ordinariness. Yet they have the flaw of despising other nations. For instance, they say, “This man is quite perfect, but regretfully he is not English!”, “That man is known to be very rich, but unfortunately he was not born English” or “This woman is exceptionally beautiful, but she is not English!”

When it comes to politics, the politics of these gentlemen is almost monstrously brutal. And the English lion, which is called the “British lion,” is indeed a cat that has become haughty in the field of politics. On the one hand, it has grown up with the food of others, and on the other it is ungrateful. Thus it has become a friend of ingratitude and acquired power through selfishness. However, as they say, “even though a baby lion does not brag about himself as much as a big cat does, he is indeed more esteemed.”

English politics did not subjugate the heart of any nation; rather, it aggressively attacked the hearts of many nations. Sometimes it attempted to attract the sympathy of a nation, but this was intended for nothing but to illuminate English islands by eventually burning down the homeland of that nation. This kind of politics does not get satisfied: even if it is satisfied, it still wants to eat. Its hungry eyes continue to see even if they are closed.

²⁷³ This introduction is not included in the serialized versions of *Finten*, and it first appeared in *Finten*'s 1916 edition by the Matbaa-i Amire in Istanbul.

The history of English politics did exceed the bounds of moderation and assume airs of importance, but it never rose high. In this politics there is more backstabbing than heroism. So, comparing by this scale, England is not of outstanding significance; it is just large in size.

Nations can have different kinds of grandeur, some of which are blameworthy and despicable while others are acceptable and revered. To become swollen, to bulge up, to overflow, to squeeze the one next to it, to grow larger, to expand, to grow taller, to ascend... Each of these is a form of grandeur in its own right.

Is the political grandeur of England—if we may call it so—surprising? Maybe. Is it worthy of respect? Never. If superiority means treating foreigners living in her colonies with disdain, then, England is superior to every other country. If power means oppressing weak nations or ruling her citizens of different colors with blood, then, England is powerful. If architectural honor belongs to the one who considers those places ruined by the English fleet as prosperous, then, England is the architect of the age. If greatness means carrying an English passport as if it were the map of the world, then, England is great.

It cannot be denied that the English people have merits whose benefits are peculiar to them and not shared with others. But since these cannot be considered as civilizational, moral or real superiority, then, what makes Great Britain expect respect and honor from the humanity?

Having expressed my opinion and perspective on the issue of the greatness of England as such, now I can say that the inkpot I dipped my pen in to write *Finten* was like the mythological ocean encircling the world, for I wrote it in the great and magnificent city of London. Even if written on the pages of the skies, one cannot properly describe and depict the many great things I

saw in the astonishing landscape of this vast capital, which is such a capital that, on the one hand, the sun does not set in the countries under her rule and that, on the other hand, a steamy and pleasantly dark wind blows over its market places and horizons.

As understood from the fact that it inspired this humble author to write this book, and also from the fact that the book itself is superior to all of the works within my oeuvre, the English capital is a distinguished and charming milieu of nobility, a milieu of perfection and beauty. But even though I became familiar with the outward and inward aspects of the city, admired and was astonished at her ever dynamic inhabitants, from the lowest to the highest classes, I still felt that I was in a hostile country and was among those who disregarded the existence of humanity outside of England.

I wrote *Finten* in the second year of my arrival in London, during the years 1886-87. Then I sent it to the Ministry of Education for publication but could not get permission. At that time London did not have an advanced technology as it has today, but at the same time it did not seem to be doomed to today's declining morality: there were no bicycles, automobiles or tube trains on the streets, no electric lights or telephones in houses, no huge and grand hotels and cinemas in its squares, and no airplanes in its skies. Likewise, there were no Curzons, Asquiths or Greys to dominate the political positions and government offices.

In those days, an eminent English "monk" named Gladstone, who still continues to be the father of those many useless inherited ideas, was continually expressing his hostility to the Muslim world.²⁷⁴ But in those same days a benevolent and peace-loving woman, the

