

51. Women in 19th Century Istanbul: Considering Lady Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby's Travelogue *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (1866)¹

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Lady Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby (1826-1866), an English writer, resided in Istanbul in the mid-19th century and published her travelogue *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (1866) during this stay, in which she lived, traveled and experienced Istanbul, and the places she visited (harems, Ottoman mansions, houses where Ottoman nobles and the author herself resided, various districts of Istanbul) in this work consisting of sixty-five letters. The first edition of the work was published under the title *In and around Stamboul* (1858). The aim of this study is to analyze the subject 'the woman in Istanbul's 19th century' while focusing on Lady Emelia Hornby's travelogue, which examines the women who lived in Istanbul and had contact with Hornby. Some of the important points of this travelogue that are worth examining are: the author's examination of Istanbul residents from various nations, her witnessing and writing about some of the holidays celebrated in the capital city of Istanbul, her inclusion of the islands close to Istanbul, such as Prinkipo, in her travelogue, and her first-hand observations about life in various neighborhoods of Istanbul, such as Tarabya, where she resided. In addition, Lady Hornby's use of the advantage of her 'woman traveler/writer' identity to enter domestic sections such as the harem and private apartments, which male travelers could only write about with their imagination, is one of the elements that add value to Lady Hornby's work.

Keywords: Women travelers, travelogues, British travel literature, Istanbul, Lady Hornby

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Lady Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby'nın *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (1866) Adlı Seyahatnamesi Özelinde 19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Kadın⁴

İngiliz yazar Lady Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby (1826-1866), 19. yüzyıl ortalarında İstanbul'da ikamet etmiş, bu kaldığı süre zarfında *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (1866) adlı seyahatnamesiyle, yaşadığı, gezip tecrübe ettiği İstanbul'u, ziyaret ettiği mekanlar (haremler, Osmanlı konakları, Osmanlı asilzadelerinin ve yazarın ikamet ettiği evler, İstanbul'un çeşitli semtleri) özelinde altmış beş mektuptan oluşan bu eserinin içerisinde yayınlamıştır. Eserin ilk edisyonunun basım adı *In and around Stamboul* (1858)'dur. Bu çalışmada amaçlanan Lady Emelia Hornby'nın aynı adlı eserinde üzerinde durduğu '19. yüzyıl İstanbul'unda kadın' teması özelinde İstanbul'da yaşamış ve Hornby ile görüşmüş kadınları, Lady Hornby'nın seyahatnamesini merkeze alarak incelemektir. Bu seyahatnamenin incelenmeye değer önemli noktalarından bazıları: Yazarın çeşitli milletlerden İstanbul sakinlerini irdelemesi, İstanbul başkentinde kutlanan kimi bayramlara tanıklık ederek kaleme alması, Büyükkada gibi İstanbul'a yakın adaları da seyahatnamesine konu etmesi ve ayrıca kendi ikamet ettiği Tarabya gibi İstanbul'un çeşitli semtlerindeki yaşam hakkında da gözlemlerini seyahatnamesi aracılığıyla birinci ağızdan aktarmasıdır. Ayrıca Lady Hornby'un "kadın seyyah/yazar" kimliğinin avantajını kullanarak erkek seyyahların sadece hayalgücü ile yazabildiği harem ve özel daireler gibi ev içi bölümlere de girişinin olması, Lady Hornby'nın eserine değer katan unsurlardan biridir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kadın seyyahlar, seyahatnameler, İngiliz gezi yazını, İstanbul, Lady Hornby

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Introduction

As an introduction, it can be said that to travel means to exceed the limitations of the homeland, exceed the limitations of the homeland, and explore new possibilities as a traveler. Traveling means, in *The Random House College Dictionary*, “to go from one place to another or from place to place,” and in *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*, it is mentioned as “if you travel, you go from one place to another, often a place that is far away”. The meaning of ‘place’ has more than twenty meanings: ‘space, function, identity, rank, duty, position, location’ etc. So, it can be deduced that travel has complex meanings that can be associated with cultural, spatial, national, social, geographical and gendered boundaries (Cheng, 2011, pp. 123-167).

A traveler in a foreign land sometimes wants to create a unique piece of writing according to his or her own perspective. Thus, the traveler becomes an outsider in the normativity of the foreign land. Similarly, in *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (1996) by Tim Cresswell, the definition of place also explains the dynamics of travel writing as a genre:

[...] place plays a significant role in the creation of norms of behaviour and thus in the creation of deviance [...] *Outsider* is commonly the term used to describe people new to a place or people who do not know the ways of a place. The use of the term *outsider* indicates that a person does not properly understand the behaviour expected of people in town, region, or nation. Outsiders are often despised and suspected of [...] trouble-makers. They are people “out of place” (Cresswell, 1996, pp. 26-26).

