

A TEACHER, AGITATOR AND GUIDE:
TALEBE DEFTERİ AND FORMATION OF AN IDEAL CHILD (1913-1919)

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Title: A Teacher, Agitator and Guide: Talebe Defteri and the Formation of an Ideal Child (1913-1919)

This thesis examines one *Talebe Defteri*, a children's journal, published in the late Ottoman era from 1913 to 1919, that focused on the formation of the ideal child. Since nationalism was a popular idea in society and among the intellectuals, and it was in practice through state policies, especially after the Balkan Wars, the journal is analyzed through the filter of nationalism. With patriotic agitation, *Talebe Defteri* stimulated the nationalist feelings of readers and raised national consciousness. At the same time, it promoted militarism, heroism, patriotism and revenge and it also presented a modernity perspective by supporting the modern education system and its methods, equality between men and women, the improvement of women's social status, entrepreneurship, healthcare and physical training. Also, it touched upon the issues of morality and civil society, referring to scouting and youth associations. The discussions on nationalism and social issues in the journal provide clues about the characteristics of the ideal child in that period: patriotic, courageous, bodily, mentally and morally strong, resolute, hard-working, and a follower of modernity.

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Başlık: Bir Öğretmen, Provokatör ve Rehber: Talebe Defteri ve İdeal Çocuğun Oluşumu (1913- 1919)

Tez Osmanlı'da yayınlanmış çocuk dergilerinden biri olan *Talebe Defteri*'ni (1913-1919) ideal çocuk oluşumu temelinde inceleyecektir. Milliyetçiliğin özellikle Balkan Savaşları sonrasında toplumda ve enetelektüel camiada popülerleşmesi ve devlet politikaları ile çeşitli alanlarda uygulamaya konması nedeniyle, dergi milliyetçilik filtresinden geçirilerek incelenecektir. Propaganda yoluyla okuyucularının milli duygularını dürten ve milli bilinci yükseltmeye çalışan dergi aynı zamanda intikam, kahramanlık, militarizm ve vatanperverliği de yüceltmektedir. Milliyetçilik propagandası dışında dergi modernite perspektifi de sunmaktadır. Bunu modern eğitimi ve onun metodlarını, kadın erkek eşitliğini, kadınların toplumsal konumlarının iyileştirilmesini, girişimciliği ve beden gelişimini destekleyerek yapmaktadır. Bu bağlamda dergi ahlak konusuna ve izcilik ve genç derneklerine değinerek sivil toplum tartışmalarına da önem vermektedir. Dergideki milliyetçilik ve toplumsal konular üzerine yapılan tartışmalar o dönemdeki ideal çocuk oluşumu üzerine ipuçları vermektedir. Bu ipuçlarına göre ideal çocuk vatanperver, cesur, bedensel, zihinsel ve ahlaki açıdan güçlü, kararlı, çalışkan ve modernitenin takipçisidir.

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I am dedicate this thesis to all of the women and children who died in the wars, and to my grandmothers Münevver and Perihan.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Is childhood a new concept or was it always accepted as a developmental period, just like adulthood? Has the approach to childhood been the same historically? Does the development of children follow a linear historical progress, from little adults to little citizens? Historical research, basically that initiated by Philippe Aries, demonstrates that it is seemingly a modern concept, but the concept goes back 200-300 years. Children's health, children's literature, children's psychology, worldwide organizations for children emerged and developed mostly in the modern period. It is even newer within the discipline of history since the mid-twentieth century. Changes in historiography brought the concept of childhood to the attention of historians more than before. Especially, rise of social history, and "history from below," which pays attention mostly to the marginal groups in society, accelerated this process.

The masterpiece of Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, broke ground in this concept in the 1960s. After that, childhood history gradually gained more importance in different schools of history and achieved a more universal dimension that led to emergence of research from different geographies as well as culture. *Centuries of Childhood* and other research conducted on childhood indicate that the approach of the adults to childhood displays difference in time. Therefore, it cannot be possible to assume a linear historical progression. Moreover, the discipline of history provides an opportunity to examine the historical development of childhood,

its breaking points, and the engagement of children in social, political, economic and cultural areas. Therefore, through historical perspective, with the assistance of other social sciences including sociology, anthropology and psychology, the dark and unknown parts of childhood history have a chance to be illuminated.

This thesis, too, is an attempt to contribute to the social history of childhood. The main purpose of the thesis is to introduce *Talebe Defteri* (Student's Notebook), one of the children's journals which was published between 1913 and 1919 in the Ottoman Empire, and its analysis on the basis of nationalism. It sheds light on the indoctrination and mobilization of children during the war conditions in the 1910s of the Ottoman Empire. How did the Balkan Wars and the Great War change the perception of and discourse on childhood? How was nationalism conveyed to literate upper and middle class children? To what extent did the idea of nationalism given in *Talebe Defteri* overlap with the official (state) nationalism? In addition to nationalism, what were other topics discussed in the journal? What kind of ideal child, would-be citizens, did the journal aim to form? And were there any differences between *Talebe Defteri* and the other children's journals published in the same period? These are the some main questions that will be examined in the thesis.

However, at this point, before any arguments on thesis, it will be beneficial to present the historical context. *Talebe Defteri* was published between 1908 and 1918, during the Second Constitutional period, which was dominated by the Young Turk rule. The cultural and social atmosphere of the period in which *Talebe Defteri* was published, influenced the contents of the journal.

Historical Context

The Hamidian era, 1876-1908, ended with the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, as a result of the Young Turk Revolution. The assembly, which had been adjourned as a result of the Ottoman-Russian War by Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1878, was re-opened and the constitution (*Kanun-i Esasi*) was promulgated again. Due to the 30 year rule of Abdülhamid II, characterized by heavy censorship and denouncement, the motto of this new era was “Fraternity, Liberty and Equality,” which were the same as the slogans of the French Revolution, which had been against the monarchic rule of the king as well. In this relatively more liberal atmosphere, new parties were established and the number of publications, including journals as well as newspapers, increased significantly. Despite these positive developments, the new era witnessed, at the same time, the assassinations of adversaries, military coup against the government, social polarization, and the Great War all of which shadowed the spirit of the period. Still, the Second Constitutional Period prepared the background for new social, cultural and ideological developments, some of which would guide the reforms carried out in the early Republican era.

In this era, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which had been established under the name of Ottoman Union (*İttihad-ı Osmani*) in 1889 by students in the Military Medical School in opposition to the rule of Abdülhamid II, was a leading actor. The committee had been organized within the empire and abroad to serve its ultimate goals: the termination of the autocracy of Abdülhamid II and most importantly, the survival of the empire. Although there were conflicts within the committee on the ways and the methods to achieve the goals, and on how

would act after the attainment of governmental power, the committee became the organizer and the executor of the revolution, and the decisive political actor in the post-revolutionary period. At the beginning of the era, the CUP chose to stay in the background of the political area, for two reasons: lack of experience to serve in the high ranks of the state, and absence of a central, regular and state-wide organization.¹

The committee won the first election of the constitutional era in 1908 against the opposition party, namely Liberal Union (*Ahrar Fırkası*). However, it had to wait until 1913 when its absolute power was consolidated as a result of a military coup. During this process, it faced oppositions from the palace, the Sublime Porte, different political parties, and some intellectuals including Hasan Fehmi and Prince Sabahattin. The initial attempt was the 31 March uprising in 1909, which was depicted as a counter-revolution against the committee by a reactionist group, called as the Muhammadian Union Association (*Ittihad-i Muhammedi Cemiyeti*). However, this attempt was supported also by the Liberal Union and by some former bureaucrats who had been fired from state agencies by the initiation of the CUP.² Even though, the 31 March uprising seemed to weaken the committee and to lead the liberal wing to gain power, the repression of the uprising by the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*), located in Salonika, enabled the committee to regain its power. However, this military intervention meant, at the same time, an increase in the existence of the military in the political area.

After the repression of the 31 March uprising, Abdülhamid II was dethroned, for having supported the counter-revolution, and the constitution was modified.

¹ Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-14* (London: Hurst Company, 2010), 51.

² *Ibid.*, 78

Through this modification, the control of the sultan over the parliament was restricted and the selection of the parliamentary speaker was no longer his duty. Instead, the parliament itself would elect the speaker. The cabinet would be accountable to the parliament. If a minister or a cabinet did not receive a vote of confidence from the parliament, he or they would be deposed. Additionally, fundamental rights and freedoms, such as the right to assemble and demonstrate, were put into the constitution.

Even with, the repression of uprising, the opposition to the committee continued in the political and social arenas. Budget debates, external debt in 1910, the establishment of new parties the People's Party (*Ahali Fırkası*) in 1910 and Party of Freedom and Accord (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*) in 1911, and the Tripoli War with Italy in 1911 were some reasons for the opposition. After the establishment of the Party of Freedom and Accord, which supported the idea of Ottomanism in internal politics and the alliance with the British Empire in the foreign policy, it won its first achievement in the by-election held in 1911. As a result, the cabinet, headed by Kamil Paşa, replaced the Sait Paşa's cabinet, which had supported by the CUP. However, this development was shadowed by the adjournment of the Parliament in 1912. In the same year a new election was carried out, called as election with stick (*sopalı seçimler*), caused the committee to consolidate its power by winning 263 seats out of 278.

The political competition between the committee and the opposition groups was constant. After the blow-out of the committee, a new opposition, established by military officers, called the Rescuer Military Officers (*Halaskar Zabitan*) that was pro- Party of Freedom and Accord, emerged. Their purposes were to take the

authority from the committee back and form a legal government.³ At the end of the attempts of this group, including publishing harsh notifications in the newspapers, and giving memorandum to the military council, the government was forced to resign. The control of the new government as well as new cabinet was taken over by the Party of Freedom and Accord. With the new government, cautions against the committee got severer and in August 1912, due to Balkan Wars, martial law was proclaimed. Due to these developments, the committee withdrew to Salonika to maintain its activities.

The Balkan Wars were a turning point for the CUP. Because Edirne, the older capital of the empire, was invaded by the Balkan states, as a result, opposition against the government increased. The committee used this to consolidate its power, and in 1913 a military coup was carried out. After that, the CUP began to gain its power over the organs of the state, specifically through a triumvirate, comprising Cemal Paşa, Enver Paşa and Talat Paşa, all of which were supported by the inner circle of the committee.⁴ Despite the new developments, which will be discussed below, experienced in the political, social and cultural areas during this single-party rule, the liberal atmosphere and relatively pluralist approach at the beginning of the constitutional period appeared to fade away gradually as a result of some restrictive attempts. Specifically, some laws, which brought partial restriction, were enacted as preventive cautions such as the Public Meeting Law, the Press Law, the Strike Law and the Committee Law.⁵ Furthermore, in 1914, 1915, 1916, and 1918, with the changes in the constitution, the authority of the sultan over the

³ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 229.

⁴ Mehrdad Kia, *The Ottoman Empire* (London: Greenwood Press, 2008), 142.

⁵ Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, 113.

parliament increased again, and as Niyazi Berkes writes, through these changes, the rights to assemble, postpone and to repeal of parliament were given to the sultan.⁶

In addition to constitutional changes, the defeat in the Balkan Wars and the land losses caused a deep trauma in the political and social psyches. This trauma displayed itself as an acceptance of nationalism, namely Turkishness, broadly and acted in accordance with this idea which was more exclusive socially. The rule of the CUP ended after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, it dissolved itself in 1918 and the upper cadre of the committee left the empire.

In short, 1913 became a crucial date for the empire and for the Ottoman society in various points. The new developments after this date were the last attacks of the empire to survive. These developments had a transformative power from the economy to the culture and the ideology to society itself. In other words, they seemed not only policies to rescue the empire from weakness and disruption, but also policies for civil engineering. For this reason, at this point, it is beneficial to examine these developments, and the characteristics of the CUP.

The CUP and Social, Cultural and Ideological Developments

The characteristics of the committee and the developments, especially after 1913, provide backdating to *Talebe Defteri*. First of all, to evaluate these developments, it is useful to examine the essential points of the characteristics of the CUP. What were the purposes of the union? Which ideas or ideologies did influence the members of the union? What were the common features of its members? These are the some questions to examine.

⁶ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), 435.

To begin with, the main aims of the committee were counted in the Regulation of the Committee, which was published in 1895. These were the transformation of the government administration to the method of consultancy, which was the guardian of human rights and the source of progress, preservation of social ethics, improvement of education, and serving to the humankind and civilization in general.⁷ At the First Congress of the Young Turks in 1902 in Paris, the purposes were counted as provisions of the integrity and indivisibility of the empire, progress, and of internal peace and security.⁸ In spite of these lists of purposes of the union in different times, it can be stated that its earliest aims were essentially two-fold. Initially, the CUP aimed at abolishing the autocracy of Abdülhamid II, and then rescuing the empire from its current condition. Actually, the former one was partially achieved in 1908 with the proclamation of the constitutional monarchy. This mission was accomplished completely when Abdülhamid II was dethroned in 1909. Furthermore, the abolition of the autocracy also included control over both the parliament and cabinet. For this reason, it fought against the high and traditional bureaucracy of the empire, and it engaged in a huge mopping-up operation in the military as well as in the administrative body, which was mostly dominated by pro-Hamidian people.⁹ In other words, it urged to give more power to legislative power instead of executive one.¹⁰ This means that CUP seemed to prefer to be strong in the parliament, which had a significant role in the formation of the cabinet.

⁷ Sina Akşin, *Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2011), 57.

⁸ Ibid., 82.

⁹ Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dreams* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 519.

¹⁰ Akşin, *Jön Türkler*, 97.

With regard to its second aim, even though the committee always worked for the survival of the empire, the methods to achieve it became matters of debate among the members because as Şerif Mardin expresses, it did not display the monist social and political thought.¹¹ At this point, it might be better to move to the ideas that had impacts on the union members. Because the CUP originated from the students of the Military Medical Schools, ideas about biological materialism, organicism, and Darwinism seemed to have been more influential. For this reason, this group, including Abdullah Cevdet and İbrahim Temo, approached the issue of rescuing the empire on the basis of relations between patient and doctor. In other words, these people played the role of “social doctors,” which was static, a lack of social evolution perspective, and superficial in terms of historical conscious.¹²

On the other hand, as the Young Turks’ movement diffused among the people in School for the Civil Service (*Mülkiye*), new ideas began to emerge in the approach to the same issue. According to Mardin, there were two important ideas that the School for the Civil Service added to the movement: positivism and realism.¹³ Especially, positivism was supported by some people in the union such as, Murat Bey, Ahmet Rıza Bey, and Recaizade Ekrem, because it was an important idea to explain social issues scientifically. Moreover, it promoted progress and order to improve.

Besides the purposes of the union and basic ideas to achieve these purposes, features of the members are another important dimension. As Feroz Ahmad states, members of the committee were a lack of political experience and their policies

¹¹ Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri, 1895-1908* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 24.

¹² *Ibid.*, 20.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 51.

were mostly simple.¹⁴ The Committee of Union and Progress was the product of a domestic movement which carried, more or less, cosmopolitan characteristics, including people from different ethnicities as well as different religions, and addressed a broad social base. Ahmad writes they had “a broad and heterogeneous social base” and came from the generally lower and middle classes of society.¹⁵ Due to its broad base, as Ahmad writes, the union was the first political organization which had a “mass following.”¹⁶ Generally, it consisted of teachers, state officials, and enlisted soldiers. Although originally the members of committee came from the lower and middle classes, they became the ruling elites of the empire after the coup d'état in 1913, and they played a relatively more leading role in the orientation of the intellectual debates, and social and cultural spheres.

Second, during the rule of the CUP, as a result of the Tripoli War and the Balkan Wars, which destroyed the support for living together under the same flag substantially, the idea of Ottoman nationalism faded away gradually and lost its priority in the political area. Instead, Turkish nationalism gained strength, and policies was applied, more often than not, under this principle. However, the change of balance between Ottomanism and Turkish nationalism did not mean that Ottomanism and Islamism disappeared completely. On the contrary, as Ahmad writes, the share of these three on the “ideological cake” changed.¹⁷ Especially, Islam appeared to be a prominent component of the Turkish nationalism which replaced the Islamic-Turkish synthesis with the Turkish-Islamic one. In other

¹⁴ Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, 259.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 143.

words, as Zürcher notifies, the Young Turks' nationalism was the ethnicizing of the religion, which meant that a nationalist program based on an ethnicity in which the membership was determined largely by religious affiliation.¹⁸ Moreover, the national consciousness did not emerge instantly after the Balkan Wars, but it was the result of an accumulation since the nineteenth century. Especially, the impact of Russian Turks such as İsmail Gasprinski, Yusuf Akçura, and Ahmet Ağaoğlu, lived in the Ottoman Empire, and Young Ottomans, such as Namık Kemal, Şinasi and Ziya Paşa, caused the committee to have national consciousness before the constitutional era.

This new ideological orientation, as a result of the shock of the Balkan Wars, made the urbanized masses more vulnerable to the slogans and to the ideas of the Turkish nationalist groups. According to Francois Georgeon, through the Young Turk nationalism, the transition was provided from an idea limited only to the military and political area to the real movement that attracted the elitist groups and middle-classes of the urbans increasingly.¹⁹ Therefore, from politics to the economy (National Economy), family (National Family), culture (National History, National Language) and to education (National Education), each area, began to be shaped parallel to this new paradigm. For instance, in school, history, literature and geography became comparatively more pivotal courses which were considered as efficient methods to teach Turkish culture and inculcate the young generations. The curriculums as well as textbooks were designed to instil the idea of Turkish nationalism into the minds of students.

¹⁸ Eric-Jan Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalist: Identity Politics," in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2000), 173.

¹⁹ François Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi, 1900-1930* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2013), 24.

Moreover, in the popularization of nationalism, promotion of patriotism, and provision of social mobilization, printed media, intellectuals and associations were fundamental mediums, and their relations with the committee constituted a crucial aspect. Between 1908 and 1918, publications, such as *Tanin* (Reverberation, 1908), *Genç Kalemler* (Young Authors, 1910), *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland, 1911), *Halka Doğru* (To the People, 1913), *İslam Mecmuası* (Journal of Islam 1914), and *Türk Sözü* (Turks' Word, 1914), *Harp Mecmuası* (Journal of War, 1916) and *Yeni Mecmua* (New Journal, 1917) spread Turkish nationalism. Moreover, Ziya Gökalp, Ömer Seyfettin, Halide Edip, Celal Sahir, Hamdullah Suphi, Yusuf Akçura, Mehmet Emin and other nationalist intellectuals discussed the idea of nationalism, its different versions (Turkism, Turanism and Anatolian Nationalisms), and the ways of the dissemination of this idea (refining the language, increasing the interaction between intellectuals and the people, and popularizing the folk culture) within the society through their articles in these journals. The discussions were likely to coincide with organicist, positivist, and Darwinist views. Moreover, the word *içtimaiyyat* (sociology) found a place in the scientific jargon as a gaining of the constitutional era.²⁰ Through this scientific discipline, some intellectuals, including Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp, tried to find answers to the problems of backwardness and underdevelopment. It seemed to be seen as a tool for generating the solutions, reifying the concepts and illuminating society on social, political, ideological and cultural issues.

The arguments of the intellectuals seem to not have been completely free from the state authority. As a belligerent government, the CUP attached great significance to both intellectuals and printed-media because these two mediums

²⁰ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Popülizm, 1908-1923* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2013), 165.

were able to produce war literature and they were the agents of propaganda and patriotic agitation. As Erol K rođlu indicates the literary productions which included novels, newspapers, short stories, plays and poems, created “a single audience around common notions” such as a history, and a culture.²¹ Nevertheless, the lack of necessary infrastructure in economy, transportation and communication, and the strict censorship applied by the committee hampered the propaganda mechanism from working effectively. As K rođlu expresses, while literary propaganda during the Balkan Wars displayed successful performance in the field of patriotic agitation, it was compelled to a complete silence during the Great War period.²²

The CUP benefitted not only from the literary propaganda, but also from visual propaganda. It supported the shooting of short documentaries on the order of Enver Pařa, established the Central Army Cinema Office (*Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi*), held painting exhibitions, used photography, and encouraged the publication of printed photographic albums such as Pictorial Book (*Resimli Kitap*) and Panorama of the Great War (*Harb-i Umumi Panoraması*) as well as journals including *Harb Mecmuası* (Journal of War) and *Donanma Mecmuası* (Journal of Navy).

Furthermore, the organizations and associations, including the Turkish Association (*T rk Derneđi*, 1908), Association of Navy (*Donanma Cemiyeti*, 1909), Turkish Hearths (*T rk Ocakları*, 1911), Association of Turkish Homeland (*T rk Yurdu Cemiyeti*, 1911) and Association of National Defense (*M dafaa-yı Milliye Cemiyeti*, officially established in 1913) represented the public sphere

²¹ Erol K rođlu, *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey During World War I* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 35.

²² *Ibid.*, 36.

dimension of the idea, were established to unite society around the common purpose and the same idea. The Turkish Hearths, an organization, which was established in 1912 by students from Military Medical School, Mülkiye and engineering department, was seemingly the most popular. This organization, an intermediary between society and the committee, was used as a tool of propaganda. As Masami Arai writes, the main purposes of the organization were the dissemination of nationalism through its young members, who initially were trained in the hearths, and the expansion of education through the schools of agriculture, industry, and commerce.²³

At this point, expressing the perspective of *Yeni Hayat* (New Life) is necessary because, indirectly and partially, it seems to find place in *Talebe Defteri*. *Yeni Hayat* was introduced in *Yeni Felsefe Mecmuası* (New Journal of Philosophy), published in Salonika, by Ziya Gökalp. He indicated that the political reform of 1908 had to be followed by social reforms which meant “opening a new door into a new life.”²⁴ Since life included family, economics, law, philosophy and others, the new life had to be constructed on the “new family,” “new economics,” “new morality” and so on. Therefore, it can be assumed that Gökalp not only envisioned a new social life, but also designed individuals in accordance with the principles of this new life. The followers of the idea of the new life were supposed to look for the authentic values of the new life and to make them real by using the Durkheimian method based on the division labor.²⁵ In other words, followers would not imitate

²³ Masami Arai, *Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 113-14.

²⁴ Zafer Toprak, “Dante’den Gökalp’e La Vita Nuova ya da Yeni Hayat,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 239 (Kasım 2013), 53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

the Europe, but they could take the Japanese nation as a sample. Moreover, “New Life” brought forward the idea of nationalism at the same time. According to this idea, each development was supposed to be conducted through science and for the homeland. For this reason, it was a national way of living.

The discussions on Turkish nationalism displayed difference among intellectuals. The arguments varied from the issue of religion issue to language, the definition of nation and its scope (Pan-Turkism or just Ottoman Turks). While some of the intellectuals approached the idea of nationalism more romantically, more sensitive and more populist as Ziya Gökalp did, others adopted the idea of nationalism in a realistic, strategic and rationalist way, such as Yusuf Akçura.²⁶ For Gökalp, the essence of the nation was culture and religion, whereas for Akçura, race, language, and common traditions. For the dissemination of the nationalism in the society, Gökalp relied on the interaction between the public and the elites. However, according to Akçura basically, the development of a national bourgeoisie helped dissemination and maintenance of the idea of nationalism. In other words, in the explanation of nationalism, this side provided an economic base.

Last, the committee was urged to create a contemporary and modern state. Modernization was not a new concept for the Ottoman Empire. According to the Young Turks, as their predecessors, the complete modernization of the state was the only way to save the state and with idea of nationalism it seemed to constitute another side of the coin in creation of identity of the Ottoman citizen. For this reason, members of the Young Turks perceived themselves as an enlightened elite who would educate the people. They adopted constitutional and parliamentary modernization. According to Erik Jan Zürcher, the constitution was the “emblem of

²⁶ Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi*, 101.

modernity,” but it was not enough, per se.²⁷ Therefore, the committee decided to undertake radical reforms to be like Japan because its modernization process made it as strong as the Western powers in the world arena. Modernity was the supreme goal and the committee was the agent of change. The modernization drive was implemented from the area of education, to administration, city planning, and to the legal system.

From the information given above about historical context, characteristics of the CUP and the ideological, economic, social and ideological developments what can be inferred? In 1913, after the military coup, the CUP monopolized the power to rescue the empire and to modernize society in different areas. Until that time, it had dealt with and eliminated the oppositions and weakened the authority of the Sublime Porte and the palace. Its goal of saving and modernizing the empire continued with different dynamics from those of the founder cadre, and those of the dynamics at the beginning of the constitutional monarchy.

These different dynamics included Turkish nationalism instead of Ottomanism, national economy instead of a free market economy, and a government that dominated by means of the military instead of civil government. Moreover, the CUP seemed to lose its trust in the motto “Equality, Liberty and Fraternity” of the constitutional era as a result of separatist groups within the empire, the Balkan Wars, and the attitudes of the Western powers. Rather, it adopted more radical, more militarist, more populist, and more nationalist ways to solve the problems. Therefore, this change in state of mind naturally reflected upon the way of rearing, disciplining, and indoctrinating children with the assistance and the intermediary roles of intellectuals, teachers and parents.

²⁷ Zürcher, in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, 51.

An Ideal Child in the Ottoman Empire and the Printed Media

In modern sense, the concept of childhood emerged in the mid-nineteenth century in the empire as a result of modernization and Westernization. This modernization trend led to the establishment of a modern education system, the emergence and development of pediatrics, and to a change in the everyday lives of children from their clothes to their toys in a Westernized way. Also, the emergence of the modern concept of childhood brought a transformation of children's discipline from traditional methods to more modern ones, and the issue of rearing and disciplining children found a broad base in intellectual debates and in the media. In this sense, the arguments generally focused on the formation of a morally, mentally, and physically "ideal child."

Raising children had also a quantitative aspect in addition to qualifications. As a result of wars and land loss in the nineteenth century, the population of the Ottoman Empire decreased drastically. While its population was 35.350.000 in the census of 1844, at the end of the century, it fell to 19.050.307 in 1897.²⁸ The census of 1914, a final one in the Empire, indicates that the total population was 18.520.016.²⁹ This downward trend in population of the Empire constitutes an opposite picture compared to the increasing European population in the same period. Therefore, the policies to increase the population, the control of reproduction and the science of statistics gained much more significance. This increasing importance of population issue affected the women and children at the first step.

²⁸ Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population: Demographic and Social Characteristics, 1830-1914* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 109-190; Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9, no. 3 (October, 1978), 334.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Rearing the “ideal child” became relatively more prominent during the Second Constitutional Period. According to Okay, as a central ruling party, the CUP sought to raise the ideal child who would be loyal to the committee and its principles.³⁰ Since the survival of the empire had uttermost importance, children were seen as having the potential in the rescue of the empire and in its later development. This attitude towards children strengthened after the Balkan Wars, as a result of the rise of Turkish nationalism. They became the agents of revenge for the lost lands as well as the prospective entrepreneurs, and soldiers. In the process of the adoption of these responsibilities, and more importantly national ideas, education, literature, and journals seemed to have had crucial roles.

Especially, the printed-media was used as a key medium in the shaping and mobilization of children under the framework of nationalism. In accordance with the ideological change in that period, the tone of the language in children’s journals changed gradually. While in the late nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the journals had a more didactic tone and moral concerns for children, with the constitutional period and especially after the Balkan Wars, they emphasized national values, patriotism, heroism and new social formation from morality to economy under the nationalist principles. They became tools of civil engineering which prepared children for the future by the inculcating desired ideas and norms.

Another point is that the fundamental aim of the children’s journals was generally the same: introducing and promoting the “ideal child.” This theme of creating the ideal child was similar to that in the women’s journals which modeled the ideal women, mothers and wives. In this sense, the children’s and women’s

³⁰ Cüneyd Okay, *Meşrutiyet Çocukları* (İstanbul: Bordo, 2000), 2.

journals imposed the ways of how to live, how to behave, and even how to feel upon the readers.

As can be seen, the children's journals of a certain time period enables later researchers to receive information about the context and conjuncture of that period, including the social, political, cultural, and economic background. They also indicate the available ideology of a specific time. The tone and the language of the journals display the change in discourse in arguments on raising an ideal child among the different periods. These features of children's journals provide significant contributions for academic literature in examination of a certain ideology, perception of childhood and ideal child's models.

The academic literature in the area of children's journals is limited despite the well-known significance of journals in the Second Constitutional Period. Children's journals in this period under examination have not been studied adequately and in a detailed way in Turkey. The existing studies for Ottoman children's history generally and Ottoman children's journals specifically are few. In this developing field of study, especially the work of Cüneyd Okay shed lights on different parts on childhood and children's literature.³¹ His contribution to the area of childhood history is undeniable. His books on childhood in the Tazimat and Hamidian eras,

³¹ Cüneyd Okay, "Politics and Children's Literature in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918: Using Children's Poetry to Create a Nationalistic/Patriotic Generation" *Journal of Turkish Studies* 28, no. 3 (2004); Okay, "Children in the Late Ottoman Period," in *The Turks* 4 (İstanbul: Yeni Türkiye Publications), 564-579; Okay, "İlk Çocuk Tiyatrosu Üzerine Notlar," *Toplumsal Tarih*, n. 40 (Nisan 1997); "Osmanlı Çocuk Dergileri," *Toplumsal Tarih*, n. 40 (Nisan 1997); Okay, "İki Çocuk Dergisinin Rekabeti ve Müslüman Boykotajı," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 45 (Eylül 1997); Okay, "Boykotaj Meselesi ve Çocuklara Nasihat," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 45 (Eylül 1997); Okay, "Meşrutiyet Dönemi Çocuk Dergilerinde Milliyetçilik/Millîlik," *Türk Yurdu*, no. 136 (Aralık 1998); Okay, "Mektebli Dergisi ve Hasan Ali Yücel'in İlk Yazısı," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 77 (Mayıs 2000); Okay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler 1850-1900* (İstanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları, 1998); Okay, *Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınevi, 1999); Okay, *Meşrutiyet Çocukları* (İstanbul: Bordo Yayınları, 2000); Okay, *Meşrutiyet Dönemi Çocuk Edebiyatı*, (İstanbul: Medyatek Yayınları, 2002).

Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler (Developments in the Ottoman Children's Life), and on childhood in the constitutional period, *Meşrutiyet Çocukları* (Children in the Constitutional Era) present basic information about the emergence and development of modern childhood in Ottoman society. These books also include knowledge about the children's literature, the change of children's daily lives, the differentiation of views on childhood, and the ideal image of children in different periods. In the former book, he presents the emergence of modern childhood in the Ottoman Empire by comparing it with the perception of childhood in the pre-nineteenth century. He follows this comparative narration in other changing fields of childhood such as education, literature, and clothing. In the latter book, he presents childhood in the constitutional era in a comparative way with childhood in the Tanzimat and Hamidian eras. He shows the changing perception of childhood from loyal subjects to little citizens. These two pieces show the transition and transformation of the concept of childhood, and the turning points as well as innovations in the lives of children.

In *Meşrutiyet Dönemi Çocuk Edebiyatı* (Children's Literature in the Constitutional Period), Okay sketches the general view of children's literature in the constitutional era through the examples of books, novels, and journals. The book specifically examines poems written for children under thematic headings, and it provides various poems under these headings.

His *Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri* (Ottoman Children's Journals) introduces the 50 children's journals in chronological order, published in Ottoman Turkish from 1869 to 1927. It is a valuable bibliographical study which brings many unknown children's journal to light. The basic information –their publication years, writing cadre, contents and purposes- of each is provided briefly. Also, Okay gives

information about where these journals can be found and about how many issues are available. At this point, the bibliographical study of İsmet Kür, *Türkiye’de Süreli Çocuk Yayınları* (Children’s Periodicals in Turkey), published in 1991, must be touched upon.³² It was the first bibliographical study on children’s journals. For each journal she presents, Kür shares a few excerpts, and then examines its general characteristics, its grammar, and its use of language without depending on a specific methodology.

In *Osmanlı Dünyasında Çocuk Olmak* (Being a Child in the Ottoman World), edited by Haşim Şahin and Nurdan Şafak, one section deals with children’s journals.³³ The book provides different practices, rituals, and traditions related to childhood, and presents information about the daily lives, education, and leisure time activities of children from different eras in the Ottoman Empire. The part about the children’s journals touches upon how these mediums were to construct the identity of the ideal Turkish child by referring to the texts on morality, economics, commerce, consumption habits, games and children’s festivals. It also discusses the approach of the CUP to children through print-media.

Moreover, the studies of Yavuz Selim Karakışla are other significant sources in the introduction of children’s journals.³⁴ Because they are journal articles, which have page limits, a detailed examination on the contents and texts of journals cannot

³² İsmet Kür, *Türkiye’de Süreli Yayınlar* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1991).

³³ Haşim Şahin and Nurdan Şafak, *Osmanlı Dünyasında Çocuk Olmak* (İstanbul: Değerler Eğitimi Merkezi Yayınları, 2012).

