

FEMINIST/ NATIONALIST DISCOURSE IN
THE FIRST YEAR OF THE OTTOMAN REVOLUTIONARY PRESS
(1908-1909):
READINGS FROM THE MAGAZINES OF
DEMET, MEHASIN AND KADIN (SALONICA)

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ABSTRACT

Feminist/ Nationalist Discourse in the First Year of Ottoman Revolutionary Press: Readings from the Magazines *Demet*, *Mehasin* and *Kadın* (Salonica)

This paper examines the emergence of a Feminist discourse and its evolution alongside with Turkish nationalism in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Ottoman revolutionary press by focusing on the readings of *Demet*, *Mehasin* and *Kadın*, which appeared after the 1908 Revolution and provided an early debate for discussion of women's rights in the context of the Turkist movement. This paper reveals the aspirations and forces, which shaped early Turkist feminist discourse and the way in which it contributed to the construction of "the new image of the Turkish woman".

Nationalism elevated women's roles as mothers and wives and the emergence of a self-sacrificing, de-sexualized, patriotic image for women.

Key Words: Periodical Press, Women's Periodicals, Nationalism, and Ottoman Empire

ÖZET

Osmanlı Devrimci Basının İlk Yılında Feminist/Milliyetçi Söylem (1908-1909): *Demet*, *Mehasin* ve *Kadın* (Salonica) Dergilerinden Metinler

Bu tez, 1908 Devrimi sonrası Türkist hareket bağlamında Kadın hakları tartışmasının başlamasına ilk ortamı oluşturan *Demet*, *Mehasin* ve *Kadın* dergilerine odaklanarak 19. yüzyıl sonlarında ve 20. yüzyılda Osmanlı devrimci basınındaki feminist söylemin ortaya çıkışını ve Türk milliyetçiliği yanındaki evrimini incelemektedir. Bu çalışmada, erken Türkist feminist söylemi şekillendiren istek ve güçler ile bunun ‘Yeni Türk Kadını’nın görüntüsünün inşasına olan katkıları ortaya çıkarılmaktadır.

Milliyetçilik, Kadının anne ve eş rollerini, ve özverili, cinsel kimliğinden sıyrılmış, vatansever görünümünü yüceltmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Süreli Yayınlar, Kadın Dergileri, Milliyetçilik, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu

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INTRODUCTION:

PERIODICAL PRESS IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Methodological Survey

Historians have long since recognized the special value of the periodical press for carrying out research on the recent past. Nineteenth century magazines and newspapers have served as important sources for economic, political and literary histories. The reason for this is that, the periodicals, which were being commonly published starting the eighteenth century, occupied a crucial place in the development of urban industrial societies. Periodicals also have played an important role in the dissemination of information and ideas, in literary history and in the growth of liberal political democracies.¹

In this thesis I intend to use *Demet*, *Mehasin* and *Kadın* magazines in the Ottoman Empire to explore how the image of women was constructed from the. I think the best to start this research is to have some methodological background on the subject. For this reason, I propose that we should look at some of the recent studies concerned with the issues of women in relation to magazines. That is, in this part I will make a survey of what has been studied by historians who focused on or used women's magazines for historical purposes.

Periodicals played important roles in economic development during the nineteenth century. The changes in finance, the development of new professions, such as journalism, and the new methods of transportation and communication, like the railways and the telegraphy, were all influenced by the development and

¹ Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 19.

operation of press. In this framework, magazines stand out as being deeply involved in capitalist production and consumption. In addition, they shaped the cultural collective meanings and helped to construct an identity for the individual reader as both a gendered and a sexual being. As a result, contemporary and later scholars started to recognize the importance of class as a determinant in the development of the periodical press.

However, the place of gender in history has been relatively neglected. It has been only recently that feminist historians like Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff have argued that middle-class identities were constructed on the ground of gender difference.² According to these historians identities took one of two forms, that of the masculine breadwinner or of the domestic woman.

Since the nineteenth century defined itself as a class society, the relationship between class and gender definitions were often spelt out specifically in the magazines. The identification of femininity with ‘Englishness’, ‘whiteness’ or Christianity only became explicit at particular moments. This association of ‘true’ femininity with the English middle-class women was articulated in domestic literature like Sarah Ellis’s *Women of England* series of the 1830s and 1840s. In this context, such an association became significant because it combined the evangelical tradition with various mothers’ magazines, which made an analogous identification of femininity with Christianity.³

The magazines, which shared versions of femininity, vary from historical moment to moment. For instance, a dominant and consistent version of femininity is that of woman as the repository of the nation’s virtue. Virtue is defined as essentially

² Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

³ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own*, p. 7.

domestic and private, bound to 'family' ideals of affection, loyalty and obligation, to domestic production or housekeeping.⁴

Women's magazines have presented bourgeois femininity as normative since its emergence, following mass literacy that embraced women who cannot be classified as middle-class. For example, there is a contrast between 18th century magazines in England, which put emphasis on bourgeois femininity as leisure and 20th century magazines, which were the representation of bourgeois femininity as labor.⁵ The relation of gender difference to class difference has been differently inflected.

Periodicals have been used in history writing as primary sources and as transparent records, because they give access to and provide the means of recovering the culture that they 'mirror'. Michael Wolff, in his essay "Charting The Golden Stream" identifies newspapers and periodicals as 'primary research materials' for the investigation of Victorian culture as a whole.⁶ For Wolff, the periodicals, on the one hand, 'reflect' Victorian culture because the years called Victorian are best mirrored in the serial publications- literature, argument, the tastes and preoccupations of just about every level and sort of society. On the other hand, periodicals are a means of constructing opinion and identity, because 'one might almost claim that an attitude, an opinion, an idea, did not exist until it had registered itself in the press, and that an interest group, a sect, a profession, came of an age when it inaugurated its journal'.

⁴ Ros Ballaster edited by... [et al.]. *Women's World: Ideology, Femininity and Woman's Magazine*, (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 10.

⁵ Ibid. p. 171.

⁶ Michael Wolff, "Charting the Golden Stream" no.13 (1971), in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Sampling and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester, 1982), pp. 23-38. Wolff was quoted by Lyn Pykett, "Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context", in *Investigating Victorian journalism*, eds. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), p. 6.

Walter Houghton also adopts the reflection model in his introduction to *The Wellesley Index*, which presents periodicals as ‘a remarkable record of contemporary thought’ that reflects the contemporary situation.⁷ Similarly, John North, in an essay, which seeks to persuade mainstream historians and literary historians of the importance of periodicals to their specialist fields, describes the periodicals press as a ‘sensitive ...record of civilization’. North’s essay is based on a foreground/background model; which means that periodicals take us, on the one hand, to the very heart of Victorian culture, on the other hand, they provide the background against which and in the context of which, we read the foreground of the eminent and the important writers. In other words, North proposes using periodicals as a means of understanding the historical and societal context in which they were written.⁸

The ideas of history and of literature have changed under the influence of semiotics, structuralism, a variety of Marxist poststructuralists, Post-Foucauldian historiography and the formalist historiography of historians such as Hayden White,. Literature and context can no longer be seen as separable entities. They are more likely to be viewed as indivisible elements of a signifying ideological system or discursive formation.⁹

James Mills, a theoretician of periodical studies adopts the Barthesian concept of the text as a methodological field, and considers the periodical press a specific cultural formation. He explores it as a mass medium, and analyzes the specific nature of periodical publication and its ideological implications.¹⁰ His attempt to reconstruct the reader from two great quarterlies, the *Edinburg* and *British*

⁷Walter Houghton “*The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*” (London: Routledge, 1966). Houghton quoted by Pykett, “*Reading the Periodical Press*”, p. 6.

⁸ John North’s ideas were referred to by Pykett, p. 6.

⁹ Pykett, “*Reading the Periodical Press*”, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Controversialist, provides an analysis of the discourse of a particular periodical. But Mills also attempts to locate that discourse within a pattern of discursive practices and within a wider discursive community, which he, at the end, locates within a specific economic and political structure.¹¹

Brian Maidment also works on the address or discourse of magazines of popular press, in which he attempts to bring the format and content by deducing the implied reader of magazine from its tone, opinions and rhetoric. Maidmen explicitly situates his attempts to read content (expressed opinion) and form (formal and generic aspects) as a ‘necessary corrective to those historians who seek to use literary sources preeminently to illustrate ideological formations widely perceived in other kinds of economic and cultural formations’.¹²

Lynne Attwood’s book *Creating the New Soviet Women* provides an example of the usage of newspapers and magazines in history writing. This book explores the ways in which the New Soviet Woman was presented to female citizens in the pages of the women magazines *Rabotnitsa* (The Women Worker) and *Krestyanka* (The Peasant Woman). Since the print media played an important role in the process of creating a new Soviet person, the new leaders credited newspapers and magazines with enormous importance as a means of socializing the population. Periodicals were seen as the main channel of communication between the Communist Party and the people, and a crucial means of disseminating propaganda. As a result, the focus of this book is on how women’s magazines changed opinions and behaviors of their readers in the first three decades of Soviet power.¹³

¹¹ James Mill, “Periodical Literature”, WR,I (1824), 206, quoted by Pykett, “*Reading the Periodical Press*”, p. 14..

¹² Ibid., p. 15.

¹³ Lynne Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman: Women's Magazines as Engineers of Female Identity, 1922-53* (London: Macmillan, 1999).

Beth Baron in her book *The Women's Awakening in Egypt* focuses on women's journals published specifically from 1892 to 1919 in Egypt.¹⁴ In this work, Baron composes a detailed account of production, consumption and content of women's journals. She highlights the ideas presented in the periodicals as they related to issues in Egyptian society of the time. Baron also illuminates the ingenuity and motives of these pioneering women who carved out new roles for themselves: writers produced articles designed to enhance the domestic and family roles of middle-class women. Baron places the incipient women's journalism in the context of technological transformation, social change and the currents of expanding nationalist political cultures. The periodicals then are seen as historical testimonies to an era, when the women's participation have generally been overlooked.

Aynur Demirdirek examines eight of the women's journals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to focus on those women who had demanded their rights and struggled to establish and legitimize a new life different from what they had been experiencing in the 1890s and 1910s. Her book, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi*, includes a translation of some excerpts from various journal articles written by participants in the Ottoman women's movement.¹⁵

Serpil Çakır in her unique work, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, mentions about 40 women's magazines and several women's organizations during the Second Constitutional Monarchy. In this work, Çakır sheds light on women's issues of the period. In the thesis, *Kadınlar Dünyası (Women's World)* magazine is described as the voice of Ottoman women, an advocate for women's rights and a pioneer in

¹⁴ Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994)

¹⁵ Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi* (Ankara: Imge, 1993).

creating an awareness of these issues.¹⁶ Some of the upper and middle-class women took the initiative and campaigned for the improvement of educational and professional opportunities, even though they were usually careful to dress up their demands in suitable altruistic language.¹⁷

Benedict Anderson has pointed out the importance of the reader in the press, in particular in the historical process of national identity formation. Part of his argument depends on the institution he terms as ‘print capitalism’. Anderson draws a connection between the rise of the newspaper, the medium and the message of which have contributed to the imagining of social communications along with national lines, and the reader who can thus imagine him/herself as being connected to other readers by virtue of their awareness that they form a reading community connected to one another through the act of reading in a particular language about event that somehow pertain to themselves.¹⁸

According to Ayfer Karakaya’s thesis on *The Emergence of a Feminist/Nationalist Discourse in pre-Republican Turkey: A Case Study of Kadın Magazine*, nationalism has functioned as a moralizing force in women’s role in the late Ottoman Empire in a manner similar to that of evangelicalism, which suppressed the traditional image of women as sexually unstable and voracious. In this thesis Karakaya examines the emergence of a feminist discourse and its evolution alongside Turkish nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁹

Janet Klein in her article “En-Gendering Nationalism: The ‘Woman Question’ in Kurdish Nationalist Discourse of the Late Ottoman Period” explores

¹⁶ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul: Metis, 1994).

¹⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Writing and Reading Ottoman Historical Works”, *Approaching Ottoman history: An Introduction to the Sources* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.169.

¹⁸ Benedict Anderson, “Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism” (London; New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 33-6.

¹⁹ Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, “The Emergence of a Feminist/Nationalist Discourse in pre-Republican Turkey: A Case Study of Kadın Magazine (1908-1909), M.A thesis, The Ohio State University, 1996.

how the ‘woman question’ was introduced and debated by Kurdish intellectuals and highlights those aspects of Kurdish social and political history in the late Ottoman period that can be discerned through a study of the ‘woman question’ in the Kurdish-Ottoman press.²⁰

In his work on Arab Nationalism, Rashid Khalidi points to the importance of the press and public opinion; the press formed a new kind of political process with emphasis on public debate, especially during the second constitutional period and the corresponding entry of new social forces onto the scene of politics, in which the scope of politics was expanded along side the ‘politically relevant strata’ borrowing Deutch’s term.²¹

Many linguists and literary theorists have noted the importance of the reader in contributing to the meaning of the text at hand, or the role of ‘reception’ as an important component of literature. Jean Paul Sartre, for example, pointed out “every literary text is built out of a sense of its potential audience, includes an image of which it is written for every work encodes within itself. An ‘implied reader’ intimates in its every gesture the kind of ‘addressee’; he anticipates ‘consumption’ in literary as in other kind of production; thus he is a part of the process of production itself.”²²

The study of Palmira Brummett on the history of satirical press in Istanbul during the period of Ottoman Constitutional Revolution of 1908-1911 has shown the confrontation between tradition and modernity, Orient and Occident and rhetoric and reality through interpreting the political cartoons when the Ottoman press, which

²⁰ Janet Klein, “En-Gendering Nationalism: The ‘Woman Question’ in Kurdish Nationalist Discourse of the Late Ottoman Period” in “Women of a Non-state Nation the Kurds”, edited by Shahrzad Mojab, (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2001.)

²¹ Rashid Khalidi eds. [et al.], “*The Origins of Arab Nationalism*” (New York: Columbia University Press, c1991).

²² Eagleton “on Sartre in Eagleton”1996, pp. 72-3.

was so dynamic and so unrestrained since the Ottoman revolution of 1908, had forced Sultan Abdülhamid II, to accept a constitutional regime. This regime resulted in exposing the empire to attack by foreign powers, and, more significantly in freeing the press from a long period of stringent censorship.²³ Brummett states that the Ottoman cartoon space, women, like the empire itself take on complex set of evolving identities. Character types, mythic are stretched and altered in the spaces between cartoonists' art, social expectation, and audience reception.

Use-Value of Periodicals in History

Periodicals provide textual information on the economy, social, political and literary matters, and using periodicals in history writing as a primary source enriches our understanding of the particular period of time in history in depth. This can allow for deconstruction of social and political discourses within a specific period of time, and for answering many of the questions about social and cultural histories. How were gender and national identities formed? How did women actively participate in the formation of national states as actors and as symbols? How did they articulate themselves in their writings?

A detailed reading of women's periodicals exploring the images of implied readers will broaden our assessments of their constructed new image as an integral part of the development of national identity since the magazines' construction of femininity becomes intimately bound up with questions of nationhood: a concern that inevitably comes to dominate the women's magazines especially during the war periods when female population was mobilized for the war conditions.

²³ Palmira Brummett, *Image & Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000).

Magazines have historically offered not only the readers' gendered/national identity but also they addressed their desire. Arguing that women and their lives are culturally and historically constructed, does not mean that they were only passive victims. On the contrary they were involved as active agents, participating in the construction of their subordinate entity and roles, establishing various forms and fronts of resistance, even if they were not always consciously aware that they were agents in the process.

In the first chapter of my thesis, I will provide the background information of history of periodicals in the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of "women question" by the prominent literary and political figures of the Tanzimat period focusing on their literary works published in the newspapers.

In the second chapter, I will focus on the early Turkist and Islamist periodicals, which came out in 1908.

In the third chapter, my subject will be the women's periodicals from the Tanzimat period to the pronouncement of the second Constitution in 1908.

In the fourth chapter women's magazines, particularly *Demet*, *Mehasin* and *Kadın*, which emerged after 1908, will be assessed. Women's articulations based on their writings in these magazines on "progress" and "education" will be discussed.

Finally, there will be a conclusion evaluating the early forums, created by these women's magazines, for discussion of women's aspirations and desires for a new public image that shaped the early Turkish feminist discourse and contributed to the construction of a self-sacrificing, de-sexualized and patriotic image.

Through close study of these journals, I aim to explore the imagined woman that is addressed, and the constructed social and political position of these women will be placed in the first years of the Constitutional period in the Ottoman Empire.

This work hopes to shed light on the invisible actors of the past as well as on the relations between men and women in a gendered society; in this way we can deepen our understanding of the present.

CHAPTER I

1. EMERGENCE OF THE PERIODICALS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE QUESTION OF WOMEN

During and after the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839), with the inauguration of the Tanzimat period in 1839, the Ottoman Empire entered a period of modern reform. This new era of transformation was considerably different from the years of traditional reform that went on during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which introduced modernization only in the technical and military fields while social, cultural and traditional institutions and values were left untouched.

With the beginning of the Tanzimat period and modern reform in the nineteenth century, Ottoman society and culture, as well as politics and economics, entered a period of rapid change and transformation. From the reign of Mahmud II until the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman reform movement experienced a shift from superficial attempts of westernization to more radical and effective reform movements, not only in the technical and military fields but also in Ottoman social and cultural institutions. The security of the subject's life, honor and property and fair and public trials were guaranteed and a new taxation system was introduced, and most importantly, equality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects was announced.

The Tanzimat reforms and policies created deep rifts within Ottoman society. On the one hand, there were the Western-looking upper bureaucracy, and on the other the marginalized elite including Islamic scholars, petty civil servants, and

urban middle classes. As a result there was a popular reaction to extreme westernization, which led to a corrupted, excessively westernized stratum.²⁴

Mahmud II also tried to develop an Ottoman press, which would produce periodicals as well as books and pamphlets. On July 25, 1831 the first Ottoman-language newspaper was published in Turkish, Arabic and French, but its purpose was solely to announce and support his policies and to prevent false rumors from spreading. This new newspaper, *Takvim-i Vakayi* (Calendar of Events), provided copies of laws and decrees as well as news of events related to the government and its officials.²⁵ A French version edited by Alexandre Blacque began to appear soon afterwards in the same year.²⁶

The audience for the Ottoman language version included a growing number of officials who were thus informed regarding the government's intentions and policies, which they were obliged to carry out. Distribution and sale of this, the first Ottoman language newspaper, presented some problems. To provide readers, Mahmud II had to order the preparation of a list of five thousand people living in the capital and the larger towns, including all civil servants, intellectuals, professional people, foreign ambassadors, consuls and other agents, to whom the paper was to be distributed.

The next problem was the process of distributing the paper. Since there was no organization in the Empire specifically devoted to such matters, in 1832 he established a postal service whose principal purpose initially was to deliver this

²⁴ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns?" p.130 in *Women, Nation and the State* ed. by N. Yuval-Davis and F. Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989).

²⁵ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of The Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975, 2 vols., II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 35.

²⁶ Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1992), p. 8.

newspaper.²⁷ The French version, which began at the same time, was issued not only to inform the foreign embassies in Istanbul but also to supply information about Ottoman programs and policies to European newspapers, which previously had been completely ignorant of Ottoman affairs and the Ottoman point of view.

The first privately owned paper in the Ottoman Empire was the *Ceride-i Havadis* (Journal of Events), published in 1840 by the Englishman William Churchill with substantial financial support from the Ottoman government. Like *Takvim-i Vakayi*, therefore, it also was limited to announcing and supporting government policies and programs.²⁸ In the Ottoman Empire the newspapers were set up as a vehicle for changing and modernizing the society and participation of the citizens in Public affairs.

The correlation between the rise of an intelligentsia and of its ideology, and its consequent dependence on communication, both as a means of political socialization and of mass indoctrination, became a new dimension of Ottoman modernization after 1860. After that, communications came to play a crucial role in the process of modernization. This began with the introduction of a postal system; telegraphy (1855-1864) and railways (1866), chiefly as the result of the government's efforts to communicate more rapidly with its agents in the provinces.²⁹

The contacts with the outside world, fostered by the Crimean War and a number of groups were formed among the intellectuals such as politically progressive, the Young Ottomans (1860s-1870s), who supported the need for reform

²⁷ Ahmen Emin Yalman, "Notes On the Development of the Turkish Press" in *Türk Basın Tarihi 1728-1922, 1831-1922*, by Fuat Süreyya Oral, (Ankara: Yeni Adım,[1967-]. pp. i-vi

²⁸ M.Nuri Inugur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi* (Istanbul: I.I.T.A Nihad Sayar-Yayın ve Yardım Vakfı, 1978), p.171; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman history: an introduction to the sources*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p. 168

²⁹ Kemal Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.3, Issue 3 (July, 1972), p. 261. For further information see "Mass Media", in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, eds R.Ward and A.Rustow, (Princeton: 1964).

with its policy of Ottoman nationalism in order to hold the empire's people together in Ottoman domains, Muslim and non-Muslim Turkish and Greek, Armenian and Jewish, Kurd and Arab in what Anderson called "official nationalism" because it was an anticipatory strategy adopted by dominant groups who were threatened with marginalisation or exclusion from an emerging national in an imagined community.³⁰ Therefore, the Young Ottomans formed societies with this object and published a number of pamphlets.

The movement of the Young Ottomans emerged as a reaction to the authoritarianism, extreme Westernism and superficiality of Tanzimat policies. Their ideology involved a complex blend of Ottoman nationalism and Islamism and Constitutionalism. Influenced by European ideas of nationalism liberalism, they were nonetheless conservatives attempting to achieve synthesis between Western notion of progress and a harmonious Islamic state. It is not uncommon to find prominent Young Ottomans cited as the earliest advocates of women's emancipation, preparing the ground for later reforms.³¹ Similar to other reformers of women's condition in the Middle East, who emerged from the ranks of an educated, nationalist, male elite concern with women's rights, centering on the issues of education, seclusion, veiling and polygyny, the movement coincided with a broader agenda about 'progress' and the compatibility between Islam and Modernity.³²

During the Tanzimat Period, issues involving women and family started to be debated within intellectual circles. Although men initiated debates, women soon became active participants. It was prominent Young Ottomans who were the earliest advocates of women's emancipation, preparing the ground for later reforms. Among

³⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 82.

³¹ Deniz Kandiyoti "End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey" in *Women Family and State* Eds. By Deniz Kandiyoti (Philadelphia: temple Unviversity Press, 1991). Pp.25-26

³² Deniz Kandiyoti *Women Family and State*, p. 3.

the pioneers of the Young Ottomans were individuals such as İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871), who had studied in Paris, and published *Tercüman-i Ahval* (Interpreter of events) that was the first private Turkish newspaper in 1860. His partnership with *Agâh* effendi only lasted for six months. Şinasi broke with him and then published the *Tasvir-i Efkar* (*Description of Thoughts, 1862*), which was accepted as being addressed to a selected group of readers and mainly concerned with the need for improvement and simplification of the language. Ziya Paşa (1825-1880) was exiled to Europe because of his criticisms of the regime. Namık Kemal (1840-1888), who also studied French and went into the Translation offices, also worked for the Şinasi's newspaper. Namık Kemal eventually took over the leadership of the Reform Movement. In 1865 Ali Suavi joined the movement with a paper called *Muhbir* (*Reporter*). While these writers had tried to reconcile Turkish/Muslim identity with the pressure for modernization, they emphasize the importance of learning from the West but not imitating western models.

