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Os, N.A.N.M. van

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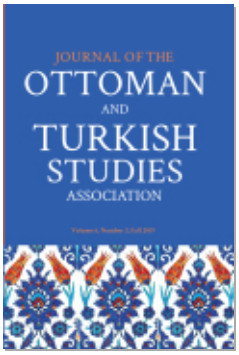

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From Conspicuous to Conscious Consumers: Ottoman Muslim Women, the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi, and the National Economy

Nicole A.N.M. van Os

Abstract: In the second decade of the twentieth century, the Unionists aimed at establishing a national economy with an Ottoman Muslim elite of commercial and industrial entrepreneurs. One of the means to stimulate the development of a national economy was the promotion of the consumption of national products. This article discusses how Ottoman Muslim women actively participated in the campaigns to promote the consumption of these goods by the public through not only the publication of articles in the (women's) press, but also by establishing organizations to this aim. It also shows how, within the context of the development of a national economy, the meaning of "national" (*milli*) shifted over the years from "not coming from outside the Ottoman Empire" to "produced by Muslims." It does so by focusing on one particular women's organization: the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi (Charitable Women's Organization for the Consumption of Local Products).

Keywords: National Economy, Women's organizations, Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi, First World War, Philanthropy.

Introduction

Like Austria-Hungary and Russia, the Ottoman Empire lacked a hegemonic national identity to unite all those living within the borders of the empire. In the face of the political and economic, internal and external confrontations during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, however, Ottoman statesmen tried to find such an identity. As a result, three different "options of identity" were developed which (co-)existed from the period of reforms known as Tanzimat, through the reign of Abdülhamid II, until the end of the First World War: Ottomanism, (pan-)Islamism and (pan-)Turkism.[1]

1. Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 264–96; Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young*

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After the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) showed a considerable pragmatism in their identity politics. The actions of the men in charge (the Unionist activists turned politicians and bureaucrats) did not always comply with the official ideology/ideologies of the Unionist publicists, which was Ottomanism.[2] These actions showed that Muslim nationalism was increasingly gaining importance and included, for example, the nationalist population policies to homogenize the population of the Ottoman Empire.[3] The efforts to establish a "National Economy" (*Milli İktisat*) from 1914 onwards formed another example of such actions. This *Milli İktisat* entailed a more state-controlled economy and aimed at the development of a national economy and the forming of a national, that is Ottoman Muslim, elite of commercial and industrial entrepreneurs.[4] Not only the actions of the men in charge, though, but also those of the wider public were relevant in this respect. The Unionist politicians did not act in a vacuum, their actions found a wide response amongst the population of which women formed fifty percent.

Promoting the consumption of national products and—its flipside—the boycott of "foreign" goods was seen as one of the means to stimulate the development of a national economy and a commercial and industrial elite. Massive campaigns including numerous articles in the press and large public meetings formed an important means to promote the consumption of national products amongst the public. Although women formed approximately half of that public, scholars writing on late Ottoman economics have largely ignored the role of women and gender related to the efforts to establish a National Economy. Çetinkaya, for example, in his analysis of the boycott movement during the Second Constitutional period downplays the role of women. Although he acknowledges in his epilogue that women "were also able to find a particular place for themselves in both the discourse and movement of nationalism," the main body of his text hardly refers to the activities of women at all.[5]

This article aims at filling this gap. It focuses on the agency of Ottoman Muslim women of the urban elite and their efforts to improve the economic situation of the Ottoman Empire as a whole and its Muslim population, more

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Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 213–35.

2. Zürcher, *Young Turk Legacy.*

3. Uğur Ümit Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

4. Zafer Toprak, *Milli İktisat - Milli Burjuvazi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995); idem, *İttihat - Terakki ve Cihan Harbi – Savaş Ekonomisi ve Türkiye'de Devletçilik (1914–1918)* (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2002).

5. Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and the Boycott Movement: Nationalism, Protest and the Working Classes in the Formation of Modern Turkey* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 213–14.

specifically. Using archival materials as well as newspaper and journal articles of the period, it does so through a closer look at one particular women's organization founded within the context of the efforts to strengthen the national economy, the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi (Charitable Women's Organization for the Consumption of Local Products).

Establishing a National Economy

In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the economic and financial ties between the Ottoman Empire and West European countries gradually had tightened or, in other words, the Ottoman Empire had gotten increasingly incorporated into a world market system dominated by the European powers. These ties were established and reinforced in three different ways. Firstly, the Ottoman Empire became a partner in the international division of labor, producing raw materials for the industrializing European countries and buying manufactured goods from them. Secondly, the Ottoman Empire had to turn to West European financiers to borrow money when the local bankers refused to do so, which led to the financial integration of the Ottoman Empire with Europe. Direct investment by Europeans in, specifically, infrastructural projects such as railroads and ports, which, very conveniently, connected the producers of manufactured goods with their supplier of raw materials and with their markets formed the third mechanism to incorporate the Ottoman Empire in a world market system dominated by the European powers.[6]

The growing influence of the European powers over the Ottoman economy had an important effect on the relations between the different ethnic groups and their place within the economic structure of the society. The European traders and financiers had always preferred to deal with their co-religionists instead of with Muslims. Especially in the larger port cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Thessalonica, this led to the creation of a large and affluent stratum

6. Laura Panza, "Globalisation and the Ottoman Empire: A Study of Integration between Ottoman and World Cotton Markets," Working paper, (La Trobe University, School of Economics, 2012), at https://www.latrobe.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0013/181300/2012.01.pdf, accessed 8 Aug. 2018; Şevket Pamuk and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Ottoman De-Industrialization, 1800–1913: Assessing the Magnitude, Impact, and Response," *Economic History Review* 64, no. 1 (2011): 159–84; Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms: Manufacturing," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 888–933; Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820–1913; Trade, Investment and Production* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Edhem Eldem, "Ottoman Financial Integration with Europe: Foreign Loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman Public Debt," *European Review* 13, no. 3 (2005): 431–45; Emine Kıray, *Osmanlı'da Ekonomik Yapı ve Dış Borçlar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 205–21.