According to this quotation, it can be deduced that Cresswell regards ‘traveling’ as not just a physical movement, traveling also becomes a transient, deviant and transgressive movement. That is the reason, travel literature as a genre, transcends the boundaries and limitations of ‘fixed categories of literary classifications’. In a parallel way, travelers as outsiders, transcend the limitations of place due to the fact that they become ‘out of place’. As both man/woman travelers are outsiders in a foreign land, they both experience freedom and cultural constraints, because travel is a dynamic, complex and transforming concept that includes multiple features in it. Being on the road also results in distancing oneself but not totally forgetting about the traveler’s homeland. In the book entitled *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (1994), it is asserted that the unknown’s possibilities create tension with familiar territories, the traveler has an urge to escape this familiarity (Lawrence, 1994, p.19). This line echoes the unknown territories’ double-edged reality which creates both the tension and the attraction of the unknown. Considering the traveler’s situation on this issue, traveling becomes both changing and challenging at the same time.

Moreover, regarding women travelers, it can be said that a woman’s travel writing requires a different perspective when compared with male travelers. For instance, Nancy A. Walker’s influential article “Stepping Out: Writing Women’s Travel” can be mentioned. This article asserts that the woman traveler gains a different identity with the process of traveling: “The woman-as-traveler has a different eye and a different “I”. In whatever century she inhabits, even in the late twentieth, she is stepping out: out of the house, out of the frame, away from home where she belongs” (Walker, 1996, p. 145-151). These lines reflect the reality that women travelers throughout the history of literature and travel literature have always been considered as ‘the other of man’ and, unfortunately remained passive in the domestic, private sphere that has always belonged to women. But with the help of travel, once in a part of the history, a woman dares to step out of the closet, out of the frame, away from home and the domesticity she has always belonged to. Comparing the male travelers’ perspective, women travel writers did not embrace the colonial and male-dominated discourse (Pratt, 2017, p. 213). Women travelers are rarely seen as explorers and colonizers. Since the colonial eye is generally considered ‘male gazed’, a woman

traveler sees the landscape differently from the male gaze and it becomes a source of inspiration, joy and sometimes a terror (Pratt, 2017, p. 213). Thus, when she sees the landscape differently and it becomes a source of inspiration, joy and sometimes a terror, she likewise reflects the landscape in her travelogue in a different way. Furthermore, some critics have posited that women's travel writing demonstrates unique characteristics: compared to travel writing by men, it is less direct, less goal-oriented, less imperialistic, and more concerned with people than place (Siegel, 2011, p. 5). In this study, it is my intention to particularly analyze women in 19th-century Istanbul by examining an example from a British woman travel writer whose name is Lady Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby via her travelogue which is entitled *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (1866).⁵

Women in the 19th century Istanbul in Lady Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby's travelogue *Constantinople during the Crimean War* (1866)

Initially, in order to analyze Lady Emelia Hornby's travelogue *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (1866), it is significant to give some background information about the author briefly. Lady Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby (1826-1866) visited Istanbul with her British diplomat husband, Edmund Hornby (Barın Akman, 2018, p. 44). Her significant travelogue, entitled *Constantinople During the Crimean War*, is one of the key texts that both exemplify a British woman traveler's unique perspective about the Ottoman Empire and her view of Istanbul during the Crimean War (1853–1856). As an example of the Ottoman Empire's condition during Lady Hornby's stay, from the article entitled "The Crimean War and Its Effects on Ottoman Social Life" by Bekir Günay, these lines can be given:

The Crimean War has been considered as one of the defining events in the shaping of modern Europe. The war changed the fundamental concepts of "the other" in Europe. Even though it was conjunctural, the Ottoman State which had been considered as the enemy of Christian Europe for centuries became an ally. France, which was also seen as a threat for Europe in 1810s, took its place beside the Ottoman State along with other European countries against Russia, the new common enemy. The Crimean War was also a clear indicator of the Ottoman State's inability to defend itself and its failure to finance a war with own resources. In the aftermath of the war, the Ottoman bureaucracy gave a new momentum to westernization process while the modern ideologies such as nationalism grew stronger among the ethnic minorities of the Empire (Günay, 2014, p. 106).

In the significant book, which is entitled *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, it parallelly declares that the Ottoman Empire is no longer a great power, and the Ottoman bureaucracy gave a new meaning to its existence and did not prevail its previous power as an empire: "At the beginning of 1853, the Ottoman Empire was no longer a great power, despite contrary claims by Ottoman officialdom. Its very existence depended on the balance of power prevailing in Europe" (Badem, 2010, p. 46).

