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DOCTORAL THESIS
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

TURKISH WOMEN, EDUCATION AND MISSIONARY PRACTICES IN THE WORKS OF HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS

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APPROVAL PAGE

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this doctoral thesis titled as "**Turkish Women, Education, and Missionary Practices in the Works of Hester Donaldson Jenkins**" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honor.

…/…/…

Ercan KAÇMAZ

ABSTRACT

Doctoral Thesis

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Turkish Women, Education and Missionary Practices in the Works of Hester Donaldson Jenkins

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This PhD dissertation aims to study Hester Donaldson Jenkins' texts, particularly the texts concerning with Turkish women, education (of women) and missionary activities in a new historicist perspective. Therefore, the books Behind Turkish Lattices: The Story of a Turkish Woman's Life (1911) and Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Suleiman the Magnificent (her thesis) (1911), An Educational Ambassador to the Near East: The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient (1925) and some of her articles gain importance. The study can be considered as a parallel reading of these texts and Jenkins' biography, of these texts and the time in which they were written. Moreover, it is also based on the parallel reading of the texts of Jenkins and the historical and travel writings written in the same period.

This study addresses one main question: How were the Turkish women, their position, their education and their gender relations depicted in the texts of Hester Donaldson Jenkins? Thus, the historical side of the era will be dealt with especially taking the writings into consideration by the historians, such as İlber Ortaylı, Feroz Ahmad, Bernard Lewis, and Carter Findley.

As for the background to the writings of Hester Donaldson Jenkins, the dissertation also analyzes accounts of other travel writings about Turkey and Turkish Women from the same period. These include the British writer Grace

Ellison and the American travelers Anna Bowman Dodd (1855-1929), Mary Mills Patrick (1850-1940), a Greek Ottoman Demetra Vaka Brown (1877-1946) and also the Turkish women writers who travelled abroad, Zeyneb Hanoum (ca.1883-ca.1923), Halide Edib (1882-1964) and Selma Ekrem (1902-1986).

After the period in which Jenkins had lived in the Ottoman Empire, there were a lot of important events in the Empire. On the one hand, Second Constitutionalism and the Young Turk movement, and, on the other hand, Balkan Wars and World War I were the incidents with high impact in the country. In this context, the underlying concepts of new historicism, textuality, intertextuality and historicity will be considered and Jenkins' texts will be evaluated from this perspective.

To Jenkins, the education that the Turkish women need is vital for their emancipation. Therefore, in the fourth chapter the historical, religious and biographical bases of Jenkins will be disclosed with reference to other writings from the same period.

Keywords: New Historicism, Turkish Women, Education, Foreign Schools, Missionary Practices, Young Turks.

ÖZET

Doktora Tezi
Hester Donaldson Jenkins'in Eserlerinde
Türk Kadını, Eğitim ve Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri

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Bu doktora tezi, Hester Donaldson Jenkins'in eserlerini özellikle de içerisinde kadın, eğitim ve misyonerlik faaliyetlerine rastladığımız eserlerini yeni tarihselcilik (new historicism) bağlamında incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bundan dolayı, Behind Turkish Lattices: The Story of a Turkish Woman's Life (1911), Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Suleiman the Magnificent (doktora tezi) (1911), An Educational Ambassador to the Near East The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient (1925) ve bazı makaleleri önem kazanmaktadır. Bu çalışma, bir bakıma bu eserler ile Jenkins'in hayatının ve yazıldıkları dönemin aynı bağlamda okunması olarak adlandırılabilir. Ayrıca Jenkins'in eserlerinin ve bu eserlerin yazıldığı döneme rastlayan diğer tarihi eserlerin ve seyahat yazılarının da paralel olarak okunmasına dayanmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, tek bir ana soruya dayanmaktadır. Türk kadınları, onların toplum içerisindeki konumları, onların eğitimleri ve cinsiyetler arasındaki ilişkileri Hester Donaldson Jenkins'in eserlerinde nasıl anlatılmıştır? Bundan dolayı dönemin tarihi altyapısı İlber Ortaylı, Feroz Ahmad, Bernard Lewis ve Carter Findley gibi yazarların eserleri dikkate alınarak incelenecektir.

Hester Donaldson Jenkins'in yazdıklarına altyapı olarak, bu doktora tezi diğer seyehat yazarlarının da aynı dönemde yazdıklarını analiz edecektir. Bu yazarlar arasında İngiltere'den Grace Ellison; Amerikan seyahat yazarlarından Anna Bowman Dodd (1855-1929), Mary Mills Patrick (1850-1940, Yunanlı,

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda doğmuş Demetra Vaka Brown (1877-1946) ve yurt dışında seyahatler yapmış olan Türk yazarlardan Zeyneb Hanım (1883?-1923?), Halide Edib (1882-1964) ve Selma Ekrem (1902-1986) bulunmaktadır.

Jenkins'in Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde yaşadığı dönemden sonra, İmparatorlukta birçok önemli olaylar olmuştur. Bir yandan II. Meşrutiyet ve Jön Türk hareketi ve diğer yandan Balkan Savaşları ve I. Dünya Savaşı, ülkede derin izler bırakan olaylardır. Bu bağlamda, Yeni Tarihselciliğin temelini oluşturan kavramlardan metinsellik, metinler arası etkileşim ve tarihsellik dikkate alınacak ve Jenkins'in çalışmaları bu açıdan değerlendirilecektir.

Jenkins'e göre, Türk kadınının ihtiyacı olan eğitim onların kurtuluşu için hayati önem taşımaktadır. Bu nedenle tezin dördüncü kısmında Jenkins'in tarihsel, dinsel ve biyografik temelleri aynı dönemin diğer yazıları referans alınarak açıklanacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeni Tarihselcilik, Türk Kadını, Eğitim, Yabancı Okullar, Misyoner Faaliyetleri, Genç Türkler.

TURKISH WOMEN, EDUCATION AND MISSIONARY PRACTICES IN THE WORKS OF HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
CMSCE	The Church Missionary Society of the Church of England
CUP	Committee of Union and Progress
WBM	Woman’s Board of Missions
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
Esq.	Esquire
Hon.	Honorable
Messrs.	Misters
Rev.	Reverend

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INTRODUCTION

Hester Donaldson Jenkins quoted sentences by Halide Edip Adıvar in the foreword to her book, **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East: The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient** (1925)[1] "I owe you, O women, and to each and all of you I essay to express my gratitude and to live according to the principles which I owe to your teaching alone. . . . I love, love, love everything about the College."[2] Jenkins uses the same quotation in her other work, **Behind Turkish Lattices: The Story of a Turkish Woman's Life** (1911)[3]. In the same foreword, Jenkins best describes Halide as: "pioneer, patriot, leader of the feminist movement of Turkey and novelist."[4]

Halide Edib appears in many memoirs and books either as a writer or as a contributor. She was one of the most active women of her time, or perhaps she was the leading figure. She also took her place in Jenkins' book, **Behind Turkish Lattices.** Jenkins used Edib's compositions to back her thoughts up not as a girl from the college but someone from the empire. Jenkins not only used the compositions of Edib, but she also used the writings, articles, or anecdotes of other students with unknown names to support her message.

Jenkins' books and articles contain elements of education and women, Ottoman Women, in particular. **Behind Turkish Lattices**, **Ibrahim Pasha: Grand Vizir of Suleiman the Magnificent** (1911a),[5] **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East** are all about incidents that happened in the Ottoman Empire. **Behind Turkish Lattices**, in particular, directly tells us about Turkish women in the Empire. The relevance of these books to political and historical issues—such as education of women, missionary practices, nationalism, modernization and westernization—paved the way for reading them in a new historicist viewpoint. This is a reading which aims to see and understand the relationships between the texts, the author's past, and the history of the period in which the texts were written.

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[1] Henceforth **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East** will be used.
[2] Hester Donaldson Jenkins (1911a), **Behind Turkish Lattices: The Story of a Turkish Woman's Life**, Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ. 2004, (Life), p. 6.
[3] See page 89. Hereafter **Behind Turkish Lattices** will be used.
[4] Jenkins, Life, p. 6.
[5] Hereafter **Ibrahim Pasha** will be used.

First, the writings will be read in the context of Jenkins' biography. Therefore, this will highlight the extent to which Jenkins reflected her own experiences as both a missionary and an intellectual, and to what extent she made use of impressions from real life and impressions she gained through rumors and reading. To view the relationship between her life and her work, we will also focus on her life and consider other books that concern the same issue. Secondly, the texts will be read in their historical contexts, to observe to what extent Jenkins reflected the dominant ideas of the time. To elucidate the relationship between history and her texts, we will choose some other historical writings from the same period and discuss similarities and differences. The texts written in this period of nationalism, modernization and westernization took their incidents and characters from the changing Empire,

But Jenkins was back in the States when she started her book **Behind Turkish Lattices**. Given Jenkins' location during the writing process, the universal ideologies of the time may have shaped the book. In **Behind Turkish Lattices**, for example, Jenkins used her own observations of Constantinople,[6] and her own students and their families to form an account of a "typical" Turkish woman's life cycle in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Jenkins was appointed by the College of Trustees in Boston not only to teach, but also to serve as a "public relations liaison between the college and the American public."[7] She focused on childhood, education, marriage, polygamy, and divorce "to give the American public a real

[6] Western writers refrain from using İstanbul so does Jenkins, instead she uses Constantinople. Stamboul is used for the central parts of the city and Constantinople is for the whole metropolis. For further information about the names of İstanbul see H. G. Dwight's **Constantinople Old and New**. London, Longmans, Green & Co, 1915, (New), p. 1; See also **A Bosporus Adventure** by Mary Mills Patrick, California, Stanford U. P. Preface, p. v; According to John Freely, İstanbul, a corruption of the Greek 'eis tin poli' means 'in the city' or 'to the city'. Especially westerners continued to use Constantinople till the end of the Ottoman Empire. See John Freely, **A History of Robert College**, Volume I-II, YKY, İstanbul, 2000, p. 15; For detailed information see also Demetrius Coufopoulos, **A Guide to Constantinople**, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1895, p. 10; There is also a song called "İstanbul Not Constantinople" sung by different singers and different groups. The song is written by Jimmy Kennedy (lyrics) and Nat Simon (music). "Istanbul Not Constantinople was originally performed by a Canadian group named The Four Lads. They released the song on August 12, 1953. There have been over 20 performers since that time. For the best versions visit the sites below:
Youtube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GpcAA38JA4U, (05.05.2013).
Youtube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rNUsOaB5V2c, (05.05.2013).

[7] See the Introduction to **Behind Turkish Lattices** by Carolyn Goffman. p. v.

understanding of the life of that exotic, yet redeemable, creature, the Muslim 'Oriental' woman."[8]

Her second book, **Ibrahim Pasha**, which was her doctorate dissertation and published as a book in 1911, did not deal with the women issue; it focused instead on the most renowned Ottoman Emperor, Suleiman the Magnificent, and his Grand Vizir Ibrahim Pasha. Her later book, **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East**, which was published in 1925, was again about the education system and the education of women in the Ottoman Empire. It mainly chronicled Robert College headmistress Mary Mills Patrick's journey to becoming a distinguished professor.

As nearly all of these three texts deal with issues such as education of women, nationalism, modernization and westernization, the historical context in which they were written is of great value. Putting the texts in their historical contexts requires some knowledge of how women's education, nationalism, modernization and westernization were perceived at the time in which the texts were written. Placing them in their historical and cultural contexts, we expect to observe to what extent Jenkins was influenced by these movements, and how she demonstrated these movements in her texts.

To form the historical and social context for Jenkins' texts, travel and historical writings from the same era, such as Demetra Vaka Brown's **Haremlik: Some Pages from the Life of Turkish Women** (1909) and **A Child Of The Orient** (1914); Anna Bowman Dodd's **In the Palaces of the Sultan** (1903); Grace Ellison's **An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem** (1915); Zeyneb Hanoum's **A Turkish Woman's European Impressions** (1913) will be read. Besides the books mentioned above, Demetra Vaka Brown's **The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul** (1923), Halide Edib Adivar's **Memoirs of Halide Edib** (1926), Selma Ekrem's **Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl** (1930), May N. Fincancı's **The Story of Robert College Old and New** (1983), John Freely's **A History of Robert College** (2000) have been chosen as the main secondary sources. These books will be read together with the texts of Jenkins. This will allow us to recognize how nationalism, modernization and westernization were reflected in these texts and how Jenkins treated these issues in her texts. The (common points) vs. (the differences) between

[8] See the Introduction to **Behind Turkish Lattices** by Carolyn Goffman. p. xv.

these documents and Jenkins' texts will be explored. The texts will be analyzed with a new historicist approach.

Behind Turkish Lattices mainly gives information about Turkish women. It gives detailed information about infancy, school life, marriage, divorce, housekeeping, amusement and the characteristics of a Turkish woman. Therefore, this book is crucial to understanding Jenkins' approach to Turkish woman. This study will enable us to see how education of women, missionary practices, nationalism, modernization and westernization were perceived in the early 20th century by Jenkins and other travelogues and historians.

In the new historicist reading of **Behind Turkish Lattices**, the travelogue will be set in the biographical context to observe how Jenkins' text was shaped. As the text includes references to the real world and suggestions from the life of Turkish women, the thoughts of these women will be mentioned to put the text in its historical context. Then this analysis will explore how Jenkins reflected the policies of these thoughts in her text, so that the relation between the text and history can be defined. We can summarize the methods that exist in this thesis with the key words and phrases constituted by new historicism: 'historicity of text,' 'textuality of history,' 'contextualization' and 'intertextuality.' Knowing that Jenkins is a writer whose texts have not been read widely in Turkey, this work will help people who are willing to study the issue and Jenkins herself.

As mentioned above, this dissertation will examine Jenkins' texts through a new historicist approach. This is a literary theory developed in the 1980s, primarily through the work of American critic Stephen Greenblatt. It became popular in the 1990s. The theory suggests that the texts in literature be calculated within the context of the time in which they were written. New historicism focuses on the idea that a literary text must be considered a product of its time, and circumstances, rather than an isolated piece of writing. New historicists try to understand the text through its historical context, and they also try to understand the culture and history through texts in the literature. The theory was a reaction to New Criticism, which solely focuses on the literary work itself.

The main focus of new historicism is that it refuses to separate literary and non-literary texts since new historicists recognize all texts as cultural *artifacts*.

Accordingly, while reading a literary text in a new historicist point of view, it is vital to understand the culture and the society in which the text was written. New historicists, therefore, have focused on the history in literary criticism.

New historicism is a recently developed approach, and according to Charles E. Bressler, the theory is still in progress.[9] Because of this, there is no exact definition of the theory. According to the new historicists, though the literary text is crucial, each text is unavoidably subjective. The social condition and the cultural background in which the writer exists also take place in the text. In new historicism, therefore, not only the literary but also the non-literary texts are necessary to understand the nature of the author and the text. Both the writer and the reader have their own personal biases and prejudices, so one should take these things into account.

New historicism is a recent school of literary criticism, started in the 1980s. It has provided a new perspective from which critics can interpret literary texts. It was developed through the contribution of different thinkers, such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. The flourish of the theory can be viewed in the context of postmodernism, as well. Although there are many other scholars who contributed to the growth of the theory with their ideas, including Catherine Gallagher, Clifford Geertz, Louis Montrose and Louis Althusser, Stephen Greenblatt is considered the founder of the theory.

Since new historicism is a theory still in progress, scholars argue that it is difficult to define it fully. It provides a new account of the past. It argues that any literary text is not independent, but rather situated in social and political environment. That is, a literary text gains its meaning when it is read together with the non-literary texts. In the process of interpreting the literary text, the author's life is very important and ought to be studied carefully. New historicism posits that all authors and critics have personal biases, and this is something unavoidable. The historicity of the text and the textuality of the history make it almost impossible to access an accurate reality about the past. Therefore, a new historicist ought to take the author's life, the social conditions, and the reflection of the historical situation in the text into account when interpreting a text.

[9] Charles E. Bressler, **Literary Criticism an Introduction to Theory and Practice**, 3'rd Edition, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 2003, p. 184.

In this PhD thesis, we aim to read Jenkins' texts, together with the historical and travel writings written in the same period, with the help of the new historicist technique. The era in which Jenkins wrote her texts saw the rise of nationalism, modernism, westernization and missionary practices in Turkey and especially the desire for education for women. Through this reading, this analysis will identify the relationships between Jenkins' texts and her life, between her texts and the period during which they were written, and between the texts and the non-literary texts written in the same era. The study will thus help us understand Jenkins and her approach to the existing ideas of the early 20th century. We will determine to what extent Jenkins' texts represent the ideology of the time, (i.e. nationalism, modernization, westernization, and missionary practices), and to what extent they stand against the ideology.

The first chapter of the dissertation gives details about the literary theory, new historicism, and elucidates the new historicist points. The starting point, the main figure behind this theory, and the development of it are explained. Some applications of new historicist tenets will be explained, mainly dealing with the texts of Stephen Greenblatt and Louis Montrose. We aim to introduce the main contents of the theory and distinguish it from the other theories such as New Criticism and Old Historicism.

The second chapter of this thesis provides a biography of Jenkins. Since there is not much information about her life in books, we will use her own texts and Carolyn Goffman's new introduction to **Behind Turkish Lattices** to uncover details about her life. Throughout the new historicist readings of Jenkins' texts, her biography will be used as a background.

The third chapter handles issues such as the image of Turkish women, education of women, and missionary activities. The chapter begins with the examination of the image of Turkish women and then continues with the explanation of the education of women and missionary practices. Through the writings of historians such as İlber Ortaylı, Feroz Ahmad, Carter Findley, and H. G. Dwight the period is studied. In doing so, some important issues such as Sultan Abdülhamid II, Second Constitutional Era (1908), Young Turks, Turkism, Ottomanism, Islamism, Modernization, Westernization will be considered and studied. Thus, this chapter will form the historical context of the study.

The fourth chapter presents new historicist readings of **Behind Turkish Lattices** and **Ibrahim Pasha** (her thesis), and **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East** respectively. **Behind Turkish Lattices** is mainly about Turkish women and their education; therefore, the focus will be more on this book itself. We will endeavor for accurate information by comparing historical, economic, social and political facts of the time with the writings of Jenkins. The period in which the book was written saw a big transition: the change of the Regime, from 1900 to 1909. The part will also include a parallel reading of Jenkins' texts and the historical documents and travel writings of the era; this will, in fact, form the basis for the whole study.

CHAPTER ONE

NEW HISTORICISM

1. 1. CULTURAL POETICS

1.1.1. Cultural Materyalism or New Historicism

New historicism is a recent critical approach, grounded on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts of the same historical era.[10] New historicism is an approach to describe the research carried out in the early 1980s by a group of scholars, mostly in Renaissance studies. The scholars of Cultural Poetics gave this body of criticism other names, including "New Historicism" and "Cultural Materialism." No matter how this critical analysis is named, it is obvious that it focuses on the connection between cultural texts and history. There is an increasing interest in new historicism partly because of its "newness" but mainly because of its "new" form of interpretation of the "old."

Appearing as an alternating approach to textual interpretation, cultural poetics—often called new historicism in the United States and cultural materialism in Great Britain—states that history cannot be objective; all is subjective, because people are affected by their prejudices and biases when interpreting the past. Thus, history fails to give us the truth or completely accurate pictures of past events.[11] New historicists think that the ultimate truth of history is inaccessible and unreachable; therefore, no scholarly work can reveal it accurately. All historical records are incomplete and imperfect. For example, a new historicist critic would argue that it is crucial to read William Shakespeare within the context of the culture of Elizabethan England.[12]

We must necessarily define *culture* and *historicism* to understand the trends better. Geertz thinks that "there exists no human nature independent of culture" and

[10] Peter Barry, **Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory**, M. U. P., Manchester, 1995, p. 172.
[11] Bressler, p. 181.
[12] M. Keith Booker, **A Practical Introduction to Literary Theory and Criticism**, Longman Publishers, New York, 1996, p.135.

he defines culture as "a set of control mechanisms plans, recipes, rules, instructions, for governing behavior."[13] As for the cultural materialism defined by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, Peter Barry explains that it "has four characters: 1. historical context, 2. theoretical method, 3. political commitment, and 4. textual analysis."[14]

Stephen Greenblatt thinks that the writings labeled 'New Historicist' including his own are contrary to the three meanings which the *American Heritage Dictionary* lists for the term *historicism*. These meanings are as follows: 1. The belief that processes are at work in history that a man can do little to alter. 2. The theory that the historian must avoid all value judgments in his study of past periods or former cultures. 3. Veneration of the past, or of tradition.[15] Louis Althusser believes that "ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" and he thinks "ideology has a material existence."[16] This leads him to the following conclusion: "If there is no practice except by and in an ideology, there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects."[17] Althusser's concept of ideology constitutes the concept of ideology in new historicism. Ideology, for the new historicists, texts in language, but more than this, it exists in a material form through institutions such as a school, a theatre, a university, etc. Therefore, "culture is a field of much ideological contest and contradiction and no cultural artefact or practice is outside this political sphere."[18]

The scholars and critics of new historicism mention the year 1980 as the start of new historicism because in 1980, Greenblatt, in his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*, announced the chief characteristics of new historicism, though he preferred to call his project "Cultural Poetics."[19] Two years later,

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[13] Bressler, p. 187.
[14] Barry, p. 182.
[15] Stephen Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder" in Kiernan Ryan (ed.), **New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader**, Arnold, London 1996, (Reader), p. 55.
[16] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", in Kiernan Ryan (ed.), **New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader**, Arnold, London, 1996, p. 17-19.
[17] Althusser, p. 21.
[18] John Brannigan, **New Historicism and Cultural Materialism**. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1998, p. 12.
[19] Louis Montrose thinks that "Stephen Greenblatt, who is most closely identified with the label "New Historicism" in Renaissance literary studies, has himself now abandoned it in favor of "Cultural Poetics," a term he had used earlier and one which perhaps more accurately represents the critical project I have described" In the endnote in the same book, Montrose makes it clearer about the introduction of the terms. For example: the term "New Historicism" seems to have been introduced

Greenblatt coined the phrase 'New Historicism'—and thus started the usage of the label—in his introduction to *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance*, thus:

> *Many of the present essays give voice […] to what we may call the new historicism, set apart from both the dominant historical scholarship of the past and the formalist criticism that […] the New Historicism erodes the firm ground of both criticism and literature. It tends to ask questions about its own methodological assumptions and those of others […] the critical practice represented in this volume challenges the assumptions that guarantee a secure distinction between artistic production and other kinds of social production.*[20]

New historicism developed in response to formalist criticism known as new criticism or Russian formalism, which focuses on the form of a literary text. Formalism does not put enough emphasis on the text's historical, biographical, and cultural context and instead focuses more on modes, genres, discourse, and forms. New criticism, on the other hand, is just interested in the text as the only artifact,[21] something complete within itself, written for its own sake, unified in its form and not dependent on the author's life or intention, history, or anything else. While formalist criticism places great emphasis on a literary work's formal and technical properties such as form, style and language, new historicism focuses on all the contexts in which the work is produced.

New historicism is an approach to literary criticism and literary theory based on the principle that a literary work should be considered a product of the time, place, and circumstances of its composition, rather than as an isolated formation. It has its connection to the "New Criticism" of formal literary analysis. Hence, new criticism is known today as "Old Historicism." In this approach, history serves as a background to literature. The text has the primary importance; the historical background of the text is only secondarily important. There are some basic

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into Renaissance studies with Michael McCanles, but it also seems to have gained currency from its use by Stephen Greenblatt. For more information see Louis A. Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance" in Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (eds.), **Literary Theory: An Anthology**, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1998, (Anthology), p. 779. On the other hand in 1987 Marilyn Butler called for a New Historicist practice in her Cambridge lecture 'Repossessing the Past: The Case for an Open Literary History'. Please see Philip Rice, Patricia Waugh, **Modern Literary Theory: A Reader,** Second Edition, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1992, p. 260. Actually from my point of view while criticizing a piece of paper everything should be taken into account, therefore I might call this approach an "Open Criticism", which will include the history, the culture, the background of the writer, and the form of the literary text.

[20] Qtd. in John Brannigan, **New Historicism and Cultural Materialism**. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1998, p. 61.

[21] The concept of cultural artefact is borrowed from Clifford Geertz.

differences between these two versions of historicism.[22] Peter Barry plainly explicates them: "The practice of giving 'equal weighting' to literary and non-literary material is the first and major difference between the 'new' and the 'old' historicism. A second significant difference between old and new historicisms is . . . that new historicism is indeed a historicist rather than a historical movement." In other words, it has interests in history as recorded in written texts. Historical events, on the other hand, "are irrecoverably lost."[23]

While old historicism made a hierarchical separation between the literary text, which was the object of value, and the historical background, which was merely the setting, new historicism is interested in history as represented and recorded in written documents. It claims, as historical events are irrecoverably lost, history can only be known by the texts that have been passed down to us.[24] In theory, new criticism views a literary text as an object itself, which is independent of its author and is not related to its author, its readers, and the historical period it represents. According to this standpoint, the meaning of a text is found by examining it closely and reading it closely. This close examination of the text alone—not including other texts—will provide the critic with the necessary information about the literary text. In the view of new criticism, the text will reveal its meaning to the reader when he or she examines it thoroughly and applies a methodical and organized methodology. So, new criticism disregards the historical side of literature.[25]

According to Greenblatt, history played an important role in shaping the literature; therefore, it has great value and its role should neither be ignored nor undermined. In a new critical analysis, the historical context of a work does not matter; what is significant is the text itself. New criticism ignored and did not value the fact that any given text is produced in a historical context. Greenblatt needed to explain how literature was formed, whom it serves, what literature is as a term and what it includes.[26] Greenblatt needed to know whether cultural setting and environment are at work in shaping and forming the literature. New historicism arose as a respond to new criticism's supremacy and authority over literary criticism and its

[22] Kaçmaz, p. 52.
[23] Barry, pp. 174-175.
[24] Barry, pp. 174-175.
[25] Bressler, p. 182.
[26] Bressler, pp. 182-183.

lack of response to questions about the nature, the definition and the function of literature itself. Because of its emphasis on culture, history, literature, and a lot of other factors that might help determine a text's meaning, Greenblatt and his followers have come to believe that the term cultural poetics, not new historicism, more appropriately describes their approach to textual analysis.[27]

Cultural poetics is founded in the writings of the twentieth- century French archaeologist, historian, and philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984). Foucault begins his theoretical structure by redefining the concept of history.[28] Foucault is the most prominent and most persistent influence on new historicism, but his work is not free from its old historicist models, particularly in the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche.[29] Bressler delivers the view point of Foucault about history, thus:

> *Unlike many past historians, Foucault declares that history is not linear—it does not have a definite beginning, a middle, and an end – nor is it necessarily teleological, that is, purposefully going forward toward some known end. Nor can history be explained as a series of causes and effects controlled by some mysterious destiny or an all-powerful deity. For Foucault, history is the complex interrelationship of a variety of discourses, the various ways—artistic, social, political, and so on—that people think and talk about their world.*[30]

Before the flourish of the theory in the early 1980s, there had been many new presentations of philosophical, historical and literary approaches. In this time, probably the most significant contribution to the theory came from Michel Foucault, who gave lectures at the University of California, Berkeley, in the late 1970s. Greenblatt attended these lectures, as did a number of other new historicists.[31] In *Madness and Civilization*, *The Birth of the Clinic*, *The Order of Things*, *Discipline and Punish*, and *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault suggests a different perspective in which history can be viewed in different dimensions and also re-evaluated. He views society as the outcome of a complex system of interacting discourses, and he insists that these relationships be too complex to be understood completely. In his view, the events of history are driven by interrelationships far too complicated to be described in terms of simple cause-effect arrangements.[32]

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[27] Bressler, pp. 181-182.
[28] Bressler, p. 185.
[29] Brannigan, p. 42.
[30] Bressler, p. 185.
[31] Brannigan, p. 38; See also Greenblatt's "Towards a Poetics of Culture" in Veeser, 1989, p. 1.
[32] Booker, pp.136-137.

Objectivity of the historian in the process of assessing the past is close to impossible, as he or she is aware of his or her own situation and the history is just a text to be read, analyzed and interpreted. According to some critics, Foucault and new historicism come from the same vein: Friedrich Nietzsche, the famous German philosopher. "Both Foucault and new historicism belong to this Nietzschean school of history, combining the philosophical interest in the definition of concepts and ideologies with the historical-anthropological interest in the social and cultural practices in which such concepts and ideologies are manifest."[33]

Nietzsche's views about power, history and the nature of human beings are mostly visible in Foucault and new historicism. In Nietzsche's opinion, the components of life and culture are determined by social and political differences; thus the history of 'good' and 'bad' is outstanding:

> *Nietzsche finds that 'good' and 'bad' derive not from any intrinsically moral or theological distinction, but instead from an intensely social and political one. Good signified noble blood or fine breeding . . . and bad was equated with simple, rustic, or low. The basis of this moral distinction was then a class distinction, and Nietzsche traces the roots of morals to one class dominating and distinguishing itself from another. The will to power which is evident in the class hierarchy is hidden behind amoral façade.*[34]

Exerting the language as a reflection of culture and thought, Nietzsche reveals that even basic words gain their meanings with the influence of class struggle and 'power.' The dominant and the ruling group in a society are represented, but others are nameless in history analysis. 'Power' is so important for Foucault that it could be said it is everywhere and controls everything. His famous phrase stresses this opinion, as quoted in Brannigan, thus: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere."[35] According to Foucault, power is apparent in all levels of society, and it should not be thought that just the rulers have it. This apparent power from everywhere is, according to Nietzsche, because of the nature of human being: "Where I found a living creature, there I found will to power."[36]

[33] Brannigan, p. 46.
[34] Brannigan, p. 43.
[35] Brannigan, p. 49.
[36] Brannigan, p. 48.

With this argument, claiming that Foucault shares the same view with Nietzsche, Brannigan develops the idea, stating: "Foucault recognizes that power is not at the control of individual subjects or groups but instead is a general force which is only visible in particular events and actions."[37] In summary, Nietzsche's and Foucault's ideas about history and its analysis, and about power—along with their view of genealogy—greatly inspired new historicists. In particular, Foucault's unusual comprehension of history and his understanding constructed the foundations of new historicism. Considering Foucault as one of the most important and influential figures in the history of new historicism, M. Keith Booker stresses that: "Foucault's reminders of the necessary limitations of historical descriptions together with the models provided by his own intellectual practice have inspired new historicist critics."[38] It is even possible to say that new historicists are directly heir to Foucault's innovations.

Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883), German philosopher and political economist, is an important character for his analysis of history in relation to class distinction and the proletariat. His thoughts of 'class struggle' and 'the situation of the workers' influenced many people all around the world. Unlike the other historians, his scope was not the rulers of the society but the society itself, especially the proletariat. Specifically, his ideas about history and its components are a strong stimulus on the process of the changing analysis of history. John Brannigan remarks on the nature of Marxism, thus:

> *On a simple level Marxism fractures the idea that history is singular and universal by positing that all history is rife with class struggle in which the interests of dominant economic group are represented as the interests of society in general while the interests of the proletariat, those who sell their labour for ages, are not represented or are represented as those of a particular minority.*[39]

The influence of Marxism on the philosophy is apparent seeing as it suggests that history be re-read by providing space to the society itself. "Marxism, by drawing attention to the conflict and contradiction at the heart of 'history' and 'representation,' opened the way for a full scale examination and challenge of the

[37] Brannigan, p. 48.
[38] Booker, p. 137.
[39] Brannigan, p. 23.

processes and forces of ideology or power, and this is the task of new historicism and cultural materialism."[40]

Peter Barry defines new historicism as "a method based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period." He emphasizes that new historicism requires a form of study in which literary and non-literary texts are given equal weight and that they must constantly enlighten and interrogate each other. This indicates that new historicism is an approach to literature in which no privilege is given to literary texts. Literary texts represent just one of many sources available.[41] Perhaps the approach of new historicism is best described by Brook Thomas thus: "new historicism suggests the newness of the past, whereas postmodernism suggests the pastness of the new.[42]

In **New Historicism and Cultural Materialism**, John Brannigan holds that new historicism insists upon a close correlation between literature and history, and also considers texts as both products and functional elements of social and political formations. Previous literary approaches to texts assumed that literary texts had comprehensive significance and they did not have historical truth to convey; conversely, new historicists say that literary texts are material products of particular historical conditions. New historicists do not view literary texts, Brannigan avows, "against an overriding background of history or to see history as a set of facts outside the written text."[43]

According to new historicists, all history is subjective; for this reason, it cannot be employed to illuminate a literary text. Using the history to control and check a text's connotation as well as its meaning is rather absurd. To a new historicist "history is not objective knowledge which can be made to explain a literary text."[44] Brannigan maintains that "for new historicism . . . the object of study is not the text and its context, not literature and its history, but rather literature in history," and he reaches the conclusion that "this is to see literature as constitutive and inseparable part of history in the making and therefore rife with the creative forces, disruptions

[40] Brannigan, p. 29.
[41] Barry, pp. 172-173.
[42] Brook Thomas, **The New Historicism and Other Old-Fashioned Topics**, P. U. Press, New Jersey, 1991, p. 25.
[43] Brannigan, p. 3.
[44] Brannigan, p. 3.

and contradictions of history."[45] The importance of the relationship between literature and history proportionally is so high.

H. Aram Veeser points out in the introduction to his book on new historicism that due to new historicism, intellectuals can address all fields: "history, anthropology, art, politics, literature and economics."[46] Also, new historicism shakes the thought that humanists should not enter into the matters of politics and power. In fact, new historicism is acutely conscious of any matter that has an effect on people's practical lives, including global problems and issues. Actually, here lies the essence of the point: there are no boundaries between the fields. All are inter-connected to one another.[47]

Louis Montrose posits that although new historicism sometimes repeats systematical deficiencies of previous modes of historical criticism, it is new in that it does not make a distinction between "literature and history," or between "text and context." It is also new in that it does not give privilege to an individual, author, or work.[48] Montrose argues that the key concern of new historicists is "the historicity of texts" and "the textuality of history." He explains that to recognize the historicity of text is to specify the social and historical differences at work in both the literary text and the critical text, and that to recognize the textuality of history is to assume that nothing exists outside language, outside representations:

> *By the historicity of text, I mean to suggest the cultural specificity, the social embedment, of all modes of writing – not only the texts that critics study but also the texts in which we study them. By the textuality of history, I mean to suggest, firstly, that we can have no access to a full and authentic past, a lived and material existence, unmediated by the surviving textual traces of the society in question – traces whose survival we cannot assume to be contingent but must rather presume to be at least partially consequent upon complex and subtle social processes of preservation and effacement; and secondly, that those textual traces are themselves subject to subsequent textual mediations when they are construed as 'documents' upon which historians ground their own texts, called 'histories'.*[49]

[45] Brannigan, pp. 3-4.
[46] H. Aram Veeser, "Introduction", in H. Aram Veeser (ed.), **The New Historicism**, Routledge, New York, 1989, p. ix.
[47] Veeser, p. ix.
[48] Louis A. Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture" (15-36), in H. Aram Veeser (ed.), **The New Historicism**, Routledge, New York, 1989, (Historicism), p. 18.
[49] Montrose, Historicism, p. 20.

Clifford Geertz, a famous anthropologist, is a very significant character for new historicism, given his innovations about the analysis of society and culture. During his research, he tries to collect anything about the culture, in order to focus on it in detail. "Geertz views culture largely as a system of signs and codes that govern behaviour and allow different individuals to communicate."[50] At first pass, it might be concluded that Geertz studies symbols of culture and studying these symbols might indicate that he is in the pursuit of an overall outline of the culture. Geertz, however, has no idea of yielding to a general thought:

> *[P]aying close and careful attention to specific cultural practices but refusing to draw general conclusions about a culture from these specific studies. Instead, Geertz seeks to find individual events, performances or practices that he can interpret in great detail, developing 'local knowledge' of the specific phenomenon rather than the 'global knowledge' of the culture as a whole.*[51]

To a new historicist, literary texts and social context are woven and formed together; therefore, it is pointless to separate one from the other.[52] Building on the insights of recent poststructuralist theory, new historicists are aware of the fundamental textuality of history. In particular, new historicists comprehend that no amount of historical scholarship can uncover the final "truth" of history.[53] New historicism favors Derrida's idea that 'there is nothing outside the text,' in a way that everything related to the past is only presented to us in a textualised form. It is "thrice-processed," as Barry asserts, "first through the ideology, or outlook, or discursive practices of its own time, then through those of ours, and finally through the distorting web of language itself."[54]

New historicist essays always make an attempt to generate another reconstruction while the literary text under consideration, such as a play or poem, is investigated together with a chosen document. Thus, a new entity is created. Some critics may argue that the chosen documents are not pertinent to the literary text in question. It should be noted that the aim of new historicism "is not to represent the past as it really was" but rather "to present a new reality by re-situating it."[55]

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[50] Booker, p. 137.
[51] Booker, p. 137.
[52] Booker, p. 138.
[53] Booker, p. 135.
[54] Barry, p. 175.
[55] Barry, p. 175.

Although Greenblatt is the main figure of the approach, he finds it hard to give a clear definition of the branch. He comments as follows: "I shall try if not to define the new historicism at least to situate it as a practice, a practice rather than a doctrine, since as far as I can tell (and I should be the one to know) it's no doctrine at all."[56] Rather than a literary doctrine, new historicism must be considered a practice. It is difficult to label any work as new historicist, because it is not a doctrine or a particular approach, but a constantly developing and changing view of the literary past. Almost all the leaders and scholars of the theory share the belief that to put new historicism in a particular frame is challenging.

As previously stated, new historicism is a recent approach to literary texts. Both its nature and newness make the theory incomplete. Bressler posits that the theory is still in progress, and it is constantly re-organizing its aims, philosophy and practices.[57] Hence, the practices of the theory vary from person to person. As Barry explains, new historicism insists that, to be able to understand the text fully, it is compulsory to appeal to the non-literary texts of the same historical period. It is inevitable that each text is affected by its author. The social and cultural situation in which the writer lives is reflected indirectly in the text. At this point, old historicism and new historicism differ very much, as new historicism does not offer a classified separation between literary texts and non-literary ones. When addressing the difference between old and new historicism, Barry suggests that "[t]hese earlier approaches made a hierarchical separation between the literary text, which was the object of value, the jewel, as it were, and the historical 'background,' which was merely the setting, and by definition of lesser worth."[58]

As Barry states, in new historicism, all materials are given equal weight; there is no literary 'foreground' or historical 'background,' about literature and history. Rather, they come into existence collaboratively and neither has the privilege to be regarded as more important than the other. Accordingly, the focus is not merely on the literary text. The texts or materials that contribute to the literary text are considered to have equal magnitude, and they must be handled accordingly.

[56]Stephen Greenblatt, "Towards a Poetics of Culture" in H. Aram Veeser (ed.), **The New Historicism**, Routledge, New York, 1989, (Historicism), p. 1.
[57] Bressler, p. 184.
[58] Barry, p. 174.

Greenblatt and Montrose treat literary texts as symbolic formations which differ from other symbolic formations, including historical events and trends. For this reason, they treat history not as a background context, but instead as the very subject in which literature is entangled.[59]

Barry suggests that new historicism requires a great amount of close reading of non-literary texts in its literary approach, even though it brings to the front the word 'historicism.' Documents, Barry adds, are hardly ever presented as a whole. Instead, a short piece of writing is offered and then it is analyzed closely. The context of the document is usually not introduced. Also, little attention is given to previous writings of the same text. Consequently, new historicism is a 'words on the page' approach, in which context is ignored. As a consequence, sometimes a single text can be the only witness. The weight placed upon a particular text is often high. Hence, the methods of new historicism is not greatly respected by historians. Indeed, new historicism is an approach towards history in which 'non-historians' take an interest.[60]

Booker adds that Greenblatt's essays are remarkably well-written and that these essays are "entertaining, informative, and insightful, but they depend on extremely perceptive readings of cultural documents."[61] He worries, however, that critics not as talented as Greenblatt may not achieve such notable results. In the view of some critics, new historicism emphasizes the cultural context so much that it is in imminent danger of losing the aesthetic properties of literary texts. Nevertheless, there are others who argue just the opposite. The new historicist method has become so successful and common that "many of its original practitioners are concerned that it may be in danger of losing its critical force."[62]

New historicism tries to determine how culture and society are interacting with each other in a given context and time, and also how they affect each other. Veeser thinks that the fact that new historicism takes literary text and history as foreground and background limits its ability to reflect its contexts. He attributes this

[59] Brannigan, pp. 59-60.
[60] Barry, p. 177.
[61] Booker, p. 144.
[62] Booker, p. 143.

to the fact that new historicism is a method in literary criticism, not a methodical and rule-governed practice.[63]

Brannigan asserts that none of the literary theories or critical practices has ever had standard, fixed and rigid rules for simple application. This is especially the case for new historicism, since it does not have one correct application, and there is no agreement about its practice among critics. Therefore, there is always a risk that some mistakes may be made when applying the theory. To be able to explain and study the cultural, social and political structure of the past; new historicists think that non-literary texts carry as much weight as literary texts, so they use non-literary texts as equal sources with literary texts.[64]

Brannigan suggests that just as anthropologists approach the sign systems of another culture, new historicists approach the sign systems of the past. In one sense, new historicists carry out historical and literary studies, along with anthropological studies. Practitioners of new historicism have combined anthropology and the disciplines of literary studies.[65]

Brannigan also notes that new historicist essays do not share much in common; therefore, they cannot be applied with much accuracy. Although many critics call themselves new historicists, they have adopted this label because of their interest in the relationship between literature and historical context. We should always keep in mind that there are a number of differences among new historicists, as with the definitions of new historicism. There is no one theory or principle that can be applied indisputably and plainly. Still, new historicists share the same basic assumptions and characteristics, which form the foundation of new historicism.[66]

Montrose agrees with this comment, by maintaining that there has been no consensus on determining a systematic practice of new historicism. In addition, he asserts that it seems unlikely that practitioners of the theory will ever reach a compromise.[67] Gallagher, too, holds a similar idea about what new historicism is actually about. She thinks that although new historicism is closely concerned with politics, "its politics are obnoxious." She also adds that politics of new historicism

[63] Veeser, pp. xii-xiv.
[64] Brannigan, pp. 11-12.
[65] Brannigan, pp. 31-34.
[66] Brannigan, pp. 79-80.
[67] Montrose, Historicism, p. 20.

"are so difficult to specify" and that new historicism is not even under pressure to attain a consistency over its practice.[68] Gallagher further expresses that:

> *This is not to claim that the desire for historical knowledge is itself historically unplaced or "objective"; it is, rather, to insist that the impulses, norms and standards of a discipline called history, which has achieved a high level of autonomy in the late twentieth century, are profound part of the subjectivity of some scholars and do not in all case require political ignition.*[69]

Barry states that new historicism is purposely anti-establishment and it is always unreservedly on the side of the liberal ideas of personal freedom, and it acknowledges and favors all form of divergence and deviance.[70] Also, Barry covers some of the steps that new historicists should follow and explains the basic differences between cultural materialism and new historicism. It is clearly illustrated what these critics do and in what respect they differ from each other. The following will give an idea about these basic differences.

What new historicists do

1. They put literary and non-literary texts together, reading the former with the latter in mind.
2. Thus, they try to 'defamiliarise' the canonical literary text.
3. They concentrate on issues of State power and how it is maintained.
4. They make use of features of the post-structuralist view.[71]

What cultural materialists do

1. They read the literary text in such a way as to enable us to recover its histories.
2. They also foreground those elements in the work's present transmission and contextualising which caused those histories to be lost in the first place.
3. They use a mixture of Marxist and feminist approaches to the text.
4. They use the technique of close textual analysis, but mainly employ structuralist and post-structuralist techniques.
5. They work primarily within traditional notions of the canon.[72]

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[68] Catherine Gallagher, "Marxism and the New Historisicm", in H. Aram Veeser (ed.), **The New Historicism**, Routledge, New York, 1989, pp. 37-46.
[69] Gallagher, p. 46.
[70] Barry, p. 175.
[71] Barry, p. 179.
[72] Barry, p. 187.

Catherine Gallagher, however, is convinced that new historicism ascertains the presence of the circulation of disciplinary power.[73] Barry explains that Greenblatt usually starts his essays with a careful scrutiny of a contemporary historical manuscript which extends beyond the subject matter of the work. In other words, the historical document is closely related to the text in question. Greenblatt refers to the historical manuscripts relevant to the subject being discussed as the 'anecdote.' A conventional new historicist essay skips the expected academic review and begins with an influential and striking anecdote. Since these historical manuscripts are not violated as context, but are rather considered in their own right, Barry further suggests that perhaps they should be called 'co-texts' rather than 'contexts.' Consequently, "the text and co-text used will be seen as expressions of the same historical moment and interpreted accordingly."[74]

Here is the list of rules that Greenblatt develops and which might be followed by new historicist scholars:

1. There can be no appeals to genius as the sole origin of the energies of great art.
2. There can be no motiveless creation.
3. There can be no transcendent or timeless or unchanging representation.
4. There can be no autonomous artifacts.
5. There can be no expression without and origin and an object, a from and a for.
6. There can be no art without social energy.
7. There can be no spontaneous generation of social energy.[75]

New historicism attributes more responsibility to the reader or critic. For instance, Greenblatt not only reads Shakespeare's text closely and carefully, he also reads marginal contemporary texts such as diaries, chronicles, and church and municipal records for additional insight. From the reading of these relatively marginal texts, Greenblatt concludes that Elizabethan England had crises about basic

[73] Gallagher, pp. 46-47.
[74] Barry, p. 173.
[75] Booker, p. 141.

issues such as religion, political power, and gender—all of which have a profound influence on Shakespeare's plays.[76]

For Greenblatt, Shakespeare is not a unique, transcendent genius whose greatness lies in his ability to escape his historical situation and to express universal and timeless human truths. Rather, Shakespeare's work is great because of his singular ability to draw on the energies generated by the conflicts in the society of his time. Shakespeare, in short, is unique neither because his texts reflect universal human truths nor because he writes in a time of unparalleled cultural greatness and integration. Shakespeare's texts have a special energy precisely because they are so firmly interrelated with their own historical context.[77]

H. Aram Veeser edited the key assumptions of new historicism. His version can be given as the final word in defining new historicism; stating how new historicism approaches literary texts, culture, and history, and outlines their concerns with each other. They are as follows:

1. Every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices;
2. Every act of unmasking, critique, and opposition uses the tools it condemns and risks falling prey to the practice it exposes;
3. Literary and non-literary "texts" circulate inseparably;
4. No discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths nor expresses inalterable human nature;
5. Finally, [...] A critical method and a language adequate to describe culture under capitalism participate in the economy they describe.[78]

The movement establishes itself upon four main arguments. 1. Literature is historical, which means that a literary work is not primarily the record of the attempt of one's mind to solve certain problems and the need to find something to say; it is a social and cultural construct shaped by more than one consciousness. The proper way to understand it, therefore, is through the culture and society that produced it. 2. Literature, then, is not a distinct category of human activity. It must be assimilated to history, which means a particular vision of history. 3. Like texts of literature, man himself is a social construct, a composition of social and political forces. There is no

[76] Booker, p. 141.
[77] Booker, p. 142.
[78] Veeser, p. xi.

such a thing as human nature that transcends history. 4. The historian and the critic are trapped in their own historicity. No one can rise above his own social formations, his own ideological upbringing, in order to understand the past on its terms.