of non-Muslim Ottoman merchants and bankers. Moreover, with the advance of industrialization in the hinterland of these port cities—as limited as it was—they also proved to be forerunners and became the first industrial entrepreneurs. Although Muslim entrepreneurs certainly formed a substantial, though less visible part of local economy/ies in the Ottoman Empire, the dichotomy of, on the one hand, the non-Muslim Ottoman entrepreneurs who had become rich through their activities, but who hardly had any political power and, on the other hand, the Muslim Ottomans who held top positions in the imperial bureaucracy or the military, informed the discourse on the national economy during the Second Constitutional Period and continued to do so in Turkish republican historiography.[7] In 1914, for example, an author reproached Ottoman Muslim women in the women's periodical *Kadınlık* (Womanhood) for preferring a military or bureaucratic career for their sons, rather than one in manufacturing or trade.[8]

After the revolution of July 1908, the Young Turks aimed to decrease the economic hold of the European powers over the empire. Mehmed Cavid, who eventually became minister of finance, took the lead in determining Ottoman economic policy during the Second Constitutional Period. As spokesman for those who held nineteenth-century liberal, economic views, he advocated free trade and enterprise and was hostile to protectionist tendencies. To stimulate free trade, he encouraged the development of infrastructure and foreign trade and investment. Moreover, by reorganizing the control on tax revenues and the expected resulting rise in government income, he hoped to inspire European powers with confidence in the Ottoman Empire and, subsequently, to attract more foreign investors. He also hoped that this would lead to a modification and eventual abolishment of the capitulations through which the European powers still held a firm grip on the empire's economy.[9] The outcome of his economic liberalism, however, was not what he envisaged: foreign investors lacked interest, the European powers refused to give up their privileges, and the principle of free trade continued to lead to a negative result of the import-export balance.[10] The deteriorating economic situation of the Ottoman Empire smoothed the way for those in favor of the more state-controlled, nationalist economic policy in imitation of the German nineteenth-century industrialization policy, the so-called *Milli İktisat.*

7. Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks*, 89–159.

8. Ebüssüreyya Sami, "Kısm-ı içtimai: bizde kadın zihniyeti," *Kadınlık* 1 (8 Mart 1330/21 March 1914): 3–4.

9. Deniz Karaman, *Câvid Bey ve Ulûm-ı İktisâdiye ve İçtimâiye Mecmûası* (Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, 2001), 14–49.

10. Şevket Pamuk, "19. yy'da Osmanlı Dış Ticareti," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları,1985), 3:653–65, tables at 658–59.

The financial position of the Ottoman Empire due to which it could not afford to give credits to potential industrialists and the impossibility to protect a nascent industry against foreign competitors due to international agreements and the capitulations, however, proved to be major impediments to the development of a national industry. The outbreak of the First World War constituted a turning point. With a two-article (provisional) law promulgated in October 1914, the Ottomans one-sidedly lifted the limitations set by international agreements and abolished the capitulations, which for centuries had allowed non-Ottomans (foreigners) to establish more or less sovereign trading communities within the Ottoman Empire.[11] Another law issued two months later determined that nationals of foreign countries and their companies were now falling under Ottoman (fiscal) jurisdiction.[12] Thus the competitive advantages from which foreign entrepreneurs had been benefitting for decades were eliminated: from that moment on they had to pay the same taxes and dues as Ottoman entrepreneurs.

The establishment of Ottoman Muslim enterprises was further facilitated by the elimination of a large part of the internal competition of non-Muslim Ottomans and the redistribution of the goods of migrated and deported Greeks and Armenians to Turkish and Muslim immigrants. Ottoman government policy combined with the arousing of Ottoman Muslim public opinion proved to be instrumental in this. During the period 1910 to 1914 two subsequent boycott periods had severely undermined the economic power of the Ottoman Greeks.[13] The revolt of Greeks on Crete demanding separation from the Ottoman Empire and unification with Greece in 1910 led to a boycott of Greek goods which lasted until November 1911. Although the boycott was officially directed against Greece and Greeks from Greece and explicitly not against Ottoman Greek-speaking Orthodox, the latter were inadvertently affected by it as well. The idea that Christian subjects of the Ottoman sultan were financially supporting the Balkan states with the money Muslims spent in their shops was also behind the calls to boycott the shops owned by Christians, Ottoman and non-Ottoman alike, in the period directly following the Balkan Wars of

11. Feroz Ahmad, "Ottoman Perceptions of the Capitulations, 1800–1914," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 10, no. 1 (2000): 1–20; "Kavanin-i mevcudede uhud-u atikaya müstenid ahkamın lağvı hakkında kanun-u muvakkat," *Düstur*, II, 6, 2 Teşrinievvel 1330 (15 Oct. 1914), 1336.

12. "Ecnebi anonim ve sermayesi eshama münkasim şirketler ile ecnebi sigorta şirketleri hakkında kanun-u muvakkat," *Düstur*, II, 7, 30 Teşrinisani 1330 (15 Dec. 1914), 142–48.

13. Immediately after 1908 another boycott had taken place: against Austria-Hungary, which had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which had declared independence. For an extensive discussion of this boycott which was used as a "political weapon" against foreign states, see Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks*, 39–88.

