Ottoman Women during World War I

Everyday Experiences, Politics, and Conflict

During war time, the everyday experiences of ordinary people – and especially women – are frequently obscured by elite military and social analysis. In this pioneering study, Elif Mahir Metinsoy focuses on the lives of ordinary Muslim women living in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. It reveals not only their wartime problems, but also those of everyday life on the Ottoman home front. It questions the existing literature's excessive focus on the Ottoman middle-class, using new archive sources such as women's petitions to extend the scope of Ottoman-Turkish women's history. Free from academic jargon, and supported by original illustrations and maps, it will appeal to researchers of gender history, Middle Eastern and social history. By showing women's resistance to war mobilization, wartime work life and the everyday struggles which shaped state politics, Mahir Metinsoy allows readers to draw intriguing comparisons between the past and the current events of today's Middle East.

Elif Mahir Metinsoy is a part-time lecturer in the Department of Political Science at Galatasaray University in Istanbul. She holds a PhD in history from Boğaziçi University and the Université de Strasbourg.

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Galatasaray University

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Chronology

2 August 1914	Ottoman mobilization for World War I started.
9 September 1914	Ottoman government unilaterally canceled capitulations.
23 March 1915	Landlords forbidden to evict soldiers' families unable to pay rent.
27 March 1915	Law for Encouraging Industry revised.
18 October 1915	Prevention of Spread of Venereal Diseases Regulation introduced.
18 September 1916	Agricultural Obligation Law first introduced as a bylaw and legalized on 2 April 1917.
5 November 1916	The government announced that all civil servants illegitimately delaying the distribution of pensions for the soldiers' families would be punished for the crime of facilitating desertion.
2 April 1917	State Orphanages General Directorate founded.
13 July 1917	Families of lower-ranking officers who died due to dysentery, typhoid fever, relapsing fever, and contagious cerebritis acquired the right to receive a pension.
25 October 1917	Decree on Family Law introduced.
30 October 1918	The Armistice of Mudros signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Allied powers.
13 November 1918	De facto occupation of Istanbul by Allied powers.
15 May 1919	Occupation of Izmir by the Greek army.
19 May 1919	The National Struggle started in Anatolia.
19 June 1919	Decree on Family Law abolished.
16 March 1920	De jure occupation of Istanbul by Allied powers.
23 April 1920	Grand National Assembly founded in Ankara.
10 August 1920	Ottoman government representatives signed the Treaty of Sèvres.
24 July 1923	World War I ended for the Ottoman Empire with the Peace Treaty of Lausanne.

Glossary

Aile maaşı – Family pension paid to the unsupported families of lost soldiers, to the families of war dead, and to disabled war veterans
Arusane resmi – Bridal tax
Atiyye tertibi – Relief fund
Babıali – The Sublime Porte (the central office of the imperial government of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul, comprising the offices of the grand vizier, the foreign affairs minister, and the council of state)
Baş kadınefendi – The first wife of the sultan
Cihad – Holy war in Islam
Çarşaf – Muslim women's outerwear made up of a combination of skirt and cloak that covers the head and completely hides the body
Dakik – Flour
Darülaceze – Poorhouse
Darüleytam – State orphanage
Darülfünun – Istanbul University
Darülmuallimat – Women Teachers' Training College
Darüşşafaka – A school for orphans
Dirhem – 1/400th of an oke, which is about 3.2 grams
Dönüm – A measure of land (940 m^2)
Ekmek bedeli – An additional payment called "cost of bread" to blunt the food crisis of wartime widows and orphans, which started after the enactment of a law on 13 August 1919
Ekmekçi – Domestic workers who only received board and were colloquially called "bread eaters"
Evlatlık – Foster child
Harikzedegan ianesi – Assistance for fire victims
Hidemat-ı vataniye – An additional pension from a fund called "national service" that the families of martyred high-ranking officers received if that soldier's service in war was remarkable
Irzahane – A department for unweaned children under the age of four
İdadiye – Preparatory school, which roughly corresponds to senior high school

İddet – According to Islamic canon law, the space of time within which a woman may not remarry
İlmühaber – Certificate
İmam – Muslim religious leader or priest in a mosque
İmaret – Public soup kitchen for the poor
İrade-i seniyye – Imperial rescript
Kadayıf – A dessert of oven-baked shredded pastry with pistachio filling in thick syrup
Karagöz – Name of Turkish shadow-puppet show and its main figure
Kile – Bushel (36.5 kg)
Mazuliyet maaşı – Salary paid to an official dismissed from his post
Mecidiye – 20 piasters
Medrese – Muslim theological school
Muavenet-i Milliye – The national-assistance fund
Muhtacin tertibi – Fund for needy persons
Muin – Financial supporter of a soldier's family during his absence for military service
Muinsiz asker aileleri maaşı – Pension of soldiers' families without a financial supporter
Papara – A meal made with leftover or fresh bread
Para – 1/40th of a piaster
Régie – Administration of the Tobacco Monopoly
Shaykh al-Islam – Dignitary responsible for all matters connected with canon law, religious schools, and related matters; next to the grand vizier in precedence
Sipariş maaşı – Ordered payment in the form of pensions or military allotments given to the families of war captives and lower-ranking officers without a financial supporter
Sultani – High school
Sülüs – 1/3rd
Şehit – One who dies in battle for Islam, a martyr
Şehremaneti – The municipal administration
Turancılık – Pan-Turanism, a political movement for the union of all Turanian people, which includes not only all Turkic peoples but also all peoples speaking Turanian languages
Yeldirme – A light cloak worn by women
Yemeni – Colored cotton handkerchief or headkerchief
Zaviye – A small Islamic religious school or dervish lodge

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ATASE – Genelkurmay Askerî Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Arşivi

BDH – Birinci Dünya Harbi

BOA – Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

CUP – Committee of Union and Progress

DH.EUM.3.Şb – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Üçüncü Şube

DH.EUM.5.Şb – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Beşinci Şube

DH.EUM.6.Şb – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Altıncı Şube

DH.EUM.AYŞ – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Asayiş Kalemi Evrakı

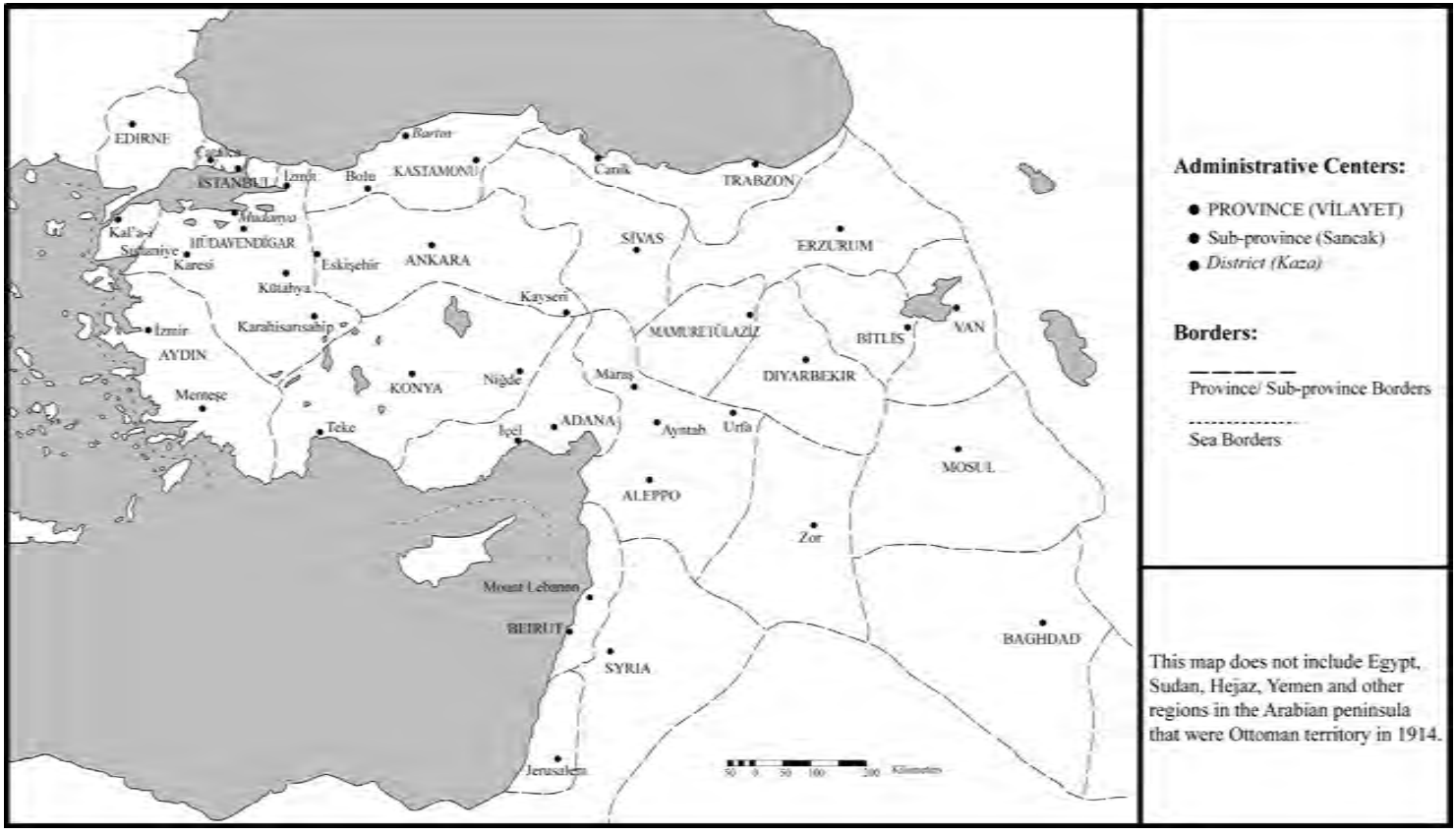
DH.EUM.KLU – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Kalem-i Umumî

DH.EUM.LVZ – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Levazım Kalemi

DH.EUM.MH – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Muhâsebe Kalemi Evrakı

DH.EUM.SSM – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Seyrüsefer Kalemi

DH.EUM.VRK – Dahiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umumiye Evrak Odası Kalemi Evrakı
DH.HMŞ – Dahiliye Nezâreti Hukuk Müşavirliği Evrakı
DH.İ.UM – Dahiliye Nezâreti İdare-i Umumiye Evrakı
DH.İ.UM.EK – Dahiliye Nezâreti İdare-i Umumiye Evrakı – Ek
DH.KMS – Dahiliye Nezâreti Dahiliye Kalem-i Mahsus Evrakı
DH.MB.HPS – Dahiliye Nezâreti Mebânî-i Emîriye ve Hapishâneler Müdüriyeti Evrakı
DH.MB.HPS.M – Dahiliye Nezâreti Mebânî-i Emîriye ve Hapishâneler Müdüriyeti Müteferrik Evrakı
DH.SN.THR – Dahiliye Nezâreti Sicill-i Nüfus Tahrirat Kalemi
DH.ŞFR – Dahiliye Nezâreti Şifre Evrakı
DH.UMVM – Dahiliye Nezâreti Umûr-ı Mahalliye ve Vilâyât Müdürlüğü Evrakı
HR.SYS – Hariciye Nezâreti Siyasî
İ.DUİT – İrade Dosya Usulü
MF.MTK – Maarif Nezâreti Mektubi Kalemi
MV – Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbataları
OWEIS – Ottoman Women's Employment Islamic Society
TKA – Türk Kızılayı Arşivi



Map 1. Ottoman Provinces in 1914

Introduction

This book explores ordinary Ottoman women's everyday experiences of World War I in Anatolia and eastern Thrace until the final peace treaty was signed in 1923. These women were the largest group of civilians on the home front during the war. But there is little knowledge of how they lived and perceived the war. What is even less known is in which ways these women responded to wartime policies and conditions and how their response made them politically important.

For Ottoman society, World War I was the most arduous and bloodiest period of more than a decade of war. Consecutive wars, started with the Tripolitanian War in 1911 and followed by the Balkan Wars, World War I, and the National Struggle (*Milli Mücadele*) devastated both the Ottoman state and society. The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) had begun to hold sway over the empire since the promulgation of the Second Constitution in 1908 and especially after the coup of 23 January 1913 staged by the CUP and its military leader Enver Pasha. After abortive efforts by Ottoman politicians to ally with France and Britain, the Ottomans had no choice but to ally with the Germany. War mobilization started on 2 August 1914 for the Ottoman Empire, after a secret treaty was signed with Germans by Enver Pasha, who believed that this alliance could increase Ottoman territory. Nevertheless, his plans failed during the course of the war.

The first phase of World War I for Ottoman Turkey ended with the Armistice of Mudros on 30 October 1918. It gave the Allied powers the right to occupy any strategic land for their security. Consequently, they occupied Istanbul in two stages: on 13 November 1918 as a de facto occupation and on 16 March 1920 as a de jure occupation. British, French, and Italian troops also occupied Anatolia under the same pretense. In particular, the occupation of Izmir by Greek troops on 15 May 1919 and the Allied powers' plan to divide even Anatolia and Thrace, the core territory of the empire, embodied in the Treaty of Sèvres of 10 August 1920, fueled the National Struggle. From 23 April 1920 onward, there were two governments on Ottoman territories: one in

Istanbul and the other, of the nationalist forces, in Ankara. The Ottoman parliament in Istanbul could never ratify the Treaty of Sèvres because it had already annulled itself on 18 March 1920 after the occupation of Istanbul. The Ankara government repudiated this treaty and remobilized almost all resources left from World War I against the Allied powers.

For the Ottoman Empire World War I hardly ended with the Peace Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923. Many Ottoman men served as soldiers from 1911 to 1922. For their women and many other civilians on the home front, war caused an unprecedented upheaval in their lives beyond all expectations.

Although ordinary women were among both the main sufferers and crucial actors of this war on the home front as members of soldiers' families, as agents of reproduction of population and national culture, or as part of the workforce, historical studies have conventionally focused on upper- and middle-class or educated women. Taking their experience and activism into account exclusively, scholarly accounts generally have accepted the war years as a progressive phase for the emancipation of Turkish women. However, for the majority of Ottoman women and men, except for some businessmen who acquired privileges from the CUP and Anatolian local notables who managed to grab the properties of the dispossessed and hang on to them after 1923, the war was a disaster.[1]

But this does not mean that Ottoman women were only passive victims of wartime sufferings. They struggled for their survival and economic rights, both of which became a part of Ottoman everyday politics in the war years. In the Western context, women's fight for socioeconomic rights and their everyday struggle for survival are acknowledged as an essential component of their movement for citizenship rights.[2] Unfortunately, ordinary Ottoman women's similar social and economic struggle, which constituted the great part of their World War I experience, remained silenced. The historical accounts of wartime women's experience in the Ottoman Empire have been restricted to women who contributed to the war mobilization or to associational and publishing activities.

It is obvious that the literature on the period severely needs to go beyond this exclusionary history dominated by middle-class and educated women. Ordinary women, as this book reveals, were also historical actors, who had their own subjective goals beyond those imposed on them by the state and society. Their indirect influence in politics through their everyday struggles had an impact on the formation of women's citizenship rights in the long run.

Although ordinary women were not as organized as Ottoman feminists in attaining their political rights, their actions created the background of

the future developments of the Republican period on women's rights and Turkish feminism. The stories of poor women include vital information about the changing social structure, state–society relations, especially women's new and increasing interactions with the state, and the problems that ordinary people endured during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

However, this conclusion is difficult to derive from the existing literature. Until the 1980s, a limited number of works dealt with the social and economic consequences of World War I for Ottoman society.[3] Only within the last thirty years have new publications on the issue appeared. Some initial studies emphasized the wartime reforms of the Young Turk politicians or wartime social conditions in the big cities.[4] But the most informative and comprehensive accounts of the social history of the war period focused on the economic impact of the war.[5]

In recent years, another group of scholars started to explore Ottoman mobilization efforts and war propaganda.[6] Social and economic problems stemming from the war – such as food shortages, poverty, migration, and epidemics – also started to attract attention, though in limited manner.[7] The wartime migrations and the population exchange between Turks and Greeks that followed the war have been examined in recent years.[8] Undoubtedly, all of these works provided partial and indirect knowledge on Ottoman women by focusing on the social and economic conditions and the state policies that surrounded and affected them. However, ordinary women's experience and their response to the war have remained one of the least-known subjects of the Ottoman-Turkish history.[9]

Regarding specific accounts of ordinary Ottoman-Turkish women during the war years, a few earlier studies motivated the writing of this book. First, an article written in 1918 by Charlotte Lorenz, "Die Frauenfrage im Osmanishen Reiche mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der arbeitenden Klasse" (The women's question in the Ottoman Empire with special reference to the working class), which discussed Ottoman working-class women, is one of them.[10]

Yavuz Selim Karakışla's book *Women, War, and Work in the Ottoman Empire: Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women, 1916–1923* also revealed Muslim women's entry into professional life in large numbers by being employed through the Ottoman Women's Employment Islamic Society (OWEIS) (Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi) during World War I.[11] Furthermore, Nicole A. N. M. van Os wrote on pensions for soldiers' families in her article "Taking Care of Soldiers' Families: The Ottoman State and the *Muinsiz Aile Maaşı*."[12]

Leaving aside these few studies, even feminist scholars have remained silent about ordinary Ottoman women. Works concerning Ottoman

women's struggle for their rights during the late-Ottoman and early Republican period have mainly focused on a limited number of women writers, reforms in women's education, women's associations founded for patriotic and philanthropic goals, women's journals and periodicals, and changes in women's clothing.[13] Surely, these works revealed that Ottoman women, though limited to the upper class and a small number of educated women, exerted considerable effort to attain some rights and acceptance prior to the Republican reforms concerning women.[14] They especially showed that Turkish women did not attain their political rights only as an "endowment" of the Republican politicians.[15] However, women's direct involvement in organized movements or publishing activities was accepted as the main criterion of being historical and political agents.[16]

Instead, from the 1970s onward, feminist historians in Europe and the United States have produced works on a wide spectrum of gender issues, although largely restricted to the Western context.[17] Revisionist works of some Western feminist scholars on the experiences of women during World War I underlined not only the emancipation of women through their contribution to the war mobilization but also the negative impact of the war on women in terms of economic problems, wartime patriarchal pressure, and violence.[18]

A close look at the negative impact of the war shows that there was a great divergence between the real conditions of poor women and the depiction of them in the official discourse and press as "the honor of the country" and "devoted helpers of the country." Yet, despite this negative impact of the war on Ottoman women, Turkish women were symbolized as the self-sacrificing "mothers of the nation." Literature on World War I and the subsequent National Struggle emphasized women's contributions to the war and their patriotic activities by taking the official sources and the limited number of middle-class women's magazines for granted. What the historical writing generally has meant by the concept of "women's agency" is either their self-denying contributions to the war effort or their intellectual activities. Neither the conflicts between ordinary women and the Ottoman state, and, later on, the nationalist forces, nor the women's discontent with wartime measures, propaganda, and socioeconomic conditions or women's appropriation of these for their self-interests have been problematized and explored in detail.[19]

Methodological and theoretical problems inherent in Ottoman-Turkish historiography impeded in-depth research on the subject. Studying ordinary women's World War I experience primarily requires refuting a single "womanhood" and embracing the fact that women's war experiences varied according to their social status.[20] During this war,

ordinary women's everyday actions, although different from elite women's associational or publishing activities, were part of politics as well. However, to conceive their everyday life as a realm of politics, it is imperative to accept that there are multiple public spheres comprising disadvantaged classes of the society rather than one single public sphere which is constituted by middle-class educated groups.[21] These public spheres might even be in conflict with each other.[22] Therefore, the war experiences of a middle-class and a poor woman might be completely different and in opposition. Belinda Davis convincingly shows this by studying ordinary German women in Berlin during World War I who found ways to participate in politics with their resistance to the wartime shortage of food. She shows how poor women in Berlin, called "woman of lesser means," who received no financial help from the state, unlike the "soldier's wife," became active agents of street protests and everyday politics.[23]

But how could Ottoman women, mostly illiterate and long secluded in their households, also be political agents during World War I? The answer lies in how and why women's daily life and those aspects of their lives called "private" were of political importance for the state. As Elizabeth Thompson writes, the boundary between public and private is more blurred, especially in the Middle Eastern context.[24] Partha Chatterjee also claims that political conflict over women in colonial societies appears much more in households than outside.[25] Moreover, according to many feminist scholars, influenced by Michel Foucault's concept of "social control," even in the Western context, the division between public and private is actually socially constructed.[26] Indeed, as Nira Yuval-Davis claims for the modern welfare states, there is "no social sphere which is protected from state intervention."[27] Since these modern states needed to regulate families in order to increase their demographic and economic power, women's role in the family as mothers, their bodies, and their morality gained a political importance.[28] This was particularly critical during World War I, when women's productivity, reproduction of population, and assistance to war mobilization were indispensable. According to Kathleen Canning, during this war, due to their exploitation at work or their poverty and hunger, German women realized that their bodies became "sites of intensified intervention and regulation" of the state. This forced even ordinary women to have closer contact with the state and consequently to develop a kind of political consciousness.[29]

Ottoman women also had similar wartime problems, which forced them to deal with state bureaucracy much more than ever before and led them to fight for their rights in everyday life. Their everyday struggle to survive and defend their rights constituted a part of wartime politics.

Theoretical and methodological origins of this everyday politics can be found in the "history from below" approach of British Marxist historians like E. P. Thompson, especially his work *The Making of the English Working Class*, which is a history of ordinary people.[30] Rather than giving priority to institutional and formal politics, these scholars examined working-class people's seemingly nonpolitical behaviors – such as popular culture, crime, violence, riots, and popular protests – as a way of engaging in politics.[31]

Just like the British Marxist historians, scholars of "subaltern studies," too, emphasized that the struggle of ordinary people did not show itself in formal politics[32] but was exhibited much more in their self-seeking or self-defensive actions in everyday life.[33] These actions, which James C. Scott conceptualizes as "weapons of the weak" and "everyday forms of resistance," generally take the form of foot dragging, poaching, squatting, tax evasion, pilferage, theft, cheating, rumor, folk songs, folk poetry, and jokes.[34] These mostly informal political means were used also by ordinary women in pursuing their interests and indirectly influenced state decisions by compelling the ruling circles to modify their policies and practices concerning women.

The *Alltagsgeschichte* (history of everyday life) historians also emphasize the political potential of alternative, everyday informal actions in the context of the working-class politics, like clandestinely seeking even the smallest economic interests to the disadvantage of the entrepreneurs.[35] Therefore, everyday life and seemingly nonpolitical activities can be analyzed politically,[36] and regardless of ordinary people's objectives they can have an impact on formal politics. Likewise, Ottoman women's everyday struggle for allocation of resources might be accepted as part of a forgotten Ottoman politics.

Indeed, as Dorothee Wierling states, the everyday-life history is "a fertile field" to study power struggle in gender relations.[37] However, as Joan W. Scott shows for working-class history and Lila Abu-Lughod for subaltern studies, scholars who study poor and ordinary people have long remained silent on women's agency.[38] Unfortunately, it is legitimate to claim that even in these studies on the everyday politics of ordinary people, the wife of "the unknown soldier," that is, the ordinary women, is less known.[39] But it is possible to unveil some of this mystery for Ottoman women, as this book undertakes.

However, unveiling this is easier said than done. It is particularly difficult to reach ordinary women's historical experience with all of its aspects due to methodological problems. Since ordinary people leave behind nearly nothing for writing the history of their everyday life, historians need to seek new sources and methods.[40] This is especially true for

ordinary Ottoman women, most of whom were illiterate. Reaching their experiences in Ottoman archives is like solving a puzzle. Even when scholars search the archive catalogs for the Turkish word for "woman" (*kadın*) they do not receive the expected results, because during World War I Ottoman women were catalogued as "the family" (*aile*) of men, as civilians, or as soldiers. The Ottoman state attached a partial importance to women in terms of their critical roles in the family. Finding the existing sources on women is also difficult because they are scattered in various catalogs of archives in different cities. For instance, the research for this book required working in three national archives in Istanbul and Ankara, and there are still various local archives which might be useful for unearthing local histories.

The women's press of the time, too, might not bring about in-depth knowledge of ordinary women, because most of the issues in the wartime women's journals reflect first of all the problems of middle-class or elite women of the time rather than lower-income women's daily survival struggles.[41] Furthermore, many of the Ottoman women's periodicals contain misleading articles penned by Unionist male authors writing under female pseudonyms.[42]

Consequently, new sources, such as state agents' reports and women's petitions and telegrams submitted to the state bureaucracy, are vital for understanding the experiences and voices of ordinary women. However, one of the main challenges in working with these official documents is finding ordinary women's real voices and experiences in them.

Among these sources, women's petitions and telegrams sent from provinces can be considered as a way of communication between them and state institutions. Nevertheless, since most Ottoman women were illiterate, other people frequently wrote on their behalf. Petitions in the Ottoman Empire were nearly always written by professional scribes (*arzuhalci*) who used letter-writers' guides (*münşeat*) that explained petition-writing rules. These scribes had guilds and they used official papers for petitions that were sold at a certain price. Consequently, most Ottoman petitions had a uniformity in many of their expressions and in their form that makes finding the petitioners' direct voices problematic.[43] Nevertheless it is still "possible to determine what was the influence of the professional scribe" and "what is the voice of the real petitioner" in these petitions. This is so because at least they give an idea of the demands and complaints, names, and some living conditions of the petitioners.[44]

In their petitions women often referred to their poverty, hunger, and helplessness. These expressions were largely due to the harsh reality these unfortunate women were trying to describe. Nevertheless, it was also part of the formulaic vocabulary typically used in the Ottoman petitions of the

time. Similar expressions that helped to gain as much sympathy as possible were also used by women in other geographies and periods. Rather than being "a language of subservience," they helped manipulate the authorities to achieve a desired end.[45] For instance, during World War I not only the state bureaucracy but also many women frequently used the expression "soldier's family" to define themselves. In fact, they often used words emphasizing their sacrifices for the empire, the sultan, the nation, the religion, and their strong attachment to the country and the state. Their narratives, especially in the petitions and telegrams they sent to the state's departments, share some of the nationalist, religious, and patriarchal discourses of the state elites. Women emphasized, for example, their motherhood, piety, and chastity. Women petitioners frequently underlined the martyrdom (*şehitlik*) of their sons and husbands to show the contribution of their men to the war effort. Martyrdom had originally been defined as dying for the religious faith of Islam. During World War I, however, the Ottoman state, claiming to wage a Holy War (*cihad*), accepted any Ottoman soldier who died for the country on the battlefield or any official in war-related state service as a martyr, regardless of his religion. Nevertheless, in their petitions women frequently mentioned that their men died for their state, country, and religion.

Does this language of the petitions mean that women were under the full control of the state's propaganda? Undoubtedly, some women faithfully believed what they wrote in their petitions. They sometimes negotiated and collaborated with the authorities. However, the use of official terms by ordinary people may also have been a resistance practice intended to legitimize their demands and complaints.[46] Selecting those words serving their own goals in a dominant discourse, ordinary people can reinterpret and strategically use it.[47] In that sense, even defining oneself as a "soldier's family," as the state previously defined them, could be a part of women's communication strategies and their search for justice from the state or their attempts to acquire some state assistance. Therefore, this similar language can be thought as an element of ordinary women's everyday politics rather than as proof that these women accepted the war propaganda.[48]

Another shortcoming of the official documents is that women's expressions in them might have gaps and biases. Although they are written documents, they share weaknesses similar to those of interview transcriptions used by oral historians. Even in interviews made today with living women, self-censure and distortions are common, since women often prefer remaining silent on their own interests and experiences when these are different than men's, that is to say, the experiences of the dominant male culture.[49] For those Ottoman women who died long

ago, therefore, no interview is now possible, and for those who left only a few written documents, it is still difficult to learn their real war experiences and perceptions. Therefore, the historian has to predict what these women had thought and done in the past. In order to control possible flawed or distorted information, the researcher has to make verifications by examining different categories of sources at the same time. For this purpose, contemporary literature and the memoirs of contemporary observers are quoted in this book to understand women's wartime problems. Nevertheless, these works are mostly written by men and could be politically prejudiced. The literature after 1923, especially, constructs the past in the light of Republican nationalism and the reforms of the postwar years. But when used cautiously, these literary works reveal historical facts or women's perceptions that are barely found in archives or that are bridging the gaps of archival documents.[50]

Another source for finding the voices of ordinary women is the popular culture. Forms of oral communication, such as popular songs and folk poems, can also reveal the perceptions and everyday experiences of ordinary people, who mostly cannot record these in written sources.[51] Therefore, in this book, popular folk songs, poems belonging to poor women or that mention their problems, and anonymous poems appearing in the humoristic press of the time have also been quoted to present women's everyday experiences more accurately.

Finally, it is admittedly difficult to examine or use all archive sources in a preliminary study like this. There are numerous other documents in Turkish and foreign archives on ordinary Ottoman women that could not be cited, due to this book's physical limits. Various instances can be given for almost all arguments and cases here presented. However, with those selected, which can be regarded as the tip of the iceberg and not isolated cases, it is possible to reach a general picture of ordinary women's war experience. Brought together, these archive sources give important details on how Ottoman women survived World War I and vital clues on their hidden power.

Part I

The Home Front

1 Women in Europe and the United States

Despite the huge burden that the war brought to their lives, women's entry into jobs left by men during World War I and the political rights women acquired during or after the war have long been considered as evidence of their "emancipation." However, the changing roles of men and women during the war years were reversed quickly after the war with the emergence of pronatalist politics, authoritarian-conservative states, and the demand by society to return to "normalcy." According to Françoise Thébaud, the lack of studies on countries other than the United States and those in western Europe also enforces the idea that the war liberated women as a whole.[1] Therefore, reaching a more realistic picture requires comparing the situation of women in these countries with that of Ottoman women. However, it is necessary to know first of all the distinct nature of World War I.

The First "Total War"

Many historians consider World War I to have been the first "total war."[2] Unlike the "limited wars" of the nineteenth century, which required smaller armies, World War I was almost limitless in terms of its destructiveness, social impact, and mobilization of economic sources and human power.[3] All of the powerful imperial countries and all of the European countries, except for Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, entered into the war.[4] Whereas the social impact of previous wars was much more limited to the battlefield, at the onset of the twentieth century, war became "total" and brought about a new concept of "home front" as a civilian sphere upon which the combatants fought. It was on this front where other sorts of battles for propaganda, mobilization, and maintenance of social order occurred.[5]

The development of new weapons, transportation vehicles, and communication techniques in the nineteenth century transformed World War I into a mass warfare.[6] New military technology changed the nature of war

and made it longer and more brutal.[7] Machine guns killed hundreds of thousands of soldiers in trench warfare campaigns like those of Somme and Verdun. Poison gas was used extensively for the first time.[8] Starting from the autumn of 1916, tanks were introduced.[9] Airplane technology and air attacks made World War I the first three-dimensional war, occurring on land, on sea, and in the air.[10]

Consequently, the human loss was enormous. To continue the war, France mobilized 8,000,000 soldiers, Britain 5,700,000, and Germany 13,000,000.[11] About 1,397,000 French soldiers died during World War I.[12] Likewise, about 2,040,000 German, 1,800,000 Russian, 1,100,000 Austro-Hungarian, 700,000 British, and 114,000 American soldiers died.[13] Out of more than 331,000 Australian men conscripted by 1918, 60,000 soldiers never returned home.[14] Even though the number of casualties was higher among the rich belligerent countries, the percentage of casualties was greater in poorer ones, which could not finance new war technology, like Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria, and in the Ottoman Empire.[15]

Worldwide, the soldier and civilian losses of World War I reached up to 42 million people due to epidemics and other factors.[16] The bombardment of cities changed the definition of the concept of front.[17] Civilians also experienced violence since the battlefront in many cases was very close to settlements.[18] Germany's occupation of Belgium and the northern and eastern regions of France, and its raping and killing French women and deporting them from Lille to use as forced labor in other occupied regions were some examples.[19] Civilian deaths were even worse in eastern Europe, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire, where disintegration due to internal national and religious clashes was common.[20] More civilians died than soldiers in countries like Bulgaria, Russia, and Serbia.[21] The adverse impact of the war on the demography of France and Germany persisted long after the war.[22]

The economy was the main actor of World War I. Wealthier combatant powers could send more ammunition to their soldiers over very long distances. Poorer countries, in contrast, had to rely much more on human power and intensely exploited their civilians. Mobilization policies caused hunger in poorer countries more frequently. Consequently, the war ended mainly because the belligerents' economies could no longer support the war effort.[23] Indeed, the Allied powers used blockade as an effective tool to exhaust German society and to force German political leaders to stop the war.[24] Likewise, shortages and hunger in Russia paved the way for the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's subsequent withdrawal from World War I.[25] Therefore, all war governments used propaganda to support economic warfare. Their regulation of the

everyday life of civilians became as important as their military efforts.[26] For this purpose, governments exploited communication and publication facilities and used strong censorship.[27] Women Red Cross members worked actively for war propaganda.[28]

Women's social and economic roles increased with conscription of men. Women worked in arms production factories as munitions workers.[29] They also played active roles in paramilitary forces.[30] Consequently, people started questioning the traditional gender roles. World War I was constructed as a "men's war." The depiction of war as "a school to teach manhood" was dominant, while women's agency was restricted to more passive roles, such as those of nurses or prostitutes.[31] Nevertheless, in some stronger Western societies, women performed several duties and jobs that only men had done before, while many men, as soldiers, learned tasks regarded as feminine in peacetime and suffered combat-related physical or mental disability.[32] Soldiers were more anxious about household affairs than ever before.[33] In men's absence, soldiers' families were vulnerable to impoverishment, sexual harassment, and violation of their rights. The void of men at home was to be partly filled with the welfare state.

Wartime Welfare Measures for Women

From the late nineteenth century onwards, industrial states introduced welfare measures for the poor. However, with only World War I these states replaced liberal economic policies with more interventionist ones.[34] Before, nineteenth-century militant feminists had urged the development of "maternalist policies."[35] However, poor women, as well, had actively demanded certain welfare rights these feminists asserted.[36] World War I accelerated the introduction of similar welfare measures, especially due to the demographic problems the war unleashed. Both philanthropic women's organizations and the state took greater initiative in the welfare of poor women, particularly in terms of providing food, pensions for soldiers' families, and social assistance to refugees and mothers.[37]

Most women's demands and protests were related to food. Hunger was more severe in some countries. During the war, the municipality of Berlin had to provide food to 3.6 million people, the municipality of Paris to 4 million people, and the municipality of London to about 7.2 million people. Although less people needed food in Berlin, the Allied blockade created a black market and inflation. Certain products were lacking in Britain as well, but British people ate better. Despite soaring food prices in London and Paris, it was Berlin that suffered from inflation the most. Seven hundred thousand German civilians died due to hunger. In the

later years of the war, food deprivation grew so serious that in Berlin some women exchanged sex for food.[38]

Housework also became more complicated in Germany because of shortages.[39] Working women waited in long food-rationing lines after work. They often returned home with no bread for their hungry children.[40] In Berlin, poor housewives and women workers especially protested the dual-price system, which continued the privileges of the rich.[41]

Food shortages in items such as bread and milk caused civilian rebellion. The first serious food rebellion in Berlin happened in October 1915. The protestors soon realized that their demonstrations forced the municipalities to provide more food. A growing number of protests by poor German women eventually played an important role in the revolution of November 1918. In Austria-Hungary most wartime strikes were due to hunger. Crowds of Austrian women and children pillaged fields of potatoes in 1918. Poor French women rioters, too, forced their government to control food distribution.[42]

Wartime social policy often created further inequalities and mistrust of the government among ordinary women. The German public detested the state's war propaganda and attacked those classified as "soldier's wife," "mother of many children," and "munitions worker's wife," who acquired state aid. People protested the War Profiteering Office (Kriegswucheramt) in which the officials themselves were part of the hoarding process. The government's public kitchens also caused dissatisfaction, which resulted in their closure by August 1917.[43]

Monetary assistance distributed by the state caused further problems. During the war, the number of war widows was about three million and of war orphans between seven million and ten million in the belligerent countries.[44] Germany and France each had about six hundred thousand war widows, while in Britain their number exceeded two hundred thousand.[45] In Australia more than eight thousand women were left without breadwinners.[46] All governments devised allowance and pension programs for soldiers' families and war widows, though in different amounts and using varied means of payment.[47] The need was so acute that in Germany the number of people who received government assistance reached eleven million in 1915.[48]

The allocation of pensions created tensions due to unsuccessful distribution. In Germany, the government did not calculate widows' pensions according to the economic situations of their deceased husbands. Furthermore, despite the wartime inflation, the pensions allocated to war widows did not increase, whereas the allowances paid to living soldiers' families were raised twice during 1916. The French

government also discriminated among war widows, and women whose husbands died on the battlefield received more money.[49]

Some conservative Germans criticized women's new economic "independence" by using these pensions. However, beneficiary women protested the unequal practices inherent in the pension programs. Only German women in the countryside were able to survive with government assistance, while women in the big cities needed more money.[50] Likewise, in France, the government aid was very low compared to the money men had brought home before the war. To close this gap, French philanthropic institutions, municipal administrations, and charitable organizations at the local level helped widows and children, thereby creating a kind of "fictive kinship."[51]

While helping these soldiers' families, the war governments' main goal was to ensure social order and morality. Therefore, pension payments were linked closely to women's moral behavior or contribution to war effort. For instance, the French state cut the pensions of women seen drinking alcohol. In Austria-Hungary as well, the pension distribution commissions refused supporting women without small children to push women into working in the war industry. Nevertheless, these pensions' sanction power was limited, because they primarily served to boost the morale of soldiers anxious about their families. Thus, although German beneficiary women were unwilling to work in the war industry, the government feared cutting their pensions since this could demoralize soldiers. In contrast, many German women, unable to survive on such pensions, preferred working to receiving state assistance.[52]

Other than by getting pensions, women survived by leaving one job for another, selling household goods, getting married again, or moving to another house. In France, about 37 percent of all war widows remarried until 1927–28. Before World War II this increased to 42 percent. In Germany, too, one-third of six hundred thousand widows remarried by 1924. However, this was not an option for many British widows, since in 1914 there were already 1.3 million British women with little chance of getting married due to a shortage of men.[53]

In addition to war widows, refugee women also needed assistance. After the German occupation of Belgium, about 1.4 million Belgians fled to Britain and France, and half a million of them stayed abroad until 1918. Furthermore, due to different campaigns on the Western Front, about 3 million civilians migrated.[54] Refugee women suffered the most from rape by soldiers or gangs, extreme poverty, and hunger. Therefore, in addition to war governments and the Red Cross, elite and middle-class women organized associations that more effectively dealt with refugee women's problems.[55]

In addition, wartime demographic concerns increased social policies for mothers. At least 80 percent of pregnant French women gave birth in newly founded maternity hospitals.[56] The French government expected women both to give birth to future soldiers and to produce arms in the war industry. Nevertheless, throughout the war, French women lacked favorable working conditions, except for the facility of the nursing rooms in the factories. At the end of the war, even these rooms were closed down.[57]

Poor mothers, too, requested social aid. After the British government accepted universal conscription in 1916, concerns about demographic losses increased remarkably. Despite its financial cost, social assistance to mothers and children was augmented. Women officials of the Women's Cooperative Guild were particularly active in informing the government about poor mothers' needs. Working-class women wrote letters to their local government boards requesting help with their problems concerning pregnancy, giving birth, and childcare.[58]

After the war, these pronatalist policies gained more importance. There was a negative trend in French birth rates from the nineteenth century onwards that deteriorated with the war. Therefore, the French government started intensive propagandizing to encourage childbearing and introduced family-assistance programs. Georges Clemenceau, considering French babies as future soldiers, declared in 1919 that the government had to support families with many children.[59] In July 1920 a law prohibited the sale of contraceptives other than condoms and the diffusion of information about contraception. In 1923 another law criminalized abortions. French mothers with five, eight, or ten children received medallions and premiums. Likewise, in Britain the Maternal and Child Welfare Act in 1918 and in the United States the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921 aimed at population growth. Furthermore, in 1920 Mother's Day became international. However, no law improved mothers' or pregnant workers' conditions. The French pronatalist measures also failed at persuading women to give birth.[60]

In Europe, despite the low birthrates, the number of unwanted pregnancies increased remarkably. Wartime poverty forced more women to engage in prostitution, lead sexually immoral lives, and resort to abortion. In France, illegitimate children constituted 8.4 percent of all births before the war and 14.2 percent in 1917. In Britain, involuntary motherhood was an important problem. In Germany, the percentage of illegitimate children also increased from 10 to 13 percent. Working mothers left their children uncared for and without adequate food or heat. Therefore, children either worked in factories or competed against adults on the streets for food.[61]

The state's assistance to children also changed in content and amount according to their fathers' status. Raped women who became impregnated suffered particular discrimination and resorted to infanticide. Some French doctors supported infanticide if the child was the result of rape by German soldiers.[62] Surely, not all rape victims killed their babies. Yet it is unknown how many of the 410,000 French children registered in 1919 were illegitimate or children of the enemy. In contrast, the French government especially protected war heroes' children. Just like the widows' different pension amounts, the aid to war orphans also varied. Of the six million war orphans in France, the government accepted only one million as *Pupilles de la Nation* (wards of the nation) because their fathers had died in battle, rather than in hospital beds. Consequently, only one-sixth of orphans received free education.[63]

War and Working Women

The conscription of millions of men facilitated women's replacing them even in sectors that had been accepted as masculine. The female workforce in munitions factories had particularly strategic importance for the war and was accepted as a turning point in the working life of many European women. However, women mostly had temporary job opportunities, a situation that continued the traditional gendered division of labor, unfavorable work conditions, and short-term income.[64]

Before the war British female workers were far fewer than French or German workers. World War I increased their percentage in all employment sectors from 26 to 36 percent. From July 1914 to November 1918, British women munition workers spectacularly augmented from 82,589 to 1,587,300. More women workers emerged especially at the end of the war. In Britain and the United States, they multiplied two and a half times from 1917 to 1918.[65] Munitions work provided in all these countries more jobs to working-class women than any other form of employment. In Germany the percentage of women munitions workers was lowest. Therefore, the German state spread propaganda to encourage women's entry into war factories and founded new associations for this purpose. Eventually, German women constituted 50 percent of munitions workers and from mid-1917 to the end of the war their number increased from about 3.5 million to 6 million.[66] In France, from January 1916 to September 1917, women workers' percentage increased from 14 to 25 percent in the war industry and in public offices. By 1918, 420,000 French women were munitions workers. However, in Australia the war did not bring about any dramatic change in women's working life.[67]

In contrast, many existing jobs for women and girls in the service sector were lost. Large numbers of British domestics and dressmakers were dismissed when the upper classes cut back on their luxuries. As the war progressed, many of them found new jobs. In 1917 about six thousand British women worked as tramway ticket sellers and conductors. French women, too, started working in metallurgy, chemistry, electronics, and the food industry, as well as in public offices and administrative departments.[68]

Before the war, women had fought for not only the right to vote but also equal access to education, improvement of working conditions, and new work opportunities. Women left traditionally feminine sectors like domestics, textiles, tobacco, food processing, agriculture, and mining for male-dominated fields. In 1870 about 50 percent of all American working women had been domestics. In 1920 about 40 percent of women worked in public and private offices. By 1892 French women had already started to work in the PTT. In 1906 they occupied 40 percent of all white-collar jobs.[69] The war reinforced the idea that upper- and middle-class women also needed a professional education to work in the absence of their men. Consequently, French women started having commerce education in 1915 and engineering education in the following years.[70]

Women also did noncombatant army work. British women were welcomed to the army in order to send more men to battle. Both of them founded in 1917, the Women's Land Army employed twenty-three thousand women and the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps about forty thousand. Throughout the war, between eighty thousand and ninety thousand British women served in the army in the auxiliary services as clerks, storekeepers, cleaners, cooks, waitresses, mechanics, telephone operators, and drivers. Their salaries were higher than what was earned in traditionally feminine jobs.[71] Likewise, more than eleven thousand women enlisted in the American navy. Women were only accepted as soldiers in Russia, where Maria Bochkareva became the commander of the First Russian Women's Battalion of Death. From spring 1917 to fall of that year, more than five thousand Russian women volunteered to fight in all-female combat units.[72]

Women's other option was working as military medical personnel. The French army employed 120,000 women, mostly as nurses. By 1918, of about 100,000 French nurses, 30,000 were paid and 63,000 were voluntary. Lower-income nurses got their education in municipal or departmental schools without registration fees, while those from the upper class took private or Red Cross nursing courses.[73]

A greater number of women with no qualifications became factory workers since Taylorism had divided tasks into easy parts. From 1913 to 1917 the percentage of women metallurgy workers changed from only 5 to 26 percent. In the Seine region their percentage was 30 percent in 1918. Middle-class French women also found jobs in factories as welfare supervisors, work inspectors, social workers, and security guards to control these women workers.[74]

An advantage that war brought to women workers was comparatively higher wages in munitions factories, enough to provide them some economic autonomy. British women munitions workers received roughly three times the wages they had earned before the war.[75] In July 1918, 1,302,000 of them worked in government establishments and the metal, chemical, textile, and clothing industries due to higher salaries. "Traditionally female" industries with lower wages lost most of their workers to the munitions factories. In the United States, too, munitions factories, rather than textile production, attracted women workers. In France, because employers in other sectors feared that their workers might shift to munitions factories, their women workers earned higher wages than prewar levels.[76]

However, women's salaries were still low compared to those of men. French women munitions workers earned up to 600 percent of what they had earned in garment making. But since they were considered second-class workers with less education, their salaries were half of men's. Even after the amendments in 1917, women's wages were lower. In July 1918, while a French woman munitions worker earned 7.5 to 12 francs a day, a man doing the same job received 8.5 to 18 francs.[77] In Britain the unions ignored wage inequality, as long as men's wage rates were not in danger. In Germany, even after wartime adjustments, women's wages were about 47.7 percent of what men earned. In Russia women received between 30 and 50 percent of men's wages. Throughout the war these wage inequalities persisted.[78]

Dangerous working conditions and extreme exploitation also caused health problems, disability, or death in women workers. In munitions factories women were subjected to hard work at night, explosions, and serious poisoning by TNT and other lethal chemicals. Despite such danger, British women munitions workers needed certificates of permission to change the factory they worked. In France they suffered accidents, TNT poisoning, lung diseases, and serious skin burns. The unsanitary rooms they slept in at the factories caused tuberculosis and venereal diseases. German women workers also suffered from ineffective protection laws and regulations.[79]

Like munitions workers, nurses, too, worked in danger. About 10 percent of all French nurses who worked in the mobile operating rooms near

the front died in military attacks. Similarly, the Australian nurses on the Western Front were under the threat of bombing raids and gas attacks since the medical stations were near the frontline.[80]

Women's entering new jobs, as well, created resistance from society and male colleagues. Working women suffered from moral expectations, various forms of harassment and rumors. British men verbally and physically harassed women conductors in trams, claiming that they were inexperienced. British women munitions workers, too, became the target of rumors: they were said to spend their money on fur coats, silk dresses, jewelry, and gramophones; drink excessively; eat delicacies; and be licentious. In France as well, women munitions workers who lived in the factories away from their families and close to male workers were feared to be promiscuous.[81]

Women army workers encountered similar problems. Seen as a threat that could "emasculate" warfare, American women were only accepted in the army as civilian employees. British women, too, remained in civilian status in the army, while being subject to military laws and regulations. Hundreds of Australian women wrote to the military authorities volunteering to work in the army as ambulance drivers, cooks, hospital orderlies or office workers in vain. French feminist activist Marguerite Durand, in her journal *La Fronde*, demanded the establishment of a women's army auxiliary corps but could not persuade the French government.[82]

Despite the urgent need, women had difficulty in becoming army medical staff. The British commanders refused a British woman doctor in 1914, claiming that they "did not want to be troubled with hysterical women." American female doctors were only hired as civilians. Consequently, many of them chose to work in the American Women's Hospitals they founded in Europe. During the first year of the war, Red Cross volunteer nurses were not allowed to work in hospital service on the front. After they were allowed in 1915, they were so desperately needed that their number reached 500,000.[83]

The army nurses, too, were both eulogized and found suspicious since they threatened the masculine military culture. Consequently, in the US army, they suffered deliberate work sabotage, unwanted sexual attention or threats of assault. Rumors alleging that they were spies of the enemy, spreading German propaganda were common. About 1,800 black women nurses who had been certified by the Red Cross for military duty were not called up until the flu epidemic of 1918–19 made their contributions inescapable.[84]

The Voluntary Aid Detachment nurses of Britain, mostly from upper-class families, also had problems. The army propagated the idea that patriotism alone should be accepted as a reward for a "lady" and

reimbursed only their out-of-pocket expenses. Likewise, French army nurses could not receive nursing-degree diplomas until 1922.[85]

Furthermore, the clothing and morality of the female military staff was strictly observed. British women wearing military uniforms heard derogatory statements, such as that they were "aping men." When American navy women first used military uniforms, army authorities suspicious of women's proper usage of their uniforms ordered them to wear "no fur neckpieces, muffs, spats or other adornment." British women working in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps suffered from rumors about their promiscuity, as a result of which some were sent back home. In order to protect themselves from similar attacks, British middle- and upper-class women who worked for the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry as ambulance drivers, frequently emphasized their privileged social upbringing; in other words, their aristocratic and moral status.[86]

To counter the negative wartime working conditions, more women became union members or participated in strikes. From 1914 to 1918 the number of British women trade-union members rose from 437,000 to 1,209,000. About 12 percent of French women munitions workers became union members – great progress compared to the statistics before the war. Marguerite Durand proposed that a Women's Labor Bureau be opened officially in order to defend women workers' interests.[87]

Male workers regarded women as competition since they received lower wages. French and German male unionists demanded equal wages for women, not for egalitarian reasons but to protect male workers from dismissal due to cheaper female labor. British unions reinforced the idea that women were essentially deficient workers since they had family responsibilities, were physically weaker, and lacked work expertise.[88]

Despite such prejudices, women were active in wartime strikes. In 1915 and 1916, French women workers initiated seventeen strikes. In the spring of 1917, women textile workers who produced army clothing went on strike to improve their low wages with low purchasing power. This was the first big strike of 1917, a year known for frequent strikes in France.[89] Eventually, women realized the national importance of their labor in war conditions and negotiated their working conditions. French women reduced their working hours to an average of ten and received weekly time off as a result of strikes in 1917.[90]

Likewise, American women took advantage of war conditions to force the Congress to more rapidly pass regulations improving women workers' conditions, which had stagnated before the war. In strategically important military sectors, women obtained new work standards, such as an eight-

hour workday, lunch and rest breaks, no night work except with special permission, no industrial home work, higher wages and equal payment with men for the same work, safer working conditions, and protection from hazardous chemicals. However, these conditions did not cover women workers in all sectors, and the implementation of them was problematic.[91]

Women's everyday self-protective strategies also partly improved their conditions or minimized their losses. To avoid dismissal, British women workers concealed their pregnancies and used contraception more effectively.[92] Austrian women without small children worked in munitions factories since the government cut their pensions and separation allowances. However, German women insisted on working at home since wartime housework was complicated and many of them were single parents. This forced the authorities to create new welfare policies to make factory work more attractive to women.[93]

Furthermore, women workers used absenteeism as a strategy. On average, French women were absent during 5 to 7 percent of their total workdays as a way of refusing bad work conditions or redressing weak social measures. Another method of survival was resorting to crime. From 1913 to 1917 antiproperty crimes committed by German women between 18 and 50 years old increased by 82.2 percent. Larceny, embezzlement, fraud, receiving stolen goods, and falsifying documents were women's survival methods. From 1911 to 1917 the number of German women convicted for petty larceny jumped from 19,803 to 37,735; for receiving stolen goods, from 2,269 to 7,734; and for falsifying documents, from 1,102 to 3,337.[94]

Quitting one munitions factory to go to another with better wages was another strategy. To make such transfers harder, the British government devised a system of leaving certificates, documents to be shown while applying for new jobs. In addition, some munitions workers refused to work with dangerous products like amatol. In an industrial tribunal, they were prosecuted and fined 15 shillings. Despite such punishments, to avoid working with TNT, women often resorted to absenteeism or changing jobs.[95]

With the armistice, the need for a female workforce ended abruptly. Women in administrative departments mostly secured their jobs, while those in industry suffered from dismissal. About five hundred thousand of six hundred thousand French women workers in the war industry were fired. The number of French working women was nearly the same in the statistics of 1911 and 1921, despite the rapid wartime increase.[96]

In 1920 two-thirds of all British working women were dismissed. Unemployed before the war, 150,000 women received no unemployment

compensation. Even tram conductors or typists were fired. In 1921 the British women labor force was 2 percent lower than it had been in 1911. Dismissed women had no unemployment compensation if they refused new jobs offered to them, often their prewar low-paid domestic work. However, even when they returned to such positions, they resisted exploitation better thanks to the wartime self-confidence they had gained. Against the massive dismissals, women also sent complaint letters, which were published in the press.[97]

Women's Response to War Mobilization

During World War I women were at the center of war propaganda. Vulnerable women became an indispensable part of the militarized imagery to motivate soldiers. Stories of the rape and sexual mutilation of Belgian and French women by German soldiers created a nationalist mythology and a common theme of British war propaganda. In reality, women were also under threat of attack by their male compatriots. American women even took up arms against such attempts.[98]

Wartime nationalist and religious propaganda was also widespread. In Britain, France, and Germany, the nationalist education of children became a political priority. In the United States, popular nationalism emerged as a remedy to the problem of citizenship and nationalization of migrants. American suffrage leaders worked on the Americanization of immigrant families by scrutinizing their mothering practices. Likewise, French women experienced Catholic religious propaganda through prayer books or sculptures against partly Protestant Germany.[99]

Militant women authors, too, produced war propaganda. Before 1916 British men volunteered to enlist in the army rather than being universally conscripted. Therefore, the government supported female propaganda writers like Mrs. Humphry Ward, author of *England's Effort* (1916) and *Towards the Goal* (1917). War propaganda was even implicitly found in women writers' romance novels, influencing ordinary people. Women shamed unconscripted men with patriotic words and actions, as well as posters with images of patriotic women. An advertisement promoted the idea that unconscripted British men could someday neglect their wives. British and American nationalist women protested ununiformed men on the street by distributing white feathers. In Russia, stories of the Battalion of Death, made up of female soldiers under the commandership of Maria Bochkareva, served to shame civilian men.[100]

However, ordinary women frequently challenged the war effort. They were against government policies regulating women's sexual lives and prostitution, though lawmakers considered such policies a crucial

component of war mobilization. Similar regulations had emerged from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries onwards. The Contagious Diseases Act of 1864 in Britain was primarily intended to prevent the spread of venereal diseases to soldiers. During World War I, as well, prostitution was either regulated or suppressed altogether.[101]

Moreover, the wartime governments wanted to ensure soldiers that they fought for their faithful wives and fiancées. However, prostitution was common among destitute women. The interventionist state policies paradoxically resulted in clandestine prostitution. Having no luxury for years to mourn over their deceased men, women often resorted to prostitution or remarriage. To boost the soldiers' spirits, the German government increased the moral pressure on soldiers' wives. Nevertheless, even in the countryside, peasant women had sexual intercourse with war captives.[102]

Quickly, wartime regulations became an issue of disciplining women rather than of ensuring public health. In November 1914 the British government enacted the Defense of the Realm Act, which prohibited women from appearing on the streets between the hours of 7 p.m. and 8 a.m. The Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 1917 raised women's age of consent from 16 to 18, introduced imprisonment with a hard-labor penalty for women who deliberately spread venereal diseases, and criminalized advertisements for abortion methods or alleged cures for sexually spread disorders. In March 1918 Regulation 40D prohibited women with venereal disease from having sexual intercourse with British soldiers. In Australia, police arrested girls in the company of soldiers and sailors at a late hour. Girls were charged with the crime of infecting soldiers with venereal diseases, although this sometimes proved not to be true. In Germany, the measures against venereal diseases only protected men, since contraception was banned and women suspected of carrying a disease were forced to have medical examinations.[103]

A law recognized German women who were reported to have had sex with more than one man as prostitutes. German secret agents abused this law, forcing women to have sex with them by threatening to report women as unlicensed prostitutes. Consequently, many women and girls who were not prostitutes were sent to military brothels.[104] British middle-class women, too, tried to control working-class women, arguing that they were better equipped than men for this purpose. Likewise, in the United States, in cities where army camps were located, middle-class women acting as "social workers" strictly policed prostitutes.[105]

Pacifist women suffered similar surveillance since they threatened war mobilization. The war governments suppressed universal ideals such as feminism and socialism while they elevated patriotism and

manhood. With the US government's declaration of war, all immigrants, labor leaders, and political radicals of all affiliations became suspect. Among the criminalized were pacifist women doctors and schoolteachers against military training in public schools, socialist women leaders who promoted an antimilitarist motherhood, and immigrant working-class women.[106]

American pacifist feminist Jane Addams, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, was labeled a traitor after 1917 because of her opposition to the war. French pacifist schoolteachers Hélène Brion, Marie Mayoux, and Lucie Colliard were imprisoned for similar reasons. Many other countries prosecuted women, charging them with political crimes, for pacifist activities.[107]

But despite their political importance, pacifist women constituted only a small group. The war challenged the idea that women universally supported peace. Many suffragists rejected pacifism, believing that they could win their citizenship rights by supporting their governments' war efforts. In 1915 pacifist suffragists like Helena Swanwick and many other leading figures resigned from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,[108] and created the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Pacifist women organized important conferences in which many suffragists refused to participate. Shortly after the international peace conference organized by socialist feminist Clara Zetkin in Berne on 25–27 March 1915, the International Council of Women organized the Women's Peace Congress at the Hague from 28 April to 1 May 1915.[109] The same year British nationalist feminists renamed their journal *The Suffragette* as the *Britannia*. Likewise, Mrs. Humphry Ward celebrated the war, claiming that it created the "world of the new women," who had recently become women policemen, chauffeurs, and militant suffragists.[110]

Receiving little support from other women, pacifist women's attempts failed. French pacifist Marcelle Capy believed that women munitions workers could end the war by stopping arms production. However, for women munitions workers, this meant losing their jobs. British women munitions workers, too, supported the war for their own survival. Russian radical feminist Alexandra Kollontai, who believed that World War I was "no more than an instrument of bourgeois oppression," criticized the working-class woman Maria Bochkareva, founder of the Women's Battalion of Death.[111]

During the war or its aftermath, many governments recognized women's suffrage. They promoted the idea that women's political rights were granted as recompense for their war efforts and ignored women's earlier attempts to attain greater rights. Emphasizing women's wartime

sacrifices was rather a strategy of gaining popular support for male enlistment. For instance, during the war, Canadian and Belgian governments gave suffrage to soldiers' mothers before most other women.[112]

War work did not bring political rights to all women either. On the one hand, it helped British women to dismiss the previous arguments against women's citizenship rights. On the other hand, French women who performed similar service were denied suffrage and had a suspension of their struggle for it with World War I. Furthermore, many suffragists later realized that voting was not sufficient to achieve equality in other spheres of life. Russian women, who obtained suffrage earlier than many other European women, struggled for civil and socioeconomic rights long afterwards.[113]

In reality, women's wartime services and their resistance to the war mobilization were equally significant politically. In particular, rebellions and strikes of working-class women due to wartime poverty and shortages eventually paved the way for the revolutions in Russia and Germany. German women workers took an active part in the Revolution of 9 November 1918. In Russia, as well, women workers' strikes and poor women's riots contributed to the Bolshevik Revolution. Russian soldiers had about fifteen years of conscription, and about one-third of peasant families had no financial supporters since 14.5 million men had become soldiers by 1916. In these conditions, many peasant women did not trust the war propaganda and rebelled against the conscriptions.[114]

Poor French women also were active in antiwar demonstrations and protested conscription, activities for which they were sentenced to three months' imprisonment. From January to May 1918, to prevent conscription, they lay down on the railway lines to stop trains carrying young soldiers. As wives, female pen friends, or prostitutes, women became the nightmare of the French army since they could demoralize the soldiers. Indeed, many of the mutinies in the French army in 1917 stemmed to some extent from their families' problems.[115]

Peasant women were another group that bore the burden of the war the most. Their resistance to the war mobilization was very important, although it was more covert and appeared mostly in everyday struggles. The British and German governments both expected peasant women to help the war mobilization by producing more crops. In Italy and France, too, peasant women were exploited in farming.[116]

In order to survive in such conditions, French peasants hid some of their wheat or animals from tax collectors. In this way they minimized their losses or earned some extra money by selling their goods in the cities. Tax evasion could also be a method to pay their increasing debts. Indeed,

many French peasant women had difficulty surviving financially due to decreased agricultural production, although the government forced war captives to work on their lands.[117]

Likewise, Italian peasant women and girls at very young ages worked beyond their strength. Many of them stole food out of hunger. In the absence of their men, Italian women dealt with bureaucratic problems by themselves, and they suffered sexual and other forms of harassment by government agents and other men. Finally, despite the moral and nationalist expectations, Italian peasant women willingly hid deserters who helped them farm.[118] Peasant women's covert resistance to the war mobilization was as effective as the open antiwar demonstrations of other women.