³⁴ Yavuz Selim Karakışla, “II. Meşrutiyet’te Bir Çocuk Dergisi: Çocuk Dünyası,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 9, no. 52 (Nisan 1988): 216-220; Karakışla, “II. Meşrutiyet’ten Cumhuriyet’e Çocuk Dünyası Dergisi (1913-1914; 1918-1919; 1926-1927),” *Müteferrika*, no. 13, (Yaz 1998): 119-191; Karakışla, “Arşivden Bir Belge (13): Çocuklara Rehber Dergisine İmtiyâz Verilmesi (1896),” *Toplumsal Tarih* 13, no. 76 (Nisan 2000): 24-27.

be surveyed. In the article, published in *Tarih ve Toplum*, Karakışla presents essential information about *Çocuk Dünyası* (Children's World, 1913-14) including its content, purpose, and writing staff. In the article, there is also a transliteration of one of the texts from the journal and there are some illustrations as well as photos. In 1998, Karakışla expands his scope of research on *Çocuk Dünyası* and includes other issues published between 1918 and 1919, and between 1926 and 1927. This article, too, provides general information about the journal, including content, purpose, and writing staff.

As distinct from the previous article, this one provides brief information about children's journal in the Ottoman Empire, and includes more exemplary texts from different periods. More importantly, Karakışla provides the index of *Çocuk Dünyası* for 1913-14, 1918-19 and 1926-27. Last, the article, published in *Toplumsal Tarih*, is an archival study which presents a document about the publication concession for *Çocuklara Rehber* (Children's Guidance), a journal published in 1896. In the article, Karakışla shows the correspondence of Said Paşa, a grand vizier, with the Ministry of education for the provision of the concession.

In addition to books and journals, theses and dissertations on children's journals are important sources for information. However, these academic works are usually written in the departments of Turkish Language and Literature. The studies mostly approach the topic of children's journals with literary concern, following the same path: an introduction of the journal, the presentation of general characteristics, its purpose, content and author, and the transmission of some transliterated texts from the journals. Unfortunately, this approach renders the works lacking in theoretical, scientific, and comparative approaches to the journals. The master thesis of Mehmet İnanç Özekmekçi, prepared at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish

History at Boğaziçi University, is different.³⁵ It includes an analysis of some journals between 1869 and 1914 in terms of the political and economic socialization of children. Through the thesis, it is possible to see the changing relations between children and the state in different periods. Nevertheless, Özekmekci fails to support his argument with a theoretical base. Additionally, he cannot show the connection between the official education and children's journals clearly in the evolution of children's formation although he stated that he would reveal this point.

Moreover, there are two studies on *Talebe Defteri* by Kamile Şendil and Hüseyin Küçük.³⁶ Both theses are from department of Turkish Language and Literature from Fatih and Sakarya Universities respectfully. They essentially focus on the introduction of basic information, description of the articles and on the transcription of selected articles. Since both are from department of literature, both approach the journal with literary concerns. Both theses are descriptive and lack theoretical infrastructure.

In general, academic articles, books, and theses as well as dissertations are valuable sources to unearth specific aspects of children's journals in the Ottoman Empire. They are also precious because they present the transliterated form of texts and archival documents, which enables readers to comprehend the original contents of the journals easily. On the other hand, they are mostly descriptive studies which lack theoretical and argumentative frameworks. Indeed, considering that children's

³⁵ İnanç Özekmekçi, "The Formation of Children in the Late Ottoman Empire: An Analysis through the Periodicals for Children, 1869-1914" (MA. thesis, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2005).

³⁶ Hüseyin Küçük, "*Talebe Defteri* Çocuk Dergisi: İndeks, Seçme Metinler, Değerlendirme ve Sözlük" (MA thesis, Türkçe Eğitimi Anabilim Dalı, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2008).

Kamile Şendil, "*Talebe Defteri* (1913-1919) 1-67. Sayılar, İnceleme, Tahlili Fihrist, Seçilmiş Yazılar" (MA. thesis, Fatih Üniversitesi: Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, 2008).

history is still a developing field in Turkey, the descriptive tone of the studies is understandable. For this reason, the contribution of my thesis to the academic literature will be the thorough presentation of *Talebe Defteri* with a historical concern, and the provision of a theoretical framework, which is nationalism.

Methodology

In the thesis, I will adopt micro history as a methodology by focusing on one children's journal, *Talebe Defteri*, and one specific marginal group, children. The original version of *Talebe Defteri* will be used as a primary source. I provide transliteration of approximately 58 issues of the journal, which totally has a total of 68 issues- from Ottoman Turkish to Turkish. Through micro historical approach, I will try to examine the relationship of children in a certain geography, primarily in İstanbul, with nationalism, with the concept of modernity and with the state.

Using a journal as a primary source in a thesis has some advantages. Since journals are serially published literary products, they give a chance to follow the flow of history closely. *Talebe Defteri* thus sheds light on the period from the post-Balkan Wars to the end of the First World War. Moreover, since the expansion of nationalism and printed-media are closely-related, it is possible to read traces of nationalism in journals. Additionally, this journal is important to understand the state approach to nationalism as well as social issues, and to learn about the state's perception of childhood through the authors who were its intermediaries.

On the other hand, writing a thesis by depending only from findings in a journal has some negative aspects. *Talebe Defteri* was published in İstanbul, and its sphere of distribution was not wide. The main readership was made up of urban

wealthy people who lived in İstanbul, and in cities near İstanbul. For this reason, this journal does not provide any concrete input about the way of indoctrination and mobilization of children in other regions or other social classes of the empire. Furthermore, the name of the journal was *Talebe Defteri*, but it appears that it addressed only the middle and upper class students who could afford to buy it, and people who could read. It reflected the opinions of a specific intellectual group. Voices of Islamists, other nationalist such as Ziya Gökalp, Ömer Seyfeddin and Halide Edip, and Westernists are not presented nor are debates on these ideological areas in the journal.

In the thesis, *Talebe Defteri* is studied to reveal the characteristics of the “ideal child”, between 1913 and 1919. The main argument of the thesis is that *Talebe Defteri* actually strove to raise the ideal child, who was a patriot with a high level of national consciousness, and a modern citizen with concerns for social and individual issues including gender, economy, education, health, and morality. The examination and analysis of the journal in this thesis lead me to the point which indicates that a broad scope of readers, including children, youth and adults, and of content, which presents idea of nationalism, in a compatible way with the state nationalism, and provides a wider palette of modernity, a point that complements the another half of the creation of the would-be citizens, made *Talebe Defteri* a peculiar publication and distinguish it from its precedents in that period.

In Chapter 2, I will present a theoretical and comparative perspective that provides insight into the idea of nationalism by specifically pointing out the relationships between nationalism and education, and nationalism and literature (print-media). A comparative view of different uses of children’s journals in different countries will be presented. From this perspective, it is possible to draw parallelisms

between the Ottoman Empire and the sample countries, both of which employed literature as a tool of propaganda during the state of emergency. Chapter 3 will explain the emergence and development of children's journals in the Ottoman Empire. *Talebe Defteri* will be introduced and its main characteristics, purposes and contents will be presented. In Chapter 3, moreover, *Talebe Defteri* will be compared with other children's journals published in the same decade. Chapter 4 analyzes the journal in terms of how it presented the idea of nationalism to its readers and to what extent the nationalism of the journal overlapped with the nationalism of the state. The last chapter consists of an analysis of the social issues presented in *Talebe Defteri*. These social issues include education, gender, economy, morality, health and civil organizations.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

A History of Western Childhood

A historical narrative of childhood provides a clear view of the evolution of this concept. The following section is based on the studies of Hugh Cunningham, Philippe Aries and Colin Heywood. Generally, studies on history of childhood go back to the Middle Ages. According to Aries, in the Middle Ages, there was relatively less of a transition period between infancy and adulthood.³⁷ Childhood, puberty and adulthood were intertwined concepts. For this reason, behavioral differences between adults and children appeared to be at minimum level in the Middle Ages, comparatively with the modern ages, because children were perceived as little adults. Most of them had to follow the ways of parents in terms of their occupations and social status.³⁸

Some scholars criticize the ideas of Aries, claiming that it is a reductionist approach. Against Aries's claims on medieval Western childhood, some scholars point to Christianity's approach to the concept of childhood as a proof of consciousness of childhood in the Middle Ages. Considering the representation of the child Jesus, Virgin and Child, holy childhoods in icons, Hugh Cunningham

³⁷ Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 34.

³⁸ Colin Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At: Batı'da Çocukluğun Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003), 25.

argues that to be a child or childlike became an honored state.³⁹ He provides an example of how Christian emperors issued decrees against infanticide, and cites Shulamith Sharar, an Israeli historian.⁴⁰ Sharar shows the “distinctively medieval attitudes” by referring to the time for growth, play and education in the Middle Ages.⁴¹ Also, she claims that there was a degree of continuity in terms of these points.

Even though positive characteristics were attributed to childhood, in terms of religion and morality, some people saw children as sinful. This idea was first implied in the second century by Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons. St. Augustinus (354-430) developed the doctrine and writes that no one is pure from sin, not even the infant whose life is but a day upon the earth. According to him, Christian parents transmitted their sinful nature to their children, so the original sin began at birth.⁴² Even a thousand years later from his death, his thoughts on the original sin were popular among Protestant reformers, Puritans and Jansenist movement in Roman Catholicism, all of which defended that children could only be saved from sin through harsh, punitive childrearing practices.

In addition to these views on the perception of childhood in the Middle Age, caring for children constituted another dimension of the arguments. According to Aries and Heywood, childhood, puberty, and adulthood were intertwined concepts in the Middle Ages. Since children were perceived as little adults, a point which had not been different in the previous ages, parents took less care of their children until

³⁹ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (New York: Longman, 1995), 31.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁴² Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At*, 26.

the eighteenth century.⁴³ Authors show the wet-nursing institution among the wealthy as a sign of the lack of care. In Europe, children were left to the wet nurses, which were generally preferable for middle and upper classes. However, wet-nursing institution was criticized by clergymen because it was believed that while they were breastfeeding babies, wet nurses transmitted their characteristics to them, and that wet-nursing destroyed the ties between mother and children.⁴⁴

Cunningham disagrees with this perspective, giving the study of Shahar, which indicates that in the Middle Age parents invested both relatively more material and emotional resources in their offspring.⁴⁵ Compared to the rigid disciplining of children to obey parental commands in the eighteenth century, she claims that in the Middle Ages, up to the age of seven, children were treated with tenderness.⁴⁶ To justify her argument, Shahar displays examples from medical writings which included remedies for illnesses peculiar to children, and from children's educational experiences within the family as well as in school.

The last point in terms of Western childhood in the Middle Ages is education. As Heywood and Aries indicate, the idea of education was quite unlike that in the modern era.⁴⁷ Depending on their classes and locations, children worked in the fields with their parents or they became apprentices in guilds to learn crafts. It was believed

⁴³ Ibid., 74. Also for further information about the childhood before the Middle Ages see, A. R. Colon and P. A. Colon, *A History of Children: A Socio-Cultural Survey Across Millennia* (Connecticut: Greenwood, 2001).

⁴⁴ Lloyd deMause, "The Evolution of Childhood" in *The History of Childhood*, ed. Lloyd de Mause (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2006), 48.

⁴⁵ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 30.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 33.

⁴⁷ Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 176.

that it was beneficial to start working at an early age because it revealed the secret skills existing in children.⁴⁸

Education through apprenticeship continued until beginning of the modern schooling. According to Aries, there were three differences between medieval schooling and modern school education.⁴⁹ First, the medieval school was confined to clerics and the religious. Second, there was an absence of primary education in the earlier period. Last, there was a lack of higher education in letters and the sciences. He claims that when a child started going to school, he immediately entered the world of adults.⁵⁰ However, conversely, Cunningham uses the evidence of age-grading in schools, the imposition of discipline by teachers, and the replacement of apprenticeship by schools as a means of socialization to show that schools created a separate world for childhood.⁵¹ In spite of the different angles for the debates on the schooling issue, the point that all of these three scholars agree with is that the schooling of children in the Middle Ages was only for a minority.

Changes in the perception of childhood began to occur in the sixteenth century. According to Aries, the representation of the Holy Childhood in religious iconography played a crucial role in the development of interest in childhood. The “sweetness and innocence of children” began to be stressed more than before.⁵² As

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 140-141.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 36.

⁵² Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 121.

he writes, the “holy childhood” image seemingly caused social perspective to change and people relatively more tended to perceive children as elements for fun.⁵³

The philosophical developments that came with the Renaissance had an great significance in the change of perspective. Specifically, the philosophy of “Know thyself” and humanism added a new dimension to the perception of children in society.⁵⁴ Both of them indicate that each person was worth being for cared and understood. From this point of view, Cunningham observes two important breaks with medieval thought in which mothers held the primary responsibility for caring for the children and the fathers were the leading figures of the family. The first one was the rising priority of father-children relationship as the most intense of all relationships.⁵⁵ This change suggested that fathers should watch over their children, should understand their nature, and should enjoy their company. The second one was a stress on the role of the father in teaching children their letters and maintaining their authority “with love”.⁵⁶ According to Desiderius Erasmus (1465-1536), a humanist thinker, a mother had a nurturing role, but a father had to be responsible for that part of boy’s character which distinguished him from the animals and came closest to reflecting the divine.⁵⁷ With the impact of humanism, the education of children gained significance, especially for middle and upper class families.⁵⁸

⁵³ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁴ Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At*, 106.

⁵⁵ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 42.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 43.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁵⁸ Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At*, 182.

This led to two results: the separation of children from the world of adulthood and the augmentation of the dependence on parents, especially in the economic sense.⁵⁹ Parents felt children needed to do more in the area of education and that meant both more expense for them and the child being kept back from becoming a money earner for a longer period. The dependency, at the same time, was a crucial factor that increased the control of parents over children.

Besides these points, Christianity in general, and Protestantism and Catholicism specifically, seemed to have a significant place in this process of change. Both were influenced, more or less, by the idea of humanism, the image of a beautiful and holy child was elevated. In Protestantism, the training of a child by parents from an early age in good habits was thought as a considerable measure to ensure having a pious, disciplined, obedient, and teachable child.⁶⁰ Because schools became a centre of power and authority in Catholicism, sending children to Church schools gained popularity.⁶¹ These places emphasized the innocence of children, and therefore were influential in the discovery of childhood.⁶² With these developments, the ideas inherited from antiquity vis a vis children were replaced by new ones.⁶³

Positive changes and developments in the eighteenth centuries led to the rediscovery of childhood. At this point, it can be beneficial to present the contributions of two philosophers: John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Locke introduced a term called *tabula rasa* which means “blank slate”. According to this

⁵⁹ Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 140.

⁶⁰ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 48.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶² deMause, *History of Childhood*, 230.

⁶³ Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At*, 30.

view, children were a blank slate or a piece of wax that would be filled or shaped by the family.⁶⁴ He supported affection for and interest in children even though he maintained a pessimist attitude towards children because they were weak and vulnerable innately. Rousseau was very much against the original sin thesis of Christianity. He put forward the cult of “innate innocence,” which was destroyed by adults.⁶⁵ With his periodization of childhood, he negated the thesis of Locke, who believed in the absence of logic in children. According to him, childhood had its own senses and feelings.⁶⁶ He was in favor of the enjoyment of childhood until adulthood and urged adults to show respect for children.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the accumulative influence of the philosophical debates of the previous centuries and through the contribution of the Romanticism, sentimental values for children relatively increased. Although Romantic intellectuals, such as Immanuel Kant, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Joshua Reynolds, maintained “the innate innocence thesis” of Rousseau, they added that children were aware of aesthetic and moral values and they had wisdom.⁶⁷ As Cunningham expresses:

Under the impact of Romanticism “the child” was no longer thought of as a boy as had been the case with Erasmus and Locke. Childhood was coming to be a special time of life in which gender was no longer stressed as an attribute; rather it was the childlike quality of the child which needed to be preserved.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Ibid., 32.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 37.

⁶⁸ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 75.

With these views, the Enlightenment view was replaced by the thought that perceived childhood as a significant stage in formation of adulthood.

Furthermore, considering the previous centuries, some religious traditions were lost gradually. For example, deMause argues that with enlightenment, secularism, the rite of baptism, lost some of its religious character, becoming more of a ritual for “luck and wellness.”⁶⁹ Another tradition that disappeared gradually in these centuries was wet-nursing in consequence of the discovery of the benefits of sterilized milk by Louis Pasteur and the emergence of baby bottles.⁷⁰ The discovery of germs theory led parents to give more weight to potty training their children. They began to consult doctors, who encouraged hygiene such as washing hands, and scalding the milk.⁷¹ Also, due to the advancements in science and the adoption of modern caring approaches, infant mortality decreased. In the twentieth century, reproduction, and birth control gained uttermost importance as a result of the increasing prominence of population policies.⁷² Therefore, the concept of childhood became more important than before.

In the historical development of childhood, another significant concept related to the nineteenth century was child labor. Up to the mid-nineteenth century, children had been seen as a valuable labor source by their parents and capitalists. Especially, the growth of rural industry, which was intermediary period between feudal production and modern urban factory production and increased under the rubric of proto-industrialization, helped to absorb the surplus child labor, supply and increased

⁶⁹ deMause, *The History of Childhood*, 410.

⁷⁰ Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At*, 172.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., 180.

their economic usefulness.⁷³ Economic usefulness of children became pivotal with the Industrial Revolution since they were cheap sources to be employed in the factories. With the revolution, the traditional gender based division of labor among children in urban as well as in rural areas disappeared.⁷⁴ Also, it destroyed the traditional guild and apprenticeship relations. Instead, industrialization demanded long hours and poor working conditions, including dust, high temperatures, and poisonous gas, for children.

Social reformists offered regulations to governments to improve the conditions of children in Europe. The change began in Britain in 1833 with the Althorp Laws. Mine Laws in 1842, the Factory Law in 1844 and finally extended version of the Factory Law followed it.⁷⁵ The Factory Law regulated the working hours of children and led to a partial working system, which allocated time for education. Gradually, this regulation was expanded to other sectors other than weaving including cotton mills, textile and metal factories, and mines. These regulations were accepted with disaffection by capitalists and with settled opinions about children both of which focused on their economic contributions to production and the family budget.⁷⁶

The Industrial Revolution undermined the education of working class people unfortunately and it reduced the attendance of children to schools.⁷⁷ With this development, hierarchal structure became more evident in education. Regulations in national education systems reinforced these class differences. While children in the

⁷³ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 86.

⁷⁴ Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At*, 76.

⁷⁵ deMause, *The History of Childhood*, 423.

⁷⁶ Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At*, 179.

⁷⁷ deMause, *The History of Childhood*, 422.

upper and middle classed received education, children in working class had limited access. However, there were often successful efforts to increase the number of schools, and to try to enforce attendance.⁷⁸ Against the reducing tendency in attendance, some regulations about child labor enabled children to receive education up to a certain age. These regulations did not put an end to child labor completely, but just put it onto a more legal base, moderated the conditions, and made it relatively less strict.⁷⁹

In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, it appears that gradually children became dependent on their parents more than before as a result of the legal regulations which restricted their participation in the labor market. As Heywood articulates, they became relatively less valuable in the economic sense, but more precious emotionally.⁸⁰ However, in change of perception about childhood, the rise of nationalism and formation of nation-states played a crucial role. How and to what extent nationalism influenced the everyday lives of children, how the relation between state and children changed and developed with the idea of nationalism and what kinds of strategies and methods were employed by states to engage nationalism and children are essential questions to be discussed. Before moving on relations between nationalism and children, some basic points about the concepts of nation and nationalism should be discussed.

⁷⁸ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 101.

⁷⁹ Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At*, 185.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 115.

Nation and Nationalism

Nationalism is a modern idea that has influenced not only state-level policies in terms of the economy, administration and society, but also has had a deep impact on society itself in terms of culture, intellectual areas, social reception of foreign societies, and rituals as well as practices. It gives a specific characteristic of “national-ness” to each area, such as national economy, national education, national culture, and so forth. Also, it engenders concepts like nation, national identity, and nation-state, to emerge. Due to the existence of different cultures, ethnic and historical backgrounds, languages and geographies, it is not possible to discuss only one type of nation, or, to give an exact definition of what nationalism is. Different backgrounds produce different types of nations and nationalisms.

Academic Debates

Controversies about nation(s) and nationalism(s) receive significant attention in the academic literature. Especially, in the 1980s, scholars, such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Anthony Smith, and Eric Hobsbawm, published works with different approaches to the concepts of nation and nationalism. Although the works of these scholars have been argued broadly, their statements on the definition of nation and nationalism, the origin of nationalism, and the dissemination of it are necessary to be introduced briefly for clear comprehension of further arguments.

First of all, all of these scholars agree that nationalism is a modern phenomenon and a cultural artefact. Anderson argues that nationalism is not an

ideology and therefore, has never produced its own grand thinkers.⁸¹ He puts nationalism in the same category as religion and kinship –in other words, with cultural systems- rather than with liberalism or fascism. Gellner writes that nationalism is “primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.”⁸² He prefers to define nationalism as a sentiment or as a movement. Hobsbawm uses the same definition which made by Gellner.⁸³ Last, Smith defines nationalism as an ideological movement for “attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation.”⁸⁴ Different from other scholars, Smith considers nationalism as ideology and relates nationalism as an ideology with nationalism as a movement.

Anderson considers nation as an imagined political community because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”⁸⁵ Unlike Gellner’s depiction of a nation as an invention that emphasizes its fabrication and falsity, Anderson claims that nation –in his word “community”- is distinguished by the style in which they are imagined.⁸⁶ Ernest Gellner indicates that nationalism engenders –more properly, invents- nation where

⁸¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: New York: Verso, 2006), 5.

⁸² Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1983), 1.

⁸³ Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9.

⁸⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 73.

⁸⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

they do not exist.⁸⁷ For this reason, like states, nations are a contingency and not a universal necessity.⁸⁸ He puts more stress on sharing the same culture and mutual recognition of every national to the other as the definitive characteristics of nation. According to Hobsbawm, nation is “one of many traditions invented by political elites in order to legitimize their power in a century of revolution and democratization.”⁸⁹ According to him, to be counted as a nation, it is necessary to have historic association, long-established cultural elite, and a proven capacity for conquest.⁹⁰ Last, Smith describes a nation as a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.⁹¹ He also signifies that nation can include the identities of class, religion, and ethnicity.

In discussing the origin of nationalism, each scholar touches upon different periods. Anderson claims that nationalism emerged in North and the South America as a “Creole Nationalism” before it emerged in Europe. He rationalizes his assertion by indicating the improvement in trans-Atlantic communications, shared languages and cultures, which provided “a relatively rapid and transmission of the new economic and political doctrines produced in Western Europe.”⁹² According to Gellner, the Industrial Revolution was the beginning point of nationalism.

⁸⁷ Montserrat Guibernau, *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 70.

⁸⁸ Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism*, 6

⁸⁹ John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds., *Nationalism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 48.

⁹⁰ Smith, *National Identity*, 37-38.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 51.

Nationalism is rooted in a certain kind of division of labor because it requires standardized training, which leads to centrally guaranteed education and school-transmitted culture.⁹³ Therefore, through centrally controlled education, which gave people a chance to specifically learn about history, culture, language and geography, it was possible to constitute a uniform community, a nation. Hobsbawm emphasizes the importance of the dual revolution (the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution) in the emergence of nationalism. These revolutions lead to the establishment of modern nation-states in Europe and to the supremacy of capitalism, both of which emphasizes the prominence of unification. Although he begins his inquiry from the 1780, which is the beginning decade of, what he called, the long nineteenth century, to 1914, he mainly focuses on the late nineteenth century. From the 1880s on the debate about the national question became serious and intensive due to an increase in popular participation.⁹⁴ Last, Smith states that it was in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century that in Western Europe nationalist ideals, motifs and symbols first appeared.⁹⁵ With regard to the origin argument, he accuses other scholars because of omitting the much longer period of the gestation of nationalism as language-and-symbolism, and as consciousness and sentiment.⁹⁶

Last, the dissemination of national consciousness has a significant part in their arguments. Anderson claims that development of print capitalism led people to create their own imagined communities. Especially, newspapers in vernacular languages

⁹³ Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism*, 36.

⁹⁴ Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780*, 43.

⁹⁵ Smith, *National Identity*, 84.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

produced “calendrical coincidence” and “linkages with market.”⁹⁷ These points led to mass ceremony and simultaneous consumption, which were “incessantly repeated at daily or half-daily intervals and which were made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves and to relate themselves to others.”⁹⁸

In the dissemination of nationalism Gellner indicates that the convergence of cultural and political units, the division of labor, and the school-transmitted nature of culture within the industrial societies were significant factors.⁹⁹ In his examination of nationalism, Hobsbawm emphasizes that nationalism cannot be comprehended completely without analyzing it from below. As it became increasingly central to the mass politics of Europe, it disseminated more among other states.¹⁰⁰ For this reason, in its dissemination, economic elements and mass participation are more considerable. Last, Smith emphasizes the importance of vernacularization, culture, and education, all of which led to the creation of national identity and to political socialization of the masses.

Children and Nationalism

In addition to the debates on definition, origin and the dissemination of nation and nationalism, popular participation is another important aspect. According to Anderson, Gellner, Hobsbawm and Smith, although nationalism was invented in the political sphere, and it mostly has been debated in the upper part of society, the

⁹⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 33.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁹⁹ Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism*, 39

¹⁰⁰ Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780*, 44.

inclusion of the lower parts and popular participation have been considerable. In the nineteenth century, the association of nationalism with popular sovereignty favored the definition of citizenship by nationality. This meant the increase of participation of the people in modern nation states more than before. Increasing participation seemed to be the only way to legitimize the power of the sovereign. For the first time, the people appeared to become the subjects of history.¹⁰¹

As would-be citizens and as potential participants of popular sovereignty, children and youngsters, too, could be counted as significant subjects among the populations in nation-states. With the rise of nationalism and the emergence of modern nation-states, relations between the state and children, and the perception of childhood in this paradigm began to change. When children, as successors, became the primary targets of the nation-states, the state controlled and regulated every area related to their raising, from their education to their health, through documentation and registration mechanisms.¹⁰² Through its social policies, and protective as well as philanthropic activities, the state took over the roles as of father and mother who cared for and disciplined them. These “daily bonds” connected the state and its subjects inevitably, as never before.¹⁰³ In return, the state required the children to offer their loyalty and their services to protect the nation and to sustain its perpetuity. For this reason, the mobilization of children and young people was relatively more pivotal in the promotion and maintenance of national identity as well as culture.

¹⁰¹ Smith, *National Identity*, 129.

¹⁰² Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780*, 89.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Education, and print media were important instruments in the reproduction and modification of culture and homogenization of the state's population.¹⁰⁴

This mobilization also signified the coalescence of the cultural area with that of the political and the transformation of culture in accordance with the nationalist ideas to provide a greater contribution to the popular mobilization. Moreover, education and the print media served as tools for the transmission of nationalist policies to children, and for the creation of commonality, including culture, language, past and goal, among young people. Through education and the print-media, the nation-state transmitted national culture and values through textbooks, journals, novels and newspapers, and instilled national consciousness as well as discourses to children in cooperation with journalists, teachers, and intellectuals.

Children's Education and Nationalism

Education gives a considerable opportunity for a state penetration which infuses nationalism and national identity into the minds of children. With regard to this issue, the language of public education was essential element in transmission and the formation of national consciousness because, as Hobsbawm points out, institutions of mass education bring some knowledge of "official or culture-language" into every home at the same time.¹⁰⁵ In this way, the population was likely to adopt the discourse and mentality of the rulers and upper classes. According to Hobsbawm, education is powerful machinery for communication with the inhabitants of the state to spread the image and heritage of the nation and to inculcate attachment

¹⁰⁴ Guibernau, *Nationalisms*, 58.

¹⁰⁵ Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780*, 115.

to it and to attach everyone to the country and flag.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, using a vernacular language that has been refined from any dialects, in public education is important. In the indoctrination of children with nationalism, vernacularization facilitates transmission of invented history and traditions from one generation to the next.¹⁰⁷

Smith approaches the issues of education and nationalism from the perspective of cultural homogenization:

National identities also fulfill more intimate, internal functions for individuals in communities. The most obvious is the socialization of the members as nationals and citizens. Today this is achieved through compulsory, standardized public mass education systems, through which state authorities hope to inculcate national devotion and a distinctive, homogeneous culture, an activity that most regimes pursue with considerable energy under the influence of nationalist ideals of cultural authenticity and unity.¹⁰⁸

Education, as he states, can be employed as a fundamental tool for the socialization of nationals and for the formation of homogenous national culture which emphasizes the distinctness of the nation from other ones constantly, and unites all of the members of a nation. Although he characterizes education as compulsory, standardized and mass, he does not give any information about the methods of education in the transmission of the idea of nationalism. However, according to him, nationalism must be seen as a combination of historicist culture and civic education, two of which overlay or replace the older modes of religious culture and familial education.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 91.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 94.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, *National Identity*, 16.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 91.

Gellner stresses that the monopoly on legitimate education is more important, more central, than the monopoly on legitimate violence.¹¹⁰ He builds his statement on industrial society which may be by most criteria the most highly specialized society ever although its educational system is “unquestionably the least specialized the most universally standardized, that has ever existed.”¹¹¹ The standardization of education is provided through the training of individuals by specialists, who replace local groups and kin in education. He calls this exo-education.¹¹²

This type of education leads exo-socialization, which means socialization out of local units, which facilitates the homogenization of culture and diffuses nationalism. Furthermore, education guarantees constant communication with other citizens through teaching people “shared and standardized linguistic medium and script.”¹¹³ Therefore, education serves the production and reproduction of men outside the local intimate unit, which is the norm of nationalism. It also produces a homogenized common cultural atmosphere within which people communicate, produce and breathe.¹¹⁴ Through this standardized education, society has a chance to possess a common culture, and it can no longer be a diversified, locality-tied, illiterate little culture or tradition.¹¹⁵

The explanations of Hobsbawm, Smith and Gellner emphasize the education system in nation-states, which is standardized and regimented to create a

¹¹⁰ Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism*, 34.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 45.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

homogenous culture, and organized under the vernacular language to serve the development of a national consciousness. In this system, there are also some auxiliary fields that can solidify the idea of nationalism. Especially, textbooks, history, and geography courses can be counted as supportive elements in this sense because they seem to be able to coalesce nationalism with would-be nationals.

Through the institution of mass education, children have a chance to receive information about their national vocabulary, national history, and national lands. For instance, one of the most effective ways to promote national consciousness among children found to be to use a cult of golden ages, which are shown as a target of children.¹¹⁶ Through education, children were conferred future responsibilities.

Another effective way is using maps which, as Anderson expresses, presents the new conception of spatial reality.¹¹⁷ Through the use of maps, the classification of states with drawn boundaries, and the display of colonies of different states with different colors (map-as-logo), it is possible to penetrate deeply into the imagination of students. In this way, maps constitute the idea of virtual motherland which facilitates the loyalty of students to their countries.

Furthermore, textbooks are another dimension of the indoctrination of children with the idea of nationalism. Through textbooks, which dominantly emphasize national self-glorification and national egoism, invented culture and history, national vocabulary, geography, epic poems and stories, and national values as well as norms are introduced to students. For example, geography textbooks may include not only the facts of physical and commercial geography, but also pronouncements on

¹¹⁶ Smith, *National Identity*, 66.

¹¹⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 173.

national character.¹¹⁸ William E. Marsden describes the educational system as a poison of the aggressive nationalism and cross-national conflict.¹¹⁹ Also, by depicting the characteristics of desirable nationals, implicitly or explicitly, textbooks play a significant role in the creation of would-be nationals.

Stephen Heathorn argues in his study of English elementary school reading between 1885 and 1914 that war was a central theme in the textbooks which emphasized the importance of physical education, memorialized the great wartime victories, imposed martial values, and corporatist ideals upon boys as national responsibilities which reinforced the social boundaries between lower and upper classes.¹²⁰ These characteristics of textbooks strengthened the militarist rhetoric, willingness to sacrifice, and nationalism.

In addition to the indoctrination of nationalism and the creation of culturally homogenized individuals, education also puts stress on the physical improvement and wellness of students, which is the basic principle of nationalism. Due to the desire for physically improved generations to constitute a strong nation, physical training courses are put in schools. Sports, especially athleticism, are promoted since they exalt physical activity, self-discipline, the virtues of effort, and the importance of teamwork and solidarity.¹²¹ Practices and methods of physical training are mostly

¹¹⁸ William E. Marsden, "Poisoned History: A Comparative Study of Nationalism, Propaganda and the Treatment of War and Peace in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century, School Curriculum," *History of Education*, no. 29 (2000): 30.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Stephen Heathorn, "Representations of War and Martial Heroes in English Elementary School Reading and Rituals, 1885-1914," in *Children and War*, ed. James Marten (New York; London: New York University Press, 2002), 103.

¹²¹ Laura Malvano, "The Myth of Youth in Images: Italian Fascism," in *A History of Young People: Stormy Evolution to Modern Times*, ed. Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Cambridge; Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 241.

devoted to promote military motives and masculinity. Therefore, physical training courses are likely to serve nationalism by shaping the mental schema of students.

The state not only intervenes into what children should learn, but also determines how they should look, how they should be nourished and how they should discipline their bodies. In other words, nationalism creates a bodily physical stereotype for children and young people and these stereotypes –the spectacle of youth and children strong in mind and body- are supported through visual images including photographs, paintings and sculptures. For this reason, body politics in nation-states are very important.

In addition to physical training courses in schools, activities for exercising outside of schools are important. The basic activity in this way is scouting, an education tool that improves their physical and spiritual health, and provide an opportunity to make use of their leisure time.¹²² The fundamental motivation of the emergence of scouting was training children in nature and instructing them in terms of skill, endurance, morality and courage. It becomes universal activity by carrying an aim to discipline a good citizen and to provide benefit for a nation.