In summary, new historicism puts the greatest emphasis on the co-reading of literary and non-literary texts to determine authors' ideas more accurately. Each work is created under the influence of a certain power and dominant ideology, which means "representing the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence."[79] This influence should never be ignored in the process of interpreting literary texts. Both the writer of the work, and also the critic who analyze that work have their own personal biases and prejudices, so they should acknowledge these realities. Therefore, "[t]o unlock textual meaning, a cultural poetics critic investigates three areas of concern: the life of the author, the social rules and dictates found within a text, and a reflection of a work's historical situation as evidenced in the text."[80]

To a new historicist, the life of the author is crucial, as the codes hidden in the work are reflections or representations of his or her experiences in the real life. For instance, it is expected that an author who received a strict religious education may state religious motives in his or her work. Secondly, as mentioned above, the society existing in the work must be analyzed in depth, as the work completes its message within this realm. Lastly, the text inherits much from the history in which it is situated, and for this reason, a new historicist pays attention to the time of the literary work. These three aspects are essential and "[i]f one area is ignored, the risk of returning to the old historicism, with its lack of understanding about a text as a social production, is great."[81]

The importance of new historicism lies in its different approaches to text, history and culture. What differs new historicism from the other approaches are as follows: a) it refuses to assume that a literary text has a fixed meaning and to view history as objective and rational; b) it accepts the interaction between text and history and of the impact of culture; c) it puts great emphasis on the relation of a text with the other texts. The central concepts in new historicism—textuality of history,

[79] Althusser, p. 17.
[80] Bressler, p. 189.
[81] Bressler, p. 189.

historicity of text, contextualization[82] and intertextuality[83]—not only help to explain new historicist concerns and analysis, but also offer new ways of interpretation to both literary texts, history and culture.

As a result, a new historicist should never forget "the historicity of the text and the textuality of the history" in the process of analyzing a literary work. New historicism is a mode of critical interpretation which promises to be a productive practice in the interpretations of literary, historical and cultural texts.

[82] To place (a word or idea, for example) in a particular context.
[83] The shaping of texts' meanings by other texts. The relationship between literary texts.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LIFE OF HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS, AS BIOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT TO HER TEXTS

2. 1. THE LIFE OF HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS

When Jenkins (1869-1941) came to İstanbul in 1900, she was 31 years old. She resided in İstanbul for nine years[84] from 1900 to 1909. During that time, she witnessed some extraordinary changes in the life of Turkish women, in particular, and the political situation in the Ottoman Empire, in general. She came to the Empire with two missions: the first was to teach at the American College for girls in İstanbul, and the other was to serve as a "public relations liaison between the college and the American public." When the College Board of Trustees in Boston appointed her professor of English and Latin, she did not remain just as an English and Latin professor; she also engaged in further studies. She studied history and later headed the History Department at the college.[85]

Jenkins received her teaching diploma in 1896 from the Oshkosh State Normal School in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. She was granted her B.A degree in 1898 from the University of Chicago. She studied English Literature at the same university and received her M.A in 1899. Jenkins—with her strong academic background and her socially progressive views, especially concerning women—embodied this new brand of "post-missionary" American educator in the Near East, as Carolyn Goffman affirms in her "Introduction" to **Behind Turkish Lattices**.

Missionary Schools were popular in the 19th century in the Near East. They were training young men to be preachers and young women to be preacher's wives. Although Jenkins reflected the tradition of social activism she chose to be liberal in

[84] Jenkins describes these years as dark years but she is also in favor of the transformation year, 1908. The open letter at the beginning of her book **Behind Turkish Lattices** states thus: "For nine years I have lived in your beautiful city of Constantinople, and have learned to love Turkey and you. I have grieved with you over the dark days that are past, and have rejoiced with you over the wonderful transformation that July 1908 made in your land, and now I hope with you for the happy future of Turkey" (v).

[85] See Carolyn Goffman's 'Introduction' (v-xxix) to **Behind Turkish Lattices**, which is in Cultures in Dialogue Series On*e*. The editors are Teresa Heffernan and Reina Lewis.

terms of education. She was not against the religious emphasis, but she mainly focused on liberal arts for students seeking careers in education or government. Her main concern was to educate the young, especially the women, whose need for education had long been ignored.[86]

Jenkins came to teach at the American College for girls in İstanbul mainly because of her academic qualifications, not because of her religiousness. The institution was becoming a secular institution of higher education. The education she had at the University of Chicago grounded her in the liberal arts tradition and her credentials and responsibilities at the college set her apart from the Evangelicals at the college in İstanbul. Jenkins's duties were new as well: not only was she placed "in charge of the departments of English and Latin" but she was also tasked with reporting back to America about the College. According to the President's Report of 1900-01, she was to give "especial attention to writing on behalf of the College in American publications, with a view of making the college more widely known in America." The college, in employing Jenkins to present its activities to the non-missionary American public, sought to advertise its effectiveness in social change and its influence in the workings of the Ottoman Empire.[87]

Jenkins was energetic and passionate in her teaching and other responsibilities. According to the President's Annual Report in 1904, Jenkins started teaching "the senior class in Bible, a preparatory class in History, and a preparatory class in English" in addition to her courses in English and Latin within the departments of English and History. At the same time, she wrote "short weekly articles for publications in several papers in the United States." As President Patrick notes, Jenkins was successful.[88]

Apart from teaching, Jenkins was involved in the choir, and this involvement demonstrated the start of the combination of Protestant Christian activities and modern education. The College saw no philosophical conflict between its affirmed secularism and the religious education that it required; indeed, the combination was seen in most American colleges at that time. Jenkins remained at the American

[86] Carolyn Goffman, "Introduction", **Behind Turkish Lattices: the Story of a Turkish Woman's Life**, by Hester Donaldson Jenkins (1911a), Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004, pp. v-xxix.
[87] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.
[88] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.

College for nine years, and during those nine years she willingly learned Turkish, visited the homes of her students, and studied Ottoman history and archeology, in addition to teaching a variety of classes. At the same time, she embraced the cause of educational reform in the Ottoman Empire. When the Young Turk Revolution happened in July 1908, Jenkins celebrated the event with the students, believing that at last her expectations for Ottoman womanhood would be realized.[89]

The American College for Girls in İstanbul once was a missionary "home school," a modest establishment which was founded in 1871 for Christian girls, especially Armenians. The language of instruction was Armenian. In the 1880s, the Women's Board of Missions (WBM) of the American Board of the Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in Boston encouraged the expansion of American women's education in the Ottoman Empire. Caroline Borden,[90] a philanthropist and missionary Board member who was particularly passionate about the need for women's education, pushed for the development of the "Home School" into an English-language high school offering an American-style education. The school adopted her suggestions. It continued to lay heavy emphasis on Bible studies and Chapel attendance, but classes in English equipped the students to study academic subjects in the American teachers' native language. During the next few years, sponsors in Boston and teachers in İstanbul worked together to gain a college charter from the State of Massachusetts, and by the time Jenkins arrived, the Constantinople Home School had already evolved into the American College for Girls.[91]

The college did not remain as the same Home School, but it significantly raised its academic standards.[92] This change in the mission caused a break with the Mission Board in Boston and the American teachers in İstanbul. When they first started teaching, they were insistently Protestant, but they soon began to show greater concern with Ottoman female liberation and modernization, putting aside religious "proselytism." This philosophical change from a missionary purpose to women's education led to the transformation of the faculty. Prior to Jenkins' arrival

[89] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.
[90] With Caroline Borden's help and with Mary Mills Patrick's efforts the "Home School" was turned into an all girls' college in 1890.
[91] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.
[92] This change will be studied in the 3rd Chapter in detail.

in 1900, an incident occurred in which a missionary teacher objected to the change of the mission and to the decline of the religious mission of the college. She wrote her complaints to the Board in Boston, and this caused an important debate about the college's mission.[93]

President Mary Mills Patrick assured the college community that the increasing secular nature of the college did not lessen its religious influence. She maintained that Protestant moral teaching—though not actively religious—was predominant. The debate included other missionaries as well. Some of them agreed with the secular idea while others were very strict about the religious aspect. Again it was Patrick who was able to find a solution and persuade Boston that the "proselytism" was not a concern. Actually, this was a signal that the college was turning away from the Missionary Board. The discontented missionary teacher soon went back to the States, replaced by Jenkins, who took over her teaching in the History Department. In the meantime, the college secured a second charter from the Massachusetts legislature in 1908, which allowed it to develop independently from the restrictions of the WBM.[94]

During her nine years at the American College, Jenkins, in addition to her other duties, served as college archivist, collecting materials that would be used later by historians of the college. In autumn 1909, Jenkins returned to the United States to attend Columbia University, a matter of deep regret to her students and colleagues, but a decision firmly supported by the College in the interests of raising the ability of its faculty. However, perhaps because of her own career goals or the unsettled state of the Ottoman Empire—which had endured the Balkan Wars followed immediately by World War I—Jenkins did not return to the college. She continued, however, to write about Ottoman women, about the revolution, and about her experiences there for many years.[95]

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[93] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.

[94] Goffman, pp. v-xxix. Dr. Patrick had a distinct personality having a universal spirit; she had wider and freer line of education, while Miss Fensham was more religious and narrow in her thoughts. Halide Edib explains these two different characters in terms of the fate of the college. "Had Miss 'Fensham prevailed, the college would have been a missionary institution, intense, but particular and limited in its appeal. Dr. Patrick struggled to give a larger scope and significance to all its texts." See Halide Edib, (1926), **Memoirs of Halide Edib**, Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ. 2004, (Edib), p. 193.

[95] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.

It was in 1908 when the Young Turks established a legitimate monarchy in the Ottoman Empire. These Young Turks seemed, in Jenkins' view to promise new freedom for Ottoman women.[96] "Of course, the increased freedom that arrived Turkey in 1908 aroused great desire in the hearts of Turkish women for a fuller intellectual life."[97] The most noticeable change brought about by the new government was perhaps in the position of women. Turkish women who were rich and belonged to the upper class had a very modern education, even in Abdülhamid's time. Starting in 1908 and after, women had equal chances of education with men. In 1916, eight years later the University opened its doors and many students were sent to Europe, especially to Germany. A considerable number of them consisted of women.[98]

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 aimed to catalyze fundamental changes in the Ottoman System. The first thing that the Young Turks did was to revive the 1876 Constitution, which was based on the French Constitution. It was just after the revolution of July 1908. A number of women were on the streets without their veils on. They saw the revolution as a change, and they tried to get rid of this burden by throwing off their veils. Soon after, there were oppressions from the religious groups, especially from the priests.[99] Therefore, the women put on their veils once again. Halide Edib Adıvar, as quoted by Jenkins clearly describes what women wanted: "As a fact, no reasonable Turkish woman asks to unveil. All that they ask for is a liberal education, and a right to accompany their husbands and to become fit educators of the future generation."[100]

Before and after the revolution, there were some Young Ottomans and Young Turks who believed that improving women's education was essential to the progress of the nation. These reform-minded Ottomans were Namık Kemal, Ahmet Midhat, Şemseddin Sami, Sami Paşa-zâde Sezai, and Abdülhak Hâmid. According to Jenkins, improving women's education was only possible by accepting the system

[96] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.
[97] Jenkins, Life, p. 220.
[98] Halide Edib, **Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent Changes and Their Origin**, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930, (Origin), p. 129.
[99] In Turkish it is called 'Hoca' or 'Cami Hocası' instead of Priest.
[100] Jenkins, Life, pp. 102-103. Halide puts forward that "[S]he never had "hat and ball" longings," which means going out unveiled in a hat like Christian women, and dancing. See Edib, Edib, p. 229.

offered by foreign schools, especially by the American College.[101] With the revolution, everybody, including Americans and Turks, saw hope for a better future for the Empire. However, this hope did not last long; with a counter-revolution in 1909, the Young Turks lost their advantage.

2.1.1. The Educational Background

In 1911, Jenkins received her Ph.D. in Modern European History from Columbia University. Her thesis was entitled "*Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Suleiman the Magnificent.*" It was published in book form, and **Behind Turkish Lattices** also appeared in 1911. In 1911-12, Jenkins was Assistant Professor of History and Sociology at Adelphi College in Brooklyn, and in 1912-14, she served as Professor of History at Colorado College. According to her obituary in the New York Times, Jenkins helped people in the World War with the Red Cross, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and the Army Education Corps. During this time, she produced several articles for the National Geographic magazine on Armenians and Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire. Although she did not return to the college in Constantinople to continue teaching, she wrote about the women in the Empire.[102]

After the war, Jenkins gave lectures on the Turkish Revolution in public schools, the Brooklyn Institute, and other places. She also produced abundant short texts on the Ottoman Empire and later about the emerging Turkish Republic. In the 1920s, she was appointed Assistant Dean at Skidmore College, in Saratoga, New York. She did not return to Constantinople, but instead participated energetically in charitable and educational activities in New York, and wrote pamphlets and plays for the Department of Social Betterment in the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. She always kept a strong affection for the American College; therefore, in 1925, she mentioned it in her autobiographical book, **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East.** In this book, she describes the College's pedagogy, its diverse student body, and its place in the new Turkish Republic.[103]

[101] Jenkins, Life, 29-30.
[102] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.
[103] Goffman, pp. v-xxix.

Dr. Hester Donaldson Jenkins, a writer and lecturer on the Near East, who had been head of the English and History departments of the American Women's College in İstanbul, spent most of her life teaching and writing. About nine years she was in İstanbul with her Turkish friends and students from different millets (minority groups). When she died of a heart attack at her residence, 1060 Amsterdam Avenue, she was seventy-two.

Her thesis starts with an introduction section mainly focusing on the origin of the Turks and their national characteristics. To her, one of these characteristics is love of war. The second dominating quality is their strong belief in hierarchy, and their love of discipline. Their third quality is explained by a quotation from the didactic poem Kutadgu Bilig. It is about the love of learning: "Honor always keeps company with knowledge." "Mark well, there are two kinds of noble persons; the one is the bey, the other the scholar, in this world below . . . the former with his glove on his fist commands the people, the latter with his knowledge shows the path."[104] Furthermore, she adds one more quality of the Turks and that is loyalty. She supports that: "They are loyal to state, religion, race, family, [and] habit."[105]

The thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter is titled as Ibrahim's Rise, the second chapter is Ibrahim the Administrator, the third chapter is Ibrahim the Diplomat, the title of the fourth chapter is Ibrahim the General, and the title of the last chapter is Ibrahim's Fall. Apart from books and her thesis, we have found a few articles of Jenkins. One of the articles is titled as "*A beneficial Revolution,*" which is mainly about the Second Constitution that took place in July 1908. Her article focuses much on the changes with the Second Constitution. One of these changes is the freedom of talk. Another article that appeared in The National Geographic Magazine in 1915 was "*Armenia and the Armenians.*" The article focuses on the life of Armenian people and their customs.[106]

The next article of hers is "*Peace in Turkey*," which focuses on the doings of Atatürk. Her article is based on Atatürk's saying "Peace at home, peace in the

[104] Hester Donaldson Jenkins, **Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Suleiman the Magnificent,** Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York, 1911, (Magnificient), p. 13.
[105] Jenkins, Magnificient, pp. 14-15.
[106] For more information please see Hester Donaldson Jenkins, "Armenia and the Armenians", **The National Geographic Magazine**, Vol.:28, July-December, 1915, pp.329-359.

world."[107] The last article we would like to mention is "*The Nations at War: The Outcome for Turkey*." Jenkins, in a way, summarizes the history of the Ottoman Empire. She talks about Mehmet the conqueror, Abdülhamid II, Young Turk Revolution and the faith of Turks.[108] She, apart from her article titled "*Armenia and the Armenians*," in most of her writings, gives information about the *millets*, mainly focusing on Armenians. Most western writers were eager to write about Armenians, and so was Jenkins.

Jenkins helped the book **Housing Conditions of Employed Women in the Borough of Manhattan** come out as assistant director. The book, which was based on a study called Social Hygiene, was published in 1922. She was a writer of five small plays. She published them under the title of **Five Playlets**. The playlets are as follows: Mother Goose Up-To-Date, Judith and Ariel, Our Friends the Foods, In a Tenement, and Killing Giants. She also wrote **The Perfect Gentle Knight**, **The Open Court: A Monthly Magazine**.

[107] For more information please see Hester Donaldson Jenkins, "Peace in Turkey: Attitude of Kemal Ataturk is Regarded as Admirable", **New York Times (1923-Current file)**, No Vol., July 5 1936.

[108] For more information please see Hester Donaldson Jenkins, "The Nations at War: The Outcome for Turkey" Outlook (1893-1924); No Vol., July 19 1916, p. 654.

CHAPTER THREE

TURKISH WOMEN, EDUCATION AND MISSIONARY PRACTICES AS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

3. 1. THE IMAGE AND IDENTITY OF TURKISH WOMEN BEFORE THE REPUBLIC

> *Question: What should the Turkish woman be like?*
>
> *M. K. Atatürk: The Turkish woman should be the most enlightened; the most virtuous and the most dignified women of the world. She should be dignified in morality and virtue, not in the heavyweight division. The duty of the Turkish woman is to bring up generations that are capable of protecting and defending the Turk with her mentality, strength and determination. The woman being the source and the basis of social life of the nation can fulfill their duty if they are virtuous. I suppose they must be very high.*
>
> *-Teachers Training School for Girls, İzmir, 1925.*[109]

In the early Turkish society, the women in social life were much visible than their contemporaries.[110] Before the acceptance of Islam, the Turkish women were accepted as equal with men and were also respected.[111] Monogamy was the common practice while polygamy was only seen in the group of administrators.[112] İlber Ortaylı thinks that, contrary to the common belief, polygamy was not accepted in the Ottoman society in the sixteenth century. He further adds that this was also observed by some of the travelers. For instance he quoted from a German Protestant pastor Salomon Schweigger who was passing through Turkey in the last quarter of the fourteenth century:

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[109] Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I-III (Açıklamalı Dizin İle), Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Divan Yayıncılık, 2006, p. 242.
Original Text: '-Türk kadını nasıl olmalıdır?
-Türk kadını dünyanın en münevver, en faziletkâr ve en ağır kadını olmalıdır. Ağır siklette değil; ahlâkta, fazilette ağır, ağırbaşlı bir kadın olmalıdır. Türk kadınının vazifesi, Türk'ü zihniyetiyle, bazusiyle, azmiyle muhafaza ve müdafaaya kadir nesiller yetiştirmektir. Milletin menbaı, hayatı içtimaiyenin esası olan kadın, ancak faziletkâr olursa vazifesini ifa edebilir. Herhalde kadın çok yüksek olmalıdır.'

[110] Şefika Kurnaz, **Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını**, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997, p. 10.

[111] Leyla Kaplan, **Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)**, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, 1998, p. 1.

[112] Kurnaz, p. 10.

> *The Turks lead the world and their wives lead them. There are no other women who travel and enjoy themselves but Turkish women. There is no polygamy. Probably they tried polygamy but they gave up because they understood that it caused a lot of trouble and was expensive. Divorce is hardly visible. Because when they divorce, men give money and goods and the daughters stay with the mother.*[113]

It is hard to find much information about the status of the women in society from the very beginning of the Ottoman state especially up to the sixteenth century. However, researchers state that women in Ottoman society were not so restricted and they were generally participants in social life. Yet, there was a paradoxical difference between the situation of the women in cities and rural areas. While, the women in the countryside were relatively active in social life through productive activities, the women in cities were not so apparent in social life.[114] A. Afetinan supports the idea with the following sentence: "Country women in all parts of the empire were in the position of producers."[115]

Charles Fellows, for instance, observed that the women took active role in the work: "The business of collecting the opium has just commenced. . . . The work is chiefly done by women. . ."[116] Having the same idea about the women's work with the traveler Fellows, Edwin John Davis says: ". . . that the women do most of the work, indeed, if it were possible, the men would even lay upon them the task of ploughing and cultivating the land."[117] Women who are absolutely devoid of education are the most important members of the family in traditional families. However, the status of them is not in the same proportion to the production; rather it rises according to the number of children she bore and to her old age. [118]

It is commonly believed that the period after the proclamation of *Tanzimat*, in 1839 by Sultan Abdülmecid marks the beginning of the process of modernization. The aspects of all these modernization projects were not at all accepted by segments of the population. This modernization controversy consisted of the emancipation of

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[113] İlber Ortaylı, **Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile**, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, (Aile), p. 99.
[114] Kurnaz, p. 13; See also Tezer Taşkıran, **Cumhuriyet'in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları**, Basbakanlık Basımevi, Ankara, 1973, p.19.
[115] A. Afetinan, **The Emancipation of the Turkish Woman**, Unesco, Amsterdam, 1962, p. 34.
[116] Sir Charles Fellows, **Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, More Particulary in the Province of Lycia**, London, 1852, p. 217.
[117] Edwin John Davis, **Life in Asiatic Turkey**, Adamant Media Corporation, London, 1879, pp. 276-277.
[118] İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile" in **Türkiye'de Ailenin Değişimi: Toplumbilimsel İncelemeler,** T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayını, Ankara, 1984, (İncelemeler), p. 80.

women and their social condition. Before the Second Constitution, there were also some men who addressed the need for women's education to improve both the quality and quantity of labor. In addition to women's education, the reform era (1839-1908) witnessed some other heated discussions concerning women such as polygamy, inheritance, possession of goods, veiling, religious attitudes.[119]

The new role of the *Tanzimat* government to fulfill was that it had to adapt itself to the requirements of modernization and in a way to the expectations of Western powers. Therefore the *Tanzimat* reforms created separations in the society. And from these separations came out a movement called Young Ottomans. Şinasi, Ziya Pasha, Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi were the leading figures in the movement. They reacted to the authoritarianism, extreme Westernism and superficiality of Tanzimat policies. The ideology they had was to have a complex blend of Ottoman nationalism, Islamism and constitutionalism. Influenced by nationalism and liberalism they were the earliest advocates of women's emancipation. Actually they prepared the ground for later reforms.[120]

Although the inferior position of women in the society was apparent before the Tanzimat era, according to Kurnaz, the wives who were abused by their husbands were able to apply to the Grand Vizier. This inferiority or suppression was much seen in urban areas or in big cities, while the women living in rural places enjoyed freedom and contributed to the production working on the fields with their husbands.[121][122] Moreover, to W. M. Ramsay "[t]he women [did] all the field work, necessary to grow the year's supply of food . . ."[123]

The consciousness of questioning the backward position of women in the society was not apparent before the nineteenth century. With the *Tanzimat* reforms, the Ottoman state experienced a kind of transition under the influence of political, economic, social, and educational changes. The restricted roles—being a good wife to the husband and a good mother to the child—of the women were reevaluated and

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[119] Zehra F. Arat, "Politics of Representation and Identity", in Zehra F. Arat (ed.), **Deconstructing Images of the Turkish Woman**, Palgrave, New York, 1999, pp. 7-8.
[120] Deniz Kandiyoti, "End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism, and Women in Turkey" in Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.), **Women, Islam, and the State**, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1991, pp. 22-47.
[121] Kurnaz, pp. 12-13.
[122] Contrary to what Jenkins says in **Behind Turkish Lattices**, see, p. 124.
[123] W. M. Ramsay, **Impressions of Turkey during Twelve Years' Wanderings**, Aberdeen University Press, London, 1897, (Wanderings), p. 43.

the status of women was heralded with the increase of modernist ideas. The development throughout the *Tanzimat* era can be accepted as the turning point in terms of women interests. Therefore, the change in the status of women in the *Tanzimat* is worthy of evaluating. [124]

Actually dramatic changes in the life of Ottoman women began in the Second Constitutional era and continued subsequently. However, the *Tanzimat* reforms were also of great importance since it was a period in which many attempts in the way of expressing the problems of women, raising consciousness of their womanhood and making legal arrangements, raising the status of women were started. The Ottoman women were given the rights especially in education and law. The Tanzimat era was also the period during which the problems of women began to be expressed in literary texts and also in the periodicals of the period. [125]

Although we do not have enough resources about the Ottoman Women starting from the foundation of the empire until the sixteenth century, Turkish women are known to be less restricted. For instance; the wife of Orhan Gazi, Nilüfer Sultan received foreign male visitors herself. It is quoted from the travel writing of İbn-i Batuta.[126] The daily life of Turkish women during the reign of certain Sultans was easier than the others. Under the reign of Mehmet the II (1451- 1481), women could walk around with open faces, and showing their bosoms and ornaments. They just covered their heads as Ahmet Refik states.[127]

Much later than the above mentioned date, in Oriental countries, however, woman has consistently been driven into "a life of ignorance, infamy, and complete stagnation."[128] They have also been addressed to as veiled and latticed, which was an Orientalist discourse. That is to say, from Westerners' point of view there are two stereotypical views of Turkish women, "one that views them as a restricted and indolent mass, oppressed by the harsh patriarchal rules of Islam, . . . and another that perceives them as resilient and defiant, liberated by and living within Mustafa Kemal

[124] Ceren Aygül, "**Change in the Status of Turkish Women During the Ottoman Modernization and Self-Evaluation of Women in Kadınlar Dünyası of 1913**" (Unpublished Masters Thesis), Middle East Technical University, Graduate School Of Social Sciences, Ankara, 2010, pp. 22-23.
[125] Aygül, p. 24.
[126] Taşkıran, p.14.
[127] Ahmet Refik Altınay, **Kadınlar Saltanatı**, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İkinci Basım, Ankara, 2005, p. 15.
[128] Anna Julia Cooper, **A Voice From The South**, Xenia, Ohio, The Aldine Printing House, 1892, pp. 9-10.

Atatürk's secular state." [129] Donaldson Jenkins proves that she is in favor of the first view. She shows Turkish women as sufferers and losers.

3. 2. WOMEN'S EDUCATION BEFORE 1908

The declaration of Tanzimat[130] (Imperial Edict) (3rd November 1839), which meant "reorganization" and gave equal rights to all peoples in the Empire, was a turning point in Turkish political life. This reorganization was not just in the Army, but rather in all areas of life. France, which seemed to be behind these reforms, was powerful at the time. Influenced by the French Revolution, Tanzimat accepted everybody as equal in front of the law. People found it difficult to adopt the new regulations because the old regulations were not removed. There was European influence all over the Ottoman Empire during this period. Feeling that the Empire was not as powerful as it had once been in the past, European countries wanted more rights for the minority groups in the Empire. 1856 saw the Reform Edict (Islahat Fermanı), and it was obvious that there was pressure from the European powers behind this edict.[131]

The First Constitution in 1876 was another turning point in the history of Turkish political life. Midhat Pasha, one of the members of the Young Ottomans, was the leading figure for the Constitution. Abdülhamid II was on the throne, aware of this. When the war against Russia was lost, the era ended with the suspension of the Ottoman parliament by Abdülhamid II. There started a nameless break in the administration, which would last for about 33 years[132] until the Second Constitution—the Young Turk Revolution in 1908.[133]

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[129] Eleftheria Arapoglou, "Orientalism Unveiled: Hester Donaldson Jenkins and Demetra Vaka Brown" in Dilek Direnç, Günseli Sönmez İşçi and Klára Kolinská (eds), **Women in Dialogue: (M)uses of Culture**, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 2008, p. 20.

[130] Tanzimat (1839-76) meaning "reorganization" refers to a period of modernization initiated by Sultan Mahmud II (1808-39). The actual program was started under sultan Abdűlmecid I (1774-89), and corrupted and destroyed by Sultan Abdűlaziz (1861-76). Participants in the Tanzimat sought extensive reforms in the field of military technology, training, organization, administration, legislation, and education. Ottoman reformers realized that if the Ottoman Empire kept its traditional system the Empire would eventually be defeated and swallowed up by the Europeans.

[131] Kurnaz, pp. 15-16.

[132] Şefika Kurnaz thinks that between the first and the second constitutions there is about 33 years which is actually 32 for some others.

[133] Kurnaz, p. 16.

During the Tanzimat reform era there were close relations with Europe, and this led to social and political developments mainly in education, art and science in the empire.[134] The Turkish elite were affected by the thoughts and life-style of European people. They were in favor of all these changes and were ready to perform them in their own society. Press gained importance, and at the same time, there were movements related to the status and importance of women in Turkish society. The main improvement was in the education of women. Obviously, foreign schools (minority schools) played a crucial role, too.[135]

Before Tanzimat, reforms in regard to education were mostly related to military purposes. Tıbhane-i Âmire[136] (1827) and Cerrahhâne[137] (1828-29), for example, were all military-based. The 1834 foundation of the Military Academy was just to serve the military. Educational institutions were only Sıbyan Mektebi (primary school) and Enderun Mektebi (Enderun School). Women only attended Sıbyan Mektebi, because for girls there was no need for further education. Only those women whose fathers were directors or scholars had the support from their families to receive private lessons.[138] The main aim of the Sıbyan Schools was to teach the basic principles of Islam, especially to read the Kur'an without the meaning of the verses. Each school was located next to a mosque, and the children of the neighborhood would attend the school free of charge. There were pious (religious) foundations which helped these *mosque schools*[139] with the expenses.[140] Until Tanzimat, girls and boys at the age of five or six went to Sıbyan Mektebi,[141] and they could stay there for three or four years. These schools provided religious education, and they were not mandatory. Sultan Mahmut II issued an edict regarding attendance in 1824, but it did not work and failed. The teachers most of the time were Hodjas

[134] Afetinan, pp. 37-38.
[135] Kurnaz, pp. 16-17.
[136] It was opened to meet the needs of doctors for the army.
[137] It was opened to meet the needs of doctors for the army.
[138] Kurnaz, p. 17.
[139] Jenkins, in her **Behind Turkish Lattices** uses "mosque school" for Sıbyan Mektebi and compares it with a dame school in England. "When a Turkish girl reaches the age of five or six years, she must go to school. She will probably begin with a mosque school, which is very simple, somewhat similar to a dame school in an English village." See page 18.
[140] Yahya Akyüz, **Tük Eğitim Tarihi: M.Ö 1000 - M.S. 2008**, Pegem Akademi, Ankara, 2008, (Tarihi), pp. 88-89.
[141] For a brief history of Sıbyan Schools see also İlhan Başgöz; Howard E. Wilson, **Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde Eğitim ve Atatürk**, Dost Yayınları, Ankara, 1968, pp. 15-31.

who also worked for the mosque. Some educated women taught religion to these girls and boys. Girls did not go to Madrasa, but some boys did.[142]

The Regulation of Education, which was issued in 1869, with the contributions of Minister of Education Saffet Pasha, brought about some of the most radical and complex changes in the system of education. This decree organized a new system of education, in order to free the educational system from the influence of the various religious hierarchies. Education was now considered to be the work of the government. The government insisted on offering the same educational institutions as was available in the capital, excepting the higher academies.[143]

For girls, there was no formal education—except Sıbyan Mektebi—before 1859. Even in the west the education of girls started later than that of boys', but it was 100-150 years earlier than the education of girls in Turkey. Before 1859 only a few girls of the rich and elite received private lessons or learned religious and literary knowledge on their own.[144]

Especially after Tanzimat, some women writers, poets, and intellectuals had private lessons from tutors at mansions. Before 1859, some rich and modern families hired private tutors for their daughters. These private tutors taught literature, religion, and ethics. Ömer Seyfettin, who was a very popular writer in the period of Second Constitution, wrote a story entitled "*Spring and the Butterfly*". In this story a grandmother tells her grand-daughter how she learned to read a lot of things. She explains:

> *We would also study. Polite and rich men would teach their children the Persian language, some knowledge of religion and Tuhfe-i Vehbi. We would learn by heart some poems by Fuzuli and Baki. We used to understand Mesnevi*[145]*. We would debate with our husbands using rhymes, and our husbands used to admire our knowledge, our wit and our usage of the language. In the past, virtuosity, and the ability to write poetry and to speak intelligently were important for women.*[146]

[142] Yahya Akyüz, "Osmanlı Son Döneminde Kızların Eğitimi ve Öğretmen Faika Ünlüer'in Yetişmesi ve Meslek Hayatı", **Millî Eğitim Dergisi**, Vol.: July, August, September, No.: 143, 1999, (Hayatı), pp. 12-32.
[143] Benjamin C. Fortna, **Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire**, 2002, pp.113-115.
[144] Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.
[145] A book by Mevlana.
[146] Akyüz, Tarihi, p. 165.

Actually, this was the criticism from the grandmother about the period in which her granddaughter was educated. The young girl in the story was reading Disenchanted (Les Désenchantées). She translates the name of the book as "Women deprived of joy and happiness." When her aunt hears the name of the book she does not accept what it really refers to. She thinks, it is not them who are deprived of joy and happiness, but young generation. The reason for this is just because the young are in favor of these books getting rid of their own and ignoring their values.[147] She finishes her claim thus: "You are now in the hands of European tutoress, you do not recognize the beauty of our own language, and you learn things from other countries. As long as you want to look like them, you lose your real self."[148]

From 1830 onward, Ottoman elite and statesmen became more familiar with Europe. With the increasing interaction, they realized that Ottoman Muslims were far behind Europeans in terms of education, particularly women's education. During the Tanzimat Era, people started to discuss this issue of education for women, and some schools for girls were founded. The elites, such as Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, Münif Pasha, and Saffet Pasha, saw that one of the reasons that the society was not successful was the lack of education for girls in the empire.[149] Not only was the movement for educating Turkish women supported by those above mentioned men of letters but by the foreign press as well.[150]

3.2.1. The First Schools for Girls during the Tanzimat Era

In 1845 Abdülmecid (1839-1861) declared that: "education is necessary for everyone in terms of religious and worldly needs" and added that "it is necessary to get rid of this illiteracy of the people." He suggested that Sıbyan Mektepleri (primary schools) and Rüşdiyeler (secondary schools) should develop new regulations, and that there must be a Darülfünun (university) founded. In the first two of these schools Ottoman citizens would learn their religious needs and general knowledge about life.

[147] Visit the web page E-Kitap, http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,80378/inci-engunu.html, (05.02.2014).
[148] Akyüz, Tarihi, p. 165.
[149] Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.
[150] Afetinan, p. 39.

In Darülfünun, they would learn detailed religious knowledge and positive science.[151]

During and before Tanzimat, there were lots of minority and foreign schools for girls. For example, in 1839 there were 19 schools for girls in Istanbul run by the French. These schools provided primary level education. Some Turkish people also sent their girls to these schools. Such schools were more disciplined and provided more effective teaching; they also taught one or two foreign languages. A lot of Turkish girls studied in minority schools in the Ottoman land, and especially in foreign schools. These girls learned a foreign language, and were aware of the "West". They contributed to the reformation of education. Some of the girls studying in these schools, however, were also drawn away from the ties of religion and nationality, and they abandoned their own communities and values.[152]

3.2.2. Primary Education

3.2.2.1. Sıbyan Mektebi (Primary School)

Initial education and training occurred in primary schools. They provided education to the masses and were somewhat successful during the prosperous years of the empire. Since these schools were government schools, they could not keep up with the educational improvements. They were not big buildings with lots of classrooms; they were just simple, one or two-roomed places near complexes (*külliye*) or mosques (*cami*). Teaching was based on memorization. The lessons were: Elifba, the Koran, İlm-i hal, Tajwid (*Tecvid*), Turkish moral treatise, Turkish, Calligraphy (*Writing*). The language of instruction was Turkish. The equipment in the class was not adequate. The teachers were mainly from Madrasa, who were able to read and write. Imams, muezzins, and trustees were recruited to teach in these

[151] Mahmut Cevat, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcraatı, İstanbul, 1338, p. 27 as quoted in Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.
[152] Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.

schools. Children started the school-year with a ceremony called "Amin alayı."[153] There was no official application to attend these schools.[154]

3.2.2.1.1. Regulation Attempts for Primary Education

Mahmut II enacted the first major change to education, in 1824. It was not a radical change, and traditional education continued much in the same way. There was another attempt at regulation of education in 1838. The person behind this plan was again Sultan Mahmut II. There came one more attempt—some years later in 1847—by Abdülmecid. He issued a decree (Hatt-ı Hümayun) regarding education. In 1847, there was another decree, which brought some order to the system. The decree consisted of the following;

1) Primary School must last four years.

2) Primary schools prepare students for Rüşdiye (Secondary) Schools.

3) Turkish is mandatory at school.

4) Reading and writing is essential.

5) There must be unity and integrity in primary education.

6) Attendance is compulsory.

7) It is suitable to bring stone signboards and a pen-case with an inkwell (*divit*) to class.

The courses taught at Primary schools remained the same; there were just a few changes with regard to Turkish courses. Even though these regulations were theoretically sound, they were not enacted, due to a lack of money and teachers. The Ministry of Education was established in 1857, and in 1863, there was one more attempt at enforcing the regulations. The biggest change occurred with the Regulation of Education in the year 1869.[155]

[153] Jenkins talks about this procession distinctly in **Behind Turkish Lattices**. For the whole story see pages 18-19.
[154] Bayram Kodaman, **Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi**, Ötüken Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1980, pp. 100-101.
[155] Kodaman, pp. 102-108.

3.2.2.1.2. The regulations for primary schools, written in the Regulation

1) There will at least be one primary school in every neighborhood and village, according to the status of the villages, probably one primary school for two villages.

2) The length of education is four years.

3) Compulsory attendance for boys is between six and ten and for girls between seven and eleven years of age.

4) If there are two primary schools in a neighborhood or a village, one will be allocated to girls and the other to boys. These regulations seemed forward-looking, because they did not cover just İstanbul. They applied to the other areas in the empire, too.[156]

3.2.2.1.3. Regulations for the Courses

1) The lessons that must be taught; Usul-ü cedide veçhile, Elifba, Kur'an-ı Kerim (the Qoran), Tecvid (tajwid), Ahlaka müteallik resail, Itm-ı hal, Yazı talimi (writing), Fenn-i hesap (accounting), Tarih-i Osmani (Ottoman history), Coğrafya, Malumatı Nafia (basic public texts)

2) Courses can only be changed with the permission of the Ministry of Education.

3) Examinations will be in front of the village and neighborhood council of elders.

These regulations highlighted the importance of primary education. They established a balance between religious and worldly information, with the latter somewhat prioritized.[157]

[156] Kodaman, pp. 108-9.
[157] Kodaman, p. 109.

3.2.2.1.4. Regulations for teachers

1) Teachers must be Ottoman citizens who have graduated from Darulmuallim.

2) Teachers who do not comply with the regulations shall be penalized or fired.

Although the graduates of Darulmuallim were insufficient for the whole empire, teachers from madrasa were not generally accepted.[158]

As far as expenses were concerned, not much was stipulated in the regulation. When building a new school or repairing it, the salary of the teacher was used or people of the village paid for the expenses. This was an oversight of the state. For this reason, primary schools were not established all over the Empire. After 1876, İbtidai Mektebi (İbtidai Schools / primary schools) replaced primary schools and continued with the same name during the reign of Abdülhamid II. During his reign, the government again divided the primary education into two: a) mekâtab-i sıbyaniye, which followed the old style of education; and b) mekâtab-i ibtidaiye, which did not entirely reject the old style, but followed a new way of education. By 1909, most schools were ready to follow the regulations.[159]

After the regulation of 1869, the first time that mandatory primary education was in the Constitution was in 1876. In İstanbul in 1876, there were ten İbtidai schools[160], with a total of 574 students and 62 graduates. The total number of teachers was 20, with between one and three at each school. In the same year (1876), the number of Primary Schools was 290 countywide. By the 1906-1907 academic year, the number of İbtidai schools had increased to 4659 for boys, 349 for girls, and 5073 for both.[161]

[158] Kodaman, p. 110.
[159] Kodaman, pp. 110-117.
[160] Bayram Kodaman recognizes only six.
[161] Kurnaz, pp. 19-21. Hasan Ali Koçer while telling about the education years during Abdülhamid, he uses "Expansion in quantity decline in quality (II. Abdülhamid era)" for his third chapter.

3.2.2.1.5. Regulation of General Education in 1869 (1869 Maarif-i Umûmiye Nizamnâmesi)

Before this regulation, there was no unity in education. There were primary schools and secondary schools. They opened the latter before reforming the first. Therefore, secondary schools were neither primary—nor secondary—level. They also differed from each other, because there was no educational tie between them. That is, primary schools were attached to Ministry of Foundations, while secondary schools were attached to Ministry of Education. Foreign schools were added as the third component, which ruined the total unity of education. The first was under the control of Madrasa, the second leaned toward Western ideology and the third was trying to disrupt the Ottoman Empire. The number of these schools was not adequate. For certain professions, there were not enough graduates from secondary schools. Being few in number, considering the population, these schools could just provide students with basic religious knowledge. Covering all these concerns, this regulation was the best regulation prepared by Saffet Pasha, who was one of the greatest persons in our educational history after Kemal Pasha. Saffet Pasha, the Minister of Education (Maarif Nazırı) between 1867 and 1871, prepared this regulation with regard to the French education system. This educational scheme, unlike the Madrasa scheme, was just government-run.[162]

Regulation of General Education, which consisted of 198 articles, was established for every educational field. Below are some of these articles, which affected education in the whole Empire.

1) addressing the problems of primary education.
2) addressing the problems of secondary education.
3) opening a university.
4) training teachers for these schools.
5) dealing with private education.
6) dealing with books for the schools.
7) dealing with the promotion of teachers.

[162] Hasan Ali Koçer, **Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)**, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1991, pp. 82-83.

This regulation shows exactly what the Tanzimatists[163] believed in regard to education. It brought about:

a) obligatory education

b) the separation of ranks and degrees in public schools

c) the regulation of education and training procedures

d) the creation of measures to increase teachers' knowledge and to ensure their financial comfort

e) the expansion and regulation of the central educational administration

f) the introduction of procedures that will promote the development of students

g) the decision to take some money from the public for a general education allowance.[164]

3.2.3. Secondary Education

3.2.3.1. Kız Rüşdiyesi (Secondary School for Girls)

Secondary education for girls was first provided during the Tanzimat Era. With a document dated November 10 1858, the Ministry of Education proposed to establish Secondary Schools for Girls. As a result of the acceptance of the proposal by the Sadâret (Grand Vizier), the first Secondary School[165] was opened in Sultanahmet in İstanbul on January 6, 1859.[166]

The Regulation of Education in1869 also helped design secondary education for girls. According to the regulation, there should be a secondary school for Muslim–populated cities and a separate secondary school for non-Muslim–populated cities. In cities populated both by Muslim and non-Muslim residents, there should be two secondary schools–one for the Muslims and one for the non-Muslims–but the number of the families living in that city must be over 500. The implementation was to start in İstanbul and later to expand to the other cities in the empire. The teachers of the secondary schools must be all women. Should they not

[163] Tanzimat Reformers
[164] Koçer, p. 86.
[165] The name of the school is Cevri Kalfa İnas Rüşdiyesi. Sultanahmet Kız Rüşdiyesi is the other name for the same school.
[166] Kurnaz, p. 24; See also Akyüz, Tarihi, pp. 164-165.

be enough, mature and knowledgeable men would be allowed to teach at these schools.[167]

Some of the courses taught at these schools were: basic (knowledge of) religion; Ottoman grammar; punctuation and structure; Arabic and Persian grammar; domestic sciences; sewing; drawing; the Ottoman history and general history; and geography.[168] There were thirteen secondary schools for boys in İstanbul when the first secondary school for girls opened in 1859. The first secondary school for boys was opened in 1847. In the secondary school for boys, the number of teachers was between one and six, whereas in the secondary schools for girls, there were three teachers—two men and a woman[169]. The total number of students in these 14 secondary schools was 1,125. Before 1871, there was only one secondary school for girls documented. In 1871, however, the number rose to eight. The number of students in that single secondary school was 112, but the number of female students also rose to 311 after 1871. The first headmistress at the secondary school was Fatma Hanım.[170]

Şefika Kurnaz gives detailed information about the number of schools and the number of girls and boys. According to her research from the state yearbooks, there were 21 secondary schools for boys and nine for girls in 1877. The number of boys was 1,795 and the number of girls was 309. Almost ten years later in 1887-88, there were 435 secondary schools for boys (including 20 in İstanbul), and there were 31 secondary schools for girls (including 11 in İstanbul). From the given figures, it is estimated that there were 18,234 boys and 683 girls at these schools. The number of secondary schools, before the Second Constitution, is shown below.

[167] Koçer, p. 93.
[168] Kurnaz, pp. 24-25.
[169] Teacher of embroidery
[170] Kurnaz, pp. 25.