2 The Ottoman Home Front

World War I as a total war affected enormously the Ottoman civilians. Just as in other combatant countries, the Ottoman home front, too, was vital to continuing the war. Women in soldiers' families suffered particularly, although all segments of the Ottoman society encountered adverse conditions. The war negatively influenced the Ottoman economy, changed further the demography of the empire, and led to the rise of nationalism and ethnic conflict. These developments influenced both the course of the war and the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

Economic Impact of World War I

The Ottoman economy had been hit by Tripolitanian War and Balkan Wars, but with World War I the foreign trade stopped. After the government canceled the capitulations system and pursued a high-tariff policy in 1914, the cost of imported items increased and their import was limited. Ottoman foreign trade used to depend on sea transport. Following the Allied blockade of transport in the Mediterranean Sea, the only means available to the Ottoman war effort and trade was land transport. Continuing a long war in such conditions was nearly impossible due to the insufficient railway lines, poor roads, and limited telegraph system.[1]

People in Istanbul suffered food scarcities most rapidly because they relied on flour imported from Romania, Russia, and Marseille. Interestingly, in 1914, bringing wheat from Anatolia to Istanbul was 75 percent more costly than importing it from New York. The empire had enough food supplies for a six-month war. However, since the war continued for years and the trade roads were blocked, people exhausted their food supply. Feeding a huge army made things worse. In time, not only the shortage of food but also its distribution among different social groups created great problems.[2]

Solving the food problem of Istanbul was therefore a priority of the war governments. Unionist elite Kara Kemal tried several methods, ranging from opening soup kitchens to food distribution, but all measures

generally proved to be insufficient. After the first year of the war, food shortages were also felt in the provinces. All parts of Anatolia suffered from hunger but certain regions were in a worse situation. Apart from the Arab regions, such as northern Syria and Lebanon, which were hit by severe food shortages, the most extreme hunger and food scarcities occurred in eastern Anatolia.[3]

Wartime economic recession was another cause of shortages. Difficulty in finding credits and many imported semifinished and intermediate goods hit industrial production. Furthermore, conscription diminished the industrial and agricultural workforce. As a result, just as in other combatant countries, a larger number of Ottoman women started working. However, they mostly worked in textile and food processing, which required quite a low level of expertise. They also had low mobility in the labor market due to their family obligations, which restricted their employment options. Therefore, the labor shortages in industry continued until the end of the war. The overall decline in industrial production was most probably between 30 and 50 percent. Agriculture, too, suffered due to lack of mechanization and labor shortages. From 1913 to 1918 the production decrease was about 40 percent in wheat and more than 50 percent in exportable products, such as tobacco, raisins, hazelnuts, olive oil, raw silk, and cotton.[4]

To raise production levels, the government introduced an Agricultural Obligation Bylaw (Mükellefiyet-i Ziraiye Kanun-ı Muvakkatı) on 18 September 1916, which became law on 2 April 1917. This law forced civilians, especially peasants above the age of fourteen and some associations and enterprises, to sow additional fields. Peasant women became the primary victims of this law, which soon turned into a forced labor regime. Despite these efforts, agricultural production did not improve significantly until 1922.[5]

Furthermore, aware of small profit margins, forced requisitions, or lack of marketing opportunities, the great part of small and middle producers passively resisted the needs of war mobilization. Peasants did not sow their fields, industrialists slowed down production, and merchants preferred to hoard goods. The disappearance of basic goods from the market made life more difficult for civilians.[6]

Nationalization of the Ottoman economy was another wartime development. Following the idea of the "national economy" (*Milli İktisat*), the Ottoman state abolished the capitulations, raised customs duties, and introduced new laws in favor of Turkish entrepreneurs. The Language Law (Dil Kanunu), enacted on 24 March 1916, made Turkish the only language of commerce. The Law for Encouraging Industry (Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu) was revised on 27 March 1915 to increase the number

of Turkish employees and laborers in factories, to provide certain privileges to national investors, and to support national companies. Furthermore, national banks – such as the National Credit Bank (İtibar-ı Milli Bankası), founded during the war in 1917, and the Agricultural Bank (Ziraat Bankası) – provided credits to rich Muslim Turkish merchants and peasants.[7]

The trade of food from Anatolia, done using the limited railway facilities provided by the government, became the most profitable business. A small number of the Anatolian Muslim farmers and merchants who were affiliated with the CUP acquired remarkable wealth. Because of the coal shortage and the army's priority to use railways, the number of wagons for trade sharply decreased. Those who hired a wagon were acquaintances of the Unionist circles. Therefore, this trade mostly created war profiteers.[8]

This trend aggravated the hunger and shortages. The state's attempts to prevent profiteering with the foundation of the Prevention of Profiteering Commission (Men-i İhtikar Komisyonu) ended with new corruption cases. The war profiteers spent their money for extravagant entertainment while people considered the profiteers' new automobiles, European furniture, telephones, and gambling in horse races as an insult.[9] The humoristic journal *Karagöz* (Black eye; also the name of a Turkish shadow play) on 31 March 1919 revealed this hatred among the people:

> They completely picked and stole
> They named it national trade
> They trimmed the country as if trimming paper
> Go on and make merchants from a thousand more vagabonds.[10]

The shortage of goods due to low production and war profiteering also caused inflation. The state's attempts to finance the war through printing money aggravated the situation. The inflation in the cost of certain products was incredible in Istanbul: one oke (1.282 kg) of sugar increased from 3 to 250 piasters, milk from 2 to 45 piasters, butter from 20 to 400 piasters, soap from 7 to 140 piasters, petroleum from 1.5 to 160 piasters, and firewood from 45 to 540 piasters (Table 1).[11]

Although the government attempted to fix certain primary consumption goods, due to the black marketeering, there was a significant difference between the prices determined officially by the government and those on the free market. Whereas the official price of bread in 1918 was 2.5 piasters, its price in the free market was 34 piasters. Again, whereas the official price of mutton was 50 piasters, it was sold for 125 piasters.[12]

Table 1. *Prices of Basic Consumption Goods in Istanbul, 1914–18, in Piasters*

Items	July 1914	January 1917	September 1917	January 1918	September 1918
Sugar	3.00	62.00	150.00	140.00	250.00
Coffee	12.00	160.00	450.00	1000.00	600.00
Rice	3.00	35.00	90.00	95.00	90.00
Macaroni	3.00	42.00	90.00	110.00	95.00
Potatoes	1.00	8.00	20.00	36.00	27.00
Beans	4.00	19.00	55.00	65.00	65.00
Onions	0.50	6.00	11.00	16.00	16.00
Olive Oil	8.00	45.00	140.00	200.00	180.00
Salt	1.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	5.50
Milk	2.00	9.00	19.00	40.00	45.00
Cheese	12.00	55.00	130.00	250.00	280.00
Mutton	7.00	28.00	65.00	130.00	120.00
Butter	20.00	100.00	210.00	260.00	400.00
Eggs	0.50	1.50	2.50	7.25	4.25
Soap	7.00	32.00	75.00	140.00	140.00
Petroleum	1.50	50.00	110.00	125.00	160.00
Charcoal	0.50	2.75	5.50	10.00	13.00
Wood	45.00	150.00	320.00	380.00	540.00

Source: Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, pp. 147–8.

The purchasing power of the Ottoman people plummeted as a result of the black marketeering and inflation, more than observed in most European countries. Real wages dropped by about 33 percent in the period between 1914 and 1920. The situation was worse by 1918 due to a loss of real wages by about 72 percent from 1914 onwards.[13]

These wartime economic problems undermined people's trust in the state. The purchasing power of the civil servants dropped from 60 to 80 percent during the war due to inflation. They resorted to bribery and corruption more than ever to make ends meet. Living in debt, many civil servants wanted to leave their positions to become involved in trade or work in other jobs. Those who accepted bribes or illegally seized wartime taxes and the pensions of soldiers' families were the worst enemies of destitute women.[14]

The Ottoman government needed to take on debt or tax the populace to finance the war. While war profiteers did not pay taxes, peasants suffered from additional or multiplied taxes and army requisitions. Furthermore, about 260 million of the 400 million lira cost of World War I was covered by German and Austrian foreign aid. During the National Struggle, the percentage of taxes taken from ordinary people

in financing the war increased much more. Only 13 million of its 147 million lira cost was financed by Russian aid. This meant an additional economic sacrifice for Anatolian peasants, most of whom were poor women without breadwinners.[15]

Consequences of Wartime Casualties

World War I was part of a decade of continuous warfare for many Ottoman soldiers. Although the Ottoman Empire entered the war on 2 November 1914, they had already fought in the Tripolitanian War of 1911–12, the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, and the Albanian and Yemen rebellions. During World War I they battled in the Dardanelles, eastern Anatolia, the Caucasus, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Galicia, Macedonia and Romania. They were in combat against about 1.5 million British soldiers and several hundred thousand soldiers of the other rival states.[16]

The primary human source of the Ottoman army was Anatolian Muslim peasants, who were also the backbone of Ottoman agriculture. The War Ministry, suspicious of the Greeks and Armenians, charged most of them with manual labor and sent them to the labor battalions, where the death rate was also quite high. Wealthy non-Muslim men paid 30 Ottoman gold liras and Muslim men paid 50 Ottoman gold liras to be exempt from military service. Ottoman Greeks became Greek citizens while Ottoman Jews, who had no connection with a nation-state of their own, adopted US citizenship to evade conscription. Due to such exemptions, as Erik J. Zürcher writes, conscription could not be used as an instrument of Ottoman nation building.[17] Conscriptions and losses of the Ottoman army mostly hit the Muslim population and poor non-Muslims unable to pay exemption money.

The percentage of Ottoman military casualties was very high. The Ottoman Empire conscripted more than 2,873,000 men, including the gendarme and navy forces.[18] The number of Ottoman soldiers who died due to war-related causes or who were missing in action was 771,844. Among them 243,598 died in combat or of battle wounds; 61,487 went missing in action; 466,759 died of diseases; and 763,753 soldiers were wounded. There were about 200,000 war prisoners, the greater part of whom Britain held captive and did not release until 1920–21. The number of deserters was also very high, as reported by German generals in the Ottoman army. General Otto Liman von Sanders, who served as adviser and military commander to the Ottoman army, wrote in 1917 that about 300,000 soldiers had deserted the army. In 1918 General Hans von Seeckt reported this

number as 450,000. When the war ended, there had been at least 500,000 deserters.[19]

Ottoman civilians also lost their lives due to enemy attack, migration, deportation, epidemics, destitution, hunger, and cold. The prewar population of the Ottoman Empire was about 20 million to 23 million.[20] Of these people, 17 million lived within today's borders of Turkey, more than 3 million in Syria and Palestine, including today's Lebanon and Jordan, and about 2.5 million in Iraq. By the end of the war, more civilians had died than soldiers due to armed conflict, disease, and malnutrition. About four out of five Ottoman-citizen deaths were of civilians. Making things worse, the Ottoman government deported a significant percentage of Armenians in eastern Anatolia, many of whom were massacred on the road or died at their destinations. Muslim people who migrated due to the Russian occupation of the eastern provinces also died in massive numbers. The newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar* (Portrayal of opinions) reported on 11 May 1919 that, during their escape from the Russian army in 1916, out of the 1,604,031 Muslim refugees, 701,166 people, or 43.7 percent, had died on the road from hunger, disease, or massacres. Between 1912 and 1922 at least 1 million people of eastern Anatolia passed away.[21] The refugees received very little help from either the government or the Red Crescent Society (Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti), and, in most of the provinces where they arrived, the inhabitants did not help them either.[22]

In February 1919 the Erzurum governor reported that, among the 448,607 refugees who had departed from Erzurum, only 173,304 people had returned, 108,098 people would probably return, and 207,105 people were lost.[23] After February 1919 Turkish refugees who had been settled around Kayseri in the houses of deported Armenians left these residences when the Armenian families returned. During this second immigration, about 300,000 died of disease. In 1919 *Tasvir-i Efkar* reported that, out of the 63,614 refugees who had left Aydın province, only 42,374 of them were confirmed alive, while the situation of the others was unknown.[24]

The migration continued during the armistice period, especially in western Anatolia after the Greek troops started occupying this region. In South Marmara, refugee waves continued until the population exchanges ended in the first years of the Republic of Turkey. These population movements caused severe crime, rebellions, and violence in this region for quite a long time.[25]

Migrants often fled to Istanbul and provinces in Anatolia. In 1921 the number of refugees from Izmir was estimated at three hundred thousand. The same year, the refugees who had already arrived in Istanbul from the

Balkans and Izmir were counted at sixty-five thousand. The number was seventy thousand in 1922. In the same period, four hundred thousand Muslim Turkish refugees had come to Istanbul from other parts of Anatolia.[26]

Losing their financial supporters due to conscriptions and getting poorer due to wartime migration, many Ottoman women, especially in the cities, earned their living through prostitution, begging, or theft. Their situation was so bad that the Allied powers used it as a weapon of counter-propaganda. They discouraged Ottoman soldiers and urged them to desert the army with proclamations emphasizing the hunger, death, or moral degeneration of their women and children both in Istanbul and in the countryside.[27]

Ottoman Women and War Propaganda

During World War I the Ottoman state extensively used Islamism, Ottomanism, and Turkish nationalism for war mobilization. Especially after the Balkan Wars, the CUP embraced the nationalist ideal of Turanism (*Turancılık*). This ideology was at the center of the war propaganda during the entry of the Ottoman Empire into the war. Enver Pasha adopted Pan-Turkism as a state strategy because of its wartime advantages as an expansionist policy.[28] Pan-Turkism also had Islamic elements that mobilized Muslim Turkish masses against Russian and other Christian "enemy" forces. Consequently, in his declaration of Holy War, the Shaykh al-Islam demanded assistance of all Muslims for the Ottoman Empire's war effort against "infidels." He especially targeted Muslims living in Crimea, Kazan, Turkestan, Bukhara, Khiva, India, China, Afghanistan, Persia, and Africa. Ottoman war governments also supported nationalism during the war to create a new Turkish bourgeoisie and a national economy, both of which could help the economic independence of the Ottoman Empire. However, as Hasan Kayalı writes, a supranational ideology of Islamism outweighed an ethnic Turkish nationalism during the period.[29]

Although many Turkish intellectuals and members of the CUP supported the nationalist war propaganda and declaration of Holy War, larger masses of poor people, who mostly lived in the countryside and bore most of the economic and social burden of the war, had a different perspective.[30] Due to severe wartime poverty and hunger, war propaganda had nearly no influence on lower-income Ottoman women. On the other hand, elite women, as wives and daughters of the high bureaucracy, welcomed it. They became members of nationalist organizations, such as the Turkish Hearth (Türk Ocağı) and the National Defense Society (Müdafaa-i Milliye

Cemiyeti), and acquired new positions in public life. They also founded women's organizations to support the war effort. They helped the army, war widows, and orphans through the Red Crescent Ladies' Center (Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi), the Ladies' Society to Assist Soldiers' Families (Asker Ailelerine Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti), and the National Defense Ottoman Ladies' Committee (Müdafaa-i Milliye Osmanlı Hanımlar Heyeti). Furthermore, they contributed to the Ottoman Empire's internal borrowing to finance the war and supported the development of the national economy.[31]

These middle-class and elite women benefited to some extent from the policies of the Unionist governments. Under the name of the "national family" (*Milli Aile*), they received certain new positions, and, through the Decree on Family Law (Hukuk-i Aile Kararnamesi), more legal support for the monogamy they longed for.[32] Nevertheless, the vast majority of ordinary women had a very different agenda. They did not obey the mobilization attempts of the government without conflict. Although they were not politically committed antiwar pacifists, they mostly opposed government policies and practices that adversely affected their lives.

Part II

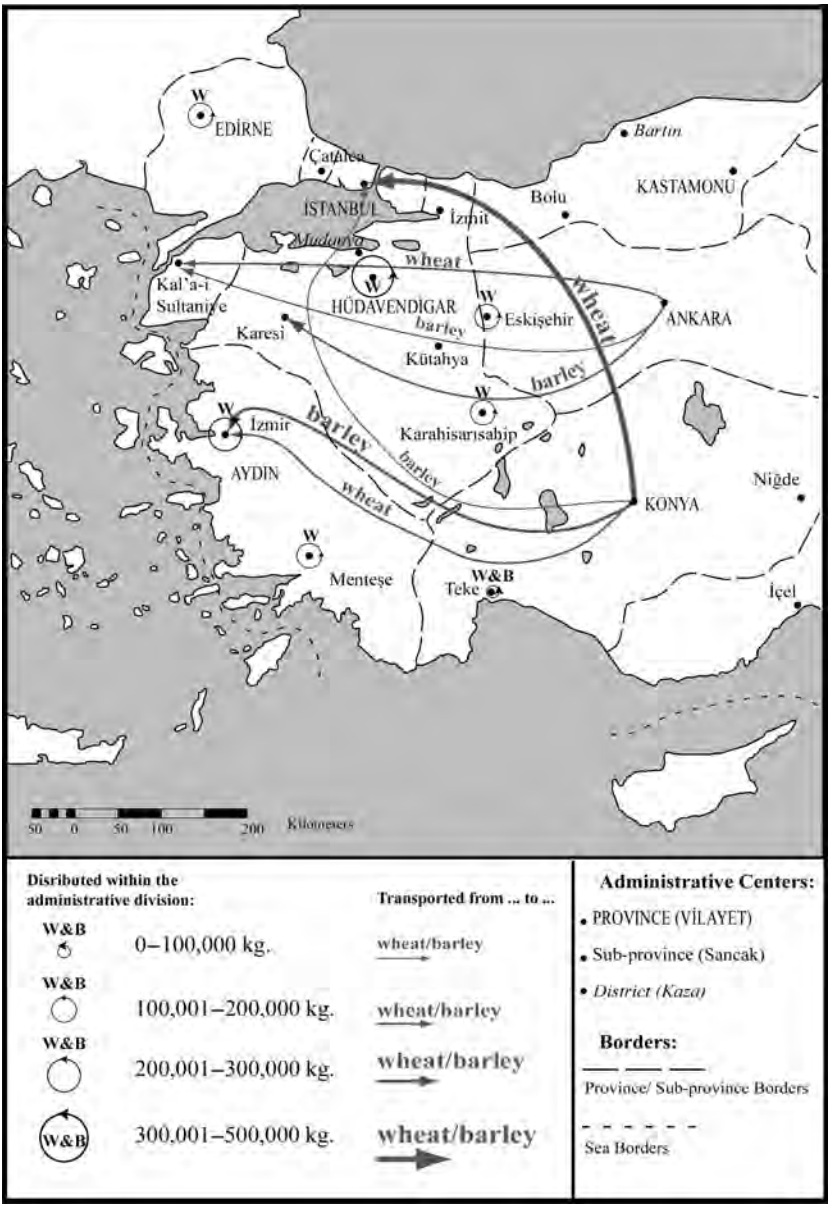
Women's Negotiation of Wartime Social Policies

3 Hunger and Shortages

World War I motivated the creation of new welfare laws, regulations, and institutions in the Ottoman Empire, all of which mainly targeted needy women, since, among thousands of civilians who starved, women and children were the largest group. Having severe financial problems, poor women bargained for even the slightest economic gain. Welfare policies generally helped them in terms of food, money, housing, and childcare. These policies provided some social security to the poor and public acclaim for the political elite. Above all they created a stronger home front, which in return facilitated the war mobilization. Nevertheless, the policies were problematic and noninclusive. Frequently, women who were not in the families of soldiers currently fighting on the battlefield received little or no help. Therefore, Ottoman women constantly demanded, negotiated, or resisted wartime welfare policies.

Wartime Hunger and Shortages

During World War I the problem of hunger and shortages in basic goods reached unbearable levels due to the cessation of external trade and the decrease in crop yield. Conscription, military confiscation of draft animals, and lack of transportation means to move goods throughout Anatolia and Rumelia played a great role in this problem. Food stuffs such as sugar, wheat, rice, flour, and meat were on the black market. Prices soared, especially in Istanbul, which had always imported its food, unlike certain Anatolian cities like Izmir, a big port city from the eighteenth century onwards.[1] But as Hester Donaldson Jenkins, a teacher at the American College for Girls, recalls, even in Istanbul one could buy everything with money, though at astronomical prices. Surely, this was not an option for poor women who suffered from hunger throughout the empire.[2] People in coastal cities dependent on imported food, in enemy-occupied regions like Trabzon, in the eastern Anatolia and Black Sea regions, which were hit by migration and deportation, and in regions where cereal cultivation was not



Map 2. Regions Sent Wheat and Barley according to the Bylaw of 4 September 1916

Note: This map's data were taken from *1332–1333 Meclis-i Mebusan Encümen Mazbataları ve Levâyih-i Kanuniyye*, Devre: 3, İçtima Senesi: 3 (Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 1992), p. 297.

possible were in the worst situation. The Armenian deportations also meant that less grain was harvested in eastern Anatolia. Telegrams complaining about food scarcity and hunger frequently came from all these places to the central government.[3] Throughout the armistice period, official reports stated that the Anatolian people were in a miserable state. Particularly in regions where the occupying forces had recently departed, peasants ate grass to survive.[4]

However, hunger was worst in Mesopotamia, where the Allied powers' embargo, just as in Istanbul, created severe food shortages. In the occupied regions, hunger turned into famine. What is worse, the severe hunger crisis forced some to cannibalism. According to a German source, during the winter of 1917–18, a Muslim couple in this region was found guilty of kidnapping and killing children, then selling their flesh. Similarly in Mosul, where the price of bread had increased to 3 liras, ten to twelve people were executed for selling children's flesh as sheep or lamb meat and serving it in restaurants.[5]

Food shortages even became a problem in Anatolian wheat centers. Because of its relatively high cereal production, Konya accepted thousands of refugees sent by the government. By 1918 the province had more refugees than it could feed. In April 1918 the Konya governor demanded that the government settle elsewhere the civil servants' and army officers' families sent from Damascus, a city of hunger during the war. He claimed that otherwise his already overcrowded city would also suffer from hunger.[6] Therefore, hunger in the wartime Ottoman Empire was not only a problem of food production but also a problem of food distribution.

War profiteers worsened the already bad situation. The Ottoman state could not eliminate black-marketeering, although it rationed many consumption items. People affiliated with the CUP made great fortunes from profiteering by attaining rights to buy provisions for the army and public institutions. In the cities many people fell ill from malnutrition or starved, while some German and Turkish officials manipulated the market and got rich. Politicians also had no difficulty getting food, and they continued their usual luxuries.[7]

The bread shortage hit women hardest. It meant hunger for the poor since bread was the only affordable food. Most people lived on cracked wheat or bread. Olga Mağaryan Aslangül, a small child during the armistice years, recalls that her elders could not even find bread, so ate cracked wheat or boiled oleaster instead. Saibe Fırçacı, a wartime child in Erzurum, remembers that people ate grass like cows, having nothing else to eat, let alone bread.[8]

In Gaziantep the bakeries closed one after another. The existing ones sold only pita bread, which looked horrible. The price of two loaves of this

unappetizingly black bread was equal to the prewar price of two carryalls of flour. People struggled to obtain this bread even though they found it worse than fodder.[9]

Wartime bread was also unhealthy. Hester Donaldson Jenkins writes that in Istanbul the rationed bread was filled with anything but flour. According to Halide Nusret Zorlutuna, this bread, for which people waited hours in line in front of bakeries, often caused stomach problems because it contained stones and soil. Mediha Esenel, a small girl during the war, also remembers that her elders complained of broom seeds in the cornbread. People spread rumors that the black rationed bread contained chestnut shells.[10]

For serving this inedible bread, women invented new methods. Some prepared it as *papara* to make it soft and palatable. They fried the bread in little pieces and dropped it into hot water with oil and tomato paste. Selma Ekrem, a Turkish woman writer, writes that gradually an even worse flat yellow loaf, called *bobota*, made out of corn husks mixed with broom seeds, replaced the black rationed bread. Finding it awful, her family instead began eating potato, which was expensive. They all slowly starved due to the insufficient government measures to improve food supplies.[11]

Even with their bread certificates, poor women often fought for bread, since it was scarce. İrfan Orga writes how his once-affluent mother, Şevkiye, had been insulted in a bakery by a poor woman who wanted to take her bread. Just as Şevkiye was paying for her bread, the woman beside her snatched it, saying that she had paid for it first. She kicked Şevkiye and pulled her veil, shouting that only the rich wore veils, and wearing one Şevkiye had no right to line up for bread when the poor needed it more. The woman also called her a prostitute and tried to tear her skirt and veil. Şevkiye got her bread back only after two men interfered. With torn veil, she ran home as people shouted at her in the streets, confusing her with "a bad woman."[12]

In 1919 Yaşar Nezihe, a low-income woman poet, protested the scarcity of rationed bread in her poem "Ekmek Kömür İhtiyacı" (Necessity of bread and coal), published in the magazine *Nâzikter* (*Kid glove*):

> Bread is not given for two days in the neighborhood
> It is not easy to suffer from this hunger night and day
> Poor people have been hungry for the last four and a half years
> The food question had not been solved; what the hell is this!
> . . .
> Household furniture is sold always for bread
> I wonder what people have done to deserve suffering this torment
> Nobody has left a mattress or quilt on which to sleep



Fig. 1 A cartoon criticizing high food prices.
Source: *Diken*, No. 1 (30 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1918 [30 October 1918]), p. 5.

What a pity! Scores of people have not found enough dry bread to be full
. . .
If the public bread does not appear, things take a turn for the worse
Hungry children hit the pavement crying
That day sodden and soggy loaves of bread are sold for fifteen [piasters]
If you have no money as well you sleep hungry with your orphan children.[13]

Other food items were also scarce. Milk shortage constituted an important problem for newborn babies and their mothers. Milk was so limited that not

only poor but also lower-middle-class women could not buy it. Sabiha and Zekeriya [Sertel], a young journalist couple with a newborn daughter, could find no milk, flour, or sugar, and consequently watched their baby starve. Furthermore, only the rich could buy meat.[14] This situation persisted for a very long time. Mediha Esenel recalls it was only after the National Struggle that she consumed white bread, sugar cubes, and rice dishes, which were food items that even middle-income groups lacked until 1923.[15]

Food shortages threatened all social groups, although a rich minority suffered less. Even middle- and upper-class women reconsidered their kitchen expenditures due to inflation. Sugar was one of the first food items that became a luxury. The Ottomans fully depended on Italian and Austrian sugar. From 1914 to 1918 the price of a kilogram of sugar changed from 3 to 250 piasters.[16] The price of sugar was sometimes even as high as 300 piasters, according to a satiric poem in the humor magazine *Karagöz*:

> We have grown tired of this robbery
> We are swamped with profiteering!
> For quite a long time we have bought it at three hundred [piasters]
> Sugar, which had been cheap before.[17]

People used sugar sparingly or replaced it with dried grapes and molasses. In Gaziantep, famous for its desserts prepared with thick syrup, people started cooking sweet pastries, called *kadayıf*, with molasses instead of sugar.[18] Tea was also replaced with other things. Saibe Fırçacı recalls that in wartime Erzurum, people drank their tea with grapes rather than sugar cubes in their mouths. Even this tea was not real. People used the burned roots of rose hips instead.[19]

Unlike the lack of luxury foods, the shortage of wood and coal could prove lethal. People died of cold, especially in Istanbul. When the cost of firewood increased, without permission, they cut down trees belonging to the state, both for their own needs and for war profiteering. In April 1916 the Trade and Agriculture Ministry reported that the populace in Hüdavendigar had cut down even young mulberry trees that had been planted for the development of silk farming. In the summer of 1916, the authorities tried a range of solutions, from cutting wood in the Beykoz forests to bringing coal from Izmit and nearby regions. Nevertheless, the problem grew worse as the war progressed. In 1920 the Istanbul municipality still had problems finding enough coal and wood for the city's inhabitants.[20]

Shortages complicated women's wartime housework, too. There was no fuel to light the lamps. Gas and water were especially scarce. Hasan İzzettin Dinamo recalls that in 1916, upon the Russian occupation of

Trabzon, the refugees who fled to Samsun lived in houses without gas or other means of lighting.[21] Likewise, a peasant woman, Nurife, whose husband had fought both in Yemen and during World War I, used small kerosene night lamps (*idâre lambası*) that allowed her to stretch out the kerosene from a single can for eight years. Until the arrival of her husband as a war veteran, she lighted a lamp only when she performed prayers or had visitors. She did all of her housework in the morning and sat in the dark all night.[22]

Women sought alternative lighting and heating methods due to the shortage of coal, firewood, and other fuel. Mitat Enç recalls that in Gaziantep, after the kerosene sold by street hawkers disappeared, people replaced big lamps with small night lamps. When their remaining kerosene ran out, they substituted these small night lamps with lamps using olive oil. Then matchsticks disappeared from the market. Enç's grandmother melted sulfur in a frying pan to make homemade matchsticks out of hemp chips and organized other members of the family to make candles using cotton smeared with grease as candle wicks. Since coal was also scarce, women's periodicals like *Türk Kadını* (*Turkish woman*) published articles that taught housewives how to create coal out of used paper.[23]

Finding clothing was another daily problem. Women mended stockings incessantly since they were too expensive on the market. Selma Ekrem recalls that people wore stockings "so patched that they looked like crazy quilts." The ones they could find on the market "became full of holes in one wearing," and as a result her mother had to sit "for hours trying to close holes as big as eggs." Many poor women had no shoes. Instead they wore slippers with soles of rope. Middle-class families also wore such slippers at home to avoid wear on their shoes. Ekrem writes that she wore her grandfather's shoes out of necessity, and one of her schoolmates at the American College for Girls made fun of their big size. Ahmet İsvan also recalls how his mother and aunt shared one pair of shoes, and when one wore them to go to a meeting the other stayed at home.[24]

In Trabzon, poor women petitioned the government about the high price of shoes. Claiming that a pair of rawhide sandals was sold for 70 piasters, they complained that they had nothing to protect their bare feet. Likewise, the humor magazine *Karagöz* criticized the high price of a pair of boots in a satiric poem:

> [Price of] a pair of boots increased to twenty-five liras
> It is so strong that it does not last a few months
> While the buyer pleads, the seller is stubborn
> It is rightful to [tell] the dealer, may it do you no good![25]

Since they had no fabric for sewing, women used old clothes, tablecloths, or bed linens to make clothing for their growing children. Halide Nusret Zorlutuna writes that before the armistice period mothers produced their own clothing, such as underpants and shirts, using bed linens and top sheets at home. Selma Ekrem also recalls that her mother discarded her beautiful linen sheets to make the children's underwear. Her home textiles and trousseau soon ran out this way.[26]

As in the Ottoman Empire, in ally Germany, clothing was scarce. Therefore, Germans had created alternative clothes made without fabric. However, the paper dresses they brought to Istanbul shops were so expensive that people could only look at them from afar. Some were even frightened by the idea of wearing paper clothes and clung to their old rags. In one cartoon in *Karagöz*, the main character of the magazine, Karagöz, sells dresses made out of newspaper and claims ironically that these could protect the body from the winter cold.[27] Since Ottomans bought everything "from needles to machinery" from European countries, once cut off from the world markets, Ottoman textile production came to an end. In the absence of needles or yarn, women could not even repair old clothes or sew buttons.[28]

Welfare Measures against Hunger and Shortages

The Ottoman government and the army were caught unprepared for the shortages of a long war, so they had no plan to address this problem. They introduced many of their welfare measures in response to rising needs and pressure from civilians, most of whom were ordinary women. Soon, provisioning Istanbul became one of the first concerns of the state, although food shortages afflicted all provinces.[29]

Various institutions distributed food to the poor throughout the war. Nevertheless, people never received food in an orderly manner due to both insufficient transportation means and war profiteering. At the beginning of the war, the Indispensable Goods Commission (Havaic-i Zaruriyye Komisyonu) under the chairmanship of the Interior Ministry supplied food to Istanbul. In October 1914, the Indispensable Goods Commission was followed by the Special Trade Delegation (Heyet-i Mahsusa-i Ticariye); and, from October 1915 to February 1916, by the Anatolian National Products Ottoman Corporation (Anadolu Milli Mahsulat Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi) founded by Kara Kemal. In September 1916, the Export Committee (İhracat Heyeti) started supervising the external trade.[30]

These institutions only assured food supply, not food distribution. Initially the police department controlled food-distribution points like

bakeries, crowded with angry mobs. Even the police failed to calm these people due to problems in food-ration-card distribution and delays in the milling and supply of wheat. Consequently, the government created bread-distribution points, which operated until March 1916 in each Istanbul district. Afterwards, food distribution was mainly done by the municipalities and the army, although one replaced the other more than once. In February 1916 the Istanbul major offered to make the city municipality responsible for provisioning. In March 1916, however, the Ottoman parliament enacted a law that made the War Ministry in charge of it. However, since the army had difficulty in performing this task, within a few weeks the Istanbul municipality was allotted money to distribute food.[31]

In April 1916 another law permitted the provincial municipalities to receive money annually for providing bread to the poor. Between 10 April and 31 December 1916, they obtained a total of 44,500 liras. Crowded with needy populaces, the Aydın province took 20,000, Samsun 10,000, Hüdavendigar 5000, Izmit 4000, and Bolu-Bartın 1,000 liras. This law was renewed for 1917, too.[32]

Furthermore, in May 1916, the municipalities acquired the right to decide the maximum fixed prices; to use factories, workshops, or bakeries in return for payment; and to punish black marketers or civilians who cheated the authorities to buy more food. Acquiring ration cards illegally, exaggerating the number of family members, giving false answers to questions asked by the municipality, and not informing the municipality about the death of a family member within three days were among the reasons for punishment. Although ordinary people were criminalized in such ways, until May 1917 there was no law to prevent war profiteering.[33]

In August 1916 the municipalities gained permission to use transportation means to carry food or basic consumer goods in return for payment. In addition to using factories and workshops to produce provisions, the municipalities could also rent or buy depots, storehouses, and shops to preserve goods. In April 1917, all these rights were legalized.[34]

Despite these measures the municipalities were unable to distribute goods effectively. Therefore, the Sublime Porte (Babıali) created a food-distribution network throughout the empire modeling the German provisioning organization. In July 1916 a provisional law announced the Central Food Supply Committee (Merkez İaşe Heyeti) and the Provincial Food Supply Committees (Taşra İaşe Heyetleri). It divided the Ottoman territories into regions, in which redistribution of food to the other regions was prohibited.[35] In September 1916 there were only three food-distribution regions, while in April 1917 they increased to five.[36]

Even with extended rights and increased budgets, these committees could not end the food problem, which was related largely to lack of transportation. Consequently, in August 1917, the army, which had most of the vehicles, undertook food distribution once again under the Food Supply General Directorate (İaşe Umum Müdürlüğü) attached to the War Ministry.[37] In April 1918 the directorate acquired new rights and responsibilities and a new institution, the Assembly of Food Supply (İaşe Meclisi) was held responsible for controlling the directorate's acts; ensuring enough seed, food, and fodder for peasants; fighting against the black market; distributing wagons fairly among merchants; maximizing the usage of transportation means for trade; and receiving complaints on food supply. The Assembly of Food Supply, however, did not have enough time to accomplish these aims, because within a few months, in July 1918, the newly founded Food Ministry (İaşe Nezareti) took on all these responsibilities.[38]

Almost all these institutions were somewhat guilty of war profiteering and lost their public legitimacy. As one effect of the effort to create a national bourgeoisie, only merchants closely related to the CUP were authorized to buy provisions from Anatolia. This unfair "wagon trade," in which railroad wagons carrying food from Anatolia played a big role, created fortunes for some while millions of people suffered shortages.[39]

Laws that protected the poorest emerged only as the war progressed and the number of protestors increased. Considering that the rich could buy items like rice, potatoes, and meat to replace bread, the authorities finally thought of distributing more bread to the poor in the summer of 1917. Those who worked in hard labor would receive more bread daily and the poor would obtain more rationed gas, while some rich families, who could even use electricity at home, would take less gas.[40]

State and the welfare institutions also distributed food and established soup kitchens in places where the food problem was extremely serious. Semiofficial welfare associations such as the Red Crescent Society and the National Defense Society distributed food for free or at low prices. Kara Kemal, who was the Food Minister later in the war and whose misuse of authority brought him into disrepute in the eyes of the public, founded twenty-five soup kitchens. Furthermore, the National Defense Society's Izmir Branch opened soup kitchens for eighteen thousand people in January 1917. Their beneficiaries reached thirty thousand in March 1917. The Beşiktaş Branch, too, took these soup kitchens as a model and opened a soup kitchen in April 1917, with a ceremony in which Enver Pasha participated.[41]

The Red Crescent Society also established twenty-two public soup kitchens in Istanbul. During the war they reached the capacity to feed

thirty-five thousand people daily and were located in poor Istanbul districts like Topkapı, Üsküdar, Eyüpsultan, Kasımpaşa, Kumkapı, Fatih, Cibali, Alipaşa, and Kartal. The Red Crescent opened two soup kitchens in Samsun and Trabzon, too, where Muslim refugees who had escaped Russian attacks lived in misery. In Samsun, 3,500 people received food daily, and in Trabzon 1,000. Even after the armistice, the soup kitchen in Trabzon and six others in Topkapı, Üsküdar, Eyüpsultan, Kasımpaşa, Fatih, and Alipaşa remained open. The Red Crescent also opened temporary soup kitchens for fire victims in Istanbul.[42]

The Topkapı Assistance to the Poor Charity Institute (Topkapı Fukaraperver Müessese-i Hayriyesi) opened another soup kitchen, which additionally provided free medicine from the Red Crescent. People paid 40 to 60 paras for one unit of cheap food in the soup kitchens opened by the Food Ministry, such as the Ahmediye soup kitchen in Üsküdar. The food at the Red Crescent soup kitchens, however, was free after poor people received their certificates. A maximum of six family members could have certificates, which had different colors according to the number of beneficiaries.[43]

The food at the Red Crescent soup kitchens, as at those founded in Germany, was poor in protein. In November and December 1917, in the Topkapı, Üsküdar, Eyüp, Kasımpaşa, and Fatih soup kitchens, the food contained almost no meat. People most frequently drank soup prepared with cracked wheat, semolina, or flour; and meat was served only within a soup or as a rice dish with anchovies.[44]

For the ration cards for this meager food, women appealed to their district's headman and the board of aldermen, both of whom reported the financial situation of petitioners to the authorities. In April and May 1917, the Kasımpaşa headman and the board of aldermen provided the Red Crescent a list with the names, addresses, number of family members, and means of livelihood of the poor in their district. There were similar lists for other Istanbul districts, like Kağıthane, and these lists provided information and the legal basis for welfare services. The "martyred" soldiers' families were more likely to get assistance.[45]

Another solution to relieve the hunger of poor war veterans and their women and children was foreign aid. In April 1921 the American Red Cross donated 1,000 kilos of milk, cacao, food suitable for making soup, kitchen equipment, and clothing for adults and children. American aid for buying flour and condensed milk lowered the prices of bread and milk by 30 to 50 percent in the armistice period. The relief stores in the Topkapı, Pera, Aksaray, Mahmutpaşa, Rumelihisarı, and Üsküdar districts distributed blankets, candles, and cloth, as well as food items like

bread, beans, milk, flour, rice, and sugar.[46] Furthermore, the Red Crescent and local governments provided coal and firewood to the poor. In March 1918 the Red Crescent gave 4 kilos of coal to its soup-kitchen beneficiaries.[47]

Refugee women, some of whom did not even have underwear, primarily received clothing. Saide, a fallen soldier's widow, who had been kept as a war prisoner in Mecca for four years, demanded first of all free clothing from the War Ministry after arriving Istanbul in spring 1919. Consequently, the Red Crescent provided two sets of shirts and underpants for Saide and her two daughters.[48]

Refugees were especially vulnerable to winter cold. The Sivas Red Crescent Hospital, other than feeding orphans and widows, provided them with clothing. The Red Crescent also distributed 8,200 flannel undershirts, shirts, and underpants; 570 pairs of woolen socks in Konya, Karaman, Ereğli, Ulukışla, Bor, Niğde, Pozantı, Belemedik, Kelebek, and Namrun; and more than 2,000 shoes to Turkish refugees in Istanbul. The Settlement of Tribes and Refugees Directorate (İskan-ı Aşair ve Muhacirin Müdürlüğü), too, distributed 80 tons of clothing in Istanbul and Anatolia.[49]

In November 1917, after visiting the Red Crescent soup kitchens in Istanbul, the German ambassador asked for some fabric and equipment from the Red Crescent to sew clothing for the poor with the assistance of the well-to-do Istanbul ladies. This clothing aid was intended first for the neediest women and children. Similarly, because the clothing problem was also felt in the provinces, in September 1921 Istanbul's governor gave permission to the Red Crescent to collect clothing to help Anatolia before the onset of winter. The state also produced economical shoes at the Beykoz factory.[50]

Women's Struggle for Food

Throughout World War I women's worst enemy was hunger. To plead for food aid, women wrote petitions and telegrams to the government, the army, the municipalities, and charity organizations like the Red Crescent. They frequently complained about the rationing system, which did not work smoothly in many regions. As Yaşar Nezihe's poem "Ekmek Kömür İhtiyacı" implies, poor women, who wrote most petitions to the government, were aware of the authorities' corruption concerning food distribution:

> All groceries are full of rotten fruit
> Don't the eyes of Mr. Mayor see?

His coward ears are certainly deaf, what a shame!
Because he never hears these complaints
Although people die of cold his room is warm
His stove is lighted with people's money
He, too, will not get away with the poors' curse
Since he, too, forgot Allah nowadays[51]

On 6 March 1917, four women from Hüdavendigar's Mudanya district, Hamdiye, Nakiye, Düriye, and Zümrüd, sent a telegram to the government "on behalf of all soldiers' families." Although food distribution with ration cards had started the previous year, the women had benefited from this system for only forty days. The local authorities had not taken the women's applications seriously, and suffering from hunger had forced the women to send their telegram.[52]

Corruption was also widespread in food distribution because the warehouse officials favored some women and discriminated against others. On 14 November 1917, five women from the Arabsun district of Konya, Elif, Ayşe, Şerife, Fatma, and another Elif, sent a telegram to the Interior Ministry since they had suffered from the high-handed manner of the officials in their district for the past two years. They starved as "landless soldiers' poor families," but the government officials gave provisions only to a few women to whom they took a liking very probably to satisfy their sexual needs by using these women. Hopeless about getting any help from the local officials, the claimant women pleaded with the central government. Taking this telegram seriously, the Interior Ministry ordered an investigation to check into the accusations.[53]

Women also protested when the provisions allotted to their districts were sent to other regions. On 10 April 1918, fourteen women from the Boğazlıyan district of Ankara, as soldiers' needy families, sent a telegram to the government. They were left with no sustenance after their husbands and sons had been recruited. The local authorities had decided that more provisions had been allotted to their district than had been needed and had wanted to send 200 tons of these provisions to the Maden district. Claiming that redirecting of provisions would cause them to die from hunger, the women demanded protection of their "lives and honor" by cancelation of delivery. Consequently, the Interior Ministry charged the Ankara governor to deal with this situation.[54]

Poor women, whether as unsupported soldiers' families or as needy women without soldier relatives, were worse off than the families of state officials and army officers. Poor women compared their deteriorating situation with these other groups and used it as a bargaining tool to demand more food. On 1 October 1918, nine women, Şükriye, Refika, Ayşe, Saliha, Âdile, Suadiyye, Mûnise, Cennet, and Nâzik, as "soldiers'

wives," sent a telegram to the government from Yozgat. They had sold their household goods to buy food while their sons and husbands fought and died for "religion and fatherland." The women claimed that all officials' families, who were comparatively well off, received additional food rations while they suffered, watching their children cry from hunger and live in ruined places. The Interior Ministry, in return, ordered the Ankara governor to help these women.[55] On the other hand, many civil servants' families, too, were in financial difficulty. Saliha and her friends, all wives of civil servants conscripted into the army, petitioned the government on 27 January 1918 to demand more provisions, claiming that they lived in misery.[56]

Even a small amount of aid had great importance in wartime conditions. Therefore, any additional assistance to the wives of civil servants or army officers drew reactions from more disadvantaged women. Their allegations could sometimes be groundless. In winter 1918 Fatma and her friends, as poor soldiers' families from the Bayramiç district of Kala-i Sultaniye subprovince, claimed in a telegram to the government that they received no sugar while women-folk of civil servants took it from the distribution points. After investigating, the district governor refuted this accusation. He emphasized that only sick women and nursing mothers took an extra amount of sugar while all other people received 50 dirhems (about 160 grams).[57]

Problems with the distribution of food were so terrible that men also wrote on behalf of hungry women and children. On 2 May 1918 Hüseyin and his friends, in a telegram to the government, explained that in the Develi subdistrict of Ankara, poor peasants and soldiers' children died of starvation because they did not receive the provisions allotted to them. A few months later the situation got worse. Abdullah, son of Yusuf Efendi, wrote that although Develi had a lot of cereal in its warehouses, the subdistrict governor only allowed the civil servants and the gendarmeries to benefit them. Until that time about 500 women and children, as unsupported families of soldiers and martyrs, had starved to death. Many other women and children ate only grass and herbs and were in danger of dying without immediate assistance.[58]

Wartime laws and regulations also created inequalities in food distribution. Ordinary poor women demanded food from the municipalities and institutions like the Red Crescent. Soldiers' families, however, bought it from the army at very low prices. For a woman with children and without income, finding bread at unchanging and lower prices was a privilege. Only the army could provide this cheaper food since it had confiscated nearly all transportation means.



Fig. 2 Soldiers' families receiving daily food ration from the army in Kavala and Drama.
Source: *Harb Mecmuası*, no. 22 (Zilhicce 1335 / Teşrîn-i Evvel 1333 [October 1917]), p. 349.

The food distribution among soldiers' families was not equal either. The families of army officers already in service were in the most favorable position. Army officers sent their families coal and durable foods they had bought from the army warehouse in return for part of their salary. However, this practice required special permission since some civil servants and army officers resorted to black marketeering. In spring 1915, even when the prices of basic goods were not yet at astronomical levels, the War Ministry found guilty those army officers who had sent without permission army provisions to their families in Muğla in return for half of their wages. The responsible bureaucrats were ordered to stop this practice.[59]

Most of these waged army officers were middle class and lived in Istanbul. Especially during the winter of 1917–18, when the prices of basic goods peaked, they used the Haliç steamship departing from Bandırma to send provisions to Istanbul. In December 1917 this steamship carried broad beans, chickpeas, onions, salt, soap, and whole grain in large quantities. In January 1918, again, in addition to similar items, the ship carried molasses, macaroni, sugar, wheat for flour, gas, and olive oil to the families of army officers and war martyrs in Istanbul and Edirne's Tekfurdağı [Tekirdağ] district. In a third shipment to Istanbul, in February 1918, vinegar, cracked wheat, figs, and plain butter were added to these items. The same month, one thousand loaves of bread were requested to be delivered to army officers' families in Istanbul under the supervision of an officer.[60]

The steamship also carried private deliveries with special permission. In December 1917 an assistant provost officer (*inzibat zabit muavini*) received a certificate to send 200 kilograms of coal to his family in Istanbul, and a second lieutenant (*mülazım-ı sani*) acquired the right to ship 150 kilograms of coal. In February 1918 the steamship delivered a crate full of provisions to the family of Judge Advocate (*ordu adli müşaviri*) Behzad Bey in Istanbul.[61]

This practice to some degree eased the economic situation of army officers' families. However, they composed only a privileged group who received both money and food from the army while poorer, lower-ranking soldiers' families had difficulty in acquiring similar rights. On 24 February 1917, in an official letter to the army, the families of war prisoners and "martyrs" demanded more than the low-priced bread they were receiving. They claimed that, due to their low pensions and wartime inflation, they paid their rents with difficulty. These poorer women pressured the recruitment-office bureaucrats by constantly demanding new allowances, writing petitions, and forming moaning and crying crowds in front of the authorities' offices. On 19 March 1917, under the pressure of these women's demands, an officer of the Samsun Recruiting Office requested money and provisions from the army in addition to bread for the families of war prisoners and fallen army officers. Consequently, the Third Army was asked officially whether these families were going to be given provisions other than bread.[62]

War widows were especially stubborn. In her telegram to the War Ministry, Kadriye, on behalf of all "martyred soldiers' families" in Yozgat, claimed that these families were destitute, since they could not buy enough provisions, and demanded the same provisions and goods that the army officers' families were able to receive. The War Ministry, however, declined this request. The Sivas governor, under the pressure of local women, transmitted similar demands to the government, but he was rejected on 31 August 1919 on the grounds that the families of "martyrs" had no right to obtain cheaper food from the army.[63]

Other groups of women, too, especially the poor wives of civil servants and soldiers, demanded similar rights from the army. Since their men were still alive and important for war effort, authorities took them more seriously. On 13 April 1918, the interior minister, Talat Pasha, wrote to the war minister, Enver Pasha, about the miserable situation of these women in Hüdavendigar. In return, Enver Pasha ordered that provisions be offered to the families of civil servants and families of soldiers with no income at the low prices reserved for army officers and officials.[64]

The families of the fallen soldiers of the Balkan Wars suffered the worst discrimination because they were no longer important for World War

I mobilization. Nevertheless, as families of men who had served and died in the Balkan Wars, many women found this practice illegitimate and struggled for gaining government aid. On 1 June 1917, Vesile, wife of a fallen soldier and an Erzincan refugee, wrote in her petition to the army that, previously, she could buy bread from special distribution points, but lately the army had stopped giving her bread since her husband had died in the Balkan Wars. Vesile had no other means of providing food for her six family members, who all lived in one room out of poverty. The Third Army accepted her request for assistance and ordered the army staff to help her family.[65]

Still, the army generally turned down the requests of women like Vesile. Only after these women objected to discrimination on grounds of rank or time of military service could they receive cheaper bread from the army selling points. Accordingly, in summer 1919 the fallen soldiers' and war prisoners' families, whose men were no longer on battlefront, petitioned the government, demanding that the bread supply they received from special selling points with low prices not be cut off.[66]

The army tried to pass on the burden of distributing food to war widows to the food supply commissions in the provinces. However, these civilian institutions were not ready for this duty. On 27 March 1918, in an enciphered telegram, the Diyarbakır lieutenant governor insisted that they already had difficulty distributing food to the civil servants, refugees, institutions, and the needy populace, so these supply commissions had no additional food for fallen soldiers' families. Indeed, the municipalities frequently demanded extra money from the government to feed needy city inhabitants. Most of the bread that the Bursa municipality could distribute to refugees was the unhealthy variety confiscated from the bakeries because they did not comply with regulations.[67]

Angry at the discrimination they faced, poor soldiers' families fought with the more privileged women at the army's bread-distribution points. These poor families frequently attacked women members of the higher-ranking army officers' families who wanted to buy this cheaper bread. On 21 March 1917, the range second district inspector (*Menzil İkinci Mıntıka Müfettişi*) in Sivas reported that distributing bread according to the rank of the army officers created inequalities. While two- or three-member families of the captains or majors took two or three loaves, seven- to eight-member families of lieutenants received only one loaf. The inspector reported that the clashes among women at the distribution points impeded the distribution of lower-priced bread. Therefore, the army decided to give one loaf of bread to each family of four during March. The inspector complained that some wives of the army

officers in Sivas, who had their own farms, continued buying cheaper army bread "out of greed" using their higher rank.[68]

After this report, the army reconsidered the situation of relatively better-off soldiers' families. Consequently, among the family members of all army staff, only the wives, children, widowed mothers, grandmothers, and sisters who were orphaned or widowed and had nobody to provide them food obtained the right to buy economical army bread. Among this group, families who lived in their hometowns and could feed themselves because they had enough provisions or animals received nothing.[69]

Furthermore, to support war mobilization, the deserters' families were exiled to other villages, where taxpaying peasant women accepted them as more mouths to feed. Just as in other combatant countries, Ottoman peasant women lacked a male workforce and wanted to compensate for this situation with extra help in farming from the deserters' families. On 31 July 1918 the War Ministry reported that peasants in the region for which the Fifth Army was responsible had petitioned with numerous signatures to suggest that deserters' families be employed in their fields to help with the harvest, a strategy that they believed could alleviate the burden of feeding these exiled women and children.[70]

War profiteering increased inflation, and, consequently, soldiers' families could afford to buy nearly nothing with their pensions. On 12 February 1916, Münire and her friends from Tarsus protested this situation in a telegram to the government. The local shopkeepers sold them nothing for their devaluated pensions in banknotes. Wheat was so expensive that they could not afford bread and their children cried from hunger. Emphasizing that they feared starving "with the paper money in their hands," women demanded that the state end black marketeering and inflation.[71]

Drought was another reason that urged peasant women to request food from the state. On 18 November 1916, Hatice and her friends – "soldier's wife" Zihniyye, "soldier's son" Nuri, and "martyr's daughter" Ümmühan – sent a telegram from the Beypazarı district of Ankara to the government to complain about hunger. Their husbands and fathers had left them to the protection of the state to do their military service, but due to the drought that year, the price of the grain had escalated and they had gone hungry. The local government had previously announced that it would provide seed and provisions to needy peasants, but later had sent the provisions, crop yields that were collected as the tithe tax, to other districts by train. Worse, it forced them, these "alone and powerless" women and peasants, to work in cargo carrying these provisions as far as the train station.

The telegram senders requested these provisions from the state as well as being released from cargo-carrying work.[72]

Similarly, peasant women from two villages of Yozgat sent different collective telegrams to the government on 3 and 4 September 1917. Their harvests had been destroyed due to the simoom that year, leaving them with no provisions, and they requested enough food to ensure their very survival. The Interior Ministry, in return, ordered the Ankara governor to take care of these villages.[73]

Women frequently resorted to fraud to receive more food. On 9 January 1918, Doctor Celaleddin [Sami] wrote to the Kasımpaşa soup kitchen administration that the poor did not respect the rules of the soup kitchens and tried to take, by cheating, more food than they were allotted. He demanded a list of the names of the cheaters and wanted them to be deprived of their ration cards and never given new ones. The local authorities also introduced new laws against cheating. On 1 May 1916, a provisional law gave the municipalities the right to punish those who attempted to cheat the municipality or who rebelled against the officers at food-distribution points.[74]

Social aid institutions such as the Red Crescent, as a precaution against cheaters, inspected whether the women under their coverage were really destitute. This was assured with certificates (*ilmühaber*) prepared and signed by the district headman and the board of aldermen. Sıdıka, living in a poor district in Istanbul, gave a certificate to the Red Crescent on 14 January 1921 to prove that her house had burned down and that she had to live in need with her three children in the house of a man named Ali Efendi. To convince the Red Crescent in such dramatic incidents in which they lost their bread ration cards or other social rights, disadvantaged women applied first to the headman and local authorities. A note from the local municipal official (belediye mevkii memuru), written to the soup kitchen director Ferruh Bey on 31 May 1917, helped a low-income woman, Fatma, to acquire a new ration card. Again, Ayşe, a refugee with a baby, asked help from the imam of the quarter to replace her lost cards for Red Crescent soup kitchens. On 8 June 1917, in an official letter to the Red Crescent, the imam explained that after Ayşe had lost her card, ten days earlier, she could not acquire a new one, although she had pleaded at the soup kitchen every day, bringing her crying child with her.[75] Obviously, women had difficulty convincing the authorities without the help of such intermediaries and became dependent on their support.

Welfare providers also tried to prevent women from acquiring ration cards from two different districts at the same time. Women lost their right to take rationed food if they left their district for a few weeks or visited relatives in another city. Emine, who had a family of four members,

demanded reinstatement of her ration card, which had been annulled after she had gone to Bursa. The headman informed the Red Crescent authorities on 11 January 1918 that she needed her card back since she really had returned from Bursa and lived in miserable conditions. Only after the necessary investigations did Emine receive a new ration card.[76]

Women's fight for food sometimes took the form of open protests and conflicts. Motivated by hunger, other than simply sending telegrams, women also threatened the authorities. For instance, on 28 December 1916, Hatice and seventeen other women sent a telegram from the Armudlu subdistrict in Bursa to the government. They argued that they represented more than two hundred families. In the telegram, the women wrote that, since their former demands for food had not been taken seriously by local authorities, they had decided to come to Istanbul by ferry. This was an alarming message for the political elite, leading them to take immediate action to avoid the women's arrival and any possible uproar. Within a few days the governor of Bursa sent more provisions to the region.[77]

Women participated in bread riots as well. The news on this issue recounted in the *New York Times* might have been part of American war propaganda, but it also might have been censored by the Ottoman government. The *New York Times* could narrate such riots more openly than Ottoman newspapers. On 12 March 1915 it reported that riots in Istanbul were frequent due to hunger, and many places in the city were guarded against looting. On 13 May 1915 it attested again that in the antiwar riots in the capital city, many people had been killed or injured, and mobs numbering in the thousands had pillaged the principal shops and hotels, including the Pera Palace Hotel. Just a few months later, on 11 October 1915, another riot was reported in Istanbul due to the high cost of living. A mob had wrecked and looted the new building of the Italian Embassy. Four thousand Muslim women had assembled in front of the Sublime Porte and held an antiwar demonstration. Army forces and the police had arrested and dispersed the demonstrators. Since people regularly looted the bakers' shops, the police guarded them. The newspaper also narrated on 21 December 1915 that Turkish women had held protests, all of which were against the high prices. These protests had all been dispersed by the army.[78]

On 7 March 1916 the *New York Times* claimed that the entire Ottoman Empire had suffered from food shortage for the previous two months. Just one day later, on 8 March 1916, it reported that "riotous housewives" had organized demonstrations in Istanbul against the exorbitant prices and the shipping of food to Germany by train on the Berlin–Constantinople Line. As a result, these women

stopped a railroad car full of preserved meat bound for Berlin at Edirne, and the meat was then sold to the public at reasonable prices. On 7 February 1917 the newspaper noted that violent riots did not occur in Istanbul, although dozens of people died each day from starvation in the city. However, restraining angry mobs was hardly achieved and was not possible without the strict rule of the German police in the city.[79] Although such news might have been war propaganda, the official documents counting riots in other provinces make it more plausible to have expected conflict in Istanbul, too.