In addition to the influence of education, the print media has a significant place in the socialization and mobilization of children as well as young people. According to Anderson, print media is the key to communications and to the intellectual life of the community and to dissemination of the characteristics of national identities.¹²³

The print media was a basic element of the revolution in European ideas about language. Like Seton-Watson, Anderson describes the nineteenth century as a golden

¹²² Scouting and Guiding Federation of Turkey, 17 August 2007, *İzcinin El Kitabı*, http://www.tif.org.tr/tif/tif/webimage/file/doc/izcinin_el_kitabi.doc [03.05.2014].

¹²³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 61.

age of vernacularizing lexicographers, grammarians, philologists and litterateurs.¹²⁴

Under this revolutionary effect of vernacularization, dictionaries, Greek classics, popular epic poems, history and grammar books were published. These literary tools influenced the reception of the language and history of children and young people and to shape their perceptions under the nationalist framework. In other words, print capitalism, through novels, stories, textbooks, newspapers and journals, created an imagined community among children. To see the precise influence of the print media on this group, the next part examines children's literature.

Children's Literature and Nationalism

The primary purpose of children's literature is controversial. Maria Nikolajeva cites three basic purposes for children's literature: pedagogic, literary and social.¹²⁵ Among these purposes, most scholars agree that children's literature, from the very beginning, mostly related to pedagogical aims which employ literature as a powerful means for educating children.¹²⁶ Related to this point, literature for children, specifically in the Middle Ages, served to introduce and to promote their religious principles as well as moral values, and children shared adult literature mostly. Up to the seventeenth century, children's literature was not separate that of the literature for adults.¹²⁷ Another point on which most of scholars agree is that children's literature

¹²⁴ Ibid., 71.

¹²⁵ Maria Nikolajeva, "Introduction: Approach to the History of Children's Literature" in *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children's Literature*, ed. Maria Nikolajeva (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 1995), ix-x.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Zohar Shavit, "The Historical Model of the Development of Children's Literature," in *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children's Literature*, ed. Maria Nikolajeva, 29.

has gone through, more or less, similar stages –from the adaptation of adult literature to didactic and educational stories- in all countries and language areas.¹²⁸

Since their instructional character was the focal point of the early children’s literature, the textbooks seemed to have had important functions in this sense. Basically, they followed two forms: a dialogue between pupil and teacher or rhymed couplets for easy memorization.¹²⁹ Another type of book, namely the *Elucidarium*, Book of General Information, for young students was developed in the twelfth century by Honorius Augustodunensis, a Christian theologian. It included the topics of children’s duties, the properties of animals and plants, and religious precepts. In the mid-fifteenth century, young children learned to read from hornbooks, little wooden paddles on which were pasted a sheet of parchment printed with the alphabet, the vowels, and the Lord’s Prayer.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, with the emergence of the Puritans, writing for children became, what Kiefer calls, a “culturally recognized field” to fulfill the educational needs of children.¹³⁰ As Zohar Shavit indicated, it was the education system that determined the nature of texts for children.¹³¹ Although primers and instructional books continued to remain popular until the eighteenth century, chapbooks, which were nonofficial adult literature, were also popular among children. Before this century, entertainment for children in literature had come from

¹²⁸ Nikolajeva, *Aspect and Issues*, X.

¹²⁹ Barbara Kiefer, *Charlotte Huck’s Children’s Literature* (Columbus: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 2010), 68.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Shavit, *Aspect and Issues*, 30.

books written for adults such as the *Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* of Daniel Defoe.¹³²

In the eighteenth century, the ideas of John Locke, David Hume and Jean Jacques Rousseau, who promoted the revolutionary idea of reading for pleasure, changed the instructional based characteristic of children's literature. The first attempt at this point was the publication of John Newberry's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* in 1774.¹³³ It is considered to have been the first children's book. It consisted of simple rhymes for each of the letters of the alphabet.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, children had more access to entertaining alphabet books, nursery rhymes, poetry, fairy tales and nonfiction books. This led to the emergence of commercial publishing for children which challenged children's reading preferences.¹³⁴ The transformation in children's literature from instructional base to entertaining one and from religion-oriented to more secular genres, appeared to made way for the engagement of social issues, the state of mind and ideological concerns with children's stories, novels, as well as journals. At this point, the rise of nationalism in the same century is the best example to show how children's literature coalesced with it. So, what is the role of literature on this issue? How can it be used to influence children and young people?

Ascenzi writes that children's literature has two ways of impacting children's mind. The first way is the use of textbooks in schools, through the promotion of national values, history, language, and culture, as mentioned above. The second way is through novels, stories, journals, and poems, which children and young people

¹³² Kiefer, *Charlotte Huck's*, 69.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Shavit, *Aspect and Issues*, 33.

read in the leisure time or for fun.¹³⁵ Children's literature is important in the construction of mental schemata, symbolic universes, mores and civil customs, intended to shape and improve the world of individual and collective behavior.¹³⁶ Literary productions, especially fairy tales, legends, and myths, make children familiar with what the political leadership of the country viewed as the core of the national tradition. Especially, the emergence of nation-states and the improvement of print technologies facilitated this purpose.

The examination of children's literature through the filter of nationalism can reveal that specifically wars and revolutions, which have appropriate conditions for the escalation of nationalism, influence the tone and the language of literature deeply. Before and after wars, or revolutions, children's literature is more available as a tool of propaganda which glorifies the national history and "motherland," and promotes militarism, heroism, as well as patriotism. In these periods, the political, social and didactic function of literature has been brought relatively more to the forefront. Also, this atmosphere makes every patriotic writer, whether leftist, rightist or non-partisan more conscious of his duty to fight for the national existence and to use literature as an effective weapon for popular mobilization.¹³⁷

In times of revolution or war, as Valerii Voskoboïnikov states, adults imposed their interests onto the child's world and took it over.¹³⁸ She gives the example of 1917 when literature performed as a branch of state propaganda and it was facilitated

¹³⁵ Anna Ascenzi, "Children's Literature as a Source for the History of Cultural and Educational Processes," *History of Education and Children's Literature*, no. 2 (2012): 513.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 498.

¹³⁷ Tien-yi Li, "Continuity and Change in Modern Chinese Literature," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 321 (January, 1959), 94.

¹³⁸ Valeri Voskoboïnikov, "Children's Literature Yesterday, Today... and Tomorrow?" *Russian Studies in Literature* 49, no. 3 (Summer 2013), 68.

the state's appropriation of childhood.¹³⁹ With 1917, the primary intention of literature was to nurture a new type of man, who would attach primary value to the interest of the state.¹⁴⁰ Aaron Cohen writes on the influence of mass media on child psychology, indicates, the use of journals, postcards, and popular posters as tools of “witty and violent” propaganda increased children's knowledge of and curiosity in politics, geography and history.¹⁴¹ Also, the war images and literature seemed to have an impact on children's reading preferences as they became part of their daily lives. In the same year, the Chinese Literary Revolution included nationalist aspect which replaced the classical language with the living language.¹⁴² This influenced children's literature, which started to be published in a vernacular language to provoke national sentiments and to contribute the national aims of China.

Eugenio Otero Urtaza, studying a Spanish children's journal, *Los Ninos*, from the nineteenth century, shows the effect of war on children's literature. The journal promoted patriotism, militarism and heroism through tales from the Franco-Prussian war. Although it did not approve war, it carried many images and articles that praised military virtues and taught children to look well upon the military.¹⁴³ Furthermore, Andrew Donson, writing on Germany, discusses the impact of war on youth literature by examining war penny dreadfuls, which offered detective, love, adventure, and Wild West stories before the Great War. After 1914, it focused on

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Aaron J. Cohen, “Flowers of Evil: Mass Media, Child Psychology, and the Struggle for Russia's Future during the First World War,” in *Children and War*, ed. James Marten (New York; London: New York University Press, 2002), 40.

¹⁴² Li, *Continuity and Change*, 92.

¹⁴³ Eugenio Urtaza, “Children's Literature in Wartime: The Journal *Los Ninos* (1870-1877),” *History of Education and Children's Literature* 1 (2010): 234.

war and chauvinism.¹⁴⁴ According to Donson, after 1914, the tone of the nationalism and militarism intensified. Youth literature transmitted the myths of heroism, patriotism, sacrifice, afterlife, adventure, and manhood to a wider audience than before.¹⁴⁵ Emer O’Sullivan shows how Germany and the Germans were portrayed in British children’s literature. In his examination, beginning from 1870, he stresses that the wartime settings were influential in the perception of the main enemy.¹⁴⁶ During the Great War, most of the books published had to keep their young readers’ spirits up to help them to believe that the British cause was just and that the Germans were evil.¹⁴⁷ Also, in Britain the Great War became the focus of the tales of bravery and hardihood.¹⁴⁸

Ireland, moreover, in its struggle against the British Empire, employed nationalism in children’s literature for mobilization. With respect to this purpose, *Young Ireland* (1875-91), a children’s journal; *The Nation*, a newspaper founded in 1842; and the *Irish Weekly Independent*, a newspaper, were significant mediums. *Young Ireland*, for instance, provided boys with nationalist adventure tales and heroic deeds, and girls with tales of strong-willed female martyrs like, Joan of Arc or Mary Queen of Scots.¹⁴⁹ Through newspapers, columns and journals, the nationalist

¹⁴⁴ Andrew Donson, “Models for Young Nationalists and Militarists: German Youth Literature in the First World War,” *German Studies Review* 27, no. 3 (October 2004): 590.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 580.

¹⁴⁶ Emer O’Sullivan, “Germany and the Germans As Depicted in British Children’s Literature from 1870 to the Present” in *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children’s Literature*, ed. Maria Nikolajeva: 67.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁴⁸ Marsden, *Poisoned History*, 33.

¹⁴⁹ Riona Nic Congail, “Young Ireland and The Nation: Nationalist Children’s Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Eire-Ireland* 46 (Fall/Winter 2011): 47.

urged the media to establish a nationalist children's culture and to prevent children from being influenced by the imperialist ideology.¹⁵⁰

Conclusion

Although there are different approaches to nationalism in terms of definitions, origins and ways of dissemination, it is clear that most theoretical views agree on the influence of nationalism on children and perceptions of childhood. Through nationalism, and correspondingly, through regulations and the actions of nation-states, the evolution of the concept of childhood, which began as considering children as little adults, methods and some basic characteristics of children's school education, and contents as well as missions of children's literature underwent dramatic changes. Children began to be perceived as nationals and would-be citizens, and education, which gained secular and national characteristics and its methods were instrumentalized to instill nationalist ideas into the minds of children. Finally, children's literature, in cooperation with the nationalist intellectuals in the states, had a national tone which propagated national culture and identity, and which promoted national consciousness. With the contribution of academic debates on nationalism and of developments in children-nationalism relations within different states, the next two chapters will discuss the Ottoman children's journal, *Talebe Defteri*.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 41.

CHAPTER 3

CHILDREN'S JOURNALS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND TALEBE DEFTERİ

General Overview to the Ottoman Children's Journals¹⁵¹

Children's journals were a significant part of the everyday lives of middle and upper class children in the Ottoman Empire from the mid-nineteenth century. The journals generally had two important missions, to amuse and teach. To amuse, they presented games, puzzles, stories and tales. At the same time, they gave information about different issues, including health, morality, and education. They also included articles that taught about the imperial mind and to get familiar with the state policies and ideologies. In this way, the journals acted as a connection between the state and children. Through the journals, the moral values, imperial ideology, and characteristics of would-be citizens/nationals could be communicated to children. Therefore, they were the influential instruments in diffusion of state ideology.

Approximately a century after 1788, the date the first children's journal, *The Juvenile Journal*, was published in Europe, *MümeYYiz* (A Little Child), the first children's journal of the Ottoman Empire, was published in İstanbul, in 1869.¹⁵² It was followed by *Sadakat* (Loyalty) and *Etfal* (Children) in 1875. Up to the Second

¹⁵¹ For the list of the journals see Appendix I

¹⁵² Cüneyd Okay, *Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri* (İstanbul: Bordo, 2000), 15-16.

Constitutional Period, a total 20 children's journal:¹⁵³ *Ayine* (Mirror, 1875), *Arkadaş* (Friend, 1876), *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (Interpreter of Truth, 1880), *Aile* (Family, 1880), *Mecmua-ı Nevresidegan* (Journal of Youth, 1881), *Çocuklara Arkadaş* (Children's Friend, 1881), *Çocuklara Kiraat* (Children's Reading, 1881), *Vasıta-ı Terakki* (Means of Progress, 1882), *Etfal* (Children, 1886), *Numune-i Terakki* (Image of Progress, 1887), *Debistan-i Hired* (School of Intellect, 1887), *Çocuklara Talim* (Children's Training, 1887), *Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete* (Journal for Children, 1896), *Çocuklara Rehber* (Children's Guidance, 1897), and *Çocuk Bahçesi* (Children's Park, 1905) respectively.¹⁵⁴ Some of the journals were published by the schools such as *Mecmua-ı Nevresidegan* (Journal of Youth), *Numune-i Terakki* (Image of Progress) and *Debistan-i Hired* (School of Intellect). The primary aim of these journals was to help students in their courses.

Another point was about *Ayine* and *Aile*, which are classified as a women's journal normally, but they can be accepted as children's journals at the same time since they include issues of rearing of children, entertaining stories, games and puzzles.

On the basis of a general evaluation of the children's journals before 1908, it can be expressed that these journals predominantly touched upon the issues of morality, discipline, rearing, health and education. They also included stories, poems, puzzles, and games. Up until that point, they did not deal with the indoctrination of any ideological inputs.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 216.

¹⁵⁴ According to İsmet Kür, the numbers of the journals in the same period are eleven. See İsmet Kür, *Türkiye'de Süreli Çocuk Yayınları* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını, 1991).

Twenty children's journals were published in İstanbul in the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918):¹⁵⁵ *Musavver Küçük Osmanlı* (Pictorial for Little Ottomans, 1909), *Mekteblilere Arkadaş* (Students' Friend, 1910), *Çocuk Dünyası* (Children's World, 1913), *Ciddi Karagöz* (Serious Karagöz, 1913), *Çocuk Yurdu* (Children's Homeland, 1913), *Mektebli* (Student, 1913), *Talebe Defteri* (Student's Notebook, 1913), *Çocuk Duygusu* (Children's Emotion, 1913), *Türk Yavrusu* (Turkish Juvenile, 1913), *Çocuklar Alemi* (Children's Universe, 1913), *Kırlangıç* (Swallow, 1913), *Çocuk Bahçesi* (Children's Park, 1914), *Çocuk Dostu* (Children's Friend, 1914), *Mini Mini* (Mini Mini, 1914), and *Küçükler Gazetesi* (Journal for Little Children, 1918).¹⁵⁶

Most of the journals in this period were published in 1913, after the Balkan Wars which was a turning point in the publishing sector life. According the Okay, the "nationalization" trend in different areas, including family, education, and literature, made itself evident in the children's literature as well.¹⁵⁷ Even though the journals continued to be child-like visually, including pictures, photos, and cover pages, they, except one or two, began to have more adult-like contents which were designed to promote feelings of nationalism, patriotism and revenge. These journals were mostly used as propaganda tools for certain ideas, specifically Turkish nationalism. So, different from their predecessors, the children's journals in this period strove to create an ideal child, and soldier. These journals also were utilized to mobilize children for responsibilities which included saving the empire, developing

¹⁵⁵ Cüneyd Okay's book includes other Ottoman-Turkish journals which were published after 1918 up to the Alphabet Reform in 1928. Between these dates, there were 14 children's journals.

¹⁵⁶ Cüneyd Okay, *Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri*, 216. According to İsmet Kür, the number of the journals in the same period was ten.

¹⁵⁷ Cüneyd Okay. *Meşrutiyet Dönemi Çocuk Edebiyatı* (İstanbul: Medyatek, 2002), 20.

it, and constituting a society in accordance with the norms of the state of mind.

Talebe Defteri was one of the post-Balkan War's journals which was under the same effect as other ones and had a same mission with them.

*Talebe Defteri*¹⁵⁸

Talebe Defteri started its publication life on 15 June 1913, after the Balkan Wars. Its founder and director was Ahmet Halid (Yaşaroğlu), who was a teacher in Barbaros Primary School, in Beşiktaş. It was published bi-monthly, on Thursdays. The journal continued to be published until 1919 with 68 issues in total.¹⁵⁹ The publication was suspended from 1914 to 1916, due to the war time scarcity of paper and economic problems. In its second term, lasting from 1916 to 1919, it was not published regularly. Sometimes, it took three weeks or a month for a new issue.

Until issue 32, the price of the journal was 20 para. After this issue, the price rose to 40 para. The last 13 issues were 100 para. Most probably, wartime scarcity caused its price to rise so drastically. Readers also had the chance to subscribe to the journal at 10 kuruş a year.

The administrative body of the journal was the Türk Yurdu Library (*Türk Yurdu Kütüphanesi*). Its first address was the Maarifet Library (*Maarifet Kütüphanesi*) in Bab-ı Ali Avenue. However, beginning with the issue five, its address was in number 35 in Cağaloğlu. In issue 47, the journal announced its mailing address as İstanbul PO Box 66. There were four different press names:

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix D, Figure 1

¹⁵⁹ For chronological index of the journal see Appendix II.

Necm-i İstikbal Press, Hayriye Press and Partners (up to issue 32), Orhaniye Press (up to issue 45), and Press of Islamic Foundation.

From its first issue, it had 16 pages, plus the question and answer part, announcements, puzzles, and its cover page. The sixteenth issue had 34 pages. Issues 51-52 issues, which were published together as a “special issue”, had 52 pages. The page size was 16X24 cm. The language of the journal was Ottoman Turkish.¹⁶⁰ After its twentieth issue, the journal began to publish a supplement for the Ottoman Navy, and after the first issue it published a supplement for handicrafts including making model planes and cinematography, and making various objects through unused materials.

Talebe Defteri had pictures, illustrations as well as photographs. The visual components were used to support the text, to ornament the pages, or to provoke the national sentiments of the readers. Photographs of conferences, ceremonies, well-known people, and students as well as schools were presented. Only issue 36 was published without any pictures or photos, but no reason was given for this. All of the illustrations were in black and white.

In terms of the audience it addressed, there is no agreement. Although in the book of Cüneyd Okay, it is counted among the children’s journals, Okay claims that it was not a children’s journal completely.¹⁶¹ Basically, it was a journal for high school students. However, its broad content and its intellectual level indicate that it had a range of readers, including teachers, high school students and children. The journal included data on methods of modern education as well as criticisms of the old

¹⁶⁰ Kamile Şendil, *Talebe Defteri*, (MA Thesis, Fatih University, İstanbul: 2008), 13.

¹⁶¹ Okay, *Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri*, 120.

type of education. From this perspective, it addressed teachers. In some articles, the writer directly appealed to teachers, giving advice on what they should do and what they should not do.

The parts which covered science, history, as well as geography, high school education, the descriptions of different types of high schools in different parts of İstanbul and of the empire are signs of its addressed high school students. Finally, the stories, tales, games, puzzles and some simple poems show that it also addressed children. As for gender, the journal seems to have targeted mostly boys and male readers who most probably were seen as primary agents in taking revenge, fighting in the battlefield as soldiers, saving the empire, and transforming society in the future. However, the publication of Women's Pages (*Hanımlar Sahifesi*), after issue 31, signifies that it was not a gender-specific journal; instead the journal was concerned the gender issues and address them at the same time.

Its broad content differentiated it from other children's and youth journals. In the same period, there were 13 other children's journals, whose main readers were children. Journals for youth, including *Mekteb Müzesi* (School Museum) and *Mekteb Alemi* (World of School), targeted mostly high school students. However, *Talebe Defteri* can be counted as a mixture of these two types of journals. Despite the general characteristics of *Talebe Defteri*, the quantitative data about its circulation are needed. The examination of primary (archival documents, other children's and women's journals in the period) and secondary sources (two theses on *Talebe Defteri*, Okay's bibliography) remains inconclusive in this sense.

Purpose of the Journal

The introduction text of the *Talebe Defteri* states that

Studentship is the most busiest period of the life. In this period, there is a constant tendency for various activities including acting, playing, and reading. Due to a high dynamism of students, all their materials and spiritual powers and skills are constructed and destroyed rapidly and drastically. Unfortunately, our poor library culture cannot present pieces that can satisfy and regulate these necessities and tendencies. As a result of this situation, our students are forced to waste their activities in improper ways and read only newspapers and ordinary novels to meet their reading needs.¹⁶²

The *Talebe Defteri* aimed to reduce this gap in the library culture, by presenting pieces that satisfied the sentimental and intellectual activities of students within a regular program, to guide them to satisfy their physical needs in beneficial ways.

While the journal basically addressed students, it did not specify a certain age group. Also, this text indicates that the main concerns of the journal were to educate students and promote their intellectual as well as physical developments. Another aim was to improve and to enrich the reading culture of the students. The journal thus had predominantly literary and pedagogic motivations. However, does this statement reflect the real purposes of the journal? Did the *Talebe Defteri* give importance to only the education and improvement of students, bodily and intellectually? Were there any other motivations behind this declaration?

Indeed, like the other journals, which published after the Balkan War, it did not seem to be possible for *Talebe Defteri* to escape the rising nationalist atmosphere.

The trauma of the Balkan Wars, including the huge territories lost and high level of

¹⁶² This part is translated from the Ottoman Turkish: Satı, "Bir Mektup," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 1 (23 Mayıs 1329), 1. For original text please see Appendix III, no. 1.

immigration to Anatolia from the Balkans, permeated nearly each journal of the period.

For this reason, *Talebe Defteri*, too, aimed at raising the national consciousness of students through its articles, pictures, photographs, stories, and poems. Therefore, even though the introductory text said that the main purposes of the journal were education and the physical and intellectual improvement of students, it can be assumed that the penetration of national values, sense of hatred and revenge, raising national consciousness had actually great importance. From this point of view, the subjects addressed can be divided into three groups according in its order of importance.

The most obvious features are the promotion of the idea of nationalism as well as the instilment of national values. In parallel to these purpose, the journal promoted the glorious past, and shared poems, stories and illustrations that had the potentials to agitate nationalist sentiments, attempted to create a reading culture by offering lists of books as well as journals, all of which followed the idea of nationalism. Attempting to mobilize the readers through announcements and advertisements were other objectives. The question of how this promotion and penetration were achieved will be discussed below.

Education was the second purpose. *Talebe Defteri* discussed the education of children in a modern way, the problems of the Ottoman's educational system, the introduction of different schools, and the criticisms of the old educational system and methods. Also, science pages, a supplement for hand crafts, information about the world, other countries, history, and nature sought to broaden their knowledge and general cultures.

The last purpose consists of several points that can be summed up of “social issues” and “personal care.” Under the heading of personal care, the journal instructed its readers about themselves, including their health, bodies and moral development; physically and spiritually. Columns for morality and health care aimed readers to improve their morality enabled them to take care of their health and physical improvement. Through the visual and literary inputs on the social issues, the journal possibly sought to inform students about the developments around their environments as well as in the empire. Through articles information on different social issues such as women’s emancipation, poverty, the condition of street children, and the economy were provided. The discussion of these issues in the journal most probably provided a perspective for the readers.

These three main points indicate that *Talebe Defteri* did not focus solely on the issues of the care of children, their leisure time activities, education, entertainment and morality like its precedents in the pre-Balkan Wars period, but it seemed to pay more attention to raising the consciousness of students in the areas of nationalism, modern education, and social issues by adding ideological dimension and modernity perspectives. These purposes of the journal show that it was used as a teacher, an agitator and for journalistic purposes. Also, the purposes of the journal seemed to overlap with the general public opinion and with the state of mind of the period in İstanbul. In short, the journal intended to create a would-be national who was loyal to his nation, concerned with his environment, and who had a high intellectual level and strong body.

Writers of the Journal

Intellectuals played an important role in the transmission of the ideas to the population during this chaotic reform period in the Ottoman Empire. Especially, nationalist intellectuals led to construct national culture, shape it and spread nationalist ideas, values and culture to the minds of the people in the post-Balkan War era. They functioned as envoys between state and society to inculcate the state of mind. Here, the authors who wrote for the *Talebe Defteri* will be introduced and their contribution will be explained. However, since there are too many names the discussion will be limited to the famous nationalists of that period.

Ahmet Halit (Yaşaroğlu) was the founder as well as director of the journal.¹⁶³ He worked as a teacher of history and geography. He was the first school inspector of the Republic of Turkey. Besides his occupation as a teacher, he was involved in publishing activities, such as women's and children's journals, and school textbooks. In *Talebe Defteri*, the main concern of his articles was education. He introduced schools in İstanbul and in different parts of the empire and he criticizes the shortcoming of the schools. He also supported the education of girls.

İsmail Hakkı (Baltacıoğlu) also wrote in this journal.¹⁶⁴ He was a teacher at teacher's training school and he was the first rector of the Imperial University (*Darülfünun*) in the Republic of Turkey. He wrote extensively on modern education systems and methods. He also wrote pieces of an education, theater, philosophy, sociology and religion, and published *Talim ve Terbiyede İnkılap* (Reform in Teaching and Discipline) in 1910, *Rousseau'nun Terbiye Felsefesi* (Discipline

¹⁶³ Şendil, *Talebe Defteri*, 62.

¹⁶⁴ Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınlar, 1985), 63.

Philosophy of Rousseau) in 1925, *İçtimai Mektep* (Social School) in 1932, and *Tarih ve Terbiye* (History and Discipline) in 1933. He also wrote a story *Yalnızlar* (The Lonely), and a novel *Batak* (Morass) in 1942. In the journal, he usually touched upon the issue of education and the discipline of students as Ahmet Halit did. He introduced the modern education system, criticized the old discipline system, and pointed out the relations between the teacher and his students. In addition to the topic of education, he also wrote about hand crafts.

The third prominent writer was Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik who was a teacher, and the author of the books *Yer ve Gök* (Earth and Sky) and *Talim ve Terbiye Umdeleri* (Principles of Discipline and Instruction).¹⁶⁵ In *Talebe Defteri*, he generally wrote articles recalling the glorious past of the Ottoman Empire, and covered the issues of education. In most of his writings he suggested that children had to work hard for revenge of the Balkan Wars. Finally, he prepared *Hanımlar Sahifesi* (the Ladies' Page), which included poems and article about the women's movement, and supported the education of girls.

The fourth writer was Suad Fahir, known as İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan.¹⁶⁶ He was the author of *Bi-namızın Otuz Üç Gecesi* (The Thirty Three Nights of Non-Prayer), published in 1921. His poems were published in the *Talebe Defteri*. Mostly, the content of the poems was the beauty of nature. Also, his poems about Ottoman flag and for the first victims of aircraft were published. He wrote one article in which he discussed which meter should be used in literature, aruz or syllabic.

¹⁶⁵ Şendil, *Talebe Defteri*, 55.

¹⁶⁶ *Tanzimat'tan Bugüne Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi* 1, s.v. "Ertaylan, İsmail Hikmet."

The fifth writer was Osman Fahri, a poet.¹⁶⁷ His poems in the journal were generally about nature like those of Suad Fahir. He wrote didactic poems urging students to work hard today, to take revenge for the past, to know the real intent of Western civilization, which he called “the wild civilization.”

Aziz Hüdai, which was actually the pseudonym of Reşat Nuri Güntekin, was a well-known author in the Ottoman Empire and in the Early Republican era¹⁶⁸. Besides his literary identity, he worked as a teacher up to 1927, giving Turkish and French courses in various schools. In *Talebe Defteri*, he predominantly wrote stories, some of which included the themes of war, heroism, and captivity. Additionally, he translated the Victor Hugo’s *les Miserables* which was published in the journal as a serial.

Another writer of the journal was Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı).¹⁶⁹ He graduated from the School of Medicine, and was a well-known member of the CUP. He served as Minister of Education in 1918. He taught philosophy courses at the Imperial University. *Talebe Defteri* published his letters which included his thoughts about the journal. In *Talebe Defteri*, he also wrote a poem, namely called *Anatolia* (Anadolu).

Ahmet Cevad (Emre) was also wrote for the journal.¹⁷⁰ He worked in different positions in different offices during the Ottoman Empire. He taught French in schools and wrote in different newspapers, including *Sabah* (Morning), *Akşam* (Evening) and *Vakit* (Time). He wrote pieces about the Turkish language and its structure. In *Talebe Defteri*, his articles included information and stories about the

¹⁶⁷ Şendil, *Talebe Defteri*, 65-66.

¹⁶⁸ *Tanzimat’tan Bugüne Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi* 1, s.v. “Güntekin, Reşat Nuri.”

¹⁶⁹ Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü*, 81-82.

¹⁷⁰ Şendil, *Talebe Defteri*, 68.

economy. Through his writings he sought to encourage students to pay attention economy through his writings. He also wrote articles on the issue of revenge, of war and captivity, and the concept of motherland.

Enis Behiç (Koryürek) worked in the Foreign Office during the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷¹ He was also a well-known poet. Epic poems that included national sentiments were his most the popular ones. In the journal, his poems were about the motherland and the glorious past of the Empire. He complained about the territorial losses and he depicted the success and magnificence of the Ottoman Empire in the past.

Since the main targets of the journal were students, the writers addressed them as their teachers. They were all modern, reformist, and nationalists who introduced the modern educational system and endeavored to improve the intellectual level and physical strength of the youth. To achieve their goals, they wrote different types of articles in various arenas that constituted the content of *Talebe Defteri*.

Content of the Journal

This section will examine the types of writings that appeared in *Talebe Defteri*. As its introduction text indicated that the journal worked to improve the level of intellectuality and physical strength of the students, it can be expected that the content of the journal included information about education, health, morality and various topics, such as history, geography, and science. Additionally, articles that agitated the national sentiments of students were presented in the journal. It also

¹⁷¹ Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü*, 201-202.

published announcements, advertisements, competitions, and reading lists as well as newly published books and journals.

Education

Education was one of most popular themes of the journal. Under the heading of this topic, the different types of schools were introduced, observations of the authors vis a vis a specific school were written, the old type and new type of education methods were compared, old type of education system were criticized, and the conditions of the schools in the rural areas of the empire were discussed. The issue of the education of girls was another important aspect of this content. In terms of this point, the articles had an encouraging tone when discussing equal opportunity of education for girls like boys. Some writings on education were put on the first pages of the journal and under the title of “Notebook”. İsmail Hakkı, Ahmet Halid, Nafi Atuf, and Edhem Nejad were the names that wrote on this topic.

Language and Literature

Talebe Defteri had rich content about language and literature. In every issue, literary pieces ranging from poetry to plays to stories were presented. Literary texts mainly aimed to amuse and to make students think about a certain issue.

Poems appeared in nearly every issue of the journal. Generally, they were about the beauty of nature, patriotism, heroism, and war. The language of the poems was clear and fluent, and they were mostly written in syllabic meter. The works of Osman Fahri and Suad Fahir appeared often in this genre..

Another popular genre was stories. They included translated, serial, and copyrighted pieces. Generally, the translated stories aimed at amusing readers, and they had didactic tone at the same time. The serially published stories by nationalist writers including Nüzhet Sabit, Aziz Hüdai and Ahmet Cevat were concerned with spreading patriotism, courage, as well as determination, and with the promotion of national sentiments. Additionally, many didactic stories were written on morality, education, science, girl's education, and economy.

Novels also were published serially in the journal. They were selected from among the most popular ones in British, French and Persian literature, and they were translated into Ottoman Turkish. *Les Miserables* of Victor Hugo was one of them. Through the translated novels, the journal aimed at constructing a reading culture for students and at developing their intellectual level.

Another genre in the journal was tales. The tales did not have a didactic concern, but were aimed at amusing readers. *Acem Masalları* (Persian Tales), and *Endülüüs Masalı* (Tale of Andalusia), and *Halife ve Fakir Talebe* (The Caliph and Poor Student) were some of them.

Furthermore, the publication of plays constituted significant aspect of this content. Plays were generally humorous and entertaining, while monologues had a didactic tone. *Küçük Hüseyin'in Gazası* (The Holy War of Little Hüseyin) was an example of the monologue type, which addressed the issue of courage and patriotism.

In the journal, the genre of letter had an important place. Correspondences between father and son, teacher and student and writer and reader were presented. The letters criticized the problems in education or in different areas, gave advice to a son, student or reader, or requested something from the state office.

The journal feature frequent pieces on the history of literature was an important topic. This topic was published under the heading *Edebiyat Tarihimizden Sahifeler* (Pages from Our History of Literature). This part of the journal gave biographical or periodic information about Turkish literature. Well-known names including Mevlana, Yunus Emre, and Aşık Paşa were introduced and examples from their pieces were presented.

Grammar was also stressed. Through literature the journal appeared to aim at spreading specific messages to the readers, whereas through issue of grammar, it tried to conceptualize the principles of a national language. In this kind of writing, the importance of the proper use of the Turkish language and dictation were emphasized. Moreover, the conditions of the Turkish courses in the schools and correction of usual spelling mistakes were discussed.

History

Articles about history were given under the titles of “General History” and “Turkish History.” In Turkish History, well-known names including paşas, and sultans were introduced and their achievements were narrated. The important events and heroic deeds of soldiers were also related. In General History, information about the history of specific beings or items such as horses, neckties and kites were explained to increase the general culture of the readers.

