

# WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN TURKEY (1860-1950) AND ITS IMPACT UPON JOURNALISM AND WOMEN'S JOURNALS

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores certain under-researched aspects of the socio-cultural development of late Ottoman Turkish and early republican women from the 1860s until 1950. By concentrating on females, the research aims to produce a more inclusive picture of how society developed in this period. In order to attempt this, the research focuses on four main topics which are presented in the following format: an introduction, four chapters, conclusions, appendix and a bibliography.

The introduction sets the research within a historical framework and states its broad aims. Chapter One looks at various attempts to broaden female State education, culminating in a study of the *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes). Chapter Two consists of several profiles of female Turkish journalists, active from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, who had benefited from improved State education. Chapter Three is a survey of the Ottoman women's press from 1869 onwards and a case study of *İnci* magazine, published between 1919 and 1923. Chapter Four consists of a case study of Sabiha Sertel, a left-wing journalist who was active in Turkey from 1919 until 1950.

The conclusion looks at the aims of the thesis and evaluates the material included in the four main subject areas. An appraisal of the educational reforms for women also includes a comparison with appropriate educational developments in England. The conclusion assesses both the value of journalism as an additional career path for educated Turkish women and their importance as role models. The Ottoman women's press is appraised to gauge how far it reflected the social, economic and cultural development of not only women, but society in general. The importance of the writing of Sabiha Sertel to the history of Turkish journalism is assessed and, finally, suggestions are made as to where further research could add to the material included in this thesis.

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## FOREWORD

The content of the following thesis is the result of my own research save where the input of others is acknowledged. The majority of the source material is in the public domain but some is the result of private interviews and access to private archives. The opinions and views quoted from other sources are not necessarily ones with which I concur. The translations are my own except where otherwise acknowledged. The justification for numerous quotations in Turkish (followed by an English translation) is that, during the period covered by the research, the language was undergoing certain changes which would not have been evident from a translation, as the precise vocabulary employed would be lost.

The Turkish alphabet is used for Turkish words. Turkish words appear in italics or, if giving the title of an article, a play or poem they appear in quotation marks. The titles of all books and magazines appear in italics as do other foreign words.

Surnames were introduced by law in 1934 and, where appropriate, these have been added in brackets e.g. Abdülhak Hamid (Tarhan), Sabiha Zekeriya (Sertel). Although Atatürk adopted this name in 1934 he is referred to as Mustafa Kemal throughout.

For words ending -ize or -ise Fowler's suggestions have been followed.

In the footnotes, the first reference to a work is complete and subsequent references are abbreviated to the author's name, the date of publication and the relevant page number. The remainder of the publication details appear in the bibliography.

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis covers the period from the 1860s to 1950 during which the Ottoman Empire ended and many of the struggles to forge the modern Turkish Republic took place. The Empire gave way to the Republic, Constantinople, one of the most multicultural cities in the world lost its status as the political hub of a once vast empire. Ankara became the new capital city of the Republic of Turkey.

What was once part of an imperial theocracy became a secular nation State. Sumptuary laws changed the appearance of the urban population. The Arabic alphabet was replaced with Latin script and language reformation continued. A new legal system replaced *fikh* (Islamic jurisprudence). Women were granted equal rights without having to resort to any of the more extreme activities witnessed in the United Kingdom.

These facts are extremely well researched and the subject of many books and theses and therefore, for the purpose of this research, they simply serve as a framework.

The aim of this research is to explore and evaluate the socio-cultural development of late Ottoman and early republican women, and where appropriate, to make comparisons with the situation in the West. The intention is that, through focusing on women, a more balanced picture of general social development will emerge. The title of the thesis informs the reader of the topics covered.

In order to shed more light upon women's progress the following subjects are taken into consideration: education; career paths, in particular, journalism; the Ottoman women's press and the life and career of a left-wing female political journalist.

By far the majority of research into late Ottoman and early republican education concentrates on men. This is true of both Turkish and non-Turkish researchers. In Chapter One an attempt is made to add to the body of knowledge by concentrating upon educational provision for girls. An attempt will be made to filter out from the existing general research, material about girls' education, but the main focus of this chapter is a study of a republican experiment to produce graduate rural school teachers from rural stock.

Moving on from the educational field, Chapter Two will examine the career paths chosen by some educated women. The role of the professional female teacher has been touched upon in some research, as well as her position in literature, but little reference appears to have been made to early female journalists. Their contributions will be considered within the framework of general social developments.

Chapter Three concentrates on a different field. The research into education threw up numerous questions. One of them was "in the light of the paucity of books, what material was available to those young women who wanted both entertainment and to build on their education?" The women's press appeared to offer a possible answer. Some well known publications in the Ottoman Turkish women's press have already been mined by other researchers who, in the main, have been interested in socio-political developments. This thesis includes an overview of the press, but the main focus of the research into the Ottoman Turkish women's press is presented in a case study of Sedat Simavi's *İnci* which aimed to be a magazine of broader appeal.

The transition from Empire to Republic took many twists and turns. The way that a controversial female journalist developed her early career in parallel with the demise of the late Ottoman Turkish women's press brings, in Chapter Four, the research back to the period when experiments in rural education were being undertaken. Sabiha Sertel, a once reviled, narrowly categorized, left-wing journalist is the subject of the final chapter. Through charting her career development, it is hoped to show just how far it was possible for some women to progress during the period from the 1860s to 1950.

The conclusion returns to the aim of the thesis and evaluates the material studied in the field of educational provision and development. It also assesses the value of journalism as an additional career opportunity for women and the importance of female journalists as role models. The value of surveying the Ottoman women's press is commented upon and the analysis of Sedat Simavi's *İnci* magazine is assessed to establish how much it reflected the cultural and economic development of not only women, but society in general. In addition, the importance of the writing of Sabiha Sertel to the history of Turkish journalism is evaluated. Finally suggestions are made as to how this research might be further developed.



## CHAPTER ONE

### EDUCATION

#### 1.1 CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN TURKEY

Through charting the development of improved State educational provision for females, the material in this chapter aims to fill in some of the gaps left by current research, which in the main has concentrated on the history of education for males.

The modernization of the educational system was an important part of the moves towards the overall westernization of the Ottoman Turkish State. Although the emphasis in this chapter is on the development of educational provision for girls, firstly, the subject will be set in a general historical context.

In the *Tanzimat* period (1839-76), the thinking was that the religious schools needed to be replaced or modified. At Primary school level they had aimed to inculcate basic religious knowledge through learning the Koran by rote, and the next level, the *medrese*, aimed at a deeper grasp of religious knowledge. In general, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the *ulema* (religious scholars and teachers) no longer offered a good classical and liberal education as they were not very well versed in the developments in the world surrounding the Ottoman Empire.<sup>1</sup>

The development of an efficient administrative structure was part of the modernization process of the Ottoman State. Properly trained civil servants<sup>2</sup> were essential to the bureaucracy which was gradually replacing the theocracy. *Fıkıh* (Islamic jurisprudence) was no longer the appropriate tool for the governance of the empire.

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<sup>1</sup> Kushner challenges the notion that the ulema lost much of their power following the 19th century reforms. He claims many were adaptable and continued to teach religious subjects in the new State schools. This was in addition to participating in the councils of State, parliament and other government offices. See Kushner, David "The Ulema in the Ottoman Empire" *Turcica* Vol XIX-XX:63-74.

<sup>2</sup> In early Ottoman educational experiments there was always a dilemma, whether to raise civil servants or whether to make education more general and of use to a wider group.

Changes in the approaches to education were inevitable, and, in 1847, the first State schools started taking pupils.<sup>3</sup> In 1857, the Ministry of Public Education was founded to co-ordinate both existing and new developments in civil State school provision.<sup>4</sup>

As with many other aspects of the modernization process, the influence for change in educational provision came from the West. The modernization of the military was partly based on the French model and education was a further area which would be similarly influenced. Perhaps it is not surprising that the *Maarif-i Umumiyye Nizamnamesi* (Regulation of Public Education) of 1869 was drafted under the guidance of the French Ministry of Education.<sup>5</sup> Many men were quick to grasp that, in late Ottoman Turkey, the key to success in government office lay in the French language. Service in the *Tercüme Kalemî* (Translation Bureau of the Sublime Porte), founded<sup>6</sup> in 1821, was an important part of fast-track promotion for ambitious officials. Men who aspired to being *münevver memurlar* (enlightened officials) made their way there. Şinasi and Namık Kemal are two examples of important literary figures who rose to prominence through this bureau. In addition to training civil servants the government sent young men to Europe to study military science.

The westernization of education in the *Tanzimat* period is only part of the story because, as Ben Fortna's<sup>7</sup> research attests, in the late Ottoman period, under the rule of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), State education was eventually de-westernized. Islamic values and morals were re-emphasized, but not to the exclusion of the sciences. The francophone nature of much education during the

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<sup>3</sup> See Alkan, Mehmet *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri 1839-1924*. Ankara: T.C Başbakanlık Devlet İstatik Enstitüsü Vol 6 2001:4.

<sup>4</sup> Somel quotes (with a caveat) anecdotal evidence that religious schools, funded by pious foundations, remained more popular than the official State schools. In his sample he quotes parents as preferring religious instruction, despite the fact that the pupils were often disciplined with *bastinado*. The size of his sample is not mentioned, so there is no way of ascertaining how widespread these views were. Among the names quoted are King Abdullah of Transjordan, Karabekir, Tepeyran and Adivar. See Somel, Selçuk *The Modernisation of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*. Leiden: Brill 2001:242 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The Minister for Education was Victor Duruy. See Fortna, Ben *Imperial Classroom, Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Oxford University Press 2002:15.

<sup>6</sup> It was set up to break the monopoly which Phanariot Greek translators had over the office of Government Translator. See Ergin, Osman *Türk Maarif Tarihi*. İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası 1931-1943:69-73; 315-321; 327.

*Tanzimat* period was re-directed towards the study of the Arabic language. The whole aim of late Ottoman educational expansion, in particular the establishment of *idadi*, (higher school, the equivalent of the lycée) was to train bureaucrats to serve in every corner of the empire.

## 1.2 FOREIGN PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN TURKEY

For ambitious parents with leanings towards the West, the rapid expansion of foreign, mainly mission, schools suited their aims for their offspring. Growth in private school provision was not restricted to Ottoman Turkey, but spread throughout the Ottoman Empire.<sup>8</sup>

Although private foreign-language schools are now the first choice for many prosperous Turkish families, initially the impact of these schools on the general level of education was insignificant. Once the perceived threat posed by foreign missionary schools, and the schools operated by the minority communities was taken into account by the State, a flurry of activity ensued to counter their activities. However, a search through the *Missionary Herald*<sup>9</sup> reveals that, most of the missionaries' initial success was not with the Muslim community at all, but among the non-Muslim minorities, such as the Armenians and Greeks.

The 1869 *Tevhid-i Maarif* (Regulation of Education) allowed for the closure of non-Muslim schools but, according to Fortna,<sup>10</sup> Abdülhamid II did not use this provision over-zealously, except where there was excessive missionary activity in predominantly Muslim areas. Even though the number of Turks attending foreign schools around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was small their eventual influence was disproportionately great.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See Fortna 2002.

<sup>8</sup> On the eve of World War I, an unofficial report put the number of French (Catholic) schools at 500, American at 675 and British at 178. See Monroe, P. (Ed E.G Mears) *Education in Modern Turkey*. New York: 1923:130-132.

<sup>9</sup> The organ of the Baptist Missionary Society.

<sup>10</sup> See Fortna 2002:128.

<sup>11</sup> See Polat-Haydaroglu, İlknur *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yabancı Okulları*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları No 1202 Kaynak Eserleri Dizisi No 47 1990.

Historiographically the one shining star of 19<sup>th</sup> century educational provision for Turkish boys was *Galatasaray Lisesi*<sup>12</sup>, founded in 1868, but it was not without its problems. Fearing that it would adversely affect the intake into their own separate religious schools,<sup>13</sup> the Pope and a few bishops and rabbis raised objections to its foundation. They also objected to its partial funding by a grant from the French government. This gesture was probably far from philanthropic; the intention being to protect and expand vested French interests in the empire. Francophone graduates of *Galatasaray Lisesi* would be an invaluable asset in this undertaking.

From the start, in the *Galatasaray Lisesi*, Muslim Turkish boys formed the majority, but lessons other than Turkish language, were all in French. More men of influence graduated from this institution than any other. A non-political example was Sedat Simavi, the owner of *İnci*<sup>14</sup> and the founder of *Hürriyet*, who became a prominent newspaper baron.

There was by no means a consensus on the merits of imported education systems. Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), for instance, claimed that French style education imported into the Ottoman Empire was just as antithetical to the true Turkish national as the early *medrese* education, which was based on a civilization imported from the Arabs and Persians.<sup>15</sup>

According to Selçuk Somel, the *Darüşşafaka*<sup>16</sup> (House of Compassion), founded in 1873, is unjustly overlooked.<sup>17</sup> This institution offered a high standard of education with many subjects being taught by military officers.

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<sup>12</sup> Originally named *Mekteb-i Sultani*.

<sup>13</sup> See Mansel, Philip *Constantinople City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924*. London: John Murray 1995:292; Alkan 2001:7; Bilim, C. *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Eğitim Tarihi (1734-1876)*. Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları No 1067, Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları No 2 1998.

<sup>14</sup> For analysis of *İNCİ* magazine see Chapter 3:123 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Berkes, Niyazi (Ed) *Turkish Nationalism & Western Civilisation: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*. New York: 1959:233-247.

<sup>16</sup> Founded by the *Cemiyeti-i Tedrisiyye-i İslamiyye* to educate able but impecunious boys. See Somel 2001:54 Fn 94.

<sup>17</sup> Although the schooling available in Turkey was still considered to be in urgent need of improvement, to some of the "Jadids" in Central Asia, the educational reforms in Turkey were worthy of inspection. For example, in 1912, Muallim Abdulkadir Şakuri travelled from Samarkand to İstanbul to observe at first hand the "workings of modern educational institutions in a Muslim country". The "Jadids" took their name from *usul-i cedid* (new phonetic method of teaching the Arabic alphabet), but they attempted to use culture, in

### 1.3 SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

#### 1.3.i State schools for girls

So far girls have only been mentioned in passing because State *sıbyan mektepleri* or *ibtidai mektepleri*<sup>18</sup> (Primary schools) were not officially established until 1869.<sup>19</sup> There are few statistics<sup>20</sup> available on existing schools, because most Primary schools enjoyed the status of *vakıf* (pious charitable foundation). As such, they were exempt from scrutiny by the Ministry of Education. Primary education was not required by law until 1876.<sup>21</sup> (Similar laws were enacted in Europe at the same time.) By 1883, there were 224 State *sıbyan* schools for girls in İstanbul: with a total of 11,132 pupils. This compares with 266 boys' schools with 15,224 pupils in the same year.<sup>22</sup>

The authorities experienced considerable difficulty in recruiting female staff for single sex schools, simply because very few had been trained and only subsistence wages were paid.<sup>23</sup> This situation was not unique to Ottoman Turkey; the English authorities were in a similar position when State girls' schools were being established.

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particular the theatre and literature, as an educational medium. See Khalid, Adeeb *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*. London: University of California Press 1998:93-95.

<sup>18</sup> This name did not begin to be adopted until 1872. These schools took girls aged 7-11 and boys aged 6-10 years.

<sup>19</sup> 8 years later Ahmet Esad, the *Şeyhülislam*, proposed replacing girls' Primary and Middle schools with a 4 year programme which would start at 6 years and end at their 9<sup>th</sup> year. His reason was that, according to Islamic canonical law, girls reached *müşteha olma* (puberty) at this age. This suggestion was rejected outright by the early Hamidian regime. See Somel 2001:185.

<sup>20</sup> All statistics quoted are assumed to give an idea of numbers and percentages, rather than exact figures. The *salname* of 1863 gives 6,782 girls and 9,975 boys in Muslim *sıbyan* schools in İstanbul, but a total of 6,813 girls and 26,192 boys if the non-Muslim *sıbyan* schools are included. (The majority of these were in Armenian and Greek schools.) Apart from a Protestant girls' school there were no other minority *sıbyan* schools of which the authorities were aware. See Alkan 2001:1.5, 18. An important aspect of the *sıbyan* schools was that they taught the basic tenets of all three monotheistic faiths. Alkan states that, besides this, they taught the Koran by rote. He does not clarify if this was the case for the non-Muslim *sıbyan* schools as well. See Alkan 2001:5.

<sup>21</sup> Kurnaz, Şefika *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını (1839-1923)*. Ankara: TC Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Başkanlığı 1990:6.

<sup>22</sup> See Alkan 2001:38.

<sup>23</sup> For salary examples see Somel 2001:Appendix 16. The lack of correspondence between the dates is not a hindrance for comparative purposes because the Turkish *kuruş* (*piastre*) was based on the silver standard, thus retaining its value until the dissolution of the empire. For example 100 silver *kuruş* equalled £1.1.0 in 1850 and in 1914. For how teachers salaries compared with the price of staples such as rice, bread, cheese etc. See

In 1861, before all the moves to provide State Primary schooling for girls, the following announcement appeared in several İstanbul newspapers:

"Women should be educated in the same way as men. This will enable them to support their husbands who shoulder the responsibility of providing for the family. Moreover, education will greatly help women towards a better understanding of both religious and civil matters. It will encourage them to be dutiful wives and, above all, it will serve to protect their honour."<sup>24</sup>

This announcement was intended to publicize the establishment of the first *kız rüşdiyesi* (Middle school for girls up to age 14).<sup>25</sup> This school had been planned in 1858, but there was a three year delay following the announcement.<sup>26</sup> The Ottoman government was not alone in announcing initiatives which were later abandoned or scaled down. British educational history is littered with similar casualties. Presumably, in the early days the intake for the *rüşdiye* would have come from *vakıf* schools for girls or, perhaps, the occasional mission school, because their launch pre-dated State Primary provision. They could also have been privately educated at home.

By 1873 there were 8 *rüşdiye* schools for girls in İstanbul, with a total of 259 pupils and, by 1883, there were 10 such schools, with a total of 418 pupils.<sup>27</sup> In the 1894-95 school year, of the 2,028 girls registered in İstanbul *rüşdiye* schools, 46 gained a diploma, whilst 440 left for various unspecified reasons.<sup>28</sup> By way of comparison for the same academic year, there were 981 girls in foreign *rüşdiye* schools in İstanbul.<sup>29</sup> In the same year in the provinces there were 2,239 girls in *rüşdiye* schools, with 71 gaining a diploma.<sup>30</sup> These figures show that, by 1883, both State Primary and Middle schools were functioning side by side, so that the

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Yolalıcı, M. Emin *XIX Yüzyılda Canık (Samsun) Sancağının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 1998.

<sup>24</sup> Ergin and Alkan disagree over the exact date. See Ergin 1931:458; Alkan 2001:6.

<sup>25</sup> There is considerable debate about the exact date of the first *rüşdiye*. See Kurnaz 1990:9. *Rüşdiye* is derived from *rüşd* which means majority (in this case adolescence). Pupils could attend these schools until they reached this age which, according to Islamic Law, was 14 years.

<sup>26</sup> Another such announcement was that there should be separate State schools for Muslims and non-Muslims, but this also proved impossible and no separate Primary facilities for non-Muslim girls were provided by the State.

<sup>27</sup> See Alkan 2001:22;37.

<sup>28</sup> See Alkan 2001:51.

<sup>29</sup> See Alkan 2001:65. There were 10 French schools, 5 English, 1 Italian, 1 German, 1 Austrian and 1 American.

girls could, in theory at least, progress from the first stage to the second.

The subjects<sup>31</sup> to be taught in the girls' *rüşdiye* were as follows:

- moral education<sup>32</sup>
- reading and writing
- book keeping
- Ottoman history & geography
- general knowledge
- sewing & embroidery

When the *idadi* (High school) for boys was proposed, they were to take non-Muslim pupils, but, according to Alkan, all girls were excluded on religious grounds.<sup>33</sup> Alkan states this as a fact, but without explaining that the whole concept of the *idadi* was based on the need to produce bureaucrats for the vast Ottoman machine to effect the proper governance of the empire. Therefore girls would have been excluded, because there were no plans to train females for the civil administration.

In 1880 an attempt was made to set up a *kız idadisi*<sup>34</sup> (girls' High school) in Babiali. The intention was to teach European languages and feminine accomplishments such as music and embroidery. It was closed down after two years due to lack of interest.<sup>35</sup> The opening date of this school falls very early in the period of the Hamidian *idadi* expansion plans, so it is unlikely that it was intended to mirror the curriculum in any way. The purpose of this institution remains unknown.

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<sup>30</sup> See: Alkan 2001:91.

<sup>31</sup> This list cannot be compared with the statistics provided in Alkan because he does not state whether the curricula quoted in Appendix 5 are for boys' or girls' schools. Therefore it is not possible to establish whether or not they changed over time.

<sup>32</sup> *Ahlak* (morals) were also central to the *idadi* curriculum.

<sup>33</sup> See Alkan 2001:6.

<sup>34</sup> *İdadi* comes from *idad*, meaning preparation.

<sup>35</sup> See Kurnaz 1990:17-19.

So although İstanbul University<sup>36</sup> started taking a few women in 1914, in order to reach the required entrance level they would either have attended the *darülmuallimat* (Women's Teacher Training College), or they would have been privately taught<sup>37</sup> since no girls' State High schools existed at that time.

A Miss Fenish, who was a teacher at the American Girls School in İstanbul had an article published in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* in 1902. In "Heyet-i Tahririyye: Terakkiyat-ı Nisvan-i İslam"<sup>38</sup> (Progress of Islamic women), she listed the extent of educational provision for girls in the period of Abdülhamid II's reign (1876-1909). In the Ottoman Empire in 1895, in single sex Primary schools for girls there were 130,000 pupils,<sup>39</sup> in Secondary schools 3,000 girls and 270 women students in Teacher Training Colleges.

### 1.3.ii Private schools for girls

From the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards there were private schools for girls in İstanbul<sup>40</sup>, other than the few previously mentioned Turkish ones controlled by *evkaf* (pious foundation pl. of *vakıf*).

Some girls were educated at home by private tutors and governesses whilst others, from more progressive families such as civil servants and military officers, could attend an *ibtidai mektep*. The quality of the education some of the girls

<sup>36</sup> For the history of the struggles involved in establishing İstanbul University see Arslan, Ali *Darülfünundan Üniversiteye*. İstanbul: Kitabevi 1995.

<sup>37</sup> This is most likely, as the University was fee paying. See Alkan 2001:7.

<sup>38</sup> Issue No 359, May 1 1902, 1-3.

<sup>39</sup> According to the statistics in Alkan, during the first 19 years of Abdülhamid's reign (i.e. from 1876-1895), 9,649 Primary schools were added to the existing 18,947 when he came to the throne. However, a footnote warns that these figures appear to inflate the achievements of the Hamidian period because, during the Turco-Russian war of 1877-1878, Ottoman lands were lost and, consequently, schools also were lost. In addition, the figures in Alkan do not break the data down into the sexes, so it is not possible to compare it with Fenish. See Alkan 2001:49. The data from Fenish does not specify geographical limit. This is an additional barrier to comparison, but it would not be unreasonable to deduce that she was including the provinces.

<sup>40</sup> The *Meclis-i Maarif* (Council of Education), established in 1864, had two separate divisions, the *Daire-i Mekatib-i Mahsuse* (Office of Private schools) and the *Daire-i Mekatib-i Umumiyye* (Office of Public Schools). The intention was to regularize standards throughout the empire. The Office of Private Schools also scrutinized text books. The Press Law of 1864 prohibited any criticism of the Ottoman State and this body acted as the censor of all school textbooks. This would have gone hand in hand with censoring the burgeoning Ottoman press.



received at the hands of foreign governesses<sup>41</sup> was sometimes doubtful. The governesses themselves were a popular feature in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century literature.<sup>42</sup> The implication in literature was that, often, these women were not quite of the moral standards expected of Muslim women. Ayşe Sıdıka<sup>43</sup> wrote "Mürebbiye Seçiminde Dikkat Edilmesi Gereken Hususlar" (Matters to be considered when choosing a governess) in *Maarif Gazetesi* in 1895. She opposed foreign governesses on the grounds that they could neither instil nor reinforce Ottoman Turkish traditions in their charges.<sup>44</sup> Many foreign governesses had sought positions abroad, because their lack of qualifications limited employment opportunities in their own countries.<sup>45</sup> Despite these shortcomings, the engagement of a French governess still had *cachet* in some social circles.

The private *ibtidai mektep*, which was not administered by *evkaf*, offered girls only three or four years tuition. They had to leave before their 11<sup>th</sup> birthday. The subject matter was narrow and focused on the alphabet, Koranic texts and morals.<sup>46</sup> The teachers were male, which still meant that, even if they could afford it, many conservative families withheld their daughters.<sup>47</sup>

When it came to foreign private schools for girls, one of the first was the İstanbul *Amerikan Koleji Kız Kısmı*, founded in 1871, in Selamsız, Üsküdar. It was funded by the Boston American Women's Society.<sup>48</sup> In 1932, Dr. Paul Monroe united the boys' and girls' schools, and in so doing, he brought about the end of

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<sup>41</sup> The consequence of employing a foreign governess is addressed in Zeliha Osman's play *Ebedî Hisler* which was serialized in *İnci* magazine. See Chapter 3:173.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's *Mürebbiye*.

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter 1:23.

<sup>44</sup> See *Maarif Gazetesi* Vol VII No 191, 315-316.

<sup>45</sup> In England steps were taken to remedy this with educational programmes for governesses being set up in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>46</sup> In England in the 1830s there were complaints about the lack of moral and religious teaching in some "seminaries" (private schools). One observer wrote "if the object had been to produce minimum effect, at maximum cost, nothing could be better designed for the purpose. In this school everything is taught in inverse ratio to its importance. At the bottom of the scale are morals and religion and at the top music and dancing". See Kamm, Josephine *How Different from Us, A Biography of Miss Buss & Miss Beale*. London: The Bodley Head 1958:11-40.

<sup>47</sup> This topic was the subject of an article by Belkıs Hanım in the first women's magazine. See *Terakki-i Muhadderat* Issue No 4 18 July 1869, 3-4.

<sup>48</sup> In 1890 it changed its status to that of a *lycée* (High school) rather than a Middle school. The name was changed to *Konstantinopl Kızlar Koleji*. Following a fire in Üsküdar in 1905, the college moved to a site at Arnavutköy in 1914.

a secular<sup>49</sup> school founded for girls and run by women.

There were few secular foreign schools, but several religious ones were operated by, among others, the Christian Sisters who founded the *Providans Mektebi* in Galata in 1839. Originally their aim was to educate the very poor, but, some of the more prosperous residents of İstanbul recognized the quality of teaching, and asked the Sisters to take fee paying pupils.<sup>50</sup>

#### 1.4 WOMEN'S TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES

The provision of some State Primary and Middle schooling confirmed that, by 1869, the will to educate girls existed, but so far, none of the existing institutions offered a widespread solution to the problem of educating significant numbers. Over half a century was to pass before a realistic plan to educate rural girls was formulated. In the meantime, what was needed were professional women's teacher training colleges. Thus, parental objection to male teachers, which was one of the major obstacles to progress, could be addressed. Financial constraints were an ever present problem, although, as with the boys *idadi*, funding could be produced.<sup>51</sup>

Şefika Kurnaz claimed that the establishment of the first *darülmuallimat* (Women's Teacher Training College)<sup>52</sup> in March 1870 was the most important event in women's education to that date.<sup>53</sup> No information has been found as to how families were persuaded that girls in their mid-teens could be taught by

<sup>49</sup> This did not mean that religion was not taught, but that, unlike some Catholic schools, it did not pervade all subject areas.

<sup>50</sup> Between 1839 and 1883, they founded 9 schools in Turkey.

<sup>51</sup> In this case through an increase in the tithes levied on agricultural production. See Fortna 2000:118-120.

<sup>52</sup> When, in 1848, the *Darülmuallimin* (Male Teacher Training College) was first set up, they had to find candidates who had reasonable Arabic and Persian, so that they could cope with the curriculum. In due course many of the graduates were sent to Ottoman provinces where Arabic was the mother tongue. Persian was required in order to grasp the complexities of Ottoman Turkish. Weakness in this area proved to be problematic and some of the first year intake were sent to the Ottoman provinces of Beirut, Tripoli and Syria to improve their language skills, because, eventually, they might be sent to teach in such places. According to Özcan, their mathematical ability was also found wanting. See Özcan, Abdülkadir "Tanzimat Döneminde Öğretmen Yetiştirme Meselesi" *150. Yılında Tanzimat*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları V11 Dizi Sa. 142 1992:446.

<sup>53</sup> Kurnaz 1990:11-40. There is disagreement over the exact date. Ergin states 1869, but Özcan states 1870. See Özcan 1992:441-474.

men<sup>54</sup> in these colleges, nor have any comments emerged about the fact that they were not closed during the often censorious Hamidian rule.

In İstanbul: the newly established colleges lacked suitable staff. The only female teachers available taught needlework, painting and, from the second year onwards, music. All other subjects were taught by elderly male teachers.

A *darülmuallimat* was planned for every administrative province<sup>55</sup> but this was changed to every other province.<sup>56</sup> Safvet Paşa, who appears to have been one of the most effective of the early Ministers of Education<sup>57</sup>, published his *Maarif-i Umumiyye Nizamnamesi* (Regulation of Public Education) the year before the first college opened. He used language that was to become familiar to those who were interested in all aspects of women's advancement. He said that he "wanted women to resemble their sisters in Europe"<sup>58</sup>, but it should be remembered that it was only thirty years before, in 1840, that the first Teacher Training College was set up in England, with the first one for women following a year later in 1841.<sup>59</sup>

The *darülmuallimat* was split into two sections. The first was for future Primary school teachers undertaking a two year course, the second was for Middle school teachers<sup>60</sup> undertaking a three year course. In fact, the entire intake stayed for three years because teaching was weak as there were no suitable instructors for Turkish language, grammar and literary composition.<sup>61</sup> The first Turkish women graduated in 1873 and started their teaching careers in İstanbul. Like many

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<sup>54</sup> According to Özcan, the male teachers were chosen because of their great age and high moral standards. See Özcan 1992:456.

<sup>55</sup> For the history of Kastamonu *Darülmuallimat* see Arslanoğlu, İbrahim *Kastamonu Öğretmen Okulları (1884-1977)*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları 3163 (Bilim ve Kültür Eserleri Dizisi) No 108 1998.

<sup>56</sup> Kurnaz 1990:XIV. This was similar to the 1869 *Nizamname* that all villages must provide a girls' school.

<sup>57</sup> He served 3 terms, as Minister for Education, between 1868-1876.

<sup>58</sup> See Uğurcan, Sema "Tanzimat Devrinde Kadın Statüsü" in *150. Yılında Tanzimat*. Ankara: Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları VII Dizi Sa. 142 1992:501.

<sup>59</sup> Kamm 1958:77. Before this there was an acute shortage of competent female teachers.

<sup>60</sup> In 1923, in order to build on the existing provision for teacher training, separate *Orta Darülmuallimatlar* (Secondary Teacher Training Colleges) were founded.

<sup>61</sup> There was an advertisement for both of these posts in *Takvim-i Vekai* in June 1870.

other teachers, two of the first graduates later went into journalism.<sup>62</sup>

There was a reduction in the number of subjects offered during the Turco-Russian skirmish of 1877-78 but, by 1879, the situation had sufficiently recovered for Fatma Zehra to be appointed head of a *darülmualimat*.

One of her first actions was to appoint Aristokli Efendi to teach *usul-i tedrisiye* (teacher training methods). This was another important milestone in girls' education, but the subject appears to have been dropped after an experimental period.

It was not until 1891 that Ayşe Sıdika<sup>63</sup> was appointed to teach at the *darülmualimat*. She was the author of *Usul-ü Talim ve Terbiye* (Instruction Methods in Education), an education manual. The only other publication in this field was Selim Zabıt's *Rehnümay-ı Muallimin* (Guide for Teachers).

The task facing the young product of the Teacher Training Colleges ought not to be underestimated. By 1883, some young women may well have overcome objections within their own families, but, on completion of their training, further obstacles were presented. Some were posted to one of the 10 *rüşdiye* schools in İstanbul<sup>64</sup>, but others were sent to the Ottoman provinces where the first 6 *rüşdiye* schools for girls had been set up.<sup>65</sup>

It has already been noted that young men were sent as far afield as Beirut, Tripoli and Syria, and, in due course, some of the newly qualified young women followed them. Despite its shortcomings, the social structure in Ottoman Turkey was beginning to change but, in some of the Ottoman provinces, attitudes to women were still years, if not decades, behind those evolving in Ottoman Turkey. As late as the 1940s and early 1950s, some of the women graduate teachers from the *Köy Enstitüleri* experienced similar problems when posted to remote parts of, by then, republican Turkey.

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<sup>62</sup> Among the first graduates were Fahriye, Münire and Fatma Nigar. The latter two women founded *Şükufezer* magazine for women in 1887. Halide Edip also taught, as well as working as a journalist.

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter 2:88.

<sup>64</sup> See Alkan 2001:37, 46; Kurnaz 1990:14 ff. She quotes a differing selection of statistics garnered from the *Devlet Salnameler*. (Official annual statistics).

The fact that the new teachers were sent to areas where Arabic was the main language indicates how well educated they were. In order to teach literature they had to be proficient in Persian as well.<sup>66</sup> A further sign that the plan for girls' education was on course<sup>67</sup>, was that, from 1893 to 1908, all teachers in the *rüşdiye* schools for girls were women.

One of the signs of progress among women was that, by 1889, no less than nine women's magazines had been launched to cater for the expanding number of educated young women.

In 1880, the *Constantinople Messenger*<sup>68</sup> showed that it was not only men of letters who supported the movement towards education for Turkish females. The non-Muslim press also wished to see improved educational provision. Under the headline "Ladies Class and Harem education" the following extract from the *Constantinople Messenger* appeared:

"The mark of a country's degree of civilization is that women should be respected, but this is impossible unless their education is of the same level as that of men. In a number of instances, Turkish gentlemen have provided education for their daughters, such as is given to European girls, and who can doubt that those so educated are more likely to exert a useful influence upon their husbands and children than if they had remained without such education. What a few *paşas* have done for their own daughters, we would be glad to see done for all girls of the empire and we should be especially glad if means were provided in Constantinople for the education of Muslim girls who have passed the schoolgirl stage. We recognize, however, that any movement for the attainment of the object in view must come from Muslims themselves. It is because we believe that, without such a movement, the Turkish population has not a fair chance against its many competitors and because we have confidence that the Muslim population itself would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the better education of women that we have ventured to call attention in a friendly spirit to the subject which only interests us because we wish the Muslim population well."

The editor of the *Constantinople Messenger* refrained from making any

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<sup>65</sup> Initially, provincial *rüşdiye* diplomas were not accepted for those pupils who wished to progress to the *darülmuallimat* in İstanbul. This level of schooling had first to be repeated.

<sup>66</sup> The language side of their education was on a par with teachers in many English public schools, where Greek and Latin were a pre-requisite for most academic subjects.

<sup>67</sup> Almanacks and periodicals sometimes showed pictures of girls at school as a sign of progress. For example Üsküdar Füyazat Mektebi was featured in *Muhit* 26 Nov 1908.

recommendations as to how the situation for girls could be improved. It was certainly true that some Turkish gentleman did ensure that their daughters received very high levels of education. Many of these girls were well versed in the arts and sciences as well as being multi-lingual; this was not just in European languages but also in Arabic and Persian. Often they were instructed by their own fathers, with additional input from tutors who were usually engaged for sons. The more social side of their education would have been left to well qualified governesses who would instruct them in western music, art and other more feminine accomplishments.<sup>69</sup> However, as in the West, these girls constituted a minute proportion of the female population in need of adequate education.

Ahmet Mithat<sup>70</sup> criticized an attempt to establish better girls' schools by seeking foreign advice. In 1909, a Miss Fry compiled a lengthy report, which Halide Edip translated into Turkish as "Kız Mektepleri Hususunda Bir Mütalaa-i Mühimme" (An Important Study of Girls' Schools). Miss Fry recommended improvements based on the English Public Schools system where boarding was the norm. She advocated starting at the top with Teacher Training Colleges staffed by foreign teachers who would instruct using the latest methods. The teachers would have bi-lingual translators whose sole function would be to translate their seminars.<sup>71</sup> The practical application of the lessons and methods employed were to be monitored. The importance of boarding facilities was emphasized in order to teach both pupils and staff independence and self reliance. This would have been important, as many newly qualified teachers were only in their late teens. According to Ahmet Mithat, after some initial improvement, the project failed due to inadequate management. He wrote in the *Sabah* newspaper that, "it was

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<sup>68</sup> Vol.1 No.29 24th November 1880.

<sup>69</sup> At the highest level of Ottoman society mothers were often well educated themselves, and would have been able to oversee their daughters' private education. Historiographically, many such mothers appear to be invisible. It was the *nouveau riche* families who experienced most problems when it came to judging the abilities of governesses, because they were not necessarily well educated themselves.

<sup>70</sup> In his analysis of pre-school socialization among lower middle class families, Somel refers to Mithat's conservative didactic works such as *Felatun Bey ile Rakim Efendi* (1875), *Hasan Mellah* (1874) and *Hüseyin Fellah* (1875). See Somel 2001:249.

<sup>71</sup> No mention was made of where they were to come from. It is unlikely that Miss Fry assumed that there was an abundance of women like Halide Edip who was multi-lingual.

not long before the Teacher Training Institutions reverted to their old ways".<sup>72</sup> As will become evident later in this chapter, the authorities commissioned many reports from foreign consultants, but there was still a lack of accord on how to proceed.

Since the government did show its willingness to provide better educational facilities for girls, one can't help thinking that this problem could have been addressed earlier if the possibility of overhauling the *medrese* system to include girls had been considered. There would certainly have been objections, but these were overcome with the *darülmualimat*. Also, the whole ethos of higher schooling had changed radically in the Hamidian period, with the shift back towards a more Islamic curriculum. Had lateral thinking, coupled with the will, been there, then this idea could have provided a germ of a solution. Kushner's assertion that the *ulema* had quickly learnt to be adaptable would fit with this potential remedy.<sup>73</sup>

## 1.5 UNIVERSITY

The admission of the first female students to the University of İstanbul in 1914 is sometimes quoted as a major achievement, and indeed it was, but initially, the young women did not simply join the existing male students at the *Darülfünun* (University).<sup>74</sup> Instead they were taught in an institution called *İnas Darülfünun* (Women's University), based at Zeynep Hanım Konağı. Later they were transferred to rooms in a school in Cağaloğlu and then back to the *konak*.<sup>75</sup> The location and name of this institution was immaterial, what was important was that the young women were being educated at tertiary level for the first time. Entrance was not restricted to graduates of Teacher Training Colleges and the few girls who had completed Middle school. Any female who was capable of passing the entrance examination was accepted. This meant that, theoretically, privately educated girls could also be admitted. Presumably they would have been expected to match the proficiency of the graduates from the

<sup>72</sup> See "Darülmuallimatımız" the *Sabah* newspaper 9th July 1910.

<sup>73</sup> See Kushner 63-74.

<sup>74</sup> The university had finally opened in 1900, after over 30 years of struggling.

*darülmua'llimat*.<sup>76</sup> This policy was probably more expedient than progressive, as it might have helped to swell the number of applicants.

Şükufe Nihal<sup>77</sup> was the first woman both to register and graduate from the University. Seniha Hızal graduated at the same time and eventually went on to become an MP. The number of women who actually graduated was very small and it took decades for them to make any significant impact in the university. Evidently, in the early days, there were outspoken students who were not afraid to criticize where they found fault.<sup>78</sup>

Although the situation for girls was improving, they still had to contend with discrimination<sup>79</sup> and setbacks. In 1919, by which time 370 women had graduated from Teacher Training Colleges, budgetary constraints forced the government to close them all down for an unspecified period. This cannot have been very long, as the *salname* for 1923/24 reveals that there were a total of 1,430 young women at various Teacher Training Colleges throughout Turkey.<sup>80</sup>

## 1.6 VOCATIONAL COURSES FOR TURKISH FEMALES

The plans for civil State schools for boys have already been touched upon, with the first ones opening their doors to pupils in 1857. Initially, the government did not match this with equal provision for girls, instead, various vocational courses were set up. The idea of training female teachers for girls' schools was still, as we have seen from the preceding sections, over a decade away.

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<sup>75</sup> Taşkıran, Tezer *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*. Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi 1973:44-45.

<sup>76</sup> As previously mentioned they had to be tri-lingual.

<sup>77</sup> She was both a teacher and a writer. For her contributions to women's magazines see *Bilgi Yurdu Işığı; Firuze; Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete; Kadın Yolu; Mahasin; Süs* and *Türk Kadını*. No information about her educational background has been found but since there were no State High Schools she either attended a foreign *Lise*, Teacher Training College or was privately educated.

<sup>78</sup> In 1915, according to Uçman, four female students registered their complaints about the behaviour of Cenab Şahabeddin, a eminent poet of his time, and head of the Western Literature Department. See Uçman, Abdullah "Bazı Kadın Mektupları" *Tarih ve Toplum* Vol 31 No 183, 41.

<sup>79</sup> For example, in 1913, it was announced that Primary schooling was to be compulsory (technically its provision was already a legal requirement) for 6 years. However, provincial girls were only to be permitted 4 years if in mixed schools, or 5 if they were in single sex schools. See Alkan 2001:10.

<sup>80</sup> See Alkan 2001:6.20, 295.



In 1842 courses in midwifery began, not just with the care and attention to mothers uppermost in mind, but also with the aim of providing suitable employment for lower class females. Initially the entrants were not required to be literate, but, from 1895 onwards, they had to have 3 years Primary schooling.<sup>81</sup> The candidates had to practise on models and, during these sessions, men were excluded. However, some of the subjects were taught by men, again because there were no qualified female midwifery teachers.<sup>82</sup> These students were, according to Şefika Kurnaz, the first women to attend classes given by men.<sup>83</sup> In 1845 the first ten Muslim Turkish women midwives qualified. They were then free to embark upon their new careers without, in theory, fear of retribution from the religious authorities.

Often, until female employment became the norm, working women in all new professions were subject to suspicions that, because they needed to work, they were somehow of dubious morals.<sup>84</sup> Generally, they were not subject to the same degree of censure if they did not have to work but chose to.<sup>85</sup>

Apart from nurses, seamstresses were needed. In 1864 Mithat Paşa called for the establishment of *islahanes* (training establishments) for girls, so that the clothing requirements of the armed forces could be met. Although their wages would have been poor, at least the girls learnt new tailoring skills and how to use industrial sewing machines. After 1887 all official training establishments came under the aegis of the Ministry of Education. Apart from these two examples, no other material has been found about early government funded vocational courses.

<sup>81</sup> See Ergin 1931:542-543. The age range of the entrants could have been very wide with the youngest in their early teens.

<sup>82</sup> Presumably these lessons were given by either medical students or doctors. It is possible that, later on, some of the foreign nurses who went to Turkey during the Crimean War, and stayed on after 1856 when it ended, were recruited. These courses were for Muslim Turkish girls, so it is also possible that there were ethnic minority midwifery teachers.

<sup>83</sup> See Kurnaz 1990:18.

<sup>84</sup> Ladies of higher social rank were not subject to the same prejudice. They were recruited as volunteer nurses but not as midwives because most of the nursing needed was for wounded soldiers. Long after the first midwifery school was opened, ordinary nurses were featured in Yakup Kadri's novel *Ankara* (written in 1934). Selma, the central female character, nursed soldiers who were wounded in the War of Independence (1919-1923). Nurses were the central characters in *Ebedi Hisler* written by Zeliha Osman and serialized in *İnci* magazine. Mediha, the main character, was an upper class young lady who was trained by the Red Cross to a professional standard, but who worked on a voluntary basis. The subject of nursing as a profession for girls from all walks of life is one of the central topics of the play. Halide Edip's *Ateşten Gömlek* featured an upper class provincial woman who ended up as a volunteer nurse working with the *Hilal-i Ahmer*. (Turkish Red Crescent). These examples show that the nursing profession was held in high esteem.

There were numerous classes which were run by *evkaf* and welfare societies, but they tended to focus on various forms of needlework.

#### 1.7 DEBATE, IN VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS FROM 1895 TO 1918, ABOUT FEMALE EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

Before commenting on the debate about educational policy in the late Ottoman period it is important to be cognisant of the fact that, in Europe, not all countries were sure of the direction they wished to take. In some countries, education was in just as much a state of flux as in Ottoman Turkey.

So far scant reference has been made to attitudes to women's education. As will become clear, there was no agreement among women themselves as to the merits of educating their own sex. This was despite the fact that Teacher Training Colleges for women had been in existence since 1870, and that increasing numbers of girls were completing Middle school. There were some highly educated women who wielded considerable influence<sup>86</sup>, but they did not always advocate their sisters joining their ranks. In *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* Zehra Hamiyet stated the following in her article "Kadınlarda Vazife"<sup>87</sup> (Women's Duties):

"a woman ought not to struggle to become a judge, an expert craftsman or an artist. Evidently in Europe and in America there were high achieving women who were lawyers, doctors, chemists, in short women are in all the professions. There is no explanation other than to call these "specialists" (i.e. exceptional). It is not easy for a woman to be versatile and scholarly. The number of men who have succeeded in several fields can be counted on one hand. All such claims are exaggerations. In Europe women practise the law. Should we be studying to become lawyers? Likewise, women work in clerical positions, indeed even in the police force. Instead of muddling our brains with these things our priority should be, through the medium of Arabic, to study our religion and to be pleased if, in a couple of Turkish sentences, we don't make a dozen mistakes. A woman's role, above everything else, is to love her family and fulfil her domestic duties."

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<sup>85</sup> For details of many such women see Chapter 2:77 ff.

<sup>86</sup> Some were the daughters of influential men but not, as the Chapter 2 will reveal, by any means the majority of them.

<sup>87</sup> *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* No 25 İstanbul: 7<sup>th</sup> December 1895:2-3.

In 1880 Şemsettin Sami had written in *Kadınlar* that education should, in general, remain in the domain of men, but he did not share the widespread view that women were best suited as playthings for men, nor that they should they be regarded as breeding machines. He did concede that women could become better tailors than men and, in due course, could dominate the profession.<sup>88</sup>

In 1881, the year after Şemsettin Sami published *Kadınlar*, the following report appeared in the *Levant Herald*:<sup>89</sup>

" Muslim ladies in the streets.

By order of H.M. the Sultan and at the request of the *Sheikh-ul-Islam*, the Ministry of Police, acting in concert with the Council of State, has drawn up a code of rules prescribing the nature of the coverings which women of the Muslim faith are to wear, and the conduct they are to observe. According to this rule women are prohibited from appearing in public places and to frequent the streets and to pay visits. The officers of the police are instructed to be vigilant, and to make a report whenever they observe a woman daring to wear a thin veil under circumstances not sanctioned by the regulations."

The article enumerated other restrictions for women, including sitting down in shops, walking or being driven around in certain areas of the city. This edict cannot have helped to further the cause of women's education if the modicum of freedom they had was to be even more restricted.

Fatma Aliye Hanım (1864-1936)<sup>90</sup> was one of the first females to voice her opinion in the women's press. She wanted girls' educational policy to reflect a combination of western and eastern ideas. She did not accept that, because education in Europe was considered superior to that available in Islamic countries, it followed that European manners and customs needed to be adopted as well. She advocated looking outside Europe for other suitable ideas.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Şişman, Cengiz *Türk Basınında Kadın Hakları Üzerine Tartışmalar 1908-1918*. İstanbul Üniversitesi: Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, (Unpublished Thesis No 4924) 1993:3ff.

<sup>89</sup> 15th August 1881.

<sup>90</sup> She was one of the most highly educated women of her day.

<sup>91</sup> She may well have been referring to Japan which was sometimes cited as having a system which could be adapted for Turkey.

Even into the republican period, wariness of some European ideas and behaviour was reflected in literature. In Halide Edip's novel *Kalp Ağrısı* (Heartache)<sup>92</sup> Dora, the main character, epitomized all that was bad about western women and their attitudes to life. As a vain and hedonistic woman, she was held up as a warning that the emerging so called advantages, might not always turn out to be so. In novels of this period, Dora was, like almost all females of doubtful character, a non-Muslim. She wanted to determine her own future, but the idea of an independent, materially successful woman was at variance with the general Turkish ideal of the time. The conflict between tradition and westernization was addressed in Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*<sup>93</sup> in which Neriman, the main female character, was caught between the lure of western ideas and the pull of tradition.<sup>94</sup>

Despite magazines such as *Kadın*, *Türk Kadını*, *Sebilürreşad*, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*,<sup>95</sup> *Beyanü'l-Hak*, *İctihad*, *Mehasin* and *Kadınlar Dünyası* championing basic, let alone better or higher, provision, there were still those who questioned the desirability of educating girls. In England, albeit several decades before, similar attitudes were not uncommon.

Some of the most vociferous women of the period urged reform, investment, professionalism and westernization. Other, equally adamant women, urged caution and sticking to the basic tenets of Islam<sup>96</sup> in all aspects of life, but, in particular, for girls' education.

The writers who opposed the westernization of education as manifested during the *Tanzimat* reforms, were equally opposed to girls being educated in Europe. People like Musa Kazım, who was the *Şeyhülislam* (the person with the highest religious authority, ranked next to the Grand Vezir) wrote in *Sırat-ı Müstakim* that educating girls was not a requirement beyond Middle level. He objected to

<sup>92</sup> Serialized in the *Vakit* newspaper in 1923.

<sup>93</sup> Published in 1938. *Fatih*, a poor area of İstanbul, was a metaphor for the old traditional way of life whilst *Harbiye*, a more prosperous area, was a metaphor for more westernized aspirations. According to Berkes, Safa had been an ardent opponent of westernization, but he changed his views at the end of World War II and became an even more ardent fan of democracy. See Berkes, Fay Kirby *Türkiye 'de Köy Enstitüleri*. İmece Yayınları 1962:335.

<sup>94</sup> Memduh Şevket Esenal's novel *Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları* also featured women who were said to be too westernized in their attitudes towards morality.

<sup>95</sup> This magazine championed shallow, but broader, education more than most.

tertiary education for women on the grounds that there was inadequate provision for men. He wanted women to be thankful for the protection afforded them by the *Şeriat*, and to be satisfied with self improvement and marriage.<sup>97</sup>

The *İsviçre'de Tahsil Cemiyeti* (Society for Education in Switzerland) was the subject of much debate in the magazines. Whilst some wanted women to be sent to Switzerland and return equipped with a proper foundation in the sciences, others opposed this on the familiar grounds that their honour might be compromised. This argument was countered with claims that any girl who was so inclined would dishonour herself wherever she might be. To endorse this opinion, the positive achievements of many Muslim females in Russian Universities were cited.

The arguments continued for a lengthy period, but little was achieved other than public awareness. One of the most practical articles was contributed by Nebahat Hanım writing in *Kadınlar Dünyası*. She realized that the most important criterion was a logical sequence of events.<sup>98</sup> She wanted Middle schools to be efficient before tertiary facilities were even discussed.

Those women who opposed any rapid advancement had some useful male allies. Edhem Nejad complained that girls were not taught household management, childcare, home economics and to please men. He thought that girls' colleges should offer religious instruction, Ottoman language, childcare health and personal hygiene, domestic science<sup>99</sup>, (to include: cooking, sewing and mending, starching and ironing, gardening, agriculture), geography, history, painting and gymnastics.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Islam does not prohibit education for women. In some countries, certain sects may discourage it.

<sup>97</sup> See Kazım, Musa "Hürriyet-i Müsavat" *Sırat-ı Müstakim*. İstanbul: Issue No 3 Sep 1908.

<sup>98</sup> See "Mükerrem Belkıs Hanımefendiye" No 96, 21 July 1913:3.

<sup>99</sup> One of the stated aims of Sedat Simavi's *İnci* magazine was to help women on the domestic and work fronts but, in this respect, he failed to deliver. See Chapter 3:129 ff.

<sup>100</sup> See "Türkiye'de Kız Mektepleri ve Terbiyesi" *Türk Kadını* İstanbul: No 10. 26 September 1918, 151-152. (This article, which was written in 1916, was translated from German by Edhem Nejad but it is not clear if he wrote the original text.)

Halil Hamid was amongst those who could not praise Japan too highly for its educational provision for women. He put their success down to the fact that, in 1871, the Japanese government had sent several young women to Teacher Training Colleges in the United States. The result was that, by 1910, every town in Japan had a school for girls.<sup>101</sup>

Şefika Gasparinskaya's Baku magazine, *Alem-i Nisvan*, entered the fray, with Halifezade Mehmet Ali Nari opposing the view that Ottoman Muslim women were likely to be corrupted in Europe. He acknowledged that there were prostitutes and brothels in Europe but that even the veil could not conceal similar facilities in Turkey. In his view, women removing their veils and studying abroad had nothing to do with morals. He argued that it was not loose morals which drove women to prostitution, but dire economic and social conditions which forced them to exploit their bodies because, often, they were their only asset. Halifezade Mehmet Ali Nari's panacea for education combined English soundness, Turkish bravery, western thought with Japanese industriousness.<sup>102</sup>

This selection of articles highlights the lack of consensus on educating females. Some writers did not even debate the degree of education which should be made available to them; they simply wrote that, apart from learning how to run their households, women needed no further tuition at all. There were those who saw any form of female education as detrimental to the social fabric. Writers, generally women, who wrote that the only way forward was for all levels of education to be available for females, were opposed by others who thought that, without a specific goal, education was of no benefit. Several writers urged action, because Ottoman lands already lagged too far behind the West, whilst many others advocated less haste in formulating plans to give females equal educational opportunities.

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<sup>101</sup> He also mentioned the Chinese island of Formosa, for which he claimed that, by 1910, out of 3.5 million female pupils, one and a half million went on to four years of Secondary schooling.

<sup>102</sup> Şişman quotes this as 1914, but no reference to any issues after 1912 has been found. In Bayrak, M. Orhan *Türkiye'de Gazeteler ve Dergiler Sözlüğü (1831-1993)* the dates are given as 1906-1910; this appears to be incorrect as is the translation of *Alem-i Nisvan* as "*Çocuklar Dünyası*". The author is confusing this with *Alem-i Sıbyan* which was another supplement to İsmail Gasparinski's *Tercüman*, published in Crimea.

Education was a matter of concern to writers such as Namık Kemal (1840-1888) and Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar (1864-1944). Both men considered equal educational opportunities the key to a healthy population. Namık Kemal wrote "Numune-i Edebiyat" in *Maarif*: "The honour of the human race depends on the abundance of its knowledge; it is by this alone that man is distinguished from reptiles". In the conclusion to this article he appealed for general education for all "as the progress and development of a nation is attained through hard work and education".<sup>103</sup>

It is helpful to compare some of the attitudes with those prevailing in England at that time. Although, in the fast moving world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the length of time it took to get plans off the drawing board in Turkey looks interminable, the stranglehold which the Church in England had over educational provision took equally long to break.

In 1870 the London School Board was founded after 40 years of Church opposition to State interference in education. The difference was that the Church did offer reasonable educational opportunities for both sexes whereas, in the period under discussion, neither the *mektep* nor *medrese* offered good educational grounding for girls. In England, as with the *vakıf* schools in Turkey, there was some provision funded by philanthropists, but these schools were an anathema to the reformists who wrested control from the Church and established the London School Board.

The editor of *The Times* newspaper of 29th November 1870 clearly thought that the foundation of the London School Board was an important historic occasion, because, in its leader for that day it was stated that "the great event of today for this country, whatever may be happening on the Continent of Europe"<sup>104</sup>, will be the election of the first London School Board.

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<sup>103</sup> See Sönmez, Emel "Turkish Women in Turkish Literature". *Die Welt des Islams* XII Leiden: 1969:1-3.

<sup>104</sup> The events on the Continent of Europe with which the leader writer compared the importance of the occasion were: the siege of Paris and the repudiation by the Russians of the conditions laid down by Palmerston after the Crimean War, which limited Russian naval power in the Black Sea.

No equally powerful body will exist in England outside Parliament, if power be measured by influence for good or evil over masses of human beings".<sup>105</sup>

## 1.8 EARLY REPUBLICAN EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION

Turkey became a secular republic in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. The changes visited on the population which had just lived through World War I and the *Kurtuluş Savaşı* (War of Independence) were enormous, but, as mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, references to them serve only as a framework since the struggle towards the establishment of the Turkish Republic is well documented.

In the mid 1920s additional subjects, such as domestic science and physical education, were added to the curriculum.<sup>106</sup> To coincide with this Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) published his manuals for physical education instructors.<sup>107</sup>

It would be easy to assume that, by the mid 1920s, academic provision was reasonably well established, but many departments appear to have existed in name only. Staff members who failed to toe the official line were obstructed by the authorities if their politics did not coincide with official government policy.

To add to the difficulties, the epoch making alphabet changes of 1928 rendered the existing minimal library provision redundant. Thus, the emerging more literate generation found itself with little suitable reading material. To give the government credit, the first books to be published in Latin script were school text books.<sup>108</sup> Other than these, newspapers and magazines were available. For women there was only one magazine, *Hanımlar Alemi*, but its content was so trivial as to be of no use except as reading practice in the new alphabet. The ground breaking *Dünya Klasikleri* (World Classics) series were still over a decade off.

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<sup>105</sup> Maclure, Stuart *A History of Education in London*. London: Allen Lane, Penguin 1990:17-18.

<sup>106</sup> See Ergin 1931:681.

<sup>107</sup> See Tarcan, Selim Sırrı *Muallimlere Terbiye-i Bedeniye Rehberi*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire 1926.

<sup>108</sup> For examples see Türe, Fatma (Ed.) *Harfi-Harfine*. İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları 1998.



## 1.9 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE *KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ* (VILLAGE INSTITUTES) 1935-1946

In literature, young girls were already being encouraged to pursue teaching careers<sup>109</sup>, and, after the War of Independence, republican ideals meant that a system of education which addressed the needs of the vast rural population would help them to fulfil this ideal. A new system was required, but this does not mean that the advances made in the field of educational reform in Ottoman times were of no value. The foundations laid, in particular during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, were vital for the further development and expansion of existing facilities.

It could be argued that legislation, brought in during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II for the establishment of State schools for Muslim girls, paved the way for the *Köy Enstitüleri* to be co-educational from their inception. Although ideologically the Institutes were innovative, certain aspects<sup>110</sup> of their foundation built on existing provisions. The statute book was full of policies which were not implemented, so the new regime was in a position to benefit from some previously enacted laws which had not been enforced.

Mustafa Kemal believed that a solid foundation for a well structured contemporary society rested on education, but no evidence has emerged to indicate that this was not already well understood. He planned, through the Ministry of Education,<sup>111</sup> to provide education for thousands of rural villages.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Some of the most popular novels of the time portray the female protagonist as a teacher, partly with the intention of setting up a role-model for the young republican generation. E.g. Halide Edip's *Vurun Kahpeye*. Female journalists, the subject of Chapter 2, were do not appear to have featured in the same way.

<sup>110</sup> For example, the results of what was learned should be both practical and visible. See reference to *Köy Mektepleri* Chapter 1:63.

<sup>111</sup> The men who had run it under the Ottoman regime were still there but time was needed for a new generation of professional administrators, who understood the complexity of Mustafa Kemal's educational reforms, to be trained and, either join or replace the existing staff. Apart from Mustafa Necati, between 1925 and 1935, no Minister for Education lasted more than a year. In this decade no fewer than 11 Ministers came and went. See Arayıcı, Ali *Kemalist Dönem Türkiye'sinde Eğitim Politikaları ve Köy Enstitüleri*. İstanbul: Ceylan Yayınları 1999:279.

<sup>112</sup> For an idea of how rural people differed from members of urban societies one might look at Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's novel *Ankara*. Part of it was set in the period immediately after the War of Independence. Humble Anatolian men and women who had struggled alongside their compatriots were, in the novel, shown wrapped in blankets whilst waiting outside ballrooms in Ankara, so that they could catch a glimpse of their former comrades in arms taking advantage of the spoils of the hard won war. The gulf

According to the *salname* for 1923/24, there were 370,597 pupils in Primary school<sup>113</sup> and 9,320 in Middle schools.<sup>114</sup> These figures cannot easily be compared with Ottoman statistics because, as already noted, the number of children needing education shrank with the collapse of the empire.

Mustafa Kemal's primary objective was to effect rural change. According to Hasan-Ali Yücel,<sup>115</sup> of all children receiving schooling, 81% were in cities against 19% in rural areas.<sup>116</sup> Of the latter, only a small proportion were girls. The proposals for more widespread education were based on equal opportunities for both sexes, as required by both the Constitution of 1924, and the *Tevhid-i Maarif*<sup>117</sup> (Equal Education Opportunities Law) of the same year.

Mustafa Kemal proposed a school for every village, seeing this as the only way to prepare young people for the future. Most importantly, he envisaged tailor-made curricula for different locations and circumstances. For example, there would have been little point in setting up a model poultry farm or a forestry unit in a cotton growing area. For his proposed plan, quantitative results were not necessarily going to prove incompatible with qualitative results.

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between the two classes of people could not be better described than by Karaosmanoğlu, one of the first writers to reflect contemporary issues in his work. See Karaosmanoğlu 1972.

<sup>113</sup> This includes 56,025 in İstanbul and 20,883 in İzmir, the two largest conurbations.

<sup>114</sup> This includes 1,588 in İstanbul. For the year 1933/34, Arayıcı claims that there were 2 million village children of school age, but that 312,000 of these were able to attend one of the 4,992 village schools. He quotes 6,786 Primary teachers for these schools. See Arayıcı 1999:198.

<sup>115</sup> He was appointed Minister of Education in 1938, just after Mustafa Kemal's death.

<sup>116</sup> See Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı 1997: 126. The *salname* for 1923/24 breaks the data down into provinces, so, from this source, it is not possible to corroborate these figures. See Alkan 2001:304-406. Arayıcı cites extracts from the Grand National Assembly of December 1920. He quotes the representative from Tokat claiming that there were no "enlightened" people at all in his region, and that "all finance for schooling provision had been allocated to Bursa and İstanbul." The Bitlis representative claimed that, "in the eastern regions, there was nothing which could be called a school." See Arayıcı 1999:102-107.

<sup>117</sup> Later the *Öğretim Birliği Yasası*.

In the early republican years, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, a regressive Minister for Education, had favoured reverting to the *medrese*<sup>118</sup> system, but he had not reckoned with both Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu<sup>119</sup> and Mustafa Necati's<sup>120</sup> strong opposition. Both of these men wanted to see the integration of the sciences with the arts<sup>121</sup> in a new system. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Mustafa Necati fought to abolish the then current twin conservatisms of inertia and Islam, as well as the apathy of fatalism in rural educational policies. It has already been established from the references to the *idadi* that, in the Hamidian era, there had been no such inertia in provincial educational policy.

From the earliest republican period, there appears to have been little agreement as to how to proceed. By 1925 there was still no mention of the possible education of the rural masses, although, as previously mentioned, Primary schooling had been required by law since 1876.<sup>122</sup>

In 1926 there was an attempt to implement one of many foreign plans for educational reform. This time it was John Dewey's (1859-1952)<sup>123</sup> "Ten Year Plan", but it was flawed from the beginning because Dewey looked at the problems through American eyes. Among other ideas, he recommended sending

<sup>118</sup> Advocating reverting to the *medrese*, which excluded girls, was entirely at variance with Tanrıöver's activities in the *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth) which spread both secularist and nationalist ideas. The *Türk Ocağı* was closed down by Mustafa Kemal in 1931, as part of his overall plan to control all aspects of both intellectual and cultural life. Tanrıöver was to become a thorn in the side of Sabiha Sertel and Nazım Hikmet when they collaborated on *Resimli Ay* magazine. See Chapter 4:241 ff.

<sup>119</sup> See "Eğitim Politikası" (Education politics) and "Kültür ve Hayat" (Culture and Life) the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper 14th September 1924. The *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* was a pro-Kemalist Ankara newspaper.

<sup>120</sup> Mustafa Necati studied the Danish Co-operative schooling system but rejected it for Turkey.

<sup>121</sup> In İstanbul the arts were not entirely neglected. In 1884 the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* (Academy of Fine Art) had been set up. The *Müze-i Hümayun* (Imperial Museum) was enlarged to include sculptures from classical antiquity. Government scholarships were available for students to study sculpture in Paris. See Somel 2001:167. Fethi Ahmet Paşa reorganized the repository in the church of St Irene, which was used as an army depot, and employed an English curator named Gould (a teacher at *Galatasaray Lisesi*) to oversee it. For Attempts to improve the theatre see Chapter 3:158 ff.

<sup>122</sup> The 1869 *Nizamname* was ratified in the *Kanun-i Esasi* of 1876. See Kurnaz 1990:6.

<sup>123</sup> He was Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University. He was invited by the government to prepare a plan in 1924, but only parts of it were used. He linked teaching standards to salaries and recommended increasing teacher's salaries. Whilst salaries were undoubtedly important, there were countless other considerations which remained unaddressed. Pakize Türkoğlu (a former *Köy Enstitüsü* pupil, and later teacher) suggested in an interview that Dewey only had one "plan", and that he was returning from touring the Far East where he had proposed the same thing in several countries. Arayıcı refers to Dewey's lack of understanding of needs of the rural population. See Arayıcı 1999:174-177.

students abroad and then waiting for them to return to implement what they had learned.<sup>124</sup> Decades before this, identical suggestions were made in the Ottoman Turkish women's press.

To address the problem of providing teachers for rural areas, which had different needs from teachers for urban areas, separate Teacher Training Establishments were set up. In 1926/27, 150 new teachers were trained in Kayseri and Aydın. The subjects to be included in the curriculum were chosen carefully to reflect the respective regions and communities.

Many prominent people of the day added to the debate about educating the rural masses. Yunus Nadi wrote "Her Köyde Mektep" (A School in Every Village) which advocated schools for the rural areas.<sup>125</sup> He suggested teaching, amongst other subjects: animal husbandry, forestry, apiculture, fruit farming and health and hygiene. He favoured a joint venture with both the Ministries of Health<sup>126</sup> and Agriculture, but officials dragged their feet.<sup>127</sup> In addition, Nadi proposed allocating to every teacher of agriculture<sup>128</sup> sufficient land for himself and his family, so that he could demonstrate the required techniques. Later, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç<sup>129</sup> was to write that "until the establishment of the *Köy Enstitüleri*, although there were daily articles in the press about education for the rural masses, none of them matched Yunus Nadi's degree of perception."<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> The Japanese had made this policy work.

<sup>125</sup> *Cumhuriyet* 28th June 1927.

<sup>126</sup> This was opposed by the Ministry of Health, but later it was obliged to co-operate.

<sup>127</sup> Interview Pakize Türkoğlu, 2000.

<sup>128</sup> Recruiting suitably qualified personnel from the Ministry of Agriculture was difficult, even though the Ministry had been instructed to co-operate. Initially most of those sent to the Teacher Training Establishments regarded their posting as a hiatus in their career development. Many engineered short term postings because advancement would come via the Ministry of Agriculture, and not as an inexperienced teacher in a remote area. In 1941 an attempt was made to solve the problem through offering bursaries to students of agriculture. Interview Pakize Türkoğlu, 2001.

<sup>129</sup> He was appointed as head of the Primary Education Directorate in 1935, and later charged with responsibility for the *İnstitüteleri*.

<sup>130</sup> Türkoğlu, Pakize *Tonguç ve Enstitüleri*. İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları 1997:65.

The alphabet reforms of 1928 proved that, if the will existed, reform could be achieved with remarkable rapidity<sup>131</sup> but, as with many other aspects of the new republic, there were frequent clashes of will in education policy.

In 1929 *Gazi Ortaöğretmen Okulu ve Terbiye Enstitüsü* (Gazi Secondary Teacher Training School and Training Institute) opened in Ankara.<sup>132</sup> The graduates from the Institute were proud to proclaim themselves as *Gazi'li* (graduate of the *Gazi* Institute). This was to be a beacon from the new capital in a new era. Most of the influential old institutions were in İstanbul<sup>133</sup> and it was therefore important to the establishment of Ankara as the new capital that it be recognized as a centre of excellence. The use of "*Gazi*"<sup>134</sup> in the name of the new college was considered a master-stroke. To the new breed of pro-republicans, İstanbul was synonymous with outmoded methods, and Ankara with all that was to be progressive and novel.<sup>135</sup>

The *Gazi* turned out to be disappointing from an educational point of view. Despite ambitious plans, its director, Baltacıoğlu, was ill-suited and impatient and, within a short space of time, he left and traditional western subjects, taught by western methods, became the norm.<sup>136</sup> This was not in keeping with Mustafa Kemal's "national ideal". The professor of fine art at *Gazi* was İsmail Hakkı Tonguç who was also its director before he was appointed to the Ministry of Education in 1935.

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<sup>131</sup> The vehicles for teaching the new alphabet were the *Millet Mektepleri* (Nation Schools). Very quickly they achieved what had been discussed for half a century. According to government statistics, in 1928/9, 427,979 people who could read Arabic script learnt to read in the new alphabet, and among the illiterate, 41,893 women and 133,055 men learnt it. See *Republique Turque Office Central de Statistique* Vol 4 1930-31:123. For photographs of *Millet Mektepleri* see Türe, Fatma (Ed) *Harfî Harfine*. İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları 1998:9-21.

<sup>132</sup> A Teacher Training College along the lines of pedagogical institutes in Russia had been suggested by Dewey who also used Columbia University Teachers' Training College as a model. This was not to prove suitable for Turkey as Columbia was an adaptation of an older institution not a brand new concept. Turkish officials were only interested in new approaches. See Berkes 1962:45. The *Gazi* lives on in contemporary literature. One of the characters in Eréndiz Atasü's novel is the only woman at the *Gazi*. See Atasü, Eréndiz. *The Other Side of the Mountain*. London: Milet Yayınları 2000:37.

<sup>133</sup> There was friction between the government and some western powers over their refusal to move their embassies to the new capital. See Zürcher, Eric *Turkey, a Modern History*, London: I.B Taurus 199:210.

<sup>134</sup> *Gazi* means champion.

<sup>135</sup> For descriptions of how primitive living conditions in Ankara were for some, bearing in mind it was the new capital, see reference to *Roman Gibi* in Chapter 4:227.

It became quite obvious that the Ministry of Education lacked a suitable leader with vision and determination. Several people had been in post but removed because of inefficiency, lack of vision, clashes with Mustafa Kemal's views, or ignorance of the real situation. One Minister, Dr. Reşit Galip<sup>137</sup>, seemed to have a romantic notion of the lives of the humble but patriotic Anatolians. At that time, there were two general views of the Anatolian village. One view (Galip's) idealized it as full of sparkling babbling brooks in spring and shaded in trees in the heat of summer, with lovely flowers and birdsong; in the autumn an abundance of golden crops and swollen bunches of ripe grapes; and, in winter, shining snow-capped mountains echoing to the sounds of happy shepherds singing whilst eagles soared overhead. The legends of young lovers among the village boys and girls was all part of the folklore. The other view saw the Anatolian village as filthy, barren, dry and populated with ineducable, ignorant, lazy people who were incapable of basic hygiene, and with no concept of the most elementary economics. In this view, the villages were inhabited by people blind to all innovation, who lacked the ability or the will to improve their standing. Indeed, these views are reflected in some literary works produced at the time. Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel epitomized the romantic ideal whereas Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu reflected the harsher realities of Anatolian village life.<sup>138</sup>

Eventually, in 1935, it looked as if a suitable candidate had finally been found when, with the backing of Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü, Saffet Arıkan<sup>139</sup> was appointed Minister for Education. Arıkan, mindful of his own military background and lack of experience in the educational field, appointed İsmail

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<sup>136</sup> Despite this, when the *Köy Enstitüleri* provision became law in 1940, graduates from the Gazi were among those listed as qualified to teach in an Institute.

<sup>137</sup> Dr. Reşit Galip (Minister from 1932/33) was a medical doctor who preferred politics to medicine.

<sup>138</sup> The poem *Çoban Çeşmesi* and the novel *Yaban* are representative of their respective writing. Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy* (written in 1950) also provided an accurate description of the squalor that his villagers endured. This work is sometimes referred to as the first *exposé* of village life and this undoubtedly true of the works in modern Turkish, but Nabizade Nazım's *Kara Bibik* and Tepeyran's *Küçük Paşa* delineated rural conditions in the 1890s. Tepeyran knew the realities of rural life, having travelled widely as a Governor of several Ottoman provinces, Sivas included.

<sup>139</sup> Saffet Arıkan was a distinguished soldier who knew the importance of planning and discipline. He recognized the multiple dangers of contemporary party politics, racism and romanticizing the life of the rural masses. See Türkoğlu 1997:103 ff.

Hakkı Tonguç<sup>140</sup> to the Primary Education Directorate. Arıkan was to become one of the most positive and supportive Ministers of Education for the whole Village Institute concept. One might wonder why more former military men were not seconded to key posts, since lack of viable planning and execution seemed to beset the government. There were many highly educated products of Military Academies, but it is possible that such men regarded the civil service with disdain in comparison with serving in the military.

Tonguç soon became aware that scarce resources had not been managed efficiently. Numerous inappropriate schemes and reports had not benefited the rural population. He reported to Arıkan in 1935, detailing not only the extent and quality of education which was needed for the 80% of the population living in rural areas, but also the required economic resources to plan and execute a suitable policy. He also noted that most rural communities consisted of around 400 people but with much smaller scattered satellite villages. Communities with a minimum population of 400 people were considered necessary for a local school to be viable.

Just before Tonguç's appointment, Dr. Beryl Parker, an American educationist, had compiled a report on primary education in Turkey. Like Tonguç, she highlighted all the shortcomings of the current situation. Where she differed from him was that, instead of Village Institutes, she wanted to copy a Mexican experiment which involved training peripatetic teacher trainers. She favoured quality of teachers over quantity. She also wanted basic hygiene taught by the Red Crescent at the *Halk Evleri*<sup>141</sup> and *Halk Odaları* (People's Houses and People's Rooms).

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<sup>140</sup> Tonguç was a most able bi-lingual pedagogue (trained in Germany) and the author of several books concerning all aspects of education. His specialist subjects were fine art and physical education. See Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı *Hasan-Ali Yücel Köy Enstitüleri ve Köy Eğitimi ile ilgili Yazıları-Konuşmaları*. Ankara 1997:14-15. Tonguç was of rural Bulgarian descent and not a universally popular choice. Arıkan was compelled to make an announcement in the press that he was acting with the agreement of Mustafa Kemal when he appointed Tonguç. See "Milli Eğitimle İlgili Söylevler, Demeçler" *Ulus* Vol II July 30 1935:201-203. *Ulus* was the organ of the CHP (Republican Peoples Party).

<sup>141</sup> These places replaced the *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth organization) in 1932 but, unlike the Turkish Hearth, their activities were tightly controlled by provincial branches of the CHP. They were all closed down in 1951 and their assets turned over to the treasury.

