

THE STIGMA OF THE FALLEN WOMAN IN THE NOVELS OF *JUDE THE
OBSCURE* AND *YERYÜZÜNDE BİR MELEK*

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

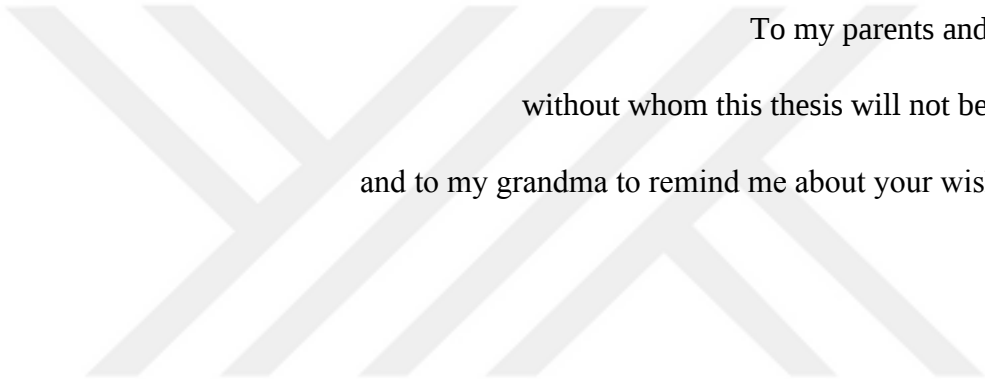
Regardless of the cultural differences, the 19th century Victorian England and Tanzimat Period in Ottoman Empire had similar expectations from women. The two novelists from these two countries, Thomas Hardy and Ahmet Mithat Efendi, had critical attitude towards such expectations. Thus they created socially unacceptable but acceptable for them heroines. Afterall, for some Sue Bridehead is Hardy's main focus and similarly for Ahmet Mithat Raziye is still an angel. The reason why these two heroines are unacceptable for the society's of their days is intriguing. Considering all these, the aim of this thesis is to discuss these two heroines through the lens of stigma of the fallen woman so that why these heroines experience exclusion may be discussed. While doing this Erving Goffman's ideas regarding stigma along with Stafford&Scott's arguments on how stigma and norms are related; and Link&Phelan's writing on stigma and its connection to negative stereotypes will be used.

Key Words: Victorian England, Tanzimat Era, Erving Goffman, stigma, fallen women, Sue Bridehead, Raziye

ÖZET

Kültürel farklılıklarına rağmen 19. yüzyıl Viktorya İngilteresi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı toplumu kadınlardan benzer şeyleri beklemektedir. Bu iki ülkenin yazarları Thomas Hardy ve Ahmet Mithat Efendi bu beklentileri eleştirir ve dolayısıyla toplum tarafından kabul görmeyen ama kendilerince kabul edilebilir kadın karakterler yaratırlar. Ne de olsa bazı eleştirmenlere göre Thomas Hardy'nin odağı Sue Bridehead'dir ve Ahmet Mithat da Raziye'ye melek demekten geri kalmaz. Bu iki kadın karakterin neden kendi zamanlarında norm dışı görüldüğü ilgi çekicidir. Bütün bunları göz önünde bulundurarak, bu tez bu iki karakteri düşmüş kadın damgası ile incelemeyi amaçlar. Böylelikle neden bu kadın karakterlerin dışlanmaya maruz kaldığı anlaşılabilir. Bu incelemede Erving Goffman'ın stigma hakkındaki fikirleri ve Stafford&Scott'ın norm ve stigma arasındaki ilişkiyi hakkındaki argumanları ve Link&Phelan'ın stigma ve olumsuz stereotip hakkındaki çalışmaları kullanılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Viktorya İngilteresi, Tanzimat Dönemi, Erving Goffman, damga, düşmüş kadın, Sue Bridehead, Raziye



To my parents and my family
without whom this thesis will not be here today
and to my grandma to remind me about your wish always...

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1.....	7
1.1. Historical Background of the Victorian Era.....	7
1.2. Historical Background of the Tanzimat Reform Era.....	18
CHAPTER 2: Theory of Stigma.....	29
CHAPTER 3: The Stigma of the Fallen Woman in Hardy's Sue Bridehead.....	39
CHAPTER 4: The Stigma of the Fallen Woman in <i>Yeryüzünde Bir Melek</i>	60
CONCLUSION.....	79
REFERENCES.....	84

INTRODUCTION

Human beings have always thought about and discussed the society they are part of, from as early as ancient Greece, continuing throughout the Enlightenment Period and up until today. The discussion has varied upon issues such as how society came into being, whether it is necessary, its components, and, later on, its effects on the individuals and vice versa, and so on. Even today, the extend of the effects of society on the individual remains quite a vast question, and continues to be dealt with by many of the social sciences.

Society, as etymonline (2023) notes, is etymologically rooted in the Latin word *societam*, standing for “fellowship”, “community”, etc. and, at the same time, this root word is thought to be associated with the word “to follow” (n.p.). The etymology of the word reveals one of the crucial qualities of society; it is a gathering of people that ‘follow’ each other in the sense of sharing the same ideals, beliefs, etc. Of course, societies include more than that, but it may be said that following the same thing, meaning sharing the same ideals, thoughts, life-styles, etc., is important in keeping the members of a society together. Furthermore, maybe just because of our social nature, as beings that have been so long part of a group, humans cannot escape feeling the *need to belong* that Baumeister&Leary (1995) acknowledge as something “fundamental [and universal]” (p.500). However, history has always witnessed misfitting, non-belonging characters and societies have always found ways to discriminate against them, which will be discussed further below. Misfit characters also became the main characters of literary works, such as *Madame Bovary*, *Hester Prynne*, and so on.

This thesis, similarly, plans to focus on two misfit heroines and the inevitable discrimination they suffer. In order to provide a common ground for discussion both novels were selected from the 19th century, however, in order to provide diversity, the two novels were taken from two different countries; Victorian England and the Tanzimat period Ottoman Empire. When Thomas Hardy wrote *Jude the Obscure* in 1895 it created controversy mostly because of its supposedly obscene heroine, Sue Bridehead. Ahmet Mithat Efendi’s novel *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek* (1878) received a similar critical reaction because of it dealt with the love of a married woman, whom he did not avoid calling an angel, for another man.

Both authors, at the same time, are known for their critical attitudes towards the position of women and the marital customs of their days; thus it is no surprise that they created socially misfitting but, for them, acceptable heroines. *Jude the Obscure*, as will be discussed further, focuses on a heroine who defies what society expects from her and, for Hardy, when this is the case it is society which proves to be victorious (Mallah, 2015, p.64). Ahmet Mithat's novel on the other hand, is also about a misfitting heroine but her exclusion, as will be further discussed, is thought to have been included as a "punishment mechanism", showing that Ahmet Mithat was aware of the potential criticisms of his novel (Ekici, 2019, p.32). On this basis, this thesis aims to discuss the exclusion of Raziye and Sue through the lens of the stigma of the fallen woman. In this context, throughout this thesis, Erving Goffman's idea of stigma and Stafford&Scott's, and Link&Phelan's articles will guide the discussion.

This thesis is divided into four main parts; the historical background, a theoretical discussion, followed by a two separate chapters on literary analysis of these two novels and the conclusion.

Since this thesis focuses on two misfit heroines, first, one has to acknowledge what was considered as normal for women, in other words what was expected from them, back in the 19th century. Thus, the historical background aims to deal with what the expectations, fitting qualities, or norms for women were. Moreover, since this thesis deals with two different cultures, this chapter is divided into two sub-chapters on the Victorian Era in England and the Tanzimat Era in the Ottoman Empire. However, rather than a sharp division between the two, it is hypothesised that there will be some similarities between the norms of female behaviour in the Tanzimat Era and the Victorian Era. The first half of the historical background chapter will discuss, then, the social position of, and expectations of, women in Victorian England, including the influence of Queen Victoria herself and the concept of 'Angel in the house'. Furthermore, the position of women, how they are treated and the expectation for them to be selfless and silent, will be exemplified through some legal regulations mainly from Francoise Basch's book *Relative Creatures: Victorian Women in Society and the Novel 1837-67*. The expectations from Victorian women drew the attention of later writers, including Virginia Woolf and Gubar&Gilbert, who exhibit a critical tone regarding the issue, and whose work will be used to explore the issue further. A further

point of discussion will be whether those demands and expectations may be found in depictions of fictional characters as well.

With the second half of the chapter, the focus will shift to the Tanzimat Era in the Ottoman Empire. First, an introduction to the era will be given because Tanzimat means meeting, or more precisely, welcoming the new and adapting to it. This novelty touched upon the daily lives of people, including the institution of the family and the position of women. This sub-chapter will thus survey the extent to which the ideal Tanzimat wife is similar to the Victorian ‘Angel in the House’. Again, to exemplify how women were seen, legal regulations will be touched upon. For the discussion, the ideas of Şemsettin Sami, a novelist and an unconventional pioneering figure who supported advances in women’s position, are also referred. In an attempt to deepen the understanding of the position of Tanzimat women. Furthermore, it must be emphasised that novelists of the age aspired to educate the masses, therefore, like Şemsettin Sami, they were concerned about the daily lives of the common people, including the position of women. In addition, it must be noted that, for this sub-chapter, some Turkish sources which do not have English translations will be used, and I will thus have to translate them.

The theory chapter, is dedicated to a detailed discussion of the theoretical framework of this thesis, and thus focuses on stigma and the questions of what it is, how it occurs, why it occurs, and its origins. The origins of stigma are thought to be ancient, and lie in the seemingly unbreakable tie between the individual and the society they form part of. However, at the same time, it must be noted that stigma is not an easy term to define and, thus, has an inevitably ambiguous nature. In order to compensate for this ambiguity, the historical background chapters are planned to provide a common ground by emphasizing the similar expectancies imposed upon women.

As will be discussed, stigma has many definitions. However, among these definitions, the theory chapter, primarily focuses on Goffman’s approach to stigma. It will be further discussed in a more detailed fashion, but to put it simply here, Goffman (1963) noted that when one does not meet the other person’s expectations, or the “virtual social identity” created in the mind of the other person, there is stigma (p.12). His definition of stigma, at the same time, provides an explanation of how and why stigma occurs. Goffman’s ideas were developed by Stafford & Scott, who believe that

stigma and deviancy are closely linked, thus, their ideas are also useful for exploring the stigmatisation of deviant heroines. Of course, to discuss deviance one needs to discuss norms first, and so the theory chapter will also focus on norms. Finally, Link&Phelan's idea of how stigma is integrated with negative stereotypes is also explored because, as the historical discussions put forward in this thesis predict, the heroines are prone to be labelled as fallen women. Moreover, Link&Phelan (2001) explain some of the "components" of stigma (p.367).

Considering all the information regarding the historical background, what was expected from women, and the theoretical framework on stigma and how it occurs, its elements and so on, the literary analysis chapters aim to analyze the two heroines through the lens of the ideas explained above. Just like the historical background, since the thesis aims to discuss two novels, the literary analysis is divided into two individual chapters: titled 'The Stigma of The Fallen Woman in Hardy's Sue Bridehead' and 'The Stigma of Fallen Woman in Yeryüzünde Bir Melek'. In the first title I prefer to state the character's name because, as the chapter about this novel predicts, Sue plays a crucial role in the novel's timelessness and, moreover, there are even references indicating that she, in fact, should be the main focus of the book. For Ahmet Mithat's book, however, I prefer to state the title of the book rather than the character's name because I wanted to highlight that, despite her unacceptable actions, Raziye, as the author himself said, is an angel. As in the historical background chapter, in this chapter references to the previous chapter will also be made so that a bridge between the two novels may be created.

The literary analysis dealing with *Jude the Obscure* will include a brief summary of the book first so that addressing when Sue is excluded and when she carries out those unconventional behaviours may be easier. However, rather than discussing Sue Bridehead with all of her qualities, the chapter aims to focus on what makes her different from conventional Victorian women. Hardy (2002) had a critical approach regarding some of the marital customs of his day, which may be seen for example in his comparing marriage to a duty or "a sordid contract" as will be discussed in this chapter in detail (p.201). Aside from that, though, Hardy presents his readers with misfit characters and wonders what would happen if they were "unable to" fulfill society's expectations (Singer, 2001, p.iii). In fact, it is these misfit characters which make this novel a timeless classic, as such individuals were and still are part of societies, so they

are relatable to readers in any time and place. It may be said, in other words, that those misfit characters provide Hardy's novel with durability and universality and thus research into these questions proves to be crucial.

In this light, this chapter aims to discuss why Sue Bridehead is a deviant heroine. In this, discussion, the ideas noted in the theoretical framework will be used. Historically speaking, it will be put forward that any woman who displays deviant behaviour, like Sue Bridehead, might be named a fallen woman and, therefore, as a deviant heroine herself. In order to deepen this discussion, along with Goffman's ideas, the chapter avails itself of Stafford&Scott's article linking norms and stigma, and Link&Phelan's article, dealing with negative stereotypes and stigma. In this way, a basis will be constituted for the exclusion and disvaluation scenes, the inevitable end of deviant characters, as Goffman predicted. Besides, Goffman argued that people who are close to the deviant individuals are also prone to have their share of exclusion and disvaluation, and so, if there are any, those characters will also be noted. Briefly, this chapter aims to focus on Sue Bridehead, a misfit heroine marking this novel as a timeless classic, and discusses why she is a deviant heroine as well as its consequences, in other words her exclusion and disvaluation.

The other chapter of the literary analysis focuses on Raziye and her exclusion scenes. The novel has not been translated into English, therefore I have translated the quotations from the book and similarly, I have translated some of the Turkish secondary sources as well. Compared to *Jude the Obscure*, *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek* is a less known novel and, as mentioned above, since it does not have a translated version into English, it remains unknown to non-Turkish speakers. Considering this, a more detailed summary of *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek* is provided. Additionally, it is thought to be beneficial to discuss how the Ottomans encountered novel genre, and a bit of information on the writing style of the author is also given. Just like Thomas Hardy, Ahmet Mithat Efendi also had a critical attitude regarding the marital customs of his day and his approach, as will be further noted, is reflected in his novel. His novel, likewise, was exposed to many criticisms back in his day primarily because it deals with a married woman's affair and, moreover, rewards her with a happy ending, while he even refers to her as an angel. However, in one part of the book Raziye appears as a poor laundry lady and, of course, her exclusion prior to her decline into poverty, for some, may be taken as an indication of Ahmet Mithat's awareness of the potential

criticisms and thus his “punishment” of his heroine (Ekici, 2019, p.32). Thus, her exclusion, which this chapter focuses on, merits the reader’s attention and deserves to be discussed. Considering the historical background of Tanzimat Period, Raziye similarly will be compared to what is expected from her and thus what marks her as different, leading others to exclude her. Just like Sue Bridehead, she is also prone to being labelled as a fallen woman and thus, just like her, she is expected to experience some sort of exclusion and disvaluation. It is thought that the questions regarding Raziye’s exclusion, such as why she is excluded and the process of her exclusion, may be deepened through Goffman’s idea of stigma, and, again, with Link&Phelan’s article linking negative stereotypes with stigma, and Stafford&Scott’s article linking norms and stigma. In accordance with this thesis’ comparative aim, the discussions in this chapter will include some references to *Jude the Obscure*. Moreover similarly to the discussion of Hardy’s novel again, those characters close to Raziye and whether they are also excluded are explored. At the same time, some differences and similarities will be noted¹. Following this, a concise comparison of the two novels will be attempted in the conclusion chapter.

¹ While comparing, the genetic and typological methods are considered.

CHAPTER 1

1.1. Historical Background of the Victorian Era

The 19th century was a heavily loaded era for Europe. It was the time when the Europeans witnessed the famous Napoleonic Wars, revolutions, political unrests, emancipation in America, along with advancements in science, medicine, and technology. The 19th century for England coincides with the long reign of Queen Victoria, a rich period in British history which includes prominent incidents such as the Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Act of 1832, the Chartist Movement, the Emancipation Act, the Factory Act, and so on. Regarding social life, the effects of the harmful results of the Industrial Revolution were evident, so that even though mass production provided benefits economically to the country, poor working conditions and child labour, and even hunger because of the poor income of working people followed the Revolution. Thomas Carlyle regarding this “paradox” of the Era said: “England is full of wealth... of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind; yet England is dying of inanition” (Black&Conolly, 2006, p.xxxvi). More and more “the gap” between the working-class and the middle-class expanded (Balkaya, 2015, p.1). The truth is, this deep social problem drew the attention of many novelists, so much that so that it created the sub-genre of the Victorian Novel called “the social problem novel” or “the Condition of England Novel” (Balkaya, 2015, p.1), including Elizabeth Gaskell’s *Mary Barton*, Charles Dickens’s *Hard Times*, Charlotte Brontë’s *Shirley*, and so on (Diniejko, 2014, para. 3)². In *Mary Barton*, after the fire in the factory the Carson family are not that affected by “the loss of production”; however, one of the workers has to pay for this with his life because losing his job resulted in hunger and “poor sanitary conditions” (Dressler, 2003, para.9). As Dickens (2007) famously put it, albeit in a different context, “it was the best of times, it was the worst of the times” (p.76): The factories promised rapid mass-production and thus much money in could be made in less time, however, the working classes had to pay the debt with poor working conditions, and child labour. Regarding child labour, Elizabeth Barret Browning, gave voice to children in her touching poem “The Cry Of The Children”, reminding the reader that Victorian children are children after all and so they are yearning to play, run, and simply entertain themselves outside, but they are confined to the factories. In nature

² The examples are inspired from <https://victorianweb.org/genre/diniejko.html>

every “young” living thing enjoys their youth, “But the young, young children” are “weeping bitterly.... in the playtime of others” and their “young feet are very weak” to bare such heavy working conditions (“The Cry of the Children”, 2023, n.p.). They feel so weary that, pitifully, they believe the graveyard will hopefully be their time of rest. Browning, towards the end of the poem, asks, through the voice of these children again: “how long, O cruel nation,/ Will you stand, to move the world, on a child’s heart...” (“The Cry of the Children”, 2023, n.p.)³.

On the intellectual side, though, there were numerous brand new scientific ideas and advancements in medicine and technology. Some of these discoveries in geology and biology, however, caused distress among religious circles. Geological discoveries proved that the earth is much older than the religious authorities had suggested and similarly Darwin’s famous notion about the evolution of mankind created chaos. Regarding social life, earnestness and prudery were dominant. In none of the Queen’s portraits might a smile be seen, while her famous motto *we are not amused* is ringing in our ears still today. Moreover, unlike previous ages, sexuality turned out to be a taboo, resulting as far as covering the piano legs because of their potential to make one think of women’s legs and using “white meat” or “dark meat” to refrain from using the word “breast” at the dinner table (Coontz, 2005, p.177). Furthermore, according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2022), even the term “Victorian” still preserves its “prudish” meaning in the 21st century (n.p.). The country was expanding its borders, flourishing under the reign of a queen but women were confined to domestic space. And in the case of prudery; on the one hand, there is this staunch repression of sexuality, on the other, there is the vast number of brothels on the streets. This duality in sexuality attracted the attention of a later generation philosopher, Michel Foucault, so that in his famous work *History of Sexuality*, he writes that it was with the Victorian bourgeoisie that “the bright day[s]”, “when bodies made a display of themselves”, came to an end and, again, it was with the Victorian Era that sexuality was confined to the “conjugal” household and moreover solely to the married couples’ bedroom (Foucault, 1978, p.3). People refrained from talking about sexuality, creating the image of there was “nothing to see, nothing to know” about it (Foucault, 1978, p.4). But Foucault (1978) highlights that “the hypocrisy” lies in the fact that if there is “nothing” to talk, see, or know, then why one could not say breast on the dinner table, why there was this need to cover the

³ <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/43725/the-cry-of-the-children>

piano legs? (p.4) Apparently, the more it was repressed, the more people talked about its unspeakability whether in words or in their actions.

Similarly, when it comes to the word “Victorianism”, Mitchell (2009) stresses that the term is “ambiguous” since it stands for more than simple prudery (p.xiii). The term includes “exploitation and class division, sexual repression, hypocrisy [as Foucault emphasized], values of hard work and self-help, moral certainties about family life” (Mitchell, 2009, p.xiii). It is an enlargeable term, and the fact that the period covered approximately sixty years does not help to create a concise discussion of it. However, regarding the topic of this thesis, and in order to provide a well-coordinated historical background again about the topic, the position of women in the Victorian Era will be the main focus of this sub-chapter.

