

GOVERNESSES: THE TRANSFERORS OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the role of governesses in teaching a foreign language and culture in İstanbul and how this is reflected in the Ottoman novels written between 1870 and 1923; the years which constitute Tanzimat Period.

The paper is composed of three sections. In the introductory section the term communication will be examined through the identification of the relation between communication and language. After giving information about the relationship between language and culture, the notion of language will be differentiated under the concepts of first language and foreign language. Depending on this differentiation, theories of first language acquisition and foreign language teaching/learning will be emphasised. At the end of the same section, information concerning the practice of foreign language teaching in the Ottoman Empire both in the institutions and through private tutors will be provided.

In the second section general information about the Tanzimat Period, Turkish novel and Westernization is given. The data about foreign language teaching through governesses and private tutors obtained from novels written between 1870 and 1923 will be classified and the achievement of the acquisition of both the language and culture imposed upon the children by governesses will be discussed.

As a conclusion, the role of governesses in language teaching and in transferring their cultural aspects will be stated and the reasons of the decrease in their roles will be explained. Information about the current applications will be provided along with a brief review of foreign language teaching through private education today.

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1. Communication, Language and Culture

Communication is essentially a social affair. It can be defined as a form of social interaction, and is therefore normally acquired and used in social interaction. It involves a high degree of predictability and creativity in form and message and takes place in discourse and sociocultural contexts which provide constraints on appropriate language use and also clues as to correct interpretations of utterances. In addition, communication is understood as the exchange and negotiation of information between at least two individuals through the use of verbal and non-verbal symbols, oral and written/visual modes, and production and comprehension processes (Canale 1983: 3-4).

Language is a means of communication. Language used for communication is not an improvised manifestation of an idealised system of language but an ongoing process of negotiation and evaluation which is a product of complex interactional processes. Our entire elaborate social structure is mediated through language. Language is central to human experience and if we are to understand the process by which men communicate with one another, we must look closely at the human capacity for language. If we consider the child's acquisition of language between the ages of about twelve months and five years, a first thing we might observe is that the quantity of language involved is enormous. Therefore the acquisition of mother tongue should be emphasised in order to understand the relationship between communication and language.

The study of one's mother tongue has an importance different in kind from that which attaches to other branches of studies. It is the medium through which knowledge of any other subject is required. In the child's linguistic development, there are three major phases. The first is characterised by the discovery of language, as patterns of sound take on meaning and purpose in the repetitive activities that play so large a part in the infant's interaction with his parents and other primary caregivers. In this phase, during which the infant simultaneously discovers his own separate identity and his ability to bring about changes in the people and objects that make up his environment, language functions first and foremost as a means for the regulation of activity and interaction. Then, as objects and events in his environment, and his own and other people's activities within this environment are made the focus of conversational attention, he gradually discovers a further important function of language-that of representing or standing for, the objects and events that make up his experience. The second phase is of consolidation and diversification. Through his participation in the talk that directs and interprets the variety of events that constitute everyday life, the child gradually takes over the language of his community, and in the process, absorbs the cultural values and working assumptions that are encoded in that particular community's use of language. He also begins to gain control of a variety of different language registers as he learns to adjust his style of speaking and listening to the requirements of the social context - the participants, the setting and the task in hand. Thus by the time he goes to school, the child has made substantial progress towards mastering the resources of the spoken language and can draw upon those resources appropriately to achieve a wide range of interactional objectives in the familiar contexts of everyday activities (Wells 1981: 24-241).

The philosopher Nerni Uygur (1984: 11-31) says culture is a life style, and existence programme and an action form a person adopts for himself. This main property of culture manifests not only in the whole culture but also in its fragments, every time it comes to light in different aspects at the level of individual, society, nation and country. On the other side language is such an existence that it encounters the necessities of human beings like thinking, knowing and the action and communication in the society they belong to. Each culture defines itself in a different language; language sets up and improves culture. Learning the mother tongue is nothing other than acquiring culture. It is impossible to think of language

independent of culture. The same rule applies when we think of a foreign language. During the process of learning a foreign language, a person undoubtedly undergoes the process of foreign-culture acquisition. Stated simply, culture learning is not a discardable option for language learning, and further that all language learning takes place in a cultural milieu.