The *Halk Evleri* and *Halk Odaları* were founded to provide a socio-cultural focal point for the population to attend classes, talks, play music and to receive advice. Although they did not all offer these facilities, a library<sup>142</sup> was compulsory. Often the books would have been the only reading material available other than the general press, women's magazines and school text books. Clearly, from an educational point of view, the importance of the People's Houses during the early years of the republic can not be over-stated. However, as with the *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes), there has been a tendency to view these establishments with almost romantic nostalgia whilst forgetting that the People's Houses were affiliated to political parties and were administered according to "republican, nationalist, populist, secular<sup>143</sup> and revolutionary principles"<sup>144</sup> of the Party and State. Therefore, the atmosphere was not always conducive to liberal thinking. They were more a centre for the consolidation and perpetuation of cultural identity which, for many, had become confused when the new secular republic was founded.

For men, there was always the *kıraathane* (public reading room) where newspapers could be read and discussed, but, for many of the women who were lucky enough to have acquired a degree of literacy, the People's House would have been one of the few places where they could broaden their education and keep abreast of current affairs.

Whilst Tonguç may have recognized the value of the People's Houses, he did not agree with Beryl Parker that they should be used as a substitute for proper schooling. He still planned to make relevant education, coupled with a cultural<sup>145</sup> element, the cornerstone of his policy. He was not favour of foreign experts such as Kirchensteiner<sup>146</sup> and his deputy Kühne<sup>147</sup>, who had been asked to draw up

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<sup>142</sup> This provision varied widely, from a few books to a fairly representative selection of what was available. During their previous incarnation as *Türk Ocağı*, the book provision dwindled when the alphabet was changed in 1928. During 1928 and 1929 very few books were published. See Alpay, M. *Harf Devriminin Kütüphanelerde Yansıması*. İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları No 2084 1976:53.

<sup>143</sup> For an analysis see Berkes, Niyazi *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. McGill University Press 1964.

<sup>144</sup> "People's Houses" *The Times* August 9th 1938.

<sup>145</sup> It was not his intention to produce cadres of identical graduates but like-minded ones.

<sup>146</sup> He was a German pedagogue whose works Tonguç himself had translated into Turkish in 1931.



plans to improve the system. Tonguç decided to rely on Turkish pedagogues<sup>148</sup>, including those who were trained in Europe.

None of Tonguç's predecessors appears to have realized that translating foreign, usually English or American, textbooks was of little practical use because, the terms of reference were culturally, socially and economically so different. Tonguç, unlike some of his predecessors, saw no merit in reverting to old Ottoman models.<sup>149</sup> He did not want to present "showcase" Institutes, which visiting dignitaries could inspect, and report to the press that the humble Anatolian was now "being educated".

All the fashions in education were, and still are, little different from what has happened in England in the last 75 years. There is abundant evidence of social engineering through curriculum manipulations. Countless idealistic schemes have come and gone or been rebranded in the light of changing political ideologies. Not just music, fine art, religion and sport, but core subjects such as mathematics and English, have also been subject to the vagaries of fashion in education. Numerous initiatives have been started only to be abandoned due either to political whim or financial constraints.

In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal had suggested to Arıkan that they should avail themselves of the education and training gained by those who served in the army as corporals and sergeants. Consequently, in 1936, pilot *Köy Öğretmen Okulları* (Village Teacher Training Schools) were set up (in existing school buildings to begin with) to train instructors for village Primary schools. Candidates who completed the course were called *eğitmen* (educator/instructor) rather than

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<sup>147</sup> Some of the ideas Kühne put forward, other than teaching agriculture, were teaching girls millinery, teaching soldiers shorthand and foreign languages, and making families pay for their children to attend the very few existing free boarding schools. Possibly, it was hoped that, by charging, the families would then value education more. According to the *salname* for 1925/26 there was only 1 free Primary Boarding School, but it must have been very large because it had 41 teachers.

<sup>148</sup> He particularly admired the philosophy of Edhem Nejad who died in 1920, and the contribution made to education by Selim Sabit (1829-1910); sometimes called the first modern Turkish pedagogue. Tonguç drew on some outline ideas left by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (the disaffected first Director of the *Gazi* in Ankara) who was very progressive for his time, but rejected by his colleagues as eccentric and self centred. See: Berkes 1962:21. For a further list of Turkish educationists and ideologues see Türkoğlu 1997:89.

<sup>149</sup> For example he rejected Ziya Gökalp's idea (put forward in 1923) that culture should replace science in Training Colleges. Gökalp had wanted to rename the colleges as *Halduniye* or *Farabiye* (derived from the names of Ibn Khaldun and Mehmet Farabi).

*öğretmen* (teacher). The efficacy of the system was demonstrated to the government, and *Köy Eğiimen Yasası* (Village Instructor Law) of 21st June 1936 was ratified. The importance attached to this initiative is confirmed by the budget statistics.<sup>150</sup> Most of these newly qualified instructors were dispersed to teach in rural Primary schools although some stayed on to undergo further training and then to teach at the eventual *Köy Enstitüleri*.

In the Training Establishments for the *eğiimen* the instructors were to teach agriculture<sup>151</sup> and several branches of rural husbandry concurrently with literacy, mathematical skills and citizenship; a joint initiative with the Ministry of Agriculture was agreed. The Ministry supplied the requisite seed, breeding stock,<sup>152</sup> saplings, implements and, according to Arayıcı, *bir kaç dönümlük toprak* (a number of *dönüms*<sup>153</sup> of land).<sup>154</sup>

In the Arıkan/Tonguç team the government seemed, finally, to have found a germ of a solution for some of the rural education problems concerning both boys and girls. Arıkan and Tonguç appeared to have the plight of, not just the children, but the whole of the rural population uppermost in their minds. It began to look as if Mustafa Kemal's choice of a military man was vindicated. Nevertheless, once the Village Teacher Training Schools were in place, it was going to be local initiative coming from those who would eventually benefit, which would make or break them in their final manifestation as *Köy Enstitüleri*.

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<sup>150</sup> In 1937 92,453 TL was allocated to the *Eğiimenli Köy Okulları* (Village schools with an instructor, as opposed to a teacher), the following year it was 414,249 TL, by 1941 it was 1,044,622 TL and by 1947 it was 4,328,162 TL. See *Statistique Annuaire*. Ankara: Republique Turque Office Central de Statistique Vol 20 1952:176-177.

<sup>151</sup> In the past teaching agriculture had been problematic. In 1889 the *sancak* of Gelibolu had been refused permission to dissolve the *idadi* school and use the same funds to set up a more relevant and useful *Numune çiftliği* (model farm). See Somel 2001:178 Fn 26.

<sup>152</sup> According to Pakize Türkoğlu, the cattle were too emaciated to be branded. A cross breeding programme with a sound scientific basis was essential to establish healthy new strains.

<sup>153</sup> A *dönüm* equals approx. 1/4 acre or 940 square metres.

<sup>154</sup> See Arayıcı 1999:200.

It was important for the local people to see that what the pupils learnt could not only be applied, but was also a route to increasing the number of teachers to carry on with the project. Within Tonguç's team "*köyden alıp köye vermek*" (taking from the village and giving back to the village) became a catch-phrase. The implementation of this philosophy was, for some students, later to become a route for political awakening.<sup>155</sup>

The essential elements of the curriculum in the *Köy Öğretmen Okulları* were to be "relevance and portability" of core subjects such as language, literature, mathematics and the sciences.<sup>156</sup> Certain agricultural techniques, carpentry, construction, metalwork, carpet weaving, tailoring and health education were also portable. The only skills that were not transferable were those needed to produce and improve local output unique to a given area.<sup>157</sup> For example, Pazarören, near Kayseri, had extremes of temperature but, through patience, the students learnt to grow vegetables capable of tolerating severe climatic variation. Later, the, by then, Village Institute at Cılavuz, in Kars, chose to improve animal husbandry and live-stock farming, but an observant teacher noticed highly scented flowers which attracted bees. He arranged for hives to be constructed and apiculture became an established component of the curriculum. For the villagers it produced a new source of income. This may sound a small achievement, but the Institutes needed the villagers on their side, and anything which improved their lot strengthened the whole movement.

Although the main objective of the village *eğitmen* training project was to train Primary school teachers, pupils were also taught the principles of co-operative farming. This idea was alarming to some of the land barons, who were becoming increasingly vociferous about the skills being taught, because they could see that there could be demands from groups of former pupils to be granted their own land.

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<sup>155</sup> For example, when ex-Institute trained teachers returned to their villages they were able to spread news about İnönü's *Çiftiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu* (Redistribution of land to the Farmers Bill) although it did not get onto the statute book until 1945.

<sup>156</sup> Mechanical, physical and agricultural sciences were all taught.

<sup>157</sup> Examples of forestry and cotton growing have been cited, but rice paddies, freshwater fisheries, rose-petal production (a speciality of the Gönen area) and grain production are among others.

Those who qualified as *eğitmen* at Teacher Training Establishments would be in a position to spread the word, which was not always in the interest of the land barons.

Some of the more unscrupulous land barons sold the government very poor land, at greatly inflated prices, to build the eventual *Köy Enstitüleri*. They also sold land<sup>158</sup> where they knew there was no access to water, or where it was so stagnant that malaria was endemic, thus affecting the already poor health of many of the children.

The enlightened director of Edirne Karağaç Teacher Training Establishment put in a request for his staff to bring their wives, sisters and daughters,<sup>159</sup> so that they also could receive basic instruction in household management, home economics and hygiene.<sup>160</sup> His idea was that members of the family unit should be held up as role models, not only for other pupils, but for those in the local community.<sup>161</sup> As mentioned before, culture was not neglected with music, folkdance and painting classes forming part of the curriculum.

Since there were no women in the army, there were no female candidates eligible for the pilot trainer schemes from this particular source, but there were two women, Durye and Fatma, who originally applied to train in a Village Teacher Trainer establishment at Kızılcıllu. When this was renamed a *Köy Enstitüsü* they both stayed and qualified as teachers.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> There is anecdotal evidence of some isolated incidences of staff members negotiating the sale of their extended family lands at over-inflated prices: Interview with Refika Eker, graduate of an Institute and former teacher.

<sup>159</sup> This may also have had something to do with the imbalance in the intake because there were always more boys than girls in the Institutes. Tonguç wrote to Ferit Oğuz Bayar at Kızılcıllu in January 1938 saying that all female family members were to be accepted if they wished to take part in the scheme.

<sup>160</sup> All this sounds very sexist now but at least it was a start. Technically these women were ineligible for teacher training if they did not have a minimum of 3 years Primary schooling but Refika Eker reported that the rules were bent if they showed promise.

<sup>161</sup> See Türkoğlu 1997:121-122.

<sup>162</sup> Interview Pakize Türkoğlu.

By 1938, three<sup>163</sup> Village Teacher Trainer establishments were in place and the qualified *eğitmen* were being dispersed. This gave Tonguç time to go on a fact finding tour of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Austria and Germany. He wanted to study, with the eye of one familiar with both Turkish and various European systems, the innovative schemes being tried in some of the rural areas in these countries. He knew that European experts looked at Turkey's problems with European values, whereas Tonguç, who understood their philosophy, could look at the developments with an educated but, all important, Turkish mind set. He knew how to evaluate which developments could be adapted and which could not. He does not seem to have visited England, and this is understandable since his study trip was during World War II. As many of the European pedagogues with whom he came into contact would have been familiar with Cambridgeshire Village Colleges in England, it appears more than likely that he integrated certain aspects of this experiment<sup>164</sup> into his model. To Tonguç, the fusion of a variety of new concepts was the way forward.

Tonguç must have been aware that all educational systems everywhere reflect the political powers of the day and that, sometimes, these considerations appeared to be more important than education itself. He therefore needed to keep an objective eye and an open mind. He had to be mindful of the political factions which were waiting in the wings for a chance to de-rail his brainchild. According to Pakize Türkoğlu, some of his opponents were only too ready to accuse Tonguç of social engineering, but it can be argued that all educational policies are just that. It has never been possible to divorce education from politics.

In some other countries, uniform educational systems were being piloted, starting with the abolition of private, religious and charitable schools (like the Turkish *vakıf* schools). All children, irrespective of social, economic, religious or ethnic background, were compelled to attend the same State funded schools and

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<sup>163</sup> At Eskişehir/Çifteler 1937; İzmir/Kızılcıllu 1937 and Kırklareli/Lüleburgaz/Kepirtepe 1938. Tonguç admitted to Bayır in a letter that they were still struggling with recruiting the "raw material" for his mass rural education project and that "the dough was still at the kneading stage". He also mentioned trying harder to find suitable women to train as *eğitmen*. See Tonguç, İsmail Hakkı *Mektuplarla Köy Enstitüsü Yılları (1935-1946)*. İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları 1976.

<sup>164</sup> See Chapter 1:71 ff.

follow the same curriculum. This would not help the situation in rural Turkey, where Tonguç's key ideal was "relevant to their needs."

In 1938, the whole Teacher Training project seemed to be inching forward when Mustafa Kemal died. Following his death, Saffet Arıkan left the Ministry of Education. His replacement was Hasan-Ali Yücel (1897-1961),<sup>165</sup> who was one of Turkey's best known writers, as well as being a philosopher and educational reformer. In educational terms, he is remembered and celebrated as one of the architects of the *Köy Enstitüleri*, and as the person who commissioned the translation into Turkish of the series *Dünya Klasikleri* (World Classics), which opened up the world of foreign literature to Turkish people.<sup>166</sup>

Congresses were in vogue in 1939. During the first National Education Congress, the words *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) were used for the first time.<sup>167</sup> This was a reference to the, by then four, existing *eğitmen* training establishments (set up from 1936 onwards), which were proving to be so effective in the rural areas chosen for the pilot schemes. This was referred to as a step in the right direction

<sup>165</sup> Hasan-Ali Yücel was a philosophy graduate of İstanbul University. He represented İzmir in the National Education Conference of 1921. He later taught Turkish in *İzmir Erkek Öğretmen Okulu* and several others. He was an Inspector of Education between 1927-1930, and then inspector of Turkish pupils in France for two years. From 1933-35 he was in the Directorate of Secondary Education. He was elected as MP for İzmir in 1935 and, in 1938, became Minister for Education. Yücel was responsible for Turkey joining Unesco in 1945, and in 1997 they chose him as one of the people to be celebrated 100 years after their birth. In the Times obituary of his son Can Yücel (a poet), Hasan-Ali Yücel is described as "generally regarded as Turkey's greatest Minister for Education". See *The Times* August 19th 1999:25; *Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı* 1997:407-409.

<sup>166</sup> For a list of the titles published under this scheme see *Education in Turkey*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 1946. There were 210 titles in French, 145 in German, 120 in English and 100 in Greek. In 1940 10 books were translated and published, in 1941 13, in 1943 73, in 1944 102, in 1945 129 and in 1946 165. The availability of the *Dünya Klasikleri* was greatly to influence the shape and style of Turkish writing. During the 1950s these books ceased to be available. Yücel was also responsible for the first publishing fair in Turkey in 1939 and the foundation of the Turkish Publishing Congress. The congress had widespread impact, and the outcome was that 16,000 books were printed in Latin script. Some were from the *Dünya Klasikleri* series whilst others addressed other subjects. Without these books it would have been impossible to bring proper scholarship and materials to the Institutes. The government statistics for the period 1938 to 1951 show a doubling of the number of books published in the "literature" category from 318 in 1938 to 621 in 1945. Paradoxically the numbers in the "fine arts" category fell from 157 in 1938 to 52 in 1945. The "social sciences" suffered considerably. See *Republique Turque Office Central de Statistique* Ankara: Vol 20 1952:192; Arayıcı 1999:269 ff.

<sup>167</sup> "Köy Enstitüsü" had been used in a letter from Ferit Oğuz Bayır who worked at the Edirne Teacher Training Establishment in 1937. See Türkoğlu 1997:152; also interview with her, during which she said that later, several people were to claim that the name was their idea.



in the left-wing *Tan Gazetesi* in June 1937.<sup>168</sup>

Yücel and Tonguç were clearly on the same wavelength, as indeed Tonguç and Arıkan had been, so Yücel was able to publish his "National Education Plan", which included a 15 year project for the rural masses. The new concept of a national, but variable, plan must have come as a surprise to the authorities,<sup>169</sup> even though Arıkan and Yücel had co-operated on the overall idea put forward by Mustafa Kemal. Girls were not singled out for mention during the entire presentation of the "National Education Plan" because, to Tonguç and his boss Yücel, co-education was taken for granted. Much later, President İsmet İnönü frequently emphasized the need to recruit more girls to the scheme, even though the Institutes attracted far more girls than the *Bölge Okulları*, which were part of an unsuccessful experiment during Dr. Reşit Galip's term as Minister for Education.

Not all the girls accepted by the Institutes were genuine village girls.<sup>170</sup> Some were the daughters of teachers, minor officials or local notables, who wished to be seen enrolling their daughters as an example to others. Nevertheless, the outcome was the same because, irrespective of their background, the girls were being trained as teachers for village schools.

During the National Education Council of 1939, Yücel announced that the existing plan to train suitable teachers for the rural areas was to be accelerated and, at the same time, that the existing 3 year Primary school programmes were to be replaced with 5 year plans. These would in due, course, provide the pupils for the Institutes, for which the minimum entrance requirement was completion of Primary school. They announced that villages where Turkish was not the main language would not receive any instructors<sup>171</sup>, although there is no mention of this particular clause in the first Statutory Instrument concerning the Institutes. One could speculate that resources were too precious to waste in non-Turkish speaking villages or, alternatively, that they wanted to ensure that Turkish was

<sup>168</sup> Tonguç was pleased about this and wrote to Rauf İnan to say so. See Tonguç 1976:13. *Tan Gazetesi* was owned by the Sertels. See Chapter 4:254 ff.

<sup>169</sup> See Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı 1997:52.

<sup>170</sup> See Berkes, Fay *The Village Institute Movement of Turkey: An Educational Mobilization for Social Change*. New York: Columbia University unpublished PhD Thesis 1960: 860 ff.

adopted as the sole language of instruction. The threat of having no school might have achieved this.<sup>172</sup>

Needless to say, during the National Education Council meeting, opponents of the accelerated reforms reiterated their view that separate urban and rural education systems were entirely unnecessary.<sup>173</sup> Thus, after heated arguments, the Primary Education Plan was adopted and, in April 1940, Statutory Instrument Number 3803 *Köy Enstitüleri Yasası* (Village Institute Law), which would ensure that those rural children who had completed 5 years Primary schooling would be eligible to attend a *Köy Enstitüsü* (Village Institute), to train as Primary school teachers, became law.

The document contained 28 clauses which were to be put into practice.

Some of the more important clauses were;

- The salaries of the teachers and administrators were to be met by the Ministry of Education. They were to be on a progressive pay scale, increasing with length of service. They were to be paid monthly in advance.
- Only healthy<sup>174</sup> children who had completed Primary school would be accepted.
- Five years' education at the Institute was the minimum requirement; children who left early for reasons other than ill health would be required to pay for the costs incurred.
- Those who lacked the ability to qualify as teachers were to be trained in other fields, such as agriculture or healthcare.

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<sup>171</sup> See Türkoğlu 1997:142-143.

<sup>172</sup> The Turkish Constitution still does not allow instruction in any language other than Turkish in State schools. (This does not mean that foreign languages are not taught, but that they are taught through Turkish).

<sup>173</sup> Some called the plan unjust, when many urban children still lacked adequate schooling.

<sup>174</sup> Since it was virtually impossible to find children who did not have, or had not suffered from malaria, tuberculosis, lice, rickets, worms, dysentery and all manner of other minor diseases, the admissions officers often turned a blind eye. The children had their heads shaved to control fleas and lice but the Ministry of Education was later criticized by Dr. Kate Wofford for being anti-democratic because they did the same thing in the army. See Wofford, Kate "Report on Rural and Primary Education and Related Teacher Training in Turkey". Ankara: 1952. (referred to in Berkes 1962:372).



- Graduates from the Institutes were required to give 20 years service as teachers in State establishments. Those who failed to do so would be denied employment in government offices.
- Those who were called away to military duties were to receive 2/3rds pay and be accorded the officer rank of *asteğmen*<sup>175</sup> in the army.
- All equipment was to be supplied by the State.
- All teachers and their families were to be provided with sufficient land for practical demonstrations.
- The existing four pilot Teacher Training Establishments were to change their names to *Köy Enstitüsü* (Village Institute).

There was no mention of the words "religion", "secular" and "co-education"<sup>176</sup> in the clauses.

Village Institute teaching staff were to be recruited from the following institutions: the University, the *Gazi* in Ankara, Teacher Training Colleges, Colleges of Commerce, male and female Trade Colleges, Civil Engineering Colleges and any other Technical Training establishments. The inclusion of some of these establishments is surprising in the light of Tonguç's directive, that special training was needed for teaching in rural areas. Many of the graduates from the above institutions had a strong bias towards theory, rather than towards both the theoretical and practical methods essential to the *Köy Enstitüleri* educational ethos. For instance, the *Gazi* was an unexpected source of teachers for the Institutes, since many of them favoured teaching through theory and learning by rote.

To get the Institute Law passed had been an enormous struggle in a political environment unaccustomed to such radical policies which appeared to favour villages over urban areas. It had to pass through the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Internal Affairs and the Parliamentary Budget Commission. Opponents of the scheme complained that the Ministry of Education was not

<sup>175</sup> The lowest officer rank. Usually, only graduates from military schools and university entered compulsory military service at officer rank.

<sup>176</sup> Law No 430, *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* (Equal Educational Opportunities), had been enacted in 1924, but its enforcement was a long way off.

being even-handed, since it was creating a different class of education when, throughout the world, equal educational opportunity had become the norm.

Tonguç and Yücel must have been greatly relieved at the ratification of the new law, because they had already established four Institutes, albeit under a different name.<sup>177</sup> The uniforms and equipment had been ordered and were waiting to be delivered.<sup>178</sup>

When it came to the intake of pupils, the age range must have been wide, because of all the factors involved in recruitment. Some would have started Primary school late and would have been in their mid-teens.<sup>179</sup> Their actual ages were often difficult to establish because, despite having been told to bring their identity documents with them, countless children did not.<sup>180</sup> Some were even married but, despite the official line being that they were ineligible, a number of them stayed, because their marriages had not been consummated.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> They had been called *Köy Öğretmen Okulları* (Village Teacher Training Schools), even though the successful candidates were called *eğitmen*. This is the name that some Village Institutes reverted to in 1946 after Tonguç and Yücel had both left the Ministry of Education. Others became *İlk Öğretmen Okulu* (Primary Teacher Training School).

<sup>178</sup> The girl's uniforms were printed cotton dresses and overalls for everyday use and straw hats. Boys had the same overalls plus jackets and trousers and caps. Seeing pupils dressed in working overalls was entirely at variance with the usual picture of school children. One of the Institute directors remembered that some of his pupils vanished when they were given unfamiliar clothes to wear but, much to his surprise, they returned two or three weeks later with friends from their villages. They had made the long journey back home to show off their clothes. See Berkes 1962: 22. To identify positively with manual work was an alien notion. Most people who had received some form of schooling regarded those who undertook manual work as being of an entirely different social class. Being educated meant distancing themselves from "manual work". When they were deciding on the uniforms Tonguç sent a picture of the design to Ferit Bayar. He said that, for the girls, the overalls must be described as "a practical and modern version of the traditional *şalvar* (baggy trousers)" so that no objections would be raised. He also wrote that, with minor alterations, the same design should be made for boys. See "Tonguç to Bayar" 24.3.38 in Tonguç 1976:22.

<sup>179</sup> Some of the photographs in Türkoğlu 1997 confirm this.

<sup>180</sup> The Directors were then faced with the problem of sending them, often hundreds of kilometres, back to their villages, or letting them stay until the end of the first year, and then trying to get the documents when they returned after their holidays. By this time many teachers were so pleased with their pupils that they wanted them to return irrespective of missing or irregular documents. Interview: Refika Eker.

<sup>181</sup> It was not uncommon for girls to be contracted into marriage in their early teens.

Even though the children had completed the requisite number of Primary school years<sup>182</sup>, there were, evidently, teachers who were surprised at their pupils' alleged low level of vocabulary. For example, at Akçadağ Institute, the following were among the words which the children apparently did not know: *sürahi, not, iskarpin, matbaa, balkon, çerçeve, hela, firenkgömleği, kavanoz, kupa, çakı, çatal, yatak çarşafı, mangal, karikatür, eczacı, söylev, mecmua, kitaplık, aspirin, keman*.<sup>183</sup> Since over half of these words signified objects which were unfamiliar to the children, this is hardly surprising.<sup>184</sup>

Initially, the efficient running of the Institutes was the joint responsibility of the Ministries of Agriculture and Education; later they became the sole responsibility of the latter. The Statutory Instrument concerning the Institutes also required the Ministries of Forestry, Mining and Home Affairs to provide expertise when called upon.

Staff knew that, when they arrived in an area where an Institute was being set up, they would not be greeted with a new building and eager pupils waiting to go into class. Often they had to supervise some of the building work themselves.<sup>185</sup> There were constant financial problems because the Treasury could not respond rapidly to requests for cash.<sup>186</sup> Sometimes buildings needed urgent protection before the winter set in, but ongoing financial obstacles obstructed such basic activity. The director of Trabzon/Beşikdüzü Institute received a telegram which read "tahsisat kalmadı" (funds are exhausted)<sup>187</sup> in response to his request for money to pay for essential building materials.

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<sup>182</sup> Initially 3 then 5.

<sup>183</sup> See Tekben, Şeref *Canlandırılacak Köy Yolunda*. Akçadağ Köy Enstitüsü Basımevi 1947:54.

<sup>184</sup> In addition, several of them do not have Turkish roots.

<sup>185</sup> By 1942 the Ministry of Public Works barred its employees from the Institutes. They were told that buildings constructed by children, without structural engineers, were unacceptable. One of Niyazi Berkes' relatives was an inspector in Trabzon, but he refused to take him to visit the Institute at Beşikdüzü. He claimed that they (the Institutes) were going to be closed down by the authorities. See Berkes, Niyazi *Unutulan Yıllar*. İstanbul İletişim Yayınları 1997:244 ff.

<sup>186</sup> In the official statistics for 1940, 1941 and 1942, the proportion of the budget applied to salaries was high, which left very little for "other expenses". In 1940 it was 6.27%, in 1941 it was 4.13% and in 1942 it fell to 1.75%. From these figures it is difficult to see how any building programmes could have been funded, let alone equipment provided. See *Republique Turque Office Central de Statistique* Ankara: Vol 20 1952:180.

Controlling some of the pupils could be disconcerting because they appeared to have little idea of how to behave in class. It took time for each side to learn to accept the other and actually work towards a common goal. The Institutes are now romanticized as having every single pupil longing to learn, hanging on the teacher's every word, but this state of affairs did not happen overnight. Once the children settled down, the pupil teacher relationship developed well.

Initially some staff and pupils were accommodated in tented camps. Some of the time spent building was used for practical demonstration purposes. For example, on completion of the building foundations, the application of slaked lime was preceded by theoretical experiments (during science lessons) on its properties.

There were differing opinions among the Institute Directors as to whether or not they should use machinery which the local population would have no hope of acquiring for themselves. Some Institutes did use modern machinery, whilst others stuck to trying to improve the lot of those who only had traditional but, sometimes inefficient implements available.<sup>188</sup> When, in 1949, Turkey started receiving a large amount of agricultural machinery under the American Marshall Plan, there were some farmers in the areas where there were former Institutes<sup>189</sup> who could maintain it as a result of their practical engineering studies at an Institute. When the machinery<sup>190</sup> first arrived, some villagers regarded the former Institutes as free repair workshops rather than as places of learning.

Despite all the initial problems, the Institute staff were, from the outset, charged with fostering cultural traditions. Pupils were encouraged to write poems, songs and stories, and to share their regional cultural differences rather than despise them. Boys and girls danced together, performed plays and set up music groups.

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<sup>187</sup> See Arman, Hürrem *Beşikdüzü Köy Enstitüsü'nün Kuruluşuna ait Hatıralar*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları Köy Enstitüleri II 1944:136.

<sup>188</sup> This concern could be construed as evidence that some of the Directors were well aware that not all pupils would go on to be village teachers.

<sup>189</sup> By 1949 most were re-named *İlköğretmen Okulları*. See Chapter 1:65 Fn 227.

<sup>190</sup> For a discussion of the farm machinery problem see Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasi Bilgiler Fakültesi *Türkiye'de Ziraî Makineleşme*. Siyasi Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları: No 21-39, 1952:50-65. There is a suggestion that the equipment sent under the Marshall Plan was second-hand. It is more than likely that in many areas much of this machinery would have fallen into disuse due to lack of both maintenance skills and adequate fuel distribution networks.

They painted pictures which told the stories of their very varied backgrounds.<sup>191</sup> The artistic and physical development of the children was close to Tonguç's heart. The Institute Directors were mindful of the impression they were creating in the local communities, and encouraged the pupils to show off all their skills. People could then see for themselves that, although they did see girls driving tractors and sharing motorbikes with boys, they also saw them exhibiting needlework of a high standard and giving healthcare demonstrations.<sup>192</sup> They witnessed boys using sewing machines as well as learning how to maintain a clean household.<sup>193</sup> Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy* told the story of what they were up against.<sup>194</sup>

Nevertheless, progress was made, and Hasan-Ali Yücel summarized the achievements at the end of the first official year of the *Köy Enstitüleri* as:

- 6,000 pupils registered
- 120 large dormitories constructed
- 19 large school buildings with 38 classrooms constructed
- Dining rooms<sup>195</sup> which in total catered for 9,500 people were constructed
- 18 family houses built for teaching staff
- 9 barns for animals constructed
- 4,600 *dönüm* of land planted with seed
- 28,000 saplings planted

<sup>191</sup> For examples of writing produced by girls at the Institutes see 6.2 in the Appendix:293.

<sup>192</sup> These were by and large confined to personal hygiene and First Aid. The Ministry of Health had opposed teaching anything more advanced in the way of medicine for fear of "a little knowledge being a dangerous thing". The Ministry did agree to accept girls who had completed three years at an Institute to train as midwives, and several girls took this opportunity. Interview Pakize Türkoğlu 1999. This arrangement is mentioned in her book. See Türkoğlu 1997:383.

<sup>193</sup> More hygienic latrine construction was high on the agenda. According to Pakize Türkoğlu, many children who arrived at the Institutes had never seen a latrine and had no idea how to use one. Evidently the latrines were very basic and inadequate for the numbers who used them.

<sup>194</sup> The publication of *Bizim Köy* in 1950, is generally regarded as ushering in *Köy Edebiyatı* (Village Literature). Mahmut Makal was an enthusiastic graduate from an Institute who later became very disillusioned with real village life. He was proud of the changes which had been wrought in his own village but disparaging about other villages.

- 820 *dönüm* of land prepared for vegetable cultivation
- 6,000 children provided with clothing
- Architectural competition staged and winning buildings already under construction
- Health and social support systems in place in villages within the project

They also built "guest houses" at some of the Institutes for visiting parents and relatives.<sup>196</sup>

In the magazine published by the Institutes' directorate for 1941, there are photographs of children skiing, rowing, boys and girls together on motorbikes, fishing parties, swimming lessons, musical concerts with both classical Turkish and western instruments, as well as pictures of the pupils attending classes.

Those with nostalgic views of the Institutes forget that the staff had often, in the face of material deficiencies, not only to motivate themselves but their charges as well. They had to teach the often neglected processes of how to learn, to research, to observe, to motivate others and to develop critical faculties.

### The Curriculum

So, after their first year, apart from laying the groundwork for future teachers, what else were the Institutes trying to teach, and were all the classes genuinely co-educational as some of the photographs and stories imply?

<sup>195</sup> Many children had to be taught how to use cutlery, plates and glasses. This may make the children appear primitive but in many places the local custom was to eat from communal dishes, using bread and a spoon instead of knives and forks.

<sup>196</sup> See Soysal, Mehmet Emin *Kızılcıllı Köy Enstitüsü Sistemi II*. İzmir: 1943:231-232. They were simple dormitories.

The plan was that during the compulsory five years attendance period, both sexes were to be taught a total of:<sup>197</sup>

	hours
Turkish	736
Mathematics	598
Music	460
Foreign Language <sup>198</sup>	414
Nature and Health	368
Teacher Training	368
History	322
Geography	276
Physics	276
Art	230
Chemistry	184
Physical Education	184
Civics	92
Handwriting	92
Household Management and Childcare	46
Agricultural Economics and Co-operative Management	46

In addition, all pupils were taught how to operate machinery (including sewing machines), drive vehicles, personal and domestic hygiene<sup>199</sup> and elementary sanitation. Further subjects for all, depending on the region, were agriculture,

<sup>197</sup> See *Köy Enstitüleri Öğretim Programı* 1943.

<sup>198</sup> Foreign language provision was the least satisfactory for Pakize Türkoğlu, who reported that it was no more than a couple of hours a year from a visiting teacher. When she graduated to *Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü* in Hasanoğlu, the situation was only marginally better.

<sup>199</sup> Some of the Institutes had *Sağlık Kolları* (Health branches) where they taught First Aid and, in a few instances, how to give injections. Those who completed the course were then sent to the nearest Institute which did not offer this facility to pass on their knowledge. See Türkoğlu 1997:381.

smallholding, botany, zoology, poultry husbandry,<sup>200</sup> apiculture, silk worm farming, fishery management, fishing and seafood harvesting.

Separately, boys were taught hot and cold metalwork, carpentry and construction, whilst girls were taught sewing, embroidery, knitting, weaving and how to care for their homes.<sup>201</sup>

Officially no religion was taught, but pupils and staff could avail themselves of facilities for prayer if they wished. The two pilot Institutes of Kızılçullu and Çifteler had both Alevi and Sünni students, and these two groups learnt to show mutual respect for their different beliefs. They were encouraged to incorporate their cultural and religious diversities in their play and song writing and their story telling.<sup>202</sup>

In a period of material deprivation, the one thing of which there was no shortage was books for schools. Bread was rationed, but books were available at affordable prices; (they were free to the Institute pupils). Talip Apaydın wrote of those days:

"When we were still pupils we always carried a book, even during break and on Sundays. We read non-stop, then we discussed what we had read. At bedtime, we would take a book from under the pillow and frequently fall asleep with it in our hands."<sup>203</sup>

In due course, villagers got used to seeing modern machinery, such as tractors, ploughs, mechanical rakes, sewing machines,<sup>204</sup> drills, motor bicycles and irons. For most rural people, electricity was to remain a distant dream; by 1953, only 0.025% of villages had been linked to the electricity grid.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> A decade earlier the women's magazine *Asar-i Nisvan* featured articles on poultry farming and bird rearing. It also reported on a poultry show in Paris. See *Asar-i Nisvan* İstanbul: Issue Nos 12-14 1926.

<sup>201</sup> See Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekilliği *Köy Enstitüleri Öğretim Programı*. Ankara: Maarif Matbaası 1943.

<sup>202</sup> This would have been much easier for them away from peer and family pressure back in their villages.

<sup>203</sup> Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı 1997:55.

<sup>204</sup> The Institutes experienced considerable difficulty when ordering cloth for their sewing projects because the cloth industry was not geared to producing large orders at short notice.

<sup>205</sup> See Zürcher 1993:215.



Although the level of facilities provided in the Institutes were unheard of in most rural areas, they were far from luxurious. They were functional but simple, with often crowded dormitories.<sup>206</sup> Equipment was not uniformly provided, nor did it always arrive on time. By today's standards, sanitation provision was not always adequate, but it was kept as clean as possible<sup>207</sup>. Doubtless this provision was superior to what some of the pupils had left behind.<sup>208</sup>

The Institutes are now sometimes described as idyllic, which they were not, but evidently, before the systematic changes introduced by the Ministry of Education,<sup>209</sup> they were caring places. They were of benefit to their local community and, eventually, to schools and pupils throughout Turkey. From the point of view of rural girls, this cannot be over emphasized, because example was one of the most powerful tools for getting more rural girls into, and through, Primary school.

Whilst there were many people who were pleased with the impact being made by the Institutes, opponents were plentiful. Some said that the children were "working" not "learning", but these critics failed to take account of the fact that village children had always worked from a very young age. They were now learning to work efficiently, whilst at the same time, through the perceived "work", they were learning how to teach. Critics of those learning to drive asked whether the Institutes were training drivers or teachers. They were doing both. Some detractors were graduates of Technical Colleges who feared being posted to an Institute where they would be exposed as having only theoretical knowledge.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Images of some boarding schools in England at the time are very similar, with the beds placed closely together.

<sup>207</sup> Hasanoğlu Higher Institute had only two lavatory blocks for 500 students but it did have water piped to it. Interview Pakize Türkoğlu 1999.

<sup>208</sup> For descriptions of village living conditions and how some household names gained a place at an Institute see Cimi, Mehmet *O Yıllar Dile Gelse*. İstanbul: Anadolu Matbaası 1997. Names mentioned are: Talip Apaydın, Fakir Baykurt, Mahmut and Naciye Makal, Mehmet Başaran. Although Pakize Türkoğlu won a prize for her book *Tonguç ve Enstitüleri* she is not a household name, but she also is mentioned by Cimi.

<sup>209</sup> See Chapter 1:61 ff.

<sup>210</sup> Interview Pakize Türkoğlu 1999.

As government employees, those who taught at Institutes and the original *eğitmen* who were dispersed to the villages, usurped some of the power which formerly had rested with village dignitaries such as the *ağa*, *kaymakam* and the *muhtar*. These officials saw more and more people being drawn to, and influenced by, what the Institutes were offering. Some, but not all<sup>211</sup>, local dignitaries and land barons were displeased with the possibility of both cheap and tied labour disappearing. Educating girls was also reducing the number of servants available for wealthy households. Some of the girls were, within a short space of time, better educated than the families they would previously have worked for. In addition to these objections, some of the more venal local officials were accustomed to unofficial financial benefits stemming from their status, and were reluctant to see them eroded.

Hasan-Ali Yücel had constantly to contend with increasingly vocal opposition to the Institutes. His position was weakened by the fact that getting the original Bill for the constitution of the Institutes through Parliament had been a struggle. The small majority he had gained left him very vulnerable to the power and influence, not only of land barons but also of emerging industrialists who wanted factory workers, not teachers, and newly empowered peasants. According to Pakize Türkoğlu, they also wanted to employ women at cheaper rates than men.

The beginning of the end of the Institutes came in 1946<sup>212</sup> when the election was won by the ruling CHP (Republican People's Party). Their majority was so slender that they needed to perform political acrobatics to regain lost ground.

Hasan-Ali Yücel was replaced as Minister for Education by Reşat Şemsettin Sirer, who had led the opposition to the Institutes.<sup>213</sup> From the point of view of not just the Institutes but the whole of education policy, the departure of Yücel and the appointment of Sirer was a blow.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> As already noted, others went as far enrolling their own daughters in the Institutes.  
<sup>212</sup> Their fate was sealed in 1950 when the general election was won by the opposition *Demokrat Partisi*.

<sup>213</sup> See Berkes 1997:251-254.

<sup>214</sup> Sirer is alleged to have called the Institutes "nests of sedition" and promised to make them more "nationalistic". See Başaran, Mehmet *Devrimci Eğitim Köy Enstitüleri (Tonguç Yolu)*. İstanbul:Papirus Yayınevi 1991:118-119.

Immediately after the first multi-party elections in 1946, Jeanette Rakin, the first female Deputy in the American Congress, congratulated the Turks on "having found the road to democracy". Concerning the Institutes, she said that "they are a guarantee of a balanced and well adjusted population". She had also noted that "they (the Institutes) would lead to a strong and healthy population".<sup>215</sup> Little did she know what the changes at the Ministry of Education would bring.

Sirer, like Tonguç, had been educated in Germany, but he favoured German Nationalist ideas and supported selective, not mass, education. He was an eastward looking Islamist who opposed the secularization<sup>216</sup> and westernization of Turkey. Until Sirer, the official status of religion in the Institutes was that it was a matter of choice, but he set about including it in the curriculum. He lost no time in building up opposition to general educational policies and, in particular, opposition to Tonguç's plans for the rural masses. According to Pakize Türkoğlu, he played the "religious" card and openly campaigned for the people to be "given back their religion, their traditions and their cultural identity".<sup>217</sup>

Religious instruction became compulsory, thus abolishing the secular nature of the Institutes. He segregated the sexes not just into different classes but into different buildings. Extra curricular activities were abolished on the grounds that they demeaned the new staff. This was damaging to the bonds which had been forged between pupils and staff.

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<sup>215</sup> See *Ulus* September 27<sup>th</sup> 1946.

<sup>216</sup> Because the secular nature of the republic has been emphasized, it is sometimes forgotten that the modernization and secularization of the country had been gradual, and that both religious and secular educational provision had co-existed for decades before 1923. See Fortna 2002.

<sup>217</sup> It is understandable that in 1946, barely two decades into republicanism, that there were plenty of people who misunderstood the concept of secularism and confused it with being denied their religion but Kemalist policies were anti-clerical, not anti-religious. Under Mustafa Kemal, religion was to be a matter of individual conscience rather than a fundamental basis of society. Both Pakize Türkoğlu and Refika Eker confirmed the confusion among some villagers.

Further damage was done when pupils and staff were separated in the canteens. Whereas previously they had all shared the same food at the same tables, after Sirer's appointment the staff withdrew to what Berkes described as "rooms resembling the *kahve* (coffee house) where they played cards and backgammon."<sup>218</sup> The whole ethos of the Institutes was changed.<sup>219</sup>

Sirer altered the intake policy to include urban children. This policy worked against village children who did not always achieve the same grades at Primary school as their urban counterparts. So the Institutes, which were founded to educate rural village children to become teachers, eventually ended up offering them fewer places.

Although officially the Institutes were secular, how this policy was interpreted varied. There were ongoing differences between some of the directors. For example, Emin Soysal at Kızılçullu blamed rural backwardness on fatalism and religious bigotry. Halil Fikret (Kanad), at Çifteler, taught that tolerance and appreciation of religion was an important part of education, but that religion was not the medium through which education had to be conducted.<sup>220</sup>

Sirer's Reform Law No 5210 was completely at odds with the law passed in 1927 for *Köy Mektepleri* (Village schools) which had required education to be of practical use, and to have visible results. This was exactly the policy which had been integrated into the Institutes.

Sirer's new brief for the Institutes required both staff and pupils to honour their country<sup>221</sup> and to relinquish the responsibilities they had learnt to shoulder. The self governing bodies were disbanded, and the members had to endure a high level of interference from an unsympathetic Minister.

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<sup>218</sup> See Berkes 1962:347.

<sup>219</sup> Interview Refika Eker 1999.

<sup>220</sup> Despite this attitude he had not supported Tonguç and steadily undermined his efforts throughout his (Tonguç's) period at the Ministry of Education. Kanad really wanted to see the Institutes as ordinary Teacher Training Colleges and not as Institutes for training village teachers. Interview Refika Eker 1999.

<sup>221</sup> There was no evidence that anybody had ceased to do so.

It was not only Institute pupils who were affected. The consequences of Sirer's policies, coupled with Tanrıöver's<sup>222</sup> influence, were evident in school textbooks from his appointment onwards. The role models of women which were beginning to be accepted as the norm were wiped out and old stereotypical gender divisions were reverted to.<sup>223</sup>

Yücel had gone, but Tonguç was still head of the Primary Education Directorate. He too came under fire from within the weakened ruling CHP. General Kazım Karabekir<sup>224</sup> who, as President of the Council of Ministers, sided with the Minister for Agriculture in deriding the farming techniques taught at the Institutes.

Sirer and his followers' argument for segregated education was based on the premise that honour and morals would thus be protected. They ignored how many overcrowded Anatolian families lived with boys, girls, parents and animals often sharing cramped accommodation. Often three generations shared the same sleeping quarters. They worked together in the farmyards and fields from a very early age. Being in close proximity to the opposite sex was nothing new to these children and did not appear to corrupt their morals.

Despite political in-fighting, the pupils and most of the staff at the Institutes remained committed to the original ethos. This was particularly true of those who progressed from the *Köy Enstitüleri* to the *Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü* (Higher Institute where they were trained, not as Primary teachers but as Secondary teachers). These, by now young men and women, aimed to utilize their education not only to train more teachers but also to demonstrate that change was possible.

With hindsight it could be argued that İnönü and his ruling CHP party's *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu* of the previous year (1945) which provided for land for the small farmers actually brought about the destruction of the Institutes.

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<sup>222</sup> See Chapter 1:38 Fn 118.

<sup>223</sup> See "Gender/Sexuality in Turkish Text Books" 6.1 in the Appendix:285.

<sup>224</sup> See Özerengin, Faruk *Kazım Karabekir: Hayatım*. İstanbul: Emre Yayınları 1995:35-36. For other references to Karabekir see Chapter 3:201. Earlier, Kazım Karabekir was one of the most vociferous opponents of the alphabet reformation. He even went as far as suggesting that it would be blasphemy to read the Koran in Latin script.

Many of the various political factions were active against the CHP. The Bill, which was welcomed by both staff and pupils at the Institutes, provided for land to be requisitioned from those owning acreages of more than 500 *dönüm* (125 acres), land owned by pious foundations and unused State lands. These lands were to be redistributed to eligible farmers, but when this Bill was first debated in the Assembly, Adnan Menderes, the opposition spokesperson for the land barons, opposed it vehemently.<sup>225</sup> This was the first time the government had been strongly and publicly criticized. The government's determination to push through the Land Redistribution Bill<sup>226</sup> was cited by the opposition as clear evidence of lack of democracy. The Bill was passed, but it had very far reaching consequences for the Institutes.<sup>227</sup>

In 1946, the year following the *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu*, the first laws passed concerning the Institutes (Law Nos 5117 and 5129) provided for teachers to be given a salary increase but, also for them to lose their right to land for practical demonstration purposes. Pupils had to be removed from the construction programmes. This in effect meant the end of any new school provision and, in due course, the closure of some, because the inadequate budget was already overstretched. A further blow was changing the name from *Köy Enstitüsü* to *Köy Öğretmen Okulu* (Village Teacher Training School).

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<sup>225</sup> Sabiha Sertel claimed that Celal Bayar, another opposition member, had promised her, when they collaborated on her magazine *Görüşler* in 1945, that, when the time was ripe, he would support the Bill, but that he let her down and sided with Menderes. Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel. This bill is further discussed in Akkan, R. "Problem of Land Reform in Turkey" *Middle East Journal*, XX 1966:317-334 and in *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu ve Türkiye'de Zirai bir Reformun Ana Prensipleri* İstanbul Üniversitesi: İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası V1 1944-1945.

<sup>226</sup> One of the countless objections raised was that the Institute staff were actually explaining the Bill to the pupils as well as openly supporting it themselves. For references to some of the political manoeuvring which took place see Berkes 1997. In Berkes' view none of the factions involved in the destruction of the Institutes was entirely blameless, with intrigue and counter-intrigue besetting them all.

<sup>227</sup> After the *Demokrat Partisi* came to power one by one the Institutes became *İlköğretmen Okulları* (Primary Teacher Training schools) whilst others fell into disuse. The curriculum at the *İlköğretmen Okulları* was not geared to variable local need. (From correspondence with Frank Tachau in 2001.)

Before Tonguç resigned from the Ministry of Education in 1946 19 Institutes<sup>228</sup> were up and running efficiently.<sup>229</sup> These Institutes were achieving their aims: to train Primary teachers for rural villages, to send some of the more able students<sup>230</sup> to train as Secondary teachers for rural areas and to enable those who did not go into teaching to effect change (in due course) for the better, through serving the community in other ways.

In October 1946 Tonguç wrote to several of his colleagues thanking them for their unstinting support and loyalty throughout his campaign for better education for all. He wrote to all the Principals of the Institutes saying "I am depending on my replacement and those of you who remain to continue with your task. I have nothing further to add." Tonguç was probably the first educationist in Turkey to realize that, although the rural population had much to learn, educationists in turn had much to learn from them.

Although Tonguç is described above as one of the architects of the Institutes, there were others who, according to Berkes<sup>231</sup>, made contributions which should not be overlooked. For example, Halil Fikret Kanad was regarded by Niyazi Berkes as the real "father" of the *Köy Enstitüleri* and Mehmet Emin Soysal as the facilitator who actually realized his ideas. Their original input was overshadowed by their later efforts to change the whole constitution of the Institutes to Primary Teacher Training Schools. Similarly the success of some Institutes masked trouble at others.

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<sup>228</sup> The last one, Hakkari, was officially opened after Sirer's decision to restructure the Institutes.

<sup>229</sup> Some of the opponents of the Institutes disputed their efficacy in the courts. Öner, who brought charges of corruption, communism, amoralism and anti-Islamism, was to call graduates from some of the Institutes as witnesses to testify against Yücel. See Yücel, Hasan-Ali *Davam*. Ankara: Ulus Basımevi 1947.

<sup>230</sup> Many of these young men and women went to Hasanoğlu Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü which was 23 Km from Ankara. It was not considered the best location for benefiting rural people, but, according to Türkoğlu, it was placed there for easy access by bureaucrats who used it as a show-case without having to inconvenience themselves and their visitors by taking them into the rural hinterland.

<sup>231</sup> See Berkes 1962:342-343.

Tonguç was replaced by Yunus Kazım Köni who had been a Secondary School psychology teacher, but who had also taught at Hasanoğlu *Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü*. He set about getting rid of key players in the Institutes, then, starting with Kızılçullu<sup>232</sup> (near İzmir) he made them single sex.

This Institute for girls was oversubscribed, with pupils coming from as far away as Kars, Van and Diyarbakır. The fact that it was single sex may have swelled the numbers; nevertheless it indicates that, although still wary of co-education, some parents had accepted that their daughters could play their part in the development of rural education. This could be interpreted as a sign that some of the Institute's female graduates had indeed been seen as good role models in rural village schools. A further sign of changing attitudes was that, although many of the staff at Kızılçullu were men, parents were still prepared to send their daughters from far afield.

İnönü claimed that, when he died, the only two marks he wished to leave on history were the establishment of multi-party democracy and the Village Institutes.<sup>233</sup> This disingenuous statement does not tie in with history as he was seen as the man who presided, albeit superficially unwillingly, over the closure of the Institutes.

Apart from contending with parliamentary opposition, a campaign was mounted, by those who shared Sirer's ideology, against Institute staff and pupils. Whilst some of the girls were being trained as teachers, others were being given tertiary education at the Higher Institute.<sup>234</sup> They were composing music, operas and playing unfamiliar musical instruments. Sirer had claimed that such activities were *İslam'a aykırı* (contrary to Islam).

Having weathered all these storms and eventually the demotion of the Higher Institute at Hasanoğlu, many graduate teachers were then posted by the Ministry of Education to the most inhospitable places, where they were expected to teach without proper facilities and no backup from the Ministry. In the last

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<sup>232</sup> Later, this Institute's buildings were taken over by NATO and some of the girls were sent to Bolu where there was an old Forestry School building. The remainder were sent to Beşikdüzü, which was in the process of transferring the boys elsewhere.

<sup>233</sup> He made this statement about the Institutes in April 1946 at Hasanoğlu *Yüksek Enstitüsü*. See Türkoğlu 1997:486.



year of the Higher Institute, the young men who were about to graduate were even barred from entering the army at officer level.<sup>235</sup>

In their brief history (in total from 1935-1946) the Institutes had far reaching effects. They produced future educationists, writers<sup>236</sup>, musicians, Ministers, Members of Parliament, industrialists, lawyers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists, vets, agricultural engineers as well as other professionals.

Despite the destruction of the ethos of the Institutes, they played their part in shaping a generation of educated professional people, who helped to highlight the benefits, not only of co-educational but also of equal educational policies. There are many (by now retired) professionals who would not have attained such positions had they not had the opportunities which the Institutes offered.<sup>237</sup>

Many of the Institutes had women on the staff although none was managed by a woman except as a member of the self-governing councils before they were abolished.

It will probably take decades for Turkish educational historians to acknowledge that, during this period, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and Hasan-Ali Yücel were almost the only individuals who came to the Ministry of Education without pre-conceived ideas and "instant success" recipes. Yet, despite all their efforts and their rejection of foreign educational experts, in 1952 another report was commissioned from the West by the Ministry of Education.

Dr. Kate Wofford of Florida University wrote a lengthy report detailing her observations of the state of rural Primary education.<sup>238</sup> A further report was funded by the Ford Foundation, the findings of which harked back to demands for "education for all as witnessed in all civilized societies". The compilers gave

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<sup>234</sup> By this time there were many women at University.

<sup>235</sup> No details of how many Institute graduates were drafted into the army have been found, but Aktan gives details of his military service after graduating from Hasanoğlu. See Aktan, M. *Köy Enstitüleriyle Canlandırıcı Eğitim Yolu*. İzmir: Etki Matbaacılık 1999:195-196.

<sup>236</sup> For a list of writers who attended the Village Institutes see Bayrak, Mehmet *Köy Enstitülü Yazarlar, Ozanlar*. Ankara: Doruk Matbaası 1985.

<sup>237</sup> For example: Professor Ayşe Baysal was Professor of Nutrition and Dietetics at Ankara Hacetepe University; Professor Mürüvvet Bilen was Professor of Education also at Ankara Hacetepe University. Pakize Türkoğlu became an educationist at Marmara University.

<sup>238</sup> See Berkes 1962:372.

the impression that the period from 1935 to 1946 had not existed. Many of their suggestions read as if they were discovering new ideas and possibilities for the rural masses.

As for Tonguç, his ideas stemmed from his experiences as a "hands on" contributor who demolished the prevalent thinking in education circles that it would be the turn of the rural population "in due course, but not yet".

There were genuine grievances among some of the Institutes' graduate teachers because they were not treated even-handedly by the Ministry of Education. They did not enjoy the same status, pay<sup>239</sup> or promotion prospects as their "normal" Primary teacher counterparts. According to Fay Kirby Berkes, during the Fifth National Education Conference of 1953, among the delegates from the Institutes which had been changed into Primary Teacher Training Schools, there were critics who opposed compulsory religious instruction in the new curriculum, but there were no outspoken mourners at the burial of the Village Institute movement. The delegates were more interested in achieving parity with other Primary school teachers.<sup>240</sup> This indicates that within 7 years the original ethos was well and truly dead and gone.

Certainly in the period leading up to the 1950 elections, Institute graduates were obliged to teach religion, even though they had been educated to accept and believe that secular education was not anti-religious.

There was a slight relaxation of the official attitude towards a few of the graduates from the *Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü* at Hasanoğlu. Some were given permission to sit the entrance examinations for the three least prestigious departments of the *Gazi* in Ankara. A few were permitted to apply for bursaries for higher technical courses but, because the *Gazi's* admissions policy favoured urban children, not many applicants were successful.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> In principle this is little different from the "weighting" system used in England to attract teachers to urban areas where the cost of living is higher. However, in Turkey in 1947 they were paid under half the salary of urban Primary teachers. Some of the teachers who had been given tools and equipment such as sewing machines had them recalled.

<sup>240</sup> See Berkes 1960:862.

<sup>241</sup> See Berkes 1962:352.

Nevertheless this was an indication that, officially, a degree of flexibility in the policy towards graduates of the Institutes did exist. In the literary world, two of the most notable successful candidates were Mahmut Makal and Fakir Baykurt.<sup>242</sup>

There is scant reference to the fact that some Institute graduates were sent abroad for further education. This in itself was confirmation that their ability was not in doubt. The only reference to this appears to be in relation to the students from Çifteler who were recalled during the Yücel-Öner trial. The basis of the case brought against Yücel was that he stood accused of instilling communist doctrine and that he poisoned young minds with ideas which were anti-family, anti-religion and against national traditions.<sup>243</sup>

Although political infighting was the main reason for the downfall of the Institutes, there were other issues which should be borne in mind. Turkey was still a very young republic with a big agenda. The population had to accept republicanism, new geographical boundaries, secularism, multi-party politics, a new script, language reform, new rights for females and universal voting. Industry was only just beginning, the economy<sup>244</sup> was not well managed<sup>245</sup> and many ministers were inexperienced.

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<sup>242</sup> Both of them took almost two years to pass the exam. On completion of the *Gazi*, Baykurt wrote *Yılanların Öcü* whilst working as a Turkish language teacher at *Konya Astsubay Okulu*.

<sup>243</sup> See Türkoğlu 1997:525 ff; Berkes 1962:352.

<sup>244</sup> Turkey was in a healthy financial position at the end of World War II, with good gold reserves and foreign credits. In years of good crops Turkey exported grain, cotton, dried fruit, tobacco and numerous other agricultural products. The funds existed to improve education, but, not unlike the situation in Britain today, other calls on the budget received priority. The Democrats were very lucky in that there were three successive bumper harvests following their election victory in 1950. This meant higher farm wages which kept some of the farm workers happy.

<sup>245</sup> The Democrats had introduced a law to encourage foreign investment but the plan had disappointing results with only 30 foreign firms investing during the decade of Democratic Party rule. See Zürcher 1993:234-236.

Although the percentage increase for boys was greater than for girls, the increased will and effort in rural education is confirmed by the official statistics for 1952 which reveal that, in 1936, there were 262,730 boys and 115,000 girls attending village Primary schools. The figure rose to 681,119 for boys and 373,229 for girls in 1950. The number of boys and girls trebled during the period 1936/7 to 1950/1.<sup>246</sup>

In the post Tonguç/Yücel era, there were other consequences of Sirer's policies and Tanrıöver's influence. From 1928 onwards, Turkish school textbooks appear to have been devoid of gender bias, in both the written content and in the imagery. In this instance, the Turkish Ministry of Education was decades ahead of its English counterpart. Sexist imagery was rife in English school textbooks until the 1960s. From Sirer's appointment onwards, his policies were reflected in the textbooks, and the role models of women, which were becoming accepted as the norm, were eliminated and old stereotypical gender divisions were reinforced.<sup>247</sup>

#### 1.9.1 A SHORT COMPARISON OF THE *KÖY ENSTITÜLERİ* WITH A SIMILAR EXPERIMENT IN ENGLAND DURING THE SAME PERIOD: THE CAMBRIDGESHIRE VILLAGE COLLEGES

By way of comparison of events in Turkey with those in England it is useful to examine an educational experiment in Cambridgeshire which was first proposed in 1924, and which was later to spread to numerous regions.<sup>248</sup>

In 1924 Henry Morris, the Chief Education Officer for Cambridgeshire published, at his own expense, *A Memorandum: The Village College, Being a Memorandum on the Provision of Educational and Social Facilities for the Countryside, with Special Reference to Cambridgeshire*.<sup>249</sup> In the *Memorandum* he outlined his vision for improving education in rural areas. He was a rationalist philosopher, albeit fired by an almost religious idealism, credited, in

<sup>246</sup> See *Republique Turque Office Central de Statistique* Vol 20 1952:159.

<sup>247</sup> See in 6.1 in the Appendix:285 for examples of gender representation in textbooks before Sirer's appointment and afterwards.

<sup>248</sup> The schools are now called Community Schools.

educational circles, with initiating one of the greatest steps forward in education theory and practice in England.

It was not only in Turkey that things moved slowly; Morris' document was not acted on by the committee until three years later when they approved the building of the first Village College in Sawston, and it was another three years before the building was opened. Financial stringency and government cuts, just as in Turkey, were the cause of the delay. He raised some of the money and equipment from private sources in England and America. The effect of the Wall Street crash (in 1929), and the Great Depression, was felt in England and there was a freeze on all new school building until 1934. In spite of this, he managed to get the building of four Village Colleges started by 1937. One of them, Impington, opened in 1939, was designed by Walter Gropius who had just been appointed Professor of Architecture at Harvard.<sup>250</sup> Morris described it as "a masterpiece, the most advanced rural community centre in the country".<sup>251</sup>

In the *Memorandum* under the heading of "Education and rural welfare" he wrote:

"The immense development of the State system of education in England during the nineteenth and present centuries has been almost wholly an urban development. The towns are rich, and as they are centres of large populations, the provision of schools and institutes for higher education has not been administratively difficult because the pupils live in hundreds and thousands at their very doors. The elementary schools of the town are, on the whole, better built and more generously staffed and equipped than those of the countryside; secondary schools, with few exceptions, are situated in towns; so also are the centres of technical education. The most vigorous and systematic popular movement for adult education, the Workers Educational Association, is an urban movement with comparatively little influence in the villages; there is no corresponding movement for advanced higher education in the countryside.

There are two obvious reasons for the less vigorous development of education in the countryside – its inferior economic position, as compared with the urban centres of industry, and the size and

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<sup>249</sup> See Ree, Harry *The Henry Morris Collection*. Cambridge University Press 1984.

<sup>250</sup> Gropius was in effect the founder of the Modern Movement in Europe. His liberal ideas did not accord with the views of Hitler, and he moved to England to practise his architecture. In 1954 Pevsner, in *The Buildings of England*, described Impington College as "one of the best buildings of its date in England, if not the best".

<sup>251</sup> See Ree 1984:7.

scattered character of the villages which did not lend themselves to easy organization for the purposes of education and recreational life."

Morris further argued in his *Memorandum* that, through the recasting of the rural elementary system, the Primary and Secondary schooling needs could be provided, and boys and girls could be fitted for life (in its broadest sense) as countrymen and countrywomen. Owing to the operation of a free place scholarship system, the more able children were lost to the countryside because their urban education was largely literary and academic, which meant they could seldom find suitable employment in rural areas. Morris wanted to reorganize the village schools into a system of senior schools in the larger villages, supported by tributary junior schools for children under the age of eleven in the smaller surrounding villages. His theory was that very small village schools, with fewer than 100 pupils, could not be organized along sound principles, and the small numbers did not permit adequate staffing arrangements. This meant that the older children simply marked time after the age of eleven or twelve because they were taught with all the other children and so their progress was limited.

Just as with the *Köy Enstitüleri*, the ultimate aim was to provide several central establishments with either graduates or specially qualified teachers in charge. Morris envisaged that with the establishment of the central schools the staff in the village Primary schools would be relieved of the burden of trying to teach the older pupils and thus provide the younger children with a thorough grounding before they went to a central school. In addition to the usual subjects, subjects relevant to rural living were to be introduced in some of the larger central schools.

The existence of the senior schools made it possible, as the Institutes did in Turkey, to attract a new type of teacher to the countryside. Apart from specially qualified teachers, eventually, there were ten head and assistant head teachers who were graduates from Oxford, Cambridge, London, Glasgow, Wales and Birmingham.<sup>252</sup> In Turkey some of the *Köy Enstitüleri* had graduates from Ankara and İstanbul as Principals.

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<sup>252</sup>

See Ree 1984:16.

In England the County Council was the statutory authority for:

A). Education:

- elementary, higher, secondary and further education
- agricultural education
- social and physical training for children, young persons and adults

B). Public libraries, juvenile employment insurance schemes, public health and agriculture, which included the lesser rural industries.

All these facilities were provided, but invariably in unsuitable buildings and inconvenient locations for the rural population. Thus all these elements were administered in isolation from each other. Morris envisaged them all being in one centre which would be a focal point for the community and the surrounding areas. The Village College would then serve multiple purposes and strengthen the rural communities. For example, the library would bring people into the college and thereby allow them to avail themselves of other opportunities on offer in the same building or group of buildings. The college would be central to the lives of the people it served and in it, according to Morris' ideas, the conditions would be realized under which education would not be an escape from reality, but an enrichment and transformation of it.<sup>253</sup>

In the final paragraphs of his *Memorandum* Morris wrote:

"The time is ripe for a great constructive step forward in the rural problem. The work of re-establishing the life and welfare of the countryside is admitted to be really urgent; it is required in the interests of our national life and health. And as we may not always remain a predominantly industrial country, it is necessary that the problem of the reconstruction of the village should be dealt with in good time. There are certain economic aspects of rural welfare that can only be dealt with by government, but all the other aspects of rural welfare are such as can be dealt with by education in its widest sense and by the rebuilding of the social life of the countryside. And if this great work can not be carried out in accordance with some such plan as has been briefly described, in what way is it possible to conceive its ever being done? "

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<sup>253</sup>

Ree 1984:29.

The similarities between Morris' Village Colleges and the *Köy Enstitüleri* in Turkey are far greater than the differences. İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, Hasan-Ali Yücel and Morris were competent educationists. They were not people brought from other disciplines because of their administrative ability, they were all realistic, in that they knew what was achievable. They were idealistic, in that they all worked tirelessly to improve the lives of the rural population through sound education.

The major difference apart from the fact that the *Köy Enstitüleri* were founded as rural Teacher Training Colleges, is that community schools in a contemporary form now exist all over England whereas in Turkey the Institutes fell victim to political intrigue and eventually ceased to exist. That is not to imply that the eventual English Comprehensive system has not also been subject to the vagaries of political whim.

Tonguç probably knew about the Cambridgeshire Village Institutes in England, but, because Turkey had traditionally had close relations with France and later with Germany and rather poor relations with England after World War I, they were not even considered as a suitable solution for the rural areas in Turkey.

This chapter has revealed that within a century, Turkish State educational provision for females expanded to match the provision available to males. The initial main provider, the private sector, was firstly regulated, and later eclipsed by new laws and provisions for State education. The developments for females did not match those for males in the early years but by the end of the first decades of the republican era progress was so advanced that consideration was given to the wider inclusion of rural females who had previously not been the focus of expansion plans.

The State plans did not stop with Primary and Secondary schooling. As early as 1869 the importance of female teachers as role models was recognised and the success of the *darülmuallimat* attests to this. In the republican era the new secular government recognised the paucity of rural educational provision for both males and females. Co-education was a further step which built on ever expanding provision. One of the most successful plans to train teachers for rural areas was the establishment of the secular *Köy Enstitüleri* which did not



recognize any gender bias in either recruitment or teaching. Although this project failed, nevertheless it was an important milestone in the plan for greater inclusivity of State education for all, irrespective of gender, location or social background.

It was as a result of improved educational opportunities that some females were able to embark upon careers which would previously have been impossible. Teaching was an important and popular choice but, as the following chapters reveal, journalism was also emerging as an option.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.1 JOURNALISM: A CAREER OPTION FOR EDUCATED FEMALES

It has been noted that, following the success of Secondary schooling provision and the *darülmuallimat*, many educated women enjoyed active careers as teachers and educationists, but for some of them other career opportunities beckoned. This chapter aims to highlight the versatility and the achievements of several female journalists and to underscore how important their early educational grounding was to the development of their careers. There were numerous male writers and journalists active in the late Ottoman press and many of them enjoyed high public profiles but the histories of many women journalists active in the same period have remained hidden. The research in this chapter concentrates on the achievements of a selection<sup>254</sup> of early female Turkish writers and journalists.

After teaching, journalism<sup>255</sup> and writing were popular choices. One of the reasons for this choice was that, along with teaching, it was one of the few socially acceptable activities which gave them access to a wider world. Volunteer nursing and other charitable works were also acceptable activities.

The first chapter charts the development of educational provision for women from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century up until the 1950s. The chapter showed that the trend in education for them was upwards, rather than simply a horizontal expansion of the Primary and Secondary schooling provision, and that, later, the narrow target area of urban girls was enlarged by the establishment of the *Köy Enstitüleri*.

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<sup>254</sup> In making the selection famous names such as Halide Edip, Fatma Aliye and Nermin Abadan Unat have been left out because they are already very well known. Others have not been included because only isolated instances of their journalistic work have been uncovered.

<sup>255</sup> There were role models of women teachers in Turkish literature, but, except in isolated instances, women writers and journalists were not a feature. For example in "Şule'nin Defteri" in *İnci* magazine, one of the main characters was a female writer. See Chapter 3:189.

Between 1870 and 1927, 39<sup>256</sup> women's magazines had been published to satisfy an increased demand from better educated women. Some magazines were owned and edited by women whilst others used material written by women who were interested in getting their voices heard or financial reward, or both.

Whilst some made self-supporting careers out of journalism, others used it as an additional source of income to augment the family budget. A further group of women, who came from wealthy and well connected families, used journalism to promote and support particular causes.

During the late Ottoman period urban Turkish women were, along with urban Egyptian women, more socially advanced than in many other Islamic countries. When the content of some of their magazines is examined it is clear that, although they were fighting for greater social, economic and political inclusion, in comparison with many other Muslim women, they could have counted themselves among the more fortunate. Some of the Ottoman Turkish women journalists, whose biographies are in this chapter, made valuable contributions towards the wider socio-economic inclusion of women in late Ottoman and early republican Turkey.

The *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası*<sup>257</sup> (Bibliography of Old Script Women's Magazines in the Libraries of İstanbul) is a bibliography of Ottoman Turkish women's magazines published in Arabic script. The book lists İstanbul libraries where such material is held, the names and dates of the publications, the number of issues,<sup>258</sup> the names of the owner (and editor where known), names of contributors and the titles<sup>259</sup> of the articles. Apart from this, no other details are given, which means that biographical information about many of the contributors has to be sought elsewhere.

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<sup>256</sup> See Chapter 3:113 ff.

<sup>257</sup> Published by Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, İstanbul (KEKBM), 1992.

<sup>258</sup> The data needs to be read with caution because it only refers to the issues held in the KEKBM and not the total number of issues published. To calculate this, all the other holdings have to be compared, and the total number established from the figures given.

<sup>259</sup> Not all articles had titles.

As mentioned above, many male journalists and writers became well known and information about them is easier to find than it is about women in the same field.<sup>260</sup> It was noted in the previous chapter, that the route to recognition for men often progressed from education and writing (poetry, fiction, journalism) to the Civil Service. Whilst many women followed the same educational and literary path, the Civil Service was not a career option for them until Turkey became a republic.

Several of the more famous women in this field might be the subject of monographs or mentioned in various encyclopaedias, but more detailed information about them and some of the others is difficult to find.

Some, but not all, of the information contained in this section is based on interviews conducted in İstanbul with Ferit Ragıp Tunçor in 1998/9.<sup>261</sup> He was born in 1907 and qualified as a teacher in 1923. Later in his life he worked in the publications department of the Ministry of Education. For much of his professional life he documented the lives of women writers and journalists, but since his retirement in the 1960s he has researched in the archives in various libraries in İstanbul and conducted lengthy interviews with some of the women journalists and writers featured in this chapter.<sup>262</sup>

The information will be presented in chronological order of the journalists' birth dates (where known).

2.1.1 Hatice Nakiye/Hatice/Zekiye (1846-?) are the names under which Hatice Nakiye wrote her contributions to *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, *Kadın* (Salonica Issue), *Kadınlar Dünyası* and *Mahasin*. She was one of twins born in İstanbul to Osman Sahip Efendi and Samiye Hanım.<sup>263</sup> The family were practising *Mevlevi*s and she was raised and educated in the rules of the *tarikat*.

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<sup>260</sup> By no means all men who got their work into print made names for themselves. The KEKBM catalogue attests to this.

<sup>261</sup> Some of the articles written by various women writing for the Ottoman women's press were located through following up leads found in the KEKBM catalogue.

<sup>262</sup> I am indebted to him for his encouragement and generosity with his time. Up to the time of the interviews, none of the material had been published.

<sup>263</sup> Samiye Hanım was the sister of Şerefe Hanım, a poet active in the mid 1800s. Interview İbrahim Manav 1999

Her parents died when she was young but an aunt, possibly realizing that she would have to make her own way in the world, made sure that she could read and write.

When her aunt died, she was sent to the *darümuallimat*. She took Persian lessons from Hoca Necit Efendi who later used his influence at the Ministry of Education to get her a teaching post at the same *darümuallimat* where she had been trained.

Later she taught Persian and history. In 1883 she published *Lugat-i Farisiyye*, the only Turkish-Persian dictionary to be written by a woman.<sup>264</sup> She also translated Namık Kemal's *Zavallı Çocuk* (Poor Child) into Persian.<sup>265</sup>

She taught at the *darümuallimat* as well as giving private lessons to the daughters of men of the highest rank. She was a friend of Sultan Mehmet before he came to the throne. She was well regarded amongst the most influential of Ottoman ladies who considered her conversation to be second to none. This fact highlights the level of education she received at the *darümuallimat*.

She was invited to accompany Princess Zeynep to Egypt for the wedding of the *Khediv* İsmail Paşa. This led to further advantageous social contacts.

Sultan Abdül Mecit had given her father the *selamlık* (reception quarters) of an old house which had fallen into disrepair. She sold the ruins of this building and used the money to restore another ruin, in Davut Paşa, which had been given to her by the *Vakıf* Directorate. She lived there among her extensive collection of books for the rest of her life.

Her life was not confined to literature and education. Through various pious foundations, she was able to improve the lives of some of the under-privileged. She was a spinster who lived for her books, improving education and helping those in less fortunate situations than herself.

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<sup>264</sup> Interview: İbrahim Manav 1999.

<sup>265</sup> This remained in manuscript form.

She wrote poetry and several of her poems were published in *Kadın* (The Salonica Issue)<sup>266</sup>

2.1.ii Nigar Bint-i Osman (1862-1918)<sup>267</sup> was the daughter of Sandor Farkas, a Hungarian, who became known as Macar Osman Paşa when he came to İstanbul after the Hungarian Revolution. He converted from Christianity to Islam and then took the name of Osman Nihali. He spent the later part of his life as an instructor in the Military Academy. Her mother, Emine Rıfatı, was a cultured woman, who was a daughter of Nuri Bey who enjoyed the rank of *Mühürdar* (Seal bearer)<sup>268</sup> to Keçecizade Fuat Paşa.

At the age of eight Nigar Hanım, who had until then been a very reluctant pupil, was sent to a boarding school in Kadıköy, run by a Madame Garos. She was taught Turkish, French, music, art and the traditional subjects considered suitable for a young lady. The school had pupils of Armenian, Italian, Greek and other nationalities. Nigar Hanım showed an interest in some of their languages.

As with many young ladies, with the onset of puberty, she was taken away from school and continued her education at home with private tutors. In 1874 when she was thirteen years old she was betrothed to Mehmet İhsan Bey and a year later they were married.

She was a contented young bride in her husband's family home for the first couple of years of her marriage. The death of her nine year old brother, when she was only fourteen, affected her deeply, as did her husband's diplomatic posting to Berlin as an Attaché in the Embassy. Nigar Hanım did not accompany him, and he returned within months when his posting was cut short.

<sup>266</sup> See: "Kadınlık", (Womanhood) *Kadın*, No 1, 26 Oct 1908; "Yelkenli Gemi", (Sailing boat) *Kadın*, No 12, 11 Jan 1909; "Takaddüme-i Naçiz", (No Priority) *Kadın*, No 26, 9 May 1909. For articles and poems written by her see entry under Zekiye, KEKBM catalogue, 390.

<sup>267</sup> She was very well known, but the justification for including details of her life is that other published material about her is usually about the content of her poetry. For further information see Osman, Nigar Bint-i *Hayatının Hikayesi* İstanbul: Ekin Basımevi, 1959.

<sup>268</sup> Usually implies a private secretary to a high-ranking official.

In the following four years she gave birth to three sons. Her health was delicate and she spend some time recovering from kidney disease. She convalesced on the island of Büyük Ada with her family. Her husband visited her with their children to begin with, but later his visits stopped.

During this period they corresponded in an attempt to come to an agreement about access to their children who, under the laws of the *Şeriat*, lived with their father. He was a spendthrift, womanising and neglectful husband and father, who always returned to her in Büyük Ada when he ran out of money. She agreed to him staying on the understanding that he mended his ways. The arrangement was short lived and he reverted to his old habits. In 1889, citing incompatibility, they were divorced.

Nigar Hanım resolved to remain single but, in 1895, she was persuaded to marry her ex-husband again. His financial position had improved after the death of his father, and he had indicated that he wanted to support her and their children. He failed to do so, but she endured the marriage for the sake of their sons' education. Finally, in 1902, they were divorced again.