İbrahim Şinasi's satirical play *Şair Evlenmesi* (a poet's wedding) written in 1859 is considered one of the pioneering critiques of the Ottoman arranged marriage system. The hero, Müştak Bey, one of the new modern-minded men of the time, is in love. His is a "love marriage", he boasts to an uncomprehending friend. On the wedding night he discovers that her elder sister, an arrangement in accord with traditional, family values, has replaced his bride-to-be. The play ends happily, however, as Müştak succeeds in substituting his rightful bride for her sister.³³

Namık Kemal, poet, novelist and radical intellectual Young Ottoman, was also considered an ardent proponent of women's rights. He used the newspaper he

³³ İbrahim Şinasi, *Şair Evlenmesi* (Istanbul, 1982 (1860) quoted by Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Household: Marriage, family and Fertility 1880-1940*,(Cambridge University Press, 1991) p.89.

edited *İbret (Warning)*, to call for reforms in women's education and denounce the state of ignorance of Ottoman women. According to Namık Kemal "even shopkeepers and servants were reading papers or listening to those who can".³⁴ His novels *İntibah* (awakening) and *Zavallı* (Poor Child) offer critical commentaries on the unjust and oppressive aspects of marriage and family life. As Mardin observes, "In *Poor Child* Şefika is married off to a wealthy Paşa of thirty-eight, and commits suicide because she is unable to unite with Ata, her lover. Bihruz Bey, the prototypical nineteenth-century *alafranga* fop in the well-known novel *Araba Sevdası (the Carriage Affair)*, perpetually in search of *l'amour*, was the subject of Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem's satirical pen in 1896."³⁵ As Finn argues, in the late nineteenth century, novelists chose to view the "seeds of decay in the Ottoman society within the framework of the Ottoman family" which was increasingly utilized as a metaphor for society, with its problems.³⁶

Namık Kemal in his article "Aile" (family) published in *İbret* in 1872 dissects the Ottoman Turkish family, calling attention to its backwardness, internal dissension and violence and its oppression of females and youth. He discusses the procedures that a woman undergoes throughout her life together with the values attached to her existence:

As for woman, when she is six or seven, her guardian is responsible for her clothing and feeding. When she is fifteen or sixteen years old, the guardian leaves his place to a husband, regardless of whether it is proper time for her or not... The woman herself still a child has had a doll, and after her marriage she has a daughter. As the doll was obliged to stay where its owner had left it, so is the daughter now. She is obliged to marry her parents' choice.

Namık Kemal addresses the husbands:

³⁴ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal, 1964), p.277

³⁵ Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in the Ottoman Empire in the last quarters of the nineteenth century" in Peter Benedict, et al., eds., *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives* (Leiden: 1974), p.406

³⁶ Robert Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel* (Istanbul: 1984) p.169.

You.. the husband. You have your wife in your house why do you overburden her with entire hardship of a house: in other countries, we come across husbands who consider their wives as their complementary halves, living in mutual cooperation both in pleasant and other things.³⁷

Namık Kemal's direct exposition of the inferior position of women appears in his article "On the Education of Women: A Draft" published in *Tasvir-i Efkar* in 1867. He says:

"... During the last thirty or forty years especially women have completely retired from any participation in public activities and they are now considered solely as a source of pleasure, such as musical instruments and jewelry. Apart from propagating children, they do not seem to make any other contributions to mankind. In actual fact women, too, are human beings just as we are, and though it is taken for granted that they share human advantages and are not created to be servile to men, why, then, should they be deprived of the right to endeavor and perseverance?"³⁸

Namık Kemal, like other reformers then, considered that the foundation of progress in the nation's life, as the corner stone of the building, women needed their share in education that might render good and useful service to the country, their families. The first school for girls was opened in 1858 in Istanbul was called Kız Rüştiyesi (Girls' School). The aim of this new venture was published in the contemporary government papers as follows:

Women should be educated in the same way as men with a view to enabling them to help and comfort their husbands on whose shoulders rests the responsibility of earning the family's living. Moreover, education will greatly help women towards a better understanding of religious and secular considerations, and encourage them to obey their husbands, to refrain from going against their wishes and above all, will protect their honour.³⁹

The first high school for girls was opened during the reign of Abdülhamid II in 1880. The need to train women teachers for girls' schools led to the opening of

³⁷ Namık Kemal, "Aile", *İbret* no.56 (19 Kasım 1872) quoted by Emel Doğramacı, *Status of Women in Turkey*, (Meteksan: Ankara, 1984) p.27.

³⁸ Namık Kemal, "Terbiye-i Nisvan Hakkında Bir Lahiya", *Tasvir-i Efkar* no.457, (1867) quoted by Emel Doğramacı, *ibid.* , p.25.

³⁹ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol.VI (TTK: Ankara: 1954) p. 172

Darümuallimat (Women Teachers' Training College) in 1870, besides the earlier arts and crafts schools (Sanayi okulları). The graduates of these modern educational institutions especially Darümuallimat, became leading journalists and activists later.

Although the reforms of Tanzimat for women were limited in scope, the significance of these early educational institutions for the appearance of women's press and following women's movement has to be emphasized.

1.1.The assessment of the periodicals prior to the 1908 Revolution

During the Tanzimat period, newspapers acted as importers of western ideas and literature that were in fashion. Literary and scientific magazines took their places among other periodicals. Literary matters held an important place in the columns of newspapers. The first journalists were also men of letters like Şinasi, Ziya Paşa, and Namık Kemal, who belong to history of literature as much as to history of the press. Their political articles were written in a literary style, which was as forceful as were their ideas. While indicating the value of the writers, this also points out that literature progressed hand in hand with the press.⁴⁰

As a result of this, the Young Ottomans who were fighting for freedom fled to European cities such as London and Paris; their aim was to overthrow the Sadrazam Ali Paşa and to force Sultan Abdülaziz to decree a Constitutional Regime. Reformers published newspapers such as *Hürriyet*, *Muhbir* and a magazine called *Ulum*.⁴¹ They could only reach their readers with the aid of foreign postal services.

The Young Ottomans who reacted against the authoritarianism and humiliating abdications of Tanzimat policies were influenced by European ideas of

⁴⁰ Server İskit, "The History of The Turkish Press", p. viii. in Fuat Süreyya Oral, *Türk Basın Tarihi 1728-1922, 1831-1922*, (Ankara:Yeni Adım, [1967-]).

⁴¹ M.Nuri İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, p. 202

nationalism and liberalism, which they attempted to incorporate into an Islamic theory of state and legitimacy. They also adopted a contradictory stand vis-a-vis the idea of progress. On the one hand, they praised abstract progress and the material advances of Europe and on the other hand looked back wistfully on the harmoniousness of an imaginary ideal Islamic state. Indeed, Şerif Mardin characterizes their political philosophy as pre-enlightenment since they perceived no discrepancy between the theory that the king's power comes from God and the theory that it arises by a contract with the people, and describes their position as conservative.⁴² For them the amelioration of women's status was a tenet of Ottoman patriotism that required the mobilization of society in an attempt to salvage the state.

In 1875, finding that exile was not adequately deterrent, the government attempted to render the newspapers powerless by imposing a two *para* stamp duty on every copy. Despite the stamps, forty-seven newspapers and magazines appeared in Istanbul in 1876. These newspapers and magazines displayed encyclopedic information and acted as literary journals since political opinion was abandoned due to censorship.

Abdülhamid II considered the press as an obstacle, and after making use of the Russian War of 1877; he gradually succeeded in muzzling the newspapers so that they would not interfere with his despotism by granting titles to those who were mostly concerned with their own interests. Following the Greek War of 1897 there was an increase in the restriction, which enabled him to forbid all forms of nationalist novels, and translations of love stories from foreign languages; only foreign adventure stories were allowed.

⁴² Şerif Mardin, *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1962), p.402.

Despite the decrease in the numbers of papers, the fact that those which continued to exhibit improvement and that the cultural level of the people rose as far as possible, disclose that after the revolution of 1908 the numbers of readers increased. Furthermore, every political creed was reflected in the press.⁴³

⁴³ Ahmed Emin Yalman, "Notes on the Development of Turkish Press", p. iv; and Bülent Varlık, *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Dergileri*, pp. 114-5.

CHAPTER II

2. PERIODICALS DURING THE 1908 REVOLUTION

The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) that was founded by some of the constitutionalists in 1889 brought about the army revolt that precipitated the constitutional revolution of 1908. The CUP's program was based on roughly on Ottomanism, opposition to foreign intervention and the reinstatement of the constitution. As Hanioglu states, the CUP was an umbrella organization overflowing with member groups whose only common agenda was the dethronement of Abdülhamid II who equally agreed, under military pressure, to reinstate the Constitution in 1908.⁴⁴

In Hanioglu's account, CUP did not maintain a consistent identity; its ideology and its leadership and its membership rather underwent a series of transformations. The ideas of Turkish nationalism that emerged during the Young Turk era were of great significance. It may be recalled that the opposition that gathered momentum after the closure of the Ottoman parliament against the despotic regime of Abdülhamid II is commonly known as the “ Young Turk” movement.

⁴⁴ For further information see Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Inkilap tarihimiz ve ittihad ve Terakki*, (Istanbul: Tan, 1948), *Inkilap tarihimiz ve "Jön Türkler"*, (Istanbul: Tan, 1945), *Osmanli Imparatorlugunda Inkilap hareketleri ve milli mucadele*, (Istanbul: Celcut, 1959); Tarik Zafer Tunaya, *Turkiyede siyasi partiler*, 1859-1952, (Istanbul: Dogan Kardes Yayinlari, 1952); S.Sureyya Aydemir, *Makedonya'dan orta Asya'ya Enver Pasa*, (Istanbul: Remzi, 1970); Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp İşittiklerim*, (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu , 1987); Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Talat Paşa'nin hatiralari*,(Istanbul : Cumhuriyet, 1998); Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Siyasal Anılar*, (Istanbul : Turkiye Is Bankasi, 2000); E.E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, (Beirut: Khayats, 1965); Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (Montreal : McGill University Press , 1964); Ahmed Feroz, *The Young Turks; the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish politics*, 1908-1914, (Oxford: Oxford Univ.Pr., c1969); *Ibrahim Temo'nun Ittihad ve Terakki anilari*,(Istanbul : Arba, 1987); Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in opposition* , (New York : Oxford University Press, 1995), *Preparation for a revolution : the Young Turks, 1902-1908*, (Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2001), *Bir siyasal orgut olarak Osmanli Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türkler*,(Istanbul : Iletisim, 1989).

Because of the various bans introduced on political ideas and their propagation within the empire, the ideas put forth by the young Turks who lived mainly outside of the empire can be seen as a reflection of the evolution of Turkish nationalism.⁴⁵ By late 1907, the leaders of the main Young Turk organization understood the difficulty in carrying out a revolution in the Ottoman Empire through promoting a strong Turkist ideology. This should be viewed as a tactical stroke on their part and not as abandoning of Turkism. Contrary to accepted views, even before the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, strong nationalist sentiments existed among the Young Turks, despite this fact, and however, as “Empire-Savers” the leaders of the main Young Turk organization, CUP sidelined their Turkist ideology into the background out of political expediency. In the opinion of these leaders and many Ottoman intellectuals of Turkish descent, Ottomanism was a useful shield to prop up the decadent Ottoman Empire.

The Young Turk leaders’ replacement of their Turkist ideology with a new Ottomanist ideology beginning in 1907 helped them to carry out their revolution in 1908. The new Ottomanism crystallized after the opponents of the CUP viewed this Ottomanism, which aimed at the unification of various Ottoman elements in a melting pot as a ‘ Turkification’ progress because of the ‘dominant’ role attributed to the Turks in it.⁴⁶

The importance of the formative years of CUP (1889-1902) derives from the fact that, except for subsequent increased emphasis on nationalism, the original ideology of the early modern Turkish state was shaped during this period.⁴⁷ As

⁴⁵ Şükrü Hanioglu, “Turkish Nationalism and the Young Turks”, 1889-1908 in *Social Construction of Nationalism in the Middle East* ed. By Muge Gocek (NewYork:State Univeristy of NewYork Press, 2002), p. 87.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 94.

⁴⁷ Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1995), p. 216.

Hanioğlu states, the Young Turks who lived long enough to witness the coming into being of the Turkish republic saw many of their dreams fulfilled.

Muslims' original anti-imperialist nationalism, which culminated in Pan-Islamism during the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), was gradually replaced by a linguistic and ethnic nationalism under the Union and Progress and eventually led to the disintegration of the Ottoman state. Developing political conflicts between the bureaucratic elite and economic classes, the pressing demand for development and education that played a mobilizing role among the population, the intensification of communications, and a series of other developments spelled the dawn of profound political and economic transformation.⁴⁸

The Union and Progress Committee was established and practically all the Young Turk activities developed from the start in the multi-national and multi-ethnic framework of the Ottoman state. In fact, the actors of the Young Turk era were Turks but also Arabs, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Vlachs and members of other national groups, who were struggling to reconcile their ethnic and religious allegiances and national ambition with the political loyalty demanded by the Ottoman government.

The existence of diverse national viewpoints in the Young Turks can be easily deduced, for example, from the multi-ethnic and multi-religious character of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies elected in November and December of 1908. The Chamber had a total of 275 deputies of whom 142 were Turks, 60 Arabs, 25

⁴⁸ Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, (Istanbul: Tanin, 1326/1909), p. 236. This book consists of reports by a correspondent of the *Tanin*. It provides exceptionally good information on the general situation of the bureaucracy and the demands of the newly rising local elites in Anatolian and Syrian towns. This was the first instance in the history of the Turkish Press that a correspondent visited the countryside and reported on the situation there. *Tanin*, the spokesman for the Young Turks, imitated this countryside reporting with the purpose of establishing channels of communication with the towns in order to learn what the countryside people expected from the government and to disseminate there the ideas of the Young Turk revolution. This was in fact the first major instance in which a modern pattern of communication between the government and the citizens at large was established.

Albanians, 23 Greeks, 12 Armenians, 5 Jews, 4 Bulgarians, 3 Serbians, and 1 Vlach. The population of the European part of the Ottoman state was equally multi-ethnic. The three vilayets in the Balkans, Salonica, Kosova and Monastir, between 1908 and 1909, had 1,897,311 Muslims, 1,531,238 Christians and 623,383 Jews. This figure excludes the population in the vilayet of Edirne and Muslims (Turks) of Bulgaria, Greece and Romania.⁴⁹

While Turkish members gravitated towards Turkish nationalism, the non-Turkish members of CUP leaned towards their own respective nationalist movements. Ibrahim Temo, and Ismail Kemal, for example, participated in the Albanian nationalist movement and Abdullah Cevdet became a leader in the Kurdish one.

The Young Turks who had published papers abroad returned to their own country. Many of the Young Turk leaders were themselves of provincial or of lower-class origin.⁵⁰ Their revolt was motivated in part by the feeling that the Tanzimat elite had become a hereditary aristocracy and neglected 'the people'. But whereas in earlier times they would have met the situation by identifying themselves with the class of guardians, the disintegration of the traditional system and its ideology precluded this solution. They now identified themselves with the lower classes and tried to bridge the cultural gap.

The generation of Young Turks who in the 1890s were combating Sultan Abdülhamid II, singled out positivism and later solidarism as their favorite ideology. Educated in state established schools to modernize the bureaucracy, but brought up

⁴⁹ Kemal Karpat, "The Memoirs of N. Batzari: The young Turks and Nationalism", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.6, issue.3 (July, 1975), pp.279-280.

⁵⁰ Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908* (Istanbul: İletisim, 1983), p. 98.

also with the ideal of preserving the state, these young men found in the social engineering aspects of Comte, the legitimation of their elitist outlook.⁵¹

After the pronouncement that the censorship of the Second Constitution was abrogated, hundreds of the periodicals were published in this liberal atmosphere similar to what accompanied the French revolution. The Ottoman official yearbook for 1908 lists ninety-seven publishers active in Istanbul and that list is not complete.⁵² According to Selim Nüzhet there were 103 Turkish language gazettes published between 1879 and 1907 with 240 new gazettes published in a single year immediately after the revolution.⁵³ Zafer Toprak stated in his article that for the period from 1908 to 1918, the numbers of the periodicals were over 1000. The numbers of newspapers were 353, 130 and 124 respectively in 1908, 1910 and 1911.⁵⁴ News printing presses were hurriedly set up and a flood of newspapers and magazines appeared, most of them published only a few issues.⁵⁵

One of the traits of this era's periodicals was that they generally were short-lived and were 2-8 pages in length. Periodicals were disseminated widely over Anatolia, parts of which experienced a large growth in the numbers of newspapers and journals published. For instance, prior to 1908 there was only one newspaper in Konya, but after 1908 there were eleven newspapers and eight journals.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Şerif Mardin, Power, "Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol.11 , issue 3 (June 1969), p. 277.

⁵² *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye*, v.64 (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmet ihsan, 1326 (1908), pp.1050-1060, Enver Koray, ed. *Türkiye Tarih Yayınları Bibliografyası 1729-1955*, (Istanbul: 1959) pp.82-146. for the later list of publishing houses and publisher see Server Iskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir bakış* (Istanbul: Devlet basımevi, 1939) pp.301-306.

⁵³ Selim Nüzhet, *Türk Gazeteciliği*, (İstanbul: Devlet Maatbası, 1931)pp. 84-92.

⁵⁴ Zafer Toprak, "Fikir Dergiciliğinin Yüzyılı" in *Türkiye'de Dergiler ve Ansiklopediler (1849-1984)* (Gelişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1984) p.20

⁵⁵ Complete collection of these works in the Hoover Library of Stanford University, Ahmed Emin Yalman, *Notes on the Development of Turkish*.

⁵⁶ Bülent Varlık, "Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Dergileri", in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: İletisim) p.117

Since the members of women's journals predominantly subscribed to Turkism, such as Halide Edib (Adivar) and Seniha Hikmet, I will briefly outline the history of Turkist along side the Islamists periodicals, which will provide their ideological stand on the issue of women in regards to modernization. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to give a detailed account, but some mention is needed since predominantly women's journals cadre also made contributions to the Turkist journals.

2.1. *Sirat-i Mustakim* (Straight Road, i.e Islam, 1908)

This was the first Turkist/Islamic magazine, which defied Abdülhamid II. The first article was entitled “ Freedom and Equality” and was written by Musa Kazim, who became the şeyhülislam during the Unionist power in politics.

In his article, Musa Kazim underlines the importance of veiling by saying that it protects women who are naturally weak from men's attacks. It is understood from Musa Kazim's article that he equates veiling to chastity. According to Musa Kazim, woman's exposing all her beauty to stranger's lascivious looks and her talking to them is nothing but degrading her value as woman. Then, he explains his views on the

Social division of labor and duties as:

“... the happiness of a family depends on two duties, one is the inside of a household and the other one is outside. Only husband or wife cannot perform these two duties. Therefore, division of labor is required they should share duties women should perform the household duties where men should deal with outside. It is proper cause and reasonable since women are delicate and elegant by their nature. For a man to deal with housework cannot be permitted by commonsense since it means to make man woman and woman man. Women's natural purposes are reproduction and instruction of their children.”⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Musa Kazim, *Hürriyet-Mutasavvat, Sirat-i Mustakim*, c.1, no.2, 21 Augustos 1324 (1908), p.20. quoted by Sadık Albayrak, *Meşrutiyet İstanbulunda Kadın ve Sosyal Değişim*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2002) pp.70-71.

Musa Kazim emphasizes the equality of women and men in pursuing education and instruction according to the rules of Şeri'a. But, he makes a distinction in the level of education that women should follow. Women should not pursue education higher than lycée, since this will cause them to break with their original duties. "According to Şeri'a law, women are not obliged to provide the means of subsistence, [which is men's responsibility], even they do not have to cook, wash up the clothes, under some conditions she does not even have to breed. In other words, a judge does not have any force to oblige her to do. Women's engagement in trade and commerce are permitted as long as she obeys the rules of veiling. There is not any obstacle for her to take part in such economic activities. But Musa Kazım states that his aim in writing was to inform women that they are not obliged to work since this would break their original duties according to Şeri'a law."⁵⁸

The establishment of "Turkish Society" which was transformed into "Turkish Hearts" was first declared to the public opinion at in *Sırat-i Mustakim*.

Ahmed Ağaoğlu, like other Muslims intellectuals who came from Russia, also enriched the magazine with his writings. 'The Woman Question' was one significant work. Mehmed Akif also contributed with his serialized translation of Ferid Vecdi Bey's "el-meret'ul-Muslimetu (Muslim Woman), which was published in 1901 as a critique that denied Kasım Emin's book *Tahrir'ul Mer'etu* (Freedom of Woman), which was published in 1899. "Muslim Women" was translated and then published as serial in the pages of *Sırat-i Mustakim*.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Kazım, ibid, c.1, no.3, 28 Augustos 1324 (1908) p.36-37 quoted by Albayrak, ibid. pp.74.

⁵⁹ Mehmed Akif, "Bir İki Söz", *Sırat-i Mustakim*, c.1, no.3, 28 Augustos 1324 (1908), p. 42 quoted by Albayrak, ibid.. pp. 90-91.

Sirat-i Mustakim affirmed the significance of trade, industry and agricultural work from an Islamic point of view. It accentuated the necessity of industrialization and promoted the ideal of accumulating wealth.

Sirat-i Mustakim continued to be published in the Republican Period as well but under the name of *Sebil'ur-Reşad* (*The Fountain of Straight Road, i.e. Islam*). Mehmed Akif, Aksekili Hamdi, Mahmud Esat, İzmirli İsmail Hakki, Ahmed Naim, Bursalı Tahir, Halim Sabit, and H.Semseddin published their literary works in *Sirat-i Mustakim*. But after a while the modernist Islamists left journal and *Sebil'ur-Reşad* became traditional Islamist in tone.

2.2.Beyan'ül-Hak (Declaration of Right, 1908-1910)

Beyan'ül-Hak came into existence as an organ of Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i İslamiye, (Association Islamic Knowledge) by the deputy of Tokat, Mustafa Sabri who held the office of Şeyhül-islam. It dealt with popular political and social problems of that time as well as religious issues.

Pan-islamism and the unity of family were explained in Abdülehad Davud's article on Pan-islamism in which he translated Seyh Musir Huseyin's book entitled *Pan-Islamism*, which was published in 1908.⁶⁰

Mustafa Sabri rejected the view of apologists who maintained that women did not hold an inferior status in Islam: “ Muslim religion does not need such lying and ignorant defenders... to distort the truth and attempts to reconcile the views of the adversary and there approve such views, is not service to Islam but treason.”⁶¹

⁶⁰ Abdülehad Davud, “Pan-islamism/ Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i İslamiye”; *Beyan-ül Hak*, c.1, no.13-15, Kanuni Evvel 1324 (1908), pp. 284-286 quoted by Albayrak, *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁶¹ Kandiyoti, “ End of Empire..”, p.32

Hace Fatma Mergube in her article “İttihad edelim” (Let us be united) states the importance of using national products to provide the development of industries instead of foreigners such as British and French but especially that of Austrians. She offers to readers to be thrifty and to oppose following fashion madly and to be extremely fond of jewelry and adornments at a time when the country needed the patriotism of Muslim women who were willing to sacrifice even their lives if necessary.⁶²

Womanhood was defined by Ahmet Resit in his article “Tesettür” (veil), in which he supported the view that women’s virtue and modesty necessitated veiling to protect them from men’s assaults and preserve their rights and honor. This was womanhood. The opposite is excess and comfort. Nothing can be more degrading than to be exposed to assault. Women’s dignity is based on their chastity. Women are safe as long as they hesitate to be exposed to attacks of men. There can be no safer method than veiling. It is obviously the authority of the husband to force his wife to veil since any assault on her implicated an attack on the husband.⁶³

Sada-yi Hak (Voice of Justice) was another publication of the same period that endorsed a traditional Islamic view while *Islam Mecmuasi (Journal of Islam)* advocated a modernist Islamic view. Halit Sabit, a semi-official agent of the Committee of Union Progress Party, edited *Islam Mecmuasi*. Ziya Gokalp’s sociological interpretation, on religion, moral education occupied an important place in this periodical. In economic issues, “national economy” and “national capital” were defended by the illustration of Muslim bourgeois who advanced in trade and art in Russia.

⁶² Hace Fatma Mergube, “İttihad Edelim”, *Beyan-ül hak*, c1. No.4 / 13 Tesrini evvel 1324 (1908), p.70-71 quoted by Albayrak, *ibid.*, p.5.

⁶³ Ahmet Resit (Esbak Musul Valisi), “Tesettür”, *Beyan-ül hak*, c.1, no.18-19, Kanuni Sani, 1324 (1909), pp. 405-406 quoted by Albayrak, *ibid.*, p. 8.

2.3. *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens 1908? -)

Genç Kalemler (Young Pens) is a literary magazine, which was published in Salonica by young writers after the 1908 revolution. It is difficult to know when it was founded because all six issues of its first volume were undated. Masami Arai states in his article “*Genç Kalemler* and the Young Turks”, that *Genç Kalemler* was published as the ninth issue of another periodical *Hüsn ü Şiir* (Beauty and Poetry).⁶⁴ It was a periodical issued in Manastır by two nephews of Doctor Nazım a member of the Union and Progress who was chosen many times to be a member of its central council.⁶⁵

The mastermind of the *Hüsn ü Şiir* was Ali Canib, who, together with Ömer Seyfeddin, was to start the campaign for simplification and purification of Ottoman Turkish. In addition to literary works, reviews and translated novels, an introduction to evolution and the interpretation of sociology were touched upon.

Ali Canib in his article, the “Future of Our Literature” evaluated the trend toward renovation in Ottoman literature after Tanzimat:

Tanzimat Literature that intended to establish modern literature could not vitalize its characters; i.e. they were not human (*beşeri*). The literary works of Tevfik Fikret, Halit Ziya and Cenap Şehabettin the leading figures of New Literature were surely human but were just done in imitation of the West. Therefore they had cosmopolitan characters without consciousness and atmosphere proper to the Ottomans, i.e. they were not individual but universal.⁶⁶

In the columns of political notes, appeared internal and foreign news such as the debt problem of the Ottoman Empire, the Cretan problem and a report that French press had published some articles, which slandered the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁴ Masami Arai, “The *Genç Kalemler* and the Young Turks: A study in Nationalism”, *Metu Studies in Development* 12 (3-4), (Ankara: 1985), pp. 197-244.

⁶⁵ Tahir Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin: Ülkücü Bir Yazarın Romanı* (Istanbul, 1968), p.156.

⁶⁶ Ali Canib, *Edebiyat-i Müstakbelemiz, Genç Kalemler/1*, pp. 84-85 quoted by Masami Arai, *ibid.*, p. 206.

Subjects in history included “Bismark: Prussia from 1786 to 1862” and “Why is History not written in our country?”.

Masami Arai argues that many historians have ignored it since it was a literary magazine but it bears the characters of Turkish nationalism. The transformation from Ottomanism to Turkish nationalism began to appear in the fourth issue.

Kazım Nami’s article “Türk mü Osmanlı mı? (Turkish or Osmanlı)” was the first article concerned the Turkish language. He wrote that Ottoman Turkish was greatly influenced by Arabs and Persians and naturalized many words and styles of these languages subsequent to the Ottoman Turks’ settlement in Asia Minor.

Nevertheless, he held that the origin of Ottoman Turkish was surely Turkish because it had continued to keep its originality in verb, mood, and even style throughout its evolution. He advocated simplification of Ottoman Turkish because he thought, if Ottoman Turkish could be simplified, its nature as one of the Turkic languages would be clearer. Ömer Seyfeddin furthered the simplification of language by affirming the naturalization of foreign words and styles and abandoning Arabic and Persian compound words.⁶⁷

Ziya Gökalp, who was the leading ideologue of Turkist, mostly wrote articles concerning philosophy and sociology and introduced Alfred Fouilleé’s sociology, the idea of social progress based on the theory of social organicism. It was in the *Genç Kalemler* that two famous articles “Bugünün Felsefesi (Philosophy of Today)” and “Yeni Hayat ve Yeni Kıymetler (New Life And New Values)” were first published. In the latter, Ziya Gökalp wrote that:

New values will be economic, familial, aesthetic, philosophic, moral, legal and political values born out of the spirit of the quality of Ottomans (Osmanlılık)...

⁶⁷ Masami Arai, *ibid.*, pp. 210-212.

Thanks to these national cultures (Milli irfanlar), the national civilization of the Osmanlılık will inspire the praise of European civilization.⁶⁸

But at the same time, he did not forget his self-assertion as a Turk: “The real civilization means the Turkish civilization that will be created only through the development of the new life.”⁶⁹

2.4. Turkish Foundation

A Turkist view was developed by *Turkish Foundation* established by such writers as Ahmed Midhat, Mehmed Emin, Ahmet Hikmet, Yusuf Akçura, and Akil Muhtar and they published a magazine which was succeeded after the seventh issue by the *Türk Yurdu* magazine.⁷⁰

The prominent writers of *Genç Kalemler* also came to Istanbul after the fall of Salonica and participated with their works. The idea of Turkicizm was developed in *Türk Yurdu*, which was the journal of Türk Ocağı (Turkish Heart) officially established in 1912, advocated by members of Union and Progress. Among its prominent members were Ziya Gökalp, Mehmed Emin Yurdakul and Halide Edib (Adivar) Adıvar.

After the Balkan Wars of 1911-1912 Turkicizm became the semi-official policy of Union and Progress when they began to pursue an intensive policy of economic and cultural Turkification.

⁶⁸ Demirtaş, “Yeni Hayat ve Yeni Kıymetler”, *Genç Kalemler*, II/8, and pp.140b., quoted by Masami Arai, *ibid.* p. 221.

⁶⁹ Demirtaş, “Yeni Hayat ve Yeni Kıymetler”, *Genç Kalemler*, II/8,p.141a., quoted by Masami Arai, *ibid.*, p. 221.

⁷⁰ Masami Arai , *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*, (E.J.Brill: Leiden, 1992), pp.9-10

2.5. Assessment of Periodicals During 1908

The liberal milieu of the new regime brought an explosion in the press as well as other publications, which provided the expression of different ideological currents, Islamist, Westernist and Turkist.

Islamists such as Prince Sait Halim considered social order as divinely given and therefore closed to purposeful human action, and in fact as something beyond human understanding while moderate Islamists held quite an opposite view by recognizing the place of 'ictihad' (interpretation) that is the necessity of ever new interpretations of religious precepts under the light of new conditions. Chief among these moderate Islamists were Mehmed Şemseddin Günaltay, and Musa Carullah. They were also trying to reconcile the radical Islamist, Turkist and Westernist views. They believed that Islamisation, modernization and turkification had each in itself some parts of the way to salvation and adhered to each one of them without going to the extreme in one direction. As Mehmed Şemseddin, who considered that extremism of all sorts imprisons minds, prevents us from seeing the light of the truth and he believes that it is possible to be at the same time a pious, nationalist and a modern nation. Moderate Islamists published their views principally in *Yeni Mecmua (New Magazine)* and *Sirat-i Mustakim (Straight Road, i.e. Islam)* while Islamists' press organ was *Sebil'ür-reşad (The Fountain of Straight Road, i.e. Islam)*.

The Westernists expressed the need for modernization and westernization. Abdullah Cevdet, one of the founders of movement, wrote that "there is no second civilization; civilization means Europe and civilization must be imported with both its roses and thorns."⁷¹

⁷¹ Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986), p. 30.

Turkism as a political thought began after the proclamation of the constitutional regime in 1908, together with the other major trends of thought. In Niyazi Berkes's account it was the clash of the Westernist and Islamists currents that shaped this development.⁷² Chief Turkist authors were first Yusuf Akçura, later Ziya Gökalp as the theoretician of Turkish nationalism proved to be the most active and influential although his ideas on Turkism went through considerable changes depending on the course of dramatic events, which brought an end to the Ottoman State. Ziya Gökalp contributed to the establishments of ties between Turkish literature and Turkish folk, folk literature and pre-islamic Turkish history and mythology. He met Ömer Seyfeddin, Ali Canip and other intellectuals of the time in Salonica where he participated in the Congress of the Union and Progress as representative of Diyarbakır and was influenced by Turkist ideas and began to publish his writings in *Genç Kalemler*. *Turkish Foundation's* review was also the press organ of Turkist trend. The journal *Türk Yurdu* edited by Ziya Gökalp in 1912 became the rallying point for Turkish nationalists connected with the Türk Ocağı movement. The Turkish current emerged as a clash of Westernist and Islamist current's modernization projects and laid the foundation of Republican nationalism.

⁷² Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), p. 338.

CHAPTER III

3. EARLY WOMEN'S PERIODICALS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In the period prior to declaration of the Second Constitution we can identify twelve publications oriented toward women. Starting in 1868 with *Muhadderat* (*Muslim Women*), the supplement of *Terakki* (Progress) newspaper, these publications were *Vakit yahud Mürebbi-i Muhadderat* (Time or The Training of Muslim Women) (1875), *Ayine* (Mirror, 1875), *Aile* (Family, 1880), *İnsaniyet* (Humanity, 1883), *Hanımlar* (Ladies, 1883), *Şüküfezar* (Garden in Bloom, 1886), *Mürüvvet* (Munificence, 1888), *Parça Bohçası* (Bundle of Pieces, 1889), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for Ladies, 1895), *Hanımlara Mahsus Malumat* (Information Peculiar to Ladies, 1895), *Alem-i Nısvan* (Women's World, 1906), and *Mefharet* (Pride,1908).

3.1. *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (Progress of Muslim Women 1869-1870)

The first periodical whose targeted readers were women was *Terakki-i Muhadderat* appeared in 1869 as a supplement of *Terakki* newspaper (Progress, 1868), which was founded by Ali Raşit and Filip Efendi. *Terakki* printed the female readers' letters under "Mevkib-i Şarki" (Eastern Procession), women's contribution to society as well as that of men were defended in a civilized nation in these issues.⁷³

In these letters women complained about the bad conditions of their place in segregated transportation by ferries, although they paid the same amount of money

⁷³ A.D. Jeltjakov, *Türkiye'nin Sosyo-politik ve Kültürel Hayatında Basın*, (Ankara: Basın-Yayın genel Müdürlüğü, 1972) p. 87 also in Vedat Günyol, "Türkiye' de Matbuat" in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: 1957), pp. 367-380.

as men.⁷⁴ One Article on “Civizilization” in *Terakkis* further explores the segregated life then as:

If a man wishes to go to Kağıthane with his wife, first he has to pay 125 kuruş for carriage not only for his wife but also for cariye or assistant. Furthermore, he has to rent a boat and pay 30 piasters for transportation. Upon arrival, if they will eat, they eat separately without any conservation during the trip. What kind of trip is it? Is this called have a rest?⁷⁵

In another letter the polygamy was questioned on behalf of an illiterate woman who wished to articulate her thoughts.⁷⁶

Terakki-i Muhadderat came out weekly and issued 48 numbers. Like *Terakki* newspaper, women readers’ letters criticizing the situation of women at that time occupies an important place. Women signed the letters either by their first name as a woman from Üsküdar or only a woman.

Most of the letters were concerned with education; since news schools were established alongside the old schools, in which girls would learn reading and writing. In a letter signed by Rabia, the dominant discourse was criticized and woman was redefined as:

It is necessary to acknowledge, neither men were created to be servant of women nor women were created as slaves of men. While men subsist on their skills and knowledge for themselves and all of us. Why we, women, are not capable of earn these skills and knowledge?
What are the differences between men and us in mind and eyes, hand and feet? Are we not human? What is the reason our situation just only our sex? No one who is sensible can admit this. If it had been necessary, European women would have been similar to us. It would have been shown our deprivation of knowledge as a legitimate cause because of our veil, I would be contended with pointing our women in provinces. Because they are helping their men in all kinds of services and working together with them.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Terakki* Newspaper no: 104 quoted by Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyetin 50.Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık, 1973), p. 30.

⁷⁵ *Terakki* Newspaper no:153 quoted by Tezer Taşkıran, *ibid.*,p. 31.

⁷⁶ “ Çok karılığın şer’an caiz olduğuna diyecek yok. Ancak, sakın bir karı ile kanaat etmeyin diye emir var mıdır? İşte orasını su’al ederiz.” *Terakki* Newspaper no: 83 quoted by Tezer Taşkıran, *ibid.*,p. 30; also in Bernard Caporal, *Kemalizmde ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını (1919-1970)* , (Ankara : Türkiye İis Bankası, 1982.) p.30 ; Hıfzı Topuz, *100 Soruda Türk Basın Tarihi*, (Gerçek:Istanbul , 1973) p. 248.

⁷⁷ “..Şurasını iyi bilmek gerekir ki, ne erkeker kadınlara hizmetkar, ne de kadınlar erkeklere cariye olmak için yaratılmıştır. Erkekler hüner ve marifetleri ile hem kendilerini, hemde hepimizi geçindirebiliyorlar da biz niçün bilgi ve hüner kazanmaya kudretli olamıyoruz? El ve ayak, göz, akıl

The Feminist women in the West were discussed and information about their struggle was extracted and interpreted from an English newspaper as follows:

If women would have acquired the right for membership in the National Assembly on a day when the president will say the words are a lady, it should not be surprise to hear respond of men, who is next to her, as such “ she could not come since she is busy with feeding her child.”⁷⁸

It is written that in this era of progress, in all progressed nations men and women progressed in science and art. Why do not we try to improve our conditions one step further? In the West, women struggle for the right to be elected and to work in state offices. They gained courage because of reading and writing.⁷⁹

Women’s work and participation in social life were defended in *Terakki-i Muhadderat*, which continued its publication life in *Kevkeb-i Şarkı* (Eastern Star) after 1869.⁸⁰

3.2.Vakit yahud Mürebbi-i Muhadderat (Time or The Training of Muslim Women, 1875)

Vakit yahud Mürebbi-i Muhadderat was printed as a supplemet of *Vakit (Times)* newspaper. Its aim was declared as “concerning things that are beneficial for womanhood.”

In the introductory article it is written that:

Since the girls schools (Rüştiye) and Teachers’ Training School (Dar’ül-Muallimin) were opened, we issued a newspaper in which we will not write something harmful

gibi vasıtalar da bizim erkeklerden ne farkımız vardır? Biz de insan değil miyiz? Yalnız cinsimizin ayrı oluşumu bu halde kalmamıza sebep olmuştur?Bunu hiçbir sağduyu sahibi Kabul etmez. Eğer öyle olmak gerekse idi, Avrupa kadınları da bize benzerdi. Bilgiden yoksun kalmamıza meşru örtünmemiz gösteriliyorsa ona da taşrada bulunan kadınlarımızı göstermekle yetinirim. Çünkü onlar erkeklerine her çeşit hizmette yardım etmekte erkeklerle beraber çalışmaktadırlar.” *Terakki-i Muhadderat* no:5 quoted by Tezer Taşkıran, ibid., p. 31; also Çakır ,ibid., p. 24.

⁷⁸ *Terakki-i Muhadderat* no:31 quoted by Tezer Taşkıran,ibid., p. 32.

⁷⁹ *Terakki* Newspaper no:80 quoted by Tezer Taşkıran, ibid., p. 30.

⁸⁰ Hıfzı Topuz, *100 Soruda Turk Basın Tarihi*, (Istanbul: Gerçek, 1973) p.248.

to women, we will inform them on the subjects beneficial to them. However, it should not be misunderstood that we will not be their teacher and it should not be presumed we give importance to ourselves to that extent. Our newspaper will come out once a week on Sundays. We will touch upon favorable and entertaining things. We hope that we will satisfy women.⁸¹

Another article, “Maarif Kadınlara Lüzumlu (The Necessity of Women’s Education)” emphasized the persistent development of education, training and science. Other subjects of concern were economic problems and events on the agenda, which were expressed as satire. The readers were called for subscription in the fourth issue, as “those who did not return the first issue will be regarded as subscribed. It is requested from those who would like to subscribe to inform our presshouse.”⁸²

3.3. *Ayine* (Mirror, 1875-1876)

Ayine was published in Salonica as a weekly (total thirty issue) in the same year with *Vakit yahud Mürebbi-i Muhadderat*. In both these periodicals the signs and titles were rare. In *Ayine*, whose targeted readers were women and children, the main themes were relationships in marriage, the behaviors and duties of spouses, training of children and health.⁸³

3.4. *Aile* (Family, 1880)

Aile came out in 1880 and the purpose of the journal was articulated as “ it contains all kinds of treatises related to house, women, children and family”. Most of the writings, which aimed to educate women, came out of the pen of Şemseddin

⁸¹ *Vakit* (Kadınlara) no.1, 26-Ş-1292/26-Eylül-1875, p. 1 quoted by İlhan Yerlikaya, *Abdülhamit Döneminde Basın: Yarı resmi Vakit Gazetesi: 1875-1884*, (Kırıkkale: 1996), p. 164.

⁸² İlhan Yerlikaya, *ibid.*, p.165.

⁸³ *Ayine: Muhadderat ve Etfale Mahsusdur*, 2 Teşrin-i Sani 1291 (4 Kasım 1875), sahib-i imtiyaz vekili: Mahmud Hamdi quoted by Çakır., *ibid.*, p. 25.

Sami who was a prominent literary figure of the Tanzimat period and there was no signature in writings. The owner of the Aile was Mihran and editor was Şemseddin Sami.⁸⁴

3.5. *İnsaniyet* (Humanity, 1883)

İnsaniyet intended to enlighten the women by giving encyclopedical information even including the system of stars and calendar, which was written by Mahmud Celaleddin, the publisher.

In addition to, these subjects, women sent letters, which were published and signed as ‘knowing woman’, ‘two literate women’, or ‘a school girl’. In the school girl’s letter the difficulty of publishing women’s writings was disclosed since their writings were not seen as significant, for this reason women had to signed their writings under a man’s name and the women’s desire for preceding women’s publications were uttered. She articulated her complaints in a threatening style of writing as such: “It is not expected from us book. If you want, you assign. But if you will not publish this letter, I will never write again. If you admit, I can be correspondent, I would not have written like this last year, [but} I will write better next year.”⁸⁵

Although her style of writing was menacing, her wish to correspond was admitted by the director of *İnsaniyet* magazine. There are only two issues of *İnsaniyet*, that of in 1882 and February 1883.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Emel Aşa, *1928’e Kadar Türk Kadın Mecmuaları*, (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, İstanbul, 1989), p. 87.

⁸⁵ “ bizden kitap beklenmez ya; siz isterseniz tashih ediniz. Lakin bu mektubu neşretmeyecek olursanız bir daha yazı yazmaya tövbe edeceğim ... kadul ederseniz, size muhabirelik ederim. Geçen sene daha bu kadar yazamazdım. Gelecek sene daha az çirkin yazarım.” Serpil Çakır, *ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁸⁶ Emel Aşa, *ibid.*, p. 14.

3.6. *Hanımlar* (Ladies, 1883)

Women's writings increased in *Hanımlar* and even older women sent letters to show their concern about the emergence of *Hanımlar* magazine. In a letter signed as "kocakarı (old woman)" it was expressed, as "a work peculiar to women would be published I am pleased to heard of its publication. For this reason, I wished to write despite my powerless."⁸⁷

Subjects of the magazine were household management, literary works; history, calendar system as well as the importance of learning a foreign language for women were drew the attention of readers. Furthermore, a play about "marriage" was also published.

3.7. *Şüküfezar* (Garden in Bloom, 1886)

The first women's journal whose owner, Arife Hanım, whose contributors were such Şair Fatma Nigar, Nevber, Münire was *Şüküfezar* which started its publication in 1886, during the reign of Abdülhamid II, articulating that it would deal with everything except politics. More than anything else it aimed at publishing women's literary works and thereby proving women's intellectual capabilities.

Arife Hanım states the purpose of the magazine in the first issue, " we are a group that have been the target of men's mocking laghter by saying that our hair is long and mind short. We will try to prove the opposite. Without preferring manhood over womanhood or womanhood over manhood, we will be insistent on the road to individual initiative."⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Bir Kocakarı ,*Muharrir Efendi, Hanımlar*, Muharrem 1300, pp. 15-16 quoted by Çakır, ibid., p. 26.

⁸⁸ Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu, *Basın tarihine Dair bilgiler ve Hatıralar*, (Istanbul, 1962) p. 31.

3.8. *Mürüvvet* (Munificence, 1888)

Mürüvvet was published in 28th February 1888 to 24th April 1888, as a supplement of *Mürüvvet* newspaper, with the support and encouragement of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Education was emphasized to a great extent by informing about the activities of Abdülhamid II in education, the numbers of schools and students, arguments on the situation of the girls' school.⁸⁹

The purpose of the publication was to uplift the cultural level of women such as to propose visiting the museum after the announcing the appointment of Hamdi Bey as director of the Istanbul museum.⁹⁰ Information about other women in the world was given, for instance, American women's work as civil servant.⁹¹

Mürüvvet was the first women's journal, which used headlines in order to group its content according to subjects such as weekly political news; internal news; foreign news; literature; education and morals; science; and other kinds such as anecdote, puzzle etc.

The prominent women of letters, for instance Nigar Bint-i Osman, Leyla Hanım (Saz), and Fitnat Hanım contributed with their literary works where the first poem of Nigar Bint-i Osman was published.⁹²

3.9. *Parça Bohçası* (Bundle of Pieces, 1889)

It came out as original issue by female publishers Hatice Semiha and Rabia Kamile. Nigar Bint-i Osman contributed with two poems and an article "The instruction and education of girls" by Cemaliye and Fahriye appeared.⁹³ Information

⁸⁹ Fitnat, (Mîrgün İnas Mekteb, I Rüştiyesi Birinci Muallimesi), "Fünun", *Mürüvvet*, no.4, 7 Mart 1303, p.37 quoted by Serpil Çakır, *ibid.*, p.27.

⁹⁰ "Havadis-i Dahiliyye", *Mürüvvet*, 5 Şaban 1305/1306 Nisan 1303, no.8, pp.144-145 quoted by Serpil Çakır, *ibid.*, p.27.

⁹¹ "Havadis-i Hariciye", *Amerika'da Kadınlar*, *Mürüvvet*, 28 Mart 1303, no.7, p.129 quoted by Çakır, *ibid.*, p.27.

⁹² Nigar, "Mersiye", *Mürüvvet*, 29 Şubat 1303, no.7, p.129 quoted by Serpil Çakır, *ibid.*, p.27.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p.27.

was given on housework, house arrangement, raising of children, as well as cooking and pastry making.

3.10. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for Ladies, 1895-1908)

Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete occupies a distinct place as the longest-lasting women's magazine. It was published for thirteen years from 1895 to 1908. Its aim emphasized the role of women in society as "training future generations" in regard to society's ills. Writings intended to develop and uplift the situation of women in order to be a developed society. Similar to *Şüküfezar*, one of the explicit purposes of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* was to prove women's literary and intellectual abilities by publishing their works.⁹⁴

The newspaper fulfilled this duty not only within the confines of its pages but also by supporting the publication of women's books through its publishing house. Among the books *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* published were Makbule Leman's *Ma'kesi-i Hayal* (*Reflector of Dream*, 1898), and Fatma Aliye's *Lavaiyh-i Hayat* (*Pictures from Life*, 1898).

Aside from women's literary works, the newspaper included numerous articles defending women's right to education and criticizing the degradation that women experienced in society. Writers informed their readers about the achievements of Muslim women as well as of women's struggles in Western countries. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* was successful in serving the three major aims of how to become a good mother, a good wife and a good Muslim. Parallel to this, the magazine published a large number of articles dealing with domestic issues such

⁹⁴ Aynur İlyasoğlu-Deniz İnel, "Kadın Dergilerinin Evrimi", in *Türkiye'de Dergiler ve Ansiklopediler 1849-1984*, (Gelişim yayınları: İstanbul, 1984) pp.163-184.

as housework, family health and childrearing. Noticeably, the quality of such writings increased in the latter issues.⁹⁵

However, despite its rather conservative self-description, *Hanımlara Mahsus* Gazette included analyses of women's subordination that carried radical implications. Some of its contributors, for example reflected more clearly upon men's domination for example, Fatma Aliye wrote:

It is observed that in the arts and sciences of the civilizing nations, it is first men who progress then women follows in their path. When men first enter that treasury they envy women following them and so they (men) try to conceal the jewels of that treasury from them (women). Supposedly they want to equate the right of being in the lead with the right of possession. This is one of those things, which has always been like this. But our saying that 'it has always been like this' mean that 'they have done in this way', otherwise how can men's domination ever be able to withhold what the possessor of science and virtue, God, the Almighty, has bestowed upon his creatures, both men and women?⁹⁶

Fatma Aliye further stated that men in America and Europe think and act exactly the same way as the Ottoman men, and gave as an example that in Europe men call women writers *bas bleus* (Blue Stockings) to degrade them.⁹⁷

Fatma Aliye faced difficulties as a woman writer in the realm of man's world. After her marriage she was not permitted to even read novels which led to Ahmet Midhat, who had known her from her childhood and taught and later on wrote her biography "Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarın Doğusu"⁹⁸, create a character of Ulviye or Acemi Ali in his novel *Dürdane Hanım*. As argued in Nilay Ozer's article there are similarities between life of Fatma Aliye and fictive character of Ulviye in this novel. Ulviye appears in the disguise of a man named Acemi Ali. 'Acem' means untrained,

⁹⁵ Aynur Demirdirek "Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının bir Hikayesi, (Ankara: Imge, 1993). pp.22-23.

⁹⁶ *Hanımlara Mahsus* Gazete, no., 15 Rebiyü'l- evvel 1313, pp.2-3 quoted by Serpil Çakır, *ibid.* p.29; Karakaya, *ibid.*, p.43.

⁹⁷ Çakır, *ibid.*, p.29

⁹⁸ For a detailed information on Fatma Aliye Hanım please see Ahmed Midhat, *Fatma Aliye Hanım Yahut Bir Muharrir-i Osmaniyenin Neşeti* (İstanbul: İsis, 1998) and Mübeccel Kızıltan, *Fatma Aliye Hanım: Yaşamı, Sanatı, Yapıtları ve Nisvan-i İslam*, (İstanbul: Mutlu, 1993).

inexperienced similar to Fatma Aliye's situation as a woman writer in the domain of men writers. Ahmed Mithat projected her future as a leader in salvation of Ottoman women who was not afraid of divorce and re-marriage in fiction as the story of Ulviye⁹⁹.

Like Ahmed Midhat, Fatma Aliye Hanım created female characters in her novels who were confident and who had the capacity to cope with life on their own. These women were also created considering Islamic traditions. Fatma Aliye Hanım supported the idea of formulating a synthesis of Islam and western civilization. Mediha Göbenli supports the same argument by stating that Fatma Aliye's female characters, though they do not go beyond the limits of Islamic requirements, are self-confident, and struggling portrayals.¹⁰⁰

3.11. *Hanımlara Mahsus Malumat* (Information Peculiar to Ladies, 1895)

Hanımlara Mahsus Malumat appeared as a supplement of *Malumat Mecmuasi*, which was published weekly. The director of the magazine was Mehmed Tahir and the contributors were Leyla Feride, Nadide Sakri, Fahriye, Fahrunnisa, and Makbule Mufide. Also, Ahmet Rasim, Nazif Sururi and Mehmed Cemal contributed with their writings on women.¹⁰¹

Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete as a product of the Tanzimat period like intellectuals that period wanted to add the Western values to Ottomans without abandoning the ideology of Islam. In this way they could instruct the people without

⁹⁹ Nilay Özer, *Acem Ali – Ulviye ya da Fatma Aliye, Toplum ve Tarih*, (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁰ Mediha Göbenli, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi ve Osmanlı Kadın Yazarları: Fatma Aliye Hanım ve Şair Fitnat Hanım", *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol. 34, no. 203, Kasım 2000, p. 284.

¹⁰¹ Çakır, *ibid.*, p.32.

opposing. They preferred to serve the principle of “good wife, good mother and muslim” instead of the radical feminists’ discourse of the West at that time.

3.12. Assessment of Women’s Periodicals from Tanzimat to 1908 Revolution

Tanzimat reforms were more successful in comparison to previous reform attempts, but even then they were not really able to bring in those changes and measures, which were needed. The co-existence between new and old attitudes led to inconsistency in application. While some progress was made, some reaction and confusion set in. For instance, European legal institutions act up side by side with religion. Legal institutions; in education medreses were established along with modern schools.

The Tanzimat mentality made it felt in women’s affairs as in every other sphere of life in the community. New schools were founded for girls, prohibition on dress and appearing in public were greatly eased; and comments in favor of women’s rights especially relating to rights and duties in family matters, appeared in literary publications. So the period between the Tanzimat and the Second Constitutional era can be called “the awakening”.

The movement of the young Ottomans emerged as a reaction to the authoritarianism, extreme Westernism and superficiality of Tanzimat policies. Their ideology involved a complex blend of Ottoman nationalism and Islamism and Constitutionalism. Influenced by European ideas of nationalism and liberalism. They were nonetheless conservatives’ attempting to achieve synthesis between the Western notion of progress and a harmonious Islamic state. It is not uncommon to

find prominent Young Ottomans cited as the earliest advocates of women's emancipation, preparing the ground for latter reforms.¹⁰²

However, like in every other field, a difference of view about women in society persisted and attempts to bring about changes caused some reaction. The separation of the sexes continued in new reform attempts such as new schools, midwifery training, but there was no great effort to reconcile them.

Some of the intellectuals of this era wrote articles in favor of women's emancipation. Most of them thought of Turkish women as good housewives. All of them had the Muslim mentality; they all wanted literacy for women. They were all against ignorance; they all agreed that Islam was not anti-feminist and the pursuit of knowledge was an obligation for both men and women. In literature, women writers appeared and women's periodicals flourished.

Şinasi's satirical play "Şair Evlenmesi" (The poet's Wedding) written in 1859 is to be considered one of the earliest criticisms of the arranged marriage system. Namık Kemal was also vocal in his criticism of the more oppressive and unjust aspects of marriage and family life, as well as women's overall position in society. He used the newspaper he edited *İbret* to call for reforms in women's education and denounce the state of ignorance in which Ottoman women were kept. His novel *İntibah* (*The Awakening*) and *Zavallı Çocuk* (*Poor Child*) also offer critical commentaries on women's condition. Ahmed Mithad Efendi strongly advocated changes in women's position and denounced the practices of forced marriages, concubinage and polygamy as social ills. His works, *Diplomalı Kız* (*A girl with a Diploma*), *Felsefe-i Zenan* (*Women's Philosophy*), *Te'ehhul* (*Marriage*)

¹⁰² Deniz Kandiyoti, *End of the Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey*, p. 26.

and *Eyvah* touch upon the wide range of such concerns.¹⁰³ Therefore, both Ahmed Midhat Efendi and his contemporaries focused on the necessity of change in the status of women but at the same time emphasized the preeminence of socio-cultural, traditional and religious values.

The nineteenth century Ottoman Empire witnessed women novelists, journalists, and teachers. Briefly, “women”, in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire became one of the important issues of discourse.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 26.

CHAPTER IV

4. WOMEN'S PERIODICALS DURING THE 1908 REVOLUTION

As I have mentioned in chapter one, the 1908 revolution allowed for an immediate boom in Ottoman serial publication; many of these were short-lived and 2 to 8 pages long. Brummet states that this “democratization of the printed word” was similar to the French revolution”¹⁰⁴. Under Sultan Abdülhamid, publishing had been tightly controlled rather than completely suppressed.

These publications were not concerned about enlightening women, but rather with their traditional activities. This group of journals not only constituted an important source of information about the pre-republican women's movement but also served as an evidence of existence of a group of Muslim women who opposed the way they are treated.

4.1. *Mefharet* (Pride, 1908)

Mefharet was published in 1908 in Salonica after the 1908 revolution under the headline of “Long Live the National Assembly”¹⁰⁵. It was the first appearance of the term “National Assembly” instead of “Deputies Assembly”.¹⁰⁶ We do not have further information about *Mefharet* since it is not cataloged in bibliographies.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Palmira Brummet, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911*, p.3.

¹⁰⁵ Afet İnan, *Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Haklarının kazanılması: tarih boyunca Türk Kadının hak ve görevleri*, (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim, 1982) p.85.

¹⁰⁶ Şefika Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet döneminde Türk Kadını*, (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996) p.139

¹⁰⁷ See *Eski Harfli Süreli Yayınlar Toplu Kataloğu*, c.1 (Ankara: Milli Kütüphane Yayınları 1963); Hasan Duman, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Arap Harfli Süreli Yayınlar Toplu Kataloğu: 1828-1928*, (Istanbul: ICICA, 1986); Emel Aşa, *1928'e Kadar Türk Kadın Mecmuaları*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, (Istanbul, 1989), *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski*

These journals, in which women wrote from every possible ideological perspective about the circumstances they wanted to change and the struggles they endured, include the following: *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (The newspaper for Women, 1895), *Demet* (A Bunch, 1908), *Mehasin* (Virtues, 1908), *Kadın* (Woman, Salonica, 1908-1909). I will examine women's articulations in the periodicals; there will be particular focus on *Demet* and *Kadın* magazine and *Mehasin* since they emerged immediately after the 1908 revolution.

4.2. *Demet* (A Bunch, 1908)

Demet is a weekly literary and political magazine, which was published in Istanbul from 17th September 1908 onwards and it came out in seven issues only.¹⁰⁸ Women first became acquainted with political writings with *Demet*. Some of the women writers were Nigar bint-i Osman, Julide, Ulviye, Neziye, Şiven Peride, Ruhsan Nevvare, Ismet Hakkı Hanım, Halide Edib (Adivar) and founders of the Red-White Club in Salonica. In the second issue it declared that its aim was to protect the benefits of women, to reflect women's thoughts, print their writings, inform them about literature and science in order to provide progress of Ottoman women and elevation of Ottoman civilization. They believed that the style of life and level of thoughts and feelings of women reflected the nation's progress: 'Progress being civilized was our sublime aim. The destitute needed of our women was education. Top priority should be given to education.'¹⁰⁹

harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası, eds. By Zehra Toska, Serpil Çakır et.al (Istanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi Bilgi Merkezi Yayınları:5, Metis Yayınları, 1993).

¹⁰⁸ Proprietor was Hakkı Behiç, the chief editor was: Celal Sahir, published in Hilal matbaası (17 Eylül- 29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324), total 7 issues.

¹⁰⁹ "Meramızı Osmanlı kadınlığının terakkisine şu suretle Osmanlı medeniyetinin te'allisine hizmettir, çünkü biz mütekaddiriz ki bir milette Kadınların tarzı hayat ve seviye-i efkar ve hissiyatı o milletin merat-i terakkisidir.. Teraki ve temeddün gibi 'ali hedefe doğru ciddi bir 'azim ile tevcih edenlere za'af ve acz ne kadar uzaktır.... Kadınlarımızın en aciz ihtiyacı ma'ariftir. En evvel çalışacağımız bu

Women writers such as Ulviye Bint-i Asim whose poem, dedicated to Halide Edib (Adivar) Adivar, was published in the third issue also shared their understanding of “progress”.

“.....
Ascends and exalts humans with women
Why should we stand without doing anything?
While our country is in need of us
Strive to awake Womanhood’s world
Is not Progress Our means, sister?
Inspire this right to every thought that
‘The hands swinging the cradle govern the world’¹¹⁰”

In another poem “Otomobil Geçerken”(as the car passes) she pointed out the need for progress because when she saw the passing of car in the street she said, “we do not now even have a word for car. Steps should be taken for reform but this pace is unfitting.¹¹¹”

In the serials of ‘Famous Ottoman Women’, the Armenian writer Zabel Yesan also discussed her understanding of progress. Although prominent men of letters appreciated her with her writings in French literary journals, she remained as

olmalıdır. Hiç bilenle bilmeyen bir olur mu? Diyen din ma’arifin en birinci hamisidir. Ve ma’arif sayesinde ati-i nisvan istenilen istediğimiz münevviyetle ta’yin edecektir tecelli edecektir. “Demet” bu maksadı mukaddesin aciz fakat samimi bir hadem ve mer’cidir.” Fazil Ahmet, Celal Sahir, “Karilerimize”, *Demet* no.2 (24 Eylül 1324) p.17.

¹¹⁰ Ulviye Bint-i Asim, *Demet* no.3 (1 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.33-34.

“Eder su’ud ve tealli kadınlarıyla beşer
Bu memleket bize muhtaç iken niçin duralım?
Kadınlık alemini cehd edüp uyandıralım
Biz meder an terakki değil mi hemşire?
Şu hakkı etmeli ilka vatanda her fikre
Ki “mehd-i sallayan eller cihana hükmeder”

¹¹¹ Ulviye bint-i Asim, *Otomobil Geçerken*, *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.97.

“Elinde safha-i tarih pur maliyesi
Futur içinde şu afaki bekleyen Türkün
Açıldı şimdi bütün atıye-i zallaliyesi
Fakat netice ve maksad uzakta kaldı bugün
Evet seviye-i irfanda garba nisbetle
Görünce bizdeki noksanı sızlıyor kalbim
Bu hatveler mütenasib değil o süratle
Nasil yetişilir bilmem ki ah yarabbim!
Geçende caddede olmuştu b f k t peyda
Bizim lisanda henüz ismi olmayan araba
Ki bi nazar bile yetmezdi seyr ü süratine
Göründü hinde-i hayret bugün dudaklarda
Koşardık peşinden herkes görüp sokaklarda
Kıyam eder gibi deha-i sanatına.”

an Oriental and questioned the Orient. She supported the thought of benefiting from Western civilization but at the same time protecting Ottoman customs and morals.¹¹²

In Hakkı Behiç's article 'What is our situation and what are our needs?' the author states that the equation of nation's 'progress' with womanhood and the need for equal partnership was supported by nationalist/westernist male intellectuals discourse and they called for the protection of women's rights. "Since women were mothers of the nation, their chastity and honor were regarded as nation's chastity, any acts of violation such as insulting it meant the violation of nation's chastity."¹¹³

Since nation entrusted to women's tender of embrace and love, the future of nation was in the hands of women, it is out duty to enlighten our women. The soul of a country is its women. The heart of a nation and society is women. Therefore, the life of nation strongly is dependent on the influence of women. Any stroke to nation makes distraught people in pain and degradation and with its all force makes women slave and cause pain. For this reason, for the sublime of future one who wants to live civilized life should work for the exaltation of women. It is because the future lies in the hands of their children, heroes they brought and the lions they encourage.¹¹⁴

¹¹² "Pariste Münteşir bazı edebi risalelerde yazdığı makaleler pek büyük edibler tarafından takdir edilmiştir. Mamafih kendisi daima Şarklı hem Şarka pürüş eden bir Şarklıdır. Kendisinin çok sevdiği fikirlerinden birisi de medeniyet-i garbiyeden müstefid olmakla beraber bize mahsus ahlak ve adatın muhafaza edilmesi fikridir." Lugufet Fuat, "Osmanlı Meşahir Nisvanı: madam Zabel Yesayan", *Demet* no.6 (22 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.82.

¹¹³ "Kadın heyet-i içtimaiyenin namus-i müşterikidir. Ona uzanan dest-i tecavüz namus-i içtimaiyyeyi ihlal etmiş olur. Heyet-i içtimaiye de ihlal edilen namus müşterikinin intikamını vesait-i içtimaiyyede kanunisiyle almalıdır. Bu herkesin bütün efrad-i milletin bir taraftan hakkı bir taraftan vazifesi olduğunda şüphe yoktur. Bu hakka riayet bu vazifeyi icraya delalet etmeyen Kadının, bu kanuni tatbiki etmeyen hükümet muhtac-i ıslah bir nekasanı var demektir. Bu nekasanın telafisini talep ederiz. Herşeyde olduğu gibi hukukunu su'i istimal etmekten utanmayan bir çok serserilerin hala Kadınlara, namus-i millete, heyet-i içtimaiyyeye ta'riz ettikleri görülüyor." Hakkı Behiç, "Mümtaziyet-i Nisvan ve Kadınlara Hürmet", *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p. 106.

¹¹⁴ "... Hatta o vatan doğrudan doğruya Kadınların ağuş-i şefkat ve muhabbetine tevdi' kılınmış, onun istikbali doğrudan doğruya onların yedine terbiyetlerine terk edilmiş olduğu için Kadınlarımızı bizden daha iyi tenvir etmek vazifemizdir. Bir memleketin ruh-i Kadınlarıdır. Bir milletin, bir heyet-i içtimaiyyenin kalbi kadınlarıdır. Bina'aleyh vatanın hayatı Kadınların te'siratına kuvvetle merbu'dur. Vatana inen darbe milleti perişan eden kahr ve zillet doğrudan doğruya ve bütün şiddetiyle kadınları esir ızdırab eder; Kadınları muzdarib olan cemiyette baştan başa birinin ızdırab içinde yaşar. İşte bunun içindir ki istikbal-i tealliye doğru şepher kuşe-i gayret olmak isteyen heya't medineye evvela Kadının teallisine çalışmalıdır. Çünkü istikbal onların vereceği yavrular, onların yetiştireceği kahramanlar, onların teşci' ve teşvik edeceği arslanlar elindedir." Hakkı Behiç, "Siyasi: Ne Haldeyiz ve Neye Muhtacız?", *Demet* no.5 (15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.78-80 the same thoughts also expressed in his article "Mümtaziyet-i Nisvan ve Kadınlara Hürmet", *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp.105-107.

“A nation who does not respect but ruins and insults their women will be pitifully worn-out and condemned as a group of loafers that stay primitive and loathsome.”¹¹⁵

In order to respond to the question of what the nature of the situation was Hakkı Behiç describe social life before the pronouncement of the second constitution and the assessment of its first three months.

Behiç also said in his article that the first thing Ottomans were in need of, was safety and public order and the battalions coming from Salonica would provide this. Secondly, he stated that, they needed law, justice, and representatives of responsibilities and consciencious people. But above all woman and man without exception, affection of the constitution, the right of freedom, and protection of fortitude of morals were united for these reasons.¹¹⁶

The discourse of “progress” in the status of women was inseparably tied to the status of the nation. The progress of the nation was seen as dependent on the progress of women.¹¹⁷ And if the country’s backwardness, as compared to Europe, could be overcome through the acquisition of sciences and a new kind of education, then the conditions of women could also be improved in a similar move. Women’s education was now perceived as the most fundamental step in the nation’s quest for civilization.

Education of women should be given more priority than men’s since from educated women would arise a whole educated nation.

¹¹⁵ “Kadınlara hürmet etmeyen Kadınların hukukunu pamal hakaret eden akvam zelil ve sefil olur vahşi ve müstekire sürünmeğe mahkum bir serseri kafilesinden ibaret kalır..” Hakkı Behiç, “Mümtaziyet-i Nisvan ve Kadınlara Hürmet”, *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p. 106.

¹¹⁶ “Şimdi en Evvel emniyet ve asayişe muhtacız. Salonica ten gelen taburlar bunu te’min edecek. Sonra kanuna, hak u ‘adle, mesuliyet-i vükelaya ve erbab-i vicdana muhtacız.” Hakkı Behiç, “Siyasi: Ne Haldeyiz ve Neye Muhtacız?” *Demet* no.5 (15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.80.

¹¹⁷ “Bir heyet-i içtimaiyyenin derece-i tekamülüne Kadınları mizandır commonly used in *Demet*, *Kadın* and *Mehasin* magazines.

In Hakkı Behiç's account, "family" itself was redefined. The family was the foundation of a country and within the family the woman, as the mother, was the foundation.¹¹⁸ As such, her intellectual development or underdevelopment became the primary factor in determining the development or underdevelopment of the country. This reconfiguration attributed a meaning to motherhood. Her nurturing and educating roles became more important and began to overshadow her function as a reproducer. Mothering came to be defined as nurturing and educating. Women's education was therefore oriented towards the upbringing of educated (male) citizens. This was not a call "for equality of education for men and women".

Women's duty to be a good mother and wife for the well being of society and nation was affirmed not only by male writers of the magazine but also female writers. For instance, Nigar Bint-i Osman's article concerning the translation of Bernard Don Dusen Piyer's letters of Travel, by Cevdet Pasa's granddaughter Zeynep Sünbül Hanım; she confirms that the authors emphasize training mothers for the well being of the nation.

According to him, the duties of women were motherhood, management of household and wifedom. First of all, a woman should be a good mother and wife. But who can succeed doing this? Not every woman to appeal her husband to the path of improvement while every serious man with a desire to have a devoted wife can reach perfection by educating and nourishing her.¹¹⁹

Therefore, men should furnish woman's thoughts with providing education to them for the well being of society and of nation. Furthermore, the emphasis on

¹¹⁸ "Heyet-i içtimaiyyenin ilk esasları ailelerden ibarettir... Şu halde devlet, millet, hatta bütün beşeriyet ailelerden hayatına kuvvetle merbuttur. Bedbaht bir aile bütün beşeriyetin saadetini imhaya muktedirdir... Ailenin en mütahassis cüzzi ise Kadınlardır." Hakkı Behiç, "Mümtaziyet-i Nisvan ve Kadınlara Hürmet", *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p. 106.

¹¹⁹ Nigar Bint-i Osman, "Zeynep Sünbül Hanım", *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.100.

motherhood was reflected in poems such as Mehmed Emin's "Bir Genç Kıza"¹²⁰ and Ahmed Samim's article "Valideme"¹²¹ in which he wrote his sufferings after he lost her.

Selim Sırrı also exalted motherhood and equated it with the nation's well being. He emphasized the importance of training children who will serve the society in the future. He questioned the old tradition in training and questioned motherhood. He also questioned parenthood and what the duties and responsibilities of parents were.

Men and women have shared duties and responsibilities due to their marriage not only for each other but also towards their children. For an imagined child such limitations undertaken constitute the aim of the holiest and glorious acts of marriage and family formation. Couples have to upbring and instruct their children who will serve society and the country with their good character. Women inculcate moral virtues while men will inculcate acquired knowledge to children. Material and moral instruction of children constitutes the main conditions and connections of family. The most important duty of a woman is to be a healthy honorable vigorous mother in all sense. Women are responsible for the education and instruction of children. They are the teachers serving the development and extension of their thoughts. The future of the individual and nation entrusted the care of this sanctified duty of women. Women are guarantors of honor and sublime duty of womanhood and motherhood by infusing material and moral virtues to children, in order to provide happiness of a perfect family and thus that of society and the nation. In order to accomplish these duties women should be educated and instructed as well.¹²²

Atafet Celal also dealt with education and women, and she made a conciliatory justification for women's education. She was opposed the ignorance of women:

Human beings are formed by woman and man like every creature, since they have to participate in a family and society, and community it requires them also to be partners of each other on the level of training. A Person who followed the scientific education and reached a certain maturity of knowledge cannot accompany an ignorant one. For this reason, as men progress in training by science, they should also elevate women's knowledge. If only men will read, learn think and understand and act accordingly; while women will stay ignorant, without reasoning on, neither men nor women can understand each other.

¹²⁰ Mehmed Emin, "Bir Genç Kıza", *Demet* no.1 (17 Eylül 1324) p.4.

¹²¹ Ahmed Samim, "Valideme", *Demet* no.1 (17 Eylül 1324) p.4.

¹²² Selim Sırrı, "Çocuk Terbiyesi", *Demet* no.6 (22 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.83.

I am not an adherent of equality between sexes in every matter. Particularly, I appreciate the need and force of women's stay within the boundaries of their womanhood. I am not saying women should be civil servants, judges, and deputies and take part in balls and go to the garden in Tepebasi and Taksim. However, I support women's reading, learning and being able to think things through. Our schools' situation is not fulfilling our wishes today. The highest school for women is Darul Muallimat (Training of Teachers School) in which the required instructions and readings are insignificant. I pursued the classes from the beginning to the end and I am assured the existence of women teachers, who had the knowledge of history and geography, were not rare.

The initial thing should be the establishment of a perfect Darul Muallimat. More than tables and arithmetic boards, teachers are needed. I think to suggest the reform of these schools is not our duty.

The experienced civil servants of the ministry education and honorable writers of press will undertake this duty. Whether American or Japanese women will be necessary for the directorate or which language will be necessary besides Turkish, whether English will be necessary or not. Of course they will know better than us the duration of education and regulation. I request only the establishment of Darul Muallimat soon.¹²³

İsmet Hakkı Hanım, a self-identified feminist, was distinguished from her opponents primarily by her demands for science courses for girls and for higher education for women. What were the views of her opponents? İkbâl Hanım, for instance, who believed that Muslim women could not be feminist, questioned İsmet

¹²³ “ Madem ki bil-cümle mahlukat gibi insanlarda cinsiyetten yani erkek ve kadından müteşekkildir, madem ki bunlar bir aile, bir cemiyet, bir heyet-i dahilinde mütekkir yaşamağa mecburdurlar. Beynlerinde seviye-i terbiyece de bir müşareket olmak iktiza eder. Umumini tahsil-i ilm ve kemale hasır etmiş malumat ve siyase sahibi bir zat hiçbirşey bilmeyen bir cahil ve insiyet ve refaket edemez. Mecbur olursa bedbaht olur. Bina’aleyh erkeklerimiz terbiye-i ilmiye ve fikriyece yükseldikçe kadınları da kendi seviyelerine tefrib etmelidirler... Erkekler okusun erkeler öğrensin, erkekler anlasun, düşünsün amal fikir edebilsün; kadınlar cahil akılsız muhakemesiz kalsun! Bu halde ne erkek ne kadın yekdiğerini anlayabilir.... be erkekle kadınların her husuta musavi olmalarına taraftar değilim, husuiyle bizde kadınlar kadınlıkları dairesinde kalmağa muhtaç ve mecbur olduklarını takdir ederim... Kadınlar memur olsun, mebus olsun hakim olsun balolara gitsin tepebaşı taksim bağçelerinde otursun demiyorum böyle diyenlere de acırım. Ancak kadınlar da okusun, öğrensin, amal-i fikre, mutaala ve muhakemeye kadir olsun, evinin idaresini yapabilsün diyorum. Mekteblerimizim şimdiki hali bu arzularımızı ikmal edecek derecede değildir. İnasa mahsus en büyük mektebimiz dar’ül muallimattır. Bu mektepte okunan ve öğretilen şeyler okunması öğrenmesi lazım olanlara nazaran pek cüzzidir. Bu mektebin derslerini bedayetinden nihayetine kadar ta’kib etmiş idim. Mektepteki muallimelerin iclerinde... tarihe, coğrafyaya aid erkeklerce bile ba’is guru olacak derecede ma’lumat vesiyayı ha’iz olan muallimeler nadir olmadığını te’min ederim. Kadınların tahsili için en evvel yapılacak şey mükemmel bir dar’ül-muallimat vücuda getirmektir. Mektepler için herşeyden hatta mekteb binasından sıra ve hesap tahtasından daha ziyade lazım olan hocadır. Maarif nezaretinin tecrübeli me’murları, matbu’atın hemiyetkar muharrirleri bu babta lazım gelen mutalaatı beyan ederler. Müdüriyet için bir Amerikalı kadın mı yoksa japonyalı mı münasip olacağını mektepte Türkçeden başka mecburi olarak İngilizce tedrisi lazım gelip gelmeyeceğini mektebin müddet-i tahsiliyesini suret-i tanzimini elbet onlar bizden daha iyi bilirler. Ben yalnız suratı mumkune ile ihtiyacımıza muvaffak bir dar’ül-muallimat vücuda getirilmesibi rica eder....” Atafet Celal, “Terbiye-i Nisvaniye”, *Demet* no.2, (24 Eylül 1324), pp.27-28

Hakkı Hanım's demands from a religious perspective in an article she wrote in *İkdam (Preseverance)* as a response to a previous one by İsmet Hakkı Hanım. To refute feminist claims of equality, she claimed that the Kur'an established the superiority of men over women. She believed that "Two equal powers would lead to constant confrontation."¹²⁴ With respect to demands for higher education, İkbâl Hanım stated:

This is a demand in vain. The purpose of learning something is to use it in its right place. But our modesty (mesturiyet), or better put, our natural disposition as women prevent us from getting higher education as well as from actively benefiting from this education. To wish the government to open universities for women by going through a lot of experiences and trouble for a useless result is an unreasonable dream.¹²⁵

In response to İkbâl Hanım Efendi's article on education, on 17 August 1908 in *İkdam (Preseverance)*, İsmet Hakkı stated, in *Demet*, that she did not conform on the distinction of Ottoman women as Muslim and non-Muslim, who had progress in education just a little bit, she did not want to mention them naturally.

Kavm, which could not proceed in the field of progress, is only Muslim women. It is a result from "anti-feminism" which we bear like a weapon in our thoughts. It is said that what harm we have seen from "anti-feminism" so far. I think so many. Let me explain. : First of all, family life does not pass as it is supposed to be in the West seeing envy and praise in compatible. -Good behavior are distant from my purpose- on the contrary a housewife talk about the household management, lets assume, weaving carpets, knitting laces. While her husband talks about politics, civil-servant posts, programs of deputies assembly, even the philosophy of Nietzsche. I mean our politicians now forbidding us to be teacher, writer, artist, and musician. Only few are allowed to have these professions...¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Çakır, ibid.p.34

¹²⁵ Çakır, ibid.p.34

¹²⁶ "... Saha-i Terakki de yol alamayan kavm yalnız bizler, nisvan-i islamiz. Bu da , tekrar ederim-hanım efendilerimizin afvlarına rağmen- aleyhimizde bir silah gibi fikirlerimiz de taşıdığımız "anti-feminism" mesleğinden ileri gelir. "şimdiye kadar ne zarar görüldü" deniliyor. Fikri acizanemce çok pek çok arz edeyim : Evvela hayat-i aile ile zannolunduğu gibi akvam-i garbiye tarafından nazar-i gibta ve sitayişle görülecek bir imtizaç iinde geçmiyor- hüsn ü muaşeret maksadından uzaktır-bilakis mütebayın fikirlerin mubahasatinde daima ruhsuzluk nümayan olur. Evin Hanımı mütessil mevaddan, idare-i beytiyyeden – farz edelim- dokuduğu halıdan, ördüğü danteladan bahsederler. Daha doğrusu edecek bahs bulamaz, erkeği de siyasetten, me'muriyetten, meclis-i vükelanın programından "Niçe"nin felsefesinden bahsederse evin içi babil kalesinden farkı kalır mı? Demem ki siyaset-i hazıramız bizi, muallime, muharrire, ressam, musiki ustası olmaktan men' ediyor fakat aramızda siyasetimizin mubah kaldığı bu mesleklere müntesibn kaç *Kadın* muallime kaç muharrir kaç resim ve musiki ustası sayılabilir. Bir, iki niahyet üç.. habuki istisnaların umumiyeti ihlal edemeyeceği iddia

Apart from the subject discussed above she also referred to Turkish identity and used almost a patriotic tone. She said:

What a shame for our Turkishness and womanhood if we do not benefit from the progress of civilization. The time for handcrafting, weaving has passed. We get bored with such physical work we should work mentally.¹²⁷

After that, she went into the subject of education by connecting the patriotic discourse with the concept of education.

I think a girl should read and learn the basic regulations of every science. Even if she will not be a chemist, she should learn at least the elementary part of chemistry; even if we will not approve her to be an engineer, she should be aware of geometry more or less; in short, even if she will not be a doctor or lawyer, she should not be ignorant of law, and hygiene.

I mean her public education should be strong and painstaking like that of a man's education. She has to study science as well as handicrafts which are absolute necessities for women. But, the negligence of household management and leaving the house are not good unless there will be financial straits. For this reason, I do not approve of them to be civil servants who intervene in politics – but not support working. However, I am not objecting to such professions as doctors, lawyers, chemists, on the contrary I wait for these professions. ...

A girl, like a man, should pursue the education and instruction as regards to necessity of means of support even if she is affluent. Why should two equal forces be in constant collision?¹²⁸

olunuyor. Halı dokumak, dikişçilik dantelacılık etmekte yalnız bir sınıf ahalinin mevkileriyle muvaffik ederceya evvelce daha başka daha vasiatlı bir hayat içinde yaşamış bir kızsonradan bi kesbi bir neva kalırsa ne yapsın? Her husuta zamanla beraber yürümek ister merhum büyük büyük validelerimizin ördükleri gömlekleri biz giymeyiz ki dokumak külfetine girelim. Fabrikalar niçin icad edildi?”, İsmet Hakkı, “Kadınlarımız ve Maarif”, *Demet* no.2, (24 Eylül 1324) p.25.

¹²⁷ “Terakkiyat-i medeniyyeden bu kadarlık bir istifade de aramayacaksak hem Türklüğümüze hem Kadınlığımıza yazık! Dokumacılıkla kol yoracak zaman geçti. Artık ameli islerden usandık. Bir parça zihinlerimiz de yorulsun.” İsmet Hakkı, *ibid.* p. 25.

¹²⁸ “fıkri acizanemce bir kız az çok her ilmin kavaid-i esasiyesini okumalı, öğrenmelidir. Bir kimyager olmayacaksa bile fenn-i kimyanın hiç değilse kısm-i ibtidaisini öğrenmeli; bir kadının mühendis olmasını tasvib etmezsek bile hendeseye az çok vakıf olmalı; hulasa doctor, avukat olmadığı halde ilm-i hukuktan kavaid-i hıfz- sıhhadan büsbütün bi-haber bulunmamalıdır. Demek istiyorum ki tahsil-i umumiyesi erkeklerinkisi kadar kuvvetli itinalı olmalı; Kadınların ihtiyacat-i zaruriyelerinden olan el işleriyle beraber fenn derslerine de çalışmalı, arz üzerinde cereyan vekayın kaffesi hakkında bir fikir edinmelidir. Tabii’ tarz-i ihtiyaç sıkıştırılmazsa Kadınların evden uzaklaşmasını, idare-i beytiyyeyi ihmal etmesi pek iyi bir şey olmaz. Hatta bunun içindir ki me’mur olmağı, politikaya müdahaleyi- fakat uğraşmayı değil- pek o kadar münasib bulamam. Lakin doktorluk, artistlik gibi kimyagerlik hususi mesleklerin tahsilinde bir mahzur görmediğim kadar bundan istifade beklerim. Bir kız da tabii ki bir erkeğin gibi en parlak bir hal ve mevki’de bile te’min-i maişet mecburiyetini düşünerek tahsilini terbiyesini ona göre almalı, çalışmalıdır. İki musavi kuvvet neden bir musademe-i daimiye-yi intaç etsun?” İsmet Hakkı, *ibid.*, p.26.

She also referred to the Kuran and tried to find justifications there in order to make women's education seem to be a part of its content:

The 'er-racilun kavamun ali nisa' verse of Kuran does not designate the superiority of men over women, at most it is a gracious gesture which was given in return for undertaking heavy and important responsibilities in the affairs of family management.

I think suffragets of feminism is far away from our aptitude now. We have so many shortcomings before that, above all the military. Fatma Aliye talks about women who sheltered their husbands, fathers, brothers, indeed "nations", "Cezmi's" and "Tarık's" showed our women as heroines.¹²⁹

Demet published letters of readers who had opposing views and criticized the content of the magazine, that it should be a literary rather than political magazine which would be more beneficial to Ottoman women. In this critical letter, the writer (anonymous) also blamed the content of magazines as being fantastic, flighty and in the mean time, only two articles "terbiye-i etfal (instruction of children)" and "mesahaba-i tibbiye (medical conversation)" were beneficial to women. Although he had promised to buy *Demet* for his two sisters and his wife, he gave up. He further claimed the influence of French was not good for the improvement of women's knowledge and emphasized the benefits of learning English. He stated that 'unless you want our women to be a "thing", you can find the necessary materials for this aim in British women's journals. Otherwise, *Demet* and *Mehasin*, which you had announced will be published soon, I am afraid their content will be the same, unless they can save our women from being "thing" and instead be "human", otherwise the result would be a pity.' He asked devr-i hürriyet (Era of Freedom) what they will

¹²⁹ "er-racilun kavamun ali el-nisal ayeti kerimesi erkeklerin Kadınlar üzerine tabi'an fevklerini göstermez. Bu olsa olsa umur-i idare-i ailede riyasetlerine daha doğrusu taksim vezaif emrinde daha ağır daha mühimlerini deruhde etmelerine mukabil kendilerine verilen bir cemiledir.... Garblilerin "vote" davalarından bahsederken "feminizm"ın bu kısmını bugünkü istidadımızdan pek uzak buluyorum demişim. Evet, bundan evvel düşüncecek daha çok eksikliklerimiz var. hele askerlik en sona kalır. İşte öyle iken Fatma Aliye Hanım Efendi hzçleri nisvan-i islam arasında öyle muharebede top patlarken (k r d e yal) arayacak askerlerden değil, zevcelerine, babalarına, kardeşlerine siper olan Kadınlardan bahsediyor. Fil-hakika "vatan"lar "Cezmi"ler "tarık"lar bizde kahraman Kadınlar da olabileceğini pek ala gösterdi...." Ismet Hakkı, ibid., p.26. .

offer to the mothers and wives as beneficial? He continued to state that, ‘You should write poems to other journals for idle men, and with painful, useless and abundant stories you offended our women and made them sad.’¹³⁰

Editors in the second issue also confirmed that, the “science” part was overshadowed by the literary part. Since it is a women’s journal, it should contain pens of women’s letters. And they asked whether it was not their fault that they did not write with a fake woman’s name like some other journals had done; they emphasized their aim to publish only women’s own writing since a woman can better understand women’s own needs.¹³¹ In the third issue, they printed a woman reader’s response in which she argued against the first critical letter and she said that it was unjust to criticize the education of French women, who were most advanced in the path of civilization.¹³²

The writer of the first critical letter sent his response in the sixth issue and he gave the examples of Western women’s magazine and compared them as follows:

I was so convinced in my previous letter that I was looking for benefits to our women’s world. And still I do. My worthy thoughts were deemed as excessive I suppose due to my comparison of British and French’ women’s journals. Are not the French themselves are even complaining about their women’s inconstancy and the deficiencies of their education methods?

Do they not articulate in their books and articles about the forgotten natural duties of womanhood, loosening of family bonds, rare happy marriages, and a decrease of population?

Are not they claiming the superiority of British methods of education? Are not they trying to find reasons in order to reform? As I mentioned in my previous letter, life styles for women, besides being a mother and wife, result in destitution and pain-regardless of some exceptions.

¹³⁰ Muharerat, “İmzasız Mektub”, *Demet* no.2 (24 Eylül 1324) p.23-24.

¹³¹ “Hanım imzalarına gelince bundaki serzeniş bize mi aid olmak lazım gelir kabahatimiz – bazı gazetelerin yaptığı gibi – sahte Kadın imzaları altında erkek yazıları neşretmemek midir? Gazetemizi neşretmeğe zaten ifade etmiş olduğumuz bir ricayı şimdi açıktan açığa tekrar ediyoruz: gazetemiz Kadınların menfaanı muhafaza etmek onların fikirlerine, yazılarına ma’kus olmak üzere te’sis etmiştir. Mesleğimiz vazifesi yalnız budur. Ve bir Kadının Kadınların ihtiyacını daha iyi takdir edeceğine mütekaddiriz. Bina’aleyh bütün sahifelerimiz onlarındır.” Fazıl Ahmet, Celal Sahir “Kariyatımıza”, *Demet* no.2 (24 Eylül 1324) p.17.

¹³² “İmzasız Mektub Sahibibe Mektub”, *Demet* no. 3 (1 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.46.

Our women are in need of learning matters related to being mother and wife rather than literature and love and imagination. Our women need to read beneficial matters written with noble thoughts and methods in a tasteful expression rather than stories and poems concerning love. Our women are in need of learning the foreign language that is English. Our women will find all the information they will need in an English Women's press.¹³³

In response to the second critical letter of this reader, *Demet* restated its aim in the sixth issue as:

In the literary part of *Demet* we do not see any objection to place "lyric" poems next to moral piece of verse. As it is possible publish stories and novels that will be read with benefit and pleasure.

In scientific part of *Demet*, conservations from a medical point of view, articles related to children, family economy, house management, and social rules would be placed. We will defend the protection of Women's rights, and the completion and exaltation of women's statue in society.

Demet will publish some parts from French and British women's magazines in harmony with social rules without any distinction and will respect them. A political article will be published once a week.¹³⁴

In the series of famous Armenian women's bibliographies *Demet* informed the Ottoman/Muslim women about the literary works of Armenian women's such as Madam Duchabes Paşa *Mayda* (1298/1882), *Sir Enviş* (1300/1884), and *Arakısa* (1877), novels that were written not as literary art but as means in which the protection of women's rights and freedom were defended in convincing language. Feminist thoughts were first introduced from these works to Ottoman society.¹³⁵

Demet, like other women's publications, was published for Muslim women. Although it informed the reader about Armenian women writers such as Madam Zabel Asador¹³⁶, Madam Zabel Yeseyan¹³⁷, and also other women writers

¹³³ Muharrerat, "İmzasız İkinci Mektup", *Demet* no.6 (22 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp.86-87.

¹³⁴ *Demet* no.6 (22 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.87.

¹³⁵ Lutufet Fuat, "Osmanlı Meşahir Nisvani: Madam Duchabes Paşa", *Demet* no.2 (24 Eylül 1324) pp.20-21.

¹³⁶ Lutufet Fuat, "Osmanlı Meşahir Nisvani: Madam Zabel Asador", *Demet* no.1 (17 Eylül 1324) pp.7-8.

¹³⁷ Lutufet Fuat, "Osmanlı Meşahir Nisvani: Madam Zabel Yeseyan", *Demet* no. 6 (22 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp. 82-83.

for instance, Madam de Sévigne's¹³⁸, Madam Rolland¹³⁹ and Madam de Borde Valmor.¹⁴⁰ However, it did not necessarily mean that they incorporated the view of all women under the identity Ottoman women. They had been calling insistently Muslim women to write.

The Red-White Club sent congratulations to *Demet* from Salonica.¹⁴¹ In the third issue their letter to the Chief editor of *Demet* Magazine was printed:

Prominent French writer Marcel Prévost's "Lettres a Francoise, jeune fille", which contains the thoughts related to the truth of woman's life and beneficial readings, we took the courage of its inclusion into our journal that claimed in its first publication that its aim was to always serve women's being glorified and progress. If our suggestion will be admitted, we will submit translation of letters each week one by one.¹⁴²

The political atmosphere of those days was also reflected in articles and even stories.

Mahmud Sadık offered to use of phonographs to manifest women's thoughts and views. He states when he was looking through the streets of İstanbul where political demonstrations of *hürriyet* (*freedom*) had taken place, he thought about how women would manifest national agitation about their status. How would they show their sufferings from the influence of injustice, aggression and cruelty in the nation? How would they manifest their thoughts and views? Political demonstrations and conferences were forbidden. If they would write to journals, their writings will pass through the editors. Then Mahmud Sadık suggested women to manifest their thoughts in a phonograph installed in the walls of their middle floors that constantly declare, "We also have rights, we also have thoughts and emotions. We want respect and justice in public education. We love those who love the "nation". We know the

¹³⁸ Asaf Nefi, "Kadın muharrirler: Madam de Sévigne", *Demet* no.3 (1 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp. 37-39.

¹³⁹ Asaf Nefi, "Kadın muharrirler: Madam Rolland", *Demet* no. 5 (15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp. 68-71.

¹⁴⁰ Asaf Nefi, "Kadın muharrirler: Madam de Borde Valmor", *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp.101-102.

¹⁴¹ "Tevcihiniz pek kıymetlidir. Ve bizde bundan büyük bir meş'uk olamaz." *Demet*, "Kırmızı Beyaz Kulübü Muessesat-i Muhteremesine", no.2 (24 Eylül 1324) p.18.

¹⁴² "Muhaberat: Kırmızı Beyaz Kulübü", *Demet* no.3 (1 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p. 48.

men of nation as fathers, brothers, and children. In return we expect not aggression but protection and humanity...”¹⁴³

It is common to read stories about the naming of newborn children with names as Hürriyet (freedom) reflecting the future hopes and aspirations from the new regime. ¹⁴⁴ In Server Cemal’s letter to her daughter he wrote that she was fortunate that her first words were “Freedom”, “Justice” and “Equality”. “All these were acquired for the children. The great and exalted future of “Turkey” will be yours. When she will be grown up Osmanlılık will be great and stored. All her thoughts about life, and feelings will be absorbed in Osmanlılık spirit.” ¹⁴⁵

The invasion of Bosnia Herzegovina by the Austrian Hungarian Empire was also reflected in Mahmud Sadık’s article. He was offended since he could not see any telegraphs and letters of Ottoman women protesting the Austrian annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina. He does not consider it likely that they did not protest while Serbian women gathered in Belgrade to protest the annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina by Austria. The Serbian government also sent protest letters and telegraphs to the Karadağ and even to Russian, French and British women and asked for help. ¹⁴⁶

Hüseyin Cahid also protested the injustice of Austria in his story “Deli” as well as the increasing influence of foreigners such as Germans. In his story, about an old person who was a merchant that went bankrupt and became “mad”, he talks to himself as follows:

¹⁴³ Mahmud Sadık, “Fonograf”, *Demet* no.5 (15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp.72-74.

¹⁴⁴ Ahmet Samim, “Kızımın İsmi”, *Demet* no.4 (8 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp.55-59.

¹⁴⁵ “...Sen ne gıpta edilecek derecede bahtiyar imişsin ki dünyaya geldiğinde bağıracağın ilk kelimeler hürriyet, adalet, musavat ile meşhun olacak! Sen büyüdüğün vakit Osmanlılığı büyük pek mezhir göreceksin, bütün hayat-i fikriyye ve hissiyeni Osmanlılık ruhunda emeceksin..Hürriyet, adalet, musavat bütün bunlar sizler için kazanıldı sizler için arandı o büyük mu’azzez Türkiye’nin istikbali sizdedir.” Server Cemal, “Kızıma”, *Demet* no.1 (17 Eylül 1324) pp.10.

¹⁴⁶ Mahmud Sadık, “Gücüme Gitti”, *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.103 also state in Hakkı Behiç’s article “Ne Haldeyiz ve Nelere Muhtacız?” *Demet* no.5 (15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.80.

If we struggled with Russia, what about Austria? Why should it take Bosnia Herzegovina? Why did England take Cyprus? Are we dead? We shed our blood, and conquered these places with our swords. If it was for the sake of German's will, The German emperor can give to Berlin. Why does he interfere with us? German! The railway is German, merchants are German, and docks are German.¹⁴⁷

The impact of education in social relations and the mode of behavior can be witnessed in a story written by Selim Sırrı entitled "Hüsna Hanım". While she was crossing over the other side of the Bosphorous with her grand children and sister, she starts to speak with other women in the ferry and she talks about her attempts to find a spouse for her son who started to work with his father and earns 120 piasters in a month. She also talks about when she went to see a girl who had graduated from Rüştüye School with honors and wrote poems to be published in journals and read one of them to her lover without shame.¹⁴⁸

Women's statue and their problems were echoed in a story written by the Red-White Club in the fourth issue. Three girls argued about working women. Nezihe asked "why should women insist on having a profession if it is only a means of maturity?" and Ruhsan replied "You think only of your social statues, and you can find it sufficient for yourself but those who need material subsistence have to work. Indeed I want to benefit from working".¹⁴⁹

Women's restriction of women from such things as highschool and public gatherings where the new problems of science, techniques, and literary currents were discussed were highlighted. She refers to these restrictions as the "deprivation" of women instead of complaining about the difficulties they confronted because of

¹⁴⁷ Hüseyin Cahid, "Deli", *Demet* no.1 (17 Eylül 1324) p.3.

¹⁴⁸ Selim Sırrı, "Biraz hande: Hüsna Hanım (hikaye)", *Demet* no.3 (1 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp. 41-3.

¹⁴⁹ "... Nezihe: Çalışmaktan gaye-i emel insan-i kamil olmak ise neden mutlaka bir meslek sahibi olmak için bu derece ısrar etmeli? ... Ruhsan : Böylece yalnızca kendi mevki-i içtimaiyemizi düşünerek mutbakatımızı da o yolda yürütmemeli. Evet sen yalnız nefsin müstefid olması ile iktifa edebilirsin fakat niçin maddeten de istifade etmek mecburiyetinde olan bu Kadımlar mahrumiyet ve mecburiyet elimesi ile sefalet içinde yaşamalı?ben doğrusu sa'y dan istifade etmek isterim." Kırmızı Beyaz Kulübü, "Genç Kızlar Arasında", *Demet* no. 4 (8 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp. 53-55.

segregation in society.¹⁵⁰ She said she prefers when other girls work for projects for the progress of women instead of playing the piano and participating in concerts instead she suggests they establish women's schools and clubs, art and crafts school for women (dar'ul sinaa). "For the ' new national life' we should be concerned with more serious things and try to work to abide to these social rules."¹⁵¹

The criticism of annoyance with and aggression to women was written in an article "Regret and Astonishment" which states a group of disgraceful people deceived the unwary and pure to unfavorable acts towards women and that they even tore women's scarfs.

This aggression was indeed an insult to the honor of the nation. Did we become free to make slaves of wives? Do they suppose that we were saved from oppression to be unjust? Even though women are weak and powerless physically, spiritually they are strong and worthy of high regard and they are the mothers of the nation. Those who insult mothers deserve to be insulted.¹⁵²

In the seventh issue a critical letter concerning aggression towards women verification by the official declaration of Zabıta nezareti (municipal police force) was published. Hakkı Behiç says that women occupy an exceptional place in society; the protection women's rights were of foremost importance. He does not believe

¹⁵⁰ "... Mahrumiyetimiz hiçbir ali mektebe girememek, her türlü mesail-i cedideye muntaki ilmiye, feniye ve edebiyatın ceryan edebileceği meclislerde isbat vucud edememek. İşte asıl mahrumiyetler." Kırmızı Beyaz Kulübü, "Genç Kızlar Arasında", *Demet* no. 4 (8 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp. 53-55.

¹⁵¹ "... Yalnız sen değil hepimiz bi-luzum ve vakitsiz şeylerle uğraşmaktan vazgeçelim de yekdiğerimizi piyanoya, konsere değil Kadın mektepleri, kulublere dar'ül sın'aalar teşkiline davet edelim. Bu şimdi bulunduğumuz nazik dakikalarda fikirlerimizi daha ciddi şeylerle işgal ederek yeni hayat-i milliyemize bu şerait-i içtimaiyye-i te'viye hazırlamağa çalışmalıyız." Kırmızı Beyaz Kulübü, "Genç Kızlar Arasında", *Demet* no. 4 (8 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp. 53-55.

¹⁵² "... bir takım erazil karanlık tedbirlerle birkaç saf ve gafil fikirleri kandırmişlar, ötedenberi de münasebetsiz bazı harekete sevk ediyorlar. Bu harekattan en evvel mutezarır olanlarda kadınlarımızdır. Bu hafta içinde tecavüzlerin bir kaç Kadının çarşafını yırtmak derecesine vardığını duyduk.... tecavüz ettikleri namus milletindir... Biz kadınlarımızı esir etmek için mi hür olduk sanıyorlar? Zalim olmak için mu mazlumluktan kurtulduk zannediyorlar? Kadınlar maddeten zayıf ve aciz olsalar bile manen kuvvetlidirler şayan-i hürmettirler zira kadın valide-i millettir. Validesini tahkir edenler kadar şayan-i hakaret kim vardır?" "Esef ve Hayret", *Demet* no.3 (1 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.1 also stated in Hakkı Behiç's article "Ne Haldeyiz be Neye Muhtacız?" *Demet* no.5 (15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.80.

there were only three events in which women were harassed. He heard about aggression in Şehzade Cami where some people had torn women's çarsafs with their pocketknives and another event that happened in Beyazid where a woman was subjected to verbal harrasment. He asks whether these people who insulted and harrassed women under the shelter of religion will be punished or not. "Although there is not any prohibition in Islamic law restricting women's outgoings our women were afraid of oppression in the past will they be afraid of orderedness today? They will not stay silent, they will defend their rights with their thoughts and pens." He requested from Zabıta nezareti to do their atmost to protect the chastity and life of women since protection of women' rights was their foremost duty. ¹⁵³

In Server Cemal's article " Critics of play: National Theatre" in the second performance of Kami Bey's "Sabah Hürriyet" (morning freedom), he criticized the language which he found full of Arabic and Persian words and sentences. He made distinction between the colloquial language and the play's language for the institution of National Theatre. ¹⁵⁴

Halide Edib (Adivar)'s novel *Raik'in annesi (Mother of Raik)* was published as a series under the subtitle of National Story. ¹⁵⁵ Halide Edib (Adivar) portrays a

¹⁵³ "... Zabıta Nezareti bu resmi beyanatıyla üç hadisenin vuku'unu tasdik ediyor: Çarşudaki ve Ayasofyadaki vaka'lar. Herkesin ba-husus zabtiye nezaretinin bilmesi icab eden bir şey vardır: Kadınlar cemiyette müstesna bir mevki' işgal ederler; onların muhafaza-i hukuki herşeyden akdemdir. ... Bu tebligatın sıhhatine nasıl inanmak kabul olur ki mesela 5, 10 gün evvel bir kaç Hanım Şehazade Caminde bazı kimselerin ellerinde çakı bulunduğu halde Kadınların çarşaflarını parçaladığını görmüşler! 3, 4 gün evvel Beyazıdda bir kadın duçar-i hakaret olmuş! Bu nasıl olur? Şurada burada hergün tecavüzat-i lisaniyede bulunuluyor.... Müslüman Kadınlarını sokağa çıkmaktan mani' eden şerri' ve nizami hiçbir mecburiyet yok iken dinin siper ulviyeti arkasına gizlenerek örfi hükümlerle herkesin ortasında iffet-i nisviyeye tahkir edenler cezasız mı kalacaklar? Kadınlarımızın dün istibdattan korkarken bugün adem-i intizamdan mı korkacaklar? Artık buna sukut etmeyecekler kalemleriyle fikirleriyle müdafa'-yı nefis edecekler.... Muhafaza-i hukuk-i nisvan cemiyat hazıranın akdem vezaifidir .. Zabıta nezaretinin en mu'tena vazifesi Kadınların muhafaza-yı 'ırz ve canları..." "Kadınlarımızın Muhafaza-yı Hukuku", *Demet* no.4 (8 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.62-63.

¹⁵⁴ Server Cemal, "Temaşa Tenkidi: Milli Tiyatro", *Demet* no.5 (15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) pp.76-78.

¹⁵⁵ Halide Edib (Adivar), "Raik'in Annesi", *Demet* no.6 (22 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.88-92 for further information about Halide Edib (Adivar) AdivarAdivar see Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* (İletişim:Istanbul, 2000); Gülnur Can, *The Women in Halide Edip Adivar, Aka Gündüz and Reşat Nuri Güntekin's novels*, Yüksek Lisans, 1997(YÖK catalog no.62083)

woman who is caught in a dilemma between East and West and the character Sirat is revealed as a person tied to social values of his community; it was decided that foreign language should be learnt but Turkish identity should not be forgotten. In the following issue her poem “In The Darkness” exemplified the first person persona by using terms such as ‘my personality’, ‘my presence’, ‘my beliefs’, ‘my thoughts’, ‘my loves’ and ‘my wishes’.¹⁵⁶

Demet magazine ceased publication after seven issues. The cancellation of the serial was depicted as a funeral in Davul cartoons.¹⁵⁷

4.3. *Mehasin* (Virtues, 1908-1909)

Mehasin came into being in September 1908, and was published until November 1909; altogether twelve issues were published. The proprietor was a novelist, Mehmed Rauf, a member of the Servet-i Fünun literary current. It was the first colored magazine in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁸ Among the women writers, there were familiar names from the *Demet* newspaper such as Halide (Edib) Salih, Julide Sahir, Ruhsan Nevvare, and Ismet Hakki Hanım. Celal Sahir and Hakkı Behiç also contributed.

In the introductory article of *Mehasin*, Asaf Muammer describes the condition of women in Ottoman society as follows:

Women, poor women, you were unfortunate and more deprived than us without having rights. With increasing violence, pressure and pain in our national surroundings you are almost lost in oppression. You had neither a book in the national language that you could share your feelings nor had you a publication for women concerning crafts and the necessities of women. Your needs were responded

¹⁵⁶ “.... Benliğimi ilk tefhim eden varlığımın kainata ilk nazar-i zulmetlere battı... İnandıklarım, Düşündüklerim, Sevdiklerim, istediklerim hepsi hayatın ezel-i mahvuf cukurı olan siyahlıklarda na’im!...” Halide Edib (Adivar), “Karanlıklarda”, *Demet* no.7 (29 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.97.

¹⁵⁷ Palmira Brummet, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911*, p.5

¹⁵⁸ Director was Asaf Muammer, editor was Mehmed Rauf

to by English and French who were sending magazines, illustration of fashions, and *feminas* for those who knew foreign languages.¹⁵⁹

After that he continues to talk about the aim of *Mehasin*, and says that the publication of this journal was the proof of the women's existence in society, and it would work to defend women's rights.

It contains such subjects as decorating the household, and beneficial articles but its aim was not to be a readable book for women but to be a 'sister who shares their feelings and occupations'. "Women's arts and crafts, articles related to health, and news from 'civilized' nations can be found. Ottoman women will not be in need of foreign women's magazines anymore *Mehasin* will inform them about everything they will need such as Western women's lifestyles" and conferences were organized for women by Celal Sahir and Ahmed Hikmet.

In one of these conferences Ahmed Hikmet said "Oh... women ohh women! I wonder how many suffer? It is commonly acknowledged that chains of oppression tied their hands, their eyes were shut covered by a curtain of autocracy."¹⁶⁰

Celal Sahir says the reason why you do not have a restaurant and a kiraathane where you can read newspapers and pass time was not due to religion. "Again, it is not because of religion that you cannot pursue higher education, nor to be a teacher or doctor. These are the ills of the remnants of the East's bigotry and ignorance."¹⁶¹

Although the expectations from the new regime were not fully accomplished, they were eager to define and defend their position in society and were struggling with officers; in some cases stated by Halide Edip "women were disturbed by men in

¹⁵⁹ "... Ey Biçare Kadınlar, sizler evet sizler bizden de bedbaht ve mahrum idiniz. Bir un-‘i mütezaidle muhit-i millimizi tazyik ve kahr eden zulmet içinde hemen gaib olmak üzere idiniz. Ne milli bir lisan ile hissiyatınıza iştirak edecek bir risaletiniz yokidi. Bütün bu ihtiyacınıza lisan bilenleriniz için yine İngilizler Fransızlar yetişiyor, size magazalar, moda ilustreler, feminalar gönderiyorlardı.."Asaf Muammer, "Muazzez Karilerimize", *Mehasin* no. 1 (Eylül 1324) p.3.

¹⁶⁰ Tezer Taşkiran , *Cumhuriyetin 50.yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, p.50

¹⁶¹ Taşkiran, *ibid*.p.51

public because of their new clothing style, but women were brave enough to insist on their demands.”¹⁶²

The attempts of the government and enlightened males’ in terms of women’s equality and education were not seen as being sufficient and women were complaining about the lack of real interest in them. As stated by Ismet Hakkı Hanım in her article “*Çarpışmak İhtiyacı (The Need for Crash)*”, women should not expect everything from the Assembly of Deputies, but they should try to defend and protect their rights even if it is through struggle.¹⁶³

It is obvious that women were happy to share their demands and problems with other women in women’s journals, and had the feeling of support, and awareness of not being alone. Particularly after the closing down of the *Kadın* (Salonica), some writers joined *Mehasin* and continued their writing activities. Readers contributed with their letters; one example is a reader from İzmir, Makbule Hanım, who started to write continuously from the fourth issue onward.

There were also some articles concerning poetry and stories. Furthermore, they informed the readers about cultural activities such as theatre and art, too.

¹⁶² “Bugün şu gürültüler arasında misli görülmemiş birşey varsa Türk Kadınlarının misli görülmemiş bir cesaret ibraz ettikleridir. Zabıta bütün serseri guruhu ve kendi kardeşlerinin zevcelerinin dahil olduğu bir heyet aleyhlerinde olduğu halde kemal-i sükunetle sokaklarda doluyorlar. Bir hanımın peçesini kaldırmaya teşebbüs eden istibdat taraftarı bir Zabıtın göğsüne rovlör dayayarak kendini müdafaa ettiği rivayet ediliyor. Kadınlar asabi, nazik Kadınlar daimi bir emniyetsizlik içinde bulunmalarıyla galiba silaha sarılacak ve kemal-i maharetle isti’mal edecek bir devre gelecek.” Halide Edib (Adivar), *Tanin*, p. 103

¹⁶³ “... Alem-i matbuata atılan Kadınlar, inkılab-i hürrüyetimizle beraber ufk-i matbuata doğan Kadın kalemleri, hiç unutulmayacak bir hucüm ile parçalandı. Bizim de hür zannettiğimiz fikirlerimizin mahdud bir daire içinde sıkı bir çitle kapandı kaldı. Kalemlerimiz hasır ve münkesir eski köşelerine, kuşe-i mağduriyyet ve nisayanlarına atıldılar. Ve intihabat münakaşatı, ne mebusluk kavgaları, o mahdud ve müselsel mebusan gürültüleri, artık hiçbirşey onları, o zavallı kalemleri medfen-i sabitlerinden çıkaramadı, tahassüs-ı milliyelerini işittiremedi. Nasıl işittirebilirdi ki, hukuk-i meşrua-i siyasiyemizi kafi ve hatta çok özen gösteren yazdıklarımızın bize hürrüyet-i şahsiyyeyi bahş eden şeriatımıza mugayyiriyetini iddia, iddia değil, isnad ederek muharriremizi –tabiri mahsuliyle boykete eden müstebid kalemler hiç paslanmıyor. Şimdi bu boykotaj tesiriyle eski mesleğimize avdet etmistik. Sükut ! heyhat o kadar azim ile sükut ediyorduk ki böyle bir mevsimde doğan *Demet*’ler, *Mehasin*’ler, *Kadın*’lar bile bizi tali-i mağdurumuzla barıştıramadı.

Evet şu elleri balandıktan sonra iki cins-i latif diye tevsim edilen zümre-i beşeriyet de artık keşmekeş-i hayata atılmağa iktisab-i kuvvete çalışmaya muhtaçtır. İlk hezimetler henüz sönen, devrilen bir devrin son safha-i ihtizarında bulunduğumuzdan ileri geliyordu.” İsmet Hakkı, *Çarpışmak İhtiyacı*, *Mehasin* no.4, pp. 253-257 quoted in Demirdirek, *ibid*.p.35-36.

¹⁶⁴Also, they introduced some Western composers such as the Polish musician Leopold Godowsky ¹⁶⁵and the French composer Henri Fauré ¹⁶⁶and an Ottoman composer, Vedii Sabri Efendi, sent by Abdülhamid II to conservatory of Paris, who composed the national anthem and performed it to the Sultan. ¹⁶⁷

Mehasin was different from other publications in terms of its publication quality especially the photographs borrowed from European journals were quite good, and they put these photos on the front pages. Some writings such as “*Büyük bir Kadın İngiltere Kralicesi*”, “*Yeni Elmaslar*”, “*Moda Kayık Yarisi*”, “*Dantelalar Tarz u İmali*”, “*Avrupa da Uçma Makinesi*”, and “*Madam Sara Bernard*” were illustrated with photographs. These photographs reflected women and life which men wanted to see. These men in feminist-out looking had demands for women; in fact those were the answers to what they wanted for themselves such as romantic love, a wife, with whom they could share their feelings and thoughts.

There were competitions such as “*Yavru Musabakası*”, “*Musabaka-i Hüsn u An*” in order to promote the sale of newspapers. Furthermore, *Mehasin* introduced the other countries’ women’s lives through the writing of Mustafa Refet “*Dünyanın Bütün Kadınları*”. It discusses the lives of women in African tribes, and this is illustrated with a half-naked photograph of an African women.

Through the existence of *Mehasin* women could have their voice heard and they wrote their wishes to the National assembly too. As written by İsmet Hakkı Hanım “Since we have a national assembly, which will work for the women rights

¹⁶⁴ Burhaneddin Bey, “Sahne-i Osmaniye”, *Mehasin* no.3 (Teşrin-i Sani 1324) p.186; Mehmed Rauf, “Ferdî ve Şürekas”, *Mehasin* no.11 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1325) p. 805; *Mehasin* no.12 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1) p. 877; İzzet Melih, “Leyla”, *Mehasin* no.7 (Mart 1325) p.512; “Viktoryan Sardo”, *Mehasin* no.8 (Temmuz 1325) p. 591.

¹⁶⁵ Sabih Şevket, “Monseiur Godovski”, *Mehasin* no.5 (Kanun-i Sani 1324) p.362.

¹⁶⁶ Sabih Şevket, “Mösyö henri Förlani”, *Mehasin* no.6 (Şubat 1324) p.457.

¹⁶⁷ “Millî Marş bestekarı vedii Subera Efendi”, *Mehasin* no.12 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1325) p. 866.

and also dear deputies who will be concerned about the freedom of happiness according to Kanun-i Mesrutiyet without discriminating upon gender and sect”¹⁶⁸

In the eighth issue it was written that although they were losing money they would maintain the serial’s publication with the help of a few women who were kind to recognize the worth of its publication, so that Ottoman women will not be destitute of their own magazine. In an article “A heartrending confession for those who regret Mehasin not being published”, a request concerning the increase of readers was stated as:

Recommend our magazine to your spouses, and female friends and talk about *Mehasin* to all old and new acquaintances; in this way every women will learn that a magazine is being published for women in order to understand the assurance of magazine’s life depend on their demand. It should be thought that the closing down of the magazine, which is being published monthly and could not provide the sale of 2000 copies, would suggest the poverty and sad degradation for women of the Ottoman nation.¹⁶⁹

Evliyazade Makbule states women’s situation as:

Our women’s ignorance is favored ... they are not regarded respected as important as it is necessarily required. Why is this not understood this yet? Still we do not have social statue today. We do not have the authority to defend our civic rights. Nor are we able to make our thoughts and observations or our complaints heard. Generally we are nothing else but woman in the eyes of men¹⁷⁰. Men and women are same in moral power with a difference these forces neglected with favor, and women could not develop as necessary level. If women are also educated like men, I am sure they will be able to be stronger than men in moral power. As mental power reach to level of maturity they will lose their weakness. Weakness is ignorance. There is no

¹⁶⁸ “...Artık bundan sonra her dürlü hukukumuzu sıanet edecek bir meclis-i miliye maliğiz. Elbet muhterem mebuslarımız kanun-i meşrutiyetimizin- cins ve mezheb tefrik etmeksizin- bahsettiği sa’adeti hürriyetten biz Kadınların ve terakkicu kalemlerimizin de hisse alabilmekliğimize İ’tina edeceklerdir”. İsmet Hakkı Hanım, “Çarpışmak İhtiyacı”, *Mehasin* no. 4 (Kanun-i Evvel 1324) p.256.

¹⁶⁹ “... gazetemizi refikelerine, muhibbelerine tavsiye etsunler, her gittikleri yerde ve her gördükleri yeni eski bil-cümle ahbablarına Mehasinden bahsetsunler; ta ki bu vechile, bütün Hanımların kendileri için bir gazete neşr olunmakta bulunduğu kulaklarına girsun ve isbat-i mevcudiyetlerine ve müdafaa-i hukuklarına sa’y olan bu gazetenin te’min-i hayati rağbet-i lutufkaraneler sayesinde tahakkuk edeceğini anlasunlar! Düşünmeli ki ayda bir def’a neşr edilüb ikibin nüsha satamayarak bir gazetenin kapanması millet-i osmaniye-yi nisvanui için ne büyük bir mesekenet ve ne elim bir zillettir.” Müdüriyet, “Mehasin Çıkmıyor Diye Esef Eden Hanımlara: Bir itiraf-i Elim”, *Mehasin* no.8 (Temmuz 1325) p.541.

¹⁷⁰ “... Kadınları cehaleti iltizam ediliyor , onlar lazım geldiği kadar hürmet ve ehemmiyet telakki edilemiyor, niçün bunu hala anlamıyorlar? Bugün bile bir mevki-i içtimai’imiz yok. Hukuk-i medeniyetimizi bile iddi’aya salahiyatdar değiliz. Ne efkar ve muta’latımızı dinletebiliyor, ne feryad ve şikayetimizi işittirebiliyoruz. Hemen umumiyetle erkekler nazarında sadece bir kadın olmaktan başka bir şey değiliz.” Evliyazade Makbule, “ İsmet Hakkı Hanım efendiye”, *Mehasin* no. 5 (Kanun-i Sani 1324) p.346.

weakness in science. Science is power. The cause proportionally to women's ignorance is men¹⁷¹. Women's duties are not only to be a good mother and wife but more importantly to teach virtues to her husband and children. Women are virtuous and chaste by their natural disposition. "Virtue and chaste" meant to protect their personality and to prohibit it from others and not to be overcome by their own desires. A virtuous woman not only teaches virtue to men but also gives courage and power.¹⁷²

Halide Edib (Adivar), a significant figure of War of Turkish independence and model for the new "Turkish Woman", criticized the treatment of women's issues and the presentation of women in the women's press and she emphasized the need to approach women's right within a nationalist framework. As such, she delineated the parameters of the feminist/nationalist discourse:

When we are talking about woman, she is embellished with flowers underneath her, with sunny, blue skies over head; her environment is decorated with wealth and her heart with poetics far away from reality...

For the elevation of women, the subjects do not necessarily have to deal with womanhood only. Women are in need of learning everything that men learn. In this regard, the subjects of men cannot be any different from the subjects of women...

Among the most intelligent classes of our women, I see an inclination towards feminism. This is a natural phase that women of every nation have to go through. But this is a step at a high level of development. Yet, we have not even made the first step. Nonetheless, this move might deserve some appreciation. But only if they [feminists] would not look so hostile to men! In our society reasonable young [men] are as feminist as women, and one sees a favorable basis in their minds for the progress of women. So, women would be more successful if they utilized their [the men's] good intentions instead of viewing them [the men] as an obstacle to everything they [the women] want to do.

My final word to my sisters is this: A woman is first of all an Ottoman, a patriot: the motherland is the most distinguished direction of worship. The rights of the motherland are a thousand times more important and venerable than the rights of womanhood. That is why, while crying "our rights", women have to

¹⁷¹ "... kuvve-i maneviyeyece erkeklerle Kadınlar bir derecededir. Yalnız şu fark vardır ki: bu kuvvetler ba-iltizam ihmal olunduğu için, Kadınlar da lazım olduğu derecede neşv ü nema bulamamış büyüyememiştir. Kadınlar erkekler gibi okur erkekler kadar okutulursa ben eminim ki erkeklerden ziyade kuvvetli olmağa kuvve-i maneviyeye onlardan daha kuvvetli olmağa müsta'iddir. Kuvve-i aklıyeye derece-i kemale yaklaştıkça za'if za'il olur. Za'if cehldir. 'ilimde za'if olmaz, 'ilim kuvvettir. Kadınların bil-nisbet cahil kalmasına erkekler sebep olmuştur.." Süleyman Nesib, "Konferans", *Mehasin* no.6 (Şubat 1324) p.384.

¹⁷² "... Kadınların vazifesi iyi bir arkadaşı ve iyi bir valide olmaktan ibaret değildir, Kadınların daha büyük bir vaziyesi vardır ki, o da zevcelerine ve çocuklarına fazilet dersi vermek, fazilet öğretmektir. Kadın fitrat-i iffet ve ismettir. İffet ve ismet demek nefsi hıfz etmek onu diğerlerine men etmek, hevasatına mağlub olmamak demektir. ... faziletli bir Kadın erkeğe yalnız fazilet öğretmez, kuvvet ve cesarete verir." Süleyman Nesib, "Konferans", *Mehasin* no.6 (Şubat 1324) p.386.

remember that they do not want this for themselves but for ability to raise children for the motherland.¹⁷³

Besides the knowledge of a household economy and the upbringing children it would be beneficial to gain knowledge of history, hygiene, social and applied sciences even mathematics but this should not overcome their real duties. Nothing can be difficult and annoyance for women. Turkey's future will be in their hands.¹⁷⁴

Our women were not moment of our house life sharer of our anguish and emotions may be an ordinary servant of house, oppressed prisoner. The reason for that our women did not inculcate us the respect for women. It results from women not appreciating what kind of dignity is necessary. If you will teach us duties of respect, then the wrecked nation fallen from ocean's perilous edge of the shore can be tranquil in the future with a noble women's generation arising.¹⁷⁵

Are we to stand this ignorance, which was favored by men for their benefits? Are we able to endure these injustices and egoism? Ohh of course not! I confess we are the reason of all these things that resulted from our neglect and powerlessness. Look at our thoughts and good manners of moraloty, which were enlightened by a few exceptional supporters of progress. Even we are not capable of maintaining our newspaper's publication while the women's newspapers continued their publication in Europe for years. Why? Due to the high level of European women's knowledge they valued education and appreciated the press. Whereas we

¹⁷³ "...Kadın deyince ayaklarının altı çiçekler başları müşemmes mai semalar, muhitleri zengin, müşa'şaa eşyalar şle kalbleri hakikatten uzak dolaşık, uzun şairane hislerle süsleniyor.. Kadınların teallisi için mevzuların sırf Kadınlığa ait olması lazım değildir. Kadınlar, erkekler kadar öğrenmeye, herşeyi öğrenmeye muhtaçtır. Bu hususta, Kadınların mevzuu erkeklerinkinden başka olamaz.. fakat bunları vezaif-i hakikiyelerinden , hatta yemek pişirmekten bile çekindirecek tarzda temessül etmemeli. Bildikleri şey ne kadar yüksek olursa olsun vezaif-i nisviyelerine, muhakemelerine, mürebbiyelik rollerine ahenkdar bir mükemmeliyet vermelidir... Kadınlarımızın en zeki sınıflarında feminizme doğru bir adım görüyorum bu her memleketin Kadınlarının geçeceği bir safhadır fakat devr-i tekamüllerinde epeyce ileride olan bir hatvedir. Halbuki biz henüz ilk adımımızı atmadık. Bununla beraber bu hareket şayan-i takdir olabilir. Yalnız erkeklere bu kadar muarız görünmeseler! Bizde aklı başında olan gençler, Kadınlar kadar feminist ve bunların zihninde Kadınların terakkisine yardım etme için müsait bir zemin görünüyor. İşte Kadınlar güya her yapmak istediklerine erkekleri hail görmektense, onların hüsn-i niyetlerinden istifade etseler daha muvafık olur .. Kardeşlerime en son söylemek istediğim şey de şudur: Bir kadın evvela Osmanlı, bir vatanperverdir, vatan kalbinin en güzide , en derin nokta-i ibadetidir. Vatanın hukuku Kadınlık hukukundan bin kat mühim ve muhteremdir. Onun için Kadınlar bugün "hukukumuz" dşye haykırırken bunu kendileri için değil vatana yetiştirecekleri evlada lazım olan terbiyeyi verebilmek için olduğunu der-hatır etmelidir." Halide Salih, " Mehasin-i Okuyan Kardeşlerime", *Mehasin* no.6 (Şubat 1324) pp. 418-421 quoted in Karakaya, ibid. p.55.

¹⁷⁴ "...Hiçbirşey Türkiyenin istikbalini eline alacak bir kadın için güç ve sıkıntı olamaz. Tarih, hıfzısıhha, ulum-i içtimaiyye, fenn, hatta riyaziyat bile onlara iktisad-i aile ve çocuk büyütme fennleri kadar nafidir. Fakat bunları vezaif-i hakikiyelerinden hatta yemek pişirmekten bile çekinecek tarzda temessül etmemeli.." Halide Salih, " Mehasin-i Okuyan Kardeşlerime", *Mehasin* no.6 (Şubat 1324) p .420.

¹⁷⁵ "...Kadınlarımız evlerimizin kayat-i vezniyet-i şerike-i elam ve hissiyatımız değil, belki evlerimizin adi bir hizmetçisi bizim bütün köpeklliğimize mahkum olan üsera-i mazlumamızdı. Bu ise kadınlarımızın Kadına edilecek hürmeti bize telkin etmemelerinden .. Kadınlarında bir Kadının nasıl bir vakara malik bulunması lazım gfeleceğini takdir edememlerinden mümba'isdi. Size karşı vezaif-i hürmetin nasıl olacağını bize öğretir iseniz şte o zaman 'umman-i mehalikten kenar-i sahili selamete düşen bu millet-i kazazdeyi yetiştireceğiniz ensal-i necibe ve kayat ve ikbala asu'ad edebilir." Asaf Muammer, " Bir Musahabe", *Mehasin* no.4(Kanun-i Evvel 1324) p.251.

do think about the significance and necessity of education and press. Why should not we speak? ¹⁷⁶

The most vehement ills of the Muslim world are the issue of family. ¹⁷⁷ We do not think women are glorious of heart and existence of soul in the family life. Turkish family life, which is genuine, sociable and influential, is one of the most defected and unfortunate shortcomings. This destitution causes the breaking up of our social abilities and most known disappointments in society. ¹⁷⁸ For this reason, essentially we should reform our family life around that central topic of conservation to maturity. I think the most valuable service, which was expected from women, is the regulation of family life in Ottoman society. It is because women are ministers of affairs in the family. If a woman has all the virtues, she is director of essential acts of the family from her husband to children. They are the love of kible (the direction of Mecca), affection and respect their good character and behaviour absolute master of world.”

Unlike their later counterparts, the first women’s journals of the Young Turk era did not hesitate to open their pages with the articulation of opposing views on feminism. For example Zehra Hanım and Ismet Hakki Hanım, who had opposing convictions, could write at the same time in *Mehasin*. Ismet Hakki Hanım was a feminist. In one of her articles in *İkdam (Perseverance)* in 1908, where she asked for science courses in girls’ schools, she clearly identified her stand, “Among us, the overwhelming majority are anti-feminist. They do not find anything other than fine

¹⁷⁶ “...Mahzen kendi istifadeleri için iltizam ettikleri bu cehalete katlanacak mıyız? Bu haksızlıklara da bu hodkamlıklara tahammül edecek miyiz? Ah şühesiz değil mi? Çünkü işte itiraf ediyoreum bunlara biz sebebiz. Bunlar hep bizim cahil ve aczimizden ileri geliyor. Bakınız! Müstesna bir kaç terakkiperver zat sayesinde ancak tenevvir efkarımıza, terbiye-i ma’neviyetimize .. neşr edilen gazetelerimizi bile idame kadir olamıyoruzç Avrupa’da böyle Kadınlara mahsus nice risaleler senelerden beri devam-i intişardadır. Niçün? Zira Avrupa nisvanının sevi-yi irfanı pek yüksek bir mertebede olduğu için kıyem-i ma’arif ve matbu’atı takdir ediyorlar. Biz ise henüz ma’arif ve matbu’atın lüzum ve ehemmiyetini düşünemiyoruz. Niçin söylememeli: daha doğrusu bilemiyoruz anlayamıyoruz.” İsmet Hakki Hanım, “Çarpışmak İhtiyacı”, *Mehasin* no. 4 (Kanun-i Evvel 1324) p.253.

¹⁷⁷ Fatma Aliye, “Terbiye-i içtimaiyye”(alıntı), *Mehasin* no.10 (Eylül 1325) p. 736 see also Hakki Behiç, “Hukuk and Vezaiif-i Nisvan”, *Mehasin* no. 6 (Şubat 1324) p.407.

¹⁷⁸ “...Türklerin en büyük nekayısından talihsizliklerinden biri belki de birincisi hakiki, münis, mü’essir bir aile hayatından mahrumiyettir. Bu mahrumiyettir ki esasen kabiliyet-i içtimaiyyemizi inhilale uğrattıyor, uğrattıyorda nihayet cemiyetimizin ekseriya şu bildiğimiz hüsrana badi oluyor. O halde islahatımıza esasen başlamak için ibtidai emir de aile hayatımızı bir mihver-i kemale sokmalıyız. Bana içtimaiyye-i osmaniyye hizmetin ne büyüğü hangisidir diye sorsalar hayat-i aileye intizam vermektir cevabını verirdim. Bu hizmet ise erkeklerimden ziyade kadınlarımızdan beklenir çünkü ailenin nazır-ı ahvali Kadındır. Kadın kaffe-i fazileti, fezailini cem’ ise ta zevcinden çocuğuna kadar bütün erkan-i ailenin rehber-i amalidir. Kible-i aşk ve muhabbet ve hürmettir. Hüsn ile hüsn-i maddi ve maneviyle bütün o cihanın melike-i ruhi mutlakıyesidir.” Ali Kemal, “Aile Hayatı”, *Mehasin* no.2 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.105 .

arts to be appropriate for women. I am not one of those who agrees with this view.”¹⁷⁹

Nonetheless, Ismet Hakki Hanım did not hesitate to be published in the same magazine as Zehra Hanım who openly opposed the idea of women dealing with the hard sciences and getting higher education, and found the idea of women getting involved in political discussions laughable, if not outright ridiculous. In *Mehasin* she wrote:

Thoughts are free. We should write. We should tell that nobody could be prevented from writing. Only this opinion, which is seen in the press, can be criticized. Just as there are already different parties in our political life, it is completely neutral and even necessary that one finds “feminists” and “anti-feminist” in our social life. If the public opinion (efkar-i millet) always shares the same thoughts, in this life without a contest, it would always remain deprived of progress... Also the group of humanity, called “ the weaker sex” finally needs to get involved in the disorder and confusion of life and to show effort to acquire power.¹⁸⁰

In women’s journals, one did not often hear voices of women such as Ikbâl Hanım. The more common objections to feminism articulated in women’s journal were represented in Zehra Hanım’s writings. Zehra Hanım was not a “traditonalist”, but envisioned a different kind of “new woman”. In an article about the proper education for women Zehra Hanım expressed her opinion:

What should women know? Whatever the feminist and their opponents say, In my esteem women who are as learned (alim) as a member of an institute, is an error of nature. In fact, a woman who is able to analyze and criticize the philosophy, the “Origins of Species” of Darwin whose name I have only heard, without any doubt is a strange creature. A woman’s knowledge must not increase to such a degree that she can use mathematics to calculate the distance between far away stars. The high sciences, which even most men cannot understand, would be too dry and too hard for women. Indeed, the other day I read in the newspapers that the wife of the discoverer of radium, Curie, had received her reverence of being appointed to a professorship at the Sorbonne. Nevertheless this is an exception. However much the womanized men are abhorred, masculinized women have to be as much unacceptable. It is being said that as far as natural disposition, women are no different from men. Even if we accept this view without judging, it is necessary to question its level of correctness; not having different dispositions does not necessarily

¹⁷⁹ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın hareketi*, p.33

¹⁸⁰ Ruth Haerkotter. *Mahasın* (Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1992) p.151

require the sameness of social duties. How can a woman have time for the management of the house, raising children and other business that require the care of women while busing themselves with the practice of law and medicine? Besides, at a time when in other civilized countries the competition for livelihood among men in the same profession has required a horrible shape, what would the situation be if women interfered in the competition as well? I believe women by nature cannot stand a serious and prolonged effort, or a very tiring and continuous intellectual endeavor. Even if there are no big natural differences between two sexes, women's psyches are delicate and their patience more lacking. That is why it is none of women's business to get drawn into the strong outlook of high mathematics and deep philosophies. It is very inappropriate and even shameful for a woman to solve an equation, to cut a wound and thus perform a medical operation.¹⁸¹

4.4. *Kadın* (Woman, Salonica) (1908-1909)

Kadın was the first women's journal in Salonica; thirty issues were circulated from the period of 26th October 1908 to 25th May 1909.¹⁸² Among the writers of *Kadın*, there were important and famous figures of politics and literature of the era such as Zekiye, Ayşe İsmet, Seniha Hikmet, Pakize Seni, Nigar bint-i Osman, Emine Semiye, Cavide Peyker, and Nakiye Hanım. Kırmızı Beyaz Kulübü Müessiseleri (Founders of Red and White Club) also contributed with a couple of articles. Among the male contributors were Enis Avni (Aka Gündüz), Ali Canib (Yöntem), Ömer Seyfeddin, Tahsin Nahid, Akil Koyuncu, İlyas Macid, Kazım Nami Duru, Mehmed Emin, Abdülğani Seni, Galib Kemal, Baha Tevfik and Salonica's representative of Parliament Mehmed Cavid Bey.

It is very significant that *Kadın* included in its cadre the prominent figures of Turkish nationalism. Mehmed Emin was one of the founders of Türk Yurdu (Turkish Homeland) and became known as the most prominent nationalist poet. Enis Avni,

¹⁸¹ Zehra "Kadın Bilgileri", *Mehasin*, no.7, pp: 469-470 quoted by Karakaya, ibid, pp.49.50

¹⁸² Proprietor: Mustafa İbrahim, director: Enis Avni, 26 September 1908 (13 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) – 7th May 1909 (25 Mayıs 1325).

Ali Canib Yöntem and Ömer Seyfeddin contributed *Hüsn-ü Şiir* and later *Genç Kalemler*, which was edited by Yöntem.

Seniha Hikmet also contributed to *Genç Kalemler*.¹⁸³ And Nakiye Hanım is well known for her patriotic speeches along with Halide Edib (Adivar) in public meetings in Istanbul during the War of National Independence.

Kadın was one of the earliest forums for the discussion of women's rights in the context of the nascent Turkist movement but not the first one. Since the authors of Turkist journals such as Celal Sahir, Tahsin Nahid, Ali Canib Yöntem, Enis Avni, Faik Ali, Cenap Şehabettin, Hakkı Behiç. And Halide Edib (Adivar) first contributed to *Demet* magazine. Since *Demet* came out in seven issues authors such as Halide Salih Edib, Julide Sahir, Ruhsan Nevvare, Ismet Hakki Hanım continued their contributions in *Mehasin*. After the closing down of *Kadın* in Salonica we see a continuation of their writings in *Mehasin*.

The aim of the newspaper was that their newspaper was prepared for women from all segments of society; as it is stated in the first issue:

Among the periodicals and non-periodical journals, a most lamentable and disheartening lack existed: A women's newspaper.. Such a women's paper that it would be accessible to the general public and that it would be as far as possible from the emptiness of the refined life that is called aristocracy from fantasy from nervous dreams and from sickly pretensions. A women's newspaper that would cover the world of our women, triangulating from shanty to mansion, from palace to poor house, like a net of ideas and information made up of knots great and small.¹⁸⁴

This magazine also included politics, literature, and science. The writers defended the education reforms such as opening of new schools and establishing women's associations. The articles by women in *Kadın* informed their readers about

¹⁸³ Seniha Hikmet, "Kadim", *Genç Kalemler* vol. II, no.1 p.12

¹⁸⁴ "... Risale-i mevkuteye ve gayri mevkute o kadar esefengiz ve daraltıcı bir noksan vardı: Nisai bir gazete.. Öyle nisai bir risale ki: umuma şamil olsun denilen o mevhum*i hayat-i kibarane-i hiçten hayalden, muhayyelat-i asabiyyeden ve ehemmiyet-i marizaneden mümkün olduğu kadar uzak bulunsun. Öyle nisai bir risale ki: kulübeden konağa , saraydan fakirhaneye, havasdan avama, vasattan en ileriye bir nirengi çizerek küçük büyük, düğümlerle yapılmış bir fikir ve malumat ağı gibi muhit-i nisaiyyemizi kaplasın." " İfade-i Mahsusa", *Kadın* no.1 (13 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.2.

women, who were establishing a charitable association such as *Osmanlı Kadınları Şevkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (Charitable Association of Ottoman Women).¹⁸⁵ This association was established in Salonica in order to help orphans and widows. Cemiyet-i Hayriyye-i Nisvan (The Women's Charitable Association, Salonica) worked for the improvement of women's education in Salonica in 1908. They founded the national school of girls' (Milli İnas mektebi) and helped the maintenance of the existing ones in addition to helping orphans and poor. Also, *Hizmet-i Nisvan* was established in Edirne by Emine Semiye (sister of Fatma Aliye) who was the vice president of the Union and Progress women's branch in Salonica, its members composed of ten Muslim and six non-Muslims, as well as noble women such as Fehime Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Murat.¹⁸⁶ Kırmızı- Beyaz Kulübü (Red and White Club) was founded by girls from Salonica. Their aim was stated as "Progress in literature and science, make contribution to Ottoman-Muslim women's role in society in this way to provide a virtues statue and power to the nation".¹⁸⁷

In addition to these associations there was *Cemiyet-i imdadiye* (Association for Help), which Fatma Aliye founded in 1908 with the aim of helping the soldiers on the Rumeli Front during the war. Also, Halide Edib (Adivar) founded Teal-i Nisvan Cemiyeti (Association for Women's Elevation) in 1908 with the aim of defending women's rights and promoting the progress of women in education without abandoning national traditions and customs. Nakiye Hanım, Nezihe Muhittin, Rana Sani Yaver were the other founders of this association. Esirgeme Cemiyeti (Association for Protection), which was known for their Turkist thoughts,

¹⁸⁵ "Osmanlı Kadınları Şevkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi", *Kadın* no. 16 (26 Kanuni Sani 1324) pp. 11-12. for further information see Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye' de Siyasal Partiler (1854-1952)* (İstanbul: 1984), p.480 ; Leyla Kaplan *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)* (Ankara: 1998), pp.38-62.

¹⁸⁶ "Şuunat", *Kadın*, no.1 (13 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p. 15.

¹⁸⁷ Zekiye, "Kırmızı Beyaz Kulübü Sene-i devriyesi", *Kadın* no. 18 (9 Şubat 1324) p.9

also founded in 1909 by the daughter of Süleyman Paşa, Sabiha Hanım in order to help the İttihad ve Terakki Kız Sanayi Mektebi. They organized free lectures aiming for the progress of women's educational and cultural level and helped orphans and immigrants.¹⁸⁸

Social, political and cultural issues dealt with in essays including series over succeeding issues such as Enis' play "Aşk ve İstibdat" (Love and Despotism) and some translations for instance of Gülnar Hanım's (whose real name was Olga Lebedeva, who was a Russian orientalist) "Freedom among Muslim Women".¹⁸⁹ The news section titled "Şuunat" (affairs) or "Şuun-i Nisvan" (Women's affairs) contained news from all over the country and the world with a variety of topics such as a women's public protest against the annexation of Bosnia by the Austrians,¹⁹⁰ and the establishment of Nisvan Heyet-i Edibesi (Women's Literary Assembly) in Istanbul and their publication of a newspaper.¹⁹¹

News about harassment and aggression towards women in the streets were written about and calls were made for the government to take precautions such events. However, these events grew as discontentment of the reactionary religious groups grew; this eventually led to a counter-revolution in 1909. *Kadın* magazine could not be published for three weeks and in the issue following this interval we see *Kadın*'s protests against the aggressions and they reaffirmed their patriotism:

The cries of threat and insult in the middle of this confusion against the Ottoman lady (who did nothing other than working seriously within the limits of conscience and fairness to profit from the common benefit of freedom and legal equality, which were still untarnished in truth, and who preserved all its national features traced on the shining brow of her nationality with all of its Eastern and Turkish qualities)

¹⁸⁸ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, (Ankara: 1998), pp.38-39.

¹⁸⁹ Ali Ulvi, "İslam Kadınlarında Hürriyet", *Kadın* no.12 (29 Kanun-i Evvel 1324) – no.15 (19 Kanun-i Sani 1324).

¹⁹⁰ "Şuun-i Nisvan: Şarkta" *Kadın* no.3 (27 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324) p.13.

¹⁹¹ "Şuun-i Nisvan: okuyunuz", *Kadın* no.11 (22 Kanun-i Evvel 1324) p.11.

was even lower than the barking of vile dogs; it was and could be nothing but so many cheap, selfish demonstrations of a low spirit.¹⁹²

¹⁹² “Hakikatte asla şaibedar olmayan, hürriyet ve musavat-i hukukun menafi-i müşterekesinden müstefit olmağa cidden vicdan ve insaf dairesinde çalışmaktan başka bir şey yapmayan nasiye-i mecla-i milliyetinde teressüm eden hutu-i kavmiyesini bütün Şarklılığı, bütün Türklüğüyle muhafaza eden Osmanlı Hanımına bu girüdar arasında yükselen avaz-i tehdit ve tahkir; sefil bir ava’ave-i kilabtan muhakkar, alçak bir nefsin adi birer nümayiş-i hodpesendnesinden başka bir şey değildir ve olamazdı.”, “Sevgili Kariatımıza”, *Kadın* no.26 (26 Nisan 1325), 1. This was quoted in Karakaya, *Kadın Magazin*, p. 66

CONCLUSION

The nineteenth century debates were over reforms related to family and women perceived by the dichotomy of Islam vs. the West in the Ottoman Empire. The tension created by the provisions of modernization and maintaining an authentic identity was one of the traits of non-western nationalisms and their similar pattern of resolutions to the “woman question”. As Partha Chattarjee argues that Indian nationalist project was based on dichotomies of inner/ outer, spiritual/ material, woman/ man. Spiritual domain represented the true “inner” self and to be preserved as the essence of national culture while in material domain adaptation to modern conditions was necessary and acceptable. A new image of Indian women was represented by such spiritual qualities as her religiosity, modesty, proper social conduct and dress.¹⁹³

In Ottoman case, Ottoman conservatives viewed reform attempts related to women as corruptive imitation of the West. References to earlier histories and famous historical female figures drew support from either “Asr-ı Saadet (Golden Age)”, undistorted days of Islam or pre-islamic periods of nation. With the rise of Turkish nationalism around the turn of this century, secular Turkish nationalism redefined the authentic identity of the Turks with a reference to their pre-islamic histories. Ziya Gökalp, who was a leading figure of Turkish Nationalism, addressed Democracy and Feminism as integral parts of the pre-islamic Turkish culture and viewed as a return to an indigenous past.

¹⁹³ Partha Chatterjee, “The Nationalist Resolution of the Women’s Question” in *Recasting women: Essays in Indian colonial history* ed. by Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh vaid (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), p.247

The modernization movement created an elite over the course. The reformist elites, who first recognized the need for change and became leading figures of the early reform movements in Ottoman Empire, were graduates of modern educational institutions established by government to train the new cadres for revitalizing the Ottoman state, which was lagged behind economically, and technologically progressive West. As a result of the expanding roles of government and greater involvement in public spheres and in education, which was dominantly part of the individual's private life, women's voices have been heard. Women have expressed themselves in autobiographies, essays and poetry to name but a few. Ottoman women found the opportunity to speak out, and considered this necessary at a time when women's movement were on the rise around the world. In the meantime these were educated women either graduates of the new schools for girls or home schooled ones. The early reform attempts established a frame of reference for articulation of women's issues not only by male-reformists but also by female voices. Such as Fatma Aliye antagonizing with Mahmud Esat Efendi over the issue of polygamy in Islam, tried to prove in her book *Nisvan-ı Islam (Muslim Women)* that Islam was not an obstacle to women's "education" and "progress".

These reformist's concerns for women's issues were parts of their ideological stands, which was influenced by political liberalism. As Kandiyoti suggests their feminism was part of their inspiration for "freedom from the oppressive conventions of traditional Ottoman life".¹⁹⁴ Since they rejected to be subjects of an absolutist monarch, they did not want to conform to traditional patriarchy in the family and

¹⁹⁴ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Patterns of Patriarchy: Notes for an Analysis of Male Dominance in Turkish Society" in *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A reader* ed. by Şirin tekeli (London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.,1995) p.310

became advocates of romantic love and opposed to the arranged marriages. They looked for educated intellectual wives who could accompany them.

Education, which was the most repeated demands in women's journal writings, provided support to the reformist and nationalist movement. They elaborated on their roles as educated mothers who had the scientific knowledge of child raising and intellectual wives who could accompany men both in private and public, as a justification of their demands on education in order to provide the "progress" of the nation. As Ziya Gökalp linked education and employment of women with development of the country in his poem as:

Women are also human beings, and as human beings
They are equally entitled to the basic rights of human beings
Education and enlightenment
So long as she does not work she will remain unenlightened
Which meant the country will suffer
If she does not rise, the country will decline,
No progress is complete without her contribution.¹⁹⁵

Thus, nationalism provided a more positive and socially favorable image. The nationalist feminists internalized this new patriotic image to claim a wider public space and justify women's educational rights.

The first generation of women activists and organizers later became a model for a "new woman" particularly during the nationalist struggle which led to women's greater involvement in public life and legitimized their public presence and turned them into visible political actors such as the leading female activist Halide Edib (Adivar), Nakiye Elgün known by their exciting patriotic speeches at the meeting of Sultan Ahmed. Besides their speeches, they addressed the women issues in their literary works. For example Halide Edib (Adivar) created idealized female characters

¹⁹⁵ Valentine Moghadam, "Modernizing Women: reforms, revolutions and the Woman Question" in *Modernizing Woman: gender and social change in the Middle East* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London, 1993) p.82

in her novels “ *Ateşten Gömlek* (Shirt of Flame)” and *Tatarcık* with an image of women as “ comrades” while determining the conditions of women’s existence in the male-dominated society, she deprived them of their womanhood and femininity and presented them as man-like. ¹⁹⁶Thus women did not pose a threat to men sexually. As Kandiyoti states the new Turkish woman was self-sacrificing “comrade-woman” who shared in the struggles of her male peers and depicted in the literature as an asexual sister-in-arms whose public activities never cast any doubt on her virtue and chastity, Turkish national identity was deemed to have a practically built-in sexual egalitarianist component.

Along side women’s active and productive image, new woman was “thrifty” sensitive to the requirements of national economy different from the traditional and excessively westernized woman. Their patriotism and efforts contributed the emergence of a new more favorable public image for women as we can call “ modern-but-modest”. Their patriotic image was different from their conformist ignorant, unproductive overly sexual woman whose public presence was unacceptable and dangerous.

For Further Study on Women’s Journals

The study of journals only in Ottoman Turkish falls short of explaining the female perception of life and their socio-political stands. Because there were tens of bilingual journals, which have not, been studied from the female perspective yet and minorities who spoke foreign languages were also part of the society. Within this context what we do not know is their social and political construction of nationalisms from a multi-national empire to a national one. Further study of

¹⁹⁶ For Further information see *Halide Edib (Adivar) ve Feminist Yazın* by Beyhan Uygun Aytemiz, unpublished M.A. Thesis, (Bilkent University: 2001).

bilingual journals and minorities journals would provide a detailed picture of social, cultural and political concern of the Ottoman society in which the western threat was important factor to form the radical changes as the first item on the Ottoman agenda. Ethnic and religious identification of the women's journals and their concern about the political problems of nationalism can be provided fully in Ottoman context.

Women's literary production, which had started before the rise of the women's press, their books of prose and collection of poetry and contribution to male-run pages and journals are worthy of studying from literary and historical aspect. In this sense, the autobiography of the contributors of these journals can provide more coherent picture – yet selective approach to personal experience- and reflect the experience of women whose lives were directly affected by the political struggles. Their sense of social and national identity can be revealed to support the argument of how woman issues became politicized in national paradigm.

The background of journal's women editors and their education particularly for those who graduated from “ foreign missionary schools” need further exploration since Halide Edib (Adivar) was not the only one who graduated from these schools. Besides her, there is Gülistan Ismet, who wrote in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and she was member of CUP, her autobiography can provide us a better picture.

The impact of the West on these journals have not largely been examined except for Ayfer Karakaya's thesis on *Kadin* magazine in which she established a comparative perspective to reveal similar image of women in revival of evangelicalism in the West and that of nationalism in the East. More comparisons to the third-world countries nationalism would make the argument stronger, which was stated by Kandiyoti as the ways in which women are represented in political discourse, the degree of formal emancipation they have achieved their forms of

participation in economic life and nature of the social movements. Through this they express their demand closely linked to state-building process. According to Kandiyoti, the comparative study of nationalists' resolution of women question in the third-world can be worthy of scholar attention, which hence confirms the originality of these journals.

The history of family structure, womanhood, motherhood, manhood and the inter-relations between them as well as their incorporation into the political discourse of the Ottoman Empire, which effected their lives and were redefined by themselves yet waiting to be handled by scholars.

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8. Ali Ulvi, “Yunan ve Roma Medeniyetlerinde Kadın”,ss.11-12.
9. İlyas Macid, “İlk Gece”,s.13.
10. Ali Cenab, “Bayram Sabahı” (Küçük Hikaye),ss.13-14.
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29 Kanun-i Evvel 1324

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2. Ali Ulvi, “İslam Kadınlarında Hürriyet”,ss.2-3.
3. “Bir vaka-i Tarihiyye”, ss.4-6.
4. Zekiye “ Yelkenli gemi” [Şiiir], s.7.
5. Ali Ulvi, “Yunan ve Roma Medeniyetlerinde Kadın”, ss.8-10.
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7. “Şefkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi”, s.14.
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1. Mehmed Emin, “Baba Bucağı” [Şiiir], s.1.
2. Zekiye, “Arnavud Nisvani Mubecellesine: Takdim-i Uhuvvet”, ss.2-3.
3. Emine Lutfiye Zeki ,“ Mesele-i Izdivac” , ss.3-4.
4. Ali Ulvi, “ Islam kadınlarında Hürriyet”, ss.5-6.
5. Moiz Levi,“Mukayese-i Makrun Nisvan”, ss.7-11.
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8. “Ahlak-i Etfal : Yilbasi”, ss.11-13.
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1. Mehmed Emin, “Anneciğim” [Şiir], s.1.
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3. Galib Kemal, “Çalgıcı” [Şiir], s.5.
4. Baha Tevfik, “Fransa ‘da Kadınların Hukuk Siyâsiyesi”, ss.6-8.
5. Mülazim Tahsin, “Kemal’in Rüyâsındaki Kadına [Şiir], ss.9-10.
6. M. Emin Lam’, “Aks’ül Sedalarım”, ss.9-10.
7. Ali Ulvi, “İslâm Kadınlarında Hürriyet “, ss.10-12.
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9. “Arıza”, ss.15-16.

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2. Enis Avni,“Esaret Var!!Halayıklara dair (1)”,ss.2-4.
3. Gülnar Hanım,“İslâm Kadınlarında Hürriyet”, ss.5-7.
4. Mehmed Emin, “Sabah” [Şiir], s.7.
5. Mülazim Tahsin, “Hemşire Mektupları”,ss.7-8.
6. Tahsin Nahid, “Menekşe Gölge” [Şiir], s.8.
7. Mustafa Nami, “Neşide-i Veda”, s.8.
8. Mülazim Tahsin, “Bir validenin Hasbihali: Kızımın Sermezarında”, ss.9-11.
9. Ayşe İsmet, “Hissiyat: Zekiye Hanım’a”, ss.11-12.
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26 Kanun-i Sani 1324

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2. Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, “ İcmal Mukadderat-i Nisa”, ss.2-3.
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7. Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyeti Hayriyesi”, ss.11-12.
8. Şu’un-i Nisvan, s.12.
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1. Zekiye, “Hasbihal” [Şiir], s.1.
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3. “Yeni Matbuat Nizamnamesini Tanzim Edenlere”,s.5
4. Ayşe İsmet,“Hayat-i İçtimaiden Bir Yaprak”, ss.6-7
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3. Enis Avni, “El-Han Şebab” ,s.5.
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6. Mülazim Tahsin, “Kemal’in Rüyasındaki Kadın’a” [Şiir], s.11.
7. Galib Kemal, “Bir Genç Kadının Jurnalinden”, ss.11-12.
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2. Zekiye, “ Latife”,s.4.
3. “Mutehil Hanımlara Mahsus bir Mekteb”[ingilizceden çeviri], ss.5-7.
4. Ali Canib, “ tekaza-i hayat” , s.8.
5. Mulazim Tahsin, “ Kemalin Rüyasındaki Kadın’a” [Şiir], s.8.
6. Ali Canib, “Fotoğrafisinin Karşısında”[Şiir], s.8.
7. Galib Kemal, “Krizantemler”,s.9.
8. Enis Avni, “O iki derd için”, ss.10-11.
9. H. Hüsnü , “Projector” (küçük hikaye), ss.11-13.
10. Enis Avni, “Aşk ve istibdad” (piyes), ss.14-16.

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23 Şubat 1324

1. Tedkikat-i tarihiyye : “Mazide”, ss.1-4.
2. Enis Avni, “Bir Vasiyetname”, s.4.
3. Zekiye, “Makale-i mahsusa: muhimme-i vezaif-i tahsil ‘ilm ve ma’ruf”, ss.5-6.
4. Nakiye, “O iki noksan munasebetiyle”, ss.6-7.
5. Tahsin Nahid, “Mukaddemat-i leylie” [Şiir],s.8.
6. Mulazim Tahsin, “Beka-i teranedar”[Hikaye], s.9
7. Ayşe İsmet, “Feryad !”, s.10.
8. H.Hüsnü, “Projektör”, ss.12-13.
9. Enis Avni,“Aşk ve istibdad”, ss.14-16.

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1. “Kablettezevvuc kızıma nasihatlerim”, ss.1-4.
2. Zekiye, “İzah-i Meram”, s.5.
3. Ayşe İsmet, “Hayat-ı içtimaiyyden bir yaprak” (2),ss.6-7.
4. H. Hüsnü “Penbe Sahifeler” [Hikaye], s.8.
5. Mülazim Tahsin “Kemal’in Rüyasındaki Kadın’a” [Şiir], s.8.
6. Enis Avni, “Sitar Han” [Şiir], s.8.
7. Enis Avni ,“Bir gece”, s.8.
8. Müdafa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan :“Yine ne oluyoruz?”, ss.10-11.
9. Zekiye, “ Merhum be Mağfur Manyasizade Refik Beyin Aile-i Kederdidesine”, ss.11-12.
10. “Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniye Namina Ta’ziyet”, ss.12-13.
11. Enis Avni, “Aşk ve İstibdad”, ss.13-16.

No: 22
9 Mart 1325

1. “Kablettezevvuc Kızıma Nasihatlerim”, ss.1-4.
2. Refi’a Şükran, “Terakki için nelere Muhtacız? Mektebler”, ss.5-6.
3. M.R. Fazıla, “O ikinci noksan münasebetiyle”, s.7.
4. Hasan Hulkii, “Nale-i Sar”, s.8.
5. Perviz ,“Lades” [Şiir], s.8.
6. H.Hüsnü, “Penbe Sahifeler”,s.8.
7. Rafize Hüsnü, “Enin-i Muhit”, s.9.
8. Ayşe İsmet, “Hayat-i ictimaiyyeden bir yaprak” (3), ss.10-11.
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10. Sıdika,“ihya-i hatirat: böyle düşünüyorum”, ss.12-13.
11. “Darülmualimat” (haber), s.13.
12. Enis Avni, “Aşk ve istibdad”, ss.14-16.

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1. “Kablettezevvuc Kızıma Nasihatlerim”, ss.1-3.
2. Mehmed Emin, “Babacığım”, s.3.

3. Evliyazede Naciye,“Mey’us oldum:Kırmızı Beyaz Kulübü Hanım efendilerine”, ss.4-6.
4. “Bir iki söz ; Mektebler Hakkında” – Enis Avni Bey’e-, ss.6-7.
5. Uzema İradet Hanım,“Gizli marizlerimize dair” (1), s.8.
6. İlyas Macid, “Mai ve Siyah”, s.9.
7. Makale-i Nisaiye:“Terbiye- i Nisvan”, ss.10-12.
8. Rodoslu Hüseyin Ragıb, “İhtiyaç-i Şefkat”, s.12.
9. Enis Avni ,“Aşk ve İstibdad”, ss.13-16.

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1. Makbule Süreyya Hanım, “Enin-i Muhite Karşı” [Şiir], s.1.
2. Makale-i Mahsusa: “Kadın ,Anne , Çocuk : bir eser”, ss.2-4.
3. Zekiye, “Bir vesika-i muhabbet”, ss.5-6.
4. Cavide Peyker, “Manastırlı Hanım hemşirelerime”, s.7.
5. Galib Kemal, “mukadderat-i hicran” [Şiir], s.8.
6. Tahsin Beg, “Neşide-i Niyaz” [Şiir], s.8.
7. Enis Avni, “El-han Şebab”, s.8.
8. Mutevaffa Hacı Mustafa bey haliyesi Habibe, “bir iki soz”, ss.9-11.
9. Hüsni Beg , “Hanım Sesler (1)“ (küçük hikaye), ss.11-13.
10. Enis Avni ,“Aşk ve istibdad” (piyes), ss.14-16.

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1. Uzema İradet Hanım, “Gizli marizlerimize dair” (2), s.1.
2. M. Nermi ,“Kadınlık Aleminde: Şark ve Garb Kadınları”, ss.2-4.
3. Zekiye, “Şayan-i Takdir-i bir gayret-i Milliye”, ss.5-6.
4. Ayşe İsmet, “Mutevaffa Hacı Mustafa Bey Haliyesi Habibe Hanım’a”, s.6.
5. Akil Koyuncu, “ Bir musamere” [Hikaye], s.8.
6. Ali Canib, “man’a-i şiir:”, s.9.
7. Selanikli Mübeccel Nezahat, “Ayşe İsmet Hanıma”, s.10.
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4. Refia Şükran, “Tebessümün” [Şiir], s.6.
5. M.Nermi, “Makale-i mahsusa: kadınlık aleminde : Hüsn-ü an (2)”, ss.7-9.
6. İlyas Macid, Akşam”, s.10.
7. Zekiye, “takdime-i naciz: Muzaffer ordumuza [Şiir]”, s.11.
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9. M. Nermi, “Ebediyete doğru” [Şiir], s.13.
10. Akil Koyuncu, “Gevgilide Bir Akşam Vardar Köprüsü Üzerinde” [Şiir], s.14.
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3. Perviz, “Gurbet Elllerinde” [Şiir], s.4.
4. M. Hicabi, “Bir hakikat-i tarihiye”, ss.6-7.
5. Ali Canib, “ Tekaza-i hayat” [Şiir], s.9.
6. Uzema İradet Hanım, “Gizli Marazlarımıza dair”, s.8.
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9. M. Nermi, “Kadınlık Aleminde (2) : Kadınlar ve Akademi”, ss.11-14.
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7. Enis Avni, “Taht-i siyah”, s.7.
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9. Makbule Süreyya Hanım, “Samimi Teraneler”[Şiir], s.9.
10. Kazım Nami, “Hakşinas-i Nisvan (1)”, s.10.
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13. aks-ü seda “Samsun’da şayan-i imtisal bir muessesesi-i hayriye”.
14. “Emine Şükriye Hanım Efendiye”.
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7. Pakize Seni, “İki hayat-i munkesir”, ss.11-13.
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5. Celal Sahir, “Samimi Bir Teşekkür”, s.12.
6. M.Nermi, “Kadın Şiirleri: Ağlıyordum ”, s.13.
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