Table 1: The Number of Secondary Schools

	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Foreign
Secondary schools for boys	406	228	33
Secondary schools for girls	85	68	20
Secondary schools for both (co-ed)	25	114	18

The numbers are taken from Kurnaz's book. See page 31.

The information on this chart reveals that in Muslim-oriented areas the number of secondary schools for boys was almost five times the number for girls. Similarly, the number of secondary schools for boys was three times the number for girls in non-Muslim areas. For foreign schools, the difference in number existed, but the ratio was almost two-thirds.[171] When the total numbers are considered, it is clear that there were 516 Muslim schools and 481 non-Muslim schools. We should not forget, however, that those attending foreign schools were mostly non-Muslims. This reveals that Ottomans were not in favor of education. Bearing in mind that the first secondary school was opened in 1859 and almost 47 years passed from then, the result was not satisfactory. It is understandable from the above numbers that Abdülhamid II played an important role in the rise of these schools.

3.2.4. Kız İdadisi / High School for Girls

The first high school for girls opened during the ministry of Münif Pasha in Babıâli in İstanbul on March 13, 1880, when Abdülhamid II was on the throne. It was a rented mansion. Here, the given courses followed European standards of education; besides Turkish and general culture; there were French, German, English, music and craft classes. It was closed after two years of education due to lack of interest.[172]

[171] Kurnaz, pp. 28-31.
[172] Faik Reşit Unat, **Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişimine Tarihi Bir Bakış**, Birinci Baskı, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara, 1964, p. 46.

With the 33 and 34 articles of the Regulation of General Education of the year 1869, the opening of high schools was planned. It persuaded over 1000 families that such a thing would integrate all Muslim and non-Muslim citizens and would help to educate them in a common cultural atmosphere.[173]

On December 19, 1873, three year high schools were opened in İstanbul for the first time. The schools, called "Mülki İdadi", used Turkish as the language of instruction. In the years between 1882 and 1890, these schools were widespread in the cities. The length of education was seven years, a combination of the four years of Rüşdiye schools and three years at İdadi schools.[174] Until the Second Constitution period, the Ottoman Empire did not provide good high school education or any university education for women. The new young women's İdadi opened in 1911(Unat, 1964: 48). After İdadi Schools there were also Sultaniyeler.[175] The name comes from Mekteb-i Sultani[176], the name of a high school in Galatasaray. Later, with the Regulation of General Education in 1869, it was changed and renamed as Sultaniye.[177]

3.2.5. Darülmuallimat (Women's Teacher Training Colleges)

For the higher education of girls, Rüşdiye Schools opened in 1859. Although this was an important development in the history of Turkish education, as in other schools, there was no logical priority in its curriculum. The same was done in 1839, for boys, when Rüşdiye Schools were started. So the question was: "Who will serve as teachers?" In the beginning, the expectations for these schools were very high; however, the best solution was not provided until almost ten years later. To provide teachers for boys at Rüşdiye Schools, the government had to wait until 1848, when Darülmuallimin was opened; teachers were not available for girls' Rüşdiye Schools until 1870, the opening of Darülmuallimat.[178]

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[173] Koçer, p. 101.
[174] Unat, p. 45.
[175] These schools were at the same level of high schools, but above secondary level.
[176] At a later time it was Galatasaray Lisesi.
[177] Unat, p. 47.
[178] See the book by Cemil Öztürk, **Türkiye'de Dünden Bugüne Öğretmen Yetiştiren Kurumlar**, Marmara Ü. Eğitim Fakültesi. Yay., İstanbul, 1998.

During the early years of girls' Rüşdiye Schools, there were not sufficient and qualified female teachers. Old men and men who had good morals were commissioned. Only courses in sewing and crafts such as embroidery were offered by some Muslim and non-Muslim female teachers (masters). Since the girls were at the age of veiling, female teachers were required in that period. The General Regulations issued by the Ministry of Education in September 1869 stipulated that a teacher training school for girls (Darülmuallimat) should be in service. The teacher training school for girls was launched. A wooden mansion was rented for the school building on Yerebatan Street in İstanbul's Sultanahmet neighborhood. There were advertisements in the newspapers to find students and teachers. In one of these announcements, dated October 1869, the purpose and the level of Darülmuallimat were specified. It was also stated that the candidates applying should be literate in Turkish.[179] The announcement reads as follows:

> *Girls will be enrolled on these Darülmuallimat Schools by their ability. Literacy in Turkish is required for those wishing to enter this school. For the registration one must consult the Ministry of Education. Training for elementary schools is two years and training for Rüşdiye Schools is three years. 30 kuruş for first-graders and 60 kuruş for second-graders will be provided as a salary (scholarship).*[180]

In another advertisement published in February 1870, the women working at Darülmuallimat must not be below the age of 13 or above the age of 35, and an examination is required.[181] There was a noticeable advertisement to find teachers in Takvimi-i Vekayi published in February 1870 as quoted in Akyüz.[182] "There is a need for teachers of religion, Ottoman, moral, positive sciences, mathematics, history, geography, Arabic, Persian, writing (and the forms of Sülüs) at the Darülmuallimat which will be opened. Teachers will be paid an appropriate salary. Women and Men who are at the age of maturity are expected to apply…"

Finally, on Tuesday, April 26, 1870, Darülmuallimat was opened, with an opening address of Saffet Pasha, Minister of Education. Training managers, senior officers, teachers, and students celebrated this opening. The speech of Saffet Pasha,

[179] Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.
[180] Takvim-i Vekayi as qtd. in Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.
[181] Takvim-i Vekayi as qtd. in Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.
[182] Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.

which is also an important document for the history of Turkish education in many ways, has been translated into modern Turkish.[183]

3.2.6. Darülfünun (University Education for Girls)

The Regulation of Education of 1869 arranged for the foundation of Darülfünun. Starting with article 79, it contained all the details about the education at Darülfünun. Article 79 specified that Darülfünun would be opened. According to article 80, the school would be comprised of three departments: Philosophy and Literature, Law and Social Sciences, and Mathematics. Article 84 indicated that the language of instruction would be Turkish; if a teacher were weak in Turkish, French would be the alternative. Article 85 noted that the duration of education should be two years, but those aspiring to be university teachers and directors must study for four years. Article 99 revealed that teachers would be paid between 2500 kurus and 5000 kurus, and the assistant teachers would be paid between 1500 and 2500. Article 119 was about the library procedures of the school.[184]

The First Women's University, named İnas Darülfünun, was opened in İstanbul, in 1914. It accepted students who had passed an entry exam and the graduates of Darülmuallimat and İdadi Schools. The university offered programs in mathematics, literature, and natural sciences. The length of each program was three years. In 1917, the government allowed women to attend the Medical, Pharmaceutical, and Chemistry Departments. Male and female students were taught in separate classrooms. In 1921, however, female students boycotted their lectures and attended male classrooms. Because of this, İnas Darülfünun closed in September 1921. By the 1921-1922 academic years, female students were accepted in the Departments of Law and Medicine in general Darülfünun.[185]

[183] Takvim-i Vekayi as qtd. in Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32. For the whole speech as translated by Yahya Akyüz see Appendix 5.
[184] Unat, pp. 106-108.
[185] Akyüz, Hayatı, pp. 12-32.

3. 3. SCHOOLS IN THE EMPIRE

A sense of nationalism was instilled into the minds of Armenians by the missionary schools opened by American missionary organizations in the regions, where the Armenian population was high.[186] Among the American Colleges, Anatolia College in Merzifon and Central Turkey College in Antep were two leading colleges doing clandestine activities. Anatolia College, for instance, was founded in 1886. Although their main aim was to teach, they mainly acted in favor of Armenians.[187] The college closed during World War I. In October 1919, it re-opened. Once again, the college supported the Pontus Greeks. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk elucidates about this issue in Nutuk.[188] On February 12, 1921, Zeki Ketani was killed. He was one of the Turkish and Muslim teachers of Anatolia College. Because of the murder, the college was inspected and it was closed at the end of the inspection. The inspectors found documents telling that the college was supporting the Greeks. Apart from the Anatolia College in Merzifon, the other colleges in Maraş and Antep also did similar unfavorable activities.[189]

3. 3. 1. State Schools

In the second half of the nineteenth century Ottoman educational institutions were divided into three categories such as; primary education, secondary education

[186] Sina Akşin, **Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki**, İmge Yayınları, 5. Baskı, Ankara, 2009, p. 52.
[187] Ayten Sezer explicates this activity in her book **Atatürk Döneminde Yabancı Okullar (1923-1938)**, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1999, p. 13. In the early days of 1893 some leaflets were hung all around Amasya, Çorum, Tokat, Kayseri, Ankara, and in some other towns in the neighborhood. The support for these activities came from the Anatolia College. Tumayan and Kayayan were two Protestant Armenian teachers working at the college. They were found guilty of these clandestine activities. They were given capital punishment but were relieved with the pressure coming from America and England.; See also Ersoy Taşdemirci, "Türk Eğitim Tarihinde Azınlık Okulları ve Yabancı Okullar", Erciyes Üniversitesi, **Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi**, No.: 10, 2001, pp. 13-28; M. Metin Hülagü, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Misyoner, Ermeni, Terör ve Amerika Dörtgeninde Türkiye", Erciyes Üniversitesi, **Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi**, No.: 10, 2001, pp. 57-99.
[188] "Ateşkes Anlaşmasından sonra bütün Rumlar, Yunanlılık ulusal amacı ile her yerde şımardığı gibi, Etniki Eterya Derneği propagandacıları ile Merzifon Amerikan kurumlarınca eğitilip yetiştirilen ve yabancı hükümetlerin silahlarıyla kuvvetlendirilen ve yüreklendirilen bu bölgedeki Rum topluluğu da, bağımsız bir Pontus Hükümeti kurmak isteğine kapıldı. Bu amaçla genel bir ayaklanma hazırladılar." See Gazi Mustafa Kemal, **Nutuk (Söylev)**, Örgün Yayınları, İstanbul, 1980, p. 403. See also Ayten Sezer, **Atatürk Döneminde Yabancı Okullar (1923-1938)**, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1999, p. 13; Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, **Anadolu'daki Amerika: Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Okulları**, İmge Kitabevi, 3. Baskı, Ankara, 2000, p.153.
[189] Sezer, p. 13.

and higher education. Sıbyan Mektepleri or İbtidailer served as primary educational institutions. The former was like kindergarten the latter was mainly served as elementary schools. İdadiler or Sultaniler served as secondary educational institutions and Darülfünun was the higher educational institution.

3. 3. 2. Minority Schools

Minority schools are divided into three: Greek Schools, Armenian Schools, and Jewish Schools. The oldest Greek school is the Phanar Greek Orthodox College (Fener Rum Mektebi). The second important Greek school is Theological School of Halki (Heybeliada Papaz Mektebi). Although there were no Armenian schools from the conquest of İstanbul until the end of the eighteenth century, there were some religious places, where the clergyman taught young children. 1492 was the coming of Jews to the empire. So, Jewish schools appeared after that.[190]

After the eighteenth century, the number of Greek schools flourished. Before World War I, the number of Greek schools reached almost 3500. In the early nineteenth century, the number of Armenian schools was 120, and later in the century the number rose to 469 just in Anatolia. In the nineteenth century, with the help and efforts of Alliyans İsrailit, some Jewish schools were opened and apart from French, Turkish, German, and Italian were taught.[191]

3. 3. 3. Foreign Schools

Before the eighteenth century, there were only Catholic schools in the empire. The privileges were given to France in 1536 with 'Capitulations', the number of foreign schools had increased since then.[192] Among the foreign schools were American schools, although they were not the first foreign schools opened in the empire, in the first place, in terms of number and function. The early American schools were run by missionaries. American missionaries divided the empire into

[190] Taşdemirci, pp. 13-28
[191] Taşdemirci, pp. 13-28.
[192] Taşdemirci, pp. 13-30.

four different missions. These were the European Turkey mission, the Western Turkey mission, the Eastern Turkey mission, and the Central Turkey mission.[193]

3. 4. EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS[194]

3.4.1. Ottoman Empire

After Tanzimat the number of primary schools (Sıbyan Mektebi and İptidai Mektebi) in the empire was 18,947. From the signing of first constitution through the end of the century, the number of schools (İptidai Mektebi) rose to 28,596, with a total of 849,033 students. The situation for the schools, however, was not satisfactory in the early twentieth century. According to the statistics for 1910-11, the number of primary schools was 4,194, and the number of students was 24,096, which was almost five times less than the number in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[195]

3.4.2. England

The statistics for 1912-13 show that the elementary school enrollment was 6,086,229.

3.4.3. Scotland

The report of the Scottish department of education for 1912 gives the following statistics.

Population of Scotland 4,733,700

Enrollment in public or subsidized schools

Elementary

Primary 818,785

Higher grade 25,930

[193] Samuel S. Cox, **Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey,** Charles L. Webster & Co., New York, 1887, p. 299-301; Sezer, p. 55.

[194] The following statistics, except the ones for the Ottoman Empire, are taken from David E. Cloyd, **Modern Education in Europe and the Orient**, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917.

[195] Ahmet Cihan, **Osmanlı'da Eğitim**, 3F Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2007, p. 57.

Continuation classes 144,815
Intermediate and Secondary
Boys 11,769
Girls 8.763 20532
Total 1,010,062
Teachers
Men 5,357
Women 15.074

3.4.4. France

The statistics for 1913-14 show the following situation in the primary schools: 70,646 public primary schools with an enrollment of 4,973,179 and 14,464 private schools, with an enrollment of 1,148,704.

3.4.5. Germany

As early as 1901, out of 5,754,728 children of school age, only 548 evaded attendance. This is fewer than one out of every ten thousand. Another test of the efficiency of this compulsory education law is found in the illiteracy statistics for the German Empire in 1910, which shows only 3 in 10,000 illiterates.

3.4.6. Switzerland

For 1910 the statistics were as follows:
Population: 3,741,971.
Enrollment in elementary schools, 538,286, or 14.38 per cent of the population.
Teachers in elementary schools, men 7401, women 4781, total 12,182.
Percentage of men teachers, 60; of women teachers, 40.

3.4.7. Holland

Elementary and Secondary School Statistics: The Minister of Education reported for the year 1911-12 the following statistics for the elementary and secondary schools:

Infant Schools

Public 31,416

Private 138,769

Elementary Schools

Public 566,867

Private 365,887

Middle Schools I5,153

Industrial Schools 36,803

Navigation Schools 913

Secondary, Classical 471

Totals 1,156,279

3.4.8. Denmark

The enrollment of 538,731 in the public and private primary schools in 1910-11, 19.5 percent of the entire population, shows very conclusively that the Danish children attend school. This is not quite so good, however, as the enrollment for the same year in the United States, where it was 20.2 per cent. According to the official statistics of January 1, 1911, there were only 370 children of school age, out of a total elementary school population of 377,066, who did not attend school during the year, only 1/7 of 1 percent.

3.4.9. Norway

Three-fourths of its children are in rural schools, as shown by the last available statistics: 280,121 in the rural schools and only 96,602 in the city schools.

3.4.10. Japan

The last available statistics are for the year 1912-13. They show 25,750 elementary schools, 314 middle schools, and 4 imperial universities. The elementary school statistics for 1912 are: number of schools, 25,750; teachers, 157,536; pupils, 7,021,661. The percentage of enrollment was over 98 percent of the total school population. These figures, on the basis of enrollment, are good, but considering the overcrowded classroom and the consequent lack of quality, the results are not so encouraging.

From the above statistics one can easily figure out that Ottoman Empire did fail in her educational policy. Not only did she fail in the education of girls but she also failed in the education of boys. Moreover, in the early twentieth century, the empire was far behind the leading powers of the western world as well as the small communities, such as Norway, Holland, and Denmark. From our point of view this devastating result may not just be advocated to the Sultan Abdülhamid II period. All the sultans and the leaders must have played their roles in this shocking result. They should have put more emphasis on the education of the public, not just the people in the palace. They should not just have learned what they needed. They should not just let their family acquire how to read and write with private tutors. They should not have given more rights and privileges to the "ulema". They should also have provided enough and equal education for the whole public particularly girls.

3. 5. AMERICAN ROBERT COLLEGE

In the nineteenth century, the French and the Roman Catholics were well aware of the opportunity for political and religious propaganda. They had already established a number of schools to provide primary education. They had also persuaded many of the wealthy families to send their sons to Paris. French influence was everywhere in Constantinople. There were native schools but they were few in number. There were also naval, military and theological schools. Beyond that, there were mosque-affiliated religious schools for small children, and a small number of

Protestant and Catholic mission-schools. The need for an American college in the empire was beyond question, and Constantinople was the natural place to start this kind of school.[196]

Cyrus Hamlin, the pioneer American educator in Turkey, founded a seminary in Bebek, a suburb of Constantinople, in 1840. Dr. Hamlin stayed in the capital and he established Robert College (the American College)[197] with the financial help of Mr. Christopher Rheinlander Robert[198], a New York merchant. The college was finally officially founded in 1863, with the extraordinary efforts of Hamlin, who had worked for nearly a generation in İstanbul under the ABCFM. Hamlin writes about the first meeting with Robert and the idea for Robert College:

> *Christopher R. Robert, Esq.[199], of New York, had visited Constantinople, in 1856, just at the close of the Crimean war. Seeing, along the shores of the Bosphorus, a boat laden with bread, the appearance and grateful aroma of which drew his attention, he inquired where it was made, and this led to our acquaintance, out of which has grown Robert College.[200]*

Actually, the real idea of founding a college at Constantinople originated with neither Hamlin nor Robert. Rather, it was first proposed to Robert in 1857, by James and William Dwight, the sons of Rev.[201] Dr. H. G. O. Dwight, a missionary in Constantinople.[202] One day:

> *[Once James and William Dwight] called upon Mr. Robert, as a well-known philanthropist and friend of missions, and stated that they had for some time contemplated founding a school at Constantinople, not in any way connected with the Mission and tolerant of the religious prejudices of the natives, which*

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[196] George Washburn, **Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College**. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1909, p. 3.

[197] George E. White, **Charles Chapin Tracy, Missionary, Philanthropist, Educator, First President of Anatolia College, Marsovan, Turkey**, The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1918, p. 14.

[198] George Washburn, at the very beginning of his own Memoirs, **Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College**, gives information, in a footnote, about the ancestry of Christopher Robert: "Mr. Robert was descended, in the fourth generation, from Daniel Robert of Rochelle, who was believed to have been a direct descendant of Count Robert of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, King of England. Daniel Robert was a Huguenot, and emigrated to New York in 1701, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when he became a British subject. His grandson, Mr. Robert's father, was a graduate of Columbia and Edinburgh Universities, a physician by profession, who, after living ten years in the British West Indies, returned to New York in 1784 and bought a large estate on Long Island, where Mr. Christopher R. Robert was born March 23, 1802. When [he was] fifteen years old he went into a merchant's office in New York, and continued in business all his life" (1).

[199] The abbreviation for Esquire

[200] Cyrus Hamlin, **Among the Turks**, American Tract Society, New York, 1877, (Turks), p. 284.

[201] The abbreviation for Reverend.

[202] Washburn, p. 3.

they hoped would soon become self-supporting, and they proposed to associate with themselves an Armenian, also a graduate of Yale.[203]

When the Dwights planned the school in Constantinople, which was going to be secular, there was a reaction from Robert and the others. They felt that there was no reason to fund a school in Constantinople, unless it was to be particularly Christian.[204] At the conclusion of all these negotiations about the school, the duty of founding a school in Constantinople was given to Hamlin.

It was in 1859 when Hamlin finally chose the site for the 'proposed college'.[205] The twenty-fourth site he found was quite reasonable, and it was in Korouchesme (Kuruçeşme). In the buying of the site, Hamlin experienced some difficulties, such as when he met some cunning agents who wanted to cheat him, but failed. The exact price that he paid for the site was $7,000. Although Robert proposed obtaining a subscription of $100,000, which was not enough, he would also solicit donations of smaller amounts for a library and a laboratory. Robert himself had promised to provide $30,000 to meet the financial needs.[206]

Hamlin and his wife were dedicated to the fulfillment of the plan. They placed their three daughters, Carrie, Abbie, and Clara, at the Deaconesses' School in Smyrna (İzmir), under the care of missionary sister Ladd. Alfred, their son, who had a serious illness at the time, was cared for by Henrietta Hamlin[207]. About this departure, Hamlin wrote: "Not without deep emotions of anxiety and hope did I leave the place of more than twenty years' labor and break for a time so many bands of Christian sympathy and cooperation, and leave our children to the care of others." Hamlin left his children because he was well aware that the effect of the college would be intense, because the objective was to found the first American College.[208]

On the way to the States, they visited Venice, Verona, Milan, Heidelberg, Mayence, Cologne, Paris, London, and Liverpool, where they met Mr. Jones and his family. They were very helpful and generous. The voyage was uncomfortable, and it

[203] Washburn, p. 3.
[204] Washburn, p. 4.
[205] See also Hamlin, Turks, p. 287.
[206] Cyrus Hamlin, **My Life and Times.** Second Edition, Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston, 1893, (Times), pp. 415-416; See Hamlin, Turks, Chapter XIX.
[207] His daughter from his first marriage. She married George Washburn, the writer of **Fifty Years in Constantinople.**
[208] Hamlin, Times, p. 417.

was not fit for Mrs. Hamlin, but they landed safely in Boston just a few weeks before the Jubilee of the ABCFM. Hamlin was back in the States just to raise $100,000, and with this mission in mind, he delivered several missionary addresses. Although the Outlook Committee was against the idea, Harvard College was in favor of it. Besides, the results in Boston and its vicinity were great; the amount collected was $13,000. Additionally, Harvard College donated a valuable collection of law books.[209]

There were some problems in raising the money, but Mr. Williston offered valuable help with a donation of $10,000. Later, Hamlin started giving lectures on Turkey and he earned $1,000. With the money he earned, he paid for the furniture and books. Mr. Corliss provided $1,300 for an engine and other machinery. It was in 1861 when the American Civil War, which would last for four years, broke out, and Hamlin was in New York to see the whole city fluttering with American flags.[210]

When trying to decide whether to join Cyrus W. Field in supplying the army with bread or not, Hamlin decided to return to Turkey. On the Hamlins' voyage back, they called at almost all the same places they had visited on the way to the States, to solicit money. Just a few days after their arrival in Constantinople, Sultan Abdülmecid died and Abdülaziz took power. It was forbidden to build on the site which they had purchased before their trip to America. Something unbelievable happened, however, when they returned to Constantinople: Hamlin was offered a site by Ahmed Vefik Pasha at a reasonable price. He felt very happy, because not only was the site itself preferable in every way, but it contained excellent building-stones, too. Hamlin writes: "I purchased the ground of the celebrated Ahmed Vefik Effendi, afterwards pasha, on the condition that the money should be paid over when the government should give a legal permit to build the college upon the spot."[211]

It did not take long to receive permission; it was given just a few months later, and the money was then paid. As soon as he thought that everything was settled and that there were no obstacles preventing construction, two more problems surfaced. The first was a triangle of land, cutting into the site he bought and the latter

[209] Hamlin, Times, pp. 417-423.
[210] Hamlin, Times, pp. 424-426.
[211] Hamlin, Times, pp. 426-430.

concerned certain formalities. He paid eighty pounds for the land and thus solved the first problem. For the second problem, however, he had to wait and see.[212]

Soon, Hamlin uncovered the main character behind this problem: Abbé Boré, the chief of the Jesuit mission. After all, "The Turks had for four hundred years guarded the Bosphorus from any such Christian contamination. Now, that a Yankee should accomplish what he, with the power of France behind him, had been unable to do, was naturally intolerable." The opposition came mostly from outsiders; all the Catholic embassies and Russia opposed Protestantism gaining a hold in Turkey. As this opposition surfaced Hamlin wrote letters to Robert telling everything. Robert's reply was: "We will fight it out to the end. You and I, Dr. Hamlin, will still see this thing through."[213]

Hamlin was a man of intelligence, and it was evident to him that the delay might be a very long one; he "might turn the flank of the enemy and open the college, without asking anybody's leave. The Bebek Seminary having been removed to Marsovan (Merzifon), its premises were standing vacant. There was a principle of the Turkish government which, up to that date, had been held unchanged." He already knew "[t]hat was adet—prescriptive right. Anything that had been established for a length of time, known to the people and to the government, and not interfered with, had thereby earned the right of continued existence. There existed a saying that "The sultan's firman cannot abolish adet!"[214]

With this idea in mind, Hamlin wrote to Robert and they then decided to put the plan into action. Hamlin renovated the building spending $3,000 to finish all the painting and repairs.[215] Everything was ready, except for the college's name. Lots of names were offered, but all of them were rejected. Hamlin explains the naming thus:

> *The advisory committee objected to the name "American College," as being too much tainted with democracy. "The College of Constantinople" was proposed, but objected to, as being too assuming. "The Oriental College" (le College d'Orient) was objected to by some as being untrue, because it was an Occidental College. And so every name proposed was objected to by one or two persons. I said to them: "Well, gentlemen, this is very singular, if we can have a*

[212] Hamlin, Times, pp. 430-431.
[213] Hamlin, Times, pp. 431-433.
[214] Hamlin, Times, p. 433.
[215] Hamlin, Times, p. 434.

college, but cannot find a name for it! I propose that we call it ' Robert College!' This was received by acclamation.[216]

Although Robert himself protested the name of the college, the committee said: "It is our business to fix upon the name for this country, and no other has any concern in it."[217]

There was still pressure from the Abbe Bore to close down the institution but the reply was straight forward: "Mr. Hamlin has had an institution there for twenty years—and may have for twenty years more, for aught we care. As to the different names these giaours (infidels)[218] give to their institutions, it makes no difference to us!" In 1863, Robert College was opened. The staff consisted of two American professors, Rev. George Perkins and Rev. Henry A. Schaufifier; a Greek professor, Mr. Kazakos; a professor of French, M. Dalem; a professor of Italian and of design, M. Marchesi; and, at a later period, as professor of Armenian, Mr. Hagopos Gigizian. In addition, there were several other teachers employed at different times for specific purposes.[219]

At first, there were only four students in the college. In two years' time the number rose to almost 35, meaning just slow progress in enrollment. The students at the college were foreigners, because the natives regarded the school with suspicion. It was hard to find scholars from among the Armenians, Greeks, and Bulgarians, and the Protestants were too poor to pay the tuition, which was about $200. There was an agreement between Hamlin and Robert to try this experiment for five years, and then decide whether the school was a failure or a success. When the fifth year arrived, the college had already become self-supporting, and the experiment was deemed a great success.[220]

For almost eight years, the demand for the school was low and the low enrollment continued. This gave Hamlin and his colleagues another opportunity to try a different management system. By this time, they had convinced all that the main language of instruction should be English. There was also a plan to open a preparatory school. Although they tried to use the French language in equal

[216] Hamlin, Times, p. 435.
[217] Hamlin, Turks, p. 292.
[218] A derogatory term used for non-Muslims. Turkish form is gavur.
[219] Hamlin, Times, p. 435.
[220] Hamlin, Times, p. 436.

proportion, they were not successful. Hamlin was a persistent man, and he never quit. Although there were obstacles before him, he—with the encouragement coming from Mr. Robert—never abandoned his mission. Ali Pasha (Grand Vizier at the time) even got irritated by his persistent demands and once said, "Will this Mr. Hamlin never die, and let me alone on this college question?"[221]

Hamlin wanted to build a better school, and he needed permission to do so. The American Embassy was not active, but the British ambassador supported Hamlin and Sir Henry Bulwer (British Ambassador) wrote a note indicating that he had solved the problem. Sometime later, however, they learned that even Bulwer would not help. Upon deep queries, Hamlin discovered that Bulwer deliberately did not solve the problem, because he had received a bribe of $50,000. The bribery offer meant Bulwer would lose his place, and he was recalled. He was a totally deceitful person, according to Hamlin. His successor, Lord Lyons, was also interested in the college question. At that time, Ali Pasha sent an invitation to Hamlin. When Hamlin was at Ali Pasha's house, Ali Pasha proposed to switch the current site with a piece of land that he owned. Hamlin did not like this land and refused the offer.[222]

To solve the problem, Hamlin went to speak with Fuad Pasha, a statesman and a member of the Liberal Party. Fuad Pasha referred the question to the neighboring village of Hisar. The reply from Hisar was not straightforward. Hamlin had to wait until 1867-68 when Midhat Pasha was made Grand Vizier. Sometime later, Hamlin received permission to build the school. Admiral Farragut was another important Constantinople personality connected to the college. With the efforts of Hamlin, Morris, Morgan, and Secretary Seward, the "Imperial İrade"[223] was given, and the college was placed under the protection of the United States. It carried the American flag. This privilege was only given to America, not to Britain, France, Germany, or Russia. The only reason was that America did not have political aspirations, as Hamlin stated.[224]

The work started immediately, with the help of four different architects. Hamlin himself supported the idea that the school would be fireproof. He also

[221] Hamlin, Times, pp. 436-438.
[222] Hamlin, Times, pp. 438-440.
[223] A written decree of the Sultan.
[224] Hamlin, Times, pp. 442-450.

needed an order from the Pasha, for the transformation of the iron and the other materials. The site of the college was in the Kayılar district, where there used to be towers at the site, and Hamlin thus wanted to study the area closely. The materials they found were really durable. The spot selected for the building was hilly, according to Hamlin, and composed of debris from a neighboring quarry. Hamlin and the workmen spent time clearing it and the foundations and stones found at the site were used for the "binding corners" of the basement.[225]

It was hard to find good stone for the building. Hamlin even had to buy "all the brick of an old Turkish bath" which was being torn down. Hamlin, too, had great trouble with his quarrymen. They were Montenegrins and very violent and always ready to threaten the lives of others. At that time, Hamlin hired a Greek "stone blaster." The Montenegrins did not like it, and threatened both the Greek and Hamlin. The head man once said to Hamlin, "it would not be good for [your] health to [hire other people]". Hamlin was not just wise and witty, but also courageous. He wanted the head man's name. Although they did not give him the name, Hamlin took some notes, and proclaimed: "Now I shall send this directly to the American minister. He will immediately give it to the minister of foreign affairs; he will give it to the chief of your guild, with orders to take care of you. You know him. You will find your match there, with as many daggers and pistols as you choose!"[226]

With this, the Montenegrin workers calmed down and did not interfere with Hamlin's work again. It was time to place the corner stone. Hon.[227] E. Joy Morris, American Minister, was there to do so. The event took place on July 4, 1869. There were lots of addresses on that day:

> *[Morris'] address was followed by an address by Sir Philip Francis, judge of the English Supreme Consular Court; next, an able address by J. P. Brown, Esq., United States secretary of legation; fourth, the address by Rev. Canon Gribble. chaplain of the British embassy; the fifth, the most rhetorical and eloquent of all, was in Greek, by Philip Apostolides, Esq., a Greek lawyer; the sixth was by Hagop Effendi, Vekil of the Armenian Protestant community', in Armenian; the seventh, in Bulgarian, by Mr. Petco Gorbanoff, professor of Slavic languages in the college; the eighth, in Turkish, by Pastor Avedis, of Northern Syria; the ninth, by Rev. Dr. Pratt, missionary.*[228]

[225] Hamlin, Times, pp. 451-454.
[226] Hamlin, Times, pp. 455-457.
[227] The abbreviation for Honorable.
[228] Hamlin, Times, p. 458.

It was time to commence the building of the great structure. Hamlin found twelve Greek master-builders, twelve Armenian master-builders, for a total of twenty four. The northern half of the campus was assigned to Greeks' and the southern half was assigned to Armenians'.[229] Hamlin depicts the work clearly:

> *I had many workmen — stonecutters, quarrymen, carpenters, plasterers, painters, blacksmiths, and as a general rule I was on excellent terms with them all. Every Saturday night they knocked off work in season for every man to receive his pay. If anyone had been indolent or careless during the week, he was dismissed on Saturday evening, and the reason given before all. I allowed no wine, beer, or alcoholic drinks on the college grounds. This contributed greatly to the harmony and success of the work. I had, first and last, more than two hundred workmen, of different nationalities and religions, and I can recall very few of them that I would not be glad to see again, or who, as I believe, would not be glad to see me. A right distribution of labor, fair wages, prompt payment, and good service, are four essential elements of success in such a work, and of content among the workmen.*[230]

The interesting point that Hamlin mentions in his memoir, **My Life and Times**, is that the workmen would often read the Bible, in the Turkish language. During construction there were no deaths due to accidents, but there were severe injuries. Once, a buzz saw cut off two of Hamlin's fingers and the little finger of one of the workmen. Hamlin thinks the "prayer of Canon Gribble, at the laying of the corner stone 'that no life might be lost' was graciously answered".[231]

Before the completion of the work, Robert appeared in Constantinople. He was shocked by the building and expressed his gratification to Hamlin thus: "So long as we live, Mr. Hamlin, we shall never separate in this work!" When Robert was in Constantinople he was called to the Palace of Ali Pasha, the Grand Vizier. Hamlin was also called with him. Hamlin was congratulated for the work he had done. The transfer of the college to its new quarters was on May 15, 1871. The formal opening, however, was on July 4, in order to accommodate William H. Seward, the ex-Secretary of State who was on his way to Constantinople.[232] Seward recounts this invitation in **William H. Seward's Travels around the World,** edited by his adopted daughter Olive Risley Seward:

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[229] Hamlin, Times, p. 458.
[230] Hamlin, Times, p. 459.
[231] Hamlin, Times, pp. 462-465,466.
[232] Hamlin, Times, pp. 466-468.

> *We repaired this morning, in accordance with an invitation, to Robert College, an American university for the education of Turkish youths, founded by the liberality of Christopher R. Robert, of New York. Twelve years ago the Turkish Government conceded the site, which is the most commanding one on the Bosporus. But Mussulman jealousies caused delay in confirming the concession. A long and sometimes unpleasant discussion, which occurred on the subject between the two Governments, was happily brought to an end during the closing year of Mr. Seward's official term in the Department of State.*[233]

The public opening was great. Some weeks after the opening ceremony, a Turkish man arrived at the college to examine it. When he had finished, he said: "I think more of English education than of any other. I have some little grandsons, and when they are old enough, I intend to send them to this college". Hamlin was inspired by the man's utterance, and he invited him to the college tower to view the scenery. The man compared the scenery with that at the European schools, and came to the decision that the scenery of this college was matchless. On his way down he said: "Ah, sir! We would never have given you leave to build your college here had it not been for that bloody insurrection in Crete!"[234]

Hamlin could not understand the relation between the founding of the college and the insurrection in Crete. Therefore upon his demand the man gave a detailed explanation of the relationship:

> *Why, when your great Admiral Farragut was here that insurrection was our greatest embarrassment, taxing all our skill and power. We would have gladly seen Crete swallowed up in the sea; but to grant her freedom would have involved the loss of all our islands, and would have brought on the disintegration of the empire. Greek delegations surrounded the admiral, and reported that he had promised to pass along the shores of Crete and take off the refugees to Greece; and, moreover, that he had assured them that his government would sell them one of its monitors. This gave us just cause of alarm, which was increased not a little when the admiral came to dine with the Sultan's high officers of state. He asked the grand vizier, point blank, why that American college could not be built. The grand vizier replied in friendly terms, and the great admiral said not a word. But he continued to ask the same question right and left, to the minister of foreign affairs, to the minister of war, and of the navy: 'I would like to ask your [E]xcellency a question. I would like to know why that American college can't be built.'" To all he held the same absolute silence, and said not a word. We saw clearly that the United States government was holding that college question over against us; and the admiral was assured that all difficulties were removed and the college would soon be built. But when he rather suddenly left and went straight out by Gibraltar, we breathed easily, and we had no intention of granting you leave. A few months*

[233] Olive Risley Seward, **William H. Seward's Travels around the World**, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1873, p. 641.
[234] Hamlin, Times, pp. 470, 479.

after, those letters from leading New York papers were sent, translated and in the original. They were very severe and unjust on the Cretan case, but they were written with ability and exact knowledge. We said, [t]here is the finger of the great admiral in this. His government is preparing the American people for intervention. If only an American monitor should come into the Mediterranean, it would be followed by war with Greece; and (lifting up both hands) war begun with Greece, Allah himself only knows where it would end! And we had been warned that this college question would become a thorny one, and that political complications would finally compel us to grant even more than was asked. We now felt the thorns, we saw the complications, and we said: Better build a hundred colleges for the Americans with our own money than to have one of Farragut's monitors come into the Mediterranean! So we gave you leave to build on this matchless spot. We gave you the imperial irade — which we never give — and we placed this college under the protection of the United States as the greatest compliment to your government ; and so (spreading both hands in a horizontal motion, with a smile of great satisfaction) we smoothed it all off.[235]

Hamlin understood why Ahmed Vefik Pasha did not want to sell the site when he was in Paris and why he indeed offered to sell it when he came back to Turkey. Although the written letters to which Hamlin referred were translated by the Greek diplomats, they gave extra hints about the background of the permission given by the Ottoman Government.[236] The story of the bargain of the site owned by Ahmed Vefik Pasha was also clarified by the man's explanation of how the İrade was given. While Ahmed Vefik Pasha was in Paris as the Ottoman Ambassador, the secretary of legation, Brown, went to see him. He told Ahmed Vefik that they wanted to buy the site, and he offered $15,000 for the whole field, as Hamlin had already told him earlier. Ahmed Vefik was very determined not to sell the site, saying: "Tell Mr. Hamlin if he has land to sell, I will listen to him; if he is only a purchaser, I have nothing to say, and no terms to offer."[237] The interesting thing was Ahmed Vefik's offer of the site when he turned back:

While Sultan Abdul Medjid lived, his place at Paris was everything he could wish. His bills for diplomatic dinners were very heavy, but promptly paid. The Sultan enjoined it upon him to allow no embassy to surpass the Ottoman in the splendor and attractiveness of its dinners. "I assure you," he said, "that our dinners gathered to them the most distinguished guests and always received the highest praise."So long as Abdul Medjid lived, my reports and itemized bills received his full approbation. [Ali] was unable to undermine my influence. His death gave him the opportunity he had watched for. The ambassadorial expenses were cut down so that very useful employees were dismissed. Finally the bill for diplomatic dinners was disallowed. I was compelled to resign with a

[235] Hamlin, Times, pp. 471-473.
[236] Hamlin, Times, p. 473.
[237] Hamlin, Times, p. 475.

debt of 150,000 francs — $30,000. I was driven out, without one charge brought against me. My honor and my regard for the honor of my government would not allow me to leave bills in Paris unpaid. I exhausted all my private resources, and then was compelled to sell this choice position which you now own, and where I hoped some day to build a kiosk.[238]

Ali Pasha was against this purchase and said Ahmed should pay back the money he got for the site, but Ahmed did not bother. The triumph was Ahmed's. After the death of Ali Pasha, Ahmed Vefik Efendi became Ahmed Vefik Pasha. From the very start of the foundation of the college, Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn were great figures for the development of the college. In a way, the early destiny of Robert College was directed by these two missionaries, who were broadminded, especially where education was concerned.[239] College education was as important as raising a child as Washburn states: "Our theory of college education is not new. In substance it is as old as Plato and Aristotle. Its chief end is the highest possible development of character. . . The most important work of the College is to train and develop the physical, intellectual and moral powers of the student."[240] The consequences of the college and its outcomes are told in Chapter IV and in the Conclusion part.

3. 5. 1. Teaching Staff[241]

Cyrus Hamlin (1811-1900): The Hamlins are descendants of Huguenots.[242] Their ancestors had to flee to England and Germany from France, where there was persecution. Many of them came back to France when amnesty was offered. At the end of the seventeenth century, the two traditional brothers immigrated to the USA from England, and one of them settled in Harvard, Massachusetts. Cyrus Hamlin's grandfather, Eleazer Hamlin, was a farmer, a great reader of history, and a true patriot. He had seventeen children. He fought in the war of the Revolution with his

[238] Hamlin, Times, pp. 475-476.
[239] Henry Morgenthau, **All in a Life-Time**, Doubleday, Page & Company, Garden City / New York, 1922, p. 208.
[240] Washburn, p. 295.
[241] It seems it is difficult to be one of the College Personnel, as the requirements written by Mr. Robert demand a lot. For the whole requirements see Appendix 6.
[242] The Huguenots were members of the Protestant Reformed Church of France during the 16th and 17th centuries. French Protestants were inspired by Martin Luther's preaching early in the 16th century, and later by the writings of John Calvin in the 1530s, and they were called Huguenots by the 1560s. The name Huguenot was given early in the 16th century to the Protestants in France. Huguenotsociety, http://www.huguenotsociety.org/history_new2.htm, (05.09.2013).

three sons. He named his sons with the name of continents; for example, he named his first born son Africanus; the second was named Americus, the third and fourth were named Asiaticus, and Europus. After the four continents, his grandfather had twins, one was named Hannibal and the other was named Cyrus. His other sons were Eleazer, Jr., Isaac, and Jacob. Jacob died early. Hannibal was his father's name. Cyrus was the father of Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin. So Cyrus was named for Hannibal Hamin's father and Hannibal Hamlin was named for Cyrus' father.[243]

There was only six months between the birth of Cyrus Hamlin and the formation of the American Board. The Board was formed in Bradford, Massachusetts, on June 29, 1810, and Cyrus Hamlin was born in Waterford, Maine, on January 5, 1811.[244] Maine was a small farming village about forty miles northwest of Portland. When he was young, the Revolution was still new in people's minds; Maine was still a part of Massachusetts; and Greece was still a district of Turkey. George Stephenson had not yet built the "Rocket," and steam river-navigation was in its early years.[245] Cyrus had two sisters, Susan and Rebecca, and a brother Hannibal. Hannibal was two years older than Cyrus; Susan was ten years older, and Rebecca was six years older. There were two other children who died in infancy.[246]

Cyrus Hamlin lived to see his country pass through four wars; he watched the development of steam transportation; he witnessed the birth of the telegraph and saw those triumphs of electrical science in the telephone and in electric transfer. During his life, industry was revolutionized, the earth girdled with steam-routes by sea and land, and the map of Europe was made over; American Foreign Missions were born, and the United States grew from a weak state menaced by European empires into the leading power among the nations.[247]

George Washburn (1833-1915): George Washburn, the second president of Robert College, was the son-in-law of Cyrus Hamlin. Washburn began his work with the American mission in the Ottoman Empire in 1858, as the local treasurer of the American Board. In 1869, he moved on to serve as a professor at Robert College.

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[243] Hamlin, Times, pp. 426-430.
[244] A. R. Thain, Cyrus Hamlin, **Envelope Series (Quarterly)**, Vol.: X, No.: 2, July, 1907, p. 3.
[245] Cyrus Hamlin, **In Memoriam**, Boston, Published Privately, Press of J. J. Arakelyan, 1903, (Memoriam), pp. 9-10.
[246] Hamlin, Times, pp. 12-13.
[247] Hamlin, Memoriam, pp. 9-10.

Then, in 1877, he succeeded Hamlin—with whom he had often clashed regarding the school's expansion and political mission—as the college's president. Washburn continued as president for 26 years, meaning his term corresponded with the rule of Abdulhamid II. Washburn's memoir offers a valuable account of both the college and the state of bilateral relations during that period of time.[248]

Frank Caleb Gates: Caleb Frank Gates was born on October 18, 1857 in Chicago. His family was really large. He was one out of ten children. He went to public schools in Chicago. They moved to Geneva, Illinois. For a short time, he went to Wheaton College, then to Beloit College. When he finished college, he entered Chicago Theological Seminary and from there as a missionary he was sent to Mardin, Turkey, under the auspices of the American Board. He also was in charge of the distribution of funds raised in Europe and America.[249]

He came to Turkey in 1881. He started serving in Mardin and stayed there from 1881 to 1894. He got married to Mary Ellen Moore on May 31, 1883. They had five children and two of them died when they were young. Later he was the President of Euphrates College in Harpoot from 1894 to 1902. Finally, in succession to President George Washburn, he became President[250] of Robert College on September 20, 1903. His long presidency ended in 1932.[251] Dr. Gates was a marvelous example of American manhood. He had forsaken the opportunity of success in America to devote his life to the great task of human betterment. He lived many years in Turkey, knew all the main figures of its public life, and he was a profound student of Turkish psychology.[252]

[248]Academia, http://www.academia.edu/1233938/Fifty_Years_in_Constantinople_Recollections_of_Robert_College, (05.09.2013).
[249] The Robert College Herald Board of 1931-1932, **Caleb Frank Gates**, President of the Robert College 1903-1932, An Appreciation, Tsitouris Brothers, Istanbul, p. 7.
[250] Dr. Gates was not willing to take the responsibility, but Washburn ended his letter with one remarkable comment as quoted in Greene, and Dr. Gates accepted the presidency. See p. 205. "I will leave with you only one point to think over: This college must not lose its religious, its Christian, character. How can a new man coming out from America, without knowledge of the country, hold it true to its original aim?"
[251] The Robert College Herald Board of 1931-1932, pp. 6-7.
[252] Morgenthau, pp. 205-208.

3. 5. 2. The curriculum of the College

When the fifth academic year ended, there were two candidates for graduation. These were Hagop Cecizian and Petco Gorbanoff. They had to pass the "Annual Examinations of Robert College July 27 – August 1, 1868," before they were finally qualified for graduation. It was all written by Cyrus Hamlin and sent to the trustees and to interested parties in İstanbul. It also had an invitation attached to attend the ceremony.