1912–13 when Greece continued to threaten the Ottoman Empire regarding the islands off the Ottoman coast.[14]

Due to the disputes over these islands, the Ottoman government, and especially the Ministry of War, continued to regard the Ottoman Greeks on the west coast as a strategic liability. It therefore decided to eliminate the non-Muslim population in these areas. While the Ottoman government formally tried to prevent the harassment of the Christians and the subsequent large scale migration, that same government seems to have been the motor behind the terror activities of the Special Organization (Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa) directed against the Christian population of the coastal areas of West Anatolia.[15] The emigration of Ottoman Greek-speaking Orthodox was facilitated and to some extent legitimated, when the Greek and Ottoman governments decided to co-operate in the exchange of large groups of their populations in the "small exchange" of 1914.[16] Protests of the foreign powers forced the Ottoman government to call a halt to the forced migrations involved in this exchange, but with the outbreak of the First World War they were resumed. The goods of the Greeks who left, died, or were killed were confiscated and partly redistributed to Muslim immigrants. So were the goods and properties of the Armenians, whose large-scale deportations from April 1915 onwards further decreased the potential internal competition.[17]

Remaining non-Muslim entrepreneurs were, moreover, disproportionally affected by the measures taken against hoarding of and speculation with goods during the First World War, while Muslim entrepreneurs, especially those close to the CUP, were able to benefit from them.

The popular press proved to be instrumental in both creating public support and in calling upon that public to take action. During both boycotts, the popular press published numerous successful calls by editors and other authors to participate in them. Similarly, the need for establishing a strong national economy was widely discussed in the Ottoman Turkish press. Several authors called upon the Ottoman Muslim public to become active in business and trade

14. Ibid., 189–203. Also see Hasan Taner Kerimoğlu, *İttihat-Terakki ve Rumlar 1908–1914* (Istanbul: Libra Kitapçılık, 2009), 309–19.

15. Kerimoğlu describes the official policy, while sources mentioned by Akçam and Erol testify to the terror campaigns of the Special Organization. Taner Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), 102–08; Emre Erol, *The Ottoman Crisis in Western Anatolia: Turkey's Belle Epoque and the Transition to a Modern Nation State* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016); Kerimoğlu, *İttihat-Terakki ve Rumlar*, 372–432.

16. "Small exchange" as compared to the large exchange which took place in the 1920s.

17. Akçam, *A Shameful Act*. See, for example, Oya Gözel Durmaz, "The Distribution of the Armenian Abandoned Properties in an Ottoman Locality: Kayseri (1915–18)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 51, no. 5 (2015): 838–53.

and not to leave these branches of the economy to non-Muslims. Ottoman Muslim women not only repeated these calls addressing specifically their female compatriots, but also developed several activities.

Ottoman Muslim Women and the National Economy: Fighting the Tri-layered Division of Labor

The writings by Ottoman Muslim women on the national economy in Ottoman (Turkish) periodicals of the Second Constitutional Period (1908–18) demonstrate how women actively struggled to overcome a tri-layered division of labor. As *Ottomans* they fought against the international division of labor which, in their view, had turned the Ottoman Empire into a producer of raw materials and a consumer of manufactured goods produced by the Europeans. Secondly, as *Muslims* they wanted to contribute to ending the abovementioned, perceived "division of labor" between the ethno-religious groups within the empire. Thirdly, as *women* they were eager to end the gender division of labor, which purportedly turned men into the persons earning money and women into its spenders.[18] In their writings, therefore, they called upon their readers to become not only conscious consumers, but also to stimulate the local production of goods by investing money or becoming entrepreneurs.

In an article in one of the first women's periodicals appearing after the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908, *Kadın* (Woman), Mehmed Cavid wrote that the women of a family were the ones who spent money and those who had the power to save it. He warned them that they should not spend the money their husbands earned on frivolities, such as following fashion.[19] The various consequences of high expenditures by women on, particularly, fashion and the dangers related to them had already been a point of discussion in the Ottoman Turkish and Greek (women's) press of the nineteenth century.[20] In the Ottoman

18. Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Müstehlik değil müstahsil (producers, not consumers): Ottoman Muslim women and Millî İktisat," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization*, ed. Kemal Çiçek et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), 2:269–75.

19. Mehmed Cavid, "Kadınlara dair," *Kadın* 1 (13 Teşrinievvel 1324/26 Oct. 1908): 2–4.

20. Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 403–25; Haris Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 1 (2003): 77–101; Elizabeth Brown Frierson, "'Cheap and Easy': Patriotic Consumer Culture in the late-Ottoman Era: Consumption in the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922," in *Consumption Studies in the Ottoman Empire, 1550 –1922: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000), 243–60; eadem, "Mirrors Out, Mirrors In: Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's Magazines (1875–1908)," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000),

Turkish women's periodicals of the Second Constitutional Period the arguments used in the nineteenth century were reiterated. One of these arguments was that following fashion involved risks for the family as well as for the (national) community. Women, therefore, could help the Ottoman Empire to pay its debts: they had to be frugal, abstain from following fashion, and save money. Good housewives, thus, knew how to manage a budget and control their expenses.[21]

Not only should women spend less, in the years covering the period between the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and the beginning of the First World War, the discussion on where and from whom to purchase or not to purchase goods including clothing became increasingly important. The Balkans Wars with its inflow of Muslim refugees from the Balkans formed a major catalyst for the shift from Ottoman towards Muslim and Turkish nationalism. Before the Balkan Wars, women were asked to boycott in particular foreign goods from the foreign-owned stores.In the direct aftermath of these wars, the boycotts were increasingly directed at non-Muslims, Ottoman and non-Ottoman alike; the distinction between "foreign" and "non-Muslim" became increasingly blurred. A man named Cemal Nadir,[22] for example, published a twelve-page *Hanımlara Açık Mektub* (Open Letter to the Ladies) in which he called upon Ottoman women to buy local products. Their preference for "foreign" products ruined the country and made the commercial sector fall into the clutches of non-Muslims, he wrote. The last pages of his booklet were, conveniently, filled with advertisements of shops of Muslim entrepreneurs.[23]

The flowing of money into foreign coffers, directly or indirectly, was also an important topic of discussion in the women's periodicals of the period. In an article in *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) appearing in April 1913, Emine Seher Ali, for example, complained that Europe managed to extract up to fifteen million Ottoman pounds out of the Ottoman economy due to

177–204; eadem, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: the Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere," in *Public Islam and the Common Good*, ed. Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 99–125.

