

ATATÜRK KÜLTÜR, DİL VE TARİH YÜKSEK KURUMU  
TÜRK TARİH KURUMU YAYINLARI  
VIII. Dizi - Sayı 7<sup>b</sup>

# SULTAN II. ABDÜLHAMİD SEMPOZYUMU

20-21 ŞUBAT 2014, SELANİK

SOSYO-EKONOMİK HAYAT-EĞİTİM  
BİLDİRİLER

2. Cilt

## YÜRÜTME KURULU

Prof. Dr. M. Metin HÜLAGÜ  
Prof. Dr. Ahmet CİHAN  
Prof. Dr. Ahmet KANKAL  
Prof. Dr. İbrahim Ethem ATNUR  
Prof. Dr. Süleyman SEYDİ  
Arş. Gör. Can DEVECİ  
Uzm. Yrd. Ayşe BEDİR AKÇELİK  
Uzm. Yrd. Uğur ÖZÇELİK  
Uzm. Yrd. Yunus PUSTU

## BİLİM KURULU

Prof. Dr. M. Metin HÜLAGÜ  
Prof. Dr. Alâattin KARACA  
Prof. Dr. Cezmi ERASLAN  
Prof. Dr. Erdoğan KESKİNKILIÇ  
Prof. Dr. Erol ÖZVAR  
Prof. Dr. Esin KÂHYA  
Prof. Dr. Hasan BABACAN  
Prof. Dr. İsmail Hakkı GÖKSOY  
Prof. Dr. Mehmet BEŞİRLİ  
Prof. Dr. Murat ÖZYÜKSEL  
Prof. Dr. Musa ÇADIRCI  
Prof. Dr. Nedim İPEK  
Prof. Dr. Yusuf SARINAY  
Doç. Dr. Abdullah Şevki DUYSMAZ  
Doç. Dr. Gonca Bayraktar DURGUN  
Doç. Dr. Gülbadi ALAN  
Doç. Dr. Necmettin ALKAN



TÜRK TARİH KURUMU  
ANKARA 2014

---

THE OTTOMAN MUSLİM WOMAN AS  
‘EDUCATED HOMEMAKER, PERFECT WIFE AND  
CARİNG- MOTHER- HANIMLARA MASHÛS GAZETE  
(NEWSPAPER FOR LADİES) (1895-1908)

Ayşe ZEREN ENİS

*The Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Bogazici University, Istanbul*

### Introduction

The transformation of the “governmentality” of the Ottoman state, officially stamped as the much celebrated *Tanzîmât* reforms initiated in 1839, paved the way to its political implications through a wide range of means to “know” the Ottoman society in order to transform and control it. In other words, with the wind of the *Tanzîmât* reforms, the practices of the Ottoman state, as a product of this new mode of governance, were formed accordingly the idea of “knowability of population” as a “primary target to be acted upon.”<sup>1</sup> This new mode of governance along with the creation of the concept of Ottoman citizenship paved the way for a fresh understanding of new identities for Ottoman subjects. In this sense, the population became the subject of the activity of the state, and it became the main “wealth” of it. With the understanding of the idea that “the productive population” was the essential wealth of the state, a new roadmap led to a rise in the value of women as well as children who had up until then been pushed back. After this point in time, new conceptualization of childhood and womanhood came forward in the agenda of the Ottoman policy makers as well as intellectuals. In this period when society was being transformed, and individuals were adopting new identities, children were assigned the duty of becoming the “intelligent, agile and moral” individuals of the future,

whereas women were trusted with the duties of raising these “intelligent, agile and moral” generations and safeguarding the “home” and the “family,” which was seen as the cradle of the modern Ottoman society.

It is a fact that the printing press became one of the prominent means to reflect on this transformation. The concept of the public sphere and the importance of creating public opinion were two important topics of the Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals in the nineteenth century. As Elizabeth Thompson points out, due to capitalism of the press, the creation of the public sphere, state schools and new shopping zones, the state can use its resources efficiently, grow financially and open up arenas conducive to social intervention, thereby creating and expanding its own public sphere of influence.<sup>2</sup> Together with *Tanzimât*, Ottoman statesmen used various spheres to increase their influence and manipulative power over the public. For this reason, the influence of the press gradually became more important as it facilitated the flow of information and communication and thus influenced public opinion. The new public sphere that was created with the help of the press enabled individuals to form, question and adopt “new identities” in Ottoman society which, in turn, underwent a political, social, economic and cultural transformation.

The very first official Ottoman newspaper was *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*<sup>3</sup> published in 1831, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. Considering the current standards of the modern press, it is rather difficult to define *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* as a newspaper. It is more of an official organ.<sup>4</sup> According to Erik Jan Zürcher, the first Ottoman Turkish newspaper was *Ceride-i Havâdis*, which was bought and published by an Englishman named Churchill in 1840. Although *Ceride-i Havâdis* generally reflected the official policies, it covered international news more than the state newspaper. Therefore, Erik Jan Zürcher marks the real starting point of the Ottoman press in the 1860's when İbrahim Şinasi was the chief writer of *Tercümân-ı Âbvâl*.<sup>5</sup>

However, in the press of the period, men were not the only ones to voice their opinions. Aynur İlyasoğlu and Deniz İnsel's joint

article titled "Kadın Dergilerinin Evrimi" states that upper class women with ample financial opportunities, from families of Ottoman dignitaries and intellectuals were pioneers in the press especially given their education and knowledge of foreign languages.<sup>6</sup> This paved the way for women's questioning their social and familial roles as well as for the growth of feminism in the Ottoman Empire.

It is a fact that upper class Ottoman women closely followed the European press with the help of foreign languages learned during their *konâk* education; and they also started to appear in the Ottoman press themselves. This led to an early period Ottoman style feminism. These women primarily started to question their social roles, and they especially wrote about polygamy, from which women of their social class suffered. Also, arranged and forced marriages were discussed together with general problems in the Empire. Women of this period stressed the importance of being a good mother, a good wife and a good housewife in the household, and designated women as the keepers of the house as well as trainers of future generations. Women argued that in order to be an ideal mother, ideal wife and ideal housewife, a good education was necessary and that education for women needed to be given priority for the continuity of the state and because the Ottoman Empire was in dire straits. During this period, together with the new girls' schools, educating women at home was also supported by these women.<sup>7</sup> They stated that marriage was not necessarily an obstacle to women's education, and women's newspapers and magazines underscored the fact that women could go on with their education after marriage. Thus, in this period and later, women's magazines became popular teachers<sup>8</sup> of women at home.<sup>9</sup> Of course, it would not be correct to claim that the women writers in the early period of women's magazines agreed about everything or defended the same points. However, when we look to the writings in the women's magazines of this period, we see that they usually dwelt on similar topics. When all is taken into account, the early period Ottoman women's movement was a phase that occurred when a sufficient ideological background had accrued for women's experiences of modernity and liberation as well as providing for their presence<sup>10</sup> in the public sphere and in the press.<sup>11</sup>

Actually, until 1923, about forty Ottoman women's periodicals were published. Most of those were bought and published by men, but some of them were brought out by women. Besides, some were bought and published by women.<sup>12</sup> These new women writers in time became mediating tools voicing and organizing women's demands and rights.<sup>13</sup> Some of the women's magazines published before 1923 are these: *Terakkî-i Muhâdderât* (Progress of the Virtuous Women) (1869-1870), *Vakit yahud Mürebbî-i Muhâdderât* (Time or Tutor of Virtuous Women) (1875), *Âyine* (Mirror) (1875), *Âile* (Family) (1880), *İnsâniyet* (Humanity) (1882-1883), *Şükûfezâr* (Flower Garden) (1883-1884), *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (Newspaper For Ladies) (1895-1909), *Demet* (Bouquet) (1908-1909), *Mebâsin* (Beauties) (1908-1909), *Kadın* (Woman) (Salonica) (1908-1909), *Kadın* (Woman) (İstanbul) (1911), *Musavver Kadın* (Illustrated Woman) (1911), *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) (1913-1921), *Kadınlık* (Womanhood) (1914), *Hanımlar Âlemi* (Ladies' World) (1914), *Osmânî Hanımlar Âlemi* (World of Ottoman Ladies) (1914), *Erkekler Dünyası*, (Men's World) (1914), *Seyyâle* (Stream) (1914), *Siyânet* (Protection) (1914), *Kadınlık Hayâtı* (Life of Womanhood) (1915) *Bilgi Yurdu Işığ* (Homeland of the light of Knowledge) (1917), *Genç Kadın Dergisi* (Journal for Young Women) (1918), *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Woman) (1918-1919), *İnci* (Pearl) (1918-1922) and *Süs* (Ornament) (1923-1923).<sup>14</sup>

Among these newspapers, published for thirteen years (1895-1908), *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (Newspaper for Ladies), with its articles and news about education, family, household, household management, child-rearing, hygiene, health, beauty, embroidery, leisure, and fashion is a precious source reflecting the "ideal" everyday life of an Ottoman Muslim woman of the upper and middle classes of the late nineteenth century Ottoman society in an era of Sultan Abdülhamid II. According to the articles in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, the framework of the everyday life of an ideal Ottoman Muslim woman from upper or middle classes was mostly shaped around three important duties: taking care of household and household management, being a perfect wife to her husband, and proper child-rearing. In this sense, I would like to portray how "an ideal" Ottoman Muslim woman from upper and middle classes of

the late nineteenth century Hamidian society was intended to be “created” as an educated and pious homemaker, a perfect wife to her husband and a caring mother for her children according to the articles of a Sultan-supported woman newspaper, *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*.

### “The Woman Question” in the Late Tanzimât Era

As it was clearly mentioned before, the nineteenth century was a period when the Ottoman Empire witnessed a profound transformation in its society. Abolition of slavery and the right to inherit granted to girls are some of the most important changes that affected the daily life of women in the *Tanzimât* period. Besides these changes, even though women gained a few new legal rights, the real change happened in the area of education.<sup>15</sup> Newly opened modern schools for girls made a deep impact on the daily lives of women, as well as making them more visible in society.<sup>16</sup> As women became more socially effective, they demanded more of a presence in the economic, cultural and political arenas. Their efforts and work as well as the hardships they encountered in this direction have sustained “the woman question” from *Tanzimât* to the beginning of the Republic, or perhaps even to our day.

It is a fact that, especially after the *Tanzimât* era, “the woman question” assumed a place on the agenda of high officials and intellectuals of the Empire; and various discussions were initiated regarding the nature of women’s lives. As the “gatekeepers of the household and mothers of future generations,” the duties of women in the society took on more significance and the state took responsibility to regularize and control the way of living of women in order to create a modern and productive society. Moreover, this responsibility included the interference of the state in not only the private spheres of women, basically “the household,” but also in their public spheres, expanded by the increased appearance of women in society. In this process, the everyday life of Ottoman women started to change.

Placed at the core of the life of Ottoman women, children also became essential for the sake of the Ottoman Empire; and thus

the Ottoman intelligentsia and intellectuals started to perceive the Muslim Ottoman child (0 - 12 years old) as an individual and became more focused on the modern transformation of childhood in the late nineteenth century in order to “save” the future of a prosperous nation. Thus, the aim of creating a prosperous nation induced the state and the intellectuals to introduce new and modern approaches to previous methods and perspectives about children and childhood, which then became “extensively acceptable social truths.”<sup>17</sup> Instead of traditional dogmas and institutions on the concepts of the child, child rearing, child education, children’s health and nutrition, new outlook replaced previous concepts. In this way, the transformation of Ottoman understanding towards children gave birth to changes in the everyday life of Ottoman women. Especially, modern practices of child-rearing and the reforms in various fields that related to children shaped the meaning of “ideal motherhood” in the Ottoman sense, and the lives of girls as well as boys started to be different than their previous counterparts. Thus, the life of not only children but also women was changed compared to what it had been before.

Although all these transformations mainly started in the *Tanzîmât* era, they blossomed after the *Tanzîmât*, especially during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II., the number of institutions transforming the life of Ottoman women and children increased; and new perspectives towards the duties of women in the society developed. In order to trace these changes, the printing press became one of the prominent means to reflect on this transformation. In this sense, published for thirteen years of thirty three years (1876-1909) of the Hamidian regime, *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, with its articles on education, family, household, household management, hygiene, health, beauty, embroidery, social activities, news, fashion, and child-rearing reflected the “ideal” everyday life of an Ottoman Muslim woman in the era Sultan Abdülhamid II.

#### **Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete (Newspaper For Ladies) (1895-1908)**

After its first publication on Saturday, 31 August 1895, *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* began a thirteen-year-long journey, and became the longest published women’s newspaper (written in Ot-

toman-Turkish) of the Ottoman Empire with its 624 issues.<sup>18</sup> As a historical source, this newspaper is a significant starting point in order to examine “the ideal lives and the ideas” of the Ottoman Muslim women from the upper and middle classes in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. The owner of the newspaper was İbnülhakki Mehmet Tahir, who was the editorial writer of the newspaper *Tarîk*. In addition, Makbule Leman, Nigâr binti Osman, Fatma Şadiye, Mustafa Asım, Faik Ali, Talat Ali and Gülistan İsmet were also in charge of editorial affairs in the newspaper. Moreover, in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, various subjects, from fashion to hygiene, child care to education, daily news to literature had been discussed by women, men, and sometimes men with pseudo women’s names. Some of the prominent writers of the newspaper were Ahmed Râsim ([Elif] Rasime); Ali Muzaffer; Emine Semiye (Emine Vâhide); Emine Remziye; Fâik Ali; Fatma Aliye (Bir Kadın); Fatma Şadiye (Taşkasaplı Fatma Şadiye); Fatma Fahrünnisâ; Gülistan İsmet; Hüseyin Remzi; Keçecizâde H. İkbâl; Hamiyet Zehra; Leylâ Hanım; Makbûle Lemân; Mübârekzâde Langalı Fatma; Muallime Nazîme; Mustafa Âsım; P. Fahriye and Tal’at Âli.<sup>19</sup> In this sense, even though it is very hard to categorize or identify this newspaper as falling within a particular field of interest, this source becomes important not only in order to scrutinize the “ideal” everyday lives of the upper and middle class women, but also to observe the ideas of men on the issues of women.

Furthermore, it is a fact that there was a “close” relationship between the Sultanate and the newspaper. Almost every issue of *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* had an article glorifying the Sultan, or an article which included special thanks to him for his contributions to the Empire. Thankful letters and poems for the Sultan, reports about his public processions to the mosque, at noon on Fridays, and greetings on his birthday and accession to the throne were regularly published in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*. The reflection of the presence of the Sultan was always felt on the pages of the newspaper. On the other hand, considering the censorship policies and the difficulty of publishing newspapers during the Hamidian era, the thirteen-year long publication of *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* suggests that this newspaper was also supported by the Sultan. In addition, in

1898, the Sultan donated 3.000 *kuruş* to the newspaper, and afterwards, the newspaper was endowed with 30 *liras* per month which was supplied from the Palace budget.<sup>20</sup> In the same year, İbnülhakki Mehmet Tahir Bey was awarded with a medal.<sup>21</sup> Concisely, the establishment of the “close contact” between the Yıldız Palace and the newspaper provided *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* with the patronage of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Under these circumstances, it is possible to feel some of the policies of the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. on the pages of *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, too. In other words, it could be assumed that the type of “ideal Ottoman Muslim woman” in the mind of the Hamidian regime could be compatible with “the ideal Ottoman Muslim woman” who reflected itself in the writings of the authors of the newspaper.

Precisely, the aim of *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* was to idealize a woman as a good, decent, religious (of course Muslim), caring and educated daughter of her parents, mother to her children and wife to her husband. In other words, through the articles in the *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, it is aimed to create an ideal urban Ottoman Muslim woman from the upper and the middle classes of the Hamidian society or an “imagined” everyday life, as it was supposed to be. In this sense, even though I used the term “everyday life” in here, it should not be assumed as totally real; it was just an idealization of a daily life of the late nineteenth century Ottoman Muslim woman from the upper and middle class. Furthermore, even though some of the articles in the newspaper were written by non-Muslim women writers or some of the letters were sent from the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the target readers of the newspaper were mostly “urban” Ottoman Muslim women. In ethnic terms, being Ottoman was always emphasized by the authors of the newspaper, yet, in some articles, the adjectives that identified authors of the newspaper and the targeted readers, “Ottoman-Muslim” and “Turkish,” could be used interchangeably. More importantly, the women authors of the *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* came from the upper and middle classes of the society and their readers were also the members of the same social strata. Briefly, as magazines and books directed toward women in the late nineteenth century in some European countries started to praise motherhood, domesticity, religion, charity as the proper

work of women,<sup>22</sup> *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* also worked to promote these late nineteenth century middle class woman ethics among the urban, Ottoman Muslim women of the upper and the middle classes during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II.

Thus, even though I use the word “women” in order to identify the female authors or readers of the newspaper, this word “women” refers to “ladies” in real terms. However, the female authors of *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* also used the term “lady or ladies” when they referred to themselves as “we, Ottoman ladies (*biz, Osmânlı hanımları*).” Besides that, it is important to keep in mind that even though *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* was a woman’s journal, its authors were not composed of women only. On the other hand, even though some articles had a female, male or no signatures, this does not guarantee that the article was written by a person of same gender as the signature of the article might indicate. In the era of using nicknames (*müstear isim*) in print, it is hard to decide whether an article was written by a same person as the signature holder. Regardless of the gender of these authors, and considering the widespread censorship policies of the era and the frequent praises of Sultan Abdülhamid II. in the newspaper,<sup>23</sup> in general, it can be assumed that the writings of these authors in the newspaper were compatible with the Hamidian ideology of the era. I used the term “general” here because I cannot say that all of the articles, surely, were compatible with the Hamidian ideology of the era. Even though there was not a radical criticism of the regime of the era, there were little differences in details among the articles, which, in fact, would have been absolutely normal because of the nature of the papers.

To sum up, with its distinguished leading authors, notable poets, elaborate but serious layout, rich contents and charitable activities, throughout thirteen years of its publication, *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* left a mark in the daily lives of the Ottoman Muslim women from the upper and middle classes of Ottoman society in the late nineteenth century. Whether it was the ideology of Hamidian regime or the Ottoman intellectuals of the late nineteenth century, the idea of creating an “ideal” Ottoman Muslim woman and her child in order to build a prosperous nation for the future was shaped in this era, manifested itself in newspapers and magazines,

and *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* tried to do its duty in this process. In doing so, it became a rich source for portraying the “ideal” everyday lives of these women, mainly focusing on their household duties.

### **Household: Housewife, Wife, Mother as a Modern Homemaker an Efficient Housewife**

According to the articles in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, the ideal nineteenth century Ottoman Muslim women should pass most of their time in their houses, dealing with their daily responsibilities in their households. In an Ottoman family, a man, as the breadwinner, was charged with working outside the household, earning money and meeting the expenses of the family according to the law of nature and law of civilization.<sup>24</sup> On the contrary, a woman, as the gatekeeper of the household, was charged with maintaining order in the household, being a kind wife for her husband and taking care of her children properly.<sup>25</sup> For example, in her article, Zeynep Sünbül Hanım mentioned that to educate women and men in the same way as in the United States caused a competition between men and women and women strayed and lacked the beauty and kindness that they had.<sup>26</sup> She added that if a man and a woman knew their own duties and worked for them, there would not be any dangerous result. For her, to compete with men by taking part in their duties was unnatural for women. In addition, due to the reason that the structures of the bodies of both men and women were compatible with their duties; therefore, to do the contrary did not offer any gain for either men or women.<sup>27</sup> Even though both parties should be responsible for meeting their own obligations to maintain the happiness of the family, it was obvious in the articles in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, that the duties of women, especially in the household, were seen and emphasized in terms of the continuation of the welfare of the family as a whole. Thus, according to *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, the household for an ideal Ottoman Muslim woman in the reign of the Sultan Abdülhamid II. was the center of her daily life.

As frequently emphasized in several articles in the *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, the most sacred tasks of an ideal woman were her household duties<sup>28</sup> as the owner and the manager of the house.

<sup>29</sup> However, according to the article, "Sa'y u Amel" ("Effort and Labor"), these duties could be changed according to the social position and personal dignity of women in the society. For example, if this woman had personal servants in her household, her daily tasks for her household, such as cleaning, cooking and sewing, would be completed by the afternoon and nothing could be more stressful than to plan the rest of her day for this woman.<sup>30</sup> For the rest of the day, this woman could invite her friends to her house or she could go to their houses for a visit. If she preferred, she could go out in order to make a promenade as well. However, according to the article, the most miserable being in the world was the one who spent her life wasting her time, thus it could not be imagined that a smart and kind woman did not think that dealing with the household was not one of the biggest pleasures and blessings of her life.<sup>31</sup> For another article in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, "Meşâgil-i Beytiyyenin Te'sîrât-ı Sıhhiyesi" ("The Effect of the Occupation with Household on Health"), it was said that if women did not busy themselves with their housework, they would have medical problems. These would not only be small disorders such as indigestion or headache, but also more serious ones as well. In addition, these women who did not want to be occupied with any kind of housework could become very fat; therefore, according to article, exhausting the body by dealing with housework was very beneficial for women.<sup>32</sup> For example, to sweep around, to make beds and to iron were the best gymnastics for women. In this sense, all parts of the women's body worked, especially, the arms of women. Furthermore, the article also told that even the wealthy women in the United States confirmed this fact and as a result they preferred to be occupied with the housework rather than playing ball games, which were less beneficial for women's bodies than dealing with housework.<sup>33</sup>

In this sense, how did an Ottoman woman manage one of the biggest pleasures and benefactions of her everyday life, her household, efficiently? In order to maintain the order in the house, a woman should control her servants and concubines. The number of the servants and the concubines depended on the economic power of the breadwinner of the family, the husband. Thus, a woman should encourage servants and concubines to work efficiently in order to

deal with the housework. However, as far as it was understood from the articles in the newspaper, this control mechanism sometimes included insults and violence against the servants in order to make them work efficiently. For example, in one article called, "Hüsn-i İdâre" ("Well Management"), the author, Naime Hanım, said that to use violence against the servants when they were used for work was inhumane<sup>34</sup> because they (*hanım* [lady] and her servants) were all equal subjects of God and they would be treated same before the God.<sup>35</sup> However, Naime Hanım also thanked God that among Muslim Ottoman women there were ones who treated their servants very kindly.<sup>36</sup> In another article called, "Hanım ile Hizmetçinin Münâsebeti" ("The Relationship between the Lady and the Servant"), the author explained how the relationship should be between the *hanım* and her servant.<sup>37</sup> According to this article, if the level of the social status and welfare of a family were a little bit higher, in that family, the housewife could have one or several servants such as maids, cooks or nannies in order to make them deal with the housework instead of her. However, even though that housewife had several servants in her household for housework, regardless of her social position in the society, she should also know how to cook, to sew, to take care of children, to wash laundry and to sweep around without the help of her servants, because even though she did not need to do the work by herself, she should monitor and check her servants whether they did all the tasks properly or not.<sup>38</sup> In addition, the article also emphasized that servants should take care of the work which required only strength, not a mental ability or wisdom.<sup>39</sup> To know how to make servants work efficiently was essential for women, because if she failed to do that successfully, her family happiness would be damaged.<sup>40</sup> A servant should love her *hanım* and show her respect to her; therefore, a *hanım* should treat her servants in a way to construct this kind of a relationship between them. Moreover, a *hanım* should prepare the daily "to do list" of her servants and should not leave them free for a long time. If the tasks of servants were not determined and if a *hanım* did not make them get accustomed to their tasks, they did not fulfill their duties in an efficient way even if they were scolded by their *hanım*. This only caused them to hate her. Lastly, but more importantly, the *hanım* should always pay attention to the morality of her servants.<sup>41</sup> It is a fact that the issue of moral-

ity of servants was one of the most discussed topics in *Hanımlara Maşhûs Gazete*, especially in the articles about the moral education of children.

Under these circumstances, if her social status and the level of the welfare of her family was enough to hire at least one or more servants, an ideal Ottoman Muslim woman should know how to use them efficiently in her household in order to maintain the order in her house, even though she had all the skills to deal with the housework by herself. Logically, if she lacked the assets to hire servants, she should do all the housework such as cooking, cleaning, sewing, washing the dishes, doing laundry and taking care of children in her daily life for the happiness of her family. Related to this idea, in another article called, "İdâre-i Beytiyye Dersleri" ("Household Management Lessons"), *Hanımlara Maşhûs Gazete* published a translation of an article by *madame française*, who established a school called "school of mothering" (*vâlideler mektebi*) in Bordeaux, in order to teach efficient household management, housework and child-rearing to girls as well as to women from different classes, as these were not taught in the female schools.<sup>42</sup> The author and the owner of the school of mothering stressed the importance of learning these capabilities, which were the basic duties of women in general.<sup>43</sup>

Other duties of an ideal Ottoman woman in her household were to be financially interested in the expenditures of the household, to manage the budget which was left for the household's expenses and to record them properly. Fatma Rasiha Hanım, in her article called, "Hanımlarımız ve Ev İdâresi" ("Our Ladies and Household Management"), mentioned that there was no doubt that it was very beneficial for her household if a woman took care of household management. She also emphasized that in Europe all of the household management was taken care of by the housewives.<sup>44</sup> In this sense, Fatma Rasiha Hanım thought that women should know how to write, to read and to measure in order to deal with the household management correctly.<sup>45</sup> She added that women should be frugal and they should keep away from prodigality. In addition, the respect that their husband showed them was mostly related to women's attention to the household management.<sup>46</sup>

In another article called, “İdâre-i Beytiyye Hakkında Bir İki Söz” (“A Few Words About Household Management”), two important rules of household management were explained to the readers: neatness (*intizâm*) and the management of savings (*idâre-i tasarruf*).<sup>47</sup> Regarding to these rules, an ideal Ottoman Muslim woman should provide neatness in her household and should know how to budget efficiently for the household’s expenditures. For this reason, various articles in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* supported education of women sufficient to making calculations and keeping records related to household expenditures.

For example, in a story called, “Bir Hikâye: Tashîh” (“A Story: Correction”), in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, it told a story of a man who was against the idea of women’s learning of reading and writing. He did not want to get married to a woman who knew these skills. Finally, he found the woman of his dreams and treated her very respectfully and kindly. In addition, he had a daughter from her. However, this little girl wanted to learn how to write and read; and because her father did not let her learn how to read and write, she started to go to their neighbor’s house, an idealist neighbor on girls’ education, Pesendide Hanım, in order to learn how to read and write from her. One day, the father went away for business purposes and the wife had to deal with two men who asked her for some papers to check while the husband was not at home. At the end of the story, we see that even though the wife gave all the papers to these two men by counting them one by one and took them back again by counting again, these two men had changed the two of these financial papers with non-valuable ones and she did not understand it because of her illiteracy. When her husband learnt this situation, he got furious, and yelled at his wife disrespectfully and told her due to her illiteracy, they lost a lot of money. This event showed the father the importance of learning how to read and write and he decided to enroll his daughter in school. When he learnt that his daughter had already learnt how to read and write, he was very pleased and sent his thanks to the neighbor.<sup>48</sup> This story tried to show its readers, on one hand, the importance of reading and writing for management of the household, on the other hand, how a respectful and kind husband could turn in to a disrespectful and rude one to his wife, if the wife could not be successful in the household management.

### A "Perfect" Wife

Beside the task of maintenance of neatness and order in the household, promoted in the articles in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, the other important duty of an ideal Ottoman Muslim woman in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. was to be a "kind, decent, honest, merciful, patient, charming, loyal, caring, helpful, educated, obedient, respectful, religious and moral, tolerant and understanding" wife for her husband. The reason that I used so many adjectives in order to describe "a good wife" was that the most of the articles<sup>49</sup> in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* trying to outline the characteristics of a "perfect" wife, who strived for the happiness and welfare of her husband in every kind of situation, acquired all of these adjectives. If the reader was not married yet, the aim of the newspaper was to guide that little lady to learn how to be a "perfect wife" in the future in order to find happiness in her future family.<sup>50</sup>

According to one of the articles in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, readers were advised that when the husband, as breadwinner, came home after his work, his wife should treat him kindly in order to make him forget all his daily weariness.<sup>51</sup> A story called, "Hüsni Muamele" ("Well Treatment"), in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, told a story of a newly married beautiful woman and her alcoholic, jobless and nightlife-addicted husband. According to this story, even though the wife was very sad because of her husband's situation, she kept quiet and she did not complain to her husband about it. Every time her husband came at home in the morning, she welcomed him kindly and treated him very well. Thus, at the end of the story, this husband quit his bad habits, found a job and learned to be happy with his wife. All of these changes materialized because of the kind treatment of the husband by his wife.<sup>52</sup>

In addition, even though a wife was expected to treat her husband with kind understanding, respect and patience, she was expected to be physically beautiful as well. Although most of the articles in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, stressed the inner beauty of the women, the physical attractiveness of women was also important for women as well as men. The articles and advertisements on beauty of women and especially on cosmetics showed how much Otto-

man Muslim women paid attention on their physical appearance. Moreover, it is a fact that being beautiful is also a means to draw the attention of the opposite sex, a future or current husband. For example, in the article called, "Güzellik ve Zevciyet" ("Beauty and Companionship"), it was said that being fond of beauty was natural to people and everybody wanted to look at the beauty that they saw around them. For example, if a man saw a beautiful shop or anything else while he was walking on the street, he wanted to spend a few minutes to look at it, and even though he had no time for that, he continued looking at this beauty until it went out of his sight, while he was passing through. According to the article, this event showed how humankind was enjoyed seeing beauty and that this act of seeing and the imagining beauty gave birth to rejoicing of the mind and the soul of humankind. As a result, if the soul of a human was cheery, that person would get material and spiritual gains in his or her life.<sup>53</sup> However, in the article's perspective, if a person became cheerful just because of seeing the beauties outside, that person became more cheerful if he or she saw the beauties in the household. For this reason, beauty should be paid attention to during the marriage.<sup>54</sup>

Moreover, the article also pointed out that the reason that women were created beautiful and even that ugly women had some beauties unique to women was to insure the continuation of human life in a pleasurable and soul-refreshing love and affection (*muhâbbet*). If life lacked this love and affection, it would lack all kinds of garnishes and luxuries of existence, too. According to the article, because all women naturally had a kind of beauty of their own as a woman, each of their material and spiritual state of affairs should be beautiful and they should show all of their beauties (material and spiritual) that they had naturally to their husbands. This was the law of nature.<sup>55</sup> The most important aspect of the article was that the article directly took the "housewives" as its reference point and not the ones who used cosmetics (such as *düzgün*) and facial-powder (*puvra*) in order to be "beautiful." In other words, according to the article, a housewife should be physically beautiful without the help of the means of make-up. It is fact that some of the articles in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* advised its readers to use more natural methods to beautify themselves rather than by buying imported liq-

uids, mixtures and make-up tools from the stores, because, according to these articles, such imported liquids, mixtures and make-up tools contained different kinds of poisons that could be harmful for the health of Ottoman Muslim women. Thus, these articles recommended various natural mixtures for certain purposes or directed readers to use harmless brands of make-up tools.<sup>56</sup> These brands were also made to appeal to the taste of the readers with the help of frequent advertisements appearing in the section for advertisements in the *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*.

In this sense, how should an Ottoman Muslim “housewife” be beautiful for her husband? According to the article called, “Güzellik ve Zevciyet” (“Beauty and Companionship”), the spiritual aspect of this beauty was composed of virtues including women’s loyalty, love and affection (*mubâbbet*), respect and dutiful treatment of their husbands. The material aspect of this beauty was the personal ornamentation of women. However, this personal ornamentation of women depended on her husband’s character and his wealth. According to the article, a woman was fond of her personal ornamentation by her nature and she had to be beautiful to her husband according to the law of marriage, yet, she should beautify herself according to some rules. A woman should be beautiful to her husband, thus, if she did not beautify herself, her husband would not even see her natural beauty as well.<sup>57</sup> According to the article, a woman should beautify herself by treating her husband kindly and regarding her character. The style and the colors of her clothes should be what her husband preferred. However, in the footnotes, the article also mentioned that the husband had duties towards his wife, but the author of the article did not wish to talk about this issue in the article. On the other hand, the author pointed out that if the husband did not fulfill his duties to his wife, it was obvious that the wife could not treat her husband in a way that the article recommended.<sup>58</sup>

The other important point in the article was that the author underlined the fact that some women did not beautify themselves when they did not go out of their houses. On the contrary, if they wanted to go out, they spent a lot of time on their personal care and ornamentation in front of the mirror. For the author, this kind of behavior of a woman was unfair to her husband. A woman had to

deal with her personal care before her husband came home, even if she did not finish her daily housework up until that time. She should encounter her husband at the door, because her husband should see his wife's "beauties" when he came home. If a woman encountered her husband with a kindly smile when he got home, even though her husband was upset that day, his sadness would disappear with that smile. Therefore, according to article, a woman should beautify herself for her husband and it was not right for a woman to deal with her personal ornamentation more than was necessary before going out. In addition, the author said that even though a husband trusted his wife very much, he might also complain about her ornamentation for outside. Thus, the author recommended its readers to choose simple and modest clothes to wear before going out.<sup>59</sup>

### **Mothering**

The last but most important function of women in their households was to raise their children properly. As it was mentioned before, child-rearing was one of the most important duties of women and one which took up most of their everyday life. According to the class and the level of welfare of the women, this duty could be fulfilled by a woman – by herself as mother or by women – mother, nanny, teachers and servants. Considering the concept of child-rearing, specifically, the moral education of a child (*terbiye-i etfâl*) gained more currency in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. With the *Tanzîmât* era, the importance of the moral education of a child was emphasized, and the necessity for a specific profession in this field was bolstered.<sup>60</sup> In the Hamidian era, the protection of children's morality, especially from western influences became the main agenda of the education system. Parallel to this agenda, in the *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, various articles touched upon the issue of the moral education of children. Most of the articles tried to show how children should be educated in a moral sense. The general idea that can be deduced from the articles about *terbiye-i etfâl* in the *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* is that the moral education of children had to start at an early age; because it would be very hard to change their characteristics at the older ages.<sup>61</sup>

One of these articles suggested that the guardian of a child should watch out for the faults of the child in his or her early ages;

and should not let him or her repeat his or her inappropriate actions.<sup>62</sup> According to the same article, an ideal child should be modest, moral and full of good ideas.<sup>63</sup> To have this ideal child, the child should not be given too much freedom. The father should have his child respect him; therefore, he should apply an adequate pressure on his child. If he did not do so, his child would become spoiled and disrespectful and never listen to his words.<sup>64</sup> In addition, the article also pointed out that if the father preferred beating or castigation in order to provide a moral education for his child, the consequences of these acts would change according to the gender of the child. If this child was a boy, the relationship between the father and the child would be destroyed; and the boy would start to think of taking revenge on his father, if he got the chance. However, if the child was a girl, when the father told her off, she would keep quiet; and think of escaping from his father's clutches and dream of another tactful guardian, namely a husband. According to the article, this was the reason why most girls wanted to get married earlier than boys.<sup>65</sup> Girls' moral education was easier than that of boys; and mothers were much more effective on girls' moral education due to the reason that they were always with their daughters.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, in another article, *Mademoiselle* Talya from Kadıköy argued that if a child told a lie, it was the fault of the adults, and not that of the child, because children learnt how to lie from them.<sup>67</sup> If a mother raised her child with a proper moral education without lying to and cheating them, then that child thought that "his mother has never cheated him; therefore he should not cheat anyone, either."<sup>68</sup>

Some articles also depicted how a moral child should behave. In the article called, "Validelere Nasihat: Tekebbür" ("Suggestions for Mothers: Arrogance"), Emine Semiye Hanım said that the most immoral characteristic of a child is arrogance. According to Emine Semiye Hanım, an arrogant boy could not be a successful and mature man in the future. The same judgment was also valid for the girls because when an arrogant girl got married, she could have problems with her husband and husband's family due to her arrogance. Also when she became a mother, she could not raise her child with a proper moral education.<sup>69</sup> For Emine Semiye Hanım, a child should not be mean or arrogant, but decent, generous and modest, and parents should not spoil their children.<sup>70</sup> In another ar-

ticle, “Cemâl-i Ma’nevî” (“Spiritual [Moral] Beauty”), Emine Semiye Hanım also claimed that children should have spiritual (moral) beauty rather than physical beauty. According to her, it had to be explained to children especially to girls, that make up could not replace spiritual (moral) beauty. For her, a decent girl should be kind, pretty and cheerful; and to raise girls with a proper moral education was the duty of the mothers.<sup>71</sup> In the same article, she also said that if a child did not respect his or her elders, parents should warn their child and explain to him or her how wrong this behavior was.<sup>72</sup>

The emphasis on gender in case of moral education of children was obvious in other articles of *Hanımlara Mabsûs Gazete*, as well. In an article, “Kızların Tahsili Hakkında Bir Mütalâa – 4” (“Opinion About Girls’ Education – 4”), it was stated that the education of girls and boys had to be different from each other, because they had different duties. For example, “the education for girls should not increase the pride or self-esteem of girls.”<sup>73</sup> In the article, “Kızların Ta’lîm ve Terbiyesi Meselesi” (“The Issue of Girls’ Education and Discipline [Moral] Education”), it was argued that the reforms for girl’s schools should not be the same as reforms for boys’ schools, because in the future, boys or men must work outside the home, and become the breadwinner of their households, therefore, they should learn how to deal with people in general. However, the situation was the opposite for girls. For this reason, girls should be educated according to the religious principles and national traditions, because they should be the gatekeepers of their households, and raise their children according to moral, national and religious principles.<sup>74</sup>

In addition, because girls spent most of their time at home, the parents, especially the mothers, were more responsible for the moral education of their daughters than that of their sons.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, the role of the mother in the household was highly emphasized, specifically for their daughters. In *Hanımlara Mabsûs Gazete*, girls and women were mostly identified with their traditional duties in their households. As mothers or future mothers of the future generations, a sufficient education was seen as a necessity for proper child-rearing.<sup>76</sup> In this sense, if the mother was educated, she could raise her daughter well and make her an example of virtue (*numûne-i fazilet*).<sup>77</sup>

Depending on the class and the income level of the family and woman, a child could be raised and morally educated by a nanny, servants, governesses, and private teachers, not only by her mother herself. However, especially in terms of moral education, the advantages and disadvantages of these "additional guardians" for children were beginning to be questioned by women from the upper and middle classes. Thus, along with "moral education of children," the issues of governesses (*mürebbiye*) and nannies (*dadı*) were also discussed in various articles in the *Hanımlara Mabsûs Gazete*. First, it was argued that a nanny was a very significant factor in the moral education of children from the upper and middle classes, because as it was clearly underlined in the *Hanımlara Mabsûs Gazete*, the mother herself was responsible for breastfeeding and raising her children in poor families. However, in families that had sufficient or too much wealth, since the mother had other duties in the household, taking care of her children took much of her time and excessively exhausted her. Therefore, this duty was given to another woman, namely a nanny.<sup>78</sup>

To give the child to a nanny or a wet-nurse (*süt nine*), who was, a woman who breastfed the child instead of their own mother was very frequent in the families that could afford one up until the late nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, there was an advertisement of Hatice Hanım, who wanted to work as a wetnurse in *Hanımlara Mabsûs Gazete*.<sup>79</sup> However, this practice in the upper and middle class families of the Ottoman Empire started to be questioned and criticized by the authors of the *Hanımlara Mabsûs Gazete*, who also came from the same classes. The article called "Dadılar" ("Nannies") mentioned this issue; and it said that even though mothers gave their children to the nannies with good intentions, this was a mistake.<sup>80</sup> If children were given to a nanny, there would be several defects in their moral education, behaviors, as well as the growth of their bodies.<sup>81</sup> According to the article, the nannies were the ones who had left their families or those who had been away from their families for a long time.<sup>82</sup> A nanny should have passed her childhood in her family, and should be kindly treated and brought up by tender parents, so, she could pass her feelings about her childhood to the child as well. If she could not, how could she be useful to that child for whom she was responsible?<sup>83</sup>

The article also pointed out what would happen if the level of the moral education of a nanny was lower than the mother of the child. The article emphasized that in general, the level of moral education of a nanny was lower than the mother of the child, therefore; it was a pity to leave the child in the hands of a nanny in the child's early ages, which were the most significant ages when basic human characteristics were formed. In this sense, the article asked how a child could obtain a proper familial moral education in the hands of the nanny, who was inferior to the parents of the child in terms of virtue and moral education.<sup>84</sup> The article also mentioned that even though the parents thought that they could educate their children morally after a certain age, they could not succeed in doing that because the morals that got integrated into the innate nature of a child were formed in the early ages of the childhood and could not be quickly changed afterwards, as it became permanent.<sup>85</sup>

Moreover, this article not only talked about the negative effects of the nannies on the moral education of the children, but also on the health of the children. For example, according to the article, nannies were also responsible for the bodily handicaps of people, because most of these people accidentally fell down from the stairs due to their nannies' negligence, or these nannies bumped the swaddles into something.<sup>86</sup> In addition, these austere-faced nannies frightened children as a method of disciplining them, and this method only taught children hypocrisy. In addition, in the case of punishment, nannies could not punish the children with compassion like the mothers of the children could.<sup>87</sup> In brief, for this article, in order to raise healthy and morally well-educated children, the parents, especially mothers should take all the responsibility of their children's care in the household instead of the nannies in the late nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

Briefly, like in many nineteenth century European countries, the importance of the household, and the duty of a woman in the household as a housemaker were emphasized and idealized in the family life of the urban, Ottoman Muslim women of the upper and the middle classes of the Hamidian society. Home was idealized as the center of virtue and proper life for Ottoman Muslim women. Yet, they were encouraged to have an adequate education in order to be efficient *âile reiseleri* (female heads of the family), supportive

companions of their husbands and knowledgeable and conscious mothers of their children. The importance of marriage and formation of a monogamous family structure was repeatedly discussed in the articles of the *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, and how an “ideal” Ottoman Muslim woman of the upper and middle classes was supposed to be was shown to the readers of the *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*.

### Conclusion

The *Tanzimât* reforms created the concept of Ottoman “citizenship,” which embraced all people, including women as well as children. With the transformation of the governmentality of the modern Ottoman state in the nineteenth century, women were regarded by the state as citizens with specific needs. “The woman question” was taken into consideration by the Ottoman intelligentsia seeing Ottoman Muslim women as the gatekeepers of the households and the mothers of future generations; Ottoman children as the saviors of the future of the Ottoman Empire. With the help of the new regulations and reforms by the state and the changing Ottoman understanding towards Ottoman Muslim women in society, the everyday lives of Ottoman Muslim women were affected by this transformation. Moreover, this transformation was reflected in the various writings of the era’s intellectuals, especially, with the help of the shining star of the period, the printing press. However, even though this shining star was controlled by censorship mechanisms of the government before it shone, nevertheless, it offered a great deal of information about the social lives of people as well as concerning the policies of Sultan Abdülhamid II. In this sense, *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (Newspaper for Ladies) (1895-1908), with its articles and news about education, family, household, household management, child-rearing, hygiene, health, beauty, embroidery, leisure, and fashion is a valuable source reflecting the “ideal” everyday life of an Ottoman Muslim woman of the upper and middle classes of the late nineteenth century Ottoman society in an era of Sultan Abdülhamid II. In this paper, I tried to show how an Ottoman Muslim woman was idealized as “educated homemaker, perfect wife and caring mother” in the articles of a thirteen-year-published woman newspaper, *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*.

According to this idealization, an Ottoman Muslim woman should be an efficient homemaker, who could manage the household, for example, direct the servants and maids, take proper care of the children and manage the income earned by the man. She should be moral and sufficiently educated to raise her children according to moral principles and scientific knowledge. In other words, she was charged with being the female head of the family (*âile reisesi*) as the sole companion of her husband, which actually was intended to support the existence of a monogamous family structure among the upper and the middle class Ottoman families. Furthermore, as her husband's companion, an Ottoman Muslim woman should be mentally and physically beautiful, should have morals and adequate education in order to chat with her husband, and should be well-behaved, decent, kind, and cheerful. Moreover, she should be knowledgeable about fashion, should know how to dress according to Islamic principles, and also know how to save. In addition, she should be able to entertain herself at home rather than promenading outside the home and she should also entertain her husband in order to help him forget about his tiredness after his coming home from his work. Lastly, she should be a perfect mother to her children and rather than leaving her children in the hands of the nannies, governesses, wet-nurses or servants, she should raise her children by herself and especially, pay attention to the moral education of her children, too. In order to handle her duties and to manage her household efficiently, as it was constantly emphasized, she was expected to be sufficiently educated, at least, to know reading, writing and calculating and to follow the daily newspapers in order to continue her education even in her household. Briefly, an ideal Ottoman woman was the manager of the household, a supporting companion to her husband and a caring mother to her children in late nineteenth century Hamidian society.

47. İlgili birimlerin elde ettiği istihbaratta söz konusu kadının maaşı bahane ederek, ertesi gün oradan geçecek olan sadrazamın arabasının önüne atılacağı bildirilmiştir. Bkz. BOA, Zabtiye Nezâreti (ZB.), nr. 385/38, 18 Mart 1322/ 30 Mart 1886 tarihli Zabtiye Nazırı tezkeresi; BOA, ZB. nr. 385/39; BOA, ZB. nr. 31/10, 22 Mart 1320/ 4 Nisan 1904 tarihli yazışma.
48. BOA, BEO. nr.862/64590, 7 Ağustos 1314/ 19 Ağustos 1896 tarihli yazışma.
49. 7 Ekim 1896 tarihinde toplanan Meclis-i Mahsus üyeleri, "...askerî tekâüd sandığının mütekâidin-i mülkiye sanduğuyla birleştirilmesinden ise idaresi kesb-i müşkülât eylediği der-meyân edilen iş bu askeri tekâüd sandığının tanzim-i ahvâline aid tedâbir-i ciddiye ve müessirenin ittihazı daha münâsib..." kararını verdiler. Bkz. BOA, ŞD. nr. 949/8, 7 Ekim 1896 tarihli Meclis-i Mahsus mazbatası; BOA, Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbataları (MV.), nr. 89/47.
50. Şerafeddin Bey, bunu "...tacir bu varakaların hâsılât-ı seneviyesini gayet kalil ve ehemmiyetsiz bir mikdarda göstererek istihsâl-ı imtiyâzı sadedinde bulunduğu ma'atteessüf kesbi ittulâ eyledim..." ifadeleriyle açıklamıştır. BOA, Yıldız Perakende Yaverân ve Maiyet-i Seniyye Erkân-ı Harbiye Dairesi (Y.PRK. MYD.), nr. 23/80, 19 Zilhicce 1318/ 5 Nisan 1901 tarihli yazışma.

**The Ottoman Muslim Woman As "Educated  
Homemaker, Perfect Wife And Caring- Mother-  
Hanımlara Mashûs Gazete (Newspaper For Ladies)  
(1895-1908)**

*Ayşe ZEREN ENİS*

1. Cengiz Kırılı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empire," *Publics, Politics and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa* (New York: Columbia / SSRC Book, 2009), p. 286.
2. Elizabeth Thompson, "Public and Private in Middle Eastern Women's History," *Journal of Women's History* 15, No. 1, (Spring 2003), p. 62.
3. Hayat Ansiklopedisi 3. (İstanbul: Hayat Yayınları, 1963), p. 1301.
4. Erik Jan Zürcher. *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, translated by Yasemin Saner Gönen, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006). p. 103.
5. Erik Jan Zürcher. *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 70-71.
6. Aynur İlyasoğlu, Deniz İnel. "Kadın Dergilerinin Evrimi," *Türkiye'de Dergiler ve Ansiklopediler (1849-1984)* (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları, 1984), p. 163.
7. Zehra Toska ve Aslı Davaz Mardin. "Kadın Dergileri," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi IV*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), p. 344.

8. İlber Ortaylı. "Tanzimat Devri Basını Üzerine Notlar," Cahit Talas'a Armağan (Ayrı Basım) (Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı Yayınları, 2007), p. 490. Mentioned in: Ayşe Bozkurt. "The Issue of Education in Ottoman Women's Periodicals (1869-1895)," (M.A thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2006), p. 23.
9. Esra Çon. "A Decollette Journal for the Ottoman Turkish Women: Süs (1923-1924)" (M.A thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007), p. 2.
10. Yaprak Zihnioglu. "Fatma Aliye ve Emine Semiye: Erken Dönem Osmânî Hareket-i Nisvânının İki Büyük Düşünürü," Tarih ve Toplum XXXI, No. 186, pp. 4-11.
11. Yaprak Zihnioglu. Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003), p. 22.
12. Vuslat Devrim Altinöz. "The Ottoman Women's Movement: Women's Press, Journals, Magazines and Newspapers from 1875 to 1923" (M.A thesis, Miami University, 2003), p. 7.
13. Zehra Toska ve Aslı Davaz Mardin. "Kadın Dergileri," p. 344.
14. See the indexes of women magazines and newspapers which were published in Ottoman Turkish: İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası (İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Vakfı, Metis Yayınları, 1993).
15. Fatma Kılıç Denman. İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın (İstanbul: Libra Yayınları, 2009), p. 37.
16. Elçin Özkal. "Feminine Actuality During the Occupational Period: İnci (1919-1923)" (M.A thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007), p. 1.
17. Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, translated by Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 125-130; Mehmet İnanç Özekmekçi, "The Formation of Children in the Late Ottoman Empire: An Analysis Through Periodicals For Children (1869-1914)" (M.A thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2005), p. 1.
18. I have found the 43rd (1908) issue of Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, thus I could count the issues up until that issue. However, I think the 43rd issue was not "the last" issue of the newspaper. Probably, Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete was published after its 43rd issue; but, I have not got hold of them, yet.
19. Emel Aşa, "1928'e kadar Türk Kadın Mecmuaları" (M.A thesis, İstanbul University, 1989), p. 111.
20. Yavuz Selim Karakışla. "Osmânî Hanımları ve Kadın Terziler (1869-1923) - I," Tarih ve Toplum XXXIX, No: 232, (April 2003), p. 14.
21. ibid., p. 14.
22. Anita L. Fisher, "Woman in the Middle Class in the 19th Century," Web accessed: [http://web.clark.edu/afisher/HIST253/lecture\\_text/WomenMiddleClass\\_19c\\_Europe.pdf](http://web.clark.edu/afisher/HIST253/lecture_text/WomenMiddleClass_19c_Europe.pdf). Last accessed: 20.08.2012, p. 2.
23. "Tahdîs-i Ni'met - Ta'yîn-i Meslek," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 1, (12 Rebiyyülevvel 1313 \ 19 Ağustos 1311 \ 31 August 1895), pp. 2-3.
24. "Hanım ile Hizmetçinin Münâsebeti," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 19, (16 Cemâziyyelevvel 1313 \ 23 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 4 November 1895), p. 1.

25. ibid., pp. 1-2; "Kızların Tahsili Hakkında Bir Mütalâa – 2," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 21, (23 Cemâziyyevvel 1313 \ 30 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 11 November 1895), pp. 1-2; "Kızların Tahsili Hakkında Bir Mütalâa – 3," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 22, (26 Cemâziyyevvel 1313 \ 2 Teşrinisânî 1311 \ 14 November 1895), pp. 1-2; "Kızların Tahsili Hakkında Bir Mütalâa – 4," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 23, (1 Cemâziyyelâhir 1313 \ 6 Teşrinisânî 1311 \ 18 November 1895), pp. 1-2; "Kızların Tahsili Hakkında Bir Mütalâa – 5," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 24, (4 Cemâziyyelâhir 1313 \ 9 Teşrinisânî 1311 \ 21 November 1895), p. 3.
26. Zeynep Sünbül, "[Tâife-i nisvânın okuyup yazmakla tefennün eylemeleri...]," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 7, (4 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 11 Eylül 1311 \ 24 September 1895), p. 3.
27. ibid., p. 3.
28. Nigâr bint-i Osman, "Sa'y u Amel," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 61, (24 Zilkâde 1313 \ 25 Nisan 1312 \ 7 May 1896), p. 1.
29. Zeynep Sünbül, "[Tâife-i nisvânın okuyup yazmakla tefennün eylemeleri...]," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 7, (4 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 11 Eylül 1311 \ 24 September 1895), p. 3.
30. Nigâr bint-i Osman, "Sa'y u Amel," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 61, (24 Zilkâde 1313 \ 25 Nisan 1312 \ 7 May 1896), p. 1.
31. ibid., p. 1.
32. "Meşâğil-i Beytiyyenin Te'sirât-ı Sıhhiyesi," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 510, (13 Rebîyyülevvel 1323 \ 5 Mayıs 1321 \ 18 May 1905), p. 2.
33. ibid., p. 2.
34. Naime, "Hüsn-i İdâre," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 24, (4 Cemâziyyelâhir 1313 \ 9 Teşrinisânî 1311 \ 21 November 1895), p. 4.
35. ibid., p. 4.
36. ibid., p. 4.
37. For more information about this issue, see: Yayuz Selim Karakışla, "Osmânî Hanımları ve Hizmetçi Kadınlar (1869-1927)," Toplumsal Tarih XI, No. 63, (March 1999), p. 15.
38. "Hanım ile Hizmetçinin Münâsebeti," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 19, (16 Cemâziyyevvel 1313 \ 23 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 4 November 1895), pp. 1-2.
39. ibid., pp. 1-2.
40. ibid., pp. 1-2.
41. ibid., pp. 1-2.
42. "İdâre-i Beytiyye Dersleri," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 34, (26 Şabân 1322 \ 21 Teşrinievvel 1320 \ 5 November 1904), pp. 532-534.
43. ibid., pp. 532-534.
44. Fatma Rasiha, "Hanımlarımız ve Ev İdâresi," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 6, (30 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 7 Eylül 1311 \ 20 September 1895), p. 5.
45. ibid., p. 5.
46. ibid., p. 5.

47. "İdâre-i Beytiyye Hakkında Bir İki Söz," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 9, (11 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 18 Eylül 1311 \ 1 October 1895), pp. 1-2.
48. Makbule Leman, "Bir Hikâye: Tashih," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 14, (28 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 5 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 18 October 1895), pp. 2-4.
49. Muallime Nazmiye, "İcmâl-i Ahvâl-i Nisvân," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 72, (19 Safer 1314 \ 18 Temmuz 1312 \ 30 July 1896), pp. 1-2.
50. Emine Semiye, "Cemâl-i Ma'nevî," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 56, (18 Şevvâl 1313 \ 21 Mart 1312 \ 2 April 1896), p. 1.
51. "Hanım ile Hizmetçinin Münâsebeti," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 19, (16 Cemâziyyevvel 1313 \ 23 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 4 November 1895), pp. 1-2.
52. Makbule Leman, "Hüsn-i Muamele - 1," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 43, (12 Şabân 1313 \ 15 Kanûnisânî 1311 \ 27 January 1896), pp. 2-3; Makbule Leman, "Hüsn-i Muamele - 2," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 44, (16 Şabân 1313 \ 19 Kanûnisânî 1311 \ 31 January 1896), pp. 4-5; Makbule Leman, "Hüsn-i Muamele - 3," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 45, (19 Şabân 1313 \ 22 Kanûnisânî 1311 \ 3 February 1896), pp. 2-3; Makbule Leman, "Hüsn-i Muamele - 4," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 46, (22 Şabân 1313 \ 25 Kanûnisânî 1311 \ 7 Februray 1896), pp. 2-4.
53. Saime, "Makâle-i Mahsûsa: Güzellik ve Zevciyyet," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 6, (4 Safer 1322 \ 8 Nisan 1320 \ 20 April 1904), pp. 83-85.
54. ibid., pp. 83-84.
55. ibid., pp. 83-84.
56. Ahmet Farukî, "Beyaz Kamelya Pudrası," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 79, (16 Rebîyyülevvel 1314 \ 12 Eylül 1312 \ 24 September 1896), pp. 6-7; "Zambak Pudrası," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 240-38, (4 Şabân 1317 \ 25 Teşrinisânî 1315 \ 7 December 1899), pp. 2-3; "Pudralar Hakkında Bir Mütalaa-i Sihhiye," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 277-75, (11 Cemâziyyevvel 1318 \ 24 Ağustos 1316 \ 6 September 1900), pp. 1-2.
57. Saime, "Makâle-i Mahsûsa: Güzellik ve Zevciyyet," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 6, (4 Safer 1322 \ 8 Nisan 1320 \ 20 April 1904), p. 84.
58. ibid., p. 84.
59. ibid., p. 85.
60. Cüneyd Okay, Osmânî Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler (1850-1900) (İstanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları, 1998), pp. 54-55.
61. "Terbiye-i Etfâl: Çocukların Kusurları," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 2, (15 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 24 Ağustos 1311 \ 5 September 1895), pp. 6-7; "Terbiyede Mükâfat ve Mücâzât," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 7, (4 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 11 Eylül 1311 \ 24 September 1895), pp. 1-2; Fatma Fahrünnisa, "[Evkâf-ı hümayûn ve irâdet-i umûmiye müdürü...]," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 9, (11 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 18 Eylül 1311 \ 1 October 1895), pp. 3-5; "Çocukların Merakı ve Malûmat-ı Eşyâ," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 12, (21 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 28 Eylül 1311 \ 11 October 1895), pp. 1-2; "Çocuklarda Teşebbüs-Zevcelerde Kâbiliyet," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 13, (25 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 2 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 15 October 1895), pp. 1-2.

62. *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
63. *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
64. *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
65. *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
66. *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
67. Kadıköyü'nde Mademoiselle Tayla, "Küçük Çocukları Hiç Bir Vakit Aldatmak Câiz Değildir," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 56, (18 Şevvâl 1313 \ 21 Mart 1312 \ 2 April 1896), pp. 5-6.
68. *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
69. Emine Semiye, "Vâlidelere Nasihat: Tekebbür," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 85, (29 Cemâziyyevvel 1314 \ 24 Teşrinievvel 1312 \ 5 November 1896), p. 1.
70. *ibid.*, p. 1.
71. Emine Semiye, "Cemâl-i Ma'nevî," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 56, (18 Şevvâl 1313 \ 21 Mart 1312 \ 2 April 1896), p. 1.
72. *ibid.*, p. 1.
73. "Kızların Tahsili Hakkında Bir Mütalâa - 4" Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 23, (1 Cemâziyyelâhir 1313 \ 6 Teşrinisânî 1311 \ 18 November 1895), p. 1-2.
74. "Kızların Ta'lim ve Terbiyesi Meselesi," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 52, (13 Ramazân 1313 \ 15 Şubat 1311 \ 27 February 1896), pp. 1-2.
75. "Çocuklarda Teşebbüs-Zevcelerde Kâbiliyet," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 13, (25 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 2 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 15 October 1895), pp. 1-2.
76. "Bir İslâm Kadınındaki Zekâ Yahut Bir Muhteriat: Birinci Kısım 'Mütalâa,' İkinci Kısım 'Vak'a-i Sahîha'," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 8, (7 Rebîülâhir 1313 \ 14 Eylül 1311 \ 27 September 1895), p. 5.
77. "Terbiyede Mükâfat ve Mücâzât," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 7, (4 Rebîyyülevvel 1313 \ 11 Eylül 1311 \ 24 September 1895), p. 2.
78. "Dadılar," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 17, (9 Cemâziyyevvel 1313 \ 16 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 28 October 1895), p. 1.
79. "Süt Nine," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete [Kısm-i Musavver], No. 60, (17 Zilkâde 1313 \ 18 Nisan 1312 \ 30 April 1896), p. 3.
80. "Dadılar," Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete, No. 17, (9 Cemâziyyevvel 1313 \ 16 Teşrinievvel 1311 \ 28 October 1895), p. 1.
81. *ibid.*, p. 1.
82. *ibid.*, p. 2.
83. *ibid.*, p. 2.
84. *ibid.*, p. 2.
85. *ibid.*, p. 2.
86. *ibid.*, p. 2.
87. *ibid.*, p. 2.