²⁷⁴ Here Hamid criticizes the famous English Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809–98) and sarcastically calls him "monk." Hamid's same attitude is also seen in his memoirs, where he criticizes the pro-Christian attitude

grandmother of the German Kaiser, was running the government in England. Though the animosity toward Germans was not nonexistent, it was not something witnessed. The policy toward Russia was being protested and denounced. And the alliance between England and France was replaced by disputes between the two over Egypt and Fashoda.²⁷⁵ At those times when England's concern for India was at its peak, due to the Russian threat the likelihood of a war between Turkey and England did not occur to anyone. However, since I believe that even politics is governed by emotions, I had then felt intuitively, though not estimated when it would take place, that the opposition between us and England on the issue of Egypt would definitely lead to a war and that this war would coincide with a world war. Even if one cannot sense the presence of this feeling from *Finten*, it is still contained in it. But if I had revealed this feeling, which I kept to myself, then, perhaps this small book would have turned into a lengthy critique. As a matter of fact, *Duhter-i Hindu*, which I wrote before visiting India and England, is a book that laments and wails over the despotic English rule in India. Indian history testifies to the various situations and terrors I depict in *Duhter-i Hindu*.

As for the content of *Finten*, my source of inspiration is the life I spent in London, and my examples are based on my own observations. I wrote my drama *Duhter-i Hindu* based on a French history book. But because it is known that some historians are biased, it is possible that in that drama one can find a fiction that looks like a fact or stories that do not conform to history.

of Gladstone and mentions the manners in which he attacks the Muslim world (cf. *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, ed. İnci Enginün, 250).

²⁷⁵ Fashoda is a Sudanese city which is today called Kodok.

But in *Finten*, I think, to a certain extent there are, in the words of the late Fikret, changing and unchanging “truths that take the wings of imagination.”²⁷⁶

Abdülhak Hâmid

²⁷⁶ Tevfik Fikret (1867–1915), a celebrated poet who played a seminal role in the founding of modern Turkish poetry.

3. Archival Documents and Sample Pages from *Finten*'s First Book Edition



Hâmid'in en sevdiği eseri *Finten*'idi. Bu kitabı koltuğunun yanında bulundurur, zaman zaman sayfalarını karıştırırdı.

“*Finten* was Abdülhak Hamid’s most favorite work. He always kept it next to his reading chair and occasionally flipped through its pages.”

Taha Toros, *Türk Edebiyatından Altı Renkli Portre*, p. 85.