It is interesting how an era ruled by a woman, a queen, who cannot be confined to the domestic sphere to rule after all, puts such pressure on women. However, Queen Victoria was not an ordinary monarch. In fact, after reading Arildsen's article on the subject one is ready to believe that along with establishing her political power, Victoria “represented a very conservative role of women” and, moreover, she supported it (Arildsen, 2018, p.21). Even though Victoria established herself as a powerful monarch, Arildsen (2018) noted, in one of her letters, she writes that “We women are not made for governing –and if we are good women, we must dislike these masculine occupations” (p.22). Similarly, in another letter, she elevated her “utmost joy in being married”, and she adds that “What I can do to make him [Prince Albert] happy will be my greatest delight” (Arildsen, 2018, p.21). Following the social customs regarding the subordinate position of a wife, the queen “had insisted” to keep “the word obey” in her wedding vow (Arildsen, 2018, p. 21). Later, she crowned her marriage by becoming the mother of nine children. In fact, her motherhood exceeded the boundaries of her family; she became known as “the mother of the Empire” (Arildsen, 2018, p.23). However, the ideal family's picture of happiness came to an end with the early decease of Victoria's beloved husband. To prove her loyalty as a widow, Victoria never wore any other colour than black for the rest of her life. Picturing the ideal domestic wife, Victoria influenced and moreover became the exemplary figure of how a wife should be. In the light of this, it is no surprise that Coventry Patmore's poem became the best seller of the time. Patmore's first wife, Emily Augusta, was the inspiration for his depiction of the heroine Honoria, more famously known as the “Angel in the House”

(Roberts, 2014, p.101). Patmore believed that the subordination of women is “a law of nature” (Roberts, 2014, p.102). Furthermore, for Patmore, women have the “excellent privilege of subordination” while men enjoy the “ennobling responsibility as a chief” (Roberts, 2014, p.101). His ideas echo Queen Victoria’s belief regarding women not being created for governing as discussed above. But even though we, 21st century readers, have doubts regarding the issue, what Patmore defended was a common belief for most of the people in England back then. The outside world was “hostile and impure” and while fighting with such a harsh atmosphere men needed a place to be in peace (Basch, 1974, p.7). Feminine qualities were already linked with the domestic sphere, and while it was considered men’s duty to fight outside, it was women’s part to create such a peaceful and secure place that one could refer to it as heaven on earth. It was the wife’s duty to keep the home as pure and holy as possible. It is almost like she built and tried to do her best to preserve this ‘sacred temple’ for her husband and, of course, later for her children. Gilbert&Gubar (2000) put it as follows: “a Victorian angel woman should be her husband’s holy refuge from the blood and sweat that inevitably accompanies a life of significant action” (p.24). Coventry Patmore (2014) added another quality expected of the wife. Along with creating and preserving this heaven-like place, “the Angel in the House” should “please” her man which would be her sole pleasure (canto ix). In the Canto, *The Wife’s Tragedy*, he writes: “Man must be pleased: but him to please/ Is woman’s pleasure...” (Patmore, 2014, canto ix).

Gilbert&Gubar (2000) deepen the discussion regarding the topic and they believe that the image has its source way back in the Middle Ages (p.20). The roots can be found in the image of Dante’s Beatrice who accompanies him to Heaven, and Milton, likewise, in his famous Sonnet XXIII describes his late second wife in a more than lifelike way (Gilbert&Gubar, 2000, p.20). In fact, some believe that the reason why he emphasized her angelic characteristic is because when Milton was married to her, he was blind, so, he could not recognize her physical features when she was alive (“Methought”, n.d., n.p.)⁴. Also, he sees her in a dream, in a non-realistic place, so the exaggeration of her qualities cannot be a surprise. Still, Gilbert&Gubar (2000) emphasize that she has “the celestial brightness of Mary” and also “the virginal purity of Beatrice” (p.20). They are later followed by Goethe, in *Wilhelm Meister’s Travels* (1821), he pictures Makarie as a “motionless lighthouse” shining in the dark world and

⁴ Taken from <https://sites.udel.edu/britlitwiki/methought-i-saw-my-late-espoused-saint/>

helping others, but, of course, while shining for others Gilbert & Gubar (2000) stress that she is selfless, “*she has no story of her own*” (p.22). That image is the closest one to Patmore’s ideal wife. As stressed previously, she is selfless; she pleases others, especially men, and, moreover, she does this in a silent and patient way. Patmore (2014) pictures this again in the same canto as: “While she, too gentle even to force/ His penitence by kind replies,/ Waits by, expecting his remorse,/ With pardon in her pitying eyes;/ And if he once, by shame oppress’d,/ A comfortable word confers,/ She leans and weeps against his breast,/ And seems to think the sin was hers;/...” (canto ix). Therefore, she is so selfless that she is ready to take on the burden of something she has never even committed. And she waits patiently for her husband to recover from the misery he is in, again silently and again caring for him in a motherly manner.

So far the theme of selflessness has been discussed regarding the role of a wife in the home, which made itself apparent as a duty or more precisely as a norm. The idea of women having no self can also be discussed with reference to their legal position. Basch (1974) recalling Reiss, quotes: “A woman, in law, belonged to the man she is married, she was his chattel” (p.17). On the one hand, Basch (1974) recognizes that such a principle unifies the husband and wife as one, however, she stresses the fact that the price is all paid by the female party (p.17). Referring to Reiss’ quotation Basch (1974) explains that according to the law the woman, even as a wife, could not escape “non-existence” (p.17). This idea started to be opposed in the 1850s because that situation “turn[s] her [the wife] into the powerless slave of a husband who might be guilty of desertion, adultery, and cruelty” (Basch, 1974, p.17). To sum up, the wife is open to any threats coming from her husband because she has no right to exist let alone to a voice of her own. The idea of her non-existence can be followed through several legal regulations. For example, up until 1844 as a chattel, the husband might even bond the woman to force her to live with him and until the 1870 A Married Woman’s Property Act, everything that belonged to a woman was given to the husband legally (Basch, 1974, p.22).

In addition to property, the man’s legal right of ownership made itself apparent in the fact that he was considered to own the children, whereas the mother was not even named. And in case of divorce women again were silenced. For example, a marriage might be dissolved because of adultery. When a man wished to dissolve his marriage because of his wife’s unfaithfulness, first he had to “tak[e] proceedings against the man

whom he accused of ‘criminal conversation’ with his wife” and it played a prominent role regarding the case (Basch, 1974, p.23). In such a scenario, as one can already assume, the woman’s dignity would be “at stake”, however, “a woman had neither the right to defend herself nor to summon witnesses” (Basch, 1974, p.24). Therefore, even in legal terms the woman lacked selfhood and was expected to remain self-less.

Years later Virginia Woolf (2008) defines her as “She was intensely sympathetic. She was immensely charming. She was utterly unselfish. She excelled in the difficult arts of family life. She sacrificed herself daily...in short she was so constituted that she never had a mind or a wish of her own, but preferred to sympathize always with the minds and wishes of others. Above all—I need not say it— she was pure” (titled. ‘Profesions for Women’). Later, Woolf notes that while she was writing the spirit of this angel visited her “whisper[ing]:... Be sympathetic; be tender; flatter; deceive; use all the arts and wiles of our sex. Never let anybody guess that you have a mind of your own. Above all, be pure.” (titled. Profesions for Women). Woolf, not content with her voice influencing her writing, kills her. However, regarding this quotation one of the impressions one might have is that this phantom willingly subordinates herself but, at the same time, she does this in order to deceive others. Thus, women are considered to have an unreliable nature; they can easily deceive especially by using their physical attraction. Women’s fickle nature takes its roots from the Story of the Fall of Adam and Eve and, of course, even before Christianity, the Greeks explained the creation of women through the story of Pandora. However, the second part of ‘Victorian Womanhood’s’ words regarding keeping her mind and thoughts secret from others refers to the idea that a woman here cannot be taken as a whole person who is present to comfort others physically but her mental faculties are denied by society. She could think and could speak as well, but, as discussed above, these are not what was expected from her. Just like the imagery of the lighthouse, she should be there physically for the others, for men, her husband precisely, and provide comfort.

The house also, according to Basch (1974) is “the outermost garment of her [pure] soul” (p.7), so her soul, then, is ready to be linked with the domestic sphere but where is her mind? As the Queen herself dictates, in the context of governing, thinking is for men. She says: “I am everyday more convinced..., that we women are to be good women, feminine and amiable and domestic, are not fitted to reign” (Black&Conolly, 2006, p. LII). In this quotation the emphasis on ‘good women’ deserves attention. If a

woman was feminine, amiable and domestic; she was a good one, meaning that if a woman failed to live up to any of these traits, she, then, was regarded as not good.

Similarly, what is interesting about Patmore's depiction of the angel is that in a way through picturing his heroine as such he condemns women to be either angels or demons. Roberts (2014) in his article on Patmore's close friend Hopkins quotes Sulloway and writes: "he seemed to admit only the possibility of... two roles for women, the unearthly woman... or the Medusa" (p.106). The same idea could be applicable to Patmore as well because if women are expected to be angels, those who refuse act as angels are basically demons. Similarly, Gilbert&Gubar explore this dichotomy. They believe that this "sweet heroine inside" the household, "like Honoria" creates an opposition with the "vicious bitch outside" (Gilbert&Gubar, 2000, p.29). Even the name Honoria, Patmore's heroine, deserves discussion here. Honoria, as Etymonline (2023) notes, is originally a Latin name and it is sharing the same root, *honos*, with the word honor. Honorius, the masculine counterpart of the name stands for the "man of reputation" (etymonline, 2023, n.p.)⁵. So, for Honoria, that would be *woman of reputation*. In a way even the name suggests that the women who deserve dignity, reputation, and honor are those like Honoria; pleasing their husbands, confined to the domestic sphere, selfless and obedient. Those who do not fit this description are not honored or more precisely do not deserve to be honored; they are the demons or "bitche[s]outside" (Gilbert&Gubar, 2000, p.29).

Basch (1974) notes that this angel image of women "the very ideal of mother and wife, source of all virtue and purity, appeared as a good conscience of Victorian society" (p.8). Notably, the Angel in the House became popular especially among the middle-classes, because for working-class women there was more to do than to deal with the purity of the house since they had to go out and work in the chaotic outside world. Still, a life without a husband would be troublesome for working-class women, so, this domestic attribute cannot help but turn into a "universal and transcendental" one (Basch, 1974, p.8). Therefore, it may be said that being a wife turned out to be the ultimate goal and expectation for women regardless of their social position. In other words, "marriage was seen as a woman's natural and expected role" and it "established her rank, role, duties, [and] social status along with creating a locus for a woman's

⁵ For the etymological trace of the word visit <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=honoria>

“comfort” and “physical safety” (Mitchell, 2009, 266-267-268). Etymonline (2023) notes that the word norm, having a Greek origin, comes from the word pattern and related to it the adjective normal stands for “conforming to common standards or established order” (n.p.)⁶. Thus, inferring from Mitchell’s quotation being a wife establishes itself as a norm as all the women were expected to follow the pattern as the root of the word dictates.

Legalizing the status of a woman as a wife and mother may be explained through the emphasis on the nuclear family as the foundation of the whole society. Lemmer (2007), quoting from Thompson, suggests that any crisis within the institution of the family could endanger the entire society according to the Victorians (p.47). Therefore, it can be said that “to the Victorians the family was a symbol of order, social stability, and progress” (Lemmer, 2007, p.47). Lemmer (2007), quoting Nead, notes that “the family was a unifying and universal norm and marriage was its conventional starting point” (p.47). Being a prominent core for the society, the family needed to be controlled and inspected by the state, thus it had to be legalized, and in an atmosphere where marriage was dignified, of course, premarital pregnancy “was regarded as a shame for women” (Richardson, 2014, titled.unmarried mothers). Even though “the stigma” of being an unmarried mother did not extend to unmarried or adulterous fathers, the “illegitimate child” was discriminated against just as the mother had to suffer discrimination “until the mid 20th century” (Richardson, 2014, titled.unmarried mothers). The baby and the mother thus became the “victims” of the situation (Richardson, 2014, titled.unmarried mothers). In sum, related to the norm of being a mother and a wife, it may be broadly put that the marriage establishes itself as a norm to legitimize procreation and having a family. Any woman who did not conform to the pattern could be easily included in the category of the fallen woman. In fact, Anderson (1993) adds unmarried women who had intercourse with other men, and “victims of seduction and adulteresses” to this category (p.2).

Remembering the chattel position of women in the legal sphere, discussed previously, and now with this categorization of women in society one cannot help but think about Luce Irigaray’s essay “Women on the Market”. The essay begins with a fundamental idea of society’s being founded “on the exchange of women” between

⁶ <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=norm>

men, which takes its roots from Claude Levi Strauss' ideas regarding the incest taboo (Irigaray, 1985, p.170). Strauss put forward that marrying someone blood related, a kin, is taboo, therefore, between two groups or families there is this relationship based on the exchange of girls, which eventually functions to create a bond between the two families. However, what needs to be remembered is that this give and take occurs between male parties; the father, or brother and the future husband to be. Thus, Irigaray (1985) recalls Strauss' idea at the very beginning by saying: "The society,..., is based upon the exchange of women" (p.170). She later adds a Marxist perspective to the discussion. A product could only be taken as a commodity when it is on the market, and on the market it has two types of values: the exchange value and the use value. Irigaray (1985) suggests that women are treated as commodities and exchanged among men regarding these two values, therefore, one of three "social roles are imposed on women": the mother, the virgin, and the prostitute (p.186). The virgin has "pure exchange value" and, after being given to a man, when she becomes the mother, she now has the use value; she is responsible for "child-rearing" and for "the domestic maintenance" (Irigaray, 1985, p.185-186). The prostitute, on the other hand, has both values. She satisfies men's desires, that is her use value, however, at the same time she does not have to be "enclosed in his [husband's] house,.. [as a] private property" unlike the mother (Irigaray, 1985, p.185). Therefore, she continues to be exchanged among men, meaning that she preserves her exchange value. She has this peculiar place, yet, she is tolerated. Following the premise of Irigaray, in patriarchal societies, and Victorian England was one of them, a woman could be categorized under these premises. Society does not provide another image, there is not a fourth part a woman might choose to pursue. If a woman was neither a virgin nor a mother, since society does not provide another role for her, she belongs to the category of prostitute after all. And, of course, as discussed previously, as an era elevating motherhood and 'purity', the third category is not favoured regarding the Victorian perspective, yet continued to exist for the functioning of the society.

After this brief introduction to the historical position of Victorian women, I believe it is beneficial to take a look at how women are represented in the novels of the time. The followers of reflection theory suppose that literature is intertwined with the society it is born into. Novels, literature in general, "reflects the society" they are part of (Albrecht, 1954, p.425). Following that premise, the Victorian novel might be said

to reflect the era. A well-known example would be Dicken's character in *Hard Times*, famous for his emphasis on facts. Moreover, in an amusing way, even his physical appearance gives the reader a clue regarding his fixed identity. Dickens introduces him as a man who has a "square forefinger", "square" clothing and basically has everything square (Dickens, 1985, p.10). His fixed character in a way represents the sternness of Victorian attitudes.

Going back to the representation of women though, the novels are full of "the taste for wedding bells, and the obsession with chastity" which lead the characters to the 'happily ever after', of course, as a married couple (Bash, 1974, p.xiii). As discussed above, marriage is considered as the fundamental goal for women and again chastity, being pure, is what is expected from them. So, the novel's appetite for the subject is totally understandable. However, Basch (1974) furthers the argument by focusing on the "chief victim", who is the heroine (p.xiii). Apparently, the novels are drowned in "the hegemony of this domestic and family ideal", leaving the heroine "equally pale" compared to her contemporaries in France and Russia although arguably characters like Anna Karenina and Madame Bovary are even bigger victims of the marriage ideal in the end (Basch, 1974, p.xiii&xiv). But Bash (1974) refers to the Victorian heroines as "pale" for another reason, that is they lack of "internal dialectic" which is the "prerequisite for the independent existence of characters in great realistic novels" according to Lukacs (p.xiii). Lukacs in his discussion of realist novels believes that in order to present lifelike characters and their complex human nature an internal dialectic is needed (Bash, 1974, p.xiii). Therefore, by being deprived of it the Victorian heroines cannot go a step further than being idealized figures in the novel. The truth is, Basch does not confine this lack to solely male authors and solely to the early decades of the Victorian Era. She observes that the inner dialectic in contemporary French and Russian novels was more satisfactory to the extent that even the "twentieth-century reader", "even if [they did] not actually identify" with the heroine, could be "involved in her experience" (Basch, 1974, p.xiv). For her, regarding the English novel, Jane Eyre, Maggie Tulliver (a character of George Elliot in *The Mill on the Floss*) and Thackeray's Becky Sharp could be excluded from the category, though (Bash, 1974, p.xiv). However, that lack of internal dialectic does not prevent English heroines from being read and discussed even in the 21st century.

Especially regarding the early decades of the Victorian era, and starting with even earlier, older heroines like Pamela, Clarissa, and others, the novels figured “fragile heroine[s]” who are “pure and innocent” to an extent that they “are more attached to virginity than to life” and those heroines started to “dominate the Victorian novels” (Basch, 1974, p.xiv). It is only after the 1860s with George Elliot, Meredith, and Hardy and so many other Victorian novelists that the chain started to be shattered and finally abandoned. As will later be discussed in this thesis, Hardy will provide a rather intellectual heroine who questions the bond of marriage and defies the expectancies by refusing to pursue her relationship solely under the marital bond. However, the expectations had hardly changed, so those types of characters are likely to be subject to social criticisms.

To sum up, even though the era witnessed, and was even named after, a female monarch, the Victorian Era confined women to the domestic sphere. Actually, Queen Victoria herself believed that women should stay at home and deal with the house and children rather than being out or governing. The harsh conditions of the outside world demanded a secure place for men which could only be provided through a woman’s touch. There is a vision of a collaboration of work, one might say. The Queen’s attitude and Coventry Patmore’s image of “the Angel in the House” provided the outline of the ideal woman who was subordinate to men, silent, obedient, patient, and more than anything else, selfless. Moreover, marriage established itself as a prestigious and indeed, the sole goal for women, therefore functioning as a norm, for women. Any woman defying these premises was likely to be categorized as fallen. Similarly, the angel comes along with the devil or monster, so, this category of fallenness can well be tied with the image of woman as a devil or a monster. Women were expected to be selfless, and this expectation also made itself apparent in the law of the time. Of course, these expectations are reflected in Victorian novels, and only towards the end of the era were such literary images of women challenged. However, because of the continuous presence of the expectation for them to be angelic wives, these female characters who do not meet this premise faced considerable social criticism, censure and even ostracism.

1.2. Historical Background of the Tanzimat Reform Era

*The importance of the women they marry is less than the importance of [their] packhorses or carriages ...*⁷

Gawrych, 2010, p. 100

In the previous sub-chapter the position of Europe, precisely England since the thesis aims to discuss one of the English writers of the Victorian Era, in the 19th century has been discussed. The European continent was full of unrest while, on the other hand, important technological advancements took place. Similarly, even though there were advancements in science and technology, England had to deal with a variety of problems; including the harmful effects of the Industrial Revolution on people's daily lives, like child-labour, and harsh and poor working conditions. Also, as discussed above, regarding the daily life of women, they could not free themselves from the angel/monster dichotomy. Along with all these, there were on-going wars and the 19th century witnessed the process of England's broadening its borders, turning into an Empire. Nevertheless as will be discussed in this sub-chapter, this stress was not only limited to the European continent. The 19th century was also a challenging one for the Ottoman Empire since it had to deal with both internal and external problems. It reached such a point that, in the second half of the century, the once-mighty empire, started to be referred to as 'The Sick Man of Europe' ("The Sick Man", 2023, n.p.)⁸. In fact, even before the declaration of the Tanzimat edict, at the very beginning of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire had already been dealing with military unrest during the reign of Selim III who aspired to regulate the military but eventually paid with his life. His successor, Mahmut II was more cautious and he planned regulations that exceeded the border of military and hoped that they will be absorbed by the whole society (Shaw&Shaw, 1977, p.1). And his aspiration made "Tanzimat-ı Hayriye possible ...

⁷ The quote is taken from Sami's book *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* and it is translated into English by W. Gawrych.

⁸ <https://ww1.habsburger.net/en/chapters/sick-man-europe-major-power-decline> The site indicates that in the 19th century, the interest of Russia and some powerful European state's were clashed. And the Ottoman Empire geographically speaking, played a crucial role since the bosporus was the key to control the Black Sea. However, the Ottoman Empire was losing its power and so did the Ottoman monarch. It is said that "the Sultan" was like an "object" rather than "an active subject" ("The Sick Man", 2023, n.p.). Especially the England's influence on the Sultan was visible. Therefore, the Russian Tsar of that day Nicholas I used the term 'Sick Man of Europe' first time in the 19th century for the Ottoman Empire losing its power day by day. However, the term in later centuries used for different states as well.

changing the concept of Ottoman Reform from the traditional one of attempting to preserve and restore old institutions to a modern one replacing them with new ones, some imported from the West” (Shaw&Shaw, 1977, p.55). Thus, it may be inferred that the Ottomans now turned to the West especially for a way to gain back their power and the edict, thus, aimed to ‘modernize’ the both the “Ottoman state and society” (Shaw&Shaw, 1977, p.55).

In 1839 Mustafa Reşit Paşa, who was also the one who prepared the text, read *Tanzimat-ı Hayriye* in Gülhane Park, İstanbul, to the people (Shaw&Shaw, 1977, p.60). However, the precise date of the beginning of the Tanzimat Period is still speculative. Some scholars believe that it covers the years between 1839 to 1876, while others support that, although the era was named after the edict, it could be taken as beginning as early as the reign of Mahmut II or even that of Selim III. Similarly, scholars have not come to a common agreement on where to end the period, it could have lasted until as late as 1908 (Cemaloğlu, 2005, p.154). Nevertheless for the concern of this thesis, what needs to be stressed is that it covered most of the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire.

The edict openly ensured the “wealth, life and honour” of the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire regardless of their religious beliefs, along with promising equal tax payments and covering topics such as the recruitment of soldiers and their term of office (Aktel, 1998, p.4). Underneath the edict, Sultan Abdülmecit’s signature could be seen; it was his promise to his people. Still, it can be said that Mahmud III was quite influential on the edict because it was with him, as discussed previously, that the idea of reform took on another dimension. Traditionally reform demanded that the old institution was preserved, so, simply it was “restor[ed]” (Shaw&Shaw, 1977, p.55). Mahmud, on the other hand, suggested that there should be replacement, meaning that the old institution would be gone, replaced with the new one (Shaw&Shaw, 1977, p.55). Again, as mentioned above, he stressed that the reform should encompass the whole system and society; and should not be limited to just one area. In the light of this, it can be said that even though at first sight the edict does not cover that much regarding social life, or more specifically about the institution of the family and the position of women precisely, the era included some novelties that made new things possible in the daily lives of the people. In this context, the impact of the reforms on the institution of the family and the position of Turkish women, as wives, will be this sub-chapter’s main focus.