Lady Hornby began to reside in Istanbul during the Crimean War with sociopolitical background of the mids of the nineteenth century, with her husband Edmund Hornby, who was a "British official sent to the Ottoman capital as head of the commission overseeing the structuring of state dept" (Barın Akman, 2018, p.38). The Ottoman Empire was both economically and politically in worse condition compared with the previous decades of the Ottoman Empire.

Considering the travelogue, Lady Hornby's work consists of sixty-five letters and nearly five hundred

⁵This article is extracted from my doctorate dissertation, which is entitled *Women's Voices in British Travel Writing Tradition: Analysis of Altered Space and Meaning in the Example of Istanbul*, completed under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin Atilla Mat in June 2024, in the Ege University Graduate School of Social Sciences, Department of English Language and Literature.

pages. Her travelogue remains as a unique representation of the epistolary form of literature in the nineteenth century. Hornby wrote her letters mainly to her mother, her husband Mr. Hornby and some of her close friends which began in August 1855 and ended in February 1858. Her fourth letter, written on September 8th, 1855, was written in Istanbul for the first time; thus, it can be deduced that she resided in Istanbul for nearly two and a half years.

As an example of Lady Hornby's perspective in her travelogue, David Barchard who is considered to be one of the leading British specialists on Türkiye, declares in his article "Lady of Letters" that Emelia Hornby was an amazingly acute observer of human beings and almost totally free of malice. She liked most, though not all, of the people she met in the Ottoman Empire, despite an upbringing in which she had been fed stories of the cruelties of the Turks (Barchard, 2003, p.29). Thus, it can be deduced from David Barchard's opinions that Lady Hornby has a positive view of the Ottoman State from a general point of view while she attempts to witness Ottoman society with good motives. Furthermore, Barchard adds that "this book can be read as sheer entertainment or as a marvelously detailed historical document" (Barchard, 2003, p.29). As a result, Hornby's travelogue, like most of the travel writing examples, can be considered a detailed historical document as well as a source of entertainment.

Moreover, Lady Hornby mainly wrote about the Ottoman capital's living conditions, Ottoman women's private lives, diverse nations in Istanbul (Greek, Armenian, Turk, Levantine etc.), and Sultan Abdulmejid I's reign. Hornby depicts some of the Crimean War's important details throughout her letters. As an example, Hornby mentions specific details about military headquarters in Balaklava and Sevastopol. Her letters were initially published in 1858 under the title *In and Around Stamboul*. In 1863, she republished her travelogue under the name *Constantinople During the Crimean War*. Lady Hornby's friend, Mary Adelaide Walker, who was also a British woman traveler, made some gravures about Istanbul in this version of the publication. Thus, it can be added that Lady Hornby's letters can be successfully considered a historical literary work (Vingopoulou, 2014).

As a starting point, Lady Hornby's *Constantinople During the Crimean War* can be examined, considering how Istanbul's landscape is depicted. In David Barchard's other article entitled, "Setting the Scene: Strangers in a Strange Land the European City", it is stated that "whatever the weather, arrival by sea was invariably a wonderful introduction. Visitors approaching across the Sea of Marmara from the Mediterranean, or down from the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, were equally enchanted (Barchard, 2014, pp. 44-48). Barchard continues that "many new arrivals wrote billowing paragraphs of romantic prose describing their feelings. Mrs. Edmund (later Lady) Hornby, who arrived during the Crimean War, was no exception" (Barchard, 2014, pp. 44-48). In addition, Barchard quotes from *Constantinople During the Crimean War* to show Lady Hornby's first opinion about Istanbul as a capital city:

The beautiful city- the old Byzantium and once Christian capital, rival of Rome herself- with its domes and minarets and cypress-groves and white palaces, burst upon our charmed sight. "The shores of Europe and Asia seem to unite in forming a vast bay, in the middle of which rises from the dark blue waves a city more beautiful and picturesque than words can describe." "A fine government might here guide or rule the world," is one of your first thoughts [...] Long we stood delighted upon the deck, first turning our eyes upon distant Mount Olympus [...] then upon the sparkling Bosphorus, gay with innumerable caiques; then upon the crowds of stately ships of all nations; then upon the dark cypress-groves and white hospital of Scutari, where the heroic Miss Nightingale lay sick; then upon beautiful Stamboul, with its crowning mosque of Santa Sophia and lofty minarets. But all this must be seen in sunshine to be believed in, and then you will think it a dream (Hornby, 1863, pp. 29-30).

According to this quotation, it can be derived that Lady Hornby is quite impressed by the view of Bosphorus and Istanbul at first glance. She reminisces about past civilizations like Byzantium and

describes the shores of Asia and Europe, one by one. Her impression is that she considers Istanbul like a 'dream,' and is quite enchanted by the landscape.

As another example of Lady Hornby's impressions of Istanbul's landscape, she also visited the Princes' Islands, in particular Prinkipo: "Here we are in a cottage at Prinkipo, which is the largest of the Princes' Islands, or the "Islands of the Blest" (Hornby, 1863, p.400). Lady Hornby, once again likes the scenery in the Princes' Islands and compares it with Britain: "It is just like the Surrey hills, rising out of the sea, only with rocks and mountains all around; and among fir-trees are mixed fig and olive trees" (Hornby, 1863, p.400). Also, seeing Constantinople in the distance, brings to Lady Hornby's mind the famous painter William Turner's art works: "The view of the coast and mountains opposite is very fine, Constantinople in the distance, rising as it were out of the blue sea, just like Venice out of one of Turner's pictures. It is beyond all things beautiful" (Hornby, 1863, p.400). Furthermore, for the first time, Lady Hornby arrives at Mysseri's Hotel, Pera, "tired and almost breathless" (Hornby, 1863, p.31). She stays in there for a period of time: "They have given me such a delightful room, with four large windows looking down the Golden Horn, and on the distant mountains" (Hornby, 1863, p.31). After staying at Pera for a while, they find a new place to stay in Therapia: "We have been obliged to fly the heat and confusion of Pera, and find this place very delightful, with cool breezes constantly coming down from the Black Sea" (Hornby, 1863, p. 35). According to these lines, it can be deduced that Lady Hornby finds Pera such a "confusing place" and chooses to reside in Therapia, which is a more "delightful" place for her. Lastly, the Hornbys choose Orta-kioy as their new home in Istanbul: "we have taken a pretty little kiosk, half-way up the hill of Orta-kioy, a village about seven miles from Constantinople" (Hornby, 1863, p.100).

Considering these lines above, it can be derived that Lady Hornby, as a woman traveler in Istanbul, chooses to live in more tranquil regions of Istanbul during her stay in the city. During her stay in the house in Orta-kioy, her servant Vassili and her Armenian neighbor talk about how Lady Hornby spends her spare time: "The Armenian lady had asked him how I passed my time, so much alone as I was: he replied, 'Scrive e legge, legge e scrive' (she writes and reads, and reads and writes)" (Hornby, 1863, p.192). Parallely, Lady Hornby's thoughts about herself on this topic can be mentioned: "Nothing can be more perfect than my solitude is at times. You know I have often wished to be quite alone for several months, that I might do what I liked without being disturbed. Now I have certainly got my wish" (Hornby, 1863, p.189). Thus, Lady Hornby tries to enjoy her solitude in a capital city like Istanbul and she can be considered to be a much more introverted person which results in a negative perspective on crowded places like Pera etc. Likewise, the following lines from her travelogue defines Pera as such: "What an awakening it is to land at Pera! Such a motley crowd, such a jostling, such a confusion of tongues and cries, such diet, it is utterly impossible to conceive" (Hornby, 1863, p. 85).

On the other hand, regarding the Ottoman women's depictions in the 19th century by Lady Hornby in her travelogue *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (1866), as a starting point, Hornby can be considered as one of the first woman travel writers who wrote the detailed descriptions of Ottoman women's public attire in Ottoman society, as it is asserted in Filiz Barın Akman's section "Yabancı Gözüyle: Yabancı Seyyahların Gözünden İstanbul Kadını" (Through Foreign Eyes: Istanbul Women through the Eyes of Foreign Travelers) in the book *Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Kadın (The Women in Ottoman Istanbul)* (2021). Hornby generally describes Muslim Turkish women's attire in the private sphere or the house. However, during her trip to Küçüksu with a caique in October 1855, Hornby described Ottoman women's public attire in a detailed way. Moreover, according to Barın Akman, Lady Hornby's description, has the characteristics of an ethnographic and historical document (Barın Akman,

2021, p. 458). In this description, Lady Hornby compares the “Valley of the Sweet Waters of Asia” to the “Turkish Hyde Park”. So, Hornby explains the higher-class women of Ottoman society in Küçüksu, in detail, as follows:

Under the shade of some magnificent plane-trees, sat the women of a higher class, on cushions which their slaves had brought from the caiques. Nothing, in point of colouring and grouping, could be more strikingly beautiful than these clusters of women by the trees and fountain. Imagine five or six in a row; their jet-black eyes shining through their white veils, under which you can see the gleam of jewels which confine their hair [...]Your first impression is that they look just like a bed of splendid flowers. The lady at the top of the row of cushions, and evidently the chief wife, is dressed in a feridjee of the palest pink, edged with black velvet or silver; her face and neck all snow-white gauze, under which gleams a silver wreath or sprigs of jewels: for the yashmak in these days is so transparent as rather to add to the beauty of the wearer than to hide it [...] The Turkish women have certainly wonderful art in blending colours. In fact, I hardly know how my eyes will bear a return to England. Here the water, the sky, the houses, the dresses, the boats are so gay and beautiful, the cypress-trees and the valleys so rich and green (Hornby, 1863, pp. 56-57).

In this quotation from the travelogue, it can be deduced that Hornby is quite impressed by the nature of the Valley of the Sweet Waters and the Bosphorus. She is also impressed by the upper-class Ottoman women's public attire and it can be said that Hornby's impressions of both Istanbul's scenery and the Ottoman women are generally positive.

As another example of nineteenth century Ottoman women's depiction in Lady Hornby's travelogue, her visit to Hassan Bey's harem can be mentioned. Hornby visits Hassan Bey's harem during Ramadan, thus, the inhabitants of the harem are fasting at that moment. Lady Hornby visits this place with another young English lady and a Hungarian lady who also speaks enough Turkish to serve as an interpreter: “Our knock brought out the porter, a respectable Moslem [...] he received the ‘Giaour’ ladies nevertheless with great politeness, told us we were impatiently expected in the Harem, and ushering us through a further entrance” (Hornby, 1863, p.348). Even, at the entrance to the harem, it can be said that, Lady Hornby expresses that the porter shows “great politeness” to them, which reflects her initial positive opinion of this visit. Moreover, similarly, her first opinion about the daughter of Hassan Bey is positive: “At the head of the stairs, the young daughter of Hassan Bey (the mother was dead) waited to welcome us. With the graceful Turkish salute, touching the lips and forehead” (Hornby, 1863, p. 348). Lady Hornby continues that “with a few words murmured in the soft plaintive manner which seems to be “bon ton” amongst the languishing Orientals, she conducted us through a large room” (Hornby, 1863, p. 348). The meaning of “bon ton” in British English, the exact definition in Collins Online English Dictionary, is “initially sophisticated manners or breeding and a fashionable society”(Collins English Dictionary, n.d.). Regarding this definition, Hornby at first defines Hassan Bey's daughter's attitudes as ‘sophisticated’ and her ‘graceful Turkish salute’ also supports Hornby's positive opinions about the harem. After that, Hassan Bey's daughter presents the visitors to the “Dada” “who acts as mistress of the Harem and housekeeper. She is a large, good-looking woman, past thirty, very kindly mannered and hospitable” (Hornby, 1863, p. 349). Once again, Lady Hornby defines a woman in the harem as ‘kind’ and ‘hospitable’ who also, as Hornby mentions, “begged us to make ourselves quite at home” (Hornby, 1863, p. 349). Hornby also meets the eldest daughter of Hassan Bey, İffet Khanum, and thinks “İffet Khanum herself, about sixteen, is very pretty, with soft dark eyes, a straight, well-formed nose, full rosy lips, and the fashionable languid manner before mentioned” (Hornby, 1863, p.349). Furthermore, Lady Hornby mentions Hassan Bey's deceased wife, Serâily Khanum, whose three children are still taken care of by the harem inhabitants. Nedret Khanum, the other daughter of Hassan Bey, and Djaffir Bey, the eldest son of him, are other people that Hornby writes about. Additionally, Hornby describes the refreshments and the dining scene:

We seated ourselves [...] as round a large metal disk, placed on a low stool; a thin white calico cloth, pinked out round the edge, served as table-cloth, and was covered with a variety of little saucers, containing spiced and salted stimulants to appetite, such as caviar, mutton-ham, Turkish cheese, olives green and black, pickles, salad, etc. All about were placed Ramazan cakes, rings of unleavened bread called semeet, sprinkled with aniseed, and in the centre a number of cut and ornamental glasses filled with lemonade; the whole was set out and disposed with great taste. This was the prelude to the entertainment, and when we had tasted the contents of some of the saucers, and taken a little lemonade, the glasses were removed, and the dinner began; the dishes being placed, one at a time, on the centre of the table. We waited until Dada, as mistress of the house, saying "Bouyourûn," put her spoon or fingers into the dish, and then everyone endeavoured to do the best they could for themselves, using only the right hand, and keeping the left generally under the embroidered napkin (Hornby, 1863, p. 351).

Considering this quotation, it can be deduced that even though the inhabitants of Hassan Bey's harem are fasting, they still show great hospitality towards their foreign visitors and serve supper and special refreshments. Furthermore, Hornby uses the word "Bouyourûn" to narrate the mistress of the house's call to start eating. She uses a footnote in the travelogue about this word and adds that it is not a translatable word that means, in this context, almost "make yourself perfectly at home" (Hornby, 1863, p.351), and that is why Hornby tries to "make herself perfectly at home" and enjoy the supper. She again narrates in detail the variety of dishes at the dinner. As a starter and main dish, they eat "excellent rice soup flavoured with lemon juice, then a fowl stuffed with pistachios, firnuts, and rice stewed in butter" (Hornby, 1863, p.352). Then they try different varieties of vegetables with meat, and many more Ottoman cuisine specialties like "baklava," "cadaïf," "ekmek-cadaïf," "beurek," "ouhalva," (Hornby, 1863, p. 352) etc. In another footnote here, Hornby also mentions the special ingredients of these Ottoman dishes. She again expresses Dada's "great kindness and hospitality" (Hornby, 1863, p.352) while serving "about twenty-five dishes in all" (Hornby, 1863, p.352).

On the other hand, Hornby describes Hassan Bey: "He had a grave, gentle manner, very polite and courteous; he spoke a little French and told us he was very happy to see us there, hoped we were well received, and that we should repeat our visit" (Hornby, 1863, p. 353). It can be derived that Lady Hornby continues her positive opinions about her visit and considers Hassan Bey as "gentle-mannered", "very polite," and "courteous" (Hornby, 1863, p.353). As a reception of Hassan Bey's kind words, Lady Hornby says, "we said, of course, many things in praise of the beauty of Stamboul and the Bosphorus, and thanked him, as we could do in all sincerity, for the kindness and hospitality of our reception" (Hornby, 1863, p. 353). After visiting Hassan Bey's harem, Lady Hornby and her two European friends are also expected at the neighboring harem of Ali Bey. They arrived quickly because Ali Bey's house is within walking distance of Hassan Bey's house. Hornby likes the mistress of the harem in an instant who says that "we were speedily admitted into the friendly Harem, and welcomed by its mistress, a charming young Circassian, very winning and amiable" (Hornby, 1863, p. 353). Hornby adds that the young mistress of the harem is pleased to have them in her mansion, as Hornby mentions: "She was evidently flattered by our visit, and placed us in the seats of honour, clapping her hands immediately, to order in the sweetmeats and coffee, which were followed by cigarettes" (Hornby, 1863, p. 353).

Like Lady Hornby's positive views about Hassan Bey's harem, she similarly likes Ali Bey's harem: "Ali Bey, her husband, is an officer in the army; his house, without being very rich or luxurious, is exceedingly comfortable. The room in which we assembled was nicely furnished with a divan, padded cushions, a thick carpet, and curtains before the doors" (Hornby, 1863, p.354). In Ali Bey's harem, Lady Hornby sees the piano, which is played by the ladies in the harem; during her visit, she also plays the piano for them. They talk about Ramadan in the capital Istanbul and the upcoming Baïram and drink sherbet and lemonade in Ali Bey's harem. After a while, they thank the Circassian lady and return to Hassan Bey's

home for staying overnight. While staying there, they witness preparations for Sahur, and eat together. For the breakfast, even though the household is fasting, they are served an excellent breakfast: "The good Dada, the most considerate of women, had reflected that we were not bound to observe Ramazan, and had thoughtfully provided an excellent breakfast" (Hornby, 1863, p.357). Then they are quite content to stay in Hassan Bey's home, and while leaving this place, Lady Hornby mentions her contentment with these words: "much pleased with our visit to the harem of Hassan Bey" (Hornby, 1863, p.357).

As another example, Hornby has some negative views of the harem. For instance, in July 1860, Lady Hornby pays a visit to the harem of a Pasha, whose wife Dilbir Adah and daughter Gulbize she has known for a while. Her visit to Pasha's harem begins with Hornby's positive impressions of Gulbize and Dilbir Adah: "Dilbir Adah is intelligent and kindly; she must have been very pretty, for you can trace in her features the exact counterpart of her young daughter Gulbize—the same large, soft black eyes, the same graceful turn of the head and neck" (Hornby, 1863, p.361). Furthermore, Lady Hornby describes her friends as "pretty", "graceful", "intelligent," and "kindly," (Hornby, 1863, pp.361-363), but after a while, Hornby starts to criticize one of the implementations of the slave market that are executed in the Ottoman State. It is the implementation of the child slave market, in which Georgian or Circassian little girls are sold for a specific market price to a Khanum like Dilbir Adah, and these children's lives are transformed completely. In Ottoman harems, these little children are inspected to see if they have the physical potential to be a servant or a sultan. As an example of this implementation, Dilbir Adah Khanum purchased a child named Derran, and in front of Hornby, Khanum examines the child carefully: "With one strong pull she tears open the pretty little jacket, -there is the snow-white chest; none of them regards its agonized heaving of mingled shame and anger, they merely see that it is snow-white, the proper market price" (Hornby, 1863, p.364). Thus, Hornby sums up the general implementation for child slaves as follows: "If they hear of a Georgian or Circassian child of great promise being brought down, they get their nurse, or some other confidential servant, to negotiate the purchase" (Hornby, 1863, p.365).