Scollon and Scollon (1995: 126-127) define culture in terms of anthropology and say culture is any of the customs, worldview, language, kinship, social organisation, and other taken-or-granted day-to-day practices of a people which set that a group apart as a distinctive group. Here culture is meant to consider any aspect of the ideas, communications, or behaviours of a group of people which gives to them a distinctive identity and which is used to organise their internal sense of cohesion and membership. Depending on their definition it seems safe enough to assert that the relation between language and culture is a necessary consideration in any fruitful discussion of language, no matter how practical or limited in scope it may appear. Many fallacies and trivial conclusions follow when this complex relation is overlooked. The relation is reciprocal: the form of language influences (and some would have it determines) the form of culture; the form of culture influences the form of language and language change. The study in a given language at its limits is extremely valuable, and leads to an understanding of the potentialities and limitations of the culture and cultural elements otherwise difficult to attain (Gleeson and Wakefield 1968: v-vi).

1.1. Foreign Language Education in Institutions in the Ottoman Empire

Until the end of the eighteenth century the Ottoman educational system was based on two types: Medreses and Palace Schools. In Palace schools through the law of draft (*Devşirme*) non-Muslim boys, later converted to the religion, were carefully selected for service in the state or within the palace, with the aim of creating Ottoman ruling class bringing up high officers for the army. They received education and training in the Turkish Language and customs, writing, law, warfare and crafts. Palace teachers and officials as well as teachers from schools in the city came to give special instruction as well. This instruction included such topics as religious subjects, Ottoman, Persian, Arabic literature, history, music, maths, physical and vocational training (Ergin 1939: 2-16). These schools were closed down in 1833 and replaced by a series of translation chambers at the new ministries (Findly 1989: 11).

Medrese on the other hand, based on religious instruction allowed only muslims to enrol, and was directed towards public education as part of the religious complex in a district. More advanced grades of Medrese usually erected in the capital, enabled the training of religious scholars either for ecclesiastical orders and Medrese scholarship, or for administrative positions in the court of justice which was formed according to *Şeriat* (Muslim Law). In these institutions the language spoken was Turkish but the one taught was Arabic. The purpose of learning Arabic was to be able to understand the blessed texts. It can also be seen that in some of the Medreses. Persian was also taught as a third language. After the seventeenth century they became centres of resistance to every innovation in the system and soon after they were closed down. Apart from Medreses and Palace Schools there were also schools belonging to minorities and Catholics living in the empire. Turkish and Muslim students were not allowed to go to these schools because of language and religion discrimination. French, Turkish, Latin, Italian, Armenian, Arabic and Persian were the languages taught in these schools.

After the eighteenth century, Sultan Selim III established the “New Order” (*Nizam-Cedid*) considering that the real danger for the state came from the degenerated army which was to blame for failures. He intended to elevate the fighting capacity of the new army by introducing new methods of training and a new military technology (Lewis 1961: 54-64).

Since the creation of schools and academies for military education was a notable feature of 18th century of Europe, the first Ottoman school to be founded in 1773 after the Western Model to introduce new military techniques was a school of military engineering (Demircan 1988). This school was followed by several military schools such as school of medicine and school of military sciences. The large group of advisors, assisted by many English, Swedes and Italians accelerated this development of Western-Style institution building. Originally, lessons in these Western-style military schools were given in French, with Ottoman minorities frequently employed to translate them into Ottoman simultaneously. Gradually by the end of the 19th century, translated books and first cohort of Ottoman trainees replaced Ottoman minorities as translators and Western advisors as lecturers.

Ottoman modernisation in education was not restricted to military developments. This conscious westernization movement aimed at training civil officials to staff various newly created or re-formed ministries. To supplement the civilian schools at the lower levels, the army also developed its own secular school system beginning in 1855. Army Rüşdiye schools and Idadi (middle) schools were established to provide a new secondary level for students before they entered the School of Military Sciences. Based on the fact that classes were given in French at military schools, French classes were added to the curriculum in Idadi schools. With the penetration of foreign commercial and missionary interests during that time, foreign schools were established, including American School called Robert College (1863), and other institutions founded by Austrian, French, English, German and Italian missionaries. Some were only on the elementary level; some extended to the secondary level as well and provided Western-style training.. The medium of instruction in these schools was either German, English, French or Italian.