Indeed, on 18 March 1916 the Aydın governor reported a riot by soldiers' families in Izmir. Women looted bread from a bakery and attempted to batter the fiscal director of their district. Despite being members of soldiers' families, these women had not received their pensions for the last three months and so felt aggrieved. The Aydın governor feared that similar events could take place in other districts of his province due to the financial troubles of these families. He demanded money from the government to prevent further uprisings. The alarmed Finance Ministry immediately sent him 40,000 liras.[80]

Towards the end of the war, when people suffered hunger the most, they frequently rebelled and plundered their districts' food supply warehouses. Destitute women, as members of soldiers' families, were active in the rebellions. On 3 April 1918 the Teke village board of aldermen from Bilecik reported in a telegram that their subdistrict's governor had collected provisions by force in their village and fifteen gendarmes had attacked the peasants. They had taken five shots at women as soldiers' families. One woman had died, and others had been confined to bed out of fear. The women's complaints to the local authorities had been futile, so they demanded justice from the government. The Interior Ministry, in return, demanded the Hüdavendigar governor launch an investigation into these allegations. In contrast, the report of the Ertuğrul subprovince governor claimed that, in reality, the inhabitants of Teke village had opened the food-supply warehouse illegally and parceled out the provisions among themselves. Women had attacked the officials with rods, battering Corporal Gendarme Mustafa, and had tried to prevent his entry into the village by usurping his horse. The report also refuted that one woman had died during these incidents and that another had been near death from fear, arguing that this was an invention by the village's board of aldermen.[81]

Other food rebellions also took place in Hüdavendigar. On 31 July 1919 the Finance Ministry reported that a group of people had looted the harvest that was taken as tithe tax and provisions in Karacabey district. First, the inhabitants of six villages had plundered the warehouses

and had parceled out the tithe tax of 1918 among themselves. Fifteen days later, five other neighborhood villages had similarly rebelled, but none of the boards of aldermen of these villages had stopped the looters. After a severe interrogation to prevent a repetition of "this inconvenient incident," the Finance Ministry requested that both the looters and the aldermen be exiled. The Interior Ministry ordered this punishment.[82]

All these events indicate that women in the face of poverty and hunger never avoided using various methods, from petitioning to open riots, to acquire more food and to force the authorities to take action for their benefit. Nevertheless, second to hunger and shortages, an important problem that aggravated Ottoman women's lives was being penniless.

4 Monetary Assistance for Soldiers' Families

Women in Ottoman society had always been economically dependent on men because they had few work options. When about 3 million men were conscripted for World War I, a great number of women relied on the money provided by the state and welfare funds. In 1917–18, approximately 1.5 million people, almost all of whom were women and children, received pensions given to soldiers' families with no financial supporters.[1] However, due to the weak Ottoman financial system and civil servants who took advantage of women's vulnerable situation, soldiers' families received their pensions and military-pay allotments irregularly.[2] Institutions like OWEIS, too, could not employ all women whose poverty endangered the social order and war effort.[3] In 1916 the Ottoman government already recognized the delayed pension payments for soldiers' families as an important reason behind the desertions in the army.[4]

Laws and Regulations on Monetary Assistance for Soldiers' Families

From the late nineteenth century on, the Ottoman state had provided monetary assistance to soldiers' families to keep war efforts alive and to protect the population growth, social order, and legitimacy of the state. However, this assistance gained more importance after the Balkan Wars. The pension paid to the families' of soldiers with no financial supporters (*muinsiz asker aileleri maaşı*) was the most significant assistance. This pension was first introduced with a provisional law on 5 December 1912.[5] According to that law, which also remained in force, with a few modifications, throughout World War I, soldiers' families who had no one to bring in income received 30 piasters a month for each family member.[6] With the conscription of millions of men for World War I, the budget assigned for paying pensions reached its peak from 1916 to 1918.[7]

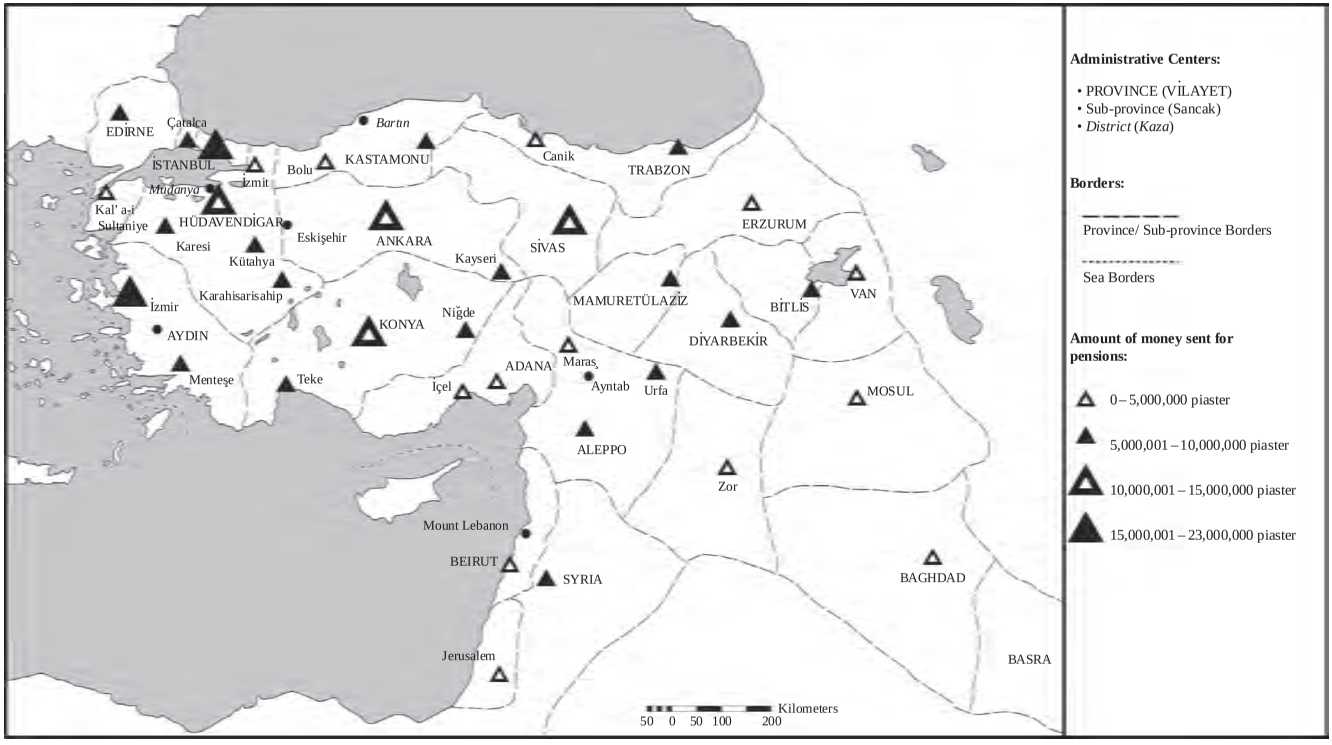
The families of army officers took part of these officers' salaries from the army-recruiting offices of their district as military-pay allotments

(*sipariş maaşı*).[8] The families of war prisoners and missing soldiers were also entitled to receive military-pay allotments. If a higher-ranking soldier was captured, his family received one-third (*sülüs*) of his salary. The Military Retirement and Resignation Law (Askeri Tekaüd ve İstifa Kanunu) accepted only wives, children, mothers, and unmarried dependent sisters as beneficiaries.[9] But the situation of missing soldiers' families was more complicated, since it was unknown whether they were dead or alive. Higher-ranking missing-soldiers' families received one-third of the soldier's salary while lower-ranking soldiers' families took only 100 piasters. If the soldiers' previous pensions were above this amount, the surplus that was previously paid to the family was cut back during payment of this new one-third salary.[10]

The families of fallen soldiers considered as "martyrs" received the family pension (*aile maaşı*), which was only one-fourth of these soldiers' salaries. If the previous military-pay allotment or pension of the soldiers' families was above the family pension, the additional amount that was paid before was again cut during the payment of the new pension. Therefore, the families of missing soldiers whose death was later confirmed had difficulty in paying back the surplus of the one-third salaries they had already received.[11]

The family pension of lower-ranking officers' families did not exceed 100 piasters, which did not alleviate their misery. Furthermore, the laws which determined martyrdom of soldiers created discrimination. The families of higher-ranking officers took 75 percent of the first-degree disability pension in case they had died on the battlefield, because of an accident during official duty, or in a hospital due to war-related wounds. This amount fell to 65 percent if they died due to an epidemic. However, when the lower-ranking soldiers died due to epidemics, their families received no pension. Their families obtained pensions only when they died on the battlefield or due to war-related wounds or accidents. The "martyred" volunteer-soldiers' families merely received half of the pension assigned for their rank.[12]

In 1916 death due to epidemics was accepted as a legitimate cause of martyrdom for lower-ranking soldiers. However, previously these epidemics were limited to only cholera, plague, and typhus.[13] Due to the demands of dead soldiers' wives and mothers, four other diseases – dysentery, typhoid fever, relapsing fever, and contagious cerebritis – became legitimate reasons for the designation of martyrdom. With a law dated 13 July 1916, families of lower-ranking officers, as well, started to receive one-third of the first-degree disability pension when their husbands or male relatives in the army died due to these epidemics.[14]



Map 3. Distribution of the Pension of Soldiers' Families between March and October 1915
Note: This map's data were taken from *Meclis-i Mebusan 1331 (1915) Senesi Encümen Mazbataları ve Levâyih-i Kanuniyye*, Vol. 1, Devre: 3, İçtima Senesi: 2 (Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 1992), p. 62.

Even during the National Struggle, the martyrdom status of soldiers remained an important problem over which the state and women contested. Most likely due to popular pressure, the Ankara government issued a decree in 1921 allowing wives or female relatives to appeal to the sharia courts if the martyrdom status of their dead soldiers was not recognized.[15]

As an organized group, army doctors, who mostly died due to epidemics, created the Commission to Help the Families of the Martyred Doctors. On 28 November 1916 it was first considered as a pension fund to which fallen doctors' families in need could apply for help. The necessary funds were to be collected from doctors throughout the empire and given to the commission directorate to be distributed as allocation to poor martyred-doctors' families.[16] Later, it was decided that the money was to be collected and distributed by the Red Crescent and 1 percent of all doctors' wages were to be garnered for this purpose starting in March 1917.[17]

Only the families of soldiers whose military service on the battlefield was found remarkable by higher-ranking officers received a premium, which was determined in August 1915 as 500 piasters for one instance only. In its 1915–16 budget the government assigned 500,000 piasters for the premiums, and therefore, limited the number of premium-receiving families to a thousand, which amounted to a very low percentage of all fallen soldiers.[18]

In addition, soldiers who died as martyrs just before they were promoted to a higher rank received honorary promotions with an article added to the Military Retirement and Resignation Law on 26 July 1915. Their families received the family pension of a higher rank. Later, in autumn 1915, the Parliament Fiscal Equilibrium Council demanded that only the families of those soldiers whose superior command had been notified of the upcoming promotion be entitled to this privilege.[19]

This contingent possibility to receive more money from the state after an honorary promotion of soldiers merely helped higher-ranking soldiers' families. The private soldiers' families received no raise in their pensions throughout World War I. Only after the armistice was signed, on 13 August 1919, did a bylaw ensure that an additional payment, called "cost of bread" (*ekmek bedeli*), was provided for relieving the food crisis wartime widows and orphans faced.[20]

Pensions for Soldiers' Families with No Financial Supporters

Women, as members of soldiers' families, had numerous problems concerning their pensions. Some of them never got their pensions due to red

tape. On 23 March 1915 Ayşe and Cevahir from Hüdavendigar's Orhaneli district informed the War Ministry in a telegram that they had never collected their pensions because the local state officials did not keep their record book properly. The women's attempts to change this situation by applying to the district revenue officer and the district governor had been inconclusive, and they had lived on the streets in hunger for the last eight months. The government, in return, started an investigation in their district.[21]

Lack of money in local governments' treasuries also impeded the payment of pensions. On 6 January 1916 Hatice sent a telegram to the government from Bandırma on behalf of the soldiers' families among newly arrived refugees. They had never taken their pensions, for which they had applied several times to the local government office. Consequently, the government investigated whether the problem of late payments was due to lack of money in the district treasury.[22]

Similarly, on 16 June 1917, a woman named Makbule sent a telegram from Menteşe's Fethiye district to the local governor in the name of all of the deprived families of soldiers to complain that the families had taken no pensions for the previous five months. These women claimed that, in addition to their husbands, brothers, and sons that "they had already sent to battle," they were ready to send their remaining children and even go themselves to the battlefront "for the sake of their respectful government," but they needed regular payment of their pensions. Makbule was successful in her attempt. A few months later, on 31 December 1917, the Menteşe governor reported that the pensions had been paid on time for the previous months.[23]

Likewise, on 19 May 1918, on behalf of 250 houses of soldiers' families, Emine and Meryem sent a telegram to the government from Adana's Haçin district. They had only been able to receive their pensions for three months out of the year, and they demanded full payment.[24]

Obtaining full pensions could be difficult. In fall 1915 Fatma and her friends from the Hüdavendigar's Kirmasti district informed the War Ministry in a telegram that, although the laws determined that each family member should receive one pension, two people in the same family had only been able to get one. Nevertheless, during the investigation initiated upon receipt of the women's telegram, the district governor claimed that all had taken their pensions, although he did not explicitly refute that these women had problems with payment.[25]

Women frequently complained about civil servants' rude behavior, verbal and physical violence, embezzlement, or sexual assaults, all of which were investigated seriously by the Ottoman state.[26] From the Şevketiye village of Andırın, a town of Maraş, Fatma and her friend

complained in a telegram to the government in January 1916 that angry bureaucrats unlawfully rejected their pension certificates, although the women were in their words "the families of soldiers who spilled their blood for the sake of the protection of the fatherland."[27]

On 4 March 1917 peasant women from Kayalar village of Adapazarı also sent a telegram to the government to complain that their pensions had been cut unlawfully by the tax collector. An investigation revealed that the tax collector, claiming that the women had enough crops, had cut their pensions. When interrogated, probably out of fear, the peasant women said that a soldier passing by from Düzce, to whom they had dictated the telegram, had blamed the tax collector without their knowledge. Even so, the women insisted that they needed to receive their pensions. Eventually, the tax collector Hafız Hüseyin Efendi's unequal treatment in allocation of women's pensions was discovered; he was removed to another department; and the women's pensions were resumed.[28]

Seven women living in İznik – Halime, Ümmühan, Ayşe, Emine Dudu, Fıtnat, Emine, and Şerife – also sent a telegram on 15 November 1917 to both the Izmit governorship and the Interior Ministry to demand their unpaid pensions. The district governor, being also the chairman of the İznik Commission for Soldiers' Families with No Financial Supporters (İznik Muinsizler Komisyonu), had shirked his duty by driving them out with offensive words and violence. The women declared that, as their husbands had been sacrificing their lives for the protection of the fatherland, the women themselves did not deserve poverty and this bad treatment. They requested that their pensions be regularly paid. During the government investigation, the district governor first answered that the claimant women were very likely wealthy enough and therefore not entitled to pensions. However, it was later revealed that the problem stemmed from the disorganization of the record book holding the names of pension receivers. Only after the women were identified did they receive their pensions again.[29]

Women from Edirne's Karacadağ subdistrict, too, did not hesitate to write the name of the civil servant who had cheated them of their right to receive a pension. On 31 March 1917 in their collective petitions to the government, Ümmühan and eleven friends criticized the former subdistrict governor, İbrahim Efendi. They declared that he had abused his authority by cheating them and had cut their pensions. Emphasizing that they lived in hunger and as refugees at the Balkan frontier, the women wanted the government to give them pensions at least until the harvest season. Consequently, the government took care of them.[30]

In the spring of 1918, Mürüvvet, a refugee from Salonica, also wrote from Adapazarı to the government. Although she and her three children had the right to 120 piasters per month, the Adapazarı fiscal directorate had not given them their pension for an entire year. She also had not received eight months of pension payments when she went to Istanbul for health-related reasons. The government, in return, ordered the local authorities to redress her problem.[31]

Finally, on 22 March 1919, in their telegrams to the government from Kırşehir, three women – Zahide, wife of "martyr" Vehbi; Fatma, wife of "martyr" Ali; and Ümmoş, wife of war-prisoner Mustafa – claimed that the local state officials had illegally cut their pensions and denied the food assigned to them, although the warehouse of their district was full of cereal. Accepting these women's demands, on 29 March 1919, the Interior Ministry ordered the Ankara governor to start an investigation.[32]

Women's petitions, complaint telegrams, and protesting actions were effective, particularly at the local level. The province and district governors frequently wrote to the Interior Ministry that women had difficulties with receiving payment. On 7 March 1916 the Interior Ministry inspector Raşid Bey reported that most women in the Eğridir district of Konya received only half of their pensions and for the last two years only 40 percent.[33] On 23 March 1916 the Izmit governorship, too, reported that the money they had received from the treasury did not cover even half of the pensions. Women complained and filled out applications from all around Izmit. In order to solve this problem, the governorship demanded that each month 8,000 liras be paid on a regular basis to its district treasury. On 29 July 1916 the Kayseri governorship also informed the government that, although they had requested 15,000 liras from the state treasury, they had only received 3,000, due to which they had not been able to pay any pensions the previous five months.[34]

In provinces like Aydın where soldiers' families were in greater numbers, payments were irregular due to mismanagement, even when the local governments received enough money. On 15 November 1916 the Finance Ministry reported that the 30,000 liras they had sent to Aydın for the payment of accumulated pensions in Alaşehir had not been spent for this purpose. The unpaid pensions had reached such a great sum that the government sent a formal notice to Aydın to end this situation.[35]

On 2 April 1917 the Interior Minister, Talat Pasha, wanted the Finance Minister, Cavid Bey, to immediately send money to İçel, where soldiers' families who had received no pension for the previous four months wept

in front of the government buildings. On 3 April 1917 the Konya governor sent an enciphered telegram to alert the government that, since the treasury of the Akşehir district had no funds, the refugees and needy families of soldiers lived there miserably, receiving no pensions. All the other districts of the province were in the same situation. On 23 June 1917 the governor of Karesi subprovince of Hüdavendigar, also informed the government that the pensions assigned to the soldiers' families had not been paid for the previous two months in Bandırma. He requested money from the Finance Ministry, writing that it was unjust denying support to these women who were dependent on government assistance.[36]

The problem of unpaid pensions and women's protests against this situation continued until the end of the war. The civil servants, inspectors and governors of both the capital and the provinces continuously reported on the crying women they saw daily in front of their offices who demanded pensions or wanted an increase in the amount.[37] On 7 February 1918 the Eskişehir governorship stated that women who were the mothers or wives of soldiers continuously complained to them about their unpaid pensions and poverty. There were many women who had not received their pensions for several months. On 24 February 1918 the government decided to work to alleviate this problem.[38]

Existing law also stated that before pension payment started the municipal administration or board of aldermen were obliged to feed and help soldiers' families. Nevertheless, in reality, there were no resources for this purpose.[39] As a result, women waited in desperate conditions for months with no money. The letter writer of the Istanbul governor wrote on behalf of him to the central government on 5 November 1914 that in his city it was not possible for the municipalities or boards of aldermen to feed the mass of soldiers' indigent families, since at that date 9,692 Istanbul families were awaiting pensions (Table 2).[40]

On 21 February 1915 the War Ministry reported the grim situation of poor women and children in Ankara's Mucur district. Soldiers' families had not yet received any pensions, and, although local people had collected wheat to help these families, they still lived in terrible conditions. On 27 February 1915 the Edirne governorship also reported that more than twenty-seven thousand soldiers' families in their province lived in desolation because their pensions were paid irregularly. The Edirne governorship distributed money or corn to them by turns as a temporary solution.[41] The increasing number of poor women and children in the following war years would impede similar efforts.[42]

The Ottoman government decided to decrease the number of pension recipients by distributing food rather than money towards the end of 1917. The families of conscripted refugees received food during the

Table 2. *Number of Applicants for the Pension of Soldiers' Families in Istanbul by 5 November 1914*

Region	Applicants	Accepted	Rejected	Pending
Central province	4,106	3,861	245	–
Beyoğlu subdivision	3,482	3,131	93	258
Üsküdar central subdivision	1,050	1,050	–	–
Makriköy district	342	320	–	22
Adalar district	116	[113][43]	–	3
Kartal district	120	114	–	6
Beykoz district	260	186	–	74
Şile district	143	143	–	–
Geğbüze [Gebze] district	73	53	–	20
Total	9,692	[8,971]	338	383

Source: BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–2/4–25, 4 Cemâziyelevvel 1333 [20 March 1915].
Note: Prepared using the above-mentioned document.

severe winter of 1917–18.[44] Refugee women's petitions and complaint telegrams also motivated this decision. On 23 December 1917, in her telegram from Edirne, Fatma, as a representative of refugee women, wrote to the parliament that the women needed a raise in daily wages. The Finance Ministry, however, instead of accepting this demand, decided to distribute food, since the amount of money allocated to the pension of soldiers' families fund had already reached 5,000,000 liras. On 12 January 1918 Niksar, a refugee woman from Muş, requested from the parliament either a raise in women's daily wages or the replacement of this money altogether with bread or cereal grains.[45] The government decided to do the second. On 11 November 1917 the Interior Ministry ordered all provincial governments to provide food for refugee women and children who were members of soldiers' families rather than paying them money. In January 1918 the government decided that the adults would daily take 400 grams of flour (*dakik*) or 440 grams of wheat or 600 grams of bread, while children under the age of ten would have 300 grams of flour or 330 grams of wheat or 450 grams of bread. In return, the government cut the pensions of refugees beginning in January 1918.[46]

Indeed, the amount of the pension of soldiers' families, which was stated as only 30 piasters for each person, was insufficient. But the Ottoman treasury could not even pay this amount. Yet women constantly demanded an increase. On 24 December 1916 the Konya governorship reported local women's complaints to the government. Consequently,

probably in view of widespread dissatisfaction, the Interior Ministry wanted the Finance Ministry to increase the amount of the pensions.[47]

In reality, women's complaints, especially during the later years of the war, when inflation reached its peak, forced the provincial governors to warn the government about the insufficiency of the pensions. As a result of this pressure, a draft bill was prepared to increase the amount of the pension of soldiers' families and was submitted to the Sublime Porte. On 13 September 1916 Aydın governor Rahmi Bey warned the Interior Ministry that the pensions of soldiers' families could only buy twenty-four days' worth of bread.[48] On 8 February 1917 the Sivas governorship, too, demanded an urgent increase in the pensions of soldiers' poor families. The Trabzon governor's enciphered telegram to the government, on 29 March 1917, warned that due to high prices the pensions had become inadequate. Again, on 25 June 1917, the lieutenant governor of Sivas reported that in their petitions soldiers' families complained that with their monthly pensions they could not buy even two days' bread. Likewise, on 29 August 1917, the Mamuretülaziz governorship informed that beneficiary women could only buy five days' bread.[49]

Despite these warnings from local governments and the legal attempts, throughout the war the Finance Ministry did not increase the pensions of soldiers' families. As early as 19 February 1916, the Finance Ministry revealed the existing budget was already too high. On 29 March 1917 the Trabzon governor, who requested an increase in pensions, nevertheless acknowledged the difficulty of doing so since the state treasury lacked sufficient funds.[50]

Therefore, the government, in the grip of the war economy's restrictions, searched for new methods to decrease the number of dependents, and it stopped payments to women who had additional income, regardless of how small or big. However, most women whose pensions were cut this way were poor. Fatma, from Istanbul's İçerenköy district, whose pension for her soldier son had been cut from September 1916 onwards, since she received an additional pension of 38 piasters for her dead husband, claimed that without her pension for soldiers' families she would live in misery. The Üsküdar governorship also supported her argument that an additional 40 to 50 piasters' income was not a good reason for cutting the 30 piaster pension because even 80 piasters was not enough monthly income. The governorship insisted that since the pension of soldiers' families was temporary all qualifying women like Fatma, who received an additional but small amount of money, should continue receiving their pensions.[51]

Although only fathers are responsible for the subsistence of children in Islamic law, to decrease the number of pension recipients, the Interior

Ministry gave this responsibility to financially sound mothers in a notification on 24 May 1915. The decision was probably not put into action, as there was no signature on the notification document sent to the provinces. Nevertheless, it was clear that the state needed to cut the expenses of dependents as far as possible, to the detriment of women and against the principles of Islamic family law.[52]

Women with some land also suffered from discrimination because the recruiting offices considered them rich. On 10 August 1916 the War Ministry reported that in Yozgat wives and mothers of soldiers with land lived in misery because the Yozgat Recruiting Office did not allot the pension of soldiers' families to them. Even when they had one or two fields, these women did not have the necessary agricultural instruments or seed. Consequently, the government ordered the Ankara governor to help these women immediately.[53]

Likewise, there were women whose pensions were cut because they had some grain. On 14 February 1917 the War Ministry reported that, although certain soldiers' families in Izmit had a few bushels (*kile*) of wheat or corn with which to feed themselves, they needed cash for other basic necessities. Consequently, the Interior Ministry ordered payment of these women's pensions on 19 February 1917.[54]

Furthermore, there were women who could not receive money from the state and yet had a legally obligated financial supporter, called *muin*, who did not support them. According to the Military Obligation Law (Mükellefiyet-i Askeriye Kanunu), a *muin* was considered, first, the father of a dependent woman or child if he lived in the same district; second, a son, brother, grandfather, or father-in-law who brought in income if a dependent woman or child lived in the same village or quarter; and, third, all other financial supporters if a dependent woman or child lived in the same house. On 15 August 1917 the Interior Ministry sent a notification to all provinces that, when these supporters moved to another district, village, quarter or house, their legal status as *muin* ended and the families they had previously helped had the right to demand pensions of soldiers' families.[55] The male relatives of a soldier's family who were citizens of another country, such as fathers or brothers, were not legally accepted as *muin*, although non-Muslim soldiers' families, especially those living in the Beyoğlu district of Istanbul who had relatives from foreign countries, needed this support. This restriction was not only for non-Muslim subjects but for Muslim subjects as well, regardless of whether their foreign financial supporters lived within the empire or not.[56]

The Military Obligation Law also stated that the main criterion to be accepted as a *muin* was both physical and financial ability. Nevertheless,

there were certain exceptions. If the financial supporter had to support his daughter or son under the age of adolescence, physical ability alone was sufficient. The government later announced that the financial supporter had to be financially able to take on an additional dependent. Furthermore, on 21 April 1915, the Council of State decided that, even if the financial supporter was rich, there could not be more than one additional dependent.[57]

This complexity of the conditions for being accepted as having or not having a *muin* created controversy between women and the government. Many poor women, who could not receive the pension of soldiers' families as a result of legally alleged *muin*s who in reality were not capable of feeding them, rejected this situation. Hatice was one of them. She protested the fact that the pension assigned to her and her children because of her soldier husband had been cut on the grounds that her father was healthy and rich. She claimed that, in reality, her father was poor and disabled and her family had the right to receive a pension because the laws permitted a *muin* to feed only one person other than his own family; this dependent person could be her, but not her children. The government, in return, investigated the health and financial situation of Hatice's father. Indeed, there were legally accepted financial supporters who in fact did not help their dependents. Consequently, unsupported women proceeded legally against these obligated financial supporters who did not feed them.[58]

A final problem was the death of the legally assigned *muin*, a fact that immediately changed the financial status of the soldiers' families. According to Article 49 of the Military Obligation Law, the pension of soldiers' families started from the date that the soldier arrived in the recruiting office, but only if the soldiers' families made a legal application in time.[59] Women who had nobody to take care of them other than their soldier relatives after their financial supporter had died had particular difficulty because they had not applied for a pension at the time of conscription. In September 1917 the Istanbul governorship warned the government about women who, after losing their husbands to various diseases, requested pensions of soldiers' families because of their soldier brothers or uncles but received nothing. The War Ministry also claimed that there was no restriction in the Military Obligation Law against women demanding a pension if they had lost their previous financial supporters after the recruitment of their subsequent financial supporter. To solve this problem, in October 1917, the Council of State introduced the Draft Law of the Pensions of Soldiers' Families with No Financial Supporters (Muinsiz Aile Maaşatı Kanunu Layihası).[60]

Finally, the government's attempts to eliminate fake applications created further problems. Women had difficulty receiving their pensions when they could not prove their marriages with recruited soldiers. In Hüdavendigar, soldier Hüseyin's wife was rejected on 30 March 1916 by the recruiting-office staff for this reason. On 26 June 1916 the provincial government reported that the local recruiting office hesitated to allot a pension to soldier Hüseyin's wife because the certificate provided by the village headman stated that, despite their marriage contract, Hüseyin and his wife were not yet accepted as united in matrimony in the period for which the pension was requested.[61]

Some women actually provided false documents. The war conditions compelled better-off women to resort to such means. On 6 April 1916 in a telegram to the government, Şerife from the İnebolu district of Kastamonu complained that the pensions of many women like her had been cut, and they suffered from hunger. Nevertheless, the investigation following receipt of this telegram revealed that some soldiers' families, who were not eligible for pensions, had created false documents with the collaboration of the headmen. These women lost their pensions and the government started legal proceedings.[62]

Military-Pay Allotments

Although they were in better conditions compared to the privates' families, the women of lower-ranking army officers, living away from their soldier menfolk, also needed assistance. They often applied to the army to demand military-pay allotments, called *sipariş maaşı*, which were higher than the pensions of soldiers' families and provided better social security. This practice, however, required excellent organization of the army's finances that the Ottoman army lacked. As a result, women protested when they could not receive their money. Among them were not only Turkish-speaking Muslims but also women of Arabic-speaking regions like Aleppo.

On 27 March 1915 Nezire, the wife of second lieutenant Ahmet Efendi, serving in the Sixth Army in Aleppo, wrote from Urfa to the army. Her husband, in her words, "who displayed jihad for the salvation of the fatherland" had left her all alone and "incapable of putting bread on the table." She had never received her 260 piaster pay allotment, although her husband had ordered it five months earlier. She was tired of applying to the Urfa and Harran recruiting offices and the Ayntab [Gaziantep] Division. Nezire demanded that the army authorities quickly pay her the accumulated allotment in order to "end her poverty which had reached the utmost degree" and "for sacred jihad, for respecting the laws and in the name of justice."[63]

The amount of money allotted to the family and how easily it arrived to the recipient varied according to the officer's rank, salary, or hometown. Nezire in Urfa, as the wife of a second lieutenant, took her 260 piaster allotment with difficulty. However, a captain serving in the same army corps as Nezire's husband could order that 513 piasters be given to his family living in Nişantaşı, a wealthy district of Istanbul. His wife accessed this amount easily. However, Zekiye, in Aleppo, whose husband worked in a lower-rank position in the Fifth Army, had to wait without any pay allotment for four months. Families who received money from the army branches in Istanbul were also more advantaged. Unlike Nezire and Zekiye, who had to wait for several months, Captain Kamil's family received the pay allotment only two weeks after it was ordered.[64]

After comparing their situations, women protested this inequality in their petitions. On 6 June 1915 ten women from Urfa, who were members of the families of lieutenants, captains, army doctors, and gunsmiths, wrote such a petition to the Aleppo Army Corps Command. Using patriotic language, they legitimized their position as the recipients of pay allotments:

> Our husbands today, by using their chests as shields to the bullets of the intruding enemy, are present at the defense of Çanakkale [Dardanelles] on the point of bravely laying down their lives for the salvation of the fatherland, and they attack on the battlefield as baby lions do by leaving those who are strangers and alone like us to the mercy and compassion of the nation. By ordering pay allotments from their salaries, which are always at the expense of the blood they shed, they perform the sacred duty entrusted to them with clear conscience.[65]

They claimed that families like theirs in Istanbul and all other Anatolian provinces received their pay allotments on time. However, these women had received no money from March 1915 onwards and hence were forced to live in poverty. They called on the authorities to immediately redress their problems. The army staff in Aleppo evaluated the women's petition and requested both a report on the reasons behind the suspension of payments and an acceleration of payments.[66]

Because of organizational problems in certain regions, the army canceled some payments. The Sixth Army decided to cut the pay allotments of some families on 23 August 1915. In a circular sent to Ayntab, Adana, and Aleppo, the army authorities announced that the money in their possession did not exceed 500,000 piasters, which would not meet the demands of all. The authorities' attempts to pay all families had failed and women's complaints inundated the army office. Therefore, the army canceled the pay allotments ordered to families living nearby.[67]

Despite these financial constraints, desperate women who were not entitled to the military-pay allotment also demanded it. Hatice, the wife of the army veterinarian Hakkı Efendi, wrote to the Sixth Army on 25 May 1915 that she had no bread, lived in destitution with her six children, and needed a military-pay allotment. Subsequent investigations revealed that her husband had been dismissed from his army position in Yemen and had gone to Mecca. Therefore, the army did not accept Hatice's request. However, Hatice stood firm and wrote another petition to the army and the governor of the province where the Sixth Army was deployed. She claimed that soon after his dismissal her husband had been recruited again for World War I, a claim proved after further investigation. Consequently, the Aleppo governor requested a payment for her from the army.[68]

Pensions for the Families of Captive or Missing-in-Action Soldiers

War prisoners' and missing soldiers' families had more difficulty receiving monetary assistance, since these men's situation was mostly unknown. Sıdıka, wife of soldier Ahmed, could demand the pension of soldiers' families for her war-captive husband only after she learned via a letter from him that he was alive. Ahmed had first been recruited during the Balkan Wars. By 11 March 1919, when Sıdıka submitted her petition, he had been a soldier for many years. Sıdıka had first petitioned the army from Eskişehir to demand her pension of soldiers' families and received no answer. Later, she had petitioned the Eskişehir governor. She lived in misery with her eight-year-old son Necdet and five-year-old son Sırrı. The government, in return, decided that Sıdıka would be granted a pension only if she could prove that her husband was still alive.[69]

As seen in the example of Sıdıka, due to lack of information, it was very difficult to convince the authorities to grant a pension. In addition to the emotional distress they suffered, for economic reasons, destitute women had to ascertain whether their husbands or male relatives were dead, alive, or war prisoners to be qualified as beneficiaries. Moreover, even when they lived in utmost poverty, women could not legally remarry to acquire another men's financial support without confirmation of the death of their husbands.

Women generally received information about war prisoners and missing soldiers with the assistance of the Red Crescent. On 25 January 1917 the Red Crescent answered the petition of Fatma, who asked whether her husband Ziver was dead or alive; he had been lost on 4 April 1915 at the Dardanelles front and was quite possibly a prisoner. The Red Crescent

searched for him by getting in touch with the international Red Cross. During 1916 the Izmir Center of the Ottoman Red Crescent helped approximately three hundred families learn about the health and living conditions of relatives kept as war prisoners.[70]

Even after the armistice had been signed, many women did not know the situation of their husbands or sons. Faced with important economic difficulties, these women needed both news of the men and monetary assistance from the state. The Aydın governorship reported on 7 June 1919 that Hatice had requested information about her soldier son, Mehmed Şükrü, and a pension if he was dead.[71]

Women whose pensions were cut due to lack of information about their soldier menfolk protested this situation by petitioning the government. On 26 October 1920 Fatma from Istanbul's Şile district complained that her pension of soldiers' families had been canceled because her son private Bekir had gone missing in action in the Dardanelles. Fatma had received no information about Bekir afterwards. Bekir's four dependents, including Fatma, suffered misery and requested a family pension like all the other martyrs' families received.[72]

Furthermore, women went personally to government buildings to complain about the termination of their pensions. On 5 February 1919 the Istanbul governor demanded that the government continue paying pensions to the war prisoners' families, payments which had officially stopped as of December 1918. Women protested this government decision by going to the office of the Üsküdar district governor. The Istanbul governor wrote that these women had the right to do so since they were families of the soldiers who had fought for the protection of the fatherland on various fronts.

A few months later, on 17 June 1919, Izmit governor Ahmet Aznavur reported that, after their pensions had been cut, some women in Izmit bitterly complained that they lived in hunger because neither had their husbands or sons returned nor had they received their pensions. He warned that these women protested the government and claimed that it was unjust to deprive mourning women of their pensions under the pretext of having received no information about their men. The government officials in Izmit could not calm down the women who crowded the government offices with their requests for help. The Izmit governor claimed that, even if a small number of the lost soldiers could be considered deserters, most of them were martyrs or war prisoners, and, therefore, the government had to take the necessary measures to redress the grievances of their women. Under the pressure of such demands, the government sought legal remedies that could enable such families to receive their pensions until a peace treaty was signed. The War Ministry

requested continuation of pension payments from the Council of State in two official letters on 4 May and 29 May 1919, but received no response. Consequently, on 19 July 1919 the Interior Ministry, as well, pressured the Council of State to decide quickly on this issue.[73]

Monetary Assistance to Families of Soldiers and Army Physicians in Status of Martyr

Apart from emotional breakdowns, women suffered from poverty when their only financial supporters died as soldiers. Lack of effective social measures, bureaucratic red tape, and budget constraints aggravated their situation. In many cases women had to wait a long time before receiving the first payments on their pensions. The family of private Nedret, who had died on the battlefield in the spring of 1916, received their martyrdom pension more than three years later, after the payment was approved on 7 August 1919.[74]

Women frequently complained to the government because pensions for martyred soldiers' families were paid in arrears. On 29 October 1916 Ayşe and six other women from Aydın's Alaşehir district complained in a telegram to the government that although all of them were families of "martyred soldiers," from May 1916 onwards, they had not received their pensions due to budget restrictions. However, the pensions of the civil servants were regularly paid. The government, in return, in a notification on 7 November 1916, ordered all government officials to ensure that widows and orphans received their pensions without long delays.[75]

After the mobilization ended, most of the complaint telegrams from the provinces were about these delays. On 18 August 1919 the Kayseri governor reported that, because their pensions had not been paid, widows of "martyrs" came each day to the government office and cried. Referring also to the unpaid status of the pensions of the gendarmerie and police, a situation that he claimed was dangerous to the public order in his district, the governor demanded the surplus of the tithe-tax revenues to continue these payments. Likewise, on 28 December 1919, the Antalya governorship reported that the pensions of the widows and orphans of martyrs had not been paid on time and that women complained about this.[76]

The occupation of Istanbul and Anatolia by the Allied powers and Greek troops further decreased the possibility of sending money to the provinces. On 27 February 1920 the Hüdavendigar governor reported that the pensions of neither the gendarmerie and police nor the widows and orphans had been paid. Since they continuously demanded their pensions, he wanted 100,000 liras to make these payments.[77] Similarly,

on 27 October 1920 the Izmir governorship reported that after the occupation the widows and orphans of "martyrs" had not received their pensions for the previous three to four months. Due to poverty, some of them lived on the streets. Consequently, through the National Credit Bank, the government transferred 8,000 liras to the Izmir governorship on 9 February 1921. Nevertheless, by July 1921 many war widows and orphans in subdistricts of Izmir had not received their pensions because the money had first been distributed in the city center.[78]

Furthermore, the pension of the martyred soldiers' families did not exceed 100 piasters for the families of all low-ranking soldiers, a negligible amount due to wartime inflation. For instance, when this pension was divided between Private Necdet's four dependents – his mother Fatma, his wife Kezban, his daughter Hatice, and his son Mustafa – each person received 25 piasters per month.[79] Therefore, for families with more than three members, this pension was less than the pension of soldiers' families of 30 piasters to each person.

In Trabzon the seven-member family of Private Ahmed, who died on the battlefield on 29 August 1917, received only 99 piasters 30 paras per month, which amounted to only 14 piasters 10 paras for each person. In Aksaray eight family members of the infantryman Private Hasan, who had died due to fever on 25 August 1916, each received 12 piasters 20 paras. This amount was very little, especially for the cities. Therefore, women sought additional sources of income. İrfan Orga recalls that, during the war, when he was a child, his mother gave this pension to him as pocket money. Even so, after being sexually harassed by a man in the line for pension payments, he never asked for the pension again.[80]

Therefore, women needed to request a raise in the pension through petitioning. On 10 March 1917 Emine from Üsküdar demanded from the parliament an increase in the pension she received for her husband. So did Fatma, on 22 December 1917, for her husband İbrahim Zihni, a Dardanelles martyr; Nafia from Beylerbeyi, on 31 January 1917, for her martyred son; and Emine Nevber, on 12 March 1918, for her husband.[81] However, these and similar petitions were often rejected because they conflicted with existing laws.

The families of army officers who died at war also demanded a pension increase. The wife of Lieutenant Recep Efendi and his three daughters, who each received 50 piasters, asked for this on 27 February 1917. The War Ministry turned down their request, since they had already received 6 piasters in additional support. Among the women who demanded pension increases were even the widows of high-ranking army officers such as lieutenant generals.[82]

Women requested posthumous promotions as well, even when their husbands or sons did not show exceptional military service. Naciye, whose husband Captain Hasan Fehmi had died in battle on 19 May 1915, requested the promotion of her husband to the rank of major. Similarly, on 28 October 1917, Hediye from Istanbul's Aksaray district petitioned for the promotion of her deceased husband, Captain Hamdi. The War Ministry turned down their requests since their husbands did not meet the requirements. Women even demanded the promotion of their menfolk who were still alive and on duty. Their pretext was often "the martyrdom" of other male relatives. On 24 February 1917 Emine from the Sirkeci district of Istanbul requested the promotion of her son Lieutenant Ahmet Rıfkı since her two other sons had died as "martyrs." Having no legal basis, her application was rejected.[83]

Even so, under pressure of similar appeals, with new legal regulations Ottoman politicians further enlarged women's right to receive pensions. On 4 September 1920 Article 4 of the provisional law dated 11 May 1914, which prohibited the allotment of a pension to the families of soldiers who had died before being promoted to the rank of senior captain (*kıdemli yüzbaşı*), was annulled.[84]

Only the families of high-ranking army officers with remarkable military service received greater amounts in the form of an additional pension from a fund called the National Service (hidemat-ı vataniye). The state officials' widows could also receive this pension if their husbands' former work was considered excellent. For instance, a cabinet decree allocated an additional 750 piasters from this fund to both the wife and son of former Eskişehir governor Hilmi Bey, who had been murdered while on duty. When this money was added to the 1,100 piasters his family already received, their total monetary assistance reached 2,600 piasters.[85]

Women who were in extreme need requested this additional pension without regard for the obligation of extraordinary service. On 27 November 1917 Zeynep from Istanbul's Saraçhane district petitioned the parliament for a pension from the National Service fund due to her deceased father's former services to the state. Her request based on no extraordinary service was turned down.[86]

Applicants often faced exclusion due to strict criteria that limited the number of recipients. Lower-ranking soldiers who had died in hospitals due to epidemics rather than on the battlefield did not receive martyr status for a very long time. Accordingly, their families acquired no pensions. Seniyye from Istanbul's Makriköy [Bakırköy] district, whose husband, gendarme Lieutenant Hasan, had died on 5 November 1915, received nothing because the army accepted that Hasan had died of natural causes. Likewise, Zeynep, the widow of Captain Zeki, received

no family pension, despite her petition of 12 December 1917 for the same reason.[87]

However, women's petitions and everyday resistance in front of bureaucrats' offices partially paid off, and laws on payments to the fallen soldiers' families gradually changed. Under the pressure of the families of soldiers who died due to war-related diseases, the government modified the Article 36 of the Military Retirement and Resignation Law, which previously denied pension payment to these families. The family of Private Mustafa, who died due to swamp fever in Damascus Central Hospital on 28 December 1915, finally acquired a pension on 13 January 1918 as a result of this modification partially prompted by women's efforts.[88]

Previously, when a soldier died due to an epidemic, his family no longer received the pension of soldiers' families. Women frequently complained to the local governments about this situation and wanted their pensions restored. On 20 February 1915 the Trabzon governor asked the central government whether it had to continue paying pensions to the families of soldiers who had died due to natural causes. Aleppo governor Bekir Sami asked the same question of the government on 4 September 1915. The War Ministry, in return, replied to both of them that there was no law allotting pensions to these families.[89]

In the later years of the war, the provincial governors insisted much more on paying pensions to the families of soldiers who had died of disease. On 13 October 1916, in an enciphered telegram, the Sivas governor reported that, because their pensions had been cut after the death of their soldier men, many widows and orphans lived in poverty. The municipalities, too, were unable to feed this great number of people. Many districts of Sivas province requested the payment of at least half the amount of these families' pensions until the end of mobilization. In return, the government only accepted paying the retirement pensions of "martyred" soldiers to their families but rejected paying pensions to families of soldiers who had died because of disease.[90]

Discrimination also continued among the family members of the fallen soldiers. Generally soldiers' widows received an equal amount of money compared with their parents or children. However, in polygamous marriages, widows received half the pension of other family members, the wife's share being divided equally between all wives. After Private Abdullah from Kayseri died on 29 September 1916 due to suffocation, his wives Hatice and Hürre each received 16 piasters 20 paras, while the father and son each received 33 piasters 20 paras. In another case, Emine and Ayşe, wives of the soldier Veli from İçel, who had died on 26 December 1916, received less than half of what Veli's mother and

son each received.[91] Therefore, in cases of polygamous marriage, the state did not consider wives as equal family members or probably assumed that they could remarry and become members of a new family.

Even the closest female relatives, like mothers, of fallen soldiers lost their pension right if they were married to a man under sixty years old with no disability. Obviously, wartime inflation forced even married women to demand similar pensions. Fatma Nigâr, whose son died in the Dardanelles, received no pension despite her petition of 15 January 1917 because she was married. Sisters of fallen soldiers were worse off because they received no pensions if they had husbands, with no age or disability consideration. Kamile from Bursa, married sister of a "martyred" lieutenant with no other heirs, received no pension despite her petition of 9 February 1918.[92]

Finally, discrimination was sometimes related to the occupation of the fallen soldier. Women of martyred army doctors, who could rarely receive premiums from the state, were in a relatively bad situation. Among this group were also non-Muslim women, such as wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters of Armenian army physicians. The Commission to Help the Families of the Martyred Army Doctors (Şehit Etıbba Aileleri Muavenet Komisyonu) frequently received petitions from these women. On 5 November 1917 and 25 December 1917, Fahriye, wife of the martyred Major Dr. Hilmi from Istanbul's Kozyatağı district, demanded money in two petitions to this institution. She could not feed her children since she had no one to financially support her family.[93] Likewise, the mother of deceased army doctor Dimitriyadis Efendi asked for help on 23 August 1917, citing that she lived miserably with her two daughters and one son.[94]

The families of fallen army doctors who died before the war also suffered discrimination since the aid provided by the commission primarily served to support World War I mobilization. Hayriye, who lived in Cerrahpaşa with her orphaned children, petitioned the institution on 2 September 1917 because her husband Dr. Mehmed had died in 1905 during his military service. The commission refused her request because Dr. Mehmed had died before World War I and the government had already allotted her a pension of 314 piasters. Likewise, the widow of Captain Dr. Hasan Seyfettin, who had died in 1914 before the outbreak of the war, received no money.[95]

The families of army doctors who had died on duty during the Balkan Wars were also rejected. On 20 October 1917 the widow of Dr. Mehmet Akif, who had died during the Balkan Wars, demanded financial support in vain and had to rely on a minor pension allotted by the state. Likewise, despite her petition of 1 March 1917, Sabiha, sister of Nafız Tahir, an army doctor who had been killed by Bulgarians during his Red Crescent

work in Drama, was not found eligible for help. However, consequent to a second petition she wrote to the chairman of the Red Crescent, Dr. Besim Ömer Pasha, on the same date, in which she demanded that the Red Crescent "give a helping hand" to her as "a miserable young lady," she was appointed as an officer in the Commission of War Prisoners (Üsera Komisyonu).[96]

Families of army pharmacists also suffered discrimination. Emine, mother of Hikmet Efendi, deceased pharmacist of Kuleli Hospital, received no help despite her applications. Pharmacists working as army personnel ultimately stopped supporting the commission. On 27 August 1918 the pharmacists working in the Dardanelles Fortified Area Command (Bahr-i Sefid Boğazı Mevkii Müstahkem Kumandanlığı) announced that they had decided to stop paying 1 percent of their salaries to the commission. They had never heard nor read in the army newspaper of any deceased pharmacist's family members receiving assistance. They would continue regular payments only if the Red Crescent established another fund to assist pharmacist's families.[97]

With the armistice, the commission's service to support World War I mobilization ended. On 17 August 1919 the fund had only 1,800 Ottoman liras left. However, families of army doctors continued to request help. The widow of the martyr Major Dr. Hüseyin Şadi wrote to the commission on 28 July 1919 that, after the death of her husband, she had also lost her house in the Karagümrük fire. Homeless with her three children, she requested monetary aid.[98] Similarly, on 9 September 1919 the commission accepted the petitions of two families, one Muslim-Turkish and the other Jewish. Each family took 10 liras.[99]

Consequently, women received pensions or protected their right to receive them by sending telegrams, petitioning, crying in public, exploiting the religious-nationalist and militarist discourses of the state, or cheating the authorities. Although they could not increase the amount of their pensions, they influenced the decision makers so more women received monetary assistance despite the budget limitations. However, women's problems went beyond the lack of money; as in the case of widow of Dr. Hüseyin Şadi, many women suffered housing problems.

5 The Housing Problem

During World War I the number of homeless Ottoman women and children increased much more than in previous years. Most of these women and children were either members of soldiers' families or refugees. Due to their vulnerable situation, they became the primary targets of social aid. However, just like the measures against hunger and shortages or those for providing monetary assistance to soldiers' families, the housing aid, too, primarily supported Ottoman war mobilization and created discrimination and new problems for destitute women.

Finding Nowhere to Live

Until the end of the armistice period, in parallel to wartime inflation, rents increased drastically. Compared to July 1914, the cost of living in Istanbul increased about 300 percent in 1916 and went up to 2,205 percent by December 1918. It did not fall under 1,440 percent even by December 1920. Rents rose about 200 to 300 percent annually, and for apartment houses rents could double within a few months. Even in the provinces, rents rose 50 percent in the second year of the war, 100 percent in the third year, and 200 percent in the fourth. After the arrival of White Russian refugees, rents reached their peak in Istanbul, and, therefore, in 1920 a league was formed to fight profiteering landowners.[1]

This development adversely influenced all segments of Ottoman society, but poor widows and refugee women had particular difficulty in finding economical housing. In Istanbul a survey taken in 1920 by American researchers revealed that Turkish widows lived in three kinds of accommodations. The first of these were mosques, which were crowded with the poor and refugees; the second were imarets, which included public soup kitchens, poorhouses, and *medrese*s; and the third were private homes. The mosques offered no private rooms, while the rent-free rooms of the imarets and *medrese*s had one or more families per room. The private homes of widows were mostly rented, and they were overpopulated. On average, 3.9 people lived in one room and the number

of residents varied from three to ten. The average rent per month for these rooms was 2.9 Ottoman liras, which was already about three times the 100 piaster monthly pension of war martyrs' families. Furthermore, these accommodations were often insecure. In the middle of Nişantaşı, one of the richest districts of Istanbul, one settlement was constructed entirely of gasoline tins and old boards, with no doors but narrow openings, where poor women lived with their children. Despite the precariousness of the dwellings, the municipality could not evict widows from such homes, since the women had nowhere other than the street to live.[2]

Women also had difficulty in finding houses due to fires, which largely stemmed from the wartime lack of public order. These fires occurred especially in Istanbul's crowded and poor Muslim districts, like Fatih, Üsküdar, Eyüp, Hasköy, and Kasımpaşa, where the houses were built of wood and situated very close to each other. The number of burned houses in Istanbul in 1918 reached 8,480. In the biggest fire, which occurred in Fatih on 31 May 1918, 7,500 houses burned. These fires left tens of thousands of people, mostly women and children, homeless. İsmail Hakkı Sunata recalls that during this fire houses had been burned from



Fig. 3 Women and children living in a mosque in Istanbul.
Source: Clarence Richard Johnson, ed., *Constantinople To-day or the Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople: A Study in Oriental Social Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 210.

Kocamustafapaşa to Samatya, and these burned districts looked more horrible than a cemetery or an air-bombed place.[3]

Many women lived in mosques and poorhouses or took refuge with relatives because of these fires. In its 1919 report the Red Crescent determined that up to 1,731 fire-victim families with 6,423 members lived in 206 places, such as mosques, *medrese*s, public baths, or dervish lodges, while more than 6,000 other fire victims lived in private homes, cottages, or shops. The accommodations of many other fire victims could not be determined since they lived in desolate places about which even the municipality or police had no information.[4]

Furthermore, although wartime economic constraints decreased the number of multigenerational families living in the big residences called *konak*s (mansions), many families were forced to live together due to the wartime fires in Istanbul. Hüseyin Kâmil Ertur recalls that during World War I his house was crowded with women and children who were refugees, fire victims, or members of soldiers' families. İsmail Hakkı Sunata also remembers that when he was demobilized and returned to Istanbul he found his family had started to live with two other families in one house out of poverty.[5]

Bombing and enemy attacks aggravated the housing problem. During the war enemy planes bombarded Istanbul from the direction of the Dardanelles day and night. Certain crowded districts were special targets, where people died and buildings were destroyed. In one attack at Mahmutpaşa district, a bomb that fell near Küçük Cami (little mosque) killed several people. Bombs also damaged regions in Anatolia. Russian warships frequently bombarded the Black Sea coast and destroyed houses, leaving many people, especially women and children, homeless.[6]

The largest group that suffered from homelessness was refugees. World War I broke out in the middle of a period with enormous waves of population exchanges. The movement of Muslim people into Rumelia and Anatolia had increased in the nineteenth century with the loss of the Ottoman territories in the Balkans and the Caucasus. One of the biggest waves came with the Balkan Wars. Population movements and deportations continued during World War I, the National Struggle, and afterwards, when a population exchange was implemented between Turkey and Greece. Leaving behind their properties and houses, refugee women of all religious groups were among the poorest Ottoman subjects. They frequently died on the road due to gang attacks, epidemics, hunger, or cold. Because they had to flee in a hurry, mostly due to enemy attacks, they lost their children on the road or saw them die from cold, malnutrition, or epidemics.[7]

The number of refugees reached great numbers due to the continuous warfare. On 11 May 1919 the newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar* reported that apart from those who had fled to Istanbul and Anatolia during the Balkan Wars, up to 1,604,031 Muslims had fled from the eastern provinces during World War I. During the National Struggle, as well, the number of refugees who had left Aydın province was calculated at 80,000 in the first days of the Greek occupation, while this number quickly increased to 120,000 and then to 300,000 by 1921.[8]

Since their men were conscripted into the army, settling down was a particular problem for these refugee women. Of more than four hundred thousand Muslim people who had fled from the Balkan provinces during the Balkan Wars, one of the largest groups had arrived in Bursa. Since World War I erupted quickly, many of these people had to wait to settle somewhere for more than ten years, until the population exchange in 1924.[9]

The situation of refugee mothers was no better in Istanbul. During the armistice period thousands of Anatolian refugees, especially women and children who had fled from the Greek invasion, arrived in Istanbul and lived homeless in the narrow streets and in the Davutpaşa barracks. Their condition in the east was the worst. By December 1918, in the eastern provinces, many homeless refugees suffered from the winter cold and frequent attacks by wolves.[10]

Housing Assistance

During World War I the Ottoman state primarily protected refugee women who needed a place to settle, soldiers' families who had difficulty paying their rents, and women who had lost their homes due to wartime fires or bombardments. When the war erupted there were already many Balkan refugees who had arrived in Istanbul and Anatolia. The government introduced a provisional law on 19 September 1914 to solve the housing problem of these refugees and the inhabitants of Edirne province and Çatalca subprovince whose houses had been destroyed due to the war. Consequently, refugees acquired a one-time right to cut wood from the state forests for free to build homes for themselves.[11] Furthermore, with another draft law of 1915–16, families of men who had died on the battleground received free real estate or land from the state.[12] Finally, another law, dated 23 March 1915, forbade landlords to evict soldiers' families who were unable to pay their rent.[13]

Soldiers' families also had special privileges. The Council of State decided on 11 June 1916 that the municipalities had no right to pull down houses until the end of the war mobilization in quarters where

soldiers' families lived. Poor women who were not soldiers' families, however, received no rent aid. According to Ahmed Emin, everybody solved their housing problem without the help of the government until 18 March 1918, the date that the government intended to pass an "economic law." The housing problem got worse during the armistice period, especially in Istanbul after the arrival of new refugees from the regions occupied by the Greek army and of about 150,000 White Russians. Allied forces who occupied Istanbul further aggravated the housing problem by requisitioning houses.[14]

During the National Struggle, too, the Ankara government helped families with war-wrecked houses. With a bylaw dated 19 October 1922, it founded the Social Assistance Commissions (Muavenet-i İçtimaiye Komisyonları), which were responsible for repairing destroyed houses or helping with the construction of new ones.[15]

Fire victims of Istanbul also received help from the Fire Victims Commission (Harikzedegan Komisyonu), which was founded on 12 June 1918. Furthermore, in its 1919 report the Red Crescent stated that it had provided Istanbul fire victims with clothing, sets of bedding, goods, and provisions worth about 50,000 liras. About 12,500 people received underwear, and families that could not save furniture received beds, quilts, or cushions, as well as clothing items, such as shoes. Despite such measures, the Fatih fire victims waited about four years to live in repaired houses.[16]

To solve the housing problem of Balkan refugees, on 13 May 1913 Ottoman statesmen introduced the Settlement of Refugees Regulation (İskan-ı Muhacirin Nizamnamesi) and attempted to strengthen the Settlement of Tribes and Refugees Directorate. This organization had failed to house the refugees with its own limited budget, so the state delegated the task of settling them to private contractors. However, in order to maximize profits, these companies avoided providing most refugees with what they were entitled. Consequently, refugees of the Balkan Wars lived in Istanbul mosques for a long time.[17]

The budget of the Settlement of Tribes and Refugees Directorate multiplied by sixteen-times the initial amount in 1916 due to the migrations related to World War I. Furthermore, the directorate assisted with the foundation of workshops for the employment of refugee children and widows.[18]

Welfare institutions also helped refugees in terms of food and housing. Nevertheless, except for the National Defense Society, they only distributed food, clothing, or other personal items, but found no permanent solution to the housing problem. The Red Crescent mostly distributed food or provided medical services. During the National Struggle, in 1922,



Fig. 4 A cartoon criticizing the housing problem. A rich building contractor says that these already dead homeless people would be saved from winter cold when he finished building his apartments, which in reality only the rich could afford.
Source: *Aydede*, No. 13 (13 Şubat 1338 [13 February 1922]), p. 1.

in Aydın's Milas district the Red Crescent daily distributed 350 grams of bread to adults and 210 grams of bread to children, in addition to clothing and medicine.[19]

Moreover, elite women, as chairwomen of social-assistance institutions, frequently visited the refugees in the Davutpaşa barracks. They employed refugee widows and children and provided clothing for them. Likewise, wives of civil servants and notables founded a Commission of Sewing Clothes for the Refugees (Muhacir Elbise ve Dikiş Komisyonu) under the chairmanship of the wife of the Trabzon governor.[20]

The Ankara government, as well, introduced laws and regulations concerning refugees. On 5 June 1921 it issued a regulation on the management of refugees and allotted money to its budget to help them.[21] Because many refugees were still unsettled, on 26 April 1922, the Ankara government decided to settle refugees whose immigration had occurred up to six years previously.[22]

Women's Demands Related to Housing

One of the first choices of women who had lost their homes was seeking refuge with their relatives.[23] For many, however, this was not an option. Therefore, they depended on the measures provided by the state and other institutions, which helped them according to the ranks of their soldier husbands or sons.