Geography

Articles on geography focused on the geographical resources of the Ottoman Empire. The mineral resources, natural sources, and types of animal husbandry of the different regions of the empire were given and these data were compared with other countries. Different parts of the world were introduced through travel notes, as well as animals, such as bear, elephant and ostrich, in their geographies.

Science

The topic of science in the educational system formed a considerable part of the journal. The topic of science published under the heading of *Fen Sahifeleri* (Science Pages). With the rising importance of science, the journal aimed to give information about biology, chemistry, physics and technology. The information about these areas was illustrated with schemas and pictures. Also distinguished scientists were introduced and their contributions to science were explained. New inventions were announced in the journal and these inventions were depicted.

Health

The journal, after education, encouraged students to have strong and healthy bodies, to nourish them properly, and to keep them clean as well as their rooms. The journal constantly repeated that if people had strong bodies, the empire would be strong as well. Physical activities were encouraged, and information about personal care was provided. From this point of view, it can be inferred that Social Darwinism

was a significant concept to explain individual, social, and national survival. The journal even gave information about what students should wear, how they should organize their rooms, and what kinds of shoes they should wear.

Additionally, scouting was introduced to students and they were encouraged to participate in this activity to improve their bodies and morality. Information about scouting, its rules, responsibilities of scouts, and various methods on physical fitness were given in a section titled *Keşşafın Muhtrası* (Agenda of a Scout).

Morality

Articles about morality appeared nearly every issue. The topic of morality was discussed under the heading of *Amel-i Ahlak* (Practice of Morality). Moral values of students aimed to be promoted. Morality was discussed through specific values including courage, industriousness, patriotism, beneficence, and honesty. In some of these points, people, who were believed to be the best examples, were cited.

Economy

Economy was discussed in both the articles and stories. In the stories of Ahmet Cevad, the importance of partnership was emphasized, with the intent of familiarizing students with economy. The articles stated that saving was important. It would give students the chance to aid other people or institutes. Also, students were encouraged to consume domestic goods. For this reason, the journal published some names of stores that sold cheap, domestic goods. Furthermore, the journal gave place to the entrepreneurial activities of students and narrated them in its issues. The

foundation of saving boxes in different schools was shown as a successful economic initiation of students to aid poor people, to make donations to the Ottoman military and the Ottoman navy. The articles on economics clearly indicate that the journal had a purpose to support a capitalist culture and to create an entrepreneurial spirit.

Announcements and Advertisements

The announcements and advertisements were placed at the end of the journal. Through the announcements and advertisements, the journal enabled students to be aware of which stores sold cheap stationary materials, of competitions held by the journal, of newly published books, new issues of different children's journals, and different projects, such as the aid campaign for *Hilal-i Ahmer* (the Red Crescent) and the boycott of foreign goods. Moreover, the announcements of the journal covered the answers of the competitions and the names of winners.

Competitions

In competitions, questions were given at the end of the journal and the answers were required to be sent to the mailing address by the deadline. Questions were generally intended to test the general culture of students, their knowledge of a certain topic, or to measure their skills in literature and painting. Competitions included writing a composition or a poem on a specific topic, drawing a picture, answering math questions and/or doing a sample of the handiwork shown in the journal. Composition and drawing competitions generally were devoted to promoting their national consciousness. In the next issues of the journal, the names of winners were

announced in a list. The winners of the journal were rewarded with free subscriptions and books and sometimes gave monetary reward.

Conclusion

To sum up, this section revealed the multifaceted characteristic of *Talebe Defteri*. It was a multipurpose journal which aimed to direct the attention of its readers to the education system, to the idea of nationalism, and to the various social issues. In other words, it sought to teach, raise consciousness, mobilize and socialize. *Talebe Defteri* also hosted multidimensional content from education, to economy, nationalism, healthcare, civil society and others. This shows that it did not pay attention to only a specific area, but exposed its readers to different issues, and prompted them to think about these issues. The journal had readers from different social classes, mostly from the middle and upper classes, and from different ages groups, including children, young people and adults. This multifaceted characteristic of *Talebe Defteri* certainly distinguishes it from other children's journal published in the same period, such as *Çocuk Dünyası* (Children's World), *Çocuk Duygusu* (Children's Emotion) and *Çocuk Bahçesi* (Children's Garden).¹⁷² In spite of some similarities in terms of purposes and content, other journals mainly address children readers, have relatively limited content, and mostly focus on the mobilization of

¹⁷² The examination of differences between *Talebe Defteri* and the other children's journals can be a subject of another research. For further information about other journals see, İnanç Özekmekçi, "The Formation of Children in the Late Ottoman Empire: An Analysis through the Periodicals for Children, 1869-1914" (MA. thesis, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2005); ¹⁷² Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "II. Meşrutiyet'te Bir Çocuk Dergisi: Çocuk Dünyası," *Tarih ve Toplum* 9, no. 52 (Nisan 1988): 216-220; Karakışla "II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Çocuk Dünyası Dergisi (1913-1914; 1918-1919; 1926-1927)," *Müteferrika*, no. 13, (Yaz 1998): 119-191.

children on the basis of nationalism and on the issues of education, discipline, and health.

CHAPTER 4

NATIONALISM AND TALEBE DEFTERI

The Balkan Wars, undoubtedly, were a turning point in the creation of a national identity and in the raising of national consciousness. Erol Koroğlu indicates that they created “a whole new range of nationalisms,” including pro-Anatolian attitudes, populism, and Turanism, and brought these nationalisms into question at the levels of state administration, politics, and culture.¹⁷³ Within this framework, literature, as a tool of propaganda and patriotic agitation, had a transformative impact on the political and cultural mentality by creating a new vocabulary, concepts and expressions.¹⁷⁴

This chapter presents articles and visual materials concerning nationalism in *Talebe Defteri*. How was the idea of nationalism developed in the journal? What kind of nationalism was presented? Which premises of the nationalism were displayed? To what extent did the nationalism in the journal and the nationalism of the state overlap? The main purpose of the chapter is not to analyze all written texts on nationalism in the journal, but to show how nationalism was conceived and how it was conveyed to children. For this reason, nationalism will be discussed by means of some major themes, such as heroism, patriotism, and militarism. To exemplify the argument clearly, parts of some poems, articles and stories will be cited. Moreover, the related illustrations will be interpreted in order to provide examples for the visual impact of the journal on the nationalist feelings of the readers. Also, some books and

¹⁷³ Koroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda*, 47.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

novels which are recommended by *Talebe Defteri* will be considered to show how the journal formed a reading culture within the nationalist paradigm.

Which Nation: Ottomans or Turks?

Before moving to the core themes of the argument, it is necessary to address which nation the journal addressed. Although in the *Talebe Defteri*, it is possible to mention a certain principles of desired nationalism, the name of an addressee nation sometimes is not clear. The words “Ottomans” and “Turks” are used interchangeably in the journal. Therefore, the boundaries between them appear to have been blurred. In some articles and poems, the authors address the Ottoman nation, while in others the addressed mass is Turkish nation. Although in many articles and poems the words “Turks” and “Turkish” nation frequently are used, sometimes the word “Ottomans,” as an equal meaning for Turks, replace it.

An article titled of *Osmanlıyız* (We are Ottomans) is a good example of this kind of use.¹⁷⁵ In this article, a history teacher told his students about the name Osman and being Ottoman. His speech on the Ottoman nation in the class made the students excited. Here, the name of the nation was “Ottoman,” but most probably its scope was not the same as the “Ottomans” in Ottomanism; contrarily it was used in the place of Turks.

The article, *Vatan Hakkında* (About the Motherland) supports this argument as well.¹⁷⁶ In the article, the author wrote about the importance of the motherland for people. He gave examples of people who had been torn from their lands and brought

¹⁷⁵ Nüzhet Sabit, “Osmanlıyız,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 18 (16 Kanunisani 1329): 2-3.

¹⁷⁶ Hüseyin Ragıp, “Vatan Hakkında,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 32 (5 Kanunisani 1332): 2-4. See also Appendix III no. 2.

to another land, but they could not survive in this foreign land because they suffered from homesickness. This made the homeland more precious. He claimed that a homeland consisted of a huge family who were fellow nationals. According to the author, if one did not like one's fellow nationals, one did not like the homeland at the same time. For this reason, he stated that the Ottomans and Turks should be united. This sentence indicates that in the definition and reference to the the nation, "Ottomans" and "Turks" were interchangeable.

With the Balkan Wars, the idea of Ottomanism, which was based on the idea of cohabitation of different nations living in peace within the same country, and public support for this idea, weakened because nations which had lived under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire before became its enemies and caused the empire to lost most of its lands in the Balkans. Therefore, the word "Ottomans" came to mean only the Turkish and Muslim people in the empire. In other words, it indicated nationality, on the one hand, and religion on the other. From this point of view, the religious aspect of the word seemed to be important since it included the Kurdish and Arabic population at the same time. Indeed, this point recalls the statements of Eric Zürcher, who writes that the Young Turks' nationalism was the ethnicizing of religion.

The same thing seems to have been true for *Talebe Defteri*, which promoted Turkish nationalism primarily, but it did not ignore the aspect of religion. This statement by Zürcher genuinely recalls the idea of Hobsbawm, who claims that the world religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) are employed to "fudge ethnic, linguistic, political and other differences."¹⁷⁷ Therefore, it can be assumed that the

¹⁷⁷ Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780*, 68.

word “Ottoman” possibly was used to eliminate differences among the Kurd, Arabs, and Turks.

Revenge

In the end of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the Ottoman Empire lost most of its lands in the Balkans including Albania and Macedonia. The Aegean Islands and Crete were given to the control of Greece. Especially, the invasion of Edirne by Bulgarians traumatized society because it had been one of the capitals of the empire. In addition to the land lost, demographic changes, the conditions of the Turkish population in the invaded lands, exiles, deaths and the damage of invaded cities had potentials to deepen these spiritual wounds which, as Hobsbawm indicates, led to the mobilization of “feelings of collective belongings.”¹⁷⁸ In this sense, it was revenge.

Especially, after the military coup in 1913, Turkish nationalism became the prominent ideology of the state administration, and the recapturing of lost lands in the Balkans was put at the core of the state policies. This obsessiveness in high politics penetrated society through the media to gain popular support and to agitate the nationalist feelings of people. For children, the future generation and potential soldiers, retaking the lost lands was appointed as their ultimate missions that would be completed through revenge. Therefore, most of the children’s journals of that period touched upon the same issue to indoctrinate the concept of “revenge” in children as well.

In *Talebe Defteri*, revenge (*öç* or *intikam*) was one of the most important points that gave children a responsibility and agitated their nationalist feelings. This feeling

¹⁷⁸ Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780*, 46.

was emphasized in poems, articles, and illustrations. Because the journal began to be published immediately in the post-Balkan War era, in its first issues, the topic of revenge was popular. However, with the beginning of the Great War, revenge seemed to lose its popularity. The analysis of poems and articles will be beneficial to comprehend the issue more clearly.

The article, “*Ma’bed-i İntikam*” (The Sanctuary of Revenge), suggested children to take revenge on the enemies who had captured one of the most sacred places, Selimiye Mosque in Edirne.¹⁷⁹ The article, written by Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, was based on an illustration which shows Bulgarian soldiers in the Selimiye Mosque. The author indicated that this place was not only a Turkish sanctuary, but also a place of revenge which kept the eyes of Turks open and stirred their blood. Tevfik stated openly that he included this picture not in order to make readers unhappy, but to make them learn, to take lessons and to work hard. He warned the children they live in a serious time and in that such a time, if they were cowardly, lazy or unambitious, they would be crushed by the enemies.

From this article, one important point on the stance of the journal on topic of revenge can be inferred. Taking revenge did not mean killing, burning cities or fighting, but it usually meant working hard. Most of the writers in the journal complained that the previous generation had not been hard-working enough and they saw the undesirable losses as a result of this. For this reason, generally, they encouraged children to work hard to take revenge for the Balkan Wars. This text also justified the comments of Anthony Smith on “sacred territories,” which function as a

¹⁷⁹ Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, “*Ma’bed-i İntikam*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 4 (4 Temmuz 1329), 8-9. See also Appendix III no. 3.

territorialization of national memories.¹⁸⁰ In this and other texts on Edirne, as a previous capital of the empire, the sacredness of the city seemed to be used as a tool for the stimulation of feelings of revenge.

In the sixteenth issue, “*İntikam*” (Revenge), written by Safvet, the school principal of İstanbul Maarif, argued that if the feeling of revenge endured in the hearts of the children, the empire would endure as well.¹⁸¹ For this reason, the author wrote that nations which had a certain purpose would be successful. To exemplify his argument he explained how the Balkan states had determined a purpose which had been to take revenge from the Ottoman Empire and how they had internalized this purpose within the minds of their children. This point, according to him, was lacking in the Ottoman Empire. The children were brought up without a political purpose or feelings of revenge. He signified the importance of teachers and of history as well as geography courses. Especially, history and geography teachers should place the fire of revenge into the hearts of students in the schools by teaching them of the glorious past of the empire and its lands that spread over three continents.

Again in the sixteenth issue, the article, “*Ben Büyüyeyim de*” (First I Grow Up), touched upon the significance of hard work for revenge.¹⁸² In the article, a little child stated his anger at the loss of Balkan lands for which his ancestors had sacrificed their lives. However, he swore an oath to take these lands back. The only way to achieve this goal and to take revenge would be work hard. He depicted the working (*şay*) as a sun which rose from the West, implying that Western civilizations and current conditions of the Western states were the result of the European people’s

¹⁸⁰ Anthony Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 152.

¹⁸¹ Safvet, “*İntikam*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 15-16.

¹⁸² Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, “*Ben Büyüyeyim de*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 11-12.

being hard-working. To be strong and to beat the enemy, children had to elevate this sun over the empire when they grew up.

“*Yine İntikam*” (Revenge Again) complained about the laziness of children and claimed that they did not know exact meaning of revenge.¹⁸³ The author asked them what they had done after the defeat of the Balkan Wars except bemoan. He stated that in the newspapers and journals, the word “revenge” appeared frequently, but this had remained unfulfilled because they just said, “I am the servant of my sultan and my heart has desire revenge,” but they did not do anything about it. The children in the Balkan states worked hard at their lessons and had become superior. The author urged the children to work at their lessons as well and became better than the children in enemy states in the areas of science, art, and trade. This was the best way of taking revenge according to him.

In addition to promoting the hard-work as an effective way to take revenge, other texts urged children to fight physically and to kill. For example, “Adl Lehi,” an article, based on an illustration, written by Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik.¹⁸⁴ He answered the questions of the students about the illustration, which showed Ottoman soldiers on the battlefield, Edirne, Selimiye Mosque and Murat II. Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik demanded children to take revenge for murdered mothers, innocent children and the lost lands of their ancestors. He called the enemies brutal because they had shed the blood of innocent people. The children were encouraged to complete the mission of their fathers. However, before this mission, they were asked to provide shelter and food for the Balkan refugees in İstanbul.

In the poem, “*Balkan Türküsü*” (Song of the Balkans), the way to retake the lands was to fight against the Balkan states because they had stolen the life-blood of

¹⁸³ Ahmed Cevad, “Yine İntikam,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 30 (3 Temmuz 1330), 1-2.

¹⁸⁴ Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, “Adl Lehi,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 5 (18 Temmuz 1329), 8-9.

the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, the children should shed enemy blood with cannons, swords, and bayonets. Shedding enemy blood was the duty of a man. For the sake of the Balkans, the children should fight and sacrifice their lives. In these kinds of texts, revenge required self-sacrifice, in addition to brute force.

“Öç” (Revenge), a poem, written by Ahmet Necmeddin, is another example.¹⁸⁶ Revenge was not working hard, but to fight the enemy. After the depiction of disasters in the Balkan Wars, the poet swore an oath of revenge, which was his only purpose. He indicated that he would never forget this brutal insult and, therefore, he declared that revenge was his Ka’bah and holding a grudge was his fasting.

“Keşşafın Türküsü” (Song of the Scouts) had a similar content.¹⁸⁷ It was a kind of march for scouts, and called for bloody revenge. In the march, each “little” scout was depicted as a person who had the desire for revenge against his enemies and would fight for victory in the future. After every quadrant, all of the scouts shouted “Let us campaign!” (Haydi sefere!). The march was an elegy for the losses in the Balkan War and weakness of the empire, and also was an oath for revenge and war.

These excerpts from *Talebe Defteri* on the topic of revenge indicate that the journal mainly seemed to focus on the issue of working hard as the essential way to take revenge even though there were some writings that supported the brute force in this sense. A powerful and strong empire was the fundamental key for revenge and this would be provided through progress and development, which were in the hands of next hard-working generations. Another point on the issue of revenge was

¹⁸⁵ Feyzullah Sacid, “Balkan Türküsü,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 5 (18 Temmuz 1329), 5.

¹⁸⁶ Ahmed Necmeddin, “Öç,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 8 (29 Ağustos 1329), 3. See also Appendix III, no. 4.

¹⁸⁷ Ahmed Cevad, “Keşşafın Türküsü,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 10 (26 Eylül 1329), 7.

presentation of this concept. Revenge was required not because of national humiliation as a result of the Balkan Wars, but due to the betrayal of the Ottoman Empire by seizing of its Balkan territory by its subjects. In other words, the trauma of losing territory seemed to outweigh national pride. Therefore, revenge in the journal was constructed mostly on a territorial basis and for the sake of ancestors without any specific stress on Turkishness.

Heroism

As was discussed in the first chapter, heroism was a more significant part of the children's literature and children's journals during the wartime periods to motivate the children. Stories and poem about the adventures on the battlefield, the creations of legends and myths that included heroic deeds of civilians, soldiers, and martyrs as well as veterans played crucial roles in provoking the nationalist feelings of society and to encouraging people during the war. These people, heroes, were role models because of their virtuous conduct. They are a source of inspiration for their descendants.¹⁸⁸ These epic narrations served not only nationalist feelings, but also were precious stories for the next generation to raise their national consciousness. With regard to this issue, Smith presents myth, memory, and symbols as elements reconstituted in each generation.¹⁸⁹

In *Talebe Defteri*, the concept of heroism began to be emphasized especially with the Great War. The articles, stories and poems written in that period generally depicted the heroic deeds of soldiers. War stories in the journal such as *Yirmi Beş*

¹⁸⁸ Smith, *Myths and Memories*, 65.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

Sene Siper Kavgası (Twenty Five Year Trench Fight) and *Harb Hikayeleri* (War Stories) conveyed such epic deeds. Through these kinds of writings, children were, implicitly or explicitly, encouraged to show the same heroism.

“*Akın*” (The Raid), a poem, narrated the heroic battles of Turkish raiders against Russian soldiers.¹⁹⁰ In the poem, the Turks were depicted as fast as the wind, flowing like water and flying like hawks. They drowned the Russian soldiers in their own blood, but some of them escaped. The raiders gained a victory and raised the sun over Hamidan. Especially, in this and some other poems, the phrase “drown in blood” was used frequently to strengthen the epic narration.

“*Hamedan Marşı*” (Hamedan March), an epic poem, depicted war between Russian and Turkish soldiers.¹⁹¹ In the poem, Turkish soldiers fought against the Russians to capture Hamedan, a city located in the west of Iran today. There were many enemy soldiers on the mountain but the Turkish soldiers rushed forward without any fear of bullets or cannon balls. Their focus was on defeating the enemy. Again in this poem, the heroic character of the Turkish soldiers helped them to beat Russian soldiers and take Hamedan.

“*Direnkçi Sözü*” (Promise of Direnkçi), a poem, conveyed the promise of brave soldiers to beat the enemy.¹⁹² They pledged to flow like the sea to extinguish the fire of the enemy and to act with the desire to conquer the world. They could overcome every danger and difficulty, they were robust and they were so brave that they could continue to live even if everybody else in the world died.

¹⁹⁰ Akil Kubuncu, “Akın,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 32 (5 Kanunisani 1332), 5. See also Appendix III, no. 5.

¹⁹¹ “Hamidan Marşı,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 34 (2 Şubat 1332), 4.

¹⁹² Vidad Örfi, “Direnkçi Sözü,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 38 (13 Nisan 1333), 5.

In the special issue, 51-52, the poem, “*Nöbetçi*” (Watchman), described the brave and inexhaustible watchman, Rıfat, from the eyes of a soldier in a trench.¹⁹³ In the evening, while the soldier was resting, he saw a watchman on the hill. Although he was tired, the watchman was alert. The soldier depicted him as a magnificent monument who surmounted mountains with a step. He was a hero because while everybody slept he remained alert with the stars over his head and a crescent on his forehead.

Heroism was popular subject in stories, too. For instance, *Sancaktar* (Flag-Bearer), told the story of the adventure of flag-bearer Mehmet Rasim in the trenches.¹⁹⁴ The Ottoman army was trying to capture a green hill and he was responsible for planting the flag on the peak of the hill. However, when they withdrew to their trenches at night, he realized that he had been shot. He was a hero because he had sacrificed his life, and he had encouraged the soldiers to capture the hill before he died. His last words were epic and stirred the soldiers, who captured the hill at the end.

“*Anlamak İçin*” (To Understand) told the epic story of a scout whose name was Rıfat.¹⁹⁵ In the story, Rıfat led the soldiers to victory. His story encouraged boys to participate in scouting because through scouting they would acquire skills like watching the enemy, gathering intelligence and being aware of their acts.

In another epic story, *Durmuş Çavuş* (Sergeant Durmuş), the heroic deed of a Turkish soldier was told, by his friend.¹⁹⁶ During the attack on the enemy trenches,

¹⁹³ İbrahim Alaaddin, “Nöbetçi,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 51-52 (14 Mart 1334), 2-3.

¹⁹⁴ Aziz Hüdayi, “Sancaktar,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 35 (1 Mart 1333), 1-2.

¹⁹⁵ Aziz Hüdayi, “Anlamak İçin,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 40 (24 Mayıs 1333), 1-2.

¹⁹⁶ Aziz Hüdayi, “Durmuş Çavuş,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 32 (5 Kanunisanı 1332), 5-6.

Sergeant Durmuş was wounded, but he wanted his friend not to tell the other soldiers. During the first attack, Ottoman soldiers captured the trench and some of enemy soldiers, some of which escaped towards another trench located behind of the captured one. In the second attempt to capture other trench of the enemy, Sergeant Durmuş ran up front towards the enemy. This was so brave that it made the other soldiers forget about death. This attempt was successful as well. When they arrived before the trench, most of the enemy soldiers had escaped and left their heavy weapons. However, to the remaining enemy soldiers, the Turkish soldiers showed mercy. Even for one of them Durmuş shielded his own body to protect this soldier against enemy bullets. At the end of story, he and the enemy soldier died. The author reminded the readers that mercy was a virtue of brave Turkish soldiers.

Yirmi Beş Sene Siper Kavgası (Trench Fight for Twenty-Five Year) was an important serial story published between the issues 42 and 45.¹⁹⁷ In each issue, two parts were published and in these parts, the successes and bravery of the ancestors of Turks were narrated. The heroism of Kara Murat, Kara Mehmet, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, and Deli Hüseyin Paşa were explained. Through these short stories, children both learned about the heroic deeds of their ancestors and raised their national consciousness, as in the case of *Young Ireland*, a children's journal, which provided boys with nationalist adventure tales and heroic deed, and girls with tales of strong-willed female martyrs from Joan of Arc to Mary Queen of Scots.¹⁹⁸ These kinds of epic stories of ancestors, according to Smith, recreate the heroic spirit in society, in this case, among children. Also, the readers of the journal established a "biological"

¹⁹⁷ Respectively: Ahmed Refik, "Yirmi Beş Sene Siper Kavgası," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 45 (13 Eylül 1333), 7-9; no. 46 (11 Teşrinievvel, 1333), 10-13; no. 47 (25 Teşrinievvel 1333), 11-13; no. 48 (8 Teşrinisani 1333), 5-7; no.49 (22 Teşrinisani 1333), 5-7; no.50 (20 Kanunievvel 1333), 7-9; no. 51-52 (14 Mart 1334), 35-39.

¹⁹⁸ The information about the *Young Ireland* can be see in Chapter 2.

link with the heroic ancestors, leading to social solidarity and a source for national dignity.¹⁹⁹

These literary productions in the journal functioned to make children aware about the heroic deeds of their ancestors, which would be examples for them, and to raise their national consciousness. In the narration of the stories and the presentation of poems, both individual heroism, as in the story of Durmuş Çavuş and Rıfat, and collective heroism, such as in the poems of Hamidan Marşı and Akın, were presented. Through collective heroism, it was possible to infuse solidarity into children's minds, whereas stories of individual heroism could be used to encourage children to imitate the heroes of the stories.

Patriotism

Patriotism involves a sense of territorial belonging that is shared with other people who live in the same territory. This leads it to be related to nationalism because the sense of territorial belonging connects people of a nation and, as Smith writes that homeland is “the only guarantor of its history and destiny.”²⁰⁰ Parallel to the relations between patriotism and nationalism, each national has a responsibility called national service, for the homeland, and patriotism requires devotion, which not only means sacrificing one's life and working hard to rescue the homeland from enemies, and to improve it. Especially, in literary productions and in speeches, the homeland is identified with a woman's body often to influence the people deeply. The use of “motherland” in the identification of the homeland can be the best

¹⁹⁹ Smith, *Myths and Memories*, 58.

²⁰⁰ Smith, *Myths and Memories*, 83.

example. Therefore, an attack on the homeland is perceived as an attack to the honor of a nation, and its capture by the enemy is counted as an assault of the chastity.

Furthermore, patriotism emerges not only during states of emergency, but efforts are made to keep alive continuously by states. In this sense, as it was discussed in Chapter 2, education is as significant as in the promotion of patriotism. According to Smith, education prepares children and young people spiritually for service to the nation and for “heroic martyrdom,” if necessary.²⁰¹ For this reason, courses of history and geography, and poems about the homeland are ways to agitate the patriotic feelings of students.

In the Ottoman Empire, the devotion to homeland began to be mentioned more in print media after the Balkan Wars. Especially, the capture of the Balkan lands by the enemies was seen as an attack on the chastity of the empire. Working and devotion for the homeland were promoted as keys to regaining the lost lands. Patriotism was aggrandized during the Great War as well. The defense of the empire and being in a state of mobilization were needed to keep the sentiment of patriotism alive. As Hobsbawm states, belligerent governments in the Great War used propaganda as an efficient mean that fundamentally addressed civilians and citizens to enhance patriotism, “state based patriotism.”²⁰² Intellectual productions such as epic stories, poems, and speeches, and other media were effective elements in the agitation of patriotic feelings of society. Also these productions appeared to have had potential to instil patriotism in children.

Talebe Defteri included many articles, poems and stories that had themes of patriotism. In the journal, the glorious history of the Ottoman Empire was repeated

²⁰¹ Ibid., 154.

²⁰² Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780*, 89.

constantly to bind children to the homeland. The Ottoman flag and territory were two important things to which the authors wanted children to devote themselves. The conversations between teachers and students from the history and geography courses were conveyed and raising patriots who knew their pasts and homelands was a primary aim.

“*Müstakbel Valide*” (Prospective Mother) was about the discipline of Ottoman patriots.²⁰³ A mother told how she had brought up her children. Her son had been reared to defend the homeland and devote himself to it, and her daughter had been reared to be a loyal, faithful and kind companion to her husband. After that, she asked how many mothers had done the same thing. She said that the patriotic mothers would rear patriotic children who were strong physically and intellectually. This was their utmost responsibility and duty to the nation and to the homeland.

“*Vazife-i Vatanım*” (My Duty to My Homeland), a poem, patriotism was held in higher esteem than other things, such as love for friends, father, and brothers.²⁰⁴ The most important duty of children was accepted to be loyal to their homelands. It was reminded that when the homeland was the main concern, the concept of citizenship would replace that of individuality. Individualism and discord were described as worms that nibbled at the nation. Devotion for the homeland was fine, like victory, but adding anger to it was homicide. This poem shows that the journal gives great importance to solidarity in defense of the empire and in struggling against the enemies.

²⁰³ Kenan Kemali, “*Müstakbel Valide*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 14 (12 Teşrinisani 1329), 3-5. See also Appendix III, no. 6.

²⁰⁴ A. Memduh, “*Vazife-i Vatanım*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 15 (5 Kanunievvel 1329), 11. See also Appendix III, no. 7.

Another example, “*Vatan Toprağı*” (The Homeland) was about a dialogue between a geography teacher and his students.²⁰⁵ During the course, he gave a speech on the formation of soil and its structure. At the end, he asked whether every part of soil had the same structure or not. According to him, each soil carried a different soul and life. The Ottoman lands symbolized the past, honor and chastity of Ottoman society. These lands included the head, blood, and heart of the ancestors, and in the future, the students would form this soil. In other words, he encouraged students to devote themselves to the homeland.

“*Bayrak*” (The Flag) symbolized the Ottoman flag as a sign of patriotism.²⁰⁶ In the poem, the poet required Turkish children to protect the flag from the hands of enemy and to aggrandize it because the flag is symbolized the chastity of the nation and was the most important sign of the homeland. Moreover, the poet wanted them to sacrifice their lives, when necessary, to prevent the flag from being stained.

In issue 21, a poem on Anatolia depicted it as the first homeland of the Ottoman Empire and the nation.²⁰⁷ It was counted as the home of their ancestors, like their mother’s lap and old homeland. The poet addressed to the Ottoman nation and urged them not to forget their pasts. This poem is interesting because in *Talebe Defteri*, the idea of orientation to Anatolia was mentioned very rarely. Although this idea was popularized with the movement of *Halka Doğru* (to the public), in this poem, and generally in the journal, Anatolia represented only a territorial unit.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Nüzhet Sabit, “Vatan Toprağı,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 19 (30 Kanunisani 1329), 3-4.

²⁰⁶ Suad Fahir, “Bayrak,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 20 (13 Şubat 1329), 3.

²⁰⁷ Rıza Tevfik, “Anadolu,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 21 (27 Şubat 1329), 4.

²⁰⁸ *Halka Doğru* was a populist movement inspired by the Russian “Narodnik” movement. *Halka Doğru* promoted cultural bounds with Anatolia. It also required to be beneficial for the Anatolian people and to solve their problems with the leadership of Turkish intellectuals.

In issue 23, a poem, titled “*Vatan Masalı*” (A Tale of the Homeland), a mother was talking to his son.²⁰⁹ In the poem, she described the beauty of the homeland before it had been ruined by the enemies. It had been a heaven with rivers and beautiful places. However, after a while, these places had been destroyed and burnt. She blamed her husband and other men, whom she called sinners and perpetrators, for not working hard enough and not appreciating the glorious victories of the past. As a result, the enemy had seized the opportunity and damaged the Ottoman homeland. At the end of the poem, she urged her son to be loyal to his homeland and gave him the responsibility of protecting her chastity.

A letter from a father to his son was published under the title of *Tarih ve Coğrafya* (Geography and History) in issue 26.²¹⁰ In this letter, the father advised his son to learn about the past and the land because if he knew them well, he would love his country and nation more. The stark condition of the empire mostly sprang from the indifference and ignorance of the previous generations about history and geography.

Furthermore, Hüseyin Ragıp’s speech, *Vatan Hakkında* (About the Homeland) showed how patriotism emerged and developed within a citizen.²¹¹ He called homeland a star which was pure and high and called patriotism a divine love. When people were born, their stars were as little as themselves. As they grew up, their stars enlarged as well because people visited different places in their homelands and met different people within the same nation. Leaving the homeland was like death for the author and as he stated, people realized the value of their homelands when they were far away. He depicted the homeland as a big family. He wanted every national to

²⁰⁹ Suad Fahir, “Vatan Masalı,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 23 (27 Mart 1330), 4.

²¹⁰ Munis Nejad, “Tarih ve Coğrafya,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 26 (8 Mayıs 1330), 3-4.

²¹¹ Hüseyin Ragıp, “Vatan Hakkında,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 32 (5 Kanunisanı 1332), 2-4.

love the others. This mutual love bound them together and made them a person with a huge heart that no one could break. Selfish individuals were not beneficial to the homeland and they could not rear beneficial generations.

So, the theme of patriotism in the journal seems to have gone hand in hand with the sense of devotion and self-sacrifice. This was constantly emphasized and shown to children as a fundamental duty of an ideal national. Since the stress was mostly on the spatial characteristics of patriotism, it was possible to promote devotion to it. Furthermore, the selfish people and the idea of individuality were two things harmful to the improvement of patriotism which supports solidarity and cooperation among nationals. Therefore, the journal seems to have been distanced to individuality. Additionally, the texts on the theme of patriotism reveal the gendered discourse of *Talebe Defteri*. Even though the journal does not seem to have had an approach that differentiated between the genders for the protection of the empire and for the struggle against the enemies, the perception of the homeland as the “chastity” of a society and preservation of it from being “stained” indicate that it had a patriarchal discourse, in this sense.