1.2. Learning a Foreign Language Through Private Education

In the Ottoman society, private education was provided for individuals, groups and classes in imperial schools such as Şehzadegan, Enderun and Meşkhane. Ergin (1939: 6) explains this educational system as one follows: “There used to be a regulation to educate the Şehzade (imperial son). An experienced and respected old tutor would accompany him, they would be sent to a certain vicinity and the Şehzade would receive his formal education under the instructions and assistance of this private tutor.”

As the ages and education levels of Şehzades would differ, each would receive private tutoring. Padişah would also make sure this would be done in separate rooms (Emiroğlu 1992: 32). A similar training is said to have taken place in Harem-I Hass-I Hümayun, the Ladies’ part of the palace, where the new concubines were trained for the service of the Sultan (Sakaoğlu 1991: 47).

Şehzadegan School was particularly an important part of the palace. The Seljuk tradition of training princes by “atabey” and “lala”s continued until the end of the 16th century. These princes who were later assigned as governors received a very good education at the hands of intellectual, experienced, some military some civil tutors. Starting with Ahmet I, however, a new educational system had to be designed in order to keep the princes under surveillance. Another Şehzadegan School was opened in the apartments above those that belonged to Darü-s-saade Ağası. Imperial sons and daughters were trained by teachers from Enderun or those others in reading the Kur’an, writing and imperial history until they reached the age of eight or ten.

In the age of Mahmud II., the wealthy families had their children learn Persian, Arabic, calligraphy, writing, music, divinity, and literature through private education. Those who had such an opportunity later received further training in dictionary work, mathematics, geometry, astronomy and language from acknowledged teachers (Sakaoğlu 1991: 65).

Ergin (1939: 375-382) states that before military and civil schools were opened, the people who governed the Ottoman Empire were trained in “autodidactic”¹ manner. A great majority of the governors who ruled after Tanzimat until 1914 were trained as such. Abdullah Galip Paşa (1823-1903) had private lessons in Arabic, Persian and a little French; Mehmet Kamil Paşa (1832-1913) learned English from a private teacher in Egypt; Rauf Paşa (1838-1923) learned French and Persian and Mazhar Paşa (1834-1890) learned Arabic and Persian from private teachers.

The most prominent Minister of Education during Tanzimat, Saffet Paşa, had been raised as a diplomat by the influence of Sadrazam Reşit Paşa: he studied French, Latin and Geography with private teachers and was later sent to Paris to study (Tekeli and İlkin: 1993: 67). Şinasi, a writer and poet of Tanzimat and also the first Turkish journalist, is known to have received private tutoring from a French officer who converted to Islam in Tophane and was encouraged to read French literature (Berkes: 1978: 256).

In the memoirs of Princess Mevhibe Celalettin², it is stated that her father hired private tutors for her and that she learned French from a French woman called Madame Benoit. Mevhibe Celalettin would entertain French guests at her house and would also do translation for them. As there is no other evidence of learning foreign languages in her memoirs, it is believed that she learned French through private lessons from Madame Benoit (Korle 1978: 22).

Another educational system during Tanzimat was the “konak” (mansion) education. The eldest daughter of Hasan Paşa is said to have had private education at the konak from a French mademoiselle and learned this language so well that she could read French novels (Topuz 1998: 185).

Abdülmecid’s brother Abdülaziz Efendi learned Arabic and Persian from private tutors who were called to the palace. Abdülhamid, too, learned Arabic, Persian and French from Ethem, Saffet and Ahmet Vefik Paşa when he was young (Topuz 1998: 7,160).

In the biography of Fatma Aliye, who was one of the leading literary figures of the latest Ottoman period, it is stated that she was the first intellectual woman outcome of the “konak” education. Fatma Aliye Hanım had private lessons in philosophy, mathematics and law from well-known teachers of her time.

Among the important figures of Tanzimat, poet and composer Leyla Hanım, Makbule Leman Hanım, İhsan Raif Hanım and Emine Seniye Hanım are seen as privileged daughters of intellectual fathers who considered the education of their daughters of utmost importance and had private tutors teach them at their konaks (Toska 1994: 59). Another significant Turkish woman novelist Halide Edip Adivar is also said to have received private lessons in French from Rıza Tevfik (Enginün: 1978: 26).