She was befriended by Emine Semiye Hanım<sup>269</sup> and accompanied her on a lengthy visit to Greece. Nigar Hanım had not been paid the pension due to her from her father's occupation and she was in extreme financial difficulty. She appealed to Sadrazam Ferit Paşa, who was a close family friend, to have her financial position clarified and the monies due to her paid.

In 1905, her financial difficulties eased a little, and she decided to throw herself into a career as a writer. Although she had left school at the age of eleven, her private education had continued at home. She had little difficulty in articulating her ideas.

In 1906 she visited Emine Semiye Hanım again and also went to Vienna for medical treatment. She spent a long period in a sanatorium in Austria and then returned to İstanbul via Hungary. She was overjoyed at the news of the new Constitution, (proclaimed in 1908) and had high hopes for the future.

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<sup>269</sup> Wife of Reşit Paşa, and daughter of Cevdet Paşa.

The following year she went on an extensive tour of the major classical sites in Egypt, Greece and Italy. At each destination she received hospitality from the Ambassador and was feted as a writer and woman of rank. She was entertained by Carmen Sylva<sup>270</sup> and treated as an honoured guest.

Back in İstanbul, the new regime ceased to pay her pension and, once again, she experienced financial difficulties. Further ill health forced her to return to the sanatorium in Austria to undergo major surgery. She was invited to convalesce in Monaco, where she was presented to King Gustav V of Sweden, the fourth king she had met.

Due to political tensions in the Balkans and the Balkan War, she returned to İstanbul as quickly as possible via Switzerland, Hungary, Austria and Roumania. Her Hungarian relatives insisted that she stay with them in Hungary, but she returned to the adopted country of her father and her sons.

During this period, she became part of the inner court circle of Şadiye Sultan, Fehime Sultan and Hatice Sultan, Sultan Murad's daughter. She was valued for her literary skills and her musicality, which she had inherited from her mother. The heir apparent, Vahdettin Efendi, was particularly fond of her conversation and, when he died in 1915, she was deeply distressed. Hatice Sultan insisted that Nigar Hanım remain in the palace to comfort and support her. Nigar Hanım became part of the court circle and Burhanettin, who was now heir apparent, made sure that she was included in all his musical soirées.

Due to poor health, she rejected offers of senior positions with the Ministry of Education. She was also forced to give up her work with numerous charitable foundations. She spent the last few weeks of her life, when she was well enough, visiting her friends at court. On April 1st 1918 she died of typhoid fever, having failed to make any entries in her diary for the previous few days. She died in the Şişli children's hospital, and was buried in the Kayalar cemetery between Beşiktaş and Rumeli Hisarı.

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<sup>270</sup>

Carmen Sylva was Queen Elizabeth of Roumania and a published author. See Chapter 3:150



Like many well connected women, she tried to found a school which would bear her name. She did not achieve this in her lifetime, but shortly after her death a school and a street in Rumeli Hisarı were named after her.

Her literary output included *Safahat-kalb* written in 1901 and *Elham-ı vatan* written in 1916. Her writings appeared in the following magazines: *Demet*, *Hanımlar Alemi*, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, *Kadın* (İstanbul issue), *Kadın* (Salonica issue), *Mürüvvet* and *Parça Bohçası*. In addition she wrote countless poems, stories and articles as well as keeping a diary.

2.1.iii Behice Ziya Kollar (1871-?), was the daughter of Ziya Bey, a Minister of Forestry and Mining. She was educated at Emirgan *rüşdiyesi* and later went to a *darülmuallimat* to train as a teacher. Having qualified, she continued her education with private tutors, acquiring an excellent command of Turkish. An English teacher was brought from England to ensure that she and her brothers learnt good English. She was also taught French.

In 1890 she published a novel called *Ahval-i Alem* (World Affairs)<sup>271</sup>. She had articles published in *Maarif* magazine and in *Ziya* which she owned jointly with her brother. Most of her writing for *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* was not signed but, according to Ferit Ragıp Tunçor, is identifiable through her outstanding command of the Turkish language and her literary style.

2.1.iv Gülistan İsmet (1874-?) was the daughter of Binbaşı Bağdat'lı Mehmet Tevfik Bey, a pro-European soldier who championed higher education for girls. He sent Gülistan to Primary school in Saraybosna, and then to the American Girls' School in Üsküdar.

Her father made sure that her own religion and culture were not neglected during her education. In spite of her being at the American school during Sultan Abdülhamid's most oppressive period, she became the first Turkish girl to

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<sup>271</sup> This work may be a translation of a book by Albert "Delbi". (The Ottoman script is illegible.)

graduate in 1891.<sup>272</sup> The fact that his regime did not invariably inveigh against Turkish pupils in foreign schools has been addressed in the previous chapter.

Apart from perfect English, she also had an excellent command of French. Her father had intended to send her to America to read medicine but, fearing that he might be sent into exile, she refused his offer.

In 1897 she married Mustafa Asım and they both became involved in *İttihad ve Terakki* (Committee of Union and Progress) in Salonica. Gülistan ran the women's branch of the society as well as being responsible for English language press releases to the European and American press. For the CUP, this position was one of great importance, and accuracy would have been imperative.

When her husband was posted to İstanbul: Gülistan Hanım had to leave the charitable foundation which she was setting up in Salonica and join him.

Through her learned articles for *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, and several other publications, she gained respect as a writer.<sup>273</sup> In 1914 she wrote an article for *Nevsal-i Milli* (The Nation's Youth), urging Turkish mothers to be more careful when bringing up their children. She maintained that civilized and developed countries were the ones which paid great attention to the upbringing of their children and that, in her view, some Turkish mothers fell short of the ideal.<sup>274</sup>

2.1.v Rebia Tefvik Başokçu (1887-?) was the daughter of Tefvik Bey, a Financial Controller of the Ministry of Works; her brother was a well known painter, Refet Tefvik Başokçu. She was educated at home and then went to the *darülmualîmat* to train as a teacher, where she gained a first class diploma. In 1907 she married Ahmet Aziz Bey, and spent the following nine years combining motherhood with a teaching career before divorcing her husband.

<sup>272</sup> According to *Türk Maarif Tarihi* this school only taught the first 3 grades until it expanded in 1890 to include higher grades.

<sup>273</sup> See KEKBM catalogue:381 for a list of which issues contain some of her writing. Out of all the articles listed, it should be noted that 10 are translations, not original works.

<sup>274</sup> See "Beşiği sallıyan el cihana hükmeder". (The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world); "Çocuk aileyi, aile milleti temsil eder" (the child represents the family, the family represents the nation) in *Nevsal-i Milli* 1914:421-422.

She had to earn a living and, after the First World War, as soon as it was safe to travel, she went to Paris and then to Germany. In Berlin she founded a highly successful fashion house, employing over a hundred people. Her fashions were much sought after, and for three years in succession she won first prize at the Berlin fashion ball.

When Hitler appeared to be threatening the stability of her business, she moved it to the Champs Elysées in Paris where her success continued. Just before the start of the Second World War she distanced herself completely from the world of *haute couture* and turned to study instead. She read psychology at the Sorbonne from 1938 until it was closed on the orders of Hitler in 1940. She was forced to give up her studies, but as she had a good command of both French and German, she could broadcast from Paris to Turkey every week. She wrote articles which were sent to the Turkish press. From that time onwards she devoted her entire life to social work and writing.

During the First World War, before she left Turkey to live in Germany, she was employed as a secretary at the Red Crescent headquarters in Bebek. Whilst in Berlin she chaired the *Türk Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti* (Turkish Infant Protection Society), which was set up by the Turkish Ambassador.

In 1934 an attempt was made to involve her in a German plot to smuggle Hellenistic treasures out of the Santa Sophia Mosque. She had been approached by a criminal gang who offered her 25% of the profit once the stolen items (helmets) were sold to museums in Europe. She reported the approach to the Turkish Ambassador who immediately had the objects removed and placed in a museum. From then on she added the preservation of national treasures to her list of causes.

In 1938 there was catastrophic earthquake in Erzincan, so she set up *Aide à La Turquie* to raise money for its victims.

In 1941 Rebia Tevfik Başokçu returned to Turkey and secured employment as a journalist on Ahmet Emin (Yalman)'s the *Vatan*<sup>275</sup> newspaper. It is possible that, by employing a successful woman, he was trying to challenge Sabiha Sertel's position with the *Tan Gazetesi*. She also started broadcasting on Ankara radio.

Her first book, *Paris Cehenneminden Nasıl Kurtuldum* (How I was Saved From the Hell of Paris), was serialized in the *Vatan*, and then the book rights were passed to a charity. She then wrote *Avrupa'da 20 Senem Nasıl Geçti* (How I Spent my 20 Years in Europe), also serialized in *Vatan*. The book attracted the attention of the Ministry of Education, and, approving of its moral tone, they chose it as a school textbook.

In 1944 she reported on the political situation in Greece and Bulgaria for the *Yeni Sabah* newspaper. These reports were later collated into book form. During this period she wrote a novel called *Daima Asla* (Never Ever).

In 1946 the *Vatan* newspaper appointed her as their Paris correspondent and as their United Nations accredited journalist. She toured the whole of Europe and sent countless reports back to Turkey. She was invited by NATO to observe their manoeuvres in Europe.

The French Ministry of Commerce financed a return passage to America for her, in those days a generous gesture, but whilst she was there, she decided to stay on. She founded an association which fostered relations between American and Turkish children. The project, and her prolific writing, occupied her last years. According to Ferit Ragıp Tunçor, much of her writing remains unpublished in a private archive.

2.1.vi Belkıs Şevket was born in the late 1800's. She was a cultured and well informed woman who had been privately educated. She had a good command of English which she taught in private schools in İstanbul. She also taught music. Shortly after the death of her father, Ata Paşa, she got married, but her husband died young leaving her to face the difficulties of bringing up their only child.

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<sup>275</sup> He had been part of the partnership, with the Sertels, which bought *Tan Gazetesi* from the *İş* bank but they fell out over policy. See Chapter 4:254.

She gained a diploma in midwifery<sup>276</sup> and practised in several hospitals. She was a progressive woman with an interest in social structures. She wrote articles for several magazines but became most well known for her article in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* about a flight in an aeroplane in 1913.<sup>277</sup> She was feted as one of the bravest women in Turkey but before that she had other more serious articles<sup>278</sup> published in the same magazine.

She was interested in the modernisation of all aspects of her country and wrote about changing the traditional Turkish costume, about the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and about women in industry and in the arts.<sup>279</sup>

2.1.vii Ayşe Sıdika<sup>280</sup> was born some time in the late 1860s or early 1870s and died of tuberculosis in 1903. She is well known for *Usul-ü Talim ve Terbiye*, a manual on pedagogy, which the Ministry of Education authorized her to publish. Extracts from this book were printed in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. Her father was Mustafa Efendi, a man with ambitions for his daughters, but one who was unwilling to invest any money in their education. Through posing as a very poor family man he managed to secure free places for them at *Zapyon Kız Lisesi*. Ayşe Sıdika went on to the *darülmuallimat* and later to the Ministry of Education and then to teach pedagogy, again at the *darülmuallimat*.<sup>281</sup>

She contributed several articles on childcare to *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* as well as writing on women's education for *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

She was married to a distant relative, the poet Rıza Tevfik Bölükbaşı, who neglected her as much as her father had. She was of a quiet disposition; he was a heavy-drinking, unsupportive husband and father. She concealed her private

<sup>276</sup> Already a long established career for women.

<sup>277</sup> See "Uçarken" (In flight) *İnci* Issue No 120, 13 Dec. 1913:3-4.

<sup>278</sup> A couple of her articles were about the veil and whether or not it should be retained.

<sup>279</sup> See "Kıyafet-i Milliyemizi Nasıl Düzeltmeli" (How should our national dress be sorted out) *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, No 52 7 June 1913:4; ibid "Tesettür ve Peçete" (The veil) No 72 27 June 1913:4; ibid "Ticaret ve Sanatta Kadın" (Women in commerce and in the arts) No 113 25 Nov. 1915:6-7.

<sup>280</sup> See references to her in Chapter 1:23.

<sup>281</sup> According to Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın), she rose to be principal of today's Çapa Anadolu Öğretmen Kız Lisesi. See "Hayat-ı Matbuat-Usul-i Talim-i Terbiye Dersleri" (Instruction methods for the press) the *Sabah* newspaper, 30 Nov 1899.

anguish from her family and many friends, but when she developed tuberculosis she had to depend on the charity of neighbours as her husband took no interest in his wife and family. Both of her daughters were sent to board at the American School when she fell ill, but who paid the bill remains a mystery.

She is remembered in Turkish poetry as the subject of Rıza Tevfik Bölükbaşı's poem, "Selma, Sen de Unut Yavrum" (Selma My Love, You Also Must Forget). He wrote it whilst consumed with guilt about the suffering he had inflicted upon his young wife and daughters. He wrote the poem in response to a request from their daughter Selma, who wanted to know more about her mother who had died young.

2.1.viii Hüviyet Bekir Bek (Ors) (1902-), a daughter of Ahmet Bekir, was born in Salonica. She went to Primary school in Salonica, then Kadıköy *Numune Mektebi*, a that time a French Convent, and finally a German school. Between 1918 and 1923 she trained as a teacher in Germany. Upon her return she was employed as an instructor in teaching methods at Çapa *Öğretmen Okulu*.

She was sent by the National Education Commission on a variety of fact finding missions. Her reports and translations of manuals appeared both in professional journals and in the press.

In 1926 Hüviyet Bekir Bek was appointed the first woman on the *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Kitap İnceleme Komisyonu*, a commission which scrutinized text books. She was sent to the 1928 Conference on Pedagogy, and the following year she spent six months monitoring the educational systems in Vienna and Berlin. In 1930 she broadened her knowledge by touring educational institutions in Greece, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Italy, and then submitted her report to the Ministry of Education. The same year she sent a book *Der Wind Um Den Bosphorus* to the International Book Fair in America. She was the Turkish delegate at the 1932 Copenhagen spiritualists' conference, and, in 1936, she toured Russia with a group of educationists.

The Ministry of Education commissioned her to write a textbook on the Primary school curriculum. In the Department of Philosophy, at İstanbul University, she

used the latest projection techniques to demonstrate how hand-writing could be taught. In 1936, a further book, *İlkokullarda Yazı Dersi* (Primary School Hand Writing Lesson), was commissioned from her by the Ministry.

2.1.ix Hasene Ilgaz (1904-) was the daughter of Mehmet Fevzi Bey. She was well educated, first at home and then at a *rüşdiye* in İstanbul. She was one of the first women to attend the public lectures in the Literature Faculty at the University.<sup>282</sup> She trained as a teacher and spent the first twenty years of her career in education, rising to become a principal. She was the leader of *Şehremi Halkevi*. In addition to her teaching, she spent several years trying to perfect an alphabet based on her own system.<sup>283</sup>

From 1920s onwards, in addition to teaching, she devoted her time to social issues; she was an active member of several organizations and president of the *Okul Aile Birliği* (Parent Teacher Association).

She made a name for herself as a writer with numerous contributions to regional newspapers. The subjects which she tackled were wide-ranging, including social and educational issues. She was a leader writer for the *Ak Gün Gazetesi* in Giresun from 1933-1935, and for the *Çorum Vilayet Gazetesi* from 1946-1951. She contributed articles for *Hatay Gazetesi* in 1943. Later she wrote for the *Yeni İstanbul* and the *Cumhuriyet* newspapers in İstanbul and for the *Kadın Gazetesi*.

From 1943 to 1950, she served two terms as Member of Parliament for Çorum and Hatay. She was active in the fields of education, women's rights, justice and the problems of the working class. She was successful in getting three new welfare laws passed.

From 1947 onwards she toured the countries around Turkey with the intention of spreading information about the law and the legal rights of the individual. Her aim was to help people set up their own social welfare groups. She was particularly well known in Cyprus, where they named a street after her. In 1948

<sup>282</sup> For references to the Women's University see Chapter 1:26.

<sup>283</sup> According to Ferit Ragıp Tunçor this should have been published, but no evidence of it has been found. For years George Bernard Shaw worked on a similar project, and when

she published *Kıbrıs Notları* (Cyprus Notes).<sup>284</sup> In 1960 she wrote a lengthy, critical article about the state of the nation's youth for *Yeni İstanbul*.<sup>285</sup>

2.1.x Mükerrerem Kamil Su was born in Bursa in 1904. Her father, Halil Hulusi Bey, worked as an inspector for the Ministry of Public Works, her mother was Hatice. She was educated at *Taşmektep* in Sultanahmet and later at the *darülmuallimat* from which she graduated in 1923. She is an example of a teenager gaining a teaching qualification.

Her first post was at *Halıcıoğlu Mehmet Sami Bey Mektebi*, but she moved on to become head teacher of *Burhaniye Kız Mektebi*. She then taught in several schools in Edremit before accepting a post as head teacher at *Gazi Yatılı Mektebi* in Susurluk.

In 1933 she married Kamil Su who was the general manager of the Historic Works and Museums Department. From then on she began to develop her writing, having started with plays for school children and for the community to stage at the local *halkevi*.

In 1934 the *Savaş*, a Balıkesir newspaper, commissioned her to write a novel for serialization. She rewrote an earlier novel called *Sevgim ve İstirabım* (My Love and Misery). It was published in 1934 and later reprinted in 1936, 1938, 1943 and 1946. A further novel, *Bu Kalp Duracak* (This Heart is Going to Stop), was commissioned by *Savaş*. It was first serialized and then published in 1935 and reprinted in 1944.

In 1936, having passed her examinations in Turkish Language<sup>286</sup>, which enabled her to teach in Secondary schools, she was appointed to teach Turkish at *Balıkesir Lisesi*. At the same time she was commissioned by the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper in İstanbul to write a further novel for serialization. *Sızı* (Ache) was published in book form in 1943.

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he died, he left the residue of his estate to institute a British alphabet of at least 40 letters.

<sup>284</sup> Some of her works were: *Karakol Cemiyeti* (no date); *Yeni Bahçeli Şükrü* (no date); *Cumhuriyet'ten Sonra Çocuk İşleri* (1933); *Halkevleri Çalışmaları* (1935); *Kıbrıs Notları* (1948); *Ertuğrul Faciası* (1954), 33. *Ceza Evinde Gördüklerim* (1955).

<sup>285</sup> See "Yedi Bela Çetesi" (Gangs) *Yeni İstanbul*. İstanbul: 26 Feb 1960:2.

<sup>286</sup> Her previous qualifications did not entitle her to teach above Primary level.



In 1942 she enjoyed similar success with *Ateşten Damla* (Drops from Fire) which was published and reprinted in 1945. It was turned into a play and then a film.

She spent ten months in Germany in 1938 and upon her return she taught at the *Maarif Koleji* (College of Education). In 1941 she was posted to *Ankara Kız Lisesi*. The following year, having been awarded a Certificate of Excellence, she was promoted to Assistant Director. She remained in this post until 1954, and continued to write articles, novels and short stories for *Ulus*, *Zafer*, *Son Posta*, *Son Telegraf*, *Resimli Ay*, *Yarım Ay*<sup>287</sup> and *Çocuk ve Ana*. Her collected stories were published by *İnkilap Kitabevi* in İstanbul.

Mükerrem Kamil Su retired from teaching in 1954 to devote time to social and cultural issues and radio broadcasting. She was responsible for *Çocuk Saati* (Children's Hour) and a frequent contributor to *Kadın Saati* (Woman's Hour) on the radio. Her programmes about science, the arts and travel were very popular.

She was concerned with the youth of modern Turkey and the adverse influence which, in her view, sport, the cinema, theatre, dancing and concerts were having. She worried that young people were without proper guidance and were not being taught to discriminate. She was an advocate of censoring children's reading material, and restricting the cinema to those over the age of eighteen, except to see children's films.

According to Ferit Ragıp Tunçor, her novels can be divided into two groups: those written from 1933-1943, which were centred on emotions, and the second group, from 1943-1958, which consisted of analytical and psychological novels. Like many other writers of the period, she was influenced by European writers such as Georges Sand, Honoré de Balzac, Emile Zola, Victor Hugo and in particular Emily and Charlotte Brontë.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> Both *Resimli Ay* and *Yarım Ay* were owned by Sabiha Sertel, the subject of Chapter 4.

<sup>288</sup> Most of their works were translated into Turkish and published in the *Dünya Klasikleri* series.

She was, evidently, an admirer of Turkish writers such as Halide Edip, Peride Celal and Muazzez Tahsin Berkand, but disliked the influence of Kerime Nadir,<sup>289</sup> because in her characterization of female heroines she breached the bounds of morality.

Mükerrem Kamil Su wrote approximately one hundred short stories between 1934 and 1948. In the years 1947, 1955 and 1958 her *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi* (History of the Turkish Republic) was used in Secondary schools.

2.1.xi Münevver Ayaşlı was born in Salonica in 1906. Her father was Albay Tayyar Bey and her mother was Hayriye Şerife Hanım. During the First World War her father was posted to Aleppo and then to Beirut. Münevver firstly attended a German school, run by a religious order and then, for a brief period, a Primary school for Turkish children founded by Halide Edip. This was a former French convent school which the nuns had closed down at the outbreak of war.<sup>290</sup> When her parents realized that Halide Edip also took the local Arab children to make up the numbers, Münevver was withdrawn and sent back to the German school.<sup>291</sup> Halide Edip's Turkish school closed down and her staff returned to İstanbul.

Münevver Ayaşlı was a model pupil who was proficient in German. After five years in Beirut and Aleppo her father was posted back to İstanbul. Münevver, who was then a mature fourteen year old, had lived a life of comparative luxury. She was used to the company of many influential men of her time, but back in İstanbul she had to adapt to a less social way of life. She had been taught music from a very young age and played the piano well.

The family moved to Kadıköy and she went to *Erenköy Kız Lisesi*. In 1930 she married Nusret Ayaşlı, a former diplomat, who died of a heart attack in 1944.

<sup>289</sup> Kerime Nadir was born in 1917; the novels to which Mükerrem Kamil Su was referring were probably *Seven Ne yapmaz?*; *Günah bende mi?*; *Solan Ümit* and *Uykusuz Geceler*.

<sup>290</sup> See Ayaşlı, Münevver *Geniş Ufuklara ve Yabancı Ufuklara Doğru*. Ankara: Hayat Dergisi Yayınları 1991:35-37.

<sup>291</sup> Halide Edip appears to have misread the market for her school. The better off local Turkish families in Beirut were no different to many families in Turkey who wanted to send their children to European schools. Halide Edip herself was a product of western education.

Her friends, İffet and Halim Oruz, helped her through depression following the death of her husband. In 1947 İffet Halim Oruz launched the *Kadın Gazetesi* (Woman Newspaper)<sup>292</sup>, and she invited Münevver Ayaşlı to contribute material. In the second issue her first story, *Bakır Bakracım* (My Copper Bowl), appeared. In this short story she compared a battered but attractive copper bowl to a Turkish villager who, although frequently abused, nevertheless shone through, his goodness and brightness always coming to the fore.

Following the success of this piece the *Yeni İstiklal* newspaper commissioned her to write political articles. At the same time she wrote for the *Yeni İstanbul*: whilst later, she contributed a daily article to the *Yeni Sabah*. She also wrote for the *Yeni Asya* and *Türkiye* newspapers.

In 1968 her first novel, *Pertev Bey'in Üç Kızı* (Pertev Bey's Three Daughters), was serialized in the *Yeni İstanbul*. This novel, along with its second part, *Pertev Bey'in İki Kızı* (Pertev Bey's Two Daughters), was published in 1976.

In 1991 when she was eighty five years old she published *Hatırlayabildiklerim, Geniş Ufuklara ve Yabancı İlimlere Doğru*. (Memoirs, Wide Horizons and towards Foreign Lands).<sup>293</sup>

2.1.xii Suat Derviş<sup>294</sup> (1903-1972) was born Hatice Suat in İstanbul. Her father was a professor in the Faculty of Medicine and her mother was Hasene Hanım, the daughter of a distinguished musician. Her grandfather, Professor Derviş Paşa, a chemist, was one of the first six Turks to be sent to Europe for higher education. He was one of the founders and first professors at the *Darülfünun*. Suat Derviş was related to Çapanzade Ağah who founded the *Tercüman-ı Ahval* newspaper in 1860, the first independent Turkish newspaper.

<sup>292</sup> Not to be confused with *Kadın* produced in Salonica in 1908.

<sup>293</sup> This is the 2nd volume of her memoirs which were serialised in *Hayat Dergisi*. The first was called *Avrupai Osmani Rumeli ve Muhteşem İstanbul*, the second serialised as *30 Yıl*. Both have subsequently been published in book form by *Hayat Dergisi*.

<sup>294</sup> She also wrote under the following names: Hatice Hatip, Emine Hatip, Süveyda H. (Hatip was an old family name.) In Europe she wrote under the name of Süzet Dolu.

She was educated at Kadiköy *numune ilkokulu* and at the *numune rüşdiyesi*. She also went to *bilgi yurdu*<sup>295</sup> to continue her education and gain a diploma. From a very young age she had a governess who taught her French, and a private Turkish language tutor reinforced her Turkish.

In 1919 she went to Berlin to study at the *Sternishes Conservatoire*. Having mastered German, she attended classes in the literature and philosophy faculties of Berlin University. She spent the following ten years in Europe, mainly in Germany. Using her European pseudonym of Süzet Dolu she contributed to several magazines and journals.

She married Reşat Fuat (Baraner) and together they set up *Yeni Edebiyat* (New Literature), an unsuccessful magazine. She and Baraner divorced, and she married Nizamettin Nazif (Tependelioğlu) who worked for the *Gece Postası* and *Haber* newspapers.

She was a very productive journalist, writing on topics as diverse as science, music and social matters. Her family and educational background, coupled with her linguistic ability, had given her both a love and an understanding of language, literature, music and art.

Suat Derviş had her first piece of writing printed in 1918 aged 15. It was an attempt at a prose poem which her friend Nazım Hikmet arranged to have printed in Refi Cevat (Ulunay)'s journal called *Alemdar*.<sup>296</sup> Following this she wrote short stories and novels which appeared in a variety of magazines and newspapers. She translated works from European languages, and, later, several of her own stories were translated into French, German, Serbian and some Scandinavian languages. She was a contributor to *Tan Gazetesi* which was owned by Zekeriya and Sabiha Sertel, Halil Lütü (Dördüncü) and Ahmet Emin (Yalman).

In 1923, *Hiç Biri* (No One), a novel, was serialized (prior to publication) in the *Yeni Şark* newspaper. In the same year she published her collected short stories as *Behire'nin Talipleri* (Behire's Suitors). According to Ferit Ragıp Tunçor, her writing can be divided into two parts. The first part, which ended in 1931 with

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<sup>295</sup> Similar to institutions offering further education.

her novel *Emine*, consisted of romantic, sentimental, unrealistic and immature works not untypical of the period. The heroines were stereotypical and the outcome of the stories predictable. The second period was completely different. Her stories were based on her observations of tensions within social and family relationships.

Ferit Ragıp Tunçor claimed that she sacrificed some of her potential as a writer for commercial reasons. Her vocabulary and use of language were both tailored for her readership, and although the subject matter was based on reality, her characters often lacked depth and subtlety.<sup>297</sup>

2.1.xiii Melek Erip Erbilin was born in 1911 in İstanbul. Her parents, Sabri Bey and Advıye Hanım, were prosperous landowners. She started Primary school in İstanbul: but when she caught pneumonia, the family moved her to live on Heybeli Ada. From there they moved to Switzerland, where a French governess (who stayed with the family for forty years) was employed to teach Melek and her two sisters. Later a German governess was added when the family moved to Zurich. The young Melek was also given separate tuition in English.

The family returned to İstanbul after three years in Zürich, and Melek studied fine art and the decorative arts at *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi*. At the same time she studied the piano at the Conservatoire in İstanbul. She began writing as a teenager, and in 1923 she won a competition organized by *Süs*,<sup>298</sup> a magazine for women, which was owned by Mehmet Rauf. The following year she submitted articles to Abdullah Cevdet's *İçtihad* magazine. In 1935 she married Erip Erbilin, an architect and they went to live in Ankara.

She experienced financial difficulties and took a job in the General Directorate of Publishing. She was encouraged to take part in a competition for radio

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<sup>296</sup> This piece appeared in the literary supplement of *Alemdar*.

<sup>297</sup> Her works included: *Kara Kitap*, 1920; *Ben, Sen, O*, 1923; *Hiç Biri*, 1923; *Ahmet Ferdi*, 1923; *Behire'nin Talipleri*, 1924; *Ne Bir Ses, Ne Bir Nefes*, 1924; *Fatma'nın Günahı*, 1924; *Beni Mi?*, 1924; *Buhran Gecesi*, 1924; *Gönül Gibi*, 1928; *Emine*, 1931; *1936 Modeli Gençler ve Zavallı Peyami Safa* (co-written with Kemal Tahir and Ahmet Cevat Emre), 1936. From 1938 until 1950 she translated works by Proust, Suderman, Cecil St Laurent, Agatha Christie and Edgar Wallace. *Ankara Mahbusu*, 1968 and *Fosforlu Cevriye* were her last works.

speakers, and won the first prize. In the mid 1930s women were beginning to make names for themselves in broadcasting, and following her success in this medium, she was transferred to the Italian desk of the Directorate of Publishing. The radio was an excellent medium for those listeners who had low levels of literacy. During this period she also contributed short stories to the *Ulus* newspaper.

In 1939 Melek Hanım accompanied her husband on a posting to Salonica where he was overseeing the construction of a hospital. During her stay there, she wrote a short piece about the dilapidated state of the house in which Atatürk was born. Later, in 1948, this piece<sup>299</sup> won her the first prize, against fierce competition from several well established writers, in the Yunus Nadi writing competition.

When, in 1942, her husband was drafted into the army, again she had to work to support herself and their small daughter. Her regular newspaper articles were not enough and she went to work on the *İnönü Ansiklopedisi* for İbrahim Alaettin (Gövsä). Her job was to translate material for the encyclopaedia from English, Italian and German. She worked for Gövsä both in his office and, when necessary, at home, but eventually she resigned to follow a career as a freelance writer and journalist.

She was the first person to translate Emily Brontë's *Jane Eyre* into Turkish. This was for serialization in *Ulus*. She translated several other novels, including Claude Anet's *Mayerling*. Her translation of *Mayerling* was later published in book form.<sup>300</sup>

She translated articles for broadcasting, and also had some of her own material used on the radio. She entered a competition organized by *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* (Child Welfare Foundation). They wanted to publish two books for use in both Primary and Secondary schools. Her novel, *Gölpınar'ın Çocukları* (Gölpınar's Children), was chosen and published by the foundation as the winning entry for the Secondary school text.

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<sup>298</sup> *Süs* featured a lot of poetry.

<sup>299</sup> Her entry was printed in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 10th March 1949. Her husband was later responsible for the restoration of the building.

<sup>300</sup> Erbilen, Melek *Mayerling Faciası*. İstanbul: Akba Kitabevi, 1944.

In 1952 her second daughter, Nilüfer, was born, but she continued to write at home as well as having her work broadcast as a regular feature on *Kadınlar Saati* (Woman's Hour) on Ankara Radio. Later, her writing for radio was published in book form as *Radyo Konuşmaları* (Radio Talks). She was one of the founders of the *Türk-Amerikan Kadınlar Kültür Derneği* (Turkish-American Women's Cultural Association) for which she gave talks on a variety of topics, including Turkish poets. Her two daughters have been very successful, one at the United Nations in Geneva and the other at Hacetepe University.

2.1.xiv Müzehher Va-Nu was born in Lazkiye, Syria in 1912. Her father, Faruk Ömer Karama Aralı, was detained as a prisoner of war in Beirut, so she, and her mother, moved to İstanbul. In 1918 the whole family settled in Antalya but her mother died when she was under seven years old. She was typical of so many young Ottoman girls; her father educated her at home in addition to a smattering of Primary education in a French, an Italian and a Turkish school. She had one year of Secondary schooling but was married off at 17 and produced a daughter, Nihal, the following year. The marriage didn't work out so she left the child with her husband's family and went to live in İstanbul with her father. They lived on Büyük Ada until 1937, and during the three years spent with her father she systematically educated herself by working her way through school text-books. She also had private English lessons. Her father returned to Antalya in 1937 and she sought permission to work, but this was not granted, possibly because of the place of her birth, so she re-married. This was also unsuccessful and after four years they parted.

During the four years of her second marriage she trained herself in writing techniques employed in fiction and in the press. She made numerous translations from English. Her material was exceptionally wide ranging. Some of her work was published in the Sertel's *Tan Gazetesi* during one of its most controversial periods.<sup>301</sup> In 1942 she married Ahmed Vala Nurettin (known as Va-Nu), and both of them contributed to the *Akşam* newspaper in the mid 1940s and then to the *Cumhuriyet* and the *Dünya* newspaper in the 1950s and 1960s.

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<sup>301</sup> It was always controversial but, even more so, in 1944-45.

Ahmed Vala Nurettin and Nazım Hikmet were great friends and shared common political views, but they later went their own separate ways. Owing to her husband's association with Nazım Hikmet, in the public domain his name eclipsed hers.

The International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam holds the Va-Nu archives, but a large portion of it is his correspondence rather than copies of her articles.

2.1.xv Muazzez Aruoba (Kaptanoğlu)<sup>302</sup> was born in Karamürsel in 1917 to Kaptanzade Mehmet Bey and Sıdıka Hanım. Muazzez, one of three children, was educated at Primary school in Karamürsel, at *Bursa Kız Lisesi*, Nebizade Hamdi Bey's *Yüce Ülkü Lisesi* and at *Cumhuriyet Lisesi* from which she gained a diploma.

Whilst she was still at school, her first poem was published in Mehmet Faruk (Gürtunca)'s *Çocuk Sesi* magazine. In 1935 her first piece of prose appeared in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, then in 1936, Muazzez Aruoba and two friends, Ruhi Ayaş and Fuat Ülkmen published her first book *Üç His ve Üç Akis* (Three Senses and Three Reflections).

She had started writing whilst she was studying at *Yüce Ülkü Lisesi* where her teacher was Zaim Hayri<sup>303</sup> and at *Bursa Kız Lisesi*. From 1935 onwards she was a regular contributor to *Resimli Ay*<sup>304</sup>. Her series of short stories, *Boz Kır Kapısında Ayşe Destanı* (The Epic of Ayşe at the Gate of Boz Kır), was serialized in *Resimli Ay*. One of her novels, *Çalınan Beste* (Stolen Melody), was serialized in *Uyanış*, a magazine supplement to the *Servet-i Fünun* newspaper, which also featured her short stories, poems and articles.<sup>305</sup>

<sup>302</sup> She used the following pseudonyms: Zeliha Gören, Zübeyde Kaptanoğlu, Emine Tanrıkulu and Leyla Tunç.

<sup>303</sup> She was a frequent contributor to *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

<sup>304</sup> See Chapter 4:227 ff.

<sup>305</sup> *Çalınan Beste* was published in book form as *Çile* in 1945.



She was a prolific writer whose articles appeared in the *Vakit*, *Yarım Ay*, *Modern Türkiye*, *Yeni İstanbul* and the *Hafta* newspapers in *İstanbul*; and the *Ulus*, *Zafer*, *Haber*, *Hakimiyet* and *Kudret* newspapers and magazines in Ankara.

In 1938, the year in which her father died, she met Fahir Aruoba who was studying at the Military Academy. Two years later they were married, and she followed him on all his military postings.

In *İstanbul* she had been employed in the government department which scrutinized the content of the press, but she transferred to the general management of the Directorate of Publishing and the Press in Ankara during her husband's posting.

Having produced two sons between 1942 and 1944, she started to write about social matters, morals and the rights of individuals. She was an active founder member of the Women's Union and, as their representative, she broadcast frequently on Ankara radio. In 1943 she published her book *Kadın ve Ahlak* (Women and Morals).

In June 1970 the Hungarians awarded her a Silver Freedom Medal for her articles (written in the 1950s) about the struggle of the Hungarian people. Her husband, who took up journalism, wrote about the Hungarian cause as well.

Towards the end of her writing career she was elected to the Senate of the Ankara Association of Journalists. She continued to contribute a steady stream of articles to the press until she retired in 1972.

2.1.xvi Nuşin Kavukçuoğlu was born in *İzmir* in 1928 to Hüseyin Hüsnü and Mükerrrem Coşkun who was a poet. She was educated at *Misak-ı Milli İlkokulu* and *İzmir Lisesi* where her literature teacher encouraged her to write. Following *İzmir Lisesi* she attended *Akşam Sanat Lisesi* and *Amerikan Sekreterlik Okulu* in *Beyoğlu*. She married Ferit Kavukçuoğlu, a mechanical engineer, and followed him to *Bremen* on a three year posting.

She took this opportunity to study German and journalism and to take classes in the art of Japanese porcelain painting. She wrote articles on social issues for Turkish newspapers in *Bremen*. They returned to *İstanbul* in 1961.

Her husband died in 1963 and she had to support herself. She worked for the Ship Owners Syndicate as their press officer. She was head of the culture and literature branch of *Kadiköy Halk Eğitim Merkezi* (Public Education Centre).

She met the poet Behçet Kemal (Çağlar), who was interested in spreading popular poetry in rural areas. Together, they, and a group of other literary friends travelled around country villages with the aim of collecting and taking poetry to the people.

She was one of the founders of *İstanbul Sanat Sevenler Derneği* (İstanbul Art Appreciation Association) and the head of the social branch of the *Türkiye Deniz Donanma Vakfı* (Turkish Naval Foundation).

In 1969 she launched *Eflatun* magazine and contributed her own poems and articles of literary criticism. She organized poetry festivals and readings as well as writing literary articles for magazines distributed in rural areas. *Başkent, Hakimiyet, Hür Anadolu, Emel, Zaman, Demokrat Gümüşhane* were some of the publications which featured her work. She was also a correspondent for the arts pages of *İstanbul İşçi Postası* (İstanbul Workers Post).

In addition to her writing, she devoted time to improving the lot of underprivileged children. She was an informed and experienced traveller who chronicled all her travels throughout Turkey, Europe and across America.

2.1.xvii Jülide Göksan was born in Adana in 1929. Her father, Kemal Göksan, worked as a manager for the State Railway; her mother was Nigar Hanım. The nature of her father's work meant that Jülide attended a variety of Primary schools in Kargamış, Islahiye, Tarsus and Mersin. She started her Secondary schooling in Mersin and completed it at *Ankara Kız Lisesi* in 1948.

Mualla Anıl, her literature teacher at *Ankara Kız Lisesi*, was to have an influence upon her development as a poet. She studied law for two years, but decided against the subject when her father sought to divorce her mother. Instead she attempted to be a serious modern poet and writer. During her years in the Faculty of Law, she helped to found a literary circle for young students interested in poetry reading and composition.

Jülide Hanım was influenced by the poetry of Faruk Nafiz (Çamlıbel) who was also a journalist and teacher, and Necip Fası (Kısakürek), but the folk poetry of Karacaoğlan and Aşık Veysel<sup>306</sup> was, for her, real poetry.

Initially she thought that only by living amongst country people, who made up the bulk of the population, could she reflect their true nature in poetry. The "artificial, comfortable and degenerate" population in Ankara did not represent any form of reality for her. Her compositions in the traditional style of folk poetry were successful, but she derived little satisfaction from them. She started writing about emotions and ideals using syllabic metre, but after a while she found this method restrictive and started composing in free verse.

She thought that in order to be competent in free verse it was first necessary to understand the confines of restrictive metre. She claimed to pity earlier female poets, such as Fitnat Hanım and Nigar Hanım, because they were forced to emulate male poets who used the *Divani* style of writing. This barred them from composing anything personal or realistic, because they were restricted to the traditional subject of, often cruel, unrequited love.

She was concerned about the lack of poetry and prose for children. For her, poetry was both an ideal medium for teaching children about God, responsibility, morality and beauty, and also for them to learn to express their emotions. She did not believe that children needed books written especially for them or that adult literature should be simplified and expurgated for children, but that good books, suitable for all age groups, were needed. Homer's *Iliad* was, in her opinion, an excellent example and one of her ambitions was to translate it.<sup>307</sup>

In 1950 Jülide Göksan and some of her friends launched a literary magazine called *Bahçe* (Garden). Later in life she married Abdullah Rıza (Ergüven) who was a lawyer and a minor poet.

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<sup>306</sup> Karacaoğlan, who was similar to a troubadour, lived in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Aşık Veysel was a contemporary folk poet (1894-1975) who sang all over Turkey. He enjoyed popularity in the early republican period when there was a revived interest in folk music and poetry. Pakize Türkoğlu mentioned that his writing was popular in the *Köy Enstitüleri*.

<sup>307</sup> Her views differed from those of Plato, who in his Book III, advocated censoring the Greek myths for children.

2.1.xviii Melahat Faik Gökmen was born in İstanbul in 1930. Her parents were Colonel Ömer Faik Gökmen and Hasibe Hanım, a highly cultured and musical woman who was the daughter of Genç Osman Paşa. Melahat was educated in İstanbul where, in her Secondary school, Şükufe Nihal Hanım<sup>308</sup> taught her literature. She recognized Melahat's ability and held up her writing as an example for other children in her literature classes.

Her earliest short pieces, which she wrote whilst at Secondary school, appeared in the *Tanin* newspaper. *Kurtuluş*, her first short story, was printed in *Manisa Gazetesi* and a series of articles concerning social matters, called "Kaleminden Damlalar" (Drops from my Pen), was printed in *Işık Gazetesi* between 1946 and 1947. Although still only a teenager, during this period she attempted to write newspaper columns, articles, short stories and novels about women's rights, the law and other social matters. Many of these were submitted to *Kadın Gazetesi* which, at that time, was one of the very few serious magazines for women.<sup>309</sup> She wrote copiously for *Kadın Gazetesi* between 1947 and 1956. One of her novels, *Bronz Saçlı Kadın* (Bronze-haired Woman) was serialized in it.

In 1950 she won first prize in a competition organized by Halil Lütfü (Dördüncü)'s *Hanımeli*<sup>310</sup> magazine with her story *Çeyiz Parası* (Dowry Money). In 1952 and 1953 she wrote for *Sabah Postası* and *Ses*, where she worked as a secretary. Her writing appeared in *Ülkü*, *Nilüfer*, *Merak*, *Büyük Çağ* and other periodicals.

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<sup>308</sup> She was the first woman to register at İstanbul Women's University in 1914. For Şükufe Nihal's writing see: *Bilgi Yurdu Işığı*, *Firuze*, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, *Kadın Yolu*, *Mahasin*, *Süs* and *Türk Kadını*.

<sup>309</sup> There were several magazines for women, but the content of this publication was socio-political.

<sup>310</sup> This magazine was typical of the new type of publication aimed at housewives.

In 1957 Melahat Hanım launched *Kadın Sesi* (Woman's Voice)<sup>311</sup>, a very successful weekly magazine which supported the wider socio-economic inclusion of all Turkish women. She coupled the launch of the first Woman's Hour program for İzmir radio with her activities in the *Çocukları Koruma Cemiyeti* (Save the Children Society). She also made regular broadcasts on behalf of the Society.

As the owner and leader writer of *Kadın Sesi*, she designed special courses to help rural women improve both their knowledge and their standard of living. She visited countless villages to make sure that the course material was appropriate before she included it in her magazine.

Most of her books were serialized in the press<sup>312</sup>, which was where she thought her ideas on social issues would reach the widest possible audience.

2.1.xix Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen, one of five children, was born in Tirebolu in 1936 to Mehmet Malkoç, an army officer based in Adana and Hatice Hanım. Her Primary schooling was at *Sakarya İlkokulu* in Tirebolu, which was followed by Secondary school at *İstanbul Kız Lisesi*. She studied Turcology and the History of Philosophy in the department of Literature and Turcology at İstanbul University.

During the early 1950s a shortage of qualified lecturers meant that tutors were required to teach their own subject, and those in related departments concurrently. Students found it impossible to work under this system because of timetable clashes and the requirement that, if they were going to be teachers, they study two subjects. It was not possible to attend all the lectures in both subject areas even though this was essential for gaining sufficient marks to graduate in two subjects. Neriman Hanım approached the *Yeni İstanbul*

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<sup>311</sup> Publication lasted until 1976. For the text of her mission statement in the first issue, see Davaz-Mardin, Aslı *Kadın Süreli Yayınları Bibliyografyası: 1928-1996: Hanımlar Alemi'nden Roza'ya* KEKBM 1998:123; 458.

<sup>312</sup> See *Yalnız Bir Kelime*; *Kayalar Köyü* in *Demokratik İzmir Gazetesi* (1947-1978); *Bekleyeceğim* in *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1979); *Bizim Romanımız*; *Bir Üçüncü*; *Duvarların Dili*; *Büyük Özlem* and *Dünyalarımız Ayrıldı* in *Ege Gazetesi* and *Benim Yüzbaşım* in her own *Kadın Sesi*. Two of her other books were *Sevgiliye Seslenişler* and *Özlem*, a collection of her poems.

newspaper to see if they were prepared to expose the inadequacies of the system. The editor suggested that she wrote the article herself. In 1953 the *Yeni İstanbul* featured her article "Edebiyat Fakültesindeki Ders Faciası" (The Crisis in the Literature Faculty). The Senate convened a meeting to discuss her allegations. Mehmet Kaplan, her literature tutor, was impressed and offered to defend her in the Senate meeting. He then advised her to keep a low profile for a while and then come back and complete her studies.

During her years as an undergraduate she contributed several articles to the *Yeni İstanbul* newspaper. In conjunction with a group of University professors, she conducted a wide ranging survey of University students. The resulting series of reports was later published as *Kalkınan Türkiye'de Eğitim ve Gençlik* (Education and Youth in Developing Turkey).

In 1955, whilst still at University, she married Ömer Öztürkmen and they had three children. She graduated from İstanbul University in 1957 and started writing for the *Vatan*, *Milliyet* and *Öncü* newspapers. She joined the General Directorate of Publishing and Printing in the same year. She was posted to Bonn in 1958 where she also worked as a correspondent for the *Milliyet* newspaper. During her two years in Germany she studied History of Philosophy at Bonn University.

She returned to Turkey in 1960 and taught literature and German at *İstanbul Kız Lisesi* before taking up the post of Middle East correspondent for the *Milliyet* newspaper in Beirut in 1961. She reported on the political and economic situations in the Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Israel until 1965. Among the many subjects in her columns, her series of articles about Turkish women who had married Arabs "Beyrut'ta Türk Sosyetesı" (Turkish Society in Beirut) received critical acclaim.

Upon her return to Turkey in 1965 she was employed as an expert in the procurement department of the Ministry of Education. This was followed by a period at the Presidential Press Council, which included a posting to Hamburg as Press Counsellor. She continued to write for all the major newspapers including *Vatan* and *Cumhuriyet*. Upon her return to Turkey she worked for the National Educational Press.

## 2.2 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER TWO.

Chapter One revealed that the State provided professional training at the *darülmualimat* for future teachers, but female journalists had no such formal training opportunities. They had no ready-made jobs or career structure to progress to on completion of their schooling. They were, however, able to exploit their abilities, and possibly seize opportunities to generate higher levels of income than those paid to State controlled female teachers. For several of these women teaching went hand in hand with journalism. Mükerrerrem Kamil Su combined both of these with an additional career in broadcasting, as did Rebia Tefvik Başokçu.

Some of the women came from families which could afford to educate their daughters, but it is unlikely that more than a handful of the earlier women profiled, ever envisaged that they would have to work to support themselves and their families. Yet it was their ability to write which many of them fell back on when circumstances demanded it.

There were of course women from prosperous families who were cultured and well read but who were completely unprepared when it came to earning a living. One only has to look to the story of Irfan Orga's mother for confirmation of this.<sup>313</sup>

Many of the women were born in an era when there were very few outlets for their writing<sup>314</sup>, but despite this, they found ways of getting their work into the public domain through magazines and newspapers. Not all the examples cited are based on interviews with Ferit Ragıp Tunçor, but among those that are, none of them mentioned that they were indebted to male relatives for their success.<sup>315</sup> Some acknowledged their indebtedness to their teachers, in particular to female literature teachers, citing them as positive role models.

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<sup>313</sup> See Orga, Irfan *Portrait of a Turkish Family*. London: Gollancz & Eland, 1950.

<sup>314</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>315</sup> Some were obviously indebted to their fathers for paying for their education.

Nigar Binti Osman was not such a positive role model for aspiring young women who were considering choices of career because, although she was prolific, whenever she got into financial difficulties she used her connections to get herself out of trouble. Some of the other women mentioned above, such as Rebia Tevfik Başokçu and Hüviyet Bekir Bek, were far more enterprising, relying more upon their education and skills than their social connections.

Like many young men who made names for themselves, some of these women were still in their teens or very early twenties when they started writing. They did not have the benefit of the professional training available to teachers, nurses and later, for example, to doctors and lawyers.

Melek Erip Erbilien probably never dreamed that, having been brought up in Switzerland and tutored by foreign governesses, she would be the family breadwinner when her husband was drafted into the army. Yet she carved out a path for herself which included writing and radio broadcasting.

A common 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century European image of young Ottoman Turkish women<sup>316</sup> was of languid pampered females being waited on hand and foot by numerous servants<sup>317</sup>. The profiles reveal that, for some women, life could not have been more different, even though some of them were born in an era when many upper class parents aspired to little other than an advantageous match for their daughters.<sup>318</sup>

Most of the women mentioned lacked the grand connections of Emine Semiye, Fatma Aliye, Müfide Ferit Tek, Makbule Leman and Halide Edip. However, their contributions were just as important for the advancement of late Ottoman and early republican Turkish women as were those of their better connected compatriots.

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<sup>316</sup> These were always of the elite of İstanbul rather than of ordinary women.

<sup>317</sup> For examples see paintings by Delacroix, Ingres, Brochart, Rochegrosse, Darricau, Beyle and Levy.

<sup>318</sup> This was a common phenomenon, and not only applicable to Turkish parents.



The first chapter charted the educational path which many women took and information in this chapter further confirms that better educational provision for girls was bearing fruit. The divide between urban and rural women is still manifest, because, as the research in this chapter shows, the majority of these women were from urban or urbanized backgrounds.

Having concentrated on the contribution which some of the women made to writing and journalism, the next chapter analyses the development of the Ottoman women's press. Female journalists are returned to in Chapter Four, which focuses on the career of Sabiha Sertel, who started making a name for herself just as some of the younger women referred to in this chapter were getting their names into print.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.1 MAGAZINES<sup>319</sup> FOR WOMEN AND PUBLICATIONS WITH WOMEN'S SUPPLEMENTS<sup>320</sup>.

Late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Turkish women's magazines offer valuable insights into the ways in which women both furthered and exploited their knowledge beyond their formal education. The aim in this chapter is to chronicle the development of the press and to evaluate how much it reflected and contributed to the progress of women. The material in this chapter concentrates on the Ottoman Turkish women's press between 1869 and 1928. Most of the 39 titles launched during this period were printed in İstanbul where, as evinced from the first chapter, levels of literacy were much higher than the rest of what is now republican Turkey.

The press was an important medium through which women were able to increase their presence in the public domain. Through choosing *İnci* magazine for a case study in this chapter, it is hoped to show that women had moved on and broadened their outlook beyond the sector of the women's press which focused on women's rights. Some magazines were owned by women, some were edited by them, but it was the women who constituted the all-important readership who created and sustained demand.

The previous chapter establishes that, while there was not an over-abundance of female journalists, they were sufficient in number to make a mark from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, when female journalists in Europe were equally rare.

There were few centres<sup>321</sup> of publishing on a commercial scale in the Ottoman Empire when the first Ottoman Turkish women's magazine<sup>322</sup> appeared in

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<sup>319</sup> The word "magazine" was coined by Edward Cave, an English printer in the 1730s, for his own publication, but the derivation is Arabic: *makhazin*, pl of *mahzan* (repository).  
<sup>320</sup> For a chronological list of the publications see 6.6 in Appendix:302.

<sup>321</sup> İstanbul, Cairo, Alexandria and Beirut being the major ones. The Cairene and Alexandrian press targeted the Arabic speaking population of the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>322</sup> By 1876 there were 47 periodicals published in İstanbul (including those for women): 34 in Turkish, 1 Arabic, 9 Greek, 9 Armenian, 3 Bulgarian, 2 Hebrew, 7 French, 1 German, 2 English and 1 Persian. See Fesch, Paul *Constantinople aux Derniers Jours d'Abdül Hamid*. Paris: Marcel Riviera, 1907:35-36; 62-69. More than 290 titles in Ottoman script were published between 1876 and 1908, 11 of which were for women. For the period

1869.<sup>323</sup> The Egyptian women's press was just as active and Egyptian women enjoyed the same proliferation of magazines as did Turkish women.<sup>324</sup>

It is worth noting that, whilst most Ottoman magazine editors looked to the West for broadening their cultural and encyclopaedic content, there were editors of fledgling publications in Central Asia who regarded İstanbul as the fount of all knowledge. To them, the Ottoman Turkish press was the equivalent of the best that Europe had to offer, and İstanbul was as attractive as Paris was to the Ottoman Turks.

According to Adeeb Khalid, some Central Asian scholars believed that "he who knew Turkic knew the world"<sup>325</sup> because late Ottoman and Tatar translations of learned works were the means by which Caucasian and Kazan Turks increased their knowledge of the arts, science, history, literature and languages. Although Turkey lagged behind the West in many fields, to the peoples of Central Asia, translations coming out of Ottoman lands, in particular from İstanbul, but also Beirut and Cairo, were a vital source of information. When the scholar Behbudi (from Samarkand) wanted contact with other Muslim intellectuals, he journeyed to Cairo and İstanbul. He arranged for copies of *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Türk Yurdu* to be sent to his *kıraathane* (a reading room-cum-coffee house where newspapers were shared and discussed) in Samarkand.

The İstanbul women's press stood at the centre of plans for greater social integration. It documented and, more often than not, defended a widening range of activities in certain urban circles, but it did little for the bulk of the, mainly illiterate, rural women who made up by far the largest percentage of the female population.

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1908-1926, no less than 26 additional magazines for women should be added to these figures.

<sup>323</sup> *Matbuat Nizamnamesi* (Press Law) was enacted in 1864 to control the expanding press. Through this law any criticism of the Ottoman State was prohibited. The *Maarifî Umumiyye Nizamnamesi* (Regulation of Public Education) was announced in the same year.

<sup>324</sup> Many early Egyptian women's magazines were founded by non-Muslim Ottoman women. For example the founder, in 1899, of *Al Aila* was a Syrian Jewess. Ijlal Khalifa claims that, by 1919, 30 periodicals had been launched in Egypt. One of these was started by Sharjat al Durr, a woman of Turkish origin who started a bi-lingual Arabic/Turkish journal. She misjudged the market because the demand was for bi-lingual Arabic/French or English magazines. See Khalifa, Ijlal *Al Sihafa al Nisa iyya fi Misr, 1919-1930*.

<sup>325</sup> See Khalid 1998:109 ff.

One of the things to guard against when researching the progress of Ottoman women, and in particular, women's magazines, is the word "first".<sup>326</sup> Many publications claimed to be the first in the field but, often, they were one of several magazines airing certain topics. For instance, some magazines claimed to be the first to feature articles about education, polygyny or the veil<sup>327</sup> when they may simply have been approaching a current topic from a different angle. As with any field, in publishing also is it impossible to re-judge the standards of the past by the standards of today.

Articles in magazines were not always original. Sometimes they were sourced<sup>328</sup> from, for example, other periodicals, newspapers or history books. Turkish magazine proprietors were not alone in claiming originality or uniqueness. In 1892, Hind Narval called the Egyptian women's magazine *Al Fatah* "the first of its kind under the Eastern sky" and promised to "adorn its pages with pearls from the pens of women."<sup>329</sup>

To keep in touch, not only with the daily news but also with current affairs, men could use the *kiraathane*. The *kiraathane*, was and still is, not only a social centre for men but also a place where the illiterate could, without any sense of shame or embarrassment, pick up news. Owing to social convention women had no such facility, and would therefore have relied more upon their menfolk returning with a newspaper or upon magazines designed specifically for them.

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<sup>326</sup> For example: Fatma Aliye claimed she was the first Turkish girl to enrol at the American College but, according to the principal, she was preceded by Gülistan İsmet. See Mills Patrick, *Mary Under Five Sultans*. London & New York: Century & Co 1929; Edip, Halide *Memoirs*. New York: Century Press 1926.

<sup>327</sup> These topics are now regarded as "old hat" by many, but in Ahdaf Soueif's novel *The Map of Love*, published in 1999, even at the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they were still being rehearsed. In this particular novel, an American researcher seeks an interview with an Egyptian scholar who fears that the old chestnuts of "the fundamentalists, the veil, women's status in Islam, polygyny and female genital mutilation" will be what she is interested in. See Soueif, Ahdaf *The Map of Love*. London: Bloomsbury Paperbacks 1999:6.

<sup>328</sup> In general such material was not acknowledged as *alinti* (quoted passage).

<sup>329</sup> See Baron, Beth *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture Society and Press*. London/Newhaven: Yale University Press 1994:1. This was not the case since *Terakki* was first published in 1869 in İstanbul. Possibly, to Hind Narval, İstanbul was not under the Eastern sky given that it is in Europe, but to others it was "the pearl of the East".

In the Ottoman Empire, journalism was a new field<sup>330</sup> when *Terakki*, the first woman's magazine, was published in 1869.<sup>331</sup> There can be no doubt that newspapers and journals<sup>332</sup> complemented the educational reforms undertaken since the 1830s, becoming an effective additional means of public instruction.

In a very short space of time new career opportunities opened up for both men and, as the previous chapter confirms, for women.

Magazines for women were frequently founded by societies and associations formed to promote women's causes, whilst others were launched by publications already in existence, their owners simply responding to demand from the increasing body of educated women. In addition there were women's supplements to daily papers.<sup>333</sup> The general press, including *İkdam*, *Tanin*, *Servet-i Fünun* and *Millet*, already featured articles by women.

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<sup>330</sup> The first gazette to appear was *Takvim-i Vekai* in 1831, followed by Churchill's *Ceride-i Havadis* in 1840. *Tercüman-i Ahval* did not appear until the early 1860s.

<sup>331</sup> The same year in which the first *darülmuallimat* was opened.

<sup>332</sup> For some circulation statistics see: Evin, Ahmet *The Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel*. Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica 1983:47-48.

<sup>333</sup> Some were called *Hanımlar Eki* or *Kadınlar Eki*.

### 3.2 A SURVEY OF THE OTTOMAN WOMEN'S PRESS

In 1869 *Terakki* (Progress) was launched with the sub-title *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (The Progress of Virtuous Women) on the inside page. This magazine was the first supplement for women published by a political newspaper.<sup>334</sup> In 1887 came *Şükufezar* (Garden in Bloom) which lasted for only five issues, but it was the first magazine to be both owned and run by women.<sup>335</sup> The content of *Şükufezar* included political, national and international news, literature, science, puzzles and articles by regular columnists.

Serials for women were not a feature of magazines until 1887/8 when *Mürüvvet* (Generosity, Blessing) was first published with a supplement for women. This women's supplement, although short-lived, was important because it was where Nigar Bint-i Osman, Leyla Saz and Fitnat Hanım started their writing careers. These women were to become well known in literary and educational fields.<sup>336</sup> It is now established that, in general, during the reign of Abdülhamid II educational policy concerning girls was not radically altered, and in 1888 the founders of *Mürüvvet* championed his continuing support.<sup>337</sup>

In 1889, the year following the closure of *Mürüvvet*, two women started *Parça Bohçası* (Scrapbook). It was intended to be a family magazine featuring both literary and domestic subjects but did not survive beyond the first issue.<sup>338</sup>

<sup>334</sup> It shared the same name, *Terakki*, and was published by Ebüzziya Tevfik and Ali Raşid. Ebüzziya Tevfik was one of the most prominent names in publishing.

<sup>335</sup> In her mission statement Arife, the owner, wrote "we women, who according to men, are long of hair and short on brains, intend to prove that we are the opposite". See "Mukaddime" Arife, *Şükufezar*, Issue No 1 1887:1-9. In 1894, in *Kızlara Mahsus Hıfz-ı Sıhhat*, women read that "because the brains of men are larger than those of women, they (men) are much more intelligent." This was no different from Thomas Gisborne writing in 1797 that "God had conferred different mental abilities upon the fairer sex, but, by way of compensation, they were endowed with certain desirable qualities." It was this publication which was responsible for the decline in English women's magazines which was later mirrored in the early republican Turkish women's press. See Gisborne, Thomas *An Inquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex*. London: T. Cadell/Edinburgh: Blackwood 1797/1823; Rıza, A *Kızlara Mahsus Hıfz-ı Sıhhat*. İstanbul: Karabet Matbuası 1894.

<sup>336</sup> Nigar Bint-i Osman's first poem appeared in Issue No 3, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1888:70-72. Fitnat, who was the first female teacher at Mirgün *İnas Mekteb-i Rüşdiyesi* wrote an article, "Fünun", in Issue No 4, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1887:87-89.

<sup>337</sup> See "İnas mektepleri hakkında malumat" Issue No 1, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1888.

<sup>338</sup> *Parça Bohçası*, "Mecmua-i Aile" was founded by Hatice Semiha and Rebia Kamile. Şair Nigar Bint-i Osman had two poems and an article printed in the only issue. The correct translation of *Parça Bohçası* is "ragbag", but no doubt the concept they had in mind was a "scrapbook".

The period between 1889 and 1895 saw no new women's publications. Although journalism and standards of publication were much more professional, censorship imposed by the regime of Abdülhamid II in the post-1888 period meant that any form of political comment or any mention of religious liberalism was forbidden. None of the women's magazines launched between 1869 and 1887 survived beyond that date. Some of these were not meant to stand alone, but were supplements to other publications or co-edited with other magazines.

During the Hamidian period of censorship the general press was debarred from printing anything which criticized or commented on a wide variety of topics. It was thus compelled to fill its pages with other material, and it is from this period onwards that many women's magazines featured articles of an encyclopaedic nature. Science, technology and literature constituted the bulk of the content of the daily press and, following this trend, women's magazines, which had featured articles on more domestic and feminine topics, began to include longer articles on socio-cultural matters beyond the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. News of the latest discoveries in science<sup>339</sup> and medicine, coupled with articles on both foreign and indigenous arts, proliferated. It was from this period onwards that magazines became a valuable source of information for those women who sought to further their education and knowledge. Columns appeared under headings such as "Bilmediklerimiz", "Avrupa'da", "Sanatkarlarımız", "Tarih Sayfaları" and "Tarihte Kadın Simaları" (New to us; In Europe; Artists and Performers; History pages; Profiles of women).<sup>340</sup>

In 1895 *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Ladies' Own Gazette) was launched by İbn'ül Hakkı Mehmet Tahir who owned the *Tarık* newspaper. At the same time, he started *Hanımlara Mahsus Malumat* (Ladies Own Knowledge; the sub-title was *Le Malumat Pour Dames* written in Latin script)<sup>341</sup>.

*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* was by far the best known of all Ottoman Turkish women's magazines and, when it folded in 1908, it had become the longest surviving. Several of its female contributors played prominent roles in its

<sup>339</sup> *Mecmua-i Fünun*, the organ of the Ottoman Scientific Society had whetted readers' appetites for information when it was launched in 1861 but after it closed in 1866 they had to wait 25 years for *Servet-i Fünun* to appear.

<sup>340</sup> These examples come from *İnci*.

development. Many of these women either were or would become very well known. Several, but by no means all, women who made names for themselves were either the daughters, wives or other close relatives of influential and distinguished men.<sup>342</sup> The female editors of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* were Makbule Leman, Nigar Bint-i Osman, Fatma Şadiye and Gülistan İsmet. These four women were not passive recipients of western trends, but active thinkers striving for a solution to their particular situation; nor were they champions of undigested European ideas of liberty and democracy. Doubtless their patronymic assisted them when embarking upon their chosen path, but they were able women who carved out a place for themselves in the history of the Ottoman Turkish women's press. It would however be wrong to imply that they all managed to be self supporting through their activities.

Fatma Aliye Hanım, known in Turkey as the first female Turkish novelist,<sup>343</sup> contributed to the first issue of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* in 1895. She then wrote an article headed "Bablulardan (Bas bleu) İbret Alalım" (Let us heed the "blue stockings") in which she claimed that the term "blue stocking" had been coined by European men wishing to denigrate women with literary leanings.<sup>344</sup>

<sup>341</sup> The word *Malumat* was, curiously, left untranslated.

<sup>342</sup> Fatma Aliye and Emine Semiye were daughters of Cevdet Paşa; Şair Nigar Bint-i Osman was the daughter of Osman Paşa, the director of the Military College; Leyla Saz was the daughter of Hekim İsmail Paşa; Fatma Fahrünisa was the granddaughter of Ahmet Vekif Paşa; Fatma Kevser was the daughter of Erkan-ı Harp Feriki Abdi Paşa; Zeyneb was the daughter of Ahmet Cevdet Paşazade Sedad Bey; Hamide was Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan's daughter; Gülistan was the daughter of Binbaşı Bağdat'lı Mehmed Tevfik Bey. Makbule Leman was the daughter of Murad V's kahvecibaşı and the wife of Mehmed Fuat Bey, a member of the Council of State. See Uraz, Murad *Kadın Şaire ve Muharrirlerimiz*. İstanbul: Numune Matbaası 1941. Many of these women translated the works of western writers.

<sup>343</sup> In 1890 George Ohnet's *Volonte* was published in translation as *Meram*, the translator was "Bir Edibe", in reality, Fatma Aliye Hanım. See Mithat, Ahmet *Fatma Aliye Hanım, yahud Bir Muharrir-i Osmaniye'nin Neş'eti*. İstanbul: 1893.

<sup>344</sup> "Blue stocking" was first used in London in the 1750s. It referred to ladies and gentlemen who preferred literary gatherings to playing cards. At such *salons* full dress, which included black silk stockings for men, was often eschewed in favour of "blue worsted". This fashion was started by Benjamin Stillingfleet (1702-1771) and the coterie of male and female followers which grew around him were known as "blue stockings". The zenith of the "blue stocking" *salons* was during the years 1770-1785. The "blue stockings" were, with a couple of notable exceptions (such as Hannah More) women of high rank and wealth. They did not write for profit and they deplored the idle extravagance of fashion. They discredited romance and passion, but at the same time they condemned marriage by barter. They believed there should be one moral standard for both men and women. They held exalted opinions about friendship being the finest emotion of human nature. In Turkey, in 1993 a group of professional women calling



Fatma Aliye was a typical female contributor to *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. She was well educated, having been tutored by Ahmet Mithat. Through her articles, she attempted to place *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* in the world of Muslim<sup>345</sup> solidarity and to give it a traditional Islamic character, thus avoiding the attention of the Hamidian censors<sup>346</sup> who eliminated anything which inferred any relaxation of the religious way of life. She managed to convey to the readers her view that God, through his representative, the Caliph Sultan Abdülhamid II, intended both men and women to share the benefits of learning. At the same time, Fatma Aliye Hanım and the editors had to ensure that the subjects of liberalism, constitutionalism and nationalism, all undesirable in the eyes of Sultan Abdülhamid II, were excluded. She was aware that many Muslim women were not familiar with their own history, so she compiled *Meşahir-i Nisvan-ı İslam* (Famous Muslim Women). She wrote "just as we have come to love their (the West's) Madame Montagus and Madame de Sevignes so they will come to love our illustrious women."<sup>347</sup>

A supplement to the magazine called *Hanım Kızlara Mahsus* (Young Ladies Own) featured articles about fashion and cosmetics. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* was the first publication to offer dress patterns<sup>348</sup> so that readers could follow fashion according to their means.<sup>349</sup> There was also a library called *Hanımlara Mahsus Kütüphane* (Ladies' Own Library) which both published and sold articles written by Nigar Hanım, Fatma Fahrünisa, Makbule Leman and others. Every six months the magazine donated 5% of its proceeds to a charity founded to provide dowries for impecunious girls

As champions of women's causes, the editors promoted careers thought suitable for women, such as dress making, hairdressing, carpet knotting and commerce.

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themselves "Dolaşan Mavi Çorap" (Wandering Blue stockings) launched a magazine of the same name. It only survived for 2 issues.

<sup>345</sup> In 1897 the population of İstanbul was just over 1 million. Of these only 58% were Muslim. See Mansel 1995:437.

<sup>346</sup> See Kudret, Cevdet *Abdülhamid Devrinde Sansür*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları 1977.

<sup>347</sup> "Montagus" appears clumsy but "Montagular" is in the text. Fatma Aliye was interested in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), but she could have been referring to Elizabeth Montagu (1720-1800) who was a very early member of the "blue stockings".

<sup>348</sup> In England, Mrs Beeton started offering patterns in her *Book of Household Management* in the 1840s.

<sup>349</sup> See: "Matbaamızda sipariş odası" *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* Issue No 58-260, 10 May 1900:4.

Curious omissions were teaching and journalism even though, as seen from the first chapter, under Hamidian rule the *darümuallimatlar* were not closed down. At the same time articles about career opportunities open to western women were included.<sup>350</sup>

The general press often featured articles about women's issues, but there were some publications which seemed to be almost oblivious to their existence. In comparison with *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, *Volkan Gazetesi* which was published from 1908 to 1909, only mentioned women specifically three times in its entire run. In one of these instances girls were enjoined "not to expose their arms and faces in public. The only requirement that men had from women was womanliness."<sup>351</sup>

In 1906 İsmail Gasparinski<sup>352</sup>, the owner of the *Tercüman* newspaper in Bahçeşarayı in Crimea, charged his daughter, Şefika Gasparinskaya<sup>353</sup>, with the production of *Alem-i Nisvan* (Women's Realm), a supplement for women. This newspaper was directed at Caucasian Muslim women who lived under extremely difficult and deprived circumstances. Its aim was to improve female welfare.

The Second Constitution was promulgated in İstanbul in 1908 and, following this event, several new magazines appeared. *Demet* (Bouquet), *Mehasin* (Charms) and *Kadın* (Woman) were the earliest ones. *Demet* was the first women's magazine which broached their political concerns.<sup>354</sup> It had many famous contributors including Halide Salih (Edip), Mehmet Akif (Ersoy), Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul), Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) and İsmet Hakkı, who was a contributor to the

<sup>350</sup> In the previous century the career options for English women were similar. They were seamstresses, silk workers, girdlers, hairdressers and household servants of all ranks. It wasn't until the 19<sup>th</sup> century that teachers, typists, book-keepers, nurses and postal clerks appeared in any significant number.

<sup>351</sup> See "Validelere bir Hitab ve Hanım Kızlara" (An address to mothers and young ladies) *Volkan*, Issue No 11 1909.

<sup>352</sup> See Seydahmet, Kırımlı Cafer *Gaspiralı İsmail Bey (Dilde, Fikirde, İşte Birlik)*. İstanbul: Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat Anonim Şirketi 1934; Lazzerini, Edward *İsmail Bey Gasparinski and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914*. Washington: University of Washington, History, Modern: PhD Thesis 1973.

<sup>353</sup> See Hablomitöğlu, Şengül & Necip *Şefika Gaspiralı ve Rusya'da Türk Kadın Hareketi (1893-1920)*. Ankara: Ajans-Türk Matbaacılık 1998.

<sup>354</sup> See Behiç, Hakkı "Ne Haldeyiz ve Neye Muhtacız" (What state are we in and what are our needs?) *Demet* Issue No 5 October 1908:78-80. Serpil Çakır claims that there were no female contributors to the first issue of *Demet*, but Şair Nigar Binti Osman's poem "Çırpınma" (Fluttering) appeared on the first page. See Çakır, Serpil *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları 1993:33.

*İkdam* newspaper<sup>355</sup> before the foundation of *Demet*. She had written an article from Salonica for the *İkdam* asking "Ya Biz Ne Olacağız?" (And what about us?). Possibly, through this article she hoped to widen the net to include many more Ottoman women in the debate about their socio-political position.<sup>356</sup>

It is clear that women writers learnt very quickly that the press could be an effective tool. They quoted the examples of Madame Curie lecturing at the Sorbonne, female lawyers practising in France and the campaigns of the suffragettes in England. As mentioned in the previous chapter, as far as the general press was concerned, women writers were not confined to *İkdam*; other daily papers, such as *Tanin*, *Servet-i Fünun*, *Sabah* and *Millet*, used their articles.

*Mahasın* (Personal charms), a monthly publication and therefore much longer than the daily or weekly magazines, was launched in the same year as *Demet* (1908). It was the earliest women's periodical to use colour and to include photographs. In the first issue Abdülhak Hamid (Tarhan)'s famous saying "Bir milletin nisvanı, derece-i terakkisinin mizanıdır" (Women are the yardstick of a nation's development) was quoted. Apart from some of the female writers already mentioned, Münevver Asım, Şükufe Nihal and Zühre Hanım were among the contributors. In addition to articles about politics, geography and how women in other countries had organized themselves, features about the fine arts and literature appeared. Celal Sahir reported the proceedings of a women's conference for the magazine.<sup>357</sup> Halit Ziya's "Valideme Mektuplar" (Letters to my mother) were serialized in the supplement.<sup>358</sup>

*Mahasın*, in accordance with its name, put on a beauty contest among women from seven different countries.<sup>359</sup> The readers had to judge from the photographs who was the most beautiful woman. They also had sewing, handwriting, handicraft and beautiful baby contests for their readers. None of these

<sup>355</sup> In August 1908.

<sup>356</sup> See Hakkı, İsmet *İkdam* Issue No 5119, 26 August 1908:1. The *İkdam* was a political evening newspaper run by Ahmet Cevdet, Hüseyin Rahmi (Gürpınar) and Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu). İsmet Hakkı also wrote articles for *Mahasın* published in 1908 in İstanbul. See Issue No 4 14th December 1908

<sup>357</sup> Sahir, Celal "Kadınlarımız Hakkında", *Mahasın*, Issue No 11, 14<sup>th</sup> October 1909:757-766.

<sup>358</sup> In Issue Nos 2; 3; 4; 5 and 6.

<sup>359</sup> These images were coloured photographs, not colour photographs. 25 years later, in 1932, Ece Keriman Halis won the "Miss World" title. This is further confirmation of just how rapidly women achieved greater socio-cultural inclusion.

attractions could save the magazine from going out of business after 14 months.

*Kadın* (Woman)<sup>360</sup> was the next magazine to appear. It is interesting to note that, in the magazine titles, the word *hanım* (lady) was gradually replaced by *kadın* (woman). After 1908 and the launch of *Kadın*, there were only two publications with *Hanım* in the title. Several decades earlier the same sign of social change was mirrored in the British press. *The Lady* is now the only English woman's magazine left which features "lady" in the title.

*Kadın* appears to be the first women's magazine published in Salonica.<sup>361</sup> Previously, women from Salonica had submitted material to publications in İstanbul. Ayşe İsmet and Cavide Peyker were two of the intellectuals whom Serpil Çakır listed<sup>362</sup> as contributors, but no evidence of them writing for any women's magazines other than *Kadın* has been found. It is possible that they wrote under pseudonyms or for other publications such as the daily press.

*Kadın* featured articles about the unacceptable social conditions which many regional women were forced to endure. The fact that there were letters to women in other parts of the Ottoman Empire indicated that the editor (Enis Avni) was trying to target a wide audience. There were articles about women's campaigns for equal rights in France and in England. *Kadın* folded after 10 months.