Regarding Mahmud's effect on the reform as a whole, Kandiyoti (1996) stresses that the deterioration of the Ottoman state began with the institution of the family, so that, the family was therefore believed to play a crucial role in reconstructing the state's power (p.150). Kandiyoti (1996) writes that in the Ottoman Empire "the reform of family was seen as compulsory for the rejuvenation of the state and society... [and] nuclear family was regarded as the healthiest way to create a nation" (p.106). In fact, the family has frequently been regarded as the fundament of any society. Ilber Ortaylı (2001), for instance, says that the family is the "base" of society and it can be found in every society and century, which makes it impossible to define the exact birth of the institution (p.29). Ortaylı (2001) furthers his argument by adding that the marital bond being "the registration of togetherness" is needed because it is the marital bond that provides some rights for a person as wives and husbands (p.30). Coontz (2005), similarly, in her research on marriage, stresses that even though "we cannot know for sure how the earliest hominids and humans organized their reproduction and family lives", marriage is apparently "the only way to get in-laws" (p.33). It may be inferred, then, that the family has long been regarded as the core of society and marriage is the institution that legalizes togetherness and reproduction of the couple, thus marriage and the institution of the family are integrated. In the 19th century Ottoman Empire, when people started to question why the empire started and continued to decline day by day, the family, by extension marriage were discussed in this regard. Therefore, as Kandiyoti (1996) puts forward, it was believed that an improvement in home life would improve and advance the position of the whole empire (p.106). A similar idea, as discussed in the previous sub-chapter, could be seen in 19th century England as well. Another outstanding similarity between the two countries is the fact that both countries saw motherhood as the ultimate destiny for women. Tombul (2019) in her thesis writes that in the Tanzimat Era "women stood out with their qualification as mothers. A woman was either a mother or she was a candidate to become one" (p.4). However, of course, in order for a woman to become a mother, the togetherness of the couple needed to be underscored by marriage in order to 'get in-laws'. Therefore, it is beneficial to discuss the position of women and their agreed role as mothers and, thus, as wives integrated in the institutions of the family and marriage.

However, what differentiates the Ottoman Empire from most of the European states is the fact that the Ottoman Empire was cosmopolitan, meaning that it was made

up of a variety of peoples of different ethnic origins and religions. This means that whenever it comes to a discussion regarding the social life of its people, this dimension should be kept in mind. However, concerning family life, Ortaylı (2001) suggests that one could discuss a general “Ottoman family” which can be applicable to any ethnic group living in the empire (p.30). Mostly, the institution of marriage was regarded as a “financial constitution”, and the nuclear family continued to be a part of the extended family, and most of the time one chose his/her partner from the same religious community (Ortaylı, 2001, p.31). Similarly, the family house would be in a part of the city where the followers of the same religion dwelt. Ortaylı (2001) likens this type of living to a “community” (p.32). For example, the house of a Muslim family would most probably be in a Muslim neighbourhood and, likewise, a Christian family would dwell in a Christian neighbourhood even though sometimes those neighbourhoods would be arranged according to the sects of one particular religious belief. For instance, Ortaylı (2001) notes that a Catholic family would prefer to dwell with other Catholic families rather than Orthodox Christians and, similarly, the Hanefi Muslims would rather have Hanefi neighbours (p.34). The neighbourhoods thus can be said to shaped according to religion and even sometimes the sect of particular religions played part in the shaping process.

Moreover, Ortaylı (2001) observed that as a community, the neighbourhood functioned as “a social control mechanism” and therefore it had a huge impact on the family which lived according to the community it was part of (p.36). Social control mechanisms aims to ensure the continuation of order within the society. According to Libretext (2021) controlling an individual’s acts might either be formal or informal; the first one is the type of control when a state legally limits an individual’s acts and the second one is more about the interaction among people (n.p.). Therefore, control mechanisms within the community can be said to be of the latter type. In a way, the society that an individual is part of teaches him/her certain “customs, norms and mores” and lead that individual to act in parallel with those teachings (Libretext, 2021, n.p.). If one is deviant, according to the site Libretext (2021) then, he/she might be exposed to “shame, ridicule, sarcasm, [...] [and] discrimination” that may even result in them becoming the victim of “violence” (n.p.). Thus, even though living with people that one shares something in common with, a shared religion in the case of the Ottoman Empire, might strengthen the bonds between the people of the neighbourhood, at the same time

it might be argued that it made discrimination against the ‘out-of-the-box’ individual easier. For instance, regarding the Ottoman family, Ortaylı (2001) suggested that another common expectation of the couple was that they would live their relationship in wedlock, and he adds that the neighbourhood specifically paid attention to the “honour of the young individuals” (p.32). Moreover, generally relationships out of wedlock were not favoured (Ortaylı, 2001, p.30). Based upon this idea, then, a couple who pursued their relationship out of wedlock might get discriminated against by the other members of the neighbourhood. Thus, the this pressure leads the couple to do what is expected of them, that is getting married.

Coontz, in her book *Marriage, a History* (2005), stresses that marriage prescribes certain roles and duties to its participants, generally it “defines the mutual duties of husband and wife” (p.32). In the light of this and all these discussions regarding the Ottoman family, it is beneficial to discuss a wife’s position and her duties in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. While doing this, certain similarities between 19th century England and the 19th century Ottoman Empire are explored so that a more solid ground for comparison will be built before discussing the two 19th century novels from these two countries.

In a cosmopolitan empire, the rights and expected duties of Ottoman subjects differed according to their social status and religious belief. But at the same time the Ottoman Empire was a theologically ruled state, meaning that the law was deeply influenced by the Islamic legal system which “assigned men and women distinct social roles, and made many rights and obligations” based on “gender identity” (Kia, 2011, p.203). Therefore, the duties and rights of a person also depended on their gender. Since the thesis aims to focus on Muslim female characters in *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*, the discussion will be centred around Muslim women and wives.

Even before the 19th century, “the proper place” for a Muslim woman as daughter and later as wife was the home (Kia, 2011, p.203). Moreover, in any case she should be obedient to “male authority”, “take care of her household” and if married she should “satisfy her husband’s sexual needs” (Kia, 2011, p.203). Kia (2011) in her book *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, puts this as: “Screened from the gaze of the outsider, decent, obedient, and pious Muslim women had to attend to the everyday needs of their husbands and children without any reservation” (p.203). To sum up, she should be

indoors, protected from the foreign male gaze and, moreover, she was expected to be obedient and would be there for her husband and children all the time, putting them and their needs before herself. Similarly, while discussing Victorian women in the previous sub-chapter, it was stressed that women were expected to be wives one day, and one of the key characteristics of a proper Victorian wife was to be selfless, along with obedience. In this regard, it may therefore be concluded that the ideal 19th century Ottoman wife pretty much resembled the Victorian Angel in the House.

According to the Victorians, as mentioned above, marriage had a unifying effect on the partners, but up until 1870, the wife had no right to hold properties. However, the Ottoman wife, had the ‘privilege’ of keeping her properties “even after [she got] married” and Ottoman marriages were regarded as providing “reciprocal rights” to the husband and wife (Kia, 2011, p.197). The husband would work, go outside and would be responsible for covering all the household expenses whereas the wife would show her “obedience” to her husband in return (Kia, 2011, p.197). A similar picture could be seen in Victorian families as the previous sub-chapter discussed; the man had to deal with the burden of the outside world whereas the wife had to provide a secure place, a heaven on earth, for him in their home. Women who did not provide what society dictated to them, would easily be recognized as monsters, as the opposite of angels. Similarly, Ottoman women who did not perform these expectations even as early as the 16th century would be regarded as “sinners” because those responsibilities regarding a woman’s household was seen as “a matter of heaven and hell” for a woman (Kia, 2011, p.203).

If the couple was unhappy, they could get divorced and as Kia (2011) notes divorce was “prevalent” in the Ottoman Empire (p.218). Even a woman could go to the *kadı* and to initiate the process in certain situations such as unconsummated marriage, or if the husband was “impotent or mentally ill” etc. (Kia, 2011, p.218)⁹. Adding to that, in some cases a wife would even demand alimony and could keep some portion of her dowry’s value (Kia, 2011, p.218). Regardless of the fact that a wife could hold properties and could even be the one to demand divorce, a husband could divorce his wife “without any explanation and justification” (Kia, 2011, p.218). Therefore, it might be said that the Ottoman wife in such an incident would be ‘non-existent’ according to

⁹ Kadı can be taken as a judge of that day in Ottoman Empire.

the law court, as in the case of Victorian women. McCarthy (1997) notes that even though divorce was systematized as such, in real life “men did not divorce so easily, nor women with so much difficulty” (p.266). Even though both parties were given the right to initiate the process, divorce was apparently taken as a final step. As McCarthy (1997) puts forward, the Ottoman state did not take note of the number of marriages and divorces so it would be almost impossible to discuss it with exact numbers but there were many “factors” which made the couple think of divorce as the last solution (p.267). Firstly, the marriage was more than just two people cohabiting and sharing a life, it was a “family affair”, thus, any problem might effect the rest of the extended family (McCarthy, 1997, p.267). Secondly, “much had been invested in marriage” in the material sense, and especially for poor people it was a significant factor (McCarthy, 1997, p.267). Another reason, was simply “children”; the couple often did not want to take away the comfort of their children in being raised with both their parents (McCarthy, 1997, p.267). Another reason was “public shame” (McCarthy, 1997, p.267). As discussed previously, individuals were bound to the communities or the neighbourhood they were part of; and in the case of divorce the community continued to play its part. Kia (2011), quoting McCarthy, notes that if a couple split up because of a degrading reason, the couple, apparently not solely the woman, was exposed to “public shame” (p.219). Adding to all these, in an era which saw order in the family as a means to maintain order in the whole society, and which therefore glorified family life, women “who bore illegitimate children or cohabitated out of wedlock... were never regarded with tolerance” meaning that they could be easily discriminated against (Kia, 2011, p.207).

With the 19th century, a prominent discussion started to emerge regarding the education of women. Because, as already discussed, women were closely linked to the domestic sphere, the well-being of the family, except for the financial issues, depended on the woman (in her role as wife/mother). Therefore, since people believed that with the well-being of the families the whole society might progress, the education of women gained importance. In fact, in England’s case the education of women started to be discussed earlier than the 19th century. Notably, in 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft (2012) discussed revolutionary ideas regarding equal educational rights for women and men; and moreover, she suggested that they should receive coed education in schools (p.250). However, similarly to the Tanzimat thought in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century,

Wollstonecraft stressed the importance of childhood in the process of building the self and, of course, the importance of their first teacher. The mother thus plays a prominent role because it would be impossible for a child to forget what he/she learned when little (Wollstonecraft, 2012, p.261). She notes that a truly educated women might be free to ask what is right and wrong while raising the children and, for Wollstonecraft (2012), such a paradigm would be a “base” for changing the contemporary order which viewed women as non-existent (p.261). Hunt (2002) notes that Wollstonecraft “echoes” Burke who stressed that “we begin our public affections in families” therefore a family where the child learned about healthy relationships would continue to manifest itself in the child’s future relationships (p.84). Furthermore, as Richardson (2002) puts forward “only a thoughtful, well-informed, strong mother could be expected to provide her children with a truly adequate rearing and education” (p.25).

In the case of the Ottoman Empire, though, prior to the Tanzimat Era, young girls could not receive education further than *Sıbyan Mektebi* (equivalent to today’s primary school) (Kurnaz, 2011, p.25). If the family was part of the *ulema* or in some way took part in ruling the country, the parents could provide private lectures to their daughters if they wanted (Kurnaz, 2011, p.25). It was with the Tanzimat Era that middle school education became available to young girls. The first one was opened in 1859, in Istanbul (Kurnaz, 2011, p.31). High school education, *kız idadisi*, likewise, became accessible to women with the Tanzimat Era; the first high school for girls opened in 1880, but, unfortunately, because of the low number of applicants it was closed within two years (Kurnaz, 2011, p.44). If women wanted to pursue their education, again made possible with the Tanzimat Era, they could enroll in the *Ebe Mektebi* (the midwife school) or they could learn to earn money through their handiworks in the *Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Kurnaz, 2011, p.47-48). Another institution where women might choose to pursue their studies was *Darülmuallimat* where they could learn more intellectual things such as language, geography, history, and art, along with embroidery and thuluth (Kurnaz, 2011, p.55). In the light of all these developments, as Kurnaz (2011) points out, it was with the Tanzimat Era that women started to be given an “official education” (p.61).

The education of women was supported by some men as well. An important one was Şemsettin Sami, who was a friend of Ahmet Mithat; the “two early advocates of women’s rights during the Tanzimat” Era as Gawrych (2010) puts it (p.99). Sami

believed that “educating women” was a priority “for both progress and civilization” (Gawrych, 2010, p.102). First of all, he points out that it was undeniable that women “constitute half of human race” and thus by “denying them schooling” one prevents their possible and necessary contributions to the whole society (Gawrych, 2010, p.102). Moreover, similarly to the discussion mentioned above, for Şemsettin Sami the family is woman, in other words woman is “the heart of the family”, therefore by educating women healthier and more desirable families might be constituted whose members would, in turn, benefit society and the state itself among their entourage (Gawrych, 2010, p.102). Along with the importance of woman in the family, Şemsettin Sami in his famous work *Kadınlar* emphasized that the unequal division of power between a husband and wife should be abolished for a healthier relationship thus he wrote: “There must be no rank distinction of superior and subordinate between husband and wife. Any such difference creates inequality between the married couple and inequality makes companionship impossible” (Gawrych, 2010, p.97). He criticized the position of women in his books, an example would be *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* in which one of the female characters complains about the subordinate position of women first as daughters then as wives:

Ah, we poor women.[Men] never consider us people. Our father give us away as gifts to whatever men they want...When we marry, we think that we are gaining a husband, a *refik* (companion). But men do not look at us the same way. The importance of the women they marry is less than the importance of [their] packhorses or carriages”. (Gawrych, 2010, p.100)¹⁰

The quotation pretty much pre-echoes Gayle Rubin’s “The Traffic in Women” where she builds her discussion upon Levi-Strauss’ and Mauss’ ideas. What is interesting is that even though Levi-Strauss, Mauss, and, eventually, Rubin presented their works in the 20th century, Sami already made use of the key word ‘the gift’ in this context in the 19th century. Mauss is the “first” to put forward the incontrovertible function of gift exchange, and Rubin in her article recalls Mauss’ ideas and writes that in primitive societies “gift giving... expresses, affirms or creates a social link between the partners of an exchange” and, in fact, the exchange was an inseparable part of the people’s daily lives (Rubin, 1975, p.171-172). Levi-Strauss later on added that the institution of

¹⁰ The quotation of Sami is taken from Gawrych’s article p.100

marriage could also be discussed along with gift giving. As discussed in similar terms in the previous sub-chapter, Strauss noted that women were considered “the most precious gift” exchanged between male parties (Rubin, 1975, p.173). According to Rubin (1975) what needs to be stressed regarding this marketing is that such a practise carves the position of “the gift” (that is women) and “the giver” (the father or another elder member of her family) in stone (p.174). Moreover, the practise serves or benefits men, rather than women. In the light of these points, if one reads the quotation of Şemsettin Sami above, because of their position as gifts, even after women got married they could not free themselves from being unequal in the eyes of men as women were the gifts, and therefore, they could never be the giver or receiver like men.

Even though Şemsettin Sami emphasized the prominent position of women as wives and as mothers, he also acknowledged the fact that not every woman would “find complete satisfaction in raising their children” or being solely wife and mother in fact he recognized that there were women who aspire to do “intellectual and mental work outside their homes” (Gawrych, 2010, p.102). By suggesting that, Şemsettin Sami not only frees women from the chains of the expectation of motherhood, but he again emphasizes the importance of education for women in order for them to find out what they like. His ideas were revolutionary in a society which condemned women only to being wives or mothers. In fact, during the reign of Abdülhamid (1876-1909), Sami was “placed under strict house arrest” because, especially with Abdülhamid, the dominant role of the father and the husband was emphasized strongly (Gawrych, 2010, p.111).

Şemsettin Sami put forward his ideas courageously, and, as discussed above, maybe he can be said to have pushed the limits of his society. However, the education of women was still something the authors of the day cared about. Literature, more precisely stories and novels, were used as a medium to educate women. Karabulut (2013) writes that the readership of novels was mostly made up of women, therefore, it caused writers to give voice to female protagonists so that it was possible for women to identify with the incidents and characters in the book, leading them to read more, to the profit of the writer (p.49). However, at the same time, if the writer was concerned with educating the masses, especially women, female characters also made achieving his aim easier. Many famous names tried to pursue that aim, including Namık Kemal and Ahmet Mithat Efendi; these writers created exemplary female heroines along with their

counterparts to demonstrate what, in their opinion, was ideal and what was faulty. Regarding the categorization of such heroines, for the integrity of discussion I believe it is better to discuss it along with Ahmet Mithat's heroines in *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*.

To sum up, no matter how different and far apart these two countries may appear, regarding the position of women in the 19th century there are massive similarities between the two. Both of them expected their female individuals to be indoors, obedient and selfless throughout their ultimate journeys as wives and mothers. Women who did not fulfill this premise might effortlessly be categorised under the label “monster” in England and “sinner” in the Ottoman Empire. Both of the countries gave importance to the institution of the family because both believed that any corruption at the core of the society, meaning the family, might affect the rest of the society. In the Ottoman Empire's case, though, the basic reason behind the attempts to control family was the yearning to return to its powerful days. The authors from both countries who were concerned with changing the submissive position of women did not refrain from voicing their opinions in their works. They could not but question the image of the ‘Angel in the House’. Moreover, they included those who refused to perform their duties, and they asked an important question, when the deviant women spoke, was it the voice of a ‘monster’ or a ‘victim’?

CHAPTER 2

THE THEORY OF STIGMA

Society has been regarded as an inseparable part of human life, as will be further discussed below, and the study of this vital element or more precisely “the scientific study of the development, structure, interaction, and collective behaviour of social relationships” is named sociology (Stolley, 2005, p.1). The word comes from the combination of the Greek words *socius* (meaning companionship) and *logos* (the study of), therefore, etymologically speaking, it simply means “the study of companionship” (Stolley, 2005, p.1).

The term was first used by Auguste Comte in the 19th century. However, the inquiry regarding society, how it is constructed, how it should be, and its effects on the individuals had already been troubling human kind as early as the Ancient Greek Era. The canon dates back as early as Plato’s *Republic*, and these issues were further discussed throughout the centuries by Hobbes, Locke, Hume and Voltaire in the Enlightenment Period, then by Marx and Engels, as well as Durkheim, Weber and many other memorable names. In 20th century sociology, labelling theory, which Goffman’s work considered to be form of, was an absorbing issue (Slattery, 2008, p.19). The theory, in simple terms, suggests that when members of a society start to behave towards an individual according to his “labels”, especially negative labels, eventually that person “internalizes” that label and is prone to pursue his life according to what he is assumed to be (Skaggs, 2022, para.3).

These negative labels are closely integrated with what society considers as normal, in other words norms. As a matter of fact, long before the labeling theorists, norms already drew the attention of Emile Durkheim. For him, “society is like an organism which is made up of a system of independent pieces, however,... what holds the system together is not a nervous system but a moral consensus, meaning norms” (Slattery, 2008, p.34). Furthermore, he utters his fascination about “how human beings “internalize” norms as if we created them or in other words as if we own them, whereas they are simply created by a “superior source” like the state or a deity (Thompson, 2002, p.48-49). Even though they are not created by individuals, it is undeniable that society needs these norms in order to limit the endless wishes of individuals and thus to establish a coherent way of living together. Still, as Slattery (2008) notes there “will

always be a conflict between the desires of individuals and the regulatory and controlling need of society” (p.35). Because of this inevitable conflict, Durkheim approaches deviance, a violation of a norm, as something “normal” and in fact just as norms have benefits from the perspective of society, deviances likewise have three functions: “clarifying social norms and increasing conformity”, “strengthening bonds” and “leading to a positive change” (“open.lib.”, 2016, n.p.)¹¹. Deviance clarifies norms because it “remind[s people] of [the] norms”, and at the same time it strengthens the bonds among individuals since they can come together against one particular deviant and, finally, it is undeniable that deviant people can make huge changes in the world, in fact almost all of the great leaders in the world were once considered deviant (“open.lib.”, 2016, n.p.).

One of the reputed names dealing with the issue of deviant individuals is the 20th century sociologist, Erving Goffman who, one may say, focuses more on the individual in society rather than taking society as a whole. He mainly writes about how society makes an individual feel. Goffman was a prolific scholar, writing eight books including *the Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956), *Asylums* (1961), *Stigma* (1963), *Behaviour in Public Places* (1963) and *Gender Advertisements* (1976) and he “had three collections of essays... published in the period from 1951 to 1983” (Lemert&Branaman, 1997, p.xlv). In his writings Goffman paid attention to the “social interactions”¹² between people and, moreover, he was interested in “persons whose identities in social situations were different, other than expected, and often problematic...” (Smith, 2006, p.10). For the purpose of this thesis, in this chapter I will focus on his book *Stigma* where he discusses how stigma occurs, its process, and its effects on the individual. Along with following his footsteps in the process of stigmatization, in order to provide a deeper link between stigma and deviance Stafford&Scott’s article “Stigma, Deviance and Social Control” will be used and to support the idea of stereotyping Link&Phelan’s ideas will be mainly used for the discussion.

¹¹ Taken from

<https://open.lib.umn.edu/sociology/chapter/7-2-explaining-deviance/>

¹² About social interactions, Smith does not discuss it on page 10, rather, Goffman’s interest in social interactions has been discussed frequently in the book in various chapters.