> *Monday: Preparatory studies in various languages as Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, Translations in English, Greek, French, Bulgarian, Armenian, Turkish.*
>
> *Tuesday: Armenian and Turkish languages and studies. Declamation and essays in Armenian and Turkish. Oration in Armenian by a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts*
>
> *Wednesday: Examinations in Greek and French, chiefly the former, Declamations and essays in Greek.*
>
> *Thursday: Examinations in Bulgarian, French and Latin. Declamations in Bulgarian, French. Oration in Bulgarian by a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.*
>
> *Friday: Mathematics, Mental and Moral and Natural Philosophy. Political Economy. Chemistry in English.*
>
> *Friday Evening: Prize Declamations in French and English.*
>
> *Saturday: Examinations of the candidates for the degree of B.A. Addresses in English, French, Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian and Turkish.*
>
> *N. B. The examinations will commence every day at 9 A.M. and continue until 5 P.M., with an interval for refreshment.*[253]

Washburn concludes his explanation of the academic year 1875 with a detailed discussion of the academic program. According to his accounts, students at that time attended Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Analytical Geometry, and Conic Sections. They spent at least six hours a week for these mathematical studies. They also had Zoology, Physics, Physiology, Chemistry, Botany, Geology and Mineralogy, and Astronomy. The average time for these courses was five hours a week. They had to follow History three hours a week. They joined Political Economy, Rhetoric, Parliamentary Law, Physical Geography, Psychology, Ethics,

[253] John Freely, **A History of Robert College**, Volume I-II, YKY, İstanbul, 2000, p. 71.

History of Philosophy, History of Civilization, International Law classes each five or six hours a week.[254]

Although some students got some additional work in some branches, there were no optional studies in the course. It is mentioned in his account that the course of study was somewhat equal to that of any American College fifty years ago, and there was no school in this country which was equal to Robert College.

3. 6. FROM THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL TO THE AMERICAN COLLEGE FOR GIRLS[255] (1871-1971)

In August, 1867, Dr. Hamlin made a proposal of a college for girls in İstanbul to Mr. Robert. Hamlin thought it was necessary to the completeness of Robert College. He was determined not to have any connection between these two institutions. Dr. Hamlin was persistent upon telling his plan in special letters to Mr. Robert. At first, Mr. Robert was reluctant and a bit resented as George Washburn quotes from a letter he got from Mr. Robert:

> *If I do not greatly mistake, those who come after us, fifty or one hundred years hence, will see more clearly than we ever shall that those who laid the foundations of the College were guided by the wisdom that cometh down from above. Although Dr. Hamlin is now highly appreciated by those who know him best it is only an index of far greater honor that will be showered on his name in after generations.*[256]

Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel G. Clarke willingly travelled to the Ottoman Empire in 1871-1872. When they were in the Empire they encountered a lot of schools for boys, but they were well aware of the need for education for girls. After they turned back, they started a campaign and made a lot of efforts to arise interest in the work of education for the women of the Ottoman Empire.[257] Actually the idea of initiating such a movement for the education of women came to a number of people but it was Mrs. Albert Bowker who started this movement. She was the first president of the Woman's Board of Missions which was founded in 1868. Her main interest was

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[254] Washburn, p. 97.
[255] It has also been called as Constantinople Woman's College or İstanbul Woman's College.
[256] Washburn, p. 31.
[257] Hester Donaldson Jenkins, **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East: The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient**, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1925, (Orient), p. 25.

education, especially international education and most probably she was the first person who thought of founding a school for girls in İstanbul. There were some other institutions of that kind in the city at that time, but they only accepted boys or men and were mostly based on religious teaching.[258] To Caroline Borden, the American High School for girls in İstanbul was not established as a mission school of the Missionary boards.[259] Besides, the main aim of the school for girls was told by Miss Borden as quoted in **A History of Robert College** by John Freely:

> *The design of the High School shall be to provide for the thorough education and Christian culture of girls from the surrounding native communities, and also for a special training of such as may desire to become teachers and helpers in the missionary work. Its arrangement and missionary work shall be to secure, with the Devine blessing, a true and symmetrical Christian character in the pupils, well qualified teachers of native female seminaries and higher schools, wives of pastors, and well-ordered Christian homes. . .*[260]

During Sultan Aziz's late years of reign, two international schools for boys were founded in İstanbul. One of them was a middle-class Lycee[261] which was established in 1868. The language of the school was French and it was in Galatasaray. The other school was an American institution called Robert College. This college was for men of all nationalities. It was in Rumeli Hisarı. The language

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[258] Mary Mills Patrick, **A Bosporus Adventure Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman's College 1871-1924**, Stanford University Press, California, 1934, (College), p. 29.
[259] Jenkins, Orient, p.34.
[260] Freely, p. 140.
[261] Galatasaray High School (Galatasaray Lisesi) is one of the most influential high schools in Turkey. Established in 1481, it is the oldest Turkish high school in the world and the second-oldest Turkish educational institution after Istanbul University which was established in 1453. Galata Palace Imperial School remained open until the 1830s, when the movement of reform and reorganization abolished the Ottoman Empire's old establishment. Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) replaced the Imperial School with the Ottoman Medical School, staffed largely by French professors with most courses taught in French. The Medical School was based at the Galata Palace buildings for some thirty years. Invited by Napoleon III, in June–July 1867, Sultan Abdülaziz (1861–1876) attended the World Exhibition in Paris. He then visited Queen Victoria in London, Wilhelm I in Prussia and Franz Joseph I in Vienna. Sultan Abdülaziz was impressed by the French educational system during his visit, and on his return to Istanbul he announced the Edict of Public Education which established a free compulsory education system for all children until they became twelve. In September 1868, influenced by the French Lycée model, a school was established under the name "Lycée Impérial Ottoman de Galata-Sérai" (Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi). French was the main language of instruction, and many teachers were from Europe. The students included members of all religious and ethnic communities of the Ottoman Empire. Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galatasaray_High_School, (10.11.2012).
In 1908 with changes in the education system done by Tevfik Fikret who was the president of the institution, the education period was nine years three for primary education, three was secondary education and three was the high school education. Persian, Arabic, Italian, Latin, Greek, Armenian, And German were the optional languages. There were piano and the violin classes. In 1924, the institution under the name Galatasaray High School began its education in accordance with the Republican revolution. Wikipedia, http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galatasaray_Lisesi, (10.11.2012).

of the college was English. Mrs. Bowker[262] had the zeal to start a college for girls in İstanbul; however, this enthusiasm was unnoticed. In October, 1871, the first session started with three pupils in a rented house in Gedikpaşa. The youngest of these pupils was just six years old. Miss Julia A. Rappleye was the first principal of the school.[263] At the end of the school year 1874-75, Miss Rappleye had to resign her position and return to the United States. Before she left, she had seen some forty students graduate from the school. In the autumn of 1875 Mary Mills Patrick had the first connection with the school.[264] In 1876 the school moved to a new place in Scutari (Üsküdar), across the Bosphorus. This change is told by Mary Mills Patrick in **A Bosporus Adventure**:

> *While the money was being raised in the United States a suitable site for a building was sought in Constantinople. Finally, after much searching, a spot of great beauty was found in Scutari, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus. Scutari was then an ambitious city of sixty thousand inhabitants. . . . The site chosen included two and three-fourths acres. The estate was called the Pishmish Oglou, or "that of the son of the man who was cooked." It was not wholly clear, however, who was cooked, and why anyone had to be cooked we never discovered. While negotiations for the purchase of the property in Scutari were going on, the Hon. Horace Maynard was the American Minister. By August 1872 he had overcome all obstacles to our acquiring the Pishmish estate; and since American citizens even then were able to hold property legally in Turkey, the deed of our Scutari campus was made out in the name of a member of the local committee. As purchasers of this site, we fell heir to Oriental frescoes around the ceilings of a small building on the property and to a treasure house of rare and beautiful china belonging to the luxurious life of the period. The embryo school of three pupils established in Stamboul under Julia Rappleye in 1871 slowly increased in numbers. After the purchase of the Scutari property the school was removed in 1873 to a rented house in close proximity to the new site.*[265]

Although English was taught to the students, they were instructed in Armenian because the students were all Armenians. The institution was originally called Constantinople Home or just Home School.[266] Since Üsküdar was on the Asiatic shore, and it was isolated from the American colony on the European side of the Bosporus,[267] and since new academic buildings were added to the Bebek campus

[262] Apart from Mrs. Bowker there were others, such as; Caroline Borden and Mary Mills Patrick.
[263] Patrick, College, pp. 30-31.
[264] Patrick, College, p. 36.
[265] Patrick, College, pp. 34-35.
[266] Freely, p. 140. The origin of the name is told in a monograph by Miss Borden. For this see Freely, p. 140.
[267] Mary Mills Patrick, **Under Five Sultans**, The Century Co, New York, 1929, (Sultans), p. 74.

of Robert College in 1914, so the American College for Girls moved from Üsküdar to Arnavutköy, which was a larger campus. In 1932 Robert College and American College for Girls came under the administration of a single President. In 1971 the two schools merged under the name Robert College, which became a co-ed school on the Arnavutköy campus. The same year, Robert College's Bebek campus was given to the Turkish government, and became Boğaziçi University. With the implementation of eight-year compulsory education in 1997, Robert College's middle school closed down and it became solely a high school. Currently, students who enter Robert College study one year of prep-class, followed by four years of high school.

3. 6. 1. Teaching Staff

Julia A. Rappleye: The first principal of Home School. She was "a very capable and successful teacher."[268] She was born in Seneca Castle, New York in 1835. In 1855, she graduated from Oberlin College. In 1870 she came to İstanbul after several years of teaching at Oakland Seminary, California. A year later she became the first principal of Home School.[269] In character she was obviously independent and she was highly successful in planning and organizing.[270] There is an amusing story told by Mary Mills Patrick:

> *She was devoted to the beautiful flowers in which Scutari abounded and was often to be found in the garden surrounding the school. There she spent some of her leisure hours with a long-handled watering-pot in her hands, going from one to another of the beds of many fragrant blossoms. The visits of the members of the local committee sometimes coincided with her periods of gardening. She is said then to have expressed her attitude toward outside control of her school by throwing her watering-pot at these visitors; this method of dealing with trustees certainly showed great originality.*[271]

However skilled she was in making plans, her skills proved ineffective in this arena, and at the end of the school year 1874-75, she was obliged to resign her

[268] Joseph K. Greene, **Leaving the Levant**, The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1916, p. 188.
[269] May N. Fincancı, **The Story of Robert College Old and New 1863-1982**. Redhouse Press, İstanbul, 1983, p. 39.
[270] Patrick, College, p. 36.
[271] Patrick, College, p. 36.

position and return to the United States.[272] In 1876, she founded a mission school in Bursa, not far from İstanbul.[273]

Florance A. Fensham: She was appointed as the dean of the school when Mary Mills Patrick was appointed as the president. She was the head of the English Department for several years.[274]

Kate Pond Williams (1831-1895): She was "a woman of broad education and liberal views."[275] In November 1875, Kate Pond Williams arrived from the United States to be the president of the new American institution. She was a graduate of Mount Holyoke.[276] Kate Pond Williams came to the Ottoman Empire in 1864 to teach in Harput, and then she moved to Mardin. She came back to the United States after the death of her husband. Therefore, when she came to be principal of the school in 1875, she was a forty-four-year-old widow. In 1883 she had to resign because of her health and return to the United States.[277] The compliment about Williams made by Mary Mills Patrick in her book: "I, myself, owe more to Mrs. Williams than to any other one person, for knowledge of life, desire for culture, and a consciousness of the power of a spirit of tolerance."[278]

Ellen C. Parsons: In 1875 Kate Pond Williams was accompanied by Ellen C. Parsons who was to serve as assistant principal of the Institution. She was a graduate of Mount Holyoke , too. When the appointment took place, she was one of the staff of Lake Erie Seminary.[279]

Clara Hamlin (1853-1902): She was a scholar and a linguist. In 1883 the presidency of the school was empty, because Kate Pond Williams had resigned her post and returned to the United States. Therefore her place was taken by Clara H. Hamlin and Mary Mills Patrick as joint principals of the institution.[280]

Isabel Frances Dodd: Dr. Isabel Frances Dodd was very much interested in archeology. She built up the museum of the college, which was delightful.[281] There

[272] Patrick, College, p. 36.
[273] Fincancı, 1983, p. 39.
[274] Patrick, College, p. 95.
[275] Freely, p. 143.
[276] Patrick, College, p. 57.
[277] Fincancı, 1983, p. 41.
[278] Patrick, Sultans, p. 23.
[279] Patrick, College, p. 41.
[280] Patrick, College, p. 89.
[281] Patrick, Sultans, p. 71.

were good pieces in her museum; for example, there was a case containing a unique collection of archaeological remains from a mound in Cappadocia, which represented many cultures superimposed upon each other.[282] She stayed long at the college and mainly devoted her life and energy to archaeological studies in the Near East. Later she became an authority on the subject.[283] Professor Dodd travelled a lot to different places to increase her knowledge of the history of art. She studied in Berlin, Dresden, Heidelberg, and Munich, and she spent time in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece.[284] Dr. Dodd also conducted practical courses, based on the study in the Istanbul Museum of Archaeology, and her own extensive research in Asia Minor. Her department was especially fortunate; because of her deep interest in archeology, many lectures were given by distinguished visiting archaeologists.[285]

Ida W. Prime: Ida W. Prime, who was much loved by both faculty and students, was the treasurer of the institution.[286] She was just and fair and gained a reputation for business efficiency.[287]

Mary Mills Patrick (1875-1924): Mary Mills Patrick was born in Canterbury, New Hampshire, March 10, 1850. Her parents were from old New England families. They moved to Iowa soon after Mary's birth. Her father was John Patrick, who was a farmer and pioneer, of strongly religious tendencies. Patrick inherited these tendencies from his father, who was an influential and beloved preacher in New Hampshire.[288] Patrick's interest in languages comes from her family thus;

> *At family prayers another interest was shown that came out very strongly later in Mary, namely, an aptitude for languages. It was the custom for the family of parents and four children to read verses from the Bible in turn in as many languages as there were readers, sometimes six, including Greek, Latin, French and German. Whether the children each understood all six seems doubtful, but at least they early got the feeling for language.*[289]

Patrick was really thirsty for knowledge, and most probably she inherited this from her mother, Harriet White. Harriet was intellectually very ambitious. Her sister, Frances White, was a professor in the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia.

[282] Patrick, College, p. 184.
[283] Patrick, College, p. 45.
[284] Patrick, College, p. 146.
[285] Patrick, College, p. 185.
[286] Patrick, Sultans, p. 71.
[287] Patrick, College, p. 59.
[288] Jenkins, Orient, pp. 21-22.
[289] Jenkins, Orient, pp. 21-22.

They were greatly interested in the education of girls. Mary was sent to an Iowan seminary named Lyons College, where she graduated with honors. This honor brought her a scholarship at Vassar College. She could not accept a free education because of her pride. Her autobiographer Hester Donaldson Jenkins defines her as: "strikingly ambitious, independent, and conscientious, and very religious."[290]

Patrick's family home was fun and relaxed. Both Patrick and her brother were easy-going, positive people. They enjoyed jokes a lot. At that age, she had effectively only ventured from home in order to attend school, and she thus knew very little about the world. When Patrick reached twenty, the physical description of her was told by Jenkins thus: "[S]he was a little above the average height, with curly, brown hair, soft, black eyes, a nose smaller than one would expect in one of her force of character, a smiling mouth, very supple hands, that were useful in dressmaking, cooking and all the household arts as well as effective on the piano . . ."[291]

The American Mission Board offered to send Patrick to Turkey. Patrick was excited to serve the mission, especially given that her hometown offered little opportunity for her to advance. Her parents were worried and surprised; considering that the journey was so long, it seemed likely that they might never see Patrick again. The work of a missionary necessitated a real sense of adventure and a desire to serve. Patrick's father accompanied her to Chicago; when they parted, Patrick struggled to hide her anxiety and sadness—but consoled herself with blueberries sold on the train. In 1870, going from Chicago to New York required several days. A group of missionaries headed for Persia chaperoned Patrick for the entire trip. They sailed on a small ship (the *Wisconsin*), on which Mary and her good appetite were pleased to find abundant meals. After a pleasant day of sightseeing in London, they journeyed across Europe, sitting and sleeping in small compartments and taking meals quickly at stations.[292]

Patrick and the other missionaries took a boat from Varna to Constantinople, a city that she found to be impressive. From Constantinople, the group crossed the Black Sea, and journeyed to Erzeroum (Erzurum) by horse. A road—connecting the port (Trebizond (Trabzon)) with the interior—had just been completed, so they were

[290] Jenkins, Orient, pp. 21-22.
[291] Jenkins, Orient, pp. 21-22.
[292] Jenkins, Orient, pp. 21-22.

able to travel safely. Although Patrick had very little horseback-riding experience, she was tough; she handled her awkward riding skirt well, with a sense of humor. The group spent nights in Oriental khans, where the neat and clean Patrick was surprised by the lack of both comforts and cleanliness: hard beds, fleas, unrefined bread. She dealt with these entire differences quite well.[293]

3. 6. 2. The curriculum of the Girls' College (1890-1910)

When the college was opened in 1871, the language of the school was Armenian. In 1876 the language of the school was changed into English. While the language of the school was Armenian, the curriculum of the school was as follows:

Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Chemistry, Botany, Physiology, Geography, Knowledge of Health, Philosophy, Bible Reading, Vocal Music, Art and Sewing-Embroidery, Instrumental Music, French (optional).[294]

In 1882 the curriculum was as follows:

Prep Class: English, Arithmetic, Geography.

Regular class (Third Class): English, Geography, Ancient and Modern History, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Physiology, Zoology, Botany, Physical Geography, Geology, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Literature in general and the Bible.

Elective courses: Vocal Music, Composition, Declamation, Painting, Gymnastics, Sewing-Embroidery. [295]

In 1890, the American College for Girls became the first institution within the American Board to gain the distinction of being a college.[296]

3. 6. 3. The Number of Students and Graduates (1890-1910)

1890-1891: 113 pupils enrolled. 43 of them were boarders. Almost one fourth of them were Greeks and the rest were Armenians. The religious life of the school was unusually active.[297] There were seven graduates.[298]

[293] Jenkins, Orient, pp. 21-22.
[294] Kocabaşoğlu, p. 131.
[295] Kocabaşoğlu, pp. 131-132.
[296] Kocabaşoğlu, p. 131.

1891-1892: The number of students was 106. 75 were boarders. The distribution was as follows: 43 Armenians, 23 Greeks, 14 Bulgarians, 10 English, 7 Americans, 7 Jews, and 2 of other nations.[299] There were five graduates.[300]

1892-1893: The number of students in all departments was 146, which was greater than ever before.[301] There were seven graduates.[302]

1893-1894: The report of the college was an attendance of 147 pupils.[303] There were seven graduates.[304]

1894-1895: 173 pupils enrolled and 95 were boarders.[305] There were seven graduates.[306]

1895-1896: The College reported 161 students.[307] There were five graduates.[308]

1896-1897: 115 pupils enrolled and there were three graduates.[309]

1897-1898: 137 pupils enrolled and there were eight graduates.[310]

1898-1899: 152 pupils enrolled and there were four graduates.[311]

1899-1900: 152 pupils enrolled and there was just one graduate.[312]

1900-1901: 166 pupils enrolled and there were seven graduates.[313]

1901-1902: 308 pupils enrolled, 181 were boarders.[314]

1902-1903: 318 pupils enrolled, 190 were boarders.[315]

1903-1904: 320 pupils enrolled, 188 were boarding students, and 132 were day students.[316]

1904-1905: 342 pupils enrolled, 157 were in College, and 185 were in Preparatory Department.[317]

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[297] Reports of the ABCFM (1890) "Western Turkey Mission, Constantinople", Boston 1890, p. 38.
[298] Freely, p. 153.
[299] Reports of the ABCFM (1891) "Western Turkey Mission, Constantinople", Boston 1891, p. 32.
[300] Freely, p. 153.
[301] Reports of the ABCFM (1892) "Western Turkey Mission, Constantinople", Boston 1892, p. 35.
[302] Freely, p. 153.
[303] Reports of the ABCFM (1893) "Western Turkey Mission, Constantinople", Boston 1893, p. 36.
[304] Freely, p. 153.
[305] Reports of the ABCFM (1894) "Western Turkey Mission, Constantinople", Boston 1894, p. 33.
[306] Freely, p. 153.
[307] Reports of the ABCFM (1895) "Western Turkey Mission, Constantinople", Boston 1895, p. 42.
[308] Freely, p. 153.
[309] Freely, p. 153.
[310] Freely, p. 153.
[311] Freely, p. 153.
[312] Freely, p. 153.
[313] Freely, p. 153.
[314] Washburn, p. 276.
[315] Washburn, p. 285.
[316] Freely, p. 164.

1905-1906: 373 pupils enrolled, 257 were boarding students, and 116 were day students.[318]

1906-1907: 409 pupils enrolled, 282 were boarding students, and 127 were day students.[319]

1907-1908: 446 pupils enrolled, 318 were boarding students, and 128 were day students.[320]

1908-1909: 454 pupils enrolled.[321]

1909-1910: 408 pupils enrolled, 318 were boarding students, and 90 were day students.[322]

1910-1911: 427 pupils enrolled, 337 were boarding students, and 90 were day students.[323]

3. 6. 4. Early Alumnae of the College

Early Turkish Graduates[324]

Gülistan (1890): In 1890, she became the first Turkish girl to win an American diploma. Jenkins describes her as "sweet and attractive." Her name means "Garden of Roses." When she married, her husband, Asım Bey encouraged her in literary work. Asım Bey was pleased with her trained mind, and learned English from her. She conceived a great admiration for American education. Their daughter Nurinisa also graduated from the college in 1921.[325] Patrick describes the diploma meeting thus: "Gulistan, closely veiled, sat with her mother in the audience and did not go to the platform, even to receive her diploma, which was passed to her over the heads of the people. She held out her hand for it."[326]

Halide Edib (1901): Halide was the first Turkish woman to receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts. She was one of the most remarkable students that the

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[317] Freely, p. 165.
[318] Freely, p. 166.
[319] Freely, p. 168.
[320] Freely, p. 169.
[321] Freely, p. 173.
[322] Freely, p. 175.
[323] Freely, p. 178.
[324] For the list of Early Turkish Graduates see Patrick, (College), pp. 229-233.
[325] Jenkins, Orient, pp. 142-143.
[326] Patrick, College, p. 228.

college ever trained. When she was put into the preparatory school, she was a little girl. The government objected persistently to her taking a Western education. That's why she was seldom removed from the school. Knowing her intellectual capacity, her father intentionally sacrificed his own advancement just to keep her in school. She was an excellent student; she showed particular success in philosophy, astronomy, and literature,[327] and had a talent for writing. Jenkins writes that she was "called the Joan of Arc of Turkey."[328]

Nazlı Halid (1910): Nazlı Halid tried her best to avoid the spies of that day, just to keep studying in the college. The government, however, withdrew her in the spring of 1908. She took her examinations at home, with the hope that she could return. She took her degree in 1910, thanks to the Revolution that took place in 1908.[329] Patrick quotes sentences said by her father, who explains the situation: "What is my life worth to me with my wife and daughter both weeping? If you are determined to ruin me, so be it." Her father sent her back to the college. Finally, the Young Turks came into power and she graduated in freedom and with honor.

Hatice Zakir Refik (1916): When she graduated, she worked as laboratory assistant in the biology department for two years, and taught for a time in a vocational school. In 1928, she took up banking and was later appointed manager of the Pera Branch of the Banque d'Affaires.

Safiye Ali (1916): She studied medicine in Germany. She received her M.D. from the University of Würzburg, and became a successful practicing physician.

Bedriye Veysi (1917): She studied medicine in Munich, and came back to practice her profession in the Turkish Republic.

Sahire Mouhtar (1923): She continued her studies at the college, and received her Master's degree in 1924. Then she studied at Cornell University. She was the first

[327] With her own words she writes that: "Although I was ahead in literary subjects I was very far behind in mathematics. This was a good moral discipline for me. I had a disagreeable sense of superiority to the girls of my age, and even to grown-ups, which is an ugly thing in youth. I represented to my inner scrutiny a very complicated portrait of an unevenly taught and strangely brought-up girl. My absorption in the problems of my home life in a way developed my heart so that it had an understanding of older people, but it did not prevent me from having a considerable quantity of intellectual conceit. The absence of any companions of my own age and the habit of living intensely within myself had left me ignorant of the joy of simple and every-day contact with other girls." See Edib, Edib, pp. 194-195.
[328] Jenkins, Orient, p. 143.
[329] Jenkins, Orient, p. 160.

Turkish woman to take a Ph.D. from an American university. She was the professor of sociology in İstanbul Woman's College.

Fazıla Şevket (1922): She received the degree of Master of Arts from Mount Holyoke College. She worked as professor of biology at İstanbul Woman's College for some years.

Selma Rıza-Tevfik (1920): She was interested in helping the college in office work and library activities.

Mebruke Ahsen (1919): She took her Master's degree in 1924. She held an administrative position of value in several departments of the college.

Selma Ekrem (1922): She was the grand-daughter of Namık Kemal, a well-known Turkish intellectual. She lectured widely in the United States. She is the author of the book, **Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl**.

Melahat Hüsameddin Gevheri (1917): She built up a service of great usefulness in connection with public health in Ankara.

Mihri Beha Hüseyin (1916): She taught in İstanbul Woman's College and in Robert College.

Early Armenian Graduates[330]

Baidzar Dayan (1897): She was a very brilliant student. First she became an assistant in the Armenian department of the college, and later, head of the department. When the Preparatory School left Scutari and crossed the Bosphorus, Miss Dayan took one of the old buildings and built up an excellent day fitting school. She took the girls who had been day scholars in the Preparatory School and could not afford to become boarders in Arnavutköy. She died in 1918.[331]

Zarouhi Kavaldjian[332] (1898): She graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Chicago in 1903 and went to Adabazar[333] to practice medicine.

Mianzara Kaprielian[334] (1880): She initiated social settlement work in Turkey.

Surpique Vosgemadn[335] (1889): She was one of the Armenian graduates who took up the profession of nursing. For her service, she was decorated by the sultan.

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[330] For the list of Early Armenian Graduates see Patrick, College, pp. 233-234.
[331] Jenkins, Orient, pp. 46-47.
[332] Jenkins writes as Zarouhi Kavaljian.
[333] An interior city of Turkey. Currently Adapazarı.
[334] Jenkins writes as Mianzareh Kapriellian.

Gadarine Haronian (1912): She received a Master's degree from Teachers College, New York City.

Aghavnie Yeghenian (1915): She published an interesting book in 1932 which describes a visit she made to Soviet Russia, particularly to the Armenian Republic in the southern part.

Early Albanian Graduates[336]

Sevastia Kyrias (1891) and Paraskevi Kyrias (1894): They were both intelligent students. Paraskevi got her Master's degree from Oberlin College in Ohio. Sevastia and Paraskevi founded a school in Kortcha known as the Kyrias School. Their first task was to prepare textbooks in the Albanian language because there were none. At first they had problems with the dwellers who objected to a girls' school and to women being taught to read. "Let us close the school and burn the books," they said. After the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908-1909, the school gained a lot more popularity. Sevastia Kyrias married Mr. Christo Dako, who was the grandson of the governor of Albania. This relationship resulted in co-operational work for the Kyrias School.

As years passed, the Kyrias School became a constantly increasing factor in education in Albania. Textbooks in geography, mathematics, and history were steadily translated and printed. There was so much influence of the school in settling the literary language of the country and also in the publication of grammar books and dictionaries. The Kyrias School was recognized as an important institution and was largely supported by national funds.

Helen Trayan (1915): She studied at Massachusetts General Hospital and helped the children of Albania as a nurse.

Early Bulgarian Graduates[337]

The Bulgarian graduates of the college have become leaders in many fields.

Ellenka Dimitrieff Yencheff (1882): She was the first Bulgarian student and graduate.

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[335] Jenkins writes as Surpigh Vosquemadn.
[336] For the list of Early Albanian Graduates see Patrick, College, pp. 234-237.
[337] For the list of Early Bulgarian Graduates see Patrick, College, pp. 237-241.

Penka Ra-cheva Dimitrieff (1883): She was one of the first Bulgarian students.

Yova Milosheff Kalcheff (1893): She was the first president of the Student Government Association.

Slava Milosheff Shipkoff (1893): Her three daughters were also graduates of the college. Madame Shipkoff was later a distinguished speaker at a Commencement Day program at the college.

Vasilka Dimitrieva (1912): She later studied in England, receiving a Master's degree in philosophy from the University of London.

Stoyanka Batchevarova (1915): She was the first woman oculist in Bulgaria.

Yvonne Karitch (1916): She became a successful pharmacist.

Theophana Kessiakova (1912): She studied law in the University of Sofia, specializing in the science of diplomacy. She holds diplomas from two universities.

Zarafmka Kirova (Black) (1908): She assisted her husband, Dr. Floyd H. Black, in the presidency of the American College at Sofia.

Sonia Kraeva (1912): She had a university degree in the science of diplomacy, and is distinguished in public service. In 1924 she was president of the Bulgarian Alumnae Association. She translated many texts from English into Bulgarian, including some of Kipling's poems.

Margaret Demchevsky (1914): She was librarian in the college for some years. Later she studied in England, passing both sections of the examination for librarians in the University of London, and was then the only Bulgarian to hold this diploma.

The Bulgarian Alumnae Association of the college was founded in 1902 with Yova Kalcheff as the first president.

Early Greek Graduates[338]

Madame Alexandra Ioannides Theokakis (1917): She was a leader among the graduates. She studied in Geneva and elsewhere after graduation, and was prominent in social, literary, and political circles in Greece. She took an active part in the Second Balkan Conference.

[338] For the list of Early Greek Graduates see Patrick, College, pp. 241-243.

Efsaich Yousouf Suad (1918): She also took an active part in the Second Balkan Conference. Madame Theokakis was the chief speaker in the session concerned with the nationality of married women.

Kleoniki Klonari (1889): She graduated from the Massachusetts General Hospital as a trained nurse in 1901, and she was followed in this profession by many others.

Early Graduates of Other Nationalities[339]

Winifred A. Seager (1891): She studied music in Istanbul and Europe. For many years she was head of the music department in the college, and was also president of the Alumnae Association.

Nellie Summers (1906): She worked as an assistant in the preparatory department of the college, and became a member of the faculty of the high school.

Shulamit Ben Harel (1917): She was an outstanding Jewish graduate. She worked as an assistant in biology in the college for a number of years. Later, she studied medicine and held the title of M.D.

A large number of the alumnae of the college took higher degrees in various universities in different parts of the world, and many of them published books in different languages.[340]

3. 7. THE HAREM

Harem means a forbidden place in Arabic. It is a sacred place, where female members of the family live. The literal meaning of this Arabic term is exclusiveness and privacy. This place is also called 'Haremlik', where the mother lives and the opposite is 'Selamlık' and there the father lives. According to Vahan Cardashian, Harem is one of the basic principles of Mohammedanism. Cardashian adds that "Mohammedanism . . . permits a man to marry as many as four women at a time, under certain restrictive conditions."[341] But to Zeyneb Hanoum, it does not mean a collection of wives; it is simply applied to those rooms in a Turkish house entirely reserved for the use of the women. Only a blood relation may come there to visit the

[339] For the list of Early Graduates of Other Nationalities see Patrick, College, p. 243.
[340] Patrick, College, p. 243.
[341] Vahan Cardashian, **Actual Life in the Turkish Harem**, Third Edition, University of California. California, 1914, pp. 5-18.

women.[342] Having the first-hand knowledge and experience in harem life, Ellison arouses the interest of her readers through the use of words such as "harem" and "polygamy."

> *To the Western ear, to be staying in a Turkish harem sounds alarming, and not a little-yes, let us confess it-improper. When, before I left my own country, I had the imprudence to tell a newspaper correspondent that I was longing to get back to the quiet harem existence, I was accused of "advocating polygamy," for to the uninitiated the word "harem" means a collection of wives, legitimate or otherwise, and even the initiated prefers he knows no other meaning.*[343]

Contrary to the general belief, Harem is not just unique to Oriental Moslems, rather it is universal. For example; Louis XIV had numerous wives and was very spend-thrift in the Versailles Palace, when compared to his contemporaries Sultan Mustafa II. and Sultan Ahmed III.[344] The early Sultans knew nothing of eunuchs, just as they knew nothing of the harem, royal privacy or elaborate ceremonial. These traditions have been, with other traditions, passed down from Byzantium.[345]

However, the palace was divided into two sections; Haremlik and Selamlık. The reflection of this division was also seen in the houses, thus the women were mentally and physically excluded.[346] Learning how to dance in the Imperial Harem is more important than any other learning. Particularly when the Sultan is exhausted with the work of the state, dancing girls appear and stay there and calm his weary nerves. Therefore, a dancing woman has great advantage and may become a favourite, a Sultana, a Sultan's mother, the queen of the Imperial Harem.[347]

It is observed from the extract below, when Selma Ekrem meets the young American girls for the first time, she uses an ironical tone. With her tone she would like to eliminate the imaginary picture of the harem, where there are soft silk cushions, sweets and music all around, from their minds.

> *"I would simply adore to be in a [harem]," one of the girls broke my cup of thoughts.*

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[342] Zeyneb Hanoum, (1913). **A Turkish Woman's European Impressions**, Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ, 2004, p. xvii.
[343] Grace Ellison, (1915). **An English Woman in a Turkish Harem**, Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ, 2007, p. 2.
[344] İlber Ortaylı, **Son İmparatorluk Osmanlı**, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, (Osmanlı), p. 73.
[345] Norman Mosley Penzer, **The Ḥarēm: An Account Of The Institution As It Existed In The Palace Of The Turkish Sultans, With A History Of The Grand Seraglio From Its Foundation To The Present Time**, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1936, p. 134.
[346] Günseli Özkaya, **Tarih İçinde Kadın Hakları**, Birinci Baskı, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Yayını, Ankara, 1985. s. 13.
[347] Hanoum, pp.71-72..

"And lie on silken cushions and eat sweets and watch the dancing of the slave girls," another laughed. . . .

"A paradise indeed," I sighed. "Could you tell me, what is a [harem]? I never saw one."

"You never saw a [harem]!" the girls burst out. "And you come from Turkey?"

"Yes, I come from Turkey," I added firmly, "but I did not live in a marble palace,

I did not have slaves, I did not lie on silken cushions. This [harem] you speak about exists only in your imagination. . . ."[348]

Western ideas concerning the Turkish harem contain some fantastic misconceptions.[349] Orientalists stereotyped women of the East as well as Ottoman women as "idle prisoners of harems, grooming themselves and waiting to be called by their masters to satisfy their endless and inconceivable sexual desires."[350] Westerners used the "Orientalist" discourse to scheme their own identity by eroticizing the people of the East—particularly women. The depictions of Oriental women in the previous century mainly included "images of allure and sensuality, languor and elegance, seduction and wily manipulation."[351]

It is highly noticeable from the direct, clear and calm attitude towards the young American girls that Selma Ekrem would like to teach the girls the other side of the picture, a picture of the harem. Although she is from Turkey, she uses this ironical tone to be more proper in her acting and in her use of words. By doing like this Ekrem, perhaps, would like to remove the false image not only from the minds of these girls but from the whole society.

While depicting Ottoman women "foreigners produced their own imagery and prescriptions."[352] It is hard to remove this false Orientalist image from the minds of the West. Musbah Haidar, too, could not stand the wife of Admiral Bristol, who represented American government. Mrs. Bristol gave a perplexed look around the royal family of Haidar. As Mrs. Bristol had not been in such a luxurious place, Haidar tried to show the real image of women with some angry words as quoted by Reina Lewis.

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[348] Selma Ekrem, (1930). **Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl**, Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ, 2005, pp. 311-312.
[349] Z. Duckett Ferriman, **Turkey and the Turks,** Mills & Boon, Limited, London, 1911, p. 82.
[350] Arat, p. 11.
[351] Arapoglou, p. 19.
[352] Arat, p. 11.

What did these people imagine they would find or see? . . . Women in gauzy trousers sitting on the floor?

In their abysmal ignorance these foreigners did not realise that many of the veiled ladies of the Harems were better born, better read, spoke several languages and dressed with a greater chic than some of their own most famous society women.[353]

3. 8. MISSIONARY PRACTICES[354]

Samuel Colcord Bartlett clearly summarizes the idea of the Turkey mission in his 1889 dated book, **Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey**: "In a missionary point of view, Turkey is the key of Asia. Nowhere has the providential guidance of the missionary work been more remarkable."[355] Alfred DeWitt Mason, on the other hand, in his book **Outlines of Missionary History,** asks and answers one poignant question. The question is; "What is Christian missions? And the explanation is as follows:

Christian missions is the proclamation of the gospel to the unconverted according to the command of Christ. Let us dwell a moment on the important words of this definition. The root idea of the word "mission" or "missions" is to send (Latin, mitto). The missionary is, therefore, one who is sent. He is simply a messenger. He goes not at his own initiative, nor to accomplish a purpose which he has originated, but as the agent of the one who sends him and to do that for which he is commissioned; and the more absolutely he succeeds in simply representing the One who has sent him, and the more intelligently, faithfully and consecratedly he does his work, the more perfectly does he fulfill his mission. Another word of importance in this definition is "proclamation" which literally means "to shout out" a thing. And that is the fundamental thought of the missionary message. We are to "cry aloud and spare not." [356]

While living in an area like Turkey, "the key of Asia", how should a missionary act? How should a missionary spend his first years in the country? This is explained by William Goodell: "It appears to me that if a missionary should do nothing for the first three years but simply mix with the people, and learn how weak and ignorant and foolish and prejudiced they really are, it would be an acquisition

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[353] Reina Lewis, **Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem**, I.B. Tauris, London, (Harem), 2004, p. 16.

[354] For the tribute of the Earl of Shaftesbury who paid it to the character of the American Missionaries in Turkey: see Appendix 7.

[355] Samuel Colcord Bartlett, **Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey**, Published by the Board, Boston, 1889, p. 1.

[356] Alfred DeWitt Mason, **Outlines of Missionary History**, Hodder & Stoughton New York, George H. Doran Company, 1912, pp. 3-4; Also see Kocabaşoğlu, p. 13.

worth a million times more to him than that of all the languages spoken in the Ottoman empire."[357]

The history of Missionary Practices, or in other words the Missionary Chronology, is divided into 6 different eras. The first is the Apostolic Period (33-100 A. D.), the second era is the Period of Patristic or Early Church (100-800 A. D.), the third is the Medieval Period. (800-1500), the forth is the Reformation Period (1500-1650), the fifth is the Post-Reformation Period (1650-1800), and the last era is the Period of Modern Missions (1793 to date). Why the Period of Modern Missions starts in 1793 is because the first missionary who went to India was William Carey, and the journey was in 1793.[358]

The Church Missionary Society of the Church of England (CMSCE) and the ABCFM were the first Protestant missionary societies to enter Ottoman Turkey. A missionary to Egypt was sent by the former in 1815; and two men were assigned to Palestine by the latter in 1818. The pioneers of the American Board in Turkey were impressed with the fact that the Armenians were the most open to Protestant missionary influences.[359] When the British and Russian Bible Societies took interest in the spiritual condition of the Armenian people it was 1813. Both Societies became so interested that they made the most active efforts to supply[360] "Armenian people a Bible in their own tongue."[361]

As in so many other fields the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was the first organization to begin Protestant missionary work in Turkish Armenia, and it distributed Bibles in Ancient Armenian at very low prices. When understood that this version of the Bible was not understood easily, BFBS prepared a new Armenian-Turkish translation of the New Testament in 1822 and in 1823 another version was prepared in the Armenian language.[362]

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[357] E. D. G. Prime, **Forty Years in The Turkish Empire: Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D. D**., Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1876, p. 173.
[358] Mason, pp. 317-325.
[359] Leon Arpee, **The Armenian Awakening: A History of the Armenian Church**, 1820-1860. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909, p. 93.
[360] H. G. O. Dwight, **Christianity Revived in the East**, Baker and Scribner, New York, 1850, (East), p. 7.
[361] James L. Barton, **Daybreak in Turkey**, Second Edition, The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1908, p. 150.
[362] Julius Richter, **A History of Protestant Missions in The Near East**, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 106.

Although the pioneers were well aware of the fact that the Armenians were open to religious change, the first attempts at missionary work were not directed particularly toward the Mohammedans nor to the Oriental Churches, but toward the Jews. Thus in November, 1819, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons were sent out to labor in Palestine, with their predicted place at Jerusalem.[363]

The ABCFM was founded in 1810 as the first organized missionary society in the United States.[364] The idea of founding the board was proposed in 1810 by the graduates of Williams College, and it was officially chartered in 1812.[365] The first mission of the American Board in Western Asia was to Palestine. It was in the year 1819.[366] American missionaries were a bit late to start a mission among the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. In the year 1829, the Prudential Committee of ABCFM was determined to establish the mission.[367] In 1819, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, the first missionaries appointed to the Ottoman Land, got the instructions regarding their missionary activities:

> *From the heights of the Holy Land, and from Zion, you will take an extended view of the widespread desolations and variegated scenes presenting themselves on every side to Christian sensibility; and you will survey with earnest attention the various tribes and classes which dwell in that land and in the surrounding countries. The two grand inquiries ever present in your minds will be, 'What good can be done?' and 'By what means?' What can be done for the Jews? What for the pagans? What for the Mohammedans? What for the Christians? What for the people in Palestine? What for those in Egypt, in Syria, in Armenia, in other countries to which your inquiry may be extended?*[368]

Starting from its foundation, the American Board was very much interested in the Holy Land. The founders of the Board were insistent that they not leave the birthplace of Christianity under the control of Islam.[369] The American Board started work in Turkey by planting its first station in Malta in 1819. Due to political difficulties at that time, it was not possible to establish missionary residence at any

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[363] William E. Strong, **The Story of the American Board**, The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1910, p. 80. See also Greene, p. 1-2.
[364] Oasis, http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu//oasis/deliver/deepLink?_collection=oasis&uniqueId=hou01467, (10.11.2012).
[365] Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Board_of_Commissioners_for_Foreign_Missions, (10.11.2012).
[366] Dwight, East, p. 10.
[367] Dwight, East, p. 19.
[368] Rufus Anderson, **History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners For foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches**, Congregational Publishing Society. Vol. I., Boston, 1872, p. 10.; See also Barton, 1908, p. 119; Strong, p. 80.
[369] Strong, p. 80.

point within Turkish territory. The printing press set up in Malta remained there for some years, but later it was transferred to İzmir and then to İstanbul.[370] Therefore a Bible society was formed in Smyrna on March 2 in 1820 with the help of Rev. Mr. Williamson and Messrs. Parsons and Fisk.[371]

The mission of the American Board was divided into three categories—evangelistic[372], medical, and educational. The Jews and Moslems did not show much interest in the evangelistic work, but the medical and educational effort progressively reached all the peoples of the Empire. The strongest educational influence in these lands during the nineteenth century was exercised by the missionaries of the American Board, whose work began in Smyrna in 1820,[373] when the two missionaries Messrs. Fisk and Parsons landed in there.

The first thing they did was to study Modern Greek. They travelled a lot to explore the sites of the churches and reported their conditions. To make the work of exploration easy, Mr. Parsons went on to Palestine. He was alone and when he arrived there it was February, 1821. There were quite a lot of Christian pilgrims in Palestine, and Mr. Parsons' aim was to meet them. While he was in Palestine, the Greek revolution occurred. The revolution sent him back to Smyrna. His next station was Alexandria, Egypt. Mr. Parsons died at a young age in Egypt, on February 10, 1822.[374]

After the death[375] of Mr. Parsons, Jonas King, who was studying Oriental literature in Paris, joined Mr. Fisk to help him distribute Bibles and tracts in Arabic. On the way to Jerusalem, they called at Alexandria and Cairo, in 1823. Finally they made it to Jerusalem, and from there they went to Beirut, where they separated. Mr. King chose Lebanon Mountains as his residence, and Mr. Fisk, although he had tours

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[370] Kocabaşoğlu, p. 38.

[371] Daniel O. Morton, **Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons**, Con. Cooke & Co. and Packard & Butler, Hartford, 1830, p. 254.

[372] According to K. Pelin Başcı, "[w]omen's missionary work served evangelical and American goals, besause it empowered American women to regulate, control, and change the lives of others." See K. Pelin Başcı, "Shadows in the Missionary Garden of Roses: Women of Turkey in American Missionary Texts," in Zehra F. Arat, **Deconstructing Images of The Turkish Woman**, New York, Palgrave, 1999, p. 117.

[373] Jenkins, Orient, p. 18.

[374] Barton, pp. 120-121.

[375] It is also "a satisfaction that missionaries are, generally, long-lived." They go to foreign countries, not to pass away early, but to live long, and to labor with ever-increasing usefulness. The average age is 76, but Dr. Elias Riggs is the exception who died when he was over 90 and did 69 years of service. See Greene, p. 256. And for the list of satisfaction see Appendix 8.

to some other parts of the Empire, was in Beirut when he died on October 23, 1825. Two years before Mr. Fisk's death, Mr. and Mrs. William Goodell arrived in Beirut.[376] It is highly understood that being a missionary requires knowing a lot of languages, including the vernacular to reach various branches:

> *We almost daily read the Scriptures in Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, Ancient Armenian, Modern Armenian, Turkish Armenian (or Armeno-Turkish), Arabic, Italian, and English, and frequently hear them read in Syriac, Hebrew, and French. Seldom do we sit down to our meals without hearing conversation at the table in Armenian, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, Italian, and English, and prayer daily ascends from this house—I hope to heaven—in all these languages, excepting the Italian. In translating the Scriptures, we have open before us the Bible in Ancient and Modern Greek, Ancient and Modern Armenian, Turkish, Armeno-Turkish, English, two translations in Arabic and three in Italian, and occasionally Hebrew and Syriac.*[377]

When Rev. William Goodell, arrived in Constantinople, it was 9 June, 1831. A year later the pioneer Rev. Harrison Gray Otis Dwight and the linguist Rev. William Gottlieb Schauffler followed him. Dr. Goodell devoted much of his time to the mission and stayed in the Empire for about 40 years. At the age of 73, he retired, and he died on February 18, 1867, in Philadelphia. Dr. Schauffler, on the other hand, lived on to 1883. He died at the age of 84 in New York. When he died, he was the veteran of the mission.[378]

The American Board's Secretary James Barton, requested his readers to listen to the speech of the U.S. Consul in Harpoot (Harput), Turkey, on the occasion of bestowing a new American missionary college:

> *I have had occasion to revert to the work of the accomplished and devoted band of American missionaries and teachers settled in these districts. In a thousand ways they are raising the standard of morality, of intelligence, of education, of material well-being, of industrial enterprise: directly or indirectly every phase of their work is rapidly paving the way for American enterprise….I know of no import better adapted to secure the future commercial supremacy of the United States in this land…than the introduction of American teachers, of American educational appliances and books of American methods and ideas.*[379]

To meet the expenses, societies were formed. Rev. C. G. Young, for instance, was instrumental in forming the Turkish Missions' Aid Society. The main idea

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[376] Barton, pp. 120-121.
[377] Prime, p. 84.
[378] Julius Richter, **A History of Protestant Missions in The Near East**, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh ,1910, p. 107.
[379] Barton, p. 170.

behind this society was to support the Turkish Mission of the American Board. Donations came from members of different British denominations. Not only did they help to meet the salaries and accommodation and travel expenses of the missionaries, but they also helped the native clergy, the schools, the orphanages, and the hospitals. After 1893 the name of the society was changed and became "The Bible Lands' Mission Aid Society," because of the extension of its funding to nearly all the missions in the Near East.[380]

Another missionary to mention is Cyrus Hamlin who voluntarily helped the American College develop. As we have already given information about him and his successors, we find it unnecessary to talk about the same things. Therefore for more information about Cyrus Hamlin, George Washburn and Frank Caleb Gates please go to American Robert College section, where there is enough information.