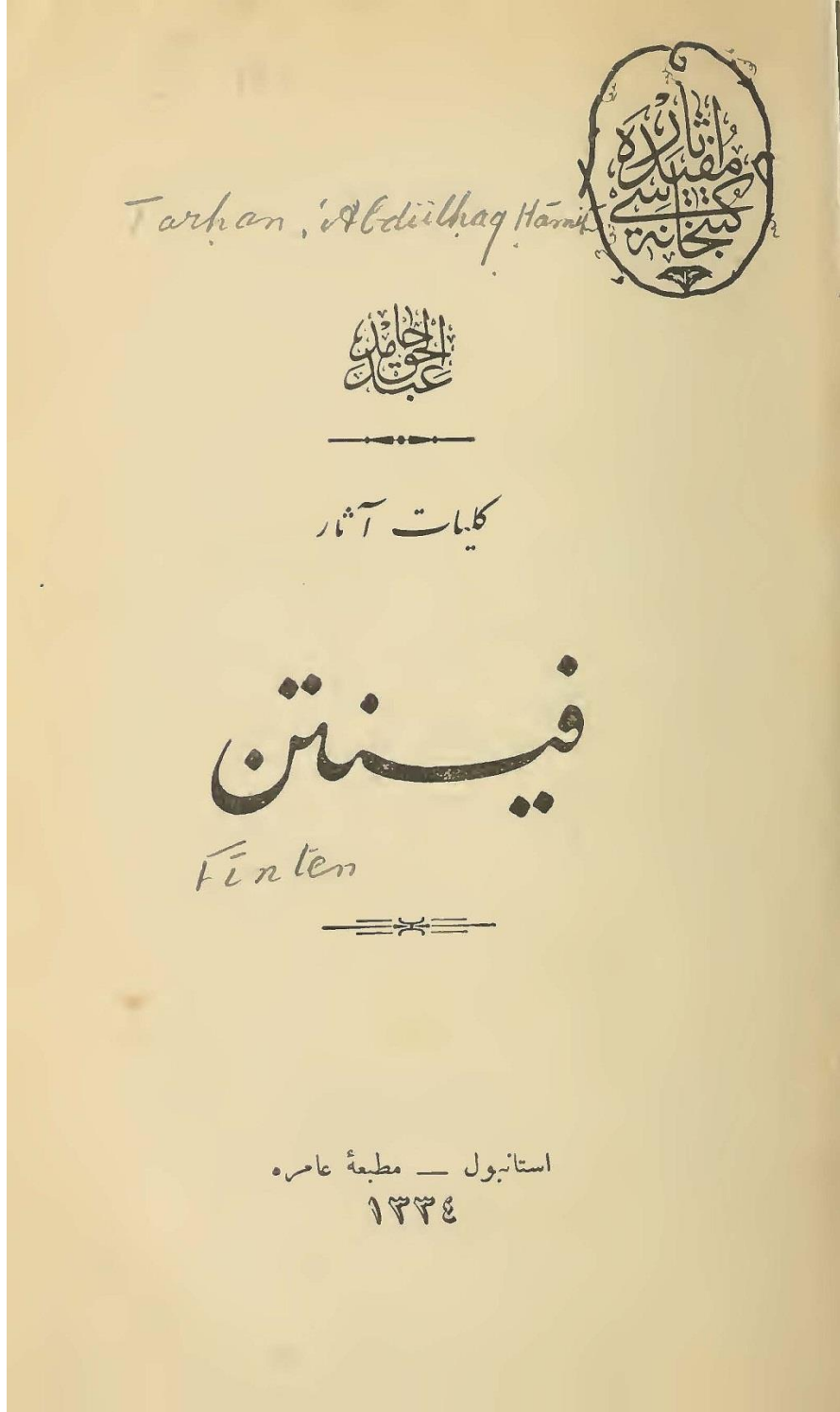
عبدالحامد

۳۶ سنه اول « فینتہ » ی یازارکن

“Abdülhak Hamid, thirty six years ago while writing *Finten*”

Finten, Istanbul: Necm-i Istikbal Matbaası, 1927.

Finten, 1916 Edition: The Cover Page



اشخاص

فینتن — یاخود میس قروس بر قانادالی زنکین قادین

داوالا جیرو — فینتنک هندلی اوشاغی

ملویل — فینتنک ندیمه سی

لورد دیق — برانکلیر اصلزاده سی، فینتنک عاشق لرندن

لدی دیق — لورد دیقک والده سی

بلانش دولاتور — لورد دیقک بالاخره زوجه سی اولان

برفقیر قیزی

دو قورتوماس — دیقار عائله سنک دوست وطیبی

لدی قونستانس — لورد دیقک همشیره سی

وایقونت روز — لدی قونستانسک بالاخره زوجی

عجوبه — فینتنک شبهه لی بر جوجوغی

برفسلی دیپومات —

اشخاص

داچس اوف آيلاند ، لڊى آليس ، لڊى
سيسيل ، ميس سيسيل ، لورد جون تالماس ،
ماركيس ومارچنس اوف رشتن، قولونل اربضنوت،
لومباردو .

قلوب خالق ، يارش خالق، واپور خلق، اوشاقلر ، خدمتجى
قىزلر، ذكور و نسوان فقير و غنى سوقاق خلق ، پوليسلر ،
ورملر خسته خانه سنده خسته قىزلر و خسته باقىجىلر ، اولولر ،
خيالتلر .

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acheraïou, Amar. *Rethinking Postcolonialism: Colonialist Discourse in Modern Literatures and the Legacy of Classical Writers*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Adams, James Eli. “‘The Boundaries of Social Intercourse’: Class in the Victorian Novel” in *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*. Edited by Francis O’Gorman. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005, 47-70.

Adivar, Halide Edip. *Inside India*. New York: Macmillan, 1939.

_____. *Turkey Faces West*. New York: Arno Press, 1973.

Ahmed, Aziz. *Hindistan’da İslam Kültürü Çalışmaları*. Trans. by Latif Boyacı. İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1995.

Akyüz, Kenan. “Finten,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Türkoloji Dergisi*, vol. 1 (1964): 15-49.

Amkpa, Awam. *Theatre and Postcolonial Desires*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

And, Metin. “II. Abdülhamit ve Tiyatro,” *Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, vol. XI (November 1961): 84-85.

Aydın, Abdülhalim. “Batılılaşma Döneminde Şinasi ve Fransız Etkisi,” *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* vol. 17, no. 2 (December 2000): 105-131.

Bailin, Miriam. *Sickroom in Victorian Fiction: Art of Being III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

- Baucom, Ian. *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Biernacki, Loriliai and Philip Clayton, eds., *Panentheism across the World's Traditions*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Brandon, Ruth. *The Dollar Princesses: Sagas of Upward Nobility, 1870-1914*. New York: Knopf, 1980.
- Brujin, Petra de. *The Two Worlds of Eşber: Western Oriented Verse Drama and Ottoman Turkish Poetry by Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan*. Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1997.
- Cenap Şahabettin and others. "Asar-ı Müfide Kütüphanesi" in *Finten*. Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1334/1916, i-iv.
- Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness and Selected Short Fiction*. New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2003.
- Cooper, Dana Calise. "Informal Ambassadors: American Women, Transatlantic Marriages, and Anglo-American Relations 1865-1945." Ph.D. Dissertation. Texas: Texas Christian University, 2006.
- Culp, Paul. *Nothing New Under the Sun: An Introduction to Islam*. Florida: Universal Publishers, 2007.
- Çoruk, Ali Şükrü. *Abdülhamid Döneminde Kitap ve Dergi Sansürü: Örnek bir Vaka Işığında*. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2014.

Deeds Ermarth, Elizabeth. *The English Novel in History 1840–1895*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.

Dever, Carolyn. “Everywhere and Nowhere: Sexuality in the Victorian Novel” in Francis O’Gorman, ed., *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

De Lange, Attie and Gail Fincham, Jeremy Hawthorn, and Jakob Lothe, eds., *Literary Landscapes: from Modernism to Postcolonialism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Enginün, İnci. “Abdülhak Hamid ve Sami Paşazade Sezai’nin Londra İntibaları,” *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* vol. 13 (1964): 123-150.

_____. “Duhter-i Hindu / Finten Hakkında,” in *Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan Tiyatroları 3: Duhter-i Hindu / Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1998, 7-33.

_____. “Tarık, İbn Musa, Tezer, Nazife, Abdullahu's-Sagir Hakkında” in *Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan Tiyatroları*. vol. 5. İstanbul: Dergah, 1998, 7-30.

_____. *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı: Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2006.

_____. *Türkçede Shakespeare*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2008.

_____. *Türkçede Shakespeare Çevirileri ve Etkisi*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2008.

_____. “Abdülhak Hâmid’in Oyunlarında İngilizler,” in *Mukayeseli Edebiyat*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2011.

Ertuğrul, Muhsin. *Benden Sonra Tufan Olmasın*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2007.

- Ertürk, Nergis. *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Falarti, Arsalan Mozaffari. *Meditations on Sufism: the Way of Modern Darwish*. Bloomington: Balboa Press, 2012.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Trans. by Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 2004.
- Fernandez, Jean. *Victorian Servants, Class, and the Politics of Literacy*. New York and London: Routledge, 2010.
- “Fenten’den,” *İctihad* (February 3, 1905).
- “Finten,” *Servet-i Fünun*, no. 389 (13 Ağustos 1314 / August 13, 1898): 386.
- Geoffroy, Eric. *Introduction to Sufism: Inner Path of Islam*. Indiana: Word Wisdom, 2010.
- Göçek, Fatma Müge. *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Grant, Ben. *Postcolonialism, Psychoanalysis and Burton: Power Play of Empire*. New York and London: Routledge, 2009.
- Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. *The Young Turks in Opposition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Hasan, Mushirul. *Between modernity and nationalism: Halide Edip's encounter with Gandhi's India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

- Harris, Andrew T.. *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780-1840*.
Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004.
- Hartmann, Richard. "Abdul Hakk Hamid über England Vorredezu seinem Drama Finton," *Die Islamische Welt* no. 4 (March 1917).
- İbrahim Necmi. *Tarih-i Edebiyat Dersleri*, vol.1. Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1338/1922.
- Ingham, Patricia. *The Language of Gender and Class: Transformation in the Victorian England*.
London: Routledge, 1996.
- Karataş, Turan. *Ansiklopedik Edebiyat Terimleri Sözlüğü*. İzmir: Sütun Yayınları, 2011.
- Kebeli, Sevim. "Sömürgeciliğe Karşı: Abdülhak Hamid Tiyatrosu," M.A. Thesis. Ankara:
Bilkent Üniversitesi, 2007.
- Kelly, Anthony. *The Intellectual Capital of Schools*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers,
2004.
- Lester, Alan. *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-century South Africa and
Britain*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Levend, Agah Sırrı. *Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri: Tanzimat Edebiyatı*. Istanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi,
1935.
- MacKillop, James. "Fintan," in *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*. Oxford: Oxford University
Press, 2004.
- Mardin, Yusuf. *Namık Kemal'in Londra Yılları*. Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1974.

_____. *Abdülhak Hamid'in Londrası*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1976.

Mardin, Şerif. *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Mentz, Steve. *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean*. London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009.

Mermutlu, Bedri. *Sosyal Düşünce Tarihimizde Şinasi*. İstanbul: Kaknüs, 2003.

Mete-Yuva, Gül. *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Fransız Kaynakları*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2011.

Mignon, Laurent. "Portrait of the Traveler as a Young man: Mustafa Sami Efendi and his Essay on Europe," in *Neither Shiraz nor Paris*. İstanbul: ISIS, 2010, 37-49.

Mitchell, Sally, ed.. *Victorian Britain: an Encyclopedia*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.

Munro, Ian. *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

O'Gorman, Francis, ed.. *A Concise Companion to The Victorian Novel*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

Okay, Orhan. *Batılılaşma Devri Türk Edebiyatı*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005.

Ortaç, Yusuf Ziya. "Finten," *Türk Yurdu*, vol. 11 (12 Teşrinievvel 1332/1916), 3197-3201.

Özcan, Azmi. *Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans, and Britain, 1877-1924*. New York: Brill, 1997.

Parla, Jale. *Babalar ve Oğullar*. İstanbul: İletişim, 1990.

- Parry, Benita. *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Perin, Cevdet. *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri*. İstanbul: Pulhan, 1946.
- Safi, İhsan. *Altın Suyuna Batırılmış Bir Hayat: Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2006.
- Said, Edward W.. *Orientalism*. New York: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Sami Paşazade Sezai. *Bütün Eserleri 2*. Edited by Zeynep Kerman. Ankara: TDK, 2003.
- Schmitt, Cannon. “‘The sun and moon were made to give them light’: Empire in the Victorian Novel” in *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, edited by Francis O’Gorman. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005, 4-24.
- Singh, Jyotsna G.. *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: “Discoveries” of India in the language of colonialism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Sinha, Mrinalini. “Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India,” *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4 (2001): 489-521.
- Smith, Karl Ashley. *Dickens and the Unreal City: Searching for Spiritual Significance in Nineteenth-Century London*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Smith, David M.. *On the Margins of Inclusion: Changing Labour Markets and Social Exclusion in London*. Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005.

Sonyel, Salahi R. "Turkish Migrants in Europe," *Perceptions* vol. 5 (September -November 2000).

Soysallıođlu, İsmail Subhi. "Finten'in Temsili," *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası*, vol.1, no.6 (21 Teşrinisani 1332/December 4, 1916): 122-123.

Şahabettin Süleyman. *Abdülhak Hamid: Hayatı ve Sanatkar*. Dersaadet: Cihan Matbaası, 1329/1913.

Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. İstanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, 1956.

Tansel, Fevziye Abdullah, ed.. *Hususi Mektuplarına Göre Namık Kemal ve Abdülhak Hamid*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2005.

Tarhan, Abdülhak Hamid. *Duhter-i Hindu*. İstanbul: Tasvir-i Efkar Matbaası, 1876.

_____. *Finten*. İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1334/1916.

_____. *Bütün Şiirleri*. Edited by İnci Enginün. İstanbul: Dergah, 1979.

_____. *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*. Edited by İnci Enginün. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1994.

_____. *Abdülhak Hamid'in Mektupları*, 2 vols., edited by İnci Enginün. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1995.

_____. *Abdülhak Hâmid Tarhan Tiyatroları 2: Cünun-ı Aşk / Yabancı Dostlar*. Edited by İnci Enginün. İstanbul: Dergah, 1998.

_____. *Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan Tiyatroları 3: Duhter-i Hindu, Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1998.

_____. "Mukaddime," in *Duhter-i Hindu/Finten*, ed. İnci Enginün. İstanbul: Dergah, 1998, 156-159.

The Athenæum, no. 3042, February 13 1886.

Turan, Fikret. *Seyahatname-i Londra: Tanzimat Bürokratinin Modern Sanayi Toplumuna Bakışı*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009.

Toros, Taha. *Türk Edebiyatından Altı Renkli Portre*. İstanbul: Isis, 1998.

Wasti, Tanvir. "Halil Halid: Anti-Imperialist Muslim Intellectual," *Middle Eastern Studies*. vol. 29, no. 3 (July 1993): 559-579.

Wright, Lenore. *The Philosopher's "I": Autobiography and the Search of the Self*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.

Yurdusev, A. Nuri. *Ottoman Diplomacy: conventional or unconventional?*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Zürcher, Erik J.. *Turkey: A Modern History*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.