Although Goffman's book *Stigma* was published in 1963, he begins his book by highlighting the fact that what he planned to discuss has long been part of human life. In other words, he says that stigmatization is not something limited to the 20th century only. In fact, Goffman suggests that the practise of stigma could be traced back as early as the Ancient Greek world: "The Greeks, who were apparently strong on visual aids, originated the term stigma to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier" (Goffman, 1963, p.11). Goffman (1963) adds that, people back then, made use of a some kind of a "sign" which is "cut or burned into the body" of this "blemished person" who was expected "to be avoided, especially in public places" (p.11). Even though Goffman did not provide a historical resource to prove his point about this sign on the unwanted individual's body, separation of a misfit individual as a practise of Ancient Athens was proven. Solak&Teközel (2019) note that in 5 B.C. Athens, especially in winter time, "the citizens of Athens gather in Agora" for the practise of "ostrakismos" (p.295). Mabel Lang (1990) in her book *Ostraka* provides the historical writings regarding the practise. Lang (1990) quotes Plutarch, for example, who wrote "each [citizen] took a sherd and wrote the name of whomever of the citizens he wished to send out of the city" (p.1). Thus, the people wrote the name of a person on a piece of ceramic jar, named *ostraka* or *ostrakon*¹³, and then they would give it to the members of the council. After the names had been counted, a person whose name appeared "more than a certain number" would be asked to "leave the city": they were promised their safety but those "were not allowed to come back to Athens for 5 or 10 years" (Solak&Teközel, 2019, p.295). Today, the word ostracism, meaning exclusion, has its roots to this particular practise ("etymonline", 2023, n.p.)¹⁴. As Solak&Teközel (2019) note, because of this "threat of exclusion, the increase of unlawfulness could be prevented" (p.296). Thus, the practise aimed to benefit the Ancient Athenian state and society. In fact, the separation of the misfits can be taken as a necessity for the continuation of the social order. Clair (2018), for instance, wrote that some psychologists believe that stigma has an evolutionary "sociobiological function"; by "excluding" the threatening individuals, society protects itself what it perceives as "a social disorder" or simply a threat (p.1).

¹³ Solak&Teközel name it as 'ostraka' but in Lang's book it is named as 'ostrakon'

¹⁴ <https://www.etymonline.com/word/ostracism>

Even though stigma has long been part of human society, and thus even though we are accustomed to its presence, when it comes to provide an exact definition of the term, one enters a complicated area. Simply, the Oxford Dictionary (2023) defines stigma as “negative feelings that people have about particular circumstances or characteristics that somebody may have” (n.p.)¹⁵. As the definition implies, in order to discuss stigma one needs at least two individuals; the one who stigmatizes and the person who is stigmatized. As discussed previously in this chapter, Goffman interested in social interactions among people, so stigma fits into his academic interests. However, more importantly, the definition makes one ask; which particular circumstances and which supposedly blemished characteristics of a person make one feel uncomfortable? According to whom and when? This point is the main reason why defining stigma can be problematic: “The meaning of stigma has been difficult to pin down” firstly because stigma depends on the culture and the era it is part of (Ainlay&Coleman&Becker, 1986, p.3). In other words, as Stafford&Scott (1986) put forward, what is considered as stigma in one culture and era “may not be so in others” (p.80). Adding to that, after the publication of Goffman’s book in 1963, scholars’ interest in the concept increased, and thus, stigma exceeded the boundaries of Goffman’s sociology. The term has been used in various fields, for example, it has applied to the people who suffer from diseases raging from “leprosy” to “mental illnesses”, or to a range of people from disabled people to “lesbian mothers”, etc. which makes it even harder to define (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.363-364). Thus, it can be said that stigma does not have just one form; rather it depends on the era and, culture. In addition, it also depends on one’s special field of interest, and, therefore, providing an exact definition of stigma is problematic.

Similarly, Stafford&Scott (1986) provide a variety of definitions of stigma put forward by various scholars. Stafford&Scott (1986) noted that Jones&Farina&Hastorf& et.al., for example, link stigma with a perceived faulty morality so that stigma is the result of “a discrediting process, where the target person is viewed as morally flawed” (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.78). On the other hand, another view related stigma with violation of rules along with “having traits that are not highly valued” and the list goes on (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.78). However, they highlight that what all these definitions share in common is that “stigma” includes the “disvaluation of persons” (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.79). Goffman (1963), as will be further discussed, also says

¹⁵ <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/stigma?q=stigma>

that the stigmatized person is a “discounted one” (p.11). However, as mentioned above, the traits and circumstances which lead a person to be stigmatized differ according to the culture and era, therefore it can be said that stigma is in fact “a social construct” (Ainlay&Coleman&Becker, 1986, p.4).

Moreover, Stafford&Scott (1986), regarding the characteristics of stigma, note that it has a “collective quality” meaning that if in one particular society one discriminates against an individual, other people will also tend to discriminate against him (p.80). In fact, Goffman (1963) puts forward that since stigma “is a general feature of society” and since it will continue to exist “whenever there are identity norms” (p.154), it can be experienced by anyone at anytime (Smith, 2006, p.88). Therefore, regarding the usage of the term Goffman warns sociologists to be careful because they use it so easily, and thus he says, “if the stigmatized person is a deviant then s/he is a normal deviant” (quoted in Smith, 2006, p.88). The term normal deviant here indicates the idea that experiencing stigma is something common. Moreover, Goffman (1963) notes that “the role of the normal and the role of the stigmatized are parts of the same complex, cut from the same standard cloth” (p.154), so in essence they are same and the role of the stigmatized and the normal can be easily interchanged one day.

Goffman (1963), after presenting the origin of the practise in Ancient Greece, says that “society establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories” (p.10). This quotation is prominent in three interrelated ways. First, as Burns (1992) indicates, this “categorization system must exist prior to, and independently of social encounters” (p.216). In other words, even before one meets the other, one already has these categories in mind, placed there by the society one is part of. These categories could be based on various attributes like gender, social status, and so on. Secondly, because it is the society that creates those categories, they are “a reflection of the culture itself, not a property of individuals” and thus, as discussed previously, they are socially constructed (Ainlay&Coleman&Becker, 1986, p.4). Lastly, the quotation indicates that what is *ordinary* and *natural* is also established by the society and, of course, being ordinary and natural is what is expected from an individual by the society, but more than that, being ordinary and natural is what one desires for himself too.

Burns (1992) wrote that “classify[ing] other people” is a “universal inclination” and, moreover, our attitude and “behaviour towards” others is shaped by where “we have placed them” (p.210). Thus, in an individual’s mind the categories have already been shaped and named as either ordinary or natural, therefore good, and, unnatural, in other words bad or harmful, even before one meets the other. If one places the other in the second category, one’s behaviour towards that person will be different, maybe more hostile or simply negative. Therefore, it can be said that there is this split of “desirable and undesirable attributes” (Ainlay&Coleman&Becker, 1986, p.4). One treats better or is more friendly to the people that are placed in the desirable or good category and similarly, in order to be treated as such, one also desires to be part of the good category in the minds of other people, leading an individual to behave according to what the good category demands. This idea implies that, more than this split between the two there is also a “hierachy” between the “desirable and undesirable” (Ainlay&Coleman&Becker, 1986, p.4). To sum up, even before socially interacting with others one’s mind is taught about the categories and their good or bad nature has already been dictated by the society. Also, this categorization is highly effective in people’s social interactions because how one treats the other is highly influenced by the category one places that person into, and, of course, if an individual wants to be treated nicely he/she tries to fit into the good category.

Goffman (1963) in his discussion of the process of stigmatization, presents his readers with a familiar scene that, in fact, human beings experience everyday: “when a stranger comes into our presence, then, first appearances are likely to enable us to anticipate his category and attributes, his social identity” (p.11). In other words, when one meets a stranger, just by looking at this person and maybe just learning a few superficial things about him, one easily categorizes him in one’s mind. For example, one may categorize the other at first glance according to sex, height, skin colour, if possible that person’s profession, and roles, and maybe even go further and think about what that role or profession adds to our idea of that person’s character; for example if one learns that he/she is a teacher, one can easily assume that he/she likes children etc.

Goffman (1963) said that even though these are just seemingly simply “anticipations” one has from the very first look, they are in one’s mind turned “into normative expectations” and even more they are turned “into rightously presented demands” and thus, in Goffman’s terms, creating a mental “virtual social identity” of

the other (p.12). In fact, according to Goffman (1963), one's mind does this unwittingly; one may not even be "aware" of that categorization and the consequent expectation of the other to fulfill what the category demands (p.12). A person realizes their expectation, though, when "an active question arises as to whether or not they [the demands] will be fulfilled" (Goffman, 1963, p.12). The thing is, as Goffman (1963) notes, there is a possibility of that stranger having "an attribute that makes him different from others in the [possible] category" that he is thought to be part of (p.11). Meaning that, even if one places that stranger into a category, he might have something that the other members of the category do not share, he might have something odd or different than what that category demands. If that be the case, or in other words if "an individual's actual social identity does not meet" (Kurzban&Leary, 2001, p.187) with the virtual social identity one creates of him then that person "is reduced in our [one's] mind's... to a tainted or a discounted one" and as Goffman (1963) notes "such an attribute is stigma" (p.11). Thus, as previously discussed by Stafford&Scott (1986) stigma causes a "disvaluation of a person" (p.79).

The mark, or the stigma, according to Goffman (1963), could be the result of three things (p.13). The first reason is the physical "abominations of the body" or what one might name as "physical deformities" (Goffman, 1963, p.13). Secondly, it could arise due to "blemishes of an individual character" such as "weak will, domineering or unnatural passions, treacherous and rigid beliefs, and dishonesty" and these blemishes may be related to addiction, mental illnesses and sexual preferences, etc (Goffman, 1963, p.13). And lastly, there is the "tribal stigma of race, nation and religion" (Goffman, 1963, p.13). In the light of these categorizations it might be inferred that stigma could be related to something visible, or in Goffman's words "discredited" (for example, one might have a physical deformity like a missing arm or a huge scar on the face) or it could be the result of something invisible, Goffman (1963) names them as "discreditable" (an example related to the blemishes of one's character like dishonesty) (p.13).

Stafford&Scott in their article put forward a different angle to stigma in creating a link between deviance and stigma. As discussed previously, stigma is problematic to define but Stafford&Scott (1986) provide an alternative definition of stigma as "a characteristic of a persons that is contrary to a norm of a social unit" (p.80). What is striking in the definition is the word 'norm'. Simply "a norm is a shared belief that

persons ought to behave in a certain way in certain circumstances” (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.81). However, this definition of norm, according to Stafford&Scott (1986), is a bit narrow because a norm not only includes “behaviour but also characteristics” (p.81). On this basis, they highlight that “many stigmas have little to do with behaviour” as for example, one can stigmatize another because of “ugliness, paralysis or cancer” (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.81).

Moreover, including characteristics here is in line with Goffman’s ideas since Goffman himself discusses “identity norms”, that is “the depictions of ideal persons, shared beliefs as to what individuals ought to be”, when proving his point that stigma is something potentially experienced by everyone (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.81). As discussed previously, for Goffman (1963), stigma normally occurs “wherever there are identity norms” (p.155). Stafford&Scott exemplify this by quoting Goffman again. He writes that in the United States there is this image of an ideal person who is “young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual...” and, of course, whoever “fails to” fulfill these premises, anyone who violates the identity norm, in other words a deviant person, “will tend to be disvalued to some degree” (quoted by Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.81). Stigma, as discussed above, includes disvaluation. Stafford&Scott (1986) note that a deviant person could violate “behavioral norms” too (p.82) by behaving in contrast with what is widely considered acceptable behaviour. In either case, Stafford&Scott conclude that deviance, in the sense of violation of a norm, be it identical or behavioural, could be discussed along with stigma.

Another way to broaden the discussion on stigma is put forward by Link&Phelan. In their discussion of stigma they deepen our understanding of term by forming a link between stigma and negative stereotypes. Although, as discussed previously, Link&Phelan (2001) begin their article with the various definitions of stigma, they though, add a fresh perspective by basing their discussion on Jones’ definition of stigma as “a mark (attribute) that links a person to undesirable characteristics (stereotypes)” (p.365). They believe that Goffman had a similar “observation that stigma can be seen as the relationship between an attribute and stereotype”¹⁶ (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.366).

¹⁶ Link&Phelan quotes Goffman here. Goffman (1963) writes that even though in societies there are a lot of “attributes that are simply discrediting” he notes that “A stigma, then, is really a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype” (p.13).

Basing their discussion on to that premise, Link&Phelan (2001) suggest four “components” of stigma (p.367). Firstly, as they (2001) note that even though not every difference is “salient” (for example the colour of one’s car), people “distinguish and label human differences” (p.367). Moreover, according to the second component, those labelled differences might be linked to negative attributes or stereotypes (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.368). In the paper, they discuss an experiment where a group of people are divided into two groups, namely “former mental patients and “former back-pain patients” (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.369). Generally, people tend to believe that mental patients are dangerous and in the experiment people who have this belief apparently “reacted negatively” to the members of the first group and had an urge to distance themselves from them (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.369). Thus, it can be concluded that first those people are differentiated, more precisely labelled, as former mental patients. Then, the people who reacted to them in an unfriendly way labelled them stereotypically as mad and dangerous people. This second component has become crucial for the social cognitive approach (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.369). The third component is about the separation of “us” (in other words the so-called “normal” people) from “them” (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.370). Thus, the people who linked mental patients with dangerousness, separated them from ‘normals’, or simply ‘us’, and their reaction resulted in physical distancing and unfriendly behaviour. Actually, this separation may reach such a point that it marks others as not really human.

In fact, in his discussion of stigma, Goffman (1963) writes that “we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human” and as a result discriminating against the other becomes easier (p.14). Similarly, Link&Phelan’s components end with “status loss and discrimination” (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.370). These components might be taken as steps and Link&Phelan believe that if all these four components (*distinguishing and labelling difference, linking with a negative attribute or stereotype, separation of us from them, and status loss and discrimination*) co-occur one might talk about stigma.

To conclude, even though stigma has been long experienced and practised by human societies, it still has an ambivalent nature and definition. However, what can be explicitly put forward about stigma is that it devalues the stigmatized individual. Goffman (1963) predicts that when one meets the other one creates “a virtual social identity” of that person in the mind (p.12). However, if the actual social identity proves the virtual one faulty, then one disvalues and stigmatizes the other. Stigma, on this

basis, could be the result of three things: physical deformities, a blemish in character, and racial or national characteristics. Stigmatization could be further integrated with linking this difference with negative attributes or stereotypes as Link&Phelan discuss. Similarly, stigma could be discussed together with deviance, as Stafford&Scott noted, because of the fact that a deviant person will also be prone to experience disvaluation like a stigmatized person. Along with all these what needs to be stressed is that stigma is a social construct and could be experienced by anyone at anytime.



CHAPTER 3

THE STIGMA OF THE FALLEN WOMAN IN HARDY'S SUE BRIDEHEAD

*...we have wronged no man, corrupted no man, defrauded no man!" Though perhaps
we have "done that which was right in our own eyes*

Hardy, 2002, p. 296-7

Before the Victorian Era, poetry was more prominent than novels, however, with the technological advancements in mass production, especially regarding newspapers, and along with the rise of literacy among the middle-classes, novels took precedence over poetry ("The Realistic", n.d., n.p.)¹⁷. Thus, Victorian England is memorable for producing a great number of novelists who are still widely read and discussed in the 21st century, such as, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charlotte Bronte and many others. Thomas Hardy is one of them, and he was a prolific novelist as well as being a sensitive poet. Throughout his career, Hardy wrote more than ten novels and hundreds of poems. *Jude the Obscure* (1895), Hardy's last published novel, is also one of the most controversial ones due to the harsh criticisms it had to face during the Victorian days, as will be further discussed.

Jude the Obscure starts with the infancy of Jude Fawley in Marygreene, a small town, where he lives with his aunt Drusilla. As a reader, one is not given detailed information about Jude's parents; only, as a minor detail, Drusilla shares that "his father ill-used his mother" and the death of his mother was followed by the death of his father when Jude was only ten years old (Mink, 2008, p.61). However, rather than providing a linear time-frame, the first scene of the book is not Jude's first steps into Drusilla's house but, rather, the novel starts with the departure of Phillotson, the teacher whom Jude takes as a role model. Influenced by this man, although later Phillotson's dream is also deferred, Jude dreams of having a university degree. Jude wishes, one day, to be part of Christminster, an intellectual city where almost everyone is speaking Latin, or as Hardy notes, where one finds "the tree of knowledge" (Hardy, 2002, p.20). However, Jude lacks the social position and income to receive a university degree, therefore, he

¹⁷ Taken from <https://sites.udel.edu/britlitwiki/the-realistic-novel-in-the-victorian-era/>

is advised to continue to be a stonemason by one of the university professors. Thus, throughout his story his dream continued to be deferred and unattainable.

Even before he connects with the professor, his interest in intellectual thinking is interrupted when he meets Arabella, who later tricks Jude into marriage by lying that she is pregnant. Sometime later though, unable to pursue their unhappy marriage, Arabella one day leaves Jude and goes to Australia. Jude, eventually, goes to Christminster and he falls in love with his cousin, Sue Bridehead. Jude introduces her to Phillotson who is also charmed by her beauty and persuades Sue to marry him. However, Sue now an unhappy wife, leaves Phillotson to be with Jude. Thus, even before they are legally divorced, the couple start living together outside wedlock. Upon learning that Arabella has a son by Jude, Little Father Time, the couple welcomes him, and later enhances their family with two other children. However, this peculiar family, a couple out of wedlock living together with children, draws people's attention wherever they go and eventually it reaches such a point that they could not even find a roof over their heads. The story takes a climactic turn when Little Father Time kills his siblings and commits suicide. Upon that tragic incident, Sue, believing that she has pursued her life in sin and has therefore been punished, returns to Phillotson and, similarly, Jude finds himself in the arms of Arabella again. He is again tricked into marriage but becomes a burden for Arabella since he is sick and thus unable to work. Finally, he dies when everyone is merry and celebrating Remembrance Week outside, whereas even though Sue is not directly portrayed, she is said to have "never found peace" after leaving Jude (Hardy, 2002, p.397).

The novel proves to be an interesting one for a variety of reasons. First of all, even though Hardy denied it, the novel is said to include some autobiographical elements (Urgan, 1991, p.297). Jude tries to learn Greek and Latin by himself and made himself knowledgeable in the classics and, similarly, Hardy is said to have been an "autodidact", and, just like the character he created, he did not receive a university degree (Diniejk, 2014, para.7). Furthermore, Hardy, just like young Fawley, was first interested in becoming a clergyman, but later his interest faded (Urgan, 1991, p.225). Of course, the reason why Hardy moved away from a religious career was molded by the authors he read like Darwin, Spencer, and Mill (Urgan, 1991, p.225) whereas Jude loses his interest in religion because of his amorous interest in Sue, and burns "all the theological and ethical works that he possessed" (Hardy, 2002, p.209). Moreover,

Gibson (1996) highlighted that Hardy was once in a passionate relationship with his cousin, Tryphena Sparks, so Jude and Sue's being cousins, in fact, draws attention to this episode from Hardy's life (p.37). Adding to these points, Urgan (1991) notes that Hardy also experienced an unhappy marriage and, unable to divorce his first wife, it is no surprise that he focused on the issue of divorce in his novel (p.297, 301). Even though some critics suggested Hardy was opposed to the institution of marriage, it is interesting to note that Hardy married twice himself, thus marking him as someone who was opposed to the institution completely would be rather unfair. Danho (2018), quoting Sandlin, similarly writes that "Hardy was not against the idea of marriage; he simply opposed what was unnatural in the conventions of obligatory unions and repression of innate desire" (p.6). Instead, one might say that he had a critical position regarding the marriage of his day which is evident in Hardy's words "in the original preface" of the book in 1912, where he noted that when it becomes a "cruelty to one of the parties" it is "essentially and morally no marriage" (Millgate, 1994, p.324).

The theme of marriage, and how it was received back then, is another thing which make this novel intriguing. When the book was first published in 1895 it received brutal criticisms simply because it includes characters, Jude and Sue, who decide to pursue their relationship unwedded and because, apparently, all the marriages in the book end in misery. Jude and Arabella divorced first, but even when they married for the second time Jude is no longer happy and Arabella, seeing that Jude is now a burden to her as a sick man, flirts with another man. Even though she says that she "shan't talk of love today" to Vilbert, she lets him hold her waist and she is unaware that she has an "arch expression on her face" (Hardy, 2002, p.395). Sue and Phillotson's marriage makes them both unhappy too. Sue leaves Phillotson first and then returns to him solely out of duty, as discussed above, and Phillotson likewise suffers because of that experience. One of the criticisms of the book comes from a "bishop" who "burns the copy of the book" (Gibson, 1996, p.132). Mina Urgan (1991) adds that some critics even expressed their criticism by ridiculing and changing the title to "Jude the Obscene" (p.297). Moreover, because of how the book approaches the theme of marriage, as discussed above, Hardy was accused of forming an "anti-marriage league" (Urgan, 1991, p.297). All these criticisms caused Hardy to give up writing novels and thus he focused on his poetry for the rest of his life. What is interesting is that, along with those harsh criticisms, there were still people who admired the book which was considered

by some as “a significant contribution to the literature of sexual revolution” and was even regarded as “the finest novel ever written” (Singer, 2001, p.1). Thus, the gap between these two extreme perspectives makes the novel even more interesting.

While discussing what makes that novel captivating, it is clear that Sue Bridehead plays a crucial role. She is there in the autobiographical references but, in addition, she is one of the focal points of the theme of marriage. Actually, she plays her part even in the significance of the title. Etymonline (2023) notes obscurity, as a word, takes its root from the French word *obscur* which means “dark” and “gloomy” along with “unknown”, and the meaning may even be extended “to cover and conceal” (n.p.). Following the first meaning, Millgate (1994) highlighted that Jude is said to have “dark harmonizing eyes”, a “black beard” and “black curly hair”, thus even through his physical portrait, he can be easily related with his title (p.318). In fact, Jude’s obscurity makes itself visible in another way as well. Notably, some critics believe that the novel is a misnamed one because it is Sue not Jude whom the book focuses on (Mallett, 2002, p.119). Thus it can be said that Jude, in fact, is obscure; so concealed, so unseen that he is not even the main character of the novel, supporting the claim that Hardy is said to have “refer[red to] the novel as ‘The Sue Story’” (Singer, 2001, p.4). Considering all these elements which makes the novel interesting, one can see that Sue Bridehead nourishes the charm of the book, she is more than a mere side character, and the fact that she is the main focus of the book means that she deserves to be discussed in detail.

Jude the Obscure provides two “not typical characters found in Victorian fiction [who defy the social conventions]; instead they are creatures alienated from traditional Victorian society” (Singer, 2001, p.14). Following that premise, one can realize why the novel is included in the Victorian canon, because as noted in the theory chapter, Goffman believes that as long as individuals live according to social norms, stigma, marking the different individual, will continue to be part of social life. Therefore, stigma is universal and timeless.

Jude the Obscure by portraying such stigmatized characters, becomes a timeless classic and any reader at any time and place might relate with the characters. Jude and Sue defy norms when they live together out of wedlock with their children. Jude, along with taking on this burden plays the unfamiliar “passive role” as a man, firstly since he does not fight for Sue and then does not get married even if he wanted to because of his

wife-to-be's wish (Singer, 2001, p.9). Sue, likewise, appears as an unconventional woman for the Victorian audience firstly because she runs away to be with another man and, then, she refuses to get married to him. Hardy, in his depiction of these characters "show[ed] readers what can happen when people are unable to adapt to the laws and conventions set forth by society" (Singer, 2001, p.iii). Moreover, for Hardy, "in an instance of an individual go[ing] up against social standards", "society [always] wins" (Mallah, 2015, p.64).

Thus in the story both Sue and Jude return to their former partners, with whom they are unhappy, and, moreover, one cannot help but realize that it is the legal son, Little Father Time, who kills the illegitimate children (Urgan, 1991, p.310). In a way, what society considers true kills those who are unaccepted. However, even though it shows that "justice has been served", the legal child is also the victim of the ridicule of his peers, as will be later discussed (Urgan, 1991, p.310). Considering all this, it can be concluded that in an "understanding society", Jude and Sue's relationship would not become a problem and thus the couple could be merry with their children (Mallah, 2015, p.64). Therefore, society's impact on Jude and Sue cannot be overlooked.

Focusing on Sue Bridehead's role in making this novel a timeless classic, and in the context of the comparative aim of thesis, this chapter aims to discuss Sue Bridehead and her deviancy through the lens of the concept of stigma as applied to the 'fallen woman'. While doing this, as the theory chapter indicates, Goffman's theory will be my main focus, however, to enrich the theoretical approach and to provide a coherent discussion, the supplementary sources (Stafford&Scott and Link&Phelan's articles) discussed in the theory chapter will be added.

As previously discussed in the historical background chapter, Victorian society generally condemned Victorian women to stay indoors and expected them to be ideal and angelic wives and mothers. Ironically, even though the era was dominated by a powerful female monarch, Queen Victoria herself advised women to stay indoors and to have the ultimate joy in wifedom and motherhood. Adding to this, the family was seen as the core of the society, therefore, it was seen as needing to be regulated and controlled by the state because any corruption at home might spread to the rest of the society (Lemmer, 2007, p.47).

Stafford&Scott (1986) note that a *norm* may be defined as “a shared belief that persons ought to behave in a certain way in certain circumstances” (p.81). Then, it can be concluded that marriage established itself as a norm to promote procreation and having a family. *Deviance*, on the other hand, stands for the “violation” of a norm (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.81). Sue Bridehead, in her perception of marriage can be taken as a deviant. For example, Sue refers to the institution of marriage as a “contract” with a variety of mostly negative adjectives more than once (p.201). After she is married to Phillotson, she experiences a dilemma regarding whether to tell Jude that she is unhappy or not because if marriage is a “religious” thing it would be wrong; however, if it is simply a contract there is nothing wrong with sharing her misery with a ‘friend’. Thus she says:

‘Is it wrong, Jude,’ she said with a tentative tremor ‘for a husband or wife to tell a third person that they are unhappy in their marriage? If a marriage ceremony is a religious thing, it is possibly wrong; but if it is only a sordid contract, based on material convenience in householding, rating and taxing, and the inheritance of land and money by children making it necessary that the male parent should be known, which it seems to be—why surely a person may say, even proclaim upon the housetops, that it hurts and grieves him or her? (Hardy, 2002, p.201)

In this quotation Sue defines marriage as a “sordid contract” and she draws attention to the artificial side of marriage (Hardy, 2002, p.201). It is simply needed for economic welfare, and to have legitimate children rather than two people coming together with amorous feelings. This quotation lacks the feeling of love, or even liking, because later she asks Jude whether there are “many couples... where one dislikes the other for no definite fault?” (Hardy, 2002, p.201). Thus, she says that even though there is nothing wrong with Phillotson, she does not like him and does not want to be with him. Later, she again reminds reader that it is a contract but this time she highlights that it is a contract which obligates the parties to take on some responsibilities along with putting in a claim for one’s feelings: “What tortures me so much is the necessity of being responsive to this man whenever he wishes, good as he is morally!—the dreadful contract to feel in a particular way in a matter whose essence is its voluntariness!” (Hardy, 2002, p.204). Sue here possibly refers to the consummation of marriage, so marriage along with having all those material expectation also legalizes Phillotson’s control of Sue’s feelings and body. After Sue’s “distressful confession” about her

unhappy marriage, Jude cannot help but wonder “is it... that the women are to blame; or is it just the artificial system of things under which the normal sex-impulses are turned into devilish domestic gins and springes to noose and hold back those who want to progress?”” (Hardy, 2002, p.208-9).

Hardy, later on, through likening the scene between Sue and Phillotson at the courtroom, takes away all the romantic aspect of their marriage. When Sue upon meeting with Phillotson reveals that “Mr. Fawley held my hand a long while” and she says that she has no particular aim in doing so, Phillotson appears rather indifferent maybe much more indifferent than Sue had expected or maybe because she missed out a more crucial detail, “the kiss” (Hardy, 2002, p.211). Hardy compares this scene with a courtroom. He writes that:

...had this been a case in the court of an omniscient judge he might have entered on his notes the curious fact that Sue had placed the minor for the major indiscretion, and had not said a word about the kiss. (Hardy, 2002, p.211)

The courtroom is a place that directly makes one think of logic rather than emotions, just like the marriage of the two characters. However, Sue expresses her desperate position in marrying him:

...you know what scandals were spread, and how I was turned out of the Training School you had taken such time and trouble to prepare me for and get me into; and this frightened me, and it seemed then that the one thing I could do would be to let the engagement stand. (Hardy, 2002, p.213)

Thus, she says that the gossip about her staying with Jude just one night when she is in training school, and all the things Phillotson did to enroll her in the school along with the promise she made him made Sue think that it was the right thing to do. Adding to that, Mallett (2002) notes that their marriage can be taken as a profitable act; “their engagement is part of a solid, economic professional plan rather than a romance. Two years of teacher training would qualify her as a teacher; marriage would qualify them to take a large school with both a girls’ and a boys’ section” (p.116-7).

One might think that Sue’s critical approach to marriage stems from her own experience of an unhappy one. However, as later unfolds, her reluctance to be a wife makes itself apparent in her relationship with Jude as well. She is the one who chooses

Jude over Phillotson and, in fact, there are some critics who draw attention to the fact that Sue decides to get married to Phillotson only after learning that Jude is married to Arabella (Mallett, 2002, p.117). Therefore, in a way, she marries hastily out of jealousy of Jude, but even when she is with Jude, she refrains from this “iron contract” (Hardy, 2002, p.249). One day, ironically, upon people’s “nodd[ing] down to the happy couple their morning greetings” Sue asks Phillotson whether he “minds” if she “live[s] away” from him (Hardy, 2002, p.213). Upon Phillotson’s highlighting the fact that this would be “irregular”, Sue speaks up and says:

But I do ask it! Domestic laws should be made according to temperaments, which should be classified. If people are at all peculiar in character they have to suffer from the very rules that produce comfort in others! (Hardy, 2002, p.214)

Thus, she first stresses the fact that even if her request is “irregular”, unexpected or unconventional, she still asks it, so in a way she says that when something is ‘regular’, it does not necessarily mean that it is right and should be taken as true (Hardy, 2002, p.213). On the contrary, she notes that humans are different by nature, so how could it be possible to create a law that would serve each and every individual? Moreover, even if one does, the people who are different, who are “peculiar in character” have to suffer because of it (Hardy, 2002, p.214). Then Sue, says that “Why can’t we agree to free each other? We made the compact, and surely we can cancel it—not legally, of course; but we can morally...” (Hardy, 2002, p. 214). Thus, she eliminates the obligation of the governmental gaze, legality, on their marriage. If they want to break up, they can simply do so. And similarly, then, one can sense that if they want to be together they can still do so and the government does not have to know about it. Sue’s unconventional spirit reaches a climax in this dialogue between her and Phillotson:

‘And do you mean, by living away from me, living by yourself?’

‘Well, if you insisted, yes. But I meant living with Jude.’

‘As his wife?’

‘As I choose.’

Phillotson writhed.

Sue continued: ‘She, or he, “who lets the world, or his own portion of it, choose his plan of life for him, has no need of any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation.” J. S. Mill’s words, those are. I have been reading it up. Why can’t you act upon them? I wish to, always.’ (Hardy, 2002, p.215)

In that dialogue Sue clearly puts forward that she wants to take control of her own life rather than “imitate” others and, moreover, she proves herself to be an intellectual woman who reads (Hardy, 2002, p.215). Notably, her quoting John Stuart Mill here deserves attention since he is named among the intellectuals who wrote about Women’s Rights and Sue’s reading and quoting Mill here is one of the supporting points leading her to be considered as a New Woman of her age. Cunningham (1978) defines New Women as: “Heroines who refused to conform to the traditional feminine role, challenged accepted ideals of marriage and maternity, chose to work for a living, or who in any way argued the feminist cause,... were firmly identified by readers and reviewers as New Woman” (p.3). Adding to that, the New Woman frees herself from the interest in “matrimonial achievement” and “she could make her own choice about having children, either with or without the authority of marriage licence” (Cunningham, 1978, p.10). In line with these definitions, it can be argued that Sue is a New Woman. Similarly, Danho (2018) recognizes Sue as “the New Woman heroine” (p.8).

Sue not only quotes Mill but she is proven to be bold enough to actualize her beliefs. After leaving Phillotson, Sue starts living with Jude as mentioned above. The couple, after the arrival of Little Father Time, think deeply about marrying or as Hardy (2002) notes, they want to go “under a Government Stamp”, and they even go to the authorities to fill in the relevant form (p.249). Even though Sue acknowledges the comfort and benefits of being married, she highlights that generally women, unfortunately, have to get married, independent of their feelings and even their wishes. She says:

I am not so exceptional a woman as you think. Fewer women like marriage than you suppose, only they enter into it for the dignity it is assumed to confer, and the social advantages it gains them sometimes—a dignity and an advantage that I am quite willing to do without (Hardy, 2002, p.250)

Thus, again in her words, one realizes that she has no intention of imitating other women who follow what society dictates upon them. When they go to sign “the form

of notice”, Sue notices the words ‘Names and Surnames of the parties’ and this immediately makes her realize that after signing this form they can no longer be “lovers” but they have to be “parties” (Hardy, 2002, p.271). So, Hardy again reminds us that marriage in his day were dependent on this contract, moreover, this “iron contract of marriage” also demands “certain behaviour from the participants”, which proves the point Sue is making and, of course, she has no interest in being part of such an ‘iron contract’¹⁸ (Langland, 1980, p.23) as it, as Sue suggests earlier in the book, will be “destructive to the passion” between them (Hardy, 2002, p.262).

All in all, considering all these examples, Sue proves herself to be an unconventional woman especially through her perception of marriage, for the Victorian audience. However, of course, this peculiarity or individuality is not favoured by society. That explains why the book received brutal criticisms, while the unfavorable attitude of other people towards Sue also makes itself visible in the book itself. As discussed above, society’s impact on Sue plays a part in her collapse at the end of the novel. After pointing out why Sue’s perception of marriage diverges from the Victorian norms, the discussion will now proceed to how she is stigmatized and discriminated against.

Even before her unconventional relationship with Jude, Sue experiences what happens if she does not follow the norms. When she is a student at Melchester Training School, one night Sue did not come to school at closing time and everyone heard and talked about her absence, “the word, [gossip] passed around” (Hardy, 2002, p.134). One of the students says that she went out with her boyfriend, whereas the other points out that it was her cousin because that is what Sue said, but another one simply says that this excuse has become something common, as the school recently overcame a scandal regarding one of the female students meeting with her lover while pretending he was her cousin. Hardy makes an ironic remark here by saying that “the management had consequently been rough on cousins ever since” and possibly because of this experience nobody in the school believes that Sue and Jude are cousins (Hardy, 2002, p.134).

When she came back to school, nobody greeted her and her classmates “learnt that she had been severely reprimanded, and ordered to a solitary room for a week, there to be confined, and take her meals, and do all her reading” (Hardy, 2002, p.136). Sue

¹⁸ The usage of the term “iron contract” belongs to Hardy, 2002, p. 249.

escapes her room where she is confined alone and meets Jude and stays with him. Sue, in the morning, regrets what she has done, not because of what the school would say but rather because of what Phillotson might think of her, as he is the one who helped her to get into the school. However, the institution reacts harshly: Sue says to Jude that “they won’t have me [her] back at the school” and they give her a “parting piece of advice” which is the main reason why Sue feels uncomfortable (Hardy, 2002, p.150). They advise Sue to marry Jude because of her spending the night with him, which she finds “so vulgar and distressing” (Hardy, 2002, p.150). This incident is one of the early examples of how the people around her react when she does not follow what society dictates. Singer (2001) notes that both Jude and Sue “progress” throughout the story, however, “they do so according to their own rules and laws, not that which society dictates” and Sue is such a character “who forever vacillates between the acceptance of social norms and her defiance of them” (p.14). That scene maybe taken as an early example of this vacillation.

When she is with Jude they attempt to get married, but on their wedding day, because of Sue’s unhappiness the couple decides not to get married, at least for that day. During their talk, Jude agrees how different they are from other people by saying:

The intention of the contract is good, and right for many, no doubt; but in our case it may defeat its own ends because we are the queer sort of people we are—folk in whom domestic ties of a forced kind snuff out cordiality and spontaneousness. (Hardy, 2002, p.276)

Sue, taking heart since Jude is not forcing the contract, concludes “If we are happy as we are, what does it matter to anybody?” (Hardy, 2002, p.277). However, unfortunately, the couple learns bitterly that it does matter to other people. First of all, it is visible that the couple has been gossiped about more than once. At the show-yard in Albrickham, Arabella, with her second husband, sees Jude and Sue with Little Father Time. Arabella notes that “they haven’t been married long enough for it [the child] to be theirs” (Hardy, 2002, p.280). And when Cartlett, Arabella’s husband, says that he remembers that Arabella has told him that Jude got married, Arabella answers “ ‘I heard he was going to—that’s all, going to make another attempt, after putting it off once or twice. . . .’ ” and later she stresses the idea that it is not certain who Sue is for Jude (Hardy, 2002, p.281). Arabella comes across her friend, Anny, and while talking to her

she asks “Have you met Jude and his young woman, or wife, or whatever she is?...” (Hardy, 2002, p. 282). Even though it is only Arabella in that scene who is focused on the couple’s status, one can easily assume that if one individual can question it, others may also do that. This is exactly what happens in the following scene, which will be discussed in depth in this chapter. At the very beginning of Chapter V / VI Hardy writes:

The unnoticed lives that the pair had hitherto led began, from the day of the suspended wedding onwards, to be observed and discussed by other persons than Arabella. The society of Spring Street and the neighbourhood generally did not understand, and probably could not have been made to understand, Sue and Jude’s private minds, emotions, positions, and fears. The curious facts of a child coming to them unexpectedly, who called Jude father and Sue mother, and a hitch in a marriage ceremony intended for quietness to be performed at a registrar’s office, together with rumours of the undefended cases in the law-courts, bore only one translation to plain minds. (Hardy, 2002, p. 287)

Thus, Hardy acknowledges that this peculiar couple draws the attention of people and, the two indeed happen to be a “queer sort of people” meaning that they do not fit in (Hardy, 2002, p.276). In that scene the seemingly harmless comments made by Arabella in the previous scene appear to change shape, and the reader clearly witnesses how Sue, and also Jude, are discriminated against. Hardy, after the quotation above, writes that some children ask questions and make comments to Little Father Time possibly regarding his unconventional family. This makes Jude and Sue unhappy, so they leave town for a couple of days, and it is generally thought they went to London to get married because when they return Sue began to refer to herself as Mrs. Fawley instead of Mrs. Bridehead (Hardy, 2002, p.287). However, they are wrong to believe that people’s attitude towards them would change. For example, Hardy (2002) writes that “the baker’s lad and the grocer’s boy”, no longer salute Sue by “lifting their hats gallantly” as they did before “and the neighbouring artizans’ wives looked straight along the pavement when they encountered her” (p.287).

Along with their hurtful attitudes towards her, people also gossip about Sue. Jude is offered a job mending the text of the Ten Commandments of the church, and he is aided by Sue. While they are working together, the cleaning lady and two other women enter the church and speak among themselves, although, their words are

overheard by Sue. One of the ladies asks “She’s his wife, I suppose?” and the other one replies “Some say Yes: some say No” (Hardy, 2002, p.290). Upon that answer the first lady is confused and thus she claims that Sue “ought to be [Jude’s] or somebody’s [wife]—that’s very clear!” (Hardy, 2002, p.290). Thereafter she points to the irony of the situation, saying “A strange pair to be painting the Two Tables! I wonder Biles and Willis could think of such a thing as hiring those!” (Hardy, 2002, p.290). The conversation follows a derogatory story of the churchwarden’s about how once the Ten Commandment was repaired wrongly, which caused trouble for the church. Since Sue hears the two women and the churchwarden's story she cries secretly, saying “I can’t bear that they, and everybody, should think people wicked because they may have chosen to live their own way!” and Jude tries to comfort her (Hardy, 2002, p.291-2).

The scene, however, does not end with this ruthless gossip. Later on, the contractor Willis, Jude’s employer, comes and utters his concern about these murmurings; since Jude is now working in the church to rewrite the Ten Commandments, of course, he expects his mason to have a 'respectable life'. He comes in and says to the couple:

Here—I’ve just had a complaint about this,... I don’t wish to go into the matter—as of course I didn’t know what was going on—but I am afraid I must ask you and her to leave off, and let somebody else finish this! It is best, to avoid all unpleasantness. (Hardy, 2002, p.292)

Thus, Jude loses his job and so does Sue who is helping him because of their peculiar lifestyle. In the book Jude observes that “the time was not ripe for us!” (Hardy, 2002, p.388). His observation proves to be true, the time, Victorian Age, was not ripe enough for Sue and him, Hardy’s timeless characters, to pursue their lives as they wished.

Society’s impact on the characters, therefore, is evident in the novel. Because Sue does not live up to society’s norms, she is discriminated against. As discussed in the theory chapter, Goffman believes that stigma occurs when the virtual social identity and the actual social identity of a person do not coincide. In Sue’s case, if one sees her with the children and Jude, they assume that she is a mother and, of course, a normative way to become one is first dependent on being a wife. So, simply, they assume that she is married with children, which is her virtual social identity in the minds of others. However, people’s suspicions regarding this supposed marriage arise, and they start to

believe that they are not married at all. Therefore, her virtual social identity collapses and, in consequence, she is stigmatized. However, the question arises then; what is she stigmatized for, and, of course, how is she stigmatized?

One may think of Goffman's (1963) idea of the "blemishes of an individual character" (p.13), such as perceived unnatural passions and weak will, as the reason for Sue's stigmatization. Her decisions to get divorced and to cohabit with Jude may be taken as something unnatural according to the Victorian people. However, Sue's stigmatization can be analysed in more depth if one considers Stafford&Scott's ideas. In their (1986) article they supported the notion that stigma can be defined as a "characteristics of a person that is contrary to a norm" (p.80), so that stigma is linked to deviance. Sue as an unmarried mother and as a woman who lives with her lover before legalizing her union, even before getting a divorce from her husband, violates what the age expects of her as a woman, wife, and mother. Therefore, she can be taken as deviant and, if one follows the ideas of Stafford&Scott, she may be expected to experience stigma.

Link&Phelan (2001), in their article "Conceptualizing Stigma" put forward "a relationship between an attribute and stereotype" and explain the steps of how such stigmatization occurs (p.366). It starts with labelling, whereby, simply put, "people distinguish and label human differences" (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.367). Then, people are ready to "link labelled persons to undesirable characteristics- to negative stereotypes" (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.367). This linking provides the process of the "separation of us from them" and thus "labeled persons experience status loss and discrimination" (Link&Phelan, 2001, p.367). This pattern can be easily seen in the instance above. When people realize that the virtual social identity they created for Sue and her actual social identity do not match, people label her difference as an unmarried mother. In that scene, it is implied that Sue and Jude are married but Hardy never describes the actual wedding scene, so the reader, like the gossips described above, cannot be certain of it. Thus, Sue points out that, regarding people's attitudes, their problem is not their actual marital status but rather the fact that people do not believe in them.