After witnessing this situation, Hornby is annoyed and reacts after a while: "I never felt so angry, so shocked, in my life, and it was with the greatest difficulty I could refrain from crying, like the child, with anger and grief" (Hornby, 1863, p. 365) and she adds "I could not forget, could not recover from the scene which I had just witnessed" (Hornby, 1863, pp. 366-367). After Hornby leaves Pasha's harem, she expresses her opinions after leaving this harem: "How glad I was when this visit was over! I could hardly reply to the usual kind adieus of Dilbir and Gulbize, who accompanied us to the outer salaamlik" (Hornby, 1863, p.366). So, it can be inferred that Lady Hornby's views about the Ottoman harem indicate that she is generally content with visiting an Ottoman harem and Hornby regards Ottoman women as kind, hospitable, and generous people. But in this situation, she feels discontent while witnessing the issue of child slavery in the Ottoman harem. After a while, Hornby even cuts all her ties with her friend Dilber Adah Khanum, who purchased a Circassian little girl. On the other hand, in order to state briefly about the historical facts about Ottoman slavery in the nineteenth century, the article entitled "Slavery, Freedom Suits, and Legal Praxis in the Ottoman Empire, ca. 1590–1710" by Joshua M. Whit can be mentioned, as follows:

Scholars of the more-thoroughly-studied late Ottoman Empire have highlighted the efforts of enslaved Circassians and Africans to obtain their freedom in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries via lawsuits in both the Islamic and new secular court systems, as well as through appeals to Ottoman administrative authorities and European, especially British, consuls. These struggles arose in the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire's promulgation of edicts proclaiming (male) equality under the law (1839, 1856), part of the Tanzimat program of reforms; the banning of

the trade in enslaved Africans and shuttering of the official slave markets (1857) [...] (p. 530).

Thus, according to these lines, it can be said that Lady Hornby visited Istanbul during a time when the enslaved Circassians and Africans were beginning to obtain their freedom, and even with the Tanzimat's reforms, the slave markets were officially shuttered. So, it can be inferred that, as a historical fact, Ottoman slavery was about to be abolished when Lady Hornby began to reside in Istanbul.

On the other hand, while mentioning Lady Hornby's opinions about the harem, it can also be said that Hornby makes some other significant remarks about Ottoman women. At first, Hornby thinks that the Ottoman woman is much cleverer and more open-minded compared with the male counterpart: "I am assured that the women of this country are far before the men in intelligence, far less prejudiced, and far more willing to know and to adopt wiser and better ways" (Hornby, 1863, p. 396). In parallel with these lines, Hornby also asserts that education for Ottoman women can be a positive development for the entire nation in the Ottoman Empire: "What a different idea would a Turkish boy have of his mother, if he saw her occupied in reading and teaching instead of sitting on a divan, slapping, and quarrelling with her slaves for want of something to do, and sunk in the most degrading ignorance!" (Hornby, 1863, p. 396). Thus, it can be inferred that Lady Hornby thinks Ottoman women are kind and intelligent, but Hornby emphasizes that Ottoman women need proper education to eradicate 'the most degrading ignorance'. In addition to this situation, Hornby also has a chance to talk about the Ottoman woman's condition with "Muchaver Pasha" or Admiral Slade, who "is an Englishman in the Turkish service, has done much for their Navy, and has resided at Constantinople for several years" (Hornby, 1863, p.394). Lady Hornby narrates their conversation as follows: "We had a long chat about the women the other day, and agreed that, pretty, gentle, and intelligent as they generally are, their ignorance would be in the highest degree ludicrous, were it not so lamentable" (Hornby, 1863, p.394). So, this conversation supports Hornby's general view about "the kind, intelligent but ignorant Ottoman woman". Lady Hornby even asks the significant question, "What can be done?" (Hornby, 1863, p.395). Moreover, the following quotation sums up Hornby's conversation with Admiral Slade:

Admiral Slade promises that, if I can get a few little books, of the simplest instruction, from England, for these poor women, he will undertake to get them translated into the Turkish language and given to such of them as can read. He assures me that there will not be the smallest difficulty in their being allowed to accept them, and suggests, as the most important subject to begin with, a few words on the rearing of fine, healthy children, for thousands are annually laid in their little graves from the ignorance and folly of the mothers. The whole race may be improved by the women being told. (Hornby, 1863, p.395)

According to these quotations, it can be deduced that, once again, Lady Hornby is aware that Ottoman women need proper education to eradicate ignorance among themselves and their offspring. Lady Hornby is also willing to participate in the process of enlightening Ottoman women, but unfortunately, in her travel writing, her intention remains only as a wish, which she cannot put into practice. But at least it can be inferred that Lady Hornby publishes her travel writing, in which Hornby declares publicly to the European world that the Ottoman women's condition is "the kind, intelligent, but ignorant" who need proper education. Thus, it can be said that Lady Hornby simply tries to show Ottoman society through the filter of a European British woman traveler while declaring problems like child slavery and Ottoman women's education problems at the same time. Even though Lady Hornby cannot offer a proper solution for these kinds of problems, she at least writes about these issues via her travelogue.