Although, many of the missionaries who served in the Ottoman lands were men, it was also possible to see women missionaries. Moreover, the best way to reach Turkish women was via these women missionaries. Some were married, some were single, but more importantly the coming of the single missionary women to the Turkish field brought a new "method of approach" towards Turkish girls. Some mainly dealt with opening kindergartens in many parts of the empire. With the aim of Woman's Boards' missionaries, as David Brewer Eddy stated, the success showed itself with statistical data[381] and 378 village schools were built in various villages of Turkey. The duty of these women was to control teaching all around the villages. As a result, "[t]hese village schools [were] the trickling streams that swell[ed] into a mighty river in the boarding schools and colleges. [382]

Missionary women or women travelogues added the veil to their writings especially when they wrote on Turkish women. The missionary discourse always linked the Oriental world and the Oriental woman to the veil.[383] Eddy saw the veil as a sign of a barrier separating Turkish women from "liberty and progress."[384] Education was always believed to unveil the women and arouse them from

[380] Richter, pp. 118-119.
[381] For the statistical view of the missions of the American Board for the Year 1909-1910 see the Tables 2-7.
[382] Eddy, p. 155.
[383] Başcı, p. 109.
[384] Eddy, pp. 152-153.

"darkness." While strict believers in Islam considered unveiling a sin, missionary women, however, supposed unveiling as a spiritual liberation, and social progress. Consequently, from the missionary perspective, "modernizing, educating, and unveiling women were virtually the same, and, conversely, the veil was but a symbol of their ultimate subjection to a materialistic Oriental world."[385]

"The Shadow of Islam" is an article on women in the Ottoman Empire and Islamic countries by Mrs. O. E. Brown. She depicted Muslim women as impoverished and miserable "awaiting salvation from their Christian sisters." Brown thought that only American women could provide this spiritual guidance.[386] Taking the missionary activities and the schools opened by missionaries into account, Dilara Hanoum, in **The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul,** seems anti-missionary. She is not in favor of the missionary activities.

> *"You smell frightfully like a Christian church," she interrupted, lacing and unlacing her thin hands. "Have you turned into a dreadful missionary?"*
> *"I rarely go to church. As for the missionaries, such as they are, mediocre, self-righteous, and bigoted, if you like, they spend their days in work that they believe is doing good."*
>
> *"Then they must be idiots. Don't they see that they are doing no good here?"*
>
> *"Aren't they? For one thing they have made you conscious of the shame that is yours, since the best-looking schools in Turkey are built by money given out of pity and for charity's sake in America. You may hate the missionaries, but you send your children to their schools just the same."*
>
> *"We pay high prices for sending them to the American schools. We don't consider them charity."*[387]

3. 9. THE PRINTING PRESS

The printing press was set up in Malta in 1822 by Rev. Daniel Temple. Fifteen thousand dollars was donated in Boston for its proper working.[388] Starting in July 1822 the press in Malta printed about eight million copies. The first manual machine was supported with new and better ones in 1824 and 1827. In 1930 the administration of the press was under Anatolian Mission and Daniel Temple and

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[385] Başcı, p. 110.
[386] Başcı, p. 107.
[387] Demetra Vaka, **The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul**, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923, (Stamboul), p. 81.
[388] Thomas Laurie, **The Ely Volume; or, The Contributions of our Foreign Missions to Science and Human Well-being**, The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, 1881, p. 206.

William Goodell were the leaders. The same year gave way to its legal publication since it was the year that the Turkish-American relations started officially. The only problem was whether to move the headquarters to İzmir or İstanbul. There were a lot of discussions on the new place. David Offley's[389] offer was taken into account.[390] Thus, the press, after printing twenty-one million pages in Malta, mainly in Greek, was removed to İzmir in 1833. And then the press, after printing about twenty million pages in İzmir, mostly in Armenian, was removed to İstanbul in 1853.[391]

3. 10. IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES OF THE PERIOD

Fatma Aliye (9 October 1862 - 13 July 1936)

Fatma Aliye Hanım was a Turkish writer and women's rights activist. She was the elder daughter of Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, the famous historian and statesman. She was known to be the first woman novelist. She did not go to school but was educated at home together with her sister Emine Semiye. She wrote articles for the magazines of the era, especially for Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Women). She used the pen name Bir Hanım (A Lady). She also did translations from French.[392] Due to her father's position as the mayor, she had to travel to different parts of the Empire, such as Aleppo and Damascus. Fatma Aliye published her first novel Muhazarat (Useful Information) in 1892, under her real name. It was the first novel in the entire Ottoman Empire written by a woman. Her novel Udi (The Lute Player) was published in 1899.[393]

Emine Semiye (1866 - 1944)

Emine Semiye was a Turkish writer. Her surname was Önasya. She also used a pen name, Emine Vahide. She was the younger daughter of the historian and politician Ahmet Cevdet Pasha. Her sister was Fatma Aliye, who was a writer as well. Like her sister, when Emine was young, she received private education. Apart from this, she also studied psychology and sociology in France and Switzerland. She

[389] A rich merchant and the first U.S. Consul in Smyrna.
[390] Kocabaşoğlu, p. 38.
[391] Laurie, p. 206.
[392] She was so good in French that she was able to discuss religious matters with a nun in French and could read the Bible in French. For this see Fatma Aliye, **Osmanlı'da Kadın: Cariyelik, Çokeşlilik, Moda** (Original name of the book is **Nisvân-ı İslam**, 1309), Bizim Kitaplar, İstanbul, 2009.
[393] Kultur, http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,37871/fatma-aliye.html, (02.10.2013).

worked as an inspector of girls' schools in İstanbul and Anatolia, and was once an assistant nurse at Şişli Etfal Hospital. Her articles on politics and education were published in Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete. She also prepared a mathematics textbook.[394]

Halide Edib Adivar (1882 - 9 January 1964)

Halide Edib Adivar was one of the well-known novelists, who graduated from the American College for Girls. She was also one of the heroes of the national independence movement because she took an active role in the struggle. She wrote her own memoir in 1926 in English, under the title **Memoirs**, and in 1928 another English book, **The Turkish Ordeal** followed it. Both of these texts, with little changes, were published in Turkish later in her life**.** The Turkish version of **Memoirs** was **Mor Salkımlı Ev** (1963) and the Turkish version of **The Turkish Ordeal** was **Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı** (1962).[395]

Şinasi (5 August 1826 - 13 September 1871)

Şinasi was the first great Turkish journalist, and one of the distinguished names of Tanzimat literature. He was the editor of the newspaper "Tercüman-ı Ahval", which started its publication in 1860. Şinasi had the chance to present his westernized ideas with the first privately owned paper of Turkey. He was also the first editorial writer of this country. His play, "Şair Evlenmesi", which is considered the first significant step of the Turkish theater, was also published in this paper. He collected his poems in a volume titled "Müntehabat-ı Eş'ar". Another volume called "Durub-ı Emsal" is the first book of proverbs published in this country.[396]

Namik Kemal (21 December 1840 - 2 December 1888)

Namık Kemal was the great national poet and famous Turkish journalist. He was a poet full of feelings for his country and the nation. His most famous work "Vatan Yahut Silistre" was staged at Gedikpaşa Theatre in 1873. He produced his best work during his prison life, which lasted for 32 years.[397]

Tevfik Fikret (24 December 1867 – 19 August 1915)

[394] Kultur, http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,37771/emine-semiye.html, (02.10.2013).
[395] İnci Enginün, **Helide Edib Adıvar**, Toker Matbaası, İstanbul, 1975, pp. 9-19.
[396] Kultur http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,33034/sinasi.html, (02.10.2013).
[397] Kultur http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,33027/namik-kemal.html, (02.10.2013).

He was one of the great Turkish poets. His great ability in poetry emerged when he became the literary editor of the "Servet-i Fünun" journal. Fikret at first wrote romantic poems but with the proclamation of the Constitution he changed his style and started writing about social issues. After the establishment of the Constitution, he started publishing the paper. His famous poem "Sis" was published in the first issue of the paper. He also published a magazine for children called "Ümit ve Azim". Fikret, who revolted against injustice throughout his life, died on August 19, 1915. His home has been turned into a museum and a Tevfik Fikret Association has been established. All his poems are collected in a volume titled "Rübab-ı Şikeste".[398]

Ziya Gökalp (23 March 1879 – 25 October 1924)

Ziya Gökalp was a philosopher and writer. His original name was Mehmet Ziya. He attended primary and elementary military school in Diyarbakır and graduated from the School of Politics. He had private lessons in Persian and Arabic from his uncle and French from his headmaster. He entered Veterinary Boarding School in İstanbul. His became an active member in a secret society which was against the Abdülhamid administration. This led to his imprisonment for nine months when he was in his last year of study and he was exiled to his home city. Continuing his relations with secret societies in Diyarbakır, he founded the Diyarbakır branch of the Committee of Union and Progress Party. He published the newspaper Peyman (1909) in which he wrote about his ideas, in Diyarbakır. He went to Thessalonica in 1910, as a delegate of Diyarbakır in the general congress of the Committee. Then he was selected to the membership of the head office.[399]

He influenced the people around him with his poems and articles, which he published with the pen names Celal Sakıp and Demirtaş Gökâlp. He worked as a professor of sociology at İstanbul University. He wrote on various subjects and published them in newspapers such as Türk Yurdu, Halka Doğru, Türk Sözü, İslâm, İktisat, Millî Tetebbular, and Yeni Mecmua, and Tanin. He was also exiled to Malta by the English in 1919. When he returned from exile, he printed the journal Küçük Mecmua in Diyarbakır in 1922. He also continued to write in the journal Yeni

[398] Kultur, http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,33035/tevfik-fikret.html, (02.10.2013).
[399] Kultur, http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,39138/ziya-gokalp.html, (02.10.2013).

Mecmua. In the same year, he was elected as the parliamentary deputy of Diyarbakır. He was appointed as a director to the Council of Publishing and Translation.[400]

He died in İstanbul and was buried in the cemetery near the Tomb of Sultan Mahmut. Ziyâ Gökalp, who systemized the concept of Turkism in his book **Türkçülüğün Esasları** (**The Principles of Turkism**), became the pioneer of a nationalistic idea, putting Turkism in the forefront. He produced various texts showing the ways of establishing Turkism in language, fine arts, morality, law, economy, and philosophy.[401]

3. 11. SULTAN ABDÜLHAMID II

Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), was born on September 22, 1842. He was the second son of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839-61)[402], who commenced his reign in 1839 and died in 1861.[403] His mother was Tir-i Müjgan. He lost his mother at an early age and this made him infamous. Later he was given to the fourth of his father's wives named Perestû, because she did not have any children.[404]

Reigning for more than 30 years as the thirty-fourth sultan of the Ottoman Empire and the ninety-ninth caliph of Islam, Abdülhamid II is probably the most discussed and the most criticized sultan. Even his name, like his life, had many diverse interpretations, for instance; Abdülhamid, Abdülhamit, Abd-Ul-Hamid, Abdul Hamid, Abdu'l-Hamid, Abdul-Hamid.[405] He always had both supporters and critics. Starting from his childhood, the debate starts whether he was of Armenian origin or not. Some people say he drank when he was young, while others think that

[400] Kultur, http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,39138/ziya-gokalp.html, (02.10.2013).
[401] Kultur, http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,39138/ziya-gokalp.html, (02.10.2013).
[402] Georges Dorys, in his book, talks about a kind of prophesy concerning Abdülhamid. The story follows: Abdülmecid was in his bath when the news of Abdülhamid's birth was brought to him and he had nothing on him withal to make the messenger the customary present. The Sultan is reported to have predicted then that the child would mount the throne, and that his rule would be fatal to Turkey. See Georges Dorys, **The Private Life of the Sultan of Turkey**, (trans. by. Arthur Hornblow), D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1902, p. 10.
[403] Sir Edwin Pears, **Life of Abdül Hamid**, Constable & Company Ltd, London, 1917, p. 6.
[404] Benjamin C. Fortna, "The Reign of Abdülhamid II", in Reşat Kasaba (ed.), **The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4, Turkey in the Modern World**, Cambridge U. P., Cambridge, 2008, p. 40-41
[405] Apart from the title of the books, henceforth Abdülhamid will be used for the name of the sultan.

he never touched alcohol. Some called him Red-Sultan,[406] while others called him Grand-Sultan. The debate seems not to end.

Kemal H. Karpat thinks that as a young man Abdülhamid II was fond of drinking and female company, but his personal physician warned him of the adverse effects on his health. Therefore, he only consumed a glass of champagne to settle his nerves.[407] To Sir Edwin Pears, Sultan himself did not drink any alcoholic beverages; neither did his subjects when he was present.[408] However, his religiosity seems to have been genuine, and appears to have sustained him through the most tiring of times. More importantly, Islam provided him with an important political and social compass.[409]

Sir Edwin Pears says that there is not much information about Abdülhamid's childhood, but that there are ample documents about his life. And to Pears, Abdülmecid, Abdülhamid's father, may have stated that he did not see anything good in Abdülhamid. Abdülhamid, on the other hand, was not interested in the companionship of other boys, and this isolated him from the other members of his family, including his father.[410]

Bearing this information in mind, Pears focused more on the negative side of Abdülhamid. Abdülhamid's love of money and his being extravagant were characteristic of Abdülhamid. He never spent much time studying and he was suspicious of the people around him. He was just self-willed, and did not care much for sport or any outdoor exercises; he was much of the time on his own. The education he received was not enough and he was unsuccessful in his training. He was not allowed to take any part in public functions. He was never given the chance of royal princes in Christian countries of becoming acquainted with the public. As a matter of fact it was seldom the way in Turkey for the prince near the throne to make himself acquainted with the history and politics of foreign countries.[411]

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[406] The term was coined by Albert Comte Vandal as Le Sultân Rouge and translated into English as Red-Sultan.
[407] Kemal H. Karpat, **The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State**, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, p. 156.
[408] Pears, p. 113.
[409] Fortna, p. 40-41.
[410] Pears, pp. 6-15.
[411] Pears, pp. 6-15

Unwillingness for education is also explained by Georges Dorys, who compares the two brothers. He says Abdülhamid's elder brother Murad was a hard-working scholar and willing to learn, while Abdülhamid was very unwilling. He had various teachers, among whom probably Kemal Pasha was the most important. His masters were Ömer Efendi and Şerif Efendi, His teachers of French, who were successively Edhem Pasha, Namık Pasha, and M. Gardet, are said to have complained constantly of their pupil. Georges Dorys says it is well known that Abdülhamid remained ignorant of his own language.[412] As already told before, there is also a controversy here whether Abdülhamid was hard-working or not. Unlike Georges Dorys, Clara Erksine Clement claims that, "[Abdülhamid] rises early and texts hard all day, and not infrequently far into the night. He drives or rows for a while in the afternoon, and later receives ambassadors or presides at councils. He wishes to see everything with his own eyes…"[413]

Georges Dorys goes on to say that the Valide Sultana of Abdul Aziz, named Pertevalla Kadina, an old lady who was superstitious and ambitious liked the boy because of his tendency to superstition, and because he already showed himself as the bitter enemy of the Christians with whom his father and his elder brother Murad liked to surround themselves.[414] Lucy M. J. Garnett talks about Abdülhamid's superstitious beliefs. Garnet thinks most of his ancestors had superstitious beliefs, and Abdülhamid was not different from them. She explains that it was once prophesied to Abdülhamid by a Gypsy that he would reign as long as he continued to drink the water from the springs of Kağıthane in the valley of the "Sweet Waters of Europe." His daily supplies, therefore, were regularly brought in sealed jars, and no other water passed his lips.[415]

Abdülhamid II succeeded his elder brother Murad, who was dethroned on account of mental incapacity after two months. Murad was kept a prisoner by him in the Çırağan Palace on the Bosporus. He continued to live in obscurity during the reign of Abdülhamid, until 1904. The heir to the throne on Hamid's death was

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[412] Dorys, p. 9.
[413] Clara Erksine Clement, **Constantinople: The City of the Sultans**, Estes and Laurait Publishers, Boston, 1895, p. 166.
[414] Dorys,, p. 12.
[415] Lucy M. J. Garnett, **The Turkish People: Their Social Life, Religious Beliefs and Institutions and Domestic Life**, Methuen & Co, London, 1909, (Life), pp. 47-48.

Mehmet Reşat. All three had been excluded from intercourse with the outside world, and their intelligence was consequently restricted. Murad was never allowed to leave his palace, was never permitted to receive visitors, and his residence was strictly guarded on all sides by soldiers and spies. Reşat experienced virtually similar treatment, and Abdülhamid had suffered from the same limitations.[416] These three sultans, excluding Abdülhamid, were made or shown as pacifists during their reign. The three sultans were shown as the opposition parties against the three pashas of the Ottoman Empire. The three pashas were all ministers at the time, for instance Mehmet Talât Pasha (1874–1921), the minister of the interior, Enver Pasha (1881–1922), the minister of war, and Ahmed Cemal Pasha (1872–1922), the minister of the Navy. As organizers of the Young Turk Revolution they were the leading political figures in the empire before, during, and after World War I.

Canon Sell posits that on August 31, 1876, Abdülhamid II ascended the throne and reigned until 1909. The new Sultan, like his predecessor, was unwilling to carry out any practical measure of reform. Sell thinks that he was anti-reformist. According to Sell, as years went on, Abdülhamid exhibited a tyrannical spirit and took no pains to suppress the most barbarous treatment of his Christian subjects.[417] In contrast Archibald J. Dunn praises Abdülhamid and puts forward that "The Sultan [Abdülhamid] has granted more freedom to his Christian subjects than Elizabeth ever granted to the Nonconformists or the Catholics in her reign."[418]

The household of Sultan Abdülhamid, however large it may appear, was organised on a quite modest scale compared with that of his brother and predecessor Abdülaziz. When he was deposed in 1876, more than three thousand people were dismissed from the palace of Dolmabahçe. It was calculated that less than one-third of these were women, the rest being functionaries, menials, and hangers-on of every degree.[419] Abdülhamid also had the harem life but it was not made public. When Abdülhamid was deposed in 1909, he was allowed to take a few favorites into exile in Salonica, and the harem system definitely ended in that year.[420] There are many

[416] Pears, pp. 6-15
[417] Canon Sell, **The Ottoman Turks**, The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, 1915, p. 102.
[418] Archibald J. Dunn, **Turkey and Its Future**, St. Vincent's Press, London, 1905, p. 5.
[419] Garnett, Life, p. 53.
[420] Penzer, p. 20.

descriptions of the dispersal of the first and last public appearance of the women. Perhaps the best version is given by Francis McCullagh:

> *One of the most mournful processions of the many mournful processions of fallen grandeur that passed through the streets during these days was one composed of the ladies from the ex-Sultan's Harem on their way from Yildiz to the Top-Kapu Palace. These unfortunate ladies were of all ages between fifteen and fifty and so numerous that it took thirty-one carriages to convey them and their attendants. Some of them were sent to the Old Seraglio in Stamboul, but this old palace of the early Sultans had fallen into such a state of disrepair that it was found to be unsuitable for them and they were sent back again to Yildiz. Finally they were all collected in the Top-Kapu Palace in connection with one of the strangest ceremonies that ever took place even there. It is well known that most of the ladies in the harems of the Turkish Sultans were Circassians, the Circassian girls being very much esteemed on account of their beauty and being consequently very expensive. As Abd-ul-Hamid's Seraglio was no exception to this general rule, the Turkish Government telegraphed to the different Circassian villages in Anatolia, notifying them that every family which happened to have any of its female members in the ex- Sultan's Harem was at liberty to take them home, no matter whether the girls had been originally sold by their parents or had (as was the case in some instances) been torn from their homes by force. In consequence of this, a large number of Circassian mountaineers came in their picturesque garb into Constantinople, and on a certain fixed day they were conducted in a body to the Old Palace of Top-Kapu, where, in the presence of a Turkish Commission, they were ushered into a long hall filled with the ex-Sultan's concubines, cadines and odalisques, all of whom were then allowed to unveil themselves for the occasion.*[421]

Lucy M. J. Garnett mentions about Abdülhamid's daily activities. We have written these sentences to show how modest Abdülhamid was. Garnett writes that the Sultan was moderate in his habits. At about six o'clock he had a light breakfast of eggs and milk; at ten o'clock he indulged in a rather more substantial lunch and dined at sunset. The Imperial dinner, which was eaten in solitary state and served with great ceremony, consisted of a number of courses all of a very simple character, and in obedience to the advice of his physician. The dishes for the Imperial table were always prepared in the kitchen of the Empress Mother's establishment and sent in sealed napkins to the mabeyn.[422][423]

Halide Edib thought that Abdülhamid feared the spirit of the Turks and so had the words, Liberty, Constitution, and Fatherland erased from the dictionaries. To describe Abdülhamid, she used the words "cruel", "suspicious", and "despotic". She added that Abdülhamid "meant to rule as an absolute monarch in his own country,

[421] Francis McCullagh, **The Fall of Abd-Ul-Hamid**, Methuen & Go. Ltd. London, 1910, pp. 276-277.
[422] A place between Haremlik and Selamlık.
[423] Garnett, Life, pp. 47-48.

and he took every step ruthlessly to insure that end." [424] Neither Van Sommer nor Halide Edib was in favor of Abdülhamid and his doings. However, Selçuk Akşin Somel has a different way of approaching the political activities of Abdülhamid. According to Somel, Abdülhamid did not want to risk the fall of the empire.

> *For Abdülhamid, stability could only be assured by authoritarian measures such as personal rule, police surveillance, censorship, prohibition of public and private gatherings, and restrictions on mobility. Abdülhamid promoted nettexts of patronage to keep tribal leaders in remote provinces under his personal control and he also used the ideology of Islamism as a tool of control, stressing the notion of being both the secular ruler of all Ottoman subjects (sultan) and the religious head (caliph) of all Muslims everywhere.*[425]

Maurice Baring conversely compares the regime of Abdülhamid and the regime of the Young Turks. He says in **Letters From the Near East** that: "Greeks of all classes detest the Constitution and the regime of liberty: not because it is a Constitution, but because it is not one; not because it is a regime of liberty, but because it is a regime of tyranny; not because they think the regime of Abdul Hamid was a good one, but because they think the present regime is, for them, worse."[426]

Whenever Abdülhamid is criticized, there are a few important improvements which took place during his reign in the empire that his supporters always mention. They are explained below, with examples: "Abdülhamid II has assured by his quiet pushing on, for so many years, of the construction of his splendidly statesmanlike railway from Constantinople to Mekke."[427]

> *The West stigmatized Abdülhamid as the enemy of civilization and enlightenment, although in fact he admired the West and praised Christianity for freeing itself from dogmatism. He introduced a series of widespread reforms, including modern education, that laid the foundation of the modern Middle East in general and Turkey in particular. Abdülhamid and his advisors were as much advocates of change and renewal as they were apologists for the faith, for tradition, and believers in Islam's compatibility with science and progress.*[428]

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[424] Edib, Origin, p. 92.
[425] Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Abdülhamid II", in Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (eds.), **Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire**, Facts On File, New York, 2009, pp. 6-8.
[426] Maurice Baring, **Letters From The Near East: 1909 and 1912**, London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1913, pp. 97-98.
[427] Garnett, Life, p. 291.
[428] Karpat, p. 4; Archibald J. Dunn in his pamphlet **Turkey and Its Future** supports the statement of Karpat thus: ". . . [F]rom the accession of the present Sultan, Abdul Hamid II. , a new era of improvement has commenced in the Ottoman Empire. He is an enlightened Sovereign, who is striving to raise the condition of his subjects up to the level of other States. From the first he cut down the expenses of his palace at Constantinople, and he corrected many of the abuses among the

> *During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, for example, the state built as many as 10,000 schools for its subjects, using these to provide a modern education based on Ottoman values. Thus, the state continued its evolution from a pre-modern to a modern form and the numbers of state employees vastly increased. Ministries of trade and commerce, health, education, and public texts emerged, staffed increasingly by persons who were trained specialists in the particular area. Ottoman women, moreover, began to be included in the same modernization process. The Ottoman military too, came to rely on western technologies and methods while growing vastly in size from 24,000 army personnel in 1837 to 120,000 in the 1880s.*[429]

Despite all the efforts and strict preventions that Abdülhamid did, separatist movements took place in the Balkans. Bulgarian, Greek, and Armenian revolts, the brutality of the events, international intervention on behalf of the Armenians, the fear of the disintegration of the empire, and the corrupt character of the regime ultimately triggered opposition against the sultan by a dissident group known as the Young Turks.[430] When the sultan, Abdülhamid II (1876–1909), shelved the constitution and ruled as a dictator, officers began to scheme for his overthrow and for the restoration of constitutional government. They set up a secret society, known as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in 1889, and officers like Enver Pasha, Cemal Pasha, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who all played critical political roles in modern Turkish history, were its members. The CUP-led rebellion in the army took place in June-July 1908 and, as a result, Abdülhamid was forced to restore the constitution he had shelved 30 years earlier. This was the beginning of the Young Turk revolution which continued for the next ten years, ending with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War.[431]

According to Jenkins, while "the reign of Abdul Hamid II. was a desert and a stagnation"[432] and besides the rich girls who wanted western culture, a good Muslim Sultan Abdülhamid supported the Muslim culture. Abdülhamid opened Teachers' Training Schools (Darülmuallimat) that trained girls to become teachers, even in the

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functionaries of the Government. Commissions were appointed to regulate the finances of the Empire. Concessions were granted to foreign capitalists to construct railways and other public texts, as also to develop the enormous riches of the country. Religious freedom has been granted to Jews and Christians alike. Schools, orphanages, hospitals, &c., have been established and subsidised by the Sultan out of the income of his Civil List, at the grave risk of alienating the respect of his Moslem subjects." Page, 4.

[429] Donald Quataert, **The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922**, Second Edition, Cambridge U. P., Cambridge, 2005, pp. 62-63.

[430] Somel, pp. 6-8.

[431] Feroz Ahmad, **The Making of Modern Turkey**, Taylor & Francis, London, 2003, (Turkey), p. 2.

[432] Jenkins, Orient, p. 18.

remote parts of the Empire.[433] Under the new regime, Abdülhamid acted as a constitutional monarch; however, the principal political parties distrusted him. When a reactionary rebellion broke out in Istanbul (April, 1909), Abdülhamid was accused of being behind it. This incident led to his being deposed on April 27, 1909.[434] Perhaps the best summary of the important events during Abdülhamid II was elucidated by Selçuk Akşin Somel and his last sentence in the following quote is noteworthy.

> *Although Abdülhamid's regime was characterized by his authoritarian policies and actions, the sultan also encouraged infrastructural and cultural modernization. Under Abdülhamid's rule, Ottoman bureaucracy acquired rational and institutional features where admission into the civil service as well as promotion processes were arranged through objective criteria such as exams and rules. Abdülhamid created government schools for boys and girls throughout the empire, undertook railway construction with the support of foreign capital, began to connect distant provinces to the capital, and extended telegraph lines to enable administrative surveillance from Albania down to Yemen. During his reign, the judicial system was reformed. There was also a significant expansion in the availability of literature. New translations were made from Western literature, there was an increase in book printing, and Ottoman poetry and prose acquired worldly and individualistic traits. These changes had a profound impact on young people resulted in the emergence of a Western-oriented generation who were dissatisfied with the autocracy and demanded a constitutional monarchy. The opposition of the Young Turks came mainly from this generation. Abdülhamid's modernizing efforts ultimately laid the foundation for modern Turkey; the founders of the Turkish republic were educated at schools founded by Abdülhamid.* [435]

The army under Enver Bey marched to Constantinople and deposed Abdülhamid in 1909, and appointed[436] his younger brother, Mehmed V (r. 1909–18).[437] Abdülhamid and his family were exiled to Salonika. During the First Balkan War (1912–13) he was transferred back to Istanbul (October 1912) to spend the rest of his life at the Beylerbeyi Palace.[438] He died on 10 February 1918 at the Beylerbeyi Palace and was buried at Çemberlitaş. He was most probably little understood during his life time. We should mention that there were a few important individuals who

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[433] Marc Hélys, **Kapalı Bahçe: Harem ve Kadın, Hikâyeler**, (Translated by: Aysen Altınel), GiTa Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, p. 22.
[434] Somel, pp. 6-8.
[435] Somel, pp. 6-8. Müller carries the same thoughts as well. In her book she declares that "[t]he young girls now in Turkey are all being educated, the Sultan having established excellent schools, where the girls go till the age of twelve or so. . ." See Müller, p. 175.
[436] Sell, p. 108.
[437] Somel, pp. 6-8.
[438] Somel, pp. 6-8.

understood the value of the sultan after his death. These people were against Abdülhamid when he was alive, but when he died they wrote poems to express their sorrow.

Being a member of the CUP, Rıza Tevfik ve Süleyman Nazif were just two examples of the ones who felt regret at what they had done to Abdülhamid, and they showed their regret through poems.[439] Moreover Mustafa Armağan, with his article "Abdülhamid hakkında yanlış bildiğimiz 10 şey" (10 wrong things we know about Abdülhamid), explains what Abdülhamid did or did not do.[440] After the death of Abdülhamid, the funeral took place at Beylerbeyi palace. While they were taking the funeral to the graveyard there were some women looking through the windows crying and saying: Oh, Sultan, who provided bread for ten liras and a kilo of coal for five liras, where are you going, leaving us behind? According to İlber Ortaylı, it means that the state and the sultan acquitted themselves.[441]

3. 12. SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL ERA (1908-1018)

Under the banner of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice[442] the Hamidian regime was overthrown by the Young Turk Revolution. The revolutionaries promised a constitutional monarchy based on the rule of law. Their expectations were a parliamentary democracy headed by a government and political parties to

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[439] Mehmet Aydın, **II. Abdülhamid Han'ın Liderlik Sırları**, Okumuş Adam, 4. Baskı, İstanbul, 2005, p. 248. See the poems below.

"Kaç zamandır gelmişken yada biz,
İşte geldik senden istimdada biz,
Öldürürler, basarsak feryada biz,.
Padişahın hasret olduk eski istibdada biz." (Süleyman Nazif)

"Tarihler adını andığı zaman,
Sana hak verecek ey Koca Sultan,
Bizdik utanmadan iftira eden,
Asrın en siyasi padişahına!

Divane sen değil, meğer bizmişiz,
Bir çürük ipliğe hülya dizmişiz,
Sade adi değil edepsizmişiz,
Tükürdük atalar kıblegahına!" (Rıza Tevfik)

Padişah hem zalim, hem deli dedik,
İhtilale kıyam etmeli dedik,
Şeytan ne dediyse, biz beli (=evet) dedik,
Çalıştık fitnenin intibahına!

[440] For the article visit the web page: Zaman, http://www.zaman.com.tr/mustafa-armagan/abdulhamid-hakkinda-yanlis-bildigimiz-10-sey_815274.html, (05.05.2013).
[441] Ortaylı, Osmanlı, p. 59.
[442] The Young Turk Revolution has its roots in The French Revolution. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" was the motto of the French Revolution, but the revolutionaries in Turkey added 'Justice' as well.

replace old institutions. They demanded free press, and unlimited individual liberties.[443] Thus, in 1908 people's tongues were loosed and the press was freed.[444] In the same year, on July 24, a successful revolution was achieved.[445] The constitution, which had been suppressed 32 years before, was re-established.[446] The revolution took place under the leadership of the CUP.[447] When the New Regime was proclaimed, it introduced constitutional and parliamentary government and soon removed the Sultan, Abdülhamid II, from the throne.[448] At the very beginning of the constitutional rule, the situation was confusing, there was no order and the authorities could not function. So the CUP took charge. It was highly challenging for them because they lacked the experience, training and social status.[449]

From Zehra F. Arat's point of view, "[t]he somewhat liberal aura that emerged after the revolution allowed women to enter into public life as professionals, writers, and activists."[450] With the second revolution, fresh hopes were stimulated. About five hundred women went to the ministers and said that they intended to stop wearing the veil. The reply was: "You may do it, but the responsibility will be yours; we shall not defend you if you suffer for it," so they did not dare do it candidly.[451]

Hester Donaldson Jenkins in her article titled "A Beneficial Revolution" states that: "One of the most astounding and beneficent of revolutions is that which has taken place in Turkey—a revolution almost unequaled in the history of men for the skill and moderation with which it was effected, and for the enormous change

[443] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, "The Second Constitutional Period, 1908–1918" in Reşat Kasaba, (ed.) **The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4, Turkey in the Modern World**, Cambridge U. P., Cambridge, 2008, pp. 65-66.
[444] Jenkins, Orient, p. 89.
[445] David Brewer Eddy, **What Next in Turkey, Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East**, The American Board, The Taylor Press, Boston, 1913, p. 32.
[446] H. G. Dwight, **Constantinople Old and New**, Longmans, Green & Co, London, 1915, (New), p. 402.
[447] Eddy, p. 32.
[448] White, p. 38.
[449] Feroz Ahmad, **From Empire to Republic: Essays on the Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey**, Volume One, İstanbul Bilgi University Press, İstanbul, 2008, (Republic), p. 4.
[450] Arat, p. 8.
[451] Miss A. Van Sommer, "A New Era for Moslem Womanhood", in Annie Van Sommer and Samuel M. Zwemer (eds.), **Daylight in the Harem: A New Era for Moslem Women**, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1911, pp. 21-51.

that it produced in the country."[452] In her book **An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem**, Grace Ellison wrote about Turkish women in the post-revolutionary period:

> *[T]he proclamation of the constitution has meant so much to the Turkish woman. . . . She has awakened from the darkness and horror of the Hamidian regime with a courage and determination to show the world that one sex cannot govern a country, that the woman's voice must be heard in every matter of importance –not in the anonymous manner of yore, but openly and honestly and aboveboard, as is her right –and that if one sex is to be kept in ignorance it shall not be the women.*[453]

There are people in Turkey who adore the Young Turks, while there are others who hate them, as it happens to be the same for Sultan Abdülhamid II. However, H. G. Dwight clearly explains about the Young Turks: "It is fairly safe to conclude, however, that they were neither the demigods acclaimed in 1908 as the saviors of their country nor the rascals execrated as its destroyers in 191 2."[454]

To George E. White, no newspapers were published in the city of 30,000 people until after the New Regime in 1908. At that point, people wanted to think, to read, and to write for print.[455] And according to Halide Edib, in 1908, when the Young Turks took over the government, literacy was one percent, in a population of 23 million. In 1918, when they left, the proportion of literacy had risen to over 20 percent, in a population of 14 million.[456] This proves that the Young Turks helped literacy rise in the whole empire.

After 1908, the Young Turks adopted the definite tendency of separating the church and state. The Turkish sociological writer, perhaps the only one who tried to explain the tendencies of the Turkish changes, Ziya Gökalp, was the first to speak openly of the necessity of removing the Şeyh-ül İslam from the Cabinet, in order to advance the program of secularization.[457] About ten years before the constitution, the poet Tevfik Fikret wrote *Sis*,[458] his famous poem that tells about İstanbul under the rule of Abdulhamid. Fikret in his other poem *Rücu*[459] depicts the triumphant optimism of the constitution. However, Fikret himself saw the looting all aroud and

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[452] Hester Donaldson Jenkins, "A Beneficial Revolution", **Outlook (1893-1924)**, Vol.:95, No.:10, Jul 9 1910, pp. 529-533.
[453] Ellison, pp. 15-16.
[454] Dwight, New, p. 404.
[455] White, p. 62.
[456] Halide Edib, **Conflict of East and West in Turkey**, Jamia Millia Extension Lectures. Delhi: Jamia Press, 1935, (Turkey), p. 88.
[457] Edib, Origin, pp. 211-212.
[458] See Appendix 7.
[459] See Appendix 10.

was frustrated by the new governors and wrote his meaningful poem *Hân-ı Yağma*.[460]

3. 13. YOUNG TURKS

The aim of junior officers and civil servants was to form a movement against Abdülhamid. They wanted to overthrow the Hamidian autocracy and restore the constitution shelved in 1878, under the umbrella of the secret CUP.[461] Opponents of Abdülhamid—from both the military and civil sectors—formed the CUP in Paris and began to be known in French as "Jeunes Turcs", "Young Turks."[462]

Liberal opposition prior to Abdülhamid is often termed the "Young Ottoman" movement; such opposition occurring during Abdülhamid's reign, however, is commonly referred to as the "Young Turk" movement. Although this difference in name might suggest a shift in participants, ideology, etc., there is in fact no marked difference.[463]

Characterizing the Young Turk membership—particularly with regard to socio-economic background—is difficult, and there is little consensus among scholars (i.e., some suggest an elite membership, while others claim that members were lower-class). Consider, however, the leaders of the movement: male, mostly Muslim, various ethnic backgrounds, urban, educated. Importantly, Young Turks were also young—a characteristic that implied progress and action. [464] The Young Turks' revolution started in Salonica, in July 1908. Albania was particularly active in

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[460] See Appendix 11. Visit also the site below for the writing by Assist. Prof. Dr. Fatih Bayraktar, Sızıntı, http://www.sizinti.com.tr/konular/ayrinti/tevfik-fikret.html, (05.09.2013).
[461] Ahmad, Turkey, p. 5.
[462] Carter Vaughn Findley, **The Turks in World History**, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, p. 166.
[463] Hasan Kayalı, **Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918**, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997, p. 34.; See also Findley, p. 167.
[464] Erik Jan Zürcher , "The Young Turks – Children of the borderlands?," **International Journal of Turkish Studies**, Vol.: 9, No.:1-2, 2003, pp. 275-286. ; See also Ahmad, Turkey, p. 5; Feroz Ahmad, **The Young Turks. The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914**, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969, (Politics), p. 6; Bernard Lewis, **The Emergence of Modern Turkey**, Oxford University Press, London, 1961, pp. 201,208; Stanford J. Shaw, Ezel Kural Shaw, **History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 263-264; Sina Akşin, **Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki**, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 135.

the revolt. On July 24, Midhat Pasha's old constitution was declared to be law; the public reacted enthusiastically.[465]

The transition period with the coming of the Young Turks and the revolution of 1908 is explicitly described in Demetra Vaka's sentences and finds its existence there. According to her:

> *Twenty years ago the Turk was master of life and death in the whole realm; he could plunge his hand into the nation's riches and bring forth gold for his wants; he was master of Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Tripoli, a large part of the Balkan peninsula, and many islands in the Aegean. Above all, twenty years ago he was master of his women-kind. He is master of none of these now, and least of all of his women kind. Twenty years ago a Turkish woman who married a Christian would have been torn to pieces by the fanatical mob. To-day she walks openly with her life's partner in the streets of Pera, and the Turkish police watch her pass, afraid to say a word to her. Then a Turkish woman showed little of herself to men, at home or abroad. To-day her face is uncovered, and she "features her legs" like her Christian sisters. The old system was gone — gone not only from private life, but from public life as well.*[466]

In the chapter entitled "An old Lady Speaks Out," in **The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul**, Dilara is pictured as a spokesperson of the old regime. She "hates" the Committee of Union and Progress, therefore "[w]hat she says is the language of the old [and] [w]hat she thinks are the thoughts of the old, . . ."[467] In the same chapter, Dilara Hanoum is driven into a heated discussion with Vaka, and she evidently states her hatred about Europe and America. Her discourse, to Arapoglou, is strongly anti-colonial. Dilara explains why she does not like Europe:

> *I hate Europe only because she is the enemy of Asia. You are not just a journalist: you write so that you may help—I have felt that in your books—and you genuinely like us. There are only two people who love the Turks, you and Pierre Loti*[468]*; but, whereas he wants to keep us as we are, to please his aesthetic sense, you wish us to progress. Well, the difference between Europe and Asia is the way the word 'progress' is understood. To Europe progress means only material prosperity—wealth. She wants us to progress solely in order that she may make more money out of us." . . .*
> *It is efficacious, their progress, I admit. Little by little the Europeans have got their hands on all the land of Asia. . . .*

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[465] Patrick, College, pp. 133-134.

[466] Vaka, (Stamboul), p. 28. While Vaka is in favor of the Young Turks, she also criticizes their haste with the things they had done to the dogs in the city. They took the dogs to an island in the Sea of Marmara and left them to die. See page 9.

[467] Vaka, Stamboul, p. 57.

[468] It is highly noteworthy that Dilara Hanoum thinks Loti loves the Turks. There are many other people who are in favor of this idea. Although the number of Loti lovers is high, the ones who show hatred include some distinguished writers and scholars, such as Nazım Hikmet, Tevfik Fikret, Ömer Seyfettin and Ahmet Haşim. We would like to share a poem titled *Piyer Loti* by Nazım Hikmet. See Appendix 12.

> *The Americans came here pretending they only-wished to build schools and missions. They were followed by the Near East Relief, and then by banks—and business men.*[469]

As far as missionary writings are concerned, nineteenth century missionary writings were full of negative depictions of the Ottoman women, including all social groups. This negative portrayal reached the top in the mid-nineteenth century.[470] Early in the twentieth century missionary writings focused on Muslim/ Turkish women. With the help of the reforms of the Young Turks there were changes in the images of these Muslim / Turkish women in the missionary texts.[471] One of the missionary discourses was the emancipation of women. "Within this modernization controversy, women's social condition and role became an issue."[472] This issue "in the course of Westernization in Turkey [was] often treated in missionary texts as the evidence of missionary success."[473]

3. 14. MOVEMENTS

In the early twentieth century the Ottoman Empire entered into a period of decline which gave way to the emergence of various ideas. In the nineteenth century there were reform movements that were more regular and planned. But external pressures and turmoil in the country were the main obstacles for the success of these movements. Despite the government's efforts to overcome the situation which the empire was in, they could not get rid of it. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the movements, which aimed to save the state from dying, emerged with the Second Constitution in the early twentieth century. The main aim of the movements was to ensure the state's unity and integrity, so they showed a kind of state doctrine.

[469] Vaka, Stamboul, pp. 69-71.
[470] Başcı, p. 116.
[471] Başcı, p. 111.
[472] Arat, p. 7.
[473] Başcı, p. 113.

3. 14. 1. Turkism and Pan-Turkism

Pan-Turkism started in the late nineteenth century. The main goal of the movement was the political union of all Turkish-speaking peoples in the Ottoman Empire, Russia, China, Iran, and Afghanistan. It actually began among the Turks in the Crimea. İsmail Gasprinski, who proclaimed "unity in language, thought, and action" for all the Turkish-speaking peoples in the Russian and Ottoman empires, was the leader of the group. He established the Turkish newspaper *Tercüman* in 1883. Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura were two other important figures of the movement. Yusuf Akçura established *Türk Yurdu*, which was a similar paper to *Tercüman*.[474]

3. 14. 2. Ottomanism

In the second half of the nineteenth century Ottomanism came into existence as the main reformist concept and policy. It aimed to produce equality between Muslims and non-Muslims alike and to place political unity among Ottoman citizenship. Kemal H. Karpat is of the opinion that:

> *Ottomanism was intended to depersonalize authority and shift it to institutions, but it also spurred a variety of administrative reforms. . . As new Christian elites rose from the ranks of the lower classes and were educated in modern schools they came to regard their own faith as their main link to Europe. They believed that being a Christian made them a partner in the European civilization and conferred automatically upon them a status "superior" to that of their "under-developed" Muslim rulers. A humble, only half-schooled Balkan Christian peasant considered himself superior to the most learned and refined Muslim.*[475]

3. 14. 3. Islamism and Pan-Islamism

After 1878, Sultan Abdülhamid II was in favor of the ideology of Islamism. Behind this ideology was the goal of achieving unity among Ottoman Muslims.