The Glorious Past

As it was argued above, recalling the glorious past can be counted as a sign of a national discourse. The concept of a “glorious past” generally emerges during the conditions of war, hardship, and decline. The emphasis on the glorious past was likely to remind children and young people of their ancestors and their achievements, and the magnificent and powerful period of the state and empire. The glorious past also can give children and youth a chance to determine a future goal, to compare the

undesirable current conditions of the state/empire with the past and to apprehend how they came to that point. Resurrecting the past not only provides the energy to work hard to turn back to the “golden ages” of the states, but also provokes nationalist feelings, which enhance national pride as before. Through allusions to a golden age, which, as Smith expresses, give people an impression of a “picturesque uniqueness” of their pasts, of the events and personages, members of nations can find the energy to work in order to overcome the undesirable situation.²¹²

Recalling the past, which went back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Ottoman Empire, after the loss of the lands in the Balkan Wars gained popularity in the print-media. The Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire had acquired during the expansion period. However, as a result of wars, the empire had lost most of these lands. Furthermore, it was no longer a strong and magnificent empire anymore. For this reason, most of authors, after the Balkan Wars, frequently tended to compare the achievements of the past and failures of the present. Through comparison, they enabled the people to review the past and present conditions, and to stir them to be more resolute to rescue it from this weak condition. In the most of the children’s journals, as well, the authors emphasized the glorious past and urged the children to work to obtain the power and magnificence again.

The topic of the glorious past was addressed in the *Talebe Defteri* broadly. Especially, at the beginning, in nearly each issue, there were articles and poems on this topic. For example, “*Mazi Huzurunda Ati*” (Future in the Presence of the Past), an article, gave the dialogue between father and son about the past of the empire.²¹³ The father held a flag, on which was written some dates, in his hand, and he asked

²¹² Smith, *Myths and Memories*, 66.

²¹³ Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, “Mazi Huzurunda Ati,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 3 (20 Haziran 1329), 8-9. See also Appendix III, no. 8.

his son questions about these dates including 699, 758, 875 and 923.²¹⁴ They were all the victories and honors gained by the Ottoman Empire within the 600 years. For this reason, for the father it was not only a flag, but represented the history itself. He told his son why they were important for the empire. He wanted his son to swear to raise this flag again with the consciousness of the glorious past of the empire.

“*Harita Karşısında*” (Before the Map), which was a poem, projected the glorious past of the empire.²¹⁵ The poem expressed how strong the Ottoman Empire had been, and how the ancestors had made an effort to carry the Ottoman flag everywhere with the leadership of Sultan Selim I. However, at present, the poet complained about the red colors on the map, which symbolized the Ottoman rule, captured by enemies and turned into pink. It happened because the Turks were not the old Turks anymore and they did not know the worth of their success. They lost their power, authority, and eagerness. He compared the glorious past of the red colored places with the current situation of the pink colored enemy lands. The people who lived there now suffered from torture and oppression.

“*Mübeccel Bir İstikbal*” (A Noble Future) was an article on the Ottoman navy.²¹⁶ The article informed children about the current conditions of the navy and its new warships. Again, in this article, there was a grievance about the current situation of the navy. In the past the Mediterranean Sea and Marmara had been under the domination of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, now, there were warships of different states in these seas and the navy had frayed around the edges because it was weak. The Balkan defeat was the most obvious sign of this situation.

²¹⁴ See Appendix D, Figure 2.

²¹⁵ Enis Behiç, “Harita Karşısında,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 6 (1 Ağustos 1329), 5.

²¹⁶ Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, “Mübeccel Bir İstikbal,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 8 (29 Ağustos 1329), 4.

Another example is “*Yad-ı Mazi*” (Remembering the Past) which provides significant materials for analysis written after the recapturing of Edirne from the enemies.²¹⁷ Even though it was a happy event, the author was not so happy because most of the Balkan lands and islands were in the hands of enemies. From that point, he began to compare the past and present. He discussed how the Ottoman Empire had been strong, how it had captured these lands, and how it had established a magnificent civilization. The author wanted his readers to keep the past in their minds and to work hard.

So, in the journal, the depiction of the glorious past often had a basic pattern: the presentation of the past, comparing it with the present, and requiring children to keep this magnificent past in their minds to achieve improvement. Through writings on the glorious past, the journal was likely to address and to give lesson to two groups: children, who were kept responsible for learning the past, and for not to repeat the same mistakes as their grandparents had done; and adults, who were blamed for the current conditions of the empire, and were required to make self-criticism by being of the glorious past. Therefore, the writings on this issue seemed to have potential as a driving power on both sides.

Militarism

As a result of the Balkan Wars and the Great War, the Ottoman Empire was frequently vigilant, and Ottoman society was in a constant state of mobilization. Therefore, everyone had to be familiar with the idea of war because they were potential soldiers of the empire. Militarism permeated the everyday lives of children.

²¹⁷ Ahmed Cevad, “*Yad-ı Mazi*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 10 (26 Eylül 1329), 5-6.

In accordance with this aim, scouting organizations were established, physical education courses became relatively more important to have strong bodies, and through the media, the adventures of little soldiers were narrated. The topic of scouting will be discussed at length in the next chapter, so in this part, only some examples will be given from poems and articles that promoted militarism.

Talebe Defteri was a fundamental source for dissemination the idea of militarism into the minds of children through its abundant illustrations and texts. For example, “*Ordu*” (The Army), a poem, depicted and praised the Turkish army.²¹⁸ The military was described as progressive, ambitious, organized and disciplined. Its utmost responsibility was loyalty to the orders, taking revenge on the enemies, and dominating the West and the East. The army was not keen on enjoyment and pleasure. Actually, this description did not reflect the army of that period, but it was the depiction of a desired and ideal army. However, this poem seemed to be written to endear the army to children and to show them an ideal one.

Second, “*Türk Kızı Diyor ki*” (A Turkish Girl Says), a poem, shows that the instilment of the idea of militarism on children was not a gendered area.²¹⁹ In the poem, a mourning Turkish girl talked about her sorrow because of destruction, death, torture and loss as a result of the war. Despite her sadness, however, she warned the enemy that in the future, a new generation would grow up and she would take her place in that group. She stated that her hands could hold a rifle and she could fight against the enemy with the blood of Turkish heroines in the past in her veins.

²¹⁸ Süleyman Nesib, “Ordu,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 2 (2 Haziran 1329), 5.

²¹⁹ Celal Sahir, “Türk Kızı Diyor ki,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 8. See also, Appendix III, no. 9.

Last, “*Harpten Sonra*” (After the War), an article, argued the situation of the society after the Balkan Wars.²²⁰ The author complained that people had not taken lessons from the wars and losses. During the war, they had promised to construct factories, establish banks and to work hard to improve the empire, but after the war these promises had been forgotten. He wanted to change this and wanted people to work hard. One of his requirements that promoted militarism among children was introducing shooting lessons at school. Through this course, students would become familiar with the idea of war and they could be trained as potential soldiers.

It can be seen that *Talebe Defteri* supported the creation of a soldier-nation, the idea which mobilized each individual of the nation, including children and young people, especially during the state of war, and which would become a settled tradition of the Republican Turkey. Through the examples above, it can be argued that the journal aimed to make children intimate with the military and militarist ideas, such as wars, fighting, rifles and cannons. Although the general appearance of *Talebe Defteri* is that the journal did not approve of war, but it praised martial virtues and promoted militarism, patriotism, and heroism, in a way which recalls *Los Ninos*, a Spanish children’s journal. Also, the journal seemed to have been an effective medium which encouraged people to put militarist ideas into practice, including shooting exercises.

Mobilization

Mobilize means to organize or prepare people for a common purpose. A common purpose that binds the whole society is necessary. This can lead to active

²²⁰ Ahmed Cevad, “Harpten Sonra,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 22 (13 Mart 1330), 4-5.

participation of people to serve the ultimate goal(s). At this point, the visual and print-media play leading roles in the mobilization of society. Illustrations, articles, announcements and advertisements encourage people to think about a certain topic and act in accordance with what they read and see.

In the Ottoman Empire, as has been pointed out, the post-Balkan War era was a period in which nationalism escalated. To mobilize people around a common purpose, the media propagated against the enemies of the empire, showed and introduced them to the people and told them what they should do. In this sense, the Muslim Boycott of 1913-1914 is exemplary. The reason for the boycott was to punish the local Greek economy because one of the Ottoman Greek citizens, George Averof, had given money to the Greek government to buy a warship, called the Averof, which blocked the Ottoman navy from leaving the Sea of Marmara during the Balkan Wars. The Ottoman media urged Muslims not to go shopping from Greek stores. As Zafer Toprak states, the mobilization of society aimed to achieve a rebirth of economy (*intibah-ı iktisadi*).²²¹

This boycott was also significant in the formation of a national identity and national consciousness. Debates on the boycott appeared in children's journals as part of this. It even became a contentious issue between *Çocuk Dünyası* (Children's World) and *Çocuk Duygusu* (Children's Emotion). The former one criticized the latter for publishing an advertisement of a Greek store, namely Tiring Galata.

In *Talebe Defteri*, it seems that the mobilization of children in the name of nationalism was an important issue. It sought to keep them active, shape of their consumption habits, and make them more interested in the national issues. Not only articles, poems, illustrations, and stories but also announcements and advertisements

²²¹ Zafer Toprak, "İslam ve İktisat: 1913-1914 Müslüman Boykotajı," *Toplum ve Bilim* 29/30 (Bahar- Yaz 1985), 181.

were used to influence its readers' minds and to make propaganda against the enemy. This part provided an area for the mobilization of children, who were potential consumers and were thought to be potential entrepreneurs of the Empire.

To exemplify, in a special issue of the journal for the Ottoman navy, an advertisement for the Ottoman Tailor Shop was published.²²² At the top of the advertisement, it was written, in bold, that if you liked your motherland, you should back up your citizens. From this slogan, it can be inferred that the journal wanted its readers, and especially children, to consume domestic goods and support domestic merchants. In the advertisement, it was noted that in the tailor shop there were all sorts of domestic fabrics and shoes at good prices.

Beginning from issue 7 to issue 16, propaganda against the Nestle milk appeared at the end of the journal.²²³ It was signified that feeding children Nestle milk was a kind of betrayal because it was a foreign brand. The milk of the sheep and cows of the Empire was pure and clean, so it should be bought. Moreover, children were urged not to buy the foreign chocolate brands because this wasted their money.

In issue 16, announcements from stationery to a tailor shop were given.²²⁴ Before their introduction to the readers, in both announcements, readers were warned not to spend their money in foreign stores. Shopping in domestic stores was counted as a service to the Turkish nation. In the announcement, the addresses of the stores were provided. This advertisement is important in terms of at least two points. First, this kind of advertisement which give information about domestic stores appeared at

²²² *Talebe Defteri*, Special Issue for the Ottoman Navy (4 March 1330), 17. See also Appendix III, no. 10.

²²³ This propaganda generally takes place in the upper part of the last page in the mentioned issues.

²²⁴ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 36-37.

the women's journal in the same period. For example, *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World), which was published from 1913 to 1921, gave significant importance to mobilize women to shop only from domestic stores and to consume domestic goods. The second point is about the scope of the advertisements in *Talebe Defteri*. The language and the content of the advertisements show that they addressed not only children, but also adults.

In issue 26, an advertisement appeared at the end of the journal about Nestle milk, urging readers not to buy it.²²⁵ The readers were told to shop from stores which were owned by Muslims and had Turkish names. They were not to feed their siblings and children Nestle milk, and they were not to buy them clothes with European brands.

In issue 32, an announcement about the Red Crescent (*Hilal-i Ahmer*), which helped injured and fed people in poverty, was published.²²⁶ The journal asked its readers, specifically children, to help this organization by donating money and using its notebooks at schools. Contact address of the organization was given. Through these kinds of announcements, children were mobilized to support domestic organizations which worked for the sake of the homeland. In some issues, the donations of students from different school to the Red Crescent were announced and other students encouraged to do the same.

This point was also common with the women's journals, which published the news of the Red Crescent and the Association of Protection for the Martyrs' Families (*Şehit Ailelerini Koruma Derneği*). The philanthropic advertisements show that the purpose was not to orient the consumption habits of the readers and to promote

²²⁵ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 26 (8 Mayıs 1330), 18. See also Appendix III, no. 11.

²²⁶ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 32 (5 Kanunisani 1332), 15.

national economy, but also to provide social solidarity and to make readers aware of people who had been devastated by the war.

War and Depiction of War

A state of emergency has a profound ability to promote nationalism and national feelings in a society. Especially, description of war scenes, events on the battlefronts, fighting soldiers, and the destruction and harm of war can upset readers during a war. From the Balkan Wars onwards this content was very popular in the print-media. *Talebe Defteri* included descriptions of scenes both from the Balkan Wars and the Great War. The articles and poems about the Balkan War generally depicted the destruction of cities, hardships, and pains of the people losing their lands. Depictions from the Great War involved the epic deeds of individual soldiers as well as the army, and events at the battlefront.

“*Türk Kızı Diyor ki*” (Turkish Girl Says) gave a vivid depiction of the destruction brought by the Balkan Wars.²²⁷ She explained how war brought fire, blood, and death as men attacked, crushed, burned and killed each other. She stated that women also were burned, girls were drowned, and mosques, and castles, as well as cities, were destroyed. People lost their homes and were forced to leave their lands, fleeing to İstanbul. Many heads lay on the earth, severed from their bodies, they belonged to the Muslim people in the Balkans. She likened them to the crops of the soil.

“*Vatan Borcu*” (National Service), a story, told of the atrocities committed by the Serbian and Bulgarian soldiers in a Balkan village where only women, children

²²⁷ Celal Sahir, “*Türk Kızı Diyor ki*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 8.

and old people had remained.²²⁸ The men of the village had gone to the battlefield to fight. With the fear of attack by enemy soldiers, the women had left their village, and gathered in a more secure place near the river. When the enemy soldiers arrived the village, they destroyed the villages and houses. The river punished these diabolical men by flooding and swallowing all them.

“13 Mart 1329” (13 March 1329) was an article on the fall of Edirne.²²⁹ The capture of the city by Bulgarian army was depicted and the feelings of people were conveyed. As the author wrote, one year earlier, Bulgarian soldiers had surrounded the city with hundreds of cannons. In the night of 11 March, the unilateral artillery shooting had begun, which had been followed by the attack by the soldiers with rifles and bayonets. The people in the city were shocked and horrified. They looked at Selimiye Mosque one last time, hoping the city could be retaken.

In issue 33, a scene from the Great War was reflected in a poem in the journal. The title of the poem was “Çanakkale Önünde” (Before the Dardanelles).²³⁰ The poet depicted the trenches, curled like a sneak, hiding the corpses of many brave soldiers. After the depiction of a battlefield at Çanakkale at night, the poet praised the victory of the Ottoman army against the enemy. He called Çanakkale a noble city which experienced the honorable victory. Its heart beat for the motherland.

On the issue of war and its depiction, the journal undertook the responsibility of connecting the battlefield with the home front. *Talebe Defteri* and other newspapers as well as some journals created instantaneity between these two places. Moreover, news about the wars, visual and written depictions of the battlefronts and

²²⁸ A. Memduh, “Vatan Borcu,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 22-23.

²²⁹ Nafi Atuf, “13 Mart 1329,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 22 (13 Mart 1330), 12-13.

²³⁰ A. İrfan, “Çanakkale Önünde,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 33 (19 Kanunisani 1332), 3. See also Appendix III, no. 12.

the miserable conditions of the innocent people on the home front most likely enable of the people to keep the state of mind which facilitated their mobilization.

The Characteristics of Would-be Nationals

In nationalism, shaping the character of children, who are seen as the future of the nation appears to have been as important as raising their national consciousness. In accordance with the nationalist paradigm of the period, children were frequently exposed to civil engineering. Through shaping the characteristics of children, the media sought to inculcate preferred morality codes, patterns of behaviors, specific purposes, and responsibilities. Education and the media had crucial roles.

In the Ottoman Empire, after the trauma of the Balkan War, children received exposure to nationalist components and were prepared for the future in terms of their characteristics. Mostly, they were required to be hard-working, patriotic, self-sacrificing, brave, strong, and virtuous. These characteristics compared with the recent generations, who had been lazy, irresponsible, and irresolute. The print-media enabled children to be familiar with the characteristics required of them. Especially, the little heroes in the stories were shown as representatives of the ideal types.

Talebe Defteri was a one of the leading journals to find information on the desired characteristics of would-be nationals. “*Benim Bütün Feryadım*” (All My Clamor), gave an opinion in this sense.²³¹ Ideal nationals were described as people who would bring freedom, establish brotherhood, and rescue the empire from weakness. However, the poet criticized society for not to bringing up any boys like them.

²³¹ Osman Fahri, “Benim Bütün Feryadım,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 12.

The poem in the journal, “*Bayrak*” (A Flag) declared the ideal characteristics by comparing the current generation with the previous one.²³² In the poem, children were called “*melik*” (sovereign). Previous generations were blamed for having been reluctant to make improvement. The current generation was urged to work hard, believe in progress, remain pure, to be responsible for serving and sacrificing their lives, and to be strong spiritually. Additionally, they were to be patriotic, dignified and vigorous. Through these features, the Ottoman flag would rise again and the dirt on it would disappear.

Last, but not least, “*Kuvvetli Ol*” (Be Strong), an article, featured a letter from a father to his son. He said that a state which was powerful in terms of art, politics, and craft would endure, whereas others would be annihilated. Like states, individuals must be strong both physically and mentally. In saying this father showed that physical and intellectual strength were equal. Without achieving this requirement, people would not survive either. In this article, the traces of Social Darwinism are obvious in the formation of the ideal national and frequently appeared in various texts.

In short, the ideal national stereotype of *Talebe Defteri* was physically strong, intellectually well-equipped, and individual who had the right moral values, including hard-work, resoluteness and patriotism. The promotion of ideal national characteristics in the journal had two functions. The first was to penetrate these codes into the subconscious of readers, especially of children, through constant repetition, in order for internalization of these codes easily, and the children heroes were promoted as exemplary to children readers. The second function was the creation of

²³² Suad Fahir, “*Bayrak*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 20 (13 Şubat 1329), 3. See also Appendix III, no. 13.

the ideal national, who as an adult would raise their own offspring in accordance with this framework.

Illustrations

Talebe Defteri made use of illustrations to further impact to address the national feelings of its readers. They sometimes depicted the enemy soldiers during and after the Balkan Wars, sometimes showed a child in a military uniform with the Ottoman flag in his hand, and sometimes displayed epic movements in wars. While some illustrations were explained with an article, others covered a whole page without any explanation. Some of the illustrations will be presented in this section.

In the second issue, there was a big illustration under the title of *Levha-ı İntibah* (Sheet of Rebirth), showing a war scene in Edirne during the Balkan Wars.²³³ There were many injured soldiers who looked exhausted, leaving the city with their rifles and swords in their hands.²³⁴ Some of them crawled and some of them leaned on the shoulders of their comrades. Behind these men, the fight between Turkish and enemy soldiers continued. The Selimiye Mosque was shown in silhouette, signifying the loss of the city. Last, in the sky, a man holding a rifle in one hand and a flag in another appeared, surrounded by mounted troops. Illustrations of the Balkan Wars generally made a reference to the past by including the Ottoman sultans or soldiers. Therefore, this man and the troops around him may have been the ancestors who had conquered Edirne centuries earlier. This illustration showed readers the fall of Edirne with fighting and injured soldiers, and referred to the great past.

²³³ Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, "Levha-ı İntibah," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 2 (2 Haziran 1329), 8-9.

²³⁴ See Appendix D, Figure 3.

In the thirteenth issue, the cover page of the journal illustrated the brutality of the enemy soldiers.²³⁵ The soldiers were in a house which had been looted. Furnitures on the ground had been toppled. There were five enemy soldiers in the picture. Two of them had seized a boy who probably lived in that house. Another one seemed to be looking for precious things to take and he held a box in his hand. A soldier in the middle of the picture held a girl, who seemed to have taunted. People who saw the picture could infer that this soldier was going to rape her.

In the fourteenth issue, the cover page depicted atrocities committed by the enemy soldiers in the Balkan Wars.²³⁶ Three enemy soldiers had run away from a house they had destroyed. The door and the windows of the house had been broken and the fence of its garden had been harmed. In front of the house, there was a broken chair and table. However, the most provocative part of the picture was the nine dead bodies on the ground one of which was a baby, who lay on its mother's corpse, which was trapped under a wood block. Next to the mother and her baby, was a corpse of a little girl. Furthermore, the dead body of an old man, next to the broken door, and an old woman, who was most probably the grandmother, next to the door, but she seemed to have been hung.

In the fifteenth issue, the cover page showed the brutality of the enemy soldiers again, they were killing Turkish soldiers and civilians.²³⁷ Dead male bodies lay on the ground. Soldiers checked these bodies with their bayonets to see whether they were dead or not. The back side of the picture illustrated with a picture of that some enemy soldiers attacking and killing Turkish soldiers with their bayonets.

²³⁵ See Appendix D, Figure 4.

²³⁶ See Appendix D, Figure 5.

²³⁷ See Appendix D, Figure 6.

These and other illustrations were meant to agitate the emotions of the readers. They were important in the stimulation of national feelings, in the representation of war experiences, and in the transmission of messages to readers. The illustrations mostly focused on two points: the portrayal of war scenes and of the persecution of civilians. Specifically, the representation of cruelty against the Turkish-Muslim population in the Balkans, with dead bodies, murdered babies, children and elders, was meant to agitate the feelings of the readers. Moreover, as can be seen, in the illustrations, the enemy side was represented by soldiers, who were portrayed as brutal, cruel, and dirty. The illustrations played a significant role in the formation of “imagined communities,” although Anderson, as discussed in the second chapter, emphasizes mostly the role of printed-media. Illustrations, also, have a potential to stimulate and mobilization of people by addressing their visual spheres and by stirring their visual memories. In this case, illustrations in *Talebe Defteri* shared the common burdens of people in the Balkan Wars, constituting an imagined community.

Nationalism through the Reading Culture

At the end of each issue of the journal, a list, that of newly published books and journals, was published. These pieces were generally name of books, novels and other journals. Most of them were meant to raise the national consciousness of children while some of others were meant to help children with their courses and to improve their minds. *Talebe Defteri*, by suggesting a reading list, aimed to control what children read to make them the ideal national, by means of a nationalist paradigm as well.

To analyze the formation of a specific reading culture, the lists can be divided into two parts, journals and books. The announcement of new journals and new issues of well-known journals was usual. The journals, which included *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), *Halka Doğru* (To the People), *Çocuk Dünyası* (Children's World), *Çocuk Duygusu* (Children's Emotion), *Şehbal* (Wing), *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Woman), *İdman* (Training), *Mektep Müzesi* (School's Museum), *Mektep Mevzusu* (Subject of School), *Felsefe Mecmuası* (Journal of Philosophy), *Gençlik Dergisi* (Journal for Youth) and *Bilgi Yurdu* (Knowledge's Hearth), were introduced, information about their prices, writing staff and contents was given and readers were encouraged to buy them. For example, *Çocuk Duygusu* and *Çocuk Dünyası* were children's journals similar to *Talebe Defteri*. *Çocuk Duygusu* included names such as Faik Ali, Selim Sırrı, Baha Tevfik and other nationalist intellectuals. The writers at *Çocuk Dünyası* consisted of nationalist intellectuals, such as Ziya Gökalp, Akagündüz, Mehmet Emin and Ali Ulvi. These two journals began to be published after the Balkan War. Therefore, they also tried to instill nationalism to the minds of children and they urged children to take revenge, like in *Talebe Defteri*.

Besides children's journals, journals essentially for adult readers, like *Halka Doğru* and *Türk Yurdu*, were announced through *Talebe Defteri*. Both journals had writers, well-known nationalist, such as Ziya Gökalp, Halide Edip, Hamdullah Suphi, Yusuf Akçura, Celal Sahir and Mehmet Emin. These journals were full of patriotic texts which contributed to the development of Turkish nationalism. *Halka Doğru* was a semi-official journal of the Committee of the Union and Progress.

The second part was books and novels recommended by the journal under the title of *Yeni Eserler* (Newly-Released Pieces), the name of the books were given,

their contents and their authors were introduced.²³⁸ For instance, one of these books was *Türklük* (Turkishness) by Hüseyin Ragıp, a well-known nationalist journalist.²³⁹ The journal suggested the book especially to young students because it provided a significant message on Turkishness.

Another piece introduced in the journal was *Umumi Tarih* (The General History) written by Ahmet Halid and A. Memduh, both of whom wrote in *Talebe Defteri*.²⁴⁰ *Talebe Defteri* called it a “national book” which presented the information on the history of Turks, Islam, and Ottoman Empire. For children, the journal suggested *Küçük Türk Tarihi* (Little Turkish History), which had many illustrations to familiarize younger children with Turkish history.

Kırmızı Siyah Kitap (The Black-Red Book) written by Ahmet Cevad was frequently recommended to the readers.²⁴¹ This book conveyed the experience of the Ottomans in the Balkan Wars, and included photographs of the wars, especially of the brutality against Muslim people. The journal strongly recommended Muslims to keep a copy of it in their homes and libraries.

Last, but not least, *Aydemir* (Cooper’s Adze) was introduced as a recommended book.²⁴² This was the first novel of Müfide Ferid, who was a significant figure in the movement of Turkism. It was depicted as a nationalist and sensational piece which was basically about the ‘idea of Turkism’.

In short, besides literary and visual inputs, the suggested journals and books also signified the true color of *Talebe Defteri*. Through the recommendation of

²³⁸ This part takes place on the last two or three pages of the journal.

²³⁹ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 4 (4 Temmuz 1329), 17-18.

²⁴⁰ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 2 (2 Haziran 1329), 17-18.

²⁴¹ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 40 (10 Mayıs 1333), 17-18.

²⁴² *Talebe Defteri*, no. 65 (26 Kanunievvel 1334), 14-16.

literary productions which were close to its own perspective and shared the same concerns, the journal oriented the intellectual world of the readers at the same time. As in the case of Russian mass media during the Great War, discussed above, *Talebe Defteri* sought to orient reading preferences of children.

Also, through publishing lists of journals as well as books, *Talebe Defteri* sought to influence its readers' leisure time activities, which it dictated should be development of their intellectual base. Moreover, the reading lists not only addressed to children and youngsters, but also for adult readers. This point can be significant to determining the audience for *Talebe Defteri*. The recommended books and journals also led to simultaneity to consumption and to the formation of intellect among readers who, as Anderson indicates, relate themselves to others.

Conclusion

To sum up, as was argued above, *Talebe Defteri* was a significant tool to familiarize children with the idea of nationalism. Through its various texts and illustrations, which were produced as part of the nationalist paradigm of that period and as a result of the trauma of the Balkan War, the journal seems to have channeled their minds to this issue efficiently. It agitated the nationalist feelings of children and raised their national consciousness by imposing heroism, patriotism, militarism, and a sense of revenge on them.

Remembering the glorious past constantly to enable teach the young about the current conditions, mobilizing them to make them more active participants in national service, and shaping their intellectual world by recommending books and journals were other activities of the journal. Children, who are prospective nationals

and soldiers, were urged to take revenge and retake the lost territories in the Balkans by working hard, devoting themselves to their homelands, and sacrificing their lives when necessary. Talebe Defteri thus had an agenda of patriotic agitation. Also, the examination of the journal through the filter of nationalism reveals that the journal displayed similarities to the general trends of the children's literature of the era which was moving to a more militarist and epic tone in publication.

CHAPTER 5

TALEBE DEFTERİ AND SOCIAL ISSUES

As discussed above, *Talebe Defteri* fulfilled a number of functions, including mobilization, teaching, and raising the awareness of the readers. In terms of nationalism, it agitated the national feelings of children and agitated them to create ideal citizens. However, nationalism was not the only content of the journal. It also included arguments on the modern education system and methods, criticized on the old system, and gave information to help students in their courses and to increase the level of their general culture. Besides the topic of education, morality, health, economics, the conditions of women and the organization of children and youth, were other issues discussed in the journal.

Actually, this broad variety of topics debated in the journal distinguished it from its predecessors. Nationalism was not the only focus of the journal. Its only goals was not to create a nationalist generation, raised to have a militarist worldview, loyal to its homeland, working hard to take a revenge, but also to constitute a modern generation in accordance with the social and ideological norms of that period.

In this chapter, the different social issues addressed in the journal will be discussed, namely, education, gender, entrepreneurship, morality, health, and organization. How did *Talebe Defteri* approach these issues? How were these different issues reflected in the journal? To what extent did they overlap with the perspectives of the state?

Education

In Ottoman society, change in the education system began with the Tanzimat era, when through the introduction of the Westernization and modernization, the education system underwent considerable transformation. Akşin Somel writes this transformation was a necessary step to train personnel for the newly emerging modern administrative body of the empire.²⁴³ The rescript of Sultan Abdülmecid, dated 1845, was a significant document which emphasized the prominence and great need for schooling, and its expansion in other parts of the empire as soon as possible to overcome illiteracy. Within this process, according to Sultan Abdülmecid, both secular and religious education would be given equal importance.²⁴⁴ The expansion of schooling was seen as a basic tool for economic and social improvement at the same time. Also, the support of a secular education system engendered the authority of the class of ulema.

Other considerable developments in the administrative body of education were the establishment of *Mekataib-i Umumiye Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Schools) in 1846, when it became the Ministry of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*) in 1857, and introduction of *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* (Regulation for Public Schools) in 1869. With this regulation, primary education became compulsory for boys as well as girls, and schools were classified according to the education system of France. Before the Tanzimat period, as Sakaoglu and Somel indicate, the class

²⁴³ Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi: İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 35.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

system in education, which had been based on the division of students according to their ages, had not existed in neighborhood schools.²⁴⁵

With the importation of the class system from the West, the discipline methods of Western Europe also began to be applied in education. In this context, on the issue of discipline of individuals, which could be seen as a general ideological purpose of education, schools were tools for raising children and disciplining. Also, this regulation brought standardization to the uniforms of students, and to the curriculums as well as in schooling. As Sakaoğlu and Somel state, the general trend of the Tanzimat education adopted Ottomanism, which aimed to eliminate social barriers among the different religious communities.²⁴⁶ In accordance with this aim, in 1860, the state attempted to unite all schools of Muslims and non-Muslims under a legal framework and bound these institutions to the Ministry of Public Education. This was, also, a significant sign of the centralization of education, which was one the purposes of the Tanzimat education.

In terms of schooling, in 1848 a Teacher's Training School (*Darülmüallim*) was established. Moreover, the establishment of adolescence school (*rüşdiye*), which had begun during the reign of Mahmut II, was accelerated and expanded outside of İstanbul. For the first time in 1858, rüşdiyes was opened for girls. In 1859, the School for Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), in 1868, the first Western type high school *Galatasaray Sultanisi* (Imperial School), which taught in French, were established. In 1870 the Teacher's Training School for Women (*Darülmüallimat*) was opened. The first high schools (*idadi*) were introduced in 1872. The upcoming year, the Secondary School for Orphans (*Darü'rüşşafaka*) was established. These

²⁴⁵ Sakaoğlu, Necdet, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 70; Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 36.

²⁴⁶ Sakaoğlu, 74; Somel, 70.

developments highlighted three characteristics of education: secular, mostly civil, and Ottomanist.²⁴⁷

The most significant steps in the area of education were taken in the era of Abdülhamid II (1876-1908). Sakaoğlu declares the Hamidian era as a golden age of schooling which was expanded throughout the empire.²⁴⁸ The schooling campaign mainly aimed to strengthen the central authority of the state, even in the remotest parts of the empire.²⁴⁹ In this era, neighborhood schools (*sıbyan mektepleri*) were turned into the primary schools (*iptidais*). Moreover, the number of high schools (*idadis*) increased substantially. Also, new technical schools were opened in areas such as law, commerce, agriculture, and the fine arts. Another significant observation on the Hamidian era is the expansion of girls' schools all across the empire.

Abdülhamid II supported the education of girls on the grounds that they would be wives and mothers who would rear patriotic, loyal and moral children.²⁵⁰

Additionally, the Imperial University (*Darülfünun*), which had been established in 1863 in İstanbul, but had experienced some unfortunate events, including fire and closure for two times, was reopened in 1901.

In the Hamidian era, Sait Paşa, a grand vizier, and Selim Sabit Efendi, a pedagogue, were two prominent names. In the discussions of a bill he put forward in 1888, Sait Paşa accentuated the importance of training technical personnel.²⁵¹ The general education system of the empire, he noted, couldn't satisfy this need. For this reason, he suggested German educational structure which consisted of two parallel

²⁴⁷ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze*, 74.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 233.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 223

tracks, one of which focused on human education including preschool, primary school and secondary school; the other one would give technical education. Through this structure, it was aimed to develop practical courses that would help the improvement of art and industry, and to train personnels, who would have technical skills.

Another contribution to education was made by Selim Sabit Efendi in the 1870s. He introduced the new method (*usul-i cedid*) in education system.²⁵² This method united the positive aspects of the class system, the individual education system and the monitorial system.²⁵³ The new method also included both scientific education and the tradition of social discipline.

Another characteristic point of the Hamidian era was the emphasis on religious and authoritarian values in textbooks as well as in curriculums.²⁵⁴ This was a kind of caution against the positivist/materialist thinking, it was believed, caused opposition to the rule of Abdülhamid II. The education system was seen as a tool for social the discipline of students and teachers. Parallel to this view, number of course hours of religion and morality increased in general education, the motif of the Caliph-Sultan and the Islamic community received more emphasis. In this sense, Islam was utilized as a political unity and as an official ideology.²⁵⁵

During the Constitutional Period, education was perceived as a crucial tool for saving the empire from collapse. Therefore, the establishment and maintenance of a

²⁵² Ibid., 217.

²⁵³ The monitorial system (*usul-i mütakabile*) was based on a cooperation between students and teachers. They chose the best students in the classes. These students teach the information they had been taught to the low level classes.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 253.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

national education system, especially after the Balkan defeat, became pivotal. For the first time, lessons which included political issues were involved in the curriculum.²⁵⁶ Physical education, which carried militarist characteristics, gained relatively more significance in the schools. The method of education changed from rote-learning to a method based on observation and examination.

In the Constitutional Period, adolescence schools were unified with primary schools, and imperial schools (*sultani*) gained more importance. Also, primary education became compulsory for girls in 1913 and the first high schools for girls (*inas sultanisi*) started to be established. Furthermore, beginning from 1914 a number of courses at the Imperial University were opened to female students. Also, the medreses were restructured. All of the medreses in İstanbul was unified under the name of Madrasas of Supreme Caliphate (*Darülhilafetü'l-aliyye Medarisi*) in 1914. The medreses, under the control of the Ministry of Vakıfs, were engaged to the sheikhdom (*Meşihat*), which operated as an institute of the Shaykh al-Islam. Also, through the secularization of education, all of the schools were under the control of Ministry of Vakıfs were transferred to the Ministry of Education in 1916.

With regard to the quantitative data of schools and students in vakıf that period, Mehmet Alkan writes that according to the data in the 1913-1914 school year, the total number of official primary schools (including vakıf schools) was 4522. The number of private schools (including schools of Muslims as well as non-Muslims, and foreign schools) was 4687.²⁵⁷ There were 36 imperial schools and 59 secondary schools. The student population in the empire, Alkan states, was 567,585 primary school students, 9573 imperial school students and 17,887 secondary school

²⁵⁶ Sakaoglu, 125.

²⁵⁷ Mehmet Alkan, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri: 1839-1924* (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 163.

students.²⁵⁸ Within this population, 47,657 the primary school students, 3223 the imperial school students and 3520 the high school students were in İstanbul.²⁵⁹ Although there are data about students and schools in specific periods, it is not possible to find an exact number for literate people (including students and adults) at this time.²⁶⁰

In this period, Sati Bey, Ismail Hakki, Edhem Nejat and Ziya Gökalp, prominent intellectuals, who shaped the education policies during this period, all of these men emphasized the need for the improvement of national and modern education system. Also, Emrullah Efendi, the Minister of Education (1910-1912), presented his ideas on education under the project of *Tuba Agaci Nazariyesi* (Theory of Tree of Heaven) discussed reforms in the area of education and how it should be initiated from the Imperial University instead of the primary schools.²⁶¹

As has been seen, education developed and became more secular, modern as well as Westernized state. The participation of children, both male and female, increased, as did literacy. However, the quality of education and its methods as well as institutions remained controversial. The last heavy defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars and the land losses led the state to make self-criticisms which revealed the necessity of a more serious commitment to education and the reformation of some of its defects. Furthermore, as discussed above, the state viewed education as a means to instill the idea of nationalism in the minds of children and to shape their perspectives, morality, and their bodies.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 279.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 181 and 267.

²⁶⁰ The number of students in İstanbul can be used to predict the quantity of readers of *Talebe Defteri*.

²⁶¹ Sakaoglu, 125.

The intellectuals and pedagogues served as a bridge between the state ideology and children. The journals became central to the spread of these ideas. As a children's journal, *Talebe Defteri* was involved with the debates on the modern education system. So, how did *Talebe Defteri* approach the issue of education? What sorts of methods did it recommend for education? Did it criticize the old system and methods? If it did, what did its criticisms involve? What kinds of articles did it publish?

Talebe Defteri supported the Western type of education system with new curricula and relations between teachers and students on a pedagogic base. The methods of this type of education essentially were based on learning by doing. The writers of the journal were mostly teachers who, notably İsmail Hakkı, showed the place of education in *Talebe Defteri*. Generally, the arguments on this issue in the journal included criticisms of the existing conditions and methods, which were seen as defective. The journal advocated the teaching of science, practical methods, and a softer discipline of students in the schools. It criticized rote-learning and punishment methods which included beating and bastinado. In addition to the education methods, the physical conditions of some schools also were criticized.

In the first issue, the article, "*Mektep Hayatından*" (From the School Life), touched upon the issue of corporal punishment.²⁶² The author wrote that although the director of education administration forbade teachers from punishing students by beating, teachers favored it within limits. This article shows that there was an opposition to beating, but some people did not want to put an end to it completely.

²⁶² *Talebe Defteri*, no. 1 (23 Mayıs 1329), 13.

In the second issue, punishment for beating was discussed under the title of “*Cennetten Cikma*” (Heaven-sent).²⁶³ The author explained that he couldn’t forget the beating he received as a child. He complained about the employment of beating as a way of punishment. The author of the article wanted historians and linguists to examine what “heaven-sent” meant because it led to controversies. While some people stated that it was acceptable to beat student because it was legitimized in Islam, other people said that beating was prohibited because it was dismissed from heaven. He shared an anecdote involving a conversation he had had with his colleague with whom he disagreed on the beating of students. At the end of the conversation, his colleague had confessed that he might prefer to beat his students when there was no other option.

İzinsiz Ceza (Punishment), an article, argued that punishment was not an effective way to discipline students because it was archaic method.²⁶⁴ Ahmet Cevad notified the teachers had to use other methods to discipline because physical punishment caused the deterioration of the morality and health of the students. Students could be disciplined through pushing them to think and through holding conversations with them.

In issue 21, Hüseyin Ragıp described his experience when he had visited a local girls’ school.²⁶⁵ The teacher of the reading course had had a long stick, and when her students had read a letter wrong, he had hit it to the shoulders of the students. Hüseyin Ragıp pointed out that this kind of punishment made students scared and discouraged them from learning reading.

²⁶³ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 2 (2 Haziran 1329), 1-2.

²⁶⁴ Ahmet Cevad, “İzinsiz Ceza,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 19 (30 Kanunisanı 1329), 1-2. See also Appendix III, no. 14.

²⁶⁵ Hüseyin Ragıp, “Eli Değnekli,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 21 (27 Şubat 1329), 5-7.

In the special issue (51-52), Abdurrahman Şeref wrote of his experience of being a student. Until the neighborhood school had been constructed, he and his friends had gone to the mosque.²⁶⁶ However, the conditions had been poor because classrooms had been cold and crowded. Additionally, their instructor had employed severe methods punished those students who had misbehaved by bastinado. The attitude of his instructor had been a nightmare.

In addition to the criticisms of beating, articles in *Talebe Defteri* criticized the rote-learning. For instance, “*Maziy-i Milli*” (National History), featured a conversation between a brother and his sister, Lamia.²⁶⁷ He told his sister about the importance of learning and teaching national history in the schools. He complained about the new curriculum in the history courses because it was based on rote learning. He suggested that history courses should teach students the abilities, victories and wisdom of the ancestors rather than leading them to memorize historical information without understanding it.

“*Çalışmak Sanatı*” (Art of Studying) pointed out the rote-learning method.²⁶⁸ Abdülfeyyaz Tefvik criticized the teachers who had adopted this method, which prevented students from working hard, understanding, and comprehending the topics well, and from enjoying the courses. He argued that as students moved on to high schools, their willingness to study decreased because of this method. Teachers needed to employ methods that encouraged students to work hard and to use their minds more.

²⁶⁶ Abdurrahman Şeref, “Mahalle Mektebi Hatıralarından,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 51-52 (14 Mart 1334), 17-19.

²⁶⁷ Ahmed Cevad, “Maziy-i Milli,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 13 (7 Teşrinisani 1329), 10-11.

²⁶⁸ Abdülfeyyaz Tefvik, “Çalışmak Sanatı,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 14 (12 Teşrinisani 1329), 1-2.

Issue 25 provides another example for the disadvantage of the rote-learning method. The author wrote about an experience he had had as a teacher.²⁶⁹ His friend, a math teacher, had claimed that he taught his students the curriculum of the eighth grade. This was so difficult to believe that, but they visited their friend in his school, to see if it was true or not. They entered the classroom and asked the students questions. Although the students answered some questions accurately, when asked questions that they had not memorized, they gave incorrect answers. The author inferred that through the rote-learning method, it was easy to teach someone something, but this did not improve the minds of students and did not lead them to think for themselves.

The journal also directed some criticisms at the conditions of the schools, the mechanism of education, and other defects. For example, in issue 4, the author criticized his local school.²⁷⁰ He described it as a dungeon which was small, stuffy and smelly. He wrote about his last visit to the school. When he arrived, he saw that nothing had changed, and that the inside of the school was worse than the outside. It was crowded and the students were not unruly, they were mischievous and looked sallow. This view of the school occupied his mind until late at night and made him sorry.

In issue 8, Harun Reşit wrote his observations from his travel to Geneva.²⁷¹ The schools organized a trip to the countryside to get the students away from the tedious atmosphere of the school, to rest their bodies, and to come close to nature

²⁶⁹ *Talebe Defteri*, “Muallimlerin Vehmi,” no. 25 (24 Nisan 1330), 1-2.

²⁷⁰ *Talebe Defteri*, “Rüyada Bir Mektep,” no. 4 (4 Temmuz 1329), 1-4. See also Appendix III, no. 15.

²⁷¹ Harun Reşit, “Mektep Gezintileri,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 8 (29 Ağustos 1329), 10-11.

itself and served learning through practice. This situation had distressed him because Ottoman schools had no such school trips.

“*Katil Mekteplerin Maktul Nesli*” (Victim Generation of the Killer Schools), argued that the poor conditions of the schools affected students negatively.²⁷² He had visited a friend and seen a photo on his friend’s desk. At the beginning, he supposed that the children in the photo were foreign children because they looked dirty, weak and poor. However, his friend told him that they were Ottoman students who were in Sinai. This had influenced the author deeply. He argued that the conditions of the schools made the students thin, weak, coward and stupid. These characteristics were not desirable for the next generation. He noted the indifference of the state and adults about the negative impacts of these physical conditions on children.

In the same issue, the author criticized the course books in an article titled “*Ah Bu Hafizasizlik*”.²⁷³ According to him, the contents were too complex, and the letters used by the books were written awkwardly. Due to these features of the books, students had difficulty in understand what they read, even the sweetest stories.

In “*Türkçe Kitabet Dersi Mekteplerimizde Ne Haldedir?*” (What is the Situation of Turkish Courses in Our Schools?), the journal referred to a competition that had been featured in the previous issue and how the letters of Turkish composition of the participants had not been satisfactory.²⁷⁴ They had been weak in terms of content, grammar and language. The letters of Turkish composition were shared with the readers. The mistakes were corrected. At the end, the journal asked

²⁷² *Talebe Defteri*, “Katil Mekteplerin Maktul Nesli,” no. 9 (12 Eylül 1329), 1-2. See also Appendix III, no. 16.

²⁷³ Mukaddem, “Ah Bu Hafizasizlik,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 9 (12 Eylül 1329), 10-11.

²⁷⁴ *Talebe Defteri*, “Türkçe Kitabet Dersi Mekteplerimizde Ne Haldedir,” no. 22 (13 Mart 1330), 1-2.

what the students were taught in the Turkish courses. The same issue was addressed in the next issue, in which the letters continued to be corrected.²⁷⁵

In the special issue (51-52), Ahmet Halid criticized the structure of the primary schools, which encompassed different types of schools with different foreign languages.²⁷⁶ He claimed that this structure were more complicated than the mechanism eight year before. He made a comparison between the Sultani schools and other primary schools in terms of the languages they taught and length of education. He required a uniform program among Sultani schools, especially in terms of language. Due to the lack of coordination among the Sultani schools, many students had to interrupt their educations. He gave an example of some of his students who had not been accepted to the İstanbul Sultanic School (*İstanbul Sultanisi*) because they had learned German instead of French.

In issue 64, a letter that had been sent to the Minister of Education was published.²⁷⁷ A parent stated his complaints about the education system. He indicated that he liked the foreign schools, which he had been opposed to before. At the end of his letters, he said that if the problems in the education system were not solved, he would send his son to a foreign school.

Besides the criticisms about the system and methods of the old type of education, *Talebe Defteri* included articles which praised the modern education system. The most obvious one was the disciplining of the younger generations with the idea of nationalism in the schools. In the fifth issue, the award ceremony in the

²⁷⁵ Ibid., no. 23 (27 Mart 1330), 1-3

²⁷⁶ Ahmet Halid, "İptidaiye Mekteplerimizdeki Teşkilatsızlık," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 51-52 (14 Mart 1334), 15-16.

²⁷⁷ Ahmed Cevad, "Muhterem Maarif Nazırı Beyefendiye Açık Mektup," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 64 (28 Teşrinievvel, 1334), 2-4.

Sun of Schools (*Şems-ül Mekatip*) was narrated.²⁷⁸ Some people gave speeches at the ceremony about their expectations from students, generally voicing a desire to see a vigorous, hard-working and hopeful youth. Students were required to work for the salvation of the empire. In his speech, Ismail Hakkı touched upon training and disciplining. It was not sufficient to fill the minds of students with knowledge; it was necessary to raise patriotic, ambitious, hard-working, courageous, strong and entrepreneurial people. At this point, it is possible to see the approach of Ismail Hakkı on the issue of discipline, which, as Duygu Koksall cites, was national and humane, and its goal was based on self-commitment.²⁷⁹

The sixth issue reported on the award ceremony on the School of Kadıköy Numune.²⁸⁰ In the speeches, the director of the school, Haydar Bey, emphasized the characteristics of an ideal youth: ambitious, entrepreneurial and courageous. The top students of their classes emphasized in their speeches that they would serve their homeland and nation, and they would lift up the empire. Also, in the ceremony, Ismail Hakkı gave a speech on training and disciplining of the students.

Talebe Defteri provided information about the different types of schools and described the visits to different schools in the empire and abroad. In the articles that introduced different types of schools, the journal generally emphasized the significance of crafts, arts, and technical education more than the classical education curriculum. “*Sanayi Mektebi Talebesine*” (To the Students of Sanayi School), an

²⁷⁸ *Talebe Defteri*, “Şemsü'l Mekatib Mektebinin Tevzii Mükafatı,” no. 5 (18 Temmuz 1329), 1-3.

²⁷⁹ Duygu Köksall, “İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıođlu, İnkılap ve Terbiye: Ulusun Çocukluđu,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 7, no. 40 (April 1997), 10.

²⁸⁰ *Talebe Defteri*, “Kadıköy Numune Mektebinin Tevzii Mükafatı Merasimi,” no. 6 (1 Ağustos 1329), 1-4.

article, exemplifies this point.²⁸¹ In the article, İsmail Hakkı praised the Sanayi schools which he found more important than other schools. They contributed more to the improvement of the empire than wars made through cannons, rifles, and ammunition. Their hammers, smithies and furnaces played considerable roles in taking revenge for their fathers. He criticized those who did not give enough attention to this kind of school. So, in this text, the traces of his idea about a social school (*içtimai mektep*), which would train primarily a citizen and then a professionalist, are apparent.²⁸²

In issue 13, Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik introduced the new program in the education system.²⁸³ These were four major areas: agriculture, craft, trade and science. The author notified that if a student was skilled of science, he could improve himself in that area. However, the other three areas provided the real benefits for the empire, and had to do with economics and earning more money and rescuing the country from captivity. He warned the readers that without receiving an education on these areas, it could be improper to work. This new program would provide this opportunity for students.

In issues 42 and 43, the article “*Mektep Meselesi*” (The School Issue) gave information about different types of schools to beginner students to make their choice consciously.²⁸⁴ Each type of school was introduced and described by Ahmet Halid, including their requirements, curriculums and employment opportunities.

²⁸¹ İsmail Hakkı, “Sanayi Mektebi Talebesine,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 6 (1 Ağustos 1329), 8-9. See also Appendix III, no. 17.

²⁸² Köksal, “Ulusun Çocukluğu,” 10.

²⁸³ Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, “Yeni Şebeke-i Tahsil,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 13 (7 Teşrinisani 1329), 1-2.

²⁸⁴ Respectively: Ahmed Halid, “Mektep Meselesi,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 42 (12 Haziran 1333), 1-2; no. 43 (19 Temmuz 1333), 1-3.

These schools were imperial schools, teacher training schools, school of fine arts, naval academy, military academy in Kuleli, school of agriculture, foreign schools and schools abroad. Ahmet Halid also made a comparison between primary (*numune*) and secondary (*sultani*) schools and touched upon the differences between two.

In terms of visits to schools and school trips, *Talebe Defteri* had some articles on the observations of the author about the conditions of the schools, quality of the curricula and relations between students and teachers. Generally, these schools were model places that reflected the modern education system and methods. For example, İsmail Hakkı wrote an article in the first issue about his visit to the teacher training school in İstanbul.²⁸⁵ In the school, practical courses, such as physical education and handcrafts, were popular. Even in other courses such as geography and science, the teacher tended to demonstrate practically what he taught his students. In one class of the school, the teacher told his student, he had produced many things from earth when he was a child. After that, he took the class into the garden of the school, and they began to play with the earth with hoe, shovel and sieve. İsmail Hakkı called attention to the importance of practice in the education.

In issue 17, İsmail Hakkı described a primary school in the Karamürsel in Bursa.²⁸⁶ During his visit to school, he observed that the school looked like barracks because all of it was decorated with Ottoman flags and pictures that showed the violence of the Balkan Wars. Moreover, the students carried rifles and acted like soldiers. The night in this primary school was unforgettable for him. In his description of the school visit, he emphasized its discipline system. Actually, the

²⁸⁵ İsmail Hakkı, “Tabiat Mektebinin Hayatıdan,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 1 (23 Mayıs 1329), 8-9.

²⁸⁶ İsmail Hakkı, “Çölde Bir Vaha,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 7 (15 Ağustos 1329), 6-9.

military-like system pleased him. He called this school as an oasis in the desert. In this text, he reflected his idea of the “social school,” according to which a social school was a place that functioned as a micro-society and imposed a desired social life and norms again.²⁸⁷

In the sixteenth issue, a school trip to Naples was reported that gave information about Naples and the city of Pompeii.²⁸⁸ Also, reactions and feelings of students when they saw the city of Pompeii were the teacher explained how it had been reduced to ash.

Besides these articles, observations of the authors after their visits to a school in Çengelköy and the Yeni Turan School, both in İstanbul; and a trip of the students of Kadıköy Primary School to Bursa were reported.²⁸⁹

Furthermore, *Talebe Defteri* gave advice to students on how they should behave in class, to what they should pay attention, on how they should study their lessons and so on. In the eleventh issue, for example, an article included some advice for the students who came to İstanbul from different cities to study.²⁹⁰ Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik warned the students that they couldn't find the warm atmosphere of their homes and also had to be careful with people who could corrupt, lie, swindle, and deviate them. Especially, he urged the students not to trust the immoral women in the city. To protect themselves from these dangers, he suggested them to stay in a

²⁸⁷ Köksal, “Ulusun Çocukluğu,” 10. See also Appendix III, no. 18.

²⁸⁸ Harun Reşit, “İstikbalde Bir Mektep Gezintisi,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 23- 25.

²⁸⁹ Ahmed Halid, “İstikbalin Işıklı bir Mektebi,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 28 (5 Haziran 1330), 10; Ahmed Halid, “Kadıköy Numune Mektebinin Bursa Seyahati,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 28 (5 Haziran 1330), 11-12; Nafi Atuf, “Yeni Turan Mektebinden,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 40 (10 Mayıs 1333), 3-4.

²⁹⁰ Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, “Talebe Yurdu Münasebetiyle,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 11 (10 Teşrinievvel 1329), 1-2.

reliable dorm. He described the newly constructed dorms to the students and encouraged other people to support the building of other dorms.

In the thirty sixth issue, an article included a conversation between a son and his father about how to study.²⁹¹ The son asked his father how he could remember what he studied. The father explained how the brain worked and told him how it retained knowledge. At the end of the conversation, he suggested his son repeat his lessons two hours after dinner two or three times.

“*Sınıfta*” (In the Class), an article, explained how students were supposed to behave.²⁹² Proper manners included standing up when the teacher entered the room, abstaining from the acts which distracted the other students and flow of the course, coming into the class silently, and so on. Additionally, students, who read the personal letters of their friends, who did not return the objects they borrowed, and did not answer the questions of the teacher, had bad manners.

Besides discussing the education system and methods, articles on schools, and giving advice to students, *Talebe Defteri* published articles which aimed to develop the students in general culture, to examine their knowledge and to help them in their courses. For instance, “*Fen Sahifeleri*” (Science Pages) prepared by M. Şinasi, provided information on science including the features of matter, its movements, the atom and its structure.²⁹³ An article series called “*Gözlüklü Babanın Maarifetleri*” (The Father with Glasses) gave information about scientific experiments, such as the production of black ink and invisible ink, and about producing materials that changed

²⁹¹ Mahmud Ziya, “Çalışmak Yollarından,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 36 (15 Mart 1333), 1-2.

²⁹² Hüseyin Ragıp, “Sınıfta,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 51-52 (14 Mart 1334), 21. See also Appendix III, no. 19.

²⁹³ Respectively, M. Şinasi, “Fen Sahifeleri,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 3 (20 Haziran 1329), 5-7; no. 4 (4 Temmuz 1329), 10-12; no. 6 (1 Ağustos 1329), 11-15.

color.²⁹⁴ The materials and chemicals to conduct experiments were given. In the twenty sixth issue, “*Fen Aleminden*” (From the World of Science) explained the latest developments in medicine and gave information about the cure for cancer.²⁹⁵

A section of “*Tarih-i Edebiyatımızdan Sahifeler*” (Pages from Our History of Literature), written by Naci Sağır, provided information about Turkish, Islamic, and Ottoman literature.²⁹⁶ The development of Ottoman poetry and literature were explained and in some issues the lives of well-known people in literature were presented, including those of Yunus Emre, Asik Pasha, Rumi, and Qadi Burhanettin. Also, pieces of some of the well-known foreign names were introduced and published including, *les Miserables* of Victor Hugo.²⁹⁷

In terms of history, *Talebe Defteri* published articles in the “*Tarih-i Milli Sahifeleri*” (National History Pages).²⁹⁸ In this part, the journal provided information about the history of Turks and Islam, and important historical events and figures. In addition, the histories of objects were published, such as the kite, umbrella, horse, and phosphor. Also, information on the settlements of people in ancient times, and cave pictures were shown in the journal.

²⁹⁴ Respectively: Gözlüklü Babanın Çırağı, “Gözlüklü Bababın Maarifetleri,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 10 (26 Eylül 1329), 10-12: no.11(10 Teşrinievvel 1329), 11-12: no. 12 (24 Teşrin-i Evvel 1329), 13-14: no. 13 (7 Teşrinisani 1329), 15: no. 14 (12 Teşrinisani 1329), 15: no. 15 (5 Kanunievvel 1329), 15: no. 17 (2 Kanunisani 1329), 15: no. 18 (16 Kanunisani 1329), 15.Ibid., no. 19 (30 Kanunisani 1329), 15: no. 20 (13 Şubat 1329), 5.

²⁹⁵ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 26 (8 Mayıs 1330), 12.

²⁹⁶ Respectively: Naci Sağır, “Tarih-i Edebiyatımızdan Sahifeler,” no.14 (12 Teşrinisani 1329), 5-7: no. 15 (5 Kanunievvel 1329), 10-11: no. 17 (2 Kanun-i Sani 1329), 4-6: no. 19 (30 Kanunisani 1329), 4-5: no. 20 (13 Şubat 1329), 4-5: no. 22 (13 Mart 1330), 6-7.

²⁹⁷ Respectively: *Talebe Defteri*, no. 48 (8 Teşrinisani 1333), 2-5: no. 49 (22 Teşrinisani 1333), 4-5.

²⁹⁸ Yazpeci Çelebir, “Tarih-i Milli Sahifeleri,” *Talebe Defteri*, no.17 (2 Kanunisani 1329), 3-4.

Geography was another area in which *Talebe Defteri* discussed. Scientific information about natural events such as the tides, environmental developments, and planetary facts were conveyed. Furthermore, *Talebe Defteri* published an article series about the sky, aeroplanes, discoveries, and explorers.²⁹⁹ This article serial included photo from different parts of the world taken from above. In the thirty sixth issue, the journal arranged a geography competition.³⁰⁰ In addition to scientific knowledge, the journal included travel notes that were based on the observation of the authors who had been abroad. This kind of article had an impact on the general cultural level of the readers who were exposed to information on the different parts of the world. The introduction of different countries and cultures encouraged a comparison between “us” and “them.”

Last, articles on handcrafts aimed to improve the readers’ technical skills. In the second issue, Ismail Hakki published an article to show what could be done with the branches of trees.³⁰¹ In issue 5, he wrote an article about decoration for notebooks.³⁰² He explained drawing techniques and gave some examples. Both articles hoped to introduce the concept of aesthetics. In the next issues, the journal explained how the readers could make toy cinematograph and toy airplane, supporting them with pictures.³⁰³

²⁹⁹ Respectively: Ş.R, “Başımızın Üstündeki Deniz,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 22 (13 Mart 1330), 13-15; no. 23 (27 Mart 1330), 10-13; no. 24 (10 Nisan 1330), 14-15.

³⁰⁰ Hulusi, “Cografya Müsabakası,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 36 (15 Mart 1333), 4-7.

³⁰¹ İsmail Hakkı, “Ağaç Dallarından Neler Yapılır,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 2 (2 Haziran 1329), 11-12.

³⁰² İsmail Hakkı, “Tezyinat Dersleri,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 5 (18 Temmuz 1329), 6-7.

³⁰³ Respectively: A. Nakal, “Oyuncak Teyyare Nasıl Yapılır,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 24 (10 Nisan 1330), 8-11; A. Nakal, “Oyuncak Sinematograf,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 26 (8 Mayıs 1330), 13.

Talebe Defteri also gave students the chance to evaluate their own knowledge and skills through questions and competitions. It arranged composition as well as drawing competitions on different topics. Beginning from the seventh issue, at the end of the each issue, it asked questions about history, geography, mathematics, and science. So, it can be inferred that the journal wanted students to make education a part of their leisure time.

From information presented above some core points can be identified. As it can be deduced, *Talebe Defteri* approached the issue of education in a multi-dimensional way that included criticism, praise, suggestions, and warnings. It touched upon each issue related to education, from science to literature, history, and geography. Moreover, the learning-by-doing method, supported by the journal, was not only explained through the articles, but readers were encouraged to practice this method via handcraft lesson supplements and competitions. The language of the texts and the level of the arguments show that these articles were addressed to adults at the same time. Also, through arguments on education, the journal aimed to form an opinion in the minds of adults on the modern education system and its methods, and to orient their existing ideas as well. Last, comparing the arguments of the journal with the policies of the state, it can be deduced that the points that they were mostly parallel to the education policies of the high politics which advocated the modern education system.

Gender

In the Ottoman Empire, movement for women's rights began nearly in the mid-nineteenth century, primarily through the support of male intellectuals. Also,

especially, with the reform movement in the nineteenth century, women's issues began to interest the state. The education of women, legal, and economic rights were frequently discussed at the state level. According to Aynur Demirdirek, the women's issue was a part of the Ottoman modernization movement.³⁰⁴ Through debates among intellectuals and in high politics, women and their social issues became relatively more visible, and their roles as well as responsibilities began to be questioned. Especially, due to their roles in reproduction, rearing children, and providing a cheap labor force during wartime, women became more prominent citizens for the centralized state.

Besides men in the political and intellectual arenas, in the late nineteenth century, women themselves began to organize to discuss their social positions, roles and their problems in general. In the organization process, women's journals and women's associations made considerable contributions. As Demirdirek writes, from 1869, a date when the first women's journal, *Muhadderat* (The Muslim Women), emerged, to 1923, more than 30 women's journals were published.³⁰⁵ Despite some differences in terms ideology and content, the common discussion in women's journals were on the positions, roles and missions of women in society and in family life. Polygamy, the place of woman in the family as well as in society, arranged marriage were criticized. Against these social and religious traditions, the journals offered solutions and demanded emancipation in different areas, including education and work. Fatma Aliye, Sair Nigar Hanim, Emine Semiye, Halide Edip, and Şukufe Nihal were some well-known women intellectuals who struggled for women's rights and freedoms. The journals also provided women with an area for

³⁰⁴ Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi* (Ankara: Ayizi Kitap, 2011), 9.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

self-criticism, which included ostentation, and the imitation of European women. Besides social issues, raising children was another important topic discussed in women's journal. In spite of the constant stress on the emancipation of women, their roles as mothers always had priority.

Like journals, organizations, too, seemed to be efficient tools to turn individual demands into collective unions. Serpil Cakir divides these associations into nine parts in accordance with their main purposes including education, aid, culture, and politics.³⁰⁶ *Şefkat-ı Nisvan* (Association for the Protection of Women), *Bilgi Yurdu Işığ* (The Light of the Home of Knowledge), *Teal-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Association for the Elevation of Women), *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyeti* (Women's Board of the Committee of the Red Crescent) and *Osmanlı Mudafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Society for the Defence of Women's Rights) were some examples of these associations. Despite various purposes, the associations strove to solve problems in practical ways. They tried to produce solutions, organized meetings as well as conferences, and opened workplaces and training centers for women. The demands of women through journals and associations led them to acquire some rights in educational, legal and work spheres.

In terms of legal rights, the enactment of the Family Law in 1917 was the most important step for women. "Initiative for divorce was expanded" and "marriages had to be concluded before a magistrate and brides had to be aged over 16" under the family law, but it did not prohibit polygamy.³⁰⁷ The Family Law regulated the responsibilities, rights, and duties of all citizens regardless of religion. The religious courts, which dealt with matters of family and personal status, were

³⁰⁶ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2011), 87.

³⁰⁷ Eric-Jan Zürcher, *A Modern History* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 126.

put under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice. Even though these modern developments increased the social visibility of women, the traditional division of labor in the family continued.³⁰⁸ Women were responsible for child rearing as well as housework while their husbands worked outside and earned money. In addition, the age of legal marriage for women was increased and the arranged marriages began to decrease at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Women in the era of the CUP began to work in factories as well as in state offices as a result of the labor shortages that appeared during the Great War. This development was encouraged by the CUP, which established the Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women (*Osmanlı Müslüman Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti*). The aim of this society, which operated between 1916 and 1923, was to manufacture underwear, socks, and uniforms to reduce the negative impacts of the war on women.³⁰⁹ Moreover, the First Women Worker's Brigade (1917-1919) was established to help the Ottoman army on the front. Women found jobs with some private companies before and after the War. For example, the French Telephone Company was the first to hire Ottoman Muslim women, in 1913.³¹⁰ In 1915, the Labor Law was changed and the working hours of women became 15 hours a week and the amount of annual leave were set off one month. Moreover, in the constitutional period, women set up their own businesses, working

³⁰⁸ Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *İstanbul Haneleri: Evlilik, Aile ve Doğurganlık: 1880-1940* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 236.

³⁰⁹ Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Women, War and Work in the Ottoman Empire: Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women, 1916-1923* (İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005), 17.

³¹⁰ Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 379.

as tailors and drapers, with the support of the CUP. There were city bazaars in İstanbul and Anatolia where women sold their products.³¹¹

Beginning from the Tanzimat period, the rights of women developed and their social positions improved. The support for women's movement and their emancipation increased gradually. In this atmosphere, *Talebe Defteri* supported the emancipatory approach towards the women's movement, and it supported it in. Especially, beginning from issue 32, the journal published a section called "*Hanımlar Sahifesi*" (Women's Pages), which appeared at the end of each issue and included articles on women's emancipation and their responsibilities. Different from its predecessors, *Talebe Defteri*, as a children's journal, participated in the debate on the women's movement and aimed to instill its emancipatory voice in the minds of its readers.

In the "*Hanımlar Sahifesi*" the developments on the rights of women, their positions in Ottoman society and their responsibilities were argued. For instance, Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik wrote an article, titled as "*Ati Huzurunda Kadınlarımız*" (Our Women in the Presence of the Future), which was dedicated to Fatma Aliye, a well-known Ottoman intellectual and authoress.³¹² He pointed out that Ottoman women were always the most hard-working and the most self-sacrificing groups in society and they were always aware of their responsibilities. While their husbands and sons were fighting against the enemies, they worked to overcome the negative influence of the war, to hold their families together, and to prevent their offspring from becoming miserable. These acts of women were priceless and their service to the

³¹¹ Şule Perinçek, "1908 Devrimi ve Cumhuriyet Kadını" in 100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi, ed. Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı and Barış Ünlü (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 299.

³¹² Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, "Ati Huzurunda Kadınlarımız," *Talebe Defteri*, no.39 (26 Nisan 1333), 14-15.

nation was sacred. Moreover, while many women stayed at home, they had the capacity to progress in art and science, if they were provided with the opportunity. Actually, according to him, the successes of women in the area of education up to that point had been the signs of their eagerness, which astonished Abdülfeyaz Tevfik.

In issue 33, there was a poem about relationships between men and women.³¹³ The poet, İsmail Hikmet, praised equality between men and women. He depicted the periods, in which women were discriminated against, as dark and the people as ignorant. Women were considered weak and they were scorned. However, this dark atmosphere was ended when men and women became equal. The end of the poem, stated that a person who scorned women was not mature, and he made them suffer had not breastfed.

In issue 35, a story was published in the section of “*Hanımlar Sahifesi*” about the characteristics of Turkish women.³¹⁴ A sultan came to the palace of slaves with the purpose of selecting a concubine for him. He began to describe the characteristics of the girl that he wanted. He did not like the girls who were presented to him. When he explained that he looked for a Turkish girl, the head servant in the palace said that Turkish girls did not become slaves, but they were born sultans.

“*Kızlarımızın Tahsili Meselesi*” (The Issue of Education of Our Girls), an article, written by Ahmet Halid, compared the current education of girls to that in the past.³¹⁵ He explained the developments that had been achieved in this area. In the past, they had only been allowed attend primary schools and teachers’ training

³¹³ İsmail Hikmet, “Kadınlığa Mihnet Veren Nine Sütü Emmeyendir,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 33 (19 Kanunisani 1332), 13-15. See also Appendix III no. 20.

³¹⁴ Nüzhet Sabit, “Türk Kızları Esir Olmaz Sultan Doğar,” *Talebe Defteri*, no.35 (1 Mart 1333), 12-15.

³¹⁵ Ahmet Halid, “Kızlarımızın Tahsili Meselesi,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 41 (24 Mayıs 1333), 14-16.

schools. However now, they had a chance to compare the students in the sultanis, Darülfunun and the girls' schools. He stated that the quality and quantity of education for girls had improved gradually, although there were not enough schools for them. He then introduced the properties of the schools which the girls could attend.

In the section, "*Hanımlar Sahifesi*", another point that was addressed was the advocacy of women to become doctors. Although there were no articles which encouraged girls to enter any other career areas, studying medicine and working as a doctor were encouraged constantly. This most likely stemmed from the shortage of doctors during the war years, and from the idea of forming a healthy as well as a strong nation, which required doctors to treat diseases. Also, in the Red Crescent organization, women served as nurses, the point which led people to think of them serving as doctors as well. In issue 33, a conversation between a girl and her father was given.³¹⁶ In this conversation, the girl asked her father to tell her about the first female doctors. Her father gave information about Elizabeth Blackwell, who was the first female doctor in the US and in the world. He explained the development of this profession in the US, and then he explained when female doctors had begun to appear in Europe. He provided information about the number of female doctors and their nationalities. One of them was from the Ottoman Empire. When the girl heard this, she became happy, but she was sad at the same time because there still was no department of medicine for women at the Darülfunun.

In issue 36, a story was published which described Ottoman society as imagined it would be fifty years later.³¹⁷ The main character of the story was a

³¹⁶ Abdülfeyyaz Tefik, "Kızımın Muhaveremiz," *Talebe Defteri*, no.33 (19 Kanun 1332), 13-15.

³¹⁷ Abdülfeyyaz Tefik, "Elli Sene Sonra," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 36 (15 Mart 1333), 12-16.

female doctor whose name was Hazike Feyyaz. She had her own clinic in İstanbul in Kandilli. One day, she was called to examine a patient who lived in a mansion in Bebek. She went there with her chauffeur and examined the patient. After the examination, she preferred to make a second opinion. The parents asked her who she wanted to ask for a second opinion. The three names were given, all belonged to female doctors.

“*Kadın Doktorlarımız Olacak*” (We Will Have Female Doctors), an article, referred to its previous articles – five or six-, which had demanded the relevant administrative bodies to permit female students to study medicine in the Imperial University. Now, they announced that they attained their goal.³¹⁸ The articles and arguments in the journal had attracted the attention of the administration. The Ministry of Education and the Director of the Medical Department had decided to accept female students.

The third point that was discussed in the journal was women who were keen on fashion and ostentatious consumption. Indeed, this was one of the most popular subjects in the women’s journals in this period as well. This interest may have stemmed from two points: Islamic norms and war conditions both of which frowned upon women who used luxurious goods and were ostentatious. Şukufe Nihal wrote an article under the title of “*Sefiller*” (Miserables), in which she narrated the thoughts of a maid when she saw an elderly beggar who was weak and sick.³¹⁹ According to the maid, the rich women did not care about poor people. They were not happy with less and always demanded more. They loved fashion and waste, and had bad morals.

³¹⁸ *Talebe Defteri*, “Kadın Doktorlarımız Olacak,” no. 45 (13 Eylül 1333), 13. See also Appendix III, no. 21.

³¹⁹ Şukufe Nihal, “Sefiller,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 38 (13 Nisan 1333), 13-16.

Another article was about the hike of Güzin and Nermin who took a walk to the seaside.³²⁰ They wanted to be close to nature, which inspired them to study and be productive. They saw some women who wore expensive clothing and were heavily made-up. According to them, these women had not received modern education, so they were not pure and natural. Their manners and behavior were pretentious as well. Güzin and Nermin indicated that they worked to improve the women's rights and social position, but these women degraded this endeavor.

“*Avrupa'yi İyi Anlayalım*” (We Should Understand Europe Well) touched upon how Westernization was perceived and how European people were misunderstood.³²¹ Even though the concept of Westernization was not only the concern of women, considering their leading role in rearing a national youth, the discussion of this concept in “*Hanımlar Sahifesi*” is reasonable. In the article, two friends had a conversation about their friends, Macide who, had just returned from Europe. She stated that people in the Ottoman Empire did not know what Westernization meant exactly. They did not strive to understand European people or Westernization, but just imitated them. Because Europeans were imitated without thorough comprehension, this caused deep social problems, including alienation from the traditional as well as national values, and moral corruption. These problems could be difficult to fix. Westernization served as a tool for waste and pretention. It was not acknowledged that concepts of honor and family were very important for Europeans.

³²⁰ Abdülfeyyaz Tefik, “Bir Muhavere,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 38 (13 Nisan 1333), 913-16.

³²¹ Abdülfeyyaz Tefik, “Avrupa'yı İyi Anlayalım,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 39 (26 Nisan 1333), 13-16.

In issue 40, the debate on Westernization and European people continued.³²² Macide said the rights and social position of Ottoman women were developing gradually. They had opportunities to receive education and to work; however, the number of women who took advantage of opportunities was very low. Besides this point, she touched upon the issue of the disciplining and rearing of children. There could not be a homeland without a nation, a nation without a family, and a family without children. For this reason, she urged women to have five or six children and to show interest in the issue of disciplining and rearing them. In the Europe, these issues were considered very important, but in Ottoman society, as she observed, they were not.

Issue 41 discussed the tendency of women to the fashion.³²³ A conversation between three girls was presented. The topic was wearing domestic clothes for dressing. As it was discussed above, supporting domestic production and consumption was also popular topic in the women's journals as a result of the state of war and the efforts to establish a national economy. In the text, one of the girls, Aliye, urged women to use domestic goods in the production of their outfits. If they shopped from stores where domestic goods were sold, they would carry out their responsibilities to the nation. Women in the Red Crescent carried out this responsibility by producing bandages, gauze and underwear for soldiers and veterans. Men served the nation with their swords and women served with their needles. For this reason, using domestic products was the duty of each person, especially in clothing because every nation had its own peculiar fashion that

³²² Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, "Macide ile İkinci Mülakat," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 40 (10 Mayıs 1333), 12-15.

³²³ Necib Necati, "Hilal-i Ahmer- Moda," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 41 (24 Mayıs 1333), 14-16.

shouldn't be imitated by other nations. When they wore clothes, women delivered the empire to the enemies with their own hands.

Besides different arguments on the women's movement and their rights, in the "*Hanımlar Sahifesi*," the journal included poems and some stories. For instance, Şukufe Nihal wrote some pastoral poems such as *Kuş* (The Bird), and Osman Fahri had a poem on the love of children. Another poem narrated the creation of women. Also, there were two plays in this part in the issues 34 and 35. In these plays, a conversation among female students and their arguments on equality as well as education issue were presented.

In short, *Talebe Defteri* propagated equality among men and women through the section of "*Hanımlar Sahifesi*". Education for females, working careers for women, specifically as doctors, their social status, criticisms vis a vis women and their ideas appeared in the section. These arguments on women's rights and responsibilities were not usual to appear for a children's journal, although they appeared mainly in women's journals. However, *Talebe Defteri* took this emancipatory approach, which was one of the components of would-be citizens, and worked to instill it into the minds of children, and adult readers. Even though the journal had mostly a militarist and masculine tone, the interest of the journal in the issue of woman can be explained through the active participation of women in the Great War as workers in factories, and nurses on the battlefronts, a point which made them more visible in society.

Entrepreneurship

By 1914, the Empire had not only lost lands, but it also seemed that it had lost its control over its economy. This mostly sprang from the commercial treaties and capitulations that gave significant privileges to the Western countries, especially to the British Empire, France and Germany. These two points caused huge foreign capital to capture the Ottoman market, specifically in the areas of mining, transportation, and banking. Moreover, the empire carried huge domestic and foreign debts. To pay the empire's debts to the foreign states, the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Duyun-i Umumiye*) was established in 1881, and between 1881 and 1914, it gave a big share of its imperial income to this institution. In terms of internal commerce, the commerce was in the hands of minority groups, including Armenians, Jews and Greeks.

Against this negative situation in the economic sphere of the empire, the CUP decided to apply the "National Economy Policy" (*Ulusal İktisat Politikası*). The development of the national economy did not mean a transition from collectivism to individualism, but the achievement of the Islamification and Turkification of the market. Different programs were argued among intellectuals to attain this goal. For example, according to Ziya Gökalp, neither capitalism nor socialism would help economic development; instead he urged solidarism.³²⁴ Prens Sabahattin, who supported a liberal economy, indicated that there was a lack of private property in the East, whereas the West supported private individual initiations.³²⁵ For this reason, to achieve transition to the Western type of economy, the Ottoman Empire needed a mainstay. According to Cavit Bey, a well-known economist and publicist of *Ulum-i*

³²⁴ Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 465.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 466.

Iktisadiyye and Ictimaiyye (Science of Economics and Society), a journal about economics, this mainstay would be a foreign aid and capital. On the other hand, Yusuf Akçura argued that the creation of a national bourgeoisie was necessary for economic development. Although these arguments signified different points in terms of mainstay and ideology, each of them emphasized the necessity of the establishment of a national economy.

The National Economy Policy was launched in 1914 by the CUP as a result of growing disillusionment with the liberal countries of Europe as well as increased German influence.³²⁶ Although this policy was initiated in 1914, the process of the creation of a national economy had been stated in 1908. In 1914, a breaking point in the economy occurred that created a transition from the free market policy to German eco-politics.³²⁷ In this period, the CUP encouraged the consumption of domestic goods, organized a boycott of the goods of Austria and Greece in 1908-09 and constructed a network of railway and highway to integrate the national market and to create a demand for rural products. To support industrial improvement, it had enacted a provisional law, called as the Provisional Law for Industrial Incentive (*Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanun-ı Mavakkati*) in 1913. The most important step in the road to the construction of a national economy was the abolition of the capitulations on 1 October 1914 unilaterally.

After this decision, the CUP encouraged the members of the embryonic national bourgeoisie to accumulate capital by exploiting the wartime market conditions that made extensive profiteering possible.³²⁸ As 80 new joint-stock

³²⁶ Zürcher, in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, 158.

³²⁷ Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi*, 33.

³²⁸ Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, 250.

companies were founded between 1916 and 1918 with the active support of the CUP, traders and small businesses were organized into large societies and encouraged to invest their profits in the new companies.³²⁹ In spite of its support for a national economy, the CUP was aware of the importance of foreign capital in the new formation. A report by the CUP published at the end of CUP congress in 1916 shows the economic problems, national economy policy and its application. This part of the report provides information about nationalization, industrialization, technical education, national corporations, and monetary reform.³³⁰

Especially, in the encouragement of Turkish-Muslim society to create its own bourgeoisie and to use domestic goods, and in informing people about the boycotts, print media seems to have been influential. In forming a Turkish-Muslim bourgeoisie not only adults but also children were given direction through journals. One of the missions of *Talebe Defteri* was to make children familiar with the issues of economics, finance, and commerce. The journal perceived children as potential members of the national bourgeoisie who would rescue the Ottoman economy from the invasion of foreign capital and would lead to domestic financial improvement. Through articles and stories on economics, it aimed to give children information about the Ottoman economy, to encourage them to be entrepreneurs, to impose the benefits of commerce upon them, and to urge them to save.

One of the most popular article series of the journal was titled “*Ortaklık*” (Partnership), which was published in the issues between 9 and 14 by Ahmet

³²⁹ Zürcher, 158.

³³⁰ Zafer Toprak, “70. Yıldönümünde İttihat ve Terakki’nin 1916 Kongresi,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 33 (Eylül 1986), 6.

Cevad.³³¹ It was about the formation of a company by students. At the beginning of the story, a boy named Cahit wanted to have bicycle and started to save money from his weekly allowance. However, he was unable to save enough money. When he told this to his friend Zühdü, he offered to unite their savings. Moreover, he indicated that two of his friends from the school wanted to buy bicycles as well. If the four of them put their savings together, they could afford to buy a bicycle together more easily. The six friends established a company and they appointed Zühdü its scribe. They gave their money to Zühdü, he noted them in a ledger, gave the partners receipts and put the money into the bank. The partnership expanded with the involvement of other students. As a result, at the end of three months, ten students were able to buy a bicycle.

In the next issues, these partners discussed other issue and resolved the problems through partnership. For instance, they discussed how they would use the rest of money in the bank. They decided to donate the amount in three parts: to the Ottoman navy, to the Fikraperver Committee, and to their own company. However, according to them, using the money to develop the capital and to increase it seemed more important. As a result, they decided to establish a stationery company. The closest home to the school was selected as the store of the company. They also accepted that each partner of the company would be given equal share and they would benefit from the profit equally. Moreover, they jobshared and decided what they would sell in the store, the announcement of their shop in the school, and to visit wholesalers to get information about prices, and the acceptance of new partners to the company.

³³¹ Respectively: Ahmet Cevad, "Ortaklık," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 9 (12 Eylül 1329), 3-4: no. 10 (26 Eylül 1329), 3-5: no. 11(10 Teşrinievvel 1329), 3-5: no. 12 (24 Teşrinievvel 1329), 3-5: no. 13 (Teşrinisani 1329), 3-4: no. 14 (Teşrinisani 1329), 10-11.

With all of the partners, a declaration, which involved the principles of sharing the profits, the involvement of new partners and purpose of the company as well as its location, was prepared. At the end of the series, they opened their store. This story of students was most probably published to encourage readers to become entrepreneurs and to show the advantages of savings as well as partnership. Parallel to the aim of the state, in the forming of the Turkish-Muslim bourgeoisie, these types of stories familiarized children with the economy and in the establishment of their own stores or company in the future.

“*Lamia ile Musahabelerim*” (Conversations with Lamia) was a conversation between a brother and sister.³³² In the first part of this serial, the main issue was the necessity of teaching economics in the schools. Lamia’s brother gave a speech on the importance of economics and on why it had to be included in the school curriculums. People would be rescued from the current state of poverty and captivity only through the initiation of an entrepreneurial economy and with cooperation. He indicated that besides the establishment of a company, people had to know how one could be established and how it could be operated. For this reason, becoming familiar with the economics beginning from childhood was necessary.

Another story that encouraged the readers to engage in commerce appeared in the issues between 25 and 30.³³³ This section was titled as “*Meslek İntihabı*” (Selection of Occupation). At the top of each section, a sentence –*Tacir olacaksın* (You will be a merchant) - was written. In the story, a father had to remove his son, Nejat, from school because of financial difficulty. He supported the household of the

³³² Ahmed Cevad, “*Lamia ile Müsahabelerim*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 12 (24 Teşrinievvel 1329), 5-6. See also Appendix III, no 22.

³³³ Respectively: Mukaddem, “*Meslek İntihabı*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 25 (24 Nisan 1330), 5-6; no. 26 (8 Mayıs 1330), 6-7; no. 28 (5 Haziran 1330), 15-16; no. 30 (3 Temmuz 1330), 4.

home alone and even this became difficult for him in time. For this reason, he hoped that Nejat could help him by working even though he wanted him to continue studying. To decide which job was appropriate for his son, he consulted with his teacher, who indicated that Nejat was a good student, and he would get a good job in the future. However, his father explained his situation and why he had decided to postpone Nejat's education. He also noted craftsmen were not eager to train apprentices, although he understood apprentices demanded more money without learning the skills well. His teacher stated that Nejat had a skill for commerce and he would be a good merchant. He explained the benefits of commerce. As a result, both of them decided that the training as a merchant was the best choice for Nejat. From this part, it can be inferred that the journal did not require all students to receive educations in science, literature or law, but it motivated them to engage in commerce, which was perceived as a profitable area for the welfare of the family and the state.

Besides stories about the benefits of commerce to encourage children, the advantages of saving were emphasized in the articles of the journal. For example, in the sixteenth issue, the article gave information about the saving box.³³⁴ This idea was presented by a student, named Kemal. The journal announced that it would contribute to his initiative by mentioning it in the issues. The author explained how saving boxes and spending partnerships would be beneficial for people, families, and the empire itself. He calculated what people would accumulate if they saved their money for 20 years. These savings, according to him, would cause industry and agriculture to improve in the empire. He also indicated that the current period was one of economics in which attempts for the establishment of national economy had

³³⁴ *Talebe Defteri*, "Artırma Sandığı," no. 16 (19 Kanunievvel 1329), 17-19. See also Appendix III, no. 23.

emerged and were being developed. Also, this stress on the economy was likely to spring from the significance of the economy to be a leading power and to survive in the international area. For this reason, the teacher had a considerable responsibility to make students familiar with it. The articles about the saving box not only reflected the expectation of the journal that children be thrifty, but also show the wartime atmosphere which led people to make savings for the well-being of family and the empire. Moreover, savings were seen as a cornerstone of the development of economy, the emergence of a domestic bourgeoisie and initiation of industrial investments.

In issue 17, the journal reported that the article about the savings box in the previous issue had been met with a huge approval from the readers.³³⁵ Therefore, it had prepared a program for saving box initiations in the schools. However, it emphasized, at the same time, that this was not only the duty and responsibility of students; parents and teachers also should participate. In the article, the organization in the schools, and the collection of money were elaborated. According to the author, it would be better to start saving 20 para weekly. In the same article, the author also touched upon the Ottoman Youth Cooperation Company (*Osmanlı Gençleri Teavün Şirketi*), which promoted savings and encouraged young people for social aid and solidarity. This company grew gradually. It established new companies, including a toy factory, school materials, and an atelier for making clothes. The author believed that a generation raised with the mentality of entrepreneurship would initiate the establishment of new factories.

In issue 26, there was an article written by Suat Fahir about the savings box as well, in which he stated his pleasure at the high rate of participation of students in the

³³⁵ *Talebe Defteri*, “Artırma Sandığı ve Osmanlı Gençleri Teavin Şirketi,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 17 (2 Kanunisani 1329), 1-2.

saving box program.³³⁶ Moreover, he explained that the savings box had been initiated for economic cooperation and to help destitute people.

In issue 47, information about the history of saving box initiation, about how it had started in the US, and how they operated was provided.³³⁷ The idea for savings box initially had emerged among students who lived in Washington. They both went to school and worked after school. In order not to waste their earnings, they decided to save them in a box. The savings box was operated as a bank with cashiers and clients who opened accounts and invested 20 para each day. Furthermore, in issue 48, the news about the savings box in the schools in different cities were published.³³⁸ These articles discussed how the savings box worked, their regulations and their history were written.

Moreover, *Talebe Defteri* gave information about the statistical data of the mineral resources of the Ottoman Empire. In issue 34, “*Memleketimizde Neler Çıkıyor*” (What Kinds Extracted in Our Empire) touched upon the importance of statistics and economics.³³⁹ Teacher Memduh, an author, emphasized that the states which had huge natural resources, like the Ottoman Empire, should know the economics and statistics well. In this issue, the sources of coal and lignite were displayed statistically and the contribution of these mines to the Ottoman economy was mentioned.

³³⁶ Suat Fahir, “Değirmenci ile Oğlu,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 26 (8 Mayıs 1330), 1-2.

³³⁷ Suat Fahir, “Bir Mekteb Artırma Sandığı,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 47 (25 Teşrinievvel 1333), 1-3.

³³⁸ *Talebe Defteri*, “Gençler Nasıl Düşünüyor,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 48 (8 Teşrinisani 1333), 4-5.

³³⁹ A. Memduh, “Memleketimizde Neler Çıkıyor,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 34 (2 Şubat 1332), 5-6.

In issue 35, an article titled as “*Demiri Altın Yapmak*” (Turning Iron into the Gold), touched upon the same issue.³⁴⁰ Teacher Memduh, an author of the article, pointed out the importance of gold and diamonds in terms of welfare and wealth. However, he signified that he wanted to draw attention to the natural sources of the Ottoman Empire, specifically mines. According to him, if the mines were managed professionally with advanced technology, they would allow the Empire to earn more gold. He wrote about the conditions of the mines in the empire, and he explained that only one of them had advanced technology. In addition to giving information about the mineral sources of the empire, these two articles gave the responsibility of the improvement of the conditions in this area to children in the future.

To sum up, like modern education and women’s emancipation, entrepreneurship was another key element that would-be citizens were supposed to follow. The issue of saving, partnership, the consumption of domestic goods, and information on domestic sources appeared to be the result of the state of war, which showed people the economic defects of the empire, and propelled society to repair these defects. In this sense, *Talebe Defteri* promoted entrepreneurship as a way to create constitution of a national bourgeoisie culture and to encourage children, as a potential bourgeois, to participate in this culture. The journal seemed to treat the issue of economics as vital for the salvation of the empire, even at some points more important than receiving education in law, literature, and science.

³⁴⁰ A. Memduh, “Demiri Altın Yapmak,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 35 (1 Mart 1333), 3-5.

Morality

In the rearing and disciplining of children, morality had an essential place in Ottoman society. Basically, Islamic values and doctrines were used in the transmission of morality to children. As childhood began to be perceived as a separate developmental stage with the Tanzimat era, the moral discipline of the children gained more importance for the empire. From that period onwards, the state started to intervene in this area more than before because the rearing of ideal children who were morally, bodily, and intellectually upright was perceived as a critical issue. Besides Islamic values, it seemed that with the impact of Westernization, the rules of middle class etiquette began to shape the morality of children. *Terbiyet-ül Etfal* (Disciplining of Children) by Edhem İbrahim Paşa can be counted as an example published in the Tanzimat period, in 1868, and mostly followed the Western principles of disciplining.³⁴¹

Although from the Tanzimat period to World War One, the description of the “ideal child” underwent a change in accordance with the state of mind, loyalty to the political authority, as well as to the empire, social discipline, honor, honesty, and industriousness were, more or less, counted as essential characteristics of the ideal child in the modern sense.³⁴² For instance, during the Hamidian era, Islamic values gained utmost importance in the discipline of children. The *Risale-i Ahlak* (Morality Booklet) by Ali Nazima in 1890, *İlm-i Ahlak* (Science of Morality) by A. Rıza in 1890, *Çocuklara Talim-i Fezail-i Ahlak* (Training of Moral Virtues for Children) by

³⁴¹ Okay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler*, 54-55.

³⁴² Öztan, Gürkan. *Türkiye’de Çocukluğun Politik İnşası* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), 41.

Ali İrfan in 1894, and *Peder Olmak Sanatı* (Art of Being A Father) by Ahmet Midhat in 1899, were some pieces written in that period.³⁴³

Within the Second Constitutional Period, the formation and transmission of morality were based on the principles of equality, fraternity, and freedom. Especially, after the Balkan Wars, with the rise of nationalism, children were indoctrinated with national values in addition to the traditional social ethics. Since immorality was seen as one of the primary reasons for the defeats and the fall of the empire, the improvement of morality was seen as necessary for the strengthening of the empire. In this period, *Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Vataniye* (Moral and National Discipline) was put as a course in schools. *Malumat-ı Ahakiyye ve Medeniyye* (Information about Morality and Humanity), and *Usul-i Terbiye-i Ahlakiyye ve Medeniyye* (Methods of the Disciplining of Morality and Humanity) of Hakkı Behiç in 1911 were two well-known pieces in the Constitutional period.³⁴⁴ Besides these pieces by Nazima, Ali Rıza, and Ahmet Rıfat, written during the Hamidian era, continued to be read in the schools. Additionally, in the Constitutional period, the content and method of moral education faced opposition from some intellectuals, including Baha Tevfik and Ziya Gökalp. They claimed that the basic concern of moral education was supposed to be the application of moral codes, instead of focusing only on the orders and prohibitions of Islam.³⁴⁵ In other words, *amel-i ahlak* (practical morality) gained more importance than *nazar-ı ahlak* (theoretical ahlak).³⁴⁶ In this debate on moral

³⁴³ Okay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler*, 54-55.

³⁴⁴ Arzu Güldöşüren and Zeynep Altuntaş, “Modernleşme Dönemi Ahlak Kitaplarına Bir Örnek: Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye,” *Dem Dergi*, no. 4 (2007), 52.

³⁴⁵ Faruk Öztürk, “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Ahlak Öğretimi ve Baha Tevfik’in Yeni Ahlakı,” *Milli Eğitim*, no. 145 (2000), 72.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

education Baha Tevfik, *Yeni Ahlak* (New Morality), which supported the constitution of morality through scientific education and free reasoning, appears to have been influential.

In the imposition of moral norms upon children, education and print-media were two important tools. In both areas, the valid moral norms of the period, besides the traditional ones, were promoted. *Talebe Defteri*, as a children's journal, published articles on this issue. With the Balkan Wars, the promotion of national values was more perceivable in the journal. The journal discussed the issue of morality in a part titled as "*Amel-i Ahlak*" (Practice of Morality). In this part, the meaning of a specific moral norm was explained and, after that an example from historical figures was given. For instance, in issue 4, the author explained that in the schools of Japan and Europe, the issue of morality was important.³⁴⁷ He emphasized that the survival of the nations depended on their loyalty to morality, which was a responsibility of the people to God, to the self, and to the others. The meaning of modesty was discussed and example of Plato was presented. In addition to modesty, in different issues, in the same part, the meanings of providence, sagacity, courage, persistence, magnanimity, patriotism, self-sacrifice and hospitality were discussed and the deeds of William Tell, Sokullu Mehmet Paşa, Osman Paşa, Beyazid I and Sultan Abdülmecid were cited as examples.³⁴⁸ In this part, actually, the moral codes that were necessary for ideal citizenship were being analyzed. Especially, the fact that the promotion of

³⁴⁷ A. Memduh, "Amel-i Ahlak," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 4 (4 Temmuz 1329), 5. See also Appendix III, no. 24.

³⁴⁸ Respectively: A. Memduh, "Amel-i Ahlak," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 5 (18 Temmuz 1329), 10; no. 7 (15 Ağustos 1329), 5; no. 9 (12 Eylül 1329), 5-6; no.11 (10 Teşrinievvel 1329), 10-11; no. 15 (5 Kanunievvel 1329), 11-12; no. 18 (16 Kanunisani 1329), 4; no. 24 (10 Nisan 1330), 5; no. 25 (24 Nisan 1330), 6-8.

national values was classified under the title of morality, shows how the ideology of the state was effective in the shaping of moral codes.

In addition to the section of *Amel-i Ahlak*, there were some independent articles on the same topic. An article under the title of “*Mektepte Tarihi Temsiller*” (Historical Performance in the Schools) discussed the impact of theater on children’s morality because children’s plays, especially historical plays, enabled children to learn about patriotic values.³⁴⁹ Moreover, while they were performing the play, they adopted the morality and courage of the characters, and also they understood the prominence of solidarity and cooperation. He indicated that the defeat in the Balkan Wars sprang from the lack of patriotic values in Ottoman society. Therefore, he urged that theater had to be offered as a course in the schools. This article shows how the method of learning doing was considered in the teaching of morality.

“*Ahlak Musahabeleri*” (Conversations on Morality) explained the harmful effects of jealousy and greed. To make the explanation more vivid, a story was told in which two close friends went to town to sell their products. On the way to their village, they talked about money and being rich. After a while, they saw an old man who wore dirty clothes and looked sick. However, this old man turned out to be a wise old man. He told the two friends that he could carry out the wishes of people and this made him happy. If they had a wish, he would make it real, but he stated that he would give twice as much of the wish of the first person than the second one. This statement of the old man caused the two close friends to be jealous of each other and they did not wish anything. However, in the end, one of the friends wished to have one of his eyes blind that caused two eyes of the other one to lose their sights. As a

³⁴⁹ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 8 (29 Ağustos 1329), 12-13.

result, two of them suffered for their greed and jealousy. This story can be counted as a traditional story with a *kıssadan hisse* (moral fable) which is one of the popular ways to teach morality to children.

To conclude, morality in the journal was transmitted mainly through stories or moral fables. In a general sense, the stories told of the important people, who were usually male and military officers or sultans. Therefore, it can be inferred that, morality was essentially a gendered area in the journal and that the stories rarely featured ordinary people. To show sultans and military officers as examples can be interpreted as a way to engage children with the idea of militarism, war and politics. Moreover, the examples for the morality narration are predominantly from the past. *Talebe Defteri* promoted not only victories in the past but also name which had a exceptional morality. This point confirms, one more time, the missing yearning for the glorious past in the journal. Last, in this section, the co-mingling of traditional values with national ones in terms of morality shows how the idea of nationalism was significant in the shaping of moral codes.

Healthcare and Physical Education

Children's healthcare was another point that gained significance with the rising of the modern concept of childhood. Gradually, a common opinion was formed that the children's healthcare required separate specialization.³⁵⁰ For this reason, pediatrics, children's medicine as well as vaccines and, most importantly children's hospitals, such as the Ottoman Hospital for Children during the reign of Abdülhamid II, emerged. As Okay indicates, beginning from the mid-nineteenth century, taking

³⁵⁰ Cüneyd Okay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler: 1850-1900* (İstanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları, 1998), 56.

children to a pediatrician, not to any doctor, became a commonplace.³⁵¹ This habit was supported through advertisements for vaccines, children's medications and the advertisements of pediatricians, which began to appear in the newspapers. In the curriculum of some schools there was a healthcare course.³⁵² Abortion was strongly criticized and prohibited in 1858. With regard to childbirth, *Kibale Mektebi* (the School of Delivery) was established in 1843. Via this school, midwives were taught scientific and technical knowledge on modern medicine and birth.

Parallel to this point, a maternity hospital (*Viladethane*) was opened in 1892. Besim Ömer Pasa, a well-known gynecologist of the period, strove to raise the consciousness of people on the issue of giving birth.³⁵³ Furthermore, during the Second Constitutional period, the stress on rearing healthy children, and, parallel to this purpose, the significance of physical fitness increased. In schools, courses for physical fitness were added to the curriculum. The essential motivation behind this was the idea that a strong nation could only survive with the presence of strong individuals in society. Selim Sırrı, who founded a private sport school (*Darülrifan*) in 1897, was a significant figure in the improvement of physical training education and its addition to the curriculum.³⁵⁴

In the area of children's healthcare, print media was as effective as in education. In newspapers and journals, especially in women's journals, healthcare children was discussed in accordance with modern medicine methods, and advice

³⁵¹ Cüneyd Okay, "Modern Developments in Children's Healthcare in the Ottoman Empire, 1850-1900," *International Journal of Turcologia* IV, no. 8 (2009), 25

³⁵² Okay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler*, 72.

³⁵³ Okay, *Modern Developments*, 25.

³⁵⁴ Cüneyd Okay, "Sport and Nation Building: Gymnastics and Sport in the Ottoman State and the Committee of Union and Progress, 1908-18," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 20, no. 1 (March 2003), 152.

was given under the title of “*Hıfz-ı Sıhha*” (Health) in terms of nurturing them, bathing, how to breastfeed, and so on. Articles about physical fitness and sports were also published under the heading “*Terbiye-i Bedeniyye*” (Body Training).

Cuneyd Okay gives two examples: *Terbiyevi Çocuk Oyunları* (Educative Children’s Games) by Ahmet Edib, and *Terbiyevi İsveç Jimnastikleri ve Mekteb Oyunları* (Educative Swedish-Style Body Training and School Games) by Selim Sırrı.³⁵⁵ Both pieces supported physical, moral and health-related improvements through physical training and games. *Talebe Defteri*, too, gave considerable importance to the issue of health. Especially with the impact of Balkan defeat, it cared about raising healthy and physically strong children for the survival of the empire, more than ever.

In *Talebe Defteri*, health was discussed under the title of “*Müşahabe-i Sıhhiyye*” (Conversation on Health) had a separate section. For instance, in the first issue, Fazıl Ahmet discussed that to serve the nation and the Empire, people needed to be strong and powerful.³⁵⁶ Therefore, being healthy and taking care of oneself were very important responsibilities. Being healthy included the disciplining of the body and it required a strong body and strong mind. After this general explanation, in this as well as next issues, Fazıl Ahmet and Mustafa Menif provided information on the human anatomy, body care, breathing, the influence of fresh air, how to recover from illness, and on how the room of a healthy children’s rooms should be.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Okay, *Meşrutiyet Çocukları*, 77.

³⁵⁶ Fazıl Ahmet, “Müşahabe,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 1 (23 Mayıs 1329), 2-6. See also Appendix III, no. 25.

³⁵⁷ Respectively: Mustafa Menif, “Müşahabe-i Sıhhiyye,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 2 (2 Haziran 1329), 3-4; no. 3 (20 Haziran 1329), 3-4.

“*Gıda ve Açlık*” (Nourishment and Hunger), argued how people were supposed to eat to keep healthy.³⁵⁸ He explained that to keep the temperature of the body high, people had to eat sufficiently. He also touched upon the harmful effects of being hungry.

In addition to the information about personal care and anatomy, *Talebe Defteri* published articles on physical fitness and its significance. “*Jimnastik Umumidir*” (Gym Is Common) pointed out the same issue.³⁵⁹ The author, Teacher Safi, complained about the indifference of people about physical fitness. Especially, the indifference of adults influenced young people and children in a negative way. The publications on physical fitness were very few in the empire, and also people did not show sufficient interest in the publications on this issue. He urged people to allocate time for fitness.

“*Keşşafın Muhtırası*” (The Memorial of the Scout) discussed also physical training.³⁶⁰ The article emphasized that the strength of the body could be achieved through discipline, and could be protected through keeping healthy. The author listed a physical fitness program, and he explained how readers could do it. He recommended readers repeat this program in the morning and in the evening for seven minutes.

In issue 22, under the same title, a list was given on what scouts were supposed to do or not.³⁶¹ They were not supposed to smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol or coffee and tea because they caused aggression. They should do breathing exercises, air out

³⁵⁸ Abdülfeyyaz Tefvik, “*Gıda ve Açlık*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 8 (29 Ağustos 1329), 6-7.

³⁵⁹ Safi, “*Jimnastik Umumidir*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 19 (30 Kanunisanı 1329), 7-10. See also Appendix III, no. 26.

³⁶⁰ M. B. “*Keşşafın Muhtırası*,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 21 (27 Şubat 1329), 7-8.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, no. 22 (13 Mart 1330), 15-16.

their rooms, drink fresh water, and take walks. Even though this article was written for scouts, the information about health and physical fitness gives clues about where the journal stood in terms of health.

The news on *İdman Bayramı* (Training Festival) stated that the annual fitness festival had celebrated with the participation of all the schools in İstanbul.³⁶² The celebration program and participants were given. Moreover, the significance of orderliness and strength through physical fitness received frequent stress. The article also reported on the competitions that had been held at the celebration. These were the high jump, javelin, and discus throw, tug of war, bicycle race, pole vault, and a hundred meter dash.

Talebe Defteri also gave great importance to nature. İsmail Hakkı wrote an article on the influence of parks.³⁶³ He noted that in the past every family had had its own garden, but these had been currently replaced by public parks. Although there were some people, who stated that they did not need parks, public parks, and gardens had a huge influence on health, discipline of body, and the spirituality of the people. For this reason, he said these places were sites for the “revival of the new kind of discipline,” which enabled people to take care of their bodies as well as souls.

An article, titled as *Bahardan İstifade* (Benefitting From the Spring), explained the benefits of the sun, fresh air, and good weather on children were explained.³⁶⁴ Good weather and taking a walk at the seaside and in nature were very beneficial for the health of children. Fresh air, green, and the sun caused children to develop physically and mentally, strengthened their bones, protected them from tuberculosis,

³⁶² *Talebe Defteri*, no. 41 (24 Mayıs 1333), 6-9.

³⁶³ İsmail Hakkı, “Dirilen Bir Terbiye,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 8 (29 Ağustos 1329), 8-9. See also Appendix III, no. 27.

³⁶⁴ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 28 (5 Haziran 1330), 4-6.

and turned skinny children into sturdy ones. Nature could provide the courageous, strong, and patriotic individuals the nation lacked.

Another dimension of the articles on the health of children was the stress on the relations between a strong nation and strong citizens. “*İyi Vücutlu Milletler İyi Yaşar*” (The Nation with Strong Body Lives Well) dealt with the situation of the science of physical fitness in Ottoman society and raising the interest of people in it.³⁶⁵ The author emphasized that being healthy meant being muscular and sturdy. Whereas the previous generations had been healthy and sturdy, the current generation was weak and skinny. In the past, people had exercised enough to have healthy bodies within their daily routines, yet this had been forgotten recently. However, today, a science of disciplining the body which led to stronger children had emerged. In the developed and powerful nations, physical fitness was accepted as a keystone of the disciplining society. However, in Ottoman society, people were indifferent, arguing that gymnastics was a kind of mimicry of Western habits and a practice of wrestlers. Additionally, in the empire, there was a lack of professional trainers. He asked people to pay attention to the issue of fitness so they could endure long as a nation.

To sum up, *Talebe Defteri* urged its readers to raise a new generation with healthy and strong bodies. The issue of health was reflected as the issue of the whole nation. In the disciplining of bodies, from physical fitness to the care of the body, the journal approached the issue more scientifically. Specifically, Social Darwinism appears to be adopted to explain the issue of healthcare. Therefore, for the journal, nations had to have strong individuals, otherwise they would disappear. Under this scientific approach, *Talebe Defteri* perceived physical education as a key element.

³⁶⁵ A. Seyfî, “İyi Vücutlu Milletler İyi Yaşar,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 17 (2 Kanunisanı 1329), 11-12.

Moreover, physical fitness activities were not limited only to courses in schools, but could be carried out in parks, which were the public sphere and available for broader participation. From this point of view, the journal recommended this for all ages

Civil Society

The organization of children and youth under different associations including *Türk Gücü Dernekleri* (Turkish Force Associations), *Osmanlı Gücü Dernekleri* (Ottoman Force Associations) and *Genç Dernekleri* (Youth Associations), or in the activities, such as scouting, was a trend that emerged after the defeat in the Balkan Wars and which gained significance gradually. As Toprak writes, the first organization, *Türk Gücü*, established in 1913, focused on physical fitness and sports, while *Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri*, founded in 1914, aimed to prepare young men for the defense of the empire, and last *Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri*, which were initiated by Enver Paşa in 1916, gave the essential information about the military service before sending young men to the battlefield.³⁶⁶ As this brief information shows these associations were mainly based on paramilitary activities. Considering the rise of Turkish nationalism, and the constant warfare, this characteristic of the organizations is not surprising. Moreover, the organization of children provided a momentum for national mobilization. Through organizing children and young men in civil organizations, it aimed to impose the idea of unity and solidarity. While the participation in *Türk Gücü Cemiyeti* and *Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri* was voluntary, it

³⁶⁶ Zafer Toprak, “İttihat ve Terakki’nin Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri Cunningham,” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi* 7, (1979), 96.

was obligatory for *Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri*, regardless of the religious affiliation of the boys.³⁶⁷

Besides the associations, *Keşşaflık* (scouting) was introduced in the Second Constitutional Period with the support of the government. Scouting activities were put on the curriculum of Imperial high schools in 1910 and high schools in 1911.³⁶⁸ From this date, many articles were written about scouting in the journals to encourage students to participate. The contributions of Nafi Atuf Kansu, Ethem Nejat, the Robenson brothers and Kazım Karabekir were crucial in the development of scouting. With the support of Robenson brothers, the first troop was established in 1914 in İstanbul. Besides individual contributions, the CUP supported this paramilitary activity because it was seen as a tool for the reinforcement of the moral strength of the empire.³⁶⁹ For this reason, activities in scouting were mostly devoted to military aims and the defense of the state the appointment of Enver Paşa as a Chief Scout and calling of all of the scouting troops the Golden Army are the most important evidence of the militaristic aim of the state.³⁷⁰ Especially with the Balkan Wars, it gained significance for the CUP to mobilize children. The development of scouting was advocated through the *Osmanlı Gücü Derneği* and *Türk Gücü Derneği*. In 1914, the Scouting Charter and Rules of Scouting, which covered the aims and rules of scouting and the responsibilities as well as the missions of scouts, were

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 97.

³⁶⁸ Yaşar Tolga Cora, “Constructing and Mobilizing the Nation Through Sports: State, Physical Education and Nationalism Under the Young Turk Rule, 1908-1918,” (M.A. Thesis, Central Europe University: Nationalism Studies Program, 2007), 47.

³⁶⁹ İsmail Güven, “Osmanlı’dan Günümüze İzçiliğin Gelişimi ve Türk Eğitim Tarihindeki Yeri,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*36, no. 1-2 (2003), 68.

³⁷⁰ Cora, *Constructing and Mobilizing the Nation*, 49.

issued.³⁷¹ These efforts expanded throughout İstanbul and scouting began to be seen in other regions of the empire. For example, Kazım Karabekir established the Children's Army in the eastern region of the empire. During the Great War, in İstanbul, every community or each group had its own scouting organization. It became a part of various national mobilization movements in this period.

Print-media, as in other areas, played a crucial role in the introduction of these organizations. Especially, scouting had a prominent place in the children's journals published in that period. *Talebe Defteri* adopted a supportive voice in terms of the organization of children and young people through scouting. Articles about scouting were published in a section called "*Keşşafın Muhtırası*" (Memorial of the Scout). In this part, introductory information about scouting, the characteristics of scouts and explanations of activities were provided. "*Keşşafın Muhtırası*" ran from issue 18 to 30. In issue 18, how the activity of scouting had been initiated in Britain and the need for this kind of organization in the Ottoman Empire were provided.³⁷² According to the author, during the Boer war, British soldiers had realized that to survive in different geographies, people needed to have bodily as well as mentally resistance and strength. Through scouting, children and young men were trained for battles and for any state of emergency. The journal declared its purpose to inform the readers about this activity.

In addition to the introduction part, in the same issue, "*Keşşafın Yemini*" (An Oath of the Scout) and the "*Keşşafın Nizamı*" (Regulation of the Scouts) were published. In the former part, the scouts swore an oath to carry out their duties and

³⁷¹ Mehmet Beşikçi, "Militarizm, Topyekun Savaş ve Gençleğin Seferber Edilmesi: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paramiliter Dernekler," *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 8 (Bahar 2009), 56.

³⁷² M. B., "Keşşafın Muhtırası," *Talebe Defteri*, no.18 (16 Kanunisani 1329), 5. See also, Appendix III, no. 28.

responsibilities fairly and conscientiously, to be courageous and generous, to protect their homeland during peace and wartime, and to obey the regulations of scouting. In the latter part, the question of how scouts were supposed to be trained was answered. According to the regulation of scouts, their oaths were sacred. They were supposed to give utmost importance to the concept of honor. They were to recognize each other regardless of social class and status. Each scout was supposed to help poor and weak people, to bestow a favor every day, to protect nature as well as animals, and to prevent violence and assault.

The issues 19 and 20 delineated the moral characteristics of the scouts.³⁷³ As was indicated in the article, scouts were supposed to be patriotic, conscientious, responsible, strong-willed, courageous, friendly, and serious. They should be sincere towards everybody to develop their relations and to have new friends. They were to show respect to the property of other people. They were to spend their leisure time efficiently, that is taking walks in a fresh air. Last, they were not to spend their money lavishly.

Issues of 23, 24 and 25 provided information about marching, materials that scouts were supposed to carry, and technical matters.³⁷⁴ The scouts were required to put a shirt, hankie, a couple pairs of socks, pants, flannel, toothbrush, hairbrush, soap, a towel, a pair of slippers, shoe polish, a water bottle, and a jack-knife into their backpacks, which shouldn't weigh more than two and half kilograms. Additionally, the materials for cooking included salt, butter, coffee, a pot, a ladle, a fork, a spoon as well as a knife, and supplies for first aid. An article described how to pitch a tent

³⁷³ Respectively: M. B., "Keşşafın Muhtırası," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 19 (30 Kanunisani 1329), 11-12; no. 20 (13 Şubat 1329), 14.

³⁷⁴ Respectively: M. B., "Keşşafın Muhtırası," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 23 (27 Mart 1330), 5; no. 24 (10 Nisan 1330), 13; no. 25 (24 Nisan 1330), 10-11.

and the materials that were necessary to do it were listed. Last, the article gave information about how to march. During the march, scouts shouldn't be exhausted or spend too much energy. In an hour, it was better to make no more than five kilometers, and after that they should take a rest. During the summertime, they should start to march early in the morning and rest between 10:00 and 15:00. Also, how to intervene a heatstroke was explained. Furthermore, scouts shouldn't take the road either hungry or full. They could drink water while they were marching, but the water should not be too cold. Also, the scouts could eat candy when they got tired. For a comfortable march, they should wear suitable shoes.

Issue 26, the same section had an article on swimming.³⁷⁵ According to the author, a scout accepted swimming as a sport and as an excellent way for body health. Rules of swimming and health during swimming were explained. The swimming movements were shown through the illustrations. Also, it was signified that seas were the best place to practice and the rules of swimming in the sea were stated.

Issue 30, discussed how scouts could benefit from the land was discussed.³⁷⁶ Scouts needed to have the ability to examine the land, hide, and orient themselves in unknown terrain. They should be able to interpret clues accurately, which had been left before and they should be able to follow the traces of footsteps or bicycles and carriages. The article also explained how scouts could copy the footprints on a page. Scouts also needed to be used to dealing with obstacles such as walls, ditches and rivers. While examining the land or marching through it, scouts should not destroy the environment. Information on the duties of the watchman were provided. The

³⁷⁵ M. B., "Keşşafın Muhtırası," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 26 (8 Mayıs 1330), 11-12.

³⁷⁶ M. B., "Keşşafın Muhtırası," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 30 (3 Temmuz 1330), 5-6.

watchman was defined as a scout who was responsible for the protection of his fellows. He could hide himself behind a tree or a rock. He should avoid places where there were many trees and noisy places, such as factories and mills. He should stay in a high place at noon and stay near the river at night for clear vision.

In the same issue, the journal provided information about the scouting organization for girls in the Ottoman Empire.³⁷⁷ The author clarified that scouting did not mean being a soldier. The primary aim of scouting was to discipline the participants morally and physically. For this reason, scouting was not an activity that appealed only to males. He explained the establishment of the first girl scouting group in the Ottoman Empire and its structure as well as activities.

Besides scouting, *Talebe Defteri* provided information about the *Genç Dernekleri* (Youth Associations). In issue 40, its introduction text was published and its purposes were explained.³⁷⁸ Through these associations, which had been initiated by the Ottoman youth, it would be possible to discipline clever and physically strong soldiers. With different activities in the associations, participants could improve themselves and become guides in the associations. These associations were not limited to İstanbul. They also were established in Diyarbakır, Tokat, Syria, Urfa and Sivas. The author, Von Havf, a colonel in the Youth Associations, emphasized the necessity of local associations. He urged young people to unite under the flag of the Young Associations, and to work for a bright future and more progress. In the same issue, the importance of health was emphasized. Members of the Youth Associations needed to be aware that and they should take a regular showers, and clean their clothes periodically. These were their primary responsibilities. For this reason, they

³⁷⁷ *Talebe Defteri*, no. 30 (3 Temmuz 1330), 7-8.

³⁷⁸ Von Havf, "Genç Dernekleri," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 40 (10 Mayıs 1333), 7. See also Appendix III, no. 29.

should read the booklet which had been published by the General Inspectorship of the Youth Associations one year earlier, and about the fundamental principles of health. It cautioned against illnesses and explained for their cures.

Issue 42 described the exercises carried out in the association including gymnastics and the disciplining of the body, the examination of the land, and curing of illnesses and taking preventative measures against them.³⁷⁹ It was announced that in each issue, one of these exercises would be covered. In this issue, training in orderliness and in the field was explained. In the former one, how to form double lines was shown. The latter one explained how to examine the land as well as tracking. According to the author, this would enable young people to strengthen their memories. In the same issue, photographs of youth associations in Germany, Edirne, and Eskisehir were published as well.

In issue 43, the author introduced two of his friends, Von der Guluç Paşa and Graf von Çaplin, who were from Germany.³⁸⁰ They were the pioneers of the youth associations in Germany and both of them served to establish and to develop the same organization in the Ottoman Empire. Both men were friends of the Ottoman youth and had important contributions to the young people. The author described these contributions to the improvement of the associations in different regions of the empire. He cited from their statements and required young people to keep them in mind. Von der Guluç Paşa wanted young people to hold chastity and honor in high esteem because a nation without these would be destroyed by other nations. Graf von Çaplin stated that unity was a powerful concept.

³⁷⁹ Von Havf, "Genç Dernekleri," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 42 (12 Haziran 1333), 8-9.

³⁸⁰ Von Havf, "Genç Dernekleri," *Talebe Defteri*, no. 43 (19 Temmuz 1333), 7-9.

In issue 44, different types of knots were explained and the ways of making them were shown.³⁸¹ Also, in this issue, the visits of association inspectors to other associations in the different cities were reported and photographs were shared.

In issue 48, the journal of the Youth Associations (Genç Dernekleri) was introduced.³⁸² It was published monthly and the price of it was one kuruş. It was published to announce the developments in the association, to show the activities of the association and to familiarize young people with the associations.

The texts on scouting and youth associations indicate that these two areas were kinds of public spheres, specific to children and young people. Besides schools, scouting and youth associations provided these groups the chance to socialize with each other, to get involved in the idea of nationalism and national debates, and to become politicized through discussions. Moreover, as paramilitary organizations, both enable boys to improve their bodies through training.

Conclusion

Talebe Defteri wanted to form ideal modern citizens, additional to the identity of ideal nationals, who believed in sexual equality, received modern education, took care of their health through personal hygiene and physical training, preserve their moral values, participated in civil societies, had the ability to be entrepreneurs, and displayed interest, partnership and saving. The journal imposed a homogenous social and cultural structure which led to the creation of an “imagined community,” as in the case of nationalism. Moreover, these points would become referenced criteria for would-be citizens who would rear and discipline their children in

³⁸¹ Von Havf, “Genç Dernekleri,” *Talebe Defteri*, no. 44 (16 Ağustos 1333), 8-9.

³⁸² *Talebe Defteri*, “Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri Mecmuası,” no. 48 (8 Teşrinisani 1333), 14.

accordance to them. At the same time, arguments on social issues were a kind of notification for current parents and teachers who would raise the next generation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis traced the steps of nationalism, perceptions of childhood, intellectual initiation of the formation of ideal type of child –as as a citizen-and relations between Ottoman children and the state through the assistance of *Talebe Defteri*. The rich materials in the journal gave me an impetus to construct the argument that *Talebe Defteri* worked to raise the ideal child, who was a patriot with a high level of national consciousness, and a modern citizen with concerns for social and individual issues including gender, economy, education, health and morality. The materials provided evidence to support the main argument. Here, the findings of the thesis will be presented based on the empirical chapters, and some ideas will be presented for further investigations in this area.

The thesis discussed how nationalism was conveyed in *Talebe Defteri* to children and young people, and what the main characteristics of the ideal citizen were. The examination showed that, as a source of propaganda and patriotic agitation, *Talebe Defteri* aimed to invent a national identity for children and young people who were urged to be hard-working, self-sacrificed, resolute, strong, virtuous and patriotic citizens. To achieve this objective, the journal stimulated their national feelings and raised their national consciousness by reminding them of the glorious past, narrating epic stories, influencing their consumption habits, forming a reading culture around the national literature, using illustrations, including war scenes that showed the cruelty of the enemies, and by urging the readers to take revenge for the

lost lands as well as for their compatriots killed in the wars. The enemies of the Ottoman Empire were Serbians, Greeks, and Bulgarians, but interestingly they did not include the great powers, and minority groups lived in the Empire even during the First World War. The discussion of nationalism was addressed not only children but also adults, including parents, who were aimed to take lessons from their mistakes, and teachers, who would rear their students with the sense of revenge and patriotism. The examination of *Talebe Defteri* also revealed that its severe tone right after the Balkan Wars softened gradually. During the Great War, it published mostly pumped heroism through epic poems and stories rather than emphasis on taking revenge and fighting.

The journal also focused on social issues, including education, gender, entrepreneurship, morality, health, and civil society, which can be counted as supplementary elements of the invented national identity by *Talebe Defteri*. The journal, by addressing mainly students, gave much more importance to the modern education system and its methods. Besides discussions on modern education system, and critiques against the old methods, *Talebe Defteri* presented texts that enabled students to raise their general culture, to test themselves and to benefit from them for their courses. Therefore, it is claimed that it adopted a pedagogic approach in the issue of education.

Furthermore, the journal proves that it supported sexual equality between men and women, the working rights of women in different areas, specifically in the area of medicine, and education rights of girls. It also seemed to constitute a bourgeoisie culture by promoting entrepreneurship, which was a key element to constitute a national bourgeoisie. It sometimes was encouraged more than education. Beside entrepreneurship, the journal urged children and young people to save their money

through saving boxes in their schools because saving was a tool for establishment of new domestic companies and aid to poor people. In terms of morality, *Talebe Defteri* inculcated bourgeois ethics through moral fables and through discussing morality with examples, including providence, sagacity, courage, persistence, magnanimity, patriotism, self-sacrifice and hospitality. The journal also aimed to raise a physically and mentally healthy and strong generation which gave significance to physical fitness. In this point, it adopted Social Darwinist approach and suggested children and young people to be strong to maintain their nations. In addition to physical fitness, parks and nature were other sources to have healthy bodies. Lastly, *Talebe Defteri* oriented children and young people to participate in civil societies including scouting and the Youth Associations both of which had paramilitary characteristics. They trained children and young people as soldiers and enabled them to improve their bodies and minds. The journal published rules of these two organizations, responsibilities of their members and practical as well as technical information.

Compared to children's journal in the same period, *Talebe Defteri* displayed an idiosyncratic characteristic with its content, purpose and scope of reader groups, mainly consists of literate middle and upper classes in İstanbul, Edirne and Bursa. However, the journal, like other journals in the sam period, did not seem to have an impact on the Eastern, Anatolian, and especially the Middle Eastern regions of the Empire. As it was discussed above it had multifaceted purposes that were indoctrination of nationalism, raising the awareness of readers on different social issues, the provision of information related to general culture, education and personal care, and their mobilization toward a shared goal. Because it had a rich of subjects from education to economy, health, morality, science, and others, it was possible for the journal to address a broader readership with different age ranges. The language of

the texts and level of discussion allowed it to be indicated that the journal was read not only by children and young people but also by adults.

The representation and narration of nationalism in *Talebe Defteri* reveals that the nationalism in the journal did not include the components of Anatolian nationalism nor Turanism. The nationalism was irredentist since it required children and young people to recapture the lost Balkan territories, and it was a dynamic idea which sought to keep readers hard-working, and thinking and acting for the benefit of the Ottoman homeland. From this angle, *Talebe Defteri* established realist, strategic, and rationalist nationalism. Therefore, it differentiated between the state nationalism which is expansionist and Turanist which was utopic.

The approach of *Talebe Defteri* to social issues recalls the idea of the New Life popularized by Ziya Gökalp. Indeed, by discussing diverse social issues in its pages, the journal, which blamed the previous generation for the losses, aimed to construct a new life, which would include a new morality, new economics, new education, and new roles for women, and sought to design a new generation. Also, this new life was introduced as a way of serving the nation. However, different from the argument of Gökalp, new life formation of *Talebe Defteri* was mostly based on the West and adopted Westernized systems and methods. For this reason, the journal approached social issues from the perspective of modernity.

The journal elevated modern pedagogy and methods in the education system to help raise the ideal citizens and patriots. Education was perceived as a tool for the development of children's national consciousness, their intellects, and their general culture, and as a way to adopt the discourse of the government and elites. This point confirms the ideas of Gellner, Anderson, Hobsbawm, and Smith all of whom expressed the significance of education and language during the formation and

dissemination process of nationalism. The journal's writing staff which basically consisted of teachers played an intermediary role in the formation of the ideal citizen and patriot. This indicates that the teachers, besides their core mission of teaching, conducted a mission of civil engineering at the same time. Being loyal to the regime, they transmitted the discourse and mentality of the government and elites to the students.

This thesis also showed that, as in the other journals –published for women, adults or children- *Talebe Defteri* was used as a tool of propaganda and patriotic agitation besides presenting arguments on education and social issues. Therefore, considering the strict censorship especially during the Great War, and the long publication life of *Talebe Defteri* from 1913 and 1919, it did not publish anything, at least in terms of nationalism, that was contradictory in an essential way to the ideas of the CUP. Especially, the writing cadre of the journal with Yusuf Akçura, Celal Sahir, Edhem Nejat, Ahmet Cevad, Hüseyin Ragıp and others, who were close to the CUP, justify this claim.

This thesis paid attention to the formation of an ideal generation, in which the members shared the common and homogenous culture as well as a national identity, through the print media with the assistance of intellectuals and by interacting with the state. However, gaps remain in that area. The examination of other journals from a historical perspective and by providing a theoretical base must be conducted. Moreover, the similarities and differences among the children's journals in the formation of the ideal child and the continuities and discontinuities of characteristics of the ideal child between the late Ottoman period and the Early Republican era are other fields waiting for research. The relationship between nationalism and children

as well as youngsters from the lower classes in Ottoman society, their reactions and interactions with this idea need to be researched.

As a concluding remark, *Talebe Defteri* aims to constitute an “imagined community” among upper and middle class children and young people, objects of national propaganda and prospective subjects of the modern nation-state. This community was planning to share the same invented national identity, and the homogenous environment within the same imposed social and cultural structure. In other words, ideological, social and cultural formations of the readers went hand in hand in the journal which aimed to construct nationalism in a bourgeois culture. Although the publication of *Talebe Defteri* came to an end in 1919, students’ notebooks were kept open to further indoctrination and to the reformations of the ideal types of children and young people.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

A Chronological List of Ottoman Children's Journals (1869-1919)

Journals' Names	Year	Total Issue	Publication Period
1. Mümeyyiz	1869	49	1869-1870
2. Hazine-i Etfal	1873	1	1873
3. Sadakat	1875	6	1875
4. Etfal	1875	16	1875
5. Ayine	1875	41	1875-1876
6. Arkadaş	1876	13	1876-1877
7. Tercüman-ı Hakikat	1880	26	1880
8. Aile	1880	3	1880
9. Bahçe	1880	40	1880-1881
10. Mecmua-i Nevresidegan	1881	4	1881
11. Çocuklara Arkadaş	1881	12	1881
12. Çocuklara Kıraat	1881	18	1881-1882
13. Vasıta-i Terakki	1882	4	1882
14. Etfal	1886	23	1886
15. Numune-I Terakki	1887	9	1887-1888
16. Debistan-ı Hired	1887	1	1887
17. Çocuklara Talim	1887	9	1887-1888
18. Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete	1896	626	1896-1908
19. Çocuklara Rehber	1897	166	1897-1901
20. Çocuk Bahçesi	1905	43	1905
21. Musavver Küçük Osmanlı	1909	3	1909
22. Mekteblilere Arkadaş	1910	14	1910
23. Çocuk Dünyası	1913	94	1913-1918
24. Ciddi Karagöz	1913	3	1913
25. Çocuk Yurdu	1913	7	1913
26. Mektebli	1913	19	1913
27. Talebe Defteri	1913	68	1913-1919

Journals' Names	Year	Total Issue	Publication Period
28. Çocuk Duygusu	1913	61	1913-1914
29. Türk Yavrusu	1913	2	1913
30. Çocuklar Alemi	1913	10	1913
31. Kırlangıç	1913	3	1913
32. Çocuk Bahçesi	1914	21	1914
33. Çocuk Dostu	1914	13	1914
34. Mini Mini	1914	7	1914
35. Küçükler Gazetesi	1918	8	1918
36. Hür Çocuk	1918	3	1918
37. Haftalık Çocuk Gazetesi	1919	8	1919
38. Lane	1919	3	1919-1920

APPENDIX B

Chronological Index of Talebe Defteri

Issue No. 1		23 Mayıs 1329
Satı, Bir Mektup	(p. 1)	Article
Ahmed Şenudi, Talebe Hayatı	(pp. 2-3)	Article
Fazıl Ahmed, Müsahebe	(ss 2-6)	Article
Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, Çocuk ve Tabiat	(pp. 6-7)	Article
İsmail Hakkı, Tabiat Mektebinin Hayatından	(pp. 8-9)	Article
Suad Fahir, Kelebek	(p. 10)	Poem
İpek Böceği	(pp. 11-12)	Information
Küçük Fıkralar, Rakamlar Havasından	(p. 13)	Information
Seyahat	(pp. 14-16)	Travel Writing
Yazı Müsabakası, Sualler, Yeni Eserler	(pp. 17-18)	
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APPENDIX C

Partial Quotations from Talebe Defteri

1)

Talebelik, hayatın en galeyanlı devresine tesadüf eder: bu devrede faaliyet için mütemadi bir temayül duyulur. Hareket etmek, oynamak, okumak mütehhic olmak içi şiddetli bir ihtiyaç hissedilir. Hareketler heyecanlar fikirlersiddet galeyandan kablarna mayalar gibi taşkınlıklar gösteriyor maddi manevi bütün kuvvet ve kabiliyetler sürat ve şiddetle kurulup boşanır.

Sebatat hayatının bu temayül ve ihtiyaçlarını tanzim ve tatmin edecek eserlerin yerleri zaten pek fakir olan kütüphane irfanımızda büsbütün boş gibi duruyor. Onun için mekteblerimizi dolduran talebe faaliyet temayülünü pek yolsuz suretlerde sarfa mecbur oluyor ve okumak ihtiyacını tutmayan için gazetelerle adi romanlardan başka vasıta bulamıyor.

Talebe defterinin mertebeleri kütüphane irfanımızın bu ehemmiyetli gündeki boşluğu azaltmaya çalışmak istiyorlar. Onların maksadları: Muntazam bir program dahilinde talebemize hem hissi ve fikri faaliyet ihtiyaçlarını tatmine madar olacak eserler takdim etmek ve hem de bedeni faaliyet ihtiyaçlarını naziye ve müfide bir suretde tatmin için yollar göstermektir. Bu maksadlarını takdir ve tebeccil eder ve bunu saha-ı faala çıkarmağa muvaffakiyetlerini temenni eylerim.

2)

...Vatan bir büyük anadır ki hepimiz bütün milletdaşları onun kucağında büyüdük ve yetiştik. Bu alaka bizi birbirimize bağlamalı hiçbir şeyin ayırmayacağı derecede tek kalpli bir insan haline getirmelidir. Bütün Türkler ve Osmanlıların her biri cümlesi ve cümlesi her biri için olmalıdır. Bencil bireyler ve meslek sahipleri vatana hayırlı olamadıkları gibi hayırlı

nesiller de yetiştiremez. Vatan büyük bir aile demektir. Milletdaşını sevmeyen biri vatanını sevmiyor demektir...

3)

...Ey kardeşleri yirminci asrın medeni gözleri önünde şu mermer halılarda çiğnenmiş ezilmiş osmanlı evladları! Gafil olmayınız biliniz ki sizin hayatınız dünyanın öyle ciddi bir zamanına tesadüf edecek ki orada yıldırım saçmayan gözler görmeyecek. İntikamlar yaratmayan kalpler çarpmayacak sayın demir kanatları altından bir an ayrılan gafil başlar ezilecek. Önünüze yeni açılan saha-ı maişette menfaat baharıyla işleyen makinalardan başka her şey istihfaf olunacaktır.

Evet dünyanın rekat hissiyat devresi çoktan kapandı. Şimdiye kadar huzurunda mahşerler dolusu insanı ta'azim ile akmış bulunan insaniyetin necip çehresine de artık gülünüyor. Masumiyette tehayyül edilen hak çocuktan inkar olundu. Hürmet edilen hakkın kuvvetden kuvvetin de saydan doğacağı bilindi öğrenildi.

Amid hayat necat bu büyük bu kıymetli şeyler hepsinden daha büyük daha kuvvetli bir kelime etrafında toplandı. İşte o büyük kelime mateessüf bizim pek az tanıdığımız çalışmaktır.

4)

...

Bundan böyle benim Kabem intikam

Kabede hac eylemek ilk borcum

Yarın için hep kin tutmak orucum

Ben bu zalim hakareti unutmam.

5)

...

Gün doğmadan akıncılar koyuldu yola
Köy kızları bağırdılar: uğurlar ola
Türk erleri ve yimkazın soğuğu karı
Doğan gibi atıldılar yokuş yukarı
Bir seyyal gibi yamaçları geçip ezdiler
Rüzgar gibi tepelerde esip geçtiler
Son tepeye güneş ile birden doğdular
Al bayraklar dar geçidi kana boğdular
Korkusundan alıklaşan kazak taburu
Bu akından kaçmak için öttürdü boru
Atlardan duman çıkan ileri kolu
Dolu dizgin yalın kılıç tutmuştur yolu.

6)

... Evladımı vücudunu düşman kurşununa düşman kılıcına siper ederek vatani müdafaa etmek için oğlumu nefisini ruhunu dimağını kalbini malını bedenini vatanın kudret ve şevket setavet ve azamet sahi olmasına vakıf ve feda eylemek için kızımı vatan yolunda mücahadeye atılacak mert ve fedakar bir osmanlı gencinin ebediyen müşfik ve per vefa hem fikir ve hem ruh refika-i hayatı olmak için dünyaya getirdim. Bu ulvi ve mukaddes maksada vusul için her ne suretle lazımsa onları öyle terbiye ettim ve muvaffak oldum...

7)

İnsanın gayre karşı vazifesi

Babalarımızı kardeşlerimizi
Arkadaşlarımızı severiz fakat
Vatan muhabbeti bütün bu sevgileri icmal
Eder

Vatan için ölmek galibiyet kadar
Tatlıdır vatana kızmak cinayettir...

8)

...Evet yavrum bugün sana ziyaret ettirmek istediğim şey bir bayrak. Bayrak değil bir tarih. Şanlı mazinde çalışkan atine tevdi edilmek üzere bu gün zayