

The Ottoman Empire in 1908-1913 and Ottoman women as seen through the eyes of two
journalists, Russian Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams and British Grace Ellison

İki gazeteci Rus Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams ve İngiliz Grace Ellison'un gözüyle 1908-1913
yıllarındaki Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Osmanlı kadınları

Ekaterina Aygun
117671003

Supervisor

Doç. Dr. Gülhan Balsoy

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Examining Committee Member

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Cihangir Gündoğdu

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Examining Committee Member

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Tuba Demirci Yılmaz

Altınbaş Üniversitesi

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EKATERINA AYGUN

117671003

Doç. Dr. GÜLHAN BALSOY

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ABSTRACT

Russian women were rare guests in the Ottoman Empire, therefore they did not leave behind many records or observations. One of these few women was Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, who for certain reasons decided to leave Russia and settle down with her husband in Istanbul for a while. Her valuable notes were published in “Old Turkey and the Young Turks. One year in Constantinople” (1916); this work provides an opportunity to plunge into the social and political life of the early 20th century Ottoman Empire as well as gives us information about Ottoman women. It is hard to escape a comparison between Ariadna Tyrkova’s work and British Grace Ellison’s “An English woman in a Turkish harem” (1915) as both of them were journalists, feminists, had connections with famous Turkish novelist Halide Edib Adıvar and stayed in the empire almost at the same time (Tyrkova-Williams – in 1911-1912, Ellison – in 1908 and 1913). One might jump to the conclusion that they had a lot in common but in the meantime, they looked at many things differently and chose different issues for press coverage. What exactly excited their minds and why? How they described Ottoman women? Were there more similarities or differences between them? Present study tries to answer these questions by analyzing and comparing above-mentioned works.

ÖZET

Rus kadınları, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda nadir misafirlerdi. Dolayısıyla çok fazla gözlem ve inceleme bırakmamışlardı. Söz konusu bu birkaç kadından biri, bazı sebeplerden ötürü Rusya'dan ayrılıp eşiyle birlikte bir süreliğine İstanbul'a yerleşen Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams idi. Kıymetli gözlemleri 1916 yılında "Eski Türkiye ve Jön Türkler. Konstantinopol'de bir sene" kitabında yayımlanmıştır. Bu çalışma, hem erken 20. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sosyal ve siyasi hayatına dalma, hem de Osmanlı kadınları hakkında bilgi edinme imkanı sağlamaktadır. Bu araştırmada Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams'ın kitabı, İngiliz Grace Ellison'un 1915 yılında yayımlanan "Türk haremindeki İngiliz kadını" kitabıyla karşılaştırılmıştır çünkü ikisi de (Ariadna ve Grace) gazeteci olarak çalışmışlardı, feministlerdi, ünlü Türk yazarı Halide Edib ile bağlantıları vardı ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaklaşık olarak aynı dönemde bulunmuşlardı (Tyrkova-Williams – 1911-1912, Ellison – 1908 ve 1913). Birçok ortak özellikleri bulunmakla beraber bazı meselelere farklı bakıyorlardı ve sonuç olarak kitaplar için farklı konular seçmişlerdi. Hangi sorular bu iki kadının ilgisini çekiyordu ve neden? Osmanlı kadınlarını nasıl tarif ediyorlardı? Aralarında daha çok benzerlik mi farklılık mı vardı? Bu sorulara cevap bulmak adına mevcut araştırmada yukarıda söz edilen çalışmalar analiz edilmekte ve karşılaştırılmaktadır.

INTRODUCTION

In this study I tell about two foreigners who, for various reasons, came to Istanbul in the early 20th century. I am interested not only in their fate and the period of life they spent in the Ottoman Empire, but mainly in their articles which were later published in the form of two books: Ariadna Tyrkova's "*Old Turkey and the Young Turks. One year in Constantinople*" and Grace Ellison's "*An English woman in a Turkish harem*"¹. Both Tyrkova and Ellison worked as journalists. The articles present the details of the social and political life of the empire of that time, as well as sketches of local women's life. I paid special attention to the female component because these two journalists, at the same time being feminists, were included in Ottoman women's "circles" (unlike male travelers who continued to write stories about Ottoman women, most often based on their own fantasies). Their notes allow us to hear once again voices of those who still in most cases had not possibility to make a claim about themselves.

The title of this research speaks for itself and introduces three of my goals. First of all, this is enabling readers to get acquainted with Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams and Grace Ellison. Who were they? Why did they come to Istanbul? What did they do here and in their homelands? In this case, it is particularly important for me to present Ariadna Tyrkova, since, as far as I know, there is no research in English or Turkish language about her stay in the Ottoman Empire (the same cannot be said about Ellison). My second goal is to depict historical panorama, the events preceding the First World War, with the help of the two above-mentioned monographs. I am interested in the empire's condition, its everyday life, tensions at this time and observations of our heroines (what moments and historical figures did they pay special attention to and why). My third goal was the disclosure of the women's question (again with the help of the two works) in this time period. I tried to understand whether Tyrkova's material on this topic differs from Ellison's one; in order to do it I decided to compare the content of their publications.

Thus, the object of my interest was not only the social and political life of the country at that time, but also Ottoman women's place in society and economy during this period of time. How did they live in the last years of the Ottoman Empire? Have there been any global changes in their lives? Did the political situation in the country affect them? And did their position change depending on their wealth or ethnic origin? Along with finding answers to

¹ Ellison G., *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* (London: Methuen & Co. LTD, 1915); Tyrkova A., *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole* (Petrograd: Tipografiya B.M. Volfa, 1916).

these questions, I also wanted to understand their place in the world at that time. Did they fight for rights and freedoms, as female representatives in other countries did? If so, what did they do for it? And can it be said that they moved with the times? Or would it be more correct to say that they were out of the loop? As the famous Russian poet Sergey Yesenin said, the whole can be seen only from a distance. That is why I decided that it would be logical and helpful to look at this period of time through the eyes of foreign people, “strangers” who had visited the country and had made their observations. Since I examine Ottoman women in this research, I preferred not to take into account the notes of male travelers because they did not have access to all spheres of Ottoman women’s life, and therefore continued to romanticize and mystify them. As a result, I decided not only to analyze and focus on above-mentioned two works and take them as primary sources but also to compare them since in my opinion they complement each other extremely well. The results of such comparison provide insight into examined period of time and make it possible to analyze Ottoman women’s life inside the boundaries from different perspectives and various points of view. Both of them are invaluable sources for my study in many respects: albeit in different scales and extents, they both provide very rich data for social and political history of the early 20th century Ottoman Empire and they are particularly important for gender history. As for authors of these works, both of them were journalists, feminists, had connections with famous Turkish writer and activist Halide Edib Adıvar and stayed in the empire almost at the same time (Tyrkova-Williams – in 1911-1912, Ellison – in 1908 and 1913). Ellison visited Turkey a few more times, twice in the 1920s, but I did not make use of the records made by her at this time as they do not correspond to the time period specified in the work.

My interest in this topic arose during my previous study of Russian “travelogues”² about the Ottoman Empire. At some point, I noticed that among these travelers³ there are virtually no female representatives. There were, of course, notes of Russian nurses made during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, but my aim was to find something about peace-time and everyday life in the empire. It turned out that almost the only work of this nature is “*Old*

² My interest in this kind of travelogues appeared in the process of writing one of my term papers.

³ For example, Russian orientalist Konstantin Bazili (1809-1884), translator and writer Konstantin Leontyev (1831-1891) and such Russian diplomats as Nikolay Ignatyev (1832-1908) and Aleksandr Nelidov (1835-1910) as well as such correspondents as Aleksandr Dikgof-Derental (1885-1939). The second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were generally rich in notes and memoirs of numerous Russian diplomats, officers, journalists and writers who visited the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey and the Young Turks. One year in Constantinople” of Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams⁴. It’s nearly impossible to come across some information concerning this book in foreign languages. Unfortunately, I could not locate any sources in Turkish either about Ariadna or about her Constantinople articles. That is why I believe my study gives an opportunity to make acquaintance with this remarkable Russian woman and, most crucially, to see the situation in the Ottoman Empire through her eyes whereas most of us used to do it through the eyes of European ladies (Englishwomen, Frenchwomen, etc.)⁵. It is interesting that the question of the relationship between Russian and Ottoman women, or at least an analysis of their observations about Ottoman women, has almost never been touched upon. I suppose this is largely due to the fact that Russian women (compared to European women) visited the Ottoman Empire less often and did not leave behind so many records. Secondly, I think that comparative research of this kind helps us to trace the interaction between Ottoman women and women from other countries of the world. Unfortunately, studies of this type are not numerous. I’d like this work to become a part of one big puzzle, which would allow us to follow all possible connections. Thirdly, much attention of the researchers is paid to harem, women during the First World War, women during the rule of Atatürk and Turkish feminists of the next years (especially after the 80s). Whereas the Young Turk period in my opinion is no less important, and the amount of material about this interesting turning point leaves much to be desired. I hope I succeeded to make a small contribution in this regard as well.

My study is comprised of three parts that are closely intertwined. Chapter 1 provides information about biographies of Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams and Grace Ellison, as well as gives insight into women’s question in Russian and British lands. I do not pretend to understand all the subtleties of Russian and British feminism and women’s movements in these countries, but I think that a brief “introduction” to these issues is still necessary to understand the content of the two works that I consider. This chapter mostly relies on secondary literature. Chapter 2 attempts to portray a historical panorama of the period under review. It mostly relies on two main primary sources of the study and secondary literature in Russian, English and Turkish languages. Chapter 3 deals with the women’s question in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century. Since one of the objectives of this study is a comparison of the two main primary sources it discusses only those topics that are covered in the above-mentioned monographs. It mostly relies on two main primary sources of

⁴ Tyrkova A., *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole* (Petrograd: Tipografiya B.M. Volfa, 1916).

⁵ I would like to note that all translations of Tyrkova’s work (from Russian to English) are mine.

the study and secondary literature in Russian, English and Turkish languages. I decided to arrange the chapters in this order, because, in my opinion, with the object of understanding what was written in the monographs, one must first get acquainted with the authors and their views.

In the process of working on this research, I used a variety of literature. Since the women's issue in the Ottoman Empire of the early 20th century was paramount for me, I want to say a few words about studies that helped me to write my work the way I have written it. First of all, I would like to mention the work of Russian Orientalist Konstantin Zhukov. His article in Russian named "*Public, political and intellectual atmosphere of Istanbul in 1911-1912 (according to journalistic materials of A.V. Tyrkova-Williams)*" helped me on a number of points⁶. Unfortunately, the article is not published yet, but I point it out as a source with the permission of the author. Leslie P. Peirce's "*The Imperial Harem*" examines the structure of Ottoman Society, the lives of incredible women and the sources of royal women's power⁷. The main argument of this informative and well-written book is that royal women played critical and influential roles within the politics of the Ottoman Empire. As for harem, according to the author, it was not a sexual playground or a prison conceived by the Western imagination. As famous historian Suraiya Faroqhi said, Peirce tried to "rehabilitate" mothers of ruling sultans as politically active personages and such a study may change one's perceptions of history as a whole⁸. Aslı Sancar's "*Ottoman Women: Myth and Reality*" is also about "Orientalists" and their perceptions of Ottoman women⁹. The author tells us mostly about elite Muslim families of the Ottoman period and all aspects of their daily lives. Particular attention is paid to the harem, which, according to Sancar, was a diverse and very complex institution. In her work she uses illustrations, paintings, diaries and letters of Western diplomats and travelers. Another brilliant study related to harem-topic is Çağatay Uluçay's "*Harem II*" where the author, with the help of memoirs and archival materials, tries to tell the truth about this "institution"¹⁰. One of the best works of other type is Reina Lewis's

⁶ Zhukov K.A., *Obshchestvennaya, politicheskaya i intellektualnaya atmosfera Stambula v 1911-1912 godah (po jurnalisticheskim materialam A.V. Tyrkovoy-Williams)* // Collection of articles. In memoriam Albina Girfanova, RAN 2019 (in press).

⁷ Peirce L.P., *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁸ Faroqhi S., *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women* (Istanbul: Eren, 2002).

⁹ Sancar A., *Osmanlı kadını: efsane ve gerçek* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2009).

¹⁰ Uluçay Ç., *Harem II* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992).

“*Rethinking Orientalism. Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*”¹¹. This is a quite interesting research, in which Lewis tries to analyze travelogues, memoirs and notes with a non-Orientalist approach towards Ottoman women: she studies works of such authors as Demetra Vaka Brown, Halide Edib and Grace Ellison. She rethinks Orientalism and the figure of an oppressed and yet highly sexualized female of the Muslim harem while leaning on Middle Eastern women’s studies. Godfrey Goodwin in his study “*The Private World of Ottoman Women*” about women’s daily lives compares Ottoman women from cities to female village inhabitants by using the example of such vital events as marriage, motherhood and divorce¹². Nevertheless, according to many critics, this research is not perfect because of the author’s generalized conclusions, whereas in his work he writes not only about Anatolian, but also about Kurdish, Albanian and other women. Alan Duben and Cem Behar were also interested in the question of comparing lives of Ottoman women from cities and female village inhabitants (“*Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940*”) but they decided to focus on a later period and to do it briefly¹³. By telling us about emancipated independent Istanbul women next to young village girls with seven children they tried to explain changes in marriage patterns, family and household structure mainly in Istanbul during the period 1880-1940. In order to do that they used different sources such as census data, population registers, records of religious courts, local mosque archives, magazines and even interviews. Thus, the authors managed to analyze the personal life of local Ottoman women (in this case Ottoman seems to mean the member of the Muslim-Turkish community) in the city: polygyny, birth control etc. I should also mention “*Everyday Lives of Ottoman Muslim Women: Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies) (1895-1908)*” of Ayşe Zeren Enis¹⁴. The main sources of this work were articles and news from “Newspaper for Ladies”. By analyzing information about education, family, household, health, beauty and fashion Ayşe shows us an “ideal” Ottoman Muslim woman and her everyday life (how it was supposed to be according to the newspaper). Aynur Demirdirek in her article named “*In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women’s Movement*” examines women’s associations, the content of their journals (abound with hot discussions related to women’s status in social, political and cultural areas) and their demands that were parallel to the struggle for women’s rights in the

¹¹ Lewis R., *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem. Rethinking Orientalism* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

¹² Goodwin G., *The Private World of Ottoman women* (London: Saqi Books, 1997).

¹³ Duben A., Behar C., *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁴ Enis A., *Everyday lives of Ottoman Muslim women: Hanımlara mahsus gazete (Newspaper for ladies) (1895-1908)* (İstanbul : Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2013).

West¹⁵. Another study of this kind is Serpil Çakır's "*Ottoman Women's Movement*"¹⁶. This work provides very useful information about Ottoman women's rights, their struggle, associations, foundations, newspapers and magazines that were published by them at one time. Fatma Kılıç Denman in "*A Young Turkish Magazine in the Second Constitutional Period: Woman*" examines "new women" through policies of that time and "Young Turkish feminism" that according to her was shaped by the Committee of Union and Progress¹⁷. By analyzing the magazine named "*Kadın*" (one of the first women's magazines), which was published in Thessaloniki and took the French feminist magazine "*Femina*" as a model, she concludes that the Ottoman women's movement was a part of the world women's movement. As an addition to the above-mentioned works, I should also notice the articles of Arzu Öztürkmen, Elizabeth B. Frierson, Nazan Maksudyan and Irvin Cemil Schick¹⁸. All of them are one way or another devoted to the women's movement, women's charitable organizations and the women's press, which were closely interrelated. Another equally important study is Ayşe Durakbaşa's "*Halide Edip. Turkish Modernization and Feminism*"¹⁹. The author tries to present an alternative history of Turkish modernization, by exploring Halide Edib's²⁰ life. She not only writes about her feminist activities, but, most importantly, traces her connections with feminists from other countries (Grace Ellison and Isabel Fry), dwelling in detail on their biographies. This study helps to understand the contradictions between the "modern" and the "traditional", and it shows us the active role of Ottoman women in the modernization process. On top of all this there are also collections of essays. Thus, "*Introduction: Historiography of Late Ottoman Women*" edited by Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou contains studies of

¹⁵ Arat Z. (ed.), *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

¹⁶ Çakır S., *Osmanlı kadın hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996).

¹⁷ Denman F., *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın* (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2009).

¹⁸ Öztürkmen A., *The Women's Movement under Ottoman and Republican Rule: A Historical Reappraisal* // *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 25, Number 4, Winter 2013; Frierson E.B., *Mirrors Out, Mirrors In. Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's magazines (1875-1908)* // *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, D. Fairchild Ruggles – Editor (New York: SUNY Press, 2000); Frierson E.B., *Women in Late Ottoman Intellectual Society* // *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005); Maksudyan N., "*This time women as well got involved in politics!*", *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women's Organizations and Political Agency* // Nazan Maksudyan (ed.), *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective to Ottoman Urban History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014); Schick İ., *Print Capitalism and Women's Sexual Agency in the Late Ottoman Empire* // *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2011.

¹⁹ Durakbaşa A., *Halide Edib. Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2012).

²⁰ Halide Edib (1884-1964) was a prominent Turkish novelist, social and political activist, feminist.

late Ottoman and early Republican women. Articles were written on different topics: from education and art, to class and biographies²¹. All of them are based on different sources such as archives, literary works, diaries, newspapers, art works. An important point is that this research tells us not only about Muslim women but also about women of different geographies and other communities of the late Ottoman Empire. Kate Fleet and Ebru Boyar's edited volume "*Ottoman Women in Public Space*" is a collection of essays concerning the presence of females in Ottoman public space²². It is the product of a team project growing out of a conference on women at the Skilliter Centre for Ottoman Studies. Almost all articles argue that public space was natural for Ottoman women (for instance they shopped, owned property and participated in factory production). The main question of this volume of essays is whether Ottoman women were publicly visible or not. Last but not least, the work of Zafer Toprak named "*New life in Turkey: Revolution and Trauma 1908-1928*" helped to get a glimpse and deeply understand the changes that were taking place at that time in Ottoman society in general, and in the female environment in particular²³.

Thus, this study analyzes two works on the Ottoman Empire of the early 20th century, consisting of journalistic essays and articles. They are considered by me from the point of view of the political situation of that time, as well as from the point of view of the women's question. That is why this work may be of interest for both, researchers involved in the studies concerning the period of the Young Turks, and those who are involved in gender studies.

²¹ Köksal D., Falierou A., *A social history of late Ottoman women: new perspectives* (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2013).

²² Ed.: Ebru Boyar & Kate Fleet, *Ottoman Women in Public Space* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016).

²³ Toprak Z., *Türkiye'de yeni hayat: inkılap ve travma 1908-1928* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2017).

CHAPTER 1

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS OF ARIADNA TYRKOVA-WILLIAMS

AND GRACE ELLISON

ARIADNA TYRKOVA-WILLIAMS

The purpose of this chapter is to give an idea of the biographies of two journalists, Ariadna and Grace. I believe that the reader needs to get acquainted with them before proceeding to the analysis of their books, because their lives, backgrounds and experiences undoubtedly influenced their works. In addition, this chapter provides an insight into the women's question of Russia and Britain in the early 20th century because this matter is directly related to Tyrkova and Ellison due to the fact that both of them were feminists. This part of the chapter does not claim to present a comprehensive history of Russian and British women's movements, it rather allows to understand some principal points.

It would be logical to start with Ariadna Tyrkova as her notes tell us about years 1911-1912 in Istanbul. Unfortunately, we are not able to compare at least a few of her biographies, since we have only one in our hands. I am referring to the work entitled "*A.V. Tyrkova-Williams in her letters and memoirs of her son*" written by her own son, Arkadiy Borman²⁴. Arkadiy writes everything down to the last detail: her childhood, youth, two marriages, journalistic and writing activities, one year in Istanbul, emigration to London after the revolution and the last days of her life. The book was written in accordance with letters addressed to him by his mother, as well as diaries and documents belonging or somehow relating to Ariadna. According to Russian historian Aleksandr Margolis, there are no other biographies most probably because of the fact that Tyrkova was considered an anti-Soviet writer and journalist; interest in her life was rekindled not so long ago, in the 1990s. However, this does not at all indicate a shortage of sources, since information about Tyrkova-Williams can be found in correspondence with well-known personalities i.e., politicians, writers and other representatives of Russian intellectuals. Besides that, Ariadna's autobiographical notes are a wonderful addition to abovementioned works: her youth is described in "*Things that will no longer exist*" and her political activities - in the book "*On the Road to Freedom*"²⁵. In the first book, the author tells us about the period from the 1900s to (approximately) 1914. She

²⁴ Borman A., *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna* (Washington, 1964).

²⁵ Tyrkova A., *To, chego bol'she ne budet* (Moskva: Slovo, 1998); Tyrkova A., *Na putyah k svobode* (Moskva: Moskovskaya shkola politicheskikh issledovaniy, 2007).

recaptures the atmosphere and spirit of the times in exceptionally interesting way and talks a lot about personal things like childhood in Russia and studies at the gymnasium with Nadejda Krupskaya (years later she became Vladimir Lenin's wife). The second book, on the contrary, tells more about social life and historical changes. Being the only one woman in the Central Committee of the Kadet Party²⁶, the author retraces the history of Russian parliamentarism from the establishment of the 1st State Duma in April 1906 to the dissolution of the 4th after the February revolution in 1917. It is also worth noting that a very important work was released in 2012. The name of the book is "*The Legacy of Ariadna Tyrkova*"; it is devoted to her diaries, letters written by her and letters she received from famous politicians, philosophers, writers and scientists²⁷. This work allows us to create a comprehensive picture of her views. As for literature in English language, it is worth mentioning Anita Norman's journal article "*Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, November 26, 1869 - January 12, 1962*" published on behalf of the editors and board of trustees of the Russian Review²⁸. The article is modest-sized, but entirely devoted to her biography.

Ariadna Tyrkova is known as a writer, lecturer, journalist, feminist and public worker. Most often, it is first remembered that she was a kadet, but few people know the details of her biography. Although, she lived a very long (almost a century) and remarkable life.

Ariadna Vladimirovna was born on November 13 (25), 1869 in St. Petersburg, but spent quite a lot of time in the patrimonial estate in Vergezha, which was granted to her family in the 17th century. It is known that she belonged to an old family of landed gentry of the Novgorod Province²⁹. From the age of seven she studied at a private gymnasium in St. Petersburg, but on March 1, 1881, a misfortune occurred, and it disrupted the usual course of life: Arkadiy, Ariadna's 20-year-old brother, took part in the assassination attempt on Alexander II, for which he was sentenced to exile for life³⁰. However, life went on, and in 1889 Tyrkova entered the mathematical department of the Higher Women's Courses³¹, but at the same time

²⁶ Kadet Party or Russian Constitutional Democratic Party was founded in October 1905 by the Union of Liberation and advocated a constitutional monarchy.

²⁷ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy: Dnevnik. Pis'ma* (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2012).

²⁸ Anita Norman, *Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, November 26, 1869-January 12, 1962* // The Russian Review, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Jul., 1962).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.

³⁰ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 24.

³¹ In the 1860s Russian universities did not admit women that is why local feminists were given a permission to set up the Higher Women's Courses, that is to say private colleges with volunteer professors.

she retained her love and interest in literature. In 1890 she married a shipbuilding engineer Alfred Borman, who belonged to the St. Petersburg German merchant class³². A daughter, Sophia, and a son, Arkadiy, were born. The latter was named after Ariadna's exiled elder brother. Unfortunately, after 7 years, the marriage broke up. According to Arkadiy, Alfred and Ariadna were too different people, and therefore they were unsuited to each other³³. Ariadna had to seriously think about permanent earnings and some source of income, because at that time she had no profession and influential contacts³⁴. In this regard, she decided to try journalism: she started to write sketches and reviews and to work on journalistic reports. Most often she wrote articles under the pen-name "A. Vergezhskiy", but in six-seven years this pen-name disappeared, and "A. Tyrkova" replaced it³⁵. At the same time, she tried to determine her political preferences, realizing that she after all leans toward the ideas of liberalism (according to Arkadiy, in this matter, liberal politician Dmitry Shakhovskoy³⁶ had a great influence on her)³⁷. Moreover, in 1903, she, together with a representative of the "Soyuz Osvobozhdeniya" ("Union of Liberation"), went to Finland in order to illegally bring back (to Russia) copies of the liberal opposition magazine named "Osvobozhdeniye" ("Liberation")³⁸. They, of course, were arrested, and at the trial Ariadna gave the following speech: "As a writer, I acutely feel how we need freedom, and above all freedom of speech. We are constrained in expressing our thoughts, censorship stops our mouths. Russia needs freedom, we need a constitution"³⁹. Alas, the fiery speech did not save her, and the court sentenced her to two and a half years in prison, but Ariadna decided to avoid punishment, believing that it would be difficult for her to stay in jail because of her cheirarthritis (an inflammation of the joints of the hand)⁴⁰. She fled to Stuttgart (through Finland and Sweden), where the editorial staff of the "Osvobozhdeniye" magazine was located. There she met Harold Williams, a native of New Zealand and a correspondent for the English newspaper "The Times"⁴¹. Harold, who was always interested in Russia and felt his engagement with its fate, immediately fell in love and subsequently made a proposal of marriage to Ariadna. Arkadiy

³² It is known that foreign merchants often became permanent residents in Russia. According to Pamela M. Pilbeam, British and German firms dominated the foreign trade of St. Petersburg at the beginning of the 19th century.

³³ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁶ Dmitry Ivanovich Shakhovskoy (1861-1939) was a Russian liberal politician.

³⁷ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 42.

³⁸ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy: Dnevnik. Pis'ma*, 5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁴⁰ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 56.

⁴¹ Daily newspaper published in London, one of Britain's oldest and most influential newspapers.

Borman claims that he was a remarkable person who knew almost forty languages, spoke Russian fluently and had a good command of Turkish and Armenian⁴². Harold Williams and Ariadna Tyrkova happily lived married for almost 22 years, until the death of Williams in 1928. Because of the mesh of circumstances sometimes they had to live in different countries, but they sent each other meaningful and very warm letters from any spot of the Earth. For a while Tyrkova and the editors lived in Paris, but in 1905 (after the Manifesto of October 17, according to which she was not in need to be detained⁴³) she returned to Russia, where she not only continued to actively write articles for local magazines and newspapers (for example, “*Vestnik Evropy*”, “*Russkaya mysl*”, “*Ruskiye Vedomosti*”, “*Slovo*”, “*Rech*”), but also showed herself as a writer (she was the author of many stories, essays and novels). In addition, in November 1905, she joined the newly formed Constitutional Democratic Party (among the organizers were professors, lawyers, industrialists⁴⁴) and until March 1917 remained the only woman in the Central Committee⁴⁵. It is also important that Tyrkova played a leading role in the liberal feminist movement and even achieved the inclusion in the party program of a clause on the granting of voting rights to women. Her main argument was as follows: “If you made them to build barricades, then open the way to the parliament for them”⁴⁶. Ariadna helped to solve the women’s issue in Russia in every way: she wrote articles about the Russian and foreign feminist movements, held feminist meetings (she has two victories to her name: preparing and holding “The first All-Russian Women’s Congress” in 1908 in St. Petersburg and organizing the “All-Russian Congress on the Struggle against the Trade in Women”⁴⁷ in 1910 in St. Petersburg), lectured for ordinary workers and members of women’s clubs, and in general in every possible way supported the provision of equal rights for women⁴⁸. By means of talent and sheer hard work, she made a successful career in journalism and became a stellar example of the completely emancipated woman at a time when there were few such in any country of the world⁴⁹. When Harold and Ariadna were out of duty, they traveled around Russia, Italy, England, Switzerland, and from 1911 to 1912 they

⁴² Turkish and Armenian came in useful to Williams during his work in Istanbul; Tyrkova knew only the simplest words in Turkish. This is referred to on pages 96-97 (Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*).

⁴³ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 64-67.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁴⁵ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

⁴⁷ One of the main issues of this congress was the organisation of women’s labor, which often seduced women into prostitution.

⁴⁸ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 9.

⁴⁹ Anita Norman, *Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, November 26, 1869-January 12, 1962*, 277.

lived in the Ottoman Empire, in Istanbul, where Williams needed to go as a correspondent for “*The Morning Post*”⁵⁰. Ariadna devoted a lot of notes to this year; later they were published in the collection (one of the two main sources of this study) entitled “*Old Turkey and the Young Turks. One year in Constantinople*”⁵¹. In order to write them and not be unfounded, she tried to understand the true goals of the Young Turks, established contacts with their leaders (the representatives of the Russian diplomatic mission in Istanbul showed interest in the information she obtained), collected information about the state of press and education and paid serious attention to the women’s issue⁵². According to N.I. Kanisheva, this collection for a long time served as one of the manuals for Soviet diplomats⁵³ even though Ariadna decided not to mention some important details in it. Thus, Russian orientalist Konstantin Zhukov in one of his articles suggests to look into Tyrkova’s “creative laboratory” by comparing diary entries, newspaper essays and materials from the book in order to ascertain cases of auto-censorship and he himself finds some good examples of it. For instance, only in the diaries of Ariadna we do find an indication of the Jewish origin of Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, the book is silent about this⁵⁴. In addition to interest in the country’s situation, Ariadna showed keen interest in Byzantine antiquity. According to Arkadiy, she was so captured by it, that, while being in Istanbul, she read in all European languages all the serious literature that was written on this topic (she was particularly interested in Byzantium during the time of John Chrysostom⁵⁵, that is, of the fourth and fifth centuries, she even dedicated to this era the story named “Athenian”)⁵⁶. Moreover, she got acquainted with the head of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, Fyodor Uspensky⁵⁷, who showed her the city’s most interesting places while telling about them in detail⁵⁸. Their home in Istanbul and the summer house, which was located on Büyükkada Island (or Prinkipo), were regularly visited by a variety of famous Turkish, Armenian and Greek public figures⁵⁹. Exactly the same

⁵⁰ The Morning Post was a daily newspaper published in London from 1772 to 1937, when it was acquired by The Daily Telegraph.

⁵¹ Tyrkova A., *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*.

⁵² N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 38.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁴ K. A. Zhukov, *Obshchestvennaya, politicheskaya i intellektualnaya atmosfera Stambula v 1911-1912 godah (po jurnalistским materialam A.V. Tyrkovoy-Williams)*, 10-11.

⁵⁵ John Chrysostom (born 347 CE - died 407) was an archbishop of Constantinople known for his preaching and public speaking.

⁵⁶ Arkadiy Borman, A.V. *Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 96.

⁵⁷ Fyodor Ivanovich Uspensky (1845-1928) was the preeminent Russian Byzantinist in the first third of the 20th century.

⁵⁸ Arkadiy Borman, A.V. *Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 96.

⁵⁹ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 9.

situation was in her house in St. Petersburg, which was constantly visited by writers, poets and politicians like Dmitry Merezhkovsky, Zinaida Gippius, Alexander Blok, Pavel Milyukov, Peter Struve and others. Before the start of World War I, Ariadna received an offer from right-wing Kadets and Progressists to join the editorial board of the new newspaper named “*Russkaya molva*”⁶⁰, and thus (for the first time in Russia) she, being a woman, became a full-fledged member of the editorial board of the daily metropolitan newspaper⁶¹. Beginning from the early days of the war, she started to visit areas of military operations, where she worked together with her daughter and son in the sanitary detachment, and was engaged in solving problems of soldiers’ families (she tried to find workplaces for the unemployed, organized cheap canteens for them, created handicraft courses, took care of children and orphans by fixing them up with nurseries and shelters)⁶². After the February Revolution of 1917, she was elected to the Petrograd City Duma, where she headed the Kadet faction, although with every passing day she understood more clearly that the defeat of the Kadets in the struggle for the masses is inevitable: “Parliamentary ways now will not lead Russia to the road. Everything is too confusing and dark”⁶³. She continued to speak at rallies against the Soviet government and devoted much of her strength to sending officer detachments to the places where the white army was created⁶⁴. In 1918, Ariadna and her daughter left for England, where her husband Harold helped her to launch an anti-Bolshevik campaign. In her personal diary she wrote the following: “From allies I want only guns, tanks and money”⁶⁵. In the spring of 1919, Tyrkova became one of the founders of the Committee for the Liberation of Russia and published her first book in English (and at the same time the first book on the Russian revolution) called “*From Freedom to Brest-Litovsk*”, a detailed and meaningful narrative about what happened in Russia in 1917 (according to Aleksandr Margolis, it has not yet been published in Russia). In the summer of the same year, the whole family went to Russia, believing that this time they returned finally, but already in 1920, due to the situation in the country, they had to move to Istanbul⁶⁶. They spent several weeks on the island (Büyükada), but all their thoughts were about Crimea, “the last stronghold of the

⁶⁰ The daily newspaper of the Progressists and right-wing Cadets, which was published in St. Petersburg from December 1912 to August 1913. Such prominent representatives of Russian literature as Alexander Blok and Ivan Bunin were involved in the publication of this newspaper.

⁶¹ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 9.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁶ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 190.

Whites”, but very scanty information had been received from there⁶⁷. After leaving Istanbul, they spent a month in France, and then settled in London, where the long years of emigration began⁶⁸. Tyrkova often repeated that she wants to go back to native land: “We are constantly going somewhere, but not where we want to”⁶⁹. It is known that upon an initiative of Ariadna the Russian Refugee Relief Association which she led for 20 years was created in London through organizing paid lectures at which many famous personalities from Russia had the opportunity to make a speech. In exile, Ariadna continued to remain an irreconcilable opponent of the communist regime⁷⁰. She loved to say that she was categorically against the barrack-type way of life; she was repelled by the lack of freedom and independence⁷¹. Abroad she wrote articles for emigre newspapers and magazines, and beginning from August 1921 she edited “*The Russian Life*” magazine. In addition, shortly before the death of Harold, they co-published a novel in English under the name “*Hosts of Darkness*”⁷²; however, according to Arkadiy Borman, the novel was nevertheless written entirely by Tyrkova, and Harold simply adapted it for the English reader⁷³. Furthermore, for many years she worked on the biography of a public activist in the field of women’s education, Anna Filosofova⁷⁴, and a two-volume biography of the famous Russian poet and writer Alexander Pushkin⁷⁵. For a long time Ariadna could not recover from the death of her husband and often repeated that it was painfully difficult for her to live without him. In 1935, in memory of him, she wrote the book “*Cheerful Giver: the Life of Harold Williams*”⁷⁶, and found vital support in the Orthodox Church, although in her youth she treated it in a rather nihilistic way. During the Second World War, she lived with her son’s family in France: the whole family suffered from cold and malnutrition, but Tyrkova continued to organize “domiciliary conversations” via reports on philosophical, historical and literary topics. In March 1943, she was interned by the Germans as a British subject, and the first thing she did after the end of the war was the creation of the Aid Committee for internees in Paris. In 1951, together with her son’s family, she moved to New York, and, when she was already quite old, she began writing her

⁶⁷ Ibid., 192.

⁶⁸ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 14.

⁶⁹ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 191.

⁷⁰ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 16.

⁷¹ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 40.

⁷² Ariadna and Harold Williams, *Hosts of Darkness* (London: Constable, 1921).

⁷³ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 88.

⁷⁴ Anna Filosofova (1837-1912) was a pioneer feminist activist and philanthropist.

⁷⁵ Arkadiy Borman, *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pismam i vospominaniyam syna*, 109.

⁷⁶ Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, *Cheerful Giver: The Life of Harold Williams* (London: P. Davies, 1935).

memoirs. During these years, “*On the Road to Freedom*”, “*Things that will no longer exist*” and “*Rise and collapse*” were written⁷⁷. The end of her life, alas, was not calm: her son Arkadiy in connection with the work for “Voice of America” was forced to move the entire family to Washington, her granddaughter Natasha died, later daughter-in-law Tamara passed away⁷⁸. The fact that one of her last articles was dedicated to Boris Pasternak’s “*Doctor Zhivago*”⁷⁹ says that she not only suffered from family losses, but also continued to worry about her homeland⁸⁰. In January 1962, in Washington, Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams died at the age of ninety-two⁸¹. She loved to repeat: “I am free born and all kinds of bondage cause a riot inside me”⁸². It must be said that she maintained this position toward everything: in her own life, in the approach to the women’s issue and in political preferences. As Anita Norman said, her long life with its diversified activities is in itself a page of Russian history, revealing much about developments in politics, literature, and the arts and well-known figures influential in these fields⁸³.

It would be wrong to study Tyrkova’s life separately from the women’s movement in Russia at that time since developments in the country give us a clue about her views and ideas concerning how women should live and what are their rights. It is rather difficult to write about the feminist movement in Russia: it is traditionally divided into two wings, feminist (or liberal) and revolutionary (or socialist), but in reality the situation is much more complicated because both wings were very heterogeneous. The feminist wing consisted of women who advocated a liberal approach to the issues and did not go to the barricades, in other words they did not strongly protest against the situation. As for the revolutionary wing, it was, on the contrary, more interested in the revolution and the struggle itself, rather than in women’s rights. The most famous researcher working in this direction is Irina Yukina, whose research interests are social movements, women’s and gender history. She is the author of the monograph “*Russian Feminism as a Challenge of Modernity*”⁸⁴ and she published several articles on related topics. In one of her recent interviews she talks about how and why the first movements for equality appeared, linking this situation with the transition from the traditional

⁷⁷ Tyrkova A., *Na putyah k svobode*; Tyrkova A., *To, chego bol’she ne budet*; Tyrkova A., *Pod’yem i krusheniye* (Vozrojdeniye, 1956).

⁷⁸ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 33.

⁷⁹ This book was awarded the Nobel Prize.

⁸⁰ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 33.

⁸¹ Anita Norman, *Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, November 26, 1869-January 12, 1962*, 277.

⁸² N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 3.

⁸³ Anita Norman, *Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams*, 277.

⁸⁴ I.I. Yukina, *Russkiy feminizm kak vyzov sovremennosti* (Sankt Peterburg: Aleteya, 2007).

to the industrial society, and with the reform of 1861, that is, the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire⁸⁵. After the liberation of the peasants in 1861, it turned out that a simple male peasant from a village has more possibilities than a countess: since women did not even have passports (they could be issued only with the permission of their fathers or husbands)⁸⁶. According to Yukina, Russian feminists mostly belonged to upper class families and lived in the capital of the empire, St. Petersburg⁸⁷. The first feminist societies were born there, the branches of which were later opened in smaller cities. At this time, women most often became physicians⁸⁸, nurses (women first had working experience in medicine during the Crimean War, 1853-1856) and midwives, less often journalists or translators⁸⁹. Among all the requirements of the first wave of feminism (held from 1861 to 1905), the most important was the right to education and the opportunity to choose a school to study and a professional field, because higher education allowed to obtain a prestigious profession⁹⁰. It should be noted here that in 1858 the authorities began to open women's secondary schools for all classes, mainly in the provinces (with a six-year course and a three-year course); as for universities, the new organization charter allowed them to attend lectures but not to enter universities, therefore many women went abroad (Zurich was one of the main destinations)⁹¹. Subsequently, special courses⁹² (above-mentioned Higher Women's Courses) were opened for women, and its program was equated with the university's one. In addition, Russian historian Natalya Pushkareva emphasizes that the participation of men in the women's issue in Russia contrasts sharply with the participation of men in the West: "In the West, women's organizations simply did not take any men into their ranks and never allowed them to come to their meetings... On the other hand, our women ... believed that progressive men are support for

⁸⁵ I.I. Yukina. (2018, March 8) How suffragists appeared in St. Petersburg, why XIX century feminism was elitist and who fought for equality in the USSR (in Russian language). Retrieved from <http://paperpaper.ru/rus-fem/>.

⁸⁶ L. Belovinskiy, *Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar' istorii sovetskoy povsednevnoy jizni* (Moskva: Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye, 2015), "Zhenshina".

⁸⁷ I.I. Yukina. How suffragists appeared in St. Petersburg, why XIX century feminism was elitist and who fought for equality in the USSR.

⁸⁸ Among them were eye doctors and gynecologists.

⁸⁹ I.I. Yukina. How suffragists appeared in St. Petersburg, why XIX century feminism was elitist and who fought for equality in the USSR.

⁹⁰ I.I. Yukina, *Russkiy feminism kak vyzov sovremennosti*, 198-200.

⁹¹ I.I. Yukina. (2018, October 5) How St. Petersburg women fought for higher education in the XIX century and what was taught to female students of Smolny (in Russian language). Retrieved from <https://paperpaper.ru/kak-peterburzhenki-borolis-za-vysshee/>.

⁹² For example, the famous "Bestuzhev courses", which opened in 1878, consisted of three departments: philological-historical, physico-mathematical, and special mathematical.

them, they relied on men”⁹³. Initially, there were no radical claims about women’s rights, since not only women but also men had no political rights. In the spring of 1905, as soon as the electoral rights were granted to the male population, the first women’s political rally was held⁹⁴. At the same time, the government did not disperse the rally, but, on the contrary, gave it official permission. It can be said that the government did not interfere, but it did not render much assistance either, since actual decisions on the political rights of women were taken only after the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917⁹⁵. In any case, we must pay tribute to the feminists of the first wave, since it was them who created fertile ground for subsequent changes. This is especially important, since in Soviet studies it was customary to write that the party brought equality, and not a word was said about the pre-revolutionary suffragists⁹⁶. Nor should we forget that the Russian feminists of that time fought in the First World War. Moreover, at that time there was even a women’s battalion for both aristocratic and peasant women⁹⁷.

According to some critics, Yukina pays a lot of attention to the so-called “bourgeois feminism” and, accordingly, much less attention - to the radical and left-wing representatives of the women’s movement⁹⁸, which is the opposite of Soviet historiography and Western studies such as research of “iconic” Richard Stites⁹⁹. The author of this fascinating comprehensive analytical study of Russian women named “*The Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia. Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930*” describes changes and traces the development of the women’s movement by using archival materials, published sources, memoirs and interviews¹⁰⁰. According to Stites, the majority of feminists never, especially after 1908, held socialist positions, and therefore not all their forces were sent to

⁹³ Natalia Pushkareva is the author of many books on gender; most of them are devoted to Russian women. Unfortunately, only her presentation which was held at the Museum of Contemporary History of Russia is partly devoted to the period I consider in this work. Therefore, I have to insert the video (Lecture “Two Centuries of Russian Feminism’s history”, Moscow, March 7, 2019) as a source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ux-gBTPyhC>.

⁹⁴ I.I. Yukina, *Russkiy feminism kak vyzov sovremennosti*, 219-223.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 464.

⁹⁶ Natalia Pushkareva, Lecture “Two Centuries of Russian Feminism’s history”.

⁹⁷ I.I. Yukina, *Russkiy feminism kak vyzov sovremennosti*, 409.

⁹⁸ I dare to disagree with such comments, because the author has articles about “radical” women as well (for instance, *Women in the World of Gender Stereotypes: The Case of the Russian Female Terrorists at the Beginning of the 20th Century* // International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Jan 1, 2011).

⁹⁹ This is a classic study, first published in 1977; it still remains exemplary for all researchers of the history of Russian feminism.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Stites, *The women’s liberation movement in Russia: feminism, nihilism, and bolshevism, 1860-1930* (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2004), (in Russian language).

serve the masses¹⁰¹. Moreover, he argues that feminists paid little attention to the interests of peasant women and did not seek to solve the problem of domestic servants¹⁰². The main goal of their activity was to defend the interests of intellectuals, and laws that increase the legal and marital status of women helped more to those who had higher incomes and education¹⁰³. In addition, the author of the book was frankly surprised by the scale of the Russian feminist movement. He compares 80,000 members of the National Women's Council in Denmark in 1899 with 8,000 members of 80 branches of the largest Russian suffragist association of this period called the "Union for Women's Equality" (Ariadna Tyrkova was a member of this union) and explains this paradox by the low (compared to Western countries) level of Russian urbanization¹⁰⁴. As for the other representatives of the women's movement, the so-called "women's proletarian movement", for example, was focused on combating feminism and tried to foster class consciousness among women¹⁰⁵. The members of this movement took part in antifeminist campaigns¹⁰⁶. It is known that in numerical terms they were superior to the Marxist women's movement and consisted of middle-class women, Jews, a thin stratum of female workers and peasant women who joined the ranks of the urban proletariat¹⁰⁷. There were women who engaged in violent activities: by the end of 1906 six such girls, who killed or tried to kill government officials, were put into Butyrka prison (later the number of female political prisoners increased significantly, many were sent into exile in Siberia)¹⁰⁸. It is also interesting that the First All-Russian Women's Congress, which was attended by 1053 delegates from all over the country, was held in 1908, and the Second All-Russian Women's Congress, scheduled for 1913 in Moscow, did not take place (it was held only 100 years later, in 2008)¹⁰⁹. The work of the first congress was divided into four sections: the activities of women in Russia in various fields, the economic situation of women and ethical issues in the family and society, the political and civil status of women, and women's education in Russia and abroad¹¹⁰. In the course of tough discussions (the women's movement by that time had already severed into different groups), more than twenty resolutions were adopted: on insurance of working women, amendments to protect and support mothers and their

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 309.

¹⁰² Ibid., 309-310.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 311.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 315-316.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 369.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 372-374.

¹⁰⁹ Natalia Pushkareva, Lecture "Two Centuries of Russian Feminism's history".

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

dependent children, change in marriage legislation and political rights¹¹¹. The resonance of the congress was immense; it was closely followed in Russia and in the world. Thus, by 1917, the women's movement in Russia was already functioning quite successfully.

So, it is clear that Ariadna Tyrkova belonged to the liberal feminists. Being an educated woman from a noble family, she preferred lobbying work to fight for women's rights. She was one of those feminists who actively collaborated with men and enjoyed their support. As mentioned above, she gave lectures, spoke at women's meetings and conducted them, helped her country during wartime.

GRACE ELLISON

As for Grace Ellison, it is known that she wrote her notes of 1913 for "*The Daily Telegraph*", but this information is not enough to present a complete portrait of this woman. We need to understand what kind of background she had and what she was concerned about. The first work about Grace Ellison, which came into my hands, was Ayşe Durakbaşa's study. Almost two chapters of the book "*Halide Edib. Turkish Modernization and Feminism*" are devoted to this British woman but they tell us mostly about the Turkish period of Grace's life (both in Istanbul and Ankara), her relationship with Halide Edib and feminism in England¹¹². As for other biographical details, there is information about Grace's education, her work in "*Bystander*" and "*The Daily Telegraph*", as well as business trips to the Balkans, Turkey, Syria and Palestine. According to the reference, Ayşe Durakbaşa found these facts in one of the volumes of "*Who was who*", a kind of biographical dictionary that gives brief information about prominent people¹¹³. From the second chapter, in which Halide Edib, Grace Ellison and Isabel Fry are compared, we become aware that she was unmarried and religious. More biographical information was discovered by me in Reina Lewis's "*Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel, and the Ottoman Harem*". Lewis provides reasonable details not only about the Turkish period of her life, but also about English part of this story. In addition, both "Turkish" works of Ellison are analyzed in this study through the lens of Orientalism.

Ayşe Durakbaşa indicates that Ellison was born some time between 1880 and 1885 and died in 1935, from which it can be concluded that this woman did not live as long as Ariadna Tyrkova - almost two times shorter. Nevertheless, her life was very intense, and she managed

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Durakbaşa A., *Halide Edib. Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*.

¹¹³ *Who Was Who, 1929-1940*, v. III (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1941).

to do a lot during this time. For example, she visited Turkey four times: for the first time in 1908, the second time in 1913 and twice in the 1920s (during the war of independence and after the proclamation of the Republic)¹¹⁴ and, as Reina Lewis rightly notes, she was prominent for her sympathetic writings about Turkey¹¹⁵. So prominent that she was awarded the Order of the Shefkat nishani (Şefkat Nişanı)¹¹⁶ despite being a foreigner¹¹⁷. Although, it should be noted that her friendship with the Turks began even before her first arrival. This is described in detail in such academic articles as Füsün Çoban Döşkaya's "*Grace Ellison: An Englishwoman in a Turkish harem*" and Asako Nakai's "*Shakespeare's sisters in Istanbul: Grace Ellison and the politics of feminist friendship*"¹¹⁸. These articles tell us about friendship between Grace Ellison and two Turkish sisters, Zeyneb and Melek Hanoum¹¹⁹ who served as Pierre Loti's¹²⁰ models for the main characters of "*Les Désenchantées*"¹²¹. In 1906, they left Istanbul and started living in Europe, where they met Ellison¹²². It is known that she encouraged them to write, and edited and co-authored their books in English¹²³.

Grace Ellison was born in Scotland¹²⁴ and seems to have come from a financially comfortable but not exceptionally wealthy family¹²⁵. Grace studied at Rochester Grammar School, after which she received her education first in the French École normale supérieure, and then at Halle University¹²⁶. After graduating from the university, she worked for about six years as a continental correspondent of "*Bystander*"¹²⁷, after which she began to work for "*The Daily*

¹¹⁴ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib. Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*, 202.

¹¹⁵ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem. Rethinking Orientalism*, 42.

¹¹⁶ Order of Charity in the Ottoman Empire; it was instituted in 1878 by Sultan Abdülhamid II for women.

¹¹⁷ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, 44.

¹¹⁸ Füsün Çoban Döşkaya, *Grace Ellison: An Englishwoman in a Turkish harem* // *Journal Of Modern Turkish History Studies* XVI/33 (2016-Autumn); Asako Nakai, *Shakespeare's sisters in Istanbul: Grace Ellison and the politics of feminist friendship* // *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 51(1): 22-33, January 2015.

¹¹⁹ I am referring to Ottoman female writers who fought with Western stereotypes regarding Ottoman women. The real name of Zeynep is Hatice-Zennur, and Melek is Nuriye Neyr-ül-Nisa.

¹²⁰ Pierre Loti was a French naval officer and novelist known for his stories about spots he visited in a lifetime of travels (1850-1923).

¹²¹ Asako Nakai, *Shakespeare's sisters in Istanbul: Grace Ellison and the politics of feminist friendship*, 22.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, 45.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁶ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib*, 204.

¹²⁷ The Bystander was a British weekly tabloid magazine. It was founded on 9 December 1903 and merged with The Tatler in 1940.

*Telegraph*¹²⁸, visiting the Balkans, Turkey, Syria, Palestine as its correspondent¹²⁹. Though Ellison claimed that it was her father's tales of the East told to her as a child that inspired her travels, Reina Lewis also considers how transformations in the Ottoman Empire (later Turkey) met her personal needs as a woman struggling to achieve professional recognition in the West¹³⁰. According to Durakbaşa, during her stay in Turkey in 1913, she put on the mask of a Turkish lady and tried to look at the country through her eyes, not the eyes of a European woman who prefers to criticize everything around. As a result, she managed to see positive aspects of things that many authors are accustomed to denigrate and vulgarize (for instance, harem)¹³¹. However, from Durakbaşa's perspective, it's nearly impossible to say that she succeeded in getting rid of the sense of superiority in relation to the position of British women over the position of Turkish women¹³². On this trip she stayed with her friend Makboule Hanım whose acquaintance she had made in 1908 when she had met her father Kâmil Paşa¹³³, the Grand Vizier to Abdülhamid II¹³⁴. By the time Grace returned to Istanbul, at the end of the Balkan War, Kâmil Paşa had been ousted and exiled to Cyprus and Makboule Hanım was married to Nagdi Bey, a man whose loyalties were to the new government of Enver Paşa¹³⁵ that had replaced the cabinet of her father¹³⁶. Ellison dedicated her work named "*An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*" (illustrated with her own photographs) to this visit but it is impossible to find Makboule in this book. According to Reina Lewis, in the Hamidian years it would not have been safe to reveal the identities of Turkish friends or respondents, that is why Makboule was transformed to Fatima (sometimes Fathma)¹³⁷. In 1922 Grace came again and became a witness to the events during the war for independence. This arrival in itself was a kind of challenge and a rather bold act since the nationalists, fighting the Allied occupation, held particular enmity for the British, whom they blamed for the Greek invasion¹³⁸. She dedicated the work "*An English Woman in Angora*" to the course of these events, its main figures (one can find an interview with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in this work) and the role of

¹²⁸ Daily newspaper published in London since 1855. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, special reporting has been commonplace throughout the paper's history.

¹²⁹ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib*, 204.

¹³⁰ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem. Rethinking Orientalism*, 47.

¹³¹ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib*, 204.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 208.

¹³³ Mehmed Kâmil Paşa (1832-1913) - Turkish army officer who served four times as Ottoman grand vizier.

¹³⁴ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, 43.

¹³⁵ Enver Paşa (1881-1922) - Ottoman general and commander in chief.

¹³⁶ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, 43.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

women in this process¹³⁹. Ayşe Durakbaşa believes that reading this work along with two others, “*The Disadvantages of Being a Woman*” and “*Turkey Today*”¹⁴⁰, will help get a complete picture of the unreliable and relative freedom of British women compared to more correct steps in this direction of Turkish women¹⁴¹. One could even say that the results of this comparison led her to complete disappointment in the English feminist movement: for example, in one of her works she talks about the mistakes of feminist leaders (including their too radical approach), such as detachment and distance from the needs of the masses and enmity with British men who could be their comrades and helpers¹⁴². Her overriding conviction was that equality was pointless for the majority of women unless they had secure wages, pension and insurance provision¹⁴³. Grace, being an independent unmarried woman, knew firsthand about these disadvantages of being such a person¹⁴⁴. Perhaps because of this disappointment she, being a feminist, does not specify by which suffrage organization she was mandated¹⁴⁵. Although, her willingness to be publicly associated with a campaign that was in 1913/1914 and the fact that the newspaper she worked at, “*The Daily Telegraph*”, ran a regular column on Suffragist Outrages throughout 1913 speaks to her serious commitment¹⁴⁶. Nevertheless, it is known that Grace was a great patriot of her country and carried its flag everywhere¹⁴⁷. During World War I, she actively helped doctors and nurses. Here is how Lewis describes it: “Ellison was the founder and directrice générale of the French Female Nursing Corps and raised money during a nine-month tour of the United States to establish the Florence Nightingale Hospital in Bordeaux. In 1918 she took the role of assistant to the head of the children’s welfare bureau of the American Red Cross. For these works she was rewarded by the French state with the Médaille d’or d’honneur”¹⁴⁸. After the war she made her fourth trip to Turkey in 1927 reporting on the visible changes in the new Turkish Republic and its new capital Ankara¹⁴⁹. Durakbaşa’s parallel between Ellison, Halide Edib from Turkey and Isabel Fry from England (author of the work named “*The Education of Turkish Women*”;

¹³⁹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in Angora* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹⁴⁰ Grace Ellison, *The Disadvantages of Being a Woman* (A.M. Philpot, 1924); Grace Ellison, *Turkey Today* (Hutchinson & Company, 1928).

¹⁴¹ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib. Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*, 213.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 213-217.

¹⁴³ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem. Rethinking Orientalism*, 46.

¹⁴⁴ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib*, 216.

¹⁴⁵ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, 45.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib*, 218.

¹⁴⁸ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, 45.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

unmarried, like Grace, and opened her own school¹⁵⁰ like Halide)¹⁵¹ is also worth mentioning. She classifies all of them in the category of “independent women” and finds a lot in common between these women¹⁵².

Similarly (like in the case of Ariadna), exploring Grace’s life while not taking into account the situation with the women’s issue in her country would be fundamentally wrong. This means that it is necessary to turn our eyes to the early 20th century Britain. One of the best works on this topic is Susan Kingsley Kent’s “*Sex and Suffrage in Britain 1860-1914*”¹⁵³. Kent argues that women’s quest for the vote was linked with other feminist demands for reform which would change their powerlessness in both public and private. She has written a valuable study of the ideas that influenced British feminists in this period. “*The making of modern woman: Europe 1789-1918*” by Lynn Abrams is one of the most important works on the history of feminism as well¹⁵⁴. Abrams argues that women’s new ideas about sexuality, marriage, motherhood, working position and rights were crafted in time between the French Revolution and the end of the First World War when modern woman was made. The author analyzes the structures and commonalities uniting women (like female life cycle, familial roles, women’s exclusion from political life and position in the labor market).

In Britain, as in Russia and many other European countries, there has never been only one feminist society or a single women’s organization: British feminism united multidirectional movements that had different goals. According to Susan Kingsley Kent, there were those who pioneered in the struggle for women’s rights, born before 1850; those born between 1850 and 1870, thus coming of age before 1890; and those born after 1870, who cut their first political teeth after 1890¹⁵⁵. Differences of attitude and behavior between and among the individuals of these three groups certainly did exist¹⁵⁶. One of the most revolutionary speeches was the speech of John Stuart Mill¹⁵⁷, a member of the British parliament and a liberal philosopher, which was made by him in 1867 in House of Commons. On that day, he declared that the right to vote should be given to women, replacing the word “man” in the Bill of Rights with

¹⁵⁰ It was an experimental school for deprived children and refugees.

¹⁵¹ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib*, 221-227.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 221-222.

¹⁵³ Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860-1914* (Princeton University Press, 2014).

¹⁵⁴ Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman: 1789-1918* (Moskva: Izd.dom Vyschey shkoly ekonomiki, 2011), (in Russian language).

¹⁵⁵ Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860-1914*, 17.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ It is know that he and his wife, Harriet Taylor, inspired each other intellectually and sometimes even worked together on some books.

the word “human being”. He did not confine himself to speech and two years later issued a treatise called “*The Subjection of Women*”¹⁵⁸. Votes for women was part of Mill’s election address and three pioneers of the infant feminist movement - Barbara Bodichon¹⁵⁹, Emily Davies¹⁶⁰ and Bessie Rayner Parkes¹⁶¹ - campaigned on his behalf¹⁶². Thus, on the one hand, it motivated women, but, on the other hand, as a result of oppression of a very different nature, they themselves were already ready to participate in the movement or, as Lynn Abrams said, were ready to “speak in the language of emancipation”. Married women were openly jealous of men and their abilities, while unmarried women, so-called “needless women”, were concerned about the low level of wages and limited choice of work. Everyone wanted a control over property, right to divorce, higher education, a good profession and, a little later, a ban on prostitution; long after, they demanded voting rights¹⁶³. The vote became both the symbol of the free, sexually autonomous woman and the means by which the goals of a feminist sexual culture were to be attained¹⁶⁴. At the same time, female socialists were most worried about the difficult life of working women, their payment, conditions of work and double burden of work (at home and outside)¹⁶⁵. Unlike the middle-class women activists, whose children were insulated from the working world, working women knew the exploitation of children in their communities, the long hours and the very poor pay (perhaps a quarter of a man’s wage)¹⁶⁶. Most interesting is that many of these requirements (including the right to vote) were ignored for a long time, and in connection with it some British suffragist women began to act rather harshly and sometimes even using militant methods, which sometimes had a bad effect on feminists of other countries who preferred peaceful ways of solving problems. The most famous alliance of this fighting character was the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU), created in 1903, and the most famous of its

¹⁵⁸ Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman: 1789-1918*, 305.

¹⁵⁹ Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (1827-1891) was a leading mid-19th-century feminist.

¹⁶⁰ Sarah Emily Davies (1830-1921) was an English feminist and a pioneering campaigner for women’s rights to university access.

¹⁶¹ Bessie Rayner Parkes Belloc (1829-1925) was one of the most prominent English feminists and campaigners for women’s rights.

¹⁶² June Purvis, *The Campaign for Women’s Suffrage in Britain* (Taylor & Francis, 2016) // Routledge Historical Resources: <https://www.routledgehistoricalresources.com/feminism/essays/the-campaign-for-womens-suffrage-in-britain>, 1.

¹⁶³ Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman*, 306.

¹⁶⁴ Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain*, 13.

¹⁶⁵ Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman*, 306.

¹⁶⁶ Berry Mayall, *Visionary Women and Visible Children, England 1900-1920* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 26.

leaders was Emmeline Pankhurst¹⁶⁷ (and then her daughters, Christabel and Sylvia Pankhurst)¹⁶⁸. Emmeline and her daughters had been members of the NUWSS (National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies) and were impatient that all its efforts had not brought success¹⁶⁹. Women under her leadership performed a wide range of activities: from speeches and protest demonstrations to mass window smashing of shops in London's West End, setting fire to empty buildings, destroying mail in post boxes, cutting telephone wires, and pouring acid on men's golf courses¹⁷⁰. Some people were ill-disposed towards such actions since with their slogan 'Deeds, not words' they engaged in more assertive tactics¹⁷¹, but there were also those who admitted that they managed to draw public attention to the problem. On the outbreak of war, both Emmeline Pankhurst and Millicent Garrett Fawcett¹⁷² patriotically supported their country in its hour of need and encouraged their followers to engage in war work¹⁷³. During World War I, the struggle for women's suffrage was suspended, but by 1918 the political process led to the fact that British women (over 30 years old and have some property¹⁷⁴) were given the right to vote¹⁷⁵. The rest had to wait until 1928¹⁷⁶.

As for education, in the 19th century, private schools for girls and institutes for middle class representatives already existed in Britain, but since the 1850s, when diplomas began to acquire more and more importance for men as a pass to the profession, women as competitors began to be excluded from higher education¹⁷⁷. Men justified their behavior by the fact that, in their opinion, the ability to bear children could suffer from excessive intellectual effort. Moreover, the English doctor Henry Maudsley said that education can deprive women of their sex, and they will turn into "a monster, something that has already ceased to be a woman, but cannot become a man"¹⁷⁸. To which Garrett Anderson, a British medical doctor, "responded" that the cause of women's weakness, fatigue and predisposition to nervousness and fainting

¹⁶⁷ Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) is remembered for her hard work with the WSPU in the fight to help get British women the right to vote.

¹⁶⁸ Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman*, 331.

¹⁶⁹ June Purvis, *The Campaign for Women's Suffrage in Britain* (Taylor & Francis, 2016), 2.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁷² Leader for 50 years of the movement for woman suffrage in England.

¹⁷³ June Purvis, *The Campaign for Women's Suffrage in Britain*, 5.

¹⁷⁴ Mary Davis, *Sylvia Pankhurst* (Istanbul: Versus Kitap, 2006), 21.

¹⁷⁵ Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman*, 333.

¹⁷⁶ Mary Davis, *Sylvia Pankhurst*, 21.

¹⁷⁷ Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman*, 312-314.

¹⁷⁸ Elizabeth Eschbach, *The Higher Education of Women in England and America 1865-1920* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 84.

are wearing corsets, lack of fresh air and exercise and absence of intellectual interests¹⁷⁹. Time passed and, according to Lynn Abrams, by the 1860s, it was no longer the question of the need for education (although the number of educated women was still low) that was discussed, but the level and content of this education. Even in the 1890s, often happened such absurd situations when a woman passed the final exams perfectly, but instead of being awarded a diploma, she was given a certificate, and after was not allowed to take positions in the academic world¹⁸⁰. It is known that Cambridge started to accept women from the 1870s, but did not award them degrees until 1948 (the joke that the professorial armchairs were designed only for features of the male figure was quite popular¹⁸¹), and graduates of medical courses and institutes often had to work in the colonies, as they were not taken to good British hospitals¹⁸². In terms of the medical field, in general, everything was quite difficult: women could get an education of this kind as early as 1878 in London and in 1886 in Edinburgh, but in fact men were finally convinced of the competence of women only with the outbreak of the First World War¹⁸³. As for other professions, by 1900 there were women nurses, landscape gardeners, interior designers, teachers, clerks and journalists; women sat on school boards, on care committees and were prominent in voluntary organizations devoted to charitable purposes¹⁸⁴. Journalists like Grace Ellison made up about 13% of all journalists by 1911¹⁸⁵. According to some historians, the reason of this desire to be educated was the social and economic developments of the nineteenth century that gave rise to the middle class and as a consequence the professionalization of medicine and business which forced women to adjust by seeking higher educational standards in order to qualify for admission to the new professions¹⁸⁶.

To sum up, the literature reviewed here made it clear that the struggle for the rights of British women (including Grace Ellison) was not easy. Many women were educated, but making a career was almost impossible. In addition, it is worth noting that unmarried women did not have any support from the state. British feminism in general had the peculiarity of

¹⁷⁹ Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman*, 315.

¹⁸⁰ Jones Claire, *Grace Chisolm Young: Gender and Mathematics Around 1900* // *Women's History Review*, 2000, No. 9, 657-692.

¹⁸¹ Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex: Women in British Universities, 1870-1939* (London, University College London Press, 1995), 134.

¹⁸² Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman*, 319-320.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 319.

¹⁸⁴ Berry Mayall, *Visionary Women and Visible Children*, 25.

¹⁸⁵ Ellen Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Routledge Research in Gender and History, 1999), 78-79.

¹⁸⁶ Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain*, 4.

problematic relations with the male part of the population. Here women could not cooperate and rely on men, as was the case in Russia (and as we will see later, in the Ottoman Empire).



CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN TYRKOVA'S "OLD TURKEY AND THE YOUNG TURKS. ONE YEAR IN CONSTANTINOPLE" AND ELLISON'S "AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN A TURKISH HAREM"

This chapter will provide a historical panorama of the main "Ottoman" events of the early 20th century. These events are reviewed by the author both by comparing the two aforementioned monographs and by using secondary sources on the topic.

Before getting into the events of that time and their reflection in the two considered sources, it is necessary to remind that Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams stayed in the Ottoman Empire from October 1911 to August 1912 with a short break (her book contains articles written for Russian daily newspaper named "*Rech*"¹⁸⁷ and other press organs), and Englishwoman Grace Ellison wrote her notes for British daily broadsheet newspaper called "*The Daily Telegraph*" in 1913¹⁸⁸. Nevertheless, the two journalists somehow dealt with the events of 1908-1910, although they were not their eyewitnesses (aside from the fact that Ellison was in Istanbul in 1908). Along with that, in both texts can be seen some inferences that could not be written during their stay in the Ottoman Empire. It is evident that they were added later, which is not surprising, since Ellison's work eventually was published in 1915, and Tyrkova's work in 1916. Ariadna did not worry about such a late publication, moreover, she argued that in four years things haven't changed all that much: "Even fewer changes could have occurred in such a short period of time in the general way of people's life, in their psychology"¹⁸⁹.

Ariadna Tyrkova paid much more attention to the political atmosphere of that time describing the political life of Turkey as a "complete kalabalik" in the meaning of turmoil, chaos and total disorder, whereas Ellison focused entirely on the woman question¹⁹⁰. This can be explained both by the desire to please the interests of the readers (apparently, the British were very curious about harem and polygamy), and by the fact that Grace Ellison stayed in a true Turkish house side by side with Ottoman women, which means that she had enough material on this subject. It would be wrong to write selected topics off as her personal interest taking

¹⁸⁷ *Rech* (1906-1917) was a Russian daily newspaper and the central organ of the Constitutional Democratic Party.

¹⁸⁸ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, VI.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, V.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

into account Grace's other work concerning Ankara and Turkish war of independence, where the analysis of the political situation occupies a central position. Both Tyrkova and Ellison argue that in the process of writing they were guided only by their own observations and impressions - in this respect they are similar. Although, the goals are slightly different from each other: Ariadna set herself a task "to facilitate understanding of a poorly studied Turkey", and Grace sought to correct errors and prejudice of British national attitude towards Turkey¹⁹¹.

BEFORE 1908

According to Bedross Der Matossian, the reform era in the Ottoman Empire can be divided into three periods: the reigns of Sultan Selim III and Mahmoud II (1789-1839), the era of the Tanzimat (reordering) reforms (1839-1876), and the Hamidian period (1876-1909)¹⁹². These nineteenth-century reforms led to a constitutional movement in the Ottoman Empire that arose between 1865 and 1878, primarily represented by a group of intellectuals calling themselves the Young Ottomans who envisioned the Ottoman society as a synthesis of Western modes of governance and Islamic Ottoman traditions¹⁹³. The First Constitutional Period (1876-1878) was disrupted when Sultan Abdülhamid II¹⁹⁴ dissolved the Parliament and suspended the constitution, but The Young Ottomans' legacy was, nevertheless, carried on by the Young Turk movement, influential group that would play a dominant political role at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth¹⁹⁵. Ottoman politicians and intellectuals attempted to reconstruct their state and society to enable them to survive in a changing and competitive world¹⁹⁶.

On the threshold of all important events related to the proclamation of the second constitutional era, Turkey was an empire with a six hundred-year history, which, however, was in dire need of change, and this is the reason why it was called abroad "a sick man of Europe". The country looked like a state that was stuck in the past: same old social order, agriculture at a primitive level, not a scintilla of the possibility of some radical changes. With

¹⁹¹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, VII.

¹⁹² Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution. From Liberty to violence in the late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014), 8.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹⁹⁴ Abdülhamid II (1842-1918) - Ottoman sultan from 1876 to 1909.

¹⁹⁵ Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution. From Liberty to violence in the late Ottoman Empire*, 9.

¹⁹⁶ Eyal Ginio, *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat. The Balkan Wars and their Aftermath* (London: Hurst&Company, 2016), 6.

the issuance in 1838 of the trade privileges for England, it became dependent on “external forces”, and by the end of the nineteenth century its reliance on foreign capital was nearly total. As Lenin said, the era of imperialism was characterized not only by the colonies and their owners, but also by countries that were formally independent and at the same time in fact enveloped in networks of financial and diplomatic dependence¹⁹⁷. The Ottoman Empire was a good example of such a country. From 1886 to 1908, it took out 11 loans for very large sums, in return for which Europeans were granted new concessions, profitable orders and even territories¹⁹⁸. Almost all the key positions in the economy were in the hands of foreigners. All this took place against the backdrop of the struggle of the great powers for world domination. In 1876, the first constitution was issued in the country, and this event marked the country's transition to the constitutional era. Unfortunately, it was not destined to “dominate” for a long time, because Abdülhamid II ascended the throne and decided to put the constitution on indefinite leave of absence, which lasted about 30 years in total. In the meantime, there were a lot of problems requiring an immediate solution such as a question of the turbulent situation in the Balkans and the accumulated Ottoman debts. Within the given scenario, the sultan, on the one hand, decided to take all power into his own hands, on the other hand, while still trying to maintain some kind of balance, he made every effort to be close to Germany and even agreed with Germans about building the Baghdad railway, by providing them concessions for its construction in 1902. Hundreds of Armenian towns and villages were ravaged by the sultan's troops, the Hamidiye cavalry¹⁹⁹. The European powers used the current situation to strengthen their own influence: for them Armenian, Macedonian and Cretan questions were only a bargaining chip in this great and well-designed “game”²⁰⁰.

Being a suspicious man, Abdülhamid II took control of everything that happens in the country: his servants regularly wrote reports about each other²⁰¹, the slightest discontent of the sultan could cost not only position and job, but also life. Halide Edib Adivar's words echoed the same: “A dark reign of tyranny and of despotism, a system of terror and espionage, is the

¹⁹⁷ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel* (Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2017), 274.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 277.

¹⁹⁹ According to Michael A. Reynolds, this cavalry was composed of Kurdish tribesmen officered by their chiefs and it was intended to serve as irregular auxiliary forces attached to the Ottoman army in wartime and as an internal security force of sorts in peacetime. It is known that in exchange for their allegiance, Abdülhamid II plied the Hamidiye leaders with ranks, titles, money and land, often expropriated from the Armenians (“*Shattering Empires. The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires 1908-1918*”, 2011, 50).

²⁰⁰ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 283.

²⁰¹ Cengiz Kırılı, *Sultan ve kamuoyu. Osmanlı modernleşme sürecinde “Havadis Jurnalleri” (1840-1844)* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009), 25.

story of the rest of Abdul Hamid's reign"²⁰². It is obvious that the opinion of Ariadna Tyrkova naming Abdülhamid the old despot, who was ready to rot the person in prison because of tiniest little suspicion, coincides with the previous speaker²⁰³. She blames him for the fact that he discouraged Ottoman people from being interested in politics²⁰⁴. Ellison does not have more original way of looking at this person and believes that his time was "the most terrible absolutism the world has known, to my mind more terrible even than the absolutism of Nero"²⁰⁵; she even calls him "criminal genius", "madman" and "monster tyrant who still puzzles criminologists of the twentieth century"²⁰⁶. Such mutual understanding and consensus on the question is especially noteworthy because in the past few years many works on the good sides of this ruler have been published. Most often, disputes concern the second period of his rule and lie in the question of who he really was after all, "*Kızıl Sultan mı Ulu Hakan mı?*"²⁰⁷. Engin Deniz Akarlı made a major contribution to finding an answer to this question, stating that the period of Abdülhamid's reign was a part of the modernization process²⁰⁸. According to Nadir Özbek, the problem of many studies about Abdülhamid is that they are too euro-centralist, whereas in the Ottoman Empire, like in Russia, modernization began later (so called "late modernization")²⁰⁹. As an example of the most objective works that consider this period of time within the framework of world history, Özbek points out such authors as Selim Deringil, Benjamin Fortna, Akşin Somel and Elizabeth Frierson²¹⁰. Thanks to their work, it became obvious that Abdülhamid was neither *Ulu Hakan* nor *Kızıl Sultan*, but rather "he was *müstebid*"²¹¹ and at the same time reformist"²¹². Erik J. Zürcher lists his following achievements: a well-trained army of telegraph operators came into being, railway construction was developed in some sense, the number of schools and that of students more than doubled, the Ottoman press expanded rapidly in terms of the number of publications²¹³. Nevertheless, Turkish intellectuals, who once breathed the air of freedom in "Paris" and were

²⁰² Edib H., *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (New York, London: The century co., [n.d.]), 250.

²⁰³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 9.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 117.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 127.

²⁰⁷ Nadir Özbek, *Modernite, Tarih ve Ideoloji: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Tarihçiliği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme // Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Cilt 2, Sayı 1, 2004, 71.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 74.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 76.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 79-80.

²¹¹ Müstebid or müstebit means "despotic", "autocratic", "tyrannical".

²¹² Nadir Özbek, *Modernite, Tarih ve Ideoloji: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Tarihçiliği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme*, 86.

²¹³ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1994), 81-82.

infused with local revolutionary ideas about equality and fraternity, wanted to release the country from “tyrannical fetters”. For this purpose, a Young Turk organization was established²¹⁴. The prominent actors of the Young Turk movement were members of the Ottoman intellectual, bureaucratic and military elites²¹⁵. “*İttihad-i Osmani*” (“Ottoman Union” - the name itself indicated that the participants wanted to save the empire from disintegration) of 1889 was the first portent, which consisted of four cadets of the military medical school: İbrahim Temo, Çerkez Mehmet Reşid, İshak Sükûti and Abdullah Cevdet²¹⁶. This secret group morphs into “*İttihat ve Terakki*” (“Committee of Union and Progress” or CUP) when above-mentioned men and others combine forces with Ahmed Rıza²¹⁷ (publisher of the newspaper named “*Meşveret*”) and Dr. Nâzım²¹⁸ from Paris. It is especially interesting that despite the emergence of internal factions and the rise of strong individual figures within the party, the CUP never fell under the domination of a single person, that is to say the party cult transcended individual personalities²¹⁹. The Ittihadists (or Unionists) who were in forced emigration published several dozen newspapers, issued brochures and leaflets - all of this was secretly distributed within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. However, according to Şükrü Hanioglu, it is difficult to ascertain the impact of the Young Turk propaganda on the masses since the readers of the Young Turk publications were members of the same elite within the Ottoman Empire²²⁰. In addition, two Young Turk congresses were held (1902 and 1907), and not only Turks but also Greeks, Armenians and Jews attended them. During the Paris Congress of 1902, the Young Turks did not manage to find a common denominator, therefore the organization was divided into two parts, “Committee of Union and Progress” (Ahmed Rıza) and “Society of Private Initiative and Decentralization” (Prince Sabaheddin²²¹). Although, it is important to remember that in each organization there were members who opposed the ideas and policies of the mainstream²²². At this congress the leaders of the Young

²¹⁴ It is worth noting that all the Ittihadists are Young Turks, but not all Young Turks are Ittihadists. Young Turks is a broader concept.

²¹⁵ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution, The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5.

²¹⁶ Taner Aslan, *İttihâd-ı Osmani'den Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'ne // Bilig*, Autumn 2008, Number 47, 80. Retrieved from: <http://www.acarindex.com/dosyalar/makale/acarindex-1423873221.pdf>.

²¹⁷ Ahmet Rıza Bey (1858-1930) was a statesman and a prominent member of the Young Turks during the Second Constitutional Era.

²¹⁸ Nâzım Bey (1870-1926) was an Ottoman politician.

²¹⁹ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution, The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, 312.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

²²¹ Prince Sabahaddin (1878-1948) – nephew of Abdülhamid II, politician and sociologist.

²²² M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution*, 4.

Turk movement for the first time debated substantial political issues, the most important of which was whether or not to accept the Great Powers' assistance in bringing down the Hamidian regime²²³. The rise of the Young Turk movement began under the influence of the 1905 Russian revolution²²⁴. It is known that Abdullah Cevdet²²⁵ even urged compatriots, "Muslims and non-Muslims", to follow Russia's lead in this regard, and the sultan was terribly afraid that someone would find out about the revolt of Russian sailors on the battleship *Potemkin*²²⁶. Moreover, it is known that Abdülhamid, fearing this kind of situations, sent many opposition-minded Ittihadists to the province but the exile to such major cities as Thessaloniki, Cairo and Damascus, on the contrary, had a good impact on the opposition, and gave them an opportunity to thoroughly prepare for 1908²²⁷. According to Şükrü Hanioglu, the transformation of the Young Turk movement from an intellectual endeavor into a political one gained momentum in 1906, it bore fruit in the form of the rebellions which broke out in Eastern Anatolia and the Black Sea basin between 1905 and 1907²²⁸. The more the Young Turk organizations developed in political organizations, the more their focus on intellectual ideas diminished²²⁹.

1908

The outcome was accelerated by events in Macedonia, which became a permanent focus of uprisings due to landlessness, a heavy tax burden, national-religious strife and the arbitrariness of the Turkish administration²³⁰. A discussion of this issue in June 1908 in Revel (nowaday Estonia) between Russian Emperor Nicholas II and the English King Edward VII signaled a real threat of foreign intervention, which could be followed by the rejection of this territory from the Ottoman Empire²³¹. It was necessary to achieve the reinstatement of constitutional order as soon as possible and prevent this "foreign virtue". For this, the Young Turks, whose activities during this period were mainly concentrated in Thessaloniki, called upon the inhabitants of the empire to disobey the authorities and actively attracted soldiers to

²²³ Ibid., 3.

²²⁴ As Michael A. Reynolds rightly notices, yet a mere four years before his regime collapsed, tsar Nicholas II had celebrated his dynasty's tercentenary in an opulent style.

²²⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932) was an intellectual of Kurdish origin. He was one of the founders of the Committee of Union and Progress.

²²⁶ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 289-290.

²²⁷ Erel Tellal, *1905 Rus Devrimi'nin 1908 Üzerine Etkileri* // Editörler: Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı, Barış Ünlü, 100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 634.

²²⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution*, 4.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 294.

²³¹ Erel Tellal, *1905 Rus Devrimi'nin 1908 Üzerine Etkileri*, 638.

their side. The repressions of the authorities ceased to give results, the anti-government sentiments were only intensifying because of them; the centers of the uprisings were not eliminated, as the popularity of the Young Turks grew with every passing day. Ahmed Niyazi²³² distinguished himself in Macedonia, Enver Bey commanded in Thessaloniki. In July 1908, Bitola, Thessaloniki, Skopje and other major cities were captured one after the other²³³. A telegram with one hundred eighty signatures concerning the reinstatement of constitutional order and the convocation of the Chamber of Deputies, sent to the Yıldız Palace, and the Bitola cannons, proclaiming second “*Meşrutiyet*” (constitutional monarchy) of 1908, put an end to this chaos. Interestingly, many sources call this event a “Young Turk revolution”, while Feroz Ahmad, Taner Timur and others in their works prove that it should not be called this way²³⁴. For instance, Şükrü Hanioglu regarding this issue writes the following: “Soviet historiography created the myth of a ‘popular constitutional movement deeply influenced by the Russian Revolution of 1905’ and attributed to it all local uprisings and disturbances in this region. Such a popular and revolutionary constitutional movement never existed, although scholars have been misled into believing in it. The Young Turk movement was not a popular movement; the ideas promoted by the Young Turks penetrated no deeper than the elite”²³⁵. Bedross Der Matossian argues that this event was certainly affected by the regional and global waves of revolutions and constitutional movements that emerged in France (1789), Japan (1868), Russia (1905), Iran (1905-1911)²³⁶.

Back to our subject, sultan was forced to make concessions and July 24 issued a decree on the restoration of the Constitution of 1876. It was assumed that this day will mark the beginning of a new free life. Although no one was in a hurry to rejoice since the fear of punishment was very strong. It is known that immediately after the proclamation, many Ottoman residents went outside with the slogan “Long live the padishah!”, because they were in a state of complete confusion and did not really understand how to respond²³⁷. The Unionist officers who headed these delegations took pains to explain that it was the Committee and not the

²³² Ahmed Niyazi Bey (1873 – 1913) – Ottoman war officer.

²³³ M. Şükrü Hanioglu in his work named “*Preparation for the revolution. The Young Turks, 1902-1908*” (2001) preferred to use Salonica and Monastir, not Thessaloniki and Bitola.

²³⁴ Taner Timur, *Uluslaşma Süreci, İttihatçılık ve Devrim* // Editörler: Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı, Barış Ünlü, 100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 39-57.

²³⁵ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution*, 6.

²³⁶ Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution. From Liberty to violence in the late Ottoman Empire*, 2.

²³⁷ In Turkish: “Padişahım çok yaşa!”.

sultan that was responsible for the change²³⁸. Officers walked back and forth around Istanbul, political prisoners were released from prisons, and everyone, from Shaykh al-Islām to women, took the stage and made a speech²³⁹. It was an auspicious moment, filled with promise, when imams, rabbis, and priests embraced, Greeks stepped with Turks, and Armenians stood with Kurds²⁴⁰. Although, the restoration of the constitution had sparked not just joyous celebrations but also a chain of rebellions by tribal leaders in Eastern Anatolia who rightfully feared for the loss of the privileges they had under the old Hamidian regime²⁴¹. The mistake of the Young Turks was that they perceived the decree of the sultan as a complete victory of the revolution. It would seem that real power was in their hands, but they were in no hurry to take control of the country. This is how Erik J. Zürcher describes this situation: “Surprisingly, in this atmosphere of elation the CUP did not take power in its own hands or even depose the sultan whom it had so strenuously opposed and vilified for 20 years... Even though the CUP leaders did not trust him, they did not feel able to remove him. Even less did they feel able to take the reins of government into their own hands”²⁴². However, something was nevertheless made by them. Thus, new branches of their organization were opened, press started to appear on a regular basis, the Sultan’s secret police were abolished, and his noblemen who were known for their bad deeds were arrested²⁴³. In addition, the staff of servants was significantly reduced: Russian historian and orientalist Yuriy Petrosyan claims that seven hundred fifty of eight hundred cooks were fired²⁴⁴. In order to understand the scale of the sultan’s expenses, one can also refer to the text of Grace Ellison. Describing one of the holidays in Dolmabahçe Palace under the reign of Mehmed V²⁴⁵, she repeats words of her friend Fatima who was very close to the ruling circles: “... the Court of the present Sultan in no way equals the Court of the ex-Sultan in magnificence. The embroidery which the slaves hold in front of the coffee tray whilst coffee is being served was only a plain gold embroidery, whilst in Abdul Hamid’s time the cloth was studded with real stones. The coffee cups, too, and the jam service were only solid gold, whilst in Abdul Hamid’s time jewelled coffee cups were always used”²⁴⁶. Abdülhamid II tried to resist and even wanted to make some changes to the constitution of

²³⁸ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 97.

²³⁹ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 299.

²⁴⁰ Michael A. Reynolds, *Shattering Empires. The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908-1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 2.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁴² Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 98.

²⁴³ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 300.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 301.

²⁴⁵ Mehmed V or Mehmed Reşad (1844-1918) - Ottoman sultan from 1909 to 1918.

²⁴⁶ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 44.

1876, but under the pressure of indignant Young Turks he was forced to abandon this idea. Tyrkova describes these events as follows: “The Young Turks, taming the counter-revolution, mercilessly hung their enemies. The gallows stood on the most crowded places, on the bridge between Istanbul and Galata, on the square near Hagia Sophia. The corpses of the executed were swaying at them all the day long... The crowd stood around the gallows and mocked the dead”²⁴⁷. As a result, Anglophile Mehmed Kâmil Paşa was appointed a grand vizier, and the new government in this situation was under the complete control of the Young Turk organization. As for CUP, in October 1908 this organization was transformed into a political party of the same name. According to the points of their program, they wanted to limit the rights of the sultan, expand the powers of parliament, and, in addition, among their goals were the responsibility of ministers to parliament, the right of deputies to introduce bills, lowering the age of voting qualification to 21 years, withdrawal of an amendment to article 113 of the Constitution on the right of the Sultan to expel objectionable and unwanted persons, as well as freedom of speech, press and assembly²⁴⁸. They considered the constitution a blessing (other people also thought that the restoration of the constitution will transform the empire into a more harmonious place²⁴⁹), without which the further development of the country is impossible, although Turkish writer and intellectual Şevket Süreyya Aydemir in his book “*The Man Searching for Water*”²⁵⁰ states that Ahmed Rıza was the only one among them who read it²⁵¹. It is difficult to decide whether to believe such memoirs or not since initially the access to the constitution was unlimited, and it was printed whenever possible. Nevertheless, it is feasible to concede such naivety of some party members, since, as history has shown, there was no analysis of the social and political life of the Ottoman Empire in their 1907 “Declaration”, in 1908 they “resolved” the agrarian question with the help of the promise of replacing tithe (*aşar vergisi*) with money tax, and, according to Bedross der Matossian, as a result that constitutionalism failed to create a new understanding of Ottoman citizenship, grant equal rights to all citizens, bring them under one roof in a legislative assembly, and finally resuscitate Ottomanism from the ashes of the Hamidian regime²⁵². At the same time, the Young Turks had to be distracted by foreign policy events, which were developing very actively: anxiety was caused by the proclamation of Bulgaria’s independence

²⁴⁷ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 12.

²⁴⁸ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 301.

²⁴⁹ Michael A. Reynolds, *Shattering Empires*, 1.

²⁵⁰ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu arayan adam* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2018).

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, 233-234.

²⁵² Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 3.

and annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. In connection with the latter, a boycott of foreign (in this case, Austrian) goods was organized perhaps for the first time in Turkey's history (although, it hit the Greek and Armenian importers of Austrian goods as much as it hit Austria itself²⁵³). Felt headdress in the shape of short cylindrical peakless hats (fez) caught it bad since they were supplied in rather large quantities from Austria, and Istanbul production was not enough for the whole country. It is known that people full-on shredded them right in the squares²⁵⁴. The opposition immediately decided to blame the Young Turks in connection with all these Austro-Hungarian-Bulgarian "riots": the mullahs with a miscellaneous collection of people demanded the abolition of the constitution and the restoration of Sharia law²⁵⁵. However, this did not prevent the Ittihadists from winning the parliamentary elections, the sessions of which began on November 15, 1908: they received one hundred fifty of two hundred thirty deputy seats, and Ahmed Rıza became President of the Chamber²⁵⁶. Events of 1908 caused power shifts within the various Ottoman religious and ethnic groups that had been active as political opposition organizations before: the Dashnaktsutiun, which had been outlawed, now assumed a role of representation in the Armenian community as a political party with deputies; the sultan's loyal Muslim Albanian elite was replaced by one seeking to unite Albanians of all faiths in order to obtain autonomy; the right and left wings of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) became active participants in Ottoman politics with their clubs and deputies²⁵⁷. Nevertheless, the unwillingness of the Young Turks to plan any significant social transformations, which the starving peasants and the non-Turkish peoples of the empire needed most of all, led to a gradual loss of their popularity. As for the latter (the non-Turkish peoples), according to Matossian, expectations raised by the events of 1908 for the formation of a new, constitutional nation under the label "Ottomanism" soon proved to be illusory²⁵⁸. While the Young Turks' version of Ottomanism entailed the assimilation of ethnic difference, Ottoman Turkish as the main language, a centralized administrative system, and the abandonment of ethno-religious privileges, the ethnic groups perceived Ottomanism as a framework for promoting their identities, languages, and ethno-religious privileges, as well as an empire

²⁵³ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 109.

²⁵⁴ Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and The Boycott Movement. Nationalism, Protest and Social Class in the Formation of Modern Turkey* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 84.

²⁵⁵ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 302.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution*, 6.

²⁵⁸ Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 3.

based on administrative decentralization²⁵⁹. In reality many people continued to prioritize their ethnic identities over their Ottoman citizenship²⁶⁰. The Zionists, for example, were similarly disappointed since for them the Revolution was a source of hope that their national project of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine would be realized once and for all²⁶¹. Like the Armenians, the Zionists soon realized that the CUP was not willing to tolerate such decentralizing projects²⁶². However, according to Ohannes Kılıçdağı, the Armenians were not unanimous on this issue: liberal intellectuals (and western Armenians) perceived this as a democratic project, while eastern Armenians wanted autonomy or, moreover, independence²⁶³. Many Greeks believed that Ottomanism is not a cultural concept, but a judicial one; A Greek newspaper called “*Ergatis*”²⁶⁴, published in Izmir, regarded Ottomanism from the perspective of national economy²⁶⁵. There were many such “Ottomanisms” with different subtext; each group put its meaning into this concept, and often this meaning contradicted the one that the ruling party had in mind²⁶⁶.

1909

Considering that the opposition wanted to strike and come on the stage for a while, the date April 6, 1909 under these circumstances became an excellent occasion for this. On this day a crime was committed in Istanbul: an unknown officer killed a journalist and editor of the newspaper “*Serbest*” (one of the fiercest anti-Unionist papers²⁶⁷). His name was Hasan Fehmi, and he was an opponent of the Young Turks²⁶⁸. This case, as in the situation with the boycott of foreign goods, occurred for the first time in the history of this country²⁶⁹. Everything indicated that the Ittihadists were the “customers”. The protest related to the murder resulted in a rebellion that took place on the night of April 12-13, 1909. Of course, murder was only a trigger, in fact the overthrow of the old regime had hurt those who had

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 7.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 176.

²⁶² Ibid., 177.

²⁶³ Ohannes Kılıçdağı, *Ermeni Aydınlanması: Yeniden Doğuştan Yokoluşa* // Hazırlayanlar: Fikret Adanır-Oktay Özel, 1915. Siyaset, Tehcir, Soykırım (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015), 59.

²⁶⁴ *Ergatis* - a Greek-language newspaper published in Izmir from August 1908 until April 1909.

²⁶⁵ Ohannes Kılıçdağı, *Milliyetçiliğin emekleme çağında bir kimlik edinme çabası: Osmanlıcılık* // Toplumsal Tarih, 162, Haziran 2007, 29.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 24-31.

²⁶⁷ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 100.

²⁶⁸ N.G. Kireyev, *Antikonstitutsionniy myatej 31 marta (13 aprelya) 1909 goda i deyatelnost' partii "Musulmanskaya liga"* // Osmanskiy mir I osmanistika. Sbornik statey k 100-letiyu so dnya rojdeniya A.S. Tveritinovoy (1910-1973). (Moskva: IV RAN, 2010), 437.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

earned a living or enjoyed status as members of the Hamidian apparatus²⁷⁰. Besides that, many of the alaylı officers who had been favoured by the old regime had been dismissed or demoted or worse: the whole system of promotion from the ranks was discontinued²⁷¹. So, rebellion's main participants were officers dismissed by the Young Turks, as for the organizers, they were representatives of the opposition party named "Ahrar" ("Ottoman Liberty Party") and of the Muslim clergy, who were struggling to command the Ottoman Empire²⁷². The spokesmen of the troops presented six demands: dismissal of the grand vizier and the Ministers of War and of the Navy, replacement of a number of Unionist officers, replacement of the Unionist President of the Chamber of Deputies (Ahmed Rıza), banishing of a number of Unionist deputies from Istanbul, restoration of şariat, an amnesty for the rebellious troops²⁷³. As for the leaders of the Ahrar, from the first day on they tried without success to turn the rebellion into a purely anti-CUP affair and to prevent it from moving into a reactionary, anti-constitutionalist and pro-Abdülhamid direction²⁷⁴. The day after the counter-revolutionary attempt against the newly established Ottoman constitutional government of the Young Turks bloody events in the form of massacres of Armenians occurred in southern Anatolia in Adana: the first pogrom started on 14 April in the larger area of the Adana province (it lasted for three days), and a second massacre broke out on 24 April in the Armenian quarter of Adana (it lasted for three days), when the Armenian section of the city was burned, together with many foreign mission premises, including schools and orphanages²⁷⁵. The reason was that a number of supporters of the old regime took the opportunity of the breakdown of central control to attack the Unionist representatives²⁷⁶. According to Ohannes Kılıçdağı, approximately 20,000 Armenians were killed during these pogroms²⁷⁷. For the Armenians, who suffered a huge massacre during that period, the Counter-revolution became a turning point that shook their trust in the Young Turks and the ideals of the Revolution by demonstrating the incompetency and insincerity of the new regime²⁷⁸. On

²⁷⁰ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 102.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁷² T.Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyenin siyasî hayatında batılılaşma hareketleri* (Istanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1996), 11-12.

²⁷³ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 101.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Nazan Maksudyan, "This time women as well got involved in politics!", *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women's Organizations and Political Agency* // Nazan Maksudyan (ed.), *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective to Ottoman Urban History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 122.

²⁷⁶ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 104.

²⁷⁷ Ohannes Kılıçdağı, *Ermeni Aydınlanması: Yeniden Doğuştan Yokoluşa*, 267.

²⁷⁸ Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 6.

the one hand, Armenians were dissatisfied with the fact that there was no proper reaction from the party, and therefore the positions of different groups regarding cooperation with the CUP differed, on the other hand, they had no choice but to trust the government, because “another Hamidian regime” seemed to them unacceptable and because they understood the political and economic benefits of living in a big country²⁷⁹. That is why many Armenian newspapers tried to reduce the negative precipitate that remained among the inhabitants of the empire as a result of the pogroms; one of the journalists even compared the constitution to a star who reported the birth of the Savior²⁸⁰. After the massacres of 1909, the future of the orphans became a national priority for the Patriarchate, the Armenian Parliament, and intellectuals²⁸¹. They wanted to educate orphans themselves since the opening of a “state orphanage” for Armenian orphans and the governor’s educational approach in matters of language and religion increased fears of conversion and assimilation among the Armenian community²⁸². Zabel Esayan²⁸³ was among the most prominent Armenians who opposed the establishment of the Ottoman Orphanage and who got involved in disputes with the governor²⁸⁴. As for the leaders of the Young Turks, they were forced to flee to Thessaloniki. In the meantime, the rebels demanded the Sharia and the new grand vizier - it should be noted that these their demands (as well as many others) were immediately accepted by the sultan. After the attack on publishing house of newspaper “*Tanin*”²⁸⁵, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın²⁸⁶ also decided to run for his life and safety. It was certainly an adventure, because he did not manage to reach Thessaloniki. According to Tyrkova, he was sheltered at the Russian embassy, and then taken to Odessa on a Russian steamer, where he enjoyed the hospitality of General Tolmachyov²⁸⁷ for several hours²⁸⁸. Moreover, it is known that he maintained the closest relations with the Russian embassy until the beginning of the First World War²⁸⁹. Getting back to the subject, the Young Turks escaped not far and for a short while, they did not intend to surrender. In order to strike back, they gathered the Action Army and gained support of the Macedonian

²⁷⁹ Ohannes Kılıçdağı, *Ermeni Aydınlanması: Yeniden Doğuştan Yokoluşa*, 268-275.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 270-271.

²⁸¹ Nazan Maksudyan, “*This time women as well got involved in politics!*”, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women’s Organizations and Political Agency*, 123.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 124.

²⁸³ Zabel Yesayan (1878-1943) was a novelist and an advocate for social justice and women’s rights.

²⁸⁴ Nazan Maksudyan, “*This time women as well got involved in politics!*”, 124.

²⁸⁵ *Tanin* was a newspaper founded in 1908 by Tefik Fikret. Last date of issue - 1947.

²⁸⁶ Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın (1875-1957) was a prominent journalist, writer and politician.

²⁸⁷ Ivan Tolmachyov (1861-1931) - Lieutenant-General and Odessa mayor in 1907-11.

²⁸⁸ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 115.

²⁸⁹ K. A. Zhukov, *Obshestvennaya, politicheskaya i intellektualnaya atmosfera Stambula v 1911-1912 godah*, 39.

and Albanian opposition-minded groups. Rallies and protests were held in various cities of the country in connection with the non-recognition of the new government and the desire to protect the constitution. The Action Army moved toward Istanbul, it consisted of regular units led by Mahmud Şevket Paşa²⁹⁰ and reinforced by volunteer units, mostly Albanians, led by Niyazi Bey, one of the heroes of the events of 1908²⁹¹. In the early morning of 24 April they occupied Istanbul without encountering much resistance²⁹². Some of the rebels were expelled from the capital, some of them were hanged. Thus, the rebellion was suppressed, but the Committee of Union and Progress was in no hurry to cancel the state of emergency declared in connection with it. When it comes to the sultan's fate, he suffered an unenviable fate: as Tyrkova said, "this time the red sultan was entirely and permanently overthrown and taken into custody"²⁹³. This comment is especially interesting since, according to Erik J. Zürcher, Abdülhamid actually never tried to lead the rebellion and when the Action Army entered the city, he apparently greeted it with relief and ordered the palace troops not to offer resistance²⁹⁴. He was deposed and deprived of Caliph's dignity, Mehmed V took his place. This sultan was mainly a figurehead used by the CUP as a source for legitimacy; his political role was limited to the appointment of the grand vizier and the sheyhulislam²⁹⁵. Feroz Ahmad describes the sultan's decreased powers as relegating him to the position in which he "reigned but no longer ruled"²⁹⁶. Curiously enough, among lots of urgent problems to solve the Young Turks paid the greatest attention to the issue of army reorganization, which was solving with an active German help, in particular under the vigilant supervision of Colmar von der Goltz²⁹⁷. It was at this time that non-Muslims were brought to serve in the ranks of the Turkish army and donations were collected for the creation of a powerful military fleet²⁹⁸. Ariadna tells about this in the same way, nearly word for word, calling this army the "savior" and "favorite child" of the Young Turks²⁹⁹. In her opinion, the reason for this love was the desire to overthrow the European yoke: "They believe that the most loyal weapon of liberation will be a well-organized, newly equipped and disciplined army. All sympathies, all

²⁹⁰ Mahmud Şevket Paşa (1858-1913, Constantinople) - Ottoman soldier and statesman.

²⁹¹ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 102.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 81.

²⁹⁴ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 103.

²⁹⁵ Eyal Ginio, *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat. The Balkan Wars and their Aftermath*, 9.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Colmar von der Goltz (1843-1916) - Prussian soldier, military teacher, writer and an imperial German field marshal who reorganized the Ottoman army.

²⁹⁸ A. D. Zheltyakov, *Vnutrenneye polojeniye Turtsii v 1909-1910 godah pri mladoturkah v osveshenii gazety "Stambulskiye novosti" // Turcological Collection 1978 (Moskva: Nauka, 1984)*, 78.

²⁹⁹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 13.

the available energy of the Young Turk government are drawn to it. This one-sidedness can be very dangerous in every country, especially here, where all life requires quick transformations and reorganizations. But since the Turks borrow from Europe their whole way of life, how to resist the temptation to take from their teacher what she has the roughest, but also the most powerful - her militarism?"³⁰⁰. This kind of narrowness concerning all state activities of the Young Turks was also noted by Russian orientalist Zheltyakov, who studied materials on Turkish Assembly's work, that were published in each number of the only one local newspaper in Russian named "*Stambulskiye Novosti*" ("Istanbul News")³⁰¹.

In the summer, in order to transform the empire into a parliamentary state and, above all, reform Ottoman legislation, following the example of Europe, the Ittihadists conducted a series of important changes in the 1876 constitution. Some of its articles were removed altogether. Such changes led to an almost new constitution. The powers of the sultan were limited, the powers of parliament expanded, the ministers were no longer selected by the sultan, but by grand vizier³⁰². The rights of parliamentarians related to legislative initiative were concretized, the right of the sultan to convene parliament was abolished, and the right of dissolution was limited³⁰³. Now the parliament had to approve agreements signed with foreign states, and it also had the right to dismiss the government, expressing its distrust. Priority of association and of assembly allowed the creation of political parties. Article 113, concerning the right of the sultan to impose a state of emergency, was removed³⁰⁴. Thus, on the one side of the scale were all these above-mentioned positive changes, while on the other side the press was already under the complete control of the government and there was a virtual ban on strikes, which meant limiting the political rights of the Ottoman people³⁰⁵. Among the other few radical measures was Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın's proposal to exclude from the number of deputies all those who were informers (they are also called "*Jurnalci*" in Turkish) during the reign of Abdülhamid II. It was, of course, difficult to imagine something like this, because

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 17.

³⁰¹ The newspaper was published from October 23, 1909 to June 4, 1910 and therefore is an excellent source of information about this period.

³⁰² N.G. Kireyev, *Istoriya Turtsii XX vek* (Moskva: Kraft + IV RAN, 2007), p. 80.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 307.

there were quite a few informers among the deputies, and it would be necessary to unpack almost three hundred boxes with accusations inside³⁰⁶.

1910

There were a lot of important problems, but the new government did not rush to solve them. Thus, one of the employees who wrote under the pen name “*Osmanlı*” (“Ottoman”) in the Russian newspaper “*Stambulskiye novosti*” noted down stories about impassability of roads in the country, the absence of any kind of industry, poor cultivation of land, robbery and brigandage on the roads, poor state of villages, corrupt officials and the rich who liked ordering Ottoman people around and used them as they want. According to him, life in the remote corners of beautiful Anatolia was rather gloomy, if not worse³⁰⁷. The weekly newspaper emphasized that it was this calamity that had repeatedly pushed the peasants to protest the new regime. The non-Turkish people of the empire especially actively tried to fight for their own freedom. The national liberation movements were suppressed, and the concept of Ottomanism was replaced by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism³⁰⁸. The latter has particularly well helped to deal with discontent in the Arab regions of the empire. The government dealt with others quite harshly, this is especially true in regard to Kurdish (1910-1914) and Albanian (1909-1912) residents; Armenians, too, had a hard time living, as political leaders continued to excite enmity between them and the Kurds.

The government not only did not help its people, but also put a spanner in the works. For example, in spring, during debates, it was proposed to suspend the collection of small cattle tax from farmers, but Finance Minister Cavid Bey³⁰⁹, on the contrary, demanded an immediate collection of this tax and the Assembly supported him in this case³¹⁰. Turkish peasants expected the new government to improve their lives, but their dreams did not come true - everyone was deaf to their pleas. Feroz Ahmad claims that initially CUP planned to meet some of these expectations, but for various reasons this was not possible. Consequently, “*eşkıyalık*” (brigandage) became a problem not only of Anatolian territories, but ubiquitous,

³⁰⁶ A. D. Zheltyakov, *Vnutrenneye polojeniye Turtsii v 1909-1910 godah pri mladoturkah v osveshenii gazety “Stambulskiye novosti”*, 74.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ The government brutally cracked down on Kurdish rebels from 1910 to 1914 and Albanian from 1909 to 1912.

³⁰⁹ Cavid Bey (1875–1926) - Ottoman economist and statesman.

³¹⁰ A. D. Zheltyakov, *Vnutrenneye polojeniye Turtsii v 1909-1910 godah pri mladoturkah v osveshenii gazety “Stambulskiye novosti”*, 75.

on a much larger scale³¹¹. Thus, the people tried to solve their own problems themselves, since it became clear that the state could not take care of them at the moment. Despite the de facto ban on strikes, some still protested against poor working conditions and low wages. Workers demanded wage rises to compensate for rising prices (inflation was a staggering 20 per cent in the first two months after the revolution) but the government was alarmed by the strikes³¹². In May, trams and tailors took part in protests, and the Assembly also denied them the right to protect their interests³¹³. The role of the CUP in the defeat of the strikers is interesting because it shows that the Committee (the champion of constitutional liberty) sided unequivocally with the capitalists in suppressing the freedom of organized labour³¹⁴. In addition, the Ottoman Socialist Party, founded in September 1910, was subjected to severe repression. According to the content of “*Stambulskiye novosti*” newspaper’s articles, it was because of the fact that ruling elite considered socialism as “the personification of the most terrible misfortunes that could ever happen to Turkey”. Although, in fact, it turned out that many people who fiercely fought with it did not even have a superficial acquaintance with its theory³¹⁵.

On the agenda, of course, were unequal trade agreements with foreign powers. But their discussion, be it the supply of low-quality gunpowder from Germany or the prohibition of non-grape alcohol import from abroad, did not bring any benefit. This is largely due to the fact that the leaders were afraid to “cause disgust of the powers with rash or hasty measures”, whose embassies actively poked their noses into any new law³¹⁶. In general, it must be said that many authors of “*Stambulskiye novosti*” newspaper’s articles pointed out the extreme insufficiency of the new regime’s activities for the country’s economic recovery³¹⁷.

In addition, the growth of opposition was given new impetus with the outbreak of a large-scale insurrection in Albania and with the murder on 9 June of a prominent opposition

³¹¹ Feroz Ahmad, *Jön Türk Dönemi (1908-1918) İle İlgili Değerlendirmeler* // Editörler: Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı, Barış Ünlü, 100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 20.

³¹² Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 98.

³¹³ A. D. Zheltyakov, *Vnutrenneye polojeniye Turtsii v 1909-1910 godah pri mladoturkah v osveshenii gazety “Stambulskiye novosti”*, 76.

³¹⁴ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 98.

³¹⁵ A. D. Zheltyakov, *Vnutrenneye polojeniye Turtsii v 1909-1910 godah pri mladoturkah v osveshenii gazety “Stambulskiye novosti”*, 77.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 78.

journalist Ahmed Samim (this was almost a repeat performance of the murder of Hasan Fehmi in 1909)³¹⁸.

1911

The fact that there was a huge difference between CUP at the beginning of its path and the party at the end of this path explains the constant inner-party struggle in the camp of the Ittihadists. They were so carried away by this struggle that they were completely unprepared for the situation in the Libyan provinces (Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, the last Ottoman part in Africa which had not been occupied by Britain or France), when in the autumn of 1911 it was necessary to repel Italian aggression. According to Reynolds, the ostensible motive was to protect Italians living there, but the real motive was to prevent Italy from falling further behind its great powers peers in the scramble to accumulate colonies³¹⁹. The Italians were clearly superior to the Ottomans: both on land and at sea. Besides that, according to Tyrkova, at that time there were neither Ottoman authorities nor Ottoman troops in Tripoli, because they were taken out on the advice of the Germans, who guaranteed the Italian peacefulness³²⁰. A number of Ottoman military officers, including Enver and another promising young officer named Mustafa Kemal³²¹, made their way overland to Tripoli, traveling discreetly in small groups to avoid detection as they passed through British-controlled Egypt³²². With the assistance of such advisors, Tripoli's native tribesmen mounted strong resistance – as a result, number of ports was carpet-bombed since Italy was unable to impose its will³²³. This war was described by one historian as “one of the most unjustified in European history”³²⁴. It was dragged on until the Ottomans agreed to conclude peace, leaving this territory in Italian hands, because by then a far more threatening situation had developed in the Balkans³²⁵.

Tyrkova found herself in Constantinople precisely at the moment when Russian diplomacy, using the conditions of the Italian-Turkish war, forcefully tried to get the Turks to agree to the passage of Russian warships through the straits (so-called “Charykov's demarche”)³²⁶. In fact,

³¹⁸ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 107.

³¹⁹ Michael A. Reynolds, *Shattering Empires*, 32.

³²⁰ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 29.

³²¹ Mustafa Kemal Paşa (1881-1938) - soldier, statesman, and reformer who was the founder and first president (1923–38) of the Republic of Turkey.

³²² Michael A. Reynolds, *Shattering Empires*, 32.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 111.

³²⁶ K. A. Zhukov, *Obshchestvennaya, politicheskaya i intellektualnaya atmosfera Stambula v 1911-1912 godah*, 38.

it later emerged that the problem was not only about warships. When Italy carried out naval attacks on targets near the straits, the Ottomans shut them to traffic for a month, and the impact on Russia was severe (Russian grain exports for the first half of 1912 fell 45 percent from the same period in 1911)³²⁷. It is interesting that Tyrkova saw these Russian ships with grain, which could not pass, with her own eyes - it was the moment when she realized that the straits are of the vital importance.

While being on the road to Istanbul, Ariadna Tyrkova tells us about a train that came to Belgrade on a rainy evening and “Tripoli fugitives” on a platform, wrapped in blankets, who also had to go to Constantinople (and some of them even had to be tried there for “not joining a belligerent army”)³²⁸. At first, Ariadna sympathizes with them and even speaks of a sense of responsibility, because “Italy’s armed assault, and most importantly, its way of cracking down on civilians, casts a black shadow on all of us united by Christian culture”, but she instantly correct herself, remembering that “these are the Turks, the very Turks who, less than forty years ago, were bossing around right here in Belgrade allowing irregular soldiers of the Ottoman army (Bashi-bazouk) to commit atrocities against our Slav brothers”³²⁹. Anyway, the “Tripolitan adventure” bode no good not only for Turkish people, but also for the Europeans, whose trade interests were crossed in the Mediterranean³³⁰, because the outcome of the war, in which “a hearty few from regular troops and Arabs-volunteers who secretly sneaked into Tripoli” were those who fought against the Italians, was quite clear³³¹. In another crowd, at the Bulgarian border station Tsarbrod, Tyrkova notices Bulgarians, “representing a walking ethnographic museum” because of embroidered outfits, bright belts and “primitive” shoes³³². It is interesting that the consular officer Konstantin Leontyev³³³ described them with exactly the same words in the nineteenth century - it turns out that nothing has changed since that time³³⁴. However, later it emerged that Tyrkova was mistaken, and they were not the Bulgarians, but the Macedonians, who emigrated in droves, “because the constitutional Turkish government zealously Islamizes Macedonia”³³⁵. In conversation with one

³²⁷ Michael A. Reynolds, *Shattering Empires*, 33.

³²⁸ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 2.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

³³⁰ U.V., Luneva, *Bosfor i Dardanelly. Tayniye provokatsii nakanune Pervoy mirovoy voyni (1907-1914)* (Moskva: Kvadruga, 2017), 240.

³³¹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 13.

³³² *Ibid.*, 3.

³³³ Konstantin Nikolaevich Leontyev (1831-1891) was a Russian writer, philosopher, and publicist.

³³⁴ Pınar Üre, *Konstantin Nikolayeviç Leontyev (1831-1891), Bizansçılık ve Şark Meselesi* (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2015), 80.

³³⁵ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 4.

knowledgeable and well-known Bulgarian scientist, whose name Ariadna does not mention, she asks him about the possibilities of solving the Macedonian question, to which he answers the following: “Macedonia should be autonomous. But voluntarily the Turks will never agree to this. We missed the moment. This should have been done immediately after the declaration of the constitution, while they did not yet have troops. And now it’s late”³³⁶. Then he adds that “everything will spread out” (speaking of the Ottoman Empire) especially if other nationalities will be granted freedom as “there is not a single peoplehood in the whole peninsula who would sincerely like to be friends with Sublime Porte. Perhaps, except Romania. They are afraid of Bulgaria’s strengthening”³³⁷. The Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, who now had to do military service, but were not allowed into military schools - they all “felt themselves deceived, and military setbacks caused some kind of epicaricacy”³³⁸. Although it is known that the bill concerning the training of Christians in the officer schools, the further course of which Tyrkova did not manage to follow, did exist³³⁹.

All these facts spoke eloquently of both instability on the external front and serious problems on the internal one. As for domestic policy, the situation was significantly aggravated by the new murder (journalists Hasan Fehmi Bey and Ahmed Samim were mentioned earlier), this time the victim was the Greek Metropolitan Yemelyan, who was quite popular and influential in Macedonia. “Of course, it was the government” - this is how the Greek, who works in the restaurant, answers Tyrkova’s question “Who killed him?”³⁴⁰. However, the government assured everyone the opposite: that the Greeks had committed this crime³⁴¹. Another similar dirty story happened to well-known financier Zeki Bey, who accused Finance Minister Cavid Bey “of various financial operations that are unfavorable for Turkey”³⁴². Tyrkova believed that the reason for this was the competition between the Ottoman (essentially French) bank, whose prominent face was Zeki Bey, and the national Turkish (essentially English) bank, to which Cavid Bey was related³⁴³. The case ended with the fact that Zeki Bey was shot dead right on the street near Istanbul - “and the court is unlikely to find real killers”³⁴⁴. Although, of course, there were positive moments as well. Thus, Ariadna says that in the Ottoman

³³⁶ Ibid., 5.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid., 7.

³³⁹ Ibid., 15.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 7.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 11.

³⁴² Ibid., 12.

³⁴³ Ibid., 11.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 12.

Empire, where until recently everything was led by the “sultan’s imperious hand”, people quickly learned to manage the budget, in which the expenses for the army and navy at that time were not increased but even reduced, the deficit was significantly lower, and, besides that, there was also a vacant loan in the Ottoman bank³⁴⁵.

Tyrkova-Williams paid special attention to the press. She wrote that at that time one could see various newspapers (Turkish, Armenian, Greek, French) in Constantinople, and at the same time she characterized them as “noisy”, “false”, opposed to the government and living with subsidies from European powers (especially Germany and Austria)³⁴⁶. According to her, in order to somehow fight the opposition, the Young Turks closed and confiscated newspapers (which, however, often immediately issued under a different name), and did not limit themselves to these measures, trying to defend themselves and their point of view in other periodicals such as “*Tanin*” and “*Le Jeune Turc*”³⁴⁷. Tyrkova rightly calls “*Tanin*”, which came out nine days after the proclamation of the constitutional era, that is, on August 1, 1908, and continued to be published with short breathes until 1925 under different names³⁴⁸, “the organ of the Young Turkish Committee”, while making the remark that it would be wrong to bracket it with Austrian “*Le Jeune Turc*”³⁴⁹, leading a fierce campaign against Russia³⁵⁰. Interestingly, the editor of the latter was “a former Russian citizen who converted to Turkish citizenship” by the name of Samuil Gokhberg³⁵¹. In addition, she mentions an independent Armenian newspaper “*Sabah*” with a circulation of about twenty thousand. It is known that the newspaper was published in Turkish language until 1917, and its main figure was Diran Kelekian from Kayseri, who did his studies in Marseilles³⁵². However, according to Ariadna, the capital press seldom reached the provinces, and the local press in the provinces was still in its infancy (or incunabula)³⁵³.

All these newspaper closures, pressure and oppression of the “Thessaloniki Committee”, which Erik Jan Zürcher explains by the reaction of the Young Turks to the so-called “March

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 14.

³⁴⁶ About other newspapers: Editörler: Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı, Barış Ünlü, *100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 163-209.

³⁴⁷ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 6.

³⁴⁸ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyet’in Basması Kadar Basını da Ünlüdür... // Editörler: Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı, Barış Ünlü*, 100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 188.

³⁴⁹ *Le Jeune Turc* was a daily newspaper in French published in Istanbul from 1908 to 1918.

³⁵⁰ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 6.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyet’in Basması Kadar Basını da Ünlüdür...*, 180.

³⁵³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 7.

31 incident”³⁵⁴, led to the fact that the press openly triumphed on the occasion of the birth of a new political party called “*Hürriyet ve İtilaf*” (“Freedom and Accord”). Only “*Tanin*”, “*Le Jeune Turc*” and, of course, the Ittihadists themselves were not happy about this event. Thus, one of them, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, welcomed the competitors with the following words: “Even if you win, you are still condemned to death!”³⁵⁵. But the founders of the party, colonel Sadık Bey (believed that it was necessary to reckon with national and religious traditions) and philosopher Rıza Tevfik (defender of individual and national rights), of course, did not think so³⁵⁶. Moreover, they almost immediately drew to their side fifty five deputies, among whom were Bulgarians and Albanians³⁵⁷. As for Armenians, in December 1911 Tyrkova visited the official body of Dashnaktsutyun (Armenian nationalist and socialist political party), the editorial office of the newspaper “*Azadamart*”³⁵⁸ - she got there by virtue of her friend, journalist. She immediately felt something familiar in the editorial atmosphere and, as it turned out later, was not mistaken, since many staff members were born in Russia, although the editor of the newspaper Vramyan from Van spoke perfectly French but did not speak Russian at all³⁵⁹. Employees were happy to share their thoughts with a journalist who arrived from Russia, and therefore amicably gave her information about two hundred thousand Armenians in Istanbul, mainly intellectuals (doctors, lawyers, engineers, writers, teachers) merchants, porters and artisans; they told her that Kurds are considered reliable and Armenians, “Christians and revolutionaries”, unreliable; that peace between Armenians and Kurds is impossible until the land issue is resolved³⁶⁰. They sincerely believed and shared a common vision that the massacre in Adana is a relic, a kind of the old regime’s anachronism, and it will not happen again: “If plans of the Young Turks will be misfired, our game will be over as well”³⁶¹.

In the meantime, superpowers were more of a hindrance than a help because each of them “had an unbridled appetite towards the east”³⁶². According to Tyrkova, Sublime Porte at that time, being burnt and shabby, was absolutely not glittering: in the internal affairs it was instructed by foreign ambassadors, and external were decided by “big players” in Paris or

³⁵⁴ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyet'in Basması Kadar Basını da Ünlüdür...*, 200.

³⁵⁵ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 17.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 19.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Azadamart or Azadamard was an Armenian daily newspaper published in Istanbul.

³⁵⁹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 75-76.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 77-79.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 79.

³⁶² Ibid., 27.

London³⁶³. Moreover, there was a version that the terrorist actions committed on the territory of Macedonia were not perpetrated by the Young Turks, as many people had suggested, but by the Bulgarian Committee, which thus once again tried to draw the attention of superpowers to Macedonia and give them an extra reason for solid intervention³⁶⁴. However, in this particular case, the blood was shed in vain, as superpowers were very busy with Crete and the straits³⁶⁵.

1912

Since almost all the opposition groups and parties united in one new party called the *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*, the Committee decided that the time for action had come: it now saw it was loosing its grip on parliament and it engineered its dissolution³⁶⁶. So, at the beginning of the year elections were held “under the sign of the struggle between Ittihadists and Itilafists”. According to Erik J. Zürcher, the elections are known in Turkish history as the *sopalı seçim* (election with the stick) because of the violence and intimidation with which the CUP made sure of its majority³⁶⁷. Tyrkova describes in detail the March events and devotes to them an entire chapter called “Elections and the opening of the parliament”. However, she notes that the struggle was unequal due to the fact that the Young Turks very widely used all sorts of administrative pressure³⁶⁸. Thus, for example, due to serious fines, the newspapers were now deprived of the opportunity to be issued under another name immediately after closing, and the electoral districts decreased or, on the contrary, increased depending on the Muslim or non-Muslim population living there. The former Macedonian deputy, Bulgarian Dalchev, even took the trouble to write a letter concerning his sanjak (district), where “one thousand nine hundred twelve Turkish voters will have as many votes as five thousand five hundred Christians, five thousand two hundred eighty of whom are Bulgarians”³⁶⁹. After the prohibition of meetings in the open air and in mosques, another rather interesting situation took place. Rıza Tevfik Bey³⁷⁰ had smarted for violating of this rule twice: the first time on the Princes’ Islands, where he planned to give a speech from the balcony (for which he was given a month in prison), and the second time somewhere in Adrianopolis, in one of the local

³⁶³ Ibid., 27-28.

³⁶⁴ The bombs were thrown into the mosque, which was the reason for the onslaught of Muslims on the Bulgarians. After the explosion, 12 Bulgarians were killed and 100 were injured.

³⁶⁵ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 30.

³⁶⁶ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 107.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 107-108.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 32.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 33.

³⁷⁰ Rıza Tevfik Bey (1869-1949) was a Turkish philosopher, poet, politician.

hotels, where he met with the local Greeks and the archimandrite – as a result, supporters of the Young Turks broke into a house, beat him and dragged him to the railway station³⁷¹. Thus, in fact, Christians were deprived of the right to vote, and Muslims always had numerical superiority over them, which, of course, was contrary to the law about election districts that “should be divided in a way that the votes of the voters would not be lost”³⁷². All kind of political stunts were used during the elections. Tyrkova recalls an interesting case when the Young Turks decided to send with the mullahs hair from the prophet’s head in order to lift the Muslim spirits in Albania, but the opposition dismissed the rumor that it was a wisp of War Minister Mahmud Şevket Paşa’s beard. Then the Albanians demanded to verify the authenticity of the shrine by fire - the mullahs, not daring to do it, returned to Istanbul as if they “dined with Duke Humphrey”³⁷³. One way or another, the Young Turks did their best: “even in such clerical and Black-Hundred quarters as *Fatih Camii* (the Conqueror’s mosque) quarter, where the counter-constitutional movement came from three years ago, even here the Ittihadists achieved victory hands down - thirteen thousand votes for and one thousand two hundred against”³⁷⁴. They won, and Ariadna attribute this to the lack of a general Christian movement against them: Dashnak-Armenians were on the side of the Young Turks, and the Armenian Catholics and Protestants were in favor of the opposition (the Greeks were in a similar situation)³⁷⁵. In the end of the chapter, she summarizes the situation, saying that the winners (the Young Turks) cannot be judged only if they will seriously have a dig at the reforms without which the country is doomed to disappear³⁷⁶. On the occasion of the parliament’s opening, there was a big celebration for everyone: “The festive processions, with camels carrying ballot boxes, with banners and children’s choirs, arranged by Ittihat throughout Constantinople, lugged away a rather cheerful crowd. The Byzantine habit of procession is still strong in these ancient streets. But do the rulers have ancient Byzantine giftedness to dodge the bullet?”³⁷⁷. Speaking of the bullet (the enemy), Tyrkova implies Italians who, right on the day of the opening ceremony of the parliament, began to bombard the Dardanelles. This situation, however, did not bother anyone much, as German instructors helped the Turks to scatter floating mines there. Newspapers even joked about this, saying that “the Italians wanted to add their greeting to the cannon salutes at the opening of the

³⁷¹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 35.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

parliament”³⁷⁸. Moreover, the holidays continued, exactly nine days after the grand opening of the parliament the capital celebrated the fourth anniversary of Mehmed V’s reign. Perhaps the most striking event of that day was Kenan Bey’s flight on an airplane, the captain of the army “perfectly learned to fly in France”³⁷⁹.

Soon holidays gave place to harsh weekdays. These weekdays were more severe than before. Macedonia was a particularly problematic area, since the army again began to speak “in favor of the ousted sultan, who lost his mind in his honorary confinement”³⁸⁰. This meant only one thing: even the hated sultan was dearer to them than the current government. The rebels did not want to recognize the election results because they considered them dishonest, and therefore demanded the dissolution of the parliament, which, they believed, was “a toy in the hands of the Young Turk Committee”³⁸¹. In addition, they wanted the new parliament to be represented by members of both parties, the Ittihadists and the Itilafists. These requirements, in general, were quite reasonable, if we consider that usually very few people in parliament, except for the “owners of the institution”, managed to speak out. For example, in her notes, Tyrkova tells us about the Greek deputy, who asked for the word, but could not speak on the topic he wanted, because Cavid Bey personally approached him and warned that it will be better not to talk about it. Even the Albanians, known for their bravery, left the podium without finishing their speech³⁸². Although they had a lot of things to tell. For example, an Albanian by the name of Süreyya Bey complained to Tyrkova about ugly roads and the absence of Albanian schools, which, in his opinion, were indispensable to life, because Turkish schools did not even have teaching aids with chairs, much less teachers³⁸³. An interesting comment of Ariadna on this issue: “Discontent with the government is burning in every word. But such gentlemen themselves, what will they bring to the country, if they manage to push less and less popular Young Turks and sit in their place? After all, they have no state baggage, no political thoughts, but only a bare thirst for power, perhaps, even more primitive than the leadership mania of the current bosses”³⁸⁴. It should be noted that she has a lot of reasons to think so, since she had the opportunity to meet other Albanians at the parliamentary meetings; they wanted to return to the old order and opposed innovations of

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 45.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 46.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 82.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Ibid., 83.

³⁸³ Ibid., 86.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 87.

any kind, from disarming the population to changes in management and paying taxes. One of them answered the question about the management scheme on their territory: “The land belongs mainly to us. But the farmers are happy and satisfied. They obey us without a word. If, for example, someone is killed, the brother of the murdered comes to us, to the leaders, and brings a complaint. Then we make a decision that the house of the criminal will be burned, and the criminal himself should be killed by anyone who wants to kill him. And, believe me, this house will be burned down, and the criminal will be punished”³⁸⁵.

Ariadna Tyrkova dedicated a separate chapter to the Armenians - according to her, they, like the Turks (unlike the Greeks and Bulgarians), had no place to run away. As Harutyun Shahrigian, one of the most important Dashnak intellectuals, contended, “Ottomanism is not a nationality and does not have an ethnic or ethnographic component; rather, it has a territorial – and state – related definition”³⁸⁶. So, they were interested in preserving the integrity of the country and the constitutional system - it were these common interests that brought them closer to the Young Turks, although it would be a mistake to say that they trusted them completely³⁸⁷. They were distinguished from other minority groups in the empire by their close relationship with the Young Turk movement in exile for the same reason³⁸⁸. Ariadna speaks of them very flatteringly: “friendly”, “organized”, “tenacious of life”, “cohesive”. Characterizing Armenians as “tenacious of life”, she had in mind that “they suffered a lot from the cold cruelty of the old regime” in comparison with all other Christians³⁸⁹. “Cohesive”, as they managed to keep the language, literature, customs, even being separated. Ohannes Kılıçdağı perfectly describes this situation in one of his articles, saying that despite the geographical spread and regional differences, sometimes without even communication and contacts with each other (for example, Armenian peasants from Anatolia speaking Turkish, Armenian bourgeoisie from Tbilisi speaking Russian and Armenian middle class from Istanbul), they managed to think in one direction.³⁹⁰ In addition, Kılıçdağı claims that they were extremely developed (especially if one looks at their printing press and schooling), but the political forces did not support them in this matter³⁹¹. At that time, the Armenians insisted not only on receiving subsidies for education from the treasury, but also advocated

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 104.

³⁸⁶ Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 177.

³⁸⁷ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 62-67.

³⁸⁸ Bedross der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 14.

³⁸⁹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 63.

³⁹⁰ Ohannes Kılıçdağı, *Ermeni Aydınlanması: Yeniden Doğuştan Yokoluşa*, 59.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 60-61.

that officials should not consist only from Turks, but most of all they wanted to solve the land issue, because it was in their provinces during the reign of Abdülhamid that land robberies were carried out with impunity and greedily. Their ownership documents were preserved, but local rich people (especially Muslim Kurds) would hardly want to share their loot³⁹². Particularly noteworthy in this chapter is the dialogue between Tyrkova and Pastırmacıyan³⁹³. Pastırmacıyan, a former “*bombacı*” (bomber) who once attacked the Ottoman bank³⁹⁴ and after became the Armenian deputy again elected to the Erzurum chamber, told Ariadna an interesting story; this story was about the Baghdad railroad that nobody wanted and for which the Ottoman government generously paid the Germans. Explaining the futility of this project in the desert, where live nomads who are not trained to work, the deputy states the following: “Instead of spending money on this German line, they had to start construction from Samsun through Sivas to Erzurum. It is the richest and most populated part of Anatolia... Cotton, silk, grapes, and bread are produced in Harput District. But all this has nowhere to go, since there is no export. Bitlis Province can give half a million tons of bread a year... Baghdad, to which they lead their way, feeds on bread that comes from the north, from us, from Armenia. They carry all these things with the help of animal-drawn implements. Then on rafts down the Tigris³⁹⁵. Here, Pastırmacıyan clarifies that every year about thirty thousand Armenians emigrate to America from Bitlis and concludes that “the current government is not much smarter than Abdülhamid”³⁹⁶.

Meanwhile Ittihadist opposition was not asleep, especially since the army lost its loyalty to the government, which even managed to come up with a law banning officers from engaging in politics³⁹⁷. In response to the loud protests against the law, the government found a scapegoat in the person of Mahmud Şefket Paşa and dismissed him, despite the fact that no one wanted to go to his post as head of the military department³⁹⁸. Together with the popularity of the Young Turks, the popularity of the “good-natured and devoted to the interests of the Ottoman Empire” Mehmed V was seriously shaken³⁹⁹. Even active and

³⁹² Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 66.

³⁹³ Karekin Pastırmacıyan (1872-1923) was an Armenian politician and diplomat.

³⁹⁴ According to Bedross Der Matossian, they were influenced by Russian secret societies such as the “*Narodnaya Volya*” and “*Zemlya i Volya*”.

³⁹⁵ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 70-71.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 88.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 90.

persistent Ottoman statesman Talaat Bey⁴⁰⁰ admitted: “This time we are sinking”⁴⁰¹. He was right. The opposition hastened to punish CUP for “the three major crimes against the constitution”: martial law, press intolerance and election fraud⁴⁰². Once again, taking advantage of their busyness on the external front, they carried out a coup d’état in July 1912. It was headed by the Freedom and Accord Party (it included the Ahrar Party) and was supported by the national minorities who were promised autonomy while maintaining the political integrity of the country⁴⁰³. Here is how Tyrkova tells about this: “They brought back to power the old servants of Abdülhamid, distinguished pashas, who all together have more years than the Ottoman Empire itself. These people yesterday solemnly drove into Sublime Porte and the crowd joyfully greeted them as liberators. A special applause fell to the lot of Kamil Pasha”⁴⁰⁴. As an example of one of Abdülhamid’s servants, Ariadna tells us about the Albanian leader Issa Boletinats, who, being the most famous robber, entered the sultan's palace guard, and then led the “Albanian gangs” against the Young Turkish government⁴⁰⁵. Mehmed V, upon on the demand of the rebels, in August of the same year without thinking twice issued a decree dissolving the parliament. There was also instituted a state of emergency, enabling to initiate repressive measures against the CUP and its press⁴⁰⁶. Tyrkova notes that although European diplomats during these events remained neutral, it was rumored that Kamil Pasha had nevertheless recourse to the help of the British⁴⁰⁷.

Meanwhile, in October 1912, according to the peace treaty signed between the two countries, the Libyan provinces become Italian colonies. Later on the same day, in connection with the denial of autonomy in Thrace and Macedonia, a coalition of states consisting of Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro comes out against the Ottoman Empire⁴⁰⁸. The First Balkan War begins. When it broke out, few Ottomans could have foreseen that it would end with the loss of the empire’s remaining provinces in the Balkans⁴⁰⁹. Itilafists understood that they were unable to deal with this situation, that is why they sought support from England and Germany, but these two countries were not in a hurry to help⁴¹⁰. The Balkan armies were quick to

⁴⁰⁰ Talat Paşa (1874-1921) - leader of the Young Turks, Ottoman statesman, grand vizier (1917-18).

⁴⁰¹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 90.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴⁰³ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 310.

⁴⁰⁴ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 97.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁴⁰⁶ Eyal Ginio, *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat. The Balkan Wars and their Aftermath*, 10.

⁴⁰⁷ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 109.

⁴⁰⁸ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 311.

⁴⁰⁹ Eyal Ginio, *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat. The Balkan Wars and their Aftermath*, 1.

⁴¹⁰ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 311.

demonstrate their military abilities and to inflict an unprecedented defeat on the Ottoman army⁴¹¹. As a result, the Turkish troops suffered defeat after defeat and sustained heavy losses, the coalition moved towards Istanbul, and in parallel with it stretched a string of refugees who were forced to leave the fighting areas. Mass captivity, naval blockade, trench warfare and a modest use of airplanes were all major military features of these conflicts – many of the experiences that would later be identified with World War I were already present during the Balkan Wars⁴¹². Besides that, the British ethnographer and author Edith Durham who volunteered to serve in Montenegrin field hospitals during the Balkan Wars, summarized the events of the Balkan Wars as “the first drops of the thunderstorm”, referring to the First World War⁴¹³. The atrocities committed against Muslims during this war in many respects repeated the catastrophic assault on Ottoman Muslims in the Balkans during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878⁴¹⁴. However, the diffusion of press and photography meant that these atrocities were much more known to Ottoman audiences living far from the battlefields in the Balkans⁴¹⁵. In November, the Ottoman government decided that this could no longer continue - they sat down at the negotiating table, although it was obvious that negotiations would definitely end not in their favor. According to Tyrkova, “the game of the Germans was at that time still behind the curtain”⁴¹⁶. Ariadna, who considered the powerful influence of England and the cultural and commercial predominance of France to be “old legends,” said the following: “At the same time, the German merchants gradually expanded the market for themselves. One part of Constantinople press was supported by Vienna and Berlin. German instructors formed military regiments, they were a model of youth and elegance for Turkish officers, together with them they built fortifications on the shores of both straits, but all this was done very cleverly, deliberately and imperceptibly”⁴¹⁷.

1913

At that time, five years afterwards, Grace Ellison returns to Istanbul when “the Balkan War was over, and Young Turkey had begun with a patriotism born of humiliation to save what remained of the poor mutilated Fatherland”⁴¹⁸. The Ottoman Empire is ruled by the “old

⁴¹¹ Eyal Giniot, *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat. The Balkan Wars and their Aftermath*, 1.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, VII.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 202.

guard”, in particular she mentions prefect of Bursa “who belong to the Turkey which is passing away” and “who can neither read nor write”⁴¹⁹. Although serious changes that occurred in local life still surprise her so much that she exclaims in the first lines of her notes the following “Certainly this is not Turkey I expected to see”, implying a freer and “pro-western” atmosphere in the country⁴²⁰. Westernness was visible with the naked eye in a variety of everyday life’s details: from tiny cigarettes and modern coffee cups to European furniture which has been the fashion in Turkish homes⁴²¹. Besides that, it seemed that French is the language of the country⁴²². However, since her last visit, not only the atmosphere has changed - the sultan himself has changed! Very few foreigners had a chance to make acquaintance with two rulers at once but, according to her, “the meeting of the present Sultan did not stir me as did the meeting of the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid⁴²³”. Probably she wrote it due to the fact that Mehmed V, unlike Abdülhamid II, did not behave like the owner of a house. Grace doesn’t blame him, she even tries to excuse his behavior by saying the following: “Could he be otherwise with such an agonizing past?”⁴²⁴. Another difference from previous times was the slogan “Turkey for the Turks” - Ellison first heard it at a meeting where poets performed. She was given an explanation that one of the objects of this movement was to purify the language by using exclusively Turkish words instead of a mixture of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, and another object was to encourage the translation of the Qur’ān into Turkish⁴²⁵. Emre Kongar gives a more complete definition: “The masters of the empire, that is, the Turks, probably recognized themselves as Turks seeing the collapse of the empire and realizing that the state they govern is an empire that arose in foreign territories and with alien populations. The concepts of the Turkish homeland, the Turkish language and Turkish culture - all this arose and received its development in those times”⁴²⁶. Konstantin Zhukov justly notes in one of his articles that Tyrkova visited Turkey at the very time of the birth of this doctrine and closely communicated with its main developers, but unlike Ellison, she tried not to cover this topic⁴²⁷. Perhaps because she tried to shut her eyes to the anti-

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 143.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 8-19.

⁴²² Ibid., 66.

⁴²³ Ibid., 48.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 67-68.

⁴²⁶ N.G. Kireyev, *Istoriya Turtsii XX vek*, 90.

⁴²⁷ K. A. Zhukov, *Obshchestvennaya, politicheskaya i intellektualnaya atmosfera Stambula v 1911-1912 godah*, 30.

Russian sentiments of her interlocutors (such as Yusuf Akçura⁴²⁸, for example, who openly declared that Russia is a mortal danger to the realization of pan-Turkist ideals)⁴²⁹. Or, maybe, because during Tyrkova's stay in Istanbul pan-Turkism gained a certain amount of support among Young Turk intellectuals but it received no official blessing until the Balkan War of 1913 had made Ottomanism a dead letter⁴³⁰. Nevertheless, not only this topic was raised at the meetings. The question of rescuing Fatherland was actively mentioned, since the war managed to frighten and affect all segments of the population: "...most of them had lost some loved ones during the war, many of them had nursed those who were wounded and had fallen victims to cholera⁴³¹". This question, unlike the example of "Turkey for the Turks", was familiar to Grace, for she witnessed with her own eyes the long procession of soldiers crossing the Galata Bridge and described them as follows: "There were men without legs; some without hands and arms; some blind; but these were nothing compared to the hideously disfigured faces of many, and some of those earless or eyeless victims of the 'Christian' Bulgars. No words can describe their pitiful condition"⁴³².

Ellison wrote: "Education, new roads, industries, a new navy – everything is needed"⁴³³. Unfortunately, because of the division of power and the resolution of external problems, there was simply no time to deal with internal issues. Many disadvantageous proposals of the great powers were rejected by Itilafists headed by Kâmil Paşa, but in January they succumbed to persuasion and decided to give Edirne to Bulgaria, which caused a storm of indignation in the empire⁴³⁴. It was this situation that became the pretext for the next coup d'état - in January 1913 the Young Turks regained their power, Mahmud Şevket Paşa became a grand vizier. During the coup d'état, War Minister Nâzım Paşa was killed, which subsequently led to serious disagreements among army officers and displeased a part of the clergy⁴³⁵. They made some attempts to resolve the Balkan issue, but, alas, it was too late. The empire lost nearly all its European territories, over 60,000 square miles in all, with approximately four million inhabitants⁴³⁶. There were severe outbreaks of typhoid and cholera and a very high mortality

⁴²⁸ Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935) was a prominent politician, writer and ideologist of Tatar origin.

⁴²⁹ K. A. Zhukov, *Obshestvennaya, politicheskaya i intellektualnaya atmosfera Stambula v 1911-1912 godah*, 31.

⁴³⁰ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 134.

⁴³¹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 71.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 87.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁴³⁴ This city was of a great importance since it was a former capital of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴³⁵ N.G. Kireyev, *Istoriya Turtsii XX vek*, 83.

⁴³⁶ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 113.

rate among the fugitives⁴³⁷. This is how Eyal Ginio describes this situation: “Ottoman society was in deep trauma following the defeat, and the writings of Ottomans reflected their mourning, their fears, their disappointments and their hopes. Diaries, memoirs, press articles, novels, poems, theatrical plays, commemoration ceremonies, monuments, photographs, paintings, artefacts, postcards and advertisements produced during the Balkan Wars and in its immediate aftermath are all testimonies of the deep crisis in which Ottoman society found itself”⁴³⁸. These territories were the richest and most developed provinces, and a large proportion of Unionists were from the Balkans, that is why they felt the loss of their homelands most acutely⁴³⁹. According to the results of the London Peace Treaty, signed in May 1913, Albania became an independent state, and great powers began to dispose of the Turkish islands in the Aegean Sea. After that, the Balkans started to divide the liberated territories, a new war broke out, and this situation allowed Turkey to restore the power of the empire over Edirne as a result of its invasion to Bulgaria⁴⁴⁰. It would seem that such serious losses should have united contending parties, but in fact it turned out quite the opposite. The killing of Mahmud Şevket Paşa in June 1913 by one of the supporters of the Itilafists caused the strongest terror of the Young Turks against other parties⁴⁴¹.

According to Yuriy Petrosyan, from the end of 1913 the Young Turkic dictatorship was established in the Ottoman Empire. From now on, the reins of power were in the hands of the three most prominent figures of the CUP (Triumvirate) - Enver, Talaat and Cemal⁴⁴². At the age of 32, Enver became a Minister of War, Talaat was the Central Committee of CUP’s Chairman and Minister of the Interior, and Cemal⁴⁴³ first assumed a position of police commander and then became a Minister of Maritime Affairs. Ellison describes these events as follows: “Talaat-Djavid and Djemal knew what they wanted. Though confronted with international and internal problems, difficulties of race and religion and financial chaos, yet they kept their heads, and then they made one fatal mistake - that mistake was Enver Pasha”⁴⁴⁴. Enver was a “picturesque personage” and “a fearless and reckless soldier” but two facts spoke eloquently for him: the first is that in the empire he received the nickname

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 114.

⁴³⁸ Eyal Ginio, *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat*, 19.

⁴³⁹ Michael A. Reynolds, *Shattering Empires*, 39.

⁴⁴⁰ N.G. Kireyev, *Istoriya Turtsii XX vek*, 84.

⁴⁴¹ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 313.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Cemal Paşa (1872-1922) - army officer and a leading member of the Ottoman government during World War I.

⁴⁴⁴ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 202.

“*Napoleoncuk*”, and the second that in foreign policy he focused exclusively on Germany⁴⁴⁵. Speaking of Enver and Germany, Ellison even calls this country “his destiny”, and himself “man in love”: “He who loved to obey found his master at Potsdam and his master’s representatives at Constantinople – the Ambassador, Baron von Wangenheim, and General Liman von Sanders, head of the German Mission. They took possession of him; he was powerless”⁴⁴⁶. In terms of fierce Germanophilism, Talaat supported him. The same can not be said about Cemal, who still preferred France and England: “He detested Germany even more than he detested Russia. He loved England, but more than England he loved France... French culture and thought, and he once added, ‘French money’ ”⁴⁴⁷. However, the Turkish heir to the throne was not as enthusiastic about France as Cemal Pasha, he admired and loved England⁴⁴⁸. In one respect Ellison was right: to love France and England at that time was more far-sighted than to love Germany, because Britain and France were the two countries who had no interest to work for Turkey’s destruction⁴⁴⁹. At least many Turkish sources, as well as British ones contain information that Britain made every effort to preserve Istanbul’s neutrality and its abstaining from entering the war⁴⁵⁰. By making Germany its ally, Turkey backed itself into a very tight corner but the Unionists were convinced that continued isolation would mean the end of the empire and basically were ready to accept any alliance⁴⁵¹. Many intricacies took place one after another: “Turkey was clamouring for war with Greece but instead of this she found that Germany in her name had bombarded an open Russian port”, “In Anatolia, she spread the false report that the Moslems in the Caucasus were being ill treated by the Russians”, “Djemal Pasha’s orders that the Goeben and Breslau should be disarmed were totally disregarded; the German Admiral Suchon... refused to take on board the Turkish sailors sent by Djemal” etc.⁴⁵²

After 1913

⁴⁴⁵ Through him the German military mission of General Liman von Sanders established full control over the Sultan army.

⁴⁴⁶ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 205.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁴⁵⁰ Feroz Ahmad, *Jön Türk Dönemi (1908-1918) İle İlgili Değerlendirmeler* // Editörler: Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı, Barış Ünlü, 100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 31.

⁴⁵¹ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 116.

⁴⁵² Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 208-209.

In the two-year period between September 1911 and September 1913 the empire had lost over a third of its territory and more than one-fifth of its population⁴⁵³. In the period from 1909 to 1914, the Ottoman Empire continued to contract for substantial loans⁴⁵⁴, the state budget was in bad shape, economic problems were not resolved, and dependence on Germany increased with every passing day. The development of agriculture, trade and industry was hampered by the dominance of foreign capital and instability inside the country⁴⁵⁵. In truth, the situation was more complicated than it seemed from the outside. Thus, a representative of the Young Turks, N Bey, commented on the loss of the country as follows: “Ever since the beginning of Islam the clergy have been at the wars encouraging the soldiers when they grew faint-hearted, and helping to care for the sick. In this last war not one Hodja took part...”. He blamed the dynasty for not sending one of its members to lead the troops: “before the reign of Abdul-Hamid the Kalife of Islam always led the troops; the dynasty, like the clergy, had forgotten its duty”⁴⁵⁶. Besides that, it was a situation when all nations live in the same “house” and cannot get along together: “I have seen here households with a Greek cook, an Armenian *bonne a tout faire*, an Albanian *cavass*, and a Turkish gardener. It is not easy matter to rule such a household. See what tact and patience it requires. The Armenian, for some reason, insults the cook, who replies by throwing the chicken at her head; then the Albanian and the Turk are dragged into the quarrel, and you hear them cursing one another in their different languages. Who does not pity the mistress of a house like this?... And is it not the same with the Turkish Government, except that they have the Syrians and Arabs as well?”⁴⁵⁷.

In this form, the empire “stepped” on the threshold of the First World War. According to Erik J. Zürcher, the Ottomans probably expected a war with Russia only, and in that war they could expect Germany and Austria to win but the conflict turned out to be much wider, and the pro-German faction among the Unionists decided to take the plunge anyway⁴⁵⁸. The truth is that the Ottoman Empire was in no condition to fight a serious war, militarily, economically or in terms of internal communications⁴⁵⁹.

World War I put everything in its proper place. Thus, Tyrkova comes to the conclusion that all this time the party of the Young Turks was considered “enlightened” only against the

⁴⁵³ Michael A. Reynolds, *Shattering Empires*, 38.

⁴⁵⁴ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 122-129.

⁴⁵⁵ Y.A. Petrosyan, *Osmanskaya imperiya. Mogushestvo i gibel*, 315.

⁴⁵⁶ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 145.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴⁵⁸ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 117.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

background of the “dark ignorance of the previous reign” which clearly created a contrast⁴⁶⁰. The myth of the Young Turks as noble reformers was dispelled after “unprecedented extermination of the Armenian people” when “honest Talaat Bey turned out to be an Armenian executioner, a murderer of Vramyan and his comrades”⁴⁶¹. All this proved that “the Young Turks did not essentially differ from the old Turks”⁴⁶². As for Ellison, despite all these atrocities, she defends the Young Turks to the end and in point of fact blames Abdülhamid for all the troubles: “You cannot repair in five years the damage of thirty-three. You cannot in five years change the character of a people used to a regime of terror. I see in the faces of these poor old men a resignation which is the result of a crushing and brutalizing tyranny; they are like horses which have taken fright. What can Young Turkey do with them? ‘You cannot put new wine into old bottles’, says the Prophet of Nazareth”⁴⁶³.

The last lines of her notes Ellison wrote just at this time, in early January 1914 in the military hospital of Bordeaux where English nurses helped heal the wounded, while German prisoners were washing up the dishes⁴⁶⁴. She mercilessly criticizes Germany, which caused all of this: “Beside the crimes of Louvain and Rheims and the poor shivering and hungry refugees who were first wrecked at Havre and then brought on penniless and homeless here to Bordeaux, and all the other crimes for which Germany must answer, I place the betrayal of Turkey”⁴⁶⁵. As Russian historian Kireyev wrote, during the war years, the country’s problems became a hundred times more complicated: almost the entire male population of military age joined the army, cattle were taken from many peasants for military needs, most of the fields were not sown, a significant part of the last wheat and barley stocks were sent to Germany and Austria-Hungary, over two and a half million people died from hunger and epidemics⁴⁶⁶. By the end of the war, the empire’s economy was in ruins⁴⁶⁷.

As a result of this chapter, I would like to compare what was written by Ariadna and Grace. As mentioned above, the main difference is the fact that Tyrkova paid much more attention to

⁴⁶⁰ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, VII.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, VII.

⁴⁶³ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 146.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁴⁶⁶ N.G. Kireyev, *Istoriya Turtsii XX vek*, 96.

⁴⁶⁷ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 131.

the political life of the Ottoman Empire at that time. As for the rest, in the perception of that era and the choice of topics for notes, Ariadna and Grace by all appearances have more in common than difference. First of all, it is worth noting that both are violent opponents of Abdülhamid and his regime. The content of both works makes possible to feel and understand that both women, despite an objective understanding of the mistakes and miscalculations of the ruling party, in the struggle between the “old” and “new” Turkey were clearly for the “new”, that is, “Young Turkish”. Their tone in relation to it changes only in those passages that are devoted to the events of the First World War and were written after their departure from Istanbul. However, it is worth saying that Tyrkova’s remarks about what was happening (including the Armenian situation) are sharper because, in her opinion, the fault rested with leaders of the government, while Ellison tried to blame the blunders and false steps on Germans and Enver Pasha, who was bewitched by them. From the texts it becomes clear that Ariadna and Grace, being in the Ottoman Empire, did not let the grass grow under feet. Both in the call of duty and by virtue of their nature, they actively became acquainted with the main figures of the empire, took part in various meetings and general festivities. Largely due to these very extensive connections, we got wonderful portraits of famous personalities of that time. Moreover, the portraits of Ottoman public figures and writers made by Tyrkova were praised by the highly respected orientalist Gordlevskiy, who often visited the Ottoman state before the First World War and lived in Istanbul for a long stretch of time⁴⁶⁸. Both women give fairly detailed descriptions of Abdülhamid II, Talaat Bey and Mehmed V. In addition, in Tyrkova’s work one can find interesting remarks about belletrist Ahmed Hikmet, Cavid bey, Kamil Pasha, Mahmud Şefket, Vezir Said Paşa, Albanian Süreyya Bey and, of course, her “favorite” Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, with whom she has developed quite strong friendship. Ellison gave an eye to Cemal Paşa, Enver Paşa and İbrahim Şinâsi⁴⁶⁹ (in connection with the head of the Ottoman women writers). However, the journalists got acquainted not only with people, but also with the country. Both of them, believing that, like Paris is not France, Istanbul is not the whole Ottoman Empire, tried to visit other places of the country as far as it was possible. Thus, Ellison went to Bursa in winter: she walked in the city, lived with the local residents, attended the town meeting, and even visited one of the schools. Tyrkova, on the other hand, went to the village together with Hüseyin Cahit, who was ashamed of his modest knowledge about the life of the Turkish periphery. According to Tyrkova, at that point

⁴⁶⁸ K. A. Zhukov, *Obshchestvennaya, politicheskaya i intellektualnaya atmosfera Stambula v 1911-1912 godah (po jurnalistским materialam A.V. Tyrkovoy-Williams, 27.*

⁴⁶⁹ İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871) is considered the founder of the modern school of Ottoman literature.

he for the first time went “to Asia, to Adana” and was so amazed that he even exclaimed “What an excellent country!”⁴⁷⁰. One of the famous Turkish poems comes to mind: “*Orda bir köy var, uzakta. O köy bizim köyümüzdür. Gezmesek de, tozmasak da, o köy bizim köyümüzdür*”⁴⁷¹. While describing other territories and Istanbul, Ariadna and Grace turn to the traditional favorite sketches of travel authors, such as: funerals, fires, dervishes, mosques, coffee houses etc. Both are trying to look at this world through the eyes of an independent observer, but European orientalism has become so deep in their souls that sometimes (although very rarely in this case) still breaks out. Thus, Grace does not tire of admiring clothes or a cup of Turkish coffee in the best orientalist traditions; she even compares one of the solemn religious ceremonies with a scene from the Old Testament⁴⁷². As for Ariadna, describing Hüseyin Cahit as a supporter of repression and death penalty for fans of the old regime, Tyrkova writes that he is “a gentle and kind person who sincerely considers himself an apprentice of European humanism, but a cruel reprisal of the enemy seems necessary and natural to him. The thought of the self-contained value of human life is alien to his soul, which from childhood has absorbed the strong traditions of the Koran and Sharia... we, Europeans, immediately perceived that line between East and West, which from time to time made itself felt, even when one meet with the most cultural Turkish people”⁴⁷³. In general, extensive discussions on religion take place in both works. Without having a necessary bundle of knowledge, two journalists try to comprehend the essence of Islam. One gets the impression that Ariadna is absolutely not against religion, but in Islam she sees an obstacle to the development of the country. This is especially true in regard to Muslim clericalism’s harmful influence. In addition to it she comments this situation as follows: “Turkish reformers treat Islam, and especially Sharia, with almost the same hatred as Voltaire and his associates treated the Catholic Church. Except only one thing, their situation is worse: they have to be hypocritical, hide their hatred because the national and religious consciousness in the Turkish popular masses is still merged, and, by affecting the sharia, they are afraid to push away from themselves a quite broad layers of population. But this hypocrisy, this external, worshipful reverence for Shaykh al-Islām, along with permanent, cheap Voltairianism in everything that concerns religion, cannot but deprave the Young Turks”⁴⁷⁴. Ellison seems to echo her,

⁴⁷⁰ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 117.

⁴⁷¹ In English: “There is a village far away. That village is ours. Even if we do not walk around or saunter through it, it belongs to us”.

⁴⁷² Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 34.

⁴⁷³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 115-116.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

supporting one of the speakers at the meeting, who said that he is not against religion but what he demands and what every thinking man and woman should demand is a reformed religion⁴⁷⁵. While religion was simply an obstacle to progress and, as we see from these texts, its presence did not cause any categorical comments, the situation with slavery by the beginning of the twentieth century was completely different. It was an absolutely unacceptable relic for any civilized country. That is why this topic appears both in the articles of Ariadna and in the articles of Grace. Tyrkova argues that slavery in Turkey has already been abolished, but in 1909 for some reason it was necessary to issue a rather “foggy” *irade* (decree), in which, among other things, there were also such words: “... because slavery is prohibited by law and this prohibition is supported by the constitution, slavery is allowed only according to certain special rules and in some exceptional conditions. In view of all this, it is not permissible that Circassians, free from birth, be the subject of bargaining ... Therefore, we decide to prohibit the buying and selling of Circassians (essentially female Circassians) and others, as the buying and selling of Negroes is prohibited”⁴⁷⁶. As far as the meaning of these words is vague, so is the situation of Miss Chocolate, let’s say, servant, with whom Grace Ellison stayed in Istanbul house: “Bought at the age of four by the Pasha, Fatima’s father, for the sum of forty Turkish pounds, she has a record of twenty-five years’ faithful servitude... Since the Constitution, the sale of slaves and eunuchs has been forbidden, and all those at present employed in the house have been offered their liberty. Every slave in this household has, however, refused her liberty, preferring to keep to the original terms of her contract - her freedom only on marriage, with a dowry from the Pasha”⁴⁷⁷. Of particular interest is also the attitude of both women to the Turks. Tyrkova was not always complimentary about them. For instance, she said that so far the Turks were “peasants and great landowners, officials, warriors and hoca’s”, who were “the most uncivilized and the most unorganized half of the citizens” with a “thin layer of education”, “blind respect for the letter of religion” and “distrustfulness towards changes”. According to her, the psychology of the people accounted for the collapse of the empire and its deplorable state: “Is it so rewarding to plant gardens when no one knows what will happen tomorrow?”. These words are once again confirmed by another thought that Ariadna adopted from writer Ahmet Hikmet: “The Turks lived in the country as conquerors, and not as its planners”⁴⁷⁸. Although, there are things that she likes: for example, Ariadna likes the fact that the Turks remained faithful to their traditions, while many

⁴⁷⁵ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 73.

⁴⁷⁶ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 138.

⁴⁷⁷ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 26.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 129-130.

other peoples have lost this spirit. The trait is also noted by Ellison, who seems to have been fascinated by this nation, in particular, by its incredible hospitality and the harmonious relations between poor and rich people. As for the minuses, she scored down only the lack of solitude, since the Turks used to do everything together and few of them knew how to enjoy it. The last thing I would like to pay attention to is Britain and Russia. Both Tyrkova and Ellison mention their own countries in these two works, but they do it differently. Ellison most often speaks of England in the context of injustice towards Turkey⁴⁷⁹. Judging by the primitive questions that her compatriots asked her - mostly about harems and polygamy - she was very ashamed of them. In her opinion, instead of continuing to think inside the box, it was necessary to extend a helping hand or at least make England's presence felt. Britain was obviously not in a hurry to do it, because in the Ottoman Empire at that time everyone read French literature, not English, French schools were built in the country, not English, etc.⁴⁸⁰. There was a similar situation in politics, about which Grace writes with great regret: "England was the country who could put everything right, and one of his greatest sorrows was that England had not come to Turkey's assistance in her hour of need"⁴⁸¹. And what about Russia? What did Russia want? Tyrkova devotes an entire chapter to answer to this question, but the basic idea is expressed literally in a few sentences: "At that time, the German instructors were building fortifications against Russia on the Bosphorus. In place of N.V. Charykov was sent Girs. This change of personality did not make our Middle Eastern policy either more energetic or shrewder. Apparently, the ambassadors were not a problem, the issue was about an absence of a correct political orientation in our Ministry of Foreign Affairs"⁴⁸². In addition, Ariadna makes an important remark, saying that Russia was afraid of the Ottoman Empire ("Because Turks can take away the Transcaucasus at any time"), while Turkey, in the meantime, looked with the same anxiety towards Russia⁴⁸³. As for the straits, according to Luneva, the situation of the country after the Russian-Japanese war and the First Russian Revolution forced Russia to abandon any active actions - posing this problem would inevitably work it up in the Middle East against Austria-Hungary, Germany and other powers⁴⁸⁴. Due to the difficult financial situation, Russia during the wars in the Balkans avoided independent steps, and the ministers

⁴⁷⁹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 55.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 118.

⁴⁸¹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 208.

⁴⁸² Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 49.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 58.

⁴⁸⁴ U.V., Luneva, *Bosfor i Dardanelly. Tayniye provokatsii nakanune Pervoy mirovoy voyni (1907-1914)*, 237.

were forced to act as defenders of Turkey and its possession of straits⁴⁸⁵. Germany did not waste time and in the fall of 1913 sent its military mission led by Liman von Sanders⁴⁸⁶ to the shores of the Bosphorus. This military mission, like the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, became the prologue to the First World War⁴⁸⁷.



⁴⁸⁵ U.V., Luneva, *Bosfor i Dardanelly. Tayniye provokatsii nakanune Pervoy mirovoy voyni*, 241.

⁴⁸⁶ Otto Liman von Sanders (1855-1929) - German general largely responsible for making the Ottoman army an effective fighting force in World War I.

⁴⁸⁷ U.V., Luneva, *Bosfor i Dardanelly*, 242.

CHAPTER 3

OTTOMAN WOMEN IN TYRKOVA'S "OLD TURKEY AND THE YOUNG TURKS. ONE YEAR IN CONSTANTINOPLE" AND ELLISON'S "AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN A TURKISH HAREM"

This chapter examines the women's question in the Ottoman Empire of the early 20th century. I consider only those issues that were raised by Ariadna Tyrkova and Grace Ellison in their monographs. As is the case with the second chapter of this study, the women's question is reviewed by me both by comparing the two aforementioned monographs and by using secondary sources on the topic.

What did women do in this turbulent time? What role has been allotted them? Being feminists, both our heroines were looking for the answers to these questions. Although, both Ariadna Tyrkova and Grace Ellison realized that it would be very difficult to get a full understanding of the situation and to make a point about their observations to the readers. This is largely due to the fact that writing about women is not as easy as it seems at first glance, especially when it comes to writing about women of another culture, Ottoman women and Turkish women in particular. Thus, in one of her letters, Tyrkova criticizes another Russian journalist Aleksandr Derental⁴⁸⁸, who spent about three weeks in the Ottoman Empire of that time and wrote some "nonsenses" about Turkish women⁴⁸⁹. According to Ariadna, it was difficult to write about Turkey, and very few people managed to do it without mistakes, but she definitely didn't allow herself to go down to copies of "old-fashioned articles of foreigners about Russia"⁴⁹⁰. Grace Ellison stood in full solidarity with her in this regard. This can be understood from her articles in which she tries to keep a civil tongue in terms of trenchant commentary and repeatedly argues that she has no right to judge women of another culture⁴⁹¹. In addition, she mentions Lady Montagu⁴⁹², and says that she was right when she said, "There is as much sense in asking the refugees of Greek street to write about the Court of St. James's as in asking the average woman to write about the women of Turkey"⁴⁹³. Obviously, they have been tasked with a challenging problem, but they still tried to do their

⁴⁸⁸ Aleksandr Dikgof-Derental (1885-1939) was a member of Socialist Revolutionary Party (for a while) and Russian journalist.

⁴⁸⁹ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 311.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 73-77.

⁴⁹² For details about Montagu see: Billie Melman, *Women's Orient: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (London: MACMILLAN, 1992), 10.

⁴⁹³ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 139-140.

best and make contribution to the common cause. I also would like to note and recall that Grace Ellison's thoughts on the women's issue in the Ottoman Empire were committed to paper a year, or even two later than comments of Ariadna Tyrkova: hence a bit different accents and different preferences in choosing a topic. In addition, I would like to repeat that I do not attempt to disclose all aspects of Ottoman women's life in the considered period of time, I dwell only on those issues that were in one way or another covered in the two main sources of this research.

I. TURKISH WOMEN

Traditionally, there is much less information about the poor and uneducated part of the female Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire than information about the ladies of high society. It is also worth pointing out that very often, when "Ottoman woman" is mentioned in the studies, it is understood that one talk about Sunnite, Turkish, urban woman from the upper class⁴⁹⁴. That is the reason why the lines that Ariadna and Grace devoted to the first group are especially valuable. Thus, during their trips to the outskirts of Istanbul, Tyrkova talks about patriarchal Turkish villages in this way: "In the depths of the white houses with clay floors, women in homespun cloaks grind grains or tinker with silky cocoons or make some other rural work"⁴⁹⁵. You may ask what is unusual about this? What else to do in the village? However, according to Ariadna, not all Turkish women from the countryside lived this way. Some of them had to work in factories. This can be confirmed by the words of Donald Quataert, who argued that the studies on Ottoman manufacturing are proof that Ottoman women took a much more active part in economic life than is commonly believed⁴⁹⁶. Tyrkova, who visited one of such factories, a carpet factory near Izmit, provides reasonable details concerning female representatives working there. It is interesting that she immediately distinguishes Muslim women into a separate group. Ariadna quotes the overseer, according to whom there were only a few Muslim women in the factory, about fifty persons, and they worked, as a rule, separately from the Christians, because they did it in a more composed and concentrated manner⁴⁹⁷. It is, on the one hand, commendable, but, on the other hand, we understand from her text that this is not about adult women at all, but about very young creatures who had to work a lot and for a long time at such factories. Ariadna notes that the department where Muslim women worked, was much quieter, and laughter did not sound so

⁴⁹⁴ Gülhan Balsoy, *Osmanlı kadın ve toplumsal cinsiyet tarihçiliği üzerine* // Toplum ve Bilim, Sayı 132, 2015, 227.

⁴⁹⁵ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 130.

⁴⁹⁶ Gülhan Balsoy, *Osmanlı kadın ve toplumsal cinsiyet tarihçiliği üzerine*, 225.

⁴⁹⁷ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 147.

loud as in the department of Greek and Armenian women⁴⁹⁸. She explains this difference as follows:

“The position of a Muslim woman has put such a stamp on her psychology that it affects her work in the factory, even in the equalizing grip of hard work. In appearance as well, little Turkish women do not look like Christians. They are also dressed in colorful calico, but everything on them is cleaner and neater. The wide, picturesque trousers of Greek women are replaced by narrow, ugly, male-like pantaloons. The head and shoulders are covered with a white scarf, as a Muslim woman should not walk bareheaded... But the main difference lies in their manners and facial expression. There is something closed, diminished in these daughters of Islam. The imprint of humble surrendering to fate lies on them, and in dark, most often beautiful, eyes one can see a sad perplexity, as if they are trying to understand why life puts such heavy obstacles to their young dreams of happiness?”⁴⁹⁹.

Speaking of their humble surrendering to fate, she seems to be referring to the fact that religious traditions and orders at that time were still very strong, and they rather seriously hindered progress being against the new way of looking at women and their mission in the world. As Tyrkova writes, in the midst of the people she happened to meet women who not only read the newspapers, but also, understood their own humiliating position and dreamed of a better lot for their daughters. Unfortunately, there were very few of them, in Ariadna’s own words: “The vast majority are enslaved by tradition and the position of women liberators is very difficult”⁵⁰⁰. As for Ellison, she did not leave any in-depth analysis about the villagers. In her work, we find only a small sketch from the countryside of Bursa, where she described the clothing of the Turkish women: “The women in the villages here are not veiled, as are the women of Constantinople. Their hair and shoulders are covered with yellow embroideries, of which I was given a simple, and they sit astride their ponies, mules, or donkeys, as the case may be, often without saddles, and a well-worn cord only as bridle and reins”⁵⁰¹. In addition, attention should be paid to the description of daily living of women belonged to the family of the schoolmaster, with whom Grace met during her trip to Bursa: “The young wife was about seventeen, and lived with her mother and grandmother and little baby. They all came to the door to meet me... they led me by the hand up a wooden staircase ladder to a room which was furnished with cushions all round – their chairs by day and their beds by night... They had bread to eat and milk to drink; their own vegetables they grew in the little patch of garden,

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 147-148.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 141.

⁵⁰¹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 148.

where the animals walked about at leisure, but they never ate meat, nor did they feel the want of it – to have told them they were poor would have surprised them”⁵⁰².

As for the Turkish women from high society, it is noticeable that both journalists paid more attention to them. In the case of Tyrkova, this was due to the fact that she communicated a lot with local secular men who tried to help her to pick away at the women’s issue, but in consequence of their limited abilities and modest knowledge they provided information only about women from their circle of contacts. One is put in mind of the dialogue between Tyrkova and “Turkish Chekhov” Ahmet Hikmet, when the writer frankly declares that she does not know women: “How can I write without knowing women? I already described my mother, mother-in-law, my sisters, and my wife, but I don’t know anyone else. Therefore, our poets always draw either slaves or European women on whom they throw charshaf. This is disastrous for national literature. It deprives it of beauty, flavor, authenticity...”⁵⁰³. In the case of Ellison, this is due to the fact that she lived in the same house with such ladies from high society and she managed to plunge into their life. Therefore, by calling her research “the diary of my existence as a Turkish woman”, she nevertheless meant not a simple artless village Turkish woman, but a secular Turkish woman of a new type⁵⁰⁴. Besides, such a circumstance as living with Turkish women in the same house allowed her to make interesting daily observations, which one fail to find in Tyrkova’s work. For example, Ellison tells that Turkish women in general are more pure-minded due to the fact that from the age when they begin to think the Turks are taught that nature must be respected. So, as soon as children begin to ask what is called “embarrassing questions”⁵⁰⁵, they are told the truth⁵⁰⁶. Although, she immediately notes that in terms of physical training in England things are much better, because Ottoman men and women only just have awakened to the fact that the lack of physical exercise shows most distressing results in the poor anaemic children born of mothers who take no exercise⁵⁰⁷. Her comment about Turkish women’s passion for postponement of important matters for later is also interesting: “...that terrible ‘Tomorrow I will do it’ which is partly due to the climate and partly the inheritance of ages, has been till now the Turkish

⁵⁰² Ibid., 149-150.

⁵⁰³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 178.

⁵⁰⁴ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 3.

⁵⁰⁵ As an example Ellison gives a six-year-old boy who asked if it is the duty of all men to marry. His mother replied that all men should marry so that mothers may have “dear little boys” like he himself.

⁵⁰⁶ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 108.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 61.

woman's stumbling-block in all she undertakes"⁵⁰⁸. Although, it is still worth noting that something similar can be seen in Tyrkova's personal diaries. For example, in one of her notes, she says that, according to M-me Weyl, Turkish women are completely helpless, their children and the household are always in disrepair⁵⁰⁹. In addition, writing about the visit to Hamdi Bey's family, she is very ironic about the ladies who have given up work in the Red Crescent to men, since they themselves "cannot go anywhere"⁵¹⁰. Ariadna emphasizes that these words belong to 35-year-old married daughter of Hamdi Bey⁵¹¹, thus hinting that if she really wanted to continue working, she could have done it without any problems⁵¹².

Tyrkova first mentioned them in her book in connection with the events of March 1908, when the Young Turks mercilessly hung their enemies right in the center of Istanbul: "Turkish women pulled the dead by their noses, tried to spit in their faces"⁵¹³. Such a detail or an action certainly does not reflect credit on them, but it speaks to the fact that many ladies did not bleed for representatives of the "old regime". And how these women were supposed to sympathize with it when they finally felt the wind of freedom? It has to be said that their intuition did not let them down, because Grace, having arrived in Istanbul after a five-year absence in the city, hardly recognizes its atmosphere. She met with her old friend in one of the local hotels, that is, her female friend personally came to see her. It would seem nothing strange, but according to Ellison, five years ago it was impossible⁵¹⁴. One can only guess how she was surprised to see the restaurant for Turkish women where they discussed political subjects⁵¹⁵. Here is how she herself commented on this situation: "The women, however, as I said before, have made enormous progress in five years... Five years ago we never walked a step; now we not only saunter through the bazaar, but go to a big dressmaker's in Pera, whilst formerly all our goods had to be purchased from Greek merchants and Paris dressmakers who came with their goods to the harem. But not only in the bazaar do we walk; we have walked in the magnificent newly laid-out park, where women are allowed for the first time to walk, in a park where there are men. The men, I must say, have not yet grown accustomed to this new and extraordinary state of things, and vie with the Levantine 'mashers' in their desire to see the features under the veil. It is not a very comfortable experience for the Turkish women, but

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁰⁹ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 116.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) - Ottoman statesman and painter.

⁵¹² N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 116.

⁵¹³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 8.

⁵¹⁴ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 5.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

it is the darkness before the dawn”⁵¹⁶. It is necessary to point out that in the 1870s the tramway with its curtained-off section for women was introduced, and this greatly enhanced the mobility of women⁵¹⁷. In addition, according to Davis, in the latter years of the nineteenth century the Ottoman lady was not necessarily limited to the bazaar in old Istanbul, but made her way to the shops of Galata and Pera⁵¹⁸. Almost the same was stated by Amicis who said that women could feel themselves in Istanbul just as they would in Europe (with their veils very loosely put on, while older women might be seen unveiled altogether)⁵¹⁹. Despite all these facts, as late as 1908 a visitor to the city wrote that no Turkish lady of rank would ever walk in the street⁵²⁰. One theory is that, the reason for such caution was the inability of the state to ensure the safety of women moving along the streets of cities. For instance, celebrations for the birth of Ayşe Sultan, Mahmud II’s daughter, were cut short because of fear that the presence of so many women out might incite violence⁵²¹. Besides that, in Tyrkova’s personal diaries we find records of Istanbul administration’s order, according to which Muslim women should cover their faces and refrain from free walks in bazaars, streets and shops⁵²².

Subsequently, in a few more years, Ellison will write that educated and rich Turkish women adapt so well to European countries and speak local languages so perfectly that no one dares to think that they are wearing hats for the first time in their lives⁵²³. Although, it was about more than only evening dresses; it was a time when Turkish women showed themselves in action by splendidly organizing Red Crescent Society. According to Grace, it was time Europe saw the Turkish woman as she really is: “In Turkey, in spite of their veil, in spite of their apparent desire not to take advantage of the privileges offered to them, they have shown themselves magnificent in two most important branches – nursing and teaching. In both these branches the Turkish woman has shown qualities Europe never supposed she possessed”⁵²⁴. Against the background of such changes, it was, of course, unpleasant to continue hearing comments of an oriental nature. This is what Grace hints at when she says that the Turkish

⁵¹⁶ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 32.

⁵¹⁷ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady. A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (New York, London: Greenwood Press, 1986), 136.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁵¹⁹ Godfrey Goodwin, *The Private World of Ottoman women*, 168.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ Edited by Ebru Boyar & Kate Fleet, *Ottoman Women in Public Space* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 14.

⁵²² N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 111.

⁵²³ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 149-150.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

woman does not often open the doors of her home to the foreigner, not for lack of any friendly feeling towards her, but because the foreigner has lost her confidence, the foreigner has made fun of her⁵²⁵.

Another time, when Tyrkova separated Turkish women from the rest, occurred among high-school girls: "...in Istanbul, I noticed a sad, reproachful expression on the faces of Turkish high-school girls... Their young heads that are already wakened to work had a clearer consciousness of their feminine haplessness"⁵²⁶. This description, of course, reminds us of Muslim women from a carpet factory. Now all the evidence suggests that both educated and uneducated Turkish women were often expected to have approximately the same fate. Ariadna's story about her good friend's wife can be considered as another confirmation of this assumption: "The wife of Hüseyin Cahit is an uneducated woman, she speaks only Turkish and is seen as being out of touch with her husband's complex interests and experiences. Beyond the pale of the editorial office, his house lives according to the strong customs of Turkish antiquities. The small bars on the windows speak eloquently about what makes his wife inaccessible to the influences of the outside world"⁵²⁷. If the wife of one of the Turkish leaders suffered such a fate, then what can be said about women from other strata of the population? It's curious that Ellison prefers to attribute latticed windows, veil and "all that has most oppressed and crushed the Turkish woman" not to Islam, but to Christianity; to be more precise - she considers all of this to be a Byzantine heritage⁵²⁸. Such a theory indeed is unfabled and substantial. By the same token, if one look at the three K formula ("küche" is a kitchen, "kirche" is a church and "kinder" are children) in Europe, it becomes clear from what quarter does the wind blow when it comes to the Ottoman formula "good wife, good mother and good Muslim"⁵²⁹. Besides that, Young Turk ideologues themselves believed that the status of Turkish women had declined as a result of the encounter with Iranian and Byzantine civilizations⁵³⁰. Ahmet Hikmet, a fiction writer, told Tyrkova about a Muslim family which was absurdly formed even among the most enlightened circles:

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 22.

⁵²⁶ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 148.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 117.

⁵²⁸ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 113.

⁵²⁹ Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın* (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2009), 240.

⁵³⁰ Zafer Toprak, *The Family, Feminism, and the State during the Young Turk Period, 1908-1918* // Première Rencontre internationale sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie Moderne, Istanbul-Paris, Editions ISIS, 1991, 444.

"I was about 25 years old when my mother decided that it was time for me to marry. The only question she asked was: 'Who do you want: a blonde or a brunette?'. How should I know? My imagination was boiling. I loved all women, blondes and brunettes, and even redheads. My mother set out on a search and found me a bride. It was a foremost family. They lived a la franca. Still, the wedding was arranged according to all traditions. I saw my bride only once, from a distance, in a shop where she was with her mother. Of course, I immediately fell in love and bought a doll that remembered me of her. But I knew so little about woman I marry, that the doll was blond, and my wife turned out to be black-haired. It goes without saying that my wife and I had no opportunity to exchange a single word before the wedding. On both sides there was complete obscurity. Do you know what is interesting? When we studied in Galatasaray, we had a friendly circle, and everyone who entered it, vowed to liberate their wives. And when we got married, we settled down like everyone else. I am not familiar with wives of my friends and I myself don't introduce my wife to them"⁵³¹.

This *görücü* (matchmaking)-method when a woman (groom's mother, close female relative or a woman hired for this purpose) tried to find a good and suitable bride was very popular⁵³². It was not easy for both, men and women. As Davis writes, it was a dilemma for a Turkish girl with Western education who nourished on romantic French novels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (for example, Pierre Loti's "*Les Désenchantées*")⁵³³.

Buying a doll in this situation is a bit strange decision, but the fact that this action was made by the graduate of the most advanced Ottoman educational institution makes it even more surprising. However, it is worth noting that at the time when Tyrkova and Ellison were staying in Istanbul, the situation with the choice of the bride was given some modern coloring: "It might be argued, the Turkish bride is of the mother-in-law's choosing. Generally yes, but not always. In a marriage a la Turque the bride-groom takes on trust her whom his mother chooses for him. He is usually content with the choice, or, if he is not, he accepts her as his written fate and makes the best of the situation. But since the Turkish man has become accustomed to Western civilization he no longer will marry a la Turque..."⁵³⁴. The social history of marriage in Istanbul during the turbulent period of transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is perfectly described in Alan Duben and Cem Behar's collaborative work. They confirm Grace's view by writing that in most parts of the world and for most of history bride and groom were very often passive participants since marriages took place more for social and economic

⁵³¹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 177-178.

⁵³² Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady. A Social History from 1718 to 1918*, 61.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁵³⁴ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 96.

reproduction than for individual fulfilment⁵³⁵. In Ottoman society the introduction of the idea that a man and a woman should unite in matrimony of their own volition and only if they were in love caused great intellectual and emotional turmoil, but traditional expectations of marriage disguised in new forms persisted even in modernist circles⁵³⁶. To a large extent this was because families continued to play an important role in shouldering the social and financial burden of marriage and household formation⁵³⁷. Romantic love most of the time was seen as a threat to family stability, this position is carried to its logical extreme in Yakup Kadri's novel "*Kiralık konak*" ("A Mansion for rent") set in Istanbul of the 1910s⁵³⁸. "Love marriages", however, were becoming more frequent; according to Duben and Behar, especially after the First World War⁵³⁹.

II. VEIL

In the previous chapter, it was said that the Young Turks got down to work on the improvement of the army, while not paying due attention to many other problems that required immediate resolution. In a sense, a similar situation occurred with Ellison and her narration about the clothes of local Muslim women, in particular about the veil. It seems that she is paying too much attention to this issue, sometimes forgetting that veil was far from being the main obstacle in solving the female issue of the Ottoman Empire. It is most pronounced when she emotionally describes the reluctance of Turkish women to "unveil", talking about male speeches at local meetings of feminists. It is known that many Ottoman men strongly supported women in terms of abandoning this accessory, but they desperately resisted: "And yet the Turkish woman still wears her veil down. 'You see', said Djemal Bey (the Military Governor of Constantinople), 'they will not take advantage of the liberty I try to give them'"⁵⁴⁰. In this situation Cemal Bey's remark was not unjustified. He had in mind the fact that local police had strict orders from him to interfere in no way with the ladies, and as for men daring to insult a woman, they should have been punished with exile⁵⁴¹. Even progressive Halide Edib, who liked to repeat that "the veil surrounds the woman with an unhealthy air of mystery" at that time always appeared in the street with a thick veil over her

⁵³⁵ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility, 1880-1940*, 87.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 100.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 96.

⁵⁴⁰ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 61.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

face, which she never threw back, upon the pretext that “it is a habit”⁵⁴². Ariadna Tyrkova also noticed that young Turkish women from the women’s club talked about veil as a small detail of life⁵⁴³. As for Halide, she gave to Ariadna a more explicit answer to the question about her unwillingness to leave this accessory: “...otherwise they would throw me in the street with mud and stones, they can not only insult me, but directly kill me. Actually, it matters little. Charshaf is the last thing we must fight against. I myself have become so accustomed to it, that when I come to Europe, I am embarrassed during the first days of staying because everyone sees my face”⁵⁴⁴. Ellison, trying to understand their stubbornness, at some point even compares them with slaves, whose master, apparently, is this accessory: “But the slavery of ages cannot be cast aside in a few months, and the ladies continue to wear their thick black canvas veils over their faces. Through this veil the beautiful colored landscape becomes a black-and-white sketch. On hot days it’s unbearable...”⁵⁴⁵. It should be noted that she repeatedly says it: “Living in a Turkish household one sees this slavery has become almost part of a woman’s existence”⁵⁴⁶. Although, at some point she tries to understand them and draws the conclusion that to ask a Turkish woman to go out without her veil is almost like asking an Englishwoman to go out without a blouse⁵⁴⁷. Moreover, she even tries to delve into the history of this headdress. For example, she learns that the Caliph had the ‘supreme’ privilege of seeing all his subjects unveiled⁵⁴⁸, and women during the reign of Abdülhamid II helped most considerably in bringing about the Revolution owing to their veils, since it was them who went from house to house carrying the letters, as the men never could have dared to do it⁵⁴⁹. However, this does not prevent her from insisting on her point of view, which, as was said above, was supported by the progressive layers of the country’s male population. Moreover, one of the representatives of this stratum even spoke at the meeting of feminists with a report entitled “The veil and the subjection of women”: he condemned it from a moral point of view, he condemned it from a physical point of view, and showed that, in spite of the custom which has been accepted for centuries, veiling is against the teaching of the Qur’ān⁵⁵⁰. All this, as it turned out, was at odds with the ideas of Grace and British readers about the structure of Turkish society. As Ellison admitted, from articles which have from time to time

⁵⁴² Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 77.

⁵⁴³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 161.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 61.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 76.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 70.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., 73.

appeared in British newspapers she imagined an organized society for the abolition of the veil and she thought that “man”, the arch-enemy of woman, was the chief obstacle to woman’s progress: “I believe, however, this idea is prevalent in our Western countries. Signed always with the name of a Turkish woman, these articles are written by persons who are catering for readers of sensation”⁵⁵¹.

As for Ariadna Tyrkova, she does not focus much attention on this issue, and makes it clear that she does not consider this problem to be the main stumbling block, believing that education is much more important than appearance. Thus, describing a street party in connection with the opening of the parliament, she says that “today even women are not hiding”, “along the high wall that rose above the street Turkish women in black, green, dark red silk mantillas were squatting on haunches, throwing back a jealous veil and admiring the soldiers”⁵⁵². It turns out that when women want, they throw this veil, and when they prefer to be unseeable, they cover their faces. Furthermore, there were ladies who dared to walk completely without a veil. At least Duben and Behar say that by the 1910s a few courageous Muslim women had even ventured onto the streets of Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Izmir unveiled⁵⁵³. So, was it a problem? In some sense yes, since at the same time, Tyrkova understood that a loss in this “chess game” would most likely signify a loss in the next “chess game,” because veil-question is only the beginning, which should be followed by attainment of all other “privileges”. Ariadna, reflecting on this topic, refers to the experts of the Qur’ān, who asserted that “there is nowhere in the Prophet’s teachings any direct reference to women’s covers and generally to that always childish, subordinate position, in which a Muslim, especially Turkish woman, is placed”⁵⁵⁴. Although, from the appeal of Shaykh al-Islām in March 1912, it becomes clear that the Muslim clergy did not think so:

“The orders of Islam concerning women’s covers are very useful and prevent much evil. Their advantages are recognized even by many European philosophers. Unfortunately, we have to admit that every day we give less and less importance to religious ordinances and related folk customs. Also, the charshaf, which Muslim women wear for a long time, changes its form and shape according to fashion (this is a hint at too short mantilla, which, in violation of custom, did not hide the figure and shoulders). Its current style makes a deep impression on all reasonable people. All Muslim women who value their dignity, honor and chastity, must strenuously refrain from such clothing,

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 64.

⁵⁵² Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 41.

⁵⁵³ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility*, 215.

⁵⁵⁴ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 140.

which in this world gives rise to great evil, and in the next world threatens with a heavy punishment. We, men, should in every way keep our daughters and wives from such fashions, forcing them to renounce Muslim morality. We must again return them to the borders indicated by the Shari'a, instill in them the observance of national customs, and those women who still sin will be punished accordingly. For every nation, progress is possible only if religious traditions and people's living habits are observed"⁵⁵⁵.

The concern of religious leaders was not groundless. Thus, Duben and Behar tell us that despite the veil, it became somewhat easier for young men and women of the literate classes to meet (and even flirt) in public places: "A furtive glance, a flirtatious turn under the veil, a handkerchief dropped, a flower in one's lapel, a secret love-letter passed from hand to hand, these were some of the public symbols of a still forbidden, though increasingly tolerated, romance"⁵⁵⁶. It is unclear where and how Tyrkova familiarized herself with this appeal of Shaykh al-Islām, but one thing is sure from the text - the struggle against religious leaders was set to be serious, they still had a lot of power and influence on the minds. In addition, it should not be forgotten that all these debates about the veil were conducted in the context of such big cities as Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Izmir – as for the province, it was a completely different story⁵⁵⁷. In addition, according to Zafer Toprak, later the veil no longer covered the face but was thrown off to one side and the fabric was no longer always black; during World War I, many women simply wore a scarf and no veil⁵⁵⁸.

III. WOMEN'S ISSUE AND THE POLICY OF THE YOUNG TURKS

I would like to begin this section with a situation that occurred before 1908. At that time, a magazine called "*İctihat*"⁵⁵⁹ was published in Geneva, and Abdullah Cevdet decided to conduct a survey among respected and famous people⁵⁶⁰. The survey dealt with the measures to be taken for the development of the Muslims in Ottoman Empire. One French writer answered briefly: "*Fermer le Coran, ouvrir les femmes*" (which meant "Close the Qur'ān, open women"), to which Abdullah Cevdet replied that it would be more correct to "open women while not closing the Qur'ān" - this is how the slogan of the future family reform was formulated⁵⁶¹. The problem of women was already discussed at that time, and after 1908 it

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 139-140.

⁵⁵⁶ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility*, 99.

⁵⁵⁷ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (İstanbul: YKY, 2017), 445.

⁵⁵⁸ Zafer Toprak, *The Family, Feminism, and the State during the Young Turk Period, 1908-1918*, 445.

⁵⁵⁹ It was published between 1904 and 1932 in centers such as Geneva, Cairo and Istanbul.

⁵⁶⁰ Zafer Toprak, *The Family, Feminism, and the State during the Young Turk Period*, 444.

⁵⁶¹ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 444.

became even more popular: the men wondered who the women are and wrote on this topic not only books, but also articles for women's magazines⁵⁶². That is why Deniz Kandiyoti's famous term "male feminism"⁵⁶³ in this case in a sense can be used quite appropriately⁵⁶⁴.

According to Tyrkova and Ellison, almost all the Young Turks considered the position of Turkish women as one of the most harmful brakes for the development of the country⁵⁶⁵. Ariadna very precisely described the whole situation literally in one sentence: "The social system of Turkey still has another dead and heavy burden, the position of a Muslim woman. Here again the Sharī'ah, an obsolete clerical tradition, stops the growth of the people"⁵⁶⁶. Both journalists tell in their monographs that the Young Turks actively supported local women in new undertakings and helped them in every way - not only in words but in deeds. Thus, Ellison presents in her book an interesting dialogue with Cemal Paşa since it was him who gave women the opportunity of visiting legendary Ottoman cruiser Hamidiye, allowed a Turkish woman, Belkıs Şevket, to go up in an aeroplane (and after ordered to place her portrait in the Military Museum beside the other heroes of Turkey) and who opened the State Treasury and old Serail for Turkish women for the first time⁵⁶⁷. She congratulated him on his new appointment and asked him if, in his new capacity, he would still be the "feminist" Minister⁵⁶⁸. "Most certainly", he said, "this whole Eastern question, is it not a women's question?"⁵⁶⁹. According to Ellison, while being the Prefect of Constantinople, Cemal Paşa opened a beautiful park in Istanbul, and gave men and women permission to walk in that park at the same time⁵⁷⁰. It was the reason why Shaykh al-Islām issued in 1912 a previously mentioned decree forbidding the women to walk in the park the same day as the men. Although, from Ariadna's personal diaries it is clear that the reason was somewhat different: the entrance to the park was closed to women on the pretext that they show their faces to men during walks⁵⁷¹. Nevertheless, Grace wrote that Talat Paşa, "with a boldness yet unknown in Islam, issued a decree ignoring the Sheik-ul-Islam" and gave women and men permission to

⁵⁶² Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar.Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 741.

⁵⁶³ That is to say, some men vociferously supported women at that time because they believed that women should fit "the new society".

⁵⁶⁴ Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar.Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler*, 742.

⁵⁶⁵ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 141.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁵⁶⁷ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 82.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁷¹ N.I. Kanisheva, *Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy*, 104.

walk in this park on the same days⁵⁷². This is quite a curious remark, since it happened in 1912, and the Young Turks were not so brave from the very beginning. For example, according to Tyrkova, having come to power, the Young Turks did not dare to openly support women's emancipation: "When at the beginning of the constitutional regime, some Turkish women, including the sister of the popular Ahmed Rıza Bey, who had lived in Paris for a long time, tried to go outside without a cover, the crowd almost dispatched them. The Young Turks had to immediately issue decrees that would force women to hide their faces"⁵⁷³. On the one hand, they were forced to do this in order to protect women from religious fanatics, who were quite numerous on the streets of Istanbul at that time. Ellison comments on this situation as follows: "There are some ladies here who blame the Turkish women for not taking their freedom as other women have done; there are times, too, when I feel inclined to sigh for the militant spirit of the Englishwoman, but until one has really been behind the veil one can have no idea of what 'fanaticism' really means"⁵⁷⁴. In addition, she gives an example of her host, an exceedingly well-read and intelligent officer, who was ready to give his wife complete liberty but for her own sake he could not too openly defy Islam, it was very dangerous⁵⁷⁵. On the other hand, the protection of women was not the only reason that the Young Turks sometimes had a reverse gear in terms of women's question. Sometimes they did it, because, like any other real politicians, they were forced to be cunning in order to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Thus, Tyrkova writes that decree commanding women to cover their faces was issued in the midst of the struggle of the Young Turks against the opposition, which always in its agitation relied on the "disregard of the Ittihadists for Muslim traditions"⁵⁷⁶. It should be understood that, while making concessions to religious leaders, they at the same time had to justify themselves to the progressive stratum of society and women. How did they do it? For the most part they cited lengthy arguments, and as a shield they used ornate but convincing speeches, as there were quite a number of talented speakers among them. In the spring of 1911, for example, when the Young Turks were not yet so brave to simply ignore the decree of Shaykh al-Islām, they justified themselves in front of their electorate with these words: "The Qur'ān does not say that a woman's face should be hidden from men's eyes. However, scientists have found it decent to make a cover mandatory. They were guided by

⁵⁷² Moreover, in 1916 the Shaykh al-Islām was removed from the cabinet and during the next year his jurisdiction was limited on all sides.

⁵⁷³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 139.

⁵⁷⁴ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 29.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁵⁷⁶ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 140.

sacred sayings ‘Do not look with lust at the charms of someone else’s wife’ and ‘Woman is a trap with which the devil catches men’. If, as it happens not infrequently, young women appear among men with open faces - who can prevent men looking at them to feel attracted? Of course, the face of a woman is not forbidden. It is not a woman who should cover her face, but a man who should not look at her. This is the true imperative of religion. Unfortunately, men are less chaste than women, and therefore they had to force women to wear a veil, for their own good”⁵⁷⁷. Here is another argument in connection with the situation in the park for men and women: “Opponents of wearing charshaf say that our women do not know public life, that they are ignorant and therefore cannot raise children well. We agree that women are ignorant, we also want them to acquire knowledge. But we don’t want them to learn to play piano, write novels and neglect folk customs in the cause of fashion or chic. Education is achieved with the help of learning, not by social intercourse with men”⁵⁷⁸. According to Tyrkova, the overwhelming majority of the male Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire argued their position in this way, but there were, of course, much more progressive elements who had another vision. It should be noted here that the Ittihadists initially had their own ideas about new modern women, as well as about so-called “milli aile” – so, for them Western ideal was not a sample to be uncritically emulated⁵⁷⁹. For example, the family, on the one hand, should have been a “*çekirdek*”, as it was in western countries, and on the other hand, its culture should have remained local⁵⁸⁰. Besides that, patriarchalism had to be replaced by partnership within the family because the tenets of the 1908 revolution required “liberty, equality and fraternity”⁵⁸¹. Denman argued that the Young Turks, who had no specific economic plan, wanted to eradicate poverty with the help of charitable organizations and the purchase of local products, and women took a key position in this scenario - everything were well-thought-out, and all the details were discussed in advance, in Thessaloniki⁵⁸².

Despite the fact that sometimes the Young Turks used the women’s question in their own interests, they did a lot to solve it, which subsequently allowed them to behave more decisively regarding this issue. One of the most serious results of the executed work was the opening of the university for women where they had a chance to attend lectures on

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 141.

⁵⁷⁹ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de yeni hayat: inkılap ve travma 1908-1928* (İstanbul : Doğan Kitap, 2017), 49.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 50.

⁵⁸¹ Zafer Toprak, *The Family, Feminism, and the State during the Young Turk Period, 1908-1918*, 443.

⁵⁸² Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, 246.

gynecology, hygiene and woman's rights⁵⁸³. It is of particular interest to note that this decision was taken by the Ottoman government. Ellison was on the one hand very pleased with this result, and on the other sincerely surprised since British men did not support their women in this regard: "When I heard the news, much as I rejoiced, I could not help making a comparison between the methods of the East and those of the West. Here are these 'unspeakable' Turks giving to women privileges for which they have not asked, simply because they are theirs by right, and since they are to take their place as workers on the world, they must be educated. And yet, here in England, much as women have tried to work along the lines of evolution they have been driven to revolution. Is this sex antagonism of their asking? From the beginning of the woman's movement, every privilege has had to be bought with rebellion"⁵⁸⁴. According to Reina Lewis, Ellison was not alone in this matter; there were other writers who compared male support for Ottoman feminism to the masculine hostility encountered by British suffragists at home⁵⁸⁵. As for support itself, it is fair to assume that Fatma Aliye's⁵⁸⁶ writings in some sense could affect Ottoman men as, according to her, men who supported literary women would find the whole world of civilization and humanity grateful to them for this contribution to the learned world, and could see themselves as both proof and cause of cultural advancement in the Ottoman world⁵⁸⁷.

IV. HALIDE

Along with the Young Turks, the famous Turkish writer and public figure Halide Edib Adıvar also fought for the rights of women and their opportunity to receive education. Without any doubt, one always remembers this woman when it comes to the women's issue in the Ottoman Empire of the early 20th century. She was so deeply involved in its solving that all foreign feminists who wanted to help or simply support Turkish women in their difficult task somehow came across her. Ariadna Tyrkova and Grace Ellison were no exception. They not only met and spent some time with her but remained under a very deep impression of her dedication and strength, which seemed to be unusual for such a fragile and miniature lady. That is why both journalists have devoted rather long sketches to her, and, perhaps, would have devoted more pages if the monograph would allow it.

⁵⁸³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 199.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 199-200.

⁵⁸⁵ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman harem. Rethinking Orientalism*, 15.

⁵⁸⁶ Fatma Aliye (1862-1936) was a prominent writer of the late Ottoman era. Her father was a well-known historian and statesman, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa.

⁵⁸⁷ Elizabeth B. Frierson, *Unimagined Communities: Women and Education in the late-Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* // *Critical Matrix, The Princeton Journal of Women, Gender and Culture*, Volume 9, Number 2, 1995, 75.

In connection with Halide, I would like to mention two interesting facts. The first is that Tyrkova and Ellison happened to be together at one of the meetings of the women's club. Halide Edib usually conducted such meetings in a small room where thirty people could hardly get in to talk about literature and sociology; Tyrkova called this room "the cell of a new life"⁵⁸⁸. Apparently, they were not familiar and did not communicate in any way during the meeting. The only thing that brings us to the idea of their chance meeting and crossing is a retelling of the dialogue between Ellison and Halide in both of the considered sources. It makes sense to present both versions so that the reader can compare them and feel a not quite favorable attitude of Ariadna to Grace Ellison as a representative of British feminists. So, according to Grace, everything happened as follows: "I asked Halide-Hanoum, perhaps the most active and best known of modern Turkish women, in the name of one of our prominent suffrage societies, how we English women could help the Turkish women in their advancement. 'Ask them', she said, 'to delete for ever that misunderstood word "harem", and speak of us in our Turkish "homes". Ask them to try and dispel the nasty atmosphere which a wrong meaning of that word has cast over our lives. Tell them what our existence really is'"⁵⁸⁹. And this is how Tyrkova described the same situation: "How can you, Turkish women, be helped? - rather clumsily asked the English novelist who had come to study the women's question in Turkey. Do you want to help us? Set up schools, simple, small, primary schools – answered Halide - But not in the rich neighborhoods, in the poorest, on the outskirts. For boys or for girls? - thoroughly interrogates the pale Englishwoman. Oh, of course, for girls - quickly asserts Halide"⁵⁹⁰. The word "clumsy" clearly indicates the absence of any very large sympathy for the speaker. It is possible that Tyrkova simply did not consider this question tactful. The second fact is that subsequently Halide Edib did not mention the name of Tyrkova on the pages of her memoirs, and the same cannot be said about Grace Ellison, to whom at least some lines are devoted⁵⁹¹. This is despite the fact that, judging by the recollections of the Soviet plenipotentiary in Turkey, Aralov, who met with Halide Edib in Ankara in 1922, the latter "was thoroughly enlightened on Soviet Russia"⁵⁹². German turcologist I. Strauss was one of the first to note with some surprise that many Turkish writers, in their memoirs of the early republican period, preferred to keep silent about (sometimes very close) contacts with

⁵⁸⁸ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 162.

⁵⁸⁹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 17.

⁵⁹⁰ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki*, 162.

⁵⁹¹ K. A. Zhukov, *Obshchestvennaya, politicheskaya i intellektualnaya atmosfera Stambula v 1911-1912 godah*, 6.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*

their Russian colleagues⁵⁹³. It is quite possible that they did not mention their Russian colleagues for the same reason that Ariadna did not dwell in detail on anti-Russian sentiments of some Pan-Turkists.

Tyrkova, on the contrary, devoted to Halide the whole chapter of her book about the Ottoman Empire and sang the praises of her. There are many examples of this: “fortunately for the Turks... there is a fresh trend of bright and cultural aspirations. For the first time I was able to feel it in a female community, thanks to communication with an outstanding writer and selfless patriot, Halide Edib”⁵⁹⁴, “all young Turkey knows Halide Hanum, and not only as a talented novelist, but also as a hot and active patriot, as a woman whose name sounds like hope for renewal and awakening of the Ottoman people”⁵⁹⁵, “this is not a minion of fortune, this is a soldier, sternly standing at his post. Under the charming shell of the artist lives a strong and persistent social worker”⁵⁹⁶, “imagine such a woman who was condemned to act and manifest herself in the seventeenth-century Russian *terems*⁵⁹⁷, and then you will realize what a feat Halide Hanum doomed herself to”⁵⁹⁸. She was nearly in the same way admired by an acquaintance of Ariadna by the name of Ibrahim, a medical student from Aleppo, receiving education in Istanbul and advocating literacy among the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire: “Really? Do you find me expressing the same views as Halide Hanum? How happy I am. Of course, I know her only by name. But I am proud of her. If women like her will do this work with us, then we can say that fate sends not only trials but also mercies to our homeland”⁵⁹⁹. This genuine admiration was associated with both the appearance of the writer and her activities. Ariadna and Halide first met in Halide’s office. Ariadna was brought there by Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, the old friend of Halide, and even in some sense her “debtor”, because without her help, he most likely would not have entered the parliament⁶⁰⁰. Ariadna described her new acquaintance as follows: “In front of me stood a small, slim, graceful woman. Huge, stern eyes on a nervous, narrow face seemed black to me. Then I saw their changeable green color. The features are not entirely regular. The nostrils of the humpback nose are a little bit wide, there is something bitter and tired in the meanders of the thin lips. This is not a bright,

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 151.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., 158.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., 160.

⁵⁹⁷ “Terem” (in Russian language) refers to the separate living quarters occupied by women. At the same time it was the upper storey of a rich house.

⁵⁹⁸ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki*, 160.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., 157.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 162.

carefree, oriental beauty. It is the attracting face of a woman, in which the lights of a complex, rich and difficult spiritual life are already burning. But in her movements, in smile, in intent and expressive look, there is so much deep and artistic femininity, such a charming combination of European simplicity and oriental smoothness. One may draw her as the embodiment of anxious and high-value modern woman while she is sitting in front of me in a colorful Parisian silk blouse, with a pinkish scarf thrown over sloping shoulders, with a complex updo of lush rust-colored hair”⁶⁰¹. A brilliant verbal portrait came out, which cannot be said about the description of the office of our heroine - largely because the office was rather modest: “Under the windows, as always in Turkish houses, there was a long narrow sofa. An American desk stood near the wall. High chairs, shelves with books. Several portraits and photographs from paintings. Nothing extra, ostentatious. The real room of the writer, for whom it is still hard to struggle for life”⁶⁰². Ellison described Halide in a very similar way, it is clear that both women (Ariadna and Grace) in this matter were at the same page: “What an interesting person! A slight, tiny little person, with masses of auburn hair and large, expressive Oriental eyes, she has opinions on most subjects, and discusses the problems of the day in a manner which charms one not so much on account of what she says, but because it is so different from what one expected”⁶⁰³.

In addition, although Tyrkova does not go into all the details of the life of a Turkish activist, she still shares some information concerning her biography. For example, talking about the fact that Halide received education and upbringing at an American college in Scutari (Üsküdar), she writes that “all this is not only unnecessary, but directly hostile to the ancestral beginnings of Turkish life”⁶⁰⁴. One can find an explanation concerning this statement in Davis’s work: “In 1875, an American school, which later became the Constantinople Women’s College, opened in Üsküdar. Though at first only girls from minority families attended, in the closing years of the nineteenth century three Turkish fathers braved Abdülhamit II’s wrath to have their daughters educated there. All came from upper-class families. The first was Gülistan Izmet... the second was the famous Halide Edib... and the third was Nazlı Halit... For none of them was it an easy step. The school, being supported by the Protestant Board of Missions, felt it necessary to acquaint the students with the Bible. In her memoirs, Halide Edip tells... how friendless she felt at first among the girls of the

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 159.

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 107.

⁶⁰⁴ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 161.

minority cultures... Harassment by government officials was constant. As a result, Halide's father withdrew her for a time, and Nazlı was in and out depending on the pressure the sultan brought to bear on her family. At one point the school authorities hid Gülistan in the library when Abdülhamid's men came to search the school for her. In spite of these problems, all three girls graduated"⁶⁰⁵. Ariadna also says that Halide wrote novels, articles, lectured on a variety of topics from literature to fleet, considered her pedagogical service a genuine patriotic mission, and even directed the first Turkish theatrical performance in which Turkish women dared to play exclusively to the female audience⁶⁰⁶. According to Tyrkova, she did not like to speak on political topics, but if she nevertheless spoke, everyone got flak; for example, once right in the presence of Hüseyin Cahit and Tyrkova she mercilessly criticized the actions of the committee regarding the Macedonian question⁶⁰⁷. And this is despite the fact that the Young Turk leaders had a soft spot for her!⁶⁰⁸ At least, according to Ariadna, they were very sympathetic and careful about the educational activities of Halide Edib, and Ministry of Education helped her at every turn⁶⁰⁹. Although, it could not save her from being forced to leave the female teacher's seminary, where she worked for several years. In the spring of 1912 she lost her post because of a mere trifle: "simply because in the teacher's room the writer gave a hand to her friend, teacher and writer Akchurin (Tatar from Kazan), while according to Sharī'ah she only needed to make an ordinary oriental bow, but by no means not to touch the hand of another man"⁶¹⁰. This is where the details about Halide's life come to an end, but from the information provided by Grace Ellison, we learn that she began the study of her own language after she was twenty⁶¹¹, that she frequently addressed the Friday afternoon meetings and also that she was the mother of two children⁶¹². The latter fact seems especially remarkable for Grace because "no one ever questions whether, since she hives so much time to public work, her children and home are neglected, as is generally the case with us"⁶¹³. Interestingly, this is not the first time that Ellison has conducted a comparison between Turkish and British women, and this comparison was far from being in favor of the latter⁶¹⁴.

⁶⁰⁵ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady. A Social History from 1718 to 1918*, 51-52.

⁶⁰⁶ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 161-162.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁶¹¹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 66.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 67.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁴ Another feature that Ellison was jealous of was the harmony between the poor and the rich local women.: "...each knows her part – the woman whose birth and education entitle her to a chair and the

In addition, Grace mentions Halide Edib's "*Handan*". Maybe not her best work, in Ellison's opinion, but definitely worth reading since it is an interesting study of the Turkish woman's mind and life told in a series of letters⁶¹⁵.

V. EDUCATION

According to Davis, even in the palace, where women had long been literate, there were doubts as to how far their education should go⁶¹⁶. Abdülaziz's eldest son, Yusuf Izzeddin⁶¹⁷, thought it wrong to educate a woman to the same degree as man since he believed that excess of cleverness and intelligence only brought her harm⁶¹⁸. Abdülhamid II, who has often been called a tyrant, was actually more liberal in this matter as he objected not to the education of women per se, but to their education in foreign schools⁶¹⁹. In Frierson's opinion, the reason of this unfair treatment was the demonization of Islamic, monarchic and caliphal elements of the Ottoman past by some Republican historians as well as their "post-revolutionary amnesia"⁶²⁰. Where Mehmed was the Conqueror, and Süleyman the Law-giver, Abdülhamid was excoriated as the blood-stained, the Red-handed Sultan⁶²¹. Although, it's better not to see only bad sides of his rule since women's education during the Hamidian era is key to the ongoing reconstruction of the Ottoman and Turkish past⁶²². He established women's teachers' colleges and several hundred girls' schools, as well as supervised the development of a very active publishing sphere⁶²³. In addition, the expansion of the girls' craft schools was typical of the Hamidian era, characterized overwhelmingly by increasing state support of and intervention in education⁶²⁴.

According to Duben and Behar, the education of Istanbul women moved ahead by leaps and bounds particularly in the early twentieth century: by the 1870s schools for Muslim girls began to appear (many for practical training, such as for midwives, and some for a more

woman whose education teaches her, her place is on the floor, and who, even though the high-born woman invites her to sit on a chair, refuses. Each is fulfilling her destiny – each is content with her lot" (*An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 54).

⁶¹⁵ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 107.

⁶¹⁶ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady. A Social History from 1718 to 1918*, 49.

⁶¹⁷ Şehzade Yusuf Izzeddin (1857-1916) was an Ottoman prince, the son of Sultan Abdülaziz and his first wife.

⁶¹⁸ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 49.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Elizabeth B. Frierson, *Unimagined Communities: Women and Education in the late-Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, 56-59.

⁶²¹ Ibid., 59.

⁶²² Ibid., 56.

⁶²³ Ibid., 73.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 77.

general education), and by 1906 there were over fifteen middle schools (*rüştiye*) open to Muslim girls in the city⁶²⁵. In addition, a further opportunity for women to broaden their horizons was offered when Suphi Paşa, the Minister of Education, founded what later became the Archaeology Museum in 1867 and decreed that the new institution should be open to women one day a week⁶²⁶. Two years later, in 1869, the Ottoman government enacted a public education law which had far-reaching consequences and played a major role in the modernization of Ottoman education⁶²⁷. One of its provisions mandated the establishment of separate *rüştiyes* for the *millet*s (nationalities) in the Empire, the children of each to be taught in their own language and to be given instruction in their own creed⁶²⁸. According to Şule Perinçek, the main event of that time was the opening of *Darülmüallimat* in 1870, since the female graduates of this educational institution later became teachers and occupied other important positions that made possible to prepare the way for the changes in 1908 and all subsequent years⁶²⁹. However, based on the text of Zafer Toprak, it can be concluded that it was not on a large scale (compared to the time after the second constitutionalist period). First of all, because women at that time received an education different from men, as they were considered fragile, which means they should not have to overwork themselves in terms of all kind of sophisticated matters⁶³⁰. For instance, while men studied economics and tried to understand demand and supply (*ilm-i iktisat*), women were taught the laws of the household (*iktisad-ı beytiyye*)⁶³¹. In other words, women were set to become housewives. Therefore, it was believed that secondary education is quite sufficient. Since the beginning of the second constitutionalist period, the situation has changed, but some problems still remained. For example, there were not enough teachers, and salaries were too low⁶³². Under the Young Turks, educational opportunities for women were further extended. The “*idadiye*”, a step up from the “*rüştiye*”, became accessible to girls in 1911, and the University of Istanbul opened its doors to women in 1916⁶³³. From the time of the Young Turks, the desire for a secular, Western-type education for girls was to spread swiftly⁶³⁴.

⁶²⁵ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility*, 216.

⁶²⁶ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 50.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Şule Perinçek, *1908 Devrimi ve Cumhuriyet Kadını* // Editörler: Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı, Barış Ünlü, 100 Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 273.

⁶³⁰ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de yeni hayat : inkılap ve travma 1908-1928*, 36-37.

⁶³¹ Ibid..

⁶³² Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, 245.

⁶³³ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 55.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., 57.

For Tyrkova, education and Halide were inextricably linked, because it was thanks to her that Ariadna received information about local schools and was even able to see them with her own eyes. In her own words, her time in Istanbul was the very time when new schools were opened, and Turkish women willingly went there to study⁶³⁵. Among them, she distinguishes *Kız Mektebi*, founded in the fall of 1911. Halide Edib not only managed this school, but also taught history and social studies, gave moral lessons⁶³⁶. Before this mektep was founded, there were other schools in the country, specialized schools and even a female teacher's institute, but Tyrkova was mesmerized by this mektep's program, since she did not consider this program to be sketchy (unlike programs of other educational institutions): "Kız mektebe is the first ministerial attempt to create a secondary female education. Its doors are open quite widely and everyone is welcome there, from 14 to 18 years old. There was even one thirty-year-old married woman. They accepted her. The level of knowledge is very diverse, and it was not easy for teachers to sort out such a diverse composition of students into four classes. 120 people - girls from gymnasiums, there are also daughters of officials, merchants and representatives of the genuine poor. The fee is only 2 liras, that is, 17 rubles per year, but the director exempts some people even from this fee if he knows that they have no money for necessities"⁶³⁷. Moreover, she had every reason to speak well about this school, since she had the opportunity to personally attend one of the lessons. That history lesson was taught by Halide herself, who "skillfully and persistently tried to transfer to young girls her denial of theological inertia that had long served the Turkish people as the only mental food"⁶³⁸, and Ariadna got a very good impression because there was a contact between the teacher and the students. It was lively and interesting, Halide gave everyone who attended the lesson an opportunity to reflect, and learning by rote was not an option: "In front of schoolgirls, on the same lecterns as we had, lay well-published textbooks, illustrated with pictures of monuments and art works of Egypt, Assyria and Greece. A good textbook is still a rarity in Turkey. They have recently begun to be compiled and translated"⁶³⁹. It is not known whether this was at the request of Tyrkova, or whether Halide herself decided to increase the effect she produced, but the two of them also went to the old-type women's school. Ariadna described it as "a vaulted dungeon, lit only by scant light, penetrating from a narrow, slit-like courtyard," in which "fearful children" studied, and "a poorly furnished room with stiff sofas and bare walls,

⁶³⁵ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 164.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., 166.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 165.

without pictures and without books, without any tutorials or school attributes” served as a class⁶⁴⁰. The director of this place reminded her of the “old-fashioned Russian merchantress”⁶⁴¹, and according to Halide, the teachers who worked in this place were in the position of maidservants bringing coffee and tea⁶⁴². In this school, the material needed to be crammed, without really thinking about its meaning, and the main lessons were religious lessons, the Qur’ān, female virtue (obedience to her husband and parents, humility etc.), as well as Persian and Arabic⁶⁴³. In the previous school, Tyrkova was lucky enough to attend a history lesson, and as for the old model school she was awarded an “open lesson” in female virtue. The best students one after another told her and the teacher about women who need to know at what time their husbands love to eat and in what time to sleep: “First you should become his slave and maybe after you will be able to make him your own slave”⁶⁴⁴. Needless to say, that it is a completely different world and a completely different view on education. Tyrkova tries to express this thought when she compares the views of Halide and the “old-fashioned Russian merchantress” with two skew steel blades: “each of them in her own way loves Turkey dearly and that is why both of them hate each other so much. One is the embodiment of stillness and tradition, the other is all movement and seeking thought, what kind of reconciliation can there be between them? It is a long and merciless battle”⁶⁴⁵.

Grace Ellison, like Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, believed that education is a cure for all problems. She repeatedly openly speaks about this in her work, explaining that there is an urgent need for training because woman is the destiny of man, and the Turkish woman, because of her lack of education and her cloistered condition, has been unable to give to the country the men it needed⁶⁴⁶. In addition, the leitmotif of her monograph is the educational superiority of European women over Turkish: “With education – for these women, though of great culture, are not educated – they will acquire the necessary perseverance and exactitude, the lack of which keeps the Turkish woman behind the rest of Europe”⁶⁴⁷. Moreover, whenever it comes to education, she reminds Turkish women that the British are ready to help at any moment and sincerely wish to share their knowledge with them⁶⁴⁸. Although it was

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., 167.

⁶⁴¹ By this is meant a rich, rude and insensitive woman.

⁶⁴² Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 168.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 169.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 170.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 84.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 17.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 77.

sometimes difficult for local residents to appreciate their assistance. For example, speaking of Talat Paşa who ordered fifty schools to be opened and imported into the country teachers of Swedish drill, she describes the situation as following: “I took part the other day in the first lesson given to the girls... And the mothers who came upon the scene, and with tears in their eyes begged that they might have their children back, for they could not understand what these Western women were doing with them”⁶⁴⁹. Yet, with the Education Law of 1913, attempts were made to disseminate education more widely, to the masses, and thanks to that law, by 1914 higher education for women became a possibility⁶⁵⁰. Five or six hundred women attended seminars and courses at Istanbul University (*Darülfünun*) while others went to the newly opened previously mentioned University for Women (*İnâs Darülfünunu*)⁶⁵¹. Although, according to Zafer Toprak, the Ittihadists were not happy about the appearance of *İnâs*. In their opinion, its education was not at the university level, but at the lyceum level - they considered it insufficient and wanted women to receive education to the same extent as men⁶⁵². In this regard, Doktor Nâzım Bey was quite decided about it⁶⁵³. Another institution, the School of Fine Arts for Girls had opened within the larger Darülfünun on 13 October 1914⁶⁵⁴. It is elsewhere argued that the first school building was the Zeynep Hanım Mansion, which also hosted the Istanbul Teachers Training School for Girls; education at the School of Fine Arts for Girls thrived with the appointment of Mihri Hanım⁶⁵⁵ as director⁶⁵⁶.

It is worth noting that within the turmoil of the nineteenth century public discourse on the education of girls and women is one of the most revealing of late-Ottoman debates on modernity⁶⁵⁷. For instance, many religious leaders did not enjoy such educational progress. They, like many other conservatives, were enraged by the authors of the newspaper “*Tanin*” (Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın was one of its editors), who were on the side of women’s emancipation and in their articles often mentioned giving them equal chances in education and raising their

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 62.

⁶⁵⁰ Duygu Köksal, Anastasia Falierou, *A social history of late Ottoman women: new perspectives* (Leiden Boston : Brill, 2013), 160.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

⁶⁵² Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de yeni hayat : inkılap ve travma 1908-1928*, 69.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 70.

⁶⁵⁴ Duygu Köksal, Anastasia Falierou, *A social history of late Ottoman women : new perspectives* (Leiden Boston : Brill, 2013), 160.

⁶⁵⁵ Mihri Müşfik Hanım or Mihri Rasim (1886 – 1954) was one of the first and most renowned Turkish female painters.

⁶⁵⁶ Duygu Köksal, Anastasia Falierou, *A social history of late Ottoman women*, 160-161.

⁶⁵⁷ Elizabeth B. Frierson, *Unimagined Communities: Women and Education in the late-Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, 55.

social status⁶⁵⁸. There were people like Musa Kazım Efendi, who recognized the right of women to entertainment, concerts and conferences (provided that they are held exclusively among women), and who was also not against their secondary education, but there were also those who did not want to go even on such small concessions⁶⁵⁹. Mustafa Sabri Efendi, for example, having learned that a nude gypsy posed for a painting at the School of Fine Arts, announced that Islam doesn't need such false believers⁶⁶⁰.

VI. CHRISTIANS

Arzu Öztürkmen in one of her articles argues that the historiographic approach focused mainly on the Turkish-Muslim experience, ignoring to a great extent the experience of the non-Muslims⁶⁶¹. Nazan Maksudyan who considers invisibility of non-Muslim Ottoman women and their activities as a serious problem, is of the same opinion⁶⁶². In this regard, many researchers are trying to correct this unfortunate mistake, and it should be noted that in recent years there have been published many works devoted to this issue. From this point of view, some of Tyrkova's notes are especially important.

Unfortunately, Armenian and Greek women are not mentioned in both books very often. In all likelihood, they received less attention due to the fact that the issue of the education of Muslim women was much more acute at that time. Ellison says nothing about Greek women, but a few times mentions Armenian women. The first time she did it was in connection with their active work in local theaters: "Whatever piece is played at these little theatres becomes ridiculous by the mere fact that when an Armenian cannot be found to play the part of a Turkish woman, a man has to supply that need, and that in itself turns any play into a farce"⁶⁶³. Hasmik Khalapyan dedicated to this issue one of his articles. In it he talks about unique position of Armenian women as actresses on both Ottoman Armenian and Ottoman Turkish stages at a time when women's work outside the home was still a controversial issue (some families even refused to accept an actress as a bride)⁶⁶⁴. According to him, in the Ottoman Empire in the period under discussion (1850-1910), very few occupations were open

⁶⁵⁸ N.G. Kireyev, *Antikonstitutsionniy myatej 31 marta (13 aprelya) 1909 goda i deyatelnost' partii "Musulmanskaya liga" // Osmanskiy mir I osmanistika. Sbornik statey k 100-letiyu so dnya rojdeniya A.S. Tveritinovoy (1910-1973). (Moskva: IV RAN, 2010), 427.*

⁶⁵⁹ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 447.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Arzu Öztürkmen, *The Women's Movement under Ottoman and Republican Rule: A Historical Reappraisal // Journal of Women's History, Volume 25, Number 4, Winter 2013, 255.*

⁶⁶² Nazan Maksudyan, *"This time women as well got involved in politics!", Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women's Organizations and Political Agency*, 126.

⁶⁶³ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 74-75.

⁶⁶⁴ Duygu Köksal, Anastasia Falierou, *A social history of late Ottoman women*, 31-42.

to Armenian women: teaching, needlework, domestic service, and nursing, acting, journalism or writing for a small minority. Still, the fact that Armenians were the only millet whose women appeared on the stage made acting an honorable occupation in the eyes of reformers since it demonstrated the Armenians' unique 'progressiveness'⁶⁶⁵. Besides that, salaries were determined according to rank, and women were typically granted the first rank, ensuring them salaries higher than male actors⁶⁶⁶. Perhaps that was the reason why for most of the actresses the stage was seen as a career, not just an activity inspired by love of art or national ideals⁶⁶⁷. The second time it was a description of the familiar maid: "A good, kind, sympathetic soul is Taqui. She was given as wife to the gardener as a reward for his years of faithful service, and had borne him a substantial family... Taqui must have been born somewhere within the influence of the "Joconde", for she had the face and the wicked smile of the muchdiscussed Italian, or perhaps had the real "Joconde" Armenian ancestors? She is a hard worker, judging from Oriental standards, and used to complain bitterly about the lazy Turks"⁶⁶⁸. Here, in fact, all the information about Armenian ones, which we find in Ellison's book. This scarcity of information can probably again be explained by the predilections of British readers, who, most likely, were not very worried about local Christians. Since there was no demand for them, there was no supply from Grace, who, apropos, was well-versed in such economic laws (she even decided to use in the title of her own book word "harem" knowing well that it would help sales)⁶⁶⁹.

As for Tyrkova-Williams, her essay "Little weavers", which was dedicated to Christian girls as well, has proved to be so well-written that it simply could not be unpublished in a monograph. The fact that it deals with the poor and uneducated representatives of the female Christian population of the Ottoman Empire is of particular importance. In addition, this part of Tyrkova's work may be useful to researchers engaged in Ottoman labor history since it makes female workers visible⁶⁷⁰.

An essay about young girls weaving carpets for "rich people of the whole world" begins with the following words: "A small, brune, black-haired girl in a dark calico dress sat on the edge

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 33.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 40.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 41.

⁶⁶⁸ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 181-182.

⁶⁶⁹ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman harem. Rethinking Orientalism*, 48.

⁶⁷⁰ See Gülhan Balsoy's article named "Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Régie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century" (2009), which mostly deals with young girls working in the Cibali tobacco factory.

of a long bench and with a troubled, tense look quickly fingered over wool-skeins with the help of her slender children's hands... Because of the quick movements of the child, as if it was touched by a magic wand, patterns were woven on the crimson field of the carpet, unseen delicate flowers bloomed... But there was something terrible in mechanical, preoccupied haste of this black-haired girl... I wanted to take this tiny female worker to the street, to the place where the sun illuminates the earth to white heat"⁶⁷¹. Such work (one carpet) of small Greek women at the Sultan carpet factory in Hereke (a small station, three hours from Istanbul along the shore of the Izmit bay, according to Tyrkova a "deaf province" at that time), where a young Turkish woman worked as a overlooker, was estimated at 6-7 thousand rubles, but for girls from this luxury remained only pennies.⁶⁷² According to Ariadna, "at the end of several years of hard work, these girls will acquire two or three large gold coins, put them on a cord around the neck, and already feel like a rich woman, a bride with a dowry, for which any groom can woo"⁶⁷³. Tyrkova compares the factory with the "big school", implying the age of the girls working there, and says that only sometimes "flirty heads of adult girls flash before eyes"⁶⁷⁴. Ariadna quotes the words of a Turkish female overlooker, according to whom, at that time, they even took seven-year-olds, so that they could learn to work from an early age, but there were no employees older than sixteen or seventeen⁶⁷⁵. Instead of the head of school, they, alas, had a warden, "a rude, hard man with a heavy hairy fist", from which Tyrkova had a "terrible feeling of powerlessness and helplessness of these girls"⁶⁷⁶. She further explains that inspectorates do not come to these regions, and the press is not interested in problems of this kind, as it is too busy with political gossips and intrigues. Therefore, what problems these young girls faced is anybody's guess: "And how many invisible female dramas are experienced by these still intact semi-conscious workers"⁶⁷⁷. Of course, there were no lessons in the factory. As for the employees themselves, most of them spoke Turkish and Greek, including Armenians⁶⁷⁸. Tyrkova made a general description for all the girls: "... a real flower garden of blossoming southern beauty. Smiles sparkle, dark eyes, covered with macrame of thick eyelashes glisten, delicate red lips laugh slyly, revealing a set of white even teeth. The oval of the face, the firm, harmonious line of the nose, the beautiful landing of the head, all

⁶⁷¹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 143.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 144.

⁶⁷³ Ibid., 144-145.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 144.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., 149.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., 145.

speak of an old good Greek breed. There are no blondes. Some faces are swarthy, surrounded by dark curls, and some of them are gently pink, with a hot shock of red hair. An artist who wants to paint a picture from ancient Byzantium can come here for a model”⁶⁷⁹. At the same time, she noticed the difference in costumes. According to her observations, Armenians wore robes or dresses, and Greek women wore wide and long trousers⁶⁸⁰. The shoulders and chest of Greek women were tightened in narrow corsages, and on their heads, one could notice a headscarf, trimmed at the edges with tassels or paper flowers.⁶⁸¹ In other words, “all these clothes were cheap, from calico and bombazette, fugitive, miserable and yet bright and picturesque”⁶⁸². Another difference between Muslim women and Christian working women was that they lived in neighboring villages with their relatives, while the latter huddled in a factory, as they were usually recruited from more remote villages with the help of labor contractor⁶⁸³. Hasmik Khalapyan notices that in the textile factories women’s work was for the first time situated outside the household⁶⁸⁴. Moreover, according to Owen, many factory owners had close ties with local religious institutions and authorities, both Christian and Muslim, and frequently called upon these to convince local families that women’s work in the factory was not immoral⁶⁸⁵. There was practically no furniture in the bedrooms, except for a number of chests against the wall and icons (Mother of God, Saint George the Victorious, Nikolaos the Wonderworker): “The inscriptions on them are in Slavonic, the icons must have been printed in Moscow, and were probably bought in Galata, in one of the Athos metochions”⁶⁸⁶. Working conditions and wages also left much to be desired, Tyrkova herself consider it a drudgery labour: “The vast majority of them are illiterate. There is no time to recover from work: it begins approximately at five in the morning and ends at five in the evening. There is a one-hour nooning. They are on short rations as everyone in Turkey. A handful of boiled beans, bread, sheep cheese, a small piece of lamb or fish once a week. And on solemn days, the administration entertains them with fatty pilaf and nuts... Girls in the first months of factory work get 2-2 and a half piastres a day. Then earnings fluctuate, the most

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 145-146.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 145.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸² Ibid.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 148.

⁶⁸⁴ Duygu Köksal, Anastasia Falierou, *A social history of late Ottoman women*, 34.

⁶⁸⁵ Please refer to: Duygu Roger Owen, *The Silk-Reeling Industry of Mount Lebanon, 1840-1914: A Study of the Possibilities and Limitations of Factory Production in the Periphery // The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed.Huri Islamoğlu-Inan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁶⁸⁶ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 148.

skilled workers receive up to 10 piastres”⁶⁸⁷. Unfortunately, there were a lot of such work places, that were similar to the Sultan carpet factory in Hereke, and it is notable that there was almost no attention to them. Ariadna argued that the British carpet stock company alone occupied 400,000 workers, mainly female (more precisely, children), but “neither the state nor the society didn’t move a finger to somehow protect them from exploitation, save their soul and body from this back-breaking toil”⁶⁸⁸. One of the reasons for such a sad picture was the situation of the parents of these young employees, as they were forced to live half-starved on the fertile lands because the Turkish authorities did not seek to ease the burden of taxes that all these people were obliged to pay⁶⁸⁹. They obviously had no opportunity for taking care of their children. Another reason is named by Hasmik Khalapyan, he says that economic hardship in Istanbul, political unrest and the massacres of the 1890s and 1909 in the provinces produced waves of migrant widows and orphans⁶⁹⁰.

Interestingly, the topic of hard work of uneducated poor women (Turkish, Armenian, Greek) will be touched upon in the Ottoman Empire much later, only in the 20s with the appearance of periodicals named “*Aydınlık*”⁶⁹¹. Its employees looked at feminism with slightly different eyes and wrote articles about women working 14 hours in the vegetable fields for a penny⁶⁹². In addition, they mercilessly criticized rich bourgeois young ladies who engrossed themselves in magazine named “*Kadınlar Dünyası*”, where one could find information on how to live alafranga⁶⁹³.

VII. TOPICS TO WHICH ELLISON PAID ATTENTION AND WHICH ARE NOT FOUND IN TYRKOVA’S WORK

1. Harem and Polygamy

As mentioned above, Grace Ellison compared to Ariadna Tyrkova paid much more attention to the women’s issue. That is why in her work one can find topics that are not even mentioned in Ariadna’s work. Which also matters because, as Najmabadi said, it is important not only

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., 146.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., 149.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., 150.

⁶⁹⁰ Duygu Köksal, Anastasia Falierou, *A social history of late Ottoman women*, 36.

⁶⁹¹ *Aydınlık* is the newspaper of the Patriotic Party (Vatan Partisi). Originally launched as a weekly newspaper in 1921, it has been repeatedly closed.

⁶⁹² Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de yeni hayat : inkılap ve travma 1908-1928*, 95-100.

⁶⁹³ Ibid., 84.

what the sources tell us, but also what they are silent about⁶⁹⁴. First of all, these are harem and polygamy. Ellison devotes whole chapters to them and generally focuses attention on these issues for the simple reason that its work was made to debunk the myths about the Ottoman Empire in the British community. There were indeed a lot of myths, and quite often they were based on accounts written by European observers (travelers, ambassadors, as well as captives and renegades who had served in the sultan's palace). Some of them were nothing more than fantasy, sometimes they simply described what their audience wanted to hear⁶⁹⁵. Others just tried to make an imaginative leap because there was no access to the harem, and before Mahmud II came to power its female residents did not go beyond the palace - Çağatay Uluçay called this phenomenon a "forbidden city"⁶⁹⁶. Exceptions to the rules, that is, those who managed to "look behind the scenes", of course, were, but there were very few of them. More often than not all the curious noted that the entrance to the harem was securely guarded and it was not possible to get there. Although, translator from the Venetian embassy by the name of Signor Grelot did not want to give up and spied on the harem with a telescope from his home in Beyoğlu – as a result, he was severely punished, that is, was killed⁶⁹⁷. Most of the western observers of Ottoman society and of Istanbul were fascinated by stories about the harem and its mysteries and looked upon polygyny as an exciting local curiosity⁶⁹⁸. According to Başak Tuğ, there were two images at that time: one was a woman at the palace with all the stereotypes accompanying her, and the other was an ordinary Ottoman woman who obeyed the laws of Islam and lived her life in a polygamous family⁶⁹⁹. It must be said that such a belief is very misplaced: not all women were fragile odalisks from a magical harem, and others, being not palace inhabitants, were not so powerless as they were described. This can be easily proved by the study of Ottoman legal system, since Ottoman women actively used it in connection with the desire to resolve issues related to property, inheritance or divorce⁷⁰⁰. Here it would also be appropriate to mention Muslihiddin Âdil, the director of one of the Thessaloniki educational institutions, who in his article on women's law (which, by the way, was published in an economics textbook!), argued that a Muslim woman had many rights

⁶⁹⁴ Gülhan Balsoy, *Osmanlı kadın ve toplumsal cinsiyet tarihçiliği üzerine* // Toplum ve Bilim, Sayı 132, 2015, 228.

⁶⁹⁵ Leslie P. Peirce, *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 114-117.

⁶⁹⁶ Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem II* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), XIII-XIV.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, XVII.

⁶⁹⁸ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility*, 148.

⁶⁹⁹ Başak Tuğ, *Tarih ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet* // Toplumsal Cinsiyet Tartışmaları, 41.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

since Islam itself appeared, and not with the approval of parliament, as it was in Western countries⁷⁰¹.

Expanding in detail these problems and describing everything that she saw with her own eyes, Grace tried to prove to her readers that fantasies and expectations do not always coincide with reality⁷⁰². This desire to prove her point explains her choice of the book's name, because it meant that those who got on the hook of the loud title would have to read and find out what place the harem and polygamy really occupied in Istanbul life. Although it is worth noting that this trick with the name was quite an old tradition. Thus, Leslie Peirce writes that descriptions of the harem and the sexual practices of the sultans clearly helped to sell books about the Ottomans and were therefore featured prominently⁷⁰³. Reina Lewis is of the same mind. According to her, any book that had anything to do with the harem was sold⁷⁰⁴. Not only "harem", but such evocative words as "Turkish", "Arabian", "princess" etc. were also of a special interest: "Publishers knew it, booksellers knew it, readers knew it and authors knew it"⁷⁰⁵. Nevertheless, in this regard, Grace and her close Turkish friend Fatime, who patiently explained to her many questions of considerable substance, did a great job. As did some other British women since after Montagu's corrective to men's accounts, the unreliability of anything but a female-authored source became widely accepted⁷⁰⁶. The most important conclusion regarding the harem issue in Grace's work is perhaps her observation related to permission to leave the harem as in the early days (despite their considerable influence) high-ranking women of the imperial harem were for the most part confined to the palace, they could leave the royal residence only under the tight surveillance of the black eunuch guards of the harem⁷⁰⁷. Only valide sultan appears to have had mobility outside the confines of the harem⁷⁰⁸. But everything changes. There is nothing permanent and Leslie Peirce also emphasizes this by saying that the harem was an institution that experienced continuous change⁷⁰⁹. Since 1909, the harem has opened its doors not only to doctors (they visited it

⁷⁰¹ Zafer Toprak, *Muslihiddin Adil'in Görüşleri. Kadın ve "Hukuk-i Nisvan" // Toplumsal Tarih, Sayı 75, Mart 2000, 15-18.*

⁷⁰² According to Reina Lewis, her desire to challenge Western stereotypes about Turkish women was shared by Hester Donaldson Jenkins, another English writer, whose "Behind Turkish Lattices, the Story of a Turkish Woman's Life" summarized similar ground in more general terms.

⁷⁰³ Leslie P. Peirce, *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, 114.

⁷⁰⁴ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman harem. Rethinking Orientalism*, 12.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁰⁷ Leslie P. Peirce, *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, 143.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., 118.

before, but a serious examination of the patients was often almost impossible), but also to the strangers⁷¹⁰. One of the first such visitors was Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, in 1910-1911 he described in detail the buildings, rooms and inhabitants of the harem (his sketches were later published in *Encümen-i Osmani Mecmuası*)⁷¹¹. Now these women were free but they still did not want to use their freedom. That is how Ellison who, according to Reina Lewis, was one of the representatives of the documentation of the harem's decline⁷¹², describes this situation: "...all these women are solemnly asked four times at the end of each year whether they would like to marry and leave the harem. I say to myself, then, if they stay it is because they wish to stay and are therefore happy. Their existence, however, seems a most heartrending waste of human life, and as I sat watching them loitering along the exquisitely carpeted corridors, gossiping, smoking, carrying alternately coffee and water to the guests, I longed to break down for them the lattice-work which always is there between them and the sun, to flying the windows wide open, so that they could breathe in the fresh air, and open the doors so that they, too, might go out. And yet not one of these women seemed in the least to feel her slavery, and, no doubt, they would turn their backs in horror on the ugly, unprotected existence of some of the women of my country"⁷¹³. A similar situation was with the former slaves, who were given complete freedom of action, but they preferred to serve their masters and not to change their usual way of life. As for their existence, which, according to Ellison, seems "a most heartrending waste of human life", these words reminded me of Hamiyet Zehra's article named "*The Duty of Women*" (1895): "There are some women who devote most of their time to chasing after amusements. There are some people who, watching these women, are struck with distraction and bewilderment. How is it possible for this woman continually to be going out into the street and wandering around? That woman is charged with any number of duties"⁷¹⁴.

Things were even more interesting with polygamy. An entire chapter named "The Prophet and Polygamy" is devoted to this issue. Ellison, as a result of lengthy reflections, concludes that in the days of Muhammad this form of marital existence might have been necessary, because at that time women could not be left without a breadwinner, otherwise they would

⁷¹⁰ Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem II*, XIX-XXI.

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

⁷¹² Other representatives of the documentation of the harem's decline: Halide Edib, Demetra Vaka Brown, Melek Hanım and Zeyneb Hanım.

⁷¹³ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 37.

⁷¹⁴ Elizabeth Brown Frierson, *Mirrors Out, Mirrors In. Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's magazines (1875-1908)* // *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, D. Fairchild Ruggles – Editor (New York: SUNY Press, 2000), 194.

simply have died of starvation⁷¹⁵. In some sense it saved unmarried women and widows from the lack of protection. But centuries passed, and during the reign of the Young Turks, the situation, of course, was already quite different. According to Grace, in those days men preferred to marry one woman, and educated ones were offended by the foreigners' favorite question "How many wives have you?". Turkish Crown Prince once even joked on this topic, replying "Just one dozen, and I hope to have one dozen more before I die" – that is to say, he was very tired of this question⁷¹⁶. His reaction was quite explicable since it is known that this phenomenon was meeting with increasing disapproval and even opposition in rapidly westernizing Istanbul⁷¹⁷. That is why some statesmen had more than one wife but kept this fact hidden.⁷¹⁸ However, Ellison didn't even think about calming down. In order to refute the myths and stereotypes existing in Britain, she decided to experiment and set out to find a family in Istanbul consisting of a man and several of his wives. It took a long time to search, and luck did not immediately come to her, although friends and acquaintances contributed as best as they could. The family showed up completely unexpectedly, when Grace was no longer waiting. It consisted of a dervish, his two wives and children. The writer described their position briefly, literally in a few sentences, but pithily: "The first wife talked to Sutanna with delight about the expected new-comer, and alluded to it as 'our child'. She worked at its layette, she spared its mother every fatigue, she seemed as enthusiastic as a mother whose daughter is expecting a child; and yet, who knows the sorrow which may have been gnawing at her heart-strings?"⁷¹⁹. On the one hand, Grace by personal example showed that the circle in which she "rotated" had nothing to do with polygamy, but, on the other hand, what kind of conclusion she would draw if she had an opportunity to step out of this circle and communicate with Istanbul religious fanatics or provincial residents of the empire living far beyond the capital? It is open to guesswork but, fortunately, at least we have some data about the situation in Istanbul. According to Duben and Behar, the proportion of polygynous husbands was unexpectedly low⁷²⁰. Charles White believed that it was not indulged in by more than five percent of the men of Istanbul, and mostly by the richest and most powerful functionaries⁷²¹. Moreover, there is a reason to believe that the relatively low incidence of polygyny was far from being a new, nineteenth-century development: judicial records from

⁷¹⁵ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 127.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁷¹⁷ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility*, 149.

⁷¹⁸ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 93.

⁷¹⁹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 135.

⁷²⁰ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility*, 149.

⁷²¹ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 87.

the sixteenth century contain almost no mention of polygyny⁷²². It is also interesting that despite the fact that marriage with up to four wives was permitted by Islamic law, the predominant form in Istanbul was very clearly bigamy⁷²³. Although, Duben and Behar argue that in the case of Istanbul instead of polygyny it will be better to speak of successive though overlapping monogamies⁷²⁴. Fanny Davis adds that polygyny was considered a very expensive undertaking, and even when the first wife was childless, or in the absence of a male heir, only the richest and the most powerful could freely indulge in it⁷²⁵. Another important obstacle was divorce. They happened frequently in such situations as it was in Halide's family. Her polygamous household was a sharp contrast to her progressive father's ideals and brought about the eventual dissolution of the family home into two households, as a result one of his wives took a divorce⁷²⁶. Moreover, Aslı Sancar considers such divorces as one of the reasons of polygamy's unpopularity in Turkish lands⁷²⁷. Last but not least, another argument for non-polygamy was Ziya Gökalp's account, according to which monogamy was the rule among the ancient Turks⁷²⁸.

2. Feminist meetings

The most interesting and important for understanding of the events that took place at the beginning of the 20th century in the Ottoman Empire are also chapters and excerpts devoted to meetings of feminists in Istanbul. Unfortunately, Tyrkova did not leave us descriptions of such meetings, although in 1911 (during her stay in Istanbul) the famous "White Conference" took place. 300 women met ten times to listen to the lecturer Fatma Nesibe, who organized the conferences in the place where the entire hall was painted and decorated in white⁷²⁹.

As for Grace Ellison, she described feminist meetings in sufficient detail. It is worth pointing out at least two of them. The first was one of the meetings that were held regularly. Interestingly, feminists attended this meeting, but they did not conduct it: "The hall in which

⁷²² See İlber Ortaylı "Anadolu'da 16. yüzyılda evlilik ilişkileri üzerine bazı gözlemler" ("Some observations on marriage relations in Anatolia during the sixteenth century") // *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 1 (1980).

⁷²³ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility*, 149.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*, 154-155.

⁷²⁵ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 87.

⁷²⁶ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman harem*, 37-38.

⁷²⁷ Aslı Sancar, *Osmanlı kadını : efsane ve gerçek* (İstanbul : Kaynak Yayınları, 2009), 60.

⁷²⁸ Zafer Toprak, *The Family, Feminism, and the State during the Young Turk Period, 1908-1918* // *Première Rencontre internationale sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie Moderne*, Istanbul-Paris, Editions ISIS, 1991, 444.

⁷²⁹ Aynur Demirdirek, *In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women's Movement* // *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"*, ed. by Zehra F. Arat (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 76.

the feminist meeting was held was the large lecture hall of the university, lent by the men. Men were the stewards, and all four speakers were men. Strange and chivalrous as it seemed to me to see the men conducting the women's meeting. I was, however, disappointed not to hear a woman speak"⁷³⁰. Ellison, who came from England, was shocked by this format of the meeting. The fact that they were led by men was beyond her comprehension, and the last nail in the coffin became one of the speakers who was explaining to women the value of their sex from a scientific point of view⁷³¹. After that explanation, Ellison exclaimed: "Am I really in Turkey?... Was there ever, I wonder, in my country a feminist meeting conducted only by men and where the men urged the women to rebel and strike for freedom?"⁷³². According to Grace, not everyone, but many Turkish men actively helped in this matter, because they wanted women to take part in the social life going on around them: "the Turk likes society, and he likes theatres, but today, unless he has married a Christian woman, he must go there by himself, borrow someone else's wife, or stay at home"⁷³³. However, the difference between the British feminist meetings and the Ottoman feminist meetings was not only this matter, there were also other details. For example, she writes that this society was not organized according to the Western methods, since there was no responsible head, list of members, a battle-cry, nor an official name⁷³⁴. Moreover, it reminded her not of a feminist meeting, but of "the society for the elevation of womanhood"⁷³⁵. Besides, according to Denman, the Ittihadists initially did not completely support European suffragists, believing that their aggressive actions often harm society and negatively affect its structure (as a result, they regarded feminism as grotesqueness)⁷³⁶, and Arzu Öztürkmen talking about the early Republican era says something similar arguing that the way the concept of emnicipation was defined did not have any feminist implication - instead, it had a 'progressive' connotation of emancipation from 'backwardness' or 'tradition'⁷³⁷. Durakbaşa also argues that Ottoman feminists quite delicately advocated for education improvement and equal rights - the aggressive methods of suffragist women were alien to them⁷³⁸. Frierson even compares this situation in Ottoman Empire with situation in Japan, where the byword for many Meiji

⁷³⁰ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 66.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁷³² *Ibid.*

⁷³³ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁶ Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, 242.

⁷³⁷ Arzu Öztürkmen, *The Women's Movement under Ottoman and Republican Rule: A Historical Reappraisal*, 255.

⁷³⁸ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib. Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2012), 103.

reformers was “western science, eastern ethics”; that is to say Ottoman and Japanese thinkers sought to preserve their cultural patterns⁷³⁹. To sum up, that is how she described this situation: “To Western and Westernized eyes, late-Ottoman women may not appear feminist, as they were not suffragists... Nonetheless, in their writings and actions they skillfully, persistently deployed their own socio-economic, religious and political heritage to extend their spheres of activity. Late-Ottoman women were not passive recipients of a modern Western feminist ideal...”⁷⁴⁰. The second one was the mass meeting of the various women’s societies, and Grace liked it much more - there she felt quite at home. This mass meeting “in the manner of the Western women” made such an impression on her that she even stated that this meeting without a shadow of a doubt marks the end of the old regime for the Turkish woman⁷⁴¹. Above all because this was the first time she had ever heard Turkish women speak in public: “they all seemed to speak, however, without difficulty, quite simply, with few gestures, no notes, and perfect calmness until they came to the sacred word, “fatherland” – then there were tears in their voice as well as in their eyes”⁷⁴². There were those who did not speak, but simply came to listen, for various reasons taking with them their babies. Babies at this kind of meeting astonished her: she understood that they were simply mothers who were interested in the welfare of the country, and were curious to hear what was being done for the uplifting of their sex, but the surprising thing was that at the same time they could not make up their minds to leave the baby at home⁷⁴³. Such a thing did not come into their heads, because motherhood (or *terbiye-i etfal*) was at that time almost the most important duty - according to Denman, it had never been deified to such an extent before⁷⁴⁴. Although, it is worth noting that it had been given considerable significance before: the hadith “*Cennet annelerin ayağı altındadır*” suggests that this situation also had a religious background⁷⁴⁵. On the other hand, no less important was the public debt, which did not allow women to sit within the confines of four walls à la “*tavuk ve kümes*”, it was necessary to work for the benefit of the homeland⁷⁴⁶. A variety of topics were raised at the meeting, but most of all Grace was

⁷³⁹ Elizabeth Brown Frierson, *Mirrors Out, Mirrors In. Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women’s magazines (1875-1908)*, 183-184.

⁷⁴⁰ Elizabeth B. Frierson, *Unimagined Communities: Women and Education in the late-Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, 58.

⁷⁴¹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 79-80.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 83.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁴ Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, 240.

⁷⁴⁵ Aslı Sancar, *Osmanlı kadını: efsane ve gerçek*, 61.

⁷⁴⁶ Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, 241.

struck by the woman who stepped on the stage to donate her hair⁷⁴⁷ for the construction of a new modern fleet, which the state urgently needed. It is clear that she became an example to follow for many ladies who were in the hall that day: “Every time I see in the papers the Turks have bought a new ship I shall think of her. Those ships to me have now taken a form different from mere ships, for have I not seen them purchased with the price of a woman’s hair, the widow’s mite, and the orphan’s halfpence? But not only a woman’s hair – jewels, embroideries, stuffs were sold for the ships that were to ‘guarantee the very existence of the fatherland’”⁷⁴⁸. Ellison notes that Turkish women quickly learned how to properly manage the charitable funds that they received from their “sisters” who wanted to respond to their appeal⁷⁴⁹. She focuses on good organization and careful forethought of the actions of Turkish feminists, because it was them who decided to form a league and undertake to buy only the stuffs of their own country, as well as to open a shop in Istanbul where only Turkish goods would be sold⁷⁵⁰. Zafer Toprak believes that *Balkan Harbi* influenced women in this regard. It was this war that forced them to unite and, if not participate in politics, then at least somehow influence it⁷⁵¹. Tanıl Bora explains the pro-activity of women with both the Balkan war, and the popularity of feminism throughout the world and the development of nationalism within the Ottoman Empire itself⁷⁵². Ayşe Durakbaşa links such proactivity with wars (Crimean War, Balkan War), because in such difficult moments the country needs women’s work, and with policy of the ruling party at that time, the female and family aspects of which was very impactful⁷⁵³. Elizabeth Frierson argues that change in women’s social status had already started in the 1890s, “in the middle of wars and refugee flows into the empire”⁷⁵⁴. Grace also reminds us that this success would not exist without a reliable rear. By reliable rear she implies, of course, the Ottoman government, to which, in her opinion, the female sex owed its present, albeit relative, freedom: “But it is unjust to give all the credit of this meeting to the women. How different would have been their position now had they had a Government against them!.. There are so many questions which should be entirely settled by women and never taken to the Imperial Parliament at all. The Turkish Government has been wiser than we

⁷⁴⁷ According to Daniel Allen Butler, even peasant women cut their hair to sell to wig makers in order to contribute money to the battleship fund.

⁷⁴⁸ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 87.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁵¹ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de yeni hayat: inkılap ve travma 1908-1928*, 38.

⁷⁵² Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar. Türkiye’de Siyasi İdeolojiler*, 747.

⁷⁵³ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib. Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*, 98.

⁷⁵⁴ Elizabeth B. Frierson, *Women in Late Ottoman Intellectual Society // Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 136.

in this matter, for it recognizes that education and the housing of the poor are questions which should be left as much as possible in the women's hands. A Turkish Feminist Government! To Western Europe this sounds strange"⁷⁵⁵. At the same time, it is also worth noting that female students from the lyceums began to speak at such meetings in 1913, which indicated that a new generation of brave women was growing up⁷⁵⁶.

Speaking of conferences and charity, I also would like to say a few words about associations (although Grace and Ariadna do not mention them directly in their works). Serpil Çakır conditionally divides them into several groups: aid, education, culture, solving of country's problems, feminist, defence of homeland and political⁷⁵⁷. According to her, for the first time such associations appeared as aid societies. Thus, in March 1892, Jewish ladies of Pera and Galata founded a new charitable society to relieve the pains of poor women and children who emigrated from Russia and Corfu and who were in distress in Istanbul⁷⁵⁸. Besides that, among them were also Bulgarian women's organizations of such type (1904), Greek Women's Society in Pera (1907), *Şefkat-i Nisvan* (created by Emine Semiye in Thessaloniki in 1898) and *Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (again Thessaloniki but 1908). The first three women's organizations and their activities points to the fact that women were remarkably active in numerous nineteenth-century social and political questions: from the expansion of female education to refugee crises, from prostitution to illegitimate births and child abandonment, from nationalist movements to relieving the pain of ethnic conflicts⁷⁵⁹. Moreover, Nazan Maksudyan, with reference to Fatma Müge Göçek, insists that they were pioneers in initiating philanthropic organizations, particularly in establishing orphanages and poorhouses⁷⁶⁰. As for the latter (*Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*), it was open to all Ottoman women, regardless of religion, and aimed to help single women and their children. The society met every Thursday, its primary task was to collect money and sell things on special markets - the proceeds went to the needs of poor women. It is known that "*Kadın*" (one of the Ottoman magazines), which posted in its issues items for sale and the names of the assistants, actively helped this community⁷⁶¹. In addition, quite often various events were held, the proceeds from which also were brought to the society. Subsequently,

⁷⁵⁵ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 80-81.

⁷⁵⁶ Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar. Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler*, 747.

⁷⁵⁷ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı kadın hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996), 43.

⁷⁵⁸ Nazan Maksudyan, "*This time women as well got involved in politics!*", *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women's Organizations and Political Agency*, 107.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁷⁶¹ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı kadın hareketi*, 43.

Şefkat (short name) also opened in Istanbul, Konya, Samsun and Edirne⁷⁶². In addition to above-mentioned ones there were other aid societies: among them were the Greek *Beyoğlu Rum Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniyesi*, who distributed 360 suits to victims of the Kasımpaşa fire, and the *Hay Dignants Ingerutiun* (Armenian Women's Association) which assumed the responsibility of a girl's orphanage, that was opened in Şişli specifically for Adana orphans⁷⁶³. Their number especially increased after the sad events in the Balkans⁷⁶⁴. As for educational associations, first of all it is necessary to name the Armenian *Azkaniver Hayuhyaç İngerutyun*, created in 1879 at Üsküdar by Zabel Hancıyan and her friends. Society helped not only Istanbul girls to get an education, but also Armenians from Anatolia⁷⁶⁵. *Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniye* was busy with almost the same things: opening schools, helping orphans and poor girls. "*Kadın*" magazine actively assisted this society⁷⁶⁶. In 1913, *Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* was opened as an echo of the Balkan war, the purpose of which was to help widows and orphaned women. Particular attention was paid to obtaining a profession by young girls and opening jobs, so that each of them could earn tucker⁷⁶⁷. Cultural societies, of course, set as their goal the enlightenment of women and the opening of hobby groups, libraries, museums, etc.⁷⁶⁸. There were many such communities, for instance, *Asri Kadın Cemiyeti*. *Mamulat-ı Dahiliyye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyyesi* mainly dealt with the country's problems: due to the economic dependence of the Ottoman Empire on foreign powers, they tried to increase local production and in every way promoted the use and purchase of local goods⁷⁶⁹. It is interesting that this community was in close contact with the aforementioned Hereke factory, which was visited by Tyrkova. Members of the organization not only organized a trip to the factory, but also agreed to hold an exhibition concerning factory products in one of the central shops in Istanbul⁷⁷⁰. Facilitators of the exhibition invited women from the province and announced that all products can be ordered. As for political communities, their first meetings were held in Thessaloniki and Istanbul in 1908 (on the occasion of the proclamation of the second constitutionalist period), and famous women

⁷⁶² *İbid.*, 45.

⁷⁶³ Nazan Maksudyan, "*This time women as well got involved in politics!*", *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women's Organizations and Political Agency*, 125.

⁷⁶⁴ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı kadın hareketi*, 45.

⁷⁶⁵ *İbid.*, 49.

⁷⁶⁶ *İbid.*, 46.

⁷⁶⁷ *İbid.*, 48.

⁷⁶⁸ *İbid.*, 52.

⁷⁶⁹ *İbid.*, 54-55.

⁷⁷⁰ *İbid.*, 55.

spoke in central squares with fiery speeches in support of the Ittihadists⁷⁷¹. The most important and perhaps the only one feminist community, according to Serpil Çakır, was *Osmanlı Mudafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti*, which was established in 1913 and had its own press named “*Kadınlar Dünyası*”: the society actively taught women to protect and maintain their rights⁷⁷². Belkis Şefket, who happened to fly on an airplane, was a member of this community, advocating the development of science. Fatma Aliye, who had experience in collecting blankets and underwear for the military, in 1908 created *Nisvan-ı Osmaniye İmdad Cemiyeti*⁷⁷³. Another community for the protection of the homeland was the *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyeti* created in 1911. The reason for the creation was the desire of Besim Ömer Paşa⁷⁷⁴ to help single female refugees, victims of the Balkan war⁷⁷⁵. In conclusion I would like to notice that Ottoman women’s political, feminist, religious, and philanthropic agendas cannot be easily perceived as independent of one another since women’s organizations’ activities were unavoidably located among and between these seemingly separate yet intricately interrelated fields⁷⁷⁶. That is why, as Nazan Maksudyan rightly mentioned, such educational and health-related affairs should not be separated from “real politics”, their significance should not be downplayed⁷⁷⁷. The fact that they focused their attention toward the needy, especially women and children, does not weaken but only supports this argument, because the late Ottoman political sphere and discourse also included unattended children, orphans, refugees and widows⁷⁷⁸. Moreover, according to Maksudyan, everything was, in fact, complicated, dirty and political: as the British consul noted during these times, “women as well got involved in politics”⁷⁷⁹. Last but not least, again according to Maksudyan’s article, the activities of some women’s societies (as one can see from the list, non-Muslim societies) were approached with suspicion by the government: “Jewish ladies were accused of transferring money to overseas banks. Bulgarian women... were seen as harmful tools in the hands of the politicians, trying to arouse the attention of the Western powers. Greek women were presented as trying to disturb the customs and morality of the Ottoman society with their philanthropic concern for illegitimate pregnancies. The bureaucratic

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 56.

⁷⁷² Ibid., 57-58.

⁷⁷³ Ibid., 72.

⁷⁷⁴ A medical doctor and a pioneering obstetrician in the Ottoman Empire.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁶ Nazan Maksudyan, “*This time women as well got involved in politics!*”, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women’s Organizations and Political Agency*, 108.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 109.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., 127.

apparatus of the constitutional period strictly and critically observed and kept under control the activities of Armenian women's societies after the Adana massacres of 1909, with the *declared* objective of strengthening Ottomanism"⁷⁸⁰.

3. Magazines and literature

The anthropologist Nükhet Sirman reminds us that Ottoman women's publications emerged within the new atmosphere of freedom brought by the Young Turk revolution of 1908⁷⁸¹. This is first and foremost about articles that were written for women and were published in Istanbul newspapers and magazines, although it is worth noting that during the reign of Abdülhamid, the women's press already existed, that is, it was not an innovation. Women's supplements to magazines were published as early as the 1860s, and in the late 1880s and 1890s they became popular enough to be published on their own⁷⁸². The Hamidian women's press constituted a key element in an Ottoman political public sphere, because of the highly flexible praxes of censorship, the cheapness of serial publications, their illustrated sections to aid unsophisticated readers, the high numbers of participants in the production of a cheap popular press, as well as the topics discussed⁷⁸³. It is also worth mentioning that the first writers of the Ottoman women's press were wives and daughters of high civic officials, but by the late 1890s women's magazines had been taken over almost entirely by hundreds of professional journalists and schoolteachers drawn from non-elite sectors of society⁷⁸⁴. At the start magazines during Young Turkish rule covered such topics as homemaking, fashion, and health⁷⁸⁵. It was a scrutinized matrix of morality and modernity, tradition and progress⁷⁸⁶. Irvin Cemil Schick writes about explicitly erotic publications which appeared in increasing numbers⁷⁸⁷. He links it with the so-called "print capitalism", that is to say growth of private printing (behind which was the profit) in the Ottoman Empire during the Second Constitutional Period⁷⁸⁸. Some magazines were almost entirely filled with foreign news,

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 109.

⁷⁸¹ Nükhet Sirman, *Feminism in Turkey: A Short History* // *New Perspectives on Turkey* 1, Fall 1989, 1-34.

⁷⁸² Elizabeth Brown Frierson, *Mirrors Out, Mirrors In. Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's magazines (1875-1908)*, 180.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., 181.

⁷⁸⁵ Arzu Öztürkmen, *The Women's Movement under Ottoman and Republican Rule: A Historical Reappraisal*, 257.

⁷⁸⁶ Elizabeth Brown Frierson, *Mirrors Out, Mirrors In. Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's magazines (1875-1908)*, 180.

⁷⁸⁷ Irvin Cemil Schick, *Print Capitalism and Women's Sexual Agency in the Late Ottoman Empire* // *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2011, 196.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 202.

foreign fiction and ethnography⁷⁸⁹. However, according to Frierson, writings in these magazines contained both positive and negative perspectives on foreigners and their behaviors⁷⁹⁰. Thus, readers were guided to accept as well as to reject various Western influences, and to adapt the acceptable influences into Ottoman and Muslim norms⁷⁹¹. In this context, Ellison mentions “*Kadınlar Dünyası*”⁷⁹² (“The Feminine World”), a weekly illustrated paper devoted to women’s interests which proprietor and editress was Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan who just “detected the need and supplied it”⁷⁹³. Besides that, it was the first journal that published photographs of Muslim women⁷⁹⁴. According to Grace, any woman writer who cared to contribute could write something⁷⁹⁵. It means this publication was open to all Ottoman women of different ethnic origins⁷⁹⁶. It is also interesting that in the course of time the signatures of female authors underwent some changes: while articles and letters in earlier publications were signed “Leyla, the daughter of Ismail Paşa” or “The wife of Kemal Bey”, later publications appear with signatures such as “Fatma Naima, from the Teachers Training School for Girls”⁷⁹⁷. Nevertheless, it is known for certain that men were also authors of such articles: “the encouragement the men are giving to the women in their work. It is they who are trying to give the women courage; they who are urging the women to be a little bolder in their tactics, and who, in their writings and speeches, are imploring them to leave no stone unturned to hasten their enfranchisement... I am told that the men have even written articles for the newly founded woman’s paper, and signed them with feminine names, for the number of women writers here is still very limited”⁷⁹⁸. However, “*Kadınlar Dünyası*” was not the only one journal at that time, there were many others, and it should be noted that many of them were investigated. For example, Ayşe Zeren Enis dedicated her research to everyday lives of urban upper and middle class Ottoman Muslim women on the ground of “*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*”⁷⁹⁹ (“Newspaper for Ladies”, 1895-1908, that is during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II) since it was a precious source in terms of articles and news about education,

⁷⁸⁹ Elizabeth Brown Frierson, *Mirrors Out, Mirrors In. Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women’s magazines (1875-1908)*, 177.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹² This paper was published in 1913-1914 and in 1919-1921.

⁷⁹³ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 114.

⁷⁹⁴ Aynur Demirdirek, *In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women’s Movement*, 75.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁶ Mithat Kutlar, *Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan ve “Kadınlar Dünyası”nda Kürtler* (İstanbul: Avesta Yayınları, 2010), 42.

⁷⁹⁷ Aynur Demirdirek, *In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women’s Movement*, 68.

⁷⁹⁸ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 65.

⁷⁹⁹ This newspaper was published in 1895-1908.

family, household, child-rearing, health, beauty, embroidery, leisure and fashion⁸⁰⁰. It published an auxiliary for adolescent girls and a separate gazette for children, it circulated throughout the Ottoman Empire, in British-occupied Egypt, and into Muslim areas of the Russian Empire⁸⁰¹. It is known that in their first issue the publisher and editors accepted the Sultan's patronage and defined their mission as serving the Sultan and the Ottoman state by enabling women to become better mothers, better wives, and better Muslims⁸⁰². One of the distinguishing features of this newspaper was that its managing editors and staff writers were almost all women, largely daughters of high Ottoman bureaucrats and ministers⁸⁰³. According to the author, the "women's movement" that appeared during the second constitutional period had its roots in the Hamidian period, a phenomenon which has not been studied in detail so far⁸⁰⁴. In addition, a very important role was played by "Kadın"⁸⁰⁵ magazine, which was published in Thessaloniki, the second capital of feminism after Istanbul. It dealt with feminism in all its guises: until that time there were no such magazines in the Ottoman Empire, but now this niche has been filled⁸⁰⁶. Fatma Kılıç Denman dedicated her research to this magazine, and it was one of three journals (the other two are "Demet" and "Mehasin"), which began to appear in approximately one period of time and "did not neglect women"⁸⁰⁷. That's putting it mildly, considering that among the authors of the articles there were such famous names as Emine Semiye, Zekiye, Fehime Nüzhet, Nigar Hanım etc⁸⁰⁸. They wrote mostly on political topics, as well as on education, freedom, justice and rights⁸⁰⁹. In this connection, their target audience were not aristocrats, but ordinary women, to whom, however, it was not so easy to reach, because some of them did not know how to read, while others were not allowed to do this because of their fathers or husbands. Besides that, one of the main tasks of the magazine was the active support of women's charitable communities (many authors of articles were also members of such communities), as described in detail

⁸⁰⁰ Ayşe Zeren Enis, *Everyday lives of Ottoman Muslim women : Hanımlara mahsus gazete (Newspaper for ladies) (1895-1908)* (İstanbul : Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2013), 415-430.

⁸⁰¹ Elizabeth B. Frierson, *Unimagined Communities: Women and Education in the late-Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, 71.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, 72.

⁸⁰³ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁸⁰⁴ Ayşe Zeren Enis, *Everyday lives of Ottoman Muslim women: Hanımlara mahsus gazete (Newspaper for ladies) (1895-1908)*, 433.

⁸⁰⁵ This magazine was published in Thessaloniki (1908) and Istanbul (1911-1912).

⁸⁰⁶ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de yeni hayat : inkılap ve travma 1908-1928*, 51.

⁸⁰⁷ Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, 237.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

above⁸¹⁰. In addition to numerous women's magazines, female writers contributed to the production of such Istanbul daily newspapers as "*İkdam*", "*Tanin*", "*Servet-i Fünun*", "*Sabah*", "*Millet*"⁸¹¹. It is also worth mentioning that women in the Turkish-language press increasingly identified themselves as Muslim, and conflated Ottoman patriotism with Modern Muslim proprieties which indicates growing ethnonationalism within the empire⁸¹².

Such newspapers and journals were a supplement to the novels and short stories that young girls and women were devouring with an increasing voraciousness throughout the period⁸¹³. Grace, for example, immediately refers to Halide Edib and her works. Davis argues that the first published work which was truly her own was a patriotic poem offered in the garb of an address by Osman Gazi, the first Ottoman sultan. It exhorted the Fourth Army Corps to uphold the Young Turk Revolution of 1908⁸¹⁴. According to Reina Lewis, her first novel was "*Raik's Mother*" appeared in 1909, and this initial success was repeated later by "*Seviyye Talib*" (1910) and "*Handan*" (1912)⁸¹⁵. Besides that, she wrote "*Yeni Turan*" (about a strong modern woman named Kaya, in English – "rock") which was an immediate success, exemplifying the nascent nationalist yearnings of the Turks⁸¹⁶. From then on Halide Edib was constantly busy as a writer of articles and novels⁸¹⁷. She wrote for the Young Turk daily paper "*Tanin*"⁸¹⁸. Getting back to the subject, Grace also mentions other writers including Leyla Hanım, Emine Semiye and Nigâr Hanım, but most of all she focuses on Fatma Aliye. Fatma was the daughter of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa⁸¹⁹. She many years worked as his secretary and has inherited interesting documents concerning the history of the Ottoman Empire⁸²⁰. Among other works she wrote a summary of Ottoman history and a monograph on her father⁸²¹. Ellison describes her as follows: "She has a kind face, which shows at once her good heart; she is small, pale, thin, and exceedingly active, and her eyes sparkle with enthusiasm"⁸²². Grace writes that she strongly opposed any attempt to modify the veil, not because the veil

⁸¹⁰ Ibid., 238.

⁸¹¹ Şule Perinçek, *1908 Devrimi ve Cumhuriyet Kadını*, 295.

⁸¹² Elizabeth Brown Frierson, *Mirrors Out, Mirrors In. Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's magazines (1875-1908)*, 199.

⁸¹³ Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: marriage, family and fertility*, 214.

⁸¹⁴ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 235.

⁸¹⁵ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman harem*, 38.

⁸¹⁶ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 235.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid.

⁸¹⁸ Reina Lewis, *Women, Travel and the Ottoman harem*, 38.

⁸¹⁹ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895) – Ottoman statesman and historian.

⁸²⁰ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 110.

⁸²¹ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 233.

⁸²² Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 109.

has to her a religious meaning, but because it was one of the traditions of her race, and therefore sacred⁸²³. Moreover, from the text we learn that she was decidedly opposed to the adoption of European fashions in literary style, as well as in clothing and furniture⁸²⁴. According to Tanıl Bora, she believed that, firstly, there is something wrong about morality of Western women, and, secondly, they are actually far from being as free as they think⁸²⁵. However, it didn't affect her warm relationship with Grace Ellison, so the British journalist not only read one of her book named "*Udi*" ("The Lute Player"), in a French translation, but later wrote the following lines: "No woman in Turkey has made a more thorough study of the Koran than she... she has explained to me the position of women in Islam"⁸²⁶. Apparently, it was from her that she learned that, according to the Qur'ān, "women must have similar rights to men", "the best of men are those who are best to their wives" and "to acquire knowledge is an equal duty of man and woman"⁸²⁷. Subsequently, all this was described in the book of Fatma Aliye called "*Nisvan-ı İslam*"⁸²⁸. This information certainly shook her to her foundations since Grace believed that "Mahomet denied woman even a soul, and she could not go to Heaven unless her husband cared to take her there"⁸²⁹.

As for others, Leyla⁸³⁰ came from an ulema family, she learned the art of poetics from her uncle and had a divan published in three volumes⁸³¹. Emine Semiye⁸³², another daughter of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, was the first to launch the term 'feminism' in a booklet entitled "*İslamiyet'te Feminizm*" ("Feminism in Islam"), raising questions on the issues of gender equality, religious bias, women's rights, and freedom, along with the status of women's educational and professional life⁸³³. The central endeavor of her life was teaching, and she taught in Istanbul and Edirne until close to her death in 1944⁸³⁴. She married but not happily⁸³⁵. Nigar was "a woman of great charm and intelligence and an exceedingly hard

⁸²³ Ibid., 110.

⁸²⁴ Ibid.

⁸²⁵ Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar.Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler*, 745.

⁸²⁶ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 109-110.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., 68.

⁸²⁸ Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, 243.

⁸²⁹ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, 68.

⁸³⁰ Leylâ Hanım (... - 1847) is known for her lyrical love poems.

⁸³¹ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, 231.

⁸³² Emine Semiye was the daughter of Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, one of the prominent statesmen of the Tanzimat Period, and the sister of Fatma Aliye. She is known as journalist, writer and teacher who always paid attention to political and social issues like women's rights and children's education.

⁸³³ Arzu Öztürkmen, *The Women's Movement under Ottoman and Republican Rule: A Historical Reappraisal*, 257.

⁸³⁴ Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, 234.

⁸³⁵ Ibid.

worker”, poetess, with whom Grace made acquaintance at Monte Carlo after the proclamation of the Constitution. Fuat Köprülü has called her the first sincere woman poet and the greatest up to his time. It is known that she was the daughter of a Hungarian convert to Islam and she was taught both at home and at the French school in Kadıköy⁸³⁶. Nigar Hanım, as Leyla Hanım, was not happy in her marriage⁸³⁷.

As a result of this chapter, I would like to compare what was written by Ariadna and Grace. In respect to the quantity of material concerning Ottoman women, I have to repeat once again that in Tyrkova’s work this material is presented in a significantly lower volume. However, smaller in volume does not mean less qualitatively, since Ariadna, being a feminist of the early 20th century, raised in her monograph the most important problems, that is, education and employment (the latter is discussed in the chapter “Christians” and partly in the chapter entitled “Turkish Women” of this study). Grace Ellison, who initially set herself the task of uncovering a women’s question, of course, went further and considered a wider spectrum of problems. For example, she raised issues of harem and polygamy, since at the beginning of the 20th century they still heated “European” imagination and were the perfect “food” for factoids and fantasies. In addition, she describes in detail the meetings of feminists, since by 1913 they were already quite crowded and spectacular. Of course, while talking about them, she draws parallels with the British experience and traditions, from which it becomes obvious that this very experience was not fully adopted and copied by the Turks, but acquired its own Ottoman features, forms and content. Another important topic is her chapter on women-writers in Turkey. In it, Grace talks about women’s press and literature, as well as women’s participation in this process. In a sense, this chapter answers the question “What did Ottoman women of higher status do? What was their job?”. Obviously, some of them were engaged in writing activities, some took part in charitable activities, and most often combined both. In this regard, Ariadna Tyrkova’s “Little weavers” perfectly complements this Ellison’s chapter about women writers, as from “Little weavers” we learn where poor and uneducated women worked and what they did. This is important, because in order to get the whole picture one should look at the both sides. Besides that, Ariadna’s story is meaningful because it is not only about Turkish women, but also about Christian girls, who, as we know, have not always received due attention. Ariadna’s interest in the life and work of Christians in the factory can

⁸³⁶ Ibid., 231.

⁸³⁷ Ibid., 232.

be explained by two reasons. The first reason could be the desire to draw attention to the hard work of working women and children (a similar mission was performed by Tyrkova in Russia). The second reason may be an echo of the “Eastern question”, that is, the keen interest of Russian subjects to the position of the Ottoman Empire’s Christian population.

As for the common topics raised by both, Ariadna and Grace, these are “Turkish women”, “veil”, “the policy of the Young Turks in relation to the women’s question”, “Halide Edib” and “education”. While reviewing the material on Turkish women in both monographs, one can get some images of Muslim women from the countryside, “factory” Turkish women, women from the Red Cross, rich and educated Muslim women from Istanbul. Unfortunately, not all of these images are presented in the monographs in detail, but still some idea of the different Turkish women in the period under review can be obtained, which once again proves that the monographs under consideration rather complement each other than differ. This is also noticeable in the sections on Halide, education and politics of the Young Turks regarding the women’s issue. They clearly overlap with each other and give the same message that education is a must and an indispensable condition, the Young Turks support women in their development in every way, and Halide Edib, without any doubt, is one of the brightest figures and the “bridge” between the Ottoman women and foreign feminists who wanted to help. Perhaps the only question to which Ellison and Tyrkova give a slightly different degree of importance is the veil. It seems that neither Ariadna nor the Muslim women themselves considered the veil to be a serious obstacle to development, while Ellison was very concerned about this issue and was desperately trying to understand the reason why Turkish women do not want to break from this “habit”.

As for women’s participation in public life, it is clear that during the reign of the Young Turks they were quite actively involved in it but the most radical changes in this matter took place with World War I when a labor vacuum was created because of the human losses and they started to work without cease.

CONCLUSION

Thus, from this work one can learn about the lives of two amazing women, Russian Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams and British Grace Ellison. Both women were feminists, journalists and in contact with Halide Edib. They stayed in the Ottoman Empire almost at the same time (approximately one year apart) and devoted to their trips some articles and essays, which later took place in their monographs. They lived amazing lives primarily because, being women, they lived in times of great changes and upheavals. Tyrkova managed to remain the only woman in the Central Committee of Constitutional Democratic Party until March 1917, and Ellison established herself as an accomplished foreign correspondent. In addition, Ariadna and Grace are knit together by their warm attitude towards the Turkish people and the country. Even Grace, whose book with the name which included the word “harem”⁸³⁸ seemingly clearly spokes of her Orientalist approach à la “we and others”, in fact turned out to be an active defender of the truth and those realities that actually existed in the Ottoman Empire. After analyzing the literature on the period under consideration and several times carefully reading both monographs, I came to the conclusion that both journalists tried to highlight important moments and to be in the center of all significant events. However, it is worth noting once again that Tyrkova paid more attention to the issue of political situation in the country, since she had intimate knowledge of politics and participated in it quite actively in Russia, while Ellison focused on the women’s issue, because she wanted to try on the role of a Turkish woman and, probably, because she wanted to offer British readers what they were curious about. One way or another, comparison of their monographs allowed us to look at the events through their eyes and get the whole picture of that time. In my opinion, this is important, because in the process of working on this research, I found not so much literature about Ottoman women of the Young Turkish period as I had expected.

Most of all I was interested in comparing material on the women’s issue in the Ottoman Empire of the early 20th century, and the fact that Ariadna Tyrkova and Grace Ellison wrote their notes on this topic with a difference of one to two years played a very important role in this issue. By comparing them, one can conclude that a lot can change in just a couple of years, and the women that Ellison saw in 1913 were not at all the women that Tyrkova saw in 1911. Many historians believe that they were greatly influenced by the Balkan wars. These were wars that in some sense became a catalyst and accelerated the process of incorporating the female population into the public life of the empire. Apart from this, in terms of the choice

⁸³⁸ Full name – “*An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*”.

of articles' topics, Ariadna, like Grace, paid most attention to the policy of the Young Turks regarding the women's issue, education for women, the figure of Halide Edib, who played a very serious role in all these processes, veil-issue and the image of a Turkish Muslim woman. Although, unlike Ellison, Ariadna devoted quite a few lines to Christian girls, and Ellison in her turn devoted several chapters to harem, polygamy, feminist meetings, women's magazines and local writers.

If someone asks me what exactly in the two monographs made much of an impression and stick in my memory, without thinking twice I will answer that this is a one of the Tyrkova's remark, which she made, comparing the head-mistresses of two educational institutions of the Young Turkish regime, the conservative one and the progressive one: "each of them in her own way loves Turkey dearly and that is why both of them hate each other so much. One is the embodiment of stillness and tradition, the other is all movement and seeking thought, what kind of reconciliation can there be between them? It is a long and merciless battle"⁸³⁹. Reading these lines, written in the early 20th century, I recalled one of my first trips to Istanbul in 2009, when a friend of mine, in those days a student at Istanbul University, was forced to attend classes with hood in order to hide her headscarf since it was banned. I remember well that at that time such a radical measure seemed to me rather absurd. However, now I understand that it was an echo of this "very long and merciless battle" that Tyrkova described about a century ago. Since that time, much has changed and, unfortunately, not everything for the better. For example, women in modern Turkey continue to fight for their rights today, but the fact that there are not enough women's shelters in the country, many young girls marry early without getting proper education, some stay at home and do not fulfill themselves in a professional capacity, speaks eloquently about the lack of state support. The same can not be said about the Young Turk regime, whose representatives primarily sought to give women a profession and education⁸⁴⁰. Of course, taking into account the scale of the empire of that time, not all of their reforms and undertakings can be considered successful, but nevertheless it was grain, which then gave its sprouts. Such active support from the state and men was envied by many European women, who for a long time fought stubbornly for a better life and equal rights without any support. By no manner of means I am not trying to say that the Ottoman women sat by passively: on the contrary, they were engaged in teaching, opened schools, created new work places, wrote articles for women's magazines, were

⁸³⁹ Ariadna Tyrkova, *Staraya Turtsiya i mladoturki. God v Konstantinopole*, 170.

⁸⁴⁰ There were those who wanted women to be good mothers and wives and those who wanted women to be professionals in some area but both sides agreed on the need for women's education.

engaged in charitable activities, etc. Nevertheless, one should agree with the argument that during the reign of the Young Turks women did not have to go to extreme radical measures, as it was in the case of many British suffragists. That is why in the research discussion⁸⁴¹ on whether Ottoman women were given rights on a silver platter or not, I choose an intermediate position. On the one hand, they did what they considered necessary, and therefore made efforts to change their position; on the other hand, it would be foolish to deny the substantial support from not only the state and the male population, but also from the foreign women's movement. One thing is clear: the statement that Atatürk freed Turkish women is as wrong as the statement that Russian women were liberated by the Soviet authorities⁸⁴². In both cases, the process took root and began much earlier. As for Ottoman women, it is worth noting that it began even before the Young Turks came to power. Thus, upon a closer view and study of Abdülhamid's policy on the women's issue, it turns out that he was not at all such a despot and tyrant as he is often described. For example, during his reign he established colleges and schools for women, as well as supervised the development of a female publishing sphere. Speaking of Ottoman women, I would like to emphasize that both in this conclusion and throughout the study, I do not mean all women of the empire as a whole since, as famous historian Cemal Kafadar said, one of the biggest challenges in working on this topic is the wide range of women themselves as they were of different religious beliefs and from different parts of the empire. Tyrkova's essay named "Little weavers", where the difference between Christian and Muslim girls working in a textile factory is clearly visible, can serve as a good proof of this statement.

Last but not least, one should keep in mind that considered sources, being journalistic notes and essays, are not unquestionable (but still valuable since official documents very poorly represent unofficial matters and sometimes this kind of sources is the only way to obtain information), as it is in the case of travelogues. So, I tried (as much as I could) to engage in what the literary critics and Peter Burke call "close reading", that is to say to force myself to

⁸⁴¹ The claim that the Ottoman women did not fight for their rights, but simply got them, can be found in Ellison's monograph, and I would venture to suggest that she was not the only Western woman who thought in this way. The discussion itself is a leitmotif in the literature on gender issues in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

⁸⁴² As Frierson correctly noted, Atatürk's topdown reforms emancipated women but did not liberate them, nor did they allow women to define the terms of their own liberation since, without having fought for their rights through popular agitation, they remained in subjection to paternalistic delimitations of their identities and abilities.

become aware of the authors' rhetoric and their conscious or unconscious stereotypes and journalistic strategies⁸⁴³.

To sum up, I would like to repeat that in my opinion gender studies need further works resembling Ayşe Durakbaşa's research, where the links between Halide Edib, Isabel Fry and Grace Ellison (that is, between Ottoman / Turkish women and foreigners) are revealed. It is possible that for this kind of literature it is necessary to combine the efforts of researchers from different countries engaged in gender issues. I hope my research to some extent fills this gap. In particular, being Russian, I would like to focus on the fact that in Turkey almost no attention is paid to those few memoirs / travelogues / notes that belong to Russian women and tell about different periods of the history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. It can be assumed that the lack of knowledge of the Russian language is a significant obstacle, since practically all of these works are not translated into English, but I hope that in the near future "Russian women in connection to Ottoman / Turkish women" will also take its rightful place among other studies.

⁸⁴³ Peter Burke, *The Cultural History of the Travelogue* // *Przegląd Historyczny* 101/1, 2010, 8.

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APPENDIX

Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams (the source of these photographs - "*Naslediye Ariadny Vladimirovny Tyrkovoy: Dnevnik. Pis'ma*").



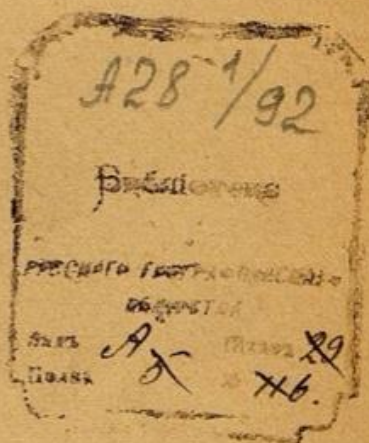
Grace Ellison (the source of the first photo - "*An Englishwoman in Angora*", the source of the second photo - "*An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*").



Аріадна Тыркова.

СТАРАЯ ТУРЦІЯ и МЛАДОТУРКИ.

Годъ въ Константинополѣ.



ПЕТРОГРАДЪ.

Типографія Б. М. Вольфа. Васильевскій Остр., Волховской пер., 4.

Халидэ-Ханумъ.

Вся молодая Турція знаетъ Халидэ-Ханумъ, и не только какъ даровитую романистку, но и какъ горячую и дѣятельную патріотку, какъ женщину, чье имя звучитъ надеждой на обновленіе и пробужденіе оттоманскаго народа. Интеллигентные верхи, къ которымъ она принадлежитъ, пропитаны хлынувшими съ Запада новыми мыслями и чувствами, стремленіями и потребностями, рожденными чужой, христіанской цивилизаціей.

Въ лучшихъ представителяхъ въ сущности немногочисленнаго, но все еще властнаго, политически господствующаго въ Оттоманской имперіи народа, идетъ очень сложная внутренняя работа. Западъ они цѣнятъ и уважаютъ, но и отказываться отъ родного Востока не хотятъ, не хотятъ затеряться въ толпѣ европейцевъ. Среди этихъ культурныхъ дѣятелей одно изъ самыхъ почетныхъ мѣстъ принадлежитъ Халидэ-Ханумъ.

Какъ романистка, она внимательнѣе, чѣмъ другіе современные беллетристы передаетъ если не бытъ, то ломающуюся психологію своей среды. Повидимому, въ ней заложена настоящая писательская художественность, потому что и языкомъ она владѣетъ лучше многихъ современниковъ. Та очистка турецкаго языка отъ устарѣлыхъ и тяжелыхъ арабскихъ и персидскихъ словъ, о которой хлопчутъ, разсуждаютъ, теоретизируютъ и писатели, и члены единственнаго хилаго турецкаго ученаго общества, сама собой дается талантливой писательницѣ. Она пишетъ гибкимъ и живымъ

AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN A TURKISH HAREM

BY
GRACE ELLISON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., F.B.A., F.R.C.P.

WITH THIRTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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AN ENGLISHWOMAN WEARING A YASHMAK

CHAPTER VI

CHAMPIONS OF WOMEN—THE MEN WHO LEAD

I HAVE been to one of the Turkish feminist meetings, which take place every Friday afternoon upon which it is possible to find speakers. This society is not organized according to our Western methods, there being no responsible head and no list of members. It has not even a battle-cry, as, for example, "the vote," nor an official name; it is the society where the different interests of women are discussed, and its best appellation, perhaps, would be "the society for the elevation of womanhood." From articles which have from time to time appeared in our papers I imagined there was in Turkey an organized society for the abolition of the veil, and that "man," the arch-enemy of woman, was the chief obstacle to woman's progress. I believe, however, this idea is prevalent in our Western countries.

Signed always with the name of a Turkish woman, these articles are written by persons who are catering for readers of sensation. The names