[474] Britannica, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/440700/Pan-Turkism, (15.10.2013).
[475] Karpat, p. 12

Kemal H. Karpat thinks that "Regarding all the Muslims of the Empire as an ümmet[476], the sultan tried to make them the political foundation of his state. Islamism thus supplied, perhaps inadvertently, an ideological content to Ottomanism, and the two became facets of a single ideology that bound the Muslims together for a while."[477] Although Islamism was a new and modern ideology, Pan-Islamism was more conservative and received much attention. And although Pan-Islamism has been used for more than a century, there has never been any distinct "agreement on its content, scope, and goals."[478] Dwight E. Lee said that there is "no study of Pan-Islamism that reveals satisfactorily the exact details of its rise and development during the latter half of the nineteenth century."[479] As Dwight E. Lee quotes, the German Orientalist C. H. Becker has clearly shown that the objective of Pan-Islamism was the "realization of an Islamic ideal, the unity of the Muslims in the world under the direction of a leader [imam] commanding the world community."[480]

Since this was the case, Sultan Abdülhamid II followed a pan-Islamic policy at home and abroad.[481] As the Khalifa, he endeavored to create union of all Muslims under his leadership.[482] Contrary to the general acceptance in the Empire: "Pan-Islamism aroused even greater resentment and suspicion in French, British, and Russian political circles."[483]

3. 14. 4. Modernization, Westernization

Although the word westernization was used in the twentieth century; it was in use and in our lives in the nineteenth century. Because Turks have been in these lands since they entered Anatolia. There have always been interactions between the Ottoman Empire and the western nations. And this change must not be delayed. Before the eighteenth century Ottoman Empire was in the leading position concerning central army system. In the eighteenth century, however, while Europe

[476] From ummah or the universal religious community
[477] Karpat, p. 16.
[478] Karpat, p. 16.
[479] Dwight E. Lee, "The Origins of Pan-Islamism", **The American Historical Review**, Vol.: 47, No.: 2, Jan 1942, pp. 278-287.
[480] Lee, pp. 278-287.
[481] Ahmad, Turkey, p. 16.
[482] Sell, p. 105.
[483] Edib, Origin, p. 123.

was in modification, the Ottoman Empire was in recession. Especially in the nineteenth century with the Tanzimat edict there was legislation activities in many fields. Within this legislation process, we acquired laws mainly from France. Ottoman Empire has been in tussle with Europe since the fifteenth century. Therefore, the empire itself has had to adapt to the new changes. Lack of adaptation has let the empire not clutch the world.[484]

One of the main modifications of the modernization in the empire has been in educational institutions, namely madrasa. These educational institutions have been replaced with modern schools. Ottoman modernization has divided the education into branches and grades; apart from madrasa education a civil education has emerged. In addition to primary education, secondary and higher educational institutions have been founded. Especially the educational changes in the lives of girls have been great importance. With all these educational changes mainly during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, the Ottoman Empire has achieved one peculiar thing that she has started educating her public including foreigners and non-Muslims alike.[485]

3. 15. WOMEN'S JOURNALS (PRESS)

It was in the 1850s, when elite women of the Ottoman Empire began to make their voices heard in newspapers and journals. The Tanzimat Era (1839-1876) produced this new atmosphere of freedom. As a result, a number of women's organizations were formed and a number of women's journals began to appear. Several women's journals were published, especially in major Ottoman cities. The writings of these women were mainly about women's issues; they also dealt with more general problems of the country.[486] Vuslat Devrim Altınöz, in her thesis, mentions that the number of these journals was about forty, almost all of which were owned and published by men. A few of them were published by women, but had male owners, while some others were published by women and had only women writers.

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[484] Ortaylı, Osmanlı, pp. 135-141.
[485] Ortaylı, Osmanlı, pp. 143-150.
[486] Vuslat Devrim Altınöz, **The Ottoman Women's Movement: Women's Press, Journals, Magazines and Newspapers From 1875 to 1923**, (Unpublished Master's Thesis) Miami University, Ohio, 2003, p.7.

Among these journals were *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (Progress of Virtuous Women) (1869-70), *Mürebbi-i Muhadderat* (Educator of Virtuous Women, 1875), *Âyine* (Mirror) (1875), *Aile* (Family) (1880), *İnsaniyet* (Humanity, 1883), *Hanımlar* (Ladies, 1883), *Şüküfezar* (Blooming Garden) (1883-4), *Mürüvvet* (Benevolence, 1888), *Parça Bohçası* (Bundle of Pieces, 1889), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for Women) (1895-1909), *Hanımlara Mahsus Malumat* (Information Unique to Ladies, 1895) and *Alem-i Nisvan* (World of Women, 1906), *Demet* (Bouquet) (1908-9), *Mehâsin* (Things Beautiful) (1908-9), *Kadın* (Woman) (1908), *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) (1913-21), *Kadınlık* (Womanhood) (1914), *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Women) (1918-19), *İnci* (Pearl) (1918-22) and *Süs* (Ornament) (1923).

Most of the articles and letters in these journals focused primarily on women's issues; for example their duties at home, like cooking, housekeeping, and child-rearing. Secondarily, they tried to change the belief that women were "useless," and "unable to use their brains in intellectual issues." Women had their voice heard, started debating their rights, and discussed inequalities in every part of the society, even in the family. The third thing they demanded with these writings was education, and participation in public affairs.[487] The demands of women according to Aynur Demirdirek consisted of as follows: 'The demand for education,' 'the demand for employment,' 'the subject of marriage,' 'the demand for changing the attire, or the debates on tesettür,' and 'the demand for electoral rights.'[488]

Vuslat Devrim Altınöz, in her thesis "The Ottoman Women's Movement: Women's Press, Journals, Magazines and Newspapers From 1875 to 1923," thinks that "[w]omen's journals showed that by the end of the nineteenth century, upper class Ottoman women found the opportunity to articulate their demands within the context of a well thought out agenda and the changes produced by the modernization process."[489]

Although it is possible to find letters sent by female readers as well as some articles written by women in earlier journals, *Şüküfezar* was the first journal to be

[487] Altınöz, p. 7.
[488] Aynur Demirdirek, "In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women's movement" translated by Zehra F. Arat, in Zehra F. Arat (ed.), **Deconstructing Images of The Turkish Woman**, New York, Palgrave, 1999, pp.65-81.
[489] Altınöz, p. 21.

owned and published entirely by women. Afife Hanım, the owner of *Şükûfezar*, told her readers in the first issue that the mission of her journal was to disprove the statement that "[women] have been the target of all men as if they are long-haired and absent-minded. [She goes on to say that] We will try to prove the opposite. We will not prefer manhood or womanhood as the only way and show superiority of one upon the other and vice versa. We will just work and endeavor." [490]

The most prominent women's journal of the pre-revolutionary period was *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, since it was the longest lasting journal in the history of the women's press in the Ottoman Empire. It was published for thirteen years from 1895 to 1908, running for about six hundred issues. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, like its contemporaries, concentrated on such topics as home management, sewing, childcare, family life, fashion, health, and women's education. Some of the women writers were Makbule Leman, Nigâr bint-i Osman, Fatma Aliye, Emine Semiye, Fatma Şadiye, Fatma Fahrünissa.[491]

Although women's journals emerged in the late nineteenth century, they flourished after the Revolution in 1908. As this brief overview will demonstrate, women's journals of the constitutional period differed significantly from the ones published before 1908 in terms of content, style, mission, administration, and range of influence. *Demet* (Bouquet), which appeared as a weekly in September 1908 and ran for seven issues, was the first in a series of women's periodicals published in the post-revolutionary period. *Demet* was owned by Hakkı Bey and featured literary selections as well as articles on women's education, morality, health, face care, child rearing, and fashion. The main female contributors to *Demet* were Nigâr bint-i Osman, Julide, Ulviye, Neziye, Şiven Peride, Ruhsan Nevvare, İsmet Hakkı Hanım, Halide Edib (Adivar).[492]

Demet was followed by another journal named *Mehasin* (Virtues, 1908). Even though they were similar in terms of content, and the date of publication, *Mehasin* carried more articles by women and included more essays on social and

[490] Kaplan, p. 10; See also Tülay Keskin, **Feminist/Nationalist Discourse in the First Year of the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: Readings from the Magazines of Demet, Mehasin, and Kadın-Salonica**, (Unpublished Master's Thesis) Bilkent University, 2003, p. 41.
[491] M. Fatih Andı, Mustafa Çiçekler, "Introduction" to **Yeni harflerle Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (1895 - 1908)**, Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı 20. yıl Özel Yayını, İstanbul, 2009, p. 11. See also Kaplan, p. 11; Kurnaz, pp. 67-8; Keskin, p. 43.
[492] Kurnaz, p. 124; See also Kaplan, p. 11; Keskin, p. 50.

political issues than *Demet. Mehasin* ran for twelve issues. Among the women writers were there Halide (Edib) Salih, Julide Sahir, Ruhsan Nevvare, Fatma Aliye, Emine Semiye and İsmet Hakkı Hanım. Celal Sahir, Ahmet Hikmet and Hakkı Behiç also wrote articles for the journal.[493]

The next woman's journal to be published in the post-revolutionary period was *Kadın* (*Woman,* 1908), which was different from *Demet* and *Mehasin* in many ways. First, it was based in Salonica, the center of revolutionary activity. Second, it was openly supported by the CUP and the newspaper *Tanin*. Third, lasting for thirty issues as a weekly, *Kadın* proved to be more enduring than most of the women's journals of the time. Fourth, this journal served as the institutional locus of women's activism in Salonica. It was owned and edited by men such as Enis Avni (Aka Gündüz), Ömer Seyfettin, Ali Canip, Tahsin Nahid, Mehmed Emin (Yurdakul). *Kadın* also contained a considerable number of articles by women such as Emine Semiye, Zekiye Hanım, Fehime Nüzhet, and Nigâr Hanım. It dealt with a wider range of issues, some of which were marriage, divorce, women's role and status in the society, women's nature, and national progress.[494]

Among the women's journals published in the post-revolutionary period, *Kadınlar Dünyası* (*Women's World,* 1913-21) ran between 17 April 1913 and 21 May 1921. The first hundred issues were published daily and the rest was published weekly.[495] *Kadınlar Dünyası,* whose goal was "to defend the legal rights of Ottoman women," had only women writers.[496] In her book, Grace Ellison wrote the following about *Kadınlar Dünyası*:

> *[Kadınlar Dünyası] (The Feminine World), a weekly illustrated paper devoted to women's interests, whose pages are open to any woman writer who cares to contribute. It was started, first of all, as a daily illustrated paper –rather an ambitious idea, but as such it was a failure, and was therefore quickly converted into an illustrated weekly. The proprietor and editress of the paper,*

[493] Kurnaz, pp. 123-4

[494] Fatma Kılıç Denman, "*Introduction*" to **Yeni harflerle Kadın (1908 - 1909)**, Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı 20. yıl Özel Yayını, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 1-29; See also Kurnaz, pp. 124-5; Kaplan, p. 12; Hakan Aydın, "Kadın (1908-1909): A Study on the first Women's Magazine Published in Saloniki", Selçuk Üniversitesi, **Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi**, No.: 22, 2009, pp. 147- 156; Keskin, p. 76.

[495] Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu, "Introduction" to **Yeni harflerle Kadınlar Dünyası 1.- 50. Sayılar (1913-1921)**, Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı 20. yıl Özel Yayını, İstanbul, 2009, p. XXV.

[496] Taşkıran, p. 52; Among its regular staff were Mükerrem Belkıs, Atiye Şükran, Yaşar Nezihe, Emine Seher Ali, Aliye Cevat, Fatma Zerrin, Meliha Cenan, Azize, Pakize Sadri and Mükerrem Belkıs.

> *Ulviye Mevlan Hanım,*[497] *had had no experience whatsoever either of editing or of the business side of running a paper; therefore, the result of her effort is doubly interesting. She understood that if a serious society for the advancement of women was to be founded it must have an organ in which to explain their views. She saw the need, and she supplied it. The publication of this paper is a very happy omen for all those who take an interest in the woman question. It shows what Turkish women can do when they have confidence in themselves. .* [498]
> .

Although the publishers of the journal seemed thankful to some men who defended the rights of woman, they had their own way of protecting their rights. They said earnestly: "Please, leave us alone," and added that: "how can we agree to accept men's kindness to end the suffering we have because of them."[499]

[497] Ulviye Mevlan (1893-1964) started publishing the journal when she was twenty years old. She was also the founder of the Ottoman Society for the Defense of Women's Rights.
[498] Ellison, p. 114.
[499] Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu, **Yeni harflerle Kadınlar Dünyası 1.-50. Sayılar (1913-1921)**, "Hukuk-ı Nisvan," (4 April 1329): 1, Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı 20. yıl Özel Yayını, İstanbul, 2009, pp. 3-4.

CHAPTER FOUR

A NEW HISTORICIST APPROACH TO THE TEXTS OF HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS[500]

4.1. BEHIND TURKISH LATTICES

Hester Donaldson Jenkins addresses her Ottoman friends in the "Foreword" of **Behind Turkish Lattices**, thus: "I have grieved with you over the dark days that are past, and have rejoiced with you over the wonderful transformation that July, 1908, made in your land." According to Jenkins, the Young Turk Revolution that took place in 1908 was really promising for Ottoman Turkey. She thought it would bring freedom for all the Ottoman women. After the Revolution, Jenkins did not stay very long in İstanbul, where she had spent nine years teaching at the American College for Girls. She left the country in 1909, and it was 1911 when she wrote **Behind Turkish Lattices**, in which she wrote a lot about Turkish women, some of which contradicts common beliefs. Jenkins wrote about upper-class women, but she intentionally generalized in her book and considered all Turkish women as a single group. Her work focuses on every phase of a Turkish girl's life, starting from infancy, and including school life, marriage, divorce, housekeeping, and amusements. This study reveals the image of Turkish women from the point of view of an "outsider" who worked as a professor in İstanbul in the late years of the Ottoman Empire.

Jenkins was appointed by the College Board of Trustees in Boston to teach English and Latin at the American College for Girls in 1900 and embodied the new kind of post-missionary American educator that Carolyn Goffman described in her

[500] Part of this section was presented as a paper with the title "Turkish Women Behind the Lattices" at the 1st International Ottoman World: Foundational Coexistences Conference, Karabük University, Turkey, 2012.

'introduction' to **Behind Turkish Lattices**. Regardless, Jenkins was well aware of the strength of the missionaries' influence on the education system of the Ottoman Empire. According to Jenkins:

> *The strongest educational influence in these lands during the nineteenth century was exercised by the missionaries of the American Board, whose work began in Smyrna in 1820. The work of this Board and its missionaries was threefold—evangelistic, medical and educational. The evangelistic work proved to have little effect on the Jews and Moslems, so was confined to the Eastern Christians, but the medical and educational work gradually came to touch all the peoples of the Turkish Empire.*[501]

Jenkins' books and articles comment on education and women, especially Ottoman women. **Behind Turkish Lattices**, **Ibrahim Pasha**, **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East** are all about events that happened in the Ottoman Empire. **Behind Turkish Lattices**, in particular, largely tells us about Turkish women in the Empire.

While writing **Behind Turkish Lattices**, Jenkins was not in the Empire; she was back in the Sates. Thus, the universal ideologies of the time such as modernization and westernization may have shaped the book. In **Behind Turkish Lattices**, for example, Jenkins used her own observations of Constantinople, and the stories of her students and their families to form an account of a "typical" Turkish woman's life at this turning point in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Jenkins was appointed by the College of Trustees in Boston not only to teach, but also to serve as a sort of public relations liaison between the College and the American public.[502] In her book she focused on childhood, education, marriage, polygamy, and divorce "to give the American public a real understanding of the life of that exotic . . . the Muslim 'Oriental' woman."[503]

Although close relations with upper-class women gave Jenkins a chance to offer a picture of Turkish women, she was doubtful in most of her representations. **Behind Turkish Lattices** mainly provides information about Turkish women, from infancy to school life, from marriage to married life, to divorce, to housekeeping and even to entertainments and to the characteristics of Turkish women. Thus, this book is crucial to understand Jenkins' way of delivering the message. The present analysis

[501] Jenkins, Orient, p. 18.
[502] See the Introduction to **Behind Turkish Lattices** by Carolyn Goffman. p. v.
[503] See the Introduction to **Behind Turkish Lattices** by Carolyn Goffman. p. xv.

will enable us to see how the image of Turkish women was perceived in the early 20th century by Jenkins herself.

In the 'foreword' to **Behind Turkish Lattices**, Jenkins explains that she wrote the book with the desire to acquaint her American friends with her Turkish friends, and adds that she did not know the women of the interior Turkish towns and villages. Although this may appear to be sufficient at first glance, generalizing the image of Turkish women leads to an unsatisfactory account. Consider the following reasons for why this is unsatisfactory.

4.1.1. The Chapters

In Chapter I, Jenkins talks about the infancy of a Turkish girl; she tells of the birth of a girl, and of the women going to the public bath and naming the child. As she states, most of the women who came to see the new-born baby smoked cigarettes in the room, which was indecent for Turkish women, in some Turkish households. Men might have smoked a lot and still do, but women, in general, did not smoke--especially lower class women. One might read the same thing about women smoking in other texts but to generalize it is incorrect. Demetra Vaka Brown, for instance, illustrates how the Valide made herself a cigarette, thus: ". . . [S]he drew from her embroidered bag some tobacco, took a sheet of tissue paper out of a book three inches long by one wide, and made herself a cigarette. . . . The Valide' lighted her cigarette and took two or three puffs, holding it with a pair of gold tongs, which hung by a golden chain from her waist."[504]

Going to the public bath with relatives and servants was not common practice for lower-class women. Actually, lower-class women did not have servants. They were servants themselves, looking after the baby, working on the field, and cooking, in addition to fulfilling the other responsibilities of being a wife to her husband. Furthermore, naming the child is not always done by the imam or hodja (hoca) of the parish, as Jenkins stated, but rather by the eldest man or the father of the household.

In the same chapter, she recounts the story of a child who got sick. The family sent for a good physician, but the grandmother insisted that the 'imam' be

[504] Demetra Vaka, (1909), **Haremlik: Some Pages from the Life of Turkish Women**, Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ, 2004, (Women), p. 88.

called. Jenkins criticizes this. Jenkins, here, was also a little bit mistaken; praying, according to Islam, has some healing power, especially if it is performed by the imam or the holy man. One must not forget, however, it is not the imam or the holy man that cures, but rather God. Note that going to extremes and only obeying the rules of the holy sheikhs is still a matter of dispute.

In the second chapter, which is about the school-life of a Turkish girl, Jenkins writes: "When a Turkish girl reaches the age of five or six years, she must go to school."[505] In the same chapter, she explains how a girl starts her schooling. That is, the parents of the little girl call the teacher. The teacher goes to the house with the other students and starts his first lesson there at the house:

> *After prayer the hodja pulls a paper covered primer from his pocket and opens it. Putting on his spectacles, he points to the first letter and pronounces impressively Elif the name of the first letter of the Turkish alphabet. Elif, lisps the child on his lap. Beh, says the hodja; and Beh, repeats the child. Peh, teh, seh, having been pronounced by both master and pupil, the child is considered to be launched on the sea of learning, and the first lesson is over.*[506]

Note here that Jenkins uses the Turkish alphabet, but it was the Ottoman or Arabic alphabet that people in the Empire used during those days. Moreover, if the teacher were the hodja from the mosque, he would likely have taught Koranic letters. The Koranic letters do not begin with Elif, Beh, Peh, Teh, but instead Elif, Be, Te, Se. Additionally, the written form of some of the letters is wrong; it is Be, not Beh. Jenkins probably wrote these letters according to their pronounced forms.

While some regions in Turkey were very lucky in terms of getting enough education throughout the reign of the Ottomans, others did not have the same opportunities. In the 19th century, for example, only Istanbul and its environs had good requirements in terms of education and training. It was also the city of culture, where the upper-class people lived and the place was also visited by the upper-class people from Europe. Because of the lack of economic and technological opportunities, the large part of Anatolia was closed to the outside world.[507]

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[505] Jenkins, Life, p. 18. Jenkins was quite generous to indicate that the girl must go to school at the age of five or six. Many girls did not have the chance to go to schools in the early 20th century.
[506] Jenkins, Life, p. 19.
[507] Hasan Serkan Kırca, **İngiliz Seyyah Sir Charles Fellows'un Eserlerinde Türkiye ve Türk imajı**, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Süleyman Demirel University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Isparta, 2010, pp. 19-45.

Lucy M. J. Garnett draws a clear line between the educated and uneducated people. The Moslem population of Turkey, she thinks, was divided into two distinct classes. There was the Ulema, or learned, and the unlettered. The Ulema comprised of the graduates of the Medressehs.[508] It is understood that there was not much tendency to be educated. This brought about a kind of indifference in any subject. For this reason, Sir Charles Fellows, a well-known archaeologist, describes the indifference of the Turks about the ancient ruins nearby they live as such: "The Turks take you round, and show all they have not themselves built, calling every â ruin by the simple name of the "old walls." They know nothing of traditions, for they are only conquerors here, and extremely ignorant . . ." [509] Fellows has uttered several times the ignorance and indifference of the Turks in his book: "The Turks have no traditions of the country, and are more ignorant than can be conceived, being not only unlearned, but resolved not to learn."[510]

Either Fellows or some other travelers were somehow right about the negative descriptions of Turkish people mainly Turkish women. However, they tended to compare the 19th century England or America and 19th century Turkey. Since Turkey was in the process of development, the justifications of these writers were not valid and accurate. It is quite normal that there were noticeable differences between Turkey, which was in the process of change, and Europe or America, which were in leading position in the fields of science. In this context, Turkish people must not be accused just because they did not know about the new tools and features.[511]

Vaka has also a hot conversation with Aishé Hanoum. The repetitions of the question "what for?" is highly noteworthy. While it shows how people from both cultures pity each other, it also tells Vaka of her own ignorance. She recognizes that staying in the harem and obeying the Turkish customs are Turkish women's own choices. The fact that they avoid being taught by foreigners in Turkey or studying in Europe or America does not mean that they refuse to be educated.

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[508] Garnett, Life, p.162.
[509] Fellows, p. 25.
[510] Fellows, p. 39; Melek Hanum draws our attention to another peculiarity of the Turks, according to her: "The Turks, as a rule, have a dislike for educated persons; they prefer those who are ill-informed and ignorant, for they feel sure of being able to manage them and to mould them to their will." See **Thirty Years in the Harem: or, the Autobiography of Melek-Hanum Wife of H. H. Kibrizli Mehemet-Pasha**, Bradbury, Evans and Co, London, 1872, p. 276.
[511] Kırca, pp. 19-45.

The more I looked at her work, the more enthusiastic I grew. "You must be very talented," I said, turning to her. "It is a pity that you cannot go abroad to study."

"But I have studied many years here."

"That is all very well," I said, still busy looking at the pictures; "just the same you ought to go to Paris to study."

"What for?" she asked.

"Because I think you have a great deal of talent which unfortunately is wasted in a harem." As I spoke, I raised my eyes.

. . .

"But why do you wish me to go to Paris?" she asked again.

"I don't know," I said, "except that Paris is nearer Turkey than any other great centre, and I feel that you ought to have the advantage of being where you could get all the help possible."

"What for?" she inquired.

I began to feel uncomfortable. I knew her very little, and this was the first time I ever visited a former Seraigli (one who has been an inmate of the Imperial palace).

"Because," I answered lamely, "when a person has talent she generally goes to Paris or to some other great artistic centre."

"What for?" again insisted the question.

If I had not been in a harem, and in the presence of a woman of whom I was somewhat afraid, my answer would have been, "Well, if you are foolish enough not to know, why, what is the use of telling you?" Instead, while that exquisite hand was lying on my arm and those big almond-shaped eyes were holding mine, I tried to find a way of explaining.

"If you were free to go, you could see masterpieces, you could study various methods of painting, and if it were in you, you might become great in turn."

"What for?" was the calm inquiry.

She was very beautiful; not of the Turkish type, but of the pure Circassian, with exquisite lines and a very low, musical voice, and of all things on this earth I am most susceptible to physical beauty. At that particular moment, however, I should have derived great pleasure if I could have smacked her pretty mouth.

"Well," I said calmly, though I was irritated, "if you had a great talent, and became very famous, you would not only have all the money you wanted, but glory and admiration."

"What for?" she repeated with inhuman monotony.

"For heaven's sake, Aishé Hanoum," I cried, "I don't know what for; but if I could, I should like to become famous and have glory and lots of money."

"What for?"

"Because then I could go all over the world, and see everything that is to be seen, and meet all sorts of interesting people."

"What for?"

"Hanoum doudou," I cried, lapsing into the Turkish I had spoken as a child. "Are you trying to make a fool of me, or—"

She put her palms forward on the floor, and then her head went down and she laughed immoderately. I laughed too, considerably relieved to have done with her "what for's."

She drew me to her as if I were a baby, and took me on her lap. "You would do all these things and travel about like a mail-bag because you think it would make you happy, don't you, yavroum?" she asked.

"Of course I should be happy."

"Is this why you ran away from home—to get famous and rich?"
She was speaking to me precisely as if I were a little bit of a thing, and was to be coaxed out of my foolishness.
"I have neither fame nor riches," I answered, "so we need not waste our breath."
"Sorry, yavroum, sorry," she said sympathetically. "I should have liked you to get both; then you would see that it would not have made you happy. Happiness is not acquired from satisfied desires."
"What is happiness, then?" I asked.
"Allah kerim [God only can explain it]. But it comes not from what we possess, but from what we let others possess; and no amount of fame would have made me leave my home and go among alien people to learn their ways of doing something which I take great pleasure in doing in my own way."[512]

Aishé Hanoum repeats the question "what for?" a few times. One may easily notice that Vaka gets angry as Aishé Hanoum repeats the same question. However, Aishé Hanoum does ask the same question again and again on purpose, trying to reach a kind of conclusion, in which she has found peace. This does not mean she totally rejects being educated, particularly western education. In her book Haremlik, Vaka also recognizes that "[she] [has] lived so long in a civilized country that [she] [has] forgotten how much civilized, in some respects, uncivilized Turkey is."[513] She further sees that she has been living in "the East—the East whose language and ways of dealing with right and wrong [has] been alien to [her] for six years.[514] Her own alienation makes her nervous and confused. She thinks that neither Turkey nor Turkish people are perfect. There are more things that she hates. However, she likes their peaceful lifestyle.

Jenkins criticizes Turkish women a lot and focuses on a variety of areas in their lives. According to her, Turkish women never go to clubs or concerts. They do not play golf or tennis, and they do not walk or ride a bike. They are not interested in games such as bridge, whist or dominoes.[515] How can one expect these things from Turkish women in 1911, when they—generally speaking—have little interest in such activities now in 2013—almost a century later. Jenkins' expectations for the women were too high. Even now, many Turkish women do not ride a bike or play tennis. This is a way of living and has a lot to do with the culture of the society. Jenkins, from our point of view, may have forgotten the era in which Turkey experienced the

[512] Vaka, Women, pp. 99-105.
[513] Vaka, Women, p. 15.
[514] Vaka, Women, p. 147.
[515] Jenkins, Life, p. 128.

great transition. Although Jenkins praises the upper-class women in some parts of the book, the greatest criticism for the Turkish women comes in Chapter II. Here, Jenkins explains: "The average Turkish lady is as simple and almost as uncontrolled as a little child."[516] This "echoes two important discourses: Orientalist and missionary."[517] The depiction of Turkish women whose "conversation is largely made up of exclamations such as "Vai, vai, vai !" or "Allah, Allah!" which she [mutters] perhaps twenty times in lieu of reasonable discourse. She has no notion of even the simplest items of knowledge."[518] It "testifies more to Jenkins' self–fashioning[519] than to her outlook on Ottoman women."[520]

In likening the Turkish woman to a child, Jenkins was too strict in her criticism. Perhaps Turkish women could not know Hegel and play Bach[521], but the women to whom she was referring had life-experience and a rich ancestral history; we must not forget this. This is not meant to condone the lack of education for these women; rather, it is a comment on the state of the society. As we have already indicated, it was a transition period. The people of the Empire, who had to endure the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence could not, of course, keep pace with the improvements. Our objection is with Jenkins' expectations. Granted, her account seems right in many aspects. Her expectations, however, were irrelevant and untimely for the people of the Ottoman Empire, especially for the women.

Whereas Jenkins mentions about Turkish women that they do not know Hegel or play Bach, Vahan Cardashian puts forward just the opposite. "[Turkish Woman] is familiar with Voltaire, Hugo, Chateaubriand, Dumas, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron; she renders most skillfully Wagner, Grieg, Chaminade, which demonstrates her native ability and equality with the cultured European and

[516] Jenkins, Life, p. 32.
[517] Arapoglou, p. 22.
[518] Jenkins, Life, pp. 32-33.
[519] A term introduced by Stephen Greenblatt. It is used to describe the process of constructing one's identity and character according to a set of generally acceptable standards.
[520] Arapoglou, p. 22.
[521] Although Jenkins wrote that the upper-class women did not play Bach, she most probably did not take into account that "[w]omen educated at the palace learned how to read and write Ottoman Turkish. They also studied the fundamental tenets of Islam, including the basic elements of Islamic law, as well as the arts of sewing, embroidering, singing, and playing various musical instruments." For more please see Kia, p. 155; Moreover, Müller visits the wife of a Minister and she has experienced that "[t]he Minister's wife is a good musician, and her sister-in-law draws and paints . . ." See Müller, p. 177.

American woman."[522] Cardashian who is against the "veil and shawl", harshly criticizes the harem life, and finds that the life of Turkish women "is a life of bondage under imperious rule." However, he is more positive and optimistic while using the adjectives. For instance he says Turkish women have "ambition", "pride", and "intelligence", and they are "charming", "refined", "well-mannered".[523]

We can assume that many a nation did not provide a particularly good life for their women in the first half of the 20th century. There is one bizarre and noteworthy point in which Jenkins is correct today that there are a lot of girls who do not receive equal[524] treatment in the family and in the whole country, or equal payment for the same work. There are some polices about educating girls, particularly in the east of Turkey and about minimum labor age for boys. We should have solved these problems by now. We could say almost the same things about the education of women that Jenkins wrote in 1911. Thus, Jenkins is right in this century, but the first half of the 20th century was a dark period as she told in her 'foreword.' In Chapter II, she tells a bizarre story which might also be experienced in this century:

> *An American teacher was once gathering roots and plants in a field, when such a woman accosted her, and asked her why she picked them when there were no flowers on them. The teacher tried to explain that she did it in order to study the plants, and learn of their life, and how they differed from one another. The woman listened dully, and then exclaimed, "May Allah give you sense!*[525]

There will be many a person who will give the same response: "May Allah give you sense." The gap between an educated woman and an uneducated woman is not ten years, as Jenkins indicated; it indeed seems to be more than ten years. This gap lies mostly in customs. The uneducated woman does not question a known fact, but just obeys. The educated woman rejects and questions. They shout for a more solid education and for freedom.[526] The Turkish women are not irrational in their

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[522] Cardashian, 1914, p. 70.
[523] Cardashian, 1914, pp. 103, 69-71.
[524] The difference in the treatment of sexes is clearly explained by Mrs. E. C. A. Schneider, **Letters from Broosa, Asia Minor**, Rev. Samuel Gittehus, Chambersburg, Pa., 1846, p. 86.

> *You may be aware, that throughout all the nations of the East, a great distinction is made between the sexes. Parents consider the reception of a son far more propitious than that of a daughter. More congratulations are bestowed when a son is committed to their trust, than when a daughter is bestowed. As children advance in years in years, it becomes more and more perceptible, that boys are the most favored beings. More provision is made for their education. From time immemorial down to near the period of our arrival in Broosa, the education of females had been wholly neglected.*

[525] Jenkins, Life, p. 33.
[526] Hanoum, p. xv.

demands. They express their desire to be permitted to do what Christian women do without criticism—going out with their husbands, meeting people freely, and feeling that the ordinary habits of a modest woman may be theirs.[527] Halide [Edip] Hanım was the leader of this kind of women. She was "[o]ne of the most remarkable students that the [American College for Girls] ever trained . . . , class of 1901, [and] the first Turkish woman to receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts."[528]

The third section deals with festivals. She talks about two religious festivals: Ramadan Festival[529] and the festival of Sacrifice. There are two points to which this analysis objects. One is the duration of the second festival; Jenkins noted that it lasted five days, when it in fact lasts four days. The other is about "the ram whose timely appearance saved Isaac from his father's knife."[530] According to our religious belief, the ram did not save Isaac (İshak), but rather Ishmael (İsmail).

In the same chapter, she discusses charshaf (çarşaf) and when it is first worn. It is the mother's decision, and when the girl puts it on, according to Jenkins, ". . . she hates it."[531] Miss A. Van Sommer, in her article "A New Era for Moslem Womanhood" notes: "Turkish women of the younger generation rebel against the veil."[532] This is also contrary to the actual situation, given that not all girls accept this offer with hatred; in fact, there are girls who voluntarily accept veiling even before their mothers tell them to do so. There is no need to generalize this covering of the body with a charshaf or veil. Besides, Afetinan maintains that country women did not hide their faces behind veils or yashmaks.[533] Halide Edib, however, clearly explicates the veiling taking us back in time:

> *It might be said generally of Turkish women that they were very self-willed and both the government and their menfolk found them hard to handle. In the early eighteenth century there were several royal decrees regulating women's dresses. One understands that as late as the early nineteenth century the bulk of women outside the palace were not veiled as their menfolk or the sultan wished*

[527] Sommer, p. 24.
[528] Jenkins, Orient, p. 143.
[529] In the book she uses Shekir Bairam (Şeker Bayramı), which is actually Ramazan Bayramı (Ramadan Festival).
[530] Jenkins, Life, p. 45.
[531] Jenkins, Life, p. 47.
[532] Sommer, p. 24.
[533] Afetinan, p. 34. To be more precise note that: "[t]he Turkish veil and cloak are worn out of doors by Moslem townswomen, as also by the Christian women domiciled in their neighbourhood. But the countrywomen both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about their daily avocations unveiled." See Lucy M. Garnett, **Turkey of the Ottomans**, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1911, (Ottomans), p. 218

> *them to be. Dress regulations never could be imposed on them. Abdul Hamid himself would issue a royal 'Irade' or ordinance every Ramazan and the police got busy in the streets cutting the dresses of the women who were not attired according to regulations. But the enforcement of the 'Irade' was never attempted for more than three days.*[534]

But Jenkins adds that: "[t]he wearing of the veil is not enjoined by the Koran; women had had more freedom in the Prophet's day than they have at present. The covering of a woman's face, and especially the hair, is a tradition with the Turks, so strong, however, that it has all the force of a religious law."[535] Grace Ellison explains veiling from another perspective; to her, "[Muhammed] regarded a woman's hair as her "crowning glory," and it was for this reason he considered it wiser for married women's hair to be veiled; it is not a woman's face, but her hair the fanatics insist on having covered, and, as I have already explained, it is almost indecent to appear before a man with one's hair unveiled."[536] In our case, the choice must be left to the person; therefore, this issue is still a question of dispute.

In the opinion of some writers, veiling gives a chance for the woman not to be recognized, for nobody knows who is beneath the veil—even the husband of the wife. According to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu "the Turkish ladies don't commit one sin the less for not being Christians. . . . 'Tis very easy to see they have more liberty than we have," mainly while sending "an appointment to the lover to meet the lady at a Jew's shop."[537] Additionally, Jenkins thinks veiling helped women to be successful "[seeing as] the Young Turk party was well organized, women served to carry their dangerous messages and papers from one harem to another, for a Moslem woman is never searched."[538]

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[534] Edib, Turkey, pp. 213-214.

[535] Jenkins, Life, p. 48; The Koran in the verse called Light (An-Nür) explains veiling thus: "And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husband's fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the slaves whom their right hands possess, or male attendants free of sexual desires, or small children who have no carnal of women; and that they should not strike their feet in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments. And O ye Believers! turn ye all together towards Allah in repentance, that ye may be successful."
Kuranikerim, http://www.kuranikerim.com/english/24.html, (10.09.2012).

[536] Ellison, p. 86.

[537] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, **Turkish Embassy Letters** (1763), Virago, London, 1994, p. 71.

[538] Jenkins, Life, p. 125.

Walter A Hawley in **Asia Minor** puts forward that in İstanbul, some higher class women walk the streets unveiled. This modernism is accepted by many of the men, for when a woman is veiled she can meet a lover in the street or at a bazaar and remain unknown to all others, even her own husband. Turkish men do not like this, and they support their wives if they want to unveil.[539] Grace Ellison, in ***An English Woman in a Turkish Harem***, asks the question of the veil to Halide. Her reply is noteworthy:

> *Is it a protection or is it not? Halide Hanoum considers it creates between the sexes a barrier which is impossible when both sexes should be working for the common cause of humanity. It makes the woman at once "the forbidden fruit," and surrounds her with an atmosphere of mystery which, although fascinating, is neither desirable nor healthy. The thicker the veil the harder the male stares. The more the woman covers her face the more he longs to see the features which, were he to see but once, would interest him no more.*[540]

Halide Edip was an educated intellectual; thus, she explains veiling in the following way: "As a fact, no reasonable Turkish woman asks to unveil. All that they ask for is a liberal education, and a right to accompany their husbands and to become fit educators of the future generation."[541] To the question "Do the Moslem ladies get out of the harem?" K. H. Basmajian replies that they have perfect liberty to leave their houses and go wherever they please. You see in the streets more Moslem women than Christians. It is usual to see hundreds of Turkish women walking on the beach of the Bosphorus, chatting, laughing, and smoking. This liberty is not common among the Christian women.[542] Clara Erksine Clement assumes that:

> *[the] Turkish ladies go about with a freedom that ought to be sufficient for those of any nation. They shop in Pera and in the Mussulman quarters. They row about in caiques and visit their friends. On Tuesdays they assemble in the cemetery of Scutari. On other days they go to Therapia, the Islands, or to the Sweet Waters of Asia. They make their devotions in the mosques or at the tombs of the Sultans. They witness the exhibitions of the dervishes, and they do all these things with a will and an air of extreme enjoyment such as Christian women rarely show.*[543]

More than two centuries ago, in 1789 Lady Elizabeth Craven made similar observations saying, "I think I never saw a country where women enjoy so much

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[539] Walter A. Hawley, **Asia Minor**, John Lane The Bodley Head, London, 1918, p. 255.
[540] Ellison, p. 69.
[541] Jenkins, Life, pp. 102-103.
[542] K. H. Basmajian, **Life in the Orient**, American Tract Society, New York City, 1910, p. 169.
[543] Clara Erksine Clement, **Constantinople: The City of the Sultans**, Estes and Laurait Publishers, Boston, 1895, pp. 249-250.

liberty, and free from all reproach, as in Turkey."[544] She further stated, ". . . I think no women have so much liberty, safe from apprehension, as the Turkish—and I think them, in their manner of living, capable of being the happiest creatures breathing."[545] The accounts of Lady Montagu, Lady Craven and Hester Donaldson Jenkins' observations only depicted the life of elite Muslim women of the Ottoman Empire. Their reflections indeed require consideration, yet they are not enough for the image of the whole country.

Turkish women were very happy when the Constitution was proclaimed in August 1908. After the proclamation, many women went out into the streets to be with their husbands for the cry of "Liberty."[546] With the Turkish constitution, there were many changes. One of these changes concerns the position of women, for no other job has been found to fit her except to be a housewife or a nurse. Women were considered to be a lot lower than men in every field. They were supposed to stay at home, deprived of every advantage in life, while their fathers, brothers, and husbands enjoyed themselves in every way. Some of them worked very hard to bring about this beneficial change.[547] Thus, the freedom that existed in Turkey in 1908 aroused great desire in the hearts of Turkish women for a fuller intellectual life.[548]

The fourth chapter is about marriage. Jenkins explains the process of finding grooms for the daughters. In a way, she writes about arranged and semi-arranged marriages, which still exist in some parts of Turkey. There are marriages in which both parties try to get to know each other after the marriage ceremony, and then there are modern marriages in which the new couple has a courtship to get to know each other before the ceremony. Happiness is a matter of concern, especially if the marriage is in question. To Dematra Vaka Brown: "Turkish women consider marriage the acme of human happiness."[549] But they "do not look forward to matrimony with the same confidence [as did the French]."[550] Jenkins informs us that: "The chances of happiness, however, in marriages thus arranged, seem almost as

[544] Elizabeth Lady Craven, **A Journey Through the Crimea to Constantinople**, G.G. J. and J. Robinson, London, 1789, p. 205.
[545] Craven, pp. 233-234.
[546] Sommer, p. 23.
[547] Jenkins, Life, p. 35.
[548] Jenkins, Life, p. 220.
[549] Vaka, Women, p. 87.
[550] Hanoum, p. 157.

great as they are in countries where the young people choose for themselves."[551] Since happiness is an elusive state, there is still dispute whether it rests in arranged, semi-arranged or modern marriages.

The marriage age is decided by the mother; that is "when a girl has put on her charshaf she is marriageable."[552] Most of the time, the father[553] plans the marriage of his children according to his wishes. A girl rarely rejects her father. She does not marry unless she wants, but she has no demand.[554] This girl, however, has seen no other men except her father and her brother, at the point when she marries her husband.[555] In fact, Turkish women never even walk in company with men.[556] Moreover, Turkish women "would rather die than see a man doctor." [557]

The marriage meal exists in many marriages, though modern marriages have changed the old style. When Jenkins attended a marriage ceremony, one thing was a bit strange for her: eating from the same table which was a "large tray placed on a low stool, around which the people [sat] on the floor. In the centre of this table [was] placed the main dish, from which the eaters dip[ped] each his own supply of food to his own plate, or perhaps [ate] it directly from the central dish."[558] In many towns or villages in Turkey, eating from the same tray or even eating from the central dish which is placed on the tray is still common.

The fifth chapter focuses on husbands and wives and plural marriages. The Koranic law, as Jenkins states, "allows every man to have four wives if he desires, but on the condition that he treat the four in exactly the same fashion, giving to each one as much as he does to any one of the others."[559] Jenkins is right here, but she focuses only on the number four. Actually, it is two, three, or four, and besides, the Kur'an makes it clear: "If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, marry women of your choice, two or three or four; but if ye fear that ye

[551] Jenkins, Life, p. 52.
[552] Jenkins, Life, p. 49.
[553] Max Müller, on the other hand, thinks that all the marriages in "Turkey are arranged exclusivly by the female relations on both sides." See Müller, **Letters from Constantinople**, Longmans, Green, and Co., New York, 1897.
[554] Hélys, p. 23.
[555] Jenkins, Life, p. 48.
[556] Demetra Vaka, **A Child of the Orient**. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914, (Orient), p. 239.
[557] Vaka, Orient, p. 195.
[558] Jenkins, Life, p. 111.
[559] Jenkins, Life, p. 68.

shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one, or (a captive) that your right hands possess, that will be more suitable, to prevent you from doing injustice." In the same verse, the Kur'an explains "Ye are never able to be fair and just as between women, even if it is your ardent desire: But turn not away (from a woman) altogether, so as to leave her (as it were) hanging (in the air). If ye come to a friendly understanding, and practice self- restraint, Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful." [560]

Grace Ellison states that polygamy does not exist in Turkey, or if it does it is really rare. She tells an interesting story about a man who married two women. The story reads thus: [A] pious Moslem . . . was always the first in the mosque. "How is it you are so early?" one day his friend asked him; "however early I come, you are always here." "I have two wives," answered the pious man; "I get away as soon as I possibly can."[561] Jenkins, having experienced Western marriages and relationships, thinks that: "There is one thing to be said for polygamy in Turkey—it seems to result in fewer illicit unions than in Europe and there are no illegitimate children. All a man's children have the same legal rights. There are many happy marriages and contented households in Turkey, although, as everywhere, there are some miserable marriages."[562] Halide Edip, however, thinks having another woman as wife may result in sorrow, for the Turkish women of the middle class make life impossible for the husband, and the two women may even unite to punish the husband.[563] She tells this sorrow from her own life which resulted in divorce.

> *Salih Zeki Bey's relation with and attachment to a teacher looked serious enough to make it seem conceivable that he contemplated marriage. A believer in monogamy, in the inviolability of name and home, I felt it to be my duty to retire from what I had believed would be my home to the end of my life. But knowing Salih Zeki Bey's passing caprices of heart and temperament I wanted to be absolutely sure, before breaking up my home, of the stability of his latest attachment. I there-fore took the little boys with me and went to Yanina near my father with the intention of waiting there for a few months. At my return Salih Zeki Bey told me that he had married the lady, but to my great surprise he added that polygamy was necessary in some cases, and he asked me to continue as his first wife. There was a long and painful struggle between us, but at last he consented to a divorce, and I left what for nine years had been my home.*[564]

[560] Kur'an: Nisa, 3 and 129. Kuranikerim, http://www.kuranikerim.com/english/4.html, (10.09.2012).
[561] Ellison, pp. 57-58.
[562] Jenkins, Life, pp. 75-76.
[563] Edib, Turkey, p. 208.
[564] Edib, Edib, pp. 307-308.

There is no polygamy in Turkey. Since polygamy puts more responsibility than pleasure, Turkish men are really pleased that polygamy has finished.[565] There is no polygamy in the early Turks according to any etnografhic researches.[566] In fact, "[having] more than one wife is not a Turkish, but a Moslem custom. Among the races of the Islamic faith the Turks indulge in polygamy least."[567] Even though Islam permits a man to marry up to four wives, among Turks of the laboring class, one wife is the regulation; only among those of the wealthier classes are more wives seen. It is actually the question of expense. A second wife means the man will need to find an extra apartment, an extra slave, and an extra payment of allowance for her.[568] There is an interesting story about plural marriage, told in **Haremlik** by Demetra Vaka Brown about the Valide.