The women's press provides evidence of signs that, towards the end of the empire, women's education was advancing. Collective activity to bring about social change, was an important feature in *Kadınlar Dünyası*<sup>363</sup>, the organ of the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Defence of Women's Legal Rights Society). Ulviye Mevlan<sup>364</sup> and Emine Seher Ali, who founded the magazine, were determined to use it as a vehicle for the formation of a more just and, eventually, a more equal social structure. *Kadınlar Dünyası* shared the

<sup>360</sup> For a detailed study of *Kadın* see Stumpf, Ayfer *The Emergence of a Feminist Nationalist Discourse in Pre-Republican Turkey: A Case Study of Kadın Magazine 1908-1909*. Ohio: Ohio State University, Master's Thesis 1996.

<sup>361</sup> There may have been a Salonica publication called *Mefharat*, but it has not been possible to find any copies of it.

<sup>362</sup> See Çakır 1993:37.

<sup>363</sup> Published from 1913 to 1921.

<sup>364</sup> Her husband, Rıfat Mevlan, started a magazine called *Erkekler Dünyası* (Men's World) which promoted the idea of sexual equality. According to Serpil Çakır, there is only one issue of *Erkekler Dünyası* (dated 19th February 1914) remaining in the libraries of Turkey. It is in KEKBM.

same aim as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, in that both publications endeavoured to establish rights for women long before the republican reforms.

It is important to reiterate that even the activist magazines still only addressed a small proportion of the population and that the great mass of Ottoman Turkish women did not rise up and demand equal rights. Indeed for many of them, when equal rights were given them by Mustafa Kemal, they were ignorant of the fact, had no idea how to use them to their advantage or were prevented by their male kin from using them. Just how difficult it was, even for a highly educated woman, to demand the enforcement of rights enshrined in new laws will be seen in Chapter Four.

*Kadınlar Dünyası* had its detractors. The owners of *Genç Kadın* (Young Woman), for example, rejected their feminist position because it originated in Europe and was therefore, according to them, unsuitable for Muslim and, in particular, Turkish women. They wrote:

*Bir İslam ve bilhassa bir Türk Kadını, bir Fransız, bir İngiliz, bir Alman, hele bir Amerikan kadını değildir. Çünkü her kavim ve milletin kendine mahsus harsı, içtimai, dini, siyasi bir takım kuyudu ve ananati vardır ki bunları ihmal etmek pek büyük bir hatadır. İşte bu ciheti nazar-ı dikate almayarak sırf taklit ile iş görmeye çalışmak kadınlık mesailinde terakki değil, tedenniye badi olur.*

(An Islamic, and in particular a Turkish, woman is not a French, an English, a German or above all an American woman. It would be a great mistake for the cultural, social, religious and political traditions of any ethnic group or nation to be neglected. If women's matters proceed through emulation and fail to take account of this point then decline, rather than progress, will be the result.)<sup>365</sup>

A completely different style and approach to women's magazines appeared with *İnci* in 1919. An analysis of the entire content of this magazine follows later in this chapter.

It is not surprising that magazines such as *Şükufeza*, *Seyyale*, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, *Siyaset* and *Diyane* which were owned and run by women were amongst the publications which represented, rather than repressed, women's voices and ideas. Some of those run by men tended to have a somewhat patronising air of

<sup>365</sup> "Mesleğimiz" *Genç Kadın* Issue No 1 4 January 1919:3.

"guidance" about them, which perpetuated the role of women as custodians of both the next generation and of the nation's morals. Cynics would argue that this enabled the men to carry on with their existing patterns of behaviour.

The publication periods for the remaining 6 magazines for women, launched after *İnci* can be seen in 6.6 in the Appendix:302. *Çalılıkuşu* appeared in the spring of 1926, but folded after 7 issues.<sup>366</sup> Although it was the last women's magazine published in İstanbul in Ottoman Turkish script, it was not significant because the extraordinary period of the Ottoman Turkish women's press really ended with the closure of *Asar-ı Nisvan*<sup>367</sup> in 1926 and *Kadın Yolu* in 1927.

As can be seen from the chart 6.6 in the Appendix:302, the list of magazines for women features 39 publications from 1869 until 1926. Some were daily, some weekly and some monthly, so the data relating to the number of issues needs to be read with this in mind. Of the 39 magazines, the most well known was *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Ladies' Own Gazette) published from 1895 until 1908, then *Kadınlar Dünyası*<sup>368</sup> (Women's World) published from 1913 until 1921, then *Hanımlar Alemi* (Ladies' Realm) published from 1914 to 1918 and finally *İnci/Yeni İnci* (Pearl/New Pearl) from 1919 until 1923.<sup>369</sup>

The diversity of material in Ottoman Turkish magazines (from 1869-1926) is similar to that found in English publications for a limited period from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In 18<sup>th</sup> century England the *Ladies' Diary* wished to cater for "ladies, waiting women, mothers and virgins, all of whom should be innocent, modest, instructive and agreeable". Such expectations were very similar to those voiced in various Ottoman Turkish magazines. Both Turkish and English readers wanted "Debate" and "Correspondence" columns and coverage of current

<sup>366</sup> The whereabouts of only 2 issues is known.

<sup>367</sup> Owned and edited by Fevziye Abdürreşit. This magazine really filled the gaps not addressed by Sedat Simavi's *İnci*, such as recipes, household hints and needlework. Most of the contributors were women.

<sup>368</sup> Even the progressive editors of *Kadınlar Dünyası* would have been surprised by an article in the new *Kadınlar Dünyası* which was launched as recently as September 1999. In an article headed "Namus, yürekte ve beyinde" (Virtue is in the heart and brain), Dr. Gülseren Ünsün wrote "*Bilinmelidir ki 'Namus', kadının iki bacağı arasında değil, yüreğinde ve beynindedir*" (It ought to be known that virtue is not between a woman's legs but in her heart and brain). The article gives examples of four typical types of hymen that women may have, and the misguided importance attached to it. *Kadınlar Dünyası* İstanbul: October 1999:44.

affairs, but the publishers need for advertising space was responsible for the reduction of such material.

Fatma Aliye had complained that "men seized every opportunity to place obstacles in the path of women"; likewise, in England, the editor of the *Lady's Magazine* wrote (in 1825) "times are changed... Women have completely abandoned all attempts to shine in the political horizon... in so doing they have fallen into comparative insignificance... If a Lady should dare to aspire to literary distinction she meets with little encouragement." In the 1840s social convention barred many English women from reading the daily press because of lurid law reports about murders involving women. Often this type of journalism was pornography couched in legal jargon.

Although these examples are well before the first magazine for Ottoman Turkish women, by the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century the content of some Ottoman Turkish magazines was more vigorous and stimulating than their English counterparts. This was particularly true in relation to the English "vanity press."<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> With a year long break between the two titles. There were two additional *bayram* issues not counted in the KEKBM catalogue.

<sup>370</sup> The meaning of "vanity press" has changed, and now it means authors who pay for their work to be published, rather than women's magazines which concentrated on enhancing the appearance of women.

### 3.3 *İNCİ*<sup>371</sup> (PEARL) AND *YENİ İNCİ* (NEW PEARL) MAGAZINE: A CASE STUDY

The recurrent theme of this research is education, in particular the provision for females. Without education there would have been no women journalists and writers who in turn needed a better educated population to read what they had written. This appears to be stating the obvious, but for Ottoman Turkish women the problems were greater than for women in, for example, England, France and Germany. As can be seen from the first chapter, many English females did struggle to get a decent education, but by 1920 western Europeans had had access to good literature<sup>372</sup> for at least a century. For the majority of Turks, high quality indigenous literature and translations of European works were, at best, scarce or, at worst, non-existent. If translations were not available, and few were, then people either had to master another language and alphabet, or remain in the dark.<sup>373</sup> This fact serves to underscore the eventual importance of Hasan-Ali Yücel's *Dünya Klasikleri* which appeared from 1940 onwards.<sup>374</sup>

In the present study, Sedat Simavi's *İnci* magazine has been chosen for an extensive survey because it reflected the social development of a wider group of women. Until Simavi launched *İnci*, despite many attempts to attract a wider readership, women's magazines had, by and large, been read by the urban elite whose privileged backgrounds had given them a sound education. Simavi grasped early on that more widespread education for women meant an expanding potential readership which was every publishing entrepreneur's dream.

Whether Simavi liked women or not is impossible to know, but he certainly knew how to exploit their growing interests for commercial gain. During his lengthy career in the press he launched countless publications aimed at women, as well

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<sup>371</sup> *İnci* will only be referred to by Issue No. *Yeni İnci* retains its title and Issue No.

<sup>372</sup> This is particularly true of the English working classes who were able to educate themselves. The Miners' Institutes and the Weavers' Institutes, for example, provided books and discussion groups and help with literacy. Some of the greatest figures in the world of lexicography and publishing were the self taught offspring of the very poor. See: Rose, Jonathan *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Class*. Yale University 2001.

<sup>373</sup> Some of the early translations of western works are referred to later. See Chapter 3:175 Fn 600.

<sup>374</sup> See Chapter 1:49 Fn 166.



as including women's supplements in *Hürriyet*,<sup>375</sup> his most famous newspaper.

The most important difference<sup>376</sup> between *İnci* and *Kadınlar Dünyası* was that *İnci* did not seek to proselytize for the greater emancipation of women, but to entertain and enlighten. Those readers hoping for a continuation of progressive theories for women would have been disappointed, but the fact that informative articles were included in the magazine must not be overlooked.

The only way to gauge the contribution which *İnci* made to the Ottoman women's press is through awareness of the factors which limited not only women's, but everybody's lives. Turkey was a country ravaged by war and in a state of flux, but, in addition, İstanbul was under Allied occupation. Despite this Sedat Simavi<sup>377</sup>, the owner and editor-in-chief, managed to exploit both the gap left by the temporary closure of *Kadınlar Dünyası*<sup>378</sup>, and the fact that there were no competitors. The results of the analysis of the contents will reveal whether or not he exploited his readership in so doing.

Simavi filled the void without patronising women<sup>379</sup> or denigrating men. Researchers mining *İnci* for insights into attitudes towards women's suffrage, polygyny, the veil or religion would find little reward. The intellectual elite who had formed the vanguard on matters political were mainly absent from its pages. In other words, all the subjects which dominated the serious<sup>380</sup> women's press of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century were "old hat". The hotly debated subjects of the previous decades had had their ascendancy, and, prudently, Sedat Simavi did not risk marginalizing the wider readership he was cultivating, by being either too elitist or too political.

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<sup>375</sup> This daily newspaper remained in the Simavi family's ownership until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when it was sold.

<sup>376</sup> The most important similarity was the amount of poetry. See POETRY Chapter 3:174.

<sup>377</sup> For Simavi, *İnci* was the start of a life-long career in journalism. No unbiased comprehensive biography of him appears to exist. The most informative work is Muzaffer Gökman's *Sedat Simavi: Hayatı ve Eserleri*. This book gives the details of how he was given the use of a large press which had been seized by the authorities, thereby enabling him embark upon his career with ready made facilities. See Gökman, Muzaffer *Sedat Simavi, Hayatı ve Eserleri*. İstanbul: Apa Ofset Yayınevi 1970:8.

<sup>378</sup> It was not printed between October 1918-November 1921.

<sup>379</sup> He was criticised by Serpil Çakır for promulgating men's views of how women should be, rather than women's views of how they wanted to be, but this is not corroborated by the results obtained from analysing the content of *İnci*.

<sup>380</sup> See Chapter 3:113 ff.

Simavi clearly had confidence in his readers' abilities, employing a house style of simple *reportage*, and leaving them to form their own opinions. The political content was, in general, uncontroversial. Despite the fact that İstanbul was under Allied occupation for the entire run of *İnci*, he refrained from resorting to jingoism and xenophobia. It is to Simavi's credit that he stuck to his policy of entertaining and, in a non-didactic way, educating his readers whilst leaving political comment to the numerous daily newspapers.

Although much of the content of *İnci* touched indirectly on women's problems, direct advice was scarce, being mainly restricted to health matters. Sedat Simavi tried to make it an inclusive rather than an exclusive publication, thereby producing a magazine largely free from gender bias. He did not go out of his way to use female writers. Out of the 160 signatures to articles only 21 belonged to women. This does not include numerous anonymous articles which could have been written by women<sup>381</sup>, nor does it take account of the fact that Sedat Simavi used several pseudonyms throughout his career and some of the "authors" may have been him.<sup>382</sup>

For his magazine Simavi chose a title which would immediately identify it as woman's magazine. The pictures of women on the majority of the front covers also made it look as if it was designed for women, and the numerous articles about fashion and the "vanity" pages confirm this.

In *İnci*, the material of an encyclopaedic nature, articles about culture and some of the advertisements would have been of interest to men. Indeed some of the advertisements can only have been aimed at men.

Sedat Simavi knew that earlier women's magazines had fallen into two distinct groups: the light-weight and trivial, and the intellectually challenging.<sup>383</sup> *İnci* was aimed at the women who fell between these two opposites. This would have been

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<sup>381</sup> It is only with hindsight that anonymous females would have realized that they were instrumental, for whatever reason, in negating their own historical literary existence.

<sup>382</sup> It was not unheard of for women to pose as men and vice-versa. In Cairo in 1896 *Mirat al Hasna* was edited by Maryam Mazhar, who was later exposed as Salim Sarkis, a Syrian male living in Egypt. See Baron 1994:17.

<sup>383</sup> The mission statement for *Kadınlar Dünyası* exemplifies this. See KEKBM catalogue 1993:250; for text of the mission statement of *Kadınlar Dünyası* see: Çakır 1993:332. Compare the language with that in Simavi's following mission statement for *İnci* magazine.

commercially expedient as well as getting the balance right for his new magazine. Although *İnci* did not enjoy the long period of publication which *Kadınlar Dünyası* and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* did, nevertheless in comparative terms it was successful.

In the first issue of *İnci* the following mission statement appeared:

*İnci'yi niçin çıkarıyoruz?*

*Bir ay evvel bağı muhterem hanımlarımızın hazır bulunduğu bir mecliste söz Diken'e<sup>384</sup> intifal etmişti. Hanımefendilerden biri bizde nefis bir kadın mecmuasına olan ihtiyaçten bahs etti ve koştı kütüphanesinden derhal Femina<sup>385</sup>'nin koleksiyonunu getirdi. "Bakınız" dedi "gençliğimden beri Femina'yı takib ediyorum. Bu mecmuayı açtıkça ruhumun yükseldiğini, incelikler, güzellikler içinde ruhumda kendi kendime terbiye olduğumu his ediyorum. Harb başlayınca yollar kapandı Femina gelmez oldu. Sanki büyük bir ruh arkadaşımı kaybettim. O vakitten beri de böyle bir mecmuayı çıkarmak imkanı yok mu? diye düşünüyorum. Femina ile tatmin-i ihtiyaç edememek, bana memleketimin böyle bir mecmuaya muhtaç olduğunu hissettirdi. Çünkü Femina'yı takip edemeyen hanımlarda aynı ruhi ihtiyaç içindelerdir. Halbuki memlekette bu ihtiyacı tatmin edecek bir mecmua yok. Bize bu hizmeti yaparmısınız? "*

*O meclisten bu tesir altında ayrıldık. Sonra başbaşa verip düşündük. Türk kadını nezih, pak ve temiz bir kıyafette çıkacak, onun ruhuna ve kalbine nezahat ve güzelliklerden başka bir şey ilham etmeyecek bir mecmuaya hakikaten muhtaç olduğumuzu gördük. Bu düşünce bugün sizlere takdim ettiğimiz İnci'yi meydana çıkardı.*

*İnci, dört senelik harbin memleketimizde bilhassa matbaacılıkta vücuda getirdiği noksanlara rağmen, mümkün olduğu kadar temiz ve zarif bir kıyafetle ortaya çıkmaya çalışmıştır.*

*İstiyoruz ki İnci'yi eline alacak kadın okuyucular evvela ruhuna nezahat veren bir güzellik karşında bulunduğunu hissetsin. Bunun için resimlerine, kağıdına fevkalade itina ettik. Sonra yazılarında kadının nezih ruhunu rencide edecek şeylerden ictinab ettik. Şiirlerimiz, hikayelerimiz ve mensur parçalarımızın münhasiren kadınların ruhunu yükseltecek güzel ve nezih eserler almasına çalıştık.*

*Gazetemiz mündericatında muayyen bir gaye takib ettik. Şimdiye kadar çıkan kadın mecmuaları ya pek çok ağır başlı veyahut pek hafif meşreb oldular. Mecmua sahipleri kadınların ihtiyacını düşünmeyerek gazeteyi kendi heveslerine göre tertip ve tanzim ettiler. Halbuki yazılarda bizim rehberimiz kadınlığının ihtiyaçları oldu.*

*Kadını hayatını başlıca iki sahnesinde görüyoruz. Biri aile hayatı, diğeri umumi hayat. Kadın bu iki sahne muvaffak olmak için muavenete ve rehberine muhtaçtır. İyi bir aile kadını, evini düzüp*

<sup>384</sup> *Diken* was a satirical magazine, owned by Sedat Simavi, printed by the same printing house (Orhaniye Matbaası) as *İnci*.

<sup>385</sup> *Femina* was a French magazine for women published by Lafitte.

süslenmesini, sevimli bir yuva haline koymasını bilmeli, evinin idaresini yabancı ellere vermemeli, icabında mutfağa girip akşam yemeği hazırlaya bilmelidir. Her Türk kadının iyi bir valide olması, çocuğunu bizzat ve asri ihtiyaçlara göre terbiye edip büyütmesi en büyük bir zaruriyettir. İşte "İnci" evvela bu ihtiyacı karşılamak için her sayısında genç validelere, fenni usullerle nasıl büyütmeleri icab ettiğini, açık ve herkesin anlayabileceği bir lisanla izah edecektir. Bir taraftan da evini idare etmek, yemeğini pişirmek için ne gibi malumata muhtaçsa onları da yine açık bir lisanla tedricen vermeğe çalışacaktır.

Aile kadını olacaklar için böyle rehberlik etmeğe çalışırken hayata atılmak mecburiyetinde kalan kadınlarımızı da unutmayacak, onları da yakından terkip ederek kendilerine muavin ve yardımcı olmaya gayret edecektir.

İşte "İnci" böyle saf ve temiz bir emelile ortaya çıkıyor. Kariyelerinin göstereceği rağbet ve teveccüh onun bu yoldaki mesaini teşvik edecek ve kadınlarımızın kendilerine layık bir mecmuaya sahip olmaları temin eyleyecektir.

(Why are we launching *İnci*?

Several months ago during a gathering of respected ladies *Diken* (Thorn) was mentioned. One of the ladies said that there was a need for a quality magazine for women and hurried off to fetch her collection of *Femina* magazines from her library.

"Look" she said, "ever since I was a young woman I have read *Femina*, and every time I opened it I was cheered up. The refinement and beauty of its content made me feel cultured. I missed *Femina* when, after the outbreak of the war, it was no longer available. Since then I have often wondered if it would be possible to produce a similar magazine. Not being able to satisfy my curiosity made me realize that there is a need for such a publication. There is an unsatisfied demand from the ladies who read *Femina*. Can you fill this void for us?"

We left the meeting and, having put our heads together, concluded that there was a need for a magazine which would raise the spirits of Turkish women through nothing other than refinement and purity. It is with this in mind that we have produced *İnci* for you.

In spite of the difficulties brought upon the press by four years of war, *İnci* has worked to produce as good and fine a product as possible.

Our objective is that when our readers buy a copy of *İnci*, above all, they should feel themselves to be in possession of something beautiful and uplifting. For this reason we have paid attention to the quality of the pictures and the paper. We have resisted anything which would be distressing to the gentle nature of women.<sup>386</sup> We have worked

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120 years earlier Thomas Gisborne had explained women's duty in the following terms: "To guide the home and superintend the various branches of domestic management is the indispensable duty of the married woman. No mental endowments furnish an exemption from it; no plea of improving pursuits can excuse the neglect of it." See Gisborne 1797:271.

exclusively to include only poems and stories and articles which will make women feel happy.

Our choice of content is based on sound objectives. Until now, women's magazines have been either too difficult or too lightweight for the readers. Some earlier magazine proprietors showed scant regard for women's needs, but pursued their own interests. In our articles we will take a lead from what our readers tell us are their concerns and interests.

Primarily we see women in two different situations: one is centred upon family life and the home and the other is in public life. For women to be successful in both of these areas, they need help and guidance. A good family minded woman needs to know how to organize and arrange her home and ought not to delegate this responsibility to others. If necessary she should know how to cook. The most important requirement for every Turkish woman is for her to bring up her children herself in accordance with current best practice. Therefore *İnci*, will, using plain language, rise to the challenge and teach young mothers how, by using scientific methods, they can raise their families. We will on the other hand impart, using plain language, whatever knowledge is required for both food preparation and household management. Whilst guiding those who are housewives we will not forget those women who find it necessary to pursue life outside the home<sup>387</sup> and will endeavour to help them. It is with these pure and fine intentions in mind that we produce *İnci*.<sup>388</sup>

Sedat Simavi was the son of Hamdi Simavi, a political exile. He was brought up in Samsun until the age of eight, but, because his Turkish was very poor, he was sent away to a Turkish boarding school in İstanbul. During his early years at home he had been tutored by a French governess and spoke excellent French. She clearly had an influence upon him which lasted throughout his life. He completed his education at *Galatasaray Lisesi* where his strengths were French language and the arts. With this background it is not surprising that he wanted to produce a French style magazine. His preference for all things French, a common phenomenon in Ottoman Turkey, manifested itself throughout the magazine. It came through in the fashion articles, the advertisements and the cultural and literary content.

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<sup>387</sup> This is a reference to the thousands of largely unqualified women who were compelled to find employment due to the adverse economic and social effects of war.

<sup>388</sup> Free-style translation is my own.

Did the magazine live up to the aims outlined in the mission statement or was it simply a ploy to attract readers? Did he, for example, carry on with the proposals made by Ahmet Mithat in 1871<sup>389</sup> to "simplify the language to that used by the people"? The content will be analysed to see how the editors tried to achieve this, and how far they deviated from the plan.

As Sedat Simavi placed so much emphasis on guiding women through the minefield of parenting and household management, the articles concerned with this subject will be the first to be commented upon.

### 3.3.1 CHILDCARE, HEALTH, MEDICINE AND FOOD PREPARATION:

Naturally, women had been bringing up their families and running their homes for millennia, but, in 1919, Turkey was in a state of political, economic, cultural and emotional turmoil after the *Kurtuluş Savaşı* (War of Independence). Many women would have both welcomed and benefited from some guidance. New-fangled theories about almost every conceivable subject abounded, but were of little use to those women who had little or no access to information, let alone the means to implement it. Those who heard about the latest methods of childcare, for example, may have got a garbled second-hand version, and if they were from the rural areas a healthy dose of folklore might have been thrown in for good measure.

"Çocuk Büyütmek Sanatı"<sup>390</sup> (The Art of Raising Children) had two separate column sub-headings: "Manevi terbiyesi" (Moral instruction) and "Maddi terbiyesi" (Physical training). Both of these contained advice on how to instil good behaviour in young children. "Samime", the author, advocated starting with babies in the cradle and then continuing on through early childhood in the same way. Had she been a qualified nurse or care worker the editors would have said so.<sup>391</sup> This column, which was to be featured in subsequent issues ended: *İşte hemşirelerim sizlere ilk nasihatım. Gelecek nüshada yine görüşürüz* (So my sisters this is my first advice to you. We will meet again in the next issue). This,

<sup>389</sup> Mooted much earlier by Şinasi, Namık Kemal and Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul), to name a few.

<sup>390</sup> Issue No 1, 6.

however, was the sole article in the entire run of both *İnci* and its successor *Yeni İnci* about bringing up children.

Those looking for help with food preparation were not going to grow fat on any advice found in *İnci*.<sup>392</sup> Magazines for women in England during this period would have featured numerous economical recipes and suggestions for coping with the endless challenge of finding palatable substitutes for items which were either rationed or simply unavailable, but *İnci* offered no help in this field to the struggling housewife. Had Simavi claimed that his sole aim was to cheer women up, then this would be understandable, but he had promised to help them in the domestic sphere as well.

Prices for many things, apart from paper for newsprint, had come down in May 1919 so more tasty food was a possibility for some. "Sulh Yemekleri"<sup>393</sup> (Menus for peacetime) featured six recipe suggestions suitable for a festive period. They all contained items which many people would have considered a luxury. One of them used only the white of the leeks whereas previously the whole vegetable would have been used. Recipes containing a whole chicken would have been very rare in the British press<sup>394</sup> until much longer after the First World War. There were some advertisements for canned and dry foodstuffs.<sup>395</sup>

On the health<sup>396</sup> front, for the first two years *İnci* was almost no help at all but, albeit somewhat late in the day, Turkish mothers had much to thank *Yeni İnci* for.<sup>397</sup> For some readers, the information built upon the basic knowledge they had acquired at the *rüşdiye* (Middle school).

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<sup>391</sup> By 1919 these were long established professions for Turkish women.

<sup>392</sup> *Asar-i Nisvan*, a woman's magazine which appeared after *İnci*, included recipes in many of its issues.

<sup>393</sup> See Issue No 4, 2.

<sup>394</sup> Possibly with the exception of publications targeting rural women.

<sup>395</sup> See ADVERTISEMENTS Chapter 3:203 ff.

<sup>396</sup> *İnci* readers were spared articles similar to some of the "family health" matters which were printed in *Ayina* between 1913-1915 in Samarkand. In the family columns, *hıfz-ı sıhhat-i aile* (family health) was discussed. For example, semen had to be used in the correct manner "just as it is incorrect to use it before its time, so it is to delay its use". Readers were also warned that adultery, pederasty, masturbation and excessive intercourse were not only a sin, but would also stunt intellectual growth. See Khalid, Adeeb. *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*. London: University of California Press 1998:226. Khalid does not say if this information originated in an Ottoman Turkish publication.

<sup>397</sup> Published from the summer of 1922 onwards.

Social responsibility was high on the agenda in all of the articles about health. They were all written either by a "doktor"<sup>398</sup> or signed as from a *Merkez-i tabib* (medical centre). There is no reason to suppose that the authors were not genuine doctors.

When it came to health matters the invocation of science was a powerful modernist tool. Scientific explanations were akin to a new religion with the doctor's word appearing as indisputable as that of the *İmam*.

The first "Sihhi Sütun"<sup>399</sup> (Health column) cautioned readers about common cold/influenza epidemics. There was a fierce influenza epidemic in 1918/19<sup>400</sup>, and the readers were reminded of another devastating epidemic 35 years before. Positive action was needed to avert disaster on a similar scale. They were warned to look out for all the early symptoms, thus minimising both unnecessary suffering and cross infection. Suggestions for relieving the symptoms of influenza were given. Medical terminology was used but not without explanation by the author who signed himself "İpokrat" (Hippocrates). On the same page advice on dental hygiene appeared.

"Muafiyet ve aşılar"<sup>401</sup> (Immunisation and vaccination) by Dr. İsmail Ferit, explained how once disease entered a body or even a house, its sole purpose was to multiply and destroy the host or be a parasite upon it. These detrimental organisms were, according to the doctor, not in the least discerning, and be the host fascist, liberal, communist, bolshevik or anything else, they took over unless the body's natural defences were strong. He went on to explain that it was the natural defences and the strength of an individual's immune system which resulted in some members of a household or group succumbing to invading organisms, whilst others did not. He listed the diseases which immunisation could prevent. These included typhoid, cholera, dysentery and smallpox. According to him, smallpox immunisation research had been pioneered in England. He wrote that, in some instances, simply putting a healthy child next to

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<sup>398</sup> Simavi was keen on promoting doctors and medicine. See later section on ADVERTISEMENTS Chapter 3:203 ff and his own magazine *Yeni Ev Doktoru* (New Home Doctor) which he launched in 1939.

<sup>399</sup> See Issue No 26, 13-14.

<sup>400</sup> It killed millions in Europe. This epidemic was followed by the coldest winter (1920) for 27 years.

<sup>401</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 8, 13-14.



one with smallpox would protect it, but if the child was weak then it would succumb.<sup>402</sup> The doctor's answer to the most common diseases was mass immunisation.<sup>403</sup>

Controlling bacteria was vital in Turkey if the population was to enjoy higher standards of health. "Hayat ve Mikroplar"<sup>404</sup> (Life and microbes) was printed under the headline "A discussion about health". The fact that there were good and bad microscopic organisms everywhere and that some of the smaller ones had amazing capacities for reproduction was explained. Among the beneficial bacteria were yeasts which were in daily use for making bread, yogurt, cheese and vinegar.<sup>405</sup>

"Çiçek"<sup>406</sup> (Smallpox) was one part of a series of medical articles written by the same doctor who explained how the disease was spread and what the symptoms were and what measures might be taken to alleviate, but not cure, the condition. He listed in detail the various stages whilst warning of the possible death of the patient in the end. He then informed the readers that all this suffering was unnecessary because inoculation was simple and effective, and that it was only a matter of vaccine stored at the correct temperature being available.

He criticized many of his colleagues who carried phials of vaccine in their waistcoat pockets or left them by a heater. Sometimes vaccine was sent by post to remote areas and then languished undelivered for days. His solution was for funding to be made available and, without any further debate, regional vaccination centres set up so that after the initial immunisation a booster could be given every three years.

In making these suggestions he overlooked a number of critical issues such as doctors being unwilling to go and practise in the rural hinterland. Another

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<sup>402</sup> There was a similar form of immunisation practised by rural Turkish people. The person infected with smallpox would have one of the poxes broken and a small amount of the pus would be smeared inside the nostrils of other members of the family. In certain instances this was thought to protect them in the same way that homeopathy works.

<sup>403</sup> According to the caption under his photograph Doctor İsmail Ferid, was the author of *Sarhoşun Tövbesi* (The Drunkard's repentance), a medical satire, which, according to the editor, may well have been a unique genre of writing world wide. No other reference to this book has been found.

<sup>404</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 10, 15.

<sup>405</sup> He made no distinction between yeasts, which are fungi, and bacteria.

<sup>406</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 7, 14-15.

obstacle, already mentioned in the chapter on education, was that, even by 1953, only 25 in every thousand villages had electricity connected.<sup>407</sup> So not only would Dr. İsmail Ferit's proposed clinics have lacked refrigeration facilities for vaccines, but also the quick sterilization apparatus required for mass immunisation programmes.

The readers in İstanbul may well have been prepared to be immunized, but since there was a smallpox epidemic in İstanbul in the early 1920s this could indicate that the majority were not protected. However, persuading people in the rural areas that immunisation was not the work of the devil would probably have been a more challenging task.<sup>408</sup>

Theoretically, the most sensible thing he advised was to seek the help of a qualified doctor and ignore folklore and old wives' tales. However, competent qualified doctors were comparatively rare outside cities and small towns and, where they did exist, they were beyond the means of most, and the medicines prescribed were either unobtainable or too expensive.

Another problem was that only the most enlightened husband or father would allow his wife or daughter to be seen by a male doctor. If Sedat Simavi had judged his readership correctly then some of them would have overcome this problem but not, perhaps, some of the older women.<sup>409</sup>

The health and welfare of expectant mothers and their infants was considered important. "Tıbbi Musahabe: Her Gebe Olan Evladını Emzirebilir mi?"<sup>410</sup> (Medical discussion: Can all expectant women breastfeed their infants?) by Dr. Ali Rıfat was intended to allay any fears which new mothers might have about their ability to breastfeed. This article set out the reasons why, sometimes, this might not be possible and gave helpful hints for struggling mothers and babies. Tuberculosis<sup>411</sup>, lupus and other diseases which adversely affected pregnant

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<sup>407</sup> See Zürcher 1993:215.

<sup>408</sup> For the various forms of folk medicine practised, sometimes verging on witchcraft, one need look no further than the novels of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar. Some of these practices are now being re-evaluated in the light of the discoveries made in modern herbal science.

<sup>409</sup> As late as the 1850s the same problem existed in England, with women suffering for lack of female doctors.

<sup>410</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 5, 15.

<sup>411</sup> One of the problems with tuberculosis was that in the early stages it is asymptomatic, so often people were unaware that they were carriers until it was too late.

women and their infants were mentioned. The importance of hygienic conditions for breastfeeding mothers was emphasized.

Infants were, the doctor continued, more susceptible to disease if they were not breastfed, but in the case of tuberculosis the condition of both the mother, the new infant and existing children needed to be taken into consideration. If a mother failed for physical reasons to breastfeed, certain remedies and some guidance was available. Inverted nipples and other abnormalities were described. This article must be praised for its straightforward, plain-speaking language with no sign of sentimentality or superstition. The one thing that was missing from this otherwise useful and modern article was a reference to the need for scrupulous cleanliness if infants were bottle-fed. Despite the doctor claiming that guidance was available, none was given in *Yeni İnci* to those who failed to breastfeed and had no access to a *süt nine* (wet nurse).

An advertisement for the treatment of venereal diseases<sup>412</sup> cannot have been very uplifting for Sedat Simavi's pure and gentle Turkish women, but it certainly made them aware that treatment was available. This may have been a way of getting men to take note of the "small-ads".<sup>413</sup> When Simavi stated that he was also aiming at women who had no choice but to work, he would not have prostitution in mind. A possible reason for such services being advertised might have been the large numbers of soldiers returning from the war, many of whom contracted venereal diseases. Prostitution was not uncommon and many women risked infection<sup>414</sup>. In English magazines of the same period such an advertisement would have been regarded as scandalous and the editors would most likely have refused to carry it.

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<sup>412</sup> See Issue No 12 advertisements.

<sup>413</sup> The scantily clad women in the corset advertisements might have been a similar ploy.

<sup>414</sup> It is a myth that all prostitutes were non-Muslim. See Raşim, Ahmet *Dükkü İstanbul' da Hovardalık* (reprint of *Fuhs-i Atik*). İstanbul: Arba Yayınları 1987; Ulunay, Refi Cevad *Eski İstanbul Yosmaları*. İstanbul: 1959; Galib, Murtaza *Fahişeler Hayatı ve Redaet-i Ahlakiye*. İstanbul: 1959. Some desperate Turkish prostitutes appeared in literature in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

What initially appeared to be in complete contrast to the open mindedness of the above mentioned advertisement was a picture of a man practising *üfürük*<sup>415</sup> (breathing on a sick person to cure him), but in the caption it was denounced as being amongst the worst examples of quackery which could be only be eliminated through education.

"Kadınlık Şuunu: Kadın Doktorlarımız"<sup>416</sup>(Women's affairs: Women Doctors) was a lost opportunity to promote medicine as a possible career. After teaching and journalism, medicine was one of the earliest professions for Ottoman Turkish women.<sup>417</sup> How women managed to get themselves admitted to the medical faculty at the university was not explained.<sup>418</sup> Although the author saw no reason to elaborate on the methods used by women in their struggle to be accepted by the faculty, he then followed this by saying that it was not a moment too soon for female doctors to be sent to treat women in Anatolia, who, for traditional reasons, were unable to consult a male doctor.

Not content with information about healthcare, Simavi kept his readers abreast of developments in medical science through "İhtiyarlığı Dünya Yüzünden kaldırabilecekler mi?"<sup>419</sup> (Is the global elimination of ageing possible?). The text was by a doctor in France who claimed he had found a cure for ageing. Doctor Voronoff (1866-1951)<sup>420</sup> explained that he had conducted his first experiment on a "peasant" who was somewhat "simple". One of the patient's unspecified organs was replaced with one from a monkey and two months after the operation the patient had been well enough to be accepted for military service. In a further experiment the testes of an old goat had been removed and replaced with a transplant from a young animal. As a result, according to the doctor, the goat had been rejuvenated and had subsequently fathered several "lambs".

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<sup>415</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 11, 7.

<sup>416</sup> See Issue No 8, 16.

<sup>417</sup> In 1922, Dr. Safiye Ali, who, according to Naciye Yücel, was the first female physician to start a clinic in İstanbul. See: Yücel, Naciye "Tıp Alanında Türk Kadını" in *Cumhuriyet'in 50. Yılında Çalışma Alanlarında Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Sermer Matbaası 1974:64-66; Abadan-Unat, Nermin *Women in Turkish Society*. Leiden: E.J Brill 1981.

<sup>418</sup> English women fought for decades to be admitted to read medicine.

<sup>419</sup> See Issue No 14, 11.

<sup>420</sup> Serge Voronoff was a Russian born, French educated physiologist who conducted early experiments on grafting animal glands into the human body. He connected gland secretion with senility.

The doctor said that his techniques could have implications for human beings, but that transplanting organs from animals to humans was unacceptable.

The use of language changed in the description of the birth of the lambs; becoming sentimental rather than scientific. It appears to be an example of the translator possibly trying to appeal to a wider audience, in that the lambs are referred to as *mini mini kuzular* (teeny weeny lambs)<sup>421</sup>.

At the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the event described here does not sound surprising, but for such an article to feature in a woman's magazine in 1919 is worthy of note. In England, and in the more puritanical United States, such articles would have been confined to the tabloids or to the scientific press.

Simavi showed a life long interest in the health of the nation as well as having a keen eye for a commercial opportunity. In 1938 he launched *Yeni Ev Doktoru* (New Home Doctor) which was designed as a self-help manual for those in need of guidance.

### 3.3.2 SOCIAL MATTERS:

Following on from his guidance on the domestic and health fronts, in what other areas of women's lives did Simavi set out to help? The position of women in the country, within the family and in society was the focus of numerous articles in *İnci*.

It was not Simavi's intention to fill the gap left by the closure of more highbrow<sup>422</sup> magazines, nor did he envisage *İnci* as an organ of social reform. His aim was, broadly speaking, to replicate a middle-brow European woman's magazine, such as the French *Femina* mentioned in the mission statement. Nevertheless, various social matters were included, but seldom commented upon.

It would be impossible not to notice the enormous national pride in the ordinary man, in particular the soldier, and the traditional Turkish mother who nurtured

<sup>421</sup> They should have been *keçi yavruları* (kids).

<sup>422</sup> As mentioned elsewhere *Kadınlar Dünyası*, which would have been a rival, was not published between October 1918 and the last 3 months of 1921.

future sons for the *vatan*<sup>423</sup>, and who embodied the honour, especially sexual honour, of the nation. Unlike in some earlier magazines, there is no evidence that the editors thought that progress and chastity were mutually exclusive.<sup>424</sup>

One of the first articles to appear in *İnci* highlighted the growing divorce rate in İstanbul. This was put down to some urban people no longer believing in the lifelong sanctity of marriage vows, and a less censorious view of those who divorced. This is not to imply that divorce was condoned, simply that it was not invariably condemned.<sup>425</sup>

"Kimlerle Evlenmeli"<sup>426</sup> (Whom to marry) was an amusing article illustrated with Simavi's cartoons showing a selection of possible husbands. This in itself was progress (unless it was aimed at mothers and marriage brokers), because historically, the woman herself was rarely involved in the choice of her husband. The changing economic climate was evident from the cartoons. Husbands in commerce were now acceptable, although the *nouveaux riches* and their fluctuating fortunes were to be avoided because their money might be gambled away.<sup>427</sup> Tradesmen were considered a possibility, but only if they treated their customers and suppliers well. If not, they were to be avoided because they would, without doubt, treat their wives in the same way. Artists, musicians and actors were not at all suitable and should not be considered. Doctors were regarded as the road to ruin, because of contact with both disease and other females who would lead them astray. Diplomats were also bad prospects; they never settled anywhere, it would be impossible to establish a home base and the woman would be required to follow her husband everywhere. Possibly Simavi was being a little obsequious by putting *memurlar* (government officials) as his first choice for lasting happiness.<sup>428</sup> The article ended by pointing out that the moment somebody falls in love all advice is useless.

<sup>423</sup> Usually personified as a "motherland" even though in Arabic it is often glossed as "fatherland".

<sup>424</sup> For many who did think they were mutually exclusive, see Chapter 1:29 ff.

<sup>425</sup> See Issue No 1, 3.

<sup>426</sup> See Issue No 2, 5. See examples of these cartoons in 6.4 in Appendix:296.

<sup>427</sup> There were many *harp zengini* (war profiteers) who had made fortunes.

<sup>428</sup> Unusually, there was no encomium to the Sultan (Mehmet VI) in his first issue, so maybe this was one of his ways of appearing to recognise the importance of the regime. In *Diken*, his satirical magazine, he lampooned *memurlar* mercilessly.

The illustrations were satirical. For example the doctor was drawn with a saw in the pocket of his surgical apron and a severed arm in his left hand.

Simavi had promised to include the concerns of those women who were compelled to work, but his efforts on their behalf were limited. The difficult conditions under which some women were obliged to work were featured in "Hayatta kadın"<sup>429</sup> (Women in real life), although not even in the first issue did he make any constructive suggestions.

Perhaps Simavi saw female tailors as more acceptable than those forced to become domestics and labourers because Sabiha Sertel's<sup>430</sup> article about her visit to a *biçki yurdu* (tailoring commune) in "Kadın Müesseselerimize Ziyaret"<sup>431</sup> (Visit to our women's establishments) was much more encouraging. She related how some women, who previously had whiled away their days at leisure whilst servants fulfilled their every whim had to come to terms with reduced circumstances.<sup>432</sup> These women had to learn very quickly to take matters into their own hands but, as Sabiha Sertel said, luckily for them there were several organizations which had been set up to help them.<sup>433</sup>

The *biçki yurdu* was praised by Sabiha Sertel who claimed that, in its five year existence, 900 students had started to train as professional tailors. Out of these 600 had "graduated" and 300 had left, possibly for financial reasons, but probably with enough skill to earn a small income. It was in this commune that, for the first time in Turkey, a methodical tailoring system was taught to women. Sabiha Sertel was not renowned for praising women<sup>434</sup> simply because they were new to a skill, but she was always ready to praise excellence, be it achieved by men or women.

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<sup>429</sup> See Issue No 1, 9.

<sup>430</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>431</sup> See Issue No 1, 11.

<sup>432</sup> For an idea of how many women who were unaccustomed to work survived see Orga 1950.

<sup>433</sup> For examples of the type of work that women in Turkish literature undertook see: Uğurcan, Sema *Türk Romanında Çalışan Kadın Tipleri*. İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Unpublished PhD Thesis 1983.

<sup>434</sup> See Chapter 4:230.

The contrast between the descriptions of women vendors trying to earn money in the grimy streets of İstanbul and Simavi's account of his interview<sup>435</sup> with Prince Abdülmecid<sup>436</sup> in the Imperial Palace could not have been more marked. He gave a detailed description of the sumptuous surroundings in the palace then he referred to the questions he had been permitted to ask. Naturally Simavi focussed on questions about women. Prince Abdülmecid was full of praise for them, saying that he thought they managed to combine being progressive whilst retaining their refinement, charm and principles. Prince Abdülmecid thought women more accomplished than men in both the arts<sup>437</sup> and in politics. The photographs given to Simavi by Prince Abdülmecid accompanied the article, as did a line drawing by Simavi of Prince Abdülmecid's daughter Hatice. Simavi must have enjoyed cordial relations with him because, on the front cover of a later issue, there was a picture of the Prince in full military uniform.<sup>438</sup>

It was rare for Turkish women to be criticized, but they were reprimanded by Mehmet Arif in "Kadınlık Aleminde: Fena Adetlerimizden"<sup>439</sup> (Woman's realm: among our bad habits). He claimed that many women, and sometimes their entire families, lacked good manners and consideration when they were guests. They apparently thought nothing of descending *en masse* and unannounced and expecting to be fed and housed. He urged his readers to change their behaviour and stick to the tried and tested *kabul günü* (an "at home" day allocated for uninvited but, often, regular guests).

Mehmet Arif was similarly critical of those who violated the privacy of new mothers. Insensitive people called upon them day and night and expected both mother and child to be on show. Many also expected refreshment. According to him, it was high time that people learned that rest and privacy were the keys to both a speedy recovery and a healthy mother and child. He conceded that, if they were unable to contain their curiosity, they should only visit one at a time and stay for a short while.

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<sup>435</sup> See "Veliâht-ı Saltanat Devletli Necabetli Abdülmecid Efendi Hazretleri'yle Mülakat" Issue No 9, 5-9.

<sup>436</sup> He was heir to the throne, although he was never proclaimed Sultan, but instead became His Imperial Majesty the Caliph Abdülmecid II. The Caliphate was abolished in March 1924.

<sup>437</sup> Abdülmecid was one of the most cultured men of his era.

<sup>438</sup> See *Yeni İnci* No 5 Front cover.



For good measure, some women's behaviour on public transport also came under fire. Many women would have welcomed the chance to keep out of the mud and dust in the streets and use the tramway, but Mehmet Arif warned them not to expect any concessions. Women were not used to coming into close contact with men outside their immediate families, and, according to him, they had to learn that if they wanted equality, it came at a price. The price was that their special female status was not always respected by their fellow male passengers.

Bad foreign<sup>440</sup> habits did not escape notice. "Tombola Derdi"<sup>441</sup> (Tombola craze) described the adverse effect the growing Russian *emigré* community was having on some of the inhabitants of İstanbul. Bars, balls, gaming houses and coffee shops all flourished, and added to these was the latest craze for tombola. The natives had apparently embraced the game with enthusiasm, whilst ignoring the negative economic effects upon the social structure. The Turkish woman, the much trumpeted custodian of the nation's morals, was expected to be alert to the family finances being gambled away. There was no mention of the gender of the tombola addicts, but it is possible that some of them were women who were tired of being the custodians of the nation's, as well as their own, morals.

### 3.3.3 ARTICLES AIMED EXCLUSIVELY AT WOMEN:

When it came to items grouped under this heading, many were no different from western women's magazines of the period, particularly the vanity pages exhorting them to improve their looks. *İnci* featured several vapid articles about appearance, beauty routines, cosmetics, the latest hair styles and how to prevent premature ageing. (Fashion will be commented on later.) The advertisement pages<sup>442</sup> were full of cosmetics, treatments and potions, all promising radiant results.

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<sup>439</sup> See Issue No 7, 11.

<sup>440</sup> Most negative influences came from the West, but this was a rare example of one coming from the East.

<sup>441</sup> See Issue No 27, 14.

<sup>442</sup> These are discussed later in this Chapter.

Dr. Ömer Abdurrahman tried, in "Tecemmül ve sanat-i Tecemmül"<sup>443</sup> (Make-up and its art), to persuade women that it was their souls which were important, and that their inner health and happiness would shine through, no matter what their features were like. Articles like this, extolling their inner beauty, would have been music to the ears of the women who could not afford the cosmetics and enhancing treatments promoted in the magazine, but probably fell on deaf ears for the majority who were longing, after years of austerity, to be more glamorous.

There were other articles also directly addressing women. There was supposed to be one on "Tesettür Meselesi: Memurelerimiz"<sup>444</sup> (The matter of the veil: Our female civil servants), but it appears to have been censored because the space where the text should have been was left blank.

Hüseyin Avni wrote<sup>445</sup> "Alem-i Nisvan: Kadınlığa Dair"<sup>446</sup> (Women's Realm: Pertaining to womanhood). He rehearsed all the familiar descriptions of women being mysteriously shrouded from head to toe, being treated as chattels and playthings. He did acknowledge that some "modern" women were beginning to appear in all walks of life such as co-educational classes. Some were even undertaking gainful employment. Clearly this rate of change was too fast for Hüseyin Avni, but he did concede that, for generations, Anatolian women had worked alongside men with only minimal head covering without fear of social censorship. One of the reasons that morals were not compromised might have been that many Anatolian boys and girls married in their mid teens, before they had much time to do anything which would bring dishonour.

There were contributors to *İnci* who recognized the changing position of women and the increasing burden upon them. One such person was Mehmet Arif who wrote "Kadının Vazifesi artıyor, mesuliyeti ziyadeleşiyor"<sup>447</sup> (Women's duties and responsibilities are increasing). He stressed the need for further education, coupled with proper consideration, to help them rise to new challenges. If the readers of *İnci* took seriously all the new duties being pressed upon them, they

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<sup>443</sup> See Issue No 7, 5.

<sup>444</sup> See Issue No 2, 2.

<sup>445</sup> In brackets there was a note saying that the ideas and opinions in this article were those of the author. This is the first example of Simavi trying to disclaim affinity with the views of his contributors.

<sup>446</sup> See *Yeni İnci* No 7, 13. This is not an extract from *Alem-i Nisvan* published in Crimea.

<sup>447</sup> See Issue No 4, 7.

would not have been left with any time to contribute to a more progressive society, let alone enjoy it.

Sedat Simavi tried to include topical issues of direct interest to women, but he stuck to his principle of reporting rather than criticising. For instance, "Memurelerimiz"<sup>448</sup> (Our female civil servants) listed several areas where, during the war, women had gained responsible positions, but which were lost to them when the men started to return.<sup>449</sup> Women who had worked in schools and in the postal service were given notice to quit. Thus, for some women, the long awaited peace took away the new careers they had established during the war.

For example, the Ziraat Bank had sacked its female staff.<sup>450</sup> Sedat Simavi wrote that he did not wish to discuss the details of this particular example, but he did say that the denial of their legal rights should be noted. He was careful, other than to say that employing women of all ages was becoming more common, not to alienate those readers who still spent most of their lives in a vacuous state of *ennui*, nor to come down in favour of those who fought for better employment opportunities and rights.

Sedat Simavi did come up with a women's employment distribution chart<sup>451</sup> which confirmed the menial nature of most women's work, as well as highlighting the deficiency in vital fields such as nursing and education. Simavi was critical of the lack of qualified nurses to tend the war wounded, claiming that there were only 1,500 in comparison with the 87,000 available in Germany.

There were some surprising articles aimed at women. "İçki İptilası ve Kadınlar"<sup>452</sup> (Women and alcoholism) was not about alcoholic women, but about the measures they would have to take to combat alcoholism in their families. The text was from a lecture given at a *darülmuaallimat*. Women were warned that, although well known as an appetite stimulant, alcohol was less well known

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<sup>448</sup> See Issue No 2, 2.

<sup>449</sup> This was not unique to Turkey; thousands of European women with responsible jobs were made redundant when surviving men returned from both World Wars.

<sup>450</sup> Judging from photographs, most women who worked in banks and in the postal service appear to have been non-Muslim. They were Greeks, Armenians and other minorities. It is unlikely that any woman who could not type in French would have been employed by a large bank.

<sup>451</sup> See Issue No 3, 5.

<sup>452</sup> See Issue No 26, 11-12.

for causing organ damage. Mothers were criticized for giving it to babies, and sportsmen were warned to abstain.

In the article a positive observation, made by Proust on a visit to İstanbul was mentioned. He had noticed that Turkish boiler stokers on ships worked a thirteen hour day whereas the Greeks and Bulgarians only managed six. He had apparently put this down to the Turks religious reticence when it came to alcohol consumption. The author further claimed that, unfortunately, according to the latest medical evidence, Turkish working men were now becoming far more prone to heavy drinking, which in turn was leading to their children suffering from malnutrition. He also warned that men were damaging their livers and brains. Since government action to curb excesses was not forthcoming, women were told that it was up to them to rise against this tide and to do their utmost to persuade their menfolk to give up drinking alcohol. Yet again the burden of policing the actions of others was put upon women.

To make a change from comparing Turkey with the West, "Şark ve Hint'te Kadınlığın İntibahı"<sup>453</sup> (The development of Eastern and Indian women) described some encouraging signs of women gaining improved status in India and the far East. Whilst female doctors and lawyers were emerging in India and China, in Japan, where women were housebound, there were also some signs of incipient emancipation.

#### 3.3.4 POLITICS:

As mentioned before, Simavi and his editors were reporters, seldom analysts. They used articles commissioned from a variety of sources as well as reproducing material from both Turkey and abroad.<sup>454</sup> To some women, including some of *İnci*'s readers, the loss of the more political magazines would have been sorely felt<sup>455</sup>, but the survival of *İnci* almost certainly depended upon it being somewhat anaemic in this field. In politics, there does not appear to be any evidence that

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<sup>453</sup> See Issue No 21, 12.

<sup>454</sup> Mainly the more developed western countries, but also from Asia.

<sup>455</sup> Simavi launched *Dersaadet* in 1920 to cater for those interested in politics. This ill-fated daily paper was the culmination of Simavi's dreams, but it was closed down by the censor after 127 days. Muzaffer Gökman claimed that it was the most heavily censored paper in publishing history. See Gökman 1970:28.

Turkish women expected to be given preferential treatment, they merely expected to be treated fairly. There were, of course, plenty of women who had no interest in politics whatsoever, and doubtless many of them would have been *İnci* readers. In England during this period there were very few general publications for women with any significant political content.

Simavi's promise to raise the awareness of all aspects of Turkish women's lives was evident, and he shows signs of attaching importance to their emerging roles, but he stopped short of giving their political causes a high profile.

In the first issue of the magazine there were three brief items about women's political activities: "Milli Kongrede Kadınlar"<sup>456</sup> (Women at the National Congress), "Asri Kadınlar Cemiyeti"<sup>457</sup> (Contemporary Women's Association), and "Garpte Kadın" (Woman in the West). These were not weighty pieces but at least they re-established politics as a normal subject for a woman's magazine. If women's politics were given space it was usually with reference to foreign activists. The struggles of the suffragettes in England, in particular those of Mrs Pankhurst, were cited as an example of how women could help themselves to gain political recognition. Similarly, "Bir Kadın en Evvela bir İnsandır"<sup>458</sup> (First and foremost a woman is a human being), an article from Şefika Gasparinskaya's *Alem-i Nisvan*, was quoted.<sup>459</sup> Crimean Turkish women were described in terms similar to their Turkish sisters during the *Kurtuluş Savaşı*. They were portrayed not only as soul-mates to their husbands, but also as their comrades in arms in times of conflict.<sup>460</sup> Women were, according to Gasparinskaya, "learning as the centuries rolled by" to adapt to modern pressures whilst also fulfilling their uxorial and domestic roles.

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<sup>456</sup> See Issue No 1, 2.

<sup>457</sup> There were dozens of such organizations, the most prominent were: *Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniye*; *Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti*; *Osmanlı Türk Hanımlar Esirgeme Derneği*; *Ma'Mulat-ı Dahiliyye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*; *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyyesi*; *Osmanlı Birinci Kadın İşçi Taburu*; *Çerkes Kadınlar Teavün Cemiyeti* and *Kadın Birliği*.

<sup>458</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 11, 15-16. This was the penultimate issue.

<sup>459</sup> In Turkic speaking countries she was every bit as important a figure as Emily Pankhurst.

<sup>460</sup> Deniz Kandiyoti argues that in Halide Edip's novel *Ateşten Gömlek*, written and published in 1922, such women became self-sacrificing comrade-women as well as asexual sisters in arms. See: Kandiyoti, Deniz "Slave Girls, Temptresses and Women Comrades: Images of women in the Turkish novel" *Feminist Issues* Issue No 8, 1988:46.

The closest that *İnci* came to xenophobia was in "Sulh içinde ilk Bayram"<sup>461</sup> (The first *bayram* during peacetime). The author wrote that "finally, after nine years of bloody conflict they were celebrating a *bayram* in peacetime. Cannons had been silenced and daggers had been resheathed". Flowery language described some of the prominent cities involved in the conflict, but harsher words were employed about capitulations,<sup>462</sup> the injustice of the Treaty of Sèvres and the treachery of foreign control. All young Turks were urged to strive for a peaceful future, free from suffering at the hand of the enemy. For women this usually meant preparing their sons to be upright and patriotic Muslim soldiers. Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu)<sup>463</sup> contributed "Bir Siyah Sayfa"<sup>464</sup> (A Black Page) which was the most overtly political article. Mehmet Hüsnü Bey, the Governor of İstanbul was criticized for his attitude during the early part of the Allied occupation of the city. The Governor had, apparently, claimed that, rather than fleeing from the occupying forces, people would be better served by staying in the city where civilized Allied soldiers would respect both their religious and social customs.

Yakup Kadri thought that the Governor had overstepped the mark by appearing to sing the praises of the Allies rather than commiserating with the people under occupation. Furthermore, he wrote that all sensible Muslims had, as a matter of honour, left the city; thus implying that the Governor, in trying to persuade people to stay, was acting as the envoy of the Allies.

Yakup Kadri was incensed that, while armed with both pistol and dagger, the Governor had declared that "the era of carrying arms was past, they had entered a period of politics and rationality." The general tone of Yakup Kadri's article was that the citizens were being hoodwinked by a secretly high-living, self-seeking man who was pursuing his own interests whilst contributing to the desecration of customs held dear by Muslims.

<sup>461</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 12 (12<sup>th</sup> July 1923) 5-6.

<sup>462</sup> The favourable tax treatment of certain categories of foreigners.

<sup>463</sup> At the time he was editor of *İkdam* in İstanbul. In the same year he published *Nur Baba*, a novel which denounced *derviş* practices at a famous *Bektaşî* Lodge in Camlıca. The following year he published his novel *Kiralık Konak* (Mansion for rent) in which he used the *konak* as a symbol of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. He saved voicing most of his deep frustration for his *Sodom ve Gomora*, which did not appear until 1928.

<sup>464</sup> See Issue No 26, 7-8.

There was only one further issue of *İnci* after this and *Yeni İnci* did not appear until twelve months later. It is possible that Simavi had misjudged the political climate in 1921 when he used this critical article by Yakup Kadri who loathed the permissive lifestyle practised by many who had succumbed to the temptations of Rue de Pera<sup>465</sup>, the fashionable entertainment district of İstanbul.

Simavi quoted little from the British press, but in theory *İnci* readers would have been pleased to note that Mustafa Kemal Paşa<sup>466</sup> was the subject of a brief article in the *Illustrated London News*, although most of the details, apart from his kidney disease<sup>467</sup>, were trivial, such as the fact that he had blue eyes. There was no mention in the *Illustrated London News* of his (then) victory at the Battle of Sakarya which had stemmed Greek encroachment into Turkish territory.<sup>468</sup>

Multi-ethnicity became topical in Europe from the 1960s onwards, but to the citizens of İstanbul it was an accepted fact of life. Given the diversity of peoples in the city it would be reasonable to assume that it was an ethnic and cultural melting pot but, this was not the case at all levels. Amongst the Ottoman elite ethnicity was never a barrier, but, in the lower social orders, the myriad of ethnic groups retained their separate identities and seldom mixed.

In the "Memleketimizde" (In our Country) column the subject of "Hicret"<sup>469</sup> (Migration) drew attention to the plight of the various ethnic minorities. Fluctuating boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, invasion and World War I were all blamed for the unrest amongst minorities. Lord Byron's<sup>470</sup> sympathy for the suffering endured by people constantly on the move was quoted.

True to his word, during a period of intense hardship, Simavi managed not to overburden his readers with the political reasons behind all the suffering in the country. The responsibility for keeping their families going fell on the women's shoulders and, in addition to worrying about their menfolk, they had to contend

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<sup>465</sup> See Chapter 3:162.

<sup>466</sup> See Issue No 27, 12.

<sup>467</sup> This could possibly have been the first that readers knew of his health problems.

<sup>468</sup> See Mango, Andrew *Ataturk*. London: John Murray 1999:306-324.

<sup>469</sup> See Issue No 20, 3-4.

<sup>470</sup> Byron's work was well regarded in some circles. His *Turkish Tales* was published in 1813, and some readers may have been familiar with the adventures of his characters Leyla, Gülnare and Züleyka.

with shortages of food, economic problems, lack of proper health-care and civil unrest. Simavi's brief did not include delving into the causes and effects of the various political policies which affected his reader's lives.

### 3.3.5 HISTORY:

Inevitably, some of the articles which have been grouped together under this heading were about the *Kurtuluş Savaşı*. How Simavi thought that he could use all the material about the war and not distress his readers is unclear, but at least news of all the heroic deeds, lists of martyrs and the declaration of peace would have filled them with pride.

Among other topics were reports from Europe on the combined efforts to bring lasting peace, histories of other races, a series of portraits of women in history (mainly Ottoman Sultan's wives) and some pieces of social commentary. Sketches of military heroes, both foreign and Turkish, and brief pieces of general European history were also included.

Ahmet Hikmet (Müftüoğlu) (1870-1927) emerged as a champion of ordinary women in "Kadın ve Kağı" <sup>471</sup> (Women and heavy carts). According to him, during the national resistance movement in Anatolia the Turks appeared to be destined to suffer for ever. It was the thousands of emaciated and bedraggled women who manoeuvred the heavy carts which kept the supply lines open, who were the unsung heroines. They had struggled, sustained by a diet of dry bread and water, in freezing snow and searing heat. This article was Ahmet Hikmet's tribute to all Anatolian women who sacrificed their health, their families and often their lives to defeat the enemy. (Possibly many of them had no idea exactly who the enemy was.)

The contribution made by women was also mentioned in "Fedakar Mücahidimiz" <sup>472</sup> (Our Sacrificed Heroes). This was a new column for *Yeni İnci* which listed heroic individuals and actions during the war. These included officers, groups of soldiers and nurses working for the *Hilal-i ahmer*. A photograph of the nurses may well have been included because of the interest

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<sup>471</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 5 (January 1922), 3.



generated by the serialized play "Ebedi Hisler" in earlier issues of *İnci*. This play was about Turkish girls working for the *Hilal-i ahmer* on the Russian front. The readers were asked to submit nominations and photographs for inclusion in this column.

Emine Semiye's "Hayat-ı İctimaiyede Kadın Mevkii"<sup>473</sup> (The place of women in society) elaborated on the historical role of women in various societies, and then revealed that pre-Islamic Turkish women had also enjoyed independence and status.

There was a nostalgic vein in Hüseyin Avni's "Saray ve Millet"<sup>474</sup> in which he contrasted previous Sultans and their way of life with that of the present one.<sup>475</sup> Previous Sultans were, according to Avni, always at the head of their armies, always prepared for battle and hardship, always able to live in modest campaign tents and always able to endure long periods in the saddle. Their rooms in the palace were simple in comparison with the sumptuous décor enjoyed by the current Sultan. Earlier Sultans had dedicated themselves to serving their subjects, but the present incumbent did the reverse, expecting the people to serve him. Hüseyin Avni continued by claiming that "the history of the Turks was becoming the history of the palace and the sycophants therein, and that it was high time the history of the ordinary people was spelled out, so that the gulf between past and present could be exposed." The Sultan had recently<sup>476</sup> placed the Ministry of War under Allied control, and this was probably the final straw for Avni.

The majority of the historical articles were written in accessible language, and all the readers needed to educate themselves further was greater access to research facilities<sup>477</sup>, public libraries, faithfully translated affordable books and objective (as far as possible) indigenous books. By the time he got to issue No 25 (1921), Simavi must have come to believe that, not only were many of his readers well enough educated to follow the material in most of the articles, but also that they

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<sup>472</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 8, 3.

<sup>473</sup> See Issue No 10, 5-6.

<sup>474</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 5, 4.

<sup>475</sup> He was not named, but it was Mehmet VI who reigned from 1918-1922.

<sup>476</sup> July 1921. This article appeared in December 1922.

<sup>477</sup> As mentioned in the first Chapter, the *İnas darülfünun* (Women's university) had only started admitting a few women in 1914.

would welcome the opportunity to stretch their minds a little.

During the evolution of *İnci* there were increasing signs that Simavi was straying from his own parameters for the magazine. Even with improving educational opportunities, some of the material would have been beyond the level aimed at in his mission statement.<sup>478</sup>

The fact that many of the political and philosophical items would also have interested men could be a sign that, with time, the target audience of the magazine was deliberately widened. There were articles about modern forms of transport and some technological developments, as well as numerous advertisements for various vehicles which are discussed in the next section.

### 3.3.6 TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE:

These subjects were not given any prominence, but were not entirely overlooked either. The hoped for social ideal, a futuristic city with every conceivable form of transport and convenience, satirized in *Kalem* magazine<sup>479</sup> had not materialized.

There were articles about the development of modern aeroplanes, including a flying boat. There was a report on an exhilarating flight taken by a woman<sup>480</sup>, as well as adverse comments about the over-crowded trams and trains in Turkey.<sup>481</sup>

There was an informative article called "Daktilografi Yazı Makineleri"<sup>482</sup> (Typewriters). Although there were several typing schools, there was a severe shortage of suitably qualified women to fill the vacancies in both the public and private sectors.<sup>483</sup> Women had proved themselves in times of war and now *İnci* wanted to see them employed in business as typists.<sup>484</sup> Simavi had already observed (in Issue No 2) that, in peacetime, women were losing their hard won wartime positions to men.

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<sup>478</sup> Namely middle-brow.

<sup>479</sup> See "Elli Sene Sonra Türkiye" *Kalem* 1908.

<sup>480</sup> See "Bulutlar Arasında bir Seyran" *Yeni İnci* Issue No 8, 9.

<sup>481</sup> This was the heyday of the train in the western world and unfavourable comparisons were made.

<sup>482</sup> Written by the chief typist of the Ministry of Public Works. See Issue No 16, 12-13.

<sup>483</sup> Usually banking, but also foreign companies and fledgling Turkish ones.

<sup>484</sup> In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century most secretaries had been men. In "Şule'nin Defteri" serialised in Issue Nos 15-18, the main character was a private secretary to a female writer.

The second part of the article was about the development of the typewriter.<sup>485</sup> The references in the article are to Latin keyboards; mastering an Ottoman keyboard was a more difficult task. As with employment openings in England, the biggest problem in İstanbul was that women who were neither working class nor qualified professionals, had very little choice.

Apparently typewriters were not confined to government offices, but kings, queens, grand duchesses and maharajahs all used them for private correspondence. There was a picture of Queen Elizabeth of Roumania (1843-1916)<sup>486</sup> in the middle of the article. Evidently she was the first queen to use one.

Science was mentioned less often than technological developments. In "Einstein'in İzafiyet-i Mahdud Nazariyesi"<sup>487</sup> (Einstein's Theory of Relativity), Dr. Akil Muhtar attempted to explain, not the theory in minute detail, but, its implications for the modern world.

In "Açık Muhabere"<sup>488</sup> (Open Discussion), the editors invited readers to submit questions on topics of their choice. Among the suggested subjects were medicine, science and literature. This attempt failed, as did the previous attempt to engage the readership in serious discussions.

The emerging roles and images of women were important to Simavi, and he did his best in his selection of articles to reflect the reality of changing lifestyles, but he could not produce material out of thin air. He had two choices; he could either select from the most appropriate articles submitted to him, or he could commission articles from writers in tune with his objectives. If he chose the latter course, he would have needed to be restrained in his editing for fear of offending the author who might then refuse to submit further articles.

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<sup>485</sup> This particular article was peppered with words typed in Latin script, but some of them contained typographical errors.

<sup>486</sup> As a published authoress, she used the pen-name Carmen Sylva.

<sup>487</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 1, 15-16.

<sup>488</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 1, 25.

### 3.3.7 CULTURE:

The arts were important in the magazines, and, apart from literature, there were articles on Art and Architecture, Craft, Flowers and Horticulture, Music, Cinema and the Theatre.

#### 3.3.7.i Art and Architecture:

The visual contribution which Sedat Simavi, himself an accomplished draughtsman and notable cartoonist, made to the artistic appearance of the magazine cannot be over emphasized. Some of the front covers were his work and others, which do not bear his signature, have been attributed to him. These drawings, coupled with the name *İnci*, clearly signalled to the public that this was a woman's magazine.

Although most of the covers featured a modern woman, albeit one with her hair covered, he did show his sympathy for the women who were left destitute by the war, by using a picture of one of them cooking in the street.<sup>489</sup>

Many of his line drawings, satirical cartoons and illustrations reflected changing social attitudes.<sup>490</sup> The cartoons must be singled out as the most entertaining contribution from him. He managed to portray contemporary events with caustic wit based on acute social observation. His cartoon revealing the perils of an arranged marriage also contained a social message.<sup>491</sup> Sedat Simavi liked to encourage young artists. Cartoons drawn by two girls aged five and six were shown with pride and in the hope that other young enthusiasts would come forward once they realized that girls could also be painters.<sup>492</sup>

Historically, art has been a useful umbrella for publishing the otherwise unacceptable. So under the guise of culture Simavi was able to relax a little and show two daring paintings of women. One of the sitters was Madame Lütü

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<sup>489</sup> See Issue No 20 Front cover. His sensitivity to the desperate woman was in stark contrast to a picture of an American beauty queen and advertisements for luxury items inside.

<sup>490</sup> According to Brummet, long before Simavi, *Çingiraklı Tatar*, published by Teodor Kasab in 1873, featured cartoons for cultural critique. See Brummet, Palmira *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908-1911*. Albany: State University of New York Press 2000:224.

<sup>491</sup> See Issue No 6, 19.

<sup>492</sup> See Issue No 5, 9.

Bey<sup>493</sup> whose portrait Simavi had seen at an art exhibition. He had despaired of some able Turkish artists who had failed to submit suitable work. Madame Lütü Bey was portrayed in an off the shoulder evening gown.<sup>494</sup> Many would have judged this picture as scandalous, and as a further indication that western influences were having a detrimental effect upon Turkish culture and morals. This revealing image could have been interpreted by some less worldly readers as a direct challenge to the integrity of Ottoman Turkish culture, which was often bound up in the sexuality of its women and their part in providing a certain continuity in the ordering of society.<sup>495</sup> However, it could also be interpreted as a sign that some women were prepared to risk scandal in order to follow western trends.

As with fashion articles, the arts also introduced new vocabulary into the Turkish language. *Portre*, *tablo* (portrait and painting) and *peyzaj* (landscape) are now common place, though *peinture* and *art* were assimilated.

On occasion, extracts from other publications boosted the artistic content. An article from *Akşam* about Persian miniatures was informative. What caught the reader's eye was probably that one of the subjects was a scene from *Leyla ile Mecnun*.

English periodicals of the time were full of pictures about furniture, but *İnci* readers were only cautioned not to be in a hurry to furnish their homes without having first developed good taste. They were given no guidance in this area.

There were no articles about architecture other than one general piece by Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat<sup>496</sup> about some of the more important architectural features and historical buildings of İstanbul.

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<sup>493</sup> She was most likely the wife of Lütü Fikri, a French educated, politically active cosmopolitan writer and co-founder of the *Tanzimat* newspaper.

<sup>494</sup> Before this Issue (No 19), only one bare headed woman had been shown, and then it was as part of a couple in a domestic setting, and therefore acceptable, since women were only required to cover their hair in the presence of men outside their immediate family. See Issue No 10, Front cover.

<sup>495</sup> The image of women symbolising the moral fabric of society is cross cultural.

<sup>496</sup> See Issue No 4, 8-9. Simavi and Köprülüzade fell out and a lengthy legal battle only ended with Simavi's death in 1953.

### 3.3.7.ii Craft:

Craft was not mentioned until the final issue of *Yeni İnci*. In "Kız Sanayi Sergileri"<sup>497</sup> (Girls' Craft Exhibitions), the high standard of the girls' work was praised. Many of the exhibits on show were examination pieces. The conditions under which they worked were deplored and it was hoped that, in the future, they would get better facilities and equipment.

### 3.3.7.iii Flowers and Horticulture:

Flowers and horticulture were an unexpected subject. English magazines of the same period were full of women brandishing their secateurs as they set about taming their gardens and creating new ones. There were advertisements for gardening clothes, small lawn mowers and lighter garden tools for "ladies". Pictures of women with trug baskets full of lovely flowers and wholesome vegetables were common.

Such images would have been alien to Turkish people who had no notion of physical gardening for pleasure. Magnificent gardens and hot houses existed, and flower and plant varieties were abundant, but they were tended by gardeners<sup>498</sup>, not their owners. There was no concept of the "gentlewoman" or "gentleman" gardener as there is in the West. Although Turkish *fidanlık* (plant centres) are improving, the English "hands on" approach is today still greeted with surprise by many Turkish people, who regard it as manual work which should be undertaken by those employed for that purpose.

Lütfü Arif wrote "Salon hayatında"<sup>499</sup> çiçekler: Kamelyalarınıza iyi bakınız"<sup>500</sup> (Flowers in the *salon*: take good care of your camellias). He encouraged the ladies of İstanbul to copy European and Japanese trends, and to bring their camellias in from the glasshouses and arrange them in their *salons*.

"Salon Hayatında: Muattar Çiçekler"<sup>501</sup> (Fragrant flowers in *salons*) could be an example of copy being linked to the advertisement for a gardening magazine in

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<sup>497</sup> See *Yeni İnci* No 12, 6.

<sup>498</sup> Apart from some head gardeners, this was a low status occupation.

<sup>499</sup> "Salon Hayatında" was a series about social life in the *salons* in İstanbul.

<sup>500</sup> See Issue No 5, 10.

the previous issue.<sup>502</sup> The botanical classification of a variety of flowers was mentioned along with histories of various plants and their country of origin. The article ended with Lütü Arif urging women to instruct their staff in the proper care of precious plants.

#### 3.3.7.iv Music:

By the time that *İnci* appeared, music, in particular western classical music, had become part of cultural life in the upper echelons of İstanbul society. For educated and cultured women it was considered very much part of the *alafranga* way of life to show a certain amount of musical accomplishment, especially at the piano. In court circles concerts were a frequent occurrence, and foreign orchestras and performers were invited to play. Prince Abdülmecid was, as already noted, not only a great lover of music but also a competent musician. Mahmud II was equally gifted, as were some imperial princes and princesses who formed their own orchestras. Competent ladies of the harem were included in the princesses' orchestra.

Dikran Tchoukhadjian, son of the chief clock-keeper to the Sultan, composed western music which was inspired by local landmarks. "Souvenir de Constantinople", "Retour de Kiathane" and "Tour de Leandre" were examples.

In Turkish literature there are numerous references to young girls being taught the piano by foreign governesses. There were also stories of fathers in particular, wondering how this would benefit their daughters when it came to managing a husband, home and family. On the other hand some western educated young men found it difficult to find suitably cultured and accomplished Turkish girls to marry. Indeed, a highly entertaining play "Keman Dersleri" (Violin Lessons) linked musical ability and marriage.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>501</sup> See Issue No 6, 6.

<sup>502</sup> See Issue No 5 advertisement pages.

<sup>503</sup> See Issue No 15, 12-13. For a discussion on this play see Chapter 3:173.

Not all the articles were about western music. The re-establishment of eastern classical music as well as some fusion between western and eastern traditions was considered a good idea. The *conservatoire* for western music was praised, as was the re-opening of the *darüllahim* (music school) which trained specialists in Turkish and classical eastern instruments.

Sedat Simavi certainly sought out the best when it came to Musa Süreyya's<sup>504</sup> article on the future of music. He was director of the new *conservatoire* and aware of the western infiltration of Turkish musical tradition. In "Musikimizin Atisi"<sup>505</sup> (The future of our music) he explained the inevitability of influences from the West. He put this down to the fact that, in certain circles, it was very fashionable to show some understanding and appreciation of classical western compositions. Like so many other things in society during that period, Turkish culture was under siege, having been usurped by what was perceived by some to be superior. Literature, cuisine, architecture, fashion and lifestyles were all influenced by western trends.<sup>506</sup>

There was no mention of opera which had been popular in court circles from the 1860s onwards. There had even been operas composed by Dikran Tchoukhadjian, the founder of the Oriental Music Society.<sup>507</sup> "Il Trovatore" was performed in İstanbul in 1853, before it reached London. Perhaps the appeal of the opera was considered too limited, or even too elitist, for *İnci* readers.

One of the first things readers of *Yeni İnci* were promised was a new musical column, but it disappeared after the initial article. "Son Fokstrot"<sup>508</sup> (The latest foxtrot) was accompanied, for the one and only time, by musical notation. Seemingly all the bars and *salons* in the Beyoğlu district were in the grip of "foxtrot fever"<sup>509</sup>. This was a time when many sections of society experienced

<sup>504</sup> After the 1908 Revolution he left Turkey to study at the Royal Academy of Music in Berlin for five years.