In their disbelief, the people can be said to discriminate against Sue simply because she can be put under the category of the "fallen woman". Thus according to Link&Phelan's process of stigmatization, Sue's difference, being an unmarried mother,

is linked with a negative stereotype, that of the fallen woman. As discussed earlier, Victorian women were expected to be angels in their houses along with being obedient and silent to the extent of almost non-existence. Any woman who proved to be otherwise was suspected of being monstrous or simply fallen. Such “portrayal[s and expectations] of women in literature” date back to the Ancient Greeks (Carillo-Rush, 2012, p.1). The myth of Pandora is one of the earliest presentation of women in literature, where she proves to be a troublemaker provoking all the ills in the world because of her opening the cask out of curiosity. Carillo-Rush (2012) notes that: “The story of Pandora opened more than a box of horrors; Pandora began what was to be the entrapment of the female character in literature, the entrapment in one of two roles: the angel or the monster” (Carillo-Rush, 2012, p.1). Moreover, the story of Pandora encapsulates the idea that men need to have control over women because they are dangerous (Carillo-Rush, 2012, p.4); this control is given to them through “a social construction”; marriage (Carillo-Rush, 2012, p.4).

Similar depictions can be seen in Jewish and Christian culture with the famous story of the “Fall of Adam and Eve” where again the woman is blamed for the vexatious life on Earth. In this context, Carillo-Rush (2012), quoting Elaine Pagels, writes that: “The story of Adam and Eve [supports] traditional marriage and [proves] that women, being naturally gullible, are unfit for any role but raising children and keeping house” (p.11). In the Victorian Era, this association between women and domesticity was maintained, and marriage was still considered a prominent aim for women. As discussed, any woman who failed to live-up to this ideal image was prone to be labelled as fallen. However, regarding the Victorian Era, Danho (2018) notes that since it was hard to get a marriage annulled, many people “searched for alternative ways to join their lovers and leave unhappy marriages, such as cohabiting” and, quoting Frost, he adds that “this free union [cohabiting] threatened and undermined the whole concept of marriage because it provided an alternative solution for couples to be together, replaced the sacred institution of marriage and weakened the state’s authority over people” (p.7). This pattern can also be seen in Sue’s case; the fact that by her actions she weakens the authority of the state over her relationship strengthens the argument regarding her deviancy from Victorian norms.

While mentioning fallen women, it must be noted that, regardless of the fact that they are frequently used as synonyms, fallen women and prostitutes are not the same

thing, although the difference between them is minor. Halbmeyer (2013), quoting Nead, notes that “the notion of ‘fall’ implied that she [the ‘fallen woman’] had been respectable but had dropped out of respectable society” and, similarly, quoting Patricia Ingham, she draws attention to the fact that most of the time prostitutes are related to the lower classes while fallen women in fact “become declassed” (para.8) ¹⁹. Regarding Victorian times, Anderson (1993) includes “adulteresses” in the fallen woman category (p.2). In the novel, Sue starts living with Jude before divorcing Phillotson, so as a married woman who lives with another man, she commits adultery. It is no surprise, then, that, seen as an adulteress, people’s attitudes towards her change. Moreover, the fact that people no longer greet her on the street indicates that her social status has ‘fallen’; she was once respectable but is now discarded from society.

Jackson (2000) notes an intermediate category between the expected Victorian woman and the fallen ones, calling them the “wandering women” and she also adds that those women, like the fallen ones, suffer from stigmatisation (p.2). Similarly, women who had “illegitimate children” are included in the category and in her discussion, Jackson (2000) noted another of Hardy’s heroines, Tess (p. 112). Jackson (2000), in a different section, mentions Sue’s name and recognizes her suffering and exclusion by noting her as “suffer[ing] the effects of this prudery perhaps more than any other female character in Victorian literature” (p.147). A detailed discussion regarding Sue is not provided, but still her categorisation is illuminating in recognising her difference from other conventional Victorian woman and also creating this new categorisation.

At the same time, though, it must be noted that, Sue is described as ‘fallen’ by more than one critic. Singer (2001) notes that “Hardy deliberately plans for us to encounter characters who do not represent people typical of Victorian England- the fallen Sue and the poor boy Jude” (p.21). Langland (1980), similarly, adds that “Women are locked in veritable prisons to safeguard their chastity of mind and body; by such lights, Sue has become a fallen woman” (p.21). Thus, Sue as labelled as an unmarried mother and this negative or unwanted label can be linked with the stereotype of the fallen woman. This, in turn, leads to Sue, and also Jude, becoming socially excluded, as the last step of Link&Phelan’s discussion suggests. Thus, the fact that Sue and Jude both lose their jobs underscores the fact that they experience status loss and

¹⁹ Tabea Halbmeyer’s thesis that can be found in <https://www.grin.com/document/926318>

discrimination. Also, when Sue and Arabella meet again, Sue is selling cakes and Arabella asks why she does not return to teaching; Sue simply says “They won’t have me” (Hardy, 2002, p.302). Arabella asks whether it is “Because of the divorce” and Sue acknowledges that that plays a part but also there are “other things”, probably her unconventional life choices (Hardy, 2002, p.302). Still, though it is clear that Sue cannot easily find a job. Moreover, after the incident at the church, the unconventional family decides to leave Aldbrickham. Little Father Time asks where they would go and Jude, first, excludes all the places they have been before, where they were known to live an ‘immoral’ life:

‘We must sail under sealed orders, that nobody may trace us.... We mustn’t go to Alfredston, or to Melchester, or to Shaston, or to Christminster. Apart from those we may go anywhere.’

‘Why mustn’t we go there, father?’

‘Because of a cloud that has gathered over us; though “we have wronged no man, corrupted no man, defrauded no man!” Though perhaps we have “done that which was right in our own eyes” ’ (Hardy, 2002, p. 296-7)

Hardy (2002) also notes that “from that week Jude Fawley and Sue walked no more in the town of Aldbrickham” thus the family has to find a new place to live, where they are not known, Jude highlights the fact that they have done nothing wrong, they have committed no crime; they only followed what they considered to be true regardless of the fact that it clashed with society’s norms (p.298). However, the penalty is severe. Knowing that they are innocent of committing any crime, may make one pity them and simply question their position: Is it wrong to be with someone you want to be with whether it is legally approved or not? Would it not be more wrong for Sue and Jude to pursue their unhappy marriages? And if they are doing the right thing, then why are they discriminated against? What would the Victorian government stamp change in their relationship? If Sue is right in believing that the stamp has a destructive effect on both of the parties, as both Jude’s and Sue’s previous marriages suggest, then one should think about what this stamp really dictates. The institution of marriage in the Victorian Era, therefore, is questioned by Hardy and the discrimination, labelling and stigmatizing of Sue plays a crucial role in this theme. Moreover, Sue’s last name,

Bridehead, proves to be an ironic one because of her critical attitude towards the institution.

Goffman, as discussed in the theory chapter, noted that stigma does not solely affect the stigmatized individual but also the people who are close to them. In Sue's case those characters are Jude, Little Father Time and her 'legal husband' Phillotson. Jude's discrimination has been exemplified in the scene described above, he loses his job because he is sharing this 'immoral' lifestyle with Sue. Little Father Time, before the church scene above, comes crying to Jude and Sue and says that he could not spend the lunch time at school because the other children at school "taunted him about his nominal mother" (Hardy, 2002, p.290). Similarly Hardy (2002) writes that the boy would "come home from school in the evening, and repeat inquiries and remarks that had been made to him by the other boys; and cause Sue, and Jude when he heard them, a great deal of pain and sadness" (p.288). Thus, even though Hardy does not explicitly describe the comments the children make to Little Father Time regarding his parents, Sue and Jude's reaction to the incident allows us perhaps to imagine their remarks.

Richardson (2014), regarding the Victorian era, notes that in an era which elevated the institution of marriage, premarital pregnancy "was regarded as a shame for women" (para.8). However, "the stigma did not apply to unmarried fathers", while the "illegitimate child", just like the mother, has to bear his stigma "until the mid-20th century", condemning both mother and the child to be the "victims of discrimination" (Richardson, 2014, para. 8-10) ²⁰. Little Father Time, even though he is the legal child, is still seen as part of this peculiar family and, therefore, ridiculed by his friends. Regardless of the fact that he is not discriminated against as harshly as his parents, one might still realize that the other children label his difference. In the end, as he explains in his famous last note "Done because we are too menny" to his parents, he kills his two siblings and then commits suicide (Hardy, 2002, p.325). Mallah (2015) writes that:

The children are the victims of society's unwillingness to accept Jude and Sue as man and wife. Thus, at the deaths of the three children, Jude feels it is time

²⁰ Taken from <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/foundlings-orphans-and-unmarried-mothers>

for them to make the marriage legal, but Sue in her feelings of guilt refuses because she feels that she is still Richard's wife. (p.65)

Therefore, the children are also affected negatively by Sue's stigma as a fallen woman and the horrible death of these three young lives is a turning point for Sue; after this incident, she changes her views regarding her life completely (Urgan, 1991, p.310). She was once critical of religious and social institutions but with the death of her children she becomes an extremely tradition-bound character (Urgan, 1991, p.310). First of all, Sue starts going to church "sometimes" (Hardy, 2002, p.334) and she reveals her discomfort with her and Jude's situation. She says "I have thought of it a good deal since my babies died. I don't think I ought to be your wife—or as your wife—any longer" (Hardy, 2002, p.335). Jude claims that she is his wife; however, through their dialogue now one learns that they never actually got married according to the law and, in a later scene, Jude acknowledges their "feint" of "pretending to... be legally married, to save appearances" (Hardy, 2002, p.348). Jude asks, then, why, despite this change in attitude she is still against their getting married :

if you are beginning to respect rites and ceremonies, as you seem to be, I wonder you don't say it shall be carried out instantly? You certainly are my wife, Sue, in all but law. What do you mean by what you said? (Hardy, 2002, p.335)

However, Sue answers that she does not think she is his wife anymore simply because she is Richard's (Hardy, 2002, p.335). That is why she cannot get married to Jude. Similarly she believes that Arabella is Jude's real wife. She says: "I see marriage differently now! . . . My babies have been taken from me to show me this! Arabella's child killing mine was a judgment; the right slaying the wrong" (Hardy, 2002, p.338). As discussed previously in Urgan's note on the legitimate child killing the illegitimate, now Sue voices the same idea and, as one can already infer, her attitude towards marriage and her union with Jude changes totally because for Sue, her marriage with Jude is not "Heaven's own" marriage even though it can be counted as "Nature's own marriage" (Hardy, 2002, p.339). Finally Sue, returns to her rightfully claimed husband, Phillotson, and advises Jude to return and remarry Arabella.

Another character who is influenced by Sue's choice to live with Jude is Phillotson. After Sue leaves him, people did not at first interpret her absence as the end of the couple's marriage. However, after a month people started to ask where she was

and upon Phillotson's response that he was ignorant of her whereabouts "people ventured to affirm that Sue had played him false and run away from him" (Hardy, 2002, p.237). "The chairman of the School Committee" takes the situation in hand and asks about the murmurs (Hardy, 2002, p.237). Phillotson simply says that there is nothing secret about Sue's leaving and he stresses the fact that he has given his consent to Sue. The students seeing them from a-far, even though they do not specifically hear what they speak about, tell their parents that something has happened concerning Phillotson. Similarly, the "little maidservant" spreads unfounded rumours that Phillotson helped Sue and even wrote a letter to Sue's lover asking for him to take good care of her, etc (Hardy, 2002, p.238). All this leads the managers of the school to demand a meeting with Phillotson in private. Even though Hardy does not directly portray what is discussed among them, Phillotson reveals what has happened to his friend, Gillingham: "They have requested me to send in my resignation on account of my scandalous conduct in giving my tortured wife her liberty—or, as they call it, condoning her adultery. But I shan't resign." (Hardy, 2002, p.238).

Gillingham tries to make Phillotson understand the situation from their point of view and says "You see, they have to consider what you did as done by a teacher of youth—and its effects as such upon the morals of the town; and, to ordinary opinion, your position is indefensible" (Hardy, 2002, p.238). However, soon after Phillotson's "formal letter of dismissal" arrives, and even though he defends himself by saying that this concerned his private life and affairs, the managers "insist[ed] that the private eccentricities of a teacher came quite within their sphere of control, as it touched the morals of those he taught" (Hardy, 2002, p.239). What Phillotson goes through shows parallellisms with Jude's losing his job because of his supposedly immoral life style. He is also blamed for his passivity as a husband: Phillotson is now being accused of letting his wife go, shutting his eyes to Sue's unacceptable choice and act. Also, in his dialogue with Arabella, Phillotson acknowledges that he is in Marygreen but this time it is different. He was taken on by the school not with an open heart but, luckily, as apparently all the other schools "closed against" him, "the vicar" knew him before his "so-called eccentric conduct towards my [his] wife had ruined my [his] reputation as a schoolmaster" (Hardy, 2002, p.306). Thus, even though he is on a low income here, he cannot take the "risk of having my [his] old domestic experiences raked up against"

him (Hardy, 2002, p.306). Thus, he prefers to stay exactly where he is because he is afraid that his horrible, 'immoral' past might return to haunt him.

All in all, all three characters; Jude, Little Father Time, and Phillotson, are affected by Sue's stigma; as Goffman (1963) notes, if an individual is stigmatized and therefore excluded, then it is highly likely that the people who are close to him/her would be affected (p.43-44). In *Jude the Obscure*, then, Sue Bridehead proves herself to be an unconventional woman with her socially undesirable actions like leaving her husband and starting living with another man even before her legal divorce, and her refusal of the "iron contract" of marriage even with the man she runs away to (Hardy, 2002, p. 249). All these things depict her as a deviant character.

Deviancy for Stafford&Scott can be related with stigma; what she goes through especially in the church scene also shows parallels with Link&Phelan's steps of stigma. As Goffman (1963) noted, stigma arises when there is a "discrepancy" between the virtual social identity and the actual social identity of an individual (p.12). When people see a woman being with a man and having children, they consider her as a legal wife and mother; the Victorian era in particular emphasised such qualities in a woman. However, when people realize that Sue may not be the legal wife of Jude and, is therefore an illegitimate mother, she is prone to face stigma. First as Link&Phelan discuss, they label what differentiates her, her illegitimate cohabitation and motherhood, and then they simply relate that difference to a negative stereotype, that of the fallen woman, which was, in fact, used as a label for all those women who did not fulfill what was expected from them in the Victorian Era. Therefore, she is discriminated against and experiences a status loss that is evident in her losing her job with Jude and in other people's behaviour towards and murmurs about her. Discussing Sue's experience through the lens of stigma is important because through the discrimination against her and through her deviancy Hardy builds up his critical approach towards Victorian marriages, which is, at the same time, a central theme of the novel. Moreover, it must be noted that the misfit characters, in Hardy's case Sue Bridehead, are easily relatable to any time and place, thus they play a part in ensuring the novels durability and universality which demonstrates why it is crucial to discuss Sue and her exclusion process.

CHAPTER 4

THE STIGMA OF THE FALLEN WOMAN IN *YERYÜZÜNDE BİR MELEK*

“People cannot do whatever they want. They give importance to what other people wants rather than their own wishes”

Yeryüzünde Bir Melek, 2000, p. 316

Before novels became part of Ottoman society, narratives were conveyed to the masses through *meddahs* and there were also *aşık hikayeleri*, which includes larger than life, idealized characters, and their unforgettable love stories. Meddahs at the beginning were those people who praised the prophet and his family (Düzgün, 2000, p.64). Later on, though, in the 17th to 19th centuries the term referred to those storytellers who performed the story both in the palaces and to the masses in the ordinary streets (Düzgün, 2000, p.64). Meddah stories differ sharply from *aşık hikayeleri* because of their portrayal of life-like heroes and their lives (Moran, 1983, p.16).

The story of the novel's adoption in Ottoman society is quite different than the Western one. As Moran (1983) points out, in Europe the rise of the novel was connected with the bourgeoisie and its social and economic circumstances (p.6). As previously discussed in the historical background chapter of this thesis, the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century took the West as its model in many ways in order to avoid collapsing, and “as a part of this process of Westernization”, the novel was introduced through “translations and imitations” of Western ones (Moran, 1983, p.6). Moran, in her book *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış* (1983) wrote that at the most basic level Ottoman society could be divided into two; the *reaya* (ruled, common people) and the ruling class, and points out that, more importantly, these two classes were loosely linked (p.7). One of the things shared by the two classes was the *meddahs*, since they narrated their stories to both classes, in the palace and on the street (Moran, 1983, p.7).

Over time, though, especially, with the ruling class turning its face to the West and copying the Western lifestyle, the gap between the two classes increased even further. The *New Ottomans*, born as a reaction to these superficial imitations included many early Ottoman novelists who were aware of this growing gap, and who preferred to be close to the common people. Moreover, literature was used again as a powerful tie with the folk, as it became a medium to voice their ideas to them, particularly

through newspapers and, of course, novels (Moran, 1983, p.10). Therefore, perhaps predictably, novels were much more concerned with the daily life problems of the common people and they aimed to be didactic. The authors, likewise, were sensitive to the problems of daily life such as slavery, marriage, attitude towards women, etc. and all these became potential topics for their novels (Moran, 1983, p.11).

In Moran's (1983) view, Ahmet Mithat is thought to have been connected with the *New Ottomans* and, as expected, he wrote about a variety of topics concerning social issues, while aiming to educate the masses (p.11). For instance, in *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında* he depicts the life of a young prostitute, and the problems she faced, including social isolation and humiliation, whereas in another famous novel *Felâhâtun Bey ile Rakım Efendi* he mocks what he sees as excessive Westernization. Regarding his writing style, he is said to be influenced by the *meddahs* since just like them he speaks with the reader, makes his own comments on the topic and predicts the potential question marks in the head of the reader (Moran, 1983, p.15).

For example, in *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*, Şefik's lover Raziye and İsmail's lover Cevriye look almost identical and Ahmet Mithat predicts what the readers are thinking when he writes: "If there is one among our readers who dwell upon the idea that Şefik's lover and İsmail's lover are one, now that decision of İsmail would thrill them to pieces" (Mithat, 2000, p.140). Later though, he speaks to the readers saying "Do not be alarmed! Don't people believe that humans are created as pairs? It is a phrase that has been confirmed many times. That woman, the one İsmail loves, is not Raziye" (Mithat, 2000, p.149). Ahmet Mithat also writes as if he is telling the story before his readers like a *meddah* and he does not refrain from breaking this wall between the author and the reader. For instance, again in *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*, he exclaims: "Ah! Oh, my readers! Don't you have experience? Has your heart not been invaded by a sole angelic face? Of course, it has... And under such an invasion, have you noticed any beautiful faces around? Never!..." (Mithat, 2000, p.46).

Berna Moran (1983), also, noted that romances, not chevalier stories per se but romances in the sense of entertaining, escapist stories, were influential upon early Ottoman novelists (p.16). That influence can be traced with a common story arc where the two lovers are somehow separated but they remain loyal to their love no matter what happens and finally, they are reunited as a reward for their fidelity which is seen as the

most crucial virtue (Moran, 1983, p.16). It may be too bold to say that Ahmet Mithat was solely affected by this common frame; however, his novel *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek* (1878) follows more or less the same pattern. *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek* is about two lovers, Raziye and Şefik. The two meet when they are children and have been in love with each other ever since. However, throughout the story, their love is tested by separations and, more importantly, by a jealous woman. Their merry time together is interrupted when Şefik leaves İstanbul for Paris to complete his medical education.

Paris does not change much about Şefik's love for Raziye though. Sometime later, as a good-looking doctor, Şefik comes back to İstanbul but upon finding that Raziye is now married to another man named İbrahim, he regrets it. However, this does not prevent them from seeing each other secretly under the *cumba* (the bay window) at night. As a matter of fact, Ahmet Mithat starts his writing *in medias res* with one of these secret meetings, and even though one may regard Raziye's husband as an obstacle, Şefik says that "I can still see that your heart is leaping for me, still, you take a shine to me. Only your body is married to İskender Bey. Your heart is still virgin! Is it not?" (Mithat, 2000, p.11). Thus, the couple overcome another obstacle but with Arife they are on the edge of losing their love. Arife, one of Şefik's patients and a widow known for having various lovers, falls in love with Şefik and even though she confuses him with her beauty, he rejects her love. Revealing her vengeful nature, Arife plots revenge on Şefik and Raziye. She plots for them to get caught in one of their secret night meetings and makes sure that people witness the event. Raziye's husband divorces her and leaves her penniless, whereas Şefik is sent to prison.

Knowing that Şefik rejected her because of her ill fame, Arife wants Raziye to share her destiny, which is why Arife plots the second act of her revenge. She finds a woman who looks exactly like Raziye, named Cevriye, and she tricks her into having lovers and eventually makes it known that she is a fallen woman. Of course, while doing that she makes Cevriye use Raziye's name, making Cevriye believe that she is doing this for Cevriye's own good so that her name would not be ill-known. However, all this, as one can already assume, is part of her revenge because now everyone believes that it is Raziye who is accepting lovers. After his harsh experience in prison, Şefik comes back to İstanbul, and with a turn in the wheel of fortune, becomes a well-known and rich doctor. However, he is ignorant of Arife's plot, therefore, like anybody else, he believes that Raziye has become a fallen woman. One day, though, Şefik and Raziye

meet again and all is revealed. Raziye, likewise, is tricked by Arife through her letter informing Raziye about Şefik's death so that she would not search for him. Digging deeper, Şefik learns the whole story and successfully clears Raziye's name, ending up marrying his 'pure' lover whereas Arife becomes a street vendor, and realizing that Şefik and Raziye are getting ready to get married, commits suicide. Following the traditional pattern, then, the lovers may be said to overcome any obstacles and by proving their fidelity towards each other, they are rewarded with a happy ending.

Nevertheless, the happy ending the author presents to his characters, especially a heroine who is reunited with her one and only love - but not her husband- was heavily criticised at the time (Özdemir, 2014, p.88). As Kekeç (2014) notes, “the idealized heroine being married and falling in love with another man is an innovative and polemical attitude” regarding the era (p.92). After all, Ahmet Mithat Efendi does not refrain from calling this woman an angel regardless of her unacceptable experience as a married woman. Similarly, Ekici (2019) notes that possibly “Ahmet Mithat considered those criticisms” and in an attempt to moderate this negative attitude towards his story and characters, he “leaves Raziye poor, turning her into a laundry lady, as a punishment mechanism” (p.32).