For instance, as an example of Ottoman women's condition in the late Ottoman period, in particular, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an article entitled "Female Actors, Producers and Money

Makers in Ottoman Public Space: The Case of the Late Ottoman Balkans” by Svetla Ianeva can be mentioned from the significant book *Ottoman Women in Public Space* (2016).

The varied sources examined, from a macro-historical and micro-historical perspective, testify that Ottoman women, both working women and women owners of wealth, were active participants in the economic and social life and that they were present and visible in different public locations. Lower-class women of all ages could be seen working in the fields on their family plots [...] We could argue that the concept of participation of women in contributing to the family income was, surprisingly from a traditional European gender stereotype point of view, not at all unusual in the Ottoman world. Women factory workers appear as the main labour force in most Ottoman factories; they were not only economically significant, they also added new aspects to women's public presence and visibility, in new public locations such as factories and factory dormitories or in the “caravans” arriving from the rural areas where they were recruited to the industrial centres. (Ianeva, 2016, p.89)

Thus, it can be inferred from these lines that Ottoman women were not passive figures in the nineteenth century. Even they can be active figures in the public arena, but it is also a fact that not until the foundation of the Turkish Republic in the twentieth century, Ottoman women cannot become fully individual beings like the male counterpart. But in Ianeva's article, the writer asserts that in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, Ottoman women were not completely passive participants throughout the empire. Furthermore, considering Lady Hornby's perspective about this issue, as she asserts that Ottoman women are “kind, intelligent, but ignorant”, it can be added that a proper education for Ottoman women is essential for a possible solution. Even “the traditional portrayal of women as “passive Orientalist caricatures” has come under increasing attack over the past few decades” (Boyar et al., 2016, pp. 1–17)”, “the view of Ottoman woman as relegated to the roles of wives and mothers, at least before the nineteenth century, still persists and little scholarly attention has been paid to women as active participants in the public space, visible, present and an essential element in the everyday, public life of the empire” (Boyar et al., 2016, p. 1).

As another important remark about Ottoman women, Lady Hornby has a chance to compare the higher and lower classes of Ottoman women in her travel writing. Hornby mentions the Sultan's harem in the New Year's morning of 1856, while thinking about “the Sultan's snow-white place”, Dolma Batche (Dolmabahçe) (Hornby, 1863, p. 164): “the Sultan's ladies proverbially enjoy greater liberty than any other Turkish women of rank here, and their yashimaks are certainly the thinnest” (Hornby, 1863, p.165). But as Hornby continues her analysis about the difference between the lower- and higher-class Ottoman women, her point is clear: “The higher the rank of the women here, the more closely they are guarded and shut up” (Hornby, 1863, p. 165). On the other hand, according to Hornby, “women of the lower class are comparatively free, and can go, even unattended, into the streets and bazaars whenever they like, but of course veiled and feridjeed, so that it would be impossible to recognize them” (Hornby, 1863, p.165). Thus, it can be derived that, Lady Hornby thinks that with the help of the veil, Ottoman women of the lower class are comparatively free, but for the higher rank of Ottoman women, like the Sultan's harem, their freedom is restricted. Even Lady Hornby mentions, as an example of Ottoman women's public appearance, New Year's Day: “It being lovely weather on New Year's Day, there were hundreds of Turkish women “taking the air,” some in telekis, guarded by Blacks, others on foot, shuffling along in their loose yellow slippers” (Hornby, 1863, p.165). In these lines, Lady Hornby mentions Ottoman women's public appearance in a festive environment from a big celebration like the New Year's Day in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

Conclusion

As a travel writer, Lady Hornby states the deficiencies in the Ottoman Empire and questions the system. Hornby meets both upper- and lower-class women in the Ottoman Empire and even befriends some of them. Mainly, Hornby's impression of Ottoman women is positive, but Hornby also sees the wrongdoings in the Ottoman harem and speaks up for child slavery. That is why Lady Hornby's travelogue *Constantinople During the Crimean War* (1866) is significant. She states Ottoman women's need for proper education and representation in Ottoman society as individual beings in 19th-century Istanbul. Like Elizabeth Wilson's definition in *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*, "women successfully make use of the urban space for mobility, transgression, and social change. Hence, they negotiate with the urban milieu with their own strategies and flourish in the interstices of the city" (Wilson,1992, p. 139), Lady Hornby, as a British woman traveler in the nineteenth century, uses her travel writing to show Ottoman women's plea for becoming a free individuals and thrive in the interstices of the city of Istanbul.

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