21. See, e.g., Refia Şükran, "Biz ne için terakki edemedik," *Kadın* 19 (6 Şubat 1324/19 Feb. 1909): 1–3; Behice Mehmed, "Osmanlı hanımlarını intibaha davet," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 35 (8 Mayıs 1329/21 May 1913): 3.

22. He was the owner of *Rübab* and some other periodicals in the second decade of the twentieth century. Nâzım Polat, "II. Meşrutiyet devri Türk kültür-edebiyat ve basın hayatının bir yansıtıcısı olarak Rübab dergisi," http://www.tubar.com.tr/TUBAR%20DOSYA/pdf/2003GUZ/t1.nhp.rbap.7-42.pdf, accessed 8 March 2011.

23. Cemal Nadir, *Hanımlara Açık Mektub* ([Istanbul]: Necm-i İstikbal matbaası, 1332). Also see *Müslümanlara mahsus Kurtuluş Yolu,* [parasız dağıtılır], 1329 (1913), transliterated in Toprak, *Milli İktisat - Milli Burjuvazi*, 170–80.

the spendthrift nature of Ottoman women.[24] One of the authors seeing Ottoman Christians as direct agents of the European powers was Nezihe Muhlis (Muhiddin). In a speech she gave at a meeting of "our country's enlightened ladies" in April 1913, she stressed the importance of a healthy economy free of chains for a politically strong and independent nation (*millet*). She also fulminated against, what she called, "the foreigners," who not only were the reason for the outflow of money, but who did not even have to abide by the laws of the Ottomans, and vehemently demanded the abolition of the capitulations. She called upon her female audience to fight not only the Europeans, but also the (local) Christians and to buy only from Muslims.[25]

Several women reacted to these calls complaining about the difficulties they encountered when they wanted to purchase locally produced goods. As local production was still quite limited, women found the diversity in supply rather unsatisfactory. Other women were critical about the quality of locally produced goods. Despite the occasional advertisements of shop owners claiming to sell locally produced goods in the women's periodicals of the period, women willing to buy these products claimed to have problems finding them. Shop owners were accused of treating patriotic consumers badly and of cheating them when they tried to buy locally produced goods, selling them foreign products instead of local ones.[26] While some Ottoman Muslim women rose up to the challenge and opened their own (work)shops, others joined forces and took the initiative to counter these problems in a different way. Combining philanthropy and economic patriotism, Ottoman Muslim women belonging to the bureaucratic and military establishment founded several organizations which set up workshops. In these workshops Ottoman Muslim girls and women impoverished due to the long wars could earn an honest living and at the same time be trained to become skillful seamstresses, who in due time would be able to provide Muslim customers with goods produced by Muslims.[27]

These efforts were not the first. Yavuz Selim Karakışla described how as early as 1895, women affiliated with the women's periodical *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Ladies' Own) opened a workshop where initially a non-Muslim

24. Emine Seher Ali, "Kadınlıkta seviye-i irfan," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 1 (4 Nisan 1329/17 April 1913): 1–2. Also see "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlâkı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin beyannamesi," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 4 (7 Nisan 1329/20 April 1913): 4; "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nden," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 77 (19 Haziran 1329/2 July 1913): 4.

25. "Konferans," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 3 (6 Nisan 1329/19 April 1913): 3–4.

26. See, e.g., Nazife İclal, "Böyle ticaret terakki etmez," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 41 (14 Mayıs 1329/27 May 1913): 3–4; Hayriye Nuri, "Muhterem hanımefendiler," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 12 (15 Nisan 1329/28 April 1913): 4.

27. Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism: Female Associational Life in the Ottoman Empire" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2013), 203–80.

woman, but later a Muslim woman took the lead. He also referred to the discussions which evolved around the opening of a tailor's workshop by a Muslim woman in 1901.[28]

The Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti (Ottoman Society for the Defense of Women's Rights) discussed the opening of a tailor's workshop in its periodical *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) in June 1913. Members of the organization skilled in sewing would teach the art to young girls. Prices would be lower than at the workshops of "foreign" tailors, so that the customers would not only have more money left for themselves, but the money would also stay "inside" the country, the editors of the periodical wrote on 21 June 1913. The workshop opened its doors a week later as an advertisement in the periodical announced. After one more reference to it, however, the workshop was never mentioned again in *Kadınlar Dünyası*.[29]

More successful were two other organizations, the Osmanlı Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği (Ottoman Turkish Club for the Protection of Women) and the Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu (Turkish Women's Tailor Home). Both organizations set up courses for Turkish Muslim women so they could replace the non-Muslim women as seamstresses and dressmakers. Not devoid of class consciousness the latter organization stated in its statutes that it aimed at creating an opportunity for Muslim *ladies* (*hanımlar*) to purchase their clothes in the way a true patriot should by educating poor Muslim *women* (*kadınlar*) as seamstresses.[30] While the primary aim of both the Esirgeme Derneği and the Biçki Yurdu was to teach girls and women in need an honorable job, and the development of the national economy for the fatherland came only second, this was different for yet another organization, the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi.

The Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi

This organization was founded in March 1913, in the midst of the First Balkan War (8 October 1912–20 May 1913), by a woman named Melek.[31] According

28. Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Osmanlı Hanımları ve Kadın Terzileri (1869–1923)* (Istanbul: Akıl Fikir Yayınları, 2014).