<sup>505</sup> See *Yeni İnci* No 5, 14.

<sup>506</sup> There is no need to look any further than the fashion pages of *İnci* to illustrate this point although, in this particular instance, a fine patina of reserve was evident. Otherwise the headscarf would have been abandoned as necklines slipped down and hemlines crept up. The first was "Arif", premiered in 1872.

<sup>507</sup> See *Yeni İnci* No 1, 7.

<sup>508</sup> The tango produced a similar mania. In Peyami Safa's book *Sözde Kızlar* (So-called girls) the word "tango" became synonymous with "new woman" in God-fearing Muslim neighbourhoods. The rumour was that such women were not only devoid of morals, but also guilty of rejecting their faith and traditions. See Kandiyoti 1988:44.



severe deprivation, but for some life was far from difficult. For example, Harold Armstrong, the British Military Attaché, wrote that "life was gay and wicked and delightful. The cafés were full of drinking and dancing. There was none of the clogging drag of home ties."<sup>510</sup>

### 3.3.7.v Cinema:

Today Turkish cinema is a far cry from its early days.<sup>511</sup> Many contemporary Turkish films come under the heading of "art films" which enjoy an international reputation. Indigenous films are just as popular, if not more so, than foreign imports.

Sedat Simavi had an interest in the cinema. In 1917, in conjunction with the military affiliated Central Cinema Directorate, he made two films: "Casus" (The Spy) and "Pençe"<sup>512</sup> (The Paw). Cinema magazines did not appear until Hikmet Nazım (Nazım Hikmet's father) started *Sinema Postası* in 1923.<sup>513</sup>

At this time Turkish cinema was in its infancy, and there was only one article in *Yeni İnci*. "Ateşten Gömlek Sinemada"<sup>514</sup> (*Ateşten Gömlek* is at the cinemas) was a critique of the film based on Halide Edip's novel of the same title. The fledgling Turkish film industry was praised for producing an indigenous film for the people instead of them being forced to watch "imported, subtitled or dubbed, unsuitable films." "Ateşten Gömlek" (Shirt of Flame) was a war film about the bitter struggles when İstanbul and İzmir were under occupation during the War of Independence. At the same time it was a film about national pride, revenge and love. The author of the article was very positive about the image of Turkey

<sup>510</sup> See Armstrong, Harold *Turkey in Travail*. London 1925:97. (He was the censor mentioned by Sabiha Sertel in Chapter 4:224) See also Muftüzade, K. *Speaking of the Turks*. New York: 1922:152; 155.

<sup>511</sup> The first Turkish film, a documentary, was produced by Fuat Özgünay in 1914. It was about the destruction of a monument in Ayostefanos (Yeşilköy).

<sup>512</sup> This was based on Mehmet Rauf's story which was printed in *Servet-i Fünun* in 1909.

<sup>513</sup> This was a short lived bi-lingual (Turkish/French) publication, but others followed in its wake. Hikmet Nazım was the first person to import Soviet films and it is possible that this contributed to the closure of his magazine. From 1923 until 1939 Ertuğrul Muhsin Bey was only film director in Turkey. He directed 29 films, incorporating adaptations of plays, operettas, fiction and foreign films. The influence of the theatre was evident in his work. For further details see Halman, Talat *Modern Turkish Drama: An Anthology of Plays in Transition*. Studies in Mid East Literatures No 5 Minneapolis: Bibliotecha Islamica 1976:14 ff.

which the film presented, and even suggested that it could be used for propaganda purposes thereby introducing westerners, not only to Turkish films, but also to Turkey's recent military achievements.

Necmettin Sadık did not give foreign films such a good press. In "Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri"<sup>515</sup> (The Effects of Cinema in our Country) he was full of doom and despondency about the undesirable effects it could have, in particular, on females. He claimed that they were being seduced by an unattainable lifestyle and it was affecting the structure of society.

Sedat Simavi appears not to have noticed that in a magazine for women it can not always have been wise to report on extra responsibilities for women whilst curbing any fun which might have come their way. So far, some of the things they had been warned off were alcohol, dancing, tombola and now the cinema was also going to corrupt them. Possibly there were those among his readers who were appalled at some developments, but others may have quietly anticipated joining in. He was, after all, quite happy to entice them with the latest fashions, beauty treatments, hairstyles, cosmetics and even motorcars. Having turned themselves into glamorous women, were his readers never to venture out and enjoy themselves?

#### 3.3.7.vi Theatre<sup>516</sup>:

In 1873, half a century before *İnci* appeared, Namık Kemal wrote and staged "Vatan Yahut Silistre" (Fatherland or Silistria)<sup>517</sup>, the first play by a Turkish writer in the European idiom. It was performed on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1873 and closed four days later on the orders of Sultan Abdülaziz because it criticised the government.<sup>518</sup> Şinasi's play "Şair Evlenmesi" (The Marriage of the Poet) which ridiculed the deceptions involved in arranged marriages had appeared in print a little earlier.

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<sup>514</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 10, 13.

<sup>515</sup> See Issue No 27, 4.

<sup>516</sup> The actual plays will be commented upon later.

<sup>517</sup> This play glorified Turkish courage and patriotism.

<sup>518</sup> For good measure he shut down his newspaper the *İbret*, and then exiled him to Famagusta.

Drama never was a traditional part of Ottoman Turkish literature and the emerging new plays, which were divided into acts and scenes, were an import from the West. Some Turkish dramatists took their lead from Racine, Goethe, Shakespeare and Schiller, all of whom wrote in verse. The sources of influence then moved on to more naturalistic writers such as Victor Hugo, Paul Ernst Hervieu and Eugene Brieux for stylistic leads.

It was not until after the Young Turk Revolution, in 1908, that more "Turkish" drama began to appear.<sup>519</sup> The earliest playwrights to make a name for themselves in the Constitutional period (1908-1923) were Hüseyin Suat (Yalçın)<sup>520</sup> and Mehmet Rauf<sup>521</sup>, but little or nothing approaching what would now be regarded as a competent play appeared until well into the republican era.

There were numerous attempts to establish Turkish theatre groups and keep them going for more than a couple of performances.<sup>522</sup> It was not just amateurs who failed, but even those involved with the *darülbeyt*<sup>523</sup> had to admit defeat in 1922.

By 1920 the play, although not uncommon, was far from the state that it was to develop into after the establishment of a theatre department at the State Conservatoire.<sup>524</sup> The post World War I years were a period of great ambition and multiple initiatives but little permanent change.

Until the 1920s Turkish female roles were played by men.<sup>525</sup> In the western theatre, established male actors trained adolescent boys in feminine speech patterns and gestures. Indeed, from Elizabethan times onwards, playwrights

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<sup>519</sup> Censorship was abolished in 1908 although it was imposed again later.

<sup>520</sup> Belonging to the *Servet-i Fünun* writers.

<sup>521</sup> Belonging to the *Edebiyat-ı Cedideciler* group.

<sup>522</sup> There were several Armenian and other Christian minority theatrical companies. Examples in Beyoğlu alone were "Skating", "Odeon" and "Varyete".

<sup>523</sup> The İstanbul theatre founded in 1914. It had a small school attached.

<sup>524</sup> Established following a report by Reşat Nuri Güntekin in 1934 on the state of Turkish theatre. As with education, experts from abroad, initially Germany, were brought in to work alongside notable names in Turkish theatre. It took more than a decade for the department of theatre studies to settle down and produce competent material.

<sup>525</sup> In 1920 Afife "Jale" was the first Turkish actress to appear on the stage. She was in Hüseyin Suat's "Yamalar". Her actions were deemed "contrary to Islam" and she had to leave. See Ergun, Perihan *Cumhuriyet Aydınlarımızdan Öncü Kadınlarımız*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi 1997:272.

allowed for this by giving the female parts played by boys shorter breath spans.<sup>526</sup>

Talat Halman wrote that "to a far greater extent than in other Islamic counties, and more so than in many western nations, the theatre in Turkey has been the principal agent of socio-political change, as well as a major vehicle for intellectual and literary transformation".<sup>527</sup> In making this statement, perhaps he did not take sufficient account of the development of the Egyptian theatre, albeit instigated by Rufail Şanu<sup>528</sup> (1839-1912), during the *Khediv* İsmail period. The expansion of the Cairo theatre had coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, when Egypt became the focus of world attention. Political satire, as well as smut and depravity, flourished through the medium of the *Karagöz* tradition in Tunisia, Algeria and Syria as well as in Egypt.<sup>529</sup>

In central Asia as well, the "Jadids" tried to use culture as a means of influence and for the dissemination of information. For example, Mahmut Koca Behbudî (1874-1919) was the first Central Asian playwright. He wrote "Pardeguş" (Patricide) in 1913 and it was performed in Samarkand the same year. The object of this play was to get his compatriots to "awake from their sleep of ignorance"<sup>530</sup>. Following his success, others started writing plays. From 1914 onwards, Abdullah Awlani, a "Jadid" in Turkestan, wrote, produced and directed plays, as well as forming Turkestan's first regular theatre troupe.<sup>531</sup> Other playwrights addressed problems such as the oppression of women and the negative aspects of polygyny.

It is not surprising that western style theatre in Turkey was struggling a little. Importing western plays, not only translating them into Turkish but also performing them, was probably the easy part; attracting and holding the

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<sup>526</sup> See Gibson, Joy *Squeaking Cleopatras: The Elizabethan Boy Players*. London: Sutton 2001.

<sup>527</sup> See Halman 1976:14.

<sup>528</sup> Also known as James Sanua.

<sup>529</sup> See Landau, Jacob *Studies in Arab Theatre and Cinema*. University of Pennsylvania Press 1958.

<sup>530</sup> See Khalid 1998:88 ff.

<sup>531</sup> See Khalid 1998:88 ff. He evidently subscribed to the Crimean Tatar İsmail Gasparinski's *Tercüman* as a means of keeping abreast of developments in public education in the Ottoman Empire. See also Chapter 1:15 Fn 17.

audience's attention was entirely another matter.<sup>532</sup> Often characters in plays were adapted to suit Turkish audiences, frequently with unsuccessful results. The hapless adaptors and translators were pilloried by the *elite*, either for their lack of understanding or incorrect translations or both.

The articles in *İnci* about the theatre were fairly topical. For example, in "Musahabe: Heyecan İhtiyacı"<sup>533</sup> (Conversation: The Need for Enthusiasm), Ahmet Hikmet, expressed his worries about the theatre and the arts in general. The lack of local talent worried him, as did the diet of imported artistic material which, to him, was adversely affecting Turkish culture. He emphasised the need to train and educate more creative Turkish playwrights, actors, authors, painters and musicians.

Through *İnci*, Simavi tried to promote the pleasure to be gained from the theatre. He replaced his first theatre reviewer and critic and employed Reşat Nuri Güntekin<sup>534</sup> instead. His column was called "Sanatkarlarımızı Tanıyalım"<sup>535</sup> (Let's get to know our artists), but many of the articles in this column were about western plays performed by Turkish actors.

Reşat Nuri admired Burhanettin Bey who was an extremely well educated, bilingual (French and Turkish) actor. He had worked in both Turkey and France, where he had been trained at the *Conservatoire*. He used his extensive cultural capital to bring the theatre to a wider audience in Turkey, without lowering standards. He brought European characters, fictional and real, such as Sherlock Holmes and Napoleon Bonaparte to Turkish audiences as well as performing pieces written by eminent Turkish writers such as Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan.

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<sup>532</sup> For a description, by Halide Edip, of how badly some audiences behaved, and the dress and behaviour codes which the theatre management was compelled to impose, see And, Metin *Türk Tiyatrosunun Evreleri*. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi 1983:271-272.

<sup>533</sup> See Issue No 12, 4.

<sup>534</sup> Reşat Nuri (Güntekin) was one of Turkey's most famous authors and playwrights. His first play, *Haçer* (Dagger), was positively reviewed by Simavi. See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 10 (Bayram). In addition, he translated works by, among others, Zola and Carlyle.

<sup>535</sup> See Issue No 8, 8.

Falih Rıfki contributed to Reşat Nuri's column with an article about Hacivat<sup>536</sup> whose appearances evidently were dwindling. Ertuğrul Muhsin Bey<sup>537</sup> was welcomed back during a brief visit to Turkey. Sedat Simavi claimed him to be proof that Turkey could produce competent and successful actors.<sup>538</sup> By ensuring that such issues were aired, Simavi was doing his best to raise cultural standards.

The article titled "Yeryüzünde Allah'ın Gölgesi"<sup>539</sup> (The shadow of God on Earth) by Ahmet Hikmet (Müftüoğlu), was about himself and Halit Ziya being put to shame over their ignorance of the connection between Kemal Bey's<sup>540</sup> play "Gülnihal" and Racine's "Britannicus".<sup>541</sup> Their plight was doubly embarrassing because a member of the Sultan's family had raised the issue during a conference about the theatre. The incident made Ahmet Hikmet (Müftüoğlu) realize that the general view of the imperial family in their gilded cages, sheltered from the outside world, was false and that one member had demonstrated how highly cultured and informed some of them were.

Sedat Simavi's attempts to foster an interest in the theatre is laudable; however the quality of writing *about* the theatre by far exceeds the quality of the plays published in *İnci*.<sup>542</sup> Nevertheless, despite the standard in playwriting not being commensurate with the majority of other types of writing in *İnci*, plays were included in several issues.

The various categories for literature will be examined later but clearly there was a long way to go before standards in art, architecture, theatre, cinema and music were even going to approach those of the West, but Sedat Simavi should be applauded for his efforts to set high standards and encourage both development and participation. There were plenty of people who viewed the dilution of

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<sup>536</sup> See Issue No 8, 11. Hacivat was a character in the *Karagöz* shadow plays. From a cultural/historical point of view Hacivat is important and both he and *Karagöz* are the subject of much contemporary research.

<sup>537</sup> See Issue No 25, 10 and *Yeni İnci* Issue No 10 (Bayram edition). In addition to already mentioned work in the cinema, he translated several European classics. Shakespeare, Strindberg, Tolstoy and Ibsen were among many other playwrights whom he brought to the Turkish theatre and cinema.

<sup>538</sup> Metin And disagrees with Simavi, he claims that Ertuğrul Muhsin was not creative, but eclectic, and that his biggest mistake was to think that he alone was capable of producing good theatre in Turkey. See And 1983:371.

<sup>539</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 6, 2-3

<sup>540</sup> This was Namık Kemal.

<sup>541</sup> Racine wrote *Britannicus* in 1669.

<sup>542</sup> These will be discussed later.

"Turkishness" in their culture with both anger and sadness, but the aim of *İnci* was to get the readership to widen its horizons without undermining the value of the indigenous culture.

It must not be forgotten that only a decade earlier theatre audiences were segregated. Women had to attend matinées whilst evening performances were reserved for men. What the theatre really needed was a new generation who could take a mixed audience in their stride.

### 3.3.8 FASHION:

Throughout the magazine the influence of French taste and style is ever present. Through his command of French, Simavi would have been able to scour French magazines and journals for all the latest styles and trends.<sup>543</sup>

Fashion articles occupied the back cover of *İnci* for the first three issues but thereafter they were spread throughout the magazine as advertisements took their place on the back cover. This was a sharp reminder of the importance of advertising revenues.

The upper echelons of Turkish society have always been fashion conscious. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Rue de Pera (Beyoğlu) was full of people dressed in the latest European fashions.<sup>544</sup> Whilst the majority were very elegant, Simavi did not hesitate to satirize those whom he considered preposterous.

The smart shops, seductive cafés, illuminations and elegant buildings were a great attraction to many, but, to others, they were emporia devoted to decadence which were frequented only by fallen *alafranga* women. In *İnci*, the comparative opulence of the fashion pages was sometimes at odds with other articles in the same issue.

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<sup>543</sup> Generally speaking, European magazines were difficult to come by during this period.

<sup>544</sup> See: Micklewright, Nancy *Women's Dress in 19<sup>th</sup> Century İstanbul: Mirror of a Changing Society*. University of Pennsylvania Dep. of History of Art PhD Thesis 1986:155-205.

Although men's fashions were not featured in *İnci*, dedicated followers of fashion were not all female. Turkish dandies were frequently both ridiculed and vilified in 19<sup>th</sup> century Turkish novels. Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, in *Şık*, written in 1887, ridiculed *Zarif Çelebi* (Mr Elegant), a character who would probably have sold his soul to pay his French tailor.

*İnci* was instrumental in bringing the world of fashion and style to a wider audience. The editor of the fashion pages was well versed in the latest European styles. This could well have been Simavi himself, as he had an eye for stylish detail.<sup>545</sup> Presumably he decided that following in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*'s footsteps and offering paper patterns<sup>546</sup> did not fit the style of *İnci*. Perhaps they were too "housewifey" for his readers, or, possibly the price of paper made them an uneconomic proposition.

The fashion articles are of interest from an artistic, cultural and linguistic point of view. From a cultural point of view the magazines show very clearly that, although the latest in European fashions could also be worn by Turkish women, they still had to compromise on the total 'look' because uncovered heads were only for the truly brave or in private situations. Ankles, necks, shoulders and ears are all visible but very few uncovered heads. There were a couple of articles illustrating the historical development of various forms of head covering. For instance, in "Milli Moda"<sup>547</sup> (National fashion), Zehra Hakkı wrote an illustrated article about changing styles in headwear.

Turkish women were not to be entirely deprived of western headwear. "Paris'teki Yeni Başlık Modası"<sup>548</sup> (The latest Parisian headwear) featured a fez-shaped hat bound with a scarf, which the fashion editors thought was wholly appropriate for Turkish women.<sup>549</sup> On the front cover of the 24<sup>th</sup> issue of *İnci* the model wore a veil which might, in some circles, have been seen as a retrograde step.

New words crept into the Turkish language via the fashion columns. Language was being influenced and infiltrated with foreign words in several fields and

<sup>545</sup> As a very young man Sedat Simavi lived in Beyoğlu and despite severe shortages of artists materials, he had occupied himself with producing commercial fashion plates.

<sup>546</sup> *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* offered them from 1896 until it folded in 1908.

<sup>547</sup> See Issue No 1, 4-5.

<sup>548</sup> See Issue No 6, 16.



fashion was simply another vehicle. *Tafeta* (taffeta), *şifon* (chiffon), *dantel* (lace), *tül* (net), *külöt* (underwear), *gabardin* (gabardine), *şarmöz* (fine silk fabric), *tunik* (tunic), *kostüm* (costume), *tayör* (lady's suit), *ceket* (jacket), *garnitür* (decoration), *fasone* (woven cloth with integral design), *eksotik* (exotic), *krepdöşin* (crêpe de Chine), *markiset* (marquissette, a form of fine embroidered cloth), *jerse* (Jersey), *kombine* (matching set), *döpiyes* (two piece), *kruvaze* (double-breasted) and other examples all appeared regularly. Fashion journalism was yet to become an separate writing *genre* but the new vocabulary helped its establishment.

The fashion pages were a constant reminder that *İnci* was first and foremost a woman's magazine. Simavi did not lose sight of this as he tried to ensure that his readers looked no further for all the latest styles and fabrics. They were not let down by the drawings and general presentation.

Simavi did not give up his interest in fashion when *İnci* folded. In 1937 he started *Model*, his own fashion magazine. This not only showed all the latest in women's fashions but also branched out into home furnishings.<sup>550</sup>

### 3.3.9 LITERARY MATERIAL:

There was more space devoted to literature than anything else in *İnci*. In total there were two hundred and fifty four items which have been examined in the following sequence: agony aunt, articles, books, criticisms, dialogues, interviews, letters, plays, poetry, stories (including serializations), obituaries for literary figures and literary standards.

#### 3.3.9.i Agony Aunt:

Simavi did not get round to including this column until Issue No 7 when "Abla mektupları" (Letters from a big sister)<sup>551</sup> started to appear. The "letters" were largely about marital problems, but, apart from assuring the readers that with time, most couples learn to love and support one another, they offered little

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<sup>549</sup> Later in the magazine, more intimate garments such as pyjamas and *robdöşambr* (housecoat or dressing gown) were featured.

<sup>550</sup> Remarkably, *Model* survived throughout the Second World war until 1948.

<sup>551</sup> See Issue Nos 7, 7; 8, 9; 10, 12; 12, 13-14.

help. Ayşe Hikmet, the author of most of them, implied that the best course was patience and acceptance of the status quo. This column only appeared over a 6 month period, and even then, not every issue featured it.

### 3.3.9.ii Articles:

The scope of the articles is wide, ranging from the frivolous to the serious. They are of a varied literary standard. Some were written by well known authors, others were by more obscure writers.

Ömer Seyfettin contributed "Mekteplerde Edebiyat"<sup>552</sup> (Literature in Schools). He outlined the changes imposed upon literature by the *Tanzimat* reforms and criticized the muddled way that literature was being taught. He bemoaned the lack of proper a foundation in the western classics until students reached tertiary level. He thought that too many of them were trying to "run before they could walk", and that those writing new poetry, plays and novels needed better grounding. This backs up the references in the first chapter to the expansion of the *idadi* schools in the Hamidian era when western literature was sidelined in favour of more Islamic subjects.

Ömer Seyfettin was a popular writer and when he died, Ali Canip (Yöntem) was asked to write a tribute to him. In "Ömer Seyfettin İçin"<sup>553</sup> (For Ömer Seyfettin), he failed to do his subject justice. For those interested in literature the piece was only noteworthy because he listed all the authors who, in his view, Seyfettin liked and disliked. Ali Canip was probably asked to write this piece because he, along with Ömer Seyfettin, Ziya Gökalp and Tunalı Hilmi, had founded *Genç Kalemler* in Salonica in 1911.<sup>554</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> See Issue No 6, 14.

<sup>553</sup> See Issue No 16, 9-12.

<sup>554</sup> Seyfettin was a contributor to the Salonica issue of *Kadın*.

Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın)<sup>555</sup> chronicled the crazes and addictions which previous generations had succumbed to. Among these were coffee, tobacco, the samovar, pugilism and cock-fighting. His current concern was that people were being bombarded with unfamiliar language including words such as *nümayış* (demonstration), *sulh* (peace), *konferans* (conference), *ihhtikar* (exploitation) and *anafor* (profiteering).

When it came to Ahmet Hikmet (Müftüoğlu), the editors must have forgotten their promise to exclude over-taxing articles. "Mirac-ı Nebi ve Dante"<sup>556</sup> (The Ascent of the Holy Prophet and Dante) was written in an ornate Ottoman linguistic style. His thesis was that, in the *Divine Comedy*, Dante had borrowed from the Koran for the scenes of the ascent from purgatory into heaven. This article was too short for those readers who were new to the subject. However, an important justification for its inclusion could have been that the Koran was cited as a literary source, a fact, depending on their view of the *Divine Comedy*, which Muslims might find interesting.

"Kuzgunlar"<sup>557</sup> (Ravens), by Selahattin Enis, showed how wide ranging the scope of the articles was. This poetically descriptive piece featured ravens wheeling and soaring above the ruined countryside in their endless search for food. Enis reflected that the sound of their cries as they swooped on their prey was almost musical. This short article reads like a metaphor for the state of the nation after the war. "The hunted and persecuted became the hunters in order to survive. Graveyards were overflowing, fields were blood-stained and the population was reduced to scavenging to fill its belly."

Müfide Ferit (Tek) presented "Gonca Kalfa"<sup>558</sup> to Simavi for publication. She wrote it in Paris in 1922, using some of her observations of the lower sections of Parisian society as a spring-board to reminisce about Gonca Kalfa<sup>559</sup> who had been her maid. The article touched on the misery endured by a young girl who

<sup>555</sup> See Issue No 4, 6-7 "Sakız Çinemek".

<sup>556</sup> See Issue No 16, 2-3.

<sup>557</sup> See Issue No 22, 10.

<sup>558</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 8, 5-6.

<sup>559</sup> *Gonca* means bud and *kalfa* is a corruption of *halife*, a female domestic servant. It is not clear from this story but Gonca Kalfa may have been Müfide Hanım's nanny and then her maid. She was the author of *Aydemir* written in 1919 and *Pervaneler* but this was not written until 1924. She also wrote *Afvolmayan Günahı* in 1933.

was abducted by an uncle when she was nine years old and sold into domestic slavery in the Yemen. Müfide Ferit does not explain how the girl came to be in her employ.

Simavi did not shy away from differing sexual proclivities. "Erkek Kız Münasebetiyle"<sup>560</sup> (Concerning "Man Woman") was about Victor Marguerite's<sup>561</sup> (1866-1942) book *La Garçon*<sup>562</sup> which had caused a sensation in Europe because of its explicit nature. During this period female homosexuality was not a common topic for a book in general circulation.<sup>563</sup> It was translated into Turkish by Kemalettin Bey<sup>564</sup> as *Erkek Kız*. The reviewer<sup>565</sup> of this book claimed that, although the novel caused a commotion in Europe, such things were seen as quite natural in Turkey.<sup>566</sup>

There appear to be no direct references to homosexual practices, male or female, in modern Turkish literature in the period up to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 3.3.9.iii Books :

The two references to books were in essence notices of forthcoming publications. "Biraz kitaplardan bahs edelim"<sup>567</sup> (Let's discuss books) referred to three short stories by Mehmet Rauf. *Aşkın Yolu* (Love's way) by Yusuf Ziya and *Geçmiş Günler* (Bygone days) by Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın) were simply noted as due soon. *Bozgun* (Alienation), by Aka Gündüz, was announced as being printed in *Milli Vatan Şiir Mecmuası* (National Poetry Magazine), and *Gün Doğuşu* (Daybreak) was described as an extract from the "serious" pages of another magazine. The

<sup>560</sup> See *Yeni İnci* No 10, 16.

<sup>561</sup> Born in Algeria. Like some other Europeans he may have based it on what he imagined happened between women in the harems in North Africa.

<sup>562</sup> Although not mentioned, the subtitle of this book was *La Femme en Chemin* (Woman on the Road). Had the readers known this they might have guessed that it was about lesbian love.

<sup>563</sup> Paris was a centre of erotica publishing, but many such books were published privately. Şahabettin Süleyman, an historian, included this topic in his book *Çıkmaz Sokak* (Cul de Sac) published in 1912.

<sup>564</sup> Possibly Kemalettin Kamu.

<sup>565</sup> Possibly Peyami Safa who wrote "Tılsımlı bir Kadın" in the same issue.

<sup>566</sup> Sir Richard Burton mentions lustful oriental women in the harem being deprived of succedanea, but most likely, this is the result of his imagination, rather than empirical evidence. See Burton, Richard *The Book of One Thousand Nights and a Night* Vol 7. London: Burton Club 1886:238.

<sup>567</sup> See Issue No 4, 2.

editors claimed that there was a "whiff of London" among the pages of this article, but they did not quote the source. Finally, the imminent publication of *Kadın İsterse*, (Should Women so Desire) by Mehmet Rauf, was publicized.

Apart from *Kadın İsterse*, the article gave no clue as to the content of any of these stories, nor were any of them serialized<sup>568</sup> in *İnci*. Apart from *Bozgun* the readers were not given any indication as to where they might be available. Sedat Simavi was still a young and inexperienced editor and proprietor, but he must have known how difficult it was for women to obtain information about new publications.

#### 3.3.9.iv Criticism:

The few articles under this heading are further evidence that *İnci* was not intended to be a literary magazine.<sup>569</sup> Faruk Nafiz (Çamlıbel) contributed "Halide Edip'in *Son Eseri*"<sup>570</sup> (Halide Edip's *Last Story*). Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu) had criticised her story for its lack of focus and for its *sunilik* (artificiality), but Faruk Nafiz claimed that she had breathed life into her characters. He was of the opinion that they lived, breathed, loved and died, and that it was this aspect of her writing which captivated the reader. Faruk Nafiz acclaimed her as one of the greatest novelists to write in the Turkish language.

A couple of plays were reviewed by Reşat Nuri (Güntekin). "Evdeki Kardeşler"<sup>571</sup> (Brothers at Home) was about a dysfunctional family consisting of parents and children from previous marriages. This was an unusual subject matter in Turkish theatre. It would take a while before any new *genre* became accepted, and one way of helping the audience was to set the translated foreign plays in Turkish *locales*, and to rename the characters with Turkish names.

<sup>568</sup> Serials were popular in newspapers from 1862 onwards when Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* was serialized in Churchill's the *Ceride-i Havadis*. This paved the way for Chateaubriand's *Atala* and Dumas Père's *Monte Cristo* before the emphasis shifted to publishing complete books.

<sup>569</sup> Simavi turned his attention to literature when he launched *Yeni Kitap* in 1927. This monthly scientific and literary family and *salon* magazine lasted for a year.

<sup>570</sup> See Issue No 14, 16.

<sup>571</sup> See Issue No 15, 9-11.

It is unlikely that many of *İnci* readers would have been regular theatre-goers, so reading the text of a play or a review or criticism would have been the next best thing.

Reşat Nuri criticised both the translation (from French) and the actors in "Bora"<sup>572</sup>. Not only did he think the dialogue too close to the original for the audiences to get to grips with, but he also criticised the cast for their tendency to over-act. He didn't care for their excessive make-up either. It was relatively unusual for a critic to be so objectively dismissive, but perhaps this was because it was a foreign play.

Not all the criticism was reserved for the theatre and novels. Under the heading of "Neşriyat"<sup>573</sup> (Publication), the new *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopaedia of İslam) was criticised for misrepresenting Turkish women, and for omitting entries about Sufism. It was however conceded that the entries on Turkish poetry were acceptable. This article may well have been Simavi's indirect way of attacking Köprülü Mehmet Fuat who was heavily involved with the encyclopaedia.<sup>574</sup>

### 3.3.9.v Dialogues:

There were only two items in this category. One of them was a conversation between Ahmet Hikmet (Müftüoğlu) and a young girl in Topkapı Palace Museum, and the other was written by Yusuf Ziya. "Eski mektup"<sup>575</sup> was a device for introducing young love as an acceptable subject. In this case the dialogue centred on some intimate correspondence between a husband and wife before they were married. Anything which was likely to raise eyebrows was dressed up as "literature" of one kind or another. This was not the only time that Simavi used literary means to effect more open attitudes to intimate personal relationships.

<sup>572</sup> See Issue No 11, 14-15.

<sup>573</sup> See Issue No 21, 14.

<sup>574</sup> Fuat's main contributions were on Çagatay and Azeri literature, but he also contributed several other entries in the sections "A to C". See Gövsa, İbrahim *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Yedigün Neşriyatı 1938:223.

<sup>575</sup> See Issue No 2, 10.

### 3.3.9.vi Interviews:

There were few interviews but their scope was broad. One of the most stimulating contributions about society and social matters in general was Mustafa Sabri's<sup>576</sup> interview with Han Melik Ahmetülhüseyini el-Sasani who was a senior diplomat in the Iranian Embassy in İstanbul<sup>577</sup>. Iran evidently had better educational provision for girls, but Han Melik praised the lead that Turkish women were taking in the social revolution in the Islamic world. He hoped for closer association between the two countries, so that Iranian women could benefit from the advances already made by their Turkish sisters.

They discussed Han Melik's concern for the Ottoman language, which he claimed had so many links with Persian, but which was being purged of its rich vocabulary. This he saw as a consequence of the *turancılık* which sought to unite peoples of Turkic origin and to emphasize their cultural and linguistic roots.<sup>578</sup>

This lengthy interview, which praised the efforts made by Turkish women on behalf of all Muslim women, would have been a source of pride for Simavi's readers. When the interview was conducted, Turkish women were being urged to emulate western women, so for them to learn that they themselves were being held up as leaders of the women's movement in the Islamic world must have been encouraging.

Sedat Simavi interviewed Reşat Nuri (Güntekin)<sup>579</sup>. He gleaned details of his background, his lack of formal education, his interest in the theatre and journalism, his early friendship with Ruşen Eşref and the influence of Halit Ziya. Some of Halit Ziya's work appeared in *İnci* and Simavi was pleased that he (Ziya) had influenced Reşat Nuri.

Simavi wrote of Reşat Nuri:

"who would have guessed that a young boy who dreamt of being a fireman or acrobat would gain fame by writing a novel called *Çalikuşu* (Wren), a creature which hops from bush to bush in search of reward."

<sup>576</sup> He wrote the "Keman Dersleri" story in Issue No 15.

<sup>577</sup> See Issue No 17, 4-5.

<sup>578</sup> Turan signifies a Turkic homeland in Central Asia.

<sup>579</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 2, 7-8.

Mehmet Rauf was interviewed about his novel *Eylül* (September). *Eylül*, which was about a *menage à trois*, had been branded as *edebiyat-i men* (explicit literature). As a result, he was ostracised by some of his fellow writers.

Mehmet Rauf was critical of the lack of literary grounding among the new generation of writers. He said that when he began his writing career, he and his fellow writers were not only very well read but also meticulous in their research. They were familiar with Baudelaire, Flaubert, de Goncourt, de Maupassant, Shelley, Keats, Turgenev and Dostoyevski.

As with the articles about the theatre, the literary interviews were of a higher standard than some of the material presented as such to the readers.

### 3.3.9.vii Letters:

There were various references to letters. One, "Sönmüş Yıldızlar"<sup>580</sup> (Faded Stars), was fiction in the epistolary style. Another was an extract from a French journal entitled "Jacques de Marcy'den Madame de Marcy'e"<sup>581</sup> (From Jacques de Marcy to Madame de Marcy). There were numerous young Ottoman gentlemen studying at the Sorbonne and it is possible that this "letter" was meant to galvanize the mothers of the students into encouraging them to work harder. Paying for their sons to study abroad was not enough, the young men clearly needed to be constantly reminded of why they were there.

Also on the subject of letters was Köprülü Mehmet Fuat's "Eski Osmanlılarda Kadın Hayatı: Kadın Edebiyatı"<sup>582</sup> (Women's lives in Ottoman times: women's literature) in which he described how, during her stay in Constantinople from 1716-1718, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu<sup>583</sup> had translated the codes used in *muhabetname* (secret love letters). The code which she translated was a rhyming scheme. For example: *saç* meant *taç*; *kağıd* meant *saat*; *pul* meant *bul*, *üzüm* meant *gözüm*.<sup>584</sup> Most colours and flowers also had a coded meaning for use in a

<sup>580</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 1, 11-12. Written by Reşat Nuri.

<sup>581</sup> See Issue No 20, 14.

<sup>582</sup> See Issue No 9, 12.

<sup>583</sup> Wife of the British ambassador to the court of Sultan Ahmet III.

<sup>584</sup> This scheme bears some similarity to Cockney rhyming slang. See Franklyn, Julian *Dictionary of Rhyming Slang*. London: Taylor & Francis 1975.



*muhabetname*. According to Köprülüzade, Ottoman women had always composed *manî* (a form of sentimental ballad) whilst seated around the brazier in winter and in the garden in summer. The verses featured complicated codes with generally fixed rhyming rules. The *manî* was sung on special occasions and was devised so that it appeared as a normal ballad although, in reality, it contained secret messages. Evidently Evliya Çelebi, the 17<sup>th</sup> century chronicler, recorded that the *manî* was common amongst sophisticated women of Constantinople and that it was an intrinsic part of their cultural life.

### 3.3.9.viii Plays:

Just under of half of all issues of *İnci* contained a play, but the quality of writing, with few exceptions, was not commensurate with the quality of the remainder of the magazine's content.

The five plays by İbn'ül Refik Ahmet Nuri were of poor quality. Some were more akin to lengthy jokes. İbn'ül Refik Ahmet Nuri was an actor and as such more accomplished than as a playwright. He rose to fame playing Miralay Sıtkı Bey in Namık Kemal's play "Vatan Yahut Silistre", when it was performed in 1908<sup>585</sup>. He was also a founding member of the management committee of the *İstanbul Tiyatrosu*. His more successful contributions were translations of European plays. It is surprising that Sedat Simavi did not seek a more accomplished playwright, but it must be borne in mind that the years when *İnci* was published coincided with a stagnant period in Turkish playwrighting.

A few of the plays were topical. The theme of "Gerdaniye-i Puselik"<sup>586</sup> (Euphony) was the infiltration of the Turkish language with foreign, in particular French, words. Some saw it as refinement, others as an affectation which eroded the purity of the language. The mispronunciation of foreign words, in particular French, was the butt of many jokes in literature. Unkind caricatures of self styled *mösyös*, *centilmen* and *matmazek* parading with poodles and parasols and addressing each other in bad French were not uncommon.

<sup>585</sup> First performed in 1873, but closed down on Palace orders.

<sup>586</sup> See Issue No 6, 9-11.

A play by Ercüment Ekrem attempted to address the problem of unhappy marriages. "Karı-Koca: Gizli Dertler"<sup>587</sup> (Husband and Wife: Secret Misery) was a poorly constructed play, but at least it raised the subject of marital problems. It offered no solutions to marital infidelity, but it did open up the possibility of discussion.

One of the two noteworthy plays was "Keman Dersleri"<sup>588</sup> (Violin Lessons) by Mustafa Sabri. His dialogue was both well constructed and highly entertaining and entirely devoid of forced humour. This play also addressed some marital problems but from a different angle. The playwright focused on the wiles used by a mother to marry her daughter off. Having got rid of her daughter the woman then used the same technique to snare a husband for herself.

"Ebedi Hisler"<sup>589</sup> (Eternal feelings), written by Zeliha Osman, was the other noteworthy play. Turkish nurses<sup>590</sup> working for the *Hilal-i Ahmer* (Red Crescent), was topical subject matter.<sup>591</sup> Despite the play's short-comings Zeliha Osman did set each scene, describe the characters and give stage directions. The style of the play is unremarkable but the content addressed contemporary issues on several fronts. For example: women's direct involvement with the war (as opposed to preparing clothing parcels and fund raising), young women actually wanting to work,<sup>592</sup> parental consent to their daughters being near the battle front. She even tackled the tricky subject of the heroine's fiancé agreeing to her being exposed to the wounded bodies of soldiers. A further unusual element was a Christian

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<sup>587</sup> See Issue No 17, 8-10.

<sup>588</sup> See Issue No 15, 12-13.

<sup>589</sup> See Issue Nos 8, 17-18; 9, 14-15; 10, 15; 11, 16-18. A nurses' manual translated by Zeliha Osman was advertised in *Yeni İnci*, Issue No 10, 17 so she may well have been a nurse, and based the play on her experiences. Personal experience is, after all, a main imaginative resource exploited by writers. There is no indication in the text as to when she wrote the play and no other information about her has come to light.

<sup>590</sup> The nurses in this play are very different to Ayşe, the nurse in Halide Edip's novel *Ateşten Gömlek*. In "Ebedi Hisler" they were upper class girls who were trained by the *Hilal-i Ahmer* as professional nurses. In *Ateşten Gömlek*, written in 1922, the heroine was a prosperous provincial woman who acted as a nurse out of necessity but who lacked any formal training.

<sup>591</sup> The setting of this play was Russo-Turkish border skirmishes of 1877-8 and a *konak* (mansion) in İstanbul.

<sup>592</sup> Most high class young ladies were ill equipped for life outside their own familial and social circles.

Russian aristocrat<sup>593</sup> offering a Muslim Turkish nurse his hand in marriage.

In the prologue, Zeliha Osman admitted that she was a novice playwright. Her characters lack individuality, even the hero, a wounded fiancé, comes across as a representative of all the men who sacrificed life and limb for their country. The patriotic fervour is clichéd and lacking in conviction.<sup>594</sup> In the dialogue between the heroine and the Russian Prince there is none of the passion of thwarted one-sided love that one would have found in, for example, Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*.<sup>595</sup> Nevertheless the key ingredients of upper class volunteer nurses doing their duty, a wounded hero, national pride and a happy outcome would have made it worthwhile reading.

### 3.3.9.ix Poetry:

Since most of the poems in *İnci* are distinct from the classical tradition and come into the later "modern" period, it would not be unreasonable, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, to look for western literary influences. The young men of the *Tercüme Odası*<sup>596</sup>, most of whom were budding poets, were affected by the developments in French poetry. For them, Lamartine's *Meditations*<sup>597</sup> would have epitomised the fresh approaches employed in French poetry. The work of a considerable number of the Turkish poets writing from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards would now be hard to find outside reference books, but their efforts are still worthy of mention.<sup>598</sup>

During this period, many Turkish poems were enfeebled by clichés. In 1711 Alexander Pope mocked untalented poets in his *Essay on Criticism* when he wrote:

Where'er you find "the cooling breeze"  
In the next line it "whispers through the trees".

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<sup>593</sup> It was almost unheard of for a Muslim woman to marry a Christian, but many Muslim men married Christian women.

<sup>594</sup> This was not an element lacking in literature in general, indeed in *İnci* there are several poems which confirm this.

<sup>595</sup> Written in 1848.

<sup>596</sup> The Translation Bureau of the *Bab-ı Ali*

<sup>597</sup> Published in 1820.

<sup>598</sup> Of the prominent 19<sup>th</sup> century poets, only Abdülhak Hamid's work appeared in *İnci*. See "İlk Baharın Tebessümü" Issue No 9, 1.

This same remark might easily have been written about many 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Turkish poems. However, to be fair, some of the poets were not only attempting to be inventive, but also receptive to European developments.<sup>599</sup> In 1859, Şinasi produced a small volume of French verse translated into Turkish<sup>600</sup>, but it was Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan who paved the way for innovation in poetry. His poem "Sahra" (The Country) published in 1879 was what made his name.<sup>601</sup>

Whereas the Ottoman Turks had sought to emulate Persian poetry, the new breed of 19<sup>th</sup> century poets turned to Europe, not so much to learn what to think, but to learn how to apply their thoughts. They then attempted to get to the heart of "Turkishness"<sup>602</sup> through what they had experienced as Turks. There had always been a strong sense of *locale* and identity in folk poetry, but they now sought to weave this into more sophisticated verses. These poets and authors attempted to develop the rhetorical means to convey new ideas and to deal with realities.

In many of the examples in *İnci*, the "poems" would be better described as "rhymes".<sup>603</sup> This does not imply that they have no place in literature, as many people are introduced to poetry through nursery rhymes. Such rhymes are often held in affection throughout people's lives; sometimes bringing comfort in times of stress. Those readers who were new to written poems, as opposed to the oral tradition, might not have been inspired to think beyond the basic theme in some of them. They would not necessarily have attempted to identify the devices employed by the poets which made a few stand out from the others. The readers who were familiar with poetry would have recognised some new poetic trends

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<sup>599</sup> The poet Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca said that they had "unfurled all their aerals" during this period.

<sup>600</sup> *Tercüme-i Manzume* was more akin to an Ottoman literary biography, containing only a few lines of selected poems and paying scant regard to the wholeness of a poem. Şinasi, and his disciple Namık Kemal, attempted to write poetry in the western idiom, but most of their output was prose.

<sup>601</sup> Often overlooked, according to Gibb, was his 1875 prose drama called "Duhter-i Hindu" (Indian Maid), which contained some incidental European style verses. See Gibb, Elias *History of Ottoman Poetry* Vol I. London Luzac & Co 1900.

<sup>602</sup> An early attempt at this was Mehmet Emin's *Türkçe Şiirler* published in 1899. The poems in this volume represented the true voice of the Anatolian people.

<sup>603</sup> This distinction needs to be borne in mind although they will all be examined under this heading of "poetry".

and a break with the past.

All literature reflects, to a certain extent, the development of society and its preoccupations, and since Turkey was undergoing a period of enormous change it had yet to emerge with a clear identity. With this in mind, and Simavi's desire to raise his reader's spirits some of the poems will be commented upon.

Non-native readers of many of the poems about unrequited love<sup>604</sup>, who are unfamiliar with the "mood" behind the verses, might have been filled with despondency, but this subject is a frequent topic in Turkish literature and the fact that the beloved is either unyielding, unobtainable, departed or dead or sometimes all four, would not necessarily have been disheartening. Poems in this category would not have presented the reader with any unpleasant surprises.

The majority of the poems were about unrequited love, but the wider ranging love poems looked at this subject from a different angle, or used unfamiliar metaphors and similes. One such short poem was "Şarkı"<sup>605</sup> (Song) by Fahreddin Osman. The poet desired to metamorphose into an *ud* (lute) in the bosom of his beloved so that she could make him sing, sigh, cry, thereby giving him some hope. Should the *ud* break in the bosom of the beloved:

*Kırılırsam ne beîs var, telef olmuş bir merîd,  
Olurum nağmen için, zevkin için bir şehîd*

(What harm if I break, this perverse one is ruined  
For your chord, for your pleasure I will be a martyr)

Martyrs were, at this particular juncture in Turkish history, plentiful and although this poem talks of the lover being martyred for his beloved, many people were martyred defending their beloved country. The poet probably had no such link in mind but, possibly, Sedat Simavi included it because of the sympathy it might have aroused on both the personal and national level.

Similarly, Safaettin Rıza's poem "Gurup"<sup>606</sup> (Dusk), was a metaphor for all the emotions of the poet, but it could also be read as a metaphor for the state of the

<sup>604</sup> A high number of male poets majored on the obstinacy of women in not yielding to their lovers. The same observation could be made about male English poets.

<sup>605</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 12, 3.

<sup>606</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 12, 4.

country. The fading sun, the mountains cloaked in purple mourning, the dying sounds of the nightingale, the choking hoot of the owl, the stars "burying the sun on the horizon as the pale moon rises, whilst weeping tears of sadness" and "the wind enveloping girls in black *tuille*", are all descriptions which could equally apply to a population drowning in its own sorrows.

Florinalı Nazım (Özgünay), the self-styled *Şiir Kralı* (King of Poetry), contributed a couple of love poems. Despite his shortcomings, his two verse poem "Şarkı"<sup>607</sup> was inventive. He referred to his beloved as *başka cihan* (different world) and *gönlümde nihan* (a hidden secret in my heart), *başka lisan* (different language). He wrote:

*şimsek gibi, sen yere bin şule çakarsın*

(like lightning you strike the ground with a thousand sparks.)

His repetition of the word *başka* (different) emphasized the uniqueness of the object of his desire.

Simavi's readers who were interested in the development of new poetic styles could have turned to Celal Sahir (Erozan)'s work.<sup>608</sup> His poetry did not endure, but he became known as *kadın şairi* (woman's poet) because his style was thought to be of greater appeal to women. He was a member of the *edebiyat-ı cedide* (new literary style) group of writers, publishing some of his early poems in *Servet-i fûnun*. He also belonged the *Fecr-i atî* (Dawn of a new era) movement and the *Genç Kalemler* (Young writers) of Salonica group. In 1908 he founded *Demet*, one of the more elegant but nevertheless unsuccessful Ottoman women's magazines.

Erozan composed "Sevgisiz sevgiliye"<sup>609</sup> (To an unloving love) which was about unrequited love. The poet implored his love not to be so unfathomable, not to be mercurial, not to be like others who bent with the wind, but to stay by him and "burn" only his lips. There are classical echoes in this poem, whilst at the same time its declamatory style has a modern ring about it.

<sup>607</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 12, 8.

<sup>608</sup> He was Simavi's partner in the launch of *Yeni Kitap* in 1927 but this is not mentioned in Gökman's biography.

<sup>609</sup> See Issue No 9, 13.

An observation of the majority of the poems about women is that there is no clear-cut image of them as particular beings. They are shapes with scant definition; merely forms identified as female from the phraseology used in their description. There are named lovers in "İlk ve Son Buse"<sup>610</sup> (First and last kiss), but in general the women in all the poems are de-personalised.<sup>611</sup>

When it came to biographical information about the poets, their philosophy, the context in which the poems were written or their sources of inspiration, little information was given. On occasion a reference to the standing, either in literary circles or in social terms was mentioned, with the poet in question being described as "well known" or "famous", but since many of the contributors were probably making their *debuts* such terms were used infrequently.

There were very few love poems with a happy<sup>612</sup> ending, but Sedat Simavi included one. "İnci"<sup>613</sup> by Yusuf Ziya not only promoted Simavi's magazine but also hinted at the possibility of marrying for love. As one would expect, a far more common theme throughout the poems was that of the boy not "getting the girl".

The general content of *İnci* had very few references to God and religion, and the few poems composed as hymns and supplications were unremarkable.

Among some of the more unusual poems was Emin Recep's "Annemin Saçları"<sup>614</sup> (My mother's hair). The sixth stanza reads as follows:

*Şimdi sen bir soluk yaprak gibisin  
Anne, pek vakitsiz eriştin kışa  
Ne kadar yaraşmış o yorgun sesin  
Gözlerinde olan dalgın bakışa.*

(Now your appearance is like a faded leaf  
Mother, winter came to you before your time  
How well your tired voice  
Matches the vacant look in your eye.)

<sup>610</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 11, 9-10.

<sup>611</sup> An exception may be "Annemin Saçları" (My mother's hair). See Chapter 3:178.

<sup>612</sup> Yahya Kemal's "Vuslat" (Communion) was one of the earliest happy poems.

<sup>613</sup> See Issue No 1, 6.

<sup>614</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 11, 5.

Through groups of back vowels, the poet conveyed well the impression that something dark and grave had happened: *soluk yaprak, kışa ne kadar yaraşmış o yorgun* and *dalgın bakışa*. Even her "wintery" hair added to this image. The poet, who addressed his mother directly, blamed himself for her premature ageing and constantly reinforced his sense of guilt through negative imagery. Presumably he thought that he had not fulfilled any of her hopes for him even, though he assures her that his heart belongs only to her. Alternatively, he may have been fighting in the war and worrying about him may have aged her. If he was away fighting, then his mother could be construed as a metaphor for the state of the nation.

Another lament for the faded past was Osman Nuri's "Metruk Havuz"<sup>615</sup> (Deserted Fountain), although the subject was a fountain, again it could be a metaphor for the state of the nation.

The fountain was described as:

*Onda terk olunmuş aşık hali var*

(It has the air of an abandoned lover).

This simple but effective image bears some similarity to the image of the mother in the previously quoted poem. The subject matter is different but the tropes are in the same vein. The poet was skilful in evoking overhanging branches, weedy brackish water and neglected rose bushes. The rose is an enduring image in Ottoman and Turkish poetry which signifies beauty and perfection, so its neglect also is synonymous with lost love. One might almost expect to find a deserted nightingale's nest amongst the branches to complete the scene.

The use of the vocative in this poem, as in:

*Yolcular, ey fani, mesud yolcuları*

(O passing happy travellers)

is unusual in the poems in *İnci*, as is the anthropomorphic description of the fountain.



For instance:

*Ona ne acıyan, ne de bakan yok  
Sessizce ağlıyor esmer yaşlarla*

(No one laments it, nor glances at it  
It just quietly weeps with dark tears)

To the readers of *İnci* who were more used to traditional poems, the topical content of some of them might have come as a surprise. Some of the examples could be seen as a reasonable indication that poetry was indeed moving on, and that some poets were well able to address real events and emotions.

It was not until the advent of *Yeni İnci*, in 1922, that verses about the effect of war began to appear. Most of them were about the suffering endured by the people of İzmir during the *Kurtuluş Savaşı*. The majority of these poems were both fatalistic and fiercely patriotic. A few were jingoistic.

One of them, Baha Kamil's "1341 de",<sup>616</sup> (In 1341) told the story of the Turk's assault on the Greek troops at İzmir. It is full of exhortations not to spare the enemy. Reported speech was employed. For example:

*Mehmet Çavuş seslendi: "işte Yunan Askeri"  
Paşam dedi: "Mehmet Çavuş bir az sokul ileri".*

(Sergeant Mehmet called out: "Here are the Greek soldiers"  
My paşa said "Sergeant Mehmet, just creep a little forward")

And:

*Paşam dedi: "Arslan ordu hedefiniz Akdeniz"  
Bütün ordu cevap verdi: "Paşam emret gideriz"*

(My paşa said "Lionhearted army, your destination is the Mediterranean"  
The entire company replied "my paşa, your wish is our command")

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<sup>615</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 8, 12.

<sup>616</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 5, 14.

In the final line Baha Kamil switched from reported speech:

*Paşam yaptı İzmirimle dilediği düğünü  
Tanrı bilir unutmam hayatımda o günü.*

(My paşa seized my İzmir as his bride  
God knows I will never forget that day.)

Whilst most of this poem is about destroying the enemy and avenging those who died in bloodstained fields, the poet also managed to capture the beauty of what they were trying to save. The city of İzmir was described as swathed in a thousand and one flowers on the day their battalion arrived. This image contrasts well with the fervour of the soldiers on the march and their devotion to the orders issued by their *paşa*. The image is similar to the use of the poppy in First World War English poetry; particularly when describing Flanders battlefields.

An unusual poem about İzmir was contributed by Güzide Şefik. In "Sevgili İzmir'e"<sup>617</sup> (To beloved İzmir), she addressed all Turkish women and girls who had suffered, as well as those who had suffered on their behalf. This poem is of no greater merit than any of the others on the subject, but it does reinforce the fact that women played one of the most important roles in the war, that of support. In her poem Güzide Şefik reminded Turkish girls that they were *asil doğan* (of noble birth) and that they "showed the victors the way." This is most likely a reference to their roles as mothers, sisters and wives in general rather than as comrades in arms.<sup>618</sup>

A poem, by the Hungarian Dalmadi Gyozo (1826-1916), was chosen for *İnci* because it described the bravery of the Turks in the Turco-Russian War. According to Enis Behiç, the poem epitomised the valour and bravery of the Turkish soldier who, "having received an order, obeyed it both willingly and loyally".<sup>619</sup> This poem was part of Enis Behiç's accompanying article "Macar Edebiyatında Türk Sevgisi: Türk Askerleri"<sup>620</sup> (Fondness for Turks in Hungarian literature: Turkish Soldiers). Educated Turks would have encountered Pierre

<sup>617</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 8, 14.

<sup>618</sup> *İnci* was not the place for some of their more atypical activities to be discussed. There were, for example, women producing armaments and heavy machinery, labouring on the supply lines and driving trams.

<sup>619</sup> This poem is illustrated with a cartoon of a Turkish soldier kicking a Balkan or Greek soldier and knocking his gun out of his hand. See 6.3 in Appendix:295.

<sup>620</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 5, 11.

Loti's images of Turkish soldiers, but this was the first example of them as depicted in Hungarian writing.

Apart from the Hungarian poem there were other examples of foreign poetry. "Hint Edebiyatında" (From Indian literature) featured an extract from "The Gardener"<sup>621</sup> by Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) which had been translated from English into German, and then certain parts of it were translated into Turkish by Mehmet Vehbi Bey.<sup>622</sup> The section of "The Gardener" printed in *İnci*, appears to be a form of love poem with suggestive overtones not usually found in Ottoman Turkish literature. The subject matter is the lure of death, but its seductiveness is disguised as an exhortation from a lover to his beloved to "hurry and come to him without wasting time on her *toilet*, adornment or bathing". For example, he suggests that she "need not waste precious moments fastening her bodice or braiding her hair."

It is possible that Sedat Simavi, as well as wanting to introduce his readers to a contemporary work, felt more comfortable with such provocative verses coming from a non-Muslim foreigner.

The following two poems were probably a welcome change to Turkish readers who traditionally enjoyed cordial relations with the Japanese. "Japon Şiirlerinden Numuneler" (Examples from Japanese Poems) described some of the stanzas from "Geisha"<sup>623</sup>. A beautiful Japanese Geisha named Mitsouka who, with her delicate pink lips, skin as white as a butterfly and the throat of a dove, took the place of the "beloved" in Ottoman poetry. Mitsouka hid behind her fan and concealed herself from the one who adored her, just as Turkish women might have concealed their charms behind a veil. The Geisha's actions only made her more mysterious and even more desirable. She shooed the butterflies, which fluttered around her as she sat among the cherry trees, just as if she were shooing her admirer's kisses away. The translator of this poem did

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<sup>621</sup> See Issue No 21, 13. "The Gardener" is a long and complex poem which touches on Hindu philosophy, religion, love, nature and the after-life. For the English text of the Gardener, translated by the author himself in 1913 see Tagore, Rabindranath *Selected Poems*. London: Penguin Classics 1985:24-27. Simavi may well have chosen an Indian poet because he approved of the Indian *Khilafat* movement which was loyal to the Ottoman Caliphate during the British and Allied occupation of İstanbul. See Mansel 1995:391.

<sup>622</sup> His version is as faithful to the original as is the German.

not attempt any rhyming scheme but this in no way detracts from its charm.

A second Japanese poem, "Sevdiğim Kadın"<sup>624</sup> (The Woman I love) was about a woman whose name meant "gazelle". She was the flower of his love, the disperser of dark spirits, as slender as a bamboo reed, her breast was whiter than snow<sup>625</sup> and even cooler. Her black hair was like the fringes of the shawl which draped the samovar. Again, all her feminine attributes were related in a similar vein, comparing her features to the finest of everything.

One of the most lyrical poems in *İnci* was Abdülhak Şinasi's "Bahçede İlk Bahar Gecesi"<sup>626</sup> (Spring Evening in the Garden). The poet achieved this without any of the complexity which made so much Ottoman poetry inaccessible to the layman. The garden in the poem overlooked the sea which was described as night fell, and as the sky changed through a kaleidoscope of colours. One of the couplets sums up the entire poem:

*Lambasız bahçede yenirken yemek  
Bu mavi geceden istenir içmek.*

(Whilst dining in the garden without lamplight  
(One wants to drink of this blue night.)

It was not a metaphor for lost or unrequited love but an ode to the beauty of evening light in a seaside garden.

Apart from in the "war poems", reality also crept into some others. Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç)'s "Kart Postal"<sup>627</sup> (Postcard) is a good example of reality being brought home. His "Postcard" purported to be sent from one of the Princes' islands to a friend. It makes sense if it is read as a metaphor for difficult political times and the lack of rewards for *memurlar* (government officials).

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<sup>623</sup> See Issue No 27, 12.

<sup>624</sup> See Issue No 27, 12.

<sup>625</sup> In *İnci* the nearest a Turkish poet got to such a simile was in "Marmara Geceleri" (Marmara nights), by Orhan Haydar, who compared the calm surface of the Sea of Marmara as dusk fell with *çıplak göğüs* (naked breast). See Issue No 25, 6.

<sup>626</sup> See Issue No 27, 3.

<sup>627</sup> See Issue No 23, 12.

For example:

*Pek gerçe bugünlerde yağış yok  
Zannetme fakat bende telaş yok  
Her yerde büyük gusa var artık  
Memurlara zira ki maaş yok.*

(In actual fact food is scarce these days  
Don't suppose that I'm not at all apprehensive  
Everywhere there is great anxiety  
Because there is no pay for officials.)

Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç) was a civil servant in the *Düyun-u Umumiye Türk Dayinler Vekilliği Katıplık* (Public Debt Administration) which makes this poem very ironic, because the "postcard" implies that his salary was not paid. Before that he was a teacher of Fine Arts which makes the following two lines equally relevant:

*Sanat bile her yerde bugün bak  
Olmuş gibi bir kuru yaprak.*

(Just look at the state of art today  
It is like a desiccated leaf.)

Ahmet Kutsi (Tecer) was another young poet who branched out into new subject matter from time to time. His "Kuşlar"<sup>628</sup> (Birds) showed his appreciation of the joys which birds bring in the spring. To the poet who observed them as they learned to fly, trilled their sweet songs, and perched in trees, they were all heaven sent. At night the poet enveloped their nests in angel's wings. No complicated metaphors using passing seasons or equating the birds with the beloved were employed. The lines expressed his simple joy:

<sup>628</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 12, 8. Songbirds were not solely the preserve of Ottoman poets. Whilst the French were still more concerned with turning them into tasty dishes during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, English poets such as Keats in his "Ode to a Nightingale" and "To Autumn" and John Clare in his "The Nightingales Nest" were every bit as captivated. It was not only nightingales which featured in English poetry; to mention but a few: Shakespeare had a bird funeral, Chaucer a bird parliament, Skelton a sparrow and a parrot, Shelley a skylark, Hardy had thrushes, Hopkins the windhover and kestrel and Hughes the hawk. Other than the nightingale, birds of prey and possibly the odd seagull, appear to be more or less the only birds featured in Turkish poetry.

*BİR bir dalda yorgun, biri çılgın, havada  
Biri daha ötede öter, muttasıl öter.*

(Perched exhausted on a thousand and one branches, another darting  
about in the sky  
Whilst another trills away constantly.)

In the final verse:

*Onlar baharın ruhu, kırların neşesidir,  
O sevdalı kuşların musiki, sesidir,  
Bana mısraların ahengini öğreten.*

(They are peace in springtime, delight of the countryside  
Those lovable birds' song is their music  
Which teaches me the harmony of stanzas.)

Like many of the young men of this period who were barely out of their teens when they started to make a name for themselves, Ahmet Kutsi (Tecer) was only 21 when he wrote this poem. The fact that many of them were experimental poets made them unique for their time.

What has emerged during this survey of the poems is that, despite the dominance of the theme of unrequited love, there is a richness of variety: unrequited/unattainable love, lost love, natural beauty, nature, women, ageing, memories, seasonal beauty, letters, politics, war, departed souls, heroic deeds, faith, revenge, culture, patriotism, music, suffering, homesickness, illness and poverty.

Most of the poems in *İnci* were either by unknown poets or less accomplished practitioners. The exceptions were the work of Faruk Nafiz (Çamlıbel), Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç), Abdülhak Şinasi, Ahmet Kutsi (Tecer), Ahmet Hikmet, Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı), Recaizade Mahmut (Ekrem) and Yusuf Ziya.

Apart from Faruk Nafiz (Çamlıbel) (7 poems), Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç) (4 poems) and Ahmet Kutsi (Tecer) (2 poems), the other better known poets only had a poem apiece printed in the entire run of the magazine. On the one hand it is possible to speculate that Sedat Simavi wanted his magazine to be a platform for new writing talent, just as the Sertels<sup>629</sup> promoted Nazım Hikmet. On the other

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<sup>629</sup> See Chapter 4.

hand, it may be that he had difficulty getting established poets to submit their work, and that he had no choice but to use unknown writers.

However, the problem of finding suitable poets could have been of his own making. Although still a novice magazine editor and proprietor, he had managed to irritate the authorities with some of the content of his other publications.<sup>630</sup> Prominent people, or those hoping to make their way in the publishing minefield, may have shied away from association with him (for fear of being tainted by his reputation as one who sometimes irritated the authorities.) Many writers were politically active, some in minor ways, but others in more overt ways, and they needed to be mindful of the company they appeared to be keeping for fear of being exiled. After all, Simavi himself was born to a father who spent decades in exile.<sup>631</sup>

Very few poems by women were included in *İnci*.<sup>632</sup> Again, Sedat Simavi may well have been only too pleased to print their work had they submitted it, but he certainly made no effort to recruit more female writers through the pages of the magazine. There was however, no shortage of female poets. The earlier mentioned well researched women's magazines confirm this. Şükufe Nihal had been active since the previous decade, Yaşar Nezihe Bükülmez, a friend of Nazım Hikmet, had her poems published in *Aydınlık*.<sup>633</sup> One only has to look at *Kadınlar Dünyası* for 1921 (a period when *İnci* already existed) to see that its female owners, Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan and Emine Seher Ali, included the works of 41 female poets. *Kadınlar Dünyası* was the organ of those wishing to promote women's rights, so it is easy to understand why Sedat Simavi did not use some of their contributors for general articles. Politics was not part of the remit

<sup>630</sup> *Diken*, his satirical magazine was closed down by the censor in 1920; *Paytaht*, *Dersaadet* and all the other current affairs publications which he launched during the 1920s (with the exception of *Resimli Gazete*) suffered the same fate.

<sup>631</sup> The greatest hardship for many exiles was being away from İstanbul, the centre of activity, rather than harsh conditions. Simavi's father had been banished by Abdülhamid because of his association with Mithat Paşa.

<sup>632</sup> By way of comparison, in *The New Penguin Book of English Verse*, which covers the period 1300 to 2000, out of the 1,500 poems, only 80 are by women. See Keegan, Paul (Ed) *The New Penguin Book of English Verse*. London: Allen Lane Penguin Press 2000.

<sup>633</sup> A leftist magazine published between 1921 and 1925. It was there that she met Nazım Hikmet. Her poem *Ey İşçi* (O workman) is very similar in content to many of Nazım Hikmet's poems. See Aydın, Mehmet *Ne Yazıyor bu Kadınlar*. Ankara: İlke Yayınları 1995:41-44. This publication contains some unreliable data. For example, Aydın incorrectly claimed that Emine Semiye was Fatma Aliye's daughter.

for *İnci*, but an explanation as to why some of the female poets did not seek an outlet for their work, once *Kadınlar Dünyası* folded in May 1921, is more elusive.

What is also of interest is that *Kadınlar Dünyası* was not published between 1918 and 1921, and yet the female poets still did not feature in *İnci*, which was the only women's magazine available from 1919 to 1921. When, in 1921, *Kadınlar Dünyası* resumed publication for its final 13 weekly issues, poems by women re-appeared. Thereafter their poems only featured in *Süs*<sup>634</sup> which was started after *İnci* had ceased publication. In its brief existence *Süs* magazine included 38 poems by women, so it cannot be the case that poems by female poets were not being written.

The fairest conclusion appears to be that Simavi saw no reason to single out female poets because he was more interested in the poetry rather than the poet. He seems to have judged his readers, who were increasingly better educated,<sup>635</sup> to be receptive to good writing *per se*. Those readers who looked upon *İnci* as a vehicle for continuing education would have found the new trends in poetry worthy of pursuit.

The poetry featured in *İnci* would have been one area where Central Asian women would have looked in vain for female role models.<sup>636</sup> These women in particular would have felt the demise of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* which had featured an abundance of poetry written by women.

Simavi had kept his promise about excluding material which was very difficult to understand. There were no poems which would have required extensive study in order to read them, let alone understand them. When it came to the exclusion of the over simple, he was not so diligent.

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<sup>634</sup> Published from 1923-1924.

<sup>635</sup> In her novel *Ateşten Gömlek* Halide Edip refers to Ayşe as a "well read woman with enough common sense to save her from affectation". See Edip, Halide *Shirt of Flame*. New York Duffield & Co 1924:21.

<sup>636</sup> An anthology of reformist Uzbek women's poetry was published in 1914 and is discussed extensively in Jalolov, T. *Özbek Şaireleri*. Tashkent: Ghafur Gulom 1914.



### 3.3.9.x Stories:

The subject matter of the stories in *İnci* was as wide ranging as in the poetry. Some had no purpose other than to entertain, among the others some were didactic, some thought provoking, some autobiographical and one in particular explicit for the time.<sup>637</sup> Although the work of some notable authors was featured, many of the stories were by unknown authors. The more notable writers included: Ahmet Hikmet (Müftüoğlu), Peyami Safa,<sup>638</sup> Reşat Nuri (Güntekin)<sup>639</sup>, Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın), Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç), Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı) and Selim Sırrı (Tarcan).

Foreign writers were not neglected. Translated extracts from the works of, among others, Tristan Bernard, Ada Negri, Edgar Allen Poe and Paul de Conne were also included.

Several of the stories fell outside Simavi's self-imposed brief to be neither too simplistic nor too difficult. Most of those that did so fell into the former category rather than the latter. For example, even by the gradually improving standards of the day, neither "Hatura Defteri"<sup>640</sup> (Diary) nor "Cazibe"<sup>641</sup> (Charm), both by Reşat Nuri, were noteworthy.

Not only was there an eponymous poem in *İnci* but also an eponymous story by Ahmet Hikmet (Müftüoğlu). In his love story "İnci"<sup>642</sup>, a more realistic rather than idealistic tone prevailed. Although all the familiar adjectives were used to describe the beloved<sup>643</sup>, he also used one of the most surprising sentences in *İnci* to sum up the lover's burning desire:

*Kalk penbe topuklarını bir ocak hararetiyle yanan alnımın üstünde,  
iki güvercine benzeyen ayaklarını bir saat rakkası gibi vuran  
Şakakımın kenarında gezdirmek isterim.*

(Get up, I want to feel your pink heels on my burning forehead and to rub your dovelike feet all over my temples which have been beating like a clock's pendulum.)

<sup>637</sup> See "Tılsımlı Bir Kadın" (Enchantress), Chapter 3:190.

<sup>638</sup> Also wrote under the pen-name "Server Bedi".

<sup>639</sup> Among the better known names he contributed the most.

<sup>640</sup> See Issue No 9, 9-10.

<sup>641</sup> See Issue No 12, 14-15.

<sup>642</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 1, 4.

Certainly, plenty of people had the same desires, but these did not normally appear in print. In the story, the lovers, who wanted to live together in love and peace, were not only concerned for each other but also for the state of the country. The couple could be construed as a metaphor for all the people suffering in the country. It is possible that Simavi hoped to show, through Müftüoğlu's mildly lascivious tone in a story which shared the same name as his magazine, that he was prepared to acknowledge that intimate physical contact between members of the opposite sex was not a crime, but a normal human function.

The longest story was "Şule'nin Defteri"<sup>644</sup> (Şule's Diary), written by Ayşe Hikmet (this may have been a pseudonym<sup>645</sup>), who wrote the previously mentioned "Agony Aunt" column. Although it does not say so, this story could be an abridged part of a French novel with the names and locations "turkified". In a part of the plot the characters exchange identities, a similar ploy to those used by Shakespeare and 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century European opera librettists.

Şule, the diarist, addressed her diary in a confiding and conspiratorial manner. At times she also addressed the reader directly.<sup>646</sup> The outcome of the story which involved a deceitful authoress and her equally devious and vain secretary is unclear, leaving the readers to draw their own conclusion. This could be further evidence that it was based on a foreign novel, as inconclusive love stories were not a feature of Turkish literature during this period.

When it came to stepping outside the bounds of propriety, Simavi made sure that Lemi Nihat used a convenient literary device in his story "Bir Rüya"<sup>647</sup> (A Dream). By placing the actions in a dream, Lemi Nihat was able to make references to naked breasts and bare shoulders. Since nobody was responsible for the thoughts and activities taking place in the dream and no real Turkish girl

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<sup>643</sup> Such as rose-bud lips and eyes like limpid pools.

<sup>644</sup> Serialized in Issue Nos 15, 14-16; 16, 15-16; 17, 12-13 and 18, 12-14.

<sup>645</sup> Sedat Simavi himself is a likely candidate for being the true author, as it is known that he wrote both anonymously and under various pseudonyms. In 1934 he published *Fuji-Yama* which included several references to diary entries. Part of this story was written as confiding in a diary. See Simavi, Sedat *Fuji-Yama*. İstanbul: Cemal Azmi Basımevi 1934.

<sup>646</sup> Jane Austen is an example of a writer who employed similar devices. Early Turkish novelists sometimes commented directly to the reader.

<sup>647</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 10B, 30-32. This story was part of an obituary for Lemi Nihat in *İnci*.

was compromised the story might have been more acceptable.

The other story which broke the rules of propriety was Peyami Safa's "Tılsımlı Bir Kadın"<sup>648</sup> (Enchantress). He was a prolific writer, but when this was printed in *Yeni İnci* he was only 22 years old, and had just published *Sözde Kızlar*, his first novel. It is more than likely that Sedat Simavi included this short story because he wanted to feature the latest authors.<sup>649</sup> There is also the possibility that Simavi was changing his attitude towards his readership, and that he thought that he could risk a "daring" story without the *louche* heroine being characterised as a fallen foreign woman.<sup>650</sup> There is nothing to suggest that Simavi used this story to hint at what could befall women who either chose, or were forced into, employment outside the home.

The main character in the story was a free living and loving woman who saw nothing wrong with frequenting the *meyhane* (drinking den).<sup>651</sup> Peyami's Safa's social conscience is also evident in the story. He described the quarter of the city where the heroine lived as "so unfit that nobody should have to live in such conditions".<sup>652</sup> "Tılsımlı Bir Kadın" was a very modern story in many ways. Peyami Safa did not shy away from sex instigated by the heroine, free association with men, divorce, deceit and drunkenness, but the story was marred by the suggestion that all who came under her spell were lost. Superstition was a common thread in much literature, but it appears slightly misplaced in a story which featured professional men, unless Safa was trying to imply that, irrespective of learning, "flesh is weak".

The story was an early example of Safa's ability to express himself clearly whilst daring to describe real physical needs. This story did little to underscore the belief that all Ottoman Turkish women regarded *iffet* (virtue) as their most precious possession.

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<sup>648</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 10, 8-11.

<sup>649</sup> In the case of Peyami Safa, he predicted well, because Peyami Safa went on to enjoy literary success as the author of, among other novels, *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* and *Fatih Harbiye*.

<sup>650</sup> This story and the above mentioned "Bir Rüya" appeared in consecutive issues. There were only two subsequent issues before *Yeni İnci* folded.

<sup>651</sup> A couple of years later, in 1924, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's novel *Meyhanede Kadınlar* (Women in the Tavern) featured raucous heavy drinking women who erroneously assumed that economic freedom equalled licence to behave with abandon in public.

There is no doubt that Reşat Nuri (Güntekin), who wrote "Rüzgar Önünde"<sup>653</sup> (In the wind), was capable of more substantial writing than his flimsy tale of a manipulative young woman. The heroine, Jale, was prosperous, privileged and privately educated. Despite all these advantages she rejected offers of employment as a teacher<sup>654</sup> and instead chose to manipulate the affections of her three admirers. Although social convention dictated that young women had little or no say in whom they married, undoubtedly many schemed to end up with the man of their choice.

The heroine of Reşat Nuri's tale was not a good role model for more progressive young women, many of whom would have jumped at a chance of honourable employment. Sedat Simavi must have judged that Reşat Nuri's commercial "pulling power" justified the use of this story.

Realistic stories concerning current events were more a feature of *Yeni İnci* than *İnci*. "Tren Beklerken"<sup>655</sup> (Whilst waiting for the train), by Mustafa Nihat (Özön), chronicled the observations and thoughts of a sensitive commanding officer as he watched the movements of crowded military trains at a busy railway refuelling junction.

By using short phrases and strings of nouns such as *muhaceler*, *eşyalar*, *kömürler* (passengers, possessions, coals), the author conjured up a hurly-burly scene of uncertainty over departure and arrival times, and the misery of groups of desperate people carrying their possessions. He contrasted the activity with endless waiting, sleepless nights in uncomfortable tents and the moans of the wounded as they waited for transportation or treatment on the spot. As he observed families being separated for the first time, he thanked God that he was single and, neither waiting for news of a loved one, nor taking leave of his family. At the same time he felt pangs of sadness at his own loneliness and regretted that he had never held a woman, never tasted kisses and that his most likely

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<sup>652</sup> The conditions as described in the story were in fact preferable to those endured by countless people in İstanbul.

<sup>653</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 6, 13-14.

<sup>654</sup> As already noted, there were few career options open to women. Teachers came from a variety of backgrounds. Some qualified teachers were from comfortably off families, and possibly saw themselves as having a true vocation to pass on their learning to others. See Chapter 2 for further details of the career paths of, for example: Hatice Nakiye, Behice Ziya Kollar and Rebia Tefik Başokçu, all of whom taught at some stage in their lives.

delivery was going to be death. After all his confused thoughts, he went to his tent to take some quinine.

This uncommon short story reads as if was part factual observation and possibly part mild delirium due to malaria; hence the quinine. Through this story Simavi brought his readers into close contact with the realities facing thousands of families.

*Kırkbeşinden Sonra*<sup>656</sup> (After Forty five) was a short story by Selim Sırrı (Tarcan)<sup>657</sup> (1874-1957). It was of a higher literary standard than many others in *İnci*, but it fell short of the high moral tone set by Simavi in 1919 because the main character consumed copious quantities of alcohol. This may have been Selim Sırrı's way of warning people about abusing their bodies, since his whole life was dedicated to physical education and sport. In 1921 the health columns of *İnci* had warned against the evils of alcohol.

"Çağlayan Kasrında Bahar"<sup>658</sup> (Spring in Çağlayan Summer Villa) was written by Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı). As a distinguished poet, essayist, conversationalist, scholar and diplomat, he was one of the most prominent Turks of his era.

In this piece, Yahya Kemal imagined himself 120 years earlier, during the reign of Sultan Selim III, observing people at their leisure at Çağlayan Kasır. He sat on an old landing by a stream and dreamed of being serenaded by musical instruments and nightingale song whilst surrounded by wondrously tall trees amid gardens full of lovely roses.<sup>659</sup> He mourned the fact that

"gone forever was the *Vezir's* son prancing about on his horse, whilst a beautiful woman was rowed past in a *caïque*. Gone also were *Saltanas* such as Şehrinaz, Mihrimah and Nurmihal who had whiled away time grooming themselves in their gilded cages".

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<sup>655</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 6, 5.

<sup>656</sup> See Issue No 10, 14.

<sup>657</sup> Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) is better known in Turkey for having a sports stadium named after him, but he also wrote several books on physical education and published a small magazine. He studied physical education in Sweden and afterwards he spearheaded the movement to get the subject included in the curriculum in Turkish schools. He was a founder member of Turkey's Olympic Committee, and its president, until 1930. See Tarcan *Sporcu Neler Bilmeli*. İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası 1926; Tarcan *Garpta Hayat: Yardımcı Kıraat*. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası 1929.

<sup>658</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 1, 6.

<sup>659</sup> His vocabulary epitomised that of classical Ottoman poetry.

This did not prevent their image filling his head as he rested and dreamed of past glories.

From the foregoing selection of stories in *İnci* it is clear that Sedat Simavi included material to suit a variety of tastes. As with the female poets, despite increasing educational opportunities and female role models, apart from Müfide Ferit (Tek), no female novelists and short story writers were represented<sup>660</sup> (the identity of Ayşe Hikmet being in doubt). This seeming lacuna could be interpreted as another example of Simavi attaching no importance to the gender of his authors.

A quarter of a century earlier *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* had featured stories by women. When *Yeni İnci* closed down in 1923, Fatma Aliye Hanım was still alive, Nigar Binti Osman had died as recently as 1918, Müfide Ferit (Tek) Hanım had contributed to *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* in 1921<sup>661</sup> and was emerging as a name in her own right.<sup>662</sup> Emine Semiye was still alive. The speeches of Halide Edip, Münevver Saime and Şükufe Nihal were familiar from political meetings between 1919 and 1920. Suat Derviş, although based in Germany, sent stories back to Turkey.<sup>663</sup> Güzide Sabri had published her novels *Yaban Gülü* in 1920 and *Nedret* in 1922. Halide Nusret Zorlutuna published *Küller* in 1921 and *Sisli Geceler* in 1922.

Even though their number was modest, Ottoman Turkish women writers were certainly more plentiful than in some other Turkic speaking lands. For example, when *Şark Kadını* (Eastern Woman) was first published in Baku in 1923, all the contributors were men, even though primarily it was a journal for women.

A further important factor was that the vast majority of Turkish women were rendered "silent" by their illiteracy.<sup>664</sup> The examples in Chapter Two showed that

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<sup>660</sup> For a list of women writers see Chapter 2.

<sup>661</sup> See "Gaziantep" *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* 7th Feb 1921.

<sup>662</sup> As opposed to being famous as the wife of Ferid Tek Bey.

<sup>663</sup> Her first novel was serialised in the *Yeni Şark* newspaper in 1923 and one of her stories was serialised in *Süs* in the same year, so her writing was in the public domain.

<sup>664</sup> In *The Other Side of the Mountain*, the mother of Vicdan, the main character "hurried to take a literacy course so as to learn the new Roman alphabet. She felt proud of her daughter who was soon to become a teacher." See Atasü 2000:50.

their number was steadily increasing<sup>665</sup>, but many of them were still from urban intellectual backgrounds. As such these particular women were unrepresentative of the female population.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, for a European female to get her work published was difficult enough but, for some Turkish women, the difficulty must have seemed insurmountable. Most successful western women writers had private means or wealthy, often female, patrons. The less fortunate and, to a certain extent, less able women, resorted to lightweight women's magazines as an outlet, because their work could be serialised without expense to themselves. Similarly, for Ottoman Turkish women, having their work appear in print would have been an important step in furthering their careers.

Autobiography and biography may have been possible a couple of decades later in Turkey, but, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, revelations of a private or family nature would have been frowned upon, even though as a *genre* it provides a suitable start for any new writer. An occasional extract from a *defteri-i hatırat* (memoir) did appear.<sup>666</sup>

Whilst the works of some western male writers were included in *İnci*, it is noteworthy that female<sup>667</sup> writers were not. A case can be made for the exclusion of some prominent female writers. For example, Simavi's exclusion of references to the literary genius of Jane Austen should not be viewed as entirely negative, because Jane Austen's characters were all firmly entrenched in the domestic sphere. Her novels reinforced this as the proper place for women, but, since Sedat Simavi sought to enlighten without causing controversy, perhaps Jane Austen's women were too rooted in the past and not quite progressive enough.

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<sup>665</sup> The position changed within a generation, and in Turkey notable professors of literature such as Professor Bedia Akarsu (1921-) Professor Jale Baysal (1926-), Professor Sevdâ Şener (1929-) paved the way for contemporary female academics in the same field.

<sup>666</sup> See "İhtiyar bir İstanbul kızının Defter-i hatıratından" (From the memoirs of an elderly İstanbul girl) Issue No 20, 12.

<sup>667</sup> Edith Wharton, an American, was already well established by 1922, having won the Pulitzer prize for the *Age of Innocence*. Gertrude Stein was similarly successful having published *Three Lives*, *Tender Buttons* and *QED* but they, along with European female authors, were not referred to in *İnci*. This is at variance with the general theory that Simavi sought good writing *per se* because he quoted the works of many distinguished western male authors.

Likewise, Mary Wollstonecraft, although suitable for *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* readers, was both too radical, and of dubious reputation in her private life, to be deemed suitable for the readers of *İnci*.<sup>668</sup>

Meral Alpay argues that the emphasis in foreign literary works shifted from translations of French writers to English writers after 1918<sup>669</sup>, but this does not explain the lack of women, as there were no French women writers represented in *İnci* either.

The position of the majority of Turkish women writers was not so different from those in Europe. With the exception of women in rarefied literary coteries<sup>670</sup>, European women would not have had ready access to other writers, due to the inaccessibility of the same social and professional networks available to their male counterparts. Control of prestigious literary and cultural journals still remained in the hands of male editors with the occasional female assistant. In the modernist period (1910-1940) "serious" women writers encountered similar difficulties with book publication. In many cases access to private means was the only way. For example Virginia Woolf and her husband Leonard established the Hogarth Press in 1917 to overcome such difficulties. Likewise Katherine Mansfield worked alongside her husband, the writer John Murry. According to Marion Shaw<sup>671</sup>, the proportion of English women writers to men remained constant from 1800 to 1935, rising only, despite increased access to higher education, from 21.4% to 22%. Even Edith Wharton, who enjoyed significant presence in American literary magazines, had constantly to remind magazine editors of the value of her works because they were "such a rare commodity".<sup>672</sup>

<sup>668</sup> At least in the early stages, before more free living women were featured in the literature.

<sup>669</sup> See Alpay 1976:48 ff.

<sup>670</sup> In İstanbul perhaps Şair Nigar Hanım was in an exceptional position, in that she was a constant guest at the most prestigious *salons* of the day. The literary discussions would, more than likely, have included European and Russian authors. See Osman, Nigar Binti *Hayatının Hikayesi*. In Halide Edip's English translation of her novel *Ateşten Gömlek*, she refers to Peyami's mother's wish as "every cultured woman tried to have a *salon* to which she could invite foreigners", but this was usually to discuss political developments and social gossip. See Edip 1924:21. Sabiha and Zekeriya Sertel conducted literary *salons* in their home, but the focus was contemporary leftist writing. See Chapter 4.

<sup>671</sup> See Shaw, Marion (Ed) *An Introduction to Women's Writing*. London: Prentice Hall 1998:204 ff; Altick, R. "The Sociology of Authorship: The Social Origins, Education and Occupations of 1,100 British Woman Writers, 1800-1935" in *Bulletin of New York Public Library* No 66 1962:389-404.

<sup>672</sup> See Buck, C. (Ed) *Women's Literature A-Z*. London Bloomsbury 1994.



Given the dearth of books as well as magazines, Turkish readers could well have counted themselves fortunate to have access to any form of fiction. Simavi probably did his best for his readers, despite the inferior quality of some of the material. Paper was expensive<sup>673</sup> and scarce, but he does not appear to have considered reducing the number of pages by cutting out the less impressive material.

### 3.3.9.xi Literary standards:

Sedat Simavi must have been aware that the standard of some of the material in *İnci* could have been higher, but maybe he was unable, rather than unwilling, to do anything about it because he did include two articles by Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç) about literary standards.

In his first article, "Okumak Bahsi"<sup>674</sup> (Reading discussion), Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç) urged the readership to attempt some of the good quality translated material which was becoming more readily available.<sup>675</sup> He rejected novels as inferior, but was full of praise for the number of women who showed an interest in reading quality material.<sup>676</sup> His view was that literature should be uplifting. He likened the effects of poor quality literature to indigestion after a bad meal. He stressed the importance of starting with good books<sup>677</sup> rather than inferior romantic novels and short stories. He wanted the readers to be hooked for life on quality writing. He did admit that there were some excellent western novels which were in another class of literature altogether.

Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç) confessed that, when he first started, he was the least discerning reader, devouring everything in sight without pausing to evaluate any of it. For this reason he wanted the government to publish a list of suitable material for young readers. Parents and teachers would, according to him, then have a reliable guide which might prevent children from being as indiscriminate as he had been.

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<sup>673</sup> A few years later, in 1927, there were still only 2,792 people working in 348 businesses providing cartons and paper. See *Republique Turque Office Central de Statistique* Vol 1 1928:93.

<sup>674</sup> See Issue No 7, 8.

<sup>675</sup> This may have been the case for some, but generally books were expensive.

His second article "Okudukları Ne?"<sup>678</sup> (What are they reading?) developed his ideas about the "nature versus nurture" theory. He likened bringing up children to rearing animals, with the end result affected by what was put into the child. Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç) was particularly interested in the quality of reading material available to young girls. He feared for their development and worried that neither their young minds nor their spirits were being nourished. He complained that, with such bad reading material, the development of their individuality as human beings was being undermined, and their cultural and religious identities were being neglected. He advocated taking urgent steps to avoid the creation of a generation of ignorant and corrupt young women.<sup>679</sup> Cynics might argue that Fazıl Ahmet (Aykaç) was not entirely discriminating himself, since his short story "Kamerin İlk Mektubu"<sup>680</sup> (The moon's first letter) did not measure up to his own standards.

### 3.3.9.xii Obituaries for literary figures:

There were only a couple of notices of the death of literary figures. "Merhum Lemi Nihat"<sup>681</sup> (Obituary for Lemi Nihat) was written a year after his death. Although not well known, he evidently wrote some well received novels including *Güzel Ruh*, *Gördüğüm*, *Bahçenin Çiçekleri* and *Kırmızı Kuş*. For some years he produced the *Yeni Türkiye* newspaper in Berlin.

"Pierre Loti Öldü"<sup>682</sup> (Pierre Loti has died) was about the "death of Turkey's respected and valued friend." It was regarded as a great loss, not only for Turkey and all Muslim people, but for all of those whom he championed throughout his travels. The article gave details of his real name and date of birth. The author of this tribute wrote that, no matter how greatly he praised him, his words paled into insignificance beside the great man's achievements and humanity. This opinion of Pierre Loti was very different from the view expressed in Nazım

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<sup>676</sup> There is no indication of what this statement was based on or what he considered to be quality literature.

<sup>677</sup> He gave no examples.

<sup>678</sup> See Issue No 25, 7.

<sup>679</sup> Mirroring the ideals in Simavi's mission statement.

<sup>680</sup> See Issue No 16 *Bayram Eki*.

<sup>681</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 10B, 30.

<sup>682</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 11, 3.

Hikmet's poem "Pierre Loti".<sup>683</sup> Hikmet inveighed against Loti's portrayal of the lifestyles enjoyed by some people in Ottoman lands.

### 3.3.10 COMPETITIONS:

There were a couple of columns in *İnci* which were promoted at the beginning but then disappeared without trace. Competitions fell into this category. Readers were set a series of questions which usually concerned relationships and morality; the idea being that the editors were to judge which reader put forward the best solution. Prizes were to be awarded and the results published in a later issue.

"Erkekler Kaç Yaşında İhtiyar Sayılır?"<sup>684</sup> (At What Age are Men considered old?) was an example of a question in one such competition. The prizes were a bottle of *Cologne* and a year's subscription to *İnci*. The readers were invited to comment on a recent court case in France involving a pickpocket. The conundrum the readers were asked to consider was the different views of age submitted by the counsel for the prosecution and the counsel for defence. The female counsel for the defence had stated that the fifty year old male pickpocket was old and therefore humanity should be exercised. Whereas, the male counsel for the prosecution submitted that the man was indeed fifty years of age, but that he was young and could quite safely be prosecuted.

The reason for not publishing the results of the competitions was not given. Possibly there was insufficient interest or the readers found it difficult to deliver their responses. This would have been especially problematic if they did not want their families to know, since many middle and upper class women rarely moved about in the city without an escort and a justifiable purpose. A further possibility could have been that Sedat Simavi did not plan properly for the space that they would take up, and could not justify the cost of the paper during a period when there were shortages.

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<sup>683</sup> Written in 1925. See Bezirci, Asım *Nazım Hikmet ve Seçme Şiirleri*. İstanbul: A Yayınları 1975. Hikmet wrote "Orient: the soils on which naked slaves die of hunger; The common property of everyone except those born on it; The land where hunger itself perishes with famine; But still the grain silos are full to the brim; only for export to Europe."

<sup>684</sup> See Issue No 6, 19.

### 3.3.11 EDITORIAL COMMENTS:

The editorial comments in *İnci* were written using a good standard of Turkish, without excessive use of Ottoman compounds. A large number of the announcements emanating from the editorial board were about the availability of suitable paper, new layout, price increases and the importance of collecting back issues. With the launch of *Yeni İnci*, the editor's ambitions grew as Simavi and his board tried to keep abreast of magazine developments in Europe. They announced wider distribution networks and rigorous price controls.<sup>685</sup>

Planned new columns were announced, but several failed to survive beyond a few issues. A similar fate befell *İnci'nin "Altın Defteri"* (*İnci's "Golden Book"*) which was to be an innovative supplement based on reader feedback.<sup>686</sup> It was announced that, from Issue No 8 onwards, each issue of the magazine would contain a table of contents, but the appearance of this useful addition was erratic.

Several women, including Emine Semiye, Güzide Feridun, Zeliha Osman and Ayşe Hikmet (who already contributed the "Abla Mektupları" column, but whose identity is in doubt) were to join the board when *İnci* started its second year of publication.<sup>687</sup> Their appointment did not result in additional contributions from women writers, except for Ayşe Hikmet's "Şule'nin Defteri" and a poem by Halide Nusret (Zorlutuna).

In June 1919 there was an editorial comment to the effect that "out of respect for public mourning for the victims of the war, the fashion pages of the issue had been withdrawn."<sup>688</sup> The woman on the cover of this issue clearly represented many who had lost their husbands, families, property and, in many cases, their lives. This image, a destitute looking woman, wrapped in the Turkish flag and cradling a child, represented a far greater proportion of Turkish women than those depicted on the other covers of *İnci*. The editorial commentary continued to praise the bravery and endurance of Turkish women, comparing them with

<sup>685</sup> These announcements were only 6 months before the magazine folded, which could indicate that the closure was unexpected.

<sup>686</sup> No copies of this have been found and, since *Yeni İnci* folded after Issue No 12 (which was to include the first issue of *Altın Defteri*), it probably was never printed.

<sup>687</sup> See Issue No 11, 18.

<sup>688</sup> See Issue No 5, 2.

women who, during the French Revolution, had fought alongside men. The country's indebtedness to Turkish women was repeatedly emphasised throughout *İnci*.

The editorial board was supportive of all Turkish women, including those in Anatolia, whose lives were a continuous struggle. The women who ran various welfare foundations were applauded, and those who produced traditional handicrafts and needlework were congratulated on the high quality of their work. The board took great pride in Turkish women, the phrase *Türk kadınlığı* (Turkish womanhood) was used five times in one article.

### 3.3.12 EDUCATION:

Most of the articles in *İnci* about education, other than those addressing the problems of low literary standards, were of a general nature. Rather than being viewed as negative, this could be seen as a further indication that general education, at least in İstanbul: was sufficiently available to enable a magazine such as *İnci* to survive. As stated before, the earlier successful women's magazines were aimed at those readers who wanted to support the "women's cause".

Although education for females had advanced to the level where a few could be admitted to İstanbul University in 1914, the lack of educational opportunities beyond İstanbul were not forgotten. The author of "Maarife Dair"<sup>689</sup> (Pertaining to education), used a military analogy to put his point across. He wrote that "in the period of imperial expansion, endless battles at countless borders had been fought and won in order to stretch frontiers" and that the same effort needed to be expended on the educational front. He complained that those who were educated were often far too reluctant to give up their urban lifestyles and take their skills into the rural areas. Their excuses were numerous: rural people were not of the same mentality, they had no common ground, the locals were superstitious and wary of the educated, they feared for their own well-being and so on.

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<sup>689</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 6, 12.

Reşat Nuri Güntekin's story *Recem* (Death by stoning) was cited in the same article. This story featured a teacher in a remote village who had tried to get the community to take quinine sulphate (for treating malaria), but his suggestion was denounced as the work of the devil. In desperation the teacher poured it into the water supply, knowing that it would improve the health of the community. He was stoned to death by the villagers because they thought he had poisoned their water supply.

Also in "Maarife Dair" was a report of General Kazım Karabekir's many initiatives. He wanted rural teachers to attend conferences where all the İstanbul newspapers would be available. His idea was that they could assimilate all the latest cultural news, in particular what was going on in the cinema<sup>690</sup> and theatre. Kazım Karabekir suggested that, armed with this knowledge, teachers would be better equipped to do their jobs. Indeed, two decades later, culture was brought to rural areas through the *Köy Enstitüleri*, but General Kazım Karabekir changed his tune, and opposed any emphasis on education which was not "relevant" to the student's lives.<sup>691</sup>

There was an article about the "Kazım Karabekir System"<sup>692</sup> for educating the children of men martyred in the war. There was no mention of girls being included in the scheme and the accompanying photograph was of five boys.

*İnci* was not a xenophobic magazine, but Ahmet Hikmet's "Ninelere"<sup>693</sup> (To grandmothers) was redolent of the debates in *Kadınlar Dünyası* about sending students of both sexes to Europe.<sup>694</sup> Ahmet Hikmet warned grandmothers<sup>695</sup> of the perils befalling young men who were sent to study in Germany. He thought that they could equally well end up as factory workers or in debt. He cited an example of one young man who had become a *hamal* (unskilled labourer or stevedore) and hundreds of other young men who, with parental assistance, had escaped military service and been sent to Europe. Evidently several had died in

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<sup>690</sup> For Simavi's connections with the cinema see Chapter 3:156. He would have been keen to use it as an educational medium.

<sup>691</sup> He wanted students to stick to agricultural subjects.

<sup>692</sup> See "Kazım Karabekir'in Yavruları" *Yeni İnci* Issue No 11, 6-7.

<sup>693</sup> See Issue No 9, 4.

<sup>694</sup> See Chapter 1:29 ff.

<sup>695</sup> Their opinions were usually respected in the family. Some of them also held the purse strings.

poverty and been denied proper funerals, whilst others had contracted unmentionable diseases from women. Ahmet Hikmet's message to grandmothers was that they should ignore the recommendations of the Schools' Inspectorate, and not send anybody who did not have the requisite qualifications for enrolment. He claimed that many men had gone in the hope of becoming electrical engineers, but since some lacked basic scientific and linguistic skills, they were bound to fail. His message was that money alone would not produce professionally qualified people.

"Bir Tehlike Karşısında"<sup>696</sup> (Face to Face with danger), although anonymous, was probably contributed by a member of the editorial staff. The article referred to the need further to improve the status of women through the medium of education. Higher education and craft institutes could only mean improved prospects for them. Darwin was quoted as saying "peoples who do not adapt to the needs of their time will not survive". The author of this piece suggested that if "the Turks did not adapt, then soon there would be nobody to erect their grave stones."

There was no reference to formal education in Simavi's mission statement, so it is not surprising that there was little about it in *İnci*. This may not have bothered him because he undoubtedly saw his magazine as an important component in continuing education. The fact that, by and large, he managed to do this without any overbearing didactic overtones is noteworthy.

### 3.3.13 RELIGION:

There were no articles about religion *per se*. However, from its appearance alone,<sup>697</sup> the reader would have been left in no doubt that this was a magazine aimed at Muslim women. Although it was not a proselytising publication, visual impact apart, in general it did uphold Muslim values for women.

In the "Memleketimizde" (In our country) column<sup>698</sup>, Mehmet Ali referred to both science and religion. This was in response to Ahmet Hikmet's article about

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<sup>696</sup> See Issue No 26, 4.

<sup>697</sup> The fact that the majority of front covers featured women with their heads covered has been noted before.

Dante in a previous issue. He was apparently moved to write so that the readership would be able to appreciate the potential diversity of literary sources. He claimed that, in the Middle Ages, Europeans had been familiar with classical philosophers without realising that some of their ideas had come to Europe through Muslim lands. He asserted that İbn Sina (Avicenna) (980-1036) and İbn Raşid were both key players in the dissemination of knowledge in the West.

Mehmet Ali's article continued with his explanation that Katip Çelebi (1608-1657) had succeeded in getting philosophy<sup>699</sup> introduced into higher education, but that it was not long before such material was replaced with works containing religious overtones. The works of Arab philosophers had, according to him, been much criticised by European clerics who denounced them as heretical. Mehmet Ali's explanation was that European clerics had wished to suppress Arab ideas because they challenged Catholic views of religion. Some who had embraced Arab philosophy had evidently been burnt at the stake.

As the above examples illustrate, Simavi did not regard contemporary religion and the issues of the day, such as the old chestnut of whether abandoning the veil or educating girls beyond the age of puberty was contrary to İslam, as relevant to his readership.

### 3.3.14 ADVERTISEMENTS:

When looking at the range of advertisements in *İnci* it should not be forgotten that, apart from *Kadınlar Dünyası*<sup>700</sup> and *Genç Kadın*<sup>701</sup>, there were no concurrent women's magazines<sup>702</sup> published. So advertisers had no choice, but to use *İnci*, if they wanted to target a largely female readership.

The function of advertising is to create and maintain a market share. A lot of the goods and services advertised in *İnci* were at the luxury end of the market and,

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<sup>698</sup> See Issue No 25, 2-3.

<sup>699</sup> Philosophy was an advanced science in Ottoman lands until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. After that both it and medicine failed to keep abreast of developments elsewhere and these subjects lost their prominence.

<sup>700</sup> The only issues which overlapped with *İnci* were the final 13 in 1921. This is because *Kadınlar Dünyası* was suspended from October 1918 until November 1921.

<sup>701</sup> It folded in May 1919, so there were only 3 issues concurrent with *İnci*.

<sup>702</sup> There were of course numerous daily newspapers to which they might have had access.



as such, would have been out of reach for many readers. However, with increasing social mobility and prosperity, for some readers at least, their consumption patterns were destined to change. These changes were reflected in the advertisements.

Historically, the success of the press in general has been dependent upon advertising revenues. In England, by 1919, the majority of magazine editors had given up most of their control in exchange for advertising revenues, but there was no sign of this in *İnci*, other than that the advertisements were moved to more prominent positions.

A point worth making is that, in advertising in the Ottoman Turkish press, "foreign" or "imported" almost always implied "superior". Any foreign brand name had immediate *cachet*. This phenomenon was not unique to Ottoman magazines.<sup>703</sup> Conspicuous consumption was not solely the preserve of the West. The influence of the unimaginably wealthy Egyptian Paşas, who came to İstanbul and lived in fabled style, fuelled a desire for a hedonistic lifestyle.

After years of deprivation it is quite understandable that people wanted more than just to exist, they also wanted to live. As is evident from the diversity of goods and services on offer, *İnci* did not promote the "make do and mend" culture<sup>704</sup> which was so much a feature of English women's magazines in the immediate post World War I period. There was no hint of "working now and reaping the rewards later"<sup>705</sup> nor of the notion that "postponing a pleasure" was a luxury. Most of the products advertised were designed to gratify transient wants, or even whims, rather than real needs. This was, and still is, typical of the majority of advertisements in women's magazines. In this respect Ottoman Turkey was no different to the West but, when it came to the medical advertisements, Turkey was 75 years ahead of England which did not permit doctors, dentists or any other medical practitioners to advertise until 1995.<sup>706</sup>

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<sup>703</sup> Earlier English magazines were full of advertisements for "Parisian" fashions and French sounding cosmetics.

<sup>704</sup> The closest it got was an advertisement for re-modelling fur coats.

<sup>705</sup> In contrast, by the 1950s, there were plenty of banks prepared to offer credit for housing, cars and all manner of consumer products, but, during this period, no official credit agencies advertised their services in *İnci*.

<sup>706</sup> The same applied to all the professions.

In order to follow the way advertisements developed, the examples quoted will be in chronological order.

The earliest advertisement was for *Diken*<sup>707</sup> (Thorn), a magazine owned by Simavi, who asserted that it was Turkey's first satirical magazine. While this may have been true, there was plenty of satire in Turkish fiction, although it was usually non-political. In a later issue of *İnci*<sup>708</sup>, a supplement for children was offered which featured stories such as *Korsanlar Elinde* (Captured by Pirates).

Early on books and plays were advertised, but it is not clear whether these brought *İnci* any revenue or if they were part of a service to the readers. In exchange for free promotion of their books, the authors may have been prepared to submit some of their other articles, stories or poems for publication in *İnci*. For example among the advertisements for some of the latest books was Reşat Nuri's *Roşid Bey* and Mehmet Rauf's *Kadın İsterse*, but there were no extracts from either of these books in *İnci*. However other material from these writers did appear.

Just as new literary works were beginning to be advertised, new services were introduced. These were not in any particular groupings, which made finding a particular item difficult, but this policy was probably deliberate because it would have ensured that the magazine was read throughout. Paediatricians, specialists in female illnesses, dentists and those offering cosmetic treatments were among the earlier advertisers. These were followed by dressmakers and tailors. Postcards were the first product to be offered for sale. Books were usually advertised as available from a library although this could have meant that they were for sale rather than for borrowing.

From Issue No 5 onwards<sup>709</sup> the advertisements were collected together on the reverse of the front cover and the back pages. Electro-convulsive therapy was advertised for ladies of a "nervous disposition". An advertisement for *Ziraat Hayatı* (Agricultural Life), a specialist magazine for garden owners, farmers and smallholders, is particularly noteworthy. This publication was founded by experts

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<sup>707</sup> *Diken* was closed down by the censor in 1920. In the early days Zekeriya Sertel was on its staff. See Chapter 4 for his career in publishing.

<sup>708</sup> Issue No 6.

<sup>709</sup> June 1919.

trained in Europe in the latest techniques, including economic methods of fruit and vegetable production.<sup>710</sup> The promotion of *Ziraat Hayatı* coincided with articles in *İnci* about the care of flowers and houseplants, and therefore could be an example of advertiser-led articles.<sup>711</sup> It is most unlikely that any women were going to roll up their sleeves and start growing fruit and vegetables, but there were many prosperous female landowners who could have been interested in increasing production.<sup>712</sup>

In issue No 5 the first commercial product, in the accepted sense, was advertised. The slogan for *poudre dentifrice sante*, (tooth powder) available at a *chimiste*, was written in both Ottoman and Latin script. Branded products began to appear from Issue No 6 onwards, the first one being Palmolive soap. Turkified French appeared in advertisements from Issue No 7 onwards. A cartoon was used to advertise the services of Hamid Bey, a dentist. The picture showed two men discussing their treatment and in the caption, one of them says that he is "changing his current dentist because of his *şarlatanlık* (charlatan-like behaviour)" and the other replies "*monşer*<sup>713</sup> I can recommend Hamid Bey". In the same issue (No 7) the editors announced that, due to adverse comments from the readership, they would no longer mix advertisements with the general copy. However, it was not long before they broke this rule, and by Issue No 9 they had mixed the two again. The only new product in this issue was an Italian mandolin.<sup>714</sup>

Smoking was considered sophisticated and many women enjoyed it. By Issue No 11 prominent advertisements for cigarette papers started to appear. In the same issue shoemakers offering *iskarpin*, *galoş* and *potin*<sup>715</sup> (types of footwear) touted

<sup>710</sup> This was many years before *Köy Enstitüleri* attempted to do the same thing. See Chapter 1:36 ff.

<sup>711</sup> See "Salon Hayatında Çiçekler: Kamelyalarınıza iyi bakınız" Issue No 5, 10. Gardening colleges for ladies were established in England in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century and gardening magazines became popular. It is possible that the editor took his lead from one of these, since other English publications were an occasional source of material.

<sup>712</sup> The heroine in *Ateşten Gömlek* was one such woman.

<sup>713</sup> Used by the well educated; in particular by those who had a good command of French.

<sup>714</sup> Raphaelle Calacci was an Italian composer of mandolin sonatas who popularised the instrument. By the beginning of World war II its popularity had waned, but during the life of *İnci* it would have been familiar to many.

<sup>715</sup> All foreign words.

their wares.<sup>716</sup> Issue No 12 was one of the most interesting from the advertisement point of view. Apart from services and products which by now appeared regularly, new services and goods were launched. For example, treatment for gonorrhoea was available. The advertisement did not clarify whether it targeted women whose husbands were infected or women themselves. In the same issue of *İnci*, a manual for nurses (translated by Zeliha Osman<sup>717</sup>), an ENT specialist, a cinema and an estate agent, were all advertised. The first example of a bare-headed woman in an advertisement, advertising Lavender Water, was in the same issue.

It was not only dentists who tried to attract male readers. The Fiat automobile company took an entire page to promote its luxury cars, marine engines and other vehicles. The company may have thought it worthwhile trying to advertise in a magazine rather than the general press; which has a history of very high advertising rates. Simavi may also have hoped to attract male readers, although *İnci* still looked very much like a woman's magazine. However, the magazine would certainly have been at the least leafed through by male members of the household. Another reason may have been that Fiat was an Italian company and, apart from the 2000 Italians amongst the 30,000 occupying forces, there were many resident Italians in İstanbul.<sup>718</sup>

In Issue No 14, the advertisement for Nestlé's Condensed Milk was the first sign of a multi-national company seeking to influence diet. Other food products such as rice, appeared but still the major share of the space allocated to advertising was taken up by medical, cosmetic and fashion items, such as the products and services of dressmakers, furriers and cobblers.

Following on from Fiat, American cars and motorcycles also put in an appearance. Cars were described as an essential part of daily life and no longer a luxury. The latest models, with electric starter buttons, were described as "so

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<sup>716</sup> Later, in Issue No 21, an advertisement for shoes which were as reliable as a *dirednot* (Dreadnought; an English class of battleship and a piece of heavy woollen outerwear) appeared. To the people of İstanbul, Dreadnought class ships were a familiar sight in the Bosphorus.

<sup>717</sup> She was the author of *Ebedi Hisler*, the play about nurses serialised from Issue No 8 onwards.

<sup>718</sup> Mansel 1995:392.

simple to use that a 10 year old could have driven one".<sup>719</sup> The emphasis in the text was that customers could free themselves from the hands of chauffeurs and take control of their personal safety themselves.

Berliet, a new car *marque* appeared amongst the advertising pages. This French company also advertised its heavy lorries, ambulances and fire engines.<sup>720</sup> They were probably reacting to the advertisements placed by the Fiat agency in İstanbul.<sup>721</sup> Despite being under occupation the Turkish fire and ambulance services still needed vehicles, and possibly those in charge of procurement were the target of these advertisements.

A handwriting analyst, a palm reader, a bookshop specialising in agricultural publications, old Ottoman photographs, foreign trained doctors and a tailoring commune were all new services advertised from Issue No 24 onwards. Tailoring communes were popular with those women who aspired to, but could not afford, society dressmakers.<sup>722</sup>

Some of these advertisements might well have created a false impression of what life was really like for *İnci*'s average readers, but the front cover of Issue No 27<sup>723</sup> showed the real contrast in women's lives. A photograph of Halide Edip,<sup>724</sup> covered from head to toe, was on the front cover, but inside were advertisements for face powder, skin cream and a saucy corset.<sup>725</sup>

An unusual product to be offered was police uniforms.<sup>726</sup> In some issues of *Yeni İnci* there were no new advertisements at all, but some of the services previously

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<sup>719</sup> See Issue No 16.

<sup>720</sup> Mechanised fire engines existed in the 1890s. There were pictures of them in a photograph albums sent by Abdülhamid II as a gift to Queen Victoria.

<sup>721</sup> At this time, in addition to the permanent French residents there were around 8000 French troops stationed in the city. The French controlled a large part of European trade with the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>722</sup> Although many women were accomplished seamstresses, upwardly mobile women liked to flaunt the names of well known dressmakers. It was perfectly acceptable for women to do embroidery which, as in the West, was a sign of refinement.

<sup>723</sup> April 1921.

<sup>724</sup> There is of course no way of knowing if she also was partial to cosmetics and luxurious garments beneath her traditional outer clothing, but from the writing about her, the impression gleaned is that of a woman dedicated to improving the lot of her countrymen rather than her own appearance.

<sup>725</sup> This was not the only near naked woman in this issue. The article "Tombola Derdi" (The tombola problem) was illustrated with a nude woman with her lower abdominal area covered with a tombola card. See Issue No 27, 14.

<sup>726</sup> See *Yeni İnci* Issue No 10, 17.

offered continued to be advertised.

Towards the final issues many advertisements were for books. The works of Halit Ziya, Halide Edip, Halide Nusret, Ercüment Ekrem, Yakup Kadri, Rauf Necdet, Halid Fahri, Orhan Seyfi, Reşat Nuri and Ruşen Eşref were all promoted in *Yeni İnci* Issue No 8 as available in bookshops in the *Bab-ı Ali*. A bookshop specialising in the sciences, politics, medicine and history advertised, as did several bookshops in the provinces<sup>727</sup>

By the final issue of *İnci* (No 27, April 1921), in theory, women could have spent their days smoking, being treated for neuroses, had their teeth improved, been checked from head to toe by a doctor trained abroad, had their hair done, their faces subjected to all manner of improving and enhancing treatments, been measured for clothes and shoes, squeezed themselves into provocative corsets, had their finances and legal affairs sorted out, their destiny determined by a palmist, been to the cinema, read books, been photographed and been driven around in luxury cars by their husband or brother or even driven themselves.

The advertisements in *İnci* started with Simavi offering *Diken*, his satirical magazine, and ended with books, bookshops and libraries, but it is the diverse range of goods and services offered in between which greatly add to the picture of the economic, cultural, social and educational development of middle class urban Turks.

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<sup>727</sup> The one in Aleppo was owned by Fazıl Ahmet.

### 3.4 SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF *İNCİ* AND *YENİ İNCİ*

Even though Sedat Simavi sometimes lost his way when it came to fulfilling the ambitious aims of his mission statement, the role of *İnci* can be seen as broadening the readership base from the urban elite to a wider audience, embracing professionals such as teachers, lawyers, dentists, health workers and civil servants in İstanbul: and in larger regional centres. The large numbers of non-Muslim women who worked in banks and in the postal service were also more than likely to have been among the readership, as magazines from Europe were both scarce and expensive.

When the foregoing analysis of *İnci* is examined, it is obvious that there was plenty to criticise, particularly in the literary field, but Sedat Simavi still deserves credit for founding a magazine which, in Ottoman Turkish periodical terms, was long lived.<sup>728</sup> Although there were other young journalists, few of them took on the burden of owning and editing a magazine.

When one bears in mind that Sedat Simavi founded a publishing dynasty, and that he was only 20 years old<sup>729</sup> when he started, and only 23 when he launched *İnci*, admiration for his youthful efforts does not seem excessive.

To put the foregoing material about Ottoman Turkish women's magazines and *İnci* in particular into perspective, some further comparisons with English magazines follow. Although initially the gap evidenced in the women's press between the two empires was enormous, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it had narrowed to much less than the sometimes quoted hundred years' difference in development.

As with Ottoman Turkish magazines, all too frequently English publications started full of zeal only to end with a whimper within a short space of time.

The early English women's press took a while to get started, but by the early 18<sup>th</sup> century several publications began to appear. The availability of affordable

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<sup>728</sup> As previously mentioned, the figures for numbers of issues need to be read with their frequency in mind. For example *Ayine*, which produced a total of 41 (weekly) issues, lasted less than a year from November 1875. Therefore it can not have reflected developing society as well as a monthly publication which spanned several years.

<sup>729</sup> According to Gökman, he launched *Hande*, his first magazine, in 1916 but after the first few issues Yakup Aziz ran the editorial side, whilst Simavi concentrated on the caricatures. See Gökman 1970:14.

servants meant that middle and upper class women had more leisure time, which in turn led to an increased demand for reading material. In the earliest days the magazines were little more than almanacks.

As in Ottoman Turkey, it was not only advances in education but also increasing prosperity which fuelled the demand for more magazines. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century in England the same diversity existed as in Ottoman magazines of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. *The Free-Thinker*, *The Female Tatler*, *The Ladies' Journal*, *The Parrot* and *The Visiter* were all aimed at women.

A few men in England did have a different view of women's place in society. In 1705, Thomas Brown wrote *Legacy For Ladies* which attacked women for their idle ways. He saw the sexes as potentially equal; to him, all that was lacking was women's education.<sup>730</sup> His thesis was that women were weakened by the perpetual need to make themselves agreeable. It has already been noted that his views were at variance with those of Gisborne<sup>731</sup> who maintained that

"to guide the home and superintend the various branches of domestic management is the indispensable duty of the married woman. No mental endowments furnish an exemption from it; no plea of improving pursuits can excuse the neglect of it."<sup>732</sup>

This could easily have appeared in one of the non-progressive Ottoman Turkish magazines a century after Gisborne wrote it in 1797.

According to Cynthia White, it was due to Gisborne that the horizons of English women were narrowed, as the opinion that women were mentally, physically and morally inferior held sway.<sup>733</sup> Consequently, by the 1820s, the magazines changed from having been vigorous and stimulating, with fashion, vanity, cookery and domestic articles either confined to small areas or banished altogether, to poor imitations of their former selves.

What replaced these stimulating English magazines were insipid publications designed to reinforce the role of women as vapid and domestic home-makers.

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<sup>730</sup> A familiar cry in Ottoman magazines, echoing Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan's famous saying "*Bir milletin nisvani, derece-i terakkisinin mizanıdır*" (Women are the yardstick of a nation's development).

<sup>731</sup> See Chapter 3:113 Fn 335.

<sup>732</sup> Gisborne 1797:271.

<sup>733</sup> White, Cynthia *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*. London: Michael Joseph 1970:35.



In 1825, the editor of the *Lady's Magazine* wrote

"The times are changed ... women have completely abandoned all attempts to shine in the political horizon, .... the proud Lords used to acknowledge the equality of the sexes, but now, if a Lady should dare to aspire to literary distinction, she meets with little encouragement."

Magazines, journals and reviews abounded with sarcastic comments about the blue stockings and their 'productions'.

"Intellectual acquirement, when applied to a woman, is used as a term of reproach. Writers .... proclaim the mental as well as the bodily inferiority of the weaker sex."<sup>734</sup>

Seventy years later, Fatma Aliye wrote about varying attitudes to the blue stockings.<sup>735</sup>

In England, from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the stimulating content of earlier magazines was lost to women. Thus the coverage of current affairs, foreign news and political opinion was no longer available to them in journals which targeted a female readership. Further casualties in the new climate were the once vigorous "debate" columns and the correspondence pages.<sup>736</sup> Most reader involvement ceased just before the beginning of the Victorian era, several decades before Ottoman magazines for women began to be published in any number. The reduction in scope was countered by the emergence of fashion journalism, a new writing *genre*.

In the English women's press, fashion articles were a sign of a changing industrialised world. A new class had emerged which had created its own wealth, but which needed guidance on the tastes and manners of society. This was the era when it became possible for the daughters of industrial barons, provided they understood the complicated rules of etiquette and dress codes, to marry into higher social classes. Magazines to satisfy these needs proliferated.

Three leading English women's periodicals fought against the tide as they battled for "woman to attend to the cultivation of her mind"<sup>737</sup> as well as efficient

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<sup>734</sup> *The Lady's Magazine* 1825.

<sup>735</sup> See "Bablulardan İbret Alalım" *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* Issue No 2 1895, 2-3.

<sup>736</sup> These were to reappear in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but the content is more aligned to "Agony Aunt" columns than to serious debate.

<sup>737</sup> See White 1970:41.

household management. By 1847 these three magazines, *The Lady's Magazine*, *The Lady's Monthly Museum* and *La Belle Assemblée*,<sup>738</sup> had formed the first merger in the history of British women's press, and faded away, thereby depriving women of their last stimulating magazine.

The following two examples of how women were expected to conduct themselves might well have been written for those Ottoman magazines which advocated sticking to the status quo.

"Woman was given to man as his better angel, to dissuade him from vice, to stimulate him to virtue, to make home delightful and life joyous ... in the exercise of these gentle and holy charities, she fulfils her high vocation. But great as is the influence of the maiden and wife, it seems to fade away when replaced by that of mother. It is the mother who is to make citizens for earth ... and happy are they who thus fulfil the sacred and dignified vocation allotted them by Providence."<sup>739</sup>

"Let man take his claimed supremacy ... let him be supreme in the cabinet ... the camp ... the study ...; to women will still remain a goodly heritage of which neither force nor competition can deprive her. The heart is her domain, and there she is an empress ... to watch over the few dear objects of regard with an eye that never sleeps, and a care that can not change: to think, to act, to suffer, to sacrifice, to live, to die for them, their happiness, their assured safety ... these constitute woman's true triumph ... her love sustained by highest Genius."<sup>740</sup>

When it came to survival in the market place, it was not only Ottoman women's magazines which were short-lived. From the 1850s onwards English magazines which were founded to espouse the "women's cause" fared little better, with none of those which addressed these matters surviving more than two years.

Although the English "women's cause" became one of the most widely aired topics, attempts at concentrating the efforts in dedicated publications for general consumption failed. The readers wanted magazines such as *The Ladies' Treasury* which was similar in content to *İnci*. In the former the editor excluded anything which might "enervate or bewilder the pure female mind." As with many

<sup>738</sup> These magazines had a similar content to that of *Asar-i Nisvan* (founded 1925) and its successor *Kadın Yazıları*, in that they aimed at a readership which wanted to be stretched and stimulated. (Founded in 1926; both were owned and edited by Fevziye Abdürreşit.)

<sup>739</sup> *The Lady's Cabinet*, 1847, 156.

<sup>740</sup> *The Lady's Cabinet*, 1847, 138.

Ottoman magazines, purity of thought and deed, and the triumph of principle over passion (in fiction) were the essential ingredients.<sup>741</sup>

Ottoman women's magazines were generally, with the exceptions previously noted, aimed at those women who remained accepting of the roles assigned to them by tradition and social status. There were women who objected to the new movements for women's rights, legal reforms and employment opportunities, but such women appear to have been passive objectors, in that their support was simply withheld. The same situation prevailed in England.

The upper classes in England were more interested in reform than the prosperous middle classes. Following the Married Woman's Property Act of 1857, women became entitled to retain their own wealth.<sup>742</sup> Previously, upon marriage, they and their wealth had become the property of their husbands. The following reactions to the new law illustrate the point:

"That women as a body desire a vote in Parliament I do not think. The women who do have such a wish form but a very small proportion of those whose opinion they say they represent. I think most sensible women will say that they prefer their own sphere to that offered them in the terms and inferences of the Bill."<sup>743</sup>

"It is absurd to think that because these rights are granted to married women, marriage is thence to be regarded as a sort of partnership ... Nothing could be more unfounded than the idea that men should cease to be masters of their own households."<sup>744</sup>

The *English Woman's Journal*, which appeared in 1858, did its best to concentrate on women's rights but, in reality, it was a philanthropic venture funded by Bessie Rayner Parkes, a wealthy young woman. This magazine never was a financial success and in 1864 she gave up, having accepted that there were insufficient women readers attracted to her unremitting policy of championing women's' rights.<sup>745</sup>

The First World War took its toll of both English and Ottoman magazines, but it also broadened the horizons of many women who had played crucial parts in the

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<sup>741</sup> As noted above, Simavi did break with this general premise on a couple of occasions.

<sup>742</sup> Women in the United States had benefited from a similar Act passed in 1839.

<sup>743</sup> *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, Vol 8 1870, 124.

<sup>744</sup> *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, Vol 9 1879

<sup>745</sup> Some of the content was very similar to that of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, launched in 1913.

war. However, ultimately, the success or otherwise of magazines, for both English and Ottoman women, did not depend upon political rights or women's issues, but upon commercial considerations; it was advertising which revolutionised magazines. Taxes on equipment and paper and rising labour costs made them expensive to produce. As the number of pages increased so did the costs, but the price had to remain the same. Advertising became the only way to make any magazine break even, let alone make a profit. For many, both consumers and producers alike, it became an unpalatable but necessary evil. No commercial magazines could have survived without the revenue accruing to them through advertising.

In spite of the educational opportunities available today, the general trend in English women's magazines is now the same as from the 1820s onwards. In England, large tracts are devoted to advertising products<sup>746</sup>, which will enhance the appearance of women. Fashion, cookery, decoration, gardening, dieting, film and video and celebrity worship have become the new "current affairs". In both Turkey and England, with the exception of specialist publications, intellectually stimulating articles and non-romantic literature no longer constitute the bulk of the content of the women's press where sex,<sup>747</sup> fashion, vanity, cookery, home-making, domesticity<sup>748</sup> and inferior fiction reign supreme.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to fill a gap in the existing research into the Ottoman women's press. The intention has been to uncover a broader cross section of society than that revealed by the existing researchers in this field who have tended to concentrate on the more elitist socio-political magazines for women. The Ottoman women's press played a vital role in giving women a higher public profile. Sedat Simavi is well known as the founder of the *Hürriyet Gazetesi* (Liberty Newspaper) but he deserves greater recognition for his role in the expansion of late Ottoman women's press.

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<sup>746</sup> In May 2001 *The Sunday Times* featured an article "Women's magazines fight it out in a saturated market". The conclusion drawn was that many were destined to fail because the market had reached saturation point. The publications most likely to continue to succeed were those with advertising revenues producing over 70% of their income. See *The Sunday Times* 6<sup>th</sup> May 2001, 6.

<sup>747</sup> From time immemorial sex has been used as a marketing tool.

<sup>748</sup> Which often takes the form of celebrities on show in their homes.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.1 SABİHA SERTEL (1897-1968): A CASE STUDY

The field of research in this chapter is narrowed down from the wider issues of education, journalism and the women's press to a case study of one female journalist. This chapter aims to present the achievements of one woman as an example of just how far it was possible for women to advance in the public arena. Sabiha Sertel has been chosen because she concentrated on, and influenced, the development of a section of the press which did not recognise any social, economic or gender divisions. As a prominent left-wing writer who started her career in the decade of the transition from empire to republic, she represents a new breed of professional female journalist.

The previous chapter charted the history of Ottoman Turkish women's magazines, but with a special emphasis on the content of Sedat Simavi's *İnci*. There were only three magazines of any noteworthy duration which followed *İnci*; one was of little merit, and the other two offered nothing, apart from recipes, that had not been covered in *İnci*.

Not only did the closure of *İnci* herald the end of the Ottoman women's press but, in effect, it was the end of wide ranging magazines for women. By the time that the last magazine folded (1927), new republican ideas were beginning to pervade every aspect of life. Despite the speed and efficiency with which they were undertaken, the alphabet changes of 1928 brought difficulties to the press. It was only those printers<sup>749</sup> who had secured the new Latin type well in advance who were able to produce anything at all. Although the alphabet changes were rapid, it does not necessarily follow that an instant readership of the women's press appeared equally quickly. The population may have got to grips with the new letters, but it would possibly have taken those readers who were above school age longer to become fluent. When it came to the women's press, it could be that women were not buying the few publications because they were experiencing some difficulty in reading them. If this were the case then publishers may well have shied away from launching new titles with all their

attendant difficulties over the availability of type and paper. A further difficulty may have been that contributors were slow to submit material in the new script, and the number of transcribers was inadequate. Many newspaper proprietors blamed their problems upon the alphabet changes<sup>750</sup>, but times were also changing.

A women's magazine did appear in the year following the change to Latin script, but, despite its title, *Hanımlar Alemi*, (Women's Realm), it was more a family magazine. Magazine titles such as *El İşi* (Needlework), *Aile Dostu* (Family Friend), *El Emekleri* (Handicraft), *Salon (Salon)*, *Kadın Moda Albümü* (Women's Fashion Album), *Ev İş* (Housework), *Ana* (Mother), *Model* (Model) were, for several years, the norm. An attempt to widen the scope in the women's press was made with the appearance of *Cumhuriyet Kadını*<sup>751</sup> (Republican Woman) in 1934. The editors planned for it to be a social issues forum, with the developing republic and international affairs high on the agenda. At the same time, the editors saw no reason why this should preclude women from making the best of their appearance. In the mission statement the editors wrote that "just as they are women of ideas, so also are they women of beauty." Similar ideas and aims had featured in the Ottoman women's press in the preceding decades. *Cumhuriyet Kadını* was very short-lived.

It wasn't until 1940 that a further attempt was made to produce a magazine for the ever increasing number of well educated women who combined family life with other activities. The editors of *Kadınlar Alemi* (Women's Realm) wanted their readership to assume their rightful roles in the development and the shaping of society but the magazine folded after the first issue.

Turkish women had won the right to professional qualifications and employment in numerous fields. In 1944, *Astın Kadını* (Contemporary Woman) was launched to attract women who wanted to stretch their minds and embrace some of the latest opportunities. The first two issues were each to be dedicated to different aspects of women's lives. One was to focus on professional women and the other

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<sup>749</sup> Many newspaper proprietors were both publishers and printers.

<sup>750</sup> For Zekeriya Sertel's comments on his profitability after the alphabet changes see Chapter 4:249.

<sup>751</sup> This magazine did feature articles of a socio-political nature.

on their domestic roles. *Asrın Kadını* closed down after 5 issues.

The one success story in the "serious" category was the *Kadın Gazetesi* (Woman Newspaper), launched in 1947. It was aimed at women who had moved on from the "equality of the sexes debate" to being active in all the professions. Many of the contributors were leaders in their fields. The editors of the *Kadın Gazetesi* aimed to enlighten, support and encourage women in all their given roles, from parenthood to professional employment. In various guises, it continued publication until 1979.

Fashion and "beauty" magazines proliferated but, as with the English women's press in general, there was no return to producing mass market informative magazines for well educated women. The trend was more towards the family and photo reportage.

The most well known magazine in this category was *Hayat*<sup>752</sup> (Life) which covered international and domestic events and which was aimed just as much at men as at women. The content of *Hayat* was far more worldly than any earlier attempts and a study of its development could produce useful insights into just how far and how rapidly Turkish society had changed between the closure of *Yeni İnci* in 1923 and its launch in 1956.

So, if in the early republican decades there was nothing similar to *İnci*, what were the women who had cut their teeth on *İnci* and its predecessors reading, and how were the careers of female journalists developing? Among the pioneering female journalists and writers mentioned in Chapter Two, only a few took up the cudgels on behalf on social justice and democracy.

In 1919, whilst most women journalists went quietly about their careers, a woman who was to become one of the most radical female political journalists in the history of Turkish journalism, appeared on the scene.<sup>753</sup>

The Ottoman era did not just suddenly end and another, the republican period, begin equally suddenly; it had been an evolving process which was reflected in the development of the press and journalism.

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<sup>752</sup> It falls outside the scope of this research since it began publication in 1956.

<sup>753</sup> In the same year that Simavi launched *İnci*.

Sabiha Sertel was, concurrently with the last years of the Ottoman women's press, propelled into the world of political journalism. The research into the Ottoman women's press and women who followed careers in journalism, confirms that there were bold women journalists from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, but Sabiha Sertel's activities were in an entirely different league. She was no exception to the rule that the majority of female journalists had above average education. Before she went to Primary school, in a suburb of Salonica, her mother taught her to read and write, and eventually, courtesy of an American philanthropist, she read for a degree in sociology in the United States.

The majority of the information available on Sabiha Sertel consists of some contemporary articles<sup>754</sup>, and what has been written either by herself or members of her family. Drawing on this material and personal interviews with her daughter, Dr. Yıldız Sertel, it is perhaps inevitable that what I write about her may appear to be unduly sympathetic. Had any other material been available this would have helped to stave off any criticism about objectivity, but since she was denounced as a communist<sup>755</sup>, and rejected by the majority of the people, few outside her family have attempted to chronicle and evaluate her life's work. In a way she wrote herself out of the subsequent history books.

The length of Sabiha Sertel's career and the attention which she attracted does not diminish the work of either those female journalists who preceded her, or those who were her contemporaries. It is just that Sabiha Sertel was unique and her career development and personal life followed a unique path.

Sabiha Sertel was born in 1897 but did not become directly involved with the world of journalism until 1919. At this time Turkey was in a state of political upheaval which, four years later, resulted in the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

For all of her working life she used journalism as an instrument for social change, in particular in the fight for democracy. Others had attempted to use literature, in the form of novels and plays, to do the same. Her predecessors did,

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<sup>754</sup> In, for example the *Milliyet*, *İkdam* newspapers and *Hareket*, *Yedi Gün* and *Halka Doğru* magazines.



on occasion, comment on innovative political and social phenomena. For example, magazines such as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*,<sup>756</sup> which, as already noted, was an organ of a society formed to promote women's rights, were particularly active in this field. Had she been born at the time, Sabiha Sertel would have been aware of the vigorous correspondence and articles in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. Indeed, in the early days of her career, she may have taken a certain amount of inspiration from old copies of the magazine.

In the new republican era she was the most fearless and outspoken female journalist. Many Ottoman Turkish women journalists may have feared social censure, and in particular, the disapproval of male relatives and, with the declaration of the Turkish Republic, this fear did not vanish overnight. Fortunately for Sabiha Sertel, she was able to enjoy the whole-hearted support of her husband, and, safe in the knowledge that she would not be censured by him, she did not need to moderate what she wrote. Another way in which she differed from many earlier female journalists was that she championed rights for all, not just women, and eschewed publications which only targeted half the population.

Chapter Two established that women journalists were making their mark, but there was still a long way to go when Sabiha embarked upon her career. The high failure rate in the Ottoman Turkish women's press, was replicated well into the republican period; casualties among publications (in the women's press and in the general press), which fell from favour both for financial and political reasons were high. Throughout her career this state of affairs was to be familiar to Sabiha Sertel.

Sabiha's family were *dönme*,<sup>757</sup> and her mother, allegedly the only literate woman in her suburb,<sup>758</sup> had learnt to read and write from the local boys who

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<sup>755</sup> The controversy about the events surrounding her exile was debated in the press, but because she was coupled with her husband as *Sertel'ler* (The Sertels), this material does not form part of the research.

<sup>756</sup> Published from 1895-1908.

<sup>757</sup> Sefardic Jews who had been expelled from Spain in the 15th Century and, having settled in the Ottoman Empire, had embraced Islam in the 17th Century.

<sup>758</sup> See Sertel, Sabiha *Roman Gibi*. İstanbul: Ant Yayınları 1969:23. *Roman Gibi* is her autobiography (published in 1969) for the period 1919-1950. For a brief criticism of some of its shortcomings see: Özpallabıyıklar, Selahattin in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper (*parasız ek*), 29 September 1994, 1; 4; 5.

attended school.<sup>759</sup> When her parents divorced her mother took on the responsibility of educating their children.<sup>760</sup> From such an unpromising beginning, Sabiha Sertel was to emerge to fight for democracy and against injustice, as Ottoman Turkey evolved into republican Turkey.<sup>761</sup>

Sabiha married Zekeriya Bey (1890-1980) in 1915<sup>762</sup> (the surname Sertel was added in 1937 under the law which required Turks to adopt a surname). Theirs was an unusual marriage even for a time when the bride and groom often met their partners for the first time on their wedding day. He proposed to her by letter<sup>763</sup> whilst he was studying under Emile Dürkheim at the Sorbonne.<sup>764</sup> Before writing to her directly he had approached her brothers for consent, but they refused on the grounds that girls from their community of *dönme* did not marry Turks, but married amongst their own people. Her brothers were persuaded to change their minds, and Sabiha married a man whom she only knew through their correspondence<sup>765</sup> whilst he was working for *Yeni Felsefe Dergisi* (New Philosophy Magazine) in Salonica between 1912 and 1913.<sup>766</sup>

From the community relations point of view their marriage was an adventurous

<sup>759</sup> See Chapter 1 for references to educational opportunities open to girls.

<sup>760</sup> Sabiha's brothers, Mecdi and Hidayet Derviş, were to become prosperous businessmen.

<sup>761</sup> According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, for decades after her forced retirement from journalism in 1945, her name was almost never uttered without the word "communist".

<sup>762</sup> There is some confusion about her age, because, according to Dr. Yıldız Sertel's biography, she was 20 when she married, but a photograph in the same book shows her as newly married in 1915 which means that she was 18. See Sertel, Yıldız *Annem Sabiha Sertel Kimdi, Neler Yazdı?* İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları 1994:89.

<sup>763</sup> The text of his proposal was:

"Dear Sabiha, Both you and your writing, which I greatly respect, are familiar to me. I am on the verge of completing my studies in Paris but am finding it difficult to manage on my own far away from my country. You have a reputation as a serious and studious young woman from a good family. Should you care to, we could study in Paris together. I could arrange for you to be brought here and having married we could study together. I need an educated female friend with whom I can share my life and build a home. In anticipation that you will receive my proposal positively and reply likewise. My respects. M. Zekeriya." See Sertel 1994:66.

<sup>764</sup> The *Maarif Nezareti* (Ministry of Education) sent a group of young people to Paris in 1913 to complete their education. See the *Günaydın* newspaper: 8th March 1977.

<sup>765</sup> Initiated by her. Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel.

<sup>766</sup> According to Zekeriya "The aims of this magazine were to obliterate the bad legacy left by the Ottoman Empire and to rid the country of foreign influence. Along with those of Ziya Gökalp's *Genç Kalemler* (Young Writers) our efforts exploded like a bomb in society." See Sertel, Zekeriya İstanbul: 8th March 1977, extract from *Hatırladıklarım* in the *Günaydın* newspaper. *Hatırladıklarım* is Zekeriya Sertel's memoir of his career as a journalist and newspaper proprietor. See Sertel, Zekeriya *Hatırladıklarım*. İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları 1977.

step. Dr. Nazım from the *İttihat ve Terakki Merkez Komitesi* (Central office of the Committee of Union and Progress) asked if they were aware of the great strides they were making towards improving race relations between the two communities. He applauded their decision and congratulated them on their vision and announced their marriage in the press because it was a unique occasion.

In 1919 their home in Cağaloğlu, which belonged to Abdullah Cevdet,<sup>767</sup> became a centre for intellectuals to congregate and discuss developments in Turkey. Their modest apartment was the equivalent of a small *salon* without the usual trappings of wealth.<sup>768</sup> It was in this house that Sabiha and Zekeriya Sertel embarked on their first joint publishing venture. In İstanbul on 6th March 1919, they launched *Büyük Mecmua* (Great magazine), a fortnightly publication which only lasted for 17 issues. Even then their vision was broad because, unusually, the magazine also produced issues for the regions. Writers who were later to become household names gave their services free. Among them were: Ömer Seyfettin, Ali Canip (Yöntem), Falih Rıfkı (Atay), Yusuf Ziya (Ortaç), Orhan Seyfi (Orhon), Faruk Nafiz (Çamlıbel), Köprülüzade Fuat, Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul) and Reşat Nuri (Güntekin).

In one of the early issues of the magazine (27th March 1919) they joined in the debate about tertiary education for women. Sabiha Sertel wrote in her autobiography that, although at that time she was ideologically immature and had not contributed to the article published in *Büyük Mecmua*, she had nevertheless subsequently fought for equality on every front.

A leading topic in the press was "should co-education be permitted at tertiary level?"<sup>769</sup> Many saw this as a progressive and essential move, but some religious

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<sup>767</sup> According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, Abdullah Cevdet, their landlord, was a British Secret Service agent, who sent his young daughter into the young Sertels' meetings in his house so that she could report back to him what they were discussing. Cevdet had previously been exiled to Egypt for promoting atheism as the solution for some of the cultural ills of the country, and for proposing that the alphabet should be changed from Arabic to Latin letters. Alphabet reforms had first been discussed in a serious manner in the 1860s by Enver Paşa. See Cunbur, Müjgan *Tanzimatın Kütüphaneciliğimize Etkileri* Belleten Vol 28 No 112 1964.

<sup>768</sup> These were to come later.

<sup>769</sup> For earlier debates about the same subject see Chapter 1:29 ff. For references to women at the university in 1914, see Chapter 1:19. According to M. Pernot, two years after this topic was first aired by the Sertels, the first female medical student was accepted at the

leaders, backed by the rector of the university, opposed the proposal on the grounds that it was contrary to the *Şeriat*. The university authorities proposed that men and women should attend separate lectures.<sup>770</sup> In the early years the female students were in a separate building, so in effect the proposal was a small step in the right direction.<sup>771</sup> When this and other early articles about tertiary education were published she had not yet attended university herself.

Initially, Sabiha Sertel's role in *Büyük Mecmua* was to deliver articles to the censor but, later in 1919, she was forced to undertake the production of the magazine herself.<sup>772</sup> According to Zekeriya Sertel, the responsibility for running the publication fell on her because of his demanding job in the Immigration Office. Later, during the British occupation of İstanbul (1919-1923), he was imprisoned by the authorities because he, with some of the contributors to *Büyük Mecmua*, was allegedly planning insurrection against the occupation. Also arrested with him was Hasan-Ali Yücel, who was later to become the Minister for Education under whom the *Köy Enstitüleri*<sup>773</sup> (Village Institutes) were established. It is possible that getting her to produce the magazine had nothing to do with his work load. He must have been aware that he was "treading on dangerous ground" with some of his associations, and therefore distanced himself before he was arrested.

Zekeriya Sertel was the official licence holder for *Büyük Mecmua* but, since detainees were barred from business, Sabiha Sertel had to go to the prison where he was being held<sup>774</sup> and get him to transfer the licence to her. Thus, she became a newspaper publisher. Although she makes very little reference to the fact in any of her writing, she was, by then, a mother and very busy housewife.

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Faculty of Medicine in İstanbul University. See Pernot, Maurice *La Question Turque*. Paris: B Grasset 1923:160.

<sup>770</sup> Sertel 1969:20.

<sup>771</sup> Women in England were similarly treated. They were not admitted to Cambridge lectures until 1863 and London lectures until 1878. Even then no degrees were awarded. They were sent certificates of achievement, but their names were not on the university lists. Oxford did not grant degrees to women until 1920 and Cambridge waited until 1948.

<sup>772</sup> Interview with Dr. Yıldız Sertel.

<sup>773</sup> See Chapter 1:49 ff.

<sup>774</sup> On occasion there is a tendency in the source material to over-state certain situations and events. Dr. Yıldız Sertel and Sabiha made Zekeriya Sertel's period in gaol sound lengthy, but according to his autobiography he was only there for a brief period.

The list of other inmates, in the same gaol now reads like entries in a Turkish "Who's Who". Ziya Gökalp was described as a "light for us all"<sup>775</sup> whilst, by contrast, the historian Fuat Köprülü "kept himself to himself".<sup>776</sup>

When Sabiha told Halide Edip that she was going to produce *Büyük Mecmua* herself, evidently she replied "*sen daha çocuksun*" (you are still a child) to which Sabiha replied "*yavaş yavaş büyüyeceğim*". (gradually I will grow up). Halide Edip offered to write the headlines for the İzmir editions.<sup>777</sup>

Halide Edip's apparent naïveté in political matters is touched upon in Zekeriya Sertel's memoirs. He claimed that although she made fiery and inspirational speeches, when it came to understanding the American position, she was completely ignorant. He also wrote that she did not believe that America was an imperialist country, nor that the mandate they were seeking with Turkey was anything other than a formality to save Turkey from British interference. Zekeriya Sertel acknowledged that, although she was well intentioned, she had no notion of world politics. Nevertheless he praised her patriotism.<sup>778</sup> On the day when Halide Edip delivered her most famous speech in Sultanahmet the Sertels were with her and were distributing free copies of *Büyük Mecmua* to the crowd.<sup>779</sup>

The first issue of *Büyük Mecmua* with Sabiha Sertel as licensee was, at the suggestion of Ömer Seyfettin, printed with a black cover to signify that, because they were under occupation, the country and the people were in mourning.<sup>780</sup> Colonel Armstrong, the official British censor<sup>781</sup>, whose job it was to control the press, closed the magazine down because Sabiha Sertel had refused to fill in the

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<sup>775</sup> A pun on his name.

<sup>776</sup> Sertel 1977:85-87.

<sup>777</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1999.

<sup>778</sup> Whilst studying in New York, Zekeriya Sertel wrote an appreciative article about Halide Edip for the *New York Times*. Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1999.

<sup>779</sup> According to Zekeriya Sertel, this day was to be the most exciting of her life. See Sertel 1977:93-95.

<sup>780</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1999.

<sup>781</sup> Sertel 1969:34-35. Whether Colonel Armstrong had command of Ottoman Turkish is not clear, but according to Cevdet Kudret, the censors often made mistakes, particularly where Ottoman script was involved. The consequences of some of these mistakes were on occasion amusing whilst at other times they were more serious. See Kudret 1977.

blank spaces. His censor's pen had deleted material which was considered sensitive, provocative or politically unacceptable. She had printed the issue with gaps, which made the text discontinuous, so that it was obvious that it had been censored.

When *Büyük Mecmua* ceased publication (in late 1919) Sabiha and her husband Zekeriya were offered an opportunity to study in America. Halide Edip had been approached to put forward the names of six young Turkish people who would benefit from free education in the USA. The project was funded by Charles R. Crane<sup>782</sup>, an American<sup>783</sup> businessman who came to Turkey as part of the King-Crane Commission to investigate ways of bringing lasting peace to the countries which had made up the Ottoman Empire. Halide Edip had acted as interpreter for Dr. Henry Churchill King and Charles Crane. The committees for which Halide Edip interpreted were the Committee for the Protection of Thrace and the Committee for the Protection of the six Oriental *Vilayets*.<sup>784</sup>

The Sertels had long aspired to completing their education and studying together but, although they had qualms about leaving<sup>785</sup> their country in circumstances which they considered dire, they seized the opportunity because it was too great to miss.<sup>786</sup> Usually there are conditions attached to scholarships, but no suggestion has been found that anything was required from them in return. Zekeriya studied journalism at Columbia University and Sabiha, having first mastered English at Barnard College, attended the New York School of Social Work. Her husband, true to his word to treat his wife as his equal, shared domestic duties and the care of their small daughter Sevim<sup>787</sup> whilst Sabiha studied.

During this period she was introduced to the writings of August Bebel who had

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<sup>782</sup> Charles Crane was a board member of the trustees of Robert College in İstanbul, and president of the board of trustees of İstanbul Women's College.

<sup>783</sup> Howard, Harry *The King-Crane Commission, An American Enquiry in the Middle East*. London: Constable & Co 1963:36-37.

<sup>784</sup> For further details of Halide Edip's involvement see Edip, Halide *The Turkish Ordeal*. New York: Century 1928:58-61.

<sup>785</sup> They were in America between 1919 and 1923.

<sup>786</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1999.

been the leader of the German Social Democratic movement in the 1870s. She became intrigued by his *Women under Socialism* and came to regard it as a milestone in her education.<sup>788</sup>

Having gained a degree in sociology, she became active among the expatriate Turkish community. She helped some of the immigrant Turkish workers in America to establish voluntary foundations, to form their own *Türk Teavün Cemiyeti* (mutual benefit society) and similar organizations. One of these funded an orphanage in Turkey for children dispossessed by the war. At the same time she arranged tuition for those Turkish workers who had yet to master the English language. She also helped them to buy land in Brooklyn for a Muslim cemetery, rather than see them buried, contrary to their beliefs, in a Christian cemetery.<sup>789</sup>

It was during her studies in America that she acquired sociological and educational skills to match those of her husband. She was to put these to use in Turkey when sociology was still an almost unknown science.

She and Zekeriya recruited the students in the New York School of Higher Education to produce *Birlik* (Union), a pamphlet which addressed not only the topical problems of the Turkish community in America but also the situation in Turkey.

In 1923 the Sertels returned to Turkey to live in Ankara, the new Turkish capital. She was concerned for the welfare of the local children and proposed to the authorities in Ankara that she conduct a complete social survey to analyse the condition of their health, housing, education and welfare. She argued that *bir derde derman bulabilmek için her şeyden önce derdin ne olduğunu bilmek gerekir* (in order to find a solution to a problem, that problem first needs to be defined). She had hoped to apply the scientific methods which she had acquired at the New York School of Social Work, but her proposal was rejected, not for methodological, but for political reasons.

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<sup>787</sup> In 1970 Sevim wrote *A Turk named O'Brien*, her autobiography but, according to her sister, Dr. Yıldız Sertel, it is devoid of scholarly merit and remains unpublished.

<sup>788</sup> In 1935 she translated it into Turkish although the result was not published. This is not surprising, as during this period little distinction was made between socialism and communism and the latter was an abhorrence to the authorities.

<sup>789</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel.

*The Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* (Child Welfare Organization), of which the Sertels were members, had Mustafa Kemal as its honorary president. Sabiha claimed that his wife, Latife Hanım, gave the following reason why the project would be rejected: "It is a well prepared project, but inappropriate for our country; surveys such as this can only be conducted in the USA, we lack suitable conditions to achieve this."<sup>790</sup>

The Sertels had returned from America full of optimism and hope for a new social structure. Sabiha Sertel had plans to set up a commune for orphaned and poor children and her husband was enthusiastic about his job as the Director General of the Press, but within six months both of them were to be disappointed. She had her proposal obstructed, and he resigned because censorship was to be re-imposed on the press.

In her autobiography, *Roman Gibi*, she described Ankara as a ramshackle, filthy place which had suffered just as much as everywhere else in Anatolia during the War of Independence; housing conditions were dreadful, the streets were full of hungry people who could not afford proper clothing and there was no sign of any social structure.

In order to appreciate the enormous change in the Sertels' environment when they moved from the United States to Ankara, one might look at *Ankara*, a novel written by Yakup Kadri (eleven years later) in 1934. The comparative barrenness of Ankara at the time is well described. The story, set in three different periods, one of which was during the establishment of the new capital, described how oppressive life there could be in comparison with İstanbul. Selma Hanım, the main female character in the novel thought that the town resembled a rock in the middle of the desert and refused to look out of the window because what she saw was so depressing.<sup>791</sup>

Later in 1923, having found Ankara disappointing, the Sertels returned to İstanbul and, with her brothers Mecdi and Hidayet Derviş as the principal

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<sup>790</sup> Sertel 1969:81.

<sup>791</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri *Ankara*. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi 1972:27.



financial backers, they founded *Resimli Ay* (Illustrated Monthly)<sup>792</sup> magazine. Mecdi and Hidayet Derviş must have known that controversial articles, provided they didn't fall foul of the authorities, would ensure good circulation figures, with consequential healthy returns on their investment.

Zekeriya Sertel had learned his craft well in America and employed all the latest American layout techniques coupled with eye-catching illustrations.<sup>793</sup> The Sertels printing press was the most technically advanced printing and publishing house in Turkey at the time. *Resimli Ay* magazine was a financial success, bringing sufficient wealth to its owning partnership to finance expansion with the addition of *Resimli Perşembe* (Illustrated Thursday).<sup>794</sup> Sixty issues of the monthly *Resimli Ay* were produced from 1924 until 1930. Influential staff members and well known contributors ensured that this magazine enjoyed a high reputation.

From the very beginning of *Resimli Ay*, Sabiha Sertel wrote controversial headlines and articles. Her main aim was, as always, to expose injustice, deprivation and deceit. Zekeriya Sertel said of the magazine "*şiarımız hürriyet ve demokrasi idi*" (our trademark was freedom and democracy).<sup>795</sup>

In the May 24, 1924 issue of *Resimli Ay* she wrote "Mehmetçiğe saygıyı ne zaman öğreneceğiz?" (When are we going to learn to respect the common man?). She had been astonished to see a soldier guarding the Ottoman Bank, and wanted to know by what right he had been posted there as an armed guard on a foreign bank when other banks were not similarly guarded. As a result of this article she was sent for questioning by the public prosecutor.<sup>796</sup> He accused her of being communist, because only such people were against individual wealth. She defended her article and, on this occasion, she escaped being put on

<sup>792</sup> When the alphabet was changed to Latin letters in 1928, *Resimli Ay* Matbaası (publishing house) was the first to print a newspaper (*Türkçe Gazete*) using the new letters. Interview with Dr. Yıldız Sertel.

<sup>793</sup> Saime Göksu writes that credit should be given to Nazım Hikmet for introducing typographical and layout innovations to the Sertels, but these techniques were well known to them long before Nazım Hikmet appeared on the scene. See Göksu & Timms *Romantic Communist The Life and work of Nazım Hikmet*. London: Christopher Hurst 1998:85.

<sup>794</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel.

<sup>795</sup> The *Günaydın* newspaper, İstanbul 10 March 1977 extract from Sertel 1977.

trial. Not long after the article, the armed soldier disappeared from the steps of the Ottoman Bank.<sup>797</sup>

It was not only her writing for *Resimli Ay* which caught the eye of the public prosecutor. In 1924 Yunus Nadi (Abahoğlu) had launched the *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi* (Republic Newspaper) and Sabiha Sertel was offered her own column. The majority of her articles in the *Cumhuriyet* were about religion, health, family matters and traditional forms of literature, particularly poetry. Some of her articles were concerned with topical sociological problems. To gain an accurate picture of social conditions she sought feedback from the readers. These opinions were published along with her own observations. True to form, she criticized the government for being unable, in her view, to formulate a proper social structure. As a result she was tried but acquitted of causing unrest. She claimed that, although she was acquitted, the people she was trying to help were not, and that their suffering continued.

Never one to mince words, she headlined an article in *Resimli Ay* "Satılık Çocuk Beşyüz Liraya"<sup>798</sup> (Child for sale for 500 Liras) which exposed a man whom she had found crouched in the street yelling to passers-by that he had a child for sale. This was not an infant but a child old enough to work; in effect the child was being sold as a slave.<sup>799</sup> She was so outraged by what she had seen that she had to bring it to the attention of the public. Headlines such as "How can begging be outlawed?" and "People living the lives of cavemen in İstanbul" were typical examples.

Focusing on the dystopia that, not only İstanbul but also the rest of Turkey had become, developed into a personal crusade for her. The wealthy were able to insulate themselves from some of the discomforts of everyday life, but many of the poor had to endure harsh conditions. Through her articles, she ensured that details of their plight remained in the public domain. Four years earlier the front cover of *İnci* magazine<sup>800</sup> had featured a drawing of a destitute woman attempting to cook in the street. The condition of the woman reflected the

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<sup>796</sup> This was to become a frequent experience.

<sup>797</sup> Sertel 1969:99 ff.

<sup>798</sup> Issue No 4 in May 1924.

<sup>799</sup> This remark was made by Dr. Yıldız Sertel.

poverty of certain sections of society which Sabiha Sertel sought to expose. Whereas she was making as much noise as possible about the situation, Sedat Simavi had left his readership to form their own opinions.

In 1931, seven years after the "Child for sale" article, Peyami Safa wrote *Fatih-Harbiye* which defined the enormous differences between social conditions between the Fatih and Harbiye districts of İstanbul. There has always been a vast difference between the lifestyles of the very rich and the very poor, but before Peyami Safa's, albeit superficial, novel it was people like Sabiha Sertel who fought to publicize the large gap between those of modest means and the poor.

Sabiha could appear to be very hard on women. In the June 1925 issue of *Resimli Ay* she wrote about the hundreds of thousands of women widowed by both the War of Independence and the First World War. Their plight was appalling, not only because of government failure to provide for the majority of them, but also because the male family members, who might, under normal circumstances, have given them shelter, were also greatly reduced in number. Many of the men who did survive were in no fit state to provide for all the women of their extended families. Sabiha campaigned for the widows to be given vocational training, not pensions. Her solution was to make them independent of State assistance. She wrote "memleket baştan başa tufeyli dullarla doludur" (the country is riddled with parasitic widows) and concluded that their integration into the workforce was the only way to improve their position.

This article was an example of her ability to set aside compassion, which she undoubtedly felt, and be totally objective. It may sound harsh but there was no alternative, since State aid was not provided for these women. Before the war, which changed the position of countless women, many of those who worked did so, not to be completely independent, but to augment the family income.<sup>801</sup> The situation was no different from that of working women in the West who usually lived with their families or in hostels for women. For a working class or middle class woman to be completely financially independent would have been exceptional.

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<sup>800</sup> Issue No 20, undated, but actual date was September 1920.

A further example in *Resimli Ay* was her article "Bizde Bir Kız Nasıl Evlenir"<sup>802</sup> (How our girls get married) which described the system of marketing daughters through a marriage broker. This article was subtitled "İzdivac Piyangosu" (Marriage lottery). She was sympathetic to all the girls who lived in fear of disapproval, either by the marriage broker or the potential mother-in-law. According to her article, many girls feared dislike or rejection on their wedding night. She wrote that:

"nobody cared whether the girl liked the man or not; she was just a commodity which had been sold just as if the purchaser were buying *iki arşın markizet* (two metres of fine lawn). Should a young woman dare to tell a member of her family that she was in love, this was immediately seen as a stain on the family's honour and drastic remedial measures were called for".

Sabiha Sertel's article made the system appear to be nothing short of a meat market. She had personal experience of the arrangement because, as a very young girl in her early teens, she had been revolted by the proposals of marriage her family had received for her. The marriage-broker was sometimes the butt of jokes in Turkish fiction<sup>803</sup>, but by the time that Sabiha Sertel came to write about the subject, the problems surrounding arranged marriages had ceased to be a groundbreaking topic.

Her approach to exposing social problems was, in Turkey, unique for the time. She defined the situation, as she saw it, formulated questions, introduced possible solutions and waited for the readership to respond, but, often, the authorities reacted instead.

During these years there was no freedom of the press, consequently there were numerous trials and court cases involving prominent journalists. After the *Şeyh Sait İsyanı*<sup>804</sup> (Kurdish uprising of 1925), a new law, *Takrir-i Sükun*, (Establishment of Public order), was brought in. This law was to have detrimental consequences for Sabiha Sertel, in that her husband was, during 1926-1927, found guilty by the *İstiklal Mahkemesi* (Court of Independence) and

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<sup>801</sup> For examples of the type of work undertaken by women in Turkish novels see Uğurcan 1983. Journalism and teaching have already been discussed as career choices.

<sup>802</sup> September 1924.

<sup>803</sup> For example see Şinasi's *Şair Evlenmesi*. İstanbul: MORPA Kültür Yayınları 1992.

exiled to *kalebentlik* (incarceration in a fortress) in Sinop.

Zekeriya Sertel had employed Cevat Şakir, later to become known as "Halikarnas Balıkcısı", who had written an article for *Resimli Ay* under the headline "Asker kaçakları nasıl asılır?" (How army deserters are hanged). This article was a personal memoir of Cevat's life in prison, where he had witnessed prisoners being stripped of all their possessions (which were given to destitute fellow prisoners) before they were taken to the gallows.<sup>805</sup> The court ruled that Zekeriya not only kept deplorable company but also that he had criticized the authorities over their reaction to the article.

Sabiha Sertel had no idea what *kalebentlik* entailed. When she made some enquiries she was told that it probably involved Zekeriya being shackled. His situation looked dramatic on paper, but he was neither incarcerated in the fortress nor shackled. He lived in a rented apartment which, eventually, Sabiha Sertel paid for by arranging for the distributors of *Resimli Ay* in Anatolia to forward the proceeds of the magazine to Sinop.

During her husband's exile, Sabiha Sertel managed to make enough money to pay for his living expenses and an occasional visit, but the responsibility for the children, support for her husband in detention and the production of the magazine became too much for her. She sent her children, who were then two and seven years old, accompanied by Zekeriya Sertel's niece, Ayşe Abla,<sup>806</sup> to live in Sinop with their father.

This would have been a very unusual step for a Turkish mother of any social class. Dr. Yıldız Sertel reported that her mother was a caring but, of necessity, preoccupied mother. She was always surrounded by her articles, both at work and at home, and even when her two daughters were at home with her, their mother's attention was frequently focused on an endless stream of visitors. As a mother she did a lot *for* them, but very little *with* them.

If one were to compare her with more typical Turkish mothers she would be

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<sup>804</sup> See Zürcher 1993:176 ff.

<sup>805</sup> Extract from an interview with Zekeriya Sertel in the *Günaydın* newspaper, İstanbul, 10 March 1977. In 1955, Hasene Ilgaz wrote an exposé of what she had earlier witnessed in a prison. See Chapter 2:91 Fn 284.

described as a more caring journalist and hostess than a mother, but this would do her maternal instincts an injustice. She was a woman of extremes and when she was concentrating on a particular problem, it was to the detriment of everything else, but, by way of compensation for her constant distractions, she had periods when she was fiercely maternal.

During her husband's absence, she produced the magazine under the name of *Sevimli Ay* (Attractive Monthly) For the new title to survive, the slant and content had to be changed, so Sabiha Sertel started to write articles which were not overtly political. Examples of some of these are; "Garp Medeniyeti Şark Medeniyetini Niçin Yendi?"<sup>807</sup> (Why did western civilization conquer eastern civilization?), "Fikre Hürmet Etmeyi Bilmelidir"<sup>808</sup> (Freedom of thought deserves respect), "Biz Neye İnanırız?"<sup>809</sup> (In what do we believe?). In the latter article she enumerated some of the difficulties which people were having with their beliefs. She observed that:

"nationalism and democracy seem to be new faiths which are replacing Islam. The young appear to worship fun and dancing and are no longer fired by a common faith. The bond of Islam which welded the country together has been broken and not replaced with anything identifiable. School text-books provide no inspiration for the nation's youth. The young no longer know what to hold sacred. There are two institutions which can help today's young people refocus on their faith: the educational system (schools) and the *Türk Ocağı* (the Turkish Hearth, a foundation for promoting cultural debate). A people who have been under absolute rule need guidance when certain freedoms are granted."<sup>810</sup>

The subject of birth control was perhaps the most controversial matter which she tackled in *Sevimli Ay*. To avoid potential charges of immorality being levelled against her, she wrote it under a male pseudonym. According to her critics, the subject should never have been raised because all methods of population control were illegal. The official author of the article was a male cousin who escaped with a fine for daring to air such a subject.

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<sup>806</sup> According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, they were more or less brought up by Ayşe Abila.

<sup>807</sup> February 1926 No 12 Vol 3.

<sup>808</sup> November 1926 No 35:11 Vol 3.

<sup>809</sup> November 1926 No 34:10 Vol 3.

<sup>810</sup> Sertel 1994:134-136.

Under the same pseudonym she wrote "Kadınlık Satılamaz" (Womanhood cannot be sold), in which she described hundreds of prostitutes queuing on the steps of the Public Health Department to be treated for venereal diseases, and to receive their certificates which stated that they had been treated and were therefore fit to resume their trade.

The author also wrote that "he" was not going to go into the details of their various ailments,<sup>811</sup> which indicated that not even she dared to be too graphic for fear of repercussions. Still using the pseudonym, she argued that the authorities should stop issuing permits, since nobody had the right to sanction women selling their bodies. She wrote that no civilized society should countenance such behaviour. She wanted women to be given equal access to all occupations just as, after the Bolshevik Revolution, the women of the former Soviet Union were. Her view was that no woman would choose prostitution as a means of earning a living if there were other options available to her. This can be disputed because of the large amounts of money a prostitute could earn.

The range of her subject matter was very broad. In *Sevimli Ay* she wrote "Niçin Hala Bab-ı ali Lisanı Kullanıyoruz?"<sup>812</sup> (Why are we still using the language of the Sublime Porte?). She criticized it on the basis that it was a totally unjustifiable way of perpetuating artificial social differences and of maintaining order. She wrote that people were accustomed to addressing one another in meaningless, fawning hypocritical terms which, according to her, had no place in a modern State. In her opinion, it was high time that the formulae used in official language were consigned to history, and that bureaucrats adopted a more intimate style of communication. She wanted all the static elements in official language purged and for them to be replaced with "dynamic progressive elements". Countries such as India and China were, according to her, fossilized in their official language which constituted a barrier to progress. She urged everybody to adopt universally comprehensible language in both their personal and official relationships.

One and a half years after he was exiled to Sinop, Zekeriya was released under

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<sup>811</sup> In the previous decade Sedat Simavi had been bold enough to carry an advertisement in *İnci* magazine for the treatment of venereal disease. See *İnci* Issue No 12 January 1919. For comments on this advertisement see Chapter 3:134.

an amnesty for certain groups of prisoners. Upon his return, *Sevimli Ay* reverted to its former title *Resimli Ay*, and with new investors *Resimli Ay Limited Şirketi* (Illustrated Monthly Ltd Company) was founded. Her brothers, Mecdi and Hidayet were still part of this arrangement. The new company restarted the publication of *Çocuk Ansiklopedisi* (Children's Encyclopaedia) which was one of their lines that Sabiha had not been able to keep going whilst running *Sevimli Ay*.<sup>813</sup> The new company not only published its own titles but also the works of prominent writers such as Vala Nurettin, Reşat Nuri and Peyami Safa who was later to become a fervent critic of Sabiha Sertel.

After Zekeriya Sertel returned from Sinop, both he and Sabiha judged it unwise to write and publish anything provocative. She was forced to refrain from commenting on what she saw as the inequalities and shortcomings of the government for fear of the magazine being closed down. She was particularly distressed by the shelving of the proposed *Çiftçiye Topraklandırma Kanunu* (Redistribution of Land to Farmers Bill)<sup>814</sup>, and the lack of progress in granting workers basic rights. She must have known that there was a fine line between what she could get away with, and what would spell the end of *Resimli Ay* and their other publications. She also had to consider her brothers' investment.

Disputes broke out among the distributors of *Resimli Ay* and *Çocuk Ansiklopedisi* and she was summoned to appear in court. Her article "Ben İnsan Değil miyim?"<sup>815</sup> (Am I not a human being?) was written as a result of one her experiences in court. During all her husband's and her own skirmishes<sup>816</sup> with the court, they were represented firstly by İrfan Emin, a lawyer friend who worked for no fee and later by Sabiha herself. She was so familiar with the penal code and the law concerning the press that she decided to represent their publications. However, when she was called as a witness, the judge refused to accept her testimony on the grounds that women could not be witnesses in

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<sup>812</sup> August 1926.

<sup>813</sup> Sabiha Sertel claimed that this was the first book to feature the word *çocuk* (child) in the title, but this was not the case. In 1882 *Çocuklara Arkadaş* (A Friend to Children) was produced, and the year before *Çocuklara Kiraat* (a reader for children) had appeared; the function of the latter was to teach children to read the Koran.

<sup>814</sup> See Chapter 1:64.

<sup>815</sup> Autumn 1926.

<sup>816</sup> She was the first Turkish female journalist to be sent for trial.



court. She maintained that the new law granted her the right, and that it was the old law of the *Şeriat* which prohibited her testifying as a witness. She accused the court officials of being ignorant of the changes in the law, and asked what use the law was if it remained hidden in documents with which the court officials did not seem to be familiar.

The *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, which was owned by Yunus Nadi, took up her cause, and a leading lawyer, Gadfranco, confirmed the situation was exactly as she had understood it. The court officials saved face by claiming that they were not about to institute a case against her but were merely interrogating her.<sup>817</sup> Victory was hers because she had highlighted the new legal rights granted under the reforms of Mustafa Kemal, and demonstrated that mere enactment of a law was useless without enforcement.

Mustafa Kemal had chosen the theory of Montesquieu, (the separation of powers, where the law is enacted by Parliament and enforced by the judiciary), as a fundamental aspect of the legal system for the new republic. In September 1928 she wrote "Mustafa Kemal'in İnkilap Programı" (Mustafa Kemal's reform programme) in which she praised the legal reforms.

It could have been of benefit to some women if at that time male support for the legal reforms had been reflected in literature. There do not appear to have been any role models of men fighting on women's behalf. When one looks at Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Ankara*, written in 1934, exactly the reverse is apparent. Selma Hanım, one of the female characters looked in vain to both her husbands for support in her effort to take advantage of her new freedoms and rights and thereby be of some benefit to society. It should however be born in mind that the legal rights granted to Turkish women were not gained as a result of a campaign by women in the same the way that, for example, English and American women had to struggle. Therefore the rights which were handed to them by Mustafa Kemal might have been far more quickly assimilated and implemented if at the same time they had been coupled with a "public information programme", aimed at both sexes, which explained how to benefit from them. Many rural women would not have heard of the legal reforms, let alone known how to take

advantage of them even if they had been aware of them. Social attitudes to women of all ranks were changing and this is clear from the women's press, but there were still plenty of people who regarded women as a commodity. Had this been more widely reflected in literature earlier then, perhaps, the benefits intended by the reforms would have been gained much more quickly.

Sabiha Sertel's treatment by court officials showed that even the articulate had to fight for their rights. This situation started to improve once the benefits of the alphabet reforms started to manifest themselves and news of the social reforms began to dribble into the public domain.

Later on, (in 1934), Memduh Şevket (Esendal) implied in his novel *Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları* (Ayaşlı and his Tenants), that one aspect of the new laws, the banning of polygynous marriages, could result in some women suffering disadvantage. Esendal, through his character Raife, suggested that when men could have only one wife, they would be more choosy; thus less attractive women, either financially or physically, who might have been chosen as second wives, were deprived of their chance of finding a husband. This stressed the message that educational rights, the freedom to work and vote, and choose a spouse should have all been accompanied by information about how to benefit from these freedoms. Had Esendal been writing a decade earlier, he might have been of enormous benefit to society because he did not just advocate educating women, but emphasized the need to educate men *about* women as well.

Sabiha Sertel was in favour of looking to the West<sup>817</sup> in order to form a civilized and prosperous society, but, there was a hint of nostalgia in her article entitled "Şark'la Olan Son Rabıtamızı da Kestik"<sup>819</sup> (We have even broken our final bond with the East) in which she outlined the changes in the new republic. She stated that, politics and religion having been separated, and a new dress code having been introduced, reformation of the alphabet was a further rejection of the links with the East. She wrote:

*Siyasi zaferle nasıl bir devir kapatmış, yeni bir devir açmış ve yeni bir devir kurmuşsak, Latin harflerin kabulü ile yine bir devir kapamış,*

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<sup>817</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel.

<sup>818</sup> Except when it came to missionary activity.

<sup>819</sup> *Resimli Ay* September 1928 No 55:7.

*eski bir kültürden medeni bir kültüre geçmiş oluyoruz. İşte Şark'la olan son rabıtamızı da burada nihayet buluyor.*

*Şarkın kısır, manasız, fikirden tamamen arı divan, mahdut, saki edebiyatına veda ediyoruz. Bugüne kadar, edebiyatımıza, musikimize tesir eden bu kültür, bugün artık Türk'ün ruhundaki bedii zevki tatmin edemez. Artık ilham ararken gözlerimizi Garp edebiyatına çevirecek, oradan ilham ve metod alacağız.*<sup>820</sup>

(Just as one era ended with political victory and another began with the acceptance of the Latin script, another period has ended and we have moved from an old to a new civilized culture. It is here that our final bond with the East is broken.

We are bidding farewell to the East's sterile, barren and restricted literature of the divan featuring the *saki* (cup bearer). The old influence upon our literature and music can no longer satisfy the new taste of the Turk. Now when seeking inspiration we will look to western literature for that inspiration and for strategy.)

She continued with her praise for the reforms by enumerating the multiple benefits to be gained. She was particularly impressed with the new Latin letter typewriter keyboards<sup>821</sup>, which allowed the production of newspapers and journals to be speeded up. She could not praise too highly the advantages of having books in Latin script and therefore easier access to western science, literature and philosophy.<sup>822</sup>

A sociological approach to feminism was not introduced in magazines until 1928, when Sabiha Sertel wrote her article "Bizde feminism bir ilim olarak var mıdır?"<sup>823</sup> (Do we regard feminism as a science?). Her daughter claimed that feminism was not really given an airing until *Hayat*<sup>824</sup> magazine addressed the topic in the same year, and that Sabiha was, typically, dipping her toe in uncharted waters.

Sabiha had set out to establish a good relationship with her readers and "Cici Anne" (Dearest mother)<sup>825</sup> was one of her most successful columns in *Resimli*

<sup>820</sup> Sertel 1994:140.

<sup>821</sup> See Chapter 3:150.

<sup>822</sup> It is of interest that in 1964 Sabiha Sertel was still making notes on small pieces of paper in Arabic script, indicating that she was completely at home with both scripts. For the proficient, the "shorthand" nature of the Arabic script lends itself to taking handwritten notes more speedily.

<sup>823</sup> *Resimli* Ay October 1928.

<sup>824</sup> In Issue No 92 of *Hayat* magazine.

<sup>825</sup> It was akin to an "Agony Aunt" column.

Ay. An example of one of the questions Sabiha posed was "Evlilik Hayatından Memnun Musunuz?"<sup>826</sup> (Are you content with married life?). She wrote that she had received dozens of letters from both wives and husbands, with the men's main complaint being exhaustion due to hard work. One of her observations was that *aille hayatının yavaş yavaş çökmekte olduğunu sezdim* (I perceived that family life was slowly collapsing). She urged her readers to write, if necessary in the most elementary language, with the details of their problems. She took care to assure them that their anonymity would be protected. What she wanted was, *bütün çıplaklığıyla* (in all its nakedness), the details of marriages and the problems which both parties encountered. Sex always sells so, just as in the English press, explicit material, provided it did not fall foul of the authorities, would have added to the circulation figures, but no such material appeared in the "Cici Anne" column.<sup>827</sup>

To many of her contemporary readers she became better known as *Cici Anne* than as Sabiha Sertel, but this side of her character<sup>828</sup> has long been overshadowed by her politics. It is more than likely that she enjoyed seeing herself as an epistolary confidante. In one of the letters sent to her, an apparently well educated married woman asked "Ahırdaki inekle aramda ne fark var?" (What is the difference between me and a cow in the barn?), because she was treated as an object which existed solely to provide for others. Another of her readers had been married off to a relative and, despite her efforts, found herself unable to love her husband. Her worry was that one day she might fall in love and be unable to control her feelings. The possible consequences were too dreadful for the woman to contemplate.

On another occasion Sabiha Sertel wrote "Dünkü ve bugünkü cemiyet kadına ahlaki eşitliği tanımaz"<sup>829</sup> (Neither past nor present society recognizes equality when it comes to matters of morality). She regarded a society, which sanctioned sexual freedom for men, whilst rejecting it for women, as completely hypocritical. She was not advocating promiscuity, but simply stating that, for both sexes, loving was a natural physical and mental human function. Given the

<sup>826</sup> *Resimli Ay* April 1929.

<sup>827</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1999.

<sup>828</sup> If indeed it was not simply a commercial ploy.

prevailing attitudes of the time, this was another controversial subject and it was brave of her to broach it.<sup>830</sup>

The alphabet and language reforms of 1928 were supported by Sabiha Sertel. To her it would have meant that a far greater number of people would have access to education and literature. Her support for the simplification of the language was clear from the style of many of her articles. At that time the *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti* (Turkish Language Scrutinizing Society, later known as *Türk Dil Kurumu*) was actively involved in purging the language of loanwords, mainly from Arabic and Persian. Experiments with the language were considered acceptable; however one of the current phrases invented to disparage language reformists was "*Türkçe değil mi? uydur, uydur söyle*", (It's Turkish isn't it? So fudge it and use it)<sup>831</sup>, which could be interpreted to mean that neologisms did not always have sound etymological roots.

During its first period of publication (1924-1928), *Resimli Ay* was, with the exception of the 13 issues produced while Zekeriya was in Sinop, a magazine which scrutinized political activity during the attempts being made to form a modern State. Fledgling democracy was not to come until 20 years later with the advent of multi-party politics in 1946, and even then it did not follow a smooth path.

During the later period (under the new company), from 1928 onwards, the contributors changed and Nazım Hikmet, who was then 27 years old, Sabahattin Ali and other writers with left wing views wrote articles for the Sertels. The content of *Resimli Ay* began to reflect the ideas of these new contributors. Sabiha Sertel wrote in *Roman Gibi* "Bu yıllar memlekette realist bir edebiyatın ilk doğuş devresi olmuştur diyebiliriz" (We can say the country saw the birth of realist literature during this period).<sup>832</sup>

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<sup>829</sup> *Resimli Ay* May 1929.

<sup>830</sup> Dr. Yıldız Sertel wrote about this matter in *Kadınlar Dünyası* No 46 October 1999.

<sup>831</sup> See Sertel, Yıldız *Ardımdaki Yıllar*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları 1990:34.

<sup>832</sup> Sertel 1969:90.

#### 4.2 NAZIM HİKMET (1902-1963) AND *RESİMLİ AY*.

Nazım Hikmet is now much better known than Sabiha Sertel, so it is sometimes assumed that Sabiha Sertel benefited more from their relationship than he did, but it could be argued that this was not the case. It would not be unfair to claim that both she and her husband were Hikmet's patrons. He was relatively unknown<sup>833</sup> when he approached *Resimli Ay* for a position, whereas the Sertels were important in literary circles; particularly in publishing. The subsequent unpopularity of both Sabiha Sertel and Nazım Hikmet was due to their political views.

In 1928 Nazım Hikmet was introduced to the Sertels by Vala Nurettin (known as Va-Nu), when the two men returned from Moscow. Vala Nurettin suggested that the Sertels should be approached about employing Nazım Hikmet as a proof reader for *Resimli Ay* but not, at that stage, as a copy contributor. Soon afterwards he started writing articles for them. At the same time the names of Nizamettin Nazif, Sadri Etem, Sabahattin Ali, Nail V. Çakırhan and Peyami Safa were proposed to the Sertels as possible contributors.

Peyami Safa had just had his book *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* (9th Surgical Ward) published.<sup>834</sup> It was a thinly disguised autobiography which dwelt on the differences between those who were conservative and eastward looking and those who had come under the influence of westernization policies.

Apart from numerous articles submitted by Müzehher Va-Nu, there were articles from Suat Derviş and Nezihe Muhittin<sup>835</sup>, but Sabiha Sertel was the leading female amongst a formidable group of liberal intellectuals. She clearly thrived on the situation. No evidence has been found that either she or her husband courted female writers, even those mentioned above, to join *Resimli Ay* as

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<sup>833</sup> One of his most well known early poems, *Kırk Haramiler* (40 Bandits), was written during the British occupation of İstanbul. It aroused great feeling among its readership, but did not establish Nazım Hikmet as the leading poet of the time.

<sup>834</sup> For Nazım Hikmet's comments about this book see Sertel 1994:145. For a critical look at Peyami Safa see Moran, Berna *Türk Romanına Eleştirel bir Bakış*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları 1983:167-179.

<sup>835</sup> She had owned *Kadın Yolu*, the organ of *Türk Kadın Birliği* (Turkish Women's Union), but it folded in 1927.

permanent contributors. The scholar Mina Urgan<sup>836</sup> matched Sabiha's intellectual ability in every way but because she was a younger and, at that time, an apolitical academic, their circles do not seem to have overlapped.

Writers such as Fevziye and Kadriye Abdürreşit, who owned the women's magazine *Asar-ı Nisvan*, or Hüviyet Bekir Bek, a distinguished writer and pedagogue did not appear in *Resimli Ay*. This could be because they may well have taken the spotlight away from Sabiha Sertel, who not only attracted plenty of attention with her articles, but who was very comfortable in the company of men. Other female contributors might have diluted her impact which could possibly have led to financial loss.<sup>837</sup> This possibility was discussed with Dr Yıldız Sertel but she did not think that her mother would have worried about such things.

The Sertels were proud of their fight for democracy, and with the arrival of Nazım Hikmet they added socialism as an ideology to be fought for. His contributions were intended to recruit readers to his socialist philosophy.

Hikmet started composing poetry in *serbest nazım* (free verse); "Makinalaşmak İstiyorum" (I want mechanization)<sup>838</sup> was the first poem in this new form which Sabiha Sertel had encountered. It was set out in a style imitating both Mayakovsky and Louis Macneice, in that the lines of certain verses visually mirrored each other. The twin shocks of the content of the poem, coupled with its visual impact, must indeed have provoked lively discussion.<sup>839</sup> Nazım Hikmet's "Yürüyen Adam" (Walking Man), written in 1929, was admired by Sabiha Sertel for its plain language and topicality.<sup>840</sup>

<sup>836</sup> Best known for her autobiography *Bir Dinozorun Anıları*, but of more relevance to the theme of this thesis was her contribution to the *Dünya Klasikleri* mentioned in Chapter 1:49 Fn166. She translated Thomas More's *Utopia* for the series.

<sup>837</sup> Ideologically this would have been unimportant to the Sertels, but their backers looked for healthy returns on their investment.

<sup>838</sup> Mechanization was vital to Hikmet's philosophy. He ignored the possible detrimental consequences for the labouring classes. In 1927 Turkey had only 65,000 industrial firms, but only 2,822 used mechanical power. The majority of these were very small artisans' workshops. See Zürcher 1993:204.

<sup>839</sup> "Makinalaşmak İstiyorum" was not the only poem by Hikmet with an unusual format. During this period "Güneş İçenlerin Türküsü" (The sunbathers' folksong), "Rodos Heykeli" (Statue at Rhodes) and "Korsan Türküsü" (Pirate folksong) were all in the same format. See Bezirci 1975:23.

<sup>840</sup> For text see Sertel 1969:169.

When it came to the poems of Nazım Hikmet, the Sertels appear keen to have credited Sabiha with introducing new subject matter in the press. It could be argued that this was not the case. For example, earlier Turkish poets, such as Tevfik Fikret, wrote about the concerns and struggles of the common man.<sup>841</sup> These works would have, from time to time, appeared in print.

As a small child Dr. Yıldız Sertel had composed "Hastalık" (Illness), a short poem using free verse. Following its publication in *Resimli Ay*, Nazım Hikmet immediately seized upon it as an example of how the new technique, combined with innovative subject matter, could be mastered by a seven year old.<sup>842</sup>

The Sertels may well have claimed that Nazım Hikmet's writing "exploded like a bomb"<sup>843</sup> in the *Babıali* (the Sublime Porte), the cultural centre of İstanbul. However, it could be argued that this trivializes other writers, who also drew on contemporary issues. The Sertels were not always quite as unique as their memoirs suggest.

Before Nazım Hikmet, poetry had reflected the transition phase in Turkish history. This is evident from the work of Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan who was one of the first poets to break with the tyranny of the *mısra* (a line of poetry which had to conform to rigid rules). A further novelty introduced by Tarhan was highly personal subject matter.<sup>844</sup>

Nazım Hikmet inflicted further blows on Turkish poetry. Some established writers with their classical techniques were apparently horrified to see tradition swept away by a graduate from Moscow. Their poems had fixed themes and inflexible subject matter and imagery. It is therefore not surprising that Nazım Hikmet was attacked by those who saw themselves as pillars of the literary establishment. Neither his approach to poetry nor his politics were to their taste.

Initially, the controversy which surrounded Nazım Hikmet's poems can have

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<sup>841</sup> For later reference to Tevfik Fikret's "Balıkçılar" see Chapter 4:265 Fn 910.

<sup>842</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel October 1999. Illness and the suffering soldier were already featured in poetry. Sedat Simavi's *İnci* magazine included several poems about the effects of war. See Chapter 3:174 ff.

<sup>843</sup> Sertel, Z., S., & Y. *Sertel'lerin Anılarında Nazım Hikmet ve Babıali*. İstanbul: Ant Yayınları 1993:11.

<sup>844</sup> In particular he wrote about identifiable women in his life. For example in "Makber" in 1885 and "Validem" in 1913.



done nothing but good for Sabiha and Zekeriya Sertel. *Resimli Ay* was the forum in which literature was being openly discussed and through which the seeds of change were being sown. Although very prominent, Nazım Hikmet was only one of several new writers given a platform in *Resimli Ay*.

Current events were reflected in some of Hikmet's verses. In "Sesinini Kaybeden Şehir" (The city which fell silent), he described the atmosphere in İstanbul during a bus drivers strike. He strived for ordinary people to be given the right to form unions and to strike, but, because the government was aware of his activities, *Resimli Ay* frequently published his works under *İmzasız Adam* (Anonymous). During this period, two of his poems, "Bahr-i Hazer" (Caspian Sea) and "Salkımsöğüt" (Weeping willow), were recorded by His Master's Voice. They were very popular with the public and even those who did not have access to a gramophone could listen to them in the numerous coffee houses. The records in the coffee houses were all seized by the authorities who, using the laws governing public entertainment, had declared them illegal. To have chosen to forbid these two records seems strange at first glance, as they do not appear to be political in any sense; one was about a horseman and the other about a rough journey in the Caspian Sea. On closer scrutiny, the inferences which could have been drawn from them might explain the wariness of the authorities.

According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, Sabiha was more closely involved with Nazım Hikmet than Zekeriya. She spent long periods with him in the editing room. Just how risky her support was will be shown later, when he became the main reason why the publication was closed down by its major shareholders.

"Putları Kırma Savaşı"<sup>845</sup> (Iconoclasm), was one of many *Resimli Ay* campaigns. This time Sabiha Sertel and Nazım Hikmet set about attacking established writers such as Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan<sup>846</sup>, Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul)<sup>847</sup> and Namık Kemal. These were men with towering literary reputations of whom Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver had said that, along with Şinasi and Sezai, they had given the Turks a *vatan* (motherland).

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<sup>845</sup> For other views of their campaign against literary icons see: Tanrıöver, Hamdullah Suphi "Putlar Nasıl Kırılır" (How to demolish idols) the *İkdam* newspaper, July 7th 1929 and Tevetoğlu, Fethi *Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver)*. Ankara: 1983:180-183.

<sup>846</sup> In June 1929 Issue.

As a result of the iconoclastic campaign, Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan invited Hikmet to dine, and when the invitation arrived Hikmet is alleged to have said "*Atatürk'ün davetini reddettim ama, bir şairin davetini reddedemem*" (I rejected Atatürk's invitation but I cannot reject the invitation of a poet). The article which attacked Tarhan read:

"In this issue we are beginning a new struggle. Our aim is to lift the precious veil with which we have cloaked unworthy idols whom we ourselves have raised. Our goal is to save our youth from worshipping such false idols".

In the next issue, which put Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul) in the firing line, they wrote "The second idol due for a fall, is the poet who, for no good reason, is known as a national poet or a Turkish poet."<sup>848</sup>

Much to Hikmet's surprise, during the dinner, Tarhan told him that what he was doing was right and that in his day he also had been regarded as iconoclastic for demolishing classical traditions.

It could be argued that, through Sabiha Sertel and *Resimli Ay*, Nazım Hikmet gained a platform as a poet and that his efforts were, in effect, given the seal of approval by Tarhan who, in his heyday, had, in the literary field, been equally controversial.

None of the counter-attacks led by Tanrıöver, and the debunking of the material on which Sabiha Sertel and Nazım Hikmet had based their campaign, is mentioned in any of the material written by members of the Sertel family.

*Resimli Ay* countered the criticism emanating from Tanrıöver and Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu)<sup>849</sup> by saying that the *Türk Ocağı* (which had Tanrıöver as its president) was "feathering the nests" of its members. It was implied that their common activities had resulted in "ill-gotten gains", and that the members were

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<sup>847</sup> In July 1929 Issue.

<sup>848</sup> Tevetoğlu observed that this was the first time that anybody had dared be so disrespectful of such people. See Tevetoğlu 1983:182-183. Tanrıöver was involved in the ensuing quarrel. He accused Hikmet of inciting unrest. See Tevetoğlu 1983:184-185 for the text of Tanrıöver's counter-campaign. He mentioned one of Nazım Hikmet's poems, in which he celebrates handcuffed men who happily anticipate the hangman's noose. There are references to the campaign being commented on in the *Pravda*, *Izvestiya*, *Halka Doğru*, *Hareket* and *Milliyet* newspapers.

<sup>849</sup> Karaosmanoğlu's reputation was dented as a result of the correspondence surrounding the "iconoclasm" campaign.

"covering up" for each other.<sup>850</sup>

Despite the cacophony emanating from the press, Nazım Hikmet stuck to his philosophy and suggested two new columns to be written by Sabiha Sertel. One was called "Görüyoruz ki" (We observe that) which had a picture of a pair of eyes at the top of the column and the other was called "Duyuyoruz ki" (We hear that) which featured a pair of ears. The content of these columns was usually critical exposés of the authorities. Examples were "Görüyoruz: Hastanelerden parasız diye kovulan insanlar"<sup>851</sup> (The people are being turned away from hospital because they are poor), "Polis karakollarında ağızlarından kan gelinceye kadar dövülen insanlar olduğunu"<sup>852</sup> (There are people being beaten in the police cells until blood comes out of their mouths) and "Öğle sıcığında sokaklarda yatan işçileri"<sup>853</sup> (Workmen lying in the streets in the mid-day heat). What had infuriated Sabiha Sertel was that a daily paper had featured an article complaining about the effect that workmen sleeping in the heat of the day, in full view of the public, might have on foreign visitors. She explained that they only littered the streets because there was no social structure in existence to provide rest facilities for them. She derided the *sahte milliyetperver* (false patriot) and defended the hapless workmen who, allegedly, were causing public offence.

"Hakkını arıyan köylülerin iplerle bağlandığını"<sup>854</sup> (That villagers seeking their rights were tied up with rope) highlighted the insensitive and inhuman way in which ordinary villagers had been treated during a dispute over an area of forestry. According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, Sabiha could not have written that such activities were illegal because the people involved had no rights.

Sabiha mounted a campaign against foreign missionaries in Turkey<sup>855</sup> and tried to get the American Girls' School closed down.<sup>856</sup> She claimed that they were duping young Muslim girls into converting to Christianity. In the "Görüyoruz

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<sup>850</sup> *Resimli Ay* August 1929.

<sup>851</sup> June 1930.

<sup>852</sup> June 1930.

<sup>853</sup> August 1930.

<sup>854</sup> September 1930.

<sup>855</sup> This subject was not new, the *İkdam* and *Volkan* newspapers both featured articles of a similar nature in 1908/09. See "Taasup Kimde?" (Bigotry rests with whom?) *Volkan Gazetesi* Issue No 27 İstanbul 1909.

ki" column in *Resimli Ay* she wrote "We see whose agent the missionaries are" and in "Duyuyoruz ki" "Misyonerlerin Memleketimizde Sinsi Sinsi İlerleyen Ayak Seslerini" (We hear the sly creeping footsteps of the missionaries in our country). In her introductory article about mission schools she wrote:

*Memleketimizin her tarafındaki mektepleriyle, yeni başlayan neşriyatlarıyla gençlerimizi zehirlemeye ve çocuklarımızın kafasına ve ruhuna hakim olmaya çalışan misyonerlerin Türkiye'de ne işleri var?*

(What business do the missionaries have in Turkey who, with their schools and publications, try to poison our youth and capture the mind and soul of our children?)<sup>857</sup>

She gave the impression that there was a limit to what even she would tolerate in the name of education. She felt compelled to expose what she saw as subversive activity. She also had an aversion to members of the Bible Society who, in the name of cultural exchange, distributed free Bibles written in Turkish.<sup>858</sup>

The YMCA did not escape her pen. She attacked its global activities which, according to her, were destabilizing, Americanising and, under the guise of humanitarianism, globally evangelizing on behalf of Christianity. She may well have taken this stance in full knowledge of the fact that anybody who supported Muslims against allegedly subversive Christians<sup>859</sup> was likely to gain popularity. Consequently more readers would have been attracted to *Resimli Ay*.

It was not, according to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, Nazım Hikmet's intention to start a literary revolution. Through the columns in *Resimli Ay*, he attempted to raise the consciousness of the working classes, and to get them to organize themselves in a country where no legal rights for workers existed. Sabiha Sertel wrote that when letters about both the "Görüyoruz ki" and "Duyuyoruz ki" columns in *Resimli Ay* were sent in from working class men, Nazım Hikmet behaved as if he had received a love letter.<sup>860</sup>

Nazım Hikmet introduced Sabiha Sertel to other "promising" writers and, when

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<sup>856</sup> Later, she sent her daughter to the same school, but by this time it had come under the control of the Turkish Ministry of Education.

<sup>857</sup> Sertel 1994:149.

<sup>858</sup> Sertel 1969:145.

<sup>859</sup> Her daughter Sevim married an Irish Catholic.

Sabahattin Ali returned from Germany,<sup>861</sup> *Resimli Ay* began to play a part in the development of his literary career. Some of his short stories were published in *Resimli Ay*, but Nazım Hikmet apparently deemed them too romantic. He wanted Sabahattin Ali to adopt a more realistic approach to his writing and to be more involved in class struggles. Under the guidance of Hikmet, and encouraged by the Sertels, Sabahattin Ali's first full length novel, *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, was printed by the *Resimli Ay* press.<sup>862</sup> The novel was set between 1903 and 1915 and concerned Muazzez, a young girl who married Kuyucaklı Yusuf, and whose marriage ended in her death. It could be argued that the Sertels printed *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* because it concerned poor social conditions in rural areas and the effect that stifling community opinion could have upon young lives.

Sabiha Sertel fought for republican women to be able to grasp the advantages available to them, but it was to be many years before their rights began to be reflected in literature.<sup>863</sup> The same freedom and rights which pre-Islamic Turkish women had taken for granted, as represented in the *destan* (epic poem) and *efsane* (fable, myth), were not to be featured until the second half of the 20th century. The exceptions to this were female teachers and nurses who did appear in some early republican literature, as brave young women embarking upon modern careers.<sup>864</sup> However, in these novels, the fate of many of them was infelicitous.

The presence of Nazım Hikmet meant that *Resimli Ay* became increasingly involved with socialist ideology. It was during this era that Sabiha Sertel consolidated many of the views which were later to have her tainted with the "communist" label which was to stick with her for the rest of her life.

Several young left wing writers had followed Nazım Hikmet as contributors to *Resimli Ay*, which, by then, had become the main leftist magazine. Members of

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<sup>860</sup> Sertel 1993:17.

<sup>861</sup> He studied in Germany between 1928 and 1930.

<sup>862</sup> It was not serialised in *Resimli Ay*. According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, they printed it in the early 1930s but, according to Bahriye Çeri it was not published until 1937. See Çeri, Bahriye *Türk Romanında Kadın*. İstanbul: Simurg Yayınları 1996:169.

<sup>863</sup> Although Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar had a working girl as the main character in *Tutuşmuş Gönüller*, written in 1922.

<sup>864</sup> E.g. Halide Edip's *Vurun Kahpeye* in which the heroine was a teacher. First serialised in the *Akşam* newspaper in 1923, and published in book form in 1926.

its staff were frequently accused and found guilty of crimes against the State. During their many periods in detention, Sabiha Sertel contributed more articles herself. *Resimli Ay* was closed down in 1930 by Sabiha Sertel's two brothers who, although her business partners, did not share her ideology. The magazine's association with Nazım Hikmet had affected its commercial viability.<sup>865</sup>

The Sertels took their partners to court to regain control of the magazine, but the court ruled in favour of her brothers who had been their financial backers. Nazım Hikmet claimed that the YMCA, the Panturkists in the *Türk Ocağı*, the police and others plotted together in order to bring about the downfall of *Resimli Ay*.<sup>866</sup>

Sabiha Sertel wrote in her memoir of Nazım Hikmet<sup>867</sup> that a circulation figure of 15,000 for a magazine was, in those days, unheard of. Zekeriya Sertel blamed the closure of *Resimli Ay* on the alphabet reform of 1928.<sup>868</sup> In his memoirs he wrote that the circulation figures fell once Latin script became compulsory. The argument here is that the bulk of the population, even in İstanbul: would, initially, have had minimal reading skills. Even the literate classes would have taken time to get up to speed with the new script. During the initial years of the Latin alphabet usage, all newspapers and magazines experienced circulation problems.<sup>869</sup>

The closure of *Resimli Ay* meant the end of the professional relationship between the Sertels and Nazım Hikmet, but they remained friends. Without the courage shown by, in particular, Sabiha Sertel, a very influential leftwing Turkish writer might have found it much more difficult to get his work into print regularly.

In 1940 Sabahattin Ali published his book *İçimizdeki Şeytan*<sup>870</sup> (The Devil within Us), in Czechoslovakia. In the foreword, Nazım Hikmet wrote about his job as "technical secretary" and "editorial assistant" at *Resimli Ay*. He claimed that it

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<sup>865</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1998.

<sup>866</sup> Sertel 1994:162.

<sup>867</sup> Sertel 1993:11.

<sup>868</sup> Sertel 1977:173.

<sup>869</sup> Interview Dr. Y. Sertel 1998.

<sup>870</sup> It had previously been serialised in the *Ulus* newspaper.

was a publication which did not shrink from confronting uncomfortable issues of the day, and that it played an important role in the literary and political lives of people such as Sabahattin Ali and other writers with progressive views.

*Resimli Ay* was not the only channel through which Sabiha Sertel made an impact on literature and politics. The Sertels' home was a centre for *avant garde* writers and her contributions to their discussions were invaluable, not only because they encouraged new approaches but also because she was, on occasion, a moderating force.

According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, Sabiha was at the centre of the debate about the classification of literature into *milli edebiyat* (national literature) or *sınıf edebiyatı* (class literature) with Nazım Hikmet asserting that there was no such thing as national literature. On the other hand Peyami Safa was unable to recognize class literature because he rejected the notion that there was a working class.<sup>871</sup>

When it came to the innovations being experimented with in the Turkish language, Sabiha was not an advocate of "throwing the baby out with the bath water" on all occasions. Although, for example, she wanted the language to develop in a way which would make it accessible to all, she did not want it purged of all Ottoman elements before intelligible replacements were formulated, because this would have resulted in a narrower vocabulary for the emerging literate population.

According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, she applauded new literary directions which reflected contemporary events, but did not always agree with obliterating the legacy of the past in order to achieve this. Many of these ideas about language and literature never saw the light of day in *Resimli Ay*, but they were an important part of Sabiha's influence on young writers.

Within their literary and political circles, Sabiha Sertel was not an adjunct to her husband. She held her own opinions which often differed from his. Her freedom to associate with so many able young men, without fear of repercussions, put her in a unique position which, even today, many Turkish women would envy. It could be argued that all the discussions taking place amongst some of the

leading young intellectuals of the day could have taken place without Sabiha Sertel's presence and hospitality, but that would be to dismiss the value of her contribution. It was, after all, the Sertels, Sabiha in particular, who provided the means of publication of many books and poems, which, otherwise, might never have seen the light of day. Although, to many, Sabiha Sertel may have sounded intemperate, it was her influence upon, coupled with her objectivity within, the discussion groups which made their meetings productive.

In addition to *Resimli Ay*, the Sertels produced *Resimli Hafta* (Illustrated Weekly), which they ran with Cevad Şakir (Kabağağaçlı) from 1924 to 1925, but it was closed down, except for a brief revival in 1927.

The Sertels were not to be defeated and in 1925, following the closure of *Resimli Hafta*, Sabiha and Zekeriya, together with Nebizade Hamdi Behçet, Zeki Cemal and Hakkı Süha, founded *Resimli Perşembe* (Thursday Illustrated).<sup>872</sup> *Resimli Yıl* (Illustrated Year) was yet another publication run by Sabiha during her husband's frequent trials in Ankara.

Juggling so many balls in the air caused Sabiha many difficulties, and she had to be taught type-setting and printing layout by Hayri Bey, who was one of their employees.<sup>873</sup> This may sound a simple matter but it was a highly skilled task.<sup>874</sup> Financial problems meant that she lost many of her contributors and she resorted to writing articles and features under a variety of both male and female pseudonyms. To add to her problems, she was accused of fraud and the authorities seized her presses until the outcome of legal proceedings.

Concurrently with all her publishing activities, she wrote a reading primer for her daughter's Primary school. This was based on the Thorndike Method which she had studied in America. The Ministry of Education endorsed this and other similar readers compiled by her. It is of interest that nowhere do any of the

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<sup>871</sup> Interview Dr. Y. Sertel 1998.

<sup>872</sup> This was a weekly publication which lasted for 199 issues between 1925-1928.

<sup>873</sup> He later became president of the Printers' Union.

<sup>874</sup> There were no women compositors in England until the mid 1860s, and even then they were barred from unions and official professional societies. The English Printers Union also barred its members from working in presses where there were women compositors. It was not until 1874 that the Women's Printing Society was founded, but female compositors faced an uphill struggle. See Ratcliffe, Eric. *The Caxton of her Age*. Upton upon Severn: Images Publishing 1993:36 ff.



Sertels make any reference to *Resimli Ay's Ceb Alfabeti* (Pocket Alphabet) which was published in 1928, nor to *Yeni Kiraat*, a companion volume for teachers.<sup>875</sup> There were not many journalists who were able to gain the confidence and support of the authorities whilst simultaneously criticising the way the country was being run. There were perhaps some in government who thought that having her as an ally might prove more fruitful than constantly obstructing her way of voicing her opinions. Sabiha was clearly very versatile in that, although she was often a thorn in the side of the authorities, she still managed to get the approval of the Ministry of Education for her widely used text book.

Zekeriya Sertel had written in May 1929 in *Resimli Ay* :

*Mekteplerde hala talebeye heceleyerek okuma öğretiyorlar. Bu usul artık çarşaf ve fes kadar eskimiştir. Tarihe karışması lazımdır. Fakat bu işi yapabilmek için her şeyden evvel muallimlerin kafasında inkılap lazım.*

(Schools are still teaching reading by syllabic methods which is now as outmoded as the veil and fez. It needs to be consigned to history. However, in order to achieve this, firstly a radical change needs to take place in teachers' heads.)

Unlike Hasan-Ali Yücel in the 1930s,<sup>876</sup> both the Sertels favoured the methods used by Professor John Dewey.<sup>877</sup> Their daughter Sevim had been taught through this system at school in America. Despite this criticism, the government did not, in this instance, penalize the Sertels.

Zekeriya Sertel and Yunus Nadi had founded *Hayat Ansiklopedisi* but it was left to Sabiha Sertel to run. In addition, she translated<sup>878</sup> the American pocket book series *A Hundred Books a Year*. She employed several assistant translators until she realized that they were not translating but rewriting the original texts according to their own standpoint. Cevad Şakir (Kabağağalı) was caught correcting the "facts" in the books. In parentheses he wrote his own version, explaining that the original authors had got them wrong. Sabiha simply removed

<sup>875</sup> See Türe 1998. Zekeriya Sertel also wrote *Resimli Kiraat* (Pictorial reader) in 1930 although there is no reference to this publication in the family memoirs. It was rare for the Sertels to gloss over any of their achievements.

<sup>876</sup> For references to Yücel's rejection of Dewey see Chapter 1:38 Fn 123.

<sup>877</sup> See Chapter 1:38.

everything in parentheses inserted by him before publication. Similarly, Ömer Rıza altered the text during his translations because, as a religious man, he didn't approve of people learning about socialism.<sup>879</sup>

Sabiha translated Karl Kautsky's *Class Struggle*<sup>880</sup> into Turkish, but in order to get it published she had to reach an agreement with a bookseller that she would fund the publication. As an incentive she offered him the profits minus her publication costs once the books had been sold. The book was a virtual sell-out, but, because the authorities seized the few remaining copies before they could be sold, the bookseller refused to refund her investment. Typically, having achieved her aim of getting the material into the public domain, she dismissed her financial loss.

Next she tackled Adoratsky's *Dialectical Materialism* and August Bebel's *Women under Socialism*. Bebel, who was imprisoned on several occasions for his political writing and activities, was one of the many European writers with whom Sabiha Sertel would have empathized.<sup>881</sup>

After the closure of *Resimli Ay*, Sabiha Sertel had started a nursery for children using the methods which she, her husband and Ayşe Abla had used to bring up their own children. She tried to instil co-operation rather than confrontation into staff and children, but the project was not an overwhelming success.

Before she became involved with *Tan Gazetesi* she wrote *Çitra Roy ile Babası* (Chitra Roy and her father) a novel about an Indian philosopher in Bengal and his relationship with his daughter. The subject was born out of her distaste for the role of the British in Imperial India. She managed to cram anti-imperialism, social injustice, corruption, betrayal and Indian philosophy into this novel which was published by the *Tan* press in 1936.<sup>882</sup>

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<sup>878</sup> She and Halide Edip were both active translators of serious western non-fiction.

<sup>879</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel. Also Sertel 1969:192.

<sup>880</sup> It was published in 1904. She must have translated it from an English translation.

<sup>881</sup> Although not acknowledged as such, this book was a joint venture by Hakkı Tarık Us and Sabiha Sertel. It was printed by his *Dün ve Yarın* publishing house.

<sup>882</sup> Sertel, Sabiha *Çitra Roy ile Babası*. İstanbul: Yeni Kitapçı, Tan Matbaası 1936. For parts of the text see Sertel 1994:266-274.

#### 4.3 THE *TAN GAZETESİ* (Dawn Newspaper) AND SABIHA SERTEL

The *Tan* newspaper was published between 1934 and 1946.<sup>883</sup> In 1936, Zekeriya Sertel, Halil Lütfü (Dördüncü) and Ahmet Emin (Yalman) formed a partnership to buy it from the *İş Bankası* which had failed to make it profitable.<sup>884</sup>

Initially, Sabiha's contributions to the *Tan* newspaper were much harder hitting and more politically focused than her material in *Resimli Ay*. Ahmet Emin and Sabiha Sertel clashed frequently, which meant that several of her articles were subject to a form of internal censorship; she therefore looked for other ways to occupy herself. She always assumed that she had her husband's wholehearted backing but, it is possible that, occasionally, he used others to "censor" her writing rather than do it himself.

In March 1936 she started a magazine called *Projektör* (Projector) which only lasted for a single issue. The Ministry of Home Affairs had withdrawn it from the distributors because of the critical nature of its content. Sabiha Sertel had translated an article from *Voix Européenne* and Şükrü Kaya, the Minister for Labour demanded to know whether she was aware that it was a communist publication. She informed him that he was not entitled to question her about this particular matter and should stick to his brief. He tried to persuade her to drop her left-wing articles by offering her a seat in Parliament so that "everybody could benefit from her ideas".<sup>885</sup>

A further article in *Projektör* provoked an objection from the authorities. This time she criticised some of the new female MPs<sup>886</sup> for not speaking out against the imposition of a travel tax on working women. She claimed that they (the MPs) were failing to protect the weakest members of society when an extra financial burden was heaped upon those least able to protest or afford it.

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<sup>883</sup> By 1945 it had a circulation of 40,000 in comparison with the *Cumhuriyet* which had 50,000. At this time the official population of İstanbul was 903,050. In 1945 there were 52 daily newspapers/journals in Turkish and 259 periodicals. By 1950 the population had increased to 1,018,468 and there were 101 daily papers and 505 periodicals. See *Annuaire Statistique* Vol 21 1953.

<sup>884</sup> There are conflicting dates for when they formed their partnership.

<sup>885</sup> Interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1998.

<sup>886</sup> Women had only been in parliament since the year before (1935) and had only been eligible as candidates in local elections since 1930.

She complained that men and women were not treated equally, and that working women were thus penalized.

She wrote that women:

- were paid half the wages of men,
- worked longer hours than men,
- worked during pregnancy,
- were subject to men's authority within the family

and that:

- women's right to work was decided by men
- housework and childcare were burdens borne by women
- in sexual matters women were not equal
- society exploited women on two fronts: sexually and in the work place.

Sabiha's article continued with her asking the female MPs why they did not follow the example set by Rose Lacompe in France after the French revolution, when she had campaigned against the tax levied upon working women. "She lost her head," Sabiha wrote, "but her campaign lived on." Sabiha was accused of not only inciting female workers to complain but also of criticising female MPs. She protested to Şükrü Kaya that, by forcing her to shelve *Projektör*, he was also shelving democracy.

When women gained the right to stand for election, she had made no reference to their achievement in any of her articles. She did not even acknowledge Afet İnan's earlier success in gaining women the right to vote in local council elections. To her, these milestones would have been natural progressions in an evolving State. They certainly did not entitle these women to abuse their position.

On May 20th 1937 she used the name Sabiha Zekeriya (Sertel) for the first time. Prior to this she had signed herself Sabiha Zekeriya, as was the custom for married women. It was not until the law requiring all Turkish nationals to adopt

a surname was enacted that *Sertel* was added. According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, initially her father had chosen the surname *Moğol* (Mongol), but it was rejected in favour of *Sertel* (harsh hand). Apparently this was a reference to the Sertels literary style. They were clearly not afraid to advertise the hard line which they adopted in their fight for social justice for all.

Sabiha Sertel was capable of hard hitting satire. In the October 30 1939 issue of the *Tan* newspaper she wrote a one act satirical play called "Sulh Perisine Gelen Misafirler" (The Peace Fairy's visitors) which was about the "Peace Fairy" who had retired in disgust to the North Pole. There she was visited by the "Justice", "Humanity" and "Truth" fairies, all of whom had left their homes having found no justice, humanity or truth anywhere in the land.

Ahmet Emin Yalman withdrew from the *Tan* partnership and Sabiha Sertel resumed writing for the paper in her chosen style. Halil Lütfü and Zekeriya Sertel, the two remaining partners, turned the *Tan* into a highly successful newspaper which more than met the material needs of the Sertel family. Their standard of living allegedly prompted the comment *artık çok burjuvalaşıyoruz* (now we are becoming very bourgeois) from Sabiha Sertel.<sup>887</sup> This was one of very few indications that all the while that they were campaigning for greater democracy they were also amassing considerable wealth for themselves.

They kept open house in their new home in Moda, which led to Sabiha Sertel's critics labelling her as a *salon komünisti* (*salon* communist) because of the political persuasions of their *coterie*. Sabahattin Ali, Naci Sadullah, Sadrettin Celal, Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir) and Bedri Rahmi (Eyüboğlu) were among the many intellectuals frequently found there.<sup>888</sup>

When one looks at her growing work load and her social commitments at home one should also bear in mind that she was an accomplished and generous hostess. Sixty years ago Turkish food required even lengthier preparation than it does now and, although she had help with her children, she did not employ a cook.

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<sup>887</sup> Interview Dr. Sertel 1998.

<sup>888</sup> Sertel 1994:178.

Through her articles in the *Tan*, Sabiha highlighted the problems facing some nations. She was in no doubt that imperialism was to blame. She was not only referring to the Ottoman lands. In 1938, in her "Görüşler" (Views) column in the *Tan*, she wrote "Küçük Milletlerin Yaşama İmkânı Kalmadı" (The possibility of small nations surviving no longer exists). She drew attention to the changing power bases in the world and the plight of smaller nations when faced with fascism and/or imperialism. To counter these threats she proposed a confederation of small countries even though, according to her daughter, she knew that the Balkan Pact prevented this happening.

The effects of what is now termed globalisation are very evident today and the subject is topical in the press. She would have been dismayed at the level of Third World debt and the fact that it took until the end of the century before larger nations were prepared to debate relaxing their stranglehold on smaller countries and substantially to reduce, or in a few cases, consider cancelling crippling debt. Over sixty years after she wrote her criticism in the *Tan*, world renowned journalists, writers, intellectuals and musicians staged mass public demonstrations in Germany during the G8 summit of 1999 and in Italy in 2000 about the very same subject.

Throughout the period of World War II the Turkish government kept very tight control of the press and several left wing publications were closed down. Sabiha Sertel continued to criticize wherever she found fault. With her pen she demonised Hitler's conquests, racism, fascism and the Panturkists movement. She earned the title *Türk basının en cesur kalemi* (the Turkish press's most courageous journalist). This was praise indeed, because she was not called the most courageous *female* journalist, but the most courageous journalist. It also indicates that, although not short of critics, she was held in high esteem by many in the world of publishing and journalism.

On July 15 1941 she wrote "İngilizler Sovyetler'le Niçin Anlaştılar?" (The reason for the Anglo Soviet Agreement) and on July 20 "İngiliz Sovyet Anlaşmasının İlk Hayırlı Alameti" (First sign of the advantage of the Anglo Soviet Agreement). Both of these articles implied that the agreement was not made for ideological reasons, but was simply expedient for the British, and other western nations, who

needed to protect their interests in Asia and Africa. The Foreign Office in Ankara considered her articles both ill-advised and provocative since Turkey had signed a Non-Aggression pact with Britain. As a result of this article the *Tan* newspaper was closed down.<sup>889</sup>

After a period of closure the paper resumed publication, but, in order to secure its stability, Sabiha Sertel was forced to give up her columns. It is clear that her articles were too provocative at time when Turkey was struggling to maintain its neutrality, and could ill afford to risk irritating the British, even though they appeared to be siding with the Soviets.

The *Tan* was closed down again by the authorities for a period in 1944 for criticizing the wealth tax imposed by the government.<sup>890</sup> There was much resentment against war profiteers, government officials handling contracts and permits, land barons, importers and traders. Many of these people had amassed enormous wealth and the government responded with *Varlık Vergisi* (Wealth Tax). What the Sertels objected to was the way in which the assessments were made by local committees consisting of government officials and representatives of the chambers of commerce. Many of these men were the very people who were to be taxed. There was no fixed rate, and almost 55% was collected from non-Muslim communities who were subjected to levies ten times higher than those applied to Muslims. Non-Muslims were not allowed to spread their payments, as Muslims were, so many had to sell their businesses and property to local Muslim businessmen in order to pay, thereby making the profiteers even wealthier. Furthermore, those unable to pay were subject to forced labour and deported. When the *Tan* was closed down the government had already agreed, under the influence of criticism from both Britain and the United States, to withdraw the tax.<sup>891</sup>

Finding herself barred from journalism for a period, Sabiha wrote *II. Dünya Savaşı Tarihi* (History of World War II), translated Lenin's *Imperialism is the Final stage of Capitalism* and Stalin's *Lenin's Problems*. In 1937 she had been to

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<sup>889</sup> See: Sertel, Sabiha *II Dünya Savaşı Tarihi*. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitap Kulübü 1999:236-237.

<sup>890</sup> It was imposed in November 1942.

<sup>891</sup> For an overview of the tax see Zürcher 1993:208 ff.

visit Sevim (her elder daughter) who had been sent to study in the United States.<sup>892</sup> On her way there via France, she had bought several books about the impending war, and used them as background material for *II Dünya Savaşı Tarihi*. While on this trip, she reported on conditions in France and the United States, for the *Tan*.<sup>893</sup>

In her autobiography she wrote that, when she left Turkey in 1950, the manuscript of this book was given to her brother Neşet Derviş, but that she had no idea what happened to it when he died in 1956. She claimed that, following Turkey's signature of a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, she could not get the book published. No records of her having attempted to do so have been found. In the early 1990s, her nephew, Osman Binzet, died and the manuscript was found among his papers.<sup>894</sup>

Later, provided that she avoided political topics, Sabiha Sertel was again permitted to write for the *Tan*. In 1945 İsmet İnönü bowed to pressure from the opposition and agreed to the formation of a second political party (*Demokrat Partisi*), thus paving the way for multi-party democracy in Turkey. Celal Bayar, and his colleagues who were attempting to form the new party, needed a magazine as its mouthpiece. They found a willing collaborator in Sabiha Sertel. They proposed a new magazine to be named *Tek Cephe* (United front) which would feature articles submitted by Celal Bayar and Tevfik Rüştü Aras, who was one of the politicians trying to form the party with Bayar and Menderes.

Sabiha Sertel valued her editorial independence, so she declined offers of finance for the new publication. She was to have her own column called

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<sup>892</sup> It was exceedingly rare for a Turkish family to send an unaccompanied teenage daughter to study abroad, let alone as far away as the USA.

<sup>893</sup> At the same time, the *Tan* had sent Suat Derviş to the Soviet Union to report on the situation there. This is the only mention of a fellow female writer in her autobiography. See Sertel 1969:195.

<sup>894</sup> When I first interviewed Dr. Yıldız Sertel in 1997 the manuscript of *II. Dünya Savaşı Tarihi* was with a publisher. However, by the time of a further interview in 1999, it had just been published by another publishing house. Dr. Yıldız Sertel had experienced some difficulty in getting it published without altering the text. The book does not contain Sabiha Sertel's original words. It has been "simplified" from Ottoman script. The original vocabulary was deemed inaccessible and the content too difficult for contemporary readers. Dr. Yıldız Sertel has added a lengthy appendix which contains numerous examples of Sabiha Sertel's articles on World War II. The manuscripts of Sabiha's translations of the two works by Lenin and Stalin have not been found.



"Görüşler" (Views). She solicited articles from Halide Edip Adıvar,<sup>895</sup> Köprülüzade Fuat, Sabahattin Ali, Behice Boran, Muaffak Şeref and other progressive writers of the day. Celal Bayar declared himself unable to write articles, but that he was prepared to grant an interview for publication. The magazine appeared under the name of *Görüşler*<sup>896</sup> and immediately caused a sensation. However critics of *Görüşler* likened the letter "G" on its cover to a sickle.

Communism was an abhorrence to both the ruling weak *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party) and the emerging *Demokrat Partisi*. The magazine was a sell-out, but the distributors were ordered to retrieve the copies they had sold. Simultaneously, a ban preventing government officials and students from reading it was imposed. Neither Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü nor Tevfik Rüştü Aras honoured their commitments to write articles for the first issue. Celal Bayar refused the promised interview.

Despite these teething problems Sabiha Sertel decided to continue, and was preparing for the second issue when Adnan Menderes and Tevfik Rüştü announced that they were terminating their agreement. Presumably, once Adnan Menderes realized that his image<sup>897</sup> might be compromised and that his relationship with Sabiha Sertel might become a liability, he dropped her. She claimed that they all left her half way on the road to democracy. Perhaps she had yet to learn that democracy never was a destination, but a process.

An alternative explanation could be that the Sertels were naïve about Menderes' intentions. This possibility certainly accords with Niyazi Berkes' view that Zekeriya Sertel often behaved like an "innocent abroad".<sup>898</sup> The various political factions seemed to subscribe to the philosophy that "if you are not for us, you must be against us" rather than taking Sabiha Sertel's view that there were positive and negative aspects to all doctrines.

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<sup>895</sup> She had returned to Turkey in 1940.

<sup>896</sup> No explanation has emerged as to why *Tek Cephe* was dropped as a title.

<sup>897</sup> Menderes saw himself as the representative of *milli irade* (popular will).

<sup>898</sup> See Berkes 1997:354-356; 371.

Her articles, "Zincirli Hürriyet"<sup>899</sup> (Restricted freedom) and "Değişen Dünya" (Changing world), in *Görüşler* covered two pages. Yet again their content irritated the authorities.

Sabiha Sertel wrote that Turkey should be a:

"free country in a free world. Human rights should apply to all irrespective of class, creed or background. The law should be the guarantor of such rights. We do not want anarchy; we do not want laws which grant privilege to some sections of the population. We do not want laws giving arbitrary power leading to domination. We want a system which empowers the people. We want a responsible State which grants equal rights and privileges for the benefit of the people and the nation. We want shared duties, human rights and joint responsibility.

A responsible government is one which is accountable to its people. Irrespective of whose responsibility it is, the republic has not achieved democracy. Today our economic system, politics, laws and social and cultural systems are totally fascist in their mechanisms and organization. What democracy obstructs the law granting freedom for the individual to express ideas and freedom of conscience, obstructs individuals' rights to form societies and obstructs the struggles of political parties? What democracy grants the police the right to raid private houses and remove property without a warrant? Rights are granted under the eye of the law not the police; the police have to act within the laws granted to them.

Our kind of democracy silences the people, manacles and hobbles them. The people resemble puppets who can neither speak nor move. We want the freedom which is the right of every nation and every individual, not this *zincirli hürriyet* (restricted freedom). We do not want alms and charity, we want rights. In a true democracy there are no privileged individuals or classes.

Turkey cannot, with such a bogus democracy, enter into international debate. We don't want anarchical freedom and liberty, we want all to share our natural resources and reap the benefits of common effort. We should share the turning of the wheels of industry, sow together and then together reap the benefits of our combined effort.

We require an accountable government for an accountable people. We are going to sacrifice our individual rights for the greater population and the nation, not for a Sultanate over our heads".

The other article, "Değişen Dünya" (Changing World), was in a similar vein and equally critical of a system which, in Sabiha Sertel's view, granted numerous rights to all, but then failed to permit their implementation. According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, the most frequently used excuse, when one was forthcoming at all,

<sup>899</sup>

Sertel 1994:289-292. This is an extract from a longer article.

was that " conditions were not favourable" .

Following the offending article in *Görüşler*, and in order to keep the owners of the *Tan* out of gaol, a proof reader conversant with the press laws was employed by the Sertels. He scrutinized every word submitted by all contributors, not just the Sertels, and this policy ensured the continuation of the *Tan*. The proof-reader was constantly in trouble with Sabiha Sertel for telling her to modify her articles or scrap them altogether.<sup>900</sup>

The *Tan* newspaper owned the largest rotary press in Turkey but it, the typesetting equipment and the building which housed it, was destroyed on December 4th 1945 by a crowd of protesting nationalist students.<sup>901</sup> Political incidents reported by the Sertels and her article in *Görüşler* the day before the attack on the *Tan* had led to cries of "communists". The rioting group were intending to douse Sabiha Sertel with red printer's ink and parade her through the streets. On the same day the same group of rioting students also destroyed Sabahattin Ali and Cami Baykurt's *La Turquie* and the *Yeni Dünya* newspapers<sup>902</sup>, but they left Hüseyin Cahit's the *Tanin* newspaper alone.

From articles, written by Hüseyin Cahit, which appeared in the *Tanin* the following day, it became clear that the authorities had sanctioned the destruction of the *Tan* presses and had given Yalçın permission to describe the activities of the rioting students.<sup>903</sup> The Governor of İstanbul and the police had all stood by whilst the destruction took place. Throughout their careers both the Sertels insisted that they were fighting for true democracy as provided for in the Turkish constitution, and that their articles were not intended to incite unrest.

Despite cries of "communists", less than six months later, in June the following

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<sup>900</sup> Interview with Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1999.

<sup>901</sup> The *Tan Olayı* (Tan incident) is well documented. The students were, according to the Sertels, fascists who were protesting about earlier articles written by Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan and Fuat Köprülü in *Tan*, not *Görüşler*. This group was known as the *Dörtlü Tahrir* (The memorandum of four) and they had been given a platform by the Sertels. They had left the Republican People's Party, having attempted to reform it from within. See Zürcher 1993:220 ff; interview Dr. Yıldız Sertel 1998.

<sup>902</sup> Sertel 1969:344.

<sup>903</sup> Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın), who was also the *Tanin* newspaper's leader writer, was no stranger to the dangers of being involved with controversial material in the press. He had been imprisoned in the 1920s and an earlier version of the *Tanin*, owned by him, was closed down in 1925.

year (1946) not only a socialist party but also a communist party,<sup>904</sup> led by Dr. Şefik Hüsnü (Değmer), was founded.

During and following the *Tan* incident, fellow journalists, whom the Sertels had regarded as friends and colleagues, failed to come to their defence. Instead their former friends wrote articles claiming that the nation should rise against what the Sertels stood for. They claimed that the whole incident was not a spontaneous insurrection but a well planned operation.<sup>905</sup>

The final example of both Sabiha's nerve and her versatility, was her defence speech during a case brought against her involving an article she wrote in her "Görüşler Köşesi" in the *Tan* on September 3rd 1945. Her article "Muvaffakın feryadı" (The cry of consensus), was about events in Parliament on August 18th 1945, when Adnan Menderes and others were discussing potential changes to the Constitution of 1923 to bring it in line with the United Nations Constitution. She had criticized both the behaviour of certain parliamentarians and lax procedures. During her defence, she suggested that the Public Prosecutor *karihasının genişliğine güvenerek* (whilst depending on the breadth of his fertile mind) had distorted events in court. She said that he should provide documentary evidence to prove his case against her because, among other insults, she was being made out to be a traitor and a foreign agent.<sup>906</sup> Once again Sabiha Sertel demonstrated her ability to record events, marshal her thoughts and defend her actions in a lucid and unemotional way. Sabiha Sertel claimed that her only crime was that she fought, on behalf of the people, for an accountable government in a democratic Turkey.

In the issue of the *Tan*, which appeared on the morning of December 4th 1945, Sabiha Sertel had written that *gazeteden değil, kamuoyundan korkmalı* (it is not

<sup>904</sup> The *Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi ve Köylü Partisi* (Turkish Socialist Workers and Peasants Party). Under the implementation of martial law powers, both parties were closed down in December of the same year.

<sup>905</sup> In 1945 Dr. Yıldız Sertel was studying sociology in England. She asked Norman Mackenzie of the *New Statesman* to expose, in the British press, the events involving her parents and the *Tan Gazetesi*. She wanted the plight of her mother, who was being detained as a common criminal, to be broadcast. *The New Statesman* printed Dr. Yıldız Sertel's version of the story, but as a result the British Council asked her to leave England. See the *Milliyet* newspaper 5th June 1990 extract from *Ardımdaki Yıllar* by Dr. Yıldız Sertel. At the time she was living in a Welsh mining village with a miner's family.

<sup>906</sup> Sertel 1994:299.

newspapers, but public opinion which should be feared). With this phrase her 26 year long career as a journalist in Turkey came to an end.

#### 4.4 TEVFIK FİKRET AND SABIHA SERTEL

During 1945, before the destruction of the *Tan* presses, Sabiha Sertel had been writing a book about Tevfik Fikret (1867-1915), which she published as *Tevfik Fikret, İdeologisi ve Felsefesi* (Tevfik Fikret, his Ideology and Philosophy).<sup>907</sup>

There already were books<sup>908</sup> about Tevfik Fikret, his poetry and his contribution to Turkish literature, but, according to Sabiha, there were none in 1945 about his philosophy and ideology. Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın's book *Tevfik Fikret'in Hayatına Dair Hatıralar* (Memoir of the Life of Tevfik Fikret) was not a serious study of the subject, but a series of anecdotes about his life and family.

Sabiha Sertel's book was divided into three parts. The first part analysed the period in which he lived and the struggles between the groups of people who were for, and those who were against the reforms of the *Tanzimat* period. The second part was about his ideology and the third looked at his philosophy. Sabiha Sertel saw Fikret as progressive, humanist, pro-western and an opponent of the *ulema* (religious scholars). She claimed that he thought that they (the *ulema*) had oppressive and manipulative tendencies. To her, Fikret represented the ideological and literary aims of the 1908 reforms, in that he favoured freedom of expression and equality, and opposed the autocracy of the ruling regime.

The struggles to strike a balance between western scientific and cultural developments and the desire to maintain a certain "national Turkishness" are now well documented and researched subjects. However, when Sabiha Sertel embarked upon her research into Tevfik Fikret's ideology, no balanced appreciation of his work existed. She saw Fikret as having played an important role in the East/West cultural debate, and in the discussions of the merits of the

<sup>907</sup> Sertel, Sabiha *Tevfik Fikret, İdeologisi ve Felsefesi*. İstanbul: Tan Yayınları 1945. Later, the title was changed to *İlericilik-Gericilik Kavgasında Tevfik Fikret* (The Progressiveness versus the Regressiveness Struggle and Tevfik Fikret).

<sup>908</sup> See Ünaydın, Ruşen Eşref *Tevfik Fikret'in Hayatına Dair Hatıralar*. İstanbul: Helal Matbuası; Köprülü, Fuad *Tevfik Fikret ve Ahlak*. İstanbul.

*ilerici* (progressive) groups as opposed to the *gerici* (regressive), which sought to control the country.

The *Yeni Sabah* newspaper had printed articles criticizing Fikret and his ideology, but, in the *Tan*, Sabiha Sertel had defended the philosophy Fikret stood for.<sup>909</sup> She castigated the *Yeni Sabah* for the reactionary way in which it failed to appreciate the positive side of Fikret's legacy.

It has already been demonstrated that Sabiha Sertel was no stranger to controversy and clearly, two decades after Fikret's death, she regarded his philosophy as a worthwhile subject. She argued that to label Fikret as either socialist or Marxist was to read too much into his actions. She claimed that he had certain idealistic utopian dreams, but that he merely had leanings towards social justice. For evidence she cited his poems "Nesrin", "Küçük Aile" (Small family), "Verin Zavallılara" (Give alms to the needy) and "Balıkçılar" (Fishermen). To illustrate her point she might have equally well chosen Tefik Fikret's "Hasta Çocuk" (Sick child), "Sarhoş" (Drunkard) or "Çirkin" (Ugly), all of which, presumably, were intended to generate compassion for the deprived and dispossessed, rather than to provoke the authorities into action.

"Nesrin" was a short story written in verse about a young woman who prostituted herself in order to survive, but who later abandoned this path in favour of an even worse, but at least moral, existence. The link with socialism could only be that her plight, and that of many like her, was given a platform. It may well have provoked political debate but probably little action.

In "Balıkçılar"<sup>910</sup> there is evidence of concern for humanity, but no overtly socialist message. These poems neither accuse nor advocate remedies, they are simply descriptive. Fikret was not railing against the authorities, but merely describing the plight of the fisherman's family.

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<sup>909</sup> See "Tevfik Fikret ve Gençlik" the *Tan* newspaper 14th December 1939.

<sup>910</sup> "Balıkçılar" is about a poor fisherman with a sick wife and a hungry family to feed. His son, seeing that his father needed to stay at home to care for the mother and the rest of the family, put out to sea in rough weather to catch fish, but drowned in the attempt.

The following lines show this:

*Bugün açız evladlarım, diyordu peder  
Bugün açız yine lakin yarın, ümid ederim  
Sular biraz daha sakinleşir.*

(We are hungry today my children, said the father  
We are hungry today, but I hope that tomorrow  
The sea will be calmer.)

In "Verin Zavallılara", written in 1898, Tevfik Fikret was responding to an earthquake in Balıkesir. He wrote:

*Harab-ı zelzele bir köy; şu yanda bir atının  
çürük direkleri dehşetle fırlamış; öteden  
çamur yığıntısı şeklinde bir zemin katının  
yıkık temelleri, manzur; uzakta bir mesken  
Zemine doğru eğilmiş, hemen sukut edecek;  
Önünde bir kadın... Of istemem, yeter, görmek.  
Bu levha kalbimi tahrik içinse kafidir.*

(Earthquake ruined village; on the one side the rafters have collapsed.  
On the other side a ground floor reduced to a quagmire;  
In the distance a building leans over on the brink of collapse;  
A woman in front of it... Ah, I don't need this, I have seen enough.  
If this scene is meant to tear my heart, it suffices.)

This was an appeal for humanitarian aid for the victims of a natural disaster not an *exposé* of the lack of political will to alleviate poverty. This poem appears to have been influenced by François Coppée's (1842-1908)<sup>911</sup> poem about the German destruction of a village in France in 1871. Coppée wrote:

Give all, give immediately  
Give for the destroyed home  
For the cradle turned upside down.

<sup>911</sup>

François Coppée wrote a volume of poetry entitled *Les Humbles*. Most of the poems featured deprivation in various forms. For further information on Coppée's alleged influence upon Tevfik Fikret see Kaplan, Mehmet *Tevfik Fikret Devir, Şahsiyet, Eser*. İstanbul: Bilmen Basımevi 1971.

For evidence to confirm Sabiha Sertel's conviction that Tevfik Fikret's philosophy encompassed a belief in a higher being, one need look no further than the lines of "Haluk'un Amentüsü" (Haluk's credo):

*Bir Kudret-i Kullîye var, ulvî ve münezzeh  
kudsi ve mualla, ona vicdanımla inandım*

(It is certain there is a power, high and pure and holy;  
with my conscience I believed this.)

Sabiha Sertel was sure in 1945, when her defence of him landed her in court once more, that what Tevfik Fikret stood for was worthy of defence, and that it should not be rewritten by *Yeni Sabah* to suit the politics of the day.

As a female journalist and newspaper director with a degree from an American university, who was in her own words a "democratic socialist"<sup>912</sup>, rather than a communist, Sabiha Sertel was prominent among early Turkish female journalists and writers. Indeed, it could be argued that, having lived through so much social upheaval in Turkey, she succeeded in reflecting many of the changes through her writing. She and Zekeriya went into voluntary exile in 1950, first to France, then to Russia, and lastly to Baku in Azerbaijan. She wrote articles whilst in Baku, some of which were published in Bulgaria and some in local Baku magazines for Turkish speaking Azeris. According to Dr. Yıldız Sertel, she found Baku a quiet backwater of the world after the active life she had been used to in Paris, Vienna and back in Turkey.

Whilst in Baku she wrote *Roman Gibi* (Like a Novel), which was her autobiography for the years 1919 until 1950.<sup>913</sup> As she was by then in her 60s and suffering from cancer, some of the incidents she described may not have been remembered as accurately as she would have wished. In the introduction, whilst accepting responsibility for any errors or omissions on her part, she explained

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<sup>912</sup> She always said that it was not possible to establish socialism before the establishment of democracy.

<sup>913</sup> Her subsequent activities with the communist broadcasting service *Bizim Radyo* in Leipzig in the 1950s fall outside both the period of her autobiography and that of this thesis.



that she had experienced difficulty in locating some of the material required.<sup>914</sup>

She was researching into Soviet politics up until her death, aged 70, in Baku in 1968.<sup>915</sup> In Turkey little notice was taken of her death, but when Zekeriya Sertel was permitted to visit Turkey in 1977, he gave a press conference about their publishing activities prior to going into exile.<sup>916</sup> When he died in İstanbul in 1980, there were numerous articles about him but she was only mentioned as one of *Sertel'ler* (the Sertels). There can be no doubt that Zekeriya Sertel was an influential and totally professional journalist although, in his memoirs, Niyazi Berkes wrote that he was gullible and easily swayed. This criticism of him is very similar to Zekeriya's criticism of Halide Edip.

Although unpopular in many circles and deserted by many of those whom they had counted as friends, the Sertels cannot have been without influence. For example, during World War II, Yıldız Sertel was sent to England for several years to study sociology. Her parents arranged for her to travel on a British battleship in a convoy out of Alexandria during one of the most dangerous periods of the war.<sup>917</sup> Also, according to Niyazi Berkes, whilst the Sertels were studying in the United States together, Zekeriya Sertel arranged for his sister to join them for part of their stay.

Dr. Yıldız Sertel has founded the *Sertel Gazetecilik Vakfı* (Sertel Journalism Foundation) which awards an annual prize for an outstanding article or book on the continuing fight for democracy in Turkey. The Foundation sponsors an annual lecture on a socio-political topic. Dr. Sertel is currently compiling a study of her mother's articles for publication. She contributes articles to the Sertel Foundation Bulletin, as well as contributing a regular column to *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World), a new magazine focusing on women's issues. In the 1st October 1999 issue she wrote "Türk Basının Sultanı" (The queen of the

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<sup>914</sup> She did not mention that she researched some of the archives in Sophia to locate material. Interview Dr. Y. Sertel 1999.

<sup>915</sup> Before she died, they did try to return to Turkey but, although they were Turkish citizens, their passports had expired, and the authorities refused to renew them.

<sup>916</sup> See the *Günaydın* newspaper March 5th 1977. See also the *Milliyet* newspaper for a later interview in June 1990.

<sup>917</sup> She was accompanied, as far as Alexandria, by Frank O'Brien, her brother-in-law who worked for Associated Press.

Turkish press) which gave a brief outline of her mother's achievements up until the time that she, and her family, went into exile in 1950.

Dr. Yıldız Sertel maintains that she still fights for democracy, using the same words which her mother used. She claims that little has changed, and that there is no political will to alleviate poverty and the consequent suffering of millions of people. When the observation was made that people's lifestyles had changed beyond recognition in the last 40 years, she agreed that this was the case for 20% of the population, but that she and her parents were more interested in the remaining 80%.<sup>918</sup>

In *Hatırladıklarım*, Zekeriya Sertel's memoirs, there are very few references to his wife. One explanation for this could be that he found it painful to write about her after her death, or an alternative could be that he did not consider her contribution to journalism as important as his own. If the latter is the case he under-estimated her importance in the world of Turkish journalism.

Dr. Yıldız Sertel is frequently interviewed by the press, and TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) has made a documentary film about Sabiha and Zekeriya Sertel. Some of Sabiha Sertel's achievements are now acknowledged. For instance she is now talked about as the woman who climbed a minaret at the Dolmabahçe mosque to report on the funeral procession of Mustafa Kemal, rather than solely as a communist enemy of the State who promoted the politics of Nazım Hikmet.

Although there is a long way to go, she is now more appreciated as an outspoken, fearless socialist who fought poverty, bigotry, injustice, imperialism, fascism, capitalism, nationalism and racism with her pen.

Sabiha Sertel's career can be seen as an example of how far it was possible for some women to progress from 1869, when women first started submitting material to *Terakki* magazine.

In singling out Sabiha Sertel for a case study, an attempt has been made to appraise her achievements as a female journalist who embarked upon her career during one of the most tumultuous periods in recent Turkish history. The material in this chapter has traced the evolution of her career from her birth in

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<sup>918</sup> Interview Dr. Y. Sertel 1999.

the suburbs of Salonica, through her marriage to a graduate of the Sorbonne and her forced early entry into the very masculine world of the press. Her support of her family when her husband was detained by the authorities, her education in America, her attempts to improve the social structure in Ankara at the beginning of the Turkish Republic and her publishing activities in numerous periodicals and in the daily press have all been noted. Her role in the career development of Nazım Hikmet, her authorship of several books and her tireless mission to see democracy established in Turkey have all been studied. She does not appear to have wavered nor lost faith in the power of her pen.

On the contrary, she appears to have been one of the very few women who dared to risk social censure, her personal freedom and career prospects, in order to monitor government activity during the transition from empire to republic and during the years leading up to the establishment of multi-party politics.

She has emerged as an articulate, objective and fearless champion of social inclusion. An attempt has been made to put her association with Nazım Hikmet into perspective, so that her own role, and that of her husband, in the advancement of Hikmet's career are given more prominence. She lived, worked and succeeded in a man's world, when most female journalists had few chances to write headline grabbing copy. No sign of a hidden agenda to champion the rights of women has emerged. Of greater importance to her were equal rights, justice, freedom and democracy for all.

History has, until very recently, consigned her as one of the *Sertel'ler*, both of whom have largely been regarded as trouble-making, left-wing political journalists and activists, rather than as individual contributors to the history of the Turkish press. Through the material in this chapter, an attempt has been made to present a fair view of a woman who represented other aspects of social development than those presented in the preceding chapters. Sabiha Sertel appears to have been unique for her time.

Through the research presented in this thesis, an attempt has been made to provide a more balanced and inclusive picture of the development and progress of late Ottoman and early republican Turkish women. In general, the progress of men in this period has been the focal point of research, thereby giving them a higher profile than that of women. The aim has been to afford women their rightful place in the history of the overall development of society. In addition, where appropriate, this research has sought to compare the situation in Turkey with that prevailing in the West and thereby challenge the notion that Turkish socio-cultural development often lagged a long way behind.

The thesis has attempted to achieve its aims through concentrating on four main fields. They are: improved State education for women, journalism as a career option, the Ottoman women's press with particular reference to Sedat Simavi's *İnci* magazine and the career path of Sabiha Sertel.

In the rapidly changing political climate of the period studied, many women had no alternative but to make their own way in the world. It has been revealed that, despite the restrictions of custom and tradition, which a considerable number of people still adhered to, there was a general will to facilitate the progress of women. However, it was still subject to the vagaries of varying policies about the place of women in a society which was in a state of flux. During the unimaginable changes which occurred during this period, centuries old familial reticence about women adding extra dimensions to their lives beyond their traditional nurturing roles was challenged on numerous fronts.

When it came to the time lag between the developments in Turkey and in England some interesting facts have emerged. For instance, in the educational field in England, Female Teacher Training College provision was only 30 years ahead of Ottoman Turkey. Separate university courses for women were for decades the norm in both countries. The co-educational Cambridgeshire Village Colleges were set up at the same time as the very similar *Köy Enstitüleri*. Whilst it is true that the main objective of the *Köy Enstitüleri* was to train rural Primary school teachers, the secondary objective was to provide relevant education for

rural children. This study reveals that this aim was the same for the Cambridgeshire Village Colleges. In educational provision, constant change, modification and reform were not the exclusive preserve of Ottoman Turkish educationists; there were numerous changes in England also.

In England, the Church had long held that a thorough grounding in the Christian faith was a fundamental principle of education. Any attempts to secularize State education were resisted, because such activities were perceived as a threat to the fabric of society. There were parallels with this situation in late Ottoman Turkey. The Islamic basis of education firstly came under threat from the *Tanzimat* era modernizers, then, during the Hamidian rule, it was re-introduced to underpin the social structure. Finally, after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the official structures of Islam were sidelined.

There is some fine recent research into the history of Turkish education. The works of, for instance, Somel, Alkan, Kushner and Fortna shed much needed new light on the magnitude of the problem, and some of the strategies employed in the attempts to provide a solution. Whilst their work, and indeed that of earlier researchers, has been invaluable, it has not yet revealed in equal detail what happened in the field of girls' State education.

Earlier researchers might have argued that the reasons are obvious, that educating girls was almost an after-thought. Despite the efforts of the numerous researchers in the *Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi*, no comprehensive study has emerged to build on the work by Taşkıran and later by Çakır, who, in effect provided little more than a brief outline of the history of female education. Whilst this thesis does not provide a comprehensive history, it has drawn together strands from a variety of sources in an attempt to give both a more continuous and a more inclusive picture.

It would have been all too easy to charge the Ottoman State with the neglect of girls' education, and in some instances, such as the case of rural girls, the research establishes that there is a degree of truth in this charge. However, as we have seen, there were multiple obstacles to be overcome.

The *iptidai* (Primary school) and *rüşdiye* (Middle school) provision, albeit initially only for urban girls, showed signs of acceptance of the need to improve

girls' education, and Alkan's study of the educational statistics confirms a general upward trend in both intake and levels. This is important because adding extra levels of education was more difficult than simply expanding sideways to increase numbers. If then, with the benefit of Ben Fortna's study of the situation, the foundation of the *idadi* (lycée/higher school) is turned to, in the case for boys it became clear that financial problems had to be overcome. Again critics might argue that somehow, when it came to educating boys, the problems were given greater priority and that the money would somehow be "found". Alkan's explanation that, for religious reasons, there was no *idadi* provision for girls is challenged, because this argument ignores the policy of permitting the *darülmualimat* (Women's Teacher Training College) with their, albeit elderly, male staff to remain in place during the Hamidian era.

There is no doubt that, for girls, greater provision was long overdue, but the lack of consensus on the general purpose of educating them, other than as teachers, had not been addressed. The half-hearted attempt to set up a girls' *idadi* with very limited academic content in the curriculum attests to this.

This research reveals that some urban girls managed to progress. This was despite the fact that, because technically the girls' *idadi* level did not exist, they missed out on the level which followed on from the *iptidai* and *rüşdiye*. However, I would suggest that for the young women who were going to be trained as teachers, the *darülmualimat* went some way in filling this lacuna.

Setting aside the different objectives, a big difference between the *idadi* schools for boys and the *darülmualimat* for girls was, not so much the curriculum, which for boys, of course, provided the subjects necessary for future bureaucrats, but the numbers involved.

Eventually almost every Ottoman province had an *idadi* but, although *darülmualimat* construction lagged well behind, the graduate women teachers were responsible for getting proportionally more girls into the educational system. Furthermore, as evinced from the chapter on female journalists, some of them, such as Hatice Nakiye and Ayşe Sıdika, became instructors and principals at the *darülmualimat* themselves. The elderly tutors who had been recruited in the initial stages were joined by competent women. This aspect of the system is

seldom touched upon in histories of Turkish education.

The *idadi* schools were originally modelled on *Galatasaray Lisesi*, the influence of which has been noted, but no research into women's education appears to have sought to draw parallels, in terms of success, with the *idadi* and the women who qualified at the *darülmuallimat*. Qualified female teachers did not go out into the world to work in the civil service, although some of them did eventually work at the Ministry of Education, from whence their influence percolated well beyond the educational sphere. Women such as Nigar Bint-i Osman, Rebia Tevfik Başokçu, Ayşe Sıdika, Hüviyet Bekir Bek and Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen could all be singled out to illustrate this point.

As has been noted, professional female teachers spread out into the provinces but not into the rural hinterland. Rural girls had to wait until the republican era for improved education opportunities. The research shows that initially, despite the 1924 Equal Education Law, very little happened because this law was not coupled with additional provision.

It could be argued that the task confronting republican educationists was easier than that facing Ottoman Turkish predecessors up to the late 1900s, because the geographical area to be covered had shrunk with the disintegration of the empire. Consequently the number of children in need of education had decreased, so early republican educationists were dealing with fewer children in a smaller geographical area. In many ways, those responsible for administering the *darülmuallimat* system had a more difficult brief.

A further point is that the Ottoman system was inflexible and, the *idadi* system in particular, was dependent upon strong regional administration being in place to collect the additional agricultural tithes which funded it. The new republican system for the rural masses, when it finally emerged, was funded from the central budget, with a greater certainty of being met.

Some of the architects of the new republic were strong on edicts about women's rights and their place in society, but sometimes weak on realistic educational policy, not only for rural girls but for boys as well. Even the *Köy Mektepleri* (Village Schools) which, following the 1924 law, were required to take girls, failed to attract significant numbers. As the research into the *Köy Enstitüleri* reveals,

this state of affairs appears to have had almost as much to do with cautious parental attitudes as lack of action in the Ministry of Education.

The first decade following the transition from empire to republic appears to have brought little advantage to rural children. The impact of the alphabet reforms has been noted but, initially, not even this had a significant effect on the number of rural girls provided for.

The *Köy Enstitüleri* could not have succeeded in their format had there not been any rural children, let alone girls, who had completed three years of Primary schooling. All the research about the Institutes simply states the entrance criteria for them, without acknowledging the importance of the, albeit inadequate, rural Primary provision.

The research shows that the *Köy Enstitüleri* built on what the *darülmuallimat* had achieved in the provinces. With the lost territories, the criteria for education changed. The material studied revealed that Mustafa Kemal's Ministers for education had a very different brief from their predecessors. The alphabet and language reforms removed the need (except at tertiary level) for two languages (Arabic and Persian) and the secularity of the Institutes eliminated religious instruction, but in their place came a multitude of subjects. I would suggest that, without the alphabet and language reforms, the Institutes, with their semi-vocational and selective curricula, would have struggled to find an adequate level of intake. The few qualified pupils would have been buried under the avalanche of work needed to master the subjects in the curriculum.

Other observations emerge which do not appear to have been touched upon by those researching rural girls' education, one of which is that, despite all the innovations, many of the architects of the scheme were the products of the *idadi* system. It was some of these very men who were instrumental in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, and in both the making of and the implementation of policy. It is possible to infer from this that some girls did eventually, albeit indirectly, benefit from the *idadi*.

The big difference between the female graduates of the *darülmuallimat*, as well as the male graduates of the *darülmuallimin* (Male Teacher Training College), and the graduates of the *Köy Enstitüleri* was that the main function of the



former was to provide a uniform education irrespective of locale; by contrast, the *Köy Enstitüleri* were set up to produce graduate teachers, from rural stock, for rural areas where the curriculum would be relevant to local needs. There were of course other differences, such as the secularity of the Institutes, but from discussions and interviews in Turkey it emerged that this aspect has on occasion been misunderstood. *Ahlak* (morals) remained as an underlying principle; indeed it would have been impossible for it not to have done so. The misunderstanding appears to stem from not differentiating between anti-Islamic and anti-clerical policies.

The co-educational policy of the *Köy Enstitüleri* was of enormous importance, because equality of opportunity became ingrained in the minds of both staff and pupils. From the viewpoint of those researching the progress of all Turkish women, the importance of the hundreds of female graduate teachers who went out into rural and, often remote, Primary schools cannot be over-stated.

The existing small body of work on the Institutes appears to conclude that they were entirely innovative. I would argue that my research indicates that the actual end product was the result of eclecticism rather than innovation. It was already known from the *darümuallimat* experience that the key to getting more girls through even inadequately provided schooling, was to have female teachers encouraging parents, through example, to send their daughters to school.

Although I have concluded that, indirectly, the *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu* (Redistribution of Land to the Farmers Bill) was responsible for the Institutes' ultimate undoing, a further observation is worth noting. My research into the *Köy Enstitüleri* showed history repeating itself when it came to the power of religion. Despite 25 years of secular republicanism, it was the religious policies of Şemsettin Sirer which dealt the final blow, and, in effect, delayed the provision of wider education for rural girls. The material in 6.1 in the Appendix:287 points to a further injustice inflicted upon schoolgirls during Sirer's period in office, and which continued afterwards. After the alphabet changes of 1928 the imagery in school textbooks promoted gender equality, but Sirer reversed this policy as part of his political campaign to gain votes by playing the "religious card". In England, gender discrimination was rife in school textbooks published up to the 1960s.

In Chapter Two, the research returned to the late 19<sup>th</sup> and earlier 20<sup>th</sup> century to look at other inroads, apart from those in the field of education, which women made. This chapter about educated women who chose careers as journalists and writers, as opposed to teaching, reveals that many of them were, in fact, qualified teachers. Teaching and journalism were among the earliest female professions. The nature of teaching, and indeed nursing which also was an established, but initially a less socially acceptable, profession, involved having a visible impact but journalism is an invisible form of work and, as such, the journalists would have had a harder struggle in establishing themselves as role models. They also lacked the professional training available to teachers and nurses.

Some of the journalists followed dual careers, combining teaching with their writing. Initially it was the press, in particular the Ottoman women's press and then the general press, which benefited from their ideas, but from the 1930s an additional medium, radio, enabled them to capitalize on their experience. They were still invisible on the radio but having their names broadcast could well have had given them a higher profile than with the written media. This is particularly true in the late Ottoman period, as many magazine and newspaper articles lacked the name of the author.

The intention in this chapter has been to draw additional able women journalists out from the shadows of some of the better known names in the Ottoman women's press, and to place them in the overall picture of a changing social structure.

The study reveals their diversity of background. They were not all from the upper echelons of society. Some were State educated and of modest means. While the number of women journalists profiled may be small, it is comparable to the limited number of English women journalists active in the same period. It is doubtful if there were any female lexicographers, such as Hatice Nakiye, in England in the 1880s.

Through concentrating on the women's press, Chapter Three aimed to investigate its diversity and to establish how much it both aided and reflected the progress of urban and urbanized women.

The entrepreneurial publishers, both male and female, of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century

who were involved with the Ottoman Turkish women's press, were instrumental in providing an ongoing link with socio-cultural developments, not only in the empire but well beyond. This part of the Ottoman press provides us with an overview of what the issues of the day were, and, in some ways more importantly, what proprietors, editors and journalists thought that their readership should be pre-occupied with. Throughout its 58 year existence, the Ottoman Turkish women's press showed remarkable resilience during challenging times, when social engineering policy (mainly through education) had swung towards the West, and then back again to the East.

An important point which emerges from linking the study of educational provision with both journalism and the women's press is that much of the development happened during the reign of Abdülhamid II, an era more often than not associated with oppression. Clearly those responsible for producing magazines learnt very quickly to pick their way through the minefield of regulations. Researchers into the Ottoman women's press are familiar with the prominent names, but 12 women's magazines were launched in the 33 years of his reign, despite often draconian edicts from the palace.

It has been revealed that it was not necessarily the high-minded organs of socio-political change which made the greatest impact. References to earlier periods in the English press reveal that, although there were groups of women who demonstrated about political rights, it was the ordinary woman who turned out to be the magazine barons' "bread and butter", not the highly educated Miss or Mrs "Elite".

The analysis of the entire run of *İnci* magazine has provided us with an idea of what Simavi thought was the appropriate intellectual level for his target readership. In general, he did not stray very far from the aims set out in his mission statement. The more notable lapses to have emerged were, firstly, in the domestic realm, where the content was not as helpful as he suggested it was going to be. Secondly, as far as safeguarding the readers' sensibilities was concerned, he strayed on a few occasions. Lastly, in the literary field, he wandered from his self-imposed brief. For example, some of the plays were nothing more than a collection of sketches, and some of the poems were more suitable for children. Both the language and subject matter in a number of the

articles were above his targeted middle-brow readership.

The diversity of content of *İnci* has emerged as impressive. Apart from promoting literature, science and general knowledge, Simavi also fostered an interest in the visual and performing arts. He introduced new forms of theatre, articles about the cinema and film stars, information about art exhibitions, new forms of music and the latest western dance crazes.

By 1919, the English women's press barons had realised that appealing to the masses was more profitable than preaching culture and high-mindedness. The research into *İnci* magazine in particular, reveals that when it came to the "encyclopaedic" and cultural content, Simavi's readers were far better served than those of any of the English women's mass publication magazines of the time. This statement applies equally to the entire duration of the Ottoman women's press from 1869 until 1927. The reason was not that English women were still waiting, but that the content of the English women's press had, from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, progressed, reached its zenith by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and then started a steady decline.

Simavi came nowhere near saying as much in his mission statement, but his target reader was far more representative of the new breed of woman who was better educated than her mother. Simavi himself was the product of a good education and he would have recognized that, although in comparison with the men, their numbers were small, educated women were essential for the success of his magazine. He also appears to have acknowledged, and not challenged, the fact that women were still going to have to fulfil their traditional roles. *İnci* featured several articles which heaped additional burdens on its readership, but there was no material which actively encouraged women either to give up or delegate their domestic roles and pursue careers outside the home. This was an important recognition on his part.

Although Simavi was not pro-active in channelling his readers in any particular direction, he was not averse to exposing them to numerous advertisements. He, like all magazine publishers, would have relied upon the revenues from this source. The analysis of the advertisements reveals a growing sophistication and open mindedness among the readership. The advertisements for dentists and

doctors indicate that, although the readers were tempted with all the latest beauty products and treatments, they were also interested in their physical welfare.

The analysis of the content of *İnci* reveals it to defy categorization in terms of what researchers in "women's issues" seek. The fact that Simavi did not concentrate on any particular issues, may be one of the reasons why it appears to have been neglected by researchers. Another reason is possibly that many researchers into Turkish "women's issues" are interested in the input made *by* women, and, as the survey showed, on this basis *İnci* was not a rich seam. I would argue that its very ordinariness is a rich source, because its content reflected the broader development and progress of women.

The "look" of *İnci* was an important factor in its success because, although some of the content was vacuous, the uniting factor was that, without actually spelling it out, it appeared to uphold the fundamental principles of Islam. This was largely achieved through the visual impact of almost all of the issues. There were very few images of women with their heads uncovered. Simavi overlaid the appearance of *İnci* with a fine patina of reserve which served to underscore the morality of his readers, but, which at the same time enabled them safely to look for entertainment and enlightenment within.

For the women who had completed Middle school (around age 14-16), literature which built on their education was scarce. The research reveals that there was plenty to learn from *İnci*, because there was something for almost everybody, apart from those who leaned towards active participation in the political arena. Simavi's early development as an editor can be traced through his magazines, but, in the case of *İnci*, his lack of engagement on potentially controversial matters ensured its survival for nearly four years.

The research has revealed that Simavi lacked competition during most of the run of *İnci*, so in effect he could have taken the easy path and calculated that many women would have opted for anything published for them rather than nothing at all, but I would argue that, to his credit, he did not. One can only conclude that he tried hard to produce a product of broad but far from low-brow appeal. This is not a remark which could have been attributed to any non-specialist English

women's magazines during the same period. The fact that *Süs* magazine appeared as *İnci* folded could be interpreted as Simavi having been successful in fostering the target readership which Mehmet Rauf (the owner and editor of *Süs*) was then able to exploit for a year.

From the point of view of those interested in the development and progress of Ottoman women, *İnci* may have been discounted because it did not feature women writers in any significant numbers. Rather than reading this as ill-judged, I propose that this fact in itself was a sign of progress, because during its period of publication many women's interests had developed beyond those catered for in gender-specific publications.

In her book *Women's Magazines, 1693-1968*, Cynthia White gives an excellent overview of the English women's press. A similar study which investigates the subject in greater depth than the two useful publications produced by the *Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi* in İstanbul would be highly beneficial to researchers in this field. In particular, the lack of a successful stimulating republican woman's magazine until 1947 when the *Kadın Gazetesi* (Woman Newspaper) appeared, needs to be investigated.

In Chapter Four the research into the life and work of Sabiha Sertel, whose career was unfolding during the final years of the Ottoman women's press, affords insights into what determined women could achieve if they dared. The very fact that it was she, aged 15, who initiated the correspondence with Zekeriya Sertel during his period with *Yeni Felsefe Dergisi* (New Philosophy Magazine) confirms this.

It would not be unfair to suggest that one of the more important results of the research into her life and career has been to de-couple her from Nazım Hikmet. For too long the mention of her name has been linked with his and communism, arguably to the detriment of other aspects of her career. We see that by the time that Hikmet joined *Resimli Ay* she had graduated from university in America. She was no stranger to socialist writers and was not a complete *ingénue*. Nazım Hikmet, perhaps, benefited more from their association than she did.

Recent research by Saime Göksü and Edward Timms does not mention the vital role played by Sabiha's family. It was her brothers who provided the venture

capital which funded *Resimli Ay*. Zekeriya must have concurred with their association with Nazım Hikmet, otherwise it would have been unlikely that they would have given an almost unknown poet a platform. In effect this gesture made the Sertels his patrons. The research corrects a further misunderstanding that Sabiha Sertel was involved with Nazım Hikmet's writing, and under his political influence for most of her career. This was not the case, their commercial literary association lasted from April 1929 to October 1930: a mere 18 months in a 26-year long career as a journalist. Sabiha Sertel has emerged as a loyal friend to Hikmet, but their subsequent contacts within the time-frame of this thesis were social.

Sabiha Sertel has been revealed as a firm, but fair minded woman, but, because of her perceived ideology, this side of her character has been overshadowed by her reputation as a discordant trouble-making activist. She managed to combine a successful career (if success be measured in terms of the amount she got into print and financial security) with marriage and motherhood, in an era when the majority of women were still expected to stay at home. She has been revealed as a woman of more sides than public opinion would allow. For example, she was in favour of the westernization of the Turkish Republic, but was against what is now termed globalisation. Her mores were anchored firmly in Islamic values, but she recognised some of the advantages to be gained from sending her children to foreign schools. She was open-minded about inter-faith marriages.

Although defensive of women's rights, Sabiha Sertel spoke up for all. She was not in any way a women's journalist. She was not afraid to criticise women where she found fault, as with her harsh but rational evaluation of the war widows' plight, and her castigation of female MPs for condoning the extra burden of a labour tax on working women. Her attitude to prostitutes showed her sympathetic side because, rather than condemn them, she condemned those responsible for the social structure which placed them in such an unenviable position.

The survey of her writing does not reveal her as propagandist for communist ideology. Both her writing, and that of her daughter mainly emphasize her struggle for democracy, justice and freedom. Her writing style was terse; she always had her eye on the matter in hand. She could be hard hitting, but she was

usually temperate. The material shows that she was conversant with research methodology, preparation and presentation.

There are still many people in Turkey who are prepared to voice their criticism of her activities, invariably linking her with Hikmet and communism. Historiographically she has been sidelined, so it appears not to be possible to compare both the material about her written by her daughter, and the content of her own autobiography, with the material written by others. Little is made of her early inexperience, her dependence upon others when Zekeriya was absent and her occasional naïveté. Without Zekeriya's greater maturity and his acquaintanceship with Halide Edip, Sabiha's early education would not have been built upon so successfully. There were few young women in her position who had the benefit of marrying a graduate of the Sorbonne. Her interest in sociology would more than likely not have developed if Zekeriya had not been a student of Dürkheim.

The charge of *salon komünisti* could be seen as fair by those who judged her by the wealth which paid for the couple's comfortable lifestyle. It is true that their children wore imported clothing, attended foreign schools in Turkey, and were sent abroad to study, and that the family was well travelled. However, alongside enjoying all these enviable trappings of prosperity, she did dedicate her career to trying to achieve a social structure, which would enable more people to live their lives fully, rather than barely to exist.

Having attempted objectively to evaluate her contribution to the development of republican journalism, it is not possible to pigeon-hole her as either a communist or a socialist. I would argue that she sometimes swayed towards communist ideals, but that on balance she was an idealist who was too impatient for democracy. More important is the legacy she left for historians of late Ottoman and early republican political journalism who, as with the history of education, have tended to concentrate on the men.

The research has aimed to place more women in their rightful place in the history of the development of Turkish society.

There are other areas where the material presented could be further researched. In the educational field, a comprehensive history of girls' education in Turkey



would be helpful. Further research is needed on the effects of the geographic changes towards the end of the empire and the consequent demographic effects. These facts were vital in planning an overall strategy for education but no material has been found to show what consideration was given to this problem.

The research into women journalists could be added to by following the establishment of later career options for women such as medicine and the law.

Muzaffer Gökman's biography of Sedat Simavi has been helpful but a more comprehensive biography of his life's work appears to be lacking. In the field of research into the press before, during and immediately after the change to Latin script some areas do not appear to have been researched. For example, the readership of the daily, and the women's, press was above school age. School children would have learnt more rapidly and although classes were available to all adults, learning the new letters was only the first step towards fluency in the new script. The problem of spelling in the new script, where all pronounced vowels were present, also needed to be addressed. This must have taken time and during this period the circulation figures would have fallen. It is more than likely that there were other problems other than the availability of Latin type which caused the drop in circulation.

An attempt has been made to paint an objective portrait of Sabiha Sertel but further research would be invaluable. The fact that her husband made little mention of her in his autobiographical output is curious. The period of this research ends in 1950 but there were later incidents in her life which would help to provide a more complete picture. Dr Yıldız Sertel has been generous with her time but Sevim O'Brien, Sabiha's other daughter, may have additional material to add to this and, possibly a different point of view. The fact that Dr Yıldız Sertel dismissed her sister's unpublished autobiography *A Turk Named O'Brien* as both unavailable and devoid of scholarly merit could prove a worthwhile further avenue of research. Nazım Hikmet is undergoing a process of rehabilitation in Turkish cultural history and with changing attitudes, it is possible that researchers will come forward to re-appraise Sabiha Sertel's contribution. A student of political journalism, or historians of the feminist movement in Turkey, might add additional dimensions to the more detailed picture of the development of late Ottoman and early republican Turkish women from the 1860s until 1950 which this thesis has attempted to paint.

## APPENDIX

### 6.1 GENDER/SEXUALITY IN TURKISH TEXTBOOKS FROM 1928 ONWARDS<sup>919</sup>

The following material has been included because it constitutes a further example of the damage done in the field of female education following the implementation of Şemsettin Sirer's policies from 1946 onwards. In addition it aims to demonstrate that, in the instance of textbook imagery, Turkish publications were several decades ahead of those used in English schools. In many of these, sexist imagery and gender bias were common-place until the 1960s. It wasn't until the rise of the feminist movement that such images were even noticed. Stereotyping of gender roles was prevalent throughout educational publications, and parents would not have seen any reason to challenge the content of school books since these were familiar images for their generation as well.

The survey in Chapter One of the development of educational provision for increasing numbers of Turkish girls shows that they managed to overcome numerous problems in order to make the best possible use of what was provided. In the early stages the girls would most probably not have recognized the gender imagery in school textbooks, but the manipulation of these images, to reflect the agenda of those in charge at the Ministry of Education, was deliberate policy.

Before the alphabet change of 1928, the rate of illiteracy was high in Turkey and there was a scarcity of printed books. School children were often the first to come across images which assigned particular roles to the sexes. This situation changed when new school textbooks were printed following the alphabet reforms, because within a couple of years whole families had acquired a degree of literacy.

No apparent gender bias has been identified in the early Latin script Turkish textbooks so, parents and children<sup>920</sup> would not have been subjected to

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<sup>919</sup> For granting access to see some of these textbooks, I am grateful to the owner of a private archive. A publication about these books is in progress, and for this reason the owner asked to remain anonymous.

<sup>920</sup> It was, of course, not only children but also countless adults who were taught to read in literacy classes run by the same schools which their children attended.

stereotypes common in western European textbooks. For many parents as well as the children, the new Latin script brought information and imagery untainted by decades of stereotyping.

Publications for girls before the alphabet reforms were all very similar. They took the form of instruction manuals, which were largely concerned with domestic, health, religious and moral matters.<sup>921</sup> For instance, in *Kızlara Mahsus Hıfı-Sıhhat*, published in İstanbul in 1894, girls were told that "because the brains of men are larger than those of women, they (men) are much more intelligent". The message was that for the tasks undertaken by females their smaller brain was adequate. Early domestic science manuals also existed, but, for this period, no textbooks for girls which cover the arts or sciences have been found.

The following passage appeared in 1928 in a Primary fourth year textbook entitled *Yurt Bilgisi*:

*Şu annem görüyorum ve anlıyorum ki hiçbir işte babamı yalnız bırakmıyor, her şeyde ona yardım ediyor. Demek babamla annem arasında sıkı bir tesanüt var... Babam geçende bana bir de müşterek maksattan bahsetmişti. Bizim ev de müşterek maksatla vücuda getirilmiş bir müessese olacak. Babamla annem birleşmişler, hem kendilerinin, hem çocuklarının saadetini temin etmek için çalışıyorlar. Anneyle baba galiba her evin temel taşı.*

(I am aware and understand that this mother of mine does not leave my father to cope alone, she is very supportive. This means that my father and mother are mutually dependent. Recently my father talked to me about the matter of sharing. Our home will be based on the principal of sharing. My mother and father are united, and they work towards their own and their children's well-being. Presumably both parents provide the foundation stone of every home.)<sup>922</sup>

In reality, in 1928, nothing could have been further from the truth for the majority of households, but the publication of new school textbooks gave the

<sup>921</sup>

For examples of the content of textbooks for girls before 1928 see Rıza, A. *Kızlara Mahsus İdare-i Beytiyye, B:2, Kitap:2*. İstanbul: Karabet Matbuası 1897; Şeref, Abdurrahman *İlim-i Ahlak*. İstanbul. Rıza 1894; Behrem, Münir *İdare-i Beytiyye*. İstanbul 1903; Fuad, Ebu'l-Muammer, *Vezif-i Aile*. İstanbul: Keton Bedrosan Matbaası 1910; Nazım, *Kıraat-i Beytiyye*. İstanbul: Şems Matbaası 1911; Nazım, *Ameli ve Nazari İktisad-i Beyti*. İstanbul: Ahmediye Matbaası 1915; Nazım, *İdare-i Beytiyye*. İstanbul: Hilal Matbaası 1915.

Ministry of Education an opportunity to promote gender equality, just as it had intended with its policy for the *Köy Enstitüleri*.

In 1928, both boys and girls were held out as the first generation to benefit from the reforms taking place in republican Turkey. There was no bias at all with both men and women shown working on the land together.<sup>923</sup> In the same year *Yurt Bilgisi* also included a reading practice piece, in which a woman was described as earning money. Although her employment was domestic, her contribution to the family finances was emphasized.

In the textbook pictures of the 1930s both parents were pictured reading newspapers and books, but, by the mid 1940s, the images were changed and only men were seen reading.

In 1930, there was a shift in emphasis in textbooks designed for rural Primary school children, when, for them, the *İlk Mektep Müfredat Programı* (Primary curriculum) was replaced with *Köy Müfredat Programı*<sup>924</sup> (Village Curriculum). As with the previously discussed Village Institutes, the revised curriculum was intended to be relevant to local conditions. Thus, through this textbook young girls were, in addition to their usual subjects, taught to control and prevent contagious diseases, eradicate lice, bed bugs, wood-worm etc.

The *Köy Müfredat Programı* was withdrawn in 1945, and after 1950 the information about head lice and other infestations was replaced with instructions on how to achieve shiny and well-groomed hair. Enhancement of personal appearance was given precedence over matters of health and hygiene. An attractive impression was held out as important, whereas previously, a healthy impression was aimed for. In her survey of Turkish textbooks Fırdevs Helvacıoğlu called this the "Baby Doll" period.<sup>925</sup>

One of the next changes to manifest itself was the attitude towards divorce. In the 1933 textbooks, under "Legal Cases" the pupils were taught that if a woman was dissatisfied with her husband or subject to constant criticism, she need not

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<sup>922</sup> Ahmet, Refik. *Yurt Bilgisi* 4. Sınıf. İstanbul: İkdam Matbaası 1928.

<sup>923</sup> See Ahmet 1928.

<sup>924</sup> See *Köy Müfredat Programı*. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası 1930.

<sup>925</sup> Helvacıoğlu, Fırdevs *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik*. İstanbul: Analiz Basımevi 1996:98.

suffer for the rest of her life, but could apply in law for a divorce.<sup>926</sup>

When it came to the sciences, in *Fen Bilgisi Orta 1* of 1932 and *Hayat Bilgisi Eşya ve Fen Bilgisi Rehberi* of 1933, girls were depicted either alone or paired with a boy conducting experiments on magnetism, electricity and barometric pressure. One of the captions read: "Every day thousands of girls and boys go to school by tram, bus or car. Among them how many wonder what makes the vehicle move, where it gets its power from and how it stops?" There are further examples of mixed sex pairs conducting research into the speed of sound and the creation of a vacuum.<sup>927</sup>

Science for girls was not restricted to maths, physics, biology and chemistry. The authorities knew that, although they were advocating equal educational opportunities and promoting sexual equality, the majority of girls would still end up as housewives. In 1930, domestic science had been introduced in *İlk Mektep Müfredat Programı* (Primary school curriculum). Emphasis in this book was not on traditional methods of running a home but, on scientific methods of food preparation, hygiene, economics, safety and first aid<sup>928</sup>, but for rural children, these textbooks were, as mentioned above, replaced, so only urban Primary school children had the use of them.

In 1935, the following poem about working couples appeared in a textbook:

*Biz esnaf takımı severiz işi  
Çalışır, yaşarız erkek ve dişi  
Aramızda yoktur tembel kişi  
Ulusun özüyüz biz, şanımlar var.*

(We are a hard-working couple  
we work and live male and female  
neither of us is idle  
we are the salt of the earth,  
we have a reputation.)<sup>929</sup>

<sup>926</sup> Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı *Yurt Bilgisi 5. Sınıf*. İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı LŞ 1933:28.

<sup>927</sup> Halit, Naime, *Hayat Bilgisi Eşya ve Fen Bilgisi Rehberi*, 2. İstanbul: Muallim Halil Kütüphanesi 1933:59.

<sup>928</sup> Bravery, truthfulness and gentle discipline were also emphasized. Innovative methods were to disappear from textbooks in the post 1946 years. See Doğan, Nuri *Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme (1876-1918)*. Ankara: Bağlam Yayıncılık 1994:43.

<sup>929</sup> *Okuma Kitabı*, 5. Sınıf. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi 1935:18.

In the version of this poem which appeared in the same school textbook in 1952 the second line was changed to:

*Çalışkan gayretli birer er kişi*

(each of us hard working men.)

In the space of 17 years, the couple working side by side were changed to men only. As far as any work was concerned, images of women appear to have been removed from the textbooks.

By 1937 some mothers appear to be in control of money. In a 1937 school reader<sup>930</sup> a village child says to her mother "mother, buy me a horse" and to her father "father, buy me a skipping rope". The same child was asked "what did your mother buy you?" to which the reply was "a gold watch"<sup>931</sup>, but by 1946, children were being told to "ask your father to show you the following coins".<sup>932</sup> As recently as 1981, the mother who had bought the gold watch was not even allowed to buy knitting wool. A child says "mother knit me a pullover, father buy me some wool".<sup>933</sup>

In 1945 the female bird metaphor<sup>934</sup> started to appear. Textbooks included images which equated girls with nest building and feeding their young. Providing for the family was not shown as a joint enterprise. This was a role assigned to men.

Very soon, textbook images of females were to change. Whereas previously they were shown as equal to men and boys, from 1945 onwards the images changed. Both girls and their mothers started to appear wearing aprons which, in effect, became their "uniform". Previously they would have been shown as a family group relaxing and reading, but now the girls and mothers within the family

<sup>930</sup> In the same year a magazine aimed at schoolgirls was launched. It was called *Okul Kızı*, and set out to reinforce the image of young girls as modern, educated and responsible people who would make a valuable contribution to the new republic. It folded the same year.

<sup>931</sup> See *Alfabe*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi 1937:5.

<sup>932</sup> Gökalp, Arkin *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Aritmetik* 1. 2. 3. Sınıf. İstanbul: Bir Yayınevi 1946:70.

<sup>933</sup> See *Alfabe*. Ankara: Öğün Yayınları 1981:52.

<sup>934</sup> In 1949 *Dişi Kuş* (Female Bird) magazine was launched with the aim of teaching women how to "build their own nests". It was owned by a woman, Hüsnüye Balkanlı. This was similar to English women's periodicals such as *Woman and Home* and *Homemaker*.

group were either knitting or sewing, and only the fathers and sons read. Books were considered as less important for girls than needlework.

As with English school readers of the same period, girls in Turkish textbooks were also shown helping their mother to wash up whilst their brothers played and their fathers read the newspaper.

The imagery of men and boys in the post 1946 textbooks was markedly different from that of women and girls. The males were always in charge, making decisions and supervising.

In *Hayat Bilgisi 2. Sınıf (Sonbahar)* of 1947, under the heading of "evimizindeki insanların işleri" (the jobs of those in our home) the father is a doctor, but the mother is described as "educated, but running the home with the help of a female domestic". In this example the mother's education has possibly netted her a professional husband, but it has not led to her using education beyond the domestic sphere. Also, a female domestic can hardly have been construed as a good role model for girls, even if she did work for a doctor's family.

In the 1950 edition of *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Ortaokullar İçin*, the idea that "without children, a house was not a home" appeared. Fikriye Sunuhi, the compiler, showed proud smiling mothers who were always happy to be subservient. The children were described as "helping their mother", as they tried to make the father comfortable and happy. None of these ideas had existed in earlier textbooks. In the early republican books, matters concerning civilian life, the law, freedom and individual rights were promoted, rather than domesticity and motherhood.

In 1952, in her poem "Kadın Narin ve Şirin, Erkek Güçlü ve Akıllı", (Woman is delicate and pretty, man is strong and clever)<sup>935</sup> Şükrü İrge assigned letters of the alphabet to boys and girls names and then described their characteristics using suitable adjectives.

There were nine lines devoted to girls and nineteen lines to boys. Only one of the girls was assigned an occupation, that of dress maker, the others were described as gentle, pretty, coquettish, puny, vain, domesticated and with other

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<sup>935</sup> İrge, Şükriye *Hayat Bilgisi 3. Sınıf, 11*. Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık 1952.

similar adjectives. The boys were described as being economical, strong, clever, heroic and competent. The opportunities for the boys in the poem were very different from the lone female seamstress. They could aspire to being a writer, a captain, an architect, a banker, an artist, an officer, a musician, a sportsman and even an actor. The message to girls in this poem was that should expect a subservient and decorative role.

Şükriye İrge, the compiler of this particular issue of *Hayat Bilgisi* was not the only female guilty of sending negative messages to girls, thus demonstrating that it was not always men who perpetuated a restricted future for girls.<sup>936</sup>

Laundry became a popular image in the textbooks. As late as 1966, clothes pegs were used to explain "tens and units"<sup>937</sup> during a maths lesson. This reinforced the image of girls as being responsible for the family laundry. Similar pictures were nowhere to be seen before 1946.

What emerges from the above selection of material is a marked difference in gender assignment of roles as depicted in Turkish State school textbooks. In the early years of the Turkish Republic, girls were portrayed as equal to men in every way. The images not only encouraged them to expect equality, but they also reinforced the idea that educated girls faced a bright future as confident, healthy, independent women who would make valuable contributions to society.

These ideals were perpetuated until the mid 1940s when party politics started to have markedly regressive effects upon educational policy. In her otherwise useful survey of some of these textbooks, Fırdevs Helvacıoğlu offers no explanation for the changes.

The reasons appear to be similar to those previously discussed in the section about the *Köy Enstitüleri* in Chapter One. Şemsettin Sirer, the Minister for

<sup>936</sup> For example, the majority of women's magazines published in 1952 did not imply any future for women other than as wives and mothers. Such magazines helped women with their primary occupation of making themselves and their homes more attractive. Two of these magazines were owned by women, but they certainly didn't expect their readers to aspire to such a career. See *Resimli Romans* (Illustrated Romance) (1951-52) owned by Meral Nebioğlu and *Misafir* (Guest) (1952) owned by Jale Temoçiner. *Burda Moda* (*Burda Fashion*) (1951-54) and *Resimli Hayat* (Illustrated Life) (1952) were not run by women, but they perpetuated the stereotypes. There were two magazines which fitted in very well with the pre-1946 textbook images. They were *Yelpaze* (Fan) (1952-1967) and *Kadın Dünyası* (Woman's World) (1952-53).

<sup>937</sup> Ötügen, Halil, *Hayat Bilgisi, 2. Sınıf*. İstanbul: Ulus Yayınları 1966.



Education from 1946, not only cast a shadow over the Village Institutes, but also over Primary education. His Islamist views meant that girls were denied the independent and forward looking roles as shown in early republican period textbooks. Initially Sirer tinkered with the secular nature of education before making religious instruction compulsory. This would not have been a problem if he had simply added religion to the curriculum, but it would seem that he could not resist manipulating the textbooks so that he appeared to be pandering to those who wanted to revert to pre-republican educational formulae.

Where girls had learnt to think, evaluate and then respond, his theories meant they received textbook images of themselves only in a domestic setting with clearly defined and typically sexist roles.<sup>938</sup>

As the discussion in Chapter about the Village Institutes showed, Sirer's main interest was in gaining votes for the weak CHP (Republican Peoples' Party). He manipulated school textbooks so that parents could see that they were being "given back their traditions, customs and faith". Sirer used every opportunity to hammer this message home, and the fact that girls and women were going to be the long-term losers did not affect his attitude.

Sirer's policies meant that girls, who for nearly twenty years had learnt that education was an asset, now had to relearn that their main asset was their fertility and ability to raise the next generation of *Mehmetci*ks (common man). They were to be like their mothers and grandmothers, and be good *köy anaları* (traditional village mothers).

This is certainly an area of study which needs to be looked at in greater depth. Although this thesis covers to period up to 1950, the political changes which have taken place in Turkey in the last 50 years are worthy of study to see how the changes have been reflected in school textbooks.

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<sup>938</sup> It should be noted that, during his ministry, there do not appear to have been any images in the textbooks of girls and young women with their heads covered. There were earlier images of village mothers with their heads covered. See: *Alfab*e 1937 and 1939. In 1964 the cover of *Alfab*e *Kitabı*m featured a young girl with her head and forehead covered. This was published by Amerikan Board Neşriyat Dairesi.

## 6.2 EXAMPLES OF WRITING PRODUCED BY GIRLS FOR THE *KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ* MAGAZINE

These examples illustrate that the girls at the Institutes were well able to express themselves clearly. The pieces reflect their rural backgrounds and their pride in their achievements. Their simplicity does not detract from their quality. The examples are taken from *Köy Enstitüleri Dergisi* (Village Institute Magazine), which was first published in 1945.

Some of the poetry showed both their creativity and their powers of observation.

For example: Ümmü Altan<sup>939</sup> wrote:

At night we all carried bundles of straw  
The moonlight was a cure for all our woes  
We experienced working life on a beautiful night  
My heart thought that night was a festival.

Whilst the baskets and barrows came and went  
I did not want morning to come whilst there was moonlight  
And the golden moon smiled at us from the sky  
We wanted to work even harder

Having not had my fill of that infinite beauty  
I saw the crimson dawn, the crimson faded  
The working night had passed, it was morning  
The piles of straw were left orphaned.

The same young girl, Ümmü Altan, wrote a short piece called "Sen de Okusaydın" (If You Too Had Studied) in which she tried to explain, presumably in the face of criticism from those left behind in her community, that she had not abandoned her roots, but had gone to improve herself so that in turn she could help others. She acknowledged that the people back in her village had no idea of what she had experienced, and the benefits accrued to her through both Primary schooling and studying at a *Köy Enstitüsü*.

Nafize Tuncay wrote "Hasanoğlan Çamaşırhanesi ve Köy Toplumundaki Önemi" (The Importance of the Hasanoğlan Wash-house for the Village Community).<sup>940</sup> At the Institute she undertook a study of the social structure of

<sup>939</sup> Altan, Ümmü *Köy Enstitüsü Dergisi*, No 7, 1945

<sup>940</sup> Tuncay, Nafize *Köy Enstitüsü Dergisi*. Ankara Hasanoğlan: Köy Enstitüsü Yayınları No 15 1946:10-14

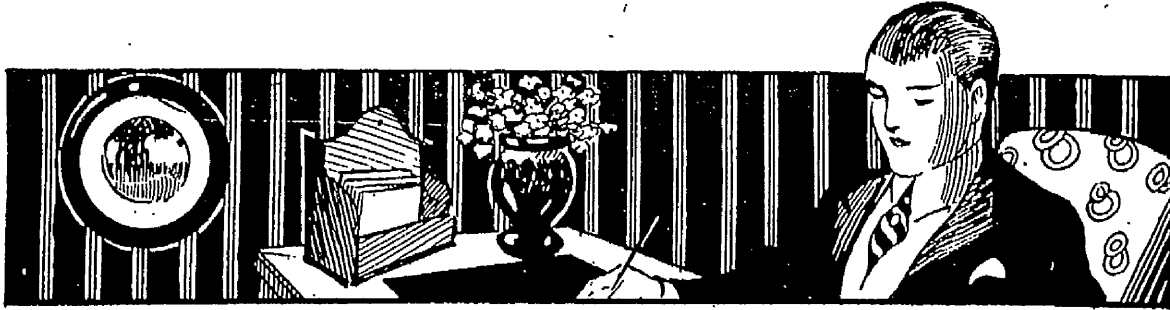
the wash-house. This was a small scale socio-anthropological project observing the habits and hierarchy of the wash-house as one of the focal points of village life. She wrote the article using headings such as "Subjects discussed among the women " and then made a list of all the topics such as: their homes; the village; the *kasaba* (small town); the period when the Institute was being constructed and what the locals thought it was; the past; worries about the war (newspapers did not reach the village, so outside news came from those who went to the *kasaba* from time to time); gossip (mainly about the village *ağa*); marriage; local events and relationships. Nafize Tuncay looked upon the wash-house as a welfare centre which provided mutual support.<sup>941</sup> She concluded her little study with the wry observation that whilst the houses in Hasanoglan were very clean nobody bothered to clean the wash-house; everybody simply assumed others were responsible.

Nebahat Kaya wrote "Adliye Köyünde Düğün" (Wedding in Adliye Village)<sup>942</sup>. She produced a very good description of courtship and eventual marriage among the Circassian speaking people of the village who, judging by the content of the article, appeared to have more liberal attitudes towards relationships between the sexes than was the norm. It too was a sociological study which enumerated the various ways in which open courtship took place. She drew attention to the punitive custom of paying a "bride price" and gave this as one of the reasons why so many of the villagers were still single at the age of forty. Men could not afford to lose their livelihoods in order to try and raise the money to pay the "bride price". She also described the custom of young men having to prove themselves by stealing a horse from a distant village. Her descriptions of the preparations for the wedding were very well crafted. Had the article appeared anywhere other than in the *Köy Enstitüsü Dergisi* it would have probably provoked public criticism, because of the apparent freedom enjoyed by teenagers of both sexes. However it was most probably not read by anybody who had not either attended an Institute or been closely involved with somebody who had. This article would have fallen foul of Şemsettin Sirer and his insistence upon segregating the sexes to protect "morals".

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<sup>941</sup> Similar to the atmosphere at *Halk Evleri*.

<sup>942</sup> Kaya, Nebahat, *Köy Enstitüsü Dergisi*. No 7, 1945:221-224



## ماچار ادبیاتنده تورک سوکیسی مهری : ایس بیج

شانکر پارلاقدی کولشدن بیله  
سونوکه قالاژی شیندی کورکده؟

بو بویوک آتشک آبدینلندن؟  
بو آتش که : شرقدن بزه عکس ایدر  
و بوتون جهان قارشی پارلا یوب :  
« بن مقدس وطن سوکیسیم » دیر .

چوق زماندن بری مزاردنه یانان  
« مون وده » او درین اوقوسی قیچار  
بوشرف نوریله « ملورباق آلتینده  
قلمشان کوزنی دنیا به آچار !

تولوم رویانی سیر کوزنن  
قالقارک سیر ایدر خارقه لری  
سویقکه « یته برصیاح اولدی  
آیلیدی یکیدن « قهرمان عصری »

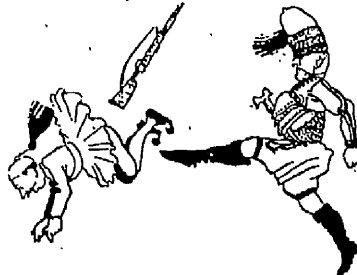
قهرمان در اونلر « بیل ای . ملت  
هم اصل قهرمان او تورک اولدی !  
« برنجی عسکر » دیک شیندی به قازار  
نقط شیندی اونلر یکدی ایلری .

« برنجی عسکرک » تاجنی  
او شانلی تورک لره پایلاشالیسک  
اولدی تاجکدن دها زمره بر  
یکی تاج آلمنه اوغراشالیسک .

پشته ۲۴ نیسان ۱۹۲۱

ایس بیج

### تورک عسکرلری



Dalmady Gyoza دن ترجمه :

اوزاقده چارپشان تورک عسکرلری  
قهرمان در اونلر « اصل قهرمان  
داغ ، بایر آشدقجه هجوم ایدرک  
دوبولور هر آدیم سسی بورادن »

حق ایچون سیریلان قیلجیرنک  
اوجنده بیکرجه بیلدیرم دوغار  
اونلردن تکره نیر اوغولدامای  
کوکری کورلن شو قیرمیلر .

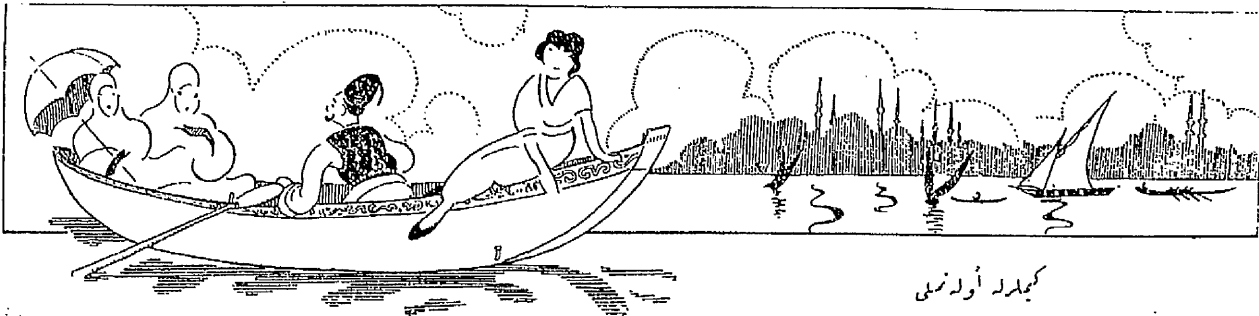
اونلر عسکر دکل ، حرب آلهری  
اونلرکه یوجا ، صارب داغلری ییغار  
طونج آدیملرک آلتینده « بوتون  
خشیله آکیلر یالچین قایلر .

ای اُسکی « بودین » ای « برانیقون ، سز  
بوکون ندرمه سکن ؟ ، شانکر ندرمه ؟ ...

وزکارک هرقدانی اولان  
اصیل ماچار قومنک ادبیاتی  
بزلرک آزطایورز ، حال بوکه  
بو ادبیات کوزله ، متین ،  
یک کنیش و درین در ، اوروپا  
دیلرینک آک مهلرینه  
ماچار ادبیاتنک شاه اثرلری

مپ ترجمه ایدیلش و ایدیلکده در . روحی ،  
دوینوسی ، اخلاق و دیلله و حق عادت لریله بزم یک  
یاقینده زده اولان ماچارلنک ادبیاتنده تورک سوکیسی  
تورکاره قارشی قارده شلک دوینوسی اثرلری آز  
دکل در . بن « یالینده ، معصل ، قازارلر دها ایچیه  
طالینتی ایسته دیکیم بوماچار - تورک سوکیسنک  
ایلک ادبی نمونه سی اولقی اوزره ماچارلرک ملی ،  
وطن پرور و سوداوی شاعری ، « P'etoli  
په توفی » یک ممقی « دالمادی کوزو Dalmady  
Gyoza » نک « تورک عسکرلری - عنوانلی  
شعری قازارلر تقدیم ایدیورم . ترجمه - قابل  
اولدینی قازار - اصلنه مطابقدر .

۱۸۴۶ شاپلنک اون برنده ماچارستانک  
( قوماروم ) ولایتنه تابع ( قولتا ) ده دوغوب  
۱۹۱۶ حیررانتک اوتوزنده بودا پشته ده تولن  
( دالمادی کوزو ) بوشمری بزم ۱۸۷۷ بویوک  
روس محاربه سینده شینقا بالقانلرند چارپشان  
قهرمانلرین تجیل ایچون سوله مش در . فرق  
یش سته اول تورک شانی ترم ایدن بوشمر ،  
بوکونی ظفر مزه بویوک بر هیجان ایله سویین  
قاردهش ماچار ملتک شیندیکی دوینوسی دها  
اوزماندن ادبی و ایدی برانکاسه نائل ایتشدر .  
شاعر ( دالمادی کوزو ) ایچون آیری بر مقاله  
یازاجیم . منظومه نک دردنجی قطعه سینده  
( برانیقون ) ماچارلرک اوستریلرله اولان حریت  
محاربه لرنده بویوک بر ظفر قازاندق لری موقع در .  
آلتنجی قطعه ده کی . ( هوود ) Houved  
ماچارلرک اوزماننی ( مدافعه وطنیه ) اوردوسی  
آمرادینه دیلیرکه : ( یورد قورویان ) دیکلدر .  
ا . ب



گيلر اولرني

هر کيچ فزك حيانده مبرسزقله و هيچانه بگلهديكي مسعود ركون وارد: ازدواج . فزير حياتر نه مهم بر حاده تشكيل ايدن ازدواج ايچون يك دورلو خيالر قورار ، قوجهلرني بيك شكلارده تخيل ايدرلر . فقط ا كتر يا طاني خيالارله بگلهن بكون ، الله دولر بر آينك باشلانديچي اولور . چونكه كنج فزرا كتر يا ، عالمه سنك ، برچوق زمانارده ، كندى خيالك قوربان اولور .

ازدواج انساني چوق مهمدر . فقط محقق مشكل بر شيدر . اوزون وسقي بر تاش و قوع بولفسزين بر انساك سجي و طبيعتي ، ديكرى مسلكي . سجي و طبيعت مسلكسي چوق مهمدر . فقط محقق مشكل بر شيدر . اوزون وسقي بر تاش و قوع بولفسزين بر انساك سجي و طبيعتي ، ديكرى مسلكي . سجي و طبيعت مسلكسي چوق مهمدر . اولك ايچون كنج فز هانكي مسلك احمايله ازدواج ايدرسه مسعود اولور؟ بوني پيله سي لازمدر . چونكه هر مسلكك ازدواج حياتي ايچون فزاشده و محذوري جهلري وارد . بناء عليه هر مسلكك ازدواج حياتي اولان تأثيرني برر برر تدقيق ايدلر .

بولاماز؛ باخود اورنه برصنعتكاردر : اورونده ، خودكام ، مفرور و جسوردر . سزي بدبخت ايدر . بناء عليه سزكه ازدواج ايچك ايسه بن آدم صنعتكار . رسه احتياطي حركت ايديكز .

هررلر ايچونده عيني ملاحظه وارد . حقيقي عرر ، زوج سندن زياده يازيريله ياشار . متوسط بر عرر ايسه ا كتر يا سفيدير . مع مافيه عررلردن اين اوجهلرده و آردر فارسي ده اين اولان شرطيله ا

۶ — روتور قوم :

بدبخت اولان ايسينورسه كن دوقورله اولنكز . كونك ، كچه نك هر هانكي برسا . مننده ، بر يك ، بر معاصيه ، اويقو انشاندن قوجه كزي اليكزون آليرلر . سوكر ا عودتد مفايت طيبي بر اسانه : « ياه كچه بيكز ، چونكه ساري بر خنده كن كورم » دير . وسز دونا قاييركز . قوجه كن سزدن زياده عموك ، المير . وارك سزدن زياده باشلرلي تصاحب ايدر .



۷ — ديپلومات :

بزده كنج قيزلر ، شكله و ظاهره قاييلار ديپلومانلره فضله تمايل كوستريرلر حال بوكه بر ديپلومات اوله نك چاطه كزي باغلاوب سياحه خاشرلاني ديكر سايه ديپلوماتك معين بر اوي معين بر بوردي و قدر . او هر كون بر بردهدر . وسزده اون هر كون تقفيه مجبورسز . بناء عليه ايسه ديكز كي بر يوا بايقدن عرروسكر . سوكر ديپلومانلر ، مسلكارنك ايجان اولارق براز سرت و خشين اولورلر . بوكاده منحل اولميكز .



۳ — اصناف قوم :

اصناف آدملا ا كتر يا تواضع و صاف اولورلر . بونلرله ازدواج يك ده تهلكتي دكلر . بانكز سزي ايسه بن آدم اصنافه اولاد ادملرني فارشي ناسل معامله ايشديكي تحقير ايديكز . اوندن سكره جوابكزي وركز . اكر ادملرني فارشي منصف و انساينل ايسه اورقايكز موافقت ايديكز . فقط اولرني برت و خشين معامله به تابع طوئورسه قاچيكز . چونكه سزده عيني معامله اين ياباني محقددر .



۴ — ابرار صامبي

قوم : ابراد صاحبندن صداد چيفلك ساحيلر . يدور . بونلر اكر ماللات چيفلكارنده ، كندى ايشك باشنده بولونو . يورسه ، بوكيلرله اوله نمكدن قاچايكز . چونكه قير حياتي انساك روجني نيزلر . شهرك پيس و ديدى قوديجي حياتندن اوزاقده ياشايانلر داغا تيز و ساده بر حيات كچيريرلر . بناء عليه بوكي ادملرله ازدواج الساني مسعود ايدر .



۵ — صنعتكار قوم :

رسم ، معمار ، موسيقيشناس و نيسارويي نه اولورسه اولسون صنعتكارلردن قاچيكز . چونكه صنعتكار يابوكك و دهاماسجي بر صنعتكاردر ، كه اوروقت دهاسي ايچنده بوغولور و سزكه اغراشامغه وقت



۱ — نجار قوم :

بزده سوكر زمانلره قدر نجاره بووك بر اهميت و بريلز ، و فزيرلر نجار قوجهلره يك . توجهار كورو نزلردى . فقط حرب هر شيشي ده كيشد برديكي كي بوئاق يده ده كيشد بر . دي . نجارنك كارلر



شي اولدني قناعتي حاصل اولدى . و باره سي چوق اولان قاديئرلر ده واه و لوكر ايچنده ياشايه بيلديكي كودولدى . بناء عليه نجار قوجهلره رغبت آردى . مع مافيه بورغيت برندهدر . چونكه نجارنك ، سبي ، دوشونجهلى اولاني ، اصول ايله چاليشهني مستلزمدر . برنجار كوندوزين پوروايله برابر انشام اويته دونديكي زمان سالم بر فكرله دونه بيلير و عايله سي ايله مشغول اولاييلر . بناء عليه نجاره ازدواج فنا بر شي دكلر .

۲ — يكي رنگين قوم :

يكي رنگينلر حرك ميدانه چيقادريني كيمه لر اولغله برابر اسكي بووك نجارلر ، بانكرلرده بويانده صاييلر بيليرلر . بوكي ادملر اولان غايت بووك ايشلر كور . دكلري ايچون سرمايه لري ده بووك تهاكلره مروضدر .



بركون پياسه ده بووك روزغونلق و باخود بر بجران هر هانكي برزنگيني افلاسه محكوم ايدم بيار . سوكر بووك رنگينلر نظرانده تعلقين ايديله ميه چك بر ذوق قالمادي ايچون ، بونلر ا كتر يا قومانر ميتلا اولورلر . قومانر ايسه بر عايله ايچون اك بووك برنلا كنددر . بووك رنگينلرلر ايچي بر محذوري ده سفاخته مبال اولاليردر . ياره اداي داغا سقيه ييار . بناء عليه رنگين قوجهلره اعتقاد ايديله من .

ایدوک طاسمه سته واورادن ده مساجنه سرپوط بویوک سینه مادامیه سنك حیاتی تداین ایدم بیلرلر.



ایسته خانم 'قوزلر' آتخپ سزك حنكز. بزمیج  
 براسی ترجیح ایتمکزی توصیه ایدم چك دکاز.  
 مم مایه عشق سوبله مکه باشلادی پوتون بواهیحتلرک  
 حکمی قالمز. اونو ده اونونانی.



۹ — مامور قورمه :  
 قوجه لرك اك مطیع واک  
 قیلیدیفیدر. متواضع بر حیاته  
 قانلانی شرطیله بره امور  
 سزی مسعود ایدم بیلر.  
 مم مایه ضابطان حنکده  
 ذکر ایدیان مطالعه بوزلر  
 حنکده وار در. قرا.  
 ربکزی ادا کاوره و بر بکزی.



۸ — آورقات قورمه :  
 آورقات قوجه لر فضا  
 دکادر یالکیز موافقت  
 جوان و برمه دن شونی  
 دوشونو کز که : قوجه کز  
 لسان طلاقنی دیساریده  
 اسراف ایندکدن مسوکرا  
 اویشه دونه چك و ترقی  
 سزه انذفات ایچون سوز  
 سوبله مکه طانی قالمیه چقدر.





Inci, Issue No 1, February 1919,  
Front Cover

انجیسی

نسخه بی ۱۰ غروشی  
نومکرو : ۱



دین

هر آيك ايلك كوني چيقار فادين عزته بي در

ارار و ماسی : جنیان اوکلند  
اورتانیه مطبعه سی اوژند نومبر ۱  
(دین)



نسخه بی ۱۵ غروشی

نومکرو

1 May 1919

ایچی

İnci, Issue No 4, May 1919, Front Cover



هرايك ايلك كوني جيقار قادين غزنه بي در

299

پونسخه ده :  
۳۵ عدد رسم واحد رليق ، كوريلي زاده محمد فزاد ،  
پنج كال ، ابن الرليق احمد نوري ، محمد عارف ، يوسف شيا ،  
روشن اشرف ، رائف بخت پكارك ۲۳ عدد مقاله شعري واردر.

اداره خاناسي : نور عثمانيه فوتون طيه سي واخندده دائره تاسومه قانون نومروسي استنبول : ۱۲۰۳  
اعلانات ايپون سيار مامور ريزه ، ويا طوغرين طوغري به اداره خانه مزه مراجعت ايلاي در .



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Front Cover

# انجمن

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۱ خرداد ۱۳۳۵

نومبر ۵

هر آياك ايلك كوني چي قارقادين غزنه بي در  
نسخه بي ۱۵ غروشلير



دائرة تازه مي : نور علي : ده زمان مجله مي : انجمن  
دائرة تازه مي : تاهرين نورمي : ۱۳۳۵ اعلان ايجون سيار  
دائرة تازه مي : ويا مارغرين مارغرين : اوجر تازه مي : حرايت  
ايجون







## Chronological List Of Ottoman Turkish Women's Magazines in Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi

NAME	No OF ISSUES PUBLISHED	No OF ISSUES AVAILABLE IN KEKBM LIBRARY	FIRST ISSUE IN KEKBM LIBRARY (Islamic Calendar)			FIRST ISSUE IN KEKBM LIBRARY (Gregorian Calendar)			LAST ISSUE IN KEKBM LIBRARY (Islamic Calendar)			LAST ISSUE IN KEKBM LIBRARY (Gregorian Calendar)		
			day	month	year	day	month	year	day	month	year	day	month	year
TERRAKİ	48	48	15	Haziran	1285	28	Haziran	1869	20	Ağustos	1286	2	Eylül	1870
VAKİT YAHUT MÜREBBİ-i MUHADDERAT	8	8	26	Şaban	1292	27	Eylül	1875	6	Zilkade	1292	4	Aralık	1875
AYINE	41	39	2	Teşrin-i Sani	1291	14	Kasım	1875	3	Teşrin-i Evvel	1291	15	Ekim	1875
AİLE	3	3	17	Cemaziyelahir	1297	27	Mayıs	1880	2	Recep	1297	10	Haziran	1880
İNSANİYET	2	2			1299			1882		Rebiyülahir	1300		Şubat	1883
HANIMLAR	1	1		Muharrem	1300	12	Kasım	1882		Muharrem	1300	12	Kasım	1882
MÜRÜVVET		9	15	Şubat	1303	28	Şubat	1887	13	Nisan	1303	26	Nisan	1887
ŞÜKÜFEZAR	5	5			1303			1887			1303			1887
PARÇA	1	1			1305			1889			1305			1889
BOHÇASI														
HANIMLARA MAHSUS GAZETE	614	612	19	Ağustos	1311	1	Eylül	1895	26	Cemaziyel Evvel	1326	25	Haziran	1908
HANIMLAR MAHSUS MALUMAT	18	17 (28)	14	Safer	1313	5	Ağustos	1895	17	Recep	1313	3	Ocak	1896
ALEM-i NISVAN	12	1 (4)				24	Mart	1906				24	Mart	1906
DEMET	7	7 (8)	17	Eylül	1324	30	Eylül	1908	29	Teşrin-i Evvel	1324	11	Kasım	1908
KADIN (Selanik)	30	30	13	Teşrin-i Evvel	1324	26	Ekim	1908	25	Mayıs	1325	7	Haziran	1909
MAHASIN	12	12		Eylül	1324			1908		Teşrin-i Sani	1325		Kasım	1909

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			day	month	year	day	month	year	day	month	year	day	month	year
MUSAVVER KADIN	8	7	3	Nisan	1327	16	Nisan	1911	20	Haziran	1327	3	Temmuz	1911
KADIN (İstanbul)	16	14	11	Ağustos	1327	24	Ağustos	1911	5	Temmuz	1328	18	Temmuz	1912
ERKEKLER DÜNYASI	1	1	6	Kanun-ı Sani	1329	19	Ocak	1913	6	Kanun-ı Sani	1329	19	Ocak	1914
KADINLIK HAYATI	??	1	31	Ağustos	1329	13	Eylül	1913	31	Ağustos	1329	13	Eylül	1913
KADINLAR DÜNYASI	208	208 (?)	4	Nisan	1329	17	Nisan	1913				21	Mayıs	1921
KADINLAR ALEMİ	9	9	22	Mayıs	1330	4	Haziran	1914	17	Temmuz	1330	30	Temmuz	1914
KADINLIK	12	12	8	Mart	1330	21	Mart	1914	3	Temmuz	1330	16	Temmuz	1914
SEYYALE	??	1	22	Mayıs	1330	4	Haziran	1914	22	Mayıs	1330	4	Haziran	1914
SİYANET	16	3	22	Mayıs	1330	4	Haziran	1914	26	Haziran	1330	9	Temmuz	1914
HANIMLARA ALEMİ	33	32	27	Mart	1330	9	Nisan	1914	24	Teşrin-i Evvel	1334	24	Ekim	1918
BİLGİ YURDU	17	17	15	Nisan	1333	15	Nisan	1917		Teşrin-i Evvel	1334		Kasım	1918
İŞİĞİ														
GENÇ KADIN	1	1	24	Teşrin-i Evvel	1334	24	Ekim	1918	24	Teşrin-i Evvel	1334	24	Ekim	1918
TÜRK KADINI	21	21	23	Mayıs	1334			1918	8	Mayıs	1335	8	Mayıs	1919
GENÇ KADIN	10	10	4	Kanun-ı Sani	1335	4	Ocak	1919	8	Mayıs	1335	8	Mayıs	1919
İNCI	28	27				1	Şubat	1919	1	Nisan	1337	1	Nisan	1921
DIYANE	1	1	10	Mart	1336	10	Mart	1920	10	Mart	1336	10	Mart	1920
HANIM	2	2	1	Eylül	1337			1921		Teşrin-i Evvel	1337		Ekim	1921

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			day	month	year	day	month	year	day	month	year	day	month	year
YENİ İNCİ	13	12		Haziran	1338		Haziran	1922		Temmuz	1339			1923
EV HOCASI	1	1	1	Temmuz	1339			1923	1	Temmuz	1339	2	Temmuz	1923
SÜS	55	55	16	Haziran	1339			1923	26	Temmuz	1340	26	Temmuz	1924
FIRUZE	3	2	15	Eylül	1340	15	Eylül	1924	29	Eylül	1340	30	Eylül	1924
KADIN YOLU	30	19	16	Temmuz	1341			1925				1	Ağustos	1927
ASAR-I NISVAN	28	25	1	Recep	1343	26	Ocak	1925		Temmuz				1926
ÇALI KUŞU	7	2				3	Haziran	1926				1	Temmuz	1926

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