Along with this punishment, Ahmet Mithat, aware of the potential criticisms, went further and added an epilogue where he gives Raziye a space to express herself. In the epilogue she recognizes her mistake and thus she reveals “but a mistake is a mistake” and she utters gratitude to Nimetullah Hanım and Salih Çavuş who helped her through her journey (Mithat, 2000, p.348). Above all, however, she pays tribute to Şefik who reveals the truth regarding her un-fallenness. Thus, along with accepting her mistake, her angelic voice continues without any hatred or condemnation of Arife. Rather than that, she directs readers' attention to the harsh position of women in love. She says that her aim is only to let the reader know “what a huge burden women experience in the realm of love” and that “love is something holy, individual to each and every heart but it needs to be sanctified with a wedding” (Mithat, 2000, p.349). Consequently, through Raziye, Ahmet Mithat tells his readers that he is aware of the customs and, in fact, does not challenge them.

Regarding his attitude towards relationships, Özdemir (2014) also notes that for Ahmet Mithat a balanced synthesis of West and East is needed, meaning that he is not

against the “modernisation” of his society but he does not side with losing ties with tradition completely; thus Ahmet Mithat may be said to be against out-of-wedlock relationships (p.115, 120, 135). Still, though, he is said to have had a critical approach regarding the marital customs of his day. For instance, pre-arranged marriages were the common practice in the era but Ahmet Mithat prefers the couple to meet and get to know each other before they marry as long as they stay within the limits of religious belief, including, predominantly, chastity (Özdemir, 2014, p.59). Furthermore, Ahmet Mithat, goes as far as supporting romantic relationships and love between young couples and possible meeting places free from the critical gaze and gossip of other people (Özdemir, 2014, p.243). At the same time, he is concerned with the education and the intellectual development of young women. Ahmet Mithat acknowledges the duty of mothers and fathers towards their children and he is concerned with women’s education because according to him “First and foremost the woman should be educated so that she could be a good wife and mother” (Özdemir, 2014, p.45). In the novel, Raziye is said to have had as good an education as Şefik when she was little. Both of the children are said to have had no other occupation and “there is nothing scientific left for the young ones to learn... [as they were] raised with perfect nurture and education” (Mithat, 2000, p.32-33).

Compared to his contemporaries, then, Ahmet Mithat is distinguished by his attitude towards women. More specifically he is said to have “a mild attitude regarding women’s love and questions the patterns imposed upon women” compared to other novelists (Özdemir, 2014, p.237). Supporting this, Özdemir (2014) notes that for Ahmet Mithat a good marriage is based on love and she quotes him as saying: “Love is a blessing. If loved by a man, and at the same time she becomes a fellow on his journey in life and his wife, that blessing is completed” (p.243).

As discussed previously, Ahmet Mithat has a critical approach to the marriage customs of his day, as can also be seen in the novel *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*. One example could be Raziye’s marriage to İskender Bey, which is decided by Raziye’s father. The man is much older than her and, moreover, Raziye has no love for İskender Bey. Ahmet Mithat does not refrain from uttering his sadness for this common practice:

Raziye loves Şefik very much, right? And she still does. As a matter of fact, we have learned that she will love him forever. However, in our country, it is so

rare that girls end up with the man they love, and... rather they end up with a man whose face they do not even see. (Mithat, 2000, p.50)

Later, his tone gets more bitter and he simply asks: “Is it Raziye who will end up with him or her father?” (Mithat, 2000, p.51). Adding to that, Ahmet Mithat is known to be critical of the huge age gap, especially in prearranged marriages which as Ekici (2019) notes, is exemplified by Raziye and İskender Bey again (p.31). İskender Bey is described as “almost past thirty, lost first and second wives, and wanting Raziye as his third wife to be” from her father (Mithat, 2000, p.50). İskender Bey, as Raziye’s father predicts, loves Raziye and treats her with respect; however, Ahmet Mithat (2000) notes that “he is a man of mature years and has no idea about what to say and how to act to a woman, only settling for small talk and respect, which opened the gates to the huge changes regarding the couple” (p.51). The remarks are followed by the scene of Raziye and Şefik’s meeting and Raziye’s sorrow when she thinks that Şefik could be in İskender Bey’s shoes (Mithat, 2000, p.51). Considering all these criticisms he puts forward, in the end, as a supporter of love-oriented marriages, Ahmet Mithat makes his heroine reunite with her true love.

All the examples above are not only important in showing the author’s critical attitude towards marital customs and his didactic aim, but also emphasise that Raziye plays a crucial role in posing them. She is a heroine who is named an angel, perceived as an angel by the author regardless of her unconventional love for Şefik, as will be further discussed. She voices herself by declaring that she is not a threat but a mirror to people in showing the burdensome effects of love upon women and young couples. At the same time, she may be said to become a vehicle for Ahmet Mithat’s ideas regarding the problematic issue of feelings and duty after marriage. Moran (1983) quotes Ahmet Mithat as follows:

a man needs to remain faithful to his lover or wife but setting his heart on someone is something that he cannot control; the only thing he has control over is whether he cheats or not. One is a feeling, the other is a task. (p.21)

Following the quote, it may be concluded that Raziye, even though she is married to İbrahim Bey, cannot control her true feelings for Şefik. Thus, one may simply ask how one can blame her in such a condition. Whether she can be considered as cheating or not is an argument beyond this paper’s scope. However, as already

discussed, because Ahmet Mithat predicted potential criticism, he punished her in a way by turning her into a poor washerwoman (Ekici, 2019, p.32). As discussed in the historical background chapter on the Tanzimat Period, the institution of the family and thus what legalizes the couple's union, the institution of marriage, is given importance. The couple is expected to crown their togetherness with marriage. A norm, as has already been discussed above, is simply a belief that is shared by every or most of the members of a society. The expectation thus may be taken as a norm of the time. Considering the relationship between Raziye and Şefik, then, one may regard them as beyond the limits of the normative togetherness. And following that premise, Özdemir (2014) notes that it is common to see punishment mechanisms in the instances where there is a "deviation from the norms", as in Raziye's case, but her pure heart and more than anything else, "her chastity" granted her a happy ending (p.237& p.146).

The novel takes its title from this angel-like heroine, Raziye. In fact, in the novel, she is referred to as an angel more than once and even openly named as an angel on earth (*veryüzünde bir melek*) by the author; Ahmet Mithat (2000) writes "Şefik... cannot forget his angel on earth Raziye" (p.235). Moreover, after meeting with Arife, Şefik becomes conscious of his lover's pure beauty, thus he utters:

Oh, my angel dear Raziye! You are the one on earth! You are an angel on earth! The two opposite sides of womanhood have manifested themselves separately in each. All the angelness revealed upon you and all the sensuality revealed upon her. (Mithat, 2000, p.89)

That quotation marks the novel's main heroine but, furthermore, the quote reveals the antipodal yet inseparable characteristics of the two women. First, like the typical novels of the day, this novel also includes two common types of female heroines; the victim and the femme fatal (Moran, 1983, p.23). The latter proves to be passionate and brings about the downfall of the young handsome man. However, even though the figure may be found in Western novels as well as the Ottoman ones, she appears rather differently since "the social circumstances are different" (Moran, 1983, p.26). For example, in the Ottoman case it is highly uncommon for a woman to meet with a man or have affairs, and the root may be followed back to "the 17th century meddah stories where there is a fallen woman plotting against the man and the woman he chooses over her" (Moran, 1983, p.26). Just as in the case of the femme fatal though,

the victim type is also different from the Western victims, who are tempted by a young, rich man (Moran, 1983, p.26). The victim could be the victim of her own love, she could either choose death over betraying her lover or she could be the victim of her parents or the femme fatal character (Moran, 1983, p. 23). Considering all these things, Arife can be named as the femme fatal aspiring to get her revenge whereas Raziye is the victim of her plans.

Secondly, as the two antipodal characters, it may be inferred that Arife belongs to the carnal world, whereas Raziye stands for the spiritual realm. Arife is a beautiful woman, a beauty that makes a sworn lover question his love for the other, however, she easily reveals her evil nature and intentions. Raziye, on the other hand, has internal as well as external beauty. Adding to this, Ahmet Mithat (2000) takes the argument further and clearly writes: “Raziye is a spirit. Already Şefik called her my angel on earth. Is not the meaning of the word the soul? Whereas Arife is just flesh. Oh what flesh!” (p.97). In the end, though, Arife’s carnal beauty proves weak compared to “*aşk-ı ruhani*” (spiritual love), and thus “*aşk-ı ruhani aşk-ı cismaniye galebe eyledi*” (Mithat, 2000, p.104). Thus, carnal love is overcome by spiritual love in the end.

Their belonging to these two different realms also highlights the difference between the victim and the femme fatal, the two antipodal heroines. A similar opposition may be found in Thomas Hardy’s book as well. Mallett (2002) noted the difference between Sue and Arabella saying that Jude in his mind creates “an ideal Sue” and she is more “refined” compared to Arabella (p.112). Urgan (1991) highlights another dimension of the differences between the characters by saying that Arabella stands for an “entirely sexual relationship”, in other words she is closer to *aşk-ı cismaniye* in Ahmet Mithat’s words (p.300). In contrast to her, one may place Sue, who is more suitable for Jude’s intellectual interests, as after all Jude likens “her intellect” to “spark[ling]... diamonds” (Hardy, 2002, p.221)²¹. Furthermore, even though it is not Hardy specifically who call her thus, Jude in the novel refers to Sue as his “guardian-angel”, and simply “an angel” like Raziye (p.342&p.360).

As the summary indicates, the novel revolves around the theme of love and revenge. The two themes are integrated since Arife’s revenge is the result of her love of Şefik and the revenge is plotted against Raziye because Şefik loves her back.

²¹ The same quotation is also mentioned by Mina Urgan (1991) in page 306.

Moreover, Arife's revenge is based on what other people think of Raziye. Angrily she reveals to Şefik that "Soon you will accuse her of fallenness!..You choose this Madam, the woman you love, over me 'cause she is not fallen as I am, do you not? It is easy to lower her to my fallen state" (Mithat, 2000, p.111). Similarly, Arife reveals her whimsical plan to Raziye, and after being rejected, she writes to Raziye thus; "Soon you will be disgraced so much that Şefik, the man who regards me as a banal lover, compared to you will consider me quite honest" (Mithat, 2000, p.167). Thus, along with signalling revenge as one of the ultimate themes in the storyline, the quotations also indicate openly that this main theme could not be taken separately from what other people think of Raziye, therefore the point deserves discussion.

Adding to that, as previously discussed, Raziye plays a crucial role in voicing Ahmet Mithat's own criticisms regarding the marital customs and expectations of young lovers in his day. Even though the ending commemorates Raziye as victorious, throughout the story she is subjected to harsh conditions, or, as previously noted, she is said to be punished. Ekici (2019) writes that, regarding Raziye's position, "being married in body but with the soul belonging to someone else was not acceptable and thus the novel came in for criticism" (p.32). Considering this criticism Ahmet Mithat is said to punish his heroine as he " [left] Raziye poor and turned her into a laundry lady and not satisfied with it, by having a bad reputation [he] ensured her exclusion from society" (Ekici, 2019, p.32). Ekici's note adds another dimension. Raziye is important in voicing Ahmet Mithat's criticisms, who from the first place aims to be didactic using his heroine's experience as a vehicle. However, now, Raziye's exclusion shows that Ahmet Mithat is not ignorant of the reader's response to his novel. Thus, the exclusion scene proves to be prominent among Raziye's other experiences.

In other words, her exclusion is crucial for the author as well, which marks the topic's importance through another dimension. Raziye is the main heroine of the novel; the novel is named after her and what she goes through provides an insight into Ahmet Mithat's criticisms regarding the marital customs of his time. The novel, at the same time, is nourished by two inseparable themes, love and revenge; both of which revolve around Raziye, again marking her as the main heroine. The exclusion scene is important for the readers, because this unconventional heroine is punished and because the author shows that he pays attention to his readers. At the same time, the exclusion scene is integrated with the two main themes of the novel. Thus, such a heroine and her

exclusion deserve a detailed discussion. To discuss how this exclusion is portrayed in the novel, the ideas discussed in the theory chapter will aid in comprehending how and why she is stigmatised. In fact, along with Raziye, Arife, and Cevriye, will also experience some sort of exclusion from society, however, in order to provide a balanced comparison and since Raziye is the main heroine of the novel this chapter plans focus primarily on Raziye's exclusion more and, of course, on her inevitable stigmatization as a fallen woman.

For one of their secret night meetings, the couple decides to meet in an apartment. Raziye comes there with her confidant, Nimetullah hanım. Arife charges Şakir Aga to follow their every move and she takes advantage of this situation. Şakir Aga agitates other people in the *kahve* telling them that there is a “guest” in the house, İbrahim Bey's wife, which is unacceptable and it is “a good deed to save the man's honor” and, thus, along with the crowd he raids the apartment (Mithat, 2000, p.197). Nimetullah Hanım tries to save her lady by telling the others that she is the one who is meeting Şefik. However, Şakir Aga tells them that there is another woman. When Raziye is found she seems almost dead, but the people are merry to see her like that and shout without mercy, saying that they have seen “a lot like her!” (Mithat, 2000, p.208).

The same people, though, in the tenth chapter of the first book do not refrain from admiring her when she walks on the street. It is not long after Şefik's arrival into İstanbul and thus he has not yet seen the adult Raziye, when as “İskender Bey's wife” she walks into Bahçekapısı, probably today's Fatih (Mithat, 2000, p.55). Ahmet Mithat describes people's admiration of her as such: “When Raziye walks through the Bahçekapısı, everyone in the bazaar admiringly looking at her could only liken her to the Ancient Greeks' loving Aphrodite, and almost worshipped her” and he later adds “from every side voices saying “Maşallah” were heard” (Mithat, 2000, p.54). Moreover, Şekerci informs Şefik about the beauty of Raziye's soul and adds that everyone in the town knows about her good deeds. He says:

What a good and generous woman she is. Whoever comes to her mansion in need will not leave there gloomy! Up till now she has provided a dowry almost fifteen girls and helped them to get married. Raziye hanım is a fellow townspersons to all. (Mithat, 2000, p.55)

However, after the revelation of her secret meeting with Şefik, the people now walk along the street with the two culprits, and from each window, there is an eye watching them. The shame parade ends with their trial where Şefik is beaten and Raziye is rejected by her husband the following evening leaving her penniless and, on the same day, Şefik is first sent to Vidin as an oarsman and later to prison. Even though Ahmet Mithat does not write specifically about what has become of Raziye afterwards, except that she has become a laundry lady, Salih Çavuş, who was there when they were caught, helps Raziye and Nimetullah hanım, and it is he who tells the rest of Raziye's story. Apparently, Raziye and Nimetullah hanım ask for shelter after the trial since there is nowhere for them to go. However, their cry is left unanswered. First, they are lied to about the absence of the owners of the household regardless of the fact that their two heads were seen by Nimetullah and Raziye through the window (Mithat, 2000, p.260). Raziye adds hopelessly:

Leave it alone, sister, don't those who open their doors to us only take us in for one night, dismissing us the next day? Who wants to host a whore who has just been caught? Even if they open the door today, tomorrow we will perish! (Mithat, 2000, p.260)

Nimetullah hanım supporting these words says "Yes, no one accepted us as guests. They were right since we are not the sort of people to be taken in as such" (Mithat, 2000, p.265). Salih Çavuş pities them especially after the trial and thus, he takes them in. However, this time the people's attitude towards him changes. Some men go as far as offering gold to spend time with these two women, while some warn him to "get rid of these whores" (Mithat, 2000, p.261). Salih Çavuş sums up the situation to Şefik:

How can you tell them about the truth of the situation my friend! People are like that! When they utter a sinister word about someone, the whole world believes it! No need for a witness, no need for proof! (Mithat, 2000, p.261)

Keeping how stigma occurs, and the process of its relevance to negative stereotyping in mind, one can find parallels. Through that parallelism, one can appreciate how Raziye and the people around her are stigmatized more deeply. As previously discussed, Goffman (1963) believes that when one meets the other, one has "anticipations" of the other and thus puts them in possible categories (p.12). However,

when these anticipations are proven to be wrong, when a person does something other than what the anticipated category demands, that person is turned into “a discounted one” (Goffman, 1963, p.11).

Considering the scene above, it may be concluded that, knowing that she is İbrahim Bey’s wife, people define Raziye as a married woman and, of course, they expect Raziye to do whatever a Tanzimat wife should do. As discussed previously, in the Tanzimat Era, it was supposed that marriage was the peak of a woman’s life, and this sentenced them to a life lived predominantly indoors, supposedly precluding them from having lovers. Raziye, in the minds of others, is put under the category of a wife; however, her having a secret lover seems quite odd within the category. Thus, her untraditional behaviour attracts the attention of others so that, in the minds of others, she may be considered to, as Goffman (1963) puts it, “discounted” (p.11).

In such cases, Goffman (1963) believes that one can discuss stigma and, among the three types of stigma he presents, the one Raziye has fits in the category of the “blemishes of individual character” (p.14). Goffman also noted that stigmatized individual is high likely to be excluded from society and will experience disvaluation. As discussed in the theory chapter, through the ideas of Stafford&Scott (1986), a deviant is high likely to experience a stigma since he will also be disvalued (p.79). In the novel, what Raziye experiences is beyond the norms of Tanzimat society, therefore, she can be named as a deviant. Her disvaluation marks itself in the people’s changing attitudes towards her after the raid. In the bazaar scene, Raziye appears to be this beautiful woman that everyone turns to and looks at, and also her goodness is appreciated by everyone in the town. Devoutly appreciating her outer as well as inner beauty, as discussed, she is compared to an ancient deity, Aphrodite. This is a strong image, but her beauty and elegance are overshadowed by her ‘faulty’ action. It reached such a point that the people no longer welcome her in their houses. Özdemir (2014), quoting Ortaylı, notes that historically speaking, in the Ottoman Empire, inhabitants of a district would make a sudden attack on the houses of people who demonstrated inconvenient behaviour and, being exposed and ridiculed, those people were taken to court and, mostly, they were accused of fornication and thus they were sent to be oarsmen or to prison (91).

All in all, it can be noted that Raziye, once an admired woman, from the peak falls into the position of an adulteress. Ahmet Mithat follows the customs of his day, and sends Şefik to be an orsman, at the same time exposing the couple to the mass. It has been already noted that the New Ottoman writers, which Ahmet Mithat is thought to be part of by some scholars, turn their faces towards the common people, aware of their problems and customs. Thus, Ahmet Mithat, following a common way to punish ‘criminals’, arguably demonstrates his identification with the common people (Ekici, 2019, p.32). Likewise, just as he is aware of the possible criticisms about Raziye, it may be noted he is also aware of the possible criticisms regarding Şefik. Thus, not only Raziye but Şefik, too, is punished.

As previously discussed, Link&Phelan (2001) take another perspective regarding stigma’s “components” (p.367). They believe that linking with a negative stereotype is also crucial in the process. Along with it, the components include *labelling, separation from us, status loss and discrimination* (Link&Phelan, 2001, p. 368-369-370). Their discussion may prove beneficial in understanding Raziye’s stigma as well. Considering the raid and shame parade scenes, people may be inferred as labelling Raziye as an adulteress, which marks her as different from other Tanzimat wives and, of course, it is something unacceptable. Besides, Özdemir (2014) highlights the broad terminology of prostitution in the Tanzimat era, she notes: “prostitution... encapsulates those situations which do not match with the socially acceptable forms of togetherness” (p.150). Of course, a ready-made togetherness defines married life, therefore, Raziye’s loving Şefik and the secret meetings of the two are not welcomed. Following Özdemir’s quote then, one may infer that people are ready to name Raziye as a fallen woman. In fact, the book provides a strong example of how people see her; in the scene where Şakir Aga agitates the crowd to raid the household, someone in the crowd calls to Raziye “what a whore!” (Mithat, 2000, p.197).

Furthermore, Üner (2008) notes that, in Ottoman society, “compared to Western societies the perception of a fallen woman is much stricter, and with the Tanzimat era she is judged with a strict moral understanding” (p.128). Thus, Raziye is expected to be punished, not just simply excluded, and the fact that she is a Tanzimat heroine results in a stricter punishment, she is now poor, excluded and because of Arife’s plan she is believed to have accepted lovers. The fallen woman status is thus consolidated.

Considering all these points, one may infer that Raziye is first labelled as an adulteress, which marks her intolerable nonconformity with the acceptable characteristics of a wife, and, furthermore, since her relationship with Şefik is an unconventional one, people are ready to label her as a fallen woman, which is a negative stereotype. The link manifests itself when some men offer money to Salih Çavuş to spend their time with Raziye. After the raid, when she is exposed to others, when the shame parade occurs, she is concretely separated from the rest of the inhabitants. She is taken as a criminal to the court and exposed to public scrutiny. The scene suggests that there were people watching her, the other or the unwanted one, from their windows. The following day everyone at home shuts their doors in her face, forgetting that once she was the one who helped a lot of people. She was once known to be respected by everyone in town, but now she is not even taken into any house as a guest, marking her otherness from the rest of the town people and the town ladies. She thus experiences discrimination. Eventually, as a rejected or divorced woman, and, of course, as a fallen woman in the minds of others, she loses her married woman status, thus, she falls from the very high to the very low. Moreover, since Arife made Cevriye use Raziye's name, people's opinion of her as fallen is settled.