> *When I married my husband," she said, "I was only fifteen and he was seventeen. Within four years two big boys were born to us." She raised her eyes to the ceiling and thanked Allah. "I was very happy — terribly happy." She lost herself for a few minutes in that happiness. "When my husband told me that he wished to take another wife to his bosom, my heart was knifed to the middle. I cried for days and days. I walked about like one in a dream; but all the while I knew that he was right, that the thing had to be done. After a while I fought myself down, but I could not live with the second wife. I told him so. He bought me a beautiful house at Scutari, and I moved there with my retinue and slaves. Of course my husband was to come and see us whenever he liked. This arrangement pained him very much; and in a few months he came to tell me that he had given up the idea of second marriage. We lived for another year, when I found out that the other woman was dying for love of my husband, and that he still longed for her. I knew also that my life was no longer the same. I made them marry, and I went back again to my house at Scutari. I was young, I was proud, I was hurt.*[569]

Nicole A.N.M. Van Os clearly explains the attitude of the husband to his wives according to Shari'a law. For example, the wives of a man have a right to separate households. If a wife does not get her own household she can refuse her husband cohabitation without any legal repercussions. The wives should be treated equally according to the schools. The principle of equality means for the husband spending an equal amount of time with all his wives. Unless he spends time with the

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[565] Hélys, p. 17.
[566] Taşkıran, p.14.
[567] Halil Halid, **The Diary of a Turk**, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1903, p. 43.
[568] Lucy M. J. Garnett, **The Women of Turkey and Their Folk-Lore**, David Nutt, London, 1891, (Folk-Lore), p. 433; See also Garnett, Ottomans, p. 206; Lucy M. J. Garnett, **Home Life in Turkey**, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909a, (Turkey), p. 221; W. M. Ramsay, **Everyday Life in Turkey**, Aberdeem University Press, London, 1897, (Turkey), p. 107.
[569] Vaka, Women, pp. 88-89.

wife whose turn it is, he has to pay reimbursement to her. Only if the new wife is a virgin may he spend more nights with her.[570]

The sixth chapter addresses divorce. The relation between men and women depends very much on whether the husband is liberal or conservative. Jenkins says:

> *If he be very strict in his ideas, he will order her to make her charshaf come down well over her hands, and her veil very thick. He will see to it that she never goes out unattended, he may even keep a eunuch to attend her, and he will never let a man look on her face. He will keep her closely in the house and all her windows latticed, and I assure you it is very hard to see anything from behind a Turkish lattice. He will put high walls around her garden lest she be overlooked by a neighbour. He will never speak of her to another man, but will regard as an insult any allusion to his wife. He will object to her reading or studying, and will consider that for her to be known about is the deepest grief that can come to him. He will eat and live separate from her, only visiting her on occasions. He would not think of telling her of any of his interests nor talking to her as a friend, and he would kill a man whom he saw speaking to her or looking at her. Such was the old Turk in his harem.*[571]

The story is about a pasha in Casarea (modern Kayseri) who was found beating someone just because he dared to look at his wife, an extremely fat woman whose beauty he admired. The story reads thus: "You looked at her once, eh! a man cannot help looking, for that I would not beat you. You looked at her twice; a man naturally looks at a beautiful thing twice, for that I would not beat you. But you looked at her three times, and for that I beat you, yes."[572]

Divorce is legally very easy. It just needs the words, 'I divorce you,' and a small monetary payment. Such easy divorces, however, are opposed to the law of the Prophet: "The curse of Allah rests on him who capriciously repudiates his wife."[573] "[B]esides religious . . . restrictions, a serious obstacle to divorce is offered by the nekyah [nikah].[574] This is the settlement on the wife at the betrothal of a considerable sum of money to be paid to her in the event of such dismissal from her husband's roof, and without the payment of which no divorce can legally take place."[575] Ellison also finds it bizarre, and states that: "Marriages can be made and unmade here with a

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[570] Nicole A.N.M. Van Os, "Polygamy Before and After the Introduction of the Swiss Civil Code in Turkey" in **The State and The Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran**, Touraj Atabaki (ed.), I.B.Tauris Publishers London, 2007, p.188
[571] Jenkins, Life, pp. 100-101.
[572] Jenkins, Life, p. 102.
[573] Jenkins, Life, p. 104.; See also, Garnett, Ottomans, p. 210.
[574] Civil marriage
[575] Garnett, Ottomans, p. 210.

rapidity that would astonish even our Transatlantic cousins. . . . [D]ivorce is as easy as saying "Good morning!"[576]

The seventh chapter is about Turkish housekeeping. The remarkable thing in this chapter is the explanation of the duties of a Turkish woman. Jenkins unites:

> *What are a Turkish lady's duties? She has but two; to be attractive to her husband and to bear him children. She is not expected to do any housework; she rarely is the house-keeper, and she never seems to make or to repair garments. Of course I am speaking of the well-to-do. There are poor women who must do all their housework and work hard, but the middle-class Turkish woman does not work. She has plenty of servants who not only cook and wash and clean, but also do the marketing and act as maid or escort to their mistresses, and nurse to the children.*[577]

Demetra Vaka was also of the opinion that women had two roles. One of them was to love men and the other was to bear them children. In her 1923 dated book, she primarily focuses on the women of the Hamidian era. She thinks that it was in the old Hamidian days when women carried these roles. She did not talk about the women before the Hamidian era, which we believe it lacked some information. From her writing it is understood that before and after the Hamidian era women had other roles to carry. As a matter of fact, generally speaking, women have always had more roles in the history of the empire.[578]

The eighth chapter is about the amusements of Turkish women. In Jenkins' view, Turkish women do not do any activities; they only sit.[579] This is wrong, but the explanation about the word *sit* is noteworthy: "The Turkish verb to sit is constantly used where we should say stay or live or visit. For instance, to the question, (Where are you living?) one gets the response, (I am sitting in Stamboul.) or (Are you married?) brings the answer, (No, I am sitting at home.) And this is literally true. All Oriental women occupy an enormous proportion of their time in sitting."[580] There are

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[576] Ellison, p. 58.
[577] Jenkins, Life, pp. 123-124.
[578] Vaka, Stamboul, p. 185. For example Halide Edib in her book **Conflict of East and West in Turkey**, talks about the other roles of the women thus: "Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller of the fourteenth century, visited Broussa. There he went to call on the Sultan, who was not at home. The Sultan's wife received him and discussed state affairs with him. Equality, freedom and simplicity were virtues that adorned the palace as well as the hut." For more information see Edib, Turkey, p. 207.
[579] However, Lucy M. Garnett, in **Turkey of the Ottomans**, tells us that: "Paying calls, attending *dughuns* [weddings], promenading, driving, shopping, and going to the bath, are the chief amusements of the general run of Osmanli [Ottoman] women." See page 213.
[580] Jenkins, Life, pp. 128-129. Jenkins tells that Turkish people just sit but she herself gives information about the tales and stories that women tell each other when they gather together. The stories told by Turkish women mainly consist of Nasreddin Hodja tales. This actually poses a conflict.

sometimes no words when women sit. Silence is the highest form of sympathy among friends, so Turkish women sit and commune with one another without talking.[581]

Jenkins also noted that Turkish women liked to shop, like every other woman. She never, however, went to the market; her servants or her husband did the shopping for her. Although women did not visit markets, they liked to go to the great bazaars in Stamboul, or to the European shops in Pera.[582] Amusement for Turkish ladies was quite easy; they took delight in having a European dress or two made for indoor use.[583] Lower class Turkish women, however, did not have servants to help them or to do their shopping for them.

Turkish women could not sit in general eating places. They could go to the houses of friends, but they could not go to an inn or a hotel or a restaurant to rest, eat and spend the night. If she was downtown shopping and tired of shopping or very hungry, she could not sit somewhere; she had to return to her home in the suburbs.[584] In 1908, when more than two men were sitting at a café together, they were considered suspicious. In 1913, however, Turkish women met in restaurants and discussed political subjects.[585] It is obvious that the revolution in 1908 brought many changes to the life of women in the Empire.

The title of the ninth chapter is *The Reaper, Death*. Unlike many women writers in the same period, Jenkins writes all the details when there is death. How the dead body is washed and what kind of prayer is done. She uses verses from the Koran. The next chapter is called *Religious Observances*. Jenkins uses the terms Mohammedan, Mohammedan cemeteries, and Mohammedan world, as Western writers opt for those terms over Islam and Islamic. Rarely does Jenkins use Islam. Mary Mills Patrick also uses Mohammedan girls or Mohammedan women in her article "Among the Educated Women of Turkey."[586]

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[581] Hanoum, p. 25.
[582] Jenkins, Life, p. 136-137.
[583] Vaka, Orient, p. 186.
[584] Jenkins, Life, p. 138.
[585] Ellison, p. 5.
[586] Mary Mills Patrick, "*Among the Educated Women of Turkey*" in Annie van Sommer and Samuel m. Zwemer (eds.), **Daylight in The Harem: A New Era for Moslem Women**, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1911, (Women), p. 89.

The eleventh chapter mainly addresses workers and beggars. Turkish women could work as servants, but only in Muslim households; a Muslim could not work in a Christian house. They could sell sweets or fruit or semits (simits)[587] in the women's cabin or waiting-room of the steamers, but they could never sell in shops for the general public. They could serve women in the baths, and give massages or help in the toilet.[588] Interestingly enough, Patrick tells almost the opposite: "It is a well-known fact that many Turkish women are engaged in trade, some even carrying on an extensive business, involving frequent journeys to Egypt and other places."[589]

The last chapter concerns characteristics and possibilities. Turks are not as dark as the Armenians or the Persians; according to Jenkins, though, foreign observers consider Turks to be dark. Actually, in her explanation, the race becomes light in coloring due to the inter-marriage with Circassians. Brown hair and brown eyes and a colorless white skin, with both black and fair hair are common coloring for the Turks. Their hair is abundant and delicately curly. Their eyes are usually large and well-set. Turks do not like pure black eyes, but brown and hazel. Blue is considered the most beautiful of all.[590]

Turkish women usually have clear-cut, delicate features, and their lips are full. If one had moles on the face, they were considered a great beauty. If there were no mole, the Turkish lady is not considered perfectly beautiful. The hanums (ladies) are fat since they do not exercise. The standard for feminine beauty is a fat, white, and fair-haired woman. As European fashions enter İstanbul, however, many ladies prefer a slim figure, and become very stylish. Turkish women do not have dark skin and when it comes to their hands, they have more beautiful white hands than people anywhere else in the world.[591]

Although Turkish Women were shown that they had less liberty compared to the women in the west, in terms of beauty the women in the east were most of the time depicted as eye-catching. Lady Montagu explains how she was astounded by the beauty of Turkish women while she was traveling Turkey: "'Tis surprising to see a

[587] Bagels
[588] Jenkins, Life, p. 190.
[589] Patrick, Women, p. 78.
[590] Jenkins, Life, pp. 206-207.
[591] Jenkins, Life, p. 208.

young woman that is not very handsome. They have naturally the most beautiful complexions in the world and generally large black eye."[592]

As understood from the Lady Montagu's explanation the women in the east or in other words Turkish women are beautiful. The traveler Fellows, who was aware of the beauty of Turkish women, found out that they were embarrassed and shy in the village of Alexandria Troas (modern Dalyan): "The women here are far more shy than in the large towns; they never leave even an eye exposed, and generally retreat into some shelter when met by a man; and if this be in the road, they turn their faces to a bush until he has passed." [593] Since appearance is deceptive, Ellison draws our attention to something different. She says: "The Turkish women generally, to my mind, are more pure-minded, perhaps, than the women of any other nation."[594] Ellison is largely interested in liberating and enlightening the Turkish people; more specifically the veiled and uneducated women. She comments upon the modern Turkish women's organizations, and further states that: "It is time Europe saw the Turkish woman as she really is; saw her splendidly organized Red Crescent Society, her woman's paper edited by a woman, her programme for the national health, for the training of nurses and doctors, and even telephone clerks, for the near future. . . . she is not what Europe generally imagines she is."[595]

Lucy M. J. Garnett gives details about the complexion and appearance of Osmanlı women:

> *. . . Osmanli women have in their veins some of the best blood, not only of the Alarodian Circassians and Georgians, but also of the Aryan Greeks and Slavs. . . . An Osmanli woman is usually about, or perhaps slightly above, the middle height, with softly rounded contours, small hands and feet, and a waist innocent of stays. Her abundant hair is soft and silky, and ranges in colour from light brown to glossy black; her eyes, now languid in their expression, now sprightly, may be brown, black, blue, or grey, and are shaded with long sweeping lashes, and surmounted by finely marked eyebrows, "curved like a Frankish bow; "her nose is either straight or slightly aquiline, and delicately shaped, and between her rosebud lips gleam the pearliest of teeth. But not satisfied with what Nature has done for her, the Osmanli belle, to enhance her charms, calls art largely into requisition.*[596]

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[592] Mary Wortley Montagu, **Turkish Embassy Letters**. 1763, London: Virago, 1994, p. 70.
[593] Fellows, p. 47.
[594] Ellison, p.108. Zeyneb Hanoum is of the same opinion. She maintains that "Turkish women have managed to keep their minds free from prejudice." See Hanoum, p. 216.
[595] Ellison, p. 16.
[596] Garnett, Folk-Lore, pp. 426-427.

Demetra Vaka, in **Haremlik** clearly explains the difference between Turkish women and the women of other races in terms of character:

> *Turkish women in some ways are very different from the women of other races. They may be more educated than our college girls, they may speak four or five languages, and read the masterpieces of each of these languages, but they remain children of nature, as we do not. If you spend a day with them and they love you, you will know their hearts and minds as they truly are. There is no false shame or prudery about them. They speak as they think and feel.*[597]

In **Behind Turkish Lattices**, Dr. Nazim Bey, a distinguished Turkish patriot, takes it one step further, he says that "the world will hear from the intelligence of the Turks . . ."[598] Grace Ellison is also of the opinion that, with education, Turkish women will acquire the necessary perseverance and exactitude, the lack of which keeps the Turkish woman behind the rest of Europe.[599] Furthermore, Halide Edip explains her experience:

> *In Turkey we have a saying, "Women are all one nation". Experience has taught me to believe in the wisdom of this saying. Though men may belong to differentiated groups called races and nations, the female of the human species remains the same. A man from Turkey may not be able to understand Indian men, a woman from Turkey will understand Indian women, and vice versa.*[600]

For the general characteristics of Turkish people, Samuel S. Cox mentions in his **Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey** that Turks treat their superiors and inferiors with unselfish kindliness. Cox illustrates this by quoting from Sir Thomas More: "To be humble to superiors is duty; to equals, as courtesy; to inferiors, nobleness; and to all, safety." And Cox explicates further: "The richest defers to the poorest. Women and children and the weak receive protection in every emergency. Parents are reverenced by sons, and all the agreeable elements which belong to hospitality find abundant illustration."[601]

"I can assure you, I do not exaggerate our Oriental hospitality. Go to Turkey and you will see for yourself that everywhere you will be received like a Queen. Everyone will want to be honoured by your presence in their home." Zeyneb Hanım starts her XIII Chapter of her book **A Turkish Woman's European Impressions** with the sentences above. Although Fellows thinks Turkish women are ignorant in

[597] Vaka, Women, p. 134.
[598] Jenkins, Life, pp. 210-211.
[599] Ellison, p. 17.
[600] Edib, Turkey, p. 193.
[601] Cox, p. 179.

terms of education, he, however, accepts that there are certain things that strike him. One of them is the hospitality of the people and the other is their honesty.[602] To Fellows, one of the most noticeable peculiarities of the Turks is their honesty:

> *How different are now my feelings towards the Turks, from those uncharitable prejudices with which I looked upon them on my first arrival at this place! To their manners, habits, and character, equally as to their costume, I am become not only reconciled, but sincerely attached; for I have found truth, honesty, and kindness, the most estimable and amiable qualities, in a people among whom I so little looked for them.*[603]

Archeologist Fellows was very much affected by the honesty that Turkish people showed: "I never lost even a piece of string. . . .It was my constant habit to leave on the outside of my tent the saddles, bridles, cooking apparatus, and everything not required within, where I and my servant slept without the least fear of losing anything, although persons were passing by and gratifying their curiosity by examining my property." [604]

Each great nation has taken first place in a particular area of civilization. For instance; Ancient Greeks in fine arts, the Romans in law, Israelites and the Arabs in religion, the French in literature, Anglo-Saxons in economy, Germans in music and metaphysics, and the Turks have won first place in morality says Ziya Gökalp.[605] Author Fellows, found some important conclusions regarding the cleanliness of the Turkish society, and stated the following on the subject: "The Turks are by no means a dirty people; their hands, feet, and faces are always religiously kept clean. I know no European country where there is so little annoyance from offensive impurities in the streets. I do not remember ever seeing a Turk spit; what a contrast to the manners of France, Italy, and Germany!"[606]

Taking the above expressions into account, it is understood that 19th century British traveler and archeologist Fellows came to the Ottoman Empire with prejudice against the Turks and Turkey. When he got to know more about the Turks and made contacts with them, his biases turned into positive thoughts. Thus, to have positive thoughts of a nation one should visit the country and meet the people living there.

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[602] Fellows, p. 223.
[603] Fellows, p. 221.
[604] Fellows, p. 223.
[605] Ziya Gökalp, **Türkçülüğün Esasları**, Akvaryum Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2011, p. 145.
[606] Fellows, p. 72. For more information about Charles Fellows and his visit to Ottoman Turkey see Kırca, pp. 19-45.

There have been travelers who had close relations with the Turks. As a result of this they provided information far from negative prejudices. While there were others who did not even visit the place and meet the people, but they depicted a negative perspective of all the people of the country.

Furthermore, Jenkins thinks that: "The Turks have been little understood by the English-speaking peoples. They have been judged, naturally but most unfortunately, by the tyrannical and cruel actions of their late Sultan, and often also by the excesses of Kurds and Bashi-Bazouks (Başıbozuk[607]), who are Ottoman subjects, but not Turks at all."[608] From our point of view, Jenkins was, in many ways, harshly criticising the women of the empire, with the above sentences she tried to reduce the bad image she drew. She thought that there were other people in the empire who helped Turkish people be misjudged.

Out of sight, out of mind is a proverb that means you will forget about people who have moved away. It does not prove the same for Jenkins, because she was here but her mind did comply with what she learned from her country, mainly the American way of education, which she supported throughout the book. Zeyneb Hanoum has the same attitude for her country. She describes the Orient as such: "The Orient is like a beautiful poem which is always sad, even its very joy is sadness. All Eastern stories end in tragedy."[609] Since she does not find what she expects from Europe. She finally realizes and says that "it is in the West that I appreciate my country."[610] She tries hard to meet a *free* woman, but she is not successful in her attempt even in Europe.[611]

Zeyneb Hanoum left her country because she was accused of her writings, which were based on the sultan, and because of the lack of freedom of speech. She was unhappy to act like that, yet looked forward to something more modern, a freer life. Unfortunately, she was in despair at the end of her journeys in Europe and wrote this on the last page of the book. "Désenchantée I left Turkey, désenchantée I have left Europe."[612] Jenkins quotes the Turkish Proverb: "Even in a golden cage the

[607] Irregular unity soldiers of the Ottoman army.
[608] Jenkins, Life, p. 213.
[609] Hanoum, p. 117.
[610] Hanoum, p. 238.
[611] Hanoum, p. 200.
[612] Hanoum, p. 246.

nightingale deplores its native land."[613] This proverb proves the situation right for Zeyneb Hanoum.

There are different reasons why people move from one place to another, especially why they go to another country. It is quite obvious that Jenkins came to the empire to teach English and Latin at the American College for Girls, and to serve as a "public relations liaison." While Patrick was here on a mission, Ellison came to Turkey on business, that is, to write for the *Daily Telegraph*. Selma Ekrem, who was a woman writer from the same era, had a different aim. For instance, she went to the States ". . . to be able to wear a hat in peace"[614]

There are also different reasons why people write about other cultures, and other peoples. The topics they include in their writings depend greatly on the readers' satisfaction. Anna Bowman Dodd, for instance, according to Teresa Heffernan, aimed to write to meet the expectations of American readers.[615] While giving examples Dodd only uses narrators, she does not mention the names of the narrators, or even the names of books.[616] Accordingly, Jenkins carries the same expectations and writes **Behind Turkish Lattices** for similar purposes. She takes it one step further and while giving examples from the real life of Turkish people she mentions the names of her students and of her friends, yet she does not add any date, any names of books or any names of newspapers for the proof of the explanations. Moreover, Jenkins does not write who took the photos in the book, and when they took them. "Because of its composite structure", Ezer considers the book as *life writing* not as travel writing.[617]

When the above mentioned writers taken into account we can say that both Dodd and Jenkins picture paradoxical structures, and attitudes of Turkish women as Goffman also mentions.[618] To be more modest Jenkins starts her book with an open letter, and she brings forward some joint structures of cultures such as Turkish and American, or Turkish and British. Down here are some of the comparisons of the common manners of women. Jenkins uses these comparisons to show that she really

[613] Jenkins, Life, p. 76.
[614] Ekrem, p. 290.
[615] Heffernan, p. xii.
[616] For more information see Ezer, pp. 83-90.
[617] Ezer, p. 92.
[618] Goffman, p. xvi.

cares about Turkish women. One example is that "A Turkish woman, like every other woman, likes to shop."[619] Another one is, "Old women hawk articles of dress, jewellery, embroideries, and cosmetics from harem to harem, and carry local gossip as do the New England sewing women."[620] The other one is, "A baby is the same marvel in Turkey as in the Western world."[621] And the last one is ". . . the Turkish women are our sisters."[622] The negative depictions of Turkish women that we have already mentioned before and with these positive like depictions Jenkins seems to be "in the middle of the two worlds . . ."[623]

[619] Jenkins, Life, p. 136.
[620] Jenkins, Life, p. 191.
[621] Jenkins, Life, p. 9.
[622] Jenkins, Life, p. 188.
[623] Ezer, p. 98.

CONCLUSION

Hester Donaldson Jenkins' **Behind Turkish Lattices, Ibrahim Pasha, An Educational Ambassador to the Near East** and also a few of her articles have been considered through new historicist interpretations. This reading has been a combined reading of these books and articles with the history in which they were written and with the historical and travel accounts written in the period during which Jenkins wrote these texts. This parallel reading, which has been explained as the prerequisite of a new historicist reading, is a method of interpreting literary texts.

New historicism suggests that a literary text be shaped by the history and culture in which it is written. This forms the starting point for this study. Considering that both Jenkins' own life and her travels shaped her first book about Turkish Women, **Behind Turkish Lattices**, the book has been the major source. It has been explored to what extent **Behind Turkish Lattices** was affected by Jenkins' impressions from her own life, and the experiences she gained during her stay and work in İstanbul, Turkey. The memoir has been put in the biographical context and it has been observed that **Behind Turkish Lattices** is a traveling memoir which has references to many of her visits to Turkey and work experiences at the American College for Girls in İstanbul. Apart from this, it has been viewed that Jenkins constructed a kind of parallelism between herself and Turkish women by means of meeting at the college and households. Jenkins believes in the benevolent light of education for Turkish women and to her it may only be delivered by the American schools.

In the new historicist reading of **Behind Turkish Lattices**, the biographical context was dealt with in the second chapter. In fact, this paper highlights the parallelism between the texts of Jenkins and her own life. The third chapter of this thesis explores the historical context of **Behind Turkish Lattices** that provides insight and juxtaposition between travel writing memoirs and historical documents written in the same era. The historical context constructed the third chapter of this

thesis, which has given the opportunity to observe the difference between the travel writing and the historical documents, written in the same epoch.

A new historicist approach suggests a parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts to grasp a greater understanding and consideration of Turkish women, their education, and the social and political movements written during the transformative years of the Empire. The common point between these texts and the chosen texts of Jenkins is that they embody the change and reform of the Second Constitution and the Young Turks' reactions, as well as the educational improvements and the emancipation of Turkish women.

The aim of this parallel reading of the texts of Jenkins and these texts is to explore how **Behind Turkish Lattices** both affinities with these historical and other travel writings and detaches itself from these documents. The chosen texts are Demetra Vaka Brown's **Haremlik: Some Pages from the Life of Turkish Women** (1909) and **A Child of the Orient** (1914); Anna Bowman Dodd's **In the Palaces of the Sultan** (1903); Grace Ellison's **An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem** (1915); Zeyneb Hanoum's **A Turkish Woman's European Impressions** (1913); Demetra Vaka Brown's **The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul** (1923); Halide Edib Adıvar's **Memoirs of Halide Edib** (1926), and Selma Ekrem's **Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl** (1930).

In this parallel reading, the central concern has become the representation of the Turkish women and their educational demands. At the end of this study, we have observed that the representation of Turkish women in these non-literary texts and Jenkins' **Behind Turkish Lattices** are not similar. Nonetheless, there were some similar explanations in these texts written during the same period. Most of the foreign travel writers from the early twentieth century showed a negative perception of Turkish women, excluding Grace Ellison, Marc Hélys, and Lady Montagu. Jenkins, too, was overtly critical.

The similarities and the differences have been identified between these texts and Jenkins' texts. **Behind Turkish Lattices** examines the multifaceted lives of elite and aristocratic Turkish women because Jenkins herself admits that she could not include details about Turkish women from the interior part of Anatolia. However, some other non-literary texts have included and mentioned about lower class women

from the same era. We have combined them all and come to the conclusion that Turkish women in the early twentieth century were in need of proper education. Nonetheless, the policy of denying girls' access to education was not only supported by the government, but also the general public believed that girls did not need a proper education.

The depiction of Turkish women in Jenkins' texts was predominantly negative. Apart from a few positive words about Turkish women, there are a lot of negative depictions. Turkish values such as purity, virtue, clarity, sincerity, honesty, and hospitality are represented as corruption, and uncertainty. And the Turkish women are shown as weak, ignorant and tedious. On the other hand, Jenkins gives her examples mainly by means of her friends, or students. This helped us think that Jenkins was a conveyor of the messages of other people. She, herself, was very much detached from the real situations and tried to portray them as she heard from others. The narrators in **Behind Turkish Lattices** were not written with their names, therefore, they might have been imaginary characters, or they might not have been Turkish, at all.

We can draw the ideas that **Behind Turkish Lattices** is a text, which participated in forming the ideology of the time in which it was written with reference to the similarities between the book and the non-literary texts, and that it is also a text that challenged the common belief. In the new historicist reading of **Behind Turkish Lattices**, the narrative technique employed in the travel writing, has also been explored to indicate how Jenkins subverted the ideology of the time. Conclusively, **Behind Turkish Lattices** is a text, which requires the reader to actively think, deconstruct what is being said rather than just passively accept it.

In the new historicist reading of **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East**, firstly the work is chronically organized to emphasize the extent Jenkins has benefited from her experiences as a teacher, references from her real life and the impressions she gained through reading in order to create the scenes from her career. The text was an otobiography of one of the most influential people on the development of the American College for Girls. What we have observed here, in the depiction of her idol, Mary Mills Patrick, Jenkins employed her own experiences. She also depicted her experiences with other students' writings. These quotations,

however, are tagged only with student names, and their validity is sometimes questioned.

An Educational Ambassador to the Near East has been read alongside Mary Mills Patrick's **A Bosporus Adventure Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman's College 1871-1924** and **Under Five Sultans** to determine the relationship between these texts and the biography, and the premise that Jenkins used them as reference for her text. Through this study, we have also pointed out that Jenkins put herself in an examining process before creating her work and that Jenkins not only used her own experiences but the other people's experiences, as well.

Reading along with the non-literary texts, the travel and adventure accounts written in the nineteenth-century America, **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East** presents the Turkish girls and women as simple creatures. For the writer, the only way of achieving success is the emancipation of women and providing them the American way of education.

Throughout the new historicist readings of the texts of Jenkins, we have attempted to indicate that there is a close relation between **Behind Turkish Lattices** and **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East**, and the history of the author. There is also a close relation between these literary texts and non-literary texts written in the same period, between the texts and the history in which they were written. In the new historicist readings of Jenkins's texts, we have attempted to indicate these relationships and thus we have observed firstly that Jenkins developed herself as a writer during her stay for nine years. Secondly, that the texts, on the one hand, participated in the ideologies of the time.

From our readings we have found out that Pierre Loti was inspired by Marc Hélys, the writer of Kapalı Bahçe, Leyla Hanoum and Melek Hanoum were inspired by Grace Ellison, and with the help of Ellison they wrote books and published them. Jenkins was inspired by Mary Mills Patrick, so she wrote the autobiography of Patrick, under the title of **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East,** which was an expression for her inspiration.

While giving information regarding something, someone or a nation we must be careful with delivering this message. We might meet someone from England and this person might be rude or reserved or even cold. However, we cannot say British

people are all reserved. We might come across an American who is proud and snub, but this does not mean everybody in the United States is proud and snub. National prejudices can be misleading. One main flaw of Hester Donaldson Jenkins is that she generalized the attitude of Turkish women, under one umbrella, as if they were all the same.

Jenkins should have written **Behind Turkish Lattices** with a different title and without employing stereotypes to demean the stature of Turkish women. The things she saw, heard or even experienced should have been told with different words or different style. One great mistake is that Jenkins, most of the time, spent her days with the middle or upper class women. It is a pity that she forgot to tell what lower class women did. If she had spent some days with the lower class women, perhaps she might have come across more interesting diversity of Turkish women, and by then gained a more comprehensive understanding of the Turkish women.

Harem life did attract many foreign writers as Reina Lewis noted that it was a way of earning money writing about Harem[624], and it really took off as a writing style. Therefore, many of these travel writers of the early twentieth century, including Jenkins, were highly aware of this. Mainly men, as "armchair harem writers," who never saw the harem life but wrote passages after passages on harem life, were active writing a chapter on harem life. Jenkins, on the other hand, was interested in the lives of Turkish women to follow such tradition, the interest in harem life. However, her interest stemmed from a tendency to support women, especially in terms of education. She insisted on the American way of education to be applied to Turkish women.

The main defect has been the depiction of the upper-class women, putting the lower-class women aside and not mentioning anything about them. Jenkins also drew some materials from actual events, such as the *Second Constitution* and the *Counter Revolution*. Throughout the source study included in the parallel reading of **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East** and the history in which the biography was written, we have observed that Jenkins used quite a lot of quotations to explain the incidents that took place in the empire and the thematic structure of her work. The quotations she used were mostly the writings of her students, which would be

[624] She seems she is not in favor of the word 'Harem', but she, herself has used the word "Harem" for the title of her book, **Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem.**

considered as not objective. To be more objective she should have added some other writings from different people, mainly from women with opposing ideas.

Furthermore, we can infer that in **Behind Turkish Lattices**, Jenkins used her personal experiences more often than she did in **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East.** In the creation of other characters in **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East**, Jenkins made use of actual people. In the creation of the setting of the text, she used the names and the characteristics of the real places which she visited during her stay in İstanbul. At the end of this literary analysis, we have concluded that while **Behind Turkish Lattices** is a travel writing which is based on Jenkins' own experiences, **An Educational Ambassador to the Near East** is an autobiography which is mainly based on her idol's, Mary Mills Patrick, her experiences and her educational wisdom and partly based on actual events and people.

After examining and studying the writings of the travelers, diplomats, and missionaries to Turkey or the Ottoman Empire with the aim of researching the Turks and particularly the Turkish women, there is a close relation between the background of the foreigners and the image they offered about Turkey. In particular, it is very important to whom the image was presented and in general it has been presented in a negative way. Some of these writings have drawn a positive image of the women, but most of the Turkish women have been pictured as ignorant and indifferent. While Turks are positively portrayed in terms of beauty, honesty and hospitality, they are negatively labeled in terms of education and their lack of focus and discipline.

According to our study, the travel accounts of different writers within the same period bear great resemblance. However, as the period of the travel writing changes, there is also a change in the narrative style and in perspective. For instance, especially the travel books written in the 19th century had a general attitude of criticizing the Ottoman Empire whereas 18th century travel books were more neutral and praised the Empire. Montagu is an example to this genre. In dealing with Ottoman women it is necessary to make a distinction between the country women, urban women, and peasant woman. It would be wrong to assess Ottoman women just taking the women of Istanbul as the basis. Because these women, belonging to different social background, have also different lifestyles and opportunities. While

the women in the Imperial Harem have lived a life in solitude far from social life, the women in the village have always been active in social life. The restrictions and prohibitions have not been applicable for them.

Those having a biased and Orientalist point of view looked through the hole of their own fantasies, and portrayed Turkish woman in the fantastic imaginary harem scenes, as exotic and seductive. When the European travelers found the opportunity to see the position of the real harem in the society, they described Turkish women as noble and elegant. 19th century writings saw the women as an institution in which women were the slaves of their husbands, while Montagu and Garnett rejected these claims, and declared that the Ottoman women were the freest women all over the world.

In terms of law, women in the empire had great rights and could solve her problems through the courts, which was at a level that cannot be compared to other societies. And yes there were slaves. They were maids and called odalıks. Selling them was illegal, but one could have a slave at illegal or secret markets. The real slave women were Circassian. All the odalıks of the Sultan were Circassian. As a matter of fact slaves in Turkey were not an underestimated class, because many important women started their life as a slave. [625]

When freedom is concerned, Anna Bowman Dodd does not have the same thought as Jenkins, she thinks not even Turkish women but also their slaves are as free as Turkish women. The rights of women inTurkey, in particular, go back to some twelve centuries before Christian Europe or America.[626] The slaves, on the other hand, when they serve seven years the owners may declare their *freedom*. The rights, which are in abundance, are protected by "spiritual law." From this point of view, when 19th century women are concerned, "it is the European rather than the Osmanli[627] women who seem to be still in bondage."[628]

Jenkins is one of the authors who negatively depicted the Turkish women. If we look at the period of the study, the negative depiction of Turkish women is not

[625] See Hélys, p. 15.
[626] Anna Bowman Dodd, **In the Palaces of the Sultan**, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1903, p. 447.
[627] Ottoman
[628] Dodd, pp. 454, 434.

significant enough to be taken into account. The period was during the last moments of the Ottoman Empire. There were revolts against the Sultan within the country and the attacks from neighboring countries. Either the improvements coinciding with the Second Constitution, the mismanagement of the new government, or the First World War involving the Ottoman Empire and the whole world, or the emergence of the War of Independence just after the World War I spotlighted the situation of the people of the Empire.

Under these circumstances it was unwise to expect the same conditions from the Turks as the people in Europe (especially in the UK) and the United States. Thus the assessment was not justly done. These judgments were made at the beginning of the twentieth century, and they were nothing more than unnecessary judgments. However, our study and our observations have shown that the expectations about all the people particularly Turkish women, at the end of the nineteenth century, were not appropriate expectations with the period. If these conditions were expected in the twenty-first century, there would be considerable explanations, and people would likely believe Jenkins. Because the things that were not done in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are still not done in the twenty-first century. In this respect, there are people, lives and incidents in this century that, in a way, support the false judgments of Jenkins and the other writers. It gives much pain to us to see, and to know that these conditions, once they were not existent, have not been achieved yet.

Education has been one of the major focus areas within this dissertation. The education of women was not totally a finished topic at the end of the nineteen century. However at the very beginning of the twentieth century it was still in question and it is a pity that it is still in question. Therefore; the education process is a continuous process. There is not one person to judge or to criticize we must judge all the governments in the empire and even the sultans. The period in review is during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. It is considered unwise to criticize only Sultan Abdülhamid II for his education policy, because this education policy predates him. Among the Ottoman Sultans, Abdülhamid II was the only one who was on the one hand harshly criticized and on the other hand highly valued. While one group praises him and shows a lot of admiration for his accomplishments, the other group shows hatred and condemns him for the things he did not do.

Perhaps, Jenkins came to Turkey not as a strict missionary like Patrick; however she came to teach at a private college for girls, which was founded by missionaries, whose main aim was to change the religion. According to the writer of **The Towers of Trebizond**, Rose Macaulay, this was the only means for the Turkish women to gain their rights.[629] Macaulay goes on to say that "Turkish women might take up with the Church of England and become more liberated and advanced."[630] Jenkins, however, did not focus on the religion side of the people. Her main concern was transferring the American style. She did not like the Turkish way of education and insisted on the American way. Jenkins herself does not appear to be one of those early strict missionaries. However, she believes that "while spreading the Gospel, the Missionary creates demand for American goods by carrying forward also the Evangelism of better living."[631]

On the one hand, everything looks innocent and Jenkins proves to be a perfect helper for the emancipation of Turkish women. But, on the other hand, the reality behind the scene is totally a different one. Therefore, it is noteworthy that, in 1900, there were over 400 American schools and the number of students was almost twenty thousand. The total number of foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire during the same period was about two thousand. When minority schools are added to this number it reached 10 thousand. Hence, as a result of the riots of these minorities within the weakening period of the empire and with the help of Western states the minorities gained their independence. The effect of the educational activities of the missionaries cannot be ignored for their independence. Missionary activities have very much contributed to their independence, such as Greece in l829, Bulgaria in 1908, the Balkans before World War I and the Arab lands after World War I.[632]

In her thesis, **Ibrahim Pasha**, Jenkins mentions that Turks have the love of learning, but in her book **Behind Turkish Lattices** she thinks Turks are simple creatures. Jenkins is somewhat shocked at the inactivity of the veiled woman of

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[629] Rose Macaulay, **The Towers of Trebizond**, Fontana Books, London 1967, p. 72.
[630] Macaulay, p. 180. For more information about Macaulay see Fatih Öztürk, **A New Historicist Approach To Rose Macaulay's The Towers Of Trebizond**, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Erciyes University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Kayseri, 2008.
[631] Hester Donaldson Jenkins, "*Converts to Christianity*" **Nation's Business (pre-1986);** Vol.: 5, No.: 7, Jul 1917.
[632] For more information see Ayten Sezer, "**Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e; Misyonerlerin Türkiye'deki Eğitim ve Öğretim Faaliyetleri"** Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara, October 1999, pp. 169-184.

Turkish homes. She also shocks the readers by telling that Turkish women sit for the most part. Turkish women, generally speaking, do not just sit. They are active in the house or on the fields. Although she thinks Turkish woman had great freedom after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, she finds Turkish women still uncultured and uninterested in things outside the home. Even marriage customs in the country for her are shocking. She is also against the idea of the life of a Turkish woman that depends very much on her husband.

Finally, we have to admit that Jenkins was a good observer, who willingly chose the life of upper-class women in the late years of the Ottoman Empire. Even though she seemed right in most situations, she was not able to reach the interior parts of the empire, the lower-class women, and the actual life of country people. Thus, she could not draw an exact picture of the life of Turkish woman. She supported the American way of education and spent some nine years putting her effort into achieving her goal. She was, at the end of the day, successful in seeing the Turkish girls' change. In fact the missionaries performed their mission very well, opened many schools in Ottoman Turkey and changed the lives of those students according to their wishes.

When the missionary practices are concerned, the result is outrageous. One of the results of missionary activities is the schools they opened. To give an example: Robert College. Opening schools and educating people, especially girls, are not a matter of concern. Although there were rejections from the missionaries, we have the information that Robert College affected the life of Bulgaria and made Bulgaria.[633] Essentially not just Bulgaria, but the unrest of Greeks in the north of Turkey and the upheaval of Balkan nations were all supported by the colleges above mentioned. It was, of course, not a physical but mental and spiritual support, as Atatürk declared in his **Nutuk**.[634]

These private schools, belonging to foreigners and minorities, apart from providing students with the knowledge and skills to be successful in life, also made

[633] See Cox, p. 299. Anna Bowman Dodd also declares that: "It is no discredit — it is surely proof of the vitality of the teachings emanating from such foreign schools of learning — to learn, from those who know, that two- thirds of all the conspiracies and plots for overturning the hated Turkish yoke in Bulgaria, or Armenia, or other disaffected Turkish provinces, may be directly traced through the track of the fiery young revolutionaries who have been graduated from either Robert College, or from some other foreign mission school." See Dodd, p. 479.
[634] See the footnote 184.

propaganda against the policies of the government, and the integrity and independence of the state. Foreign governments, with the schools spreading as far as the small villages, had influence in the Ottoman territories. The Turkish animosity they developed gave way to separations among societies that lived together through the centuries and had many common cultural values. Even Turkish communities relative to one another, were brought into such a struggle that they were eager to gain their independence. Most probably we are still suffering from the outcomes of these so-called education places and policies.

The schools opened by missionaries "were seen as instruments to transform minds and reconstruct the society." While reconstructing the society these missionaries recurrently wrote about the difficulties they faced. They tried to show the living conditions, always putting emphasis on the negative images of people, particularly women. They also "exaggerated the hardships of life in the mission field in order to increase the amount of financial and spiritual support for their work at home."[635] As quoted by Başcı, Samuel Bartlett, who was a missionary historian, admired the missionary schools for giving students not only a Protestant education, but an "Anglo-American mind" and "Yankee reasoning,"[636]

At the end of this study, besides Hester Donaldson Jenkins, it has been observed that Demetra Vaka Brown, Anna Bowman Dodd, Grace Ellison, Zeyneb Hanoum, Mary Mills Patrick, Halide Edib Adıvar, and Selma Ekrem appreciated the Young Turks and supported the Revolution and were against Abdülhamid, his political thoughts and his restrictions. They were all in favor of education of both sexes. Jenkins repeats and uses some stereotypical Orientalist discourses known by Western writers and readers. These are "female seclusion, subjugation, and ignorance." The main cause for these is the lack of education among Turkish women. Therefore, the role of education is a repeated theme in all twelve chapters of **Behind Turkish Lattices**.[637]

However, contrary to Hester Donaldson Jenkins, Turkish women in the late Ottoman Empire were not silent, inactive, or isolated as they were also depicted in some of the other travel writings mentioned in the dissertation. With the journals

[635] Başcı, p. 103
[636] Başcı, p. 104.
[637] Arapoglou, p. 22.

they published, the articles they wrote, the activities they planned, and the movements they guided, Turkish women, mainly in urban areas, were active participants in social, economic, and political life in the empire. They struggled for their rights like their contemporaries in Europe and in the United States. They were well able to challenge the male domination and the society that had patriarchal values. Although a large number of the population did not share and were not aware of their concern, Turkish women were successful in achieving the expected results that they had been looking forward to for years.

Considering the texts of above mentioned women writers, it seems obvious that the time, the background, the atmosphere and the relations determine the writings of those writers. The texts either come out with negative features or positive illustrations. While one writer clearly rejects veiling, the other is in favor of it. While one writer supports the Young Turks, the other is against them. While one writer thinks Turkish women are not free, the other considers Turkish women as the freest ones in the world. While one agrees that "[f]amily life is, in reality, unknown amongst the Turks,"[638] the other makes clear that "the charms and pleasures of family life are not only enjoyed to the full, they are the more relished and sought for because of the comparative dulness of all outside pleasures."[639] Above all there is one thing all women writers even men counterparts think that all the young people need education in Turkey, girls in particular.

Taking our research into account, we have found out that while a large amount of research has been done on women travel writers; such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Grace Ellison, and Halide Edib, either within the country or abroad. Hester Donaldson Jenkins has received considerably less attention abroad and no attention in Turkey. Since 2004, however, Gorgias Press has brought the reprints of some of the travel writings under the *Cultures in Dialogue* series edited by Teresa Heffernan and Reina Lewis. **Behind Turkish Lattices** takes its part in the *Cultures in Dialogue* series 1. Some of these travel writings have been translated into Turkish and published by primarily Dergâh Yayınları under the name *Batının Gözüyle Türkler* series. My translation of **Behind Turkish Lattices** also appeared in

[638] Hanum, p. 278.
[639] Dodd, p. 436.

February 2014 by the same publishing company under the title of **Kafesin Ardındaki Türk Kadını: Türk Kadınının Hayat Hikayesi**.

To give examples of the studies on Jenkins, *"Orientalism Unveiled*: Hester Donaldson Jenkins and Demetra Vaka Brown" by Eleftheria Arapoglou is the comparative study we have hitherto found. This article exists in the book **Women in Dialogue: (M)uses of Culture** published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing edited by Dilek Direnç, Günseli Sönmez İşçi and Klára Kolinská. "Three Turkish Women Travelers (1913-1930): From the Represented to the Representing" by Özlem Ezer is the dissertation, which was written in Canada, spares a section on **Behind Turkish Lattices**. Therefore, our study will be the first in its field so that new researchers will highly benefit from it. We have been strict to be precise while quoting from different writers. We are certain of it that this reading will fill a significant gap in the studies of travel writing in the early 20th century Ottoman Empire. Focusing not only on the education of Turkish women but also on the missionary practices, this study covers two large areas dwelling on the era of the late years of Sultan Abdülhamid II.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: List of Tables

Table 2: Stations

Missions	When Established	No. of Stations	Outstations
European Turkey	1859	5	51
Western Turkey	1819	8	98
Central Turkey	1847	4	56
Eastern Turkey	1836	5	109
Total	__	22	314

Source: Strong, p. 80.

Table 3: Missionaries

Missions	Missionaries				
	Ordained	Physicians and Other Un-ordained Men	Single Women	Wives	Total Missionaries
European Turkey	13	__	6	11	30
Western Turkey	20	6	29	25	80
Central Turkey	8	2	19	9	38
Eastern Turkey	12	3	16	15	46
Total	53	11	70	60	194

Source: Strong, p. 80.

Table 4: Church Statistics

Missions	Church Statistics						
	Places of Regular Meeting	Organized Churches	Communicants	Added by Confession, 1909	Adherents	Sabbath School Membership	Native Contributions (Dollars)
European Turkey	57	19	1,454	90	4,047	2,512	7,692
Western Turkey	126	44	4,704	143	16,771	10,981	72,238
Central Turkey	46	33	5,561	87	15,228	24,479	30,227
Eastern Turkey	84	45	3,050	140	14,132	7,134	17,522
Total	313	141	14,769	460	50178	45,106	127,679

Source: Strong, p. 80.

Table 5: Native Laborers

Missions	Native Laborers			
	Ordained Preachers	Un-ordained Preachers	Other Native Laborers	Total Native Laborers
European Turkey	17	18	74	109
Western Turkey	38	38	332	408
Central Turkey	13	18	289	320
Eastern Turkey	20	41	243	304
Total	88	115	938	1141

Source: Strong, p. 80.

Table 6: Educational Statistics

Missions	Educational Statistics						
	Theological and Training Schools	Students for the Ministry	Colleges	Students	Boarding and High Schools	Pupils	Other Schools
European Turkey	1	3	1	85	4	270	22
Western Turkey	1	2	2	580	13	1,313	148
Central Turkey	1	6	3	431	16	1,236	96
Eastern Turkey	2	13	1	202	10	463	151
Total	5	24	7	1298	43	3,282	417

Source: Strong, p. 80.