29. Kadınlar Dünyası "Terzilik," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 66 (8 Haziran 1329/21 June 1913): 1; "Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 72 (14 Haziran 1329/27 June 1913): 1; Kadınlar Dünyası, "Terzi evi," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 72 (14 Haziran 1329/27 June 1913): 1; Kadınlar Dünyası, "Kuvvetlerimizi birleştirelim," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 74 (16 Haziran 1329/29 June 1913): 1. Also see Karakışla, *Osmanlı Hanımları ve Kadın Terzileri.*

30. van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 258–68. Also see Emine Gürsoy Naskali, *Biçki Dikiş,* (Istanbul: Libra Kitap, 2018).

31. M[elek] M., "Meslek ve muradımız," *Sıyanet* 1 (13 Mart 1330/26 March 1914): 1–2. According to a police report of 1922, the official date of its foundation was 10 April 1912.

to the first news article on this organization, it was originally housed at "Takvimhane Street no. 5, behind the Ministry of Finances at Sultan Beyazid."[32] From there it moved to Bab-ı Ali Caddesi, while it eventually concentrated its activities at a building at Divan Yolu.[33] Although we know that its founder, Melek, became its president, we have hardly any information on the members of the organization who, according to one source, totaled ninety by May 1914. Given that its membership fee, which was called quite modest, was one *mecidiye* or ten *kuruş* per month, the organization's membership must have consisted of women belonging to the better off socio-economic stratum.[34] The aim of the organization was "to spend efforts on the subject of the consumption of local merchandise."[35] Moreover, through the "distribution and production of current, local products, locally manufactured goods and textiles and the encouragement and support of the [development of] industrial expertise," the organization hoped to increase the supply of products and to improve their quality and thus to put an end to the problems experienced by patriotic consumers.[36]

Between its foundation in 1913 and the publication of the first issue of its own periodical, *Sıyanet* (Protection) in March 1914, however, the focus of the organization seems to have shifted. Although the periodical carried as subtitle *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin mürevvic-i efkarıdır* (Organ of the Charitable Women's Organization for the Consumption of Local Products), the first article stating its aims was signed by Melek as "Founder and President of the İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi

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This seems to be mistaken by one year, though. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), Dahiliye Nezareti, Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti, 5. Şube (hereafter DH.EUM.5.ŞB), 79/30, 30 Zilhicce 1337 (26 Sept. 1919). Melek was the daughter of a not further specified "late Abdullah Pasha." BOA, Nişan Defterleri no. 34: Şefkat Nişan-ı Hümayunu İrade-i Seniye Defteri, 5.

32. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye için: kadınlarımızın vatanperverane bir teşebbüsü," *Tanin,* 2 Mart 1328 (15 March 1913), 4.

33. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi," *İkdam*, 30 Mart 1330 (12 April 1914), 1.

34. At that time an unskilled (male?) laborer earned about twelve kuruş per day, a skilled (male?) laborer twenty-seven kuruş. "Istanbul_1469–1914" database prepared by Şevket Pamuk and Leticia Arroyo Abad at http://gpih.ucdavis.edu/Datafilelist.htm, accessed 8 Aug. 2018; "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye için," 4; "Bizde hareket-i nisvan," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 140 (25 Nisan 1330/8 May 1914): 4–7.

35. "Mamulat-ı dahiliye için," 4; "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin beyannamesi," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 7 (10 Nisan 1329/23 April 1913): 4.

36. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin beyannamesi," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 5 (8 Nisan 1329/21 April 1913): 4.

(Charitable Women's Organization for National Consumption).[37] The change in name may have two reasons.

Around the same time that the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi had been founded, a group of men affiliated with one of the many political parties of the time, the Milli Meşrutiyet Fırkası (National Constitution Party), had founded the İstihlak-ı Milli Cemiyeti (Organization for National Consumption). While Tunaya cites its founding as December 1912, the statutes of the organization are from May 1913. Little is known about this organization, and its activities seem to have remained limited. According to Tunaya, the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi was a spin off or even a branch of this İstihlak-ı Milli Cemiyeti. The authors of some articles published in May and July 1913 may have thought the same. In the titles of these articles they referred to the İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti rather than the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi.[38] None of the sources available, however, corroborate the information given by Tunaya; the relationship between the two organizations remains (yet) unclear.[39]

More likely is that the change in name indicated a shift in the goals of the organization to conform to the national economic policy of the Young Turk government of the time, which aimed at the creation of a "national," i.e., Muslim, commercial elite to end the domination of the commercial and financial sectors by non-Muslims. The term "consumption of local products" (*mamulat-ı dahiliye istihlakı*) in the initial name of the organization seems to have referred to the consumption of goods produced within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, by Muslims and non-Muslims alike, as opposed to those produced outside those borders. In an article on the opening of the exhibition and shop in July 1913, for example, the author explicitly differentiated Ottoman products from foreign goods (*yabancı malları*).[40] With "national consumption" (*istihlak-ı milli*), however, the organization referred to the consumption of "national products." "National" meaning Muslim AND Turkish as being Muslim formed an important and essential part of Turkish identity. This shift from a more inclusive to a more exclusive nationalism over time is also clear from the texts published by the organization. While the organization referred to the education of young girls and women in general in its first statements,

37. M[elek] M., "Meslek ve muradımız," 1–2.

38. Halka Doğru, "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi," *Halka Doğru* 13 (4 Temmuz 1329/17 July 1913): 104; Abdullah Cevdet, "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti münasibetiyle," *İçtihad* 4, no. 68 (30 Mayıs 1329/12 June 1913): 1477–78.

39. İstihlak-ı Milli Cemiyeti [Nizamname-i Esasi] (Istanbul: İfham Matbaası, 1331 [1913]). Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler* [Cilt I: *İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi*], 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1988), 445–46, 481.

40. Halka Doğru, "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi."

the statement of purpose by Melek Hanım in the first issue of *Sıyanet* in March 1914 clearly carried another tone:

> Our newspaper will put in front of the public eye the works of our organization which boasts with just pride of its efforts to facilitate the steps made by *Muslim* women towards a working life and the successes and progress *Turkish* women have reached with their patriotic activities [emphasis added].[41]

To stimulate the local economy, the organization undertook various activities to increase public awareness and to actively encourage the consumption of local products. It organized exhibitions where potential buyers could see and purchase a wide range of articles produced in local home industries from every corner of the Ottoman Empire, including, for example, carpets and lace.[42] The exhibitions were so successful that the organization decided to turn them into a permanent shop, the İstihlak-ı Milli Mağazası (National Consumption Store) or İstihlak-ı Milli Ticarethanesi (National Consumption Trading House).[43] By July 1915, this shop was generating between 1,100 and 1,300 (Ottoman) pounds per day according to a generally well-informed American newspaper.[44] Amongst the organization's regular and popular activities were the excursions to centers of local textile production for its members. One of these centers was the textile factory in Hereke, with whose director the organization co-operated.[45]

41. "*Gazetemiz Müslüman kadınlarının hayat-ı mesaiye doğru attikları adımı teshile çalışmakla mübahi olan cemiyetimizin hidematını ve Türk kadınlarının faaliyet-i vatanperveranelerinde mazhar oldukları muvafakkiyat ve terakkiyatı enzar-ı ammeye vaz' edecektir*." M[elek] M., "Meslek ve muradımız," 1. This is also why I would date the speech at the occasion of an excursion to the Hereke factory quoted in Velipaşaoğlu's article July 1914 rather than September 1913. See also Didem Yavuz Velipaşaoğlu, "Weaving for War & Peace: Education of the Children in the Hereke Factory Campus (1912-1918)," *Cihannüma* 4, no. 1 (2018): 93–129.

42. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nden," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, 4; Halka Doğru, "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi," 104; "Bir müessese-i milliye: İstihlakat-i Milliye Hanımlar sergisinin resm-i küşadı," *Tanin*, 21 Haziran 1329 (4 July 1913), 3; "Die Frauenverein zur Förderung einheimischer Produkte," *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 12 April 1914, 3.

43. Nazire Rasım, "İstihlak-ı *Milli Ticarethanesi*'ni ziyaret," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 100-8 (7 Eylül 1329/20 Sept. 1913): 7; Lebib Selim, "Türk kadınlığın harb-i umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu* 9, no. 5 (5 Teşrinisani 1331/ 18 Nov. 1915): 2812–16.

44. "Woman's Part is Apparent in Turkish Affairs," *Christian Science Monitor*, 28 July 1915, 2.

45. Mükerrem Belkıs, "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin Hereke'ye ziyareti," *Kadınlar Dünyası* 109 (14 Eylül 1329/27 Sept. 1913): 6–7; "Yalnız hanımlara mahsus Hereke tenezzühü," *Sıyanet* 15 (19 Haziran 1330/2 July 1914): 1; "İstanbul postası," *Sıyanet* 15 (19 Haziran 1330/2 July 1914): 2; "İstanbul postası," *Sıyanet* 16 (26 Haziran 1330/9 July 1914): 2–3; Ruşen Zeki, "Bizde hareket-i nisvan," 348; "Frauenschiksal und Frauenarbeit: Brief einer jungen Türkin aus Konstantinopel," *Die Islamische Welt* 7 (1917): 380–83.

In Istanbul, Üsküdar, Beylerbeyi, and Emirgan and, according to an Austrian periodical, in Bursa and Izmir, the organization opened several workshops, where impoverished Turkish and Muslim girls and women from ages eight to sixty were educated to become fully skilled dress makers. The materials used in these workshops were, according to the organization, locally produced.[46] By offering courses to the pupils working in these workshops a labor pool of local dressmakers was created. In the workshops where these young women gained practical experience, furthermore, female consumers who wanted to purchase locally made dresses could order them tailor made and at relatively cheap prices instead of having to go to the non-Muslim and allegedly more expensive dressmakers of Beyoğlu, the European neighborhood of Istanbul.[47] Obviously, the well-to-do women also became interested in learning the tricks of the trade, and in July 1915 the organization announced that it had found a (male) Ottoman Muslim dressmaker educated in Paris ready to teach the "ladies" on Fridays.[48] Although the organization seems to have suspended its activities for an unknown reason early in 1916, it resumed them with the establishment of a new İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Terzihanesi ve Darüssınaası (Women's Organization for National Consumption's Tailor's Shop and Workshop) at its old place at Divan Yolu in September 1916.[49]

While the main aim of the organization remained the same, the First World War led to a diversification of the activities of the organization: it got involved in several activities to support Ottoman soldiers and their families. It not only started to prepare "winter presents" for the soldiers two months after the mobilization in August 1914, it also organized festivities at Gülhane Park to collect money to purchase them.[50] In due time the organization became a supplier of

46. According to an article in *Sıyanet*, the (Anadolu) Hisar(ı)/Beylerbeyi branch was officially opened at the end of March 1914. "İstanbul Postası," *Sıyanet* 2 (20 Mart 1330/2 April 1914): 2–3. According to a 1922 police report, the branch in Beylerbeyi was established in December 1914 and still was active at the time of the report. BOA, DH.EUM.5.ŞB, 79/30, 30 Zilhicce 1337 (26 Sept. 1919). "Aus den Kriegserfahrungen einer türkischen Arbeiterin," *Christliche-Sozialer Arbeiter-zeitung*, 11 Aug. 1917, 1–2; Naciye Reşit, "İstihlak-ı Milli Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'ni ziyaret," *Sıyanet* 14 (12 Haziran 1330/25 June 1914): 7.

47. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi," 1; "Türk kadınlığında eser-i intibah," *Tanin*, 31 Mart 1330 (13 April 1914), 4.

48. "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nden yeni bir teşebbüs-ü mühimme," *Servet-i Fünun*, 1259, 9 Temmuz 1331 (22 July 1915), 175.

49. "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nden," *Tanin*, 16 Ağustos 1332 (29 Aug. 1916), 3; "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti," *Tanin*, 17 Eylül 1332 (30 Sept. 1916), 3; "İktisadi haberler: İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti," *İktisadiyat Mecmuası* 29 (21 Eylül 1332/4 Oct. 1916): 7.

50. "İane-yi müşfikane," *İkdam*, 19 Eylül 1330 (2 Oct. 1914), 2; "Gülhane parkında," *Tasvir-i Efkar*, 22 Eylül 1330 (5 Oct. 1914), 3; "Fevkalade bir müsamere," *Tasvir-i Efkar*, 18 Haziran 1331 (1 July 1915), 2.

military goods as seen in photographs from a German periodical.[51] These were not only produced by the members of the organization and by the women and girls in the workshops; a part of the work was also put out so that soldiers' wives could work on them at home without having to leave their children alone.[52]

The work for the military led to an increase of the number of women employed. While the organization reportedly employed fifty-five women and girls, "wearing *yeldirme*s and a head scarf," in its workshops and another 300 women in their own homes in April 1914, by October 1916 the number of women and girls working in the workshops had risen to more than 200. Some of the girls and women educated at these workshops opened their own ateliers; others found employment at the workshops of others.[53] Thus, in a time of almost continuous wars, the workshops offered vulnerable young women the possibility to earn a decent and honorable income and prevented them from having to take recourse to prostitution.[54]

The organization got involved in other charitable activities as well. It organized, for example, fundraising activities to the particular benefit of widows and orphans of soldiers.[55] By November 1915, its members started to visit soldiers' families and, when needed, gave them financial aid and paid their rent.[56]

They also turned their attention to the wounded soldiers. When the number of wounded soldiers being brought from the battlefield at Gallipoli to Istanbul increased in Spring 1915, the members of the organization decided to open a hospital. In June 1915, the Kondüktör Mektebi İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hastahanesi (Polytechnic for Technicians Women's Organization for National Consumption's Hospital) as the hospital was named, was officially opened at a large mansion on Divan Yolu in the old part of Istanbul where formerly the Kondüktör Mekteb-i Alisi (Polytechnic for Technicians) had been housed.[57] The organization not only provided the textiles for the beds, but also

51. "Frauenschiksal und Frauenarbeit," 380–83.

52. Lebib Selim, "Türk kadınlığın harb-i umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu* 9, no. 4 (22 Teşrinievvel 1331/4 Nov. 1915): 2797–99; "Aus den Kriegserfahrungen einer türkischen Arbeiterin," 1–2.

53. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi," 1; "İktisadi haberler: İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti," 7. A *yeldirme* is a kind of light cloak for women.

54. Lebib Selim, "Türk kadınlığın harb-i umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu* 9, no. 4, 2797–99.

55. "Eytam ve eramil-i şüheda için," *Tasvir-i Efkar*, 20 Nisan 1331 (3 May 1915), 2; "Şüheda çocuklarına bayramlık," *Tasvir-i Efkar*, 28 Mayıs 1331 (10 June 1915), 2.

56. Lebib Selim, "Türk kadınlığın harb-i umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu* 9, no. 4, 2797–99.

57. "Hastahane küşadı," İkdam, 21 Mayıs 1331 (3 June 1915), 2. The *Kondüktör Mekteb-i Alisi,* a predecessor of Yıldız Technical University, had been established in 1911 and was originally housed in a building on Divan Yolu at Sultan Ahmed (present day's Sağlık Müzesi). Emre Dölen, "Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarih Vakfı, 1994–95), 7:527–29.

fully equipped the surgery and first aid rooms. Initially the hospital had ninety-five beds, but a few months later the total number of beds rose to 150.[58] Several poor and destitute daughters and wives of soldiers were employed as *hademe* (orderlies) in the hospital, while members of the organization worked there as voluntary sick attendants. The organization, moreover, donated a field hospital with 300 beds and necessities.[59] These activities were financed with the income generated at the shop, the workshops of the organization, and the movie theatre the organization also exploited at its Divan Yolu premises: the *İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi Sineması*.[60] Additional financial means were raised through activities such as a concert at the Taksim gardens and a lottery.[61] It also received donations from, amongst others, its members, members of the Ottoman dynasty, and grateful ex-patients.[62] Through the Donations Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which coordinated the distribution of goods coming from Germany and Austria to the many hospitals, the organization secured its share in imported textiles. When the organization asked for goods to add another fifty beds in December 1915, however, the request was turned down and the organization was referred to the army's Health Office.[63] In May 1916, around the time the organization temporarily seems to have discontinued its activities, the hospital was closed for unclear reasons. Subsequently, the organization assisted in the opening of another hospital, Zapyon Askeri Hastahanesi (Zapyon Military Hospital), by providing a fully equipped hospital ward with 150 beds.[64] At the end of 1917 seven

58. In a letter dated 15 Ağustos 1331 (28 Aug. 1915) Melek quotes the number of beds as ninety-five and 150, respectively. Other sources refer to 100 and 160 beds and even 170 beds, respectively. BOA, Hariciye Nezareti, Siyasi Kısım (hereafter, HR.SYS), 2174/3, 20 May 1915. "Frauenschiksal und Frauenarbeit, 380–83; Lebib Selim, "Türk kadınlığın harb-i umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu* 9, no. 4, 2797–99; eadem, "Türk kadınlığının harb-i umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu* 9, no. 5, 2812–16; "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti," 3.

59. Lebib Selim, "Türk kadınlığın harb-i umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu* 9, no. 4, 2797–99; eadem, "Türk kadınlığının harb-i umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu* 9, no. 5, 2812–16.

60. "Divan Yolunda," [İlan/Advertisment], İkdam, 9 Mayıs 1331 (22 May 1915), 2; "Divan Yolu İstihlak-ı Milli Sineması," *Tanin*, 9 Ağustos 1331 (22 Aug. 1915), 2.

61. "Mecruhin hastahanesi menfaatına," İkdam, 18 Haziran 1331 (1 July 1915), 2; "Piyango," *Tanin*, 24 Ağustos 1331 (6 Sept. 1915), 3.

62. "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hastahanesi sertebabati'nden," *İkdam*, 9 Temmuz 1331 (22 July 1915), 2; "Osmanlı mecruhları için," *Serveti Fünun* (günlük gazete), 23 Ağustos 1331 (5 Sept. 1915), 4; "Gazilerimiz için," *Tanin*, 19 Eylül 1331 (2 Oct. 1915), 3; "Dons à l'armée," *Lloyd Ottoman*, 9 Sept. 1915, 5; "Donation," *Lloyd Ottoman*, 7 Oct. 1915, 7; "Teberru-u hamiyetmendane," *Tasvir-i Efkar*, 11 Haziran 1331 (24 June 1915), 2.

63. BOA, HR.SYS, 2174/3, 20 May 1915; BOA, HR.SYS, 2174/2, 19 Jan. 1915; "İstihlak-ı Milli Hastahanesi'nden," *Tasvir-i Efkar,* 2 Eylül 1331 (15 Sept. 1915), 2.

64. "İktisadi haberler: İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti," 7; "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hastahanesi," *Tanin*, 21 Nisan 1332 (4 May 1916), 4; "Teşekkür – İstihlak-ı Milli

members of the organization received the bronze Red Crescent Medal as a token of appreciation from the Ottoman authorities for their work in the hospital.[65] Members of the Ottoman dynasty also acknowledged the importance of the work done by the organization: the third wife of the sultan was its patron, and members of the dynasty regularly donated money and even visited the organization's premises.[66]

Although the organization resumed its activities in the second half of 1916, newspapers hardly reported anymore on them. According to *Tanin* (Echo), the organization arranged a concert at the Taksim garden "to finance its activities" in October 1917.[67] What, by that time, was meant by these activities, however, is not clear. At a meeting in November 1918, its members decided to respond to the call made by the Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti (Organization for National Education and Upbringing) to "defend the rights of the fatherland" and to join forces with other organizations in what would become the Milli Kongre (National Congress).[68] Little is known about the organization after this time. According to a police report of probably 1922, however, the organization was still active at that time. [69]

Conclusion

The texts written by women in Ottoman Turkish women's periodicals and the activities deployed by Ottoman women's organizations such as the İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti / Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i

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Hastahanesi sertababeti'nden," *Tanin*, 22 Nisan 1332 (5 May 1916), 3; "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hastahanesi sertababeti'nden," *Tasvir-i Efkar*, 22 Nisan 1332 (5 May 1916), 2. The Zapyon hospital was located in a Greek school, which had been confiscated by the authorities to be used as a hospital. During the war, many schools (especially those of Christian minorities) were indeed (partly) turned into hospitals. Sula Bozis, *İstanbullu Rumlar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 60–61.

65. The seven women were Melek, İsmet, Feride, Leyla, Huriye, Nebile and Gavriel. BOA, Dosya Usulu İradeler Tasnifi, 47/106, 8 Rebiülevvel 1336 (23 Dec. 1917); BOA, Nişan Defterleri no. 32: Hilal-i Ahmer Madalyaları, 53–56; "Hilal-i Ahmer merkez-i umumisinden," *Tanin,* 3 Kanunusani 1334 (Jan. 1918), 3. Melek also received a Şefkat Nişanı of the second degree for her work in the hospital. BOA, Nişan Defterleri no. 34: Şefkat Nişan-ı Hümayunu İrade-i Seniye Defteri, 5.

66. "İstihlak-ı Dahili Kadınlar Cemiyeti'nde," *Tasvir-i Efkar,* 19 Eylül 1330 (2 Oct. 1914), 4; "İane-yi müşfikane," 2; "Teberru-u şefkatkarane," *İkdam*, 11 Haziran 1331 (24 June 1915), 2.

67. "Konser," *Tanin*, 15 Teşrinievvel 1333 (Oct. 1917), 4.

68. "Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti'nin teşebbüsü," *Vakit*, 23 Teşrinisani 1918, 2; "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti'nde," *Vakit*, 24 Teşrinisani 1918, 2. In the statement of the Milli Kongre issued two weeks later, however, the name of the İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti was not mentioned. "'Milli Kongre'nin beyannamesi," *Vakit,* 7 Kanunuevvel/December 1918, 2.

69. BOA, DH.EUM.5.ŞB, 79/30, 30 Zilhicce 1337 (26 Sept. 1919).

Hayriyesi clearly indicate that Ottoman Muslim women regarded themselves to be active participants in the struggle for a national economy. By becoming conscious instead of conspicuous consumers, they turned into economic and, at the same time, political agents on three different levels: as Ottomans, as Muslims, and as women. Through joining forces (and capital) and establishing charitable workshops where they could employ poor Muslim women, the women belonging to the Ottoman Muslim urban elite not only turned into patriotic consumers, but also into much needed and wanted producers. Through their charitable workshops, where they paired philanthropy with economic patriotism, they contributed to the development of local, small scale manufacturing and diminished the need of both the civilian as well as the military market for "foreign" goods. As such they also contributed to the production of goods for the army and hospitalized soldiers during the First World War. What was deemed "foreign," however, shifted over time: while it initially meant "coming from abroad, from outside the Ottoman Empire," it turned into "not produced by Muslims" in the years after the Balkan Wars. Thus, the ideology of Ottomanism of the Unionists was turned into a Turkish Islamism by the activities not only of the men in charge, but also of the urban elite public including its women.

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NICOLE A.N.M. VAN OS is an affiliated researcher of the Leiden Institute for Area Studies, School of Middle Eastern Studies, Turkish Studies at Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands. (n.a.n.m.van.os@hum.leidenuniv.nl)