Ahmet Mithat Efendi, unlike most Tanzimat novelists, has “a more humane perception” of the fallen woman, and he is much more interested in portraying her “desperateness” (Üner, 2008, p.128). For instance, in *On Yedi Yaşında*, he writes the story of Kalyopi who has to prostitute herself in order to live. In *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*, Raziye's situation is different from hers, but as Özdemir (2014) notes above, unconventional relationships were also regarded similarly to prostitution (p.150). And thus just like a fallen woman, Raziye is also excluded and disvalued.

In fact, Ahmet Mithat openly marks in his novel that what makes a woman fallen is mainly connected with men. Ahmet Mithat's criticism is expressed through the story of Arife Hanım. Arife is said to have been widowed at the age of sixteen, and to have changed lovers whenever she was bored, and is said to have had fifteen lovers once (Mithat, 2000, p.78). In his dialogue with La Bey, Şefik said that “we are just going to call her a whore then” (Mithat, 2000, p.80). Later, Şefik's perception of her changes, and he sees Abdülkerim, one of her lovers, as the victimizer while Arife is the victim. He says:

Arife was an angel, diamond, can only do good when she compliments you [Abdulkerim] though when she gets bored within a few months she is a hussy, a whore; is she not?... That is what we all do, we become men to besmirch the splendour of a woman! (Mithat, 2000, p.116)

Thus even Arife, the nemesis, gains some empathy due to her past. Similarly, “women who are made fallen at the hands of men and are once again saved by a man is parallel with Ahmet Mithat’s compassion” (Ekici, 2019, p.32). Because Raziye, even though she is regarded as fallen because of her unconventional relationship, is saved by Şefik and, of course, by the author himself. Additional to Şefik’s voice, the hypocritical aspect is also put into words through Nimetullah Hanım: “Men are like this, ... they appear like angels, and see you as angels but when they get what they want you will turn into a slut in their eyes...” (Mithat, 2000, p.187). Similarly, later on, Şefik’s friend İsmail also draws attention to the hypocrisy by saying: “Brother, most of the blame is ours. Not most, all the blame is on the men!” (Mithat, 2000, p.308). All in all, according to Ahmet Mithat, men play a vital role in the position of women in society and he, as a didactic author, directs his criticisms towards his contemporary men as well.

Nevertheless, Ahmet Mithat’s compassion does not prevent him from dooming Arife to an unhappy ending. Özdemir (2014) highlights that the author, in fact, did not side with out-of-wedlock relationships and normally “he punishes the adulteress while rewarding faithful wives” (p.135). However, in the case of Raziye “despite all the accusations she has to face, because she preserved her pudicity Raziye is rewarded with marrying the man she loves” (Özdemir, 2014, p.136). Thus the main reason why Raziye is saved is her purity while Arife is doomed.

It is, at the same time, notable that at the end of the story Arife herself turns into a fallen woman because of her love for Şahbaz. Cevriye tells her story to Şefik and his friend İsmail. Şahbaz, as Cevriye notes, is not in love with Arife but with money. Even though the two broke up they got back together, and Şahbaz’s love for money causes Arife to lose everything including her mansion. Unable to find a place to live, they turn into “capital for some vicious woman” and change a few houses later on (Mithat, 2000, p.303). Cevriye sums up the position of such women as: “Rather than a woman be tempted, may God take her life! [Because even] that is much more fortunate” (Mithat, 2000, p.304). Considering these things, it may be said that Arife not only makes the

reader think about the term fallen woman through her previous experiences but also through with what happens to her afterwards. And again, Ahmet Mithat utters his discomfort and criticism regarding how these women are treated through Cevriye; a fallen woman herself. As Cevriye notes it is better to die than become fallen.

Cevriye is İsmail's former lover. Upon seeing her, İsmail reveals his intention to get back together with her. However, Cevriye declines the offer by saying that: "I do not deem myself be worthy of you. You are a manful, honourable man. My name on the other hand is stained" (Mithat, 2000, p.307). In this chapter it has been noted above that Arife is compared with Raziye within the limits of the carnal and the divine or soul and Raziye owes her happy ending to her inner beauty but, above all, to her pudicity. Similarly, Ahmet Mithat reminds us of this by comparing Cevriye to Raziye:

Aye! Raziye is a diamond that fell down into the mud. Because her ore is chastity and virtue.... Whereas even though Cevriye is dipped into gold and diamonds, she is still a carcass for İsmail... She will have a mark on her face and it will be an everlasting stain...The most gracious beauty for a woman is the beauty in her decency and honesty...[not having these] it would be hard to name her as a woman (Mithat, 2000, p.309)

Thus, Ahmet Mithat once again stresses the reason why he saved her heroine; it is because of her virtue, which is lacking in both Cevriye and Arife.

İsmail Bey, though, is determined to take Cevriye's hand no matter what, and Şefik advises that if he does that they need to move away to save themselves from gossip. İsmail Bey reveals he will not give importance to what other people would say of them, and asks "In this world, cannot a man do whatever he wants? Do people have to snoop into everything he does?" (Mithat, 2000, p.316). Answering the question, Şefik reveals the inescapable truth: "Aye! They do. People cannot do whatever they want. They give importance to what other people want rather than their own wishes" (Mithat, 2000, p.316). Şefik here reminds İsmail that within society there will always be rules and, moreover, norms that every individual is expected to follow.

Adding that Şefik notes that if they stay he, as his best friend, will blame him and he will not salute him because "If I [he] salute[s] the man who is married to Cevriye, in the minds of people just like him I[he] will also be facing defamation" (Mithat, 2000, p.317). His attitude marks one of the key points discussed in the theory chapter; people

around the stigmatized individual are also affected. After Şefik comes across Raziye, the readers are also introduced to Raziye's side of the story. Salih Çavuş is there when Şakir Aga provokes the crowd regarding Raziye's presence in the house alone with Şefik. Şakir Aga notes that it would be a good deed to protect a man's honour, whereas Salih Çavuş reveals that the true good deed would be to let this man know about his wife's infidelity in secret. After the trial, he finds the two women, Raziye and Nimetullah, and he helps them. However, as discussed previously, people reproach him saying that it is not permissible to welcome them in. Salih Çavuş even arranges a home for the two women to stay separately from him but people's attitude towards him does not change and thus he says: "how people started to see me and talk to me has changed. And what will we do with eager men and even women sent to us by some rakes" (Mithat, 2000, p.260). In order to find a solution, Salih Çavuş talks to Nimetullah hanım and asks her to marry him: "Whatever! One night I came and told Nimetullah that unless she becomes my wife and Raziye my daughter, we would not be off people's tongues" (Mithat, 2000, p.262). Thus, the couple, after the marriage, decide to settle down in a ghetto away from those judging people.

Another character who is affected by Raziye's stigma is Nimetullah Hanım. As previously discussed in this chapter, when she along with Raziye were raided in the house, the crowd marked Raziye as a criminal, which was highly foreseeable because of her marital status but Nimetullah Hanım, just like a confidant figure in Western novels, does not leave her and bears all the pain and exclusion together with Raziye. When the doors are closed to her, they are closed to Nimetullah as well. Similarly, when people talk with Salih Çavuş they not only refer to Raziye but to Nimetullah Hanım too. For instance, they say "What is in your mind old man! You keep these two wenches for no purpose?" and they offer money whereas some would settle for warning him: "Salih Çavuş, such things do not suit you. Get rid of these whores!" (Mithat, 2000, p.261). Even following the syntax of the quotations would tell one that they are referring to the plural, the two women; with the words 'wenches' and 'whores'.

Again, because of the nature of stigma, both novels highlight its effect on the other people around the stigmatised character. In *Jude the Obscure*, the effect can be seen through Jude's losing his job and the other children's mockery of Little Father Time. In *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*, the effect is likewise seen within Raziye's family, in

fact the people whom she takes as her family later on, including Salih Çavuş and Nimetullah Hanım.

Comparing the two heroines from these two cultures, nourishes the idea of stigma's ambivalent nature. Compared to Sue Bridehead, it may be said that Raziye's exclusion and, as will be discussed later, categorisation as a fallen woman in the minds of others is much more effortless. Even though Sue is expelled from school because of her staying with Jude, the main exclusion she has to face mostly occurs after her cohabitation with Jude out of wedlock and their having illegitimate children, whereas for Raziye it is simply enough for her to see her lover. The difference is mainly due to the social differences between the two cultures; as already discussed within the theory chapter, stigma may change from culture to culture (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.80). It is, for this reason, thus hard to pin down and define, and so the difference between the stigmatization processes of the two heroines is informative of its ambiguous nature.

Aside from affecting the surrounding individuals, stigma is also noted to have a "collective quality", simply meaning that it is enough for one person to stigmatize the other to make other people highly likely to stigmatize that individual too (Stafford&Scott, 1986, p.80). The novel, though, also suggests that one person can be enough to put an end to this stigmatisation. Şefik, learning what Raziye and her family have gone through, decides to save her name. However, his wish to save his love comes only later when he learns that she "preserved myself [herself]" and she is thus not "ruined" (Mithat, 2000, p.261&268). The novel can be said more than once to stress Raziye's purity. He arranges a feast and to the crowd he makes Cevriye reveal the truth that she has been pretending to be Raziye this whole time and it was her, not Raziye, who was accepting lovers.

To sum up, Ahmet Mithat, just like his contemporaries, is sensitive to the everyday problems of the common people. One of the main issues he deals with is the position of women and, in the novel, he reveals his critical attitude regarding Tanzimat relationships like pre-arranged marriages, uneducated wives, and non love-based marriages. In his novel, *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*, he creates an unconventional heroine who pushes the limits of the Tanzimat wife, since she pursues her relationship with her true love regardless of the fact that she is married to a man whom she respects but never truly loves. Regarding the era, it is noted that a woman who did not meet the norms, in

other words, a deviant woman, was liable to be categorised as a fallen woman. Raziye is such a heroine, and just like Ahmet Mithat's criticisms of the real world, in the storyline she is devalued and excluded. Ahmet Mithat was concerned with the reception of his novel, therefore he did not refrain from punishing Raziye with exclusion, devaluation along with turning her into a poor lady.

Her exclusion, then, is prominent for the author as well and the process can be deepened through Goffman's concept of stigma along with Stafford&Scott and Link&Phelan's ideas. People know her as the wife of İbrahim Bey and her having a lover, Şefik, is beyond what they could expect from her. When the way she is categorised does not match with her actions, as Goffman suggests, she encounters stigma. Similarly, Stafford&Scott believe that deviancy goes hand in hand with stigma since, just like a stigmatized individual, a deviant would also be excluded and devalued. In the novel, Raziye's exclusion and devaluation occur after people find out about her relationship with Şefik. Once an admired woman, she is now facing closed doors when she most needs help. Adding to all this, because of Arife's revenge plot, everybody in town believes that Raziye is a prostitute, and therefore her deviancy gains another dimension.

Similarly to what Link&Phelan discuss regarding the components of stigma, Raziye is first labelled as an adulteress, which marks her difference from other married women, and of course, since it is beyond the limits of the norms, she is prone to being labelled as a fallen woman in other people's minds and, indeed, she is called as such in the novel. Her difference, her stigma, causes her separation and isolation as the shame parade predicts, and moreover, she is excluded and disvalued; this once admired woman is now begging for doors to open to her. She loses her status as a married woman, first through her divorce which leaves her penniless, then she becomes a laundry lady. Her stigmatization also affects the people who are close to her like Nimetullah Hanım and Salih Çavuş. Upon learning that his lover is still honest, Şefik clears Raziye's name and the book ends with the lovers reuniting. Raziye, according to the author himself deserves this happy ending because of her honesty; thus he saves both the hero and the heroine of his novel.

CONCLUSION

A STIGMA BEYOND BOUNDARIES: THE STIGMA OF THE FALLEN WOMAN IN THE NOVELS OF *JUDE THE OBSCURE* AND *YERYÜZÜNDE BİR MELEK*

In the theory chapter it was highlighted that an individual cannot be thought separately from the society they are part of. As discussed, etymologically speaking, society has its roots in the words *societe*, in Old French, company, and *societam*, standing for fellowship and union in Latin (“etymonline”, 2023, n.p.). Similar roots of may be found in the Turkish counterpart as well, as previously discussed. For the trace, the word *socius*, suffixed form of “to follow”, is prominent (“etymonline”, 2023, n.p.). The word, then, may, at the simplest level, be defined as a group of people following each other, being like each other, following and moreover supporting the same ideals of living. Apparently, those who do not ‘follow’ would be expected to experience exclusion. Society, in fact, is noted to have a compulsion to exclude the misfits in order to ensure its survival. Moreover, like in life, such ‘non-following’ characters are apparent in novels as well. In their novels, Ahmet Mithat and Thomas Hardy provide us with two unconventional heroines. The two novels, as well as the historical periods they belong to, have already been discussed in detail in the previous chapters; however, this chapter aims to discuss their similarities and differences and thus provide a conclusion.

First of all, it has been noted that, in the two countries the development of novel was rather different. The Ottomans used translations, meaning that the effects of Western culture is inescapable, and similarly adaptations were made. However, it is noted that the effects of *meddah* stories and *aşık hikayeleri* were also thought to be influential (Moran, 1983, p.16). One difference may be that the victim heroine and the *femme fatal* characters in the Ottoman novels differ from those Western ones. Of course, at the same time, the didactic aims of the Ottoman novelists cannot be overlooked. However, what unites these two novelists, Ahmet Mithat and Thomas Hardy, is their critical position regarding the female members of their societies. Hardy (2002) is noted to be critical of loveless marriages, as can be seen in his comparison of Sue and Phillotson’s marriage to a court and his condemning marriage as “a sordid contract” (p.201). Similarly, Ahmet Mithat poses the same critical attitude through

Raziye and İbrahim Bey's marriage; it is pre-arranged, loveless, and there is a huge age difference between the partners. The two women are confined to unhappy marriages in the novels thus voicing criticisms regarding the marriage customs of the age by the authors. More importantly though, the unhappy but 'normal' marriages of their times also, demonstrate some of the harsh conditions women have to face, especially when their hearts belong to some other men. Both Sue and Raziye continue to see and spend time with their lovers regardless of their marital bonds. These two characters proved to be the main heroines of the two novels, as discussed in the previous chapters, and along with being mechanisms to voice the authors' criticisms of the age, they deserve to be discussed in detail.

Even though they both prove to be courageous, compared to Raziye, Sue is seen to have a critical voice regarding the need to formalize her relationship and furthermore, she is compared to the New Woman figure of the age by some scholars. Raziye, on the other hand, as the author himself points out, stands for the difficulties women have to face when they are in love. Let alone living together out of wedlock and having offspring, Raziye's innocent secret night meetings with Şefik are enough for them to experience social exclusion.

Both in Victorian Era and the Tanzimat Era Ottoman Empire, women were expected to be mostly indoors, dealing with household chores, and more than anything else women were expected to be pure and innocent, or simply chaste. Those who did not live up to this ideal were prone to experience exclusion. The two heroines are thus important vehicles for the authors to express their social criticisms. As men who arguably did not fit in themselves, their heroines do not follow what the era dictates for them. Sue already voices her thoughts even before co-habiting with Jude, she sneaks out from the school and is ultimately expelled. Furthermore, she lives with Jude before her divorce and since she believes that marriage as an institution would harm their relationship, she rejects marrying Jude. Sue proves herself to be an unconventional woman indeed. As for Raziye, she does not have a harsh critical position regarding marriage as Sue does but she is bold enough to break the boundaries of the conventional Tanzimat wife. Since they are posing the critical attitudes of their creators, how other people consider them and their ultimate exclusion is crucial.

In order to discuss this process, the thesis has availed itself mainly of Erving Goffman's ideas of stigma, and, Stafford&Scott's and Link&Phelan's articles. Simply put, according to Goffman stigma occurs when what one thinks of the other fails to match the reality. In Sue's case, when people see her with children they imagine that she is a married woman, the wife of Jude. However, when they suspect that the marriage never took place, they gossip about her, not greeting her on streets and, finally, the gossips causes her and Jude to lose their jobs. Sue is already a deviant woman with her perception of marriage but now because her thoughts are turned into actions, she experiences exclusion and disvaluation. As Stafford&Scott (1986) point out deviant individuals likewise experience stigma, a mark which makes that individual different than the others (p.77). It is notable that in this era any woman who did not meet the norms was highly likely to be included in the category of the fallen woman. Then, following the components Link&Phelan have noted, one may infer that Sue is first labelled as an unmarried mother, an unaccepted quality, and then she is categorised as a fallen woman. As a result, she is devalued and experiences status loss: people now pass her by without greeting her, as discussed above, and, again, because of the gossip she and Jude lose their jobs. Moreover, through the dialogue between Arabella and Sue one learns that she could not find any job other than selling bakery products on the streets when Jude is sick (Hardy, 2002, p.302).

Raziye, on the other hand, is not an unmarried mother, but the process starts due to her secret meeting with Şefik. In the minds of other people she is İbrahim Bey's wife and, of course, the acceptable norm of togetherness dictates that the couple's togetherness should be legalized, by marriage, and the wife should not have secret meetings with her lover at night under the cumba or she should not be found in a house together with him. Thus, when the couple are raided, what marks Raziye as different from other Tanzimat wives is revealed; meeting with a lover does not belong to the category of a Tanzimat wife in the minds of others. Her breaking the norm, showing deviant actions already causes her to be open to the threat of stigmatisation. She is stigmatized, but then the question arises; how? The components Link&Phelan present are also applicable to Raziye's case. She is first labelled as an adulteress, and as the historical era predicts, as in the Victorian era, any women who did not perform what was expected of them might be categorised as a fallen women. In this way, Raziye is linked with a negative stereotype, that of the fallen woman. As a result, she is devalued

and loses her status. It has been noted previously that the people once admired her like the Greeks admired Aphrodite, but this lasted only until the raid (Mithat, 2000, p.54). She is exposed, experiences a shame parade, and a trial, and ends up as a divorced and penniless woman who is made unwelcome by every household.

In her case, the exclusion scene is important for one more reason; it shows one that Ahmet Mithat is aware of the potential criticisms and thus punishes his heroine (Ekici, 2019, p.32). However, even though Ahmet Mithat accuses men of the fall of women in society, it is again men who offer help. Şefik saves Raziye, and Ahmet Mithat does as well, only after revealing that she is still innocent. Hardy through Sue Bridehead also shows the already lost war of an unfitting individual against the society (Mallah, 2015, p.64). For that reason, unlike Ahmet Mithat, Thomas Hardy condemns his heroine to an unhappy ending. After the suicide of Little Father Time, and his killing of his siblings, Sue loses everything including her determined opposition to society, she gives in and shows that at last it is society which is always victorious (Mallah, 2015, p.64).

Even though one female protagonist is condemned and one is saved, both of the authors still call them angels. In fact, compared to their opponents they signify divinity, or soul. In *Jude the Obscure* Arabella is said to stand for carnal love (Urgan, 1991, p.300) whereas Sue is depicted as more “refined”, suitable for Jude’s intellectual taste as well (Mallet, 2002, p.112). Similarly, Ahmet Mithat (2000) compares Arife to Raziye as *aşk-ı cismaniye*, versus *aşk-ı ruhani* (p.104). All in all, in both cases *aşk-ı ruhani*, spiritual love, proves victorious over *aşk-ı cismaniye*, carnal love.

The novels, at the same time, depict characters who are influenced by the stigmatization of the heroines. The theoretical background similarly suggests that the people who are close to the stigmatized individual share in their exclusion. Sue’s lover Jude and his legal son Little Father Time, and her ‘legal’ husband Phillotson are exposed to exclusion. Jude loses his job, as noted, Little Father Time is ridiculed by his peers and Phillotson, similarly, is dismissed from school. Similarly, in *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*, Nimetullah Hanım and Salih Çavuş are exposed to exclusion. Nimetullah Hanım is named as a “whore” along with Raziye and the way people see Salih Çavuş changes (Mithat, 2000, p.261). Thus, in order to avoid the crowd and its rejection, Nimetullah Hanım and Salih Çavuş get married and move to a desolate place.

Yeryüzünde Bir Melek is nourished with the theme of love and revenge; whereas love is a theme of *Jude the Obscure*, revenge is not. Arife's revenge on Raziye causes everyone to acknowledge her as a prostitute which solidifies Raziye's status as fallen woman. However, as discussed above, she is saved because of her chastity.

To conclude, one may note that even though the two countries are culturally different, the expectations of woman in general in the 19th century were largely held in common. Marriage was the ultimate goal, and husbands expected indoor, selfless, innocent and chaste wives. Anyone who failed to live up to these promises was liable to be labelled a fallen woman. The exclusion of the heroines is crucial, because both of the authors are critical of their age's marital customs and, moreover, Ahmet Mithat uses Raziye's exclusion as a "punishment mechanism" to mollify the reactions towards his novel (Ekici, 2019, p.32). Similarly, Hardy shows the helplessness of the non-fitting individual in the face of society. Raziye is first labelled as an adulteress while Sue Bridehead is labelled as an unmarried woman. However, since both of the figures are unconventional, both are ready to be named under the category of the fallen woman and thus, the two heroines, regardless of their different backgrounds, are stigmatized as fallen woman and, in the end, they are excluded, lose their status and are devalued.

The issues discussed in this study may be further developed by exploring other novels written by the same authors- perhaps *Tess* by Hardy and *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında* by Ahmet Mithat may be a starting point. Thus further studies may explore whether the same process of stigmatisation may be seen in these novels and, of course, any differences as well.

Another way to broaden the study might be by including new authors dealing with the same issues in their 19th century novels. Likewise, these authors might be chosen from other countries to see whether the expectations were similar there as well. If so, a new common ground may be provided for future discussions on comparative as well as world literature. For now though, one may note that, however different the cultural backgrounds of the 19th century Ottoman Empire and Victorian Era England were, they held the same ideals for women, which were critiqued by these socially critical authors, Ahmet Mithat and Thomas Hardy, through the description of the exclusion and devaluation of these socially deviant female characters in their novels.

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