1.2.1. Learning a Foreign Language through Governesses

In the social organisation of the Ottoman Empire due to the authoritarian and patriarchal structure woman was always considered in the secondary position because of the cultural and religious factors dominating the empire then. She was accepted as a second-class member of the family and was condemned to be an reproduction instrument of man-dominant

¹ This word is the equivalent of French “autodidacte”. It means studying all by one’s self and become educated. (Hansoy: 1984: 52).

² Princess Mevhibe Celalettin is the daughter of Abdülhamit II’s sister Cemile Sultan and Prince Mehmet Celalettin, the son of Damat Mahmut Celalettin Paşa.

society. It was strongly believed that man was superior to woman in Islamic-Turkish society and as a result of this woman was not considered as equal to man. It is obvious that, before the Tanzimat period, the education institutions were only “Sübyan and Enderun Mekteps”, and “Medreses”.

The Turkish women were allowed to enter only subyan mekteps; they were not allowed to get their education in medreses. It was believed to be unnecessary to educate and treat women since they could not take place in business life. There were some well-known educated and intellectual women but this group of women either became intellectual in their own country or were educated by the private governesses who were hired by wealthy families (Caporal 1999: 103). In this period only the daughters of administrators or ulema, were treated and educated by private teachers in their “konak”.

Unat (1979) makes a point about the girls educated by European governess that; they were in the desire of getting more independence just like in French and English literature. These European governesses did not only teach foreign language but also defined a different culture and manner then they transferred it, in doing so they introduced a new understanding of life concept.

In 1875, some of the girls from elite families adopted themselves in a different sense of understanding and perspective for attending American College for girls and many other foreign schools. The disappointing and depressing sense of polygamy mostly occurred among these groups of women. Halide Edip Adivar exists as a good example of these educated women. His father who was working as a minister in Bursa paid great attention to his daughters education. Since he was a great admirer of English education style and English culture, his ideal for his daughter was to bring her up just like an English. So Halide Edip Adivar was brought up under the great influence of her English governesses (Enginün 1978).

Selma Ekrem who is Namık Kemal’s grandchild gives quite detailed information about her governess in her memorial novel. The governess, Mademoiselle Lucy starts living in their konak in order to teach French to the children in the konak. The author was nearly 4 or 5 years old and did not know French except for a few words. Lucy would teach French to Ekrem’s sister and meanwhile Ekrem would pick up some French. One of the rooms of the konak was prepared for the governess to stay alone.

Through the time, the governess becomes a member of the family. Being a Catholic she does not only teach French but also reflects the Christian culture. The French Christmas song taught by Lucy can clearly identify the cultural reflections. “Was born the blessed boy. How nice and cute he is...” (Ekrem 1930/1998: 72). The governess becomes so close to the family and accepted as such a respected member of the family that the father Ali Ekrem Bey decides to keep her with them when he is appointed to Jerusalem and they take the governess with them. The governess shares nearly every minute of her life with the girls in which the communication is realised in French.

The role and the impact of governesses on the education system of the children began to be discussed with the appearance of these people on the duty. People could not reach a consensus on whether these foreign governesses could achieve the upbringing and education of the children or not. This argument created a chaos. Though people were against the traditional type of education, they began to question this modern education. One of the issues argued about most was the alienation of those children who were educated by foreign governesses. It was said that as a result of being exposed to foreign culture, the children under the influence of governesses became alienated in terms of their wearing style, behaviours.

Fahrinusa Hanım points at the question of governess in one of her articles. In her article she criticises the type of education provided by governesses. She claims that each nation has its own understanding of education and none of them matches each other. Moreover, she identifies them as a bunch of vulgar creatures who are incapable of working in their own country. In fact she does not oppose to foreign language education but she is extremely against those who learn language in order to make use of it while shopping in Beyoglu.

2. Tanzimat Period, Turkish Novel and Westernization

The last century of the Ottoman Empire is known as the period of reforms. Though the main intention establishing these reforms seem to be the modernization of the army, 19th century statesmen were fully aware of the necessity of modernization process as a whole which in their opinion should cover also the fields of law, finance and administration. The desire of the 19th century reformists was a happy and secure atmosphere in which the Ottoman people would live. When the air of change starts to dominate a society, not only the expected fields but also the unexpected ones are affected. European civilisations became a model for the Ottoman society in the fields of military, finance and administration, as well as in culture, literature and daily life.

The emergence of a new vision of Ottoman society that was informed by Western ideas of “civilisation” was observed. The diffusion of this force became visible through a range of social action, from the adaptation of modes of Western behaviour, such as clothing made in European fashion, top hats, fancy canes, pet dogs, piano lessons, operas, dances and ball to the eventual employment of Western literary forms such as the novel, short story and newspaper and the print culture is introduced. Literary topics include such ideas as the new conception of new individual, the idea of freedom, women’s rights, social justice, education abroad, fashion and foreign languages and often criticised types of incorrect westernization.

The importance of knowing an European language was one of the issues considered very important in this period. It was suggested that to reach the European culture, one must learn an European culture and French language gained prominence. The reason was French was the language of instruction in the Western-style schools of Muslims and minorities. Since language gains such importance the Ottoman families especially the wealthy ones encouraged their children to learn a foreign language. In order to achieve this they either sent their children to schools where they could learn a foreign language or hired private tutors or governesses.

As said above literature was one of the fields affected by the Tanzimat regulation. Different types of literary forms appeared. The first Turkish novel was written in 1872 and the other novels followed it. For the purpose of this study novels were examined among these literary forms having in mind that novels reflect very well the socio-economic structure of a country and the changes in the structure. Especially for historians, the novels are important resources. Since governesses appear especially in Tanzimat Period, the novels written that time are of great importance and they are the only resources available from where we can get information about governesses and their role in the Ottoman society.

2.1. Governesses as Transferors of Language and Culture

When we have a look at the governess characters in the novels written between 1870 and 1923 we see different types of governesses neither of whom resembles the other. In general we know that the main reason behind the professional choices of governesses was to earn a living and to provide accommodation. Having fun and pursuing adventure were not

prioritised as the conditions of the Ottoman society would make it almost impossible for a foreign woman to survive thus. Being a governess, therefore, was a promising way of making a living on Ottoman land. These women were made use of in looking after children, teaching them foreign languages and how to play the piano. Inevitably, however, they reflected aspects of their own cultural build-ups as they were carrying on their duties. Although their aims are nearly the same all these governesses differ in personality. The following examples are given in an attempt to exemplify how they reflect their language and culture and how they are perceived by the other characters in the novels.

The governess Anjel in Gürpınar's (1899/1976) **Mürebbiye** is an exception to the common governess type. She starts off with the prospect of making a living but finds it an even better prospect to seduce the men of the household. As the details of her life are given, she is seen as a woman prostituting in France. After she comes to İstanbul, her partner Monsieur Maksim follows her. As he carries on with his business affairs, Anjel continues her prostitution only to be caught with a young Greek boy by Maksim one day. Anjel is left all by herself. The French family she consults finds her the position of a governess at Dehri household. Anjel thinks it is best to rest there a while, earn some money but most importantly, find a good accommodation. After settling, however, she is back to her old self and cannot help seducing the men of the household. This, she makes her purpose, planning to double the money she is there to earn. Dehri Efendi, who employed Anjel to teach his two children French, soon finds himself attracted to her and is seen coming out of the wardrobe in Anjel's room at the end of the novel. Although it is not explicitly stated in the novel, it is hinted that the main reason why Anjel remained as a part of the household was not how well she taught the children- but how much she appealed to the men. A good incident to exemplify this is the two children's conjugation of the verbs "aimer" and "adorer"- verbs "to love" and "to adore". Although only a month has passed after Anjel joined the household, the children can conjugate these two verbs. And this they learned not from Anjel herself but Şemi and Sadri - the two men who are infatuated by her!

In **Aşk-I Memnu** by Uşaklıgil (1900/1975), Mademoiselle de Courton, the governess, is an unmarried woman from a noble family. It is after her father dies that she makes a choice to live with a relative and teach their children meanwhile. For some unknown reason she leaves them and takes up the post of a governess in a Greek household in Pera. So her life on Ottoman land begins. It is obvious that she is not formally trained to be a teacher but she is employed by Adnan Bey to teach his two children French. Her motive in taking up this post is to learn to live like a Turk in a Turkish household and she becomes an indispensable part of the household as she spends a lot of time with the children and shares everything with them. She teaches them how to play the piano and reads them stories by Alexander Dumas. She keeps them busy together: while working on translation and poetry with Nihal, the elder sister, she gives Bülent, the younger brother, verbs to conjugate. When that is done, she shifts her attention and teaches Bülent as Nihal plays the piano or does her embroidery.

In Adivar's (1910/1987) **Sevviye Talip**, the governess of Sevviye is described. The main character of the novel, Fahir, talks about his friend Sevviye and her governess (pp. 28-29): "She had a skinny governess with glasses who wore thick-sole shoes. After she (Sevviye) finished her lesson, she would run to Numan's garden. I think she disliked books and serious stuff because sometimes when her governess called for her she wouldn't want to leave her playing and would just throw a very casual "yes, yes"... But she would always surrender to this skinny old lady and drag her feet like an obedient lamb." Sevviye is raised by a governess and years later she is talked about for her English at a party. There are mademoiselles at the party and they all speak English. Fahir talks of Sevviye as "being brought up in that language".

In **Muhadarat** by Fatma Aliye (1892/1996), Fazıla and her little brother Şefik lose their mother. Upon their father's remarrying, they receive harsh treatment from the step mother who sacks the kind-hearted governess. The new governess who is employed continues the bad treatment in order to gain the favor of the mistress of the house. Meanwhile Fazıla is seen advancing in her French. She works very hard in drawing and playing the piano to please her governess. When she becomes seventeen she claims the responsibility of her younger brother, so the cruel governess is sent away. The newly employed governess makes friends with Fazıla and her brother. Fazıla shares all her secrets with her and when they become ill, the governess Josephine is seen as the only person caring for them - even crying at their bedsides. As Fazıla is brought up with a governess until she is seventeen, she communicates with Josephine in fluent French. She is also said to speak and write very good French.

In Tepeyran's (1910/1984) **Küçük Paşa**, Suat Paşa decides to raise Salih as if his own son and finds a governess to teach the child French when he reaches the age of seven. The governess, Alexandrin de Bujiye, is a twenty-year-old girl. A year later, however, the reason for her stay as a part of the household changes: Suat Paşa dies and his wife tells her that Salih will be sent back to the village. Although Alexandrin is worried about the boy's return to the village, she is told that she will remain there for other reasons. She is asked to assist the mistress of the house, Naime, teaching her good looks and what fine things to choose from Pera. Naime therefore calls her "not Salih's governess but her dear friend". Salih is said to have learned very little from Alexandrin in the course of a year's studying (counting upto a hundred, months, days and a few words concerning food and drink), but this is mostly because of her extra obligation to assist the Naime.

In **Metres** by Gürpınar (1900/1982), governess Madame Krike is hired in order to teach Rıfkı good manners. His father, Hami Bey, having had bad examples of governesses in his own childhood, decides to test Madame Krike. Seeing her annoyed response, however, decides that it is best that she should teach Rıfkı. He leaves all his education in her hands. The novel highlights how a governess is trained and what her ideas are on education - not how she teaches a foreign language. Hami Bay asks Madame Krike what she would do if the child lacks interest and motivation to study. She replies that the foremost duty of a governess is to analyse the intelligence, talent and character of the child and to find a suitable method. If the child is mischievous and lazy, his attention must be directed to the lesson and it must be made sure that he enjoys the lesson. If his intellectual capacity is not sufficient, however, it is difficult to remedy. Little Refik learns a few words from Madame Krike, who does not speak any Turkish and tells her mother all the thanking words he learned from her.

In **Mai ve Siyah** by Uşaklıgil (1897/1942), Ahmet Cemil goes to Taksim Park and describes it. The first thing about the park is an old English governess sitting under a blue umbrella under a tree and two children playing in the sand. Nearby, are the similarly dressed two girls with hats playing with loops. It is not known whose governess she is. The fact is that governesses were a common sight.

In Adivar's (1909/1982) **Raik'in Annesi**, the main character of the novel, Sirat, reflects his thoughts on governesses as he looks at the governess and the two children who walk in front of him. He compares the governess to a barrel and the children to puppets. The governess is apparently French; she speaks to the children in French. Sirat gets very angry when he spots a traditionally dressed Turkish woman getting out of a car and children calling her "mama". He believes that the language should be learnt but the Turkish identity should not be forgotten. He is revealed as a person tied to the social values of his community.

In **Sergüzeşt** by Samipaşazade Sezai, (1899/1999) the French governess of Tesliye Hanım is revealed as an interesting type. She is a character living in İstanbul for more than a decade but she doesn't speak more than two words and a sentence in Turkish. Yet, she attempts to teach everyone her own language. There is no statement concerning the reasons of

her being in the household or how she is teaching. The mistress of the house asks her to also teach the concubine Dilber. It is not clear how she teaches her but Dilber is seen reading French books. She reaches the level that she can read French novels and she is moved when she is reading Paul and Virginie.

In **Kiralık Konak** by Karaosmanoğlu (1922/1994), Server Bey is seen as a Western-oriented man who can do anything to be Westernised. Madame Kronschi is the governess of the household. She is very keen on playing poker and wants to be rich. She tells Seniha that she is from a wealthy family in her country, that she had great fun in various places in Europe and that she lost a considerable amount of money in Monte Carlo. Thus, she is one of those people responsible for Seniha's running abroad and leading an extraordinary life. Seniha's French is said to be very good. The telegraph she sends Hakkı Celis is also written in French (she tells him she is in Trieste and that she will go to Vienna the next day and spend fifteen days there). It is clearly seen that she can use French more easily than Turkish.

In Adıvar's (1912/1968) **Handan**, Refik Cemal writes to Server that he is about to marry one of Cemal Bey's "westernised" daughters. They live in the big house on Kuzguncuk hill. Refik goes on to describe the girls with their free conduct and their fast English.

In **Nesl-i Ahir** by Uşaklıgil (1909/1990), Süleyman Nüzhet is a member of a distinguished İstanbul family. Having been raised by a French governess especially brought from France, he studied at "Mekteb-i Sultani" and was sent to Kondorse High School in Paris. The foundation of his very good French was undoubtedly given to him by his governess.

Süleyman Nüzhet talks about two girls in the novel: Mücella and Seniye. These girls were first dressed up like dolls, taken around with the companionship of a French governess and read fables of La Fontaine. Everything (the French language, their ability to draw and play music) was reflected more than its real value to these girls, so they were confused. What is emphasized here is the clash of values. These girls are stuck between the Eastern culture and that of the West and losing their nationalistic feelings, they settled in France. Süleyman Nüzhet, who himself was brought up by a governess, does not like governesses, believing that they spoil children by influencing them by their own foreign cultures. One day Süleyman Nüzhet goes to a patisserie and he sees a girl with her governess there. The girl seems to be flirting with an officer and he thinks to himself this is a method of flirtation seen very often and these governesses are a new wound of the city.

3. Conclusion

It is clearly seen that novel was the best type of instrument that provided the readers with information about social life, freedom of a person and his place in the society, European ideas, the education of young people and the education of women in Tanzimat Period. It is also seen that the issue of governess was one of the topics dealt with in the novels. Different types of governesses were observed in the novels. Although their main aim to work as a governess at houses was nearly the same (which is to teach the language), there were some who had different purposes. Anjel was one of them. All she desired for was money and to be with men. Despite the fact that Anjel was not a perfect type, Mademoiselle de Courton appeared as a symbol of virtue and Mademoiselle de Bujiye seemed to be a perfect caretaker for poor Salih. On the other side the French governess of Tesliye Hanım was introduced as a very nationalistic person to the readers. As seen above each governess had a different impact on the children they lived with.

As a result we can safely say that all these governesses as reflected in the novels affected the children under their care either positively or negatively while teaching the language and while doing so they imposed upon their culture. Today we know that only a minority of rich people ask for governesses to employ at their homes but it is not as popular as it used to be. The reason of this can be said to be the emergence of a number of schools where foreign language education is given and private tutoring in terms of private tutors is still seen.

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