Table 7: Medical Work

Missions	Medical Work		
	No. of Hospitals	No. of Dispensaries	No. of Treatments
European Turkey	__	__	__
Western Turkey	3	3	43,133
Central Turkey	2	2	70,475
Eastern Turkey	5	5	17,416
Total	10	10	131,024

Source: Strong, p. 80.

APPENDIX 2: List of Illustrations

Figure 1: Hester Donaldson Jenkins



Photo By Nicholson.

Hester D. Jenkins.

Teacher of English Literature in American College for Girls, Constantinople.

Source: The Daily Northwestern, March 23 1901, http://www.newspapers.com/newspage/9897544/, (14.02.2014)

Figure 2: Grace Ellison in Turkish Costume



Source: Ellison, p. Frontispiece.

Figure 3: Demetra Vaka



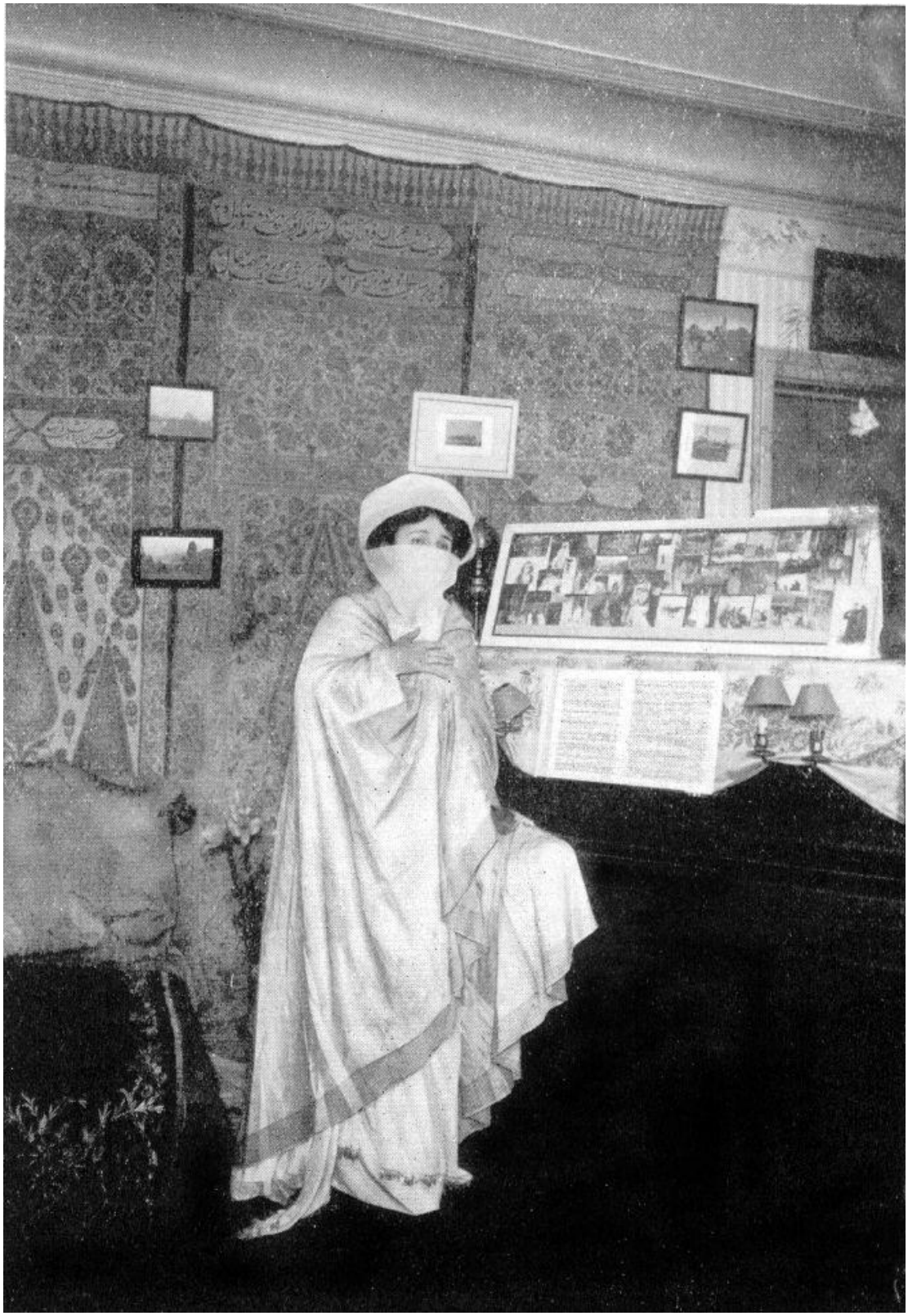
Source: Lewis, Harem, p. 260.

Figure 4: Halide Edib



Source: Ellison, p. 18.

Figure 5: Zeyneb Hanoum



Source: Hanoum, p. Frontispiece.

Figure 6: Melek Hanoum



Source: Hanoum, p. 228.

Figure 7: Melek Hanoum



Source: Hanoum, p. 140.

Figure 8: Dr. Mary Mills Patrick



Source: Freely, p. 293.

Figure 9: A Turkish Lady in Yaşmak and Ferace



Source: Garnett, Turkey, p. 272.

Figure 10: Turkish Lady wearing Yaşmak and Ferace



Source: Garnett, Country, p. 106.

Figure 11: Turkish Lady in Yaşmak and Ferace



Source: Müller, p. 174.

Figure 12: Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan



Source: Feminkurd, http://www.feminkurd.net/content.php?newsid=13582, (05.09.2013).

Figure 13: Post Cards
Turkish post-card from 1895 about the Kanûn-ı Esâsî, in both Greek and Turkish. The flying angel carries the slogan: Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity



Source: Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Istiklal-1895.jpg, (12.01.2014).
A revolutionary Postal Card for Turkey contains the portrait of Enver Bey, the hero of the revolution



Source: Wikipedia, http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dosya:1908-mesrutiyet.jpg, (12.01.2014).

Figure 14: Declaration of the Young Turk Revolution



Source: Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young_Turk_Revolution, (12.01.2014).

Figure 15: Young Abdülhamid



Source: Wikimedia, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abdulhamid21890.jpg, (15.10.2013).

Figure 16: Sultan Abdülhamid II



Source: Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Abdulhamit.jpg, (15.10.2013).

Figure 17: Abdülhamid's Friday Salutation



Source: Türkçebilgi, http://www.turkcebilgi.com/ansiklopedi/sultan_ikinci_abdülhamid, (02.10.1013).

Figure 18: Group of Dervishes



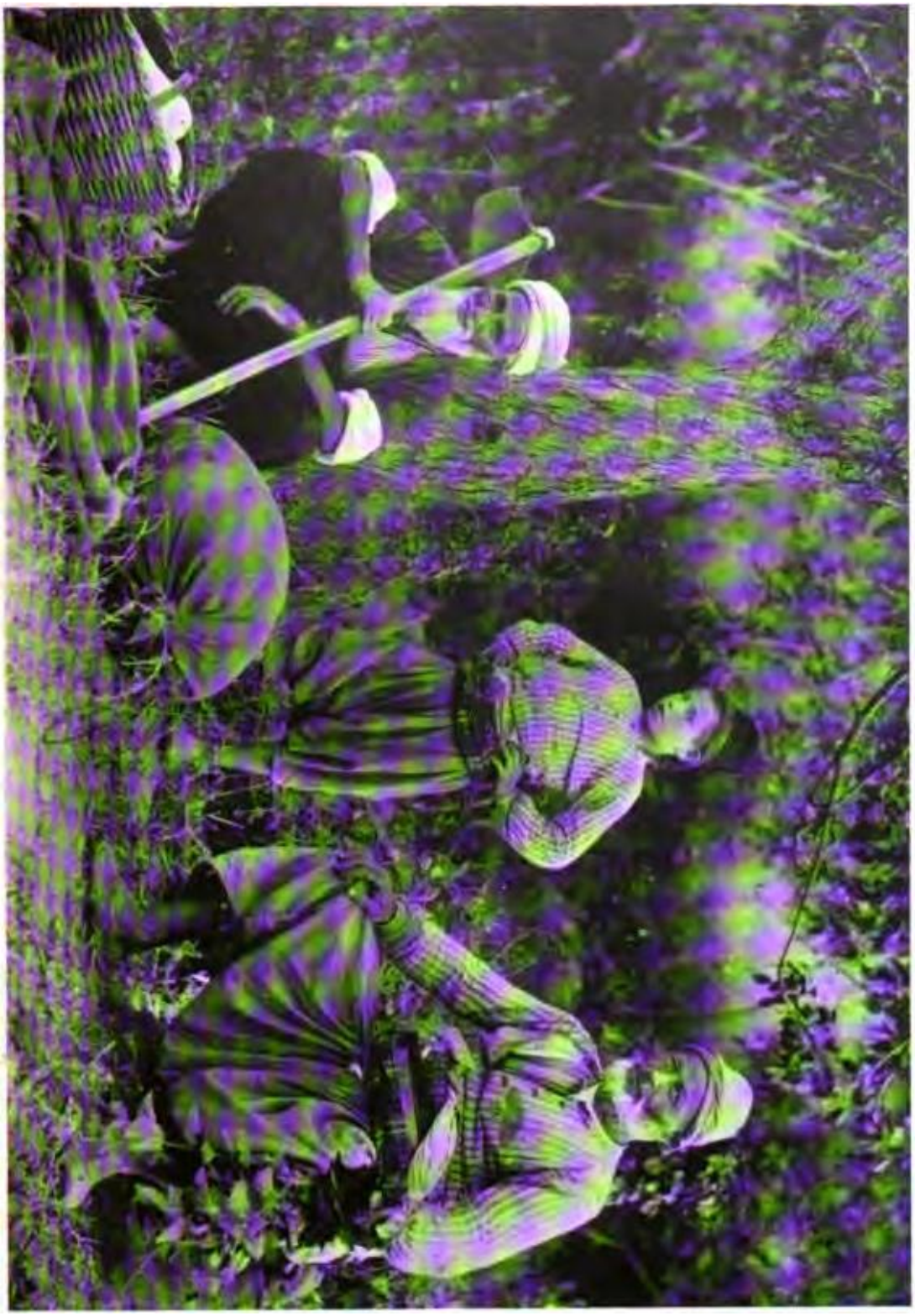
Source: Garnett, Country, p. 180.

Figure 19: A Classroom in a Turkish College



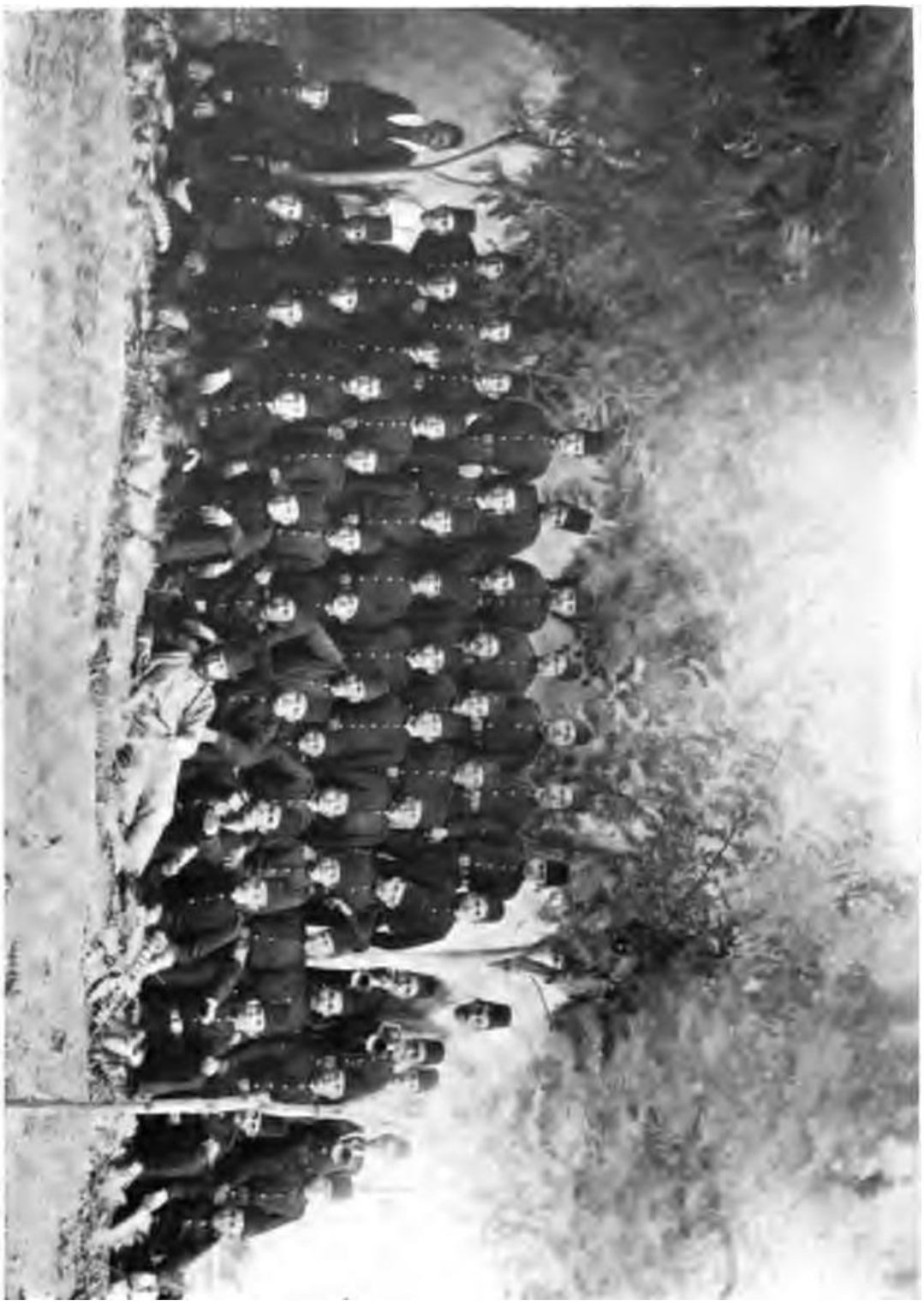
Source: Garnett, Country, p. 202.

Figure 20: Turkish Peasants



Source: Garnett, Turkey, p. 75.

Figure 21: Students at the Turkish Agricultural School, Salonica



Source: Garnett, Turkey, p. 176.

Figure 22: Cemetery in Üsküdar



Source: Ercan KAÇMAZ

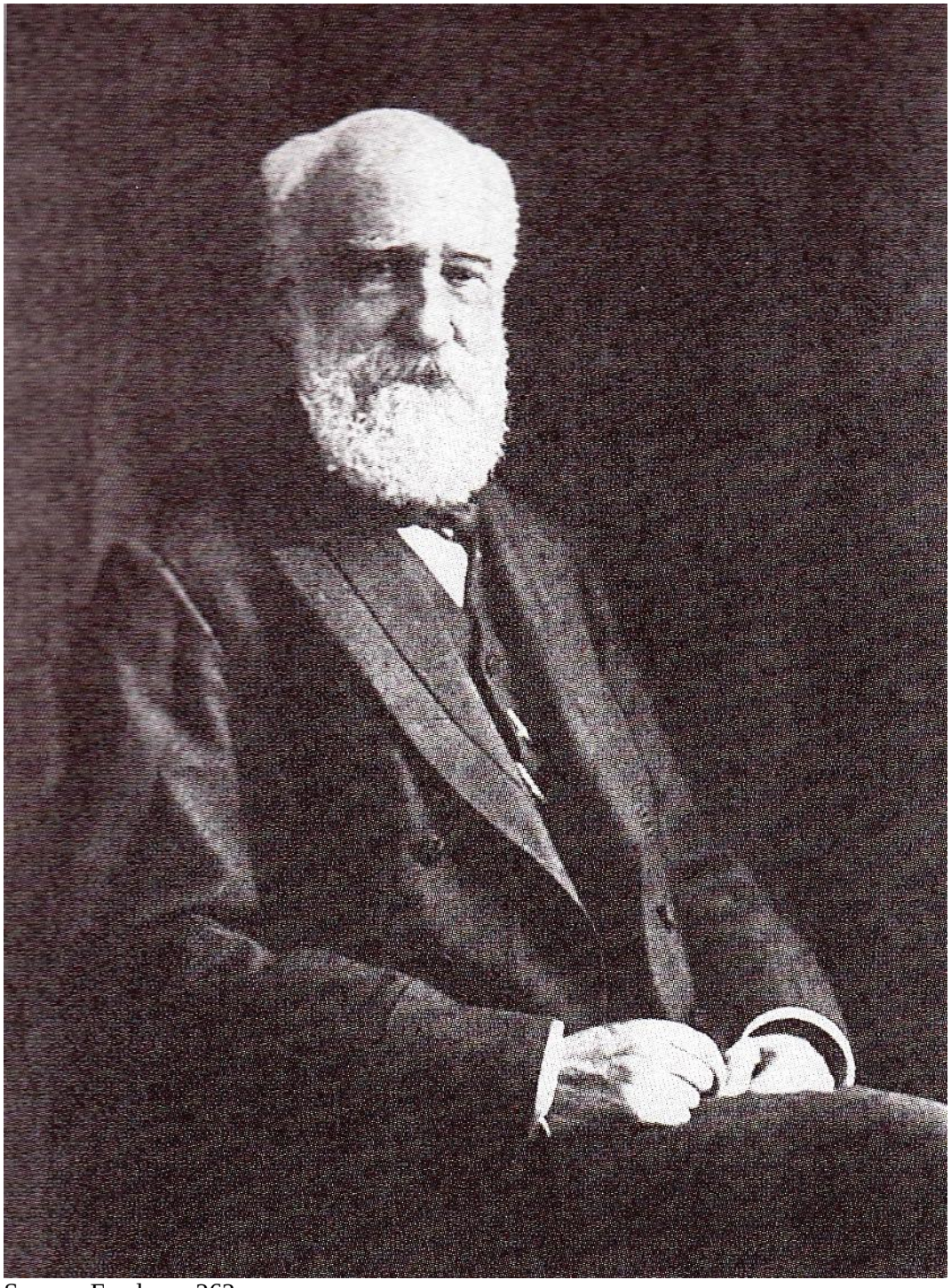
I took this photo just because Jenkins talks about this cemetery in her work. She says the heads of the graves are so big that you must be careful while walking in the cemetery. Because, some of the heads of the graves she says have fallen down. She was right; I saw these heads standing side by side just for protection, but the graves do not exist any longer.

Figure 23: Cyrus Hamlin



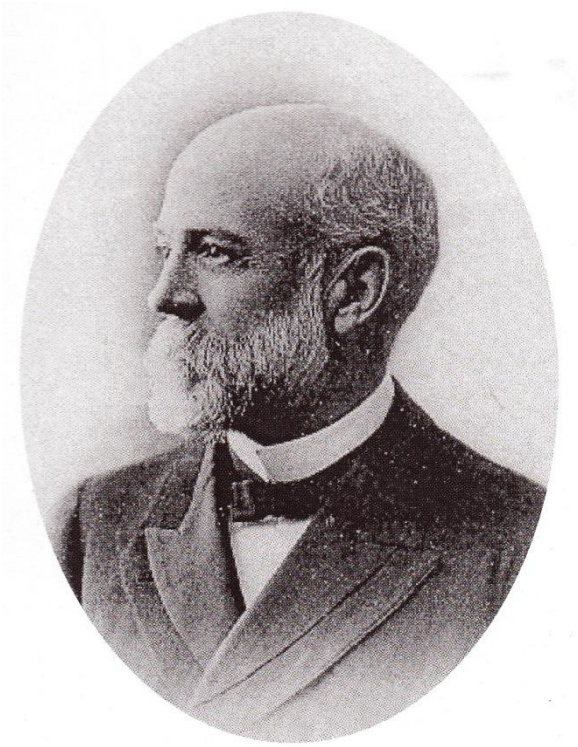
Source: Freely, p. 258.

Figure 24: George Washburn



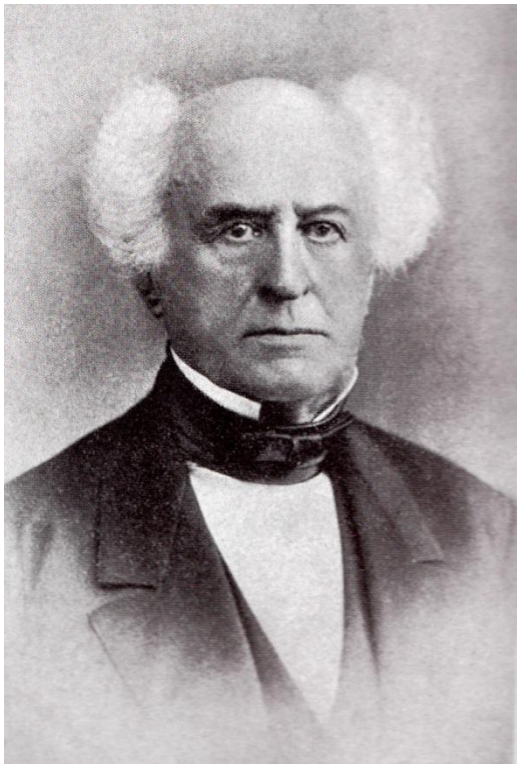
Source: Freely, p. 262.

Figure 25: Frank Caleb Gates



Source: Freely, p. 278.

Figure 26: Christopher Rhinelander Robert



Source: Freely, p. 259.

APPENDIX 3: Chronology 1

Timeline of Turkish History between 1839 and 1923[640]

1839	Hatt-i Serif-i Gülhane, the Noble Rescript of the Rose Garden, signals the beginning of the Tanzimat era.
1846	Istanbul's slave market is closed.
1853–1856	Crimean War
1856	Hatt-i Hümayun (the Imperial Rescript of Reform) is issued.
1876	Declaration of first Ottoman constitution
1877–78	Ottoman–Russian War
1878–1908	Brief period of stability
1908	Young Turk Revolution, beginning of the Second Constitutional Era
1909	Counter-revolution fails; Abdülhamid II is exiled to Salonica.
1909–18	Young Turk rule
1911	Italy occupies Tripoli
1912–13	First Balkan War
1913	Second Balkan War
1914	First World War
1915	Russia defeats the Ottoman Empire in the east
1915–16	Ottoman victory against Allied forces at Gallipoli
1918	Moudros Armistice
1918	Allied forces occupy Istanbul
1919	War of Liberation
	Mustafa Kemal lands at Samsun (19 May)
	Sivas Congress (4–11 September)
1920	Opening of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara;
	Mustafa Kemal is elected its president (23 April)
	Greek troops occupy western Anatolia and Eastern Thrace (22 June)

[640] For a detailed chronology see Reşat Kasaba, (ed.) **The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4, Turkey in the Modern World**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, p. xiv-xix; See also Mehrdad Kia, **Daily Life in The Ottoman Empire**, The Greenwood Press, Santa Barbara, 2011, p. xvii-xxiii; Donald Quataert, **The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922**, Second Edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, p. xvii-xxii.

	Treaty of Sèvres is signed (10 August)
1921	Treaty of Kars is signed with the Soviet Union (13 October)
	Treaty of Ankara is signed with France (20 October)
1922	Battle of Dumlupınar (26–30 August)
	Greek army is defeated (9 September)
	Mudanya armistice (11 October)
	Abolition of the Sultanate (1 November)
	Flight of Sultan Mehmet VI from Istanbul (17 November)
	Lausanne Peace Conference starts (20 November)
1923	Lausanne Treaty signed (24 July)
	Proclamation of the Republic (29 October)

APPENDIX 4: Chronology 2

	Reforms for Women between 1839 and 1923[641]
1839	Proclamation of Tanzimat
1843	Midwifery training at the Medical School began to take its place
1847	Equal inheritance rights for girls and boys (İrade-i Seniye)
1856	The abolition of slavery and slave trade
1858	The opening of First Rüşdiye School (Secondary School for Girls)
1869	First women's magazine published (Terakk-i Muhadderat)
1870	The opening of Dar-ül Muallimat (Women's Teacher Training Colleges)
1871	Formal Marriage contract, marriage age for men 18 for women 17, forced marriages to be annulled with a decree
1876	Mandatory primary education both for boys and for girls
1897	Women wage-workers
1908	The first women's association, the Ottoman Welfare Organization of Women, was founded
1913	Women started to work as civil servants
1914	Admission of women to university (İnas Darülfünun)
1922	Seven girls started studying Medicine
1923	Assembly declares Turkey a Republic and Kemal Atatürk as president

[641] For a detailed timeline see Hanri Benazus, **Geçmişten Günümüze Kadınlar ve Kadınlarımız**, Bizim Kitaplar, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 27-42. See also Meral Altındal, **Osmanlıda Kadın**, Altın Kitaplar, İstanbul, 1994, pp. 243-249; İsmail Doğan, **Dünden Bugüne Türk Ailesi**, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Ankara, 2009, pp. 190-195.

APPENDIX 5: The Opening Speech of Saffet Pasha

Kadınlar, yaratılışları gereği her türlü saygıya lâyık oldukları gibi, eğitim öğrenim görmelerine de özen göstermek gerekir. Çünkü bir çocuk beşikten okula başlayıncaya dek yalnızca annesinin eğitiminin altındadır ve bu süre içinde çocukların zihnini meşgul edecek bir şey olmadığından duydukları zihinlerine yerleşir. Bu nedenle annelerin çocuk eğitiminde büyük bir payı olduğu açıktır.

Erkeklerin bilgi ve beceri kazanmaları gerekli olduğu gibi, kadınların da çeşitli bilgilerle ve onların ziynetleriyle de kendi güzelliklerini süslemeleri gerekir. Önceleri, İslâm hatunlarından edebiyatın inceliklerini bilen ve şair kadınlar ortaya çıkmıştır; bunların adları edebî eserlerde yazılıdır; kendileri zekâları, üstün kavrayışları ve bilgileri ile ünlüdürler. Avrupa'da da bir çok şair ve yazar kadınlar yetişmiştir ve onların saygın eserleri halen okunmaktadır.

Doğu ülkelerinin erkek ve kadınları, kişisel akıl ve yetenek bakımından her türlü sosyal ve müsbet bilimi öğrenmeye ve her çeşit meslek ve sanatı ileri düzeye götürmeye yetkin oldukları halde, şimdiye kadar bu alanlarda geri kalmaları, özellikle kadınların eğitimden hiç nasiplerini alamamaları, yalnızca, öğrenim olanakları yokluğundan kaynaklanmıştır. Çünkü, Osmanlı Devletinde şimdiye kadar kadınlar için orta düzeyde okullar bulunmadığından, kız çocukları sekizer onar yaşlarına kadar sıbyan mekteplerine devam ederek harekeli (işaretlenmiş) yazıyı okuyacak kadar kalırlar, kimileri de evlerinde bazı dinî metinleri okumayı öğrenirlerdi. Bundan daha ileri düzeyde onlar için okul bulunmadığından, zavallı kızlar bu halde kalırlardı.

Oysa, kadınların bilim öğrenerek yaratılışlarını süslemelerine hiç bir engel olmadığı gibi, 'bilim öğrenmek erkek ve kadın her Müslümana farzdır' hadisi, kadınların da erkekler gibi öğrenim görmelerini gerektirir. İyi bir eğitim görmüş ve dünyanın durumunu tanımış olan kadınların her zaman namus ve saygınlıklarını korumayı kendilerinin en önde gelen görevi bileceklerine şüphe edilemez. Bir çok sanat ve bilgi vardır ki bunları yaparak hayatını kazanmaya kadınların örtünmüş olması asla engel değildir. Avrupa'da yüzbinlerce kız ve evli kadın evlerinde çeşitli

el işleri yaparak geçimlerini sağladıkları halde, İslâm kadınlarının böyle şeyler yapmamaları ve bir maddî kazançtan yoksun olmaları üzüntü vericidir.

İstanbul'da kız çocukları için okullar olmadığından onlar erkek çocuklarla beraber okuyorlardı. Bunda bazı sakıncalar görülerek geçen yıl erkek ve kız çocuklar ayrılmış ve eğitimsever Padişahımızın sayesinde İstanbul'un çeşitli yerlerinde 7 adet kız Rüşdiyesi açılmıştır. Fakat bunların öğretmenleri erkek olduğu için, yaşları 9 ve 10'u geçen kızlar, örtünme gerekçesiyle bu okullarda iki yıldan fazla kalamayacaklardır. Oysa, iki yılda yeterli düzeyde bilgi öğrenemeyecekleri açıktır. Bu nedenle, kızların kız Rüşdiyelerinde 4 yıl kalabilmeleri öğretmenlerinin kadın olmasına bağlıdır.

İşte, bundan böyle, gerek kız sıbyan, gerek kız Rüşdiye mekteplerine kadın öğretmenler yetiştirmek amacıyla bir Darülmuallimat kurulması gerekli olmuş ve bu husus *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*nde yer almıştır. Bugün, uğurlu olması dileği ile açılışını yaptığımız bu okuldur. Daha sonra, Gayrimüslim kız mektepleri için de kadın öğretmenler yetiştirilmek üzere başka sınıflar da açılacak, ve gerekli öğretmenler sağlanacaktır. Bu Darülmuallimat, Padişahımızın en yüce kuruluşlarından biridir ve kadınların eğitimine sonsuz yararlar sağlayacaktır. Bu yüce başarıdan dolayı Padişahımızın ömür ve şanının artması için her an dua etmek üzerimize borçtur.[642]

[642] Takvim-i Vekayi as qtd. in Yahya Akyüz, (Hayatı), pp. 12-32.

APPENDIX 6: Mr Robert's Requirements for Tutors[643]

I. The candidate should be a man twenty-two to twenty-six years of age, of fervent, symmetrical piety, combined with a missionary spirit, a willingness to do hard work, the ability to work harmoniously with others and one who is not unyielding, stiff, or one who would be conscientiously obstinate, one who is ready to do anything which the good of the College requires, even to teaching the alphabet, though he may be [versed] in the most abstruse parts of the Calculus; in short a man who wants to live a Christian life and do a Christian teacher's work, desiring to do good to the souls of his pupils as well as to improve their understanding.

II. A good mind in a sound body, with a large share of common sense, a firm but mild temper, a warm heart readily sympathizing with those under him, keenness of perception and a cool, unbiased judgment, governing himself well and able to govern others so far as practical by love rather than force. Possessing gentlemanly habits and feelings.

III. A man of great breadth of mind, who can take broad and proper views of education, not wedded to any system, comprehending the purpose of education, knowing a great deal more than he is expected to teach

IV. A thorough and systematic scholar, not a man who has barely "got through" college or who has been little above the average of his class, but one who has been among the very first, a real enthusiast in learning, never satisfied with present attainments but always pressing on to farther acquisitions.

V. Apt to teach, with ability and tact to impart what he knows. An enthusiast in his work, determined to make better scholars than any other teacher has ever done and inspiring them with a love of learning. Not a man in feeble health who wishes to "lay off."

VI. A man who can impress himself on his pupils, who can influence them for good, whose wishes as well as his words shall be law to them, one who by his own habits

[643] Washburn, pp. 311-312.

of punctuality, promptness, system and neatness shall teach as well by his exemplary practice in all these respects as by precept.

VII. A mercenary person, or one who would go to make money, is not wanted.

APPENDIX 7: The Tribute of the Earl of Shaftesbury

In the year 1860, in a public address in the city of London, the Earl of Shaftesbury paid the following tribute to the character of the American Missionaries in Turkey:

I do not believe that in the whole history of missions; I do not believe, that in the history of diplomacy, or in the history of any negotiations carried on between man and man, we can find anything to equal the wisdom, the soundness, and the pure evangelical truth of the body of men who constitute the American mission. I have said it twenty times before, and I will say it again —for the expression appropriately conveys my meaning—that 'they are a marvellous combination of common sense and piety.' Every man who comes in contact with these missionaries speaks in praise of them. Persons in authority, and persons in subjection, all speak in their favor; travellers speak well of them; and I know of no man who has ever been able to bring against that body a single valid objection. There they stand, tested by years, tried by their texts, and exemplified by their fruits; and I believe it will be found, that these American missionaries have done more toward upholding the truth and spreading the Gospel of Christ in the East, than any other body of men in this or in any other age.[644]

[644] Prime, Introduction, p. v.

APPENDIX 8: The List of Satisfaction

First of all, it is a satisfaction that missionaries are, generally, long-lived.

Again, it is a satisfaction that the Board allows its missionaries a generous support.

Again, it is a satisfaction that in the officers of the Board and in its Prudential Committee the missionaries have men with whom they are glad to maintain official relations.

Again, it is a satisfaction that the Board makes each mission a self-governing 'body.

Again, it is a satisfaction that missionaries have an unusual and happy fellowship with their own children.

Again, it is a satisfaction that the missionary is devoted to the service of his fellow-men.

Finally, it is a satisfaction, beyond all words to express, to be engaged in the very work which occupies the heart of God.

APPENDIX 9: Sis

Sarmış yine âfakını bir dûd-i muannid,
Bir zulmet-i beyzâ ki peyâpey mütezâyid.
Tazyikinin altında silinmiş gibi eşbâh,
Bir tozlu kesafetten ibaret bütün elvâh;
Bir tozlu ve heybetli kesafet ki nazarlar
……..
Örtün, evet, ey hâile... Örtün, evet, ey şehr;
Örtün, ve müebbed uyu, ey fâcire-î dehr!...

Sis (Yeni harflere çevrilmiş versiyonu)

[Ufuklarını yine inatçı bir duman sarmış,
Bir beyaz karanlık ki gittikçe çoğalan
tazyikinin altında cisimler silinmiş gibidir,
bütün levhalar tozlu bir kesafetten ibarettir;
bir tozlu ve heybetli kesafet ki bakışlar.]
……
[Örtün, evet, ey facia...Örtün, evet, ey şehir;
örtün, ve ebediyen uyu, ey dünya fahişesi...] (Tevfik Fikret)

Şiirparkı, http://www.siirparki.com/tevfik4.html, (05.09.2013).

APPENDIX 10: Rücû

Hayır, hayır, sana râci' değil bu tel'înât,
Bütün bu levm ü te'ellüm, bu ibtikâ-yi hayât
Hayât'i milleti ta'zib eden, muhakkar eden,
Çamurlıyan ne kadar levs varsa hep birden
Kucaklamış taşımış bir muhite aiddi;
O mel'ânet gecesinden uzaktayız şimdi.

Karıştı leyl-i musîbet leyâl-i nisyana,
Açıldı gözlerimiz bir sabâh-ı rahşâna.
Sen, ey muhît-i teceddüd, o leyl-imenhûsun
Seninle nisbeti yok; sen şereflisin, ulusun.
Ne sis yüzünde ne zûl; bilâkis, safâ vü vakaar,
Doğan güneş gibi sâfi bir infilâkın var.

Ufukların bütün enzarı sende, pür-hayret;
Bugün senin medeniyyet, müsâlemet, safvet.
Adâlet isteyen âvâz-ı-hak nümûnunla,
Bugün senin harekâtın veya sükûnunla,
Takarrür eyliyecektir huzûr-i istikbal;
Senin selâmet-i fikrin demek selâmet-i hâl!

Güzel düşün. İyi hisset, yanılma, aldanma.
Ne varsa doğrudadır, doğruluk şaşar sanma.
Koş ittihâda, teâliye, sa'ye, ikbâle;
Fakat unutma ki yol intizâm-ı meşvetle
Yakınlaşır, kısalır. Doğru at adımlarını;
Düşün; bugünkü adımlar hazırlıyor yarını!

Ve siz, ey ordumuzun anlı şanlı efrâdı,
Siz ey güzel vatanın bergüzîde evlâdı,
Siz ey küşâde alınlar, güzîde vicdanlar,

Siz ey yürekli ve aslan yürekli insanlar!
İçimde şimdi ne hisler, nasıl temenniler,
Ne neş'eler coşuyor, bilseniz, ne vecd-âver
Terâneler coşuyor. Bunların hâkir ü güzîn
Meâli şi'ri sünûhâtı, rûhu, lâfzı sizin;
Sizin ne varsa sizin; hepsi hepsi hepsi sizin!

Rücû (Dönüş / Yeni harflere çevrilmiş versiyonu)

[Hayır, hayır, bu lanet etmeler sana değil,
Bütün bu kınama ve elemleme, bu hayal ağlaması
milletin hayatına azap veren, hakaret eden,
onu çamurlayan ne kadar kir varsa
hep birden kucaklamış, taşımış bir çevreye aitti.
Şimdi o melunluk gecesinden uzaktayız.]

[Musibet gecesi unutulmuş gecelere karıştı,
Gözlerimiz parıltılı bir sabaha açıldı.
Ey yenilik çevresi, o uğursuz gecenin
seninle ilgisi yok; sen şereflisin, ulusun.
Yüzünde ne sis, ne alçaklık; bilakis safa ve vakar var.
Doğan güneş gibi saf bir açılışın var.]

[Ufukların hayret dolu bütün bakışları sende,
bugün senin uygarlık, barış, saflık,
adalet isteyen hak gösterici yüksek sesinle,
bugün senin hareketlerin veya duruşunla
geleceğin huzuru karar bulacaktır;
Halin iyi olması senin düşüncenin iyi olmasına bağlıdır.]

[Güzel düşün, iyi hisset, yanılma, aldanma,
Ne varsa doğrudadır, doğruluk şaşar sanma.
Birleşmeye, yükselmeye çalışmaya, ikbale koş;
fakat unutma ki yol, yürüyüşün düzenliliğiyle
yakınlaşır, kısalır.. Adımlarını doğru at;
Yarını bugünkü adımların hazırladığını düşün.]

[Ve siz, ey ordumuzun anlı şanlı mensupları,
siz ey güzel vatanın seçkin çocukları,
siz ey açık alınlar, seçkin vicdanlar,

siz ey yürekli ve aslan yürekli insanlar!
Bilseniz içimde şimdi ne duygular, ne dilekler,
ne neşeler coşuyor; bilseniz ne coşkunluk verici
nağmeler coşuyor.. Bunların bayağı, seçkin
anlamı, şiiri, ilhamları, ruhu, sözü,
sizin ne varsa sizin, hepsi, hepsi, hepsi sizin!] (Tevfik Fikret)

Şiirparkı, http://www.siirparki.com/tevfik5.html, (05.09.2013).

APPENDIX 11: Hân-ı Yağma

Bu sofracık, efendiler - ki iltikaama muntazır
Huzurunuzda titriyor - bu milletin hayatıdır;
Bu milletin ki mustarip, bu milletin ki muhtazır!
Fakat sakın çekinmeyin, yiyin, yutun hapır hapır...

Yiyin efendiler yiyin, bu han-ı iştiha sizin,
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayıncaya kadar yiyin!

Efendiler pek açsınız, bu çehrenizde bellidir
Yiyin, yemezseniz bugün, yarın kalır mı kim bilir?
Bu nadi-i niam, bakın kudumunuzla müftehir!
Bu hakkıdır gazanızın, evet, o hak da elde bir...

Yiyin efendiler yiyin, bu han-ı iştiha sizin,
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayıncaya kadar yiyin!

Bütün bu nazlı beylerin ne varsa ortalıkta say
Haseb, neseb, şeref, oyun, düğün, konak, saray,
Bütün sizin, efendiler, konak, saray, gelin, alay;
Bütün sizin, bütün sizin, hazır hazır, kolay kolay...

Yiyin efendiler yiyin, bu han-ı iştiha sizin,
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayıncaya kadar yiyin!

Büyüklüğün biraz ağır da olsa hazmı yok zarar
Gurur-ı ihtiıamı var, sürur-ı intikaamı var.
Bu sofra iltifatınızdan işte ab u tab umar.
Sizin bu baş, beyin, ciğer, bütün şu kanlı lokmalar...

Yiyin efendiler yiyin, bu han-ı iştiha sizin,
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayıncaya kadar yiyin!

Verir zavallı memleket, verir ne varsa, malını
Vücudunu, hayatını, ümidini, hayalini
Bütün ferağ-ı halini, olanca şevk-i balini.
Hemen yutun düşünmeyin haramını, helalini...

Yiyin efendiler yiyin, bu han-ı iştiha sizin,
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayıncaya kadar yiyin!

Bu harmanın gelir sonu, kapıştırın giderayak!
Yarın bakarsınız söner bugün çıtırdayan ocak!
Bugünkü mideler kavi, bugünkü çorbalar sıcak,
Atıştırın, tıkıştırın, kapış kapış, çanak çanak...

Yiyin efendiler yiyin, bu han-ı iştiha sizin,
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayıncaya kadar yiyin!

Han-ı Yağma (Yeni harflere çevrilmiş versiyonu)

İşte bu sofra efendiler
İşte bu sofra kan ağlayan
Can çekişen halkımızın sofrası.
Nesi var, nesi yoksa hepsi bu.
Bekler sizi efendiler bu sofra,
Nasıl da durur, nasıl da titrer karşınızda.

Aman canım, utanacak ne var efendiler?
Yiyin yutun hapur hupur, şapur şupur,
Yiyin efendiler, yiyin,
Bu iştah açan sofra sizin.
Vallahi sizin, doyuncaya kadar yiyin,
Patlayıncaya, çatlayıncaya kadar yiyin.

Bütün bu nazlı beylerindir ne varsa ortalıkta
Hasef, nesef, şeref, şatafat, oyun, düğün, konak, saray
Hepsi sizin efendiler. Konak, saray, gelin, alay,
Hepsi sizin, hepsi hazır, hepsi kolay.
Yiyin efendiler yiyin, bu hanı iştiha sizin,
Duyuncaya, tıksırıncaya, çatlayıncaya kadar yiyin.

Nasıl olsa bu yoksul, bu fukara halk
Verir nesi var nesi yoksa,
Verir malını, canını, ümidini, tüm güzelliğini,
Servetini, istikbalini, sağlığını, rahatını.
İçinde kaynayan mahşeri
Verir bu memleket, verir, hiç tasalanmayın,
Hiç düşünmeyin haram mıdır yoksa helal mi.

Yiyin efendiler, yiyin, ama biraz çabuk yiyin
Bu harmanın gelir sonu, kapıştırın giderayak.

Yarın bi bakarsınız, sönmüş bu gün çıtırdayan ocak.
Bu gün mideniz hazırken, bu gün çorbalar sıcak,
Atıştırın, tıkıştırın, kapış kapış, kucak kucak.

Götürün efendiler, götürün, bu yağma sizin,
Bu ihanet sizin, bu hıyanet sizin,
Gün sizin efendiler, şölenler, törenler sizin.

Gelin görün ki ne yapsanız, ne etseniz de
Çare yok efendiler, siz de gelir ve geçersiniz,
Gelmiş ve geçmiş efendileriniz gibi.
Çün bu memleket bizim efendiler, bu memleket bizim.
Söylemek zorunda kaldığım için özür dilerim.

Siz yine de yiyin efendiler, yiyin
Bu iştah açan sofra sizin, yiyin yiyin, yiyin yiyin. (Tevfik Fikret)

Şiirparkı, http://www.siirparki.com/ekartsi33a.html, (05.09.2013).

APPENDIX 12: Piyer Loti

Esrar!
Tevekkül!
Kısmet!
Kafes, han, kervan
şadırvan!
Gümüş tepsilerde rakseden sultan!
Mihrace, padişah,
bin bir yaşında bir şah.
Minarelerde sallanıyor sedef nalınlar,
burunları kınalı kadınlar
ayaklarıyla gergef dokuyor.
Rüzgarlarda yeşil sarıklı imamlar ezan okuyor!
İste Frenk şairinin gördüğü şark!
İşte
dakikada 1.000.000 basılan
kitapların
şark`ı!
Lakin
ne dün
ne bugün
ne yarın
böyle bir şark
yoktu,
olmayacak!
Şark üstünde çıplak esirlerin
aç geberdiği toprak!
Şarklıdan başka herkesin
orta malı olan memleket!
Açlığın kıtlıktan olduğu diyar! Ağzına kadar
buğdayla dolu ambar!
Avrupa'nın ambarı!

Asya!
Amerikan dretnotlarının tel direklerine
senin Çinlilerin
uzun saçlarından
sari mumlar gibi asıyorlar kendilerini!
Himalayanın
en yüksek
en dik
en karlı tepesinde
Britanya zabitleri cazbant çaldırıyorlar,
kara tırnaklı ayaklarını daldırıyorlar,
Paryaların
beyaz dişli ölülerini attığı Gania!
Anadolu baştan başa
Armistrongun
talim meydanı oldu!
Asyanın bağrı doldu!
Şark
yutmayacak
artık!
Bıktık be bıktık!
İçinizden biri
can verebilse bile
açlıktan ölen öküzümüze,
burjuvaysa eğer
gözükmesin gözümüze!
Hatta sen
sen Piyer Loti!
Sarı muşamba derilerimizden
birbirimize
geçen
tifüsün biti

senden daha yakındır bize
Fransız zabiti!
Fransız zabiti sen
o üzüm gözlü Azadeyi
bir orospudan
daha çabuk unuttun!
Kalbimize diktiğin
Azadenin taşını
bir tahta hedef gibi topa tuttun!
Bilmeyenler
bilsin:
sen bir şarlatandan başka bir şey değilsin!
Şarlatan!
Çürük Fransız kumaşlarını
yüzde beş yüz ihtikarla şarka satan:
Piyer Loti!
Ne domuz bir burjuvaymışsın meğer!
Maddeden ayrı ruha inansaydım eğer,
Şarkın kurtulduğu gün
senin ruhunu
köprü başında çarmıha gerer
karsısında cigara içerdim!
Ben elimi size verdim,
size verdik bir elimizi
kucaklayın bizi
Avrupanin sankulotları!
Surelim yan yana bindiğimiz al atları!
Menzil yakın
bakın
kurtuluş günü artık sayılı.
Önümüzde şarkın kurtuluş yılı

bize kanlı mendilini sallıyor.

Al atlarımız emperyalizmin göbeğini nallıyor.

Nazim Hikmet-1925

E-Kitap, http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,80378/inci-engunu.html, (05.02.2014).