Soldiers' families generally demanded rent aid from the state since their pensions were inadequate even for their basic needs. In her petition on 25 November 1915, Ayşe, wife of soldier Kazım, wrote that her husband had been called to arms a few months earlier, and the monthly salary of 30 piasters allotted to her as relief money was not sufficient to pay her rent. She requested that the War Ministry pay her rent from "the national assistance fund" (*muavenet-i milliye*) during her husband's military service. The War Ministry, in return, ordered the National Defense Society to pay her rent.[24]

The law that forbade the eviction of soldiers' families as tenants as long as the mobilization continued created problems for both the landlords and tenants. Victimized by greedy landlords or abusive tenants, women appealed to the state, the courts, and the army for rent aid or eviction of tenants.

Poor women tenants, as victims of forced evictions, suffered the worst. Unable to pay their rent or meet increases in rent with the inflation rate, they were frequently thrown out of their homes by the physical use of force on the part of their landlords. After the police forced Fatma and her daughter Raşide to move out of their home, Fatma petitioned the

Ottoman parliament. She claimed that two of her sons were war martyrs, and another one was still serving in the army, and therefore the legal procedure for soldier's families must be applied to save her family from being homeless. Nonetheless, after the investigation of this eviction, the Istanbul police reported on 21 March 1918 that Fatma and her daughter had been legally evicted from the house they lived in as tenants because the Fatih Court of Peace (Fatih Sulh Mahkemesi) had announced a decision of eviction on 2 March 1918. The government found this explanation sufficient, and therefore Fatma and her daughter could not return to their house.[25]

Women also protested being evicted on a moment's notice by their landlords. In Eskişehir the wife of Captain İbrahim complained that her household goods were removed by her landlord while she was away from home. She had applied to the Eskişehir governor on 4 June 1917, claiming that she was evacuated forcefully. Nevertheless, the War Ministry decided that the eviction was legal, because at the time of eviction the wife of Captain İbrahim was in her hometown Adana, and her brother-in-law Mehmet had been living as tenant in the house in Eskişehir.[26]

In a similar case, Rukiye, wife of soldier Mustafa, petitioned from Tekfurdağı to complain that she was being forced to move out of her house. Her landlord wanted to let it out to other tenants. She protested the physical force used against her and her children and added that the authorities should prevent such actions against the families of soldiers "who sacrificed their lives, leaving their children to the protection of the government." The Interior Ministry took her request seriously and warned the Edirne governor about her situation on 3 October 1918.[27]

Landladies also petitioned the state and the army against female tenants who used their soldier husbands or sons to legitimize paying no rent or not moving out when ordered. Mevhibe was a victim of her tenant, Ayşe Saadet, whose son-in-law Hüseyin Necmeddin cheated Mevhibe by claiming to be a heavy-artillery officer. On 5 April 1915, in her petition to the War Ministry, Mevhibe explained that her tenant had not paid her rent and lived in her house without a contract. When she sued her tenant Ayşe Saadet, Ayşe Saadet's son-in-law Necmeddin had claimed that, because he was a soldier who occupied the house, the government would not evict him and his family. Mevhibe won the lawsuit, but without her knowledge the tenants reentered the house with police aid. Mevhibe eventually petitioned the army to protect her "right of disposition," emphasizing that she was also the mother of a soldier and her only source of income was the house she rented. Mevhibe finally accepted that her tenant Ayşe Saadet could stay in her house if her rent was cut from Necmeddin's salary. However, Mevhibe received no money since there

was no heavy-artillery officer called Hüseyin Necmeddin in the Sixth Army.[28] In other words, Ayşe Saadet and Necmeddin had cheated Mevhibe to gain time.

Another landlady, Hayriye, had not received her rent for three years because her tenant's family had two soldiers, one fighting in Iraq and the other in the Caucasus. Hayriye also had three soldier sons, and her husband served in Istanbul's Makriköy district as a senior captain (*kolağası*). She requested that the government compensate her for the accrued unpaid rent. The investigation following Hayriye's petition revealed that her tenants were poor soldier's families who received pensions from the state and were incapable of paying their rents. Consequently, the government decided on 4 September 1917 that the National Defense Society would pay the rent of Hayriye's tenants, which was 80 piasters a month, from February 1917 onwards.[29]

Landladies who had rented their only house had further problems because they neither received money nor had a place to take shelter. In their petitions, they complained that they had become homeless and lived in misery on the streets or in insecure places. Atiye from Aydın's Akhisar district, in a telegram to the government, wrote that her first husband had died in the Balkan Wars, leaving behind two orphans, and her second husband fought on the front. Seven months earlier, she had bought a house in which to live with her children. However, unable to evict the tenant, they were homeless. She requested protection of her property rights as a soldier's wife. On 29 November 1917 the Interior Ministry ordered the Aydın governor to deal with Atiye's situation immediately.[30] On 25 June 1918 Saime, wife of Captain Dr. Memduh, also requested help from the army with the eviction of her tenant because she had no other house.[31] Likewise, on 2 July 1916, another landlady from Istanbul's Samatya district, who was a member of a "martyred" soldier's family, complained that her tenant had locked her furniture and belongings into one room of the house and was in jail for using counterfeit money. Because her house was locked, the landlady now lived on the street and had not received her rent for the previous two months. She demanded that the army authorities allow her to enter the house.[32]

Although the National Defense Society provided accommodation facilities or paid the rents of soldiers' families with no income, when they were offered another place to live, some women refused it. They feared losing their social connections, which helped them to survive in hard times. On 23 June 1918 the army reported that four soldiers' families who lived in the Hacı Ferhad quarter near Aksaray had resisted both eviction and resettlement in another place. These families received various types of assistance in kind from the Laleli Mosque in their district. Therefore,

despite the decision of the Fatih Court of Peace to evict them, they did not want to settle in a new location.[33]

Makbule, a widowed landlady, failed to evict her tenant Sıdıka, wife of soldier Ali, for similar reasons. Sıdıka had previously paid 25 piasters as rent for Makbule's house in Edirnekapı, but the National Defense Society had found another house in Eğrikapı for her to resettle in with a rent of 50 piasters. The first two months of rent had already been paid, and some of Sıdıka's furniture had been carried to the new house. Nevertheless, Sıdıka refused to move the rest of her furniture due to warnings and rumors from her neighbors. On 29 June 1918 the son of landlady Makbule complained in a petition to the National Defense Society that his mother had been left homeless and the rent aid to Sıdıka had been annulled. He requested that the rest of the furniture of tenant Sıdıka be carried away with the help of the police. The National Defense Society, in return, decided that the tenant had to leave the house, because she could live rent-free in another one.[34]

Women who were victims of big fires or bombardments and refugees also asked for help from the state. Some women fire victims demanded help only in the form of money or furniture. Comparatively better off, they could find places to live more easily than others. In July 1918 Fatma Aliye, whose house had burned along with its furniture in the great Fatih fire, petitioned only for some monetary aid to compensate her losses. She had no accommodation problem since she lived in Pazarcık with her husband, who was the governor of this subdistrict of Hüdavendigar.[35]

Women in worse conditions demanded more. Hatice, whose house had burned during the Zeyrek fire, requested a large sum of money in her petition to the grand vizier because she had no place to live. On 7 September 1918 the government received information about her situation. Hatice did not know whether her soldier husband was dead or alive. She had three brothers, two of whom had died as "martyrs" at Dardanelles, and one of whom remained a war prisoner in the Caucasus. She took care of her three little children without the help of a financial supporter. She lived among strangers, many of them men, with whom she had no family ties. The Interior Ministry, alarmed by the possible immoral consequences of this situation, ordered the Istanbul governorship to financially help her from the fire-victims fund (*harikzedegan ianesi*).[36]

Women also requested help in the form of land and real estate. On 28 September 1918 fire victim Hafize, whose two houses in the Kırkçeşme quarter of Fatih had been demolished in 1918, petitioned the government for a house with a vineyard or orchard in Hüdavendigar's Biga district. She had decided to live there, next to her

brother, with her two orphan children and elderly mother. After the fire she had managed to save some furniture but suffered financially since she had "no man to take care of [her]." As a refugee with no social ties in Istanbul, she needed the protection of her brother, Rıfat, who lived in Biga. Nevertheless, her request was rejected since the laws only provided money to cover the debts of fire victims.[37]

Even when they demanded no financial assistance, fire victims suffered from legal procedures. Once they attempted to build new residences on the land of their burned houses, they encountered municipal restrictions. On 11 September 1921 Emine, whose house in Istanbul's Hüsrevpaşa district had burned in the great Fatih fire, requested permission from the government to build a new residence. She had previously asked permission from the Fatih municipality to build one room from stones but had been turned down. However, she had seen in some places that such new buildings were allowed. She pleaded for the authorities' permission since winter was approaching and she had no money to pay rent.[38]

Furthermore, women fire victims had no stable residence. The places in which they lived were temporary locations where they could easily be evicted by officials. Women resisted being evicted in this manner in their petitions. Before the chief inspector of the Babıali Police Station evicted her, Safiye, a victim of the Fatih fire, lived in a residence in Babılali that the government had found for her and her two children. After her petition, on 29 May 1919, the government ordered the Istanbul Fire Committee to resettle her immediately either in the Babıali residence or in one of the barracks built for fire victims in Aksaray.[39]

War widows demanded housing facilities from the War Ministry as well. In September 1915 Emine, widow of a Dardanelles "martyr," demanded a house because, having no family or income, she had become homeless after her husband's death. Similarly, the wife of Second Lieutenant Mustafa, a Bingazi "martyr," demanded a residence around the same time since she was all alone with no pension. Another war widow, Hüsniye, complained in her petition to the army that after her husband's death she had suffered from poverty, and the room that she still occupied with her nine-year-old son was not a proper place in which to live and raise a child. She demanded a secure residence from the state. On 6 October 1915 the Interior Ministry ordered the Istanbul governor to help her.[40]

Even when they received pensions, women demanded housing aid since they could not pay their rent. Necmiye, from Istanbul's Kartal district, wife of a captain serving in Batum, claimed that the payment garnered from her husband's salary did not help her survive. She lived in misery with her two little children because of paying too much rent.

On 19 September 1918, in her petition to the state, she demanded a house to live in for free.[41]

Refugee women constituted the largest group of claimants, and, therefore, were considered an important burden by the state. In his 1923 novel *Sözde Kızlar* (So-called virgins), Peyami Safa, a contemporary author, depicts the crowdedness of the Administration for Refugees (Muhacirin İdaresi) in a dialogue between one of the caretakers of the building and Mebrure, a refugee girl. In reality, Mebrure comes to the building to search for her father, lost during the Greek occupation. However, the caretaker thinks at first that she is one of the refugee women who asked for food or a place to live. He immediately shouts at her, to discourage all other refugees in the building, and tells her that there is no place for her to live, even the mosques were overflowing and additional residents were not being accepted because of the threat of epidemics.[42]

Social-assistance measures of the state to solve the housing problem were part of the war mobilization since they aimed to protect soldiers' families and partially, too, refugees as potential mothers of future soldiers. Nevertheless, the laws and regulations for this purpose either remained inefficient or created injustice. Eventually, women were forced to live in dangerous and unhealthy conditions, and they often fell out with each other. For women, these circumstances made taking care of their children the most difficult job on the home front.

6 Motherhood

Wartime hunger, poverty, and homelessness complicated the lives of Ottoman women with children the most. For these women, continuing their motherhood duties as single parents became grueling as the war progressed. Therefore, they needed the assistance of the state and welfare institutions to raise their children. However, this aid was also put at the disposal of the state's war effort. Accordingly, it engendered discrimination among the women or children who could receive help and those who could not and eventually brought Ottoman women's criticism.

Being a Refugee Mother

Being a refugee meant death for large numbers of people. In this regard, among the first victims were women, children, and the elderly. Dead refugee mothers left behind many orphans. In the eastern provinces of the Empire, mostly around Sivas province, there were about ninety thousand children without parents. Some of these children were taken care of by their relatives, if they had any. Many conscripted soldiers whose children had been left motherless had no one to ask for help.[1]

Flight was extremely difficult for refugee mothers with young children to take care of. These families had to rapidly leave their homes due to enemy attacks and could take very few things. İsmail Hakkı Sunata recalls that, when he was a soldier, he saw refugees from Anafartalar village, near the Dardanelles front, on oxcarts and carriages filled with a few provisions, beds, pillows, and unpacked clothes that seemed to have been carelessly packed up in a hurry. These people had left their villages because the occupation forces had come too near and seized their fields.[2]

Halil Ataman remembers, as well, that when he arrived near Kızılkilise, a district of Dersim [Tunceli], he had seen a group of refugees outside at night at –40°C. One mother had tied one child on her back, taken another who could walk by one hand, and held the oxen that pulled her cart with the other hand. Another woman with three children dragged two of them by holding their hands and carried the third on her back on the snow-covered road.[3]

Since they had to act as quickly as possible, women often lost their children in the tumult or left them out of fear during attacks by the occupying forces. Families fell apart as they fled for their lives. Bezmi Nusret Kaygusuz writes of the terrible situation of the migrants in the Alaşehir district during the occupation of the Greek army in the armistice period. As if it were Judgment Day, during their escape from the enemy, women lost their husbands, and men carried their children alone. Nobody thought about his or her property while striving to flee.[4]

Some refugee women who had lost their relatives during their flight could only find them decades later. İdris Erdinç recalls that his mother, who unwillingly abandoned him to escape from gang attacks in the Balkans, found him after about a decade during which she had to migrate, find work in factories, and marry another man, not knowing that her first husband, a war veteran, was still alive. Another woman, Fatma from Erzurum, who had lost her family when she was four years old in 1914, found them after sixty-one years of separation, in 1975. She had fallen from an oxcart at a crossroad during the escape of her family from Russian troops and never found her parents.[5] Likewise, many Armenian children lost their parents and some of them were assimilated in Muslim families during the war.[6]

Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu], a keen observer and nationalist writer of the time, in one of his stories on the National Struggle period, "*Köyünü Kaybeden Kadın*" (The woman who had lost her village), also writes of a refugee woman who had lost her entire family during her escape from the Greek army. She loses her way several times, not knowing that her village is still under occupation. She sees one of her children, her thirteen-year-old son, only once, as a captive of the Greeks. The civil servants from whom she requests help cannot tell the truth about her village and try to delay her departure by giving hope and food in the meantime.[7]

Feeding Hungry Children

Wartime poverty, hunger, and migration impeded women's efforts to raise their children and increased child mortality rates. Women who suffered from hunger could not properly breastfeed their infants. Finding milk was too costly, especially in Istanbul. Babies died due to malnutrition, as their only food was war bread soaked in water. The situation of older children was no better. İrfan Orga remembers that many of the dirty and hungry children he saw on the street had experienced so much pain that at the age of seven or eight, they were tougher than forty-year-old men.[8]

Women who worked in underpaid jobs found no proper food for their children. Lynn A. Scipio, dean of the Engineering School at Robert

College in Istanbul during World War I, remembers that children died due to undernourishment and even starvation. Once, he had seen a poor charwoman who bargained with a shopkeeper for rotten tomatoes, which she planned to give her sickly daughter. Scipio convinced her to leave the shop, and he had bought for her some good tomatoes, potatoes, and cheese from another shopkeeper.[9]

Starvation was inevitable for many refugee children. On 20 September 1916 during his military service in the eastern provinces, Hüseyin Atıf Beşe wrote in his diary that he saw parentless refugee children everywhere. Anytime he tried to eat something in the military tent, three to four of them came in front of him waiting for food, but he could not share his pitiful rations.[10]

Especially in the Black Sea region in Anatolia, where women died as victims of the Russian attacks, unprotected orphans died on the streets due to hunger. Muzaffer Lermioğlu remembers that in Samsun's Saathane Square, hundreds of half-naked and starving people, children of refugees, and orphans of fallen soldiers wandered, and each day many of them fainted or died of hunger. In a single night in 1917, he had seen twenty-three child corpses collected from the streets and buried in mass graves in Fenerburnu. Arif Oruç, a journalist for *Tasvir-i Efkar*, also recalls that in 1919, during his visit to the Aegean provinces, he witnessed the death of a refugee orphan due to hunger. He was traumatized, but other people were accustomed to such scenes.[11]

Children whose mothers were still alive suffered, too. According to Muzaffer Lermioğlu, a refugee woman whose husband was a fallen soldier and who had to migrate from Trabzon with her children due to enemy attacks, could not save her children from poverty, cold, and hunger despite all her efforts. Eventually, she watched them die, and then herself died on the same day from hunger and misery.[12]

On 16 February 1918 a telegram sent to the government reported that in Urfa, a city full of refugees, people died each day from hunger. Many searched for pieces of bread while walking through all the quarters of the city in vain. Mothers asked for the blood of slaughtered sheep or goats from butchers or slaughterhouses to use as food for their children; 80 percent of these women received nothing. Some women strived to survive with animal carcasses they could procure. In the middle of winter, many of them could not find even grass to eat.[13]

Worsening Health Conditions and Epidemics

The war worsened health conditions, a situation that hit primarily the poor and the refugees. Death due to cold weather was common among

homeless children. Refugees froze to death on the road or on the streets, finding no shelter in the places where they arrived. Arif Oruç wrote in 1919 in *Tasvir-i Efkar* about an old refugee man who had lost his children and grandchildren on the road. Finally, he had had to leave his six-month-old grandchild behind on the road in order to save himself from dying from cold.[14]

In these conditions, newborn babies were in great danger. Many pregnant women were lonely or unprotected, both conditions tending to lead to an increase in infant mortality. Hüsamettin Tuğaç recalls that, during his military leave of absence, he saw his sister Şefika on her deathbed with her young baby. Not knowing that her husband had died in battle, Şefika had waited for a letter from him for the previous two months, after she had given birth to a son. In the meantime she had stopped lactating, and the baby had been malnourished. Both of them had died due to tuberculosis without receiving any medical treatment.[15]

The mortality statistics, which were kept only in Istanbul at that time, showed that from 1912 to 1923 more women died than men each year. Child mortality was 20 percent of the total mortality in the city in 1914, 19 percent in 1915, 18 percent in 1916, 17.5 percent in 1917, and 17 percent in 1918, reaching 6,979 dead children that year. The real numbers were higher, however, because the registration of dead children was irregular. The deaths of the poor and especially children were not reported to reduce costs and not demoralize the public.[16] Indeed, losing siblings was common for war children. In an oral-history study, Şinasi Erdal recalls that, as a young child during World War I, he had suffered from a grave illness. His older brother had come down with the same illness and had died. His two other siblings had died before Erdal had fallen ill, because they had received no medical treatment.[17]

Malnutrition and lack of basic consumer goods, such as cleaning and clothing materials, increased the spread of epidemics among both soldiers and civilians. Nearly all the provinces suffered outbreaks of plague, tuberculosis, typhus, cholera, relapsing fever, typhoid fever, dysentery, camp fever, paratyphoid, rabies, syphilis, and gonorrhea. Soap scarcity augmented cases of scabies. Hester Donaldson Jenkins, a teacher at the American College for Girls during the war, recalls that, due to lack of food and enough water, epidemics had been widespread in Istanbul. Hungry people walked like skeletons and died due to disease.[18]

In Istanbul between 1912 and 1915, cholera became prevalent. Alarmed by this epidemic, people spread rumors about the burial of the dead in mass graves outside the city.[19] During World War I epidemics were so common that in Anatolia more than half of the population

suffered from malaria and at least one person in every family had tuberculosis. Consequently, the Ottoman Struggle against Tuberculosis Society (Osmanlı Veremle Savaş Cemiyeti) was founded in 1918. Tuberculosis caused the highest number of deaths during the armistice period; 2,640 in 1920, and 2,700 in 1922.[20]

Venereal diseases like gonorrhea, syphilis, chancres, scabies, crabs, and genital warts influenced daily life not only in Istanbul but also in Anatolia. Ahmet Rasim, in his 1922 book on prostitution in Istanbul, *Fuhş-ı Atik* (Old prostitution), claims that before the war, venereal diseases were rare and only found among the non-Muslims who frequented brothels in Beyoğlu and Galata. It was after the war that these diseases increased among Muslims, the newspapers advertised doctors who treated venereal diseases, and talking about them became ordinary.[21]

In Anatolia venereal diseases ravaged the ruined towns and villages and caused at least 35 percent of the deaths in Izmir by 1919. One of the leading physicians in the city confirmed that about 80 percent of the population suffered from these diseases and many women contracted them from husbands who frequented brothels.[22] İsmail Hakkı Sunata remembers a married woman in the countryside who transmitted syphilis to an army doctor she had sex with because she had slept with many other ill men. Arif Oruç confirms as well that even in one of the most decent districts of the Empire, Hüdavendigar's Sandıklı district, he had seen patients with syphilis in 1919. Concurrently, the municipal doctor of Giresun reported that about 20 percent of all inhabitants were syphilitic.[23]

When their mothers died due to epidemics, many children were left without care, lived on the streets, and died of hunger or cold. Furthermore, whether their mothers were alive or dead, due to poverty many of them worked on the street. In order to survive, some of them begged or became prostitutes. The orphans with single parents were relatively better off, but these children also frequently worked hard in unfavorable jobs and suffered from hunger and epidemics.[24]

Increase in the Number of Orphans and Poor Children

Before the foundation of the republic, tens of thousands of unprotected children wandered the streets doing anything for food. Hasan İzzettin Dinamo remembers that he and other hungry children walked the streets collected dog feces and sold them to the tanneries to buy food with the money they earned. İdris Erdinç also recalls that, when he arrived in Istanbul as a fourteen-year-old, he started working as a porter, carrying heavy goods to the port, train station, or the

Cağaloğlu district in return for a few piasters. Young children worked in shoe making, garment making, weaving, embroidery, fine needlework, and cigarette making. They were also employed in restaurants, hotels, and shops, or they became street vendors. Only girls worked in domestic service. Among the porters were feeble girls who carried heavy loads.[25]

Other than working, children often begged. Véra Dumesnil remembers that, when she was in Istanbul in the armistice period, running children on the street begged for one piaster from her. Begging was also common among the refugee women and children in Anatolia, especially in the most ruined regions like Trabzon. Mothers allowed their children to beg. There were also adults who tortured children to exploit the money they earned by begging.[26]

To survive, children stole food or other basic goods even from their own mothers. Şükûfe Nihal, as a contemporary observer, in her 1938 novel *Yalnız Dönüyorum* (I am coming back alone), depicts a hungry twelve-year-old child who is chased by her mother because of stealing the bread for dinner during the war years.[27] The booty of homeless orphan children who lived together and attacked the villages and towns was alarming to the authorities in eastern and southeastern Anatolia and Mesopotamia. Searching for food, children walked as a group and left nothing to the inhabitants of the places they looted. Beggar children, as well, had secondary occupations like stealing coal and wood.[28]

Because they were unprotected, some children started prostitution at very young ages. Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, in his 1919 novel *Hakka Sığındık* (We took refuge in God), depicts orphaned siblings whose mother dies shortly after their house is burned in one of the Istanbul fires. The children live on the street and sell first their clothes. They soon start begging and stealing vegetables from the farmers' market. The older sister starts prostitution at the age of eleven to save her ill little brother, who soon dies from whooping cough. The municipal functionaries put his corpse in a coffin covered with lime in which two other children had already been laid.[29]

Among the prostitutes were also little boys. Ayla Kutlu in her 1985 novel *Bir Göçmen Kuştu O* (He was a migratory bird), writes that during the armistice period the price of the virginity of little girls or boys was the amount of an oke (1,282 grams) of bread, while the price of the following nights was half of that.[30]

Novelist Kemal Tahir as well, in his 1965 novel *Yorgun Savaşçı* (Exhausted warrior), writes about the boy prostitutes of Istanbul during the armistice. Being followed by the police, the protagonist, Captain Cemil, spends the night in Gülhane Park sitting on a bench. Two boys,

seven- and twelve-year-old sons of fallen soldiers, appear next to him and start talking with him. In the middle of the conversation, they reveal that they are prostitutes and many soldiers and foreigners are their clients. One of the boys says that if the captain wants to have sex with him, his price is 25 piasters, and his friend will take 100 paras for standing guard.[31]

Measures to Protect Orphans

During the war the increasing number of orphans urged the Ottoman elites to introduce new measures for the protection of children. Growing progressively more aware of the population's economic and political potential, Ottoman elites took measures for raising, disciplining, and educating children and for using their labor in vocational orphanages from the nineteenth century onwards.[32] Likewise, Ottoman women's reproduction, too, became an issue of new state policies.[33] The state had first allotted pensions to the widows and orphans of fallen soldiers in that century. The fund for needy persons (*muhtacin tertibi*) helped poor women with many children or with a disabled husband. Children left with no relatives and even illegitimate children were housed with a family and granted a small pension. Sultan Abdülhamid II opened the Poorhouse (Darülaceze) for poor or orphan children in 1896; a department for breastfeeding children under the age of four (Irzahane) was annexed to this institution in 1903; a hospital for children in Istanbul called the Hamidiye Sublime Hospital for Children (Hamidiye Etfal Hastahane-i Âlisi) was founded in 1899; and one of the first examples of an Ottoman boarding school for orphans, the Sublime Charity House (Darülhayr-ı Âli), was founded in 1903.[34]

As early as 1911, with the eruption of the Tripolitanian War, the state accepted the children of fallen soldiers in free boarding schools. Nevertheless, an increased number of orphans rendered existing measures insufficient. The state orphanages (Darüleytam) and the Children's Protection Society (Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti), which was founded on 6 March 1917, or semiofficial institutions such as the Red Crescent and the National Defense Society had difficulty fulfilling the needs of the war orphans. Children became subjects of new official celebrations devised to create awareness about the child question and to boost social measures to help them. Alarmed by the adverse impact of the war on children, in 1915 the Ottoman Empire first celebrated the Students' Feast (Mektepliler Bayramı) and in 1916 the Children's Feast (Çocuklar Bayramı) and the Gymnast Feast (İdman Bayramı).[35]

The state helped the children of fire victims or fallen soldiers with their education. Before World War I, except for the Darülhayr-ı Âli, there

existed no Turkish orphanages. Foreign missions or non-Muslim communities had established about a hundred orphanages for non-Muslim children. During the war the number of state orphanages increased to about eighty, but within a short time decreased to sixty-five due to financial difficulties.[36] The state sought new sources to provide more money for the education and care of "war martyrs' children" and taxed consumer items such as tobacco, alcoholic beverages, and the postal services for this purpose in 1915.[37]

The number of children in the state orphanages and high schools (sultani), however, was quite small compared to the number of orphans and needy children. In the first years of the war, out of about 8,000 orphans, only 2,000 entered the state orphanages and 500 the boarding secondary schools, while 6,000 orphans received no help. To solve this problem, the budget of the Education Ministry was increased in 1915 and 1916.[38] Furthermore, on 2 April 1917, the State Orphanages General Directorate (Darüleytamlar Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi) was founded.[39] In 1917, 11,680 orphans were placed in state orphanages and at least 10,000 children were waitlisted. If all these children would have received state protection, their care would have required 128 state orphanages. The parliament projected that the state might have to look after up to 100,000 orphans, a number that was beyond its financial capacity.[40]

Due to budget limitations, and to help the war effort, the state orphanages, state boarding schools, and other institutions accepted children according to their fathers' status. After the amendment of the regulation of the State Orphanages General Directorate, the orphans of war martyrs or veterans entered state orphanages in large numbers. In 1918 the institution gave priority to the children of fallen soldiers, veterans, and refugees and accepted other poor and unsupported orphans as a second priority.[41]

Military schools, too, accepted primarily sons of "martyred" or living soldiers and gendarmes.[42] Children of "war martyrs" and veterans were exempted from the education fees. Due to the wartime inflation, however, in 1919 the state restricted the number of children admitted to all boarding secondary schools without a fee to 20 percent. Fallen soldiers' children continued receiving free education during the National Struggle, as well, with the assistance of the Ankara government.[43]

Orphans who were accepted neither to the state orphanages nor to the free boarding schools were directed to Darülaceze. However, only those who were born in Istanbul acquired this aid. During their stay children received education and were mandated to work in crafts such as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, hosiery, ironworking, and weaving. Other than Darülaceze, in 1920, there were twenty-five Armenian, eight Turkish,

four Greek, two Jewish, and two Russian orphanages in Istanbul. Among the Greek orphanages the Prinkipo orphanage had been closed in 1915. When reopened in 1920 it had been largely destroyed due to the refugees who had settled in the building for some time.[44]

Due to economic constraints, children who entered state orphanages after meeting various criteria were poorly fed and dressed in these institutions, and their education was often interrupted. Hasan İzzettin Dinamo recalls that after Sultan Mehmed Reşat's death in 1918, the state could not pay the food expenses of orphans and closed the Samsun State Orphanage in which Dinamo stayed. Thousands of orphan girls were sent to their relatives or to strangers who adopted and then employed them as servants. Dinamo and his two sisters were among the few who were sent to Istanbul state orphanages. Here again the food problem was intense. In the Beykoz state orphanage, little Hasan was obliged to farm with many other orphan boys. They cultivated their own food in the fields near the orphanage to survive.[45]

In the orphanages located in regions haunted by widespread famine and food scarcities, the situation was worse. Halide Edib recalls how children stole food from one another, and stealing, in turn, often led to wild fights and the abuse of the weaker children in the orphanage she directed in Syria. The children in the Giresun orphanage were worse off because they suffered severe neglect and torture. It was reported that the children were not taken care of; they were whipped, they starved to death, and their corpses were not even buried, but eaten by rats.[46]

The inadequacy of state aid urged foreign philanthropists from United States, Europe, and India to take further measures, such as sending money, clothing, food, and milk.[47] The welfare institutions also provided such means, but they were unable to cover children's education. In 1915 the National Defense Society's Izmir Branch helped the families of the fallen soldiers or veterans, organized collective circumcision feasts for poor boys, opened a kindergarten in Karşıyaka, and paid the travel expenses of poor children sent to Istanbul for education. By July 1917 the National Defense Society provided food for the children in an orphanage on Büyükada, an island of Istanbul, but could not find enough fabric for their clothing in wartime. The Red Crescent provided underwear and socks to poor and naked children to protect them from the winter cold in the hospitals it opened in Erzurum, Erzincan, Kemah, and Kayseri.[48]

During the National Struggle, the women's branch of the Kastamonu Defense of Rights Society (Kastamonu Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti) organized circumcision feasts for soldiers' sons. The women's branch of the Red Crescent in Konya circumcised sixteen poor boys and bought

clothes for them, in addition to thirty-three dresses for orphan girls in the Konya State Orphanage and seven pairs of trousers for the male students of the Teachers' Training College.[49]

The Kastamonu branch of the Children's Protection Society helped 100 children in its region and circumcised 200 boys with a feast. Nevertheless, it canceled its project to build an orphanage. Due to financial constraints, a similar attempt to protect 350 orphans in Trabzon with the aid of the rich ended after three or four months.[50]

The high and increasing infant-mortality rate also alarmed welfare institutions. The Children's Protection Society projected in its regulation to open breastfeeding homes for abandoned babies, to persuade other institutions to do the same, and to educate women on marriage, pregnancy, childbearing, and postnatal care.[51] Moreover, Dr. Besim Ömer Pasha wrote books on the nutrition of children, the medical treatment they needed to receive, and the reasons behind child deaths. Under his guidance the Red Crescent took care of unprotected pregnant women and opened maternity hospitals. In 1918 the Red Crescent founded a maternity hospital in Adana, and, for ensuring donations from the inhabitants of the city, it showed educational films on maternity issues in movie theaters.[52]

Nevertheless, because the problem of infant death was mostly related to the malnutrition of mothers and babies, these measures proved insufficient. Although Ziya Gökalp, one of the most famous Ottoman-nationalist thinkers of his day, contemporary feminist women writers, and, later, the nationalist forces eulogized motherhood, neither the state nor the welfare organizations could support or encourage childbearing during the war years.[53]

Women's Struggle to Raise Children as Single Parents

In the absence of effective social assistance, women first of all sought help from their neighbors. The neighborhood created a kind of temporary, albeit not flawless, social security until replaced by the modern state-sponsored social-security system. However, as people became impoverished during the war, the protection of the neighborhood decreased. Nonetheless, for poor women it kept its importance as a means of solidarity. İrfan Orga remembers how neighbor women immediately helped his mother during her illness, coming to their home each day and looking after him and his brother.[54]

Unsatisfied with the food, pension, or housing aid they received from the state, women frequently mentioned motherhood in their petitions. They especially blamed the authorities for leaving their children

unprotected. Some intellectuals were ashamed of the failure of the state and army in protecting women. On 15 July 1918, in his short story "*Donmuş Kundak*" (Frozen swaddle) in the periodical *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish homeland), Hasan Dündar depicts a refugee mother's protest. Her baby dies on the road during her flight from enemy attacks. When she realizes that her baby has frozen to death, she stares with hatred at the Ottoman soldiers who could not protect her hometown and throws the dead baby in front of them as an insult.[55]

Since the state's and semiofficial institutions' help fell short of meeting their needs, mothers were alone. Hasan İzzettin Dinamo recalls how his mother, Şakire, tried to save her four orphaned children by bustling about all day long. She cut firewood from forests illegally and sold it to bring food into the house. She also accepted help from her neighbors, who were probably as poor as she was. Mothers frequently worked at more than one job. War widow Ayşe worked as a midwife and bathed corpses to look after her four children, with no help from others.[56]

In order to survive, war widows often remarried and continued to take care of the children of previous marriages along with new ones. Süleyman Nuri remembers how his stepmother raised many children alone after her house burned down in Istanbul in 1916 and her husband died from typhus fever soon afterwards. Süleyman Nuri read her letters while he was a soldier, in which she asked him for help in vain. She had built a house herself, hiring only a construction foreman for technical details and had worked in various jobs, as a washerwoman in other homes, as a plasterer in construction, as a quiltmaker, and as a dishwasher in the Red Crescent soup kitchens.[57]

There were also grandmothers who were the only guardians of orphans. After her daughter-in-law had died giving birth to her fourth son, Asiye looked after all her orphan grandchildren. She frequently found nothing to feed them other than herbs that she collected from the mountains.[58]

Many poor women, if lucky, sent their children to free boarding schools to reduce the number of children they had to feed. They first of all preferred vocational schools. In June 1921 Melek, widow of a former auditor, claimed in her petition to the government that she lived in the utmost misery and requested that her fifteen-year-old son, Mehmed Nuri, receive free board and education in one of the industrial schools. On 16 November 1920 another widow, Münire, whose army postal-clerk husband had died as a "martyr" in Yemen, petitioned the government to request money from the relief fund (*atiyye tertibi*) and free registration for her three preadolescent sons in the military school. İrfan Orga also recalls that his mother, who had no alternative to provide her children with a good education, sent him and his brother to military school against their wishes.[59]



Fig. 5 Refugee mothers with feeble children.
Source: Clarence Richard Johnson, ed., *Constantinople To-day or the Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople: A Study in Oriental Social Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 290.

Mothers who were unable to look after their orphan toddlers also tried to send them to boarding schools. Fatma, from the Macuncu Kasım quarter in Istanbul, asked on 3 March 1916 that the War Ministry accept her two-year-old son İsmail to the Kadıköy State Orphanage. After the death of her husband, Ali, at the Arıburnu front, this orphanage had refused her request, saying that the age of her son was not suitable. However, she had no other choice, because the widow's pension she received was sufficient to cover neither the family's expenses nor even the rent she had to pay. Using patriotic terms, Fatma reminded the authorities that they could not allow "the son of a father who had laid down his life for his state and his nation" to be deprived of education. The government, in return, ordered this orphanage to accept Fatma's son.[60]

The poorest women left their children at Darülaceze. In June 1918 Fatma İkbal from Istanbul's Kadıköy district, whose husband was serving as a soldier, requested that the government accept her one-year-old son Halil İbrahim to Darülaceze. Fatma from the Göztepe district of Istanbul also demanded in August 1922 that her fifteen-day-old son Nevzad, who was in the Haseki Women's Hospital, be accepted to Darülaceze. Her gardener husband had been lost for several months, and she had many other children she could not look after.[61]

Some mothers wanted to bring their children home after placing them in state orphanages, although they were denied this right. The parliament rejected the petition of Ayşe Gülnaz and her friends, submitted on 28 February 1917, which requested that their children in state orphanages come home once a week. Unlike boarding-school students who had this right, the orphans could only expect that their relatives visit them at the orphanages.[62]

These mothers had reason to worry about their children, who frequently suffered from malnutrition in the orphanages. İrfan Orga remembers that his little brother became ill due to constant hunger in a charity school for war orphans in Kadıköy. Her mother had sent them there in 1916, believing that they could find enough food. Nevertheless, within two years, the food and hygiene had gotten worse, the children had both gotten sick, and İrfan's little brother Mehmet had nearly died. Eventually, in 1918, their mother took them out of the school.[63]

Especially towards the end of the war, more women applied for their children to be accepted to free boarding schools. Responding to all applications was impossible due to capacity restrictions. After the 20 percent quota limited the number of free boarders in 1919, the petitions of many women were turned down. In June 1921 one of them, Habibe, a refugee woman who had fled to Istanbul after the Greek army's occupation of her hometown in Ayvalık, asked the government to accept her sons

in one of the state secondary schools. Since these schools were overcrowded with children who had free education, her demand was rejected. However, on 22 June 1921, as an alternative, the government asked the State Orphanages General Directorate to accept Habibe's two sons, one eleven and the other nine years old.[64]

In 1922 the government announced that the state schools would no longer accept any students who wanted free boarding education. The Education Ministry, on the other hand, warned the grand vizier on 22 July 1922 about the special status of some boarding schools, which had to accept students without payment due to their regulations. Among these schools, the state desperately needed the graduates of the Teachers' Training College (Darülmuallimin) and the Women Teachers' Training College (Darülmuallimat).[65]

Women needed the vocational education of their sons for their own benefit as well. Many women considered male children as social-security providers. When a dead soldier left behind a son, his wife accepted her son as the new breadwinner of the family, even at a very early age. Thus, they urged boys to learn a craft, which could also help the family. İrfan Orga recalls that, although his mother wanted him to get a better education, she placed him temporarily as an apprentice in a barbershop.[66]

Since sons and grandsons were so precious, in order to acquire their guardianship, women sought help from the state. On 21 August 1916 the Public Security Branch Office of the War Ministry reported that a deceased soldier's mother, Ülfet, had demanded the custody of her grandson, Fuad. To explain her request, she claimed that her grandson's mother was not able give him the necessary instruction and education.[67] Therefore, Ülfet implied both that her daughter-in-law, her rival for control of her grandson, was not strong enough financially and that she was likely an immoral woman who could not educate her own child.

Orphaned boys were also potential husbands. When financially better-off women became widows, men who wanted to seize their money or property forced them into unwanted marriages. Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran, a contemporary Turkish bureaucrat and novelist, recalls that there were wealthy women in Trabzon's Sürmene district who married preadolescent orphans to protect both these boys and themselves. In this way they prevented the animosity of men who tried to intimidate them into marriage to exploit their wealth.[68]

Abandonment and Infanticide

Some mothers could not look after their children, although sons could bring home money or daughters could protect them by marrying richer

men at young ages. Children were especially a burden for refugee women, who frequently left their children behind during enemy attacks. İdris Erdinç recalls that, after her mother heard of the death of her husband, she had left Erdinç with one of her neighbors so she could escape. She was among many young widows who were afraid of gang attacks in the Balkans and who sought a safer place.[69]

The refugees of the Black Sea region were no better off. During their escape from the Russian army, many of them left their children along the road, willingly or not. On 28 July 1916 the inhabitants of Giresun's Görele district fled in the direction of Tirebolu due to bombardment by a Russian torpedo boat. When they arrived at this destination, they had difficulty crossing the river of Harşit, as there was no bridge. The only means of transportation was a raft, called a *kelek*. They waited for days in the rain with no food or drinking water. Hundreds of refugee mothers went crazy, killed their children by throwing them into the river, and committed suicide afterwards.[70]

In 1920 the inhabitants of the Kadirli district in southern Anatolia also fled because of a rumor that the French army was coming towards them with heavy weapons. During this escape, called "run away, run away" (*kaç-kaç*) among those who experienced the tragedy, exhausted mothers left their young children under a myrtle bush to save their own lives.[71]

Throughout their flight from the Russian occupation forces in winter 1914–15, refugee women of the Ardahan district lost their children to starvation or had to abandon them. An anonymous poet described this in an epic poem:

> During the coldest month of the year, in winter days,
> The wretched family is on the mountain roads,
> Hungry, naked children on the bosoms of their mothers,
> Died and left in the wilderness, Ardahan.
> Mothers left their own children [on the road],
> Hoping maybe they could save their own lives,
> The mountain was misty [she] got lost,
> The flat world was filled with death, Ardahan.[72]

In the Black Sea region, highly damaged after the Russian occupation, mothers left thousands of children to their fates. To help local authorities who had difficulty taking care of them, in summer 1918, the government sent the regulation of the Children's Protection Society to the Trabzon province.[73]

Surviving was also difficult for unwanted children born due to intercourse outside marriage, whose number had increased after military conscriptions. Women abandoned babies from unwanted pregnancies.

Most of the illegitimate children who died very early from natural causes were probably victims of their mother's incapacity to care for them. Since some women resorted to infanticide during the war years, the state became suspicious when an "illegitimate" baby died. On 8 May 1919 the Istanbul governorship reported that the daughter of a woman called Kadriye had died within twenty-four hours of her daughter's birth. The governorship feared the infanticide of an "illegitimate" child, since Kadriye's husband was a soldier who had been under arms for the last two years. However, the doctor's report from the district of Üsküdar later revealed that the baby had died from natural causes.[74]

Extremely poor women and prostitutes, who saw their unwanted children as burdens, were especially prone to infanticide. On 30 January 1922 the Istanbul governorship reported that a woman named Seher from Karahisar-ı Şarkî [Sivas], who lived in Darülaceze in Istanbul, had killed her fifteen-day-old daughter by suffocating her the day before. Similarly, on 8 February 1920, the Sivas governor reported that a prostitute called Fidan, who was in prison for infanticide, had escaped with a male prisoner.[75]

Literature on World War I illustrates many scenes of infanticide. In his novel *Sözde Kızlar*, Peyami Safa depicts the murder of an "illegitimate" baby born with syphilis. The villain of the novel, Behiç, passes the illness to his mistress, who learns only after her son is born that she had contracted syphilis. Despite the mother's pleading, Behiç murders his baby by burying him alive. Trying to console the mourning mother, he explains that many people in Istanbul do the same.[76]

In his 1978 novel *Onlar Savaşırken* (While they are fighting), Bekir Eliçin implies that the death of an "illegitimate" baby during birth is suspicious. The headman of the village rapes Sabriye, a soldier's wife, and forces her to become his mistress. She gets pregnant, and, when this is discovered, her husband divorces her, and her brother-in-law throws her out of the house. Nobody accepts her with the "bastard in her womb." She lives in the hayloft of a widow who pities her. The writer emphasizes that "luckily the baby is born dead (!) so that the poor woman is saved," implying the infant was killed one way or another.[77]

Salâhaddin Enis, in his 1924 novel *Zâniyeler* (Adulteresses), emphasizes the hypocrisy of the Ottoman elite about abortion. Fitnat, mistress of men of Istanbul's high society, reads one day in the newspaper that the court found a poor woman who lives in a hut built of tin guilty of committing murder for intentionally having a miscarriage. Fitnat protests the decision, knowing that the authorities never catch or blame rich women who do the same thing.[78]

Finally, during the war, women's crimes – such as theft, cheating, tax evasion, causing injury, and homicide – increased. Many mothers in prison abandoned their motherly duties to survive. The state tried to improve mothers' conditions to prevent child death or infanticide. On 28 May 1916 the Kastamonu governor reported that prison mothers received only one person's food ration, which was insufficient for feeding them and their children, and requested more food for nursing prisoners. The government soon accepted his request. On 1 August 1918 the Justice Ministry requested that prison mothers pass their term of imprisonment in a special department in Darülaceze. The children of imprisoned parents were also accepted to this institution. In July 1921 two sons of Hasibe and Ali Rıza, eleven-year-old İbrahim Hakkı and nine-year-old Hasan Naci, were taken into Darülaceze for the term of the imprisonment of their parents, who stayed in prison for ninety-one days for not paying their debts.[79]

As these examples reveal, although mothers emphasized their responsibilities in their petitions, due to wartime poverty and hopelessness, many Ottoman women as single parents found it impossible to look after their children alone. Therefore, they frequently resorted to welfare institutions for this purpose. Nevertheless, the state was insufficiently able to protect orphans, a situation which aggrieved women. Women's discontent manifested itself in increasing abandonments of children and infanticide by poor mothers.

Part III

Women and Working Life

7 Wartime Work Opportunities and Restrictions

Modernist and nationalist scholars conventionally claim that Ottoman women's entrance into the workforce in the absence of their male relatives contributed to women's liberation from traditional gender relations. Particularly taking remarks in contemporary middle-class women's journals for granted, these scholars accept women's employment as a progressive march towards women's emancipation. Indeed, World War I increased the number of working women, decreased gender seclusion, and created self-confidence, especially among educated and professional women. However, their wartime working-life experiences were not free from restrictions and discriminations, both of which need deeper examination.

Ottoman Women's Working Life before World War I

Ottoman women had a long history of working life before World War I. Nevertheless, despite new educational opportunities, the number of working women and their job fields remained limited. Since the Ottoman Empire was not an industrialized country, few were industrial workers. In 1908, of about 250,000 industrial workers, females numbered between 70,000 and 75,000. Most women workers were non-Muslim, and they were especially Greek and Armenian girls or women in Anatolia. Muslim women made up the majority of female workers only in Thrace.[1]

Although few were in factories and workshops, women played an important role in the Ottoman economy as a cheap labor force. Muslim women's working life outside the home was largely restricted by the conservative social structure. Thus, their labor was frequently exploited at home. In some industries, like silk spinning, weaving, and carpet making, female laborers were employed through the "putting-out" system that subcontracted women workers, who usually worked at home. This system, in Donald Quataert's words, "corresponded well with Ottoman society's view of female labor as supplemental."[2]

In rural areas, women generally worked in agriculture and textiles, both of which could be done at home. They were also in the service sector of small Islamic dervish lodges, called *zaviye*, as washerwomen, nurses, or tomb keepers, as early as the sixteenth century. They worked in mines for many centuries, as sultanate orders dating back to the sixteenth century reveal. After the Ottoman economy was integrated with European capitalism in certain sectors during the nineteenth century, women found employment in the newly emerging factories as well. Few wealthy women owned enterprises and engaged in trade. In the classical age of the Ottomans, women sold fabrics as merchants or owned weaving looms, embroidery looms, grain mills, or bakeries.[3]

The majority of peasant women worked unpaid in household fields.[4] Their labor was particularly important in the Black Sea region, the Marmara region, Adana, Izmir and Aydın, where capitalist agriculture had flourished. They contributed to the production of tobacco, cotton, grapes, and figs. Taxed by the state, women's labor was an economic asset that was transferred with marriage. The Ottoman state took the bridal tax (*arusane resmi*) from the groom when the daughter of an Ottoman subject married.[5]

In textile production, young and unmarried girls were especially preferred as cheap labor. Most women workers in silk production in Bursa were non-Muslim. They generally lived in the factories and quit their jobs after they had saved enough money for their dowries.[6] According to Donald Quataert, during the nineteenth century, the cheap labor of women and children made some Ottoman export-oriented textile products competitive in the world market.[7] In the late nineteenth century, women predominantly spun cotton and wool yarn in the steam-powered mills of Salonica, Macedonia, Istanbul, Izmir, and Adana. A mill in Istanbul's Yedikule district employed 300 female workers and in Adana, one mill employed 300 women, and another 550.[8] With the decline in textile production in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, tobacco processing attracted a huge number of female laborers.[9] In the early twentieth century, women worked primarily in processing tobacco, silk, canned food, soap, matches, and paper, as well as in printing houses. In 1913 they made up more than half of the workers in textile production and about 95 percent of the workers in silk production.[10]

Other than these occupations, women had limited work opportunities. Education in midwifery began in 1842 with the establishment of the Science of Midwifery School (Fenn-i Kıbale Mektebi). Unlicensed midwives worked more freely before, since their practice was not prohibited by the state. Nevertheless, the trained midwives obtained some opportunities as state employees.[11] In 1858 the Ottoman state opened the first

*rüştiye*s (secondary schools) for girls. Women also started getting an education in industrial schools in the second half of the nineteenth century. Midhat Pasha opened an industrial school for orphan girls in Rusçuk in 1865. In 1869 the school was reopened in Istanbul's Yedikule district. This was followed in 1878 by the Üsküdar Girls Day School (Üsküdar Nehari Kız Okulu), which was turned into an industrial school in 1881. Two other industrial schools for girls were opened in Cağaloğlu and Aksaray in 1879. All of these institutions were merged under the name of the Istanbul Girls Industrial School (İstanbul Kız Sanayi Mektebi) in 1912. After the enactment of the Public Education Regulation (Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi) in April 1869, the state opened the first Women Teachers' Training Schools in 1870.[12]

New vocational high schools for girls emerged during the Second Constitutional Era. In 1911 the first *idadiye*, which roughly corresponds to girls' senior high school, was opened in Istanbul. This paved the way for the Higher Women Teachers' Training School (Darülmuallimat-ı Aliye) in 1913. In the educational year 1913–14, the only *idadiye* for girls in Istanbul became a high school, and in 1915 it was reopened in Aksaray with the name Bezm-i Alem Sultanisi. Three other high schools for girls were in Çamlıca, Erenköy and Kandilli. Only after 1922 were high schools for girls opened in Izmir and Ankara. By 1914 women started getting an education to become kindergarten teachers. On 7 February 1914 they were allowed attend conferences at Istanbul University (Darülfünun) for the first time.[13]

Despite these educational reforms, before World War I a large majority of Ottoman women worked at home or in segregation from men. Few women, most of them middle class, fought these limitations. In 1913 Turkish women for the first time entered the Telephone Administration (Telefon İdaresi) in Istanbul as officials and inspectors. The same year they started selling handicrafts in Kapalıçarşı. A woman named Enver opened seamstress shops in different districts of Istanbul. After her shops were looted, she sold homemade food to subscribing clients. There was also the Ottoman Women's Business Organization (Osmanlı Kadın Ticarethanesi) in Babıali. Seyyide Kemal opened her pastry shop, the Patisserie for Ladies (Hanımlar Pastahanesi), in Sultanahmet. Lastly, some of the machine operators and typesetters of the periodical *Kadınlar Dünyası* (World of women) and the *Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası* (Evkaf-ı İslamiye Printing House) were women.

Wartime Opportunities for Working Women

Wartime nationalist elites and intellectuals accepted the war as positive for women's rights and emancipation. Ahmed Emin stated that the rapid

changes in women's participation in working life during the war years "satisfied even the most radical feminists." Dr. Besim Ömer Pasha, an important figure in the education of Ottoman women as nurses, claimed that women's work during the war had contributed to the "emancipation" of women even in Anatolia. A contemporary feminist, Sabiha Sertel, described the rapid change in women's lives as "a victory."[14] These elites and intellectuals were partially right. Undoubtedly, for women willing or ready to enter into working life, war created opportunities.

On 14 August 1916 OWEIS was founded under the patronage of Naciye Sultan, wife of Vice-Commander and War Minister Enver Pasha. This association provided jobs for thousands of women who worked as cashiers, ticket officers on Bosphorus steamers, post office clerks, secretaries, and even street cleaners and garbage collectors. Some of them became barbers in the Beyoğlu, Sirkeci, and Divanyolu districts of Istanbul. There were more than three hundred young Turkish women working as clerks in the Post Office Administration and many other departments of the government. Women also worked in the Commission of War Prisoners of the Red Crescent in Istanbul.[15]

On 12 September 1914 undergraduate education of women started at the University for Girls (İnas Darülfünunu). Women learned fine arts and were hired as actresses in the Istanbul City Theater (Darülbedayi) in the later years of the war. Previously, Ottoman men called *zenne* played the part of women in traditional theater *ortaoyunu*, an Ottoman theatre for common people featuring music and dance played in the open air and in the middle of the audience. In the nineteenth century Armenian women started to appear on the scene. Nevertheless, it was in 1920 that a Muslim woman, named Afife Jale, dared to act on stage. In 1917 the School of Commerce organized special courses for women, and women who wanted to make an independent living started attending private courses.[16]

In 1917 women opened the Goods Bazaar for Ladies Ottoman Incorporated Company (Hanımlara Mahsus Eşya Pazarı Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi) in Istanbul. They brought products from Anatolia to Istanbul on the Mudanya-Izmir road and sold them behind the Galata dock. There were similar bazaars in Bartın and Kayseri.[17] In 1919 Naciye Hanım opened a photographer's shop to serve only women, first in Istanbul's Yıldız district and later in Beyazıt. Fatma Nefise Hanım opened a workshop. In her seamstress shop in Kadıköy, which was moved to Beyoğlu later on, Calibe Hanım hired Turkish girls.[18]

Unlike European women, Ottoman women did not work in munitions factories in large numbers. Nevertheless, the number of women manufacturing workers increased from 20 to 30 percent between 1913 and 1915. Except for carpet making, for which the demand from Europe

declined due to the war, production rates did not drop in sectors where women worked. By 1915 they worked in the stocking factories of Adana and Urfa on a wide scale. There were 1,000 women just in the Urfa stocking factories; 4,780 in carpet making in Izmir, Sivas, Ankara and Konya (including Akşehir, Isparta, and Niğde); 11,000 in textile manufacturing in Aydın; and 1,550 textile workers in Kütahya, Eskişehir, and Karahisar-ı Sâhib. Women also worked on a thousand looms in Diyarbakır that men had left due to war. And women replaced conscripted men in factories in Hereke, Karamürsel, and Eyüpsultan.[19]

Turkish women acquired knowledge in nursing and sewing since the army needed these two occupations in particular. Although the first school of nursing for Muslim women was founded in 1925 by the Red Crescent, Turkish women took nursing courses from October 1914 to April 1915 in the conference hall of Darülfünun.[20] The first thirty graduates had such importance that even the first wife of the sultan (*Baş kadınefendi*) came to their commencement and aristocratic women learned the profession in Bursa.[21] On 18 March 1915 the Istanbul University Hospital (Darülfünun Hastahanesi) demanded the assignment of ten graduates. By 1916 the number of Ottoman women nurses working in Istanbul hospitals was only twenty-four. The same year, seven women nurses of the Kadırga Birth Clinic (Kadırga Seririyat-ı Viladiyesi) went to the military hospitals of the Fourth Army in the Jerusalem-Damascus region.[22]

Ottoman intellectuals, too, supported nursing as a "woman's profession." Tevfik Fikret, Abdülhak Hamid, Süleyman Nesib, Hüseyin Daniş, Faik Ali Ozansoy, Mehmed Emin Yurdakul, Nigâr Hanım, and Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç were only some of the poets who eulogized nursing from 1913 onwards. Women nurses became symbols of the Red Crescent during the war and appeared frequently on its postcards, rosettes, medallions, and plaques.[23]

In autumn 1916 the army, in need of new nurses, allowed the Red Crescent nursing-course students' entry to the Practice School (Tatbikat Mektebi) attached to the Military Hospitals Directorate (Askeri Hastahaneler Müdüriyeti) in Istanbul. Women nursing-course students' work in this institution functioned as an apprenticeship. These students were found by OWEIS and received financial help if they were in need.[24] About forty young Armenian women refugees in Kayseri received education in the Red Crescent hospitals as nurses. Just like them, many women acquired professional education while working as nurses. Local governments also demanded trained midwives in greater numbers.[25]

On 27 February 1915 an advertisement in the newspaper *Tanin* (Reverberation) called on women to sponsor or sew clothing for soldiers



Fig. 6 Turkish nurses assisting in surgery.
Source: *Harb Mecmuası*, no. 14 (Safer 1335 / Teşrîn-i Sânî 1332 [14 November– 13 December 1916]), p. 215.



Fig. 7 A group of women employed in the Army Sewing Depot.
Source: *Harb Mecmuası*, no. 11 (Ramazan 1334 / Temmuz 1332 [14 July – 13 August 1916]), p. 174.

by applying to the Red Crescent Ladies' Center. Thousands of women worked in the army's sewing workshops, where they both learned the profession and produced soldiers' clothing. The Tailoring School (Biçki Yurdu) was opened by Behire Hakkı in 1913 with twenty-seven students, a number that increased to 366 in 1917. These students opened their own shops, worked at home, or became sewing teachers, further increasing the number of seamstresses. The government supported the Tailoring School, saving many women from destitution and putting them at the disposal of the economy and army.[26]

A limited number of women also served in the army as workers, female clerks, and officers. On 10 September 1917 a draft regulation was prepared for the First Women Workers' Battalion (Kadın Birinci İşçi Taburu), and on 19 February 1918 it was introduced to the First Army. The army considered the battalion as offering experience for the purpose of "accustoming women to provide their own livelihood." It had both female officers with salaries and female workers with daily wages. Although the battalion was sent to the front, women worked behind it.[27]

Women in the First Women Workers' Battalion served as secretaries, road builders for the army, farmers, cooks, seamstresses, and nurses. Many were peasant women whose men had been conscripted;[28] 149 of them served as army construction workers. The secretaries and female officers started working on 23 October 1917, and the female workers in November 1917. The battalion was allowed to have as many companies as possible. Each company would have two squads. Nevertheless, the battalion never exceeded eighty to ninety active personnel.[29]



Fig. 8 The First Women Workers' Battalion doing agricultural work. Source: *Harp Mecmuası*, no. 25–26 (Şaban 1336 / Mayıs 1334 [May 1918]), p. 411.

Social problems, such as venereal diseases, which plagued the country during the war years, also created new job opportunities for women. In the Anatolian countryside, the majority of men did not allow their wives to be examined by male doctors, a situation creating an acute need for female doctors. On 5 October 1918 the Council of Ministers allowed women to be educated as doctors, dentists, and pharmacists.[30] Furthermore, in order to prevent the smuggling of gold and silver under women's outfits, a crime that was common in the war years, the government appointed women as plainclothes policewomen. By 1917 a policewoman who worked in a customhouse in Izmit earned 400 piasters per month. In addition, most of the workers of the Forensic Medicine Institute (Tıbb-ı Adli Müessesesi) were women.[31]

Furthermore, in the absence of their men, peasant women had to learn jobs that they had never performed before. Hasan Kanatlı from the Güzlük village of Kastamonu states in an interview that, because there were no men left in their village, women conducted funerals and had to butcher animals.[32]

Women also acquired a public reputation doing war work. Ottoman women from elite families worked for nationalist causes and attained social prestige. Many of them received medallions from the Red Crescent for founding establishments or associations that created jobs for poor women, for donating money to the institution, or for working as voluntary nurses.[33] Nearly all members of the Red Crescent Ladies' Center were elite women who worked voluntarily in Red Crescent hospitals, collected money for them, and contributed to supplying the army by sewing or having other women sew thousands of units of clothing, sheets, and bandages. Most sewing was done by poor or refugee women and orphan girls from the Balkans in the Red Crescent Ladies' Center Workshop (Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Darüssanaası), founded in 1913.[34]

Elite women acquired public experience by opening and participating in associations for the benefit of poor women. By becoming patrons of the poor, whose number increased with wartime social problems, elite women became actors in the war mobilization from 1911 to 1922. In 1913, with the Balkan Wars, they started helping unsupported or orphaned daughters of war martyrs or refugees through the Ottoman Turkish Ladies' Welfare Institution (Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği). In 1914 they founded the Ladies' Society to Assist Soldiers' Families under chairwoman Nuriye İsmail Canbolat and the patronage of Enver Pasha's wife Naciye Sultan. This society distributed food to 22,600 soldiers' families, poor students, and victims of the great Fatih fire. It provided educational support to the children of fallen soldiers and veterans, provided dowries for poor soldiers' daughters, and helped patients and new mothers financially.

In 1915 Nakiye Hanım, an important female educator of the time, founded the Assistance to Martyrs' Families Union (Şehit Ailelerine Yardım Birliği). It enrolled orphans in day schools and boarding schools and worked for the assignment of pensions to families of war martyrs until the end of the National Struggle.[35]

In 1915 elite women founded the Şişli Women's Charity Society (Şişli Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniyesi) to provide food for the poor. The Red Crescent rewarded some of its members with medallions for their aid to its soup kitchens. In the Alone Families' Helper Ladies' Society (Bikes Ailelere Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti), founded in 1916, affluent women members helped the poor and soldiers' families, gave money to treat sick children in hospitals, provided free school lunches for the children of soldiers and "war martyrs," and covered some of their educational expenses.[36] Elite women used all this wartime public experience later in demanding their political rights.

Restrictions on Women's Working Lives

In spite of these opportunities, the majority of Ottoman women suffered economic, social, and ideological restrictions at work. Ordinary women had a small number of suitable jobs open to them in a poorly industrialized economy, although in Istanbul and Anatolia, thousands of refugee women needed employment. Ottoman society was still suspicious of women's work outside home. Whereas some feminists of the time welcomed women's entrance into working life, others approached the matter conservatively. New job opportunities were mostly due to the efforts of state to support the war mobilization and to protect the social order.

During the war years, only a few institutions could employ women. Women's work was mostly due to the wartime obligatory work laws.[37] Unlike in Western combatant countries only five thousand Ottoman workers were in the war industry. There was no armament factory located in Anatolia. Therefore, women in the provinces had little chance to work in this industry.[38]

On 11 February 1918 the newspaper *Ati* (Future) reported eight hundred thousand Ottoman widows compared to sixty thousand before the war. They constituted a socioeconomic problem both in Istanbul and in the provinces. Only the government and the army employed some of these women, sometimes compulsorily, for use as cheap labor for war mobilization. Refugees in a women's shelter in Bursa were forced to produce socks on machines sent to them by the Izmir Aid to Refugees Society (İzmir Muhacirin Muavenet Cemiyeti).[39]

Unemployed women applied in greater numbers for the Darülaceze, which demanded government aid in 1918 to continue its existence. Over time, women had a lower chance of entering this institution. Emine, a previous resident of Darülaceze, was not accepted later. She had lost her family during the Balkan Wars and was placed in Darülaceze when she first arrived in Istanbul. Afterwards she married a man who later left her. On 10 February 1917 the government instead requested a job for her from the National Defense Society in an institution that produced ammunition for the army.[40]

Due to restrictions on finding a proper job for poor women, Ottoman elites started to found new institutions for this purpose from 1908 onwards. The first was the Women's Charity Society (Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniye), which educated girls in Salonica right after the proclamation of the Second Constitution. The continuous warfare accelerated such attempts. The Ottoman Turkish Ladies' Welfare Institution provided both vocational education and jobs for poor girls and women. On 15 April 1917 a male educator named Ahmed Edib opened a private teaching institution for women named the Homeland of Knowledge Institute (Bilgi Yurdu Müessesesi), while in the same year another male educator named Ahmed Halid founded the Turkish Woman Training Center (Türk Kadını Dershanesi).[41]

Ottoman women opened similar associations in the provinces. Among these were The Compassion Committee (Şefkat Heyeti), which taught girls sewing in Konya, and another institution opened in 1909 in Samsun, by an Armenian woman named Aktuniyadis, to provide jobs for orphan girls over thirteen years old and widows. The Tailoring School, founded by Behire Hakkı, had branches in Biga, Izmir, and Istanbul, and in 1923 it reached 1,380 graduates. The Kastamonu Ottoman Ladies' Workshop (Kastamonu Osmanlı Hanımları İş Yurdu), founded in 1916, taught sewing and handicrafts. In 1916 the Consumption of National Products Women's Charity Society (Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi) also opened seamstress shops, in various Istanbul districts, in which women and girls sewed soldiers' clothing.[42]

One of the most organized of women's attempts to help other women gain employment was the Red Crescent Ladies' Center Workshop, founded after the Balkan Wars for poor refugee women. On 7 August 1913 it started with 500 Ottoman liras assigned by the Red Crescent; at first, only 15 girls and women worked in a small house in Istanbul's Cağaloğlu district. In two to three months, this number rose to 110. Female workers were provided lodgings both in Beyazıt and Sultanahmet, and they regularly received a free lunch in the workshop. In 1916 their number reached 160, and, when women who worked at home for the institution were added, the

number reached 1,500. The workshop paid its workers daily wages when they could not come to work due to illness, and it sent doctors to their houses for free. All of the workers received a certificate for medical services. Workers who wanted to get married were provided with dowries, and workers who were victims of the great Fatih fire were placed in schools as temporary residences and helped financially. Workers also received double wages on religious feast days and were given various types of clothing yearly.[43]

Among all of these institutions employing women, the most well known was OWEIS. It opened three workshops, in Çapa, Fatih, and Üsküdar. During World War I it found sixty thousand jobs for women in different sectors. On 3 May 1920 the War Ministry requested that OWEIS and many other social institutions employ first of all soldiers' widows and orphans. An institution with a similar name, the Muslim Women's Employment Society (İslam Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti) was founded with the support of the state in 1918.[44]

Table 3. *Women Workers Sent to Different Institutions by the Ottoman Women's Employment Islamic Society by 1917*

Name of the Institution	Number of Women Workers
Women Worker's Brigade	125
Régie Factory	317
Municipality of Istanbul	259
Taksim Flannel and Stocking Factory	135
National Textile Corporation	22
Cooks Sent to Various Soup Houses	20
Janitresses Sent to Several Institutions	84
Eyüp Military Clothing Workshop	1,592
Defterdâr Textile Factory	1,140
Beykoz Leather and Shoe Factory	863
Makriköy Textile Factory	833
Sultân Ahmed Military Sewing House	157
Levâzım Thread Factory	272
Ahır Kapı Military Clothing and Tent Workshop	650
Sarâchâne Factory	371
Various Other Institutions	45
Total	6,885

Source: Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslâmiyesi, 1333 Senesi Raporu (Istanbul: Ahmed İhsân ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1334 [1918]), p. 14. Translated and quoted in Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 90.

These institutions were mainly a precaution against the social problems that unprotected war widows caused. Such institutions also served the efforts of the government to foster a national economy. Probably for this reason, even though it was an institution for the employment of women, OWEIS was founded and directed by men. In order to prevent public criticism, women were allowed to be regular members in 1917, and a board of women was established. Nevertheless, in 1921 the women's periodical *Kadınlar Dünyası* criticized the policy of not allowing women on the board of directors. Furthermore, one-fourth of the members of OWEIS were Muslim male entrepreneurs associated with the ruling CUP, who needed women as a cheap labor. Consequently, the initial aim of OWEIS was to employ an additional ten thousand women.[45]

OWEIS soon became a profitable business investment, but the profits dropped enormously immediately after the war as the workforce declined. It largely stopped its activities in 1920 but survived until 1923.[46]

Workshops for widows and orphans were also intended to boost the war mobilization. On 24 March 1915 it was reported from Kastamonu's Kengırı [Çankırı] district that war orphans produced socks and underwear for the army in a workshop founded by the Ladies' Society to Assist Soldiers' Families. The army had demanded sixty thousand socks, and production had begun before a school for the education of these children, which reportedly was one of the first aims of the workshop, had been opened.[47]

The negative approach of society to working women was another restriction in Ottoman women's working life. Examining the civics (*malumat-ı medeniyye*) textbooks during the Second Constitutional Era, Füsun Üstel shows how Ottoman intellectuals defined ideal women as mothers and wives. In his 1913 book *Kızlara Mahsus Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (Girl's education of morals and civics), Ali Seydi did not even mention working women.[48] Although Ottoman women received vocational education in the late nineteenth century, especially as teachers and midwives, this happened in few institutions. As early as 1913 mothers begged for the entry of their daughters into the Women Teachers' Training School because the number of applicants far exceeded the quota.[49]

Ahmed Rıza, a prominent secularist intellectual leader of the Young Turks and education minister in the Second Constitutional Era, recalls how his attempts to open a girls' high school in Adile Sultan Palace in Kandilli had failed in that period. He received no support even from the feminists and was blamed for irreligiousness during the 31 March Incident.[50]

Social prejudice against women's education predominated during the war years as well. On 28 October 1916, in order to open secondary schools for orphaned girls (Darüşşafaka) in each province, the Ottoman government sent a notification. It requested that the local notables become members of the Muslim Teaching Society (Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İslamiye), which would open schools in Istanbul and other provinces. No one wanted to become a member of this institution in Aydın, a western and relatively developed province. Although many Muslim merchants got richer in Izmir during World War I, they refused to pay the yearly subscription fee of 4 liras for membership.[51] Obviously, they were not enthusiastic about promoting women's education.

Ottoman Turkish middle- and upper-class women who could have been pioneers of women's entry into new jobs also had little professional experience because they worked neither outside nor inside the home. Grace Ellison writes that in 1915 the Ottoman women she was acquainted with complained of not being permitted to work.[52]

Despite their lack of experience, more Ottoman women worked as teachers, voluntary nurses, and clerks during the war. Women's entry into work life in greater numbers was criticized even among women themselves. In her article "Erkekleşme" (Becoming mannish) in the periodical *Türk Kadını*, Nezihe Rikkat criticized women's increasing participation in the workforce. According to Samiha Ayverdi, one of her childhood friends had "wasted away" her youth by working for years from 1918 onwards. Implicitly disapproving women's entrance into work life, Halide Nusret Zorlutuna also writes that she accepted working in a private high school in Kadıköy only because she desperately needed money.[53]

Unsurprisingly, men were more critical towards women's working life. İsmail Hakkı İzmirli wrote in *Dini't-tevhid* (Unity of religion) in 1923 that women's education had to be restricted in case they ignored their housework and motherly duties. Many women were impeded by such criticism. Sabiha Sertel remembers that during the war, at the age of nineteen, she could not work due to social pressure. Although the married women around her were allowed to work, her relatives feared that she would not be able to get married if she did so.[54]

Formerly rich women in Istanbul often refused to work, surviving instead on the money they gained by selling household goods. İrfan Orga remembers that his mother, Şevkiye, started working first at home, sewing for a boss in the Kapalıçarşı, until the government bought all the available fabric for the army in spring 1916. Although she could work in the Army Sewing Depot in Gülhane, her mother-in-law forbade it. They sold everything from furniture to jewelry until they were left with nothing else to sell. Only then did her mother-in-law allow her to get a job.[55]

Even intellectual women suffered from such pressures and existing sexual segregation. Halide Nusret Zorlutuna remembers that although she lived on her articles, poems, and stories written for various periodicals during the war, she worked in places isolated from men and had never seen the owners of these periodicals or their executive offices.[56]

Politicians also did not support working women because they feared making conservatives angry. In May 1916 the governor of Bursa attempted to control women's outdoors activities with a notification. The local newspaper of this province, *Ertuğrul*, reported in May 1918 that conservatives complained about the women merchants who sold their goods on the street. Turgut Çarıklı recalls that his father, Hacim Muhittin [Çarıklı], who was the governor of Bursa during the National Struggle, had banned from the streets women not wearing veils in order to satisfy the conservative-minded population, although he was personally a progressive man.[57]

Even in Istanbul, where people were more open to new ideas, the situation was similar. Although many women quit wearing veils outdoors, they endured the opposition of the people on the street. İrfan Orga writes that some children near Beyazıt stoned his mother, Şevkiye, the first time she took off the veil despite the opposition of her mother-in-law. Until the end of World War I, men and women continued to be segregated from each other in public transport and public places. On the boats of Istanbul, women had to stay in closed cabins below deck. Even riding in the same carriage with their husbands or sitting next to them raised criticism. Segregation continued in Darülfünun, where female students received education in another building in the first years. Later on, in the armistice years, they entered university buildings after male students took their courses in the morning hours. They had to wear *çarşaf*s and could only discard their veils during class. Only as late as 1921 did the Arts Faculty, headed by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, agree that women and men could attend lectures together.[58]

Süreyya Ağaoğlu, one of the very first Turkish female lawyers and daughter of the famous author, journalist, and politician Ahmed Ağaoğlu, recalls in her memoirs how she entered the Law Faculty in 1921. When she had expressed her desire to become a law student to the head of the department, Selahattin Bey, he had laughed and told her that she needed three other friends to enlist, since they had to open a new Girls' Faculty for this purpose. When she finally convinced other girls to enter into the Law Faculty, he warned her that she would have to wear a *çarşaf* to enter courses. Accepting herself as a progressive woman, she quitted the practice the first chance she got by wearing an overcoat instead.[59]

Women in the ranks of the bureaucracy could discard their veils during office hours. Nevertheless, if their skirts were shorter than the officially prescribed length, police sent them home.[60] They were segregated from men in the government offices and could not leave their own offices, so used male doormen to send documents. The male office workers left the government building first in order to prevent any physical intimacy. Despite such precautions, the contemporary press published articles claiming that women in the postal and Finance Ministry offices were overdressed and saw every sort of man, with good or bad intentions, to carry out their jobs.[61]

Women's philanthropic activities also suffered from conservatism. On 15 June 1915 the Istanbul police disapprovingly reported that fifteen- to sixteen-year-old women carried aid boxes and collected donations from men on the streets or in the coffeehouses for the Red Crescent until nine o'clock at night. Police suggested that such scenes had to be forbidden, and the donations could be collected only on the main streets and only from women, not from men. On 18 July 1915 the Red Crescent was warned that Muslim women were not to be allowed to carry aid boxes on the street.[62]

Women nurses, too, were under pressure due to disapproval from doctors, who were exclusively male. Some doctors claimed that voluntary nurses disobeyed disciplinary rules. On 1 June 1915 the medical-field general inspector (*Sahra-yı Sıhhiye Müfettiş-i Umumisi*) reported that nurses did not arrive at the hospital in due time, disappeared for days, or left the hospital at all times with minor excuses. He demanded that the head doctors be given the authority to punish or dismiss latecomers and absentees. On 11 August 1915 two nurses were dismissed from the Galata Red Crescent Hospital (Galata Hilal-i Ahmer Hastahanesi). On 13 May 1915 the surgeon general of the Imperial War Academy Hospital (Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane Hastahanesi) reported that two of his hospital nurses had been dismissed because each had missed a single day of work.[63]

Due to social pressure, Ottoman women first learned the profession of nursing in special courses rather than in a school. Some groups found the commencement day of the first graduates of courses in the Red Crescent Ladies' Center in 1913–14 unnecessary. On 22 May 1915 the proclamation of this institution encouraging more women to learn nursing was canceled based on the claim that the army could by no means support this initiative. The attempts to open a nursing school in 1916 also failed. Although the project dated back to the Crimean War, the first foreign private nursing school was opened in 1920 by Americans and the first national nursing school on 21 February 1925 with the Republican regime. Most of the nurses in World War I were those three hundred



Fig. 9 Illustration comparing the number of women nurses in countries that were allies of the Ottoman Empire in 1917 (Ottoman, 284; Bulgarian, 1,500; Hungarian, 12,960; Austrian, 2,804; and German, 67,000). Source: *Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Tarafından Tertib Edilen Takvim*, Vol. 3, *1933 – 1917* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1333 [1917]), p. 179.

women who had taken nursing courses for five months from Dr. Besim Ömer Pasha in 1913–14.[64]

Although female doctors were needed due to gender segregation in Ottoman society, even the educated did not approve of women's education in medicine. Only seven female students enrolled in the Medical Faculty in September 1922. Until 1925 they had to wear veils while attending lectures with male students. Those who graduated from Darülfünun and had studied in Europe or America could not become specialists because of the prejudices of their male colleagues. Until 1930 they could not receive official appointments from the Health Ministry.[65]

Men were also afraid of competition from women. While doctors wanted to dismiss nurses or prevent women from acting in their profession, working-class men also feared losing their jobs. Although the number of women workers increased from 1913 to 1915, they were not

employed in the Fez Factory (Feshane) but worked from home for it and in the Izmit Factory (İzmit Fabrikası) until 1916.[66]

Due to these economic and social restrictions, the authorities redefined women's wartime work as a means of protecting them from moral degeneration and prostitution. The army demanded proof from all applicants to the First Women Workers' Battalion, in the form of certificates signed by the headmen of their districts, that they were virtuous women. This was also true for women employed in government offices.[67] The female workers of the First Women Workers' Battalion were settled in the Edib Bey Manor House (Edib Bey Köşkü), in Istanbul's Sultantepe district, an old building in which women workers were isolated from public life.[68]

Working for war mobilization also legitimized women's employment. The Ottoman Turkish Ladies' Welfare Institution, which was directed by Nezihe Muhiddin and had branches in Kasımpaşa, Kanlıca, and many other districts of Istanbul, was highly nationalist. The Red Crescent Ladies' Center was also known for its support for the war effort, like the preparation of clothes, gloves, and food for the army.[69]

The state and welfare institutions supported similar efforts by elite women at assisting with war mobilization and preventing prostitution. On 24 September 1921 Nigar Hanım, who had previously founded the Turkish Women's Tailoring House (Türk Kadınları Dikiş ve Biçki Evi) in Adana, reported that she had opened another seamstress shop, in which she only employed refugee women and widows of "martyred" officers, and asked for support from the Red Crescent. On 23 May 1923 the Red Crescent demanded that its Ankara branch give help and guidance to Ulviye Hanım, a teacher in the Red Crescent Ladies' Center Workshop who was coming to Ankara to sell the artwork of war orphans.[70]

On 27 July 1917 the government requested that the governors of all provinces employ primarily the orphaned girls who demanded jobs from OWEIS in companies, workshops, and farms, or in houses for domestic work. In October 1918 the government sent two adolescent girls with no family, Seher and Behice, to OWEIS for employment, claiming that their lives and their chastity could be guarded only in this way.[71]

On 17 December 1916 the Istanbul police reported that their department, in cooperation with OWEIS, had turned the Edhem Pasha Mansion in Fındıklı into a workshop for women. For this purpose, the police chief demanded 150 beds from the Red Crescent. The report explained that the workshop was opened to employ "Muslim women who are walking around on the street seriously in need of protection and compassion and who are begging to earn only one day's subsistence money or who are giving up their innocence and chastity and falling into prostitution and debauchery because of this." Nevertheless, the government did not find forcing

prostitutes to work in this workshop a legal practice and rejected the opening of the workshop. On 9 May 1917 the police reported that it had opened a boarding workshop (*leyli darüssanaa*) for women with the capacity of one hundred beds in Kabataş and wanted permission to force Muslim prostitutes to work in this institution. The government turned down this demand, claiming that prostitution in accordance with the regulations did not constitute a crime according to the existing criminal code.[72]

Multiple social and economic factors, along with the deeply rooted gender codes, created various obstacles to women's wartime work opportunities and freedom. In such conditions, women's work was reformulated as a protective measure and a national cause to reduce the criticism of conservatives. However, this protection could easily turn into the restraint and forced labor of women. All these restrictions were combined with heavy work conditions, which further worsened women's wartime working experience.

8 Working Women's Problems

Understanding the real war experience of Ottoman women is only possible by knowing how they worked. During the war years working women suffered from a variety of problems, such as unemployment, low or unpaid wages, sexual harassment, hard working conditions, absence of social security, and job loss. Nevertheless, wartime gains have been emphasized in historical works at the expense of ignoring these problems. Working Ottoman women's problems show, however, the difficult path that these women had before the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

Unemployment and Exploitation as Cheap Labor

During World War I many poor women continued to be unemployed or found only temporary or irregular work. A Turkish widow interviewed by American researchers in the armistice period said that she went to clean houses or clothes whenever she was called, though requests for her services were rare. Her daily wage only covered food. On nonworking days, she stayed hungry. Others worked in more than one job to make ends meet. Muazzez İlmiye Çığ, a prominent Turkish archeologist, recalls that, although her father was a teacher in Bursa, her mother sold soap and cologne, going to different villages by donkey, and bought flour and oil in return. In addition, she earned money by sewing.[1]

Women with permanent jobs in government offices or municipalities had problems, too. First, they did not receive their salaries in a timely fashion. The government did not pay the wages of midwives in the provinces, but forced the municipalities to do it from their private budgets. Despite a notification from the government, in January 1915, for about one year no province had paid their salaries.[2] The wages of nurses and laundry women in hospitals were also very low. Five Turkish nurses – Emine Güzide, Hatice, Fatma Bedrin, Saime, and Nesibe – who worked at the Istanbul Beylerbeyi Hospital (İstanbul Beylerbeyi Hastahanesi) between 1 February 1915 and 14 August 1918, earned a 437 piasters wage. Four Turkish laundry women at the Istanbul

Table 4. *Daily Wages of Men, Women, and Children in 1915, in Piasters*

Production Branch	Men	Women	Children
Sugar, sesame oil, and biscuits	17–25	8–10	-
Canned food	25–30	8–10	-
Tobacco	[10<]	[10<]	[10<]
Treenail	15	9	-
Wool yarn and textiles	[8.4]	[8.4]	[8.4]
Cotton textiles	10–13	4–6	2–4
Raw silk	[4]	[4]	[4]
Other textiles	[5.04]	[5.04]	[5.04]
Cigarette paper	10–15	[2–6]	[2–6]
Printing and other paper	[8.2]	3–5	2–4
Soap	12–15	2–6	[2–6]
Other chemicals	13–15	-	2.5

Source: Organized using the data from A. Gündüz Ökçün, ed., *Osmanlı Sanayii 1913, 1915 Yılları Sanayi İstatistiki* (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1997).

Mirgün Hospital (İstanbul Mirgün Hastahanesi) – Melek, Bemire, Fatma, and Münire – received only 220 piasters in wages between 7 July 1916 and 21 November 1916.[3]

Women industrial workers received the lowest wages. In many factories, the salaries of women were about one-third to one-sixth of what was paid to men (Table 4).[4] In textile and tobacco production women were exploited as unskilled workers. Women and children workers of the Oriental Carpet Manufacture Ltd., whose numbers reached fifteen thousand, daily earned about 1.6 piasters. Ottoman workers received about the same wages from 1913 to 1915 despite wartime inflation. In 1913 their wages varied from 4 to 17.5 piasters, while in 1915, from 4 to 19.6 piasters. In 1913, in sugar, canned foods, textiles, cigarette paper, and tobacco production, for which the daily wage was below 10 piasters, women workers were employed the most. The lowest paid of them were in silk- and tobacco-production factories.[5]

Ottoman entrepreneurs regarded women's cheap labor as a factor that lowered production costs. Besides, Ottoman society acknowledged men as the real workers, so women were forced to accept lower wages. Women also had a low likelihood of being labor union members; hence, entrepreneurs were motivated to hire them.[6]

Cemile Selim Neşirvanova, a socialist woman writer, recalls that during the war years employers exploited war widows and employed forced-labor practices both in sewing clothing for the army and in hospital work in

return for food. In the countryside women worked as domestic servants in other people's houses for board only. They were colloquially called bread eaters (*ekmekçi*).[7]

There is no accurate information on the amount of the wages that women workers who were sent by OWEIS to various institutions received. Average wages were only recorded for women sent to work in the army. However, it is known that all women workers sent by this institution were very popular among employers since they took less money. On 9 February 1918 Mehmed Arif Bey declared in an interview for the newspaper *Vakit* (Time) that their daily salaries of at least 10 piasters were on a piece-work basis.[8]

These 10 piasters would be calculated as 40 cents in American currency, devaluated to 10 cents' worth in purchasing power towards the end of the war. Women employees of the First Women Workers' Battalion earned less money than that given for the same work in workplaces where the institution sent civilian women. The wages of the head secretary, the food supplies officer, and company leaders of the battalion were from 600 to 800 piasters. The battalion and company secretaries, the warehouse keeper, and seamstresses earned from 500 to 700 piasters, while squad leaders earned from 400 to 600, nurses from 300 to 450, and cooks from 250 to 350. These women workers had no right to demand additional provisions from the army, unlike the male army officers. Furthermore, 10 percent of their wages were sent to OWEIS each month.[9]

Women in the Red Crescent Ladies' Center Workshop were also disadvantaged. Their daily wages were based on the quantity of the handicrafts they finished and were very low, since these products were sold at prices lower than average. OWEIS had a profit of 50,000 liras within one year in 1917. Therefore, hiring women was very profitable for employers, and there were rumors about the high profits of the institution.[10]

Women in Darülaceze were also expected to work for economic profit. On 17 December 1921 its director reported that residents from the ages of twelve to sixty had to be forced to work. According to a regulation he prepared, those who resisted would be punished unless they had a disability. Punishment could be as harsh as eviction from Darülaceze or arrest. Children had a six-hour workday and received a maximum of 4 to 5 piasters. On 2 April 1922 the director requested money from the government for teaching young women and girls carpet production in the institution. Refugee women and children in Sivas were also expected to work in carpet production, weaving, and fabric production, quite probably in exchange for board.[11]

The state regarded orphan girls as a cheap workforce and founded an industrial school for them in Istanbul's Bebek district. However, orphan girls were generally employed as domestic servants. The Parliament Fiscal Equilibrium Council reported in 1918 that the education of orphan girls in cooking, waitressing, and domestic service could provide skilled domestic workers for Ottoman society. During the National Struggle orphan boys were taught crafts or apprenticed. The only guarantee provided for girls, however, was the money they earned from the handicrafts they produced during their stay in the state orphanages. Besides, they could only receive this money as dowries when they married.[12]

In 1910 Sivas deputy Ömer Şevki proposed a draft law according to which children under the age of twelve were prohibited from working in places like factories, workshops, and mines. Children under twelve years of age were allowed to work three hours a day in state orphanages. Working more than nine hours was forbidden for children under the age of seventeen, and night work was also forbidden for these children and for women. Jobs that were dangerous for children or beyond their strength were also outlawed. However, the Parliament Public Works Council was afraid to raise penalties for wrongdoing, claiming that there were no big factories in the Ottoman Empire. Even this draft law with low penalties was never put into practice, especially during World War I, when the working conditions worsened. During the armistice period the average age of working children was eleven.[13]

Politicians were aware of bad working conditions for girls and women on the shop floors. Mahmut Pasha complained that children's work in industrial or agricultural tasks in state orphanages was immoral and impeded their education. He claimed that children worked until the ages of sixteen to eighteen as ordinary workers in factories or farms, and some of them would work until they were twenty to thirty against their will.[14]

In 1919 the orphans in the Beirut, Ordu, Armaşa, Samsun, and Erzurum state orphanages were all sent to Beykoz orphanage, where there was a factory. In Istanbul, the Yedikule, Büyükdere, and Çağlayan state orphanages, in particular, taught industrial skills to their students. However, despite the ambitious politicians' efforts, the state orphanages did not turn into productive workshops. The state had even sent orphans to Germany to be trained in manual crafts, mines, and farms during World War I. Nevertheless, this attempt of the Ottoman elite also turned out to be a failure.[15]

The state gave many available girls to modest families as *evlatlık*s (foster daughters). These adopted girls were supposed to perform the domestic work that the servants or slaves of wealthy women previously did.[16] There

were families who treated the servant girls well according to the old customs by educating them and arranging for them to marry when they grew up. Fatma Aliye writes how slave girls who entered elite households at early ages accepted their situation as a way to become ladies. Indeed, Aziz Nesin writes in his memoirs that his mother preferred staying as an *evlatlık* rather than being exploited by a stepmother to carry wood and do other chores at home.[17] However, as some etiquette books of the time reveal, by advising patrons to treat their servants kindly, many treated their servants badly and abused them verbally.[18] Unfortunately, due to the misguided practices of the Ottoman state in the war years, the *evlatlık* system generally served to provide cheap servants.

Harassment, Hard Working Conditions, and Absence of Social Security

Nail Moralı, writing about the *evlatlık*s in Izmir during the armistice period, states that, when these girls reached puberty, they suffered from sexual harassment by their male masters, who pinched them or forced them to mutual exhibitionism. Afraid of being thrown out of the house immediately, these girls could not complain but only kept themselves away from their male masters. When they ran away from home, they were easily forced into prostitution.[19]

Münevver Ayaşlı recalls that although the *evlatlık*s were not in fact slaves, they nevertheless led a life of slavery. If they were given to bad people, they lived in misery, and if they escaped, they were sought by the police and started living as criminals. Many poor families who had given their daughters or sisters as *evlatlık*s lost their connection to them and wanted to learn whether these girls were dead or alive. Darülaceze reported on 14 December 1921 that many of the orphan girls adopted by families were badly treated and therefore were forced to live in misery on the streets.[20]

Male foremen or factory directors also often harassed women industrial workers. İlhan Tarus, in his 1957 novel *Var Olmak* (To exist), tells the story of Saniye in World War I. She starts living in the house of the director of the Régie in Biga, Halit Bey, as a servant in return for a very low monthly salary of 4 *mecidiye*s (80 piasters). Sexually harassed by her employer, she leaves the house to work in the tobacco factory. Nevertheless, Halit Bey continues his harassment on the shop floor and thus forces her to quit her job.[21]

Women teachers were also vulnerable to harassment and mobbing. A man named Necati disturbed Şaziye Hanım, a former history teacher of the Mihrimah Sultan Girls' Exemplary School (Mihrimah Sultan İnas

Table 5. *Hours in the Workday of Women in Certain Sectors in 1915*

Production Branch	Number of Hours in a Workday		
	Summer	Winter	Break
Sugar, sesame oil and biscuits	9–11	7–9	1
Raw silk	14	14	2
Printing and other paper	9–10	9–10	-

Source: Organized using the data from A. Gündüz Ökçün, ed., *Osmanlı Sanayii 1913, 1915 Yılları Sanayi İstatistiki* (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1997).

Nümune Mektebi) in Beşiktaş, with obscene letters. She had to change her workplace to another girls' school. However, she was suspected for some while of having encouraged such attention. Only over time was she acquitted in the eyes of the school administration.[22]

Working women also suffered from long work hours and unsanitary working conditions. This was not a new problem but the many years of war worsened the situation. The draft law proposed by Sivas deputy Ömer Şevki in 1910 for the improvement of women and children's working conditions was never accepted. During World War I no measures were taken to improve women's working conditions. The women's workday was not limited to even fifteen hours, which was already very long. Although they were against women and children's exploitation, even the socialist organizations of the war years did not emphasize these problems sufficiently in their programs. The workday of many industrial women workers frequently reached up to fourteen hours (Table 5). Women worked in damp, airless, and dark places that looked like barns and had no devices for protecting their health. As a result, tuberculosis was very common.[23]

Refik Halid [Karay], a famous Turkish writer, in his 1909 story "*Sus Payı*" (Hush money), demonstrates the early death of women workers in the raw-silk production factories in Bursa. Hasip Efendi, the foreman of a silk factory, observes each month the death of an adolescent girl due to work-related tuberculosis, since women worked fourteen hours a day, in return for 3 to 4 piasters, in a very humid, hot place, inhaling dirty and poisonous air.[24]

Conditions grew worse during World War I as the Ottoman working class lost nearly all means of organization because of the war mobilization. Workers in military arms and ammunition production also had very hard working conditions.[25]

Nurses hazarded death while carrying out their jobs. Safiye Hüseyin [Elbi] risked working on the Reşit Paşa Hospital Ship (Reşit Paşa Hastahane Gemisi), which took wounded Ottoman soldiers from the Dardanelles front to Istanbul and was regularly bombarded. One of her friends, an Austrian nurse who wanted to leave the ship because of seasickness, had started working in an army hospital on land and was killed due to enemy bombardment from the air. On the Reşit Paşa Hospital Ship, the medical personnel also suffered from hunger, head lice, lack of coal, and cold.[26]

Nurses also worked for long hours taking care of wounded soldiers in numbers beyond the nurses' capacity to help. In 1915 about nineteen thousand wounded soldiers were sent from the Dardanelles front to Istanbul hospitals. General İsmail Pasha's wife, who had started working in a hospital in Galatasaray as a voluntary nurse, along with a friend, admits in an interview that as two women, they were almost at a loss when four hundred wounded soldiers came to the hospital all at once. Only with the arrival of graduates of nursing courses could the women accomplish needed tasks, but even then with difficulty. During the National Struggle, through the beginning of 1922, up to fifty thousand to sixty thousand injured people were treated in about two years. Nurses were overworked in such circumstances.[27]

Low and sometimes unpaid wages made it more complicated for women to take care of their children. A survey of American researchers in Izmir in May 1921 reveals that women workers of the city received very low wages that only helped them to buy food. To meet other needs, women working at the Régie earned extra money by doing some washing or cleaning. Hundreds of children of women workers were on the street and underfed because their mothers could not buy enough food for them. Many poor children thus had to work at least ten hours a day in tailor or shoe shops, in tobacco or carpet factories, or in bakeries in very bad conditions that harmed their health and growth. Working girls in the cigarette factories were often the daughters of women workers who were forced to have their children work, too, because of their low wages.[28]

İrfan Orga remembers how he and his brother Mehmet suffered from hunger because their mother could not bring enough money home while working in the Army Sewing Depot. Hoping that her children could receive enough food there, she placed them in a school for orphans in 1916. Nevertheless, in 1918 the children were on their deathbeds due to malnutrition. With the armistice, she started working at home and could take care of her children personally. Reşat Enis also writes in his 1957 novel *Despot* (Tyrant) about the tragedy of a family after the father died in battle. Naciye, as mother of two orphan boys, goes to work in a cigarette

factory in Istanbul, leaving home at dawn and returning late in the evening. Her children can eat meat only when some valuable item from their mother's wedding chest is sold. Eventually, fearing she might catch tuberculosis due to the bad working conditions in the factory, Naciye decides to walk off the job and leave Istanbul for the family's home city of Eskişehir.[29]

For women who needed to work, children often constituted an obstacle since employers preferred employees without children. At first, women with children were not envisaged to be employed in the First Women Workers' Battalion. Probably due to lack of other childcare options, on 2 September 1917, Enver Pasha allowed women to bring children to the workplace if they were old enough to walk, and, later, the First Army approved this decision.[30]

The weak social-security system in the Ottoman Empire was another source of grievance for women workers. Social assistance was provided through traditional practices in the family, within religious communities, and in the guilds. Modern social-security practices, such as providing retirement pensions, had started first in the army in 1866 and for other government officers in 1881. In the following years, some limited number of private institutions also provided retirement pensions. Nevertheless, soldiers and civil servants, who constituted an already powerful group in Ottoman society, were the first to acquire certain social-security rights. However, nearly all working women did not belong to this group.[31]

Even women working for the army suffered from weak social security. The working hours of these women were eight hours a day, and they had the right to free medical service both for themselves and their children. They also had certain minor privileges like paying no postage for letters and the right to pay reduced or no fees on ships, tramways, trains, tunnels, bridges, and other means of transportation. Nevertheless, they had no right to retirement pay. Furthermore, women workers were paid no money and given no food on days they did not work, unlike female officers, who received monthly wages but no meals. OWEIS demanded that female army secretaries, warehouse keepers, and officers be given the same provisions as male officers. Women officers, however, were not given provisions, and workers were only given food when they lived in the battalion barracks.[32]

As a result of weak social security, for working women with no family or retirement rights, entering Darülaceze was the only option. Zenciye Gülfidan, who worked as a servant for ten years in the Women Teachers' Training School in Istanbul, had gone blind and lost her job in July 1921. Having no family member to look after her, she took refuge

in the school for some time. Eventually, on 26 October 1921, she was accepted to Darülaceze.[33]

The government promoted the ideal of "National Family" and marriage, very likely because of a lack of sufficient social security for women. Marriage was also required by OWEIS for female workers over twenty. Unmarried women above this age were dismissed. After marriage, they had a raise of 20 percent, and if they had a child their wages could be raised another 20 percent. Women employees could leave their positions after getting married. The marriage requirement was restrictive for women who needed to work because of economic hardship. Only women who were unable to get married due to an illness were exempted.[34]

Strict control of morality was another problem. The employers tried to ensure preservation of the chastity of women and girls in workplaces. Therefore, they restricted women's sexual life with their rules and practices. During their breaks, police officers kept a close watch on every action of the women workers for the army. In addition, male or female army officers frequently inspected these workers' behavior and all relationships. Guardian male army officers lived together with their families near the barracks of women army workers, and they were not even allowed to travel more than an hour's distance in order to eliminate any indiscipline or misconduct. If a woman army worker was seen with an unknown man, a promiscuous woman, or any male member of her family, without the knowledge of the army, she was discharged immediately.[35]

Women army workers were also forced to wear conservative clothes. Women did not wear uniforms but had to conform to army regulations. Women's clothes consisted of a cloak, a coat, a jacket, baggy trousers, a headscarf, a light cloak (called a *yeldirme*), a gaiter, and a pair of shoes. In August-September 1917, Enver Pasha did not approve of Muslim women workers who wore baggy trousers and a jacket without putting on a *yeldirme*. Therefore, women workers who toiled for long hours in the open air wore additional garments unsuitable for their tasks.[36]

Women civil servants in the state offices were also subjected to strict sexual segregation. Those in the Finance Ministry, for instance, worked in separate offices, on the doors of which was written "Special for ladies. It is forbidden to enter." Teachers were dismissed immediately if caught in an immoral act, like being in "too much" connection with male colleagues.[37]

Working women could even be prevented from seeing their own family members who acted in immoral ways, for their protection. Saniha, whose mother was a pasha's daughter who had gone into prostitution and been exiled to Ankara, was not allowed to go near her mother, despite her

mother's petitions in 1917. Instead, the state forced her to stay and work in a workshop in Istanbul, claiming that otherwise her mother would force her into prostitution.[38]

Finally, the worst problem of working women was job loss due to military occupations, budget restrictions, or conservatism during the armistice period. Teachers, school directors, cleaners of the state buildings, and midwives lost their jobs when the enemy occupied their working districts. Some of them found new positions or demanded their accrued salaries from the government. However, these women had to cope with red tape and had great difficulty surviving during the transition period. Women who received their salaries from local municipalities were worse off. Besides losing their former jobs, some working women suffered captivity. On 11 March 1917 British troops imprisoned Fatma, who worked as both the assistant manager and first teacher of the Baghdad Girls School. Released two years later, she neither could find a job nor receive her past salary.[39]

Furthermore, civil servants or students of vocational schools were victims of budget restrictions during the armistice. Women working in the government offices and the Post Office Administration were among the first to be dismissed. The government fired three plainclothes policewomen who worked in the Uzunköprü customhouse in November 1918, claiming that they were not necessary anymore. Similarly, women in the Finance Ministry and the Post Office Administration were forced to leave due to economic reasons and bigotry.[40]

Women's Struggle against Poor Working Conditions

Ottoman working-class women did not show their discontent by going on strike during the war years due to both authoritarian measures of the Unionist government and the low number of women in labor unions. Wartime unemployment was again a great obstacle. Although Ottoman workers were active in politics from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the years between 1908 and 1912 in particular constituted a relative golden age of the Ottoman working-class movement. In about five months from 24 July 1908 to the end of 1908, 111 strikes were called. The Strike Law (Tatil-i Eşgal Kanunu) of 9 August 1909 caused a dramatic decline in the number of strikes and was very prohibitive to unionization. The war years also adversely influenced activities of the Ottoman working class. Organized workers' movements quickly weakened during World War I. Only 5 strikes happened from 1913 to 1918. During the armistice years, there were only a few provinces in which socialist movements or working-class actions emerged. From



Fig. 10 A cartoon mocking the strike of women street cleaners in Istanbul in February-March 1922. An allegedly "feminist" husband orders his street sweeper wife to go back to work. He tells her that, from then on, she would work outside and he would spend the money she earned. Source: *Aydede*, No. 20 (9 Mart 1338 [9 March 1922]), p. 4.

1919 to 1922 the number of strikes was limited to 19. Nearly all of these were in railway companies owned by foreigners. Therefore, the Ottoman workers' movement was ineffective in the armistice period.[41]

Women had been active in the Ottoman workers' movement before World War I. Women textile workers in Samakov had resisted new machines by threatening to break them with shovels, axes, and rods in 1851. As workers in carpet factories, they had protested not receiving their wages in January 1867. Women working from home for the Fez Factory had walked to Babıali and demanded payment of their wages from the grand vizier in a petition on 22 August 1876. Women, as family members of male workers, had also been effective in the strike of shipyard workers in January 1873 and May 1876, and in a strike of tramway workers. Most of the fifty strikes from 1872 to 1907 happened in the textile sector, in which women had been intensely employed. On 23 June 1908, only the army could have ended the rebellion of about fifty Turkish women against the high cost of living, low quality of bread, and shortage of cereals in Sivas. About 40 percent of strikes from 24 July 1908 to 31 October 1908 had been in sectors in which women worked. On 15 August 1910, in the first strike of women in Bursa, silk-factory workers demanded improved working conditions, higher wages, and fewer working hours.[42]

However these were not the sole form of women worker's struggles. Especially in parallel to the decline of the organized working-class movement during World War I, women's resistance and struggle for their rights changed form and continued in daily life.

Above all, finding a job was like a fight for survival. The Red Crescent Ladies' Center Workshop reported that female orphans of war martyrs and refugees applied to their institution every day. Because of financial limits, many of them were refused.[43] The number of women applicants to OWEIS reached fifteen thousand in the autumn of 1916. Consequently, the government ordered the prefecture of Istanbul to report the number of jobs suitable for these women in government offices, hospitals, and other institutions. Furthermore, all women's schools in Istanbul were ordered to accept women as cleaning ladies.[44]

Despite their effort, many women remained unemployed. Although frustrated, few of them recorded their anger about this problem. Yaşar Nezihe, a poor poet who earned her living by writing letters for others and doing needlework, protested the lack of enough jobs for women like her in her poem "Ekmek Kömür İhtiyacı":

> In my hand are needle and pen, yet I'm also needy
> I have been hungry with my fatherless Vedad for the last 48 hours
> I'd like to work, there's no job, I am amazed by this situation
> I cry looking at this hungry fatherless child, I'm miserable.[45]

Many women wanted to become nurses or staff of the Red Crescent. On 9 June 1917 Esma petitioned for a nurse position. Living in Aksaray in

a house behind the hospital in Cerrahpaşa, she depicted herself as a woman "lonely and in need of favor." Zehra, a Balkan refugee who lived in Edirnekapı, also petitioned to become a secretary at the Red Crescent. As a refugee of the Balkan Wars, she had arrived with her family to "Muslim territory" penniless, with only her "chastity and soul." Ayşe Bedia, a graduate of the Red Crescent nursing courses, used this education to increase her chances for becoming employed as a secretary in the House of Detention General Directorate (Tevkifhane-i Umumi Müdüriyeti) in August1921. She was accepted, and a formal investigation of her criminal background was demanded from the police.[46]

Unlike these women who looked for a remunerated job, elite women who followed the Red Crescent's nursing courses were generally eager to work as voluntary nurses. Their applications were taken seriously by hospital authorities who needed additional staff. Two applicants to the Darüşşafaka Red Crescent Hospital (Darüşşafaka Hilal-i Ahmer Hastahanesi), Hatice and Mehpare, who wanted to serve voluntarily, were accepted without objection on 2 September 1915.[47]

Uneducated women resorted to the government simply to become servants or cleaning ladies. Some of them rented their houses to the government to be used as women's prisons and started working as guards, but they generally received no money for it. Havva, who by 1914 voluntarily worked as a guard in the Fethiye Women's Prison (Fethiye Nisa Hapishanesi), which was her own house, demanded several times to receive a salary in return for her services, in vain. A few female wardens earned a very low salary, which they sought to increase. On 14 October 1916 Hatice, warden of the Bayramiç Women's Prison (Bayramiç Nisa Hapishanesi), petitioned to raise both her 50 piaster salary and the 40 piaster rent she received. The government had not paid her even this money for the last three and a half months. Claiming that she had converted additional rooms of her house into prison cells, she convinced the government to increase the rent to 80 piasters.[48]

To be accepted to these positions, women generally emphasized their poverty. Cevahir, a war widow who applied to become a guard, had recently learned that there was a vacant position. To increase her chances of being employed, she mentioned in her petition that she lived in misery with one daughter.[49]

Modesty was again a qualification strictly demanded by the state. Women especially appropriated the elite discourse which attached great importance to women's morality. Emine, who applied for the position of plainclothes policewoman in the Bandırma Customs Office, had to first prove that she was a chaste woman in August 1918. Women referred to

chastity in their application petitions to facilitate their admission. Hikmet, a woman who had previously applied for a guard position in vain due to the absence of any vacancies, submitted a second petition on 4 August 1921. To increase her chance, this time she wrote that, despite her poverty, she lived without going astray or deviating from chastity and moderation. She emphasized that wartime conditions had forced many other women, unlike her, into moral corruption.[50]

In addition to writing petitions, ordinary women had many other strategies to deal with burdensome working conditions or unemployment. Leaving the job, absenteeism, or indifference to work responsibilities were common among women officials and workers. A former prison guard named Hacer, who had left her position due to family concerns, could not return to the same position. Although she reapplied for the position on 10 October 1921, since she had resigned of her own will, her request was rejected. When Ayşe, a cleaning lady in a government office, was laid off on 29 November 1917, part of her salary was demanded back because, it was claimed, she had shown indifference at work and absenteeism for two days. Similarly, on 20 February 1922, guard Cemile and cleaning lady Refika, who worked in the same prison, were punished for indifference to their jobs. They had neglected their work while two prisoners had heated water for washing their clothing and hair. The resulting fire on the tile floor of the ward had ruined the ceramics.[51]

The army expected similar cases to happen in the First Women Workers' Battalion, as some clauses in its regulation imply. The authorities anticipated absenteeism, late-arriving workers, malpractice, and slowdowns and designed punishments for a variety of crimes ranging from rebellion to indifference, immorality, or prostitution. As noted earlier, women who communicated with men without having a family bond, with promiscuous women, or with male family members without the knowledge of army authorities were to be immediately dismissed. The crime of desertion, however, was punished by immediate arrest. When dismissed, former battalion workers were to be sent directly to OWEIS and to lose their right to demand further jobs, a very harsh penalty in wartime.[52]

Women did not automatically feel liberated by being employed. Demetra Vaka, a woman author of the time, interviewed some saleswomen in a shop, most of whom were daughters of low-income civil servants, during the armistice years in Pera. When asked whether they felt emancipated by doing this job, one of them answered that they would prefer being married. She did not feel free since she was obliged to continue coming to the shop at certain hours and being gracious to people

who could be rude. She believed that only the rich could decide upon the course of their lives.[53]

Salaried or voluntary nurses in the Red Crescent hospitals often resigned due to harsh working conditions. On 18 August 1915 a Muslim male and two non-Muslim female nurses resigned and forced the authorities to immediately search for new personnel. On 6 November 1915 the head doctor of the Kadırga Red Crescent Hospital reported that one of their nurses, Hadika, who had started working in the hospital on 8 May 1915, resigned only six months later due to the difficult working conditions, which she could not physically tolerate anymore. Lütfiye and Fatma Nebiyye, two nurses of the Gureba Red Crescent Hospital in Bursa, also resigned together on 4 January 1917 "because of their legitimate excuses."[54] This explanation by hospital authorities suggests that there were resignations they found illegitimate. Yavuz Selim Karakışla writes, as well, that women in the First Women Workers' Battalion found agricultural work rather difficult, and, as their contracts had not yet been signed, many of them quit on various pretexts. Although 300 women had preregistered in the early days, only 149 of them had finally registered. Every day, 2 or 3 new women workers entered the battalion, but the operating personnel never exceeded 80 to 90.[55]

Educated women, in particular, used legal strategies, like petitioning for a raise or writing letters or articles to the press, to improve their working conditions. On 8 May 1914 the women's periodical *Kadınlar Dünyası* reported that Ottoman women workers suffered more than women workers in Western countries; their working conditions were not improved by regulations, and they were overexploited, especially in weaving and in sock and carpet production. The periodical requested that the government take measures to improve these conditions.[56]

Unlike most women workers, educated women could bargain for raises individually. On 23 September 1918 Nebahat Niyazi, who worked for the Red Crescent's Commission of War Prisoners from 1916 onwards, petitioned for a raise. She wrote that, although she loved her job, her monthly salary of 650 piasters was insufficient, and the National Insurance Company (Milli Sigorta Şirketi) had offered her 1,000 piasters. With her petition she persuaded the authorities to increase her salary.[57]

Holding a diploma mostly guaranteed higher salaries and more permanent jobs. On 25 September 1921 the head doctor of a Red Crescent hospital recruited Suad, a nurse from the Medical Faculty Hospital, with a monthly wage of 1,500 piasters. Furthermore, an order of the head doctor of the Red Crescent declared the salary of a nurse with a diploma as 2,000 piasters and that of an unqualified nurse as 1,500 piasters from 1 January 1922 onwards.[58] The salaries of experienced nurses with

diplomas sometimes multiplied that of the less qualified ones. The best paid nurse, who was a head nurse of the first class, received 3,433 piasters 30 paras, while the worst paid was a third-class nurse who received 477 piasters.[59] Celibe, who had worked for several years in different sanitariums and had been recently promoted to the rank of head nurse at the Talas Sanitarium in Kayseri, received a wage increase from 360 to 500 piasters in October 1917.[60] Adile, another head nurse in the same institution, who had previously earned 360 piasters, and corporal nurses Zarife, Rana, Hikmet, Dilara, and Latife, who each previously had earned 260 piasters, all received a 100 piaster raise. All were of Armenian origin and had converted to Islam during the war. They were hired as nurses between July and October 1916, and their wage raises were to be approved by the Third Army due to their good performance from then on; therefore, they were incorporated in and acculturated to the army.[61]

Nurses lacking diplomas or those who did not get a promotion faced losing part of their wages. On 10 July 1917 the Amasya Sanitarium reported that among its eighteen nurses some had earned 350 piasters and some 300 piasters monthly. With the promotion of four nurses to head nurse and eight nurses to corporal nurse, the remaining six were obliged to receive a salary of 220 piasters, which was 80 piasters lower than what they had previously earned. Despite the objections, eventually those nurses who became head nurses received 500 piasters, corporal nurses received up to 360 piasters, but the remaining nurses were forced to live by the 220 piaster salary.[62]

Lack of diplomas also threatened the jobs of existing nurses. A telegram sent to the Third Army on 12 June 1918 reported that at the Elaziz [Elazığ] hospitals mostly non-Muslim nurses or corporal nurses had been serving for the last six to seven years. Because their diplomas, which had been sent to Istanbul for certification, had not yet returned, they continued to receive lower wages than they already deserved. Moreover, facing potential unemployment, they demanded confirmation of their diplomas as soon as possible.[63]

Aware of their vulnerability, nurses exerted great effort to guarantee promotions. Graduates of the nursing courses of Dr. Besim Ömer Pasha in Darülfünun during the 1913–14 academic year worked in hospitals for the following three to four war years. They demanded diplomas from the Red Crescent and permission to take an examination for this purpose. Nurses who worked and took nursing courses during World War I in the military or Red Crescent hospitals also gained the right to take this examination in order to attain diplomas.[64]

Working women frequently used their connections, such as neighbors and relatives, to get help with housework and children. They heavily

depended on this solidarity in the face of the weak welfare services. İrfan Orga recalls that his mother, together with her children, was cared for by women neighbors when she was ill. She learned of some work possibilities from a widow friend and found a job, food, and shelter.[65]

Women's bazaars founded during World War I and the armistice period in Istanbul and other provinces also helped women survive. Not only Turkish but Greek women as well sold products, such as bread, milk, and butter, that they had brought from Anatolia. In the Kayseri Women's Bazaar, women sold their trousseaus and carpets they had produced. Muazzez İlmiye Çığ remembers that there were many women, like her mother, in Bursa who carried out trade, going to the villages to sell products and buying food in return.[66]

Women lacking other ways out also compensated for unemployment by resorting to begging, theft, or prostitution. In Istanbul theft was the most frequent crime between July 1919 and March 1921. Among 22,385 crime cases, larceny, with 7,913 cases, constituted more than one-third of all crimes. Among the 5,634 miscellaneous crime cases, clandestine prostitution was probably very frequent.[67]

According to Béla Horváth, in Anatolia divorced women with no support begged or worked as servants in 1913. During the war many widows worked for others for board only. Widows also survived by prostitution until some of them could get married again. In Istanbul during the armistice years, there were 7 registered Muslim brothels in Üsküdar and 4 in Kadıköy among the 175 registered brothels. Their number was very low, probably because many Muslim women practiced clandestine prostitution. There were 2,171 registered prostitutes in the city, among whom 1,367 were non-Muslims and 804 were Muslims. Even the Director of the Sanitary Bureau stated that the number of prostitutes in the city was between 4,000 and 4,500 at a minimum. There were many unregistered prostitutes under the age of eighteen. In the venereal diseases hospital in Şişli, there were patients as young as fourteen, and girls who engaged in prostitution in bars could be as young as thirteen. Most had started prostitution out of poverty or had been ruined and forced into it.[68]

Wartime press put prostitution at the top of the list of problems threatening unemployed poor women. One cartoon by Münif Fehim, published in the humor journal *Akbaba* (Vulture) on 25 January 1923, shows poorly dressed and miserable Muslim prostitutes on the streets of the Muslim districts of the city, like Beyazıt, bargaining with clients or waiting for them while sitting on the pavement. In his 1956 novel *Esir Şehrin İnsanları* (People of the captive city), Kemal Tahir mentions the news that 113 young female prostitutes had been arrested by the police on the

street. Because they were too young, these prostitutes had no certificates and about half were victims of venereal diseases.[69]

According to Zafer Toprak, the Prevention of Spread of Venereal Diseases Regulation (Emraz-ı Zühreviyenin Men-i Sirayeti Hakkında Nizamname) during World War I was not effective because it did not prohibit prostitution altogether. The law, dated 18 October 1915, was first of all planned to prevent the spread of venereal diseases that plagued the country.[70] However, due to unemployment, it was impossible to prevent prostitution. Some women who were involved in clandestine prostitution established barracks in which more than one woman served men. These "secret" brothels were built on streets or quarters of Istanbul that were devastated by big fires, such as at the back side of the Tophane Military Post, during the armistice period. The government punished secret prostitution but did not shut down the registered brothels. Despite widespread complaints from the populace, the government also did not close the emerging Muslim brothels. On the contrary, these brothels multiplied. Six of them were opened in 1919 and a seventh on 28 May 1921. The police reported on 11 July 1921 that they feared the prostitutes could spread venereal diseases to various other quarters of the city if these brothels were closed.[71]

In Izmir, as well, Turkish women who resorted to prostitution for survival were directed to the Yeni Mahalle (New Quarter) district, a quarter newly founded during World War I specifically for controlling and containing prostitution. In time, Greek prostitutes also started working in this district. Because the governor allowed prostitution in the quarter, many city inhabitants protested and called him *Büyük Patron*, meaning "big pimp." On 16 August 1919 the newspaper *Sabah* (Morning) reported that the spread of syphilis was due to many war widows engaged in clandestine prostitution to feed their children and themselves. Unless clandestine prostitution was punished and prostitutes were given suitable jobs, the problem would continue.[72]

It is not possible to ascertain the number of women among the total number of criminals accused of thievery and larceny. However, some women resorted to thievery not only individually but also in an organized fashion. On 28 November 1917 a band of women thieves was discovered in Istanbul. They were all from poor families and stole for survival.[73]

Women who were employed in hard labor but underpaid were also prone to committing crimes like stealing from their workplaces. The secretary of the Navy Sewing Workshop (Bahriye Dikimhanesi) was in reality a forewoman responsible for preventing the waste of any sewing material. She was authorized to search the seamstresses' clothing for any stolen tissue or equipment.[74]

Nurses working in hospitals could also steal. In September 1915 a female teacher at a public school, who also worked as voluntary nurse in a Red Crescent hospital during summers, was caught stealing money out of the pockets of the wounded military officers and was dismissed. Hasan İzzettin Dinamo also claims that his mother, Şakire, had died at a state hospital in Samsun due to suspicious injections by hospital nurses who wanted to steal the little purse hidden at his mother's breast. Seven other women died the same day at that hospital and were buried in a mass grave. When investigated, the nurses invented the story that there had been a temporary plague epidemic in the hospital.[75]

In rural areas, theft and begging were widespread among war orphans and widows because of unemployment. Bekir Eliçin, in his novel *Onlar Savaşırken*, writes the story of such women peasants in Genezin village of Kırşehir's Avanos district. The village is full of orphans and widows who are destitute. Unable to find jobs, the women sell their house hold goods or resort to theft and begging. The great part of the theft cases are due to these women stealing crops, food, and bread.[76]

Women civil servants who lost their jobs in the occupied districts of the Ottoman Empire also lived in deteriorating conditions. Among them were teachers, school administrators, and midwives.[77] They tried to take refuge in Istanbul, where it was much easier to demand both their accrued salaries, which they were not able receive due to the occupation, and their travel expenses.[78] As unemployed women, their chance of finding new posts with equivalent salaries was low in war conditions.[79] The schoolmistress of the Aleppo Women Teachers' Training College, Zehra Arife, with a monthly salary of 1,600 piasters, demanded her accrued salary from Istanbul after the enemy occupied Aleppo. Midwife Behiye Meryem, who fled to Istanbul after the occupation of Akka, also insisted that her accrued salary be paid. Fatma Zehra, the governess of the kindergarten of the Aleppo Women Teachers' Training College, had much more trouble getting her salary because she arrived in Eskişehir and could receive the money only from Istanbul.[80]

Some of these women sought new jobs in other places under Ottoman rule. Hüsniye, who had left Trabzon after the Russian occupation in 1916, demanded a new position in Kastamonu, where she arrived as a refugee. There she found a job as a deputy principal. Others did not have similar chances to find new posts. The schoolmistress of the Jerusalem Girls' Orphanage, Leyla, who after the retreat of Palestine was appointed to the same position in the Tarsus Girls' Orphanage, had to resign and accept unemployment compensation (*mazuliyet maaşı*) since she could not travel from Palestine to Tarsus due to the war.[81]

Women who had not yet attained the right to a pension or unemployment compensation received only premiums that were calculated as three times the amount of their monthly salaries. When liberated from war captivity, they were entitled to this premium if they could demand it within four months after job loss. Havva, a midwife at the Beirut Maternity Hospital, received only this premium, three times her monthly salary of 1,000 piasters, when she arrived in Istanbul.[82]

Women with the lowest income – such as cleaners in the government buildings, schools, and hospitals – suffered the most after the occupation of their work districts. Victims of both poverty and misconduct by officials, who were able to abuse these women because of their illiteracy, the women often received even less than what they were entitled. But they also tried to defend their rights and find new sources of income. Nimeti, a cleaner of the Kumle-i Sağir Girls School in Gemlik, complained that, unlike the teachers of her school, she could not obtain a certificate that would allow her to collect her accrued salary. The officials thought that her certificate from the former bookkeeper of the Gemlik Private Accountancy was not real, and so she had to wait longer to receive the money. Therefore, she first had to find the bookkeeper who had created her certificate and convince him to visit these officials. He persuaded them by writing that Nimeti's certificate was genuine. Likewise, on 8 February 1922 Azize, former cleaner of the Yalova Girls School, who was laid up sick in her daughter's house in a poor district of Istanbul, petitioned for her salary, which had accrued for more than a year and a half since June 1920. Fıtnat and Havva, former cleaners of the Tekfurdağı Kindergarten, received no salaries after the occupation of the Edirne province. Since the women had no financial support to survive, the authorities accepted them as simple refugees and provided them only with board. Hatice, formerly a cleaning lady in the government office of the occupied Emir Ali district, lived temporarily at the house of a grocer called Mustafa in Kadıköy. She petitioned for the pension for soldiers' families, which she had previously received from the Gemlik Recruiting Office.[83]

To cover their escape from occupied districts, working women also demanded travel allowances. Before taking this money, they had depended on the temporary support of any acquaintances. In January 1921, Hafize Hacer, a teacher at the Gallipoli Girls' Primary School, wrote that, after coming from Gallipoli to Istanbul with her mother, they had to stay as guests in Kasımpaşa in the house of an acquaintance named Receb.[84]

In addition to demanding travel allowances, many women civil servants requested financial help if they had no social network. The former

headmistress of the Keşan Kindergarten, Fatma Melahat, wrote that she was in a financial bottleneck that she called a "catastrophic vortex" and demanded additional money for her basic needs.[85]

In certain cases women could not even obtain their accrued salaries themselves from Istanbul, because it was impossible to travel from one province to another in wartime. A former teacher of the Orhangazi Girls School, Hayriye, and the cleaner of the school, Fatma, who had come to Bursa after the Greek occupation, lived in misery for six months because the city's accountancy refused to pay their salaries. Since, under the Greek occupation, they could not obtain the necessary certificate to travel, which was demanded from everyone in the Ottoman Empire for security reasons, they were also not able to go to Istanbul. Finally, they requested a proxy in Istanbul to obtain the money on their behalf.[86]

Although they were ordered to return to their workplace when under siege or under risk of occupation, some women civil servants, fearing captivity and risky travel conditions, resisted the order. The schoolmistress of the Balıkesir Women Teachers' Training College, Makbule, and the deputy principal of the same school, Ayşe Sıdıka, received no money because the Education Ministry decided that it was possible for them to return to their work district, though they feared doing so.[87]

Even when their districts were not occupied, women civil servants had difficulty in taking their salaries. Many of them were medical personnel paid by the municipalities. Nuriye, a nurse of the Bolu municipality who had been acquitted in a trial, had difficulty getting the wages accumulated during her trial until January 1919 since the municipality resisted paying them. Midwife Havva also petitioned the Trabzon governorship because she could not receive her monthly salary of 800 piasters from March 1919 to November 1919. Another midwife, Zekiye, who worked for the Yalova municipality, petitioned the government on 4 August 1921 because she had not received her 1,060 piaster salary for the past nine months. She could not even get the 300 piasters in monthly aid she was entitled to receive from the Izmit governorship.[88]

Educated women fought in a more organized way against their dismissals at the end of World War I. Among them were about forty officials in the Post Office Administration and some other officials in the Finance Ministry who were dismissed from their institutions with the armistice. The press of the time published articles against their dismissals and claimed that these women had families to look after just as did male breadwinners.[89] Nimet Günaydın, who worked in the Finance Ministry as an official during World War I, writes that despite the dismissals, some of her colleagues insisted on continuing to work after the armistice. Refik Halid [Karay], a prominent writer and bureaucrat,



Fig. 11 A cartoon of women teachers protesting their unpaid pensions. Source: *Karagöz*, No. 1246 (14 Şubat 1336 [14 February 1920]), p. 1.

working as the director of post offices of the time, also writes that some of these women educated themselves, under his guidance, as telegraph operators in order to continue working in new posts. An official letter sent from the Post Office Administration to the Interior Ministry on 30 November 1919 reveals that the institution did not dismiss all women, since they worked hard and earned less money than men. Some women became permanent telegraph operators within the following three to four months.[90]

Educated women also fought individually for their retirement rights. Seher, a former teacher in the Lapseki Girls' Junior High School,

requested that her work years be calculated from the time she had started working as a teacher, at the age of seventeen, rather than using the legal calculation, which started at the beginning of the age of twenty. Because her approximately two years of service were not added, she was not legally accepted as a retiree. She wanted teachers like herself to be protected by the amendment of the related article in the Retirement and Dismissal Law (Tekaüd ve Mazuliyet Kanunu). On 31 October 1915 her request was found legitimate by the Parliament Education Council. Nevertheless, on 24 December 1916 the Parliament Fiscal Equilibrium Council rejected the request.[91]

Women's resistance to the strict control of their chastity or clothing in workplaces is also not recorded in archival documents. Nevertheless, the high rate of clandestine prostitution shows that women resisted covertly control. Among educated women and girls who were preparing themselves for work life, some tried to curb moral pressure. The students of the Bursa Women Teachers' Training College resisted the traditional forms of headgear that they were obliged to wear at school in 1918. In protest against the headkerchief (*yemeni*) proposed by the new director of their school, Hamdi Bey, the girls wore their own more modern headgear. The school administration exiled two students, Zehra [Budunç] and İffet, and the remaining students received a week's punishment.[92]

Consequently, during the war years, Ottoman women did not struggle against the negative wartime work conditions in an organized manner, as did women in western Europe or in the United States. Unemployment; the traditional, preindustrial, and rural structure of the economy and society; and low labor union membership were important reasons for this. However, working women did not hesitate to stand up, legally or otherwise, for their rights and interests.

Part IV

Women's Resistance to War Mobilization

9 Forced Labor and Overtaxation

Peasant women constituted the most important civilian group as they farmed and paid most of the war taxes from 1914 to 1923 in the Ottoman Empire. For about a decade, women, children, and old people in the countryside did almost all agricultural work. Conscription of the male workforce, most of whom were peasants, dropped the production levels, while at the same time the Ottoman war government heavily increased agricultural taxes in order to feed the army and provision the cities. In addition to paying the tithe tax, one-eighth of their crops, and payments in kind, peasants were also obligated to pay the Army-Provisioning Tax. Furthermore, the Ottoman parliament enacted the Agricultural Obligation Law (Mükellefiyet-i Ziraiye Kanunu), which forced all civilian peasants, most of them women, to do additional farming. To make things worse, whether as a military tax in World War I or as a national tax in the National Struggle, most peasants had to give their animals and means of transportation to the army. Peasant women, who constituted the majority of Ottoman women and the civilian population in those years, shouldered this burden.

Decline in Agricultural Production and the Agricultural Obligation Law

Sustaining agricultural production had great importance for the Ottoman Empire during World War I for two reasons. First, external trade came to a halt due to the British blockade, which caused hunger, especially in Istanbul. Second, continuous production in great amounts was vital to feeding a huge army. Aside from this need for food, the acute shortage of men in agricultural work due to conscription caused severe problems in countryside. Because the heavy farming left to women was beyond their ability, the state searched for alternative methods to increase production, like sending soldiers or civil servants to provinces in need of farm workers. For instance, the Interior Ministry wrote to the War Ministry on 18 October 1915 that in Adana, because men between the ages of

eighteen and forty-five had been conscripted, no one was left to work during the harvest. Six workers' battalions that had already worked in road construction were requested for farm work. A telegram sent from Niğde to the government on 30 July 1916 also demanded that the government temporarily close its offices for two months in the fall of 1916 in order to send civil servants to villages to sow seed and plow the fields, because no men were left to do this work in their district. Such attempts to ease the burden of agriculture continued in later years. As late as the National Struggle, in the summer of 1922, soldiers were used to help with the harvest.[1]

Even before the introduction of the Agricultural Obligation Law, the governors of some provinces had attempted to force peasants to do additional work. The central government had had to repeal some of these local government orders. Konya's governor had forced people to work in up to two *dönüm*s of soldiers' and martyrs' families' fields or made them pay for others to do it on their behalf. Those who did not obey this order were obliged to pay 35 piasters. On 4 May 1916 the Interior Ministry wrote to the Konya governorship that this compulsory work was against the law and, therefore, the money taken to punish people had to be paid back.[2]

Aware of these problems, the government used different strategies to increase production. Absence of sufficient labor force led the government to modernize agriculture and substitute machinery for the human workforce. To facilitate the 1916 harvest, the parliament increased the Trade and Agriculture Ministry's yearly budget for the purchase of agricultural machinery.[3]

However, Ottoman agriculture remained dependent on human power, and it was impossible to compensate for the huge labor shortage with the limited imported machinery. Therefore, along with mechanization, the Agricultural Obligation Bylaw, dated 18 September 1916, soon became a law on 2 April 1917. According to this law, unconscripted men and women aged fourteen and up whose regular occupation was farming could be requisitioned by the government for a period that would be decided by the Trade and Agriculture Ministry. Unconscripted men in urban areas also could be forced to work on the farms of their districts. Those who did not obey this law were to be fined 25 to 100 piasters, and those who continued to do so were to be jailed for twenty-four hours to one week.[4]

Although the Agricultural Obligation Law was thought primarily to increase production on the land of poor soldier's families without a breadwinner, the use of physical force against those who were unwilling to take part turned it into a forced-labor system. As a member of the

Parliament Forests, Mines, and Agriculture Council, Halit Bey was aware of this fact and demanded that this law be rescinded on 7 February 1917.[5]

Indeed, in the absence of male peasants, peasant women, in particular, whom the government aimed to protect with this law's preamble, would be the main victims of forced-labor practices. Unlike some urban middle-class or elite Turkish women in the capital, who acquired some new public positions and liberties, peasant women were forced to assume "some of the heaviest tasks on the home front." With the advent of World War I, the government almost legalized forced labor in order to maintain agricultural production. Rather than being emancipated with the war, women had to work more than ever as farmers. A telegram from Bodrum to the government on 26 July 1917 on behalf of the general public there reveals that, because men were fighting on the battlefront, only women and children were farming.[6]

In addition, during World War I, Women Workers' Battalions were attached to the Fourth Army and sent to the Çukurova district, the most important cotton center, for farming under the guidance of Cemal Pasha.[7] Women's labor became quite valuable for local and central authorities. To facilitate the harvest of olives in the Edremit region, the local governor wrote to the government on 4 November 1914 that there were not enough men in his district due to conscription, and, therefore, women should not be sent elsewhere in Anatolia.[8]

Similar attempts by the state to increase yield through the Agricultural Obligation Law or to organize battalions of women for farm work had a rather limited effect in reality. Production dropped, with wheat production falling 30 percent by 1916, while the decline of exportable cash crops was faster. The decline of wheat production was close to 40 percent and that of tobacco, raisins, hazelnuts, olive oil, raw silk, and cotton was more than 50 percent in 1918 in comparison to 1913–14 statistics. Both the land under cultivation and its yield declined from the first year of the war onwards.[9] The area of the land where cereals were cultivated, which was 66 million *dönüm*s before the war, decreased until the end of the armistice years to 35 million *dönüm*s. This decline in the area of cultivated land was an important factor causing hunger throughout the country. The worst years in terms of agricultural production were 1920, 1921, and 1922. As a result, during the National Struggle, too, a law was passed by the Grand National Assembly (Büyük Millet Meclisi) on 9 October 1921 for the revival and regulation of obligatory agricultural service.[10]

An important explanation of the wartime drop in production was women's inexperience or lack of needed strength. In some districts, peasant women were not accustomed to agricultural work, and, despite the urgent need for their labor, they could not "break with social

prejudices."[11] There were also critical economic factors that played a particular role in this drop of production, such as the requisition of animals or vehicles as a military tax. The Trade and Agriculture Ministry warned the Interior Ministry on 11 November 1916 both that local people could not farm because they lacked either draft animals or agricultural tools and that refugees could not farm because they had no land.[12] Furthermore, high taxes and obligations constituted no incentives for poor peasant women to work.

Resistance to Overtaxation

One of the heaviest burdens of the war weighing on peasant women was wartime taxes. Until the end of the armistice, agricultural taxes remained at least double what they had been before the war.[13] The legal bases of the taxes for World War I mobilization can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, a period marked by successive and destructive wars. The first of these laws, the Providing Military Vehicles Law (Tedarik-i Vesait-i Nakliye-i Askeriye Kanunnamesi), enacted on 9 September 1889, regulated a tax levied on means of transportation that people had to give to the army. During the Balkan Wars, on 30 January 1913, the Military Tax Law (Tekalif-i Harbiye Kanunu), a provisional law that regulated taxes for providing the army with food, clothing, and other goods, was put into effect. With World War I the government modified this law, and the parliament passed a more detailed version on 27 July 1914. During the National Struggle, as well, on 7–8 August 1921, the nationalist movement announced ten orders for the Independence War mobilization under the name of the National Taxes (Tekalif-i Milliye).[14]

In the first months of World War I, the Military Tax Commissions (Tekalif-i Harbiye Komisyonları) confiscated 25 percent of food items – such as sheep, potatoes, dry beans, chickpeas, onions, and butter – and wheat for the army.[15] In the last years of the war, the food question was such a serious concern for the army that the government added a new 25 percent agricultural tax to the 12.5 percent tithe tax, under the name of the Army-Provisioning Tax (Ordu İaşe Hissesi). Thus, the rate of agricultural taxes increased to 37.5 percent of total production. Paying this level of tax posed a risk of starvation for the peasants.[16]

Therefore, these high wartime taxes resulted in tax avoidance. Due to the wartime uncertainties, peasants preferred to hide their harvests. People covertly resisted the wartime demands of the state at the local level, using "the weapons of the weak," like foot dragging, concealment, and evasion. Both the small and large producers of cereals hid their crops, bribed government officials to ignore their smuggling of their harvest

from the field as producers, and minimized the amount they surrendered to the government.[17]

Aware of the smuggling of crops in the countryside, on 20 September 1917, the government introduced a bylaw to punish peasants who concealed or consumed their crops in order to avoid giving it as Army-Provisioning Tax. The punishment was imprisonment from six months to three years or payment of fines from 50 to 500 liras.[18] Despite such legal precautions, tax avoidance was rife in regions plagued by hunger, such as the eastern parts of Anatolia. On 26 June 1918 the Finance Ministry informed the Interior Ministry that some peasants in Diyarbakır had openly refused to pay the tithe tax and, instead, disobeyed the tax collectors by illegally harvesting crops.[19]

Since production rates decreased and they could not pay their debts, peasant women did not welcome additional heavy agricultural taxes for military purposes. These women constituted the most important group who petitioned or sent collective telegrams to warn the government, especially during 1917 and 1918 when war hardships such as hunger were felt the most.

Most soldiers' wives had difficulty paying the high taxes because the men had been on the front for at least three years. A telegram sent from Malatya by a village headman in July 1917 warned the government that, if these women paid the amount demanded by the state, they would be left with no seed to sow for the next year and would go hungry.[20]

Likewise, twenty Turkish women, Hatice and her friends, who introduced themselves as soldiers' families, requested exemption from even the tithe tax in these hard times in the absence of their husbands in a telegram to the government on 16 June 1917 from Ankara's İskilip district. Since the women had no fields to harvest cereals, only vineyards and gardens, neither they nor their ancestors had ever paid taxes. The women produced only enough food for themselves. If they paid the tithe, this would deprive them of even their pension of soldiers' families, and they would starve.[21]

On 25 November 1917 Ayşe, Zekiye, Şefika, Hatice, and Ayşe from Bilecik's Gölpazarı subdistrict also complained by telegram that during that year a second tax for provisioning the army had been demanded. Paying this tax would leave them with no seed for cultivation and no food that year. Therefore, they implored the government to revoke the tax.[22]

Similarly, twenty-two Turkish women who had farmed without the assistance of their husbands since the onset of the war sent a collective telegram from Fatsa on 24 January 1918. Their crop yield was not even sufficient to feed them for two or three months. As a result, they refused to pay additional taxes for the army.[23]

On 1 February 1918, nine Turkish women who had nothing to give for the Army-Provisioning Tax wrote poignantly in their petition of how they had to walk for twenty hours in snow a meter deep to send a telegram to the parliament from Ordu. Most of their neighbors had not dared to come this distance, but that year the women and their neighbors had difficulty even paying the tithe tax and nothing was left for them to sow or eat. They pleaded not to be pressured by tax collectors and the gendarmerie to pay additional taxes. The same day, another telegram was sent from Ordu by eight Turkish women who explained that they were the families of men who had died in battle. The women had applied to the army commander of their district to not pay the Army-Provisioning Tax, which was collected with the tithe tax, but their request had been rejected. They feared starving together with their children and asked to be exempted from this tax. The women reminded the authorities that "they were mothers who had brought up the soldiers who defended the country" and that "their husbands in military service had entrusted their young children to them and the government."[24]

Similar petitions and telegrams from peasant women got results, though not always. On 22 November 1917 Emine and her friends sent a telegram from Hüdavendigar to the parliament and requested that their grain not be taken from them a second time as an army-provisioning tax. As a result, the Parliament Petition Council decided to warn the Hüdavendigar governor that these taxes were to be paid by the peasants only after the amount they and their animals consumed as food, fodder, and seed had been set aside.[25] Likewise, on 9 February 1918 Hamiye and her friends, poor soldiers' families without a breadwinner, who were unable to grow even enough crops to feed themselves, petitioned the parliament from Düzce to complain of the tax demanded by the army. Their efforts led the government to order the Bolu governorship to ban any taxation practice that could harm the populace.[26]

Hunger among the peasants was so common that it impeded farming activities in some areas, because peasants did not have the seed needed for cultivation. Therefore, the government decided in early 1916 to help those peasants deprived of seeds due to drought, locust invasions, flood, hail, and war-related reasons. The peasants were to be provided with enough seed for cultivation the following year. For this reason, the government consolidated the budget of the Trade and Agriculture Ministry with a large sum of money.[27]

Despite such efforts, many peasants did not receive seed, and they continued to protest the government. In one case, peasants from adjacent villages came to Erzurum and gathered in front of the government office in April 1919 to complain. Two who spoke with the Erzurum governor

asked whether the government had decided to leave them to their fate by not providing needed seed.[28]

Along with men, peasant women protested that they had been left with no food or no seed due to the wartime taxes. Sometimes they did this in more covert ways, like complaining about this situation in the letters sent to their husbands or sons in the army. One illiterate soldier's mother insisted her husband write to their son fighting in the Dardanelles in June 1915 about the expense of bread. Since they had given almost all of the wheat they harvested that year to the army, they had had to buy bread from the bakery rather than making it cheaply at home. Lamenting this situation, she asked her son whether they would continue doing the same from then on.[29] Such letters obviously demotivated the soldiers and very probably frightened the army authorities.

In their complaint telegrams, as well, women were very straightforward about their hunger. Forty-one peasant women from Kırkkilise [Kırklareli] identified themselves as mothers and wives of soldiers and sent a telegram to the government on 27 September 1916 to explain their problem:

> We sent our sons and husbands as soldiers. We farmed by gripping the plow. They don't leave food for little children, animals and servants [us]. They want to take almost all our yield. The food that we have already eaten is also taken into account. We will starve. We beg that you have pity on us.[30]

After being asked for further information by the government, on 7 October 1916 the Edirne governor objected to the arguments of these women and claimed that the tax collectors had left them one year's worth of food. Who was right or wrong is unknown, but it is obvious that the forced agricultural requisitions aggrieved peasant women and urged them to raise their critical voices.[31]

Likewise, twelve other Turkish women collectively sent a telegram on 7 May 1918 from İskilip. They claimed that the taxes would leave them hungry. The daily bread allowance had been calculated as 650 grams for four persons, and each day an average of seventy-eight people had died in their district due to hunger. The Çorum governor had wanted the women to deliver an additional 130 tons of grain to the local government and the army as tax. If they did, however, they would starve. They requested repealing this tax, insisting that the government could not let "the families of soldiers fighting for the honor of the nation" die because of hunger.[32]

Coping with Corrupt Officers

Peasant women also endured corrupt army officers who arbitrarily confiscated their animals or goods without paying for them. The

government was aware of the illegal conscription of men and confiscation of animals and vehicles for military purposes and devised harsh punishments such as capital sentences and lifelong penal servitude.[33] However, whereas some army officers continued to commit these illegal acts, the gendarmerie and the officers of recruiting offices accepted bribes for ignoring deserters. Using their power illegally, some gendarmes even raped soldiers' wives and no one dared punish them. Furthermore, there were locally influential people – such as headmen, gendarmes, or army officers – who accumulated money by exploiting wartime opportunities created by the shielding of deserters and the collecting of wartime taxes.[34]

In some respects, these authorities' tendency to accept bribes made draft avoidance easier; however, their other corrupt activities aggrieved both the soldiers and their families. Halil Ataman, a soldier during the war years, writes in his memoirs that, even though the soldiers went hungry, his battalion commander stole their bread. When Ataman revealed this situation, the commander was not punished; moreover, he forced Ataman to do the most dangerous tasks to get rid of him. Abdülkadir Kemali also writes in his memoirs that some portion of the food intended for the soldiers, such as broad beans, olive oil, or bread, was taken away daily by order of his unit's captain. When enough food was accumulated, it was then sent to Çatalca to be sold for private gain.[35]

During the National Struggle, too, some corrupt army officers confiscated people's goods, provisions, and vehicles or illegally forced them to work. A proclamation published in the newspaper *Açıksöz* (Forthright) on 10 October 1921 explained how such officers were to be punished. Reports and complaints from various districts showed that ruthless officers seized people's vehicles unlawfully, stopped convoys that carried ammunition, forced people in some places to work illegitimately, and led convoys loaded with goods to places other than where they were supposed to go.[36]

Turkish popular poet-singers in World War I criticized these tax collectors and army officers who exploited war taxes for personal interests. A poem of Bünyanlı Âşık Mustafa protested the great difficulty peasants had farming due to the wartime taxes, which left them without animals. Peasant women were especially impoverished, while the tax collectors used the taxes they paid for personal pleasures:

> They ruined the work of the people
> Peasants were left with no ox, or vehicles
> Some of them are taking these and use them to [buy] wine
> [Alas!] This war mobilization hasn't yet ended.[37]

Tax rates on animals, which varied for different districts, quadrupled in the first years of the war and during the armistice period. The last Ottoman parliament in Istanbul passed a bylaw that increased the rate again and allowed it to quadruple twice more. This decision, however, was not accepted by the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. Still, the animal tax remained four times higher than prewar levels.[38] There were even some deputies in Ankara who complained about the National Taxes during the National Struggle. One of them, Kütahya deputy Besim Atalay, claimed on 20 December 1921 that taking oxen from the peasants for military purposes had adversely affected agriculture, and each day some of these oxen died due to neglect. He suggested that, because the army could not care for them, these animals should be returned to their owners.[39]

Peasant women, as the main victims of the taxation or confiscation of their animals, frequently sent collective telegrams to politicians. In a telegram sent to the government from Diyarbakır's Çermik district on 20 March 1915, on behalf of all peasants, Abide and two male peasants, İbrahim and Hüseyin, complained about the use of force in tax collections. Their animals had been taken away as a military tax and the remaining ones were not used in farming because they were again used to carry goods. The army also forcibly sent women, children, and the elderly to different places to farm. They objected to being unable to grow their own crops for food on their own land and claimed that by being forced to travel far away their sexual honor could be ruined due to attacks on road.[40]

Likewise, five women – Fatma, Havva, Ziynet, Esma, and Zeynep – sent a telegram to the grand vizier on 24 April 1915 from the same district to complain about military taxes imposed on their animals and vehicles. Their husbands were soldiers, so the women were obliged both to do heavy farming and to pay military taxes without the assistance of their men. In addition to these obligations, the local government had taken all of their donkeys. Without them, the women had no means to carry seeds and crops to and from the fields.[41] On 14 August 1916 four women – Zeynep, Ayşe, Fatma, and Elif – sent a petition from Ayntab to the government. They demanded back the camels that the army had wrongly seized as military tax. These animals were their only means of livelihood while their "sons and husbands were fighting against the enemy." Consequently, the government decided to help them.[42]

Probably in view of women's discontent, local governors sometimes wrote to the central government to defend peasant women's rights. The Çatalca governor wrote to the Interior Ministry on 29 April 1915 that, although it was spring sowing time, the army had requisitioned the

draft animals and all vehicles of his district's peasants and paid nothing for them. He demanded that the government order the army to stop this practice. The Interior Ministry, in return, warned the War Ministry about this situation on 5 May 1915.[43]

The Trabzon governor also informed the Interior Ministry on 26 May 1919 about the situation of Zeliha from Giresun, who complained that her horse had been taken by the army for the transportation of military ammunition. The animal had died due to exhaustion, but Zeliha had been paid no compensation. Consequently, the government wanted further information about this incident and ordered that the legal procedure for defending her rights be followed.[44]

The violation of economic rights under the pretext of war mobilization was also common for property other than animals or vehicles. The general director of government inspectors reported on 30 November 1915 that in Eskişehir the peasants had been forced to sell their wheat for the provisioning of the army at the price of 28 piasters per *kile*, which was actually 45 piasters on the market. Although the peasants needed this wheat, the officers had coerced them into selling their products at low prices.[45]

In another case, the government informed the Edirne governor about the petition of a woman called Fatma on 22 August 1918. She accused the army authorities of not paying her for crops or wood taken from her farm in Gallipoli, a subprovince of Edirne. She wanted the army to make restitution and to stop cutting down her olive trees. Consequently, the government ordered the local governor to protect her rights.[46] Sabriye from the Küçük Ayasofya quarter of Istanbul also petitioned the Interior Ministry to demand that her bureaucratic records for the provisions and other goods she had given to the military as taxes be reviewed and her economic rights protected. The War Ministry was warned about her situation on 26 March 1919.[47]

Women even dared fighting with soldiers to demand restitution for their violated rights. İsmail Hakkı Sunata wrote in his memoirs that, as a higher-ranking army officer; he once had to listen to the complaints of a peasant woman about twenty-eight years old whose face was seamed with scars. Protesting the violation of her rights by, in her words, "Sultan Reşad's soldiers," she had told him that she was sick of them. Although she had been waiting for two days to grind her one sack of wheat at the mill near her village, each time her turn had come, soldiers had brought their own sacks ahead of hers. At last she had insisted on grinding her wheat and had fought with two soldiers. Sunata had ordered the troopers under his commandership to grind this woman's wheat and to find those soldiers who had violated her rights; but the soldiers, who had already escaped from the mill, could not be found.[48]

During the National Struggle, as well, a woman called Zeliha complained from Kastamonu's Mülayım village that her wheat and fodder had been taken to feed the army's animals. An investigation revealed that Lieutenant Mustafa, commander of the military unit whose animals had eaten Zeliha's wheat and fodder, was responsible for this situation. Consequently, he was sentenced to fifteen days of imprisonment with only dry bread and 35 liras, the amount of Zeliha's loss, was cut from his salary as compensation.[49]

Resistance to Forced Labor

Another wartime practice that troubled peasant women and thus led them to confront gendarmes and soldiers was compulsory work. According to Article 4 of the Agricultural Obligation Law, peasants who resisted doing farm work or who concealed their animals were to be punished. The subdistrict directors (*nahiye müdürü*) were authorized to use force against such peasants, by putting together gendarmeries under the order of cultivation directors (*zeriyat müdürü*).[50] National Tax Commissions (Tekalif-i Milliye Komisyonları), which were responsible for collecting taxes during the National Struggle, too, had the right to use force while collecting taxes. They eliminated bureaucratic procedures and used unconventional methods like intimidation and violence.[51] Some commanders of the National Forces (Kuva-yı Milliye) were former bandit-like figures and used force against the populace both to collect taxes and to avail their gangs. This created enmity among Anatolian peasants against the National Struggle and helped rebellions provoked by the antinationalist Istanbul government and sultan.[52]

Peasant women resisted this violent compulsory work practice and sent collective letters to protest it. On 14 March 1918, fourteen Turkish women who introduced themselves as soldiers' mothers and wives sent a telegram to the government from Uşak to complain that they were being forced to carry the tithe tax and Army Provisioning Taxes of fiscal year 1917–18, a distance requiring ten hours of travel. Their sons and husbands were fighting on the front; they had been left alone to farm; and they worked night and day to do the work of three or four families with only one pair of animals. It was a critical season for agriculture, and they did not have enough animals to carry their tax to the destination the army authorities wanted. Instead, they wanted to carry the crops to the train station at Çivril, which was two hours from their village. They also wanted the government to pay for the use of their draft animals, explaining that this could relieve their economic suffering. Warned about this situation by the government, the Kütahya governor wrote on 3 April 1918 that he

had sent thirty to forty camels to the village to carry the tax instead of laying this burden on peasant women.[53]

Women protested obligatory mobilization duties in folk songs as a form of everyday resistance. During World War I a peasant woman from the Moso village of Kastamonu composed a folk song to complain about the heavy taxes and the obligation of transporting crops long distances. To carry the tithe tax from her village to Bartın, she had to leave behind her nursing baby. She criticized this requirement as follows:

> My oxen are lying down exhausted
> Which of us is taken care of by friend and foe?
> My baby! My milk has come oozing out
> ....
> Don't the tears of mothers stop?
> Doesn't Sultan Neşat[54] know our situation?
> ....
> How many years did this greedy state
> Not leave even one shirt for the people?
> Love makes you cry, trouble makes you complain, of course
> I go and go, but Bartın is out of sight
> My legs are swollen, these roads can't be walked.[55]

Abdülkadir Kemali also wrote in his memoirs about peasants of Bursa who carried grain for the army from their villages to the city center without payment. The peasants told him that they had been forced to do this the previous two years. One peasant woman had protested that she would not willingly accept this work even if paid. Another woman, when Kemali asked whether she had been brought there by force, had fallen down in a fit. She explained with difficulty that she had to leave her baby at home because the gendarmerie had coerced her at gunpoint to come. They had not listened when she tried to tell them that her baby was all alone. She feared that the baby would die and she would find its corpse, because it was an eight-day round trip to Bursa.[56]

The war-mobilization obligations of peasant women multiplied during the National Struggle because the taxes for the mobilization became even more vital. Only 10 percent of the World War I expenditures, which reached 400,000,000 liras by the end of the war, were met with taxes. Germany and Austria-Hungary contributed to the Ottoman war budget with 260,000,000 liras. The National Struggle, however, had a cost of 147,000,000 liras and only 13,000,000 of it was aid from Russia. The rest of the expenditures were financed largely with the taxes that poor people, most of whom were peasant women, paid.[57]

The law passed by the Grand National Assembly on 5 August 1921 ordered the collection of the National Taxes, which were quite high due



Fig. 12 Women carrying ammunition for the army on Caucasus roads in World War I.
Source: *Harp Mecmuası*, no. 25–26 (Şaban 1336 / Mayıs 1334 [May 1918]), p. 397.

to the extraordinary mobilization efforts against the occupation forces. Up to 40 percent of what people had in terms of food, clothing, equipment, animals, and vehicles was demanded for military purposes. Furthermore, the fifth mandate of the National Taxes imposed on people to carry ammunition for the army, up to 100 kilometers per month.[58]

The National Taxes had some ambiguities, too. For instance, the laws prescribed the requisitioning of 20 percent of oxen. It was impossible to tax 20 percent of only a single ox of a low-income peasant. Peasants with only two oxen had to give one of them; that is to say, 50 percent. Some tax collectors did not hesitate to use crude force against peasants who resisted such illegal or unreasonable practices.[59] At a closed session of the Grand National Assembly, held on 31 October 1921, İçel deputy Salâhaddin Bey protested that the poor paid nearly all of the 40 percent national tax while the rich paid nothing. According to him, the military tax was replaced with "peoples' tax"; in other words, with a tax only paid by poor people.[60] The obligation to carry ammunition was also not welcomed in certain districts. Fearing that the population would regard this obligation as a cruelty, in five days, the notables of Kayseri raised a fund to send the necessary goods to the army.[61]

Nevertheless, in other districts, poor peasant women were extensively used in the transportation of ammunition. According to an oral history study based on interviews with wartime eyewitnesses from Zonguldak,

A. Fahrettin Aytaç told that more women than men directed the oxcarts during those years. Hakkı Durna, another witness of the National Struggle, said that "their mothers" carried the ammunition from Zonguldak to Gerede. Among them were women left with no family members to take care of them. Mehmet Akçabelen, another interviewee, emphasized that these women did not receive any money for this service, and they had to feed themselves with their own food on the road.[62]

Women who carried the National Taxes with pack trains in Muğla were locally known as pack-train carriers (*mekkareciler*).[63] Furthermore, the ammunition clandestinely brought to İnebolu also was carried to Ankara by women, children, and unconscripted old men with oxcarts. In most of the convoys, there were women with children on their backs.[64] According to Cevdet Kerim İncedayı, most of these women had soldier husbands, and they had to entrust children they could not carry to their neighbors, even though their villages had been devastated due to enemy attacks. Some of the women were pregnant and gave birth on roads that were very difficult to travel, even for sturdy men.[65] These women are generally accepted as the Amazons of the National Struggle in Turkish historiography, and their wartime effort is regarded as one of the main reasons behind women's political emancipation after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Nevertheless, their real experience of – their views on and feelings about – this wartime obligation is still one of the least known parts of Turkish history. This closer and more empathetic look at their experiences shows that they could also be involuntary "heroines," who struggled against their compatriots as well as occupation forces.

10 Discontent with Conscription

One of the most challenging problems of Ottoman women during World War I was the conscription of their men, which left huge number of these women without their financial supporters. Most of these poor women also had nothing to sell in order to survive. Worse, women were unemployed, especially in the provinces, and they were targets of unbearable taxes, forced labor, and violence from corrupt officers. Therefore, disadvantaged women resisted conscription the most and played an important role behind the soldiers' desertions. Women's discontent with conscription, however, is one of the most ignored or hidden parts of Ottoman women's history and a fact that found no place in the official historiography, which emphasizes women's support for conscription.

Ottoman Army's Need for More Soldiers

The war that lasted longer than expected compelled the Ottomans to constantly recruit new soldiers. Increasing the army's demand for conscription of men created tensions among civilians, too. Women were left without the economic support of men. Women especially felt insecure about the conscription of their male family members who were below or over the normal ages for conscription. One of the most important issues that women protested was the conscription of men at adolescence. As the war dragged on, the government had to conscript even seventeen-year-olds.[1] The government also issued a draft law conscripting men, without consideration for their age, who were capable of fighting, although it did not pass parliament.[2] Claiming that families generally registered young men with false birthdates to delay their conscription, the government proposed that men who were not legally at the age of conscription, but whose ages were estimated after a medical examination as at least three years more than the registered age be conscripted.[3] Since by 1915 all the conscripted men were exhausted, in 1916 the government began to conscript those who would be called to serve in 1917 and 1918. Because even

those soldiers were not enough, boys who would be called to arms in 1919 and 1920 became soldiers in 1917.[4]

In some villages adolescent boys as young as fifteen or sixteen were sent to the front. The mothers and sisters of these boys especially disapproved of this practice, a disapproval reflected in their elegiac folk songs. An Anatolian woman from Aleppo's Afşin district, the fiancée of a boy this age, protested:

> [Military] harmonicas are being played,
> For the sixteen-year-old to be called to arms.
> Can a fifteen-year-old [boy] become a soldier!
> They collect [him] to die.[5]

Another well-known folk song is about fifteen-year-old soldiers conscripted from Tokat, a central Anatolian district, for fighting at the Dardanelles front in 1915. This song, which mourned them, expressed especially women's grief:

> Hey! Fifteen-year-old, fifteen-year-old.
> The roads of Tokat are stony.
> The fifteen-year-olds are going away.
> The girls are in tears.[6]

As these folk songs imply, the conscription of teenage boys was a very painful experience for their relatives and for widows and girls who were left alone with no marriageable men other than the elderly.[7]

Apart from young boys, because of the urgent need for soldiers, men up to the age of fifty were also called to arms in 1915. The same year, men up to the age of fifty-five who were able to use arms were conscripted for the protection of frontiers and sea coasts. Women complained about the conscription of older men as well. On 7 October 1914 the War Ministry received a report on the petition of Hatice, who demanded that her husband Mahmud be demobilized, because he had been conscripted at the age of forty-seven.[8]

The Ottoman state, however, wanted to enlist nearly the entire male population in the army. In 1916 it decided that those who had paid money to the state to be exempted from conscription should also be called to arms if needed.[9] Yozgat deputy Şakir Bey demanded in the parliament on 22 December 1915 that those civil servants whose military service had been postponed be forced to pay money. However, the Parliament Military Council rejected this proposal. In 1917 the government also proposed that a tax be paid by men who did not perform military service, for a variety of reasons, during the war years.[10]

Despite these efforts, the number of deserters increased as the war progressed. In 1917 it was estimated that three hundred thousand men

had deserted the army. This number increased to five hundred thousand by 1918. According to estimates, all the deserters in Anatolia and the Arab provinces were between 1 million and 1.5 million. Although about three million men were conscripted throughout the war, the state had great difficulty keeping them in the army and alive, and thus the total number of soldiers in the Ottoman army did not at any time exceed eight hundred thousand.[11]

There were various reasons behind the human loss and desertions. Some of the deserters were seventeen- to eighteen-year-old boys who were not strong enough to survive the difficult military conditions.[12] Most of the deserters were those who had suffered from hunger due to the acute lack of food. Hunger forced some soldiers to eat whatever they found, such as their boots or horse manure. Starvation was so common that, to censor this situation, army doctors wrote in their reports of dead soldiers: "death caused by stopping of the heart due to general weakness."[13]

The clothing of the army was also deplorable. Because they did not have sufficient clothing and ammunition, about 90 percent of the Ottoman soldiers perished or deserted during the Sarıkamış battle in a strong blizzard. Out of 150,000 soldiers of the Third Army, only 12,400 survived.[14] Lack of transportation, insufficient roads, and lack of sufficient sanitary measures were also among the factors that increased the death toll and the number of deserters. Halil Ataman recalls that, during his military service in the eastern provinces, one day he saw a hill made up of about 2,500 soldiers' corpses. They had died due to epidemics and were to be buried in mass graves. He heard that this grave was the fourth of many others.[15]

Soldiers' conditions were so bad that some of them tried to evade military service by cutting off their fingers. On 20 September 1917 Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] wrote to Enver Pasha in a confidential report that even the best-organized divisions had lost half of their soldiers due to sickness or desertion. According to Ahmed Emin, if these soldiers had not saved their lives by deserting the army during World War I, there would have been nobody left to fight later on during the National Struggle.[16]

Although all of these reasons played significant roles in desertion, soldiers' anxiety about their families had special importance. Many soldiers lived for years without any news from home, or they heard discouraging news. The letters sent to soldiers' families were standard in wartime conditions both because the soldiers were illiterate and because of war censorship. Nevertheless, soldiers probably learned the situation of their families from other soldiers in their division, because most of the divisions were made up of men from the same district or village. In addition, newly

conscripted soldiers functioned as carriers of recent bad news. Consequently, many soldiers deserted the army to work in their own fields.[17]

The politicians of the time, too, were aware of the soldiers' anxiety. On 24 October 1916 Enver Pasha reported that the War Ministry's investigations had found that the disorderly payment of the pensions of soldiers' families was an important reason behind the desertions. Many civil servants refused to pay pensions to these families under false pretenses, and soldiers who heard bad news about the economic situation of their families deserted the army. Enver Pasha demanded that these civil servants be warned and, if they continued their actions, sent to courts-martial for the crime of facilitating desertion. On 31 October 1916 the Interior Ministry wrote to Enver Pasha, in return, that any civil servant would be punished unless there was a legitimate ground for his incapacity to distribute the pensions. A circular letter was sent about this situation to all provinces.[18]

Women's Demonstrations against Conscription

Since conscription meant pauperization, women opposed the war, openly or covertly. They constantly petitioned the government and the army about problems with the payment of their pensions of soldiers' families. Moreover, they claimed they lived in misery and sometimes demanded that their husbands be demobilized. By doing so, they influenced government decisions to ameliorate their situation. Hatice Talat, the wife of former tax collector Yusuf Agah, a volunteer in the Ottoman army, petitioned the parliament, asking either to receive her husband's former salary or to have him demobilized and appointed to his former position. Similarly, on 1 January 1918 Mazlume, who lived in Kadıköy, requested that either her husband be demobilized or that she be allotted the retirement pension of his deceased father.[19]

Pleading, complaining, crying, or otherwise using all the means they had at hand, women tried to keep men at home to prevent their families' economic collapse after conscription. İsmail Hakkı Sunata recalls how his aunt asked him while he was on leave who would take care of her and her children in case her brother, Sunata's father, the only financial supporter of the family, fell sick and died.[20] Likewise, when three brothers were conscripted at the same time and no male breadwinners were left behind, the aunt of a man named Şevket tried to persuade him to stay at home, pleading with him and offering to pay his military-exemption money with the gold coins she had.[21] Aware of the desperation of these women, some recruiting offices legally exempted the third child from conscription if a family had already lost two members in battle.[22]

Rather than remaining silent or showing their discontent with conscription in more covert ways, some women participated in public antiwar demonstrations. The *New York Times* reported on 26 November 1914 that Turkish women had staged a demonstration in Istanbul against the war and had demanded the return of their conscripted husbands and sons. On 14 December 1914 the same newspaper reported another antiwar protest by Turkish women, this time in the eastern provinces. Women in Erzurum had thrown stones at the government offices and had rioted for several hours. When threatened by the gendarmerie, they had torn off their clothes and walked the streets almost nude. In this way, they had evaded the gendarmerie, who had withdrawn in obedience to Islamic law. Women later forced the governor to send a telegram to Istanbul protesting the war.[23]

In another demonstration in Istanbul in March 1916, Turkish women had broken into railway yards when troop trains were about to leave and had shouted slogans against sending the men to their deaths. They had also thrown themselves on the rails in front of the trains. The authorities had not used physical force against these women, fearing that it could cause a rebellion among the soldiers, and they had taken the conscripted men out of the cars to calm the women down. Later, the soldiers had been sent off secretly at night to their units.[24]

Women also resisted the discrimination of sending Turkish soldiers to the front while German soldiers stayed behind the front lines. Lewis Einstein wrote in his diary on 5 May 1915 that "a delegation of Turkish ladies," after visiting the Goeben battleship anchored at the Stenia [İstinye] district of Istanbul, protested the situation and boldly asked the German soldiers why this German ship remained out of the war while their husbands, sons, and brothers had been sent to the battle.[25]

Women's protest of conscription and its results could be as simple as showing how they felt after their men's deaths. Furthermore, they rejected the war propaganda and the state's assistance to soldiers' families. Abdülkadir Kemali remembers that, when, as an army officer on duty, he had shown war films to hundreds of peasant women in Bilecik as propaganda, the women had started screaming and many of them had fainted. He had had great difficulty in pacifying these women, who yelled "so this is the way that our husbands, our fathers die!"[26]

Feruze Dursun, from a village in Bursa, also recalls how she had protested the pension given to her for her martyred father. When two soldiers came to her house to inform the family of his death, Feruze's mother had fainted and Feruze had refused the pension, saying "I cannot eat his bloodstained money."[27] The families of deserters who were caught and punished with death by firing squad also protested the death of their

sons and husbands. İsmail Hakkı Sunata remembers that a few hours after such a punishment, the wives and mothers of the dead soldiers came to mourn them, laying themselves on the corpses, singing a local song of lament, touching the blood of their loved ones, and bringing it to their tongues.[28]

Another group of women who strongly resisted conscription were refugees, because being unsettled and having no connections with the locals of the districts where they had recently arrived left them in great danger. To give time for the settlement of refugee families, the government enacted a law on 1 March 1916 that provided refugee men with a three-month postponement of military service after they had arrived in Ottoman lands. This was a short postponement compared to the previous law, which had allowed refugees to wait six years for conscription. The government also decided in 1917 that all refugee men of military-service age who had left their families behind in their hometowns should be immediately conscripted.[29]

Refugee men resisted military conscription together with their women, and with their help. During the winter of 1916–17, certain refugee families in Trabzon did not settle down, but lived in marsh areas to evade conscription. On 3 January 1917 the Trabzon governor reported that, in this way, the migrants jeopardized their lives in winter conditions and caused harm to the state treasury. To smooth their settlement, the governor suggested the government postpone their conscription to at least June.[30]

On 19 January 1917 the Erzurum governor claimed that the conscription of refugees could end in disaster due to both winter conditions and desertion. He requested extra time for the settlement of refugees. Otherwise, their families, with no men to direct them, would dissolve. On 12 February 1917 the Interior Ministry asked the War Ministry whether the army approved this request.[31]

After investigating, on 5 April 1917 the War Ministry responded that the refugees abused the postponement of their military service. Refugee families often stayed no longer in any place than the period of postponement. They frequently moved from one place to another to benefit from the postponement period each time, thereby avoiding conscription. As a result, they lived in a disorderly fashion and the army could not use them in its war effort. Therefore, the War Ministry proposed that the postponement of their military service be revoked and only those who had paid to be exempted could remain civilians. The Interior Ministry, approving this proposal, wrote to the Refugee Department (Muhacirin Müdüriyeti) about the ending of the refugees' postponement of conscription.[32]

This decision caused important problems for refugee women and children. On 28 October 1917 an immigration officer in Ankara reported that, due to the immediate conscription of refugees in Ankara, women and children who had remained behind were in a desperate situation. He proposed that to assist their families the conscription of these men be delayed and they be kept in the districts in which they had been settled after they became soldiers.[33]

The parliament in Ankara also discussed the situation of refugees, especially in the eastern provinces during the National Struggle period. On 23 October 1920 the Bitlis deputy Yusuf Ziya Bey and his colleagues proposed that the refugees be conscripted six months after they had been settled. On 25 June 1921 the Grand National Assembly discussed and accepted the proposal. The assembly made two other postponements for the refugees in the eastern provinces, on 11 December 1921 and on 3 May 1922, despite preparations for the great offensive.[34]

Women's Role in Desertion and Their Punishment

Women took an active role in desertions and frequently bribed the authorities in order to hide deserters. Therefore, punishing the deserters' families provided important leverage for the Ottoman army to defer further desertions, even when these families were not involved in hiding the soldiers.

A contemporary observer, Bekir Eliçin, wrote in his novel *Onlar Savaşırken* about peasant women who cooperate with the village headman, have sexual intercourse with him, or bribe him in order to buy his silence about their deserter husbands or sons. Women use these strategies not only to protect the deserters but also to provide a week or two of leave for their soldier menfolk.[35]

Ahmet Cevdet Çamurdan recalls that, together with corrupt civil servants, the gendarmerie also accepted bribes from deserters. The commanders of recruiting offices in particular acquired hundreds of thousands of liras in this manner. Many headmen and boards of aldermen helped the deserters hide rather than inform on them to the army.[36] Very probably some of these locally influential people accepted bribes, which were generally paid by women as deserters' families.

Because women helped to hide deserters, the houses in which deserters' families lived were searched without notice at night.[37] Women resisted such attacks by complaining about violence against them. Deserter Mehmet's wife protested that the Ağlasun subdistrict director Tevfik had beaten her.[38] The deserter Mustafa's wife, named Medine, also complained that the Izmir police officer Halil had forcibly entered her

house, and, consequently, she had suffered a miscarriage.[39] Whether these women were telling the truth or not, their complaints can also be interpreted as women's ways of evading further attacks arising from their cooperation with their male relatives.

Aware of the direct or indirect role of soldiers' families in desertions, and as an attempt to dissuade soldiers from desertion, the authorities punished the families of deserters in several ways. Poor women whose male relatives were absent from their units were deprived of pensions, their property was confiscated, or they were exiled to another district. However, the authorities sometimes did not approve these punishments unanimously, and in some cases women could find strategies to mitigate their penalties.

The most unanimously accepted punishment of deserters' families was cutting their pension of soldiers' families. Both the government and the army approved this. In June 1915 the Istanbul Governorate asked the government whether it was legitimate to cut this pension, citing Article 49 of the Military Obligation Law, which permitted giving a pension until a soldier was demobilized. On 24 July 1915 the Interior Ministry, after reviewing the opinion of both the War Ministry and Finance Ministry, replied that the pensions could be cut at the end of the month when the soldier had left the army.[40]

The army also punished deserters' families by confiscating their property or assets and by evicting them from their residences. On 23 June 1915 the War Ministry wrote to the Interior Ministry that the Mosul Army Corps commander had requested the confiscation of the properties of deserters' families in order to decrease the number of deserters and make them return to the army. The government accepted this request without objection.[41] Eviction from houses, however, was a much more contested punishment. An official correspondence between the Aydın governor and the government shows that it was an issue of conflict between the local governments and the army units. On 12 December 1917, explaining that this had been demanded by the army in his province, the Aydın governor asked the central government whether eviction from buildings in which deserters' or absentee conscripts' families lived was suitable. The Interior Ministry replied that the army's request was unacceptable.[42]

In worst cases, the families of deserters were exiled to other provinces, both as punishment and to discourage further desertion. This punishment, which was evidently a severe penalty, was the most debated among the administrators and military authorities. Women who were sent into exile tried to cope with this situation by demanding and sometimes receiving the support of the government more easily since their exile created additional social and economic problems. An official document

about a deserter's wife demonstrates that the government disapproved of the exile of deserters' families because of both their resistance and its economic cost. According to this document, of three deserters from different villages of Bolu, two had been arrested and their wives exiled. The wife of the third, who had escaped, was also exiled to Niğde, and the cost of her travel, which was 1,000 piasters, had been paid by the government. On 22 October 1918 the government decided to end her exile and notified the Bolu governor. At the same time, the government advised the civil servants in Edirne, a province in which deserters' families had similar problems, to avoid exiling any due to its financial cost. A circular letter was sent to all provinces to this effect.[43]

Women also struggled against banishment using a range of strong strategies in their petitions. Emine, a deserter's wife from Ankara's Ayaş district, rather than appealing simply for mercy explained in her telegram to the parliament that she had herself accepted to be divorced from her deserter husband. Therefore, she had gone to her father's house, although at that time Muslim women living in the Ottoman Empire had no such divorce right. She legitimized her situation, arguing that a person who had deserted the army could not be accepted as Muslim. Taking into account the Muslim canon law that legally forbid marriage between a Muslim woman and non-Muslim man, she considered herself to be divorced and requested that her banishment be renounced. The state authorities, after discussing Emine's situation and investigating the validity the content of her telegram, accepted her demand. Furthermore, the Fifth Army announced to the Interior Ministry on 15 March 1916 that it renounced the exile of deserters' families as a whole.[44]

During the National Struggle, too, the national government continued punishing deserters' families. A law calling for the exile of deserters' families was proposed to the Grand National Assembly in November 1921.[45] As a punishment and a means of intimidation, the National Forces that searched for deserters burned or destroyed their houses. Deserters' families were forgiven and their banishment ended only in December 1922, months after the Greek army left Anatolia.[46]

It is very probable that women's resistance by means similar to those used in World War I might have happened during the National Struggle, especially in regions that rebelled against the nationalist forces or in unoccupied regions.[47] Whether women supported it or not, desertion was frequent. When the National Struggle started, some peasants openly declared that they no longer wanted to fight. Some battalions deserted as a whole, even with their guards, while gendarmes released deserters in return for a small bribe. In a secret session of the Grand National Assembly, Refet Pasha confessed in 1921 that, despite punishment,

about two hundred thousand soldiers had deserted in just six months.[48] Although the men's own subjective reasons and experiences played the greatest role in this large-scale desertion, the suffering of their women and families on the home front must have played some role in the unwillingness of such a large number of men to participate in the National Struggle.

In official historiography, Ottoman women were represented as supporters of war mobilization. Their discontent with conscription for various reasons found no place in this literature. However, as historical sources reveal, poor Ottoman women were especially critical of conscription, and, even when they verbally supported it, their support could have been for achieving subjective goals like evading punishment. Just as poor women resisted the conscription of their breadwinners, these women also challenged wartime moral codes and marriage regulations, both of which were obligations that frequently impeded their economic survival.

11 State Control of Morality and Marriage

Controlling the sexual lives of women on the home front was one of the main priorities in all combatant countries. This was important both to protect soldiers from sexually transmitted diseases and to reassure them that their wives or fiancées led modest lives during their absence. The war effort of the Ottoman Empire also required such control of women's sexuality, since soldiers could be away from home for up to a decade due to the continuous warfare from 1911 onwards. In this way, the government aimed at evading social disorder on the home front and the resulting demoralization of soldiers. The laws and regulations for this purpose made disadvantaged women's lives especially difficult, which caused their resistance.

Measures against Venereal Diseases

One of the first methods used for controlling women's sexuality were the measures introduced against venereal diseases. Besides protecting civilians, these measures also had military importance because venereal diseases impeded the strength of the army. The state generally discovered men with syphilis during medical examinations both at recruiting offices and at hospitals while these men were checked up for knowing whether their health was good enough to serve as soldiers or while they were being treated for their deteriorating health conditions.[1]

Because venereal diseases were transmitted mostly by sexual intercourse, the measures against them turned into a fight to protect Ottoman moral codes and discriminated against women. The laws focused primarily on controlling prostitutes rather than their male clients. For women, who temporarily entered into clandestine prostitution due to poverty until their soldier husbands returned from the front, these measures created further problems by revealing their identities and by permanently criminalizing them. As a result of the acceptance of venereal diseases being merely a moral problem, the Prevention of Spread of Venereal Diseases Regulation of 18 October 1915, a more detailed

version of a previous law in 1884, especially targeted women who engaged in clandestine prostitution. The Police General Directorate in Istanbul and special organizations attached to the government in the provinces were held responsible for detecting and controlling all women involved in prostitution.[2] All brothels opened in places other than those specified by the municipalities were to be closed. Prostitutes who did not work within a brothel also had to obtain a certificate and were obliged to accept their clients in districts in which brothels were allowed. All prostitutes were banned from soliciting on the streets or molesting men for that purpose. People who encouraged women into clandestine prostitution were to be tracked down by the secret police and punished.[3]

Because Istanbul was where the brothels were most organized, the state particularly controlled the prostitutes in this city. The owner of each brothel had to keep records of the prostitutes he or she employed. Each prostitute had a medical examination book with her photograph attached and listing her age, nationality, and the results of her medical examinations. Any woman who refused medical examination was reported by doctors and forced to pay a fine.[4]

Women patients were treated in special hospitals. Among them, the Beyoğlu Women's Hospital (Beyoğlu Nisa Hastahanesi) accepted only non-Muslim women, while only Muslim women were accepted at the Haseki Women's Hospital (Haseki Nisa Hastahanesi). These hospitals looked more like prisons. Eventually, women wept, rebelled, and wanted to escape from these places. In August 1921 patients fled from one of the hospitals assigned to treat the venereal diseases of women in Şişli during a suspicious fire they had probably started.[5]

The state also censored prostitution by Muslim women for war-related reasons. On 11 September 1919 an article published in the *Times* reported on the increasing number of women who had venereal diseases in Istanbul. It claimed that about forty thousand women had such diseases in a city of one million inhabitants. Unlike Kastamonu or Konya, where venereal diseases had a long history, Istanbul had not suffered much from this problem before 1913. The Ottoman government, in return, wanted to deny this news.[6]

Indeed, venereal diseases were quite frequent among Muslim women. The percentage of Muslim patients at the Şişli Women's Hospital (Şişli Nisa Hastahanesi) was very high according to the statistics between 1917 and 1920. In 1917 Muslim women made up 1,416 patients among 2,512 others; in 1918, 1,675 among 2,841; in 1919, 1,879 among 3,378; and in 1920, 1,785 among 3,132.[7]

The application of the Prevention of Spread of Venereal Diseases Regulation, sent in April 1916 to the police stations in all provinces,

also created problems. This was due to both lack of effective control mechanisms and women's insistence on continuing clandestine prostitution. In November 1916 the government received numerous reports on problems with application of the regulation throughout the country.[8] The press also reported how the measures to contain prostitution and venereal diseases had failed. In November 1918 the Izmir governor, for instance, closed the brothels on Ziba Street and sent the prostitutes to their parents, since these brothels, which had not been inspected effectively, had become a source of venereal diseases. Inspecting Muslim prostitutes was generally not possible because Muslim women were guarded from the eyes of strangers. In 1912, Celal Nuri had written in his book *Kadınlarımız* (Our women) that the security officers could not enter Muslim brothels and that doctors had difficulty conducting examinations in these places.[9] Muslim prostitutes took advantage of this situation during the war.

Despite the state's attempts to contain women's sexual lives, adultery, prostitution, and temporary marriages were common throughout Anatolia. In his 1932 novel *Yaban* (Stranger), Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu] depicts the Anatolian countryside as a place that "adulterous women who hid deserters mushroomed in." İsmail Hakkı Sunata also remembers how in an Anatolian village the wife of a low-income miller who did not come home more than once in a week slept with men with venereal diseases and passed these diseases to others.[10]

Sabri Özer also recalls an anecdote of his soldier father in World War I. After he had acquired a few days of leave from his commander, he had wanted to visit his family and fiancée. The roads were not safe, so he had passed one night in a village where no one had opened the door to him except for a poor young woman who secretly invited him in. She had implicitly intended to have a sex with him and most likely to marry him, probably due to poverty.[11]

Conservative circles were especially critical of the state's failure to control women. Ahmed Şirani protested in the Islamic magazine *İtisam* (Avoiding sin) on 13 March 1919 that Turkish women prostituted themselves because the state did not prevent them. Ahmed Şirani wrote that women were allowed to be certified for prostitution and the state had opened brothels, parks, and bazaars, even in the neighborhood of mosques, for this aim. He quoted a rumor according to which the Üsküdar Police Directorate asked whether poor women should be protected by the state or new brothels opened, and Shaykh al-Islam answered that, since it was not possible to feed these women, they should be allowed to earn their living in "other ways." Temporary marriages in the provinces were another problem Ahmed Şirani criticized. The state had allowed the

soldiers to get married in the regions where they did military service, and many soldiers had married other soldiers' wives. Because these soldiers left the women at the end of their military service in that region, many women had been used as prostitutes under the pretext of marriage.[12]

State Control of Women's Wartime Marriages

The Ottoman state also tried to control women's sexuality by the Decree on Family Law, dated 25 October 1917, which gave the state more authority over matters of marriage and divorce.[13] This decree was enacted during a very significant time, when the intellectual and political elites feared the consequences of demographic change and the increasing number of war widows. In the nationalist periodical *Türk Yurdu*, on 4 January 1917, an article written by Ziynetullah Nuşirevan on demographic change in the Eskişehir subprovince warned about the decrease of the male population in comparison to that of females. Referring to the research done in Eskişehir in 1916, he claimed that about one-eighth of all marriages here had ended in divorce. On 21 June 1917 he reported in another article in the same periodical that the birth rates in Eskişehir were very low while the death rate was very high for men; 23.4 per thousand male and 8.2 per thousand female.[14] Similar gaps between the number of male and female deaths due to the war reduced the number of marriages and forced many women to lead corrupt lives.

As a result of the social problems unmarried poor women created, in addition to the state, local elites founded associations that supported the marriage of poor women, considering it an effective way to fight their poverty and prostitution. The Cide Marrying off Society (Cide Evlendirme Cemiyeti) in Kastamonu was only one such association.[15]

With the Decree on Family Law, the government tried to gain greater control over the marriage of all Ottoman subjects, including non-Muslims. However, it was not such a radical and comprehensive step in the secularization of laws on marriage as the Civil Code of 1926. The Decree on Family Law could not offer common laws for all religious groups and had many shortcomings and incoherent articles.[16] This legal regulation remained as a decree, and was never passed as a law by the parliament. As a result, and with the pressure of Islamists, non-Muslim communities, and the Allied forces, it was annulled on 19 June 1919.[17]

Indeed, non-Muslims frequently acted against this decree during the period in which it was still valid. On 16 March 1919 the Kastamonu governor reported that the non-Muslims in the district did not obey it.[18] Therefore, as early as March 1919, the authorities were aware of the possible end of this decree.

Disadvantaged Muslims also did not favor the Decree on Family Law, for both moral and economic reasons. According to the decree, those who wanted to get married had to undergo a medical examination. For ordinary people this examination was not only unsettling but very expensive. On 7 February 1918 the Hüdavendigar governor reported that in some districts doctors charged 5 liras, which could not be paid by the poor. As a result, poor people started to disobey the regulation. In February 1918 the government ordered that no money be taken from the poor for this purpose. Moreover, there were not sufficient doctors to serve everyone. On 21 March 1918 the Teke governor reported that many people had not undergone the medical examination because there were only two doctors in their district. Some people could not come from distant regions to the district center for examination. The governor had previously asked for additional doctors from the government but they had not arrived. Therefore, he demanded that in those regions where no doctor worked the medical examination not be obligatory.[19]

Another obstacle to medical examination was men who did not want their future wives to be examined by a male doctor. On 3 February 1918 the Karesi governor reported that people resisted the examination of women. He proposed that certified midwives examine women if they were qualified enough. On 11 March 1918 he was ordered to allow only doctors to perform this task, but virgins were allowed to have an examination of only some parts of their body, such as the mouth, nose, elbow, and neck.[20]

Even after the cancelation of the Decree on Family Law, the problem of medical examinations persisted due to the frequency of venereal diseases. On 26 June 1920 the Grand National Assembly enacted another bylaw resolving that medical examination before marriage should continue. It was acknowledged that the regions without doctors were exempt from the requirement. However, in regions with doctors, the law was enforced, though young girls believed to be virgins were allowed to be examined by female doctors.[21] On 24 March 1921 Kütahya province was forced to continue medical examination. Furthermore, on 5 February 1921 the Grand National Assembly passed a law for the prevention and control of syphilis. The discussions on this law had provoked a quarrel on 26 December 1920 because some deputies argued that medical examination of women for syphilis was against Islamic law.[22]

Although it is difficult to find out how women resisted this obligatory medical examination, it is possible to argue that they did not appreciate the Decree on Family Law for many reasons. One of these motives was the limited right to divorce the decree provided them. Having little chance to divorce created additional difficulties for poor women in war

conditions because they frequently needed to divorce and remarry for financial reasons. Before the Decree on Family Law, in March 1916 two imperial orders had provided women the right to divorce their husbands in specific conditions, probably due to women's increasing requests in war years. The first one gave the right to demand divorce to women left with no subsistence money after their husbands had gone missing; the second one granted this right only if the husband had been declared insane or had leprosy, white-spot disease, or other similar diseases.[23] With the Decree on Family Law, however, the state first of all attempted to regulate marriage and divorce effectively for war mobilization.[24] Article 38 gave women the right to resist polygamy and to divorce a husband if he wanted to take a co-wife. Nevertheless, Article 102 stated that in other conditions only the husband could be granted a divorce, thus legalizing the superiority of men on this issue, something reassuring for soldiers conscripted for years.[25]

The problem of women who received no subsistence money because their husbands had been lost in war again found a place in the Decree on Family Law. According to Islamic law, a woman already had the right to receive subsistence money from her husband if he was going to stay in another region for a long time or if he was going to undertake a long journey. This money was provided by the husband before he left, or he appointed another man as agent to make the payments to his wife. As early as the sixteenth century, Ottoman women used their right to litigate when they were not paid subsistence money.[26] Therefore, Article 126, which gave women who had lost their subsistence money due to the loss of their husbands in a foreign land the right to demand a divorce, was not something new. Due to ongoing war, according to Article 127, if a woman had subsistence money but wanted to remarry, she had to wait at least four years, a requirement that clearly served to protect the rights of captive soldiers. Furthermore, if this woman's husband was a soldier, she had to wait at least one year after the war ended for the war prisoners to be released and return home. In both cases, before remarrying, the wife had a waiting period (*iddet*) after it had been decided that the lost husband was dead. Besides, according to Article 129, the second marriage immediately ended if it was discovered that the first husband was alive.[27]

In war conditions, many men were lost or falsely reported as dead, a situation that created important problems, especially for poor wives. In his novel *Onlar Savaşırken*, Bekir Eliçin writes about a corrupt village headman who produced fake documents claiming that a woman's husband had died in battle to force her into a second marriage.[28] Consequently, the Decree on Family Law was targeted to protect soldiers who for various reasons could not return to their wives on time or who

were falsely reported as dead. This regulation was first of all an attempt to support war mobilization by maintaining the morale of the soldiers. Furthermore, it did not bring any additional aid to poor women, because it did not observe protection of their economic rights in the absence of a husband. It only made it difficult for soldiers' wives to divorce and remarry.

During World War I women demanded subsistence money from husbands who left them unsupported for extended periods of time. Soldiers who wanted a divorce during military service created a great problem for women who depended on the pension of soldiers' families and other monetary aid from the state.[29] There were also women who were left by their husbands without any subsistence money on different pretexts, such as searching for a job. Nefise, who petitioned the government to find her husband, was one of them. She stated that her husband, Mustafa, had left her and their two children seven months earlier with only 30 piasters. He had told them that he was going to Izmir for business. She had received no information since and lived in misery. Her husband could not be found by October 1919 even after an investigation by the government.[30] Women in similar situations frequently wanted a divorce in order to remarry. On 16 October 1918 the Foreign Affairs Ministry reported that a woman named Fatıma had sent a petition from Varna. Her husband had left his hometown and gone to Konya five years previously, and since then she had not received any news from him. Claiming that she now lived in poverty, she requested that she either be paid subsistence money or be allowed to divorce.[31]

Despite similar requests from soldiers' wives during World War I, the state declined all such pleas in order to boost the morale of the soldiers. The remarriage of lost soldiers' wives was of particular concern for the state. Even before World War I, at the end of the Balkan Wars, the problem of lost soldiers whose deaths were not registered created important social problems. A notification dated 24 March 1914 warned that the death of lost soldiers could be decided only by sharia courts and their wives could only remarry after their *iddet*. As late as April 1920, the state still tried to postpone remarriage of the wives of lost soldiers who were reported to be dead. A notification demanded that the sharia courts delay these marriages until the end of war.[32]

There were so many desperate war widows that the number of polygamous marriages increased in some provinces, despite the efforts of the state to decrease polygamy with the Decree on Family Law. Some local influential people like village headmen helped women whose husbands had not returned from war and who needed to marry due to poverty. İdris Erdinç recalls how his father, without being informed, had been married

to one of these women in Bursa. A headman named Koca Tahir, who was also a chieftain, had taken Erdinç's father's birth certificate without asking him whether he wanted to marry, and the headman then registered a woman named Aşire as his wife. Consequently, this woman had been registered as Erdinç's mother on his birth certificate.[33]

Although women strongly desired second marriages, this choice was for the most part a result of economic hardship. Again, İdris Erdinç writes that his mother had married for the second time during the war years, without knowing that her first husband was still alive. She had heard the news that her soldier husband had died when İdris was two years old. She had abandoned her child by entrusting him to her neighbor Saliye, who was also a soldiers' wife, and had gone to Kavala and was working in tobacco production for some time. From there she migrated to Izmir, and finally married in Muğla, having been left with no alternative. After she had found her first husband together with her son, she said that she thanked God for finding İdris, saying that it was only her son who could eventually save her from misery.[34] She obviously found less security and affection in marriage.

Just like İdris Erdinç's mother, many other widows and married women needed to remarry and so requested that their registers be revised as soon as possible. In January 1918 Hanife Havva petitioned the government from Izmir to demand the registration of the death of her husband in the war in order to marry again.[35] Red tape and corrupt officers impeded these women. On 15 February 1918 Ayşe from the Burhaniye district of Karesi [Balıkesir] explained in a telegram to the government that she was a war widow who wanted to marry again, but her village's board of alderman had not given her a certificate. She had filed charges against the board in the sharia court and had written to the commandership of the gendarmerie requesting a legal investigation. Nevertheless, her attempts had been futile, and finally she had had to request help from the government.[36]

Another woman, Hayriye, whose husband, Hüseyin, had died due to illness during his military service, was, so to speak, lucky enough to learn about his death through a letter. However, even with that letter proving the death of her husband, the government demanded further investigation to verify the information in September 1918.[37]

Ayşe, from Konya's Sungurlu district, who had worked in Istanbul as a domestic in different places after the death of her husband, also demanded the government legally accept the death of her husband. Nevertheless, after the investigation, it was found that she was the wife of another man.[38] This marriage was possibly made without her knowledge but most probably she wanted to remarry by breaking existing laws.

The Ottoman state also tried to postpone the marriage of soldiers' fiancées to other men until the end of war. Marriage of these women was accepted as a factor that increased the number of deserters. As early as March 1911, soldiers complained that their fiancées had married other men, and consequently the government sent notifications to prevent such cases.[39] Similar marriages increased during World War I because many women as soldiers' fiancées had to wait for years in much more difficult living conditions. Although women who lived in better conditions could wait such a long time, for these poor women it was economically impossible to wait for the uncertain arrival of their fiancés.

These women often attempted to marry other men after long years of engagement, and village headmen cooperated with them, probably as a result of bribery or threats. On 2 April 1917 the War Ministry reported that soldier Abdullah's fiancée had married another man: Abdullah presumed this had been done against her will. The Interior Ministry, replying to the War Ministry, wrote that they had received many similar complaints, and yet it was not possible to prevent village headmen from allowing these marriages.[40] Elif, mother of the soldier Poyraz, also complained in a telegram sent to the office of the grand vizier on 17 April 1917 that her son's fiancée, who had become engaged to him five years previously, was married to a gendarme of her village.[41] During World War I headmen and boards of aldermen were put on trial for helping the soldiers' fiancées marry other men.[42]

There were also soldiers who claimed that their wives had been forced to remarry. A soldier named Alemdarzâde Timur petitioned in May 1919 to request the arrest of Divrikli Hüseyin, whom he called a "bandit" wanting to marry his wife by force. Seeking the protection of his legal rights, Bayburtlu Ali Osman also petitioned the War Ministry in April 1919, writing that his wife had married another man while he was fighting as a soldier.[43]

Despite such legal measures, it could be difficult for the state to prevent these marriages and sometimes even to investigate them. A soldier named Şâbanzâde Mustafa complained in a telegram to the government in January 1919 that his fiancée had married the son of the Selmanlı township governor in Ankara. Although he had complained about both this situation and the governor's sexual harassment of other women who were members of soldiers' families, no investigation had been made. He added in another telegram that the district governor had not helped him either. As late as April 1920, the investigation produced no results.[44] Another soldier, İsmail from the Çıkrıkçı village of Karesi, petitioned the War Ministry in February 1921 that he wanted protection of his legal rights, saying that his fiancée was going to marry another man.

The correspondence between the Karesi governorship and the government in March 1921, however, shows that an investigation could not be made due to occupation of this district.[45]

Although most of the telegrams carrying petitions and complaints mentioned that the fiancées or wives had been married by force, some of these women probably cooperated with these marriages for economic reasons. This could indeed have been the case, especially when the soldier was a war prisoner, and therefore his return to his hometown was delayed for a very long period. Ahmed Nuri, who was a war captive in Egypt, petitioned the War Ministry to prevent the marriage of his fiancée, who by autumn 1919 had waited for him for three and a half years. Similarly, the father of war prisoner Emin from Menteşe complained in a telegram in May 1919 that his son's fiancée Necibe was illegally married to Şükrü Ağazâde Kazım. However, after the investigation, it was proved that this marriage was not illegal.[46] This court decision also strengthens the idea that Necibe cooperated in the marriage.

Whether by prostitution or by getting married, it seems that a considerable number of Ottoman women did not play the role of the faithful fiancée or wife that the Ottoman state and their men expected from them. Although their failure to uphold this role was mainly due to the economic hardships they suffered, women's actions constituted both an important challenge and everyday resistance to the war mobilization by making it weaker.

Conclusion

World War I was the most devastating and disastrous event in Ottoman-Turkish history, bringing an end to the Ottoman Empire. In particular, the impact of the war transformed the Ottoman state and society; dissolved the social, economic, and administrative structures of the empire; and ultimately laid the foundations of modern Turkey. For ordinary Ottoman women, wartime developments brought new obligations, restrictions, and problems rather than social and financial autonomy. In this war, educated women from privileged social environments and women who came from families of the members of the CUP were more advantaged. They were among the first to benefit from the new educational opportunities for women, like vocational training in newly founded private courses and university education. On the other hand, ordinary women in the cities suffered excessive exploitation under working conditions that worsened with the war. Peasant women in the countryside also did additional or compulsory labor in the fields, and they were forced to pay high or additional taxes to support the war mobilization.

Because of a longer war mobilization, which continued for more than a decade, and because of living in an unindustrialized and poorer country divided by important ethnic and religious conflict, Ottoman women experienced a more difficult and brutal war than women in most other Western belligerent countries. The Ottoman mobilization of manpower also created an important difference as compared with that of other belligerent countries. As Belinda Davis shows, wartime German society differentiated between "soldiers' wives" and "women of lesser means." German people found the street protests of disadvantaged women they called "women of lesser means" legitimate. But they did not approve of the privileged situation of "soldiers' wives," who took pensions from the state. However, there was no open animosity directed towards "soldiers' wives" in Ottoman society, probably because most of these women already belonged to the poorest social group in the Ottoman Empire. The majority of them were wives of Anatolian-Turkish peasants, who could not pay the money to be exempted from military service.

Nevertheless, poor Ottoman women had a similar hatred towards families of army officers and civil servants, who were comparatively better off.

Nearly all actions these poor women took to survive the war years had political implications. Consequently, the women's movement before the foundation of the Turkish Republic and the introduction of women's rights by the Kemalists cannot be reduced only to the organized activities of elite and educated middle-class women after the Second Constitution and during the war years. Regardless of the pioneering role of these elite women, who were often wives or daughters of high-ranking bureaucrats, Ottoman feminists were not alone in the women's fight for rights. Ordinary women's unorganized struggle, mainly in terms of economic survival, must have affected and inspired some feminists. Poor women's strategies for seeking their self-interests and therefore attaining certain rights could take both legal and illegal forms, whereas Ottoman feminists from elite backgrounds could not use these more aggressive or illegal methods, unlike some suffragists in Europe who could even make use of violence to demand their rights.

During World War I ordinary women frequently resorted to seeking help and redress from state bureaucracy and acquired important experience in this respect. Many disadvantaged women wrote petitions or sent telegrams to the state to request a favor or complain about a situation they believed to be unfair. However, when their expectations were not met, they did not hesitate to engage in illegal activities, like cheating the authorities with forged certificates and ration cards; hiding their crops and livestock to evade war taxes; bribing the authorities to protect deserters; or trying to survive by begging, stealing, and engaging in prostitution. Some women did not hesitate to make violent street demonstrations against the war, mobilization measures, and the shortage of food. Married women left without a financial supporter in the absence of their husbands remarried while their soldier husbands were still serving at the front, were lost, or were war prisoners. All these spontaneous, everyday, mostly informal and illegal actions in pursuit of self-interest or survival could be as effective as legal, formal, or organized means of struggle, and sometimes they proved to be more influential in forcing the state authorities to take action.

Not only women's participation in war mobilization but also their resistance to it made women politically important to the state during and probably after the war. Consequently, ordinary women with their everyday forms of politics were part of the political developments of this "total war." They were directly or indirectly active in soldiers' decisions to desert. Although they failed in most cases to openly struggle against their harsh exploitation through compulsory labor, requisitioning, and heavy

taxation, peasant women still hindered the war efforts of the state by resisting taxes and compulsory work in covert ways. Their last-resort methods of survival – for instance, clandestine prostitution to feed themselves or their children – also lowered soldiers' morale, encouraged desertion, and spread venereal diseases both among the civilians on the home front and among the soldiers. Therefore, women's seemingly apolitical actions had unintended political and military consequences.

For that reason, the Ottoman state, even during its fiercest struggle to survive, was responsive to social developments, people's demands and complaints, and, in particular, women's experiences and voices. The state took seriously and evaluated not only women's specific requests and grievances, expressed through petitions, telegrams, letters, or open protests, but also their discontent expressed through their everyday actions. Given the fact that women's actions were a manifestation of their opinions, their disobedience, struggles, and illegal behavior were the main means by which their critical opinions reached the Ottoman authorities indirectly. The Ottoman state was not indifferent to women's problems and accordingly revised some of its measures and policies.

Ordinary women, as well, even in the absence of leading any formal and organized political actions and movements, were aware or at least hopeful that they could make a difference. Women's open support of the war mobilization and their use of nationalist, religious, or patriarchal words could have had pragmatic reasons. Women generally mentioned all their anger and despair at the same time by using similar expressions. They often exploited the language of the state authorities to legitimate their actions, demands, and complaints. By using these power holders' own words, they tried to force political elites to live up to their commitments and promises. For example, many lower-income women described themselves as "soldier's mother," "soldier's wife," or "soldier's family," which were the roles that the wartime government often praised and depicted as those of the "mothers of the nation" who deserved the state's concern and support. In this manner, many poor and low-income women demanded food, pensions, housing aid, education and care for their children, employment, or tax reductions. Consequently, they asked for some of their citizenship rights, although they were not yet holders of political rights, such as the right to vote, during those years.

Negotiation with the state through this nationalist language, however, was not an option for many women whose men were not involved in war mobilization. Those women who could not present themselves to the political authorities with such accepted roles had less bargaining power to demand their rights from the state in legal ways. However, even these women sought their individual interests through other mechanisms of

everyday resistance. Many women staged spontaneous antiwar and anti-conscription demonstrations. Again, women played an important role in food riots. They used gender codes to legitimate and defend their protests and demands. They even attempted to benefit from religious segregation to escape the physical attacks of the gendarmerie or army forces.

Using these methods, Ottoman women influenced everyday politics and sought their rights during the war years, although their influence was ignored later on by both nationalist discourse and feminist intellectuals. Women's struggle for socioeconomic rights, which were as important as legal or political ones, was a crucial part of the Ottoman-Turkish women's movement and wartime Ottoman politics.

Notes

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2. Bock, *Avrupa Tarihinde Kadınlar*, pp. 149–201; Riot-Sarcey, *Histoire du féminisme*, pp. 54–75.
3. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*; Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*; Bali, *Survey of Some Social Conditions in Smyrna*; Mears, *Modern Turkey*.
4. For wartime reforms, see Toprak, "Family, Feminism, and the State," pp. 441–52; and Ahmad, "War and Society," pp. 265–86. For big cities, see Yerasimos, *Istanbul, 1914–1923*; Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*; Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation*; and Berber, *Yeni Onbinlerin Gölgesinde Bir Sancak*.
5. Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi*; Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*; Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy in World War I," pp. 112–36.
6. Beşikçi, *Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower*; Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity*.
7. Kıranlar, *Savaş Yıllarında Türkiye'de Sosyal Yardım Faaliyetleri*; Dağlar-Macar, *War, Epidemics, and Medicine*; Özdemir, *Ottoman Army, 1914–1918*.
8. For Turkish refugees in Anatolia and Thrace, see Öğün, *Unutulmuş Bir Göç Trajedisi*; Kaya, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve Milli Mücadele'de Türk Mültecileri*; and Shaw, *Ottoman Empire in World War I*. For Turkish-Greek population exchange after World War I, see Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*; and Clark, *Twice a Stranger*.
9. Metinsoy, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Türkiye*, pp. 20–1.
10. Lorenz, "Die Frauenfrage im Osmanischen Reiche mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der arbeitenden Klasse," pp. 72–214.
11. Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*.
12. Os, "Taking Care of Soldiers' Families," pp. 95–110. She also wrote her dissertation on female associational life in the Ottoman Empire, focusing largely on war period: see Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy, and Patriotism."
13. Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*; Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasî Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını*; Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib*. For women's clothing, see Mahir Metinsoy, *Mütareke Dönemi İstanbulu'nda Moda ve Kadın*; and Metinsoy, "Everyday Resistance to Unveiling," pp. 86–117.

14. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*; Demirdirek, "In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women's Movement," pp. 65–81.
15. Yaraman, *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine*; Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*.
16. Only recently, a few scholars studied the wartime interaction of Ottoman women with the state through their petitions. See, for example, Kutluata, "Ottoman Women and the State"; Akın, "War, Women, and the State," pp. 12–35.
17. Duby and Perrot, *Histoire des femmes en Occident*; Boxer and Quataert, *Connecting Spheres*.
18. Daniel, *War from Within*; Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*; Davis, *Home Fires Burning*; Morin-Rotureau, *1914–1918*; Antier, *Les femmes dans la Grande Guerre*.
19. Baykal, *Millî Mücadele'de Anadolu Kadınları Müdafaa-i Vatan Cemiyeti*; Tansel, *İstiklâl Harbi'nde Mücâhit Kadınlarımız; Milli Mücadele'de ve Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Kadınlarımız*.
20. Riley, "Does a Sex Have a History?" pp. 17–33.
21. Calhoun, "Introduction," p. 37.
22. Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," p. 127.
23. Davis, "Reconsidering Habermas," pp. 397–426.
24. Thompson, "Public and Private," p. 53.
25. Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, pp. 119–33.
26. Shapiro, "Introduction," pp. 4–5.
27. Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, p. 80.
28. Donzelot, *La police des familles*.
29. Canning, "Feminist History," p. 394.
30. Kaye, *British Marxist Historians*, pp. 7–8, 167–220.
31. Eley and Nield, "Why Does Social History Ignore Politics?" p. 267.
32. Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, p. 170.
33. Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency*; Kerkvliet, "Everyday Politics," pp. 227–43.
34. James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*. See also James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.
35. Dehne, "Have We Come Any Closer to *Alltag*?" p. 128.
36. Benhabib, "Models of Public Space," pp. 73–98.
37. Wierling, "History of Everyday Life," p. 155.
38. Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, pp. 68–90; Abu-Lughod, "Introduction," pp. 23–4.
39. Berktay, *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*, p. 20.
40. Lüdtke, "Introduction," p. 13.
41. Mahir Metinsoy, "Kadın Tarihi Araştırmaları Açısından *Türk Kadını* Dergisi," pp. xxxi–xxxv.
42. F. Kılıç, "Maskeli Erkekler," p. 433.
43. Sarıyıldız, *Sokak Yazıcıları*, p. 38, 101–2; Kabadayı, "Petitioning as Political Action," pp. 62–3.
44. Voss, "Introduction," pp. 8–9.
45. Blaine, "Power of Petitions," pp. 62.
46. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, p. 175.

47. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*, p. 143.
48. Steinberg, *Fighting Words*, pp. 12–8.
49. Anderson and Jack, "Learning to Listen," p. 11.
50. Lyon-Caen and Ribard, *L'historien et la littérature*, pp. 15–18.
51. Darnton, "Early Information Society," pp. 1–35.

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1. Thébaud, "Penser la guerre."
2. Black, *Age of Total War*, pp. 1–2.
3. Beckett, "Total War," pp. 25–9.
4. Hobsbawm, *Kısa 20. Yüzyıl, 1914–1991*, p. 37.
5. Bond, *War and Society*, p. 168.
6. Showalter, "Mass Warfare," p. 74.
7. Gülboy, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı Tarihi*, pp. 206–7.
8. Müller, "Total War," p. 109.
9. Grandhomme, *Chronologie de la première guerre mondiale*, p. 8.
10. Gülboy, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı Tarihi*, pp. 224–5.
11. Thébaud, "La Grande Guerre," p. 93.
12. Duroselle, *La Grande Guerre des Français*, p. 421.
13. Vincent, "Une histoire du secret?" p. 174.
14. King and Bowers, *Gallipoli*, p. 5; Scates and Frances, *Women and the Great War*, p. 103, 140.
15. Winter, Parker, and Habeck, *Great War*, p. 2.
16. Hersch, *Bugünkü Harplerin Başlıca Demografik Etkileri*, p. 11.
17. Voldman, "Les bombardements aériens," pp. 146–7.
18. Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*, p. 64.
19. Becker, *Oubliés de la Grande Guerre*, pp. 68–77.
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22. Kolko, *Un siècle de guerres*, pp. 88–90.
23. Broadberry and Harrison, "Economics of World War I," pp. 16–36.
24. Offer, *First World War*, p. 6.
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26. For wartime European societies, see Becker, *L'Europe dans la Grande Guerre*; Wall and Winter, *Upheaval of War*.
27. Ferro, *Great War*, pp. 138–9.
28. Jean H. Quataert, "Women's Wartime Services," pp. 453–83.
29. Thébaud, "La Grande Guerre," p. 101.
30. Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend*, pp. 15–16.
31. Mosse, *Image of Man*, pp. 107–15.
32. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 133.
33. Capdevila, "L'identité masculine," pp. 101–2.
34. Boxer and Quataert, "Women in the Era of the Interventionist State," p. 229.
35. Koven and Michel, "Introduction," p. 29.
36. Lewis, "Women and Late-Nineteenth-Century Social Work," pp. 78–9.
37. For French women's associations, see Ripa, *Les femmes*, p. 99.

38. P. E. Dewey, "Nutrition and Living Standards," p. 216; for civilian deaths in Berlin, see Daniel, *War from Within*, p. 196; Bonzon and Davis, "Feeding the Cities," pp. 305–11, 318–19, 338.
39. Daniel, "Women's Work," pp. 275–6.
40. Allen, "Sharing Scarcity," p. 378.
41. Davis, *Home Fires Burning*, p. 127.
42. Bonzon and Davis, "Feeding the Cities," pp. 323–36; Daniel, *War from Within*, p. 172; Boxer and Quataert, "Women in the Era of the Interventionist State," p. 237; Sieder, "Behind the Lines," pp. 125–6. For French women's food riots, see Allen, "Sharing Scarcity," p. 374.
43. Davis, *Home Fires Burning*, pp. 24–34, 125–7, 141–54.
44. Winter, "Forms of Kinship," p. 42.
45. Thébaud, "La Grande Guerre," p. 120.
46. Scates and Frances, *Women and the Great War*, p. 141.
47. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, p. 22.
48. Daniel, *War from Within*, p. 178.
49. Hausen, "German Nation's Obligations," p. 130, 133; for France, see Antier, *Les femmes dans la Grande Guerre*, pp. 156–7.
50. Daniel, *War from Within*, p. 28, 188.
51. Petit, "La pension de veuve de guerre de 14–18," pp. 120–2; Winter, *Sites of Memory*, pp. 46–50.
52. Antier, *Les femmes dans la Grande Guerre*, p. 125; Sieder, "Behind the Lines," pp. 117–19; Daniel, *War from Within*, pp. 51–4.
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61. Duroselle, *La Grande Guerre*, pp. 429–30; Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls*, p. 173; Daniel, *War from Within*, p. 135; Davis, *Home Fires Burning*, p. 186.
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63. Capdevila, Rouquet, Virgili, and Voldman, *Sexes, genre et guerres*, p. 177; Antier, *Les femmes dans la Grande Guerre*, p. 149; Faron, *Les enfants du deuil*, pp. 125–58.

64. Gledhill, "War and Women," p. 13; Schweitzer, "Les enjeux du travail des femmes," p. 23.
65. Bock, *Avrupa Tarihinde Kadınlar*, p. 204; Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend*, pp. 17–18; Gledhill, "War and Women," p. 15; Ferro, *Great War, 1914–1918*, p. 190.
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67. Frois, *La santé et le travail des femmes pendant la guerre*, p. 25; Zancarini-Fournel, "Travailler pour la patrie?" p. 35. For Australia, see Scates and Frances, *Women and the Great War*, p. 38.
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69. Fell and Sharp, "Introduction," pp. 2–3; Joan W. Scott, "La travailleuse," p. 488; Bachrach and Galano, "La feminization des PTT," p. 86.
70. Thébaud, "Work, Gender, and Identity," pp. 414–15; Battagliola, *Histoire du travail des femmes*, p. 52.
71. Gould, "Women's Military Services," p. 114; Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women*, p. 54; Thébaud, "La Grande Guerre," p. 98; Noakes, *Women in the British Army*, p. 81; Lamm, "Emily Goes to War," p. 392.
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112. Molinari, *Le vote des femmes*, pp. 11–12; Auslander, "Le vote des femmes," pp. 80–1; Enloe, *Maneuvers*, pp. 247–8.
113. Smith, *Second Battlefield*, p. 7; Hause, "More Minerva than Mars," p. 100; Shnyrova, "Feminism and Suffrage in Russia," p. 137.
114. Davis, *Home Fires Burning*, p. 233; Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, p. 94; Engel, "Not by Bread Alone," pp. 708–9.
115. Antier, *Les femmes dans la Grande Guerre*, pp. 54–5; Zancarini-Fournel, "Femmes, genre et syndicalisme," p. 109; Le Naour, "Épouses, marraines et prostituées," p. 65; Loez, *14–18, les refus de la guerre*, p. 559.
116. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, p. 49; Thébaud, "La Grande Guerre," pp. 112–13.
117. Antier, *Les femmes dans la Grande Guerre*, pp. 36–44.
118. Anna Bravo, "Italian Peasant Women," pp. 88–95.

2 The Ottoman Home Front

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2. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, p. 28; Eldem, "Cihan Harbinin ve İstiklal Savaşının Ekonomik Sorunları," p. 374; Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy," p. 121.
3. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, p. 28; Ahmad, "War and Society," p. 275; Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy," p. 124.
4. Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, p. 4, 7; Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy," p. 119–21.

5. Eldem, "Cihan Harbinin ve İstiklal Savaşının Ekonomik Sorunları," p. 379, 386.
6. Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, pp. 3–14.
7. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, pp. 112–16; Toprak, *İttihad Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, pp. 61–6.
8. Ahmad, "War and Society," p. 271, 281.
9. Ziya Şakir, *1914–1918 Cihan Harbini Nasıl İdare Ettik?*, pp. 239–52; Belen, *XX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti*, p. 346; Georgeon, "Au bord du rire," p. 84.
10. "Bu da Macera," p. 3. This and all other translations of poetry and petition are made by the author.
11. Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, p. 14; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, pp. 147–8.
12. Eldem, "Cihan Harbinin ve İstiklal Savaşının Ekonomik Sorunları," p. 384.
13. Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, pp. 154–5; Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, p. 35; Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler*, p. 84.
14. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, p. 36; Fındıkoğlu, *İhtikâr*, p. 18.
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16. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, p. 613; Macfie, *End of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 129; Erickson, *Ottoman Army Effectiveness*, pp. 156–66.
17. Mutlu, *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Amele Taburları*, pp. 35–42; Zürcher, "Ottoman Conscription System," p. 91.
18. Erickson, *Ordered to Die*, p. 211.
19. Erickson, *Ordered to Die*, p. 211; Taşkıran, *Ana Ben Ölmedim*, p. 50, 227–8; Kurat, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye'de Bulunan Alman Generallerin Raporları*, p. 21, 64.
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21. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 79; Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy," p. 112; Gelvin, *Israel-Palestine Conflict*, p. 77; Shaw, *Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2, p. 993; Kaya, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve Milli Mücadele'de Türk Mültecileri*, pp. 110–11; McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, p. 230.
22. For Armenian women, see İnsel and Marian, *Ermeni Tabusu Üzerine Diyalog*; for Muslim women, see Öğün, *Unutulmuş Bir Göç Trajedisi*, p. 36; and Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, pp. 248–9.
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25. Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores*.
26. Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, p. 77–8; Dumesnil, *İşgal İstanbul'u* / Le Bosphore Tant Aimé, p. 12.
27. Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, pp. 355–67; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, pp. 246–7; Sarısaman, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Türk Cephelerinde Beyannamelerle Psikolojik Harp*, pp. 80–1.
28. Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda*, pp. 24–45; Landau, *Pan-Turkism*, p. 51.

29. Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, p. 43; Landau, *Pan-Turkism*, p. 49, 53; Georgeon, "Osmanlı Devletinde Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Yükselişi," pp. 34–5; Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*.
30. Sanders, *Five Years in Turkey*, p. 35; Ahmad, "War and Society," p. 274.
31. Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği*, pp. 65–9; Toprak, "Family, Feminism, and the State," p. 447; Georgeon, "Harp Maliyesi ve Milli İktisat," pp. 164–5; Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation*, p. 25.
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3 Hunger and Shortages

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2. Jenkins, *Robert Kolej'in Kızları*, p. 223; Clarke, *Joy of Service*, p. 141.
3. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 18/20, 29 Şevvâl 1334 [29 August 1916]; BOA, DH.İ. UM.EK, 21/28, 6 Zilhicce 1334 [4 October 1916]; BOA, DH.ŞFR, 571/53, 13 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1333 [13 November 1917].
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5. Cemal Pasha, *Hatıralar*, pp. 349–56; Majd, *Great Famine and Genocide*, pp. 5–8; Özdemir, *Ottoman Army*, p. 162.
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8. Göğüş-Tan, Şahin, Sever, and Bora, *Cumhuriyet'te Çocuktular*, p. 287, 403.
9. Enç, *Selâmlık Sohbetleri*, p. 42.
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15. Esenel, *Geç Kalmış Kitap*, p. 20.
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17. Ilgar, *Mütareke'de Yerli ve Yabancı Basın*, p. 101.
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30. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, p. 29; Toprak, *İttihad Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, pp. 128–30; *1332–1333 Meclis-i Mebusan Encümen Mazbataları ve Levayih-i Kanuniyye*, Devre: 3, İçtima Senesi: 3 (Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 1992) (hereafter cited as *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3), pp. 611–17.
31. Toprak, *İttihad Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, pp. 133–7; "Cihet-i Askeriyyece Belediyeler Namına Yemeklik Tedarik Olunmak Üzere Hazinece Harbiye Nezareti'ne 500,000 Liralık Avans İtası Hakkında Kanun," 21 Şubat 1331 / 30 Rebîülâhır 1334 [5 March 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, pp. 459–60; "Hazine-i Maliyyece Şehremaneti'ne 500,000 Lira Avans İtası Hakkında Kanun-ı Muvakkat," 10 Mart 1332 / 18 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [23 March 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, p. 769.
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43. Ünver, *Birinci Cihan Harbindeki Hilâl-i Ahmer Aşhaneleri*, pp. 5–7.
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58. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–3/2–30, 26 Receb 1336 [7 May 1918]; BOA, DH.İ. UM, 20–4/2–2, 5 Şevvâl 1336 [14 July 1918].
59. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 89–1/1–46, 9 Receb 1333 [23 May 1915].

60. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 23, and ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 23–1, 4 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1333 [4 December 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 93, ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 93–1, 27 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1334 [27 January 1918]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 117, 4 Şubat 1334 [4 February 1918]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 162, 19 Şubat 1334 [19 February 1918].
61. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 28, 9 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1333 [9 December 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 29, 11 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1333 [11 December 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3482, Dos. 20, Fih. 158, 19 Şubat 1334 [19 February 1918].
62. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2966, Dos. 15, Fih. 2–1, 11 Şubat 1332 [24 February 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2966, Dos. 15, Fih. 2–12, 26 Mart 1333 [26 March 1917].
63. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–6/2–79, 4 Zilhicce 1337 [31 August 1919].
64. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–16/10–14, 2 Receb 1336 [13 April 1918].
65. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2966, Dos. 15, Fih. 3–7, 1 Haziran 1333 [1 June 1917].
66. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–6/2–72, 29 Zilka'de 1337 [26 August 1919].
67. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–11/3–37, 18 Cemâziyelâhir 1336 [31 March 1918]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 98–4/1–28, 14 Safer 1335 [10 December 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 40/69, 10 Muharrem 1336 [26 October 1917]; Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Bursa*, p. 215.
68. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2966, Dos. 15, Fih. 2–10, 20/21 Mart 1333 [20/21 March 1917].
69. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2966, Dos. 15, Fih. 2–13, 29 Mart 1333 [29 March 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2966, Dos. 15, Fih. 2–15; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2966, Dos. 15, Fih. 2–16, 16 Nisan 1333 [16 April 1917].
70. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2303, Dos. 78, Fih. 19, 4 Ağustos 1334 [4 August 1918].
71. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 15/51, 7 Rebîülâhır 1334 [12 February 1916].
72. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 24/35, 26 Muharrem 1335 [22 November 1916].
73. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 38/88, 1 Zilhicce 1335 [18 September 1917].
74. TKA, 68/61, 9 Kânûn-ı Sânî 133[4] [9 January 1918, date is indicated as 1333 and 1918]; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 681–5.
75. TKA, 13/11, 14 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1337 [14 January 1921]; TKA, 68/37, 31 Mayıs 1333 [31 May 1917]; TKA, 68/45, 8 Haziran 1333 [8 June 1917].
76. TKA, 68/63, 11 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1334 [11 January 1918].
77. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 26/50, 8 Rebîülevvel 1335 [2 January 1917].
78. "Turks' Many Miseries," *New York Times* (March 12, 1915); "Anti-German Riots in Constantinople," *New York Times* (May 13, 1915); "Riots in Constantinople," *New York Times* (October 11, 1915); "Food Prices Pinch Turks," *New York Times* (December 21, 1915).
79. "Turkey's Defense Broken," *New York Times* (Mar. 7, 1916); "Turks Stop Meat Exports," *New York Times* (March 8, 1916); "Famine Threatens to Engulf Turkey," *New York Times* (February 7, 1917).
80. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–1/33, 20 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [25 March 1916].
81. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–11/3–48, 25 Receb 1336 [6 May 1918].
82. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 55/30, 8 Zilka'de 1337 [5 August 1919].

4 Monetary Assistance for Soldiers' Families

1. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 224; *1332–1333 Meclis-i Mebusan Encümen Mazbataları ve Levayih-i Kanuniyye*, Devre: 3, İçtima Senesi: 3 (hereafter cited as *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4), p. 279–80.
2. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–1/56, 28 Ramazân 1334 [29 July 1916]; BOA, DH.İ. UM, 4–3/9–56, 13 Cemâziyelevvel 1336 [24 February 1918]; BOA, DH.İ. UM, 3–1/1–27, 23 Zilka'de 1337 [20 August 1919]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3–1/1–39, 3 Rebîülâhır 1338 [26 December 1919]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3–1/1–56 [4 March 1920]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–27/14–8, 10 Receb 1339 [20 March 1921]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–28/14–50, 19 Zilka'de 1339 [25 July 1921].
3. *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslâmiyyesi, 1333 Senesi Raporu* (Istanbul: Ahmed İhsân ve Şürekâsı Matbûât Osmânlı Şirketi, 1334 [1918]), p. 4.
4. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 23/51, 9 Muharrem 1335 [5 November 1916].
5. Os, "Taking Care of Soldiers' Families," pp. 95–110; "Hal-i Harb Münasebetiyle Taht-ı Silâha Celb Olunan Muinsiz Efrad-ı Redife ve Müstahfazanın Ailelerine Tahsis Olunacak Maaş Hakkında Kanun-ı Muvakkat," 22 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1328 / 25 Zilhicce 1330 [5 December 1912], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 5, pp. 34–5.
6. "Hal-i Harb Münasebetiyle Taht-ı Silâha Celb Olunan Muinsiz Efrad-ı Redife ve Müstahfaza Ailelerine Tahsis Olunacak Maaş Hakkında Kanun," 26 Haziran 1330 / 15 Şa'bân 1332 [9 July 1914], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 6, p. 859; "Hal-i Harb Münasebetiyle Taht-ı Silâha Celb Olunan Muinsiz Efrad-ı Redife ve Müstahfaza Ailelerine Tahsis Olunacak Maaşa Mütedair 25 Zilhicce 1330 Tarihli Kanun-ı Muvakkata Müzeyyel Kanun," 3 Ağustos 1330 / 24 Ramazân 1332 [16 August 1914], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 6, p. 1214.
7. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, pp. 279–80.
8. "Cephede Bulunan Zabitanın Ailelerine Verilecek Nısıf Maaş Hakkında Nizamname," 24 Temmuz 1337 [24 July 1921], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 2 (Istanbul: Milliyet Matbaası, 1929), p. 129.
9. "Dûçar-ı Esâret Olan Mensubin-i Askeriyye ve Ailelerine Verilecek Maaşat Hakkında Kanun," 7 Mart 1332 / 15 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [20 March 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, p. 734.
10. "Esna-yı Muhaberede Gaybûbet Edenlerin Ailelerine Verilecek Maaş Hakkında – 8 Şa'bân 1327 Tarihli Askeri Tekâüd ve İstifâ Kanununun 35 ve 36 ncı Maddelerine Müzeyyel – Kanun," 12 Mart 1332 / 20 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [25 March 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, pp. 858–9.
11. *Meclis-i Mebusan 1331 (1915) Senesi Encümen Mazbataları ve Levâyih-i Kanuniyye*, Vol. 1, Devre: 3, İçtima Senesi: 2 (hereafter cited as *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2), p. 131; *Sene: 1334 Meclis-i Mebusan Encümen Mazbataları ve Levayih-i Kanuniyye, No: 428–501*, Vol. 2 (Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 1993) (hereafter cited as *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2), pp. 365–9.
12. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 63–5, 214–15.
13. See the decision of the Fiscal Equilibrium Council on 15 November 1917. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, p. 96.

14. *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, pp. 16–20.
15. "Meydan-ı Muhaberede Vukuu Şahadetleri Gayrı Malum Olan Efradın Sureti Vefatlarının Mahkeme-i Şer'iyede Hükme Raptedilmek Suretiyle Efradı Ailelerine Maaş Tahsisi Hakkında Kararname," 24 Mayıs 1337 [24 May 1921], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 2, p. 68.
16. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2476, Dos. 368, Fih. 1–1, 15 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1332 [28 November 1916].
17. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2476, Dos. 368, Fih. 1–7, 10 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1332 [23 December 1916]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2476, Dos. 368, Fih. 1–9, 6 Mart 1333 [6 March 1917].
18. "Meydan-ı Harbde Şehiden Vefat Eden Cünûd-ı Cenâb-ı Mülûkâneden Hidemât-ı Fevkaladeleri Meşhûd Olanların Ailelerine Verilecek İkramiye Hakkında Kanun-ı Muvakkat," 21 Temmuz 1331 / 21 Ramazân 1333 [3 August 1915], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 7, p. 684; "Şühedâ Ailelerine Verilecek Mükâfât-ı Nakdiye Karşılığı Olarak 1331 Mâliye Bütçesine 500,000 Kuruşun İlâvesi Hakkında Kânun," 1 Mart 1332 / 9 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [14 March 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, p. 699; *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, p. 306.
19. "Kabl-et-terfi Şehit Olanlar Hakkında 8 Şa'bân 1327 Tarihli Askeri Tekaüd ve İsti'fâ Kanûnuna Müzeyyel Kanûn-ı Muvakkat," 12 Temmuz 1331 / 13 Ramazân 1333 [25 July 1915], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 7, p. 679; BOA, MV, 212/15, 26 Receb 1336 [7 May 1918]. For the Fiscal Equilibrium Council decision, see *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 137–8.
20. "İlmiyye Bütçesinin Müstahikkîn-i İlmiyye Tertibinden Maaş Alan Ricâl İle Eytam ve Eramile Verilecek Ekmek Bedeli Hakkında Kararname," 13 Ağustos 1335 / 16 Zilka'de 1337 [13 August 1919], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 11, p. 342.
21. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–2/4–27, 15 Cemâziyelevvel 1333 [31 March 1915].
22. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–18, 16 Rebîülevvel 1334 [22 January 1916].
23. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 45/64, 25 Rebîülevvel 1336 [8 January 1918].
24. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/9–60, 13 Şa'bân 1336 [24 May 1918].
25. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–43, 12 Şevvâl 1334 [12 August 1916].
26. For such investigations, see BOA, DH.ŞFR, 40/153, 10 Cemâziyelâhir 1332 [6 May 1914]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 83–2/1–13, 21 Cemâziyelâhir 1333 [6 May 1915]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–31, 8 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [13 March 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–33, 14 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [19 March 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 79/15, 27 Receb 1333 [10 June 1915]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 7/70, 12 Cemâziyelevvel 1333 [28 March 1915]; BOA, DH.EUM.VRK, 27/70, 30 Receb 1333 [13 June 1915]; BOA, DH.EUM. VRK, 27/72, 18 Şa'bân 1333 [1 July 1915]; BOA, DH.HMŞ, 2/2–15, 17 Zilka'de 1335 [4 September 1917]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 78–1/16, 26 Receb 1333 [9 June 1915]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 79/69, 16 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [21 March 1916].
27. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 7–1/23, 24 Rebîülevvel 1334 [30 January 1916].
28. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 107/82, 6 Receb 1335 [28 April 1917].
29. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 44/56, 13 Rebîülevvel 1336 [27 December 1917].
30. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 30/101, 22 Cemâziyelâhir 1335 [15 April 1917].

31. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/9–58, 6 Cemâziyelâhir 1336 [19 March 1918].
32. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/9–66, 26 Cemâziyelâhir 1337 [29 March 1919].
33. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–30, 6 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [11 March 1916].
34. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–34, 24 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [29 March 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–1/56, 28 Ramazân 1334 [29 July 1916].
35. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 81/8, 23 Muharrem 1335 [19 November 1916].
36. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 30/100, 22 Cemâziyelevvel 1335 [15 April 1917]; for Konya, see BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 31/11, 25 Cemâziyelâhir 1335 [18 April 1917]. For Hüdavendigar, see BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 35/17, 5 Ramazân 1335 [25 June 1917].
37. For women's protest, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–23, 5 Rebîülâhır 1334 [10 February 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 18/11, 4 Şevvâl 1334 [4 August 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 30/101, 22 Cemâziyelâhir 1335 [15 April 1917]. For reports on these women, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3–1/1–27, 23 Zilka'de 1337 [20 August 1919]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3–1/1–56, 13 Cemâziyelâhir 1338 [4 March 1920]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–27/14–8, 10 Receb 1339 [20 March 1921].
38. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/9–56, 13 Cemâziyelevvel 1336 [24 February 1918].
39. *Meclis-i Mebusan, Sene: 1330, Kanun Lâyihaları*, Vol. 1 (Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 1992) (hereafter cited as *1330 MMKL*, Vol. 1), p. 597.
40. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–2/4–25, 4 Cemâziyelevvel 1333 [20 March 1915].
41. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–2/4–25, 4 Cemâziyelevvel 1333 [20 March 1915].
42. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 98/4, 1/28, 14 Safer 1335 [10 December 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 40/69, 10 Muharrem 1336 [26 October 1917].
43. The official document cites 133 applicants. However, since the total number of applicants was 116, when 3 pending applicants are taken off, 113 are left.
44. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 98–4/1–49, 7 Safer 1336 [22 November 1917]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 46/36, 28 Rebîülâhır 1336 [10 February 1918].
45. *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, p. 320, 324.
46. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–2/2–17, 2 Rebîülâhır 1336 [15 January 1918].
47. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–47, 13 Rebîülevvel 1335 [7 January 1917].
48. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 98–4/1–28, 14 Safer 1335 [10 December 1916].
49. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–48, 19 Rebîülâhır 1335 [12 February 1917]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 30/90, 21 Cemâziyelâhir 1335 [14 April 1917]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–52, 30 Zilka'de 1335 [17 September 1917].
50. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–52, 30 Zilka'de 1335 [17 September 1917]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 30/90, 21 Cemâziyelâhir 1335 [14 April 1917].
51. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 31/48, 3 Receb 1335 [25 April 1917].
52. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 8/15, 10 Receb 1333 [24 May 1915].
53. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 18/11, 4 Şevvâl 1334 [4 August 1916].
54. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 28/15, 26 Rebîülâhır 1335 [19 February 1917].
55. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 37/29, 26 Şevvâl 1335 [15 August 1917]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 38/3, 10 Zilka'de 1335 [28 August 1917].
56. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 23/22, 4 Muharrem 1335 [31 October 1916].
57. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–2, 12 Şevvâl 1333 [23 August 1915].
58. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–23, 5 Rebîülâhır 1334 [10 February 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 25/67, 24 Safer 1335 [20 December 1916].

59. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 28/100, 9 Cemâziyelevvel 1335 [3 March 1917].
60. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 39/84, 23 Zilhicce 1335 [10 October 1917].
61. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 17/2, 1 Ramazân 1334 [2 July 1916].
62. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–46, 16 Safer 1335 [12 December 1916].
63. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–4, 14 Mart 1331 [27 March 1915].
64. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–24, 16 Nisan 1331 [29 April 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–56, 8 Mart 1332 [21 March 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–25, 30 Nisan 1331 [13 May 1915].
65. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–58, 24 Mayıs 1331 [6 June 1915].
66. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–58, 24 Mayıs 1331 [6 June 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–64, 28 Mayıs 1331 [10 June 1915].
67. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–68, 2 Haziran 1331 [15 June 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–169, 19 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1331 [1 November 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–159, 10 Ağustos 1331 [23 August 1915].
68. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–40, 12 Mayıs 1331 [25 May 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 4087, Dos. 21, Fih. 1–42, 11 Haziran 1331 [24 June 1915].
69. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/9–67, 2 Receb 1337 [3 April 1919]; BOA, DH.İ.UM. EK, 50/42, 16 Receb 1337 [17 April 1919].
70. TKA, 665/316, 12 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1332 [25 January 1917]; TKA, 27/292.3, 1332 [1916].
71. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 53/91, 20 Ramazân 1337 [19 June 1919].
72. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–14/1–32, 12 Safer 1339 [26 October 1920].
73. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/9–68, 4 Zilka'de 1337 [1 August 1919].
74. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2203, Dos. 27, Fih. 3–2, 7 Ağustos 1335 [7 August 1919].
75. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 23/19, 4 Muharrem 1335 [31 October 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 23/52, 9 Muharrem 1335 [5 November 1916]; BOA, DH.İ. UM.EK, 23/73, 11 Muharrem 1335 [7 November 1916].
76. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3–1/1–27, 23 Zilka'de 1337 [20 August 1919]. For Antalya, BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3–1, 1–39, 3 Rebîülâhır 1338 [26 December 1919].
77. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3–1/1–56, 13 Cemâziyelâhir 1338 [4 March 1920].
78. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–27/14–8, 10 Receb 1339 [20 March 1921]; BOA, DH. İ.UM, 20–28/14–50, 14 Zilka'de 1339 [25 July 1921].
79. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2203, Dos. 27, Fih. 3–2, 7 Ağustos 1335 [7 August 1919].
80. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2203, Dos. 27, Fih. 3–24, 30 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1336 [30 November 1920]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2203, Dos. 27, Fih. 3–15, 29 Temmuz 1335 [29 July 1919]; Orga, *The Portrait of a Turkish Family*, pp. 150–1.
81. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 862; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, p. 336; *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, p. 324; *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, p. 335.

82. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 861; *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, p. 336.
83. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 165; *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, p. 328, 852.
84. BOA, MV, 220/52, 19 Zilhicce 1338 [3 September 1920].
85. BOA, MV, 254/94, 14 Şa'bân 1338 [3 May 1920].
86. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, p. 153.
87. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 169; *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, p. 318.
88. *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, pp. 16–20; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2218, Dos. 74, Fih. 2, 13 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1334 [13 January 1918].
89. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–2/4–18, 15 Rebîülâhır 1333 [2 March 1915]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 89–3/1–30, 3 Zilka'de 1333 [12 September 1915].
90. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 22/8, 18 Zilhicce 1334 [16 October 1916].
91. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2203, Dos. 27, Fih. 3–30, 3 Eylül 1335 [3 September 1919]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2203, Dos. 27, Fih. 3–4, 11 Ağustos 1334 [11 August 1918].
92. *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, pp. 319–20, 328.
93. TKA, 12/318.1, 5 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1333 [5 November 1917], and TKA, 12/318, 25 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1333 [25 December 1917].
94. TKA, 12/306, 23 Ağustos 1333 [23 August 1917].
95. TKA, 12/309, 2 Eylül 1333 [2 September 1917]; TKA, 12/313, 19 Eylül 1333 [19 September 1917].
96. TKA, 12/314, 20 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1333 [20 October 1917]; TKA, 12/307, 1 Eylül 1333 [1 September 1917]; TKA, 67/2, 1 Mart 1333 [1 March 1917].
97. TKA, 12/308, 1 Eylül 1333 [1 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2476, Dos. 368, Fih. 1–27, 27 Ağustos 1334 [27 August 1918].
98. TKA, 67/7, 17 Ağustos 1335 [17 August 1919]; TKA, 67/9.4, 28 Temmuz 1335 [28 July 1919].
99. TKA, 67/9, 9 Eylül 1335 [9 September 1919] and TKA, 67/9.1, 16 Eylül 1335 [16 September 1919].

5 The Housing Problem

1. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, pp. 150–1; Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation*, p. 28.
2. Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, pp. 290–2, 312.
3. M. Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, pp. 155–7; Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye*, vol. 3, pp. 1237–8; Sunata, *İstanbul'da İşgal Yılları*, p. 11.
4. Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation*, p. 27; *Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1335–1919 Senesinde Mün'akid*, pp. 49–50.
5. Duben, *Kent, Aile, Tarih*, p. 151; Ertur, *Tamu Yelleri*, p. 125; Sunata, *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara Birinci Dünya Savaşı Anılarım*, pp. 604–5.
6. Ertur, *Tamu Yelleri*, p. 125. For the Black Sea coasts, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 21–1/58, 17 Şa'bân 1336 [28 May 1918]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 21–2/90, 2 Rebîülâhır 1339 [14 December 1920].
7. Donald Quataert, "Age of Reforms," p. 793; Shaw, *Ottoman Empire in World War I*, vol. 2, p. 1004.

8. "Müslüman Muhacirler," *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, p. 2; Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, p. 77.
9. Kaya, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve Milli Mücadele'de Türk Mültecileri*, p. 66; McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, p. 161; Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Bursa*, p. 215.
10. Dumesnil, *İşgal İstanbul'u*, p. 12; Dursunoğlu, *Milli Mücadele'de Erzurum*, pp. 22–3.
11. "Balkan Muharebesinde Edirne Vilâyetiyle Çatalca Sancağında Meskenleri Harab Olan Ahâlî ile Muhacirinin İnşâ Edecekleri Hanelere Muktezî Kerestenin Meccanen Mîri Ormanlarından Kat'ı Hakkında Kanûn-ı Muvakkat," 6 Eylül 1330 / 28 Şevvâl 1332 [19 September 1914], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 6, pp. 1277–8.
12. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 162–3.
13. *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, pp. 388–91.
14. Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye*, vol. 7, pp. 3741–2; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 150; Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation*, p. 28.
15. "Tahrip Edilen Mahallerde Muhtacı Muavenet Olanların Meskenlerinin Tamirine ve Müceddeden Hane ve Baraka İnşasına Muhassas Tahsisatın Sureti Sarfını Mübeyyin Talimat," 19 Teşrin-i Evvel 1338 [19 October 1922], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 3, pp. 142–5.
16. Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, p. 166; *Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1335–1919 Senesinde Mün'akid*, pp. 49–50; Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye*, vol. 3, p. 1248.
17. Shaw, *Ottoman Empire in World War I*, vol. 1, pp. 567–71. For these mosques, see *Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1329–1331 Salnamesi* (Istanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1329 [1331]), pp. 219–25.
18. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 274, 279, 281–2; "1332 Aşâir ve Muhâcirin Müdîriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi Büdcesine 50,000,000 Kuruş İlâvesi Hakkında İrâde-i Seniyye," 25 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1332 / 10 Muharrem 1335 [7 November 1916] *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, p. 1372.
19. Polat, *Müdâfaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*, p. 66; *Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1335–1919 Senesinde Mün'akid*, pp. 6–7; TKA, 612/29, 12 Ağustos 1338 [12 August 1922].
20. Dumesnil, *İşgal İstanbul'u*, p. 12; Yüksel, *Giresun Tarihi Yazıları*, p. 116.
21. "Muhacir ve Mültecilerin Tarzı İdare ve Sevkleri Hakkında Nizamname," 5 Haziran 1337 [5 June 1921], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 2, pp. 74–7; "Muhacirinin Sevkleri İçin Muktazi Yüz Elli Bin Liranın Avans Olarak İtasına Dair Kanun," 2 Temmuz 1337 / 20 Şevvâl 1339 [2 July 1921], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 2, p. 81.
22. "30 Nisan 1329 Tarihli İskânı Muhacirin Talimatnamesini Muaddil ve Ona Müzeyyel Mevaddı Nizamiye," *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 3, pp. 68–9.
23. See, for example, Ertur, *Tamu Yelleri*, pp. 124–5, 151.
24. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2293, Dos. 36, Fih. 1–22, 12 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1331 [25 November 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2293, Dos. 36, Fih. 1–23, 12 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1331 [25 November 1915].

25. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/7–28, 3 Cemâziyelâhir 1336 [16 March 1918]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/7–31, 13 Cemâziyelâhir 1336 [26 March 1918].
26. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2298, Dos. 59, Fih. 2–52, 27 Ağustos 1333 [27 August 1917].
27. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 7–3/1–13, 29 Muharrem 1337 [4 November 1918].
28. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2291, Dos. 28, Fih. 3, 23 Mart 1331 [5 April 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2291, Dos. 28, Fih. 3–7, 9 Mayıs 1331 [22 May 1915]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2291, Dos. 28, Fih. 3–14, 7 Haziran 1331 [20 June 1915]; the note dates 20 Haziran 1331 [3 July 1915].
29. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 28/14, 26 Rebîülâhır 1335 [19 February 1917]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 39/6, 6 Zilhicce 1335 [23 September 1917].
30. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 42/75, 14 Safer 1336 [29 November 1917].
31. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2300, Dos. 67, Fih. 1–15, 25 Haziran 1334 [25 June 1918].
32. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2300, Dos. 67, Fih. 1–44, 6 Temmuz 1334 [6 July 1918].
33. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2300, Dos. 67, Fih. 1–10, 23 Haziran 1334 [23 June 1918].
34. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2300, Dos. 67, Fih. 1–22, 30 Haziran 1334 [30 June 1918].
35. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–23/3–16, 13 Şevvâl 1336 [22 July 1918].
36. BOA, DH.UMVM, 58/16, 9 Zilhicce 1336 [15 September 1918].
37. BOA, DH.UMVM, 156/51, 30 Muharrem 1337 [5 November 1918].
38. BOA, DH.UMVM, 165/6, 8 Muharrem 1340 [11 September 1921].
39. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 52/113, 29 Şevvâl 1337 [30 May 1919].
40. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 89–4/1–13, 23 Zilka'de 1333 [2 October 1915]; for Mustafa's wife, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 89–4/1–16, 24 Zilka'de 1333 [3 October 1915]. For Hüsniye, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 89–4/1–25, 27 Zilka'de 1333 [6 October 1915].
41. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2300, Dos. 67, Fih. 1–189, 19 Eylül 1334 [19 September 1918].
42. Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*, pp. 34–6. This part, quoted from the novel, the first edition of which was published in 1923 before the alphabet reform of 1928, was deleted from the book in later editions using the Latin alphabet.

6 Motherhood

1. Öğün, *Unutulmuş Bir Göç Trajedisi*, p. 40.
2. Sunata, *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara*, pp. 128–9.
3. Ataman, *Esaret Yılları*, p. 73.
4. Kaygusuz, *Bir Roman Gibi*, p. 190.
5. Akgül, *Şoför İdris*, pp. 10–25; Tekin, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı Anıları*, pp. 104–15.
6. Korkmaz, "'Twenty-five Percent Armenian'."
7. Karaosmanoğlu, *Millî Savaş Hikâyeleri*, pp. 117–21.
8. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 250; Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, p. 120.
9. Scipio, *My Thirty Years in Turkey*, p. 144.

10. Erginsoy, *Dedem Hüseyin Atıf Beşe*, p. 193.
11. Lermioğlu, *Akçaabat – Akçaabat Tarihi*, pp. 263–4. For the Agean provinces, see Özkaya, *Milli Mücadele'de Ege Çevresi*, vol. 2, p. 61.
12. Lermioğlu, *Akçaabat – Akçaabat Tarihi*, pp. 265–302.
13. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–2/2–46, 16 Şubat 1334 [16 February 1918].
14. Özkaya, *Milli Mücadele'de Ege Çevresi*, vol. 2, pp. 67–9.
15. Tugaç, *Bir Neslin Dramı*, pp. 215–16.
16. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 249; Çavdar, *Milli Mücadele Başlarken Sayılarla*, p. 120.
17. Göğüş-Tan, Şahin, Sever, and Bora, *Cumhuriyet'te Çocuktular*, p. 413.
18. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 250; Özdemir, *Ottoman Army*, p. 195; Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, p. 224; Esenel, *Geç Kalmış Kitap*, p. 19; Jenkins, *Robert Kolej'in Kızları*, p. 222.
19. Sarıkaya, "Savaş Yıllarında Himâye-i Etfal Cemiyetinin Çocuk Sağlığı Konusundaki Hedef ve Faaliyetleri," pp. 39–40. For cholera rumors, see Bilgin, *Çanakkale'nin Kadın Kahramanı Safiye Hüseyin*, p. 41.
20. Özdemir, *Ottoman Army*, p. 94–6; Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, pp. 249–50.
21. Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevî Hastalıklar," pp. 39–40; Ahmet Rasim, *Dünkü İstanbul'da Hovardalık*, pp. 246–7.
22. Özdemir, *Ottoman Army*, p. 98; Berber, *Yeni Onbinlerin Gölgesinde Bir Sancak*, pp. 101–2, 107–8; Rankin, "Health," pp. 67–8.
23. Sunata, *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara*, pp. 434–5; for Sandıklı, see Özkaya, *Milli Mücadele'de Ege Çevresi*, vol. 2, pp. 13–14. For Trabzon, see Özel, *Millî Mücadelede Trabzon*, pp. 75–6.
24. Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, pp. 189–99.
25. Libal, "Children's Protection Society," p. 61; Asan, *Hasan İzzettin Dinamo*, p. 16; Akgül, *Şoför İdris*, pp. 22–3; Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, pp. 189–99; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 259.
26. Dumesnil, *İşgal İstanbul'u*, p. 8; Özel, *Millî Mücadelede Trabzon*, p. 77; Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, p. 197; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 258.
27. Sınar-Çılgın, "Savaşın Gerçek Kurbanları: Çocuklar," pp. 355–6.
28. Öğün, *Unutulmuş Bir Göç Trajedisi*, p. 222; Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, p. 197.
29. Gürpınar, *Nimetşinas*, pp. 231–44.
30. Törenek, *Türk Romanında İşgal İstanbulu*, p. 143.
31. Tahir, *Yorgun Savaşçı*, pp. 165–8.
32. Maksudyan, "Orphans, Cities, and the State," pp. 493–511.
33. Balsoy, *Politics of Reproduction*.
34. Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde*, p. 32; N. Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, p. 51, 199–250; Ortaylı, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile*, pp. 96–7.
35. Okay, *Meşrutiyet Çocukları*, p. 63–4; Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde*, p. 29.
36. *1330 MMKL*, Vol. 1, p. 286; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 257.

37. "Evlâd-ı Şühedânın Ta'lîm ve Terbiyesi İçin Vücûda Getirilecek Müessesât Masârifine Muktezî Vâridât Hakkında Kanûn-ı Muvakkat," 16 Mayıs 1331 / 15 Receb 1333 [29 May 1915], *Düstûr*, Vol. 7, Tertîb-i Sânî, pp. 610–12; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 650–6. For tobacco taxes, see BOA, DH.EUM.VRK, 15/22, 29 Şaban 1333 [12 July 1915]; BOA, DH.EUM. KLU, 9/15, 2 Ramazan 1333 [14 July 1915]; BOA, DH.MB.HPS, 155/16, 17 Ramazan 1333 [29 July 1915]; BOA, İ.DUİT, 89/39, 19 Receb 1340 [18 March 1922].
38. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 87–8; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 662–3.
39. "Dârüleytâmlar Müdîriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi Teşkîli ve Müteferriâtı Hakkında Kanûn," 2 Nisan 1333 / 10 Cemâziyelâhir 1335 [2 April 1917], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 9, pp. 575–6.
40. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, pp. 343–62.
41. *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, pp. 12–15.
42. "Şühedâ Vesâire Evlâdlarının Leylî Mekâtib-i İdâdiyye-i Askeriyyeye Kayd ve Kabulü Hakkında Nizâmnâme," 16 Eylül 1331 / 20 Zilka'de 1333 [29 September 1915], *Düstûr*, Vol. 7, Tertîb-i Sânî, pp. 743–5; "Şühedâ Vesâire Evlâdının Leylî Mekâtib-i İdâdiyye-i Askeriyyeye Kayd ve Kabulüne Mütedâir 20 Zilka'de 1333 Tarihli Nizâmnâmenin 1 inci Maddesini Muaddel Mevâdd-ı Nizâmiyye," 17 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1331 / 22 Safer 1334 [30 December 1915], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, pp. 259–60.
43. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 878–83; "Mekâtib-i Sultâniyye ve İdâdiyye Talebesinden Alınacak Ücûrâtın Sûret-i Ta'yîniyle Leylî Meccânî Talebenin Adedi Hakkında Karârnâme," 18 Ağustos 1335 / 21 Zilka'de 1337 [18 August 1919], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 11, pp. 342–3; "Evladı Şühedanın Tercihen Leyli Mekteplere Meccanen Kaydı Hakkında Heyeti Umumiye Kararı," 21 Eylül 1337 [21 September 1921], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 2, p. 135.
44. "Dârülaceze Nizâmnâmesi," 12 Nisan 1332 / 22 Cemâziyelâhir 1334 [25 April 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, pp. 901–7; Johnson, *Constantinople Today*, pp. 229–46, 255; Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul*, p. 242.
45. Asan, *Hasan İzzettin Dinamo*, pp. 19–25.
46. Adıvar, *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, p. 444; Yüksel, *Giresun Tarihi Yazuları*, p. 118.
47. BOA, HR.SYS, 2175/2, 24 November 1915; BOA, HR.SYS, 2175/3, 11 January 1916; BOA, HR.SYS, 2175/5, 25 March 1916; BOA, HR.SYS, 2420/83, 18 May 1916; BOA, HR.SYS, 2426/20, 20 September 1916; BOA, HR.SYS, 2447/25, 30 January 1918; BOA, İ.DUİT, 13/46, 26 Şevvâl 1339 [3 July 1921]; BOA, DH.EUM.5.Şb, 5/36, 19 Muharrem 1333 [7 December 1914].
48. Polat, *Müdâfaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*, p. 89; TKA, 12/305, 24 Temmuz 1333 [24 July 1917]; Sarı and Özaydın, *I. Dünya Savaşında Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti'nin*, pp. 163–4.
49. Açıksözcü Hüsnü, *İstiklâl Harbinde Kastamonu*, p. 65; Avanas, *Milli Mücadele'de Konya*, pp. 221–2.
50. Hüsnü, *İstiklâl Harbinde Kastamonu*, pp. 81–2; Özel, *Millî Mücadelede Trabzon*, p. 76.

51. Sarıkaya, "Savaş Yıllarında Himâye-i Etfal Cemiyetinin," p. 45.
52. Özden, *Doktor Besim Ömer Akalın*, pp. 3–5; TKA, 155/83, 26 Şubat 1334 [26 February 1918].
53. Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, p. 221.
54. Sancar, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadın ve Aile*, p. 59; Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, pp. 134–5.
55. Hasan Dündar, "Donmuş Kundak," pp. 4295–7.
56. Asan, *Hasan İzzettin Dinamo*, p. 16; Tekin, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı Anıları*, pp. 170–1.
57. Süleyman Nuri, *Çanakkale Siperlerinden TKP Yönetimine*, pp. 121–3.
58. Özer, *Toprağın Sancısı*, pp. 24–5.
59. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–17/1–27, 18 Şevvâl 1339 [25 June 1921]; BOA, DH.İ. UM, 19–14/1–66, 16 Rebîülevvel 1339 [28 November 1920]; Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, p. 217.
60. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1757, Dos. 174A, Fih. 15–8, 19 Şubat 1331 [3 March 1916]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1757, Dos. 174A, Fih. 15–11, 9 Mart 1332 [22 March 1916].
61. BOA, DH.UMVM, 119/10, 9 Ramazan 1336 [18 June 1918]; BOA, DH. UMVM, 119/29, 3 Muharrem 1341 [26 August 1922].
62. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 865.
63. Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, pp. 164–80.
64. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–17/1–24, 15 Şevvâl 1339 [22 June 1921].
65. BOA, İ.DUİT, 99/52, 7 Zilhicce 1340 [1 August 1922].
66. Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, pp. 189–93.
67. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2289, Dos. 22, Fih. 60, 8 Ağustos 1332 [21 August 1916].
68. Tepeyran, *Belgelerle Kurtuluş Savaşı Anıları*, pp. 118–20.
69. Akgül, *Şoför İdris*, pp. 24–5.
70. Yüksel, *Giresun Tarihi Yazıları*, p. 113.
71. Yurtsever, *Kadirli Tarihi*, pp. 237–8.
72. Damacı, "Saz Şairleri," p. 1053.
73. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–2/1–34, 28 Şevvâl 1336 [6 August 1918].
74. BOA, DH.EUM.AYŞ, 7/90, 8 Şa'bân 1337 [9 May 1919]; BOA, DH.EUM. AYŞ, 9/12, 19 Şa'bân 1337 [20 May 1919].
75. BOA, DH.UMVM, 120/23, 13 Cemâziyelâhir 1340 [11 February 1922]; BOA, DH.EUM.AYŞ, 31/97, 18 Cemâziyelevvel 1338 [8 February 1920].
76. Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*, pp. 330–46.
77. Eliçin, *Onlar Savaşırken*, pp. 165–7.
78. Salâhaddin Enis, *Zaniyeler*, p. 132.
79. BOA, DH.MB.HPS, 61/20, 8 Rebîülevvel 1335 [2 January 1917]; BOA, DH.MB.HPS.M, 34/86, 25 Zilka'de 1336 [1 September 1918]; BOA, DH. MB.HPS, 83/73, 20 Zilka'de 1339 [26 July 1921].

7 Wartime Work Opportunities and Restrictions

1. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, pp. 20–1; Güzel, "1908 Kadınları," p. 8; Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, p. 132.

2. Quataert, "Ottoman Women," p. 85.
3. Yılmaz-Koca, *Osmanlı'da Kadın ve İktisat*, pp. 93–7, 152; Caporal, *Kemalizmde ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını*, p. 136.
4. For peasant women's unpaid labor in republican times, see Sirman, "Peasants and Family Farms."
5. Yaraman, *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine*, p. 101; Yılmaz-Koca, *Osmanlı'da Kadın ve İktisat*, p. 81.
6. Quataert, "Age of Reforms," p. 904; Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Bursa*, p. 56.
7. Quataert, "Ottoman Manufacturing," pp. 89–90; Quataert, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 137.
8. Quataert, "Ottoman Women," p. 87–8.
9. Quataert, "Premières fumées d'usines," p. 163, 170.
10. Yaraman, *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine*, pp. 99–100; Caporal, *Kemalizmde ve Kemalizm Sonrasında*, p. 137.
11. Beyinli, *Elleri Tılsımlı*, pp. 49–64.
12. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, p. 219–21; F. Davis, *Ottoman Lady*, p. 52; Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*, pp. 92–3; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, pp. 188–9.
13. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, p. 224; Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, pp. 86–7.
14. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 238. For Besim Ömer Pasha, see BOA, HR.SYS, 2422/71, 26 June 1916. For Sabiha Sertel, see Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation*, p. 23.
15. Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*, p. 51; Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation*, p. 23; Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, p. 145; Patrick, "Women," p. 146; *Milli Mücadele'de ve Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Kadınlarımız*, p. 145.
16. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, pp. 224–5; Yaraman, *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine*, pp. 103–4; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 237. For theater, see Ç. Kılıç, "Men Acting as Women," pp. 303–18; Dinçer, "Afife Jale on the Stage," pp. 393–406; Khalapyan, "Theater as Career," pp. 31–46.
17. Bulut, *İttihat ve Terakki'de Milliyetçilik, Din ve Kadın Tartışmaları*, vol. 1, p. 35; Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Millî İktisat"*, p. 317; Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, p. 133; Kars, *Millî Mücadele'de Kayseri*, p. 113.
18. Yaraman, *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine*, pp. 102–3; Bulut, *İttihat ve Terakki'de*, Vol. 1, p. 35; Korle, *Kızıltoprak Günlerim*, p. 90.
19. Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında*, p. 79; Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, pp. 263–4; Yaraman, *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine*, p. 105; Taşçıoğlu, *Türk Osmanlı Cemiyetinde*, p. 45–6.
20. Sarı and Özaydın, "Türk Hemşireliğine Osmanlı Hanımefendileri'nin ve Hilâl-i Ahmer (Kızılay)'in Desteği," p. 66, 70; Sarı and Özaydın, "Dr. Besim Ömer Paşa ve Kadın Hastabakıcı Eğitiminin Nedenleri II," p. 73; Ergüder, "Kızılay Hemşireliğinin 50 Yılı," p. 33.
21. TKA, 195/5 [no date on the document]; *Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Devletlü İsmetlü Baş Kadınefendi Hazretlerinin Riyaset-i Fahriyesinde*

Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi ([İstanbul]: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1330 [1914]), pp. 102–12; Sarı and Özaydın, "Türk Hemşireliğine Osmanlı Hanımefendileri'nin ve Hilâl-i Ahmer (Kızılay)'in Desteği," p. 74.

22. TKA, 373/4, 5 Mart 1331 [18 March 1915]; Sönmez, *Kızıl Toprak Ak Yemeni*, p. 41; *Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1335–1919 Senesinde Mün'akid*, p. 35.
23. Sarı and Özaydın, "Kadın Hastabakıcılar ve Osmanlı Toplumunda Uyandırdığı Yankılar," pp. 10–13; Ender, *Kızılay Onur Sembolleri*, pp. 46–50, 79–80, 83.
24. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2440, Dos. 145, Fih. 17, 26 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1332 [8 November 1916].
25. *Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1335–1919 Senesinde Mün'akid*, p. 8; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2966, Dos. 153, Fih. 29, 13 Ağustos 1333 [13 August 1917]; Yeniaras, *Türkiye Kızılay Tarihine Giriş*, p. 94. For midwives, see Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Bursa*, p. 204.
26. Sönmez, *Kızıl Toprak Ak Yemeni*, pp. 35–7; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 235; Çolak and Uçan, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Basında*, pp. 51–3. For government support, see BOA, MF.MTK, 1209/47, 18 Receb 1333 [1 June 1915].
27. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–3, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6, 19 Şubat 1334 [19 September 1918]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–4, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917].
28. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-4a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; Shaw, *Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, p. 341.
29. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–53, 23 Ağustos 1333 [23 August 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–61, 24 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1333 [24 October 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–62, 31 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1333 [31 November 1917]; Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*, p. 116, 132.
30. Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, pp. 262–3; Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, p. 89.
31. BOA, MV. 207/52, 2 Cemâziyelâhir 1335 [26 March 1917]; BOA, MV. 216/159, 26 Zilhicce 1337 [22 September 1919].
32. Sönmez, *Kızıl Toprak Ak Yemeni*, p. 88.
33. Hikmet, Emre, and Nevşirvanova, *Hilâliahmer ve Kızılay Tarafından Kendilerine Madalya Tevcih Edilenler*, pp. 3–13, 45–63.
34. *Türkiye Kızılay Derneği 73 Yıllık Hayatı, 1877–1949*, pp. 16–19, 43.
35. Çakır, "Osmanlı Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği," pp. 92–3; Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, p. 119; Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, pp. 212–13.
36. Karakışla, "Şişli Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvâniyesi," pp. 5–12; Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, p. 214.
37. Dumont, "İmparatorluk Savaşta," pp. 109–10.
38. Çavdar, *Milli Mücadele Başlarken Sayılarla*, p. 50; Fuller, "Eastern Front," p. 57.

39. Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, p. 82; Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Bursa*, p. 224.
40. BOA, DH.UMVM, 119/86, 11 Receb 1336 [22 April 1919]; BOA, DH. UMVM, 119/11, 5 Zilka'de 1336 [12 August 1918]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 119/51, 18 Rebîülâhır 1335 [11 February 1917].
41. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, pp. 46–9.
42. "Samsun'da Şayan-ı İmtisal Bir Müessese-i Hayriye," *Kadın*, p. 12; Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, pp. 49–50, 54–5; Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, pp. 218, 223.
43. Nezihe Muhittin, *Türk Kadını*, p. 49, 89–90; *Türkiye Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Dârü's-sanâ'ası*, pp. 3–5, 13–18, 24–5; TKA, 293/1, 1 Haziran 1329 [14 June 1913].
44. Mutlu, *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Amele Taburları*, p. 124; Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, p. 221; Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*, p. 90; Karakışla, "Harp Malulleri ve Şehit Kadın ve Çocukları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti," p. 20.
45. Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*, p. 54, 56, 67; Ahmad, "War and Society," p. 280.
46. Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*, p. 57, 74–5.
47. BOA, DH.UMVM, 130/39, 23 Cemâziyelevvel 1333 [8 April 1915].
48. Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş" in Peşinde*, pp. 118–19.
49. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, p. 248.
50. Ahmed Rıza, *Meclis-i Mebusan ve Ayân Reisi Ahmed Rıza Bey'in Anıları*, pp. 30–3, 63–4.
51. BOA, DH.UMVM, 124/41, 2 Muharrem 1335 [29 October 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 24/61, 2 Safer 1335 [28 November 1916].
52. Jenkins, *Behind Turkish Lattices*, pp. 123–4; Ellison, *İstanbul'da Bir Konak ve Yeni Kadınlar*, p. 148.
53. Nezihe Rikkat, "Erkekleşme," p. 195; Ayverdi, *Dünden Bugüne Ne Kalmıştır*, p. 148; Zorlutuna, *Bir Devrin Romanı*, p. 98.
54. Bulut, *İttihat ve Terakki'de*, vol. 1, p. 114; Erduran, *Sabiha*, p. 36.
55. Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation*, p. 22; Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, pp. 157–64.
56. Zorlutuna, *Bir Devrin Romanı*, p. 100.
57. Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Bursa*, pp. 224, 257; Çarıklı, *Babam Hacim Muhittin Çarıklı*, p. 96.
58. Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, pp. 186–7; Afetinan, *Emancipation of the Turkish Woman*, pp. 41–2; Sunata, *İstanbul'da İşgal Yılları*, p. 23.
59. Ağaoğlu, *Bir Ömür Böyle Geçti*, pp. 22–6.
60. Abadan-Unat, "Social Change," p. 8.
61. Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, p. 125; Bulut, *İttihat ve Terakki'de*, Vol. 1, p. 96.
62. TKA, 93/45, 2 Haziran 1331 [15 June 1915]; TKA, 93/46, 5 Temmuz 1331 [18 July 1915].
63. TKA, 23/217, 26 Haziran 1331 [9 July 1915]; TKA, 23/211, 19 Mayıs 1331 [1 June 1915]; TKA, 44/124, 29 Temmuz 1331 [11 August 1915]; TKA, 146/23, 30 Nisan 1331 [13 May 1915].

64. Sarı and Özaydın, "Dr. Besim Ömer Paşa ve Kadın Hastabakıcı Eğitiminin Nedenleri I," pp. 10, 13–15; Ergüder, "Kızılay Hemşireliğinin 50 Yılı," pp. 23, 32–3, 37.
65. BOA, MF.MTK, 1193/39, 15 Muharrem 1332 [14 December 1913]; Afetinan, *Emancipation of the Turkish Woman*, pp. 46–7.
66. Ottoman women worked for Feshane from home in the nineteenth century, yet in 1875–76 Muslim women did only about 2 percent of total work assignments. See Kabadayı, "Working from Home," p. 75; and Küçükerman, *Anadolu'nun Geleneksel Halı ve Dokuma Sanatı İçinde Hereke Fabrikası*, p. 55.
67. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–5, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]. For Hikmet's application as a guardian, see BOA, DH.MP.HPS.M, 46/71, 30 Zilka'de 1339 [5 August 1921].
68. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2623, Dos. 1, Fih. 1–11, 17 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1333 [17 November 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2623, Dos. 1, Fih. 1–31, 23 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1333 [23 November 1917]; Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*, p. 134.
69. Ruşen Zeki, "Bizde Hareket-i Nisvân," p. 345; Ege, *Turkish Red Crescent Society*, p. 18.
70. TKA, 150/113, 24 Eylül 1337 [24 September 1921]; TKA, 74/204, 23 Mayıs 1339 [23 May 1923].
71. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 37/6, 20 Şevvâl 1335 [9 August 1917]; BOA, DH.İ. UM.EK, 36/31, 7 Şevvâl 1335 [27 July 1917]; and for Seher and Behice, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–3/1–11, 21 Muharrem 1337 [27 October 1918].
72. TKA, 74/80, 4 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1332 [17 December 1916]; BOA, DH.EUM. SSM, 10/67, 30 Zilhicce 1335 [16–17 October 1917].

8 Working Women's Problems

1. Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, pp. 295–6; Yüceer, *Tanıkların Anlatılarıyla Bursa Tarihi*, p. 65.
2. BOA, DH.MB.HPS.M, 19/2, 1 Rebîülevvel 1333 [17 January 1915]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 36/52, 14 Rebîülâhır 1334 [19 February 1916].
3. *Milli Mücadele'de ve Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Kadınlarımız*, pp. 150–1.
4. Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, p. 142.
5. Kıvılcımlı, *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfının Sosyal Varlığı*, p. 51; Erişçi, *Sosyal Tarih Araştırmaları*, p. 96; Ökçün, *Osmanlı Sanayii*, p. 23.
6. Makal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Çalışma İlişkileri*, pp. 196–7.
7. Hikmet, Emre, and Nevşirvanova, *Millî Azadlık Savaşı Anıları*, p. 104; Tekin, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı Anıları*, p. 105.
8. Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*, p. 91, 93.
9. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 259; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–58, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–12, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-12a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917].
10. BOA, HR.SYS, 2422/71, 26 June 1916; Mutlu, *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Amele Taburları*, pp. 125–6; Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, p. 137.

11. BOA, DH.UMVM, 117/95, 19 Rebîülâhır 1340 [20 December 1921]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 115/62, 4 Şa'bân 1340 [2 April 1922]; Kaya, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve Milli Mücadele'de Türk Mültecileri*, p. 53.
12. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 575–80; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, pp. 343–62; "Darüleytamlar Talimatnamesi," 5 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1338 [5 December 1922], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 3, pp. 170–1.
13. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 371–5.; Sarıkaya, "Savaş Yıllarında Himâye-i Etfal Cemiyeti'nin," p. 44.
14. Sofuoğlu, "Osmanlı Devletinde Yetimler İçin Alınan Bazı Sosyal Tedbirler," pp. 55–6.
15. Asan, *Hasan İzzettin Dinamo*, pp. 24–5; Kırbaç, "Osmanlı Belgelerine Göre Birinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında Almanya'ya Gönderilen Dârüleytam Öğrencileri," p. 88; Maksudyan, "Refugee Ottoman Orphans," pp. 151–66.
16. BOA, MV, 220/85, 28 Zilhicce 1338 [12 September 1920]; Özbay, *Turkish Female Child Labor*, pp. 22–23.
17. Nesin, *Yol*, pp. 52–6.
18. Korle, *Kızıltoprak Günlerim*, pp. 61–5; Aliye, *Osmanlı'da Kadın*, pp. 23–6; Lütfi Simâvî, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Muâşeret*, p. 45.
19. Özbay, "Evlerde El Kızları," p. 29; Moralı, *Mütareke'de İzmir*, p. 11; Özbay, "1911–1922 Yıllarında Anadolu'nun Kimsesiz Kız Çocukları," p. 115.
20. Ayaşlı, *Rumeli ve Muhteşem İstanbul*, pp. 83–5; BOA, DH.EUM.AYŞ, 13/27, 23 Ramazân 1337 [22 June 1919]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 119/19, 18 Rebîülâhır 1340 [19 December 1921].
21. Tarus, *Var Olmak*, pp. 35–43.
22. BOA, MF.MTK, 1225/13, 23 Cemâziyelâhir 1335 [16 April 1917].
23. Gülmez, *Türkiye'de 1936 Öncesinde İşçi Hakları*, p. 46; Güzel, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Toplumsal Değişim ve Kadın," vol. 3–4, p. 871; Güzel, *Türkiye'de İşçi Hareketi*, pp. 63, 69, 89, 91, 107; Erişçi, *Sosyal Tarih Araştırmaları*, p. 95.
24. Karay, *Memleket Hikayeleri*, pp. 134–5.
25. Erişçi, *Sosyal Tarih Araştırmaları*, p. 95.
26. Çolak and Uçan, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Basında*, p. 120; Şama, *Şu Boğaz Harbi*, pp. 311–18.
27. BOA, HR.SYS, 2422/71, 26 June 1916; Ege, *Turkish Red Crescent Society*, p. 18.
28. Stearns, "Industrial Conditions," pp. 45–6.
29. Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, pp. 164–82; Enis, *Despot*, pp. 7, 10.
30. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–50, 3 Ağustos 1333 [3 August 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–57, [no date on the document]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–54, 2 Eylül 1333 [2 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–52, 11 Eylül 1333 [11 September 1917].
31. Makal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Çalışma İlişkileri*, pp. 210–17.
32. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-6a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-13a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–8, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7,

Fih. 6–14, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-9a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–57 [no date on the document]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 6-12a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917].

33. BOA, DH.UMVM, 120/20, 27 Safer 1340 [30 October 1921].
34. Toprak, "Family, Feminism, and the State," pp. 449–51; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–10, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–8, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; Mutlu, *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Amele Taburları*, p. 128.
35. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–7, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-5a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-11a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917].
36. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-14a, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–52, 11 Eylül 1333 [11 September 1917]; and ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1941, Dos. 217, Fih. 1–54, 2 Eylül 1333 [2 September 1917].
37. Günaydın, "İlk Kadın Memurlar," p. 67. For teachers, see BOA, DH. UMVM, 159/11, 4 Receb 1337 [5 April 1919].
38. BOA, DH.EUM.1.Şb, 8/1, 2 Muharrem 1335 [18 October 1917].
39. BOA, DH.UMVM, 8/41, 16 Şa'bân 1335 [7 June 1917]. For Fatma, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 40/87, 22 Rebîülâhır 1338 [14 January 1920].
40. BOA, DH.EUM.SSM, 56/20, 25 Safer 1336 [10 December 1917]; Günaydın, "İlk Kadın Memurlar," p. 67; Zorlutuna, *Bir Devrin Romanı*, p. 148; Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, p. 204.
41. Karakışla, "Emergence of the Ottoman Industrial Working Class," pp. 19–22, 25–6, 31; Dumont, "20. Yüzyıl Başları Osmanlı İmparatorluğu İşçi Hareketleri ve Sosyalist Akımlar Tarihi Üzerine Yayımlanmamış Kaynaklar," p. 32; Gülmez, *Türkiye'de 1936 Öncesinde İşçi Hakları*, pp. 31–7; Dumont, "La révolution impossible," p. 143.
42. Todorov, "First Factories in the Balkan Provinces," pp. 315–58; Güzel, "1908 Kadınları," pp. 9–11; Os, "Bursa'da Kadın İşçilerin 1910 Grevi," pp. 7–10.
43. *Türkiye Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Dârü's-sanâ'ası*, p. 10, 12.
44. BOA, DH.KMS, 42/10, 17 Muharrem 1335 [13 November 1916]; BOA, MF.MTK, 1220/74, 22 Muharrem 1335 [18 November 1916].
45. Yaşar Nezihe, "Ekmek Kömür İhtiyacı," p. 1.
46. TKA, 43/273, 9 Haziran 1333 [9 June 1917]; for Zehra, TKA, 43/141, 1 Mart 1330 [14 March 1914]. For Ayşe Bedia, see BOA, DH.MB.HPS.M, 46/68, 26 Zilkâde 1339 [1 August 1921].
47. TKA, 44/182, 20 Ağustos 1331 [2 September 1915].
48. BOA, DH.MB.HPS, 90/66, 10 Ramazân 1332 [2 August 1914]. For Hatice, see BOA, MB.HPS, 92/54, 13 Rebîülâhır 1335 [7 January 1917].
49. BOA, DH.MB.HPS.M, 45/13, 18 Cemâziyelâhir 1339 [27 February 1921].
50. BOA, DH.EUM.SSM, 27/18, 8 Zilka'de 1336 [15 August 1918]. For Hikmet, see BOA, DH.MB.HPS.M, 46/71, 30 Zilka'de 1339 [5 August 1921].

51. BOA, DH.MB.HPS.M, 46/124, 12 Safer 1340 [15 October 1921]; for Ayşe, see BOA, DH.EUM.MH, 166/47, 3 Rebîülevvel 1336 [17 December 1917]. For Cemile, see BOA, DH.MB.HPS, 135/73, 6 Receb 1340 [5 March 1922].
52. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–11; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6-11a; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 1544, Dos. 7, Fih. 6–12, 10 Eylül 1333 [10 September 1917].
53. Vaka, *Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul*, pp. 32–42.
54. TKA, 44/127, 5 Ağustos 1331 [18 August 1915]; for Hadika, see TKA, 44/149, 24 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1331 [6 November 1915]. For Lütfiye and Fatma, see TKA, 156/174, 22 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1332 [4 January 1917].
55. Karakışla, *Women, War, and Work*, p. 116, 132.
56. "Sanayide de Sefalet-i Nisvan," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, p. 2.
57. TKA, 44/265, 23 Eylül 1334 [23 September 1918].
58. TKA, 44/303, 25 Eylül 1335 [25 September 1919]; TKA, 44/317, 1 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1338 [1 January 1922].
59. *Milli Mücadele'de ve Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Kadınlarımız*, pp. 146–7.
60. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3102, Dos. 7, Fih. 1, 14 Ekim 1333 [14 October 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3102, Dos. 7, Fih. 2–1, 22 Ekim 1333 [22 October 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3102, Dos. 7, Fih. 2–4, 22 Ekim 1333 [22 October 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3102, Dos. 7, Fih. 2–5, 22 Ekim 1333 [22 October 1917].
61. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3102, Dos. 7, Fih. 1–1, 14 Ekim 1333 [14 October 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3102, Dos. 7, Fih. 2, 22 Ekim 1333 [22 October 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 3102, Dos. 7, Fih. 2–6, 22 Ekim 1333 [22 October 1917].
62. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2996, Dos. 153, Fih. 23–1, 10 Temmuz 1333 [10 July 1917]; ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2996, Dos. 153, Fih. 23–2, 14 Ağustos 1333 [14 August 1917].
63. ATASE, BDH, Kls. 2997, Dos. 158, Fih. 4, 12 Haziran 1334 [12 June 1918].
64. Sarı and Özaydın, "Dr. Besim Ömer Paşa ve Kadın Hastabakıcı Eğitiminin Nedenleri I," p. 17.
65. Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, p. 152–6.
66. Mutlu, *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Amele Taburları*, pp. 123–4; Kars, *Millî Mücadele'de Kayseri*, p. 113; Yüceer, *Tanıkların Anlatılarıyla Bursa Tarihi*, p. 65.
67. Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, p. 354.
68. Horváth, *Anadolu 1913*, pp. 55–6; Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, pp. 356–60.
69. Çeviker, *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü*, p. 302; Tahir, *Esir Şehrin İnsanları*, p. 31.
70. Toprak, "Fuhuş: Osmanlı Dönemi," p. 344; Hiçyılmaz, *Eski İstanbul'da Muhabbet*, pp. 57–8.
71. Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, pp. 255–61.
72. Moralı, *Mütarekede İzmir*, p. 74.
73. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 246.
74. BOA, MV, 222/184, 11 Rebîulâhir 1340 [12 December 1921].
75. TKA, 23/273, 13 Eylül 1331 [26 September 1915]; TKA 23/282, 30 Eylül 1331 [13 October 1915]; Asan, *Hasan İzzettin Dinamo*, p. 17.

76. Eliçin, *Onlar Savaşırken*, pp. 122–3.
77. BOA, DH.UMVM, 42/107, 6 Zilhicce 1338 [21 August 1920]; BOA, DH. UMVM, 42/139, 24 Zilhicce 1338 [8 September 1920]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 42/138, 24 Zilhicce 1338 [8 September 1920]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 43/16, 25 Zilhicce 1338 [9 September 1920].
78. BOA, DH.UMVM, 41/51, 2 Safer 1339 [16 October 1920]; BOA, DH. UMVM, 41/107, 3 Rebîülevvel 1341 [24 Oct. 1922].
79. BOA, DH.UMVM, 165/91, 1 Cemâziyelevvel 1340 [31 December 1921]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 163/99, 3 Zilhicce 1338 [18 August 1920]; BOA, DH. UMVM, 166/41, 5 Şaban 1340 [3 April 1922]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 41/96, 6 Şaban 1340 [4 April 1922]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 163/108, 30 Zilhicce 1338 [14 September 1920]; BOA, DH.MB.HPS, 133/16, 14 Şevvâl 1339 [21 June 1921].
80. For Zehra, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 156/53, 2 Safer 1337 [7 November 1918]; for Behiye Meryem, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 163/6, 4 Receb 1338 [24 March 1920]; BOA, DH.UMVM, 41/80, 1 Safer 1340 [4 October 1921]. For Fatma Zehra, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 40/34, 30 Zilkâde 1337 [27 August 1919].
81. BOA, DH.UMVM, 142/66, 24 Muharrem 1335 [20 November 1916]. For Leyla, see BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 62/46, 26 Şevvâl 1340 [22 June 1922].
82. BOA, DH.UMVM, 40/46, 27 Zilhicce 1337 [23 September 1919].
83. For Nimeti, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 10/61, 20 Rebîülahîr 1340 [21 December 1921]; for Azize, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 41/91, 10 Cemâziyelâhir 1340 [8 February 1922]; for Fıtnat and Havva, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 42/110, 10 Zilhicce 1338 [25 August 1920]. For Hatice, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3/3, 1/24, 5 Cemâziyelevvel 1340 [4 January 1922].
84. BOA, DH.UMVM, 41/68, 28 Rebîülâhır 1339 [9 January 1921].
85. BOA, DH.UMVM, 164/69, 23 Şaban 1339 [2 May 1921].
86. BOA, DH.UMVM, 167/4, 5 Muharrem 1341 [28 August 1922].
87. BOA, DH.UMVM, 42/114, 18 Zilhicce 1338 [2 September 1920].
88. For Nuriye, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 80/33, 27 Cemâziyelâhir 1337 [30 March 1919]; for Havva, BOA, DH.UMVM, 41/14, 15 Ṣa'bân 1338 [4 May 1920]. For Zekiye, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 164/102, 29 Zilka'de 1339 [4 August 1921].
89. Aliye Esad, "Kadınlığın Âtisi," p. 4; "Maişet Dertleri," p. 1.
90. Günaydın, "İlk Kadın Memurlar," p. 67; Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, p. 204; BOA, DH.İ.UM., 16–2/1–20, 15 Rebîülevvel 1338 [8 December 1919].
91. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 68–9; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 170.
92. Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Bursa*, p. 223.

9 Forced Labor and Overtaxation

1. For Adana, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 59–1/1–62, 9 Zilhicce 1333 [18 October 1915]; for Niğde, see BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 18/16, 5 Şevvâl 1334 [5 August 1916]. For the National Struggle, see Sorguç, *İstiklâl Harbi Hâtıratı Kaybolan Filistin*, p. 140.
2. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 59–3/1–45, 1 Receb 1333 [15 May 1915].

3. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 340–1.
4. "Mükellefiyyet-i Ziraiyye Kanun-ı Muvakkatı," 20 Zilka'de 1334 / 5 Eylül 1332 [18 September 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, pp. 1297–8; "Mükellefiyyet-i Ziraiyye Kanunu," 2 Nisan 1333 / 10 Cemâziyelevvel 1335 [2 April 1917], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 9, pp. 596–7.
5. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 534.
6. Ahmad, "War and Society," pp. 278–9; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 36/40, 8 Şevvâl 1335 [28 July 1917].
7. Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, p. 85, 97.
8. BOA, DH.EUM.3.Şb, 2/56, 17 Zilhicce 1332 [6 November 1914].
9. Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy," pp. 120–2.
10. Eldem, "Cihan Harbinin ve İstiklal Savaşının Ekonomik Sorunları," pp. 379, 384–5.
11. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 108.
12. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 23/107, 18 Muharrem 1335 [14 November 1916].
13. Eliçin, *Onlar Savaşırken*, p. 202.
14. Özdemir, *Tekâlif-i Milliye*, pp. 24–6.
15. Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Millî İktisat,"* p. 269.
16. Çamurdan, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Doğu Kilikya Olayları* p. 84.
17. Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, p. 82; Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy," pp. 124–6; Çamurdan, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Doğu Kilikya Olayları*, p. 84.
18. *1333 Meclis-i Umumînin Mün'akit Olmadığı Esnada Hey'et-i Vükelâca Bâ-İrade-i Seniye Mevki-i İcrâya Konulan Mukarrerat*, Cüz: 1, *Levâyih-i Kanuniye-i Âdiye* (Ankara: TBMM Basımevi [1992–1993]), p. 25.
19. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 3–4/5–27, 24 Ramazân 1336 [3 July 1918].
20. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 37/49, 1 Zilka'de 1335 [19 August 1917].
21. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 46/22, 22 Rebîülâhır 1336 [4 February 1918].
22. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 43/16, 18 Safer 1336 [3 December 1917].
23. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–11/3–12, 15 Rebîülâhır 1336 [28 January 1918].
24. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–11/3–18, 9 Cemâziyelevvel 1336 [20 February 1918]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–11/3–19, 6 Cemâziyelevvel 1336 [17 February 1918].
25. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, p. 367.
26. *1334 MMEMLK*, Vol. 2, pp. 331, 345.
27. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 331–2, 515–17.
28. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–2/2–49, 12 Nisan 1335 [12 April 1919].
29. İnceoğlu, *Siper Mektupları*, p. 72.
30. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 80/35, 9 Zilhicce 1334 [7 October 1916].
31. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 80/35, 9 Zilhicce 1334 [7 October 1916].
32. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–3/2–33, 29 Receb 1336 [10 May 1918].
33. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 471–4; *1333 Meclis-i Umumînin Mün'akit Olmadığı Esnada*, pp. 22–4.
34. Çamurdan, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Doğu Kilikya Olayları*, p. 83; Boratav, "Anadolu Köyünde Savaş ve Yıkım," pp. 66–70.
35. Ataman, *Esaret Yılları*, pp. 70–2; Öğütçü, *Orhan Kemal'in Babası Abdülkadir Kemali'nin Anıları*, pp. 197–8.
36. "İbret Levhası," and "Bu da Öyle," *Açıksöz*, p. 2; Özdemir, *Tekâlif-i Milliye*, pp. 55–7.

37. Akbaş, *Bünyanlı Âşık Mustafa*, p. 34.
38. Gologlu, *Milli Mücadele Tarihi*, pp. 175.
39. Özdemir, *Tekâlif-i Milliye*, p. 76.
40. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 76/1, 5 Cemâziyelevvel 1333 [21 March 1915].
41. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 76/22, 13 Cemâziyelâhir 1333 [28 April 1915].
42. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 76/1–15, 1 Zilka'de 1334 [30 August 1916].
43. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 59–1/1–14, 21 Cemâziyelâhir 1333 [6 May 1915].
44. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 53/62, 15 Ramazân 1337 [14 June 1919].
45. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 83–3/1–8, 10 Safer 1334 [18 December 1915].
46. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 4–3/7–35, 15 Zilka'de 1336 [22 August 1918].
47. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–5/1–62, 28 Cemâziyelâhir 1337 [31 March 1919].
48. Sunata, *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara*, p. 436.
49. Açıksözcü Hüsnü, *İstiklâl Harbinde Kastamonu*, pp. 142–3.
50. Toprak, *İttihad Terakki ve Cihan Harbi*, p. 89.
51. Özdemir, *Tekâlif-i Milliye*, p. 49.
52. Müderrisoğlu, *Kurtuluş Savaşının Mali Kaynakları*, pp. 183–6; Güralp, *İstiklâl Savaşının İç Yüzü*, pp. 102–4.
53. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 20–1/1–14, 4 Cemâziyelâhir 1336 [17 March 1918].
54. The true name of the sultan is Reşat.
55. "Araç Notları," *Halk Bilgisi Mecmuası*, pp. 217–18.
56. Öğütçü, *Orhan Kemal'in Babası Abdülkadir Kemali'nin Anıları*, pp. 213–15.
57. Eldem, "Cihan Harbinin ve İstiklal Savaşının Ekonomik Sorunları," pp. 388–407.
58. Atatürk, *Nutuk*, pp. 538–40.
59. Eliçin, *Onlar Savaşırken*, pp. 188–9.
60. Özdemir, *Tekâlif-i Milliye*, p. 75.
61. *TBMM Gizli Celse Zabıtları*, Vol. 3 (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1985), pp. 235–6.
62. Sarıkoyuncu, *Milli Mücadele'de Zonguldak ve Havalisi*, p. 300, 351, 357, 365.
63. Türkeş, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Muğla*, vol. 1–2, pp. 392–3.
64. Gündüz, *Hatıratlarım*, pp. 118–19.
65. İncedayı, *İstiklal Harbi*, pp. 93–4.

10 Discontent with Conscription

1. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, p. 231; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 425; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, pp. 67–8, 97.
2. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 379–80; "Sinn-i Mukayyedlerine Göre Vâsıl-ı Mükellefiyyet Olmadıkları Halde Hizmet-i Askeriyyeye Elverişli Bulunanların Celbi Hakkında Kanûn-ı Muvakkat," 11 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1332 / 26 Zilhicce 1334 [24 October 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, p. 1353; "Sinn-i Mukayyedlerine Göre Vâsıl-ı Mükellefiyyet Olmadıkları Halde Hizmet-i Askeriyyeye Elverişli Bulunanların Celbine Dâir 26 Zilhicce 1334 Tarihli Kanûn-ı Muvakkatın Reddi Hakkında Meclis-i Meb'ûsân Karârnâmesi," 23 Kanûn-ı Sânî 1332 / 12 Rebîülâhır 1335 [5 February 1917], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 9, p. 142.

3. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 780–2; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, pp. 160–5.
4. Avcıoğlu, *Milli Kurtuluş Tarihi*, p. 950.
5. "Şehide Ağıt," in Dikici et al., *Afşin'in Ağıtları*, p. 32.
6. Avcı and Bingöl, *Çanakkale Savaşı Karikatürleri*, p. 22.
7. For these women, see Eliçin, *Onlar Savaşırken*, pp. 192–4.
8. *1331 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 2, pp. 364–5, 369–70; BOA, DH.SN.THR, 56/8, 17 Zilka'de 1332 [7 October 1914].
9. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 350–1, 421–2. and "Efrâd-ı İhtiyâtiyye ve Müstahfazadan Bedel-i Nakdî Vermiş Olanların İhtiyac-ı Mübrem Halinde Taht-ı Silaha Alınması Hakkında Kanûn," 19 Mart 1333 / 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1335 [19 March 1917], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 9, p. 142.
10. *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 365–7; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, pp. 321–9, 404–6.
11. Avcıoğlu, *Milli Kurtuluş Tarihi*, vol. 3, p. 951; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, pp. 261–2; Hikmet, Emre, and Nevşirvanova, *Milli Azadlık Savaşı Anıları*, p. 13; Macfie, *End of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 150; Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy," p. 117.
12. Süleyman Nuri, *Çanakkale Siperlerinden TKP Yönetimine*, p. 120.
13. Kaylan, *Çanakkale İçinde Vurdular Beni*, pp. 121–2; Süleyman Nuri, *Çanakkale Siperlerinden TKP Yönetimine*, pp. 132–3; Sunata, *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara*, p. 299.
14. S. Temel, *Harp ve Sosyal Davalarımız*, p. 12; Ölçen, *Vetluga Irmağı*, pp. 22–34.
15. Pamuk, "Ottoman Economy," p. 121; Ataman, *Esaret Yılları*, p. 46.
16. Göze, *Rusya'da Üç Esaret Yılı*, pp. 51–2; Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, pp. 263–4.
17. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 261; İnceoğlu, *Siper Mektupları*, pp. 72, 78–80; Kars, *Milli Mücadele'de Kayseri*, pp. 7–8.
18. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 23/51, 9 Muharrem 1335 [5 November 1916]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 104/40, 4 Muharrem 1335 [31 October 1916].
19. For Hatice, see *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, pp. 305–6. For Mazlume, see *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 4, p. 336.
20. Sunata, *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara*, p. 227.
21. Tekin, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı Anıları*, pp. 18–19.
22. Yurtsever, *Kadirli Tarihi*, p. 184.
23. "Turkish Boatmen Mutiny," *New York Times* (Nov. 26, 1914); "Turkish Women Revolt," *New York Times* (Dec. 14, 1914).
24. "Riots Reported in Turkey," *New York Times* (Mar. 6, 1916).
25. Einstein, *Inside Constantinople*, p. 21.
26. Öğütçü, *Orhan Kemal'in Babası Abdülkadir Kemali'nin Anıları*, pp. 209–10.
27. Yüceer, *Tanıkların Anlatılarıyla Bursa Tarihi*, p. 325.
28. Sunata, *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara*, p. 446.
29. "Muhacirinin Mükellefiyeti Hakkında – 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1332 Tarihli Mükellefiyet-i Askeriye Kânûn-u Muvakkatına Müzeyyel – Kânûn," 16 Şubat 1331 / 25 Rebîülâhır 1334 [29 February 1916] *Düstûr*,

Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, p. 440; Öğün, *Unutulmuş Bir Göç Trajedisi*, p. 51; *1332–1333 MMEMLK*, D: 3, İS: 3, p. 352.
30. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 26/59, 13 Rebîülevvel 1335 [7 January 1917].
31. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 28/43, 29 Rebîülâhır 1335 [22 February 1917].
32. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 31/41, 1 Receb 1335 [23 April 1917].
33. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 41/12, 18 Muharrem 1336 [3 November 1917].
34. Öğün, *Unutulmuş Bir Göç Trajedisi*, pp. 219–21.
35. Eliçin, *Onlar Savaşırken*, pp. 20–1, 37, 45, 65–6, 72–3.
36. Çamurdan, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Doğu Kilikya Olayları*, p. 83; BOA, DH. HMŞ, 3/1–45, 29 Safer 1335 [25 December 1916]; BOA, DH.EUM.6.Şb, 12/42, 9 Rebîülevvel 1335 [3 January 1917]; BOA, ŞD, 1373/9, 4 Ramazân 1338 [22 May 1920].
37. BOA, DH.EUM.6.Şb, 20/33, 18 Zilka'de 1335 [5 September 1917].
38. BOA, DH.HMŞ, 3/1–69, 6 Şa'bân 1335 [28 May 1917].
39. BOA, ŞD, 1324/5, 20 Şa'bân 1340 [18 April 1922].
40. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 88–3/4–1, 13 Ramazân 1333 [25 July 1915].
41. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 14/10, 8 Ramazân 1333 [20 July 1915].
42. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 45/58, 24 Rebîülâhır 1336 [7 January 1918].
43. BOA, DH.EUM.6.Şb, 46/12, 6 Safer 1337 [11 November 1918].
44. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 89–8/1–11, 11 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [16 March 1916].
45. The Prime Ministry Republican archives as BCA, Dosya: 5417, Fon Kodu: 30..10.0.0, Yer No: 55.370..18., 26 November 1921.
46. Çolak, *Milli Mücâdele Esnasında Kuvâ-yı Seyyare Kumandanlığıma Ait Hâtıratım*, pp. 81–2, 94; BCA, Sayı: 2048, Dosya: 54–9, Fon Kodu: 30..18.1.1, Yer No: 6.39..8., 5 December 1922.
47. For these rebellions, see C. H. Korkmaz, *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın İkinci Cephesi.*
48. Avcıoğlu, *Milli Kurtuluş Tarihi*, vol. 3, pp. 909–10; Mehmet Arif, *Anadolu İnkılâbı*, pp. 11–12; Özdemir, *Tekâlif-i Milliye*, p. 74.

11 State Control of Morality and Marriage

1. BOA, DH.UMVM, 37/2, 3 Receb 1334 [6 May 1916]; BOA, DH.EUM.LVZ, 30/103, 26 Zilhicce 1333 [4 November 1915].
2. "Emrâz-ı Zühreviyyenin Men'-i Sirâyeti Hakkında Nizâmnâme," 5 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1331 / 9 Zilhicce 1333 [18 October 1915] *Düstûr*, Vol. 7, Tertîb-i Sânî, pp. 769–70. M. Özbek, "Regulation of Prostitution," p. 566.
3. *Emrâz-ı Zühreviyyenin Men'-i Sirâyetine Dâir Neşrolunan Nizâmnâmeye Mütealik Ta'lîmâtnâme* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1332 [1916–1917]), pp. 4–20.
4. Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye*, vol. 6, pp. 3303–6, 3313.
5. Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, pp. 363–5; Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye*, vol. 6, pp. 3469–70; BOA, DH.EUM.AYŞ, 55/57, 5 Zilhicce 1339 [10 August 1921]; BOA, DH.EUM.AYŞ, 55/58, 5 Zilhicce 1339 [10 August 1921].
6. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–9/1–46, 7 Safer 1338 [1 November 1919].
7. Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, p. 244; Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, p. 366.

8. BOA, DH.EUM.KLU, 16/24, 10 Cemâziyelâhir 1334 [14 April 1916]; BOA, DH.EUM.KLU, 11/51, 7 Zilhicce 1334 [5 October 1916]; BOA, DH.EUM.VRK, 17/6, 29 Muharrem 1335 [25 November 1916].
9. Berber, *Yeni Onbinlerin Gölgesinde Bir Sancak*, pp. 101–2; Johnson, *Constantinople To-day*, p. 365; Celal Nuri, *Kadınlarımız*, p. 120.
10. Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, p. 110; Sunata, *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara*, pp. 434–5.
11. Özer, *Toprağın Sancısı*, pp. 12–18.
12. Bulut, *İttihat ve Terakki'de*, vol. 1, p. 97.
13. BOA, MV, 200/73, 16 Rebîülâhır 1334 [21 February 1916].
14. Ziynetullah Nuşirevan, "Türk Âleminde," pp. 3288–93; "Türk Âleminde," *Türk Yurdu*, pp. 3483–5.
15. Açıksözcü Hüsnü, *İstiklâl Harbinde Kastamonu*, p. 80.
16. Ortaylı, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile*, pp. 125, 131, 140–1.
17. "8 Muharrem 1336 Tarihli Hukuk-i Âile Karârnâmesinin Lağvı Hakkında Karârnâme," 19 Haziran 1335 / 20 Ramazan 1337 [19 June 1919], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 11, pp. 299–300.
18. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–5/1–85, 6 Receb 1337 [7 April 1919].
19. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–1/1–14, 6 Cemâziyelevvel 1336 [17 February 1918].
20. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–1/1–24, 28 Cemâziyelevvel 1336 [11 March 1918].
21. "Nikâhtan Evvel Muayene Usulünün Devam ve Tarzı İcrası Hakkında Kararname," 26 Haziran 1336 [26 June 1920], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 1, p. 28.
22. For Kütahya, see BOA, DH.UMVM, 63/76, 14 Receb 1338 [3 April 1920]; for the law on syphilis, see "Firenginin Men ve Tahdidi Sirayeti Hakkında Kanun," 5 Şubat 1337 / 26 Cemaziyelevvel 1339 [5 February 1921], *Düstûr*, Üçüncü Tertip, Vol. 1, pp. 206–7. For its discussions in the Grand National Assembly, see Doğan, *Osmanlı Ailesi*, pp. 139–40.
23. "Zevcin Gaybûbiyyetinde Nafakanın Taazzür-i Tahsîli Halinde Zevcenin Fesh-i Nikâhı Talebe Salâhiyyeti Hakkında İrâde-i Seniyye," 23 Şubat 1331 / 2 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [7 March 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, pp. 478–82; "Zevcin Cünûn, Cüzâm, Beras ve Emsâli İlletlerle Ma'lûliyyeti Halinde Zevcenin Fesh-i Nikâhı Talebe Salâhiyyeti Hakkında İrâde-i Seniyye," 10 Mart 1332 / 17 Cemâziyelevvel 1334 [23 March 1916], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 8, pp. 853–7.
24. "Hukuk-i Âile Karârnâmesi," 25 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1333 / 8 Muharrem 1336 [25 October 1917], *Düstûr*, Tertîb-i Sânî, Vol. 9, pp. 762–81; Toprak, "Family, Feminism, and the State," pp. 450–2; Doğan, *Osmanlı Ailesi*, pp. 82–3.
25. "Hukuk-i Âile Karârnâmesi," pp. 766, 774.
26. Yılmaz-Koca, *Osmanlı'da Kadın ve İktisat*, p. 35.
27. Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, p. 109; "Hukuk-i Âile Karârnâmesi," p. 777.
28. Eliçin, *Onlar Savaşırken*, p. 24.
29. DH.SN.THR, 62/42, 6 Receb 1333 [20 May 1915].
30. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–9/1–21, 20 Muharrem 1338 [15 October 1919].
31. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–3/1–9, 15 Muharrem 1337 [21 October 1918].

32. BOA, DH.EUM.LVZ, 19/38, 9 Cemâziyelevvel 1332 [5 April 1914]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–12/1–5, 15 Receb 1338 [4 April 1920].
33. Eliçin, *Onlar Savaşırken*, p. 123; Akgül, *Şoför İdris*, pp. 18–19.
34. Akgül, *Şoför İdris*, pp. 24–5.
35. BOA, DH.SN.THR, 79/79, 7 Ramazân 1336 [16 June 1918].
36. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–1/1–15, 7 Cemâziyelevvel 1336 [18 February 1918].
37. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–2/1–59, 2 Zilhicce 1336 [8 September 1918].
38. BOA, DH. SN.THR, 82/77, 17 Cemâziyelevvel 1337 [18 February 1919].
39. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 85/2, 22 Safer 1338 [16 November 1919].
40. BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 85/2, 22 Safer 1338 [16 November 1919].
41. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–6/1–18, 22 Receb 1337 [23 April 1919].
42. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 78–1/19, 20 Receb 1333 [3 June 1915].
43. For Alemdarzâde Timur, see BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 52/42, 21 Şa'bân 1337 [22 May 1919]. For Bayburtlu Ali Osman, see BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 50/51, 18 Receb 1337 [19 April 1919].
44. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–3/1–92, 8 Rebîülâhır 1337 [11 January 1919]; BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–12/1–7, 16 Receb 1338 [5 April 1920]; BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 14 Receb 1338 [3 April 1920].
45. BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–16/1–45, 16 Receb 1339 [26 March 1921].
46. For Ahmed Nuri, see BOA, DH.İ.UM.EK, 85/2, 22 Safer 1338 [16 November 1919]. For Emin, see BOA, DH.İ.UM, 19–17/1–70, 29 Şevvâl 1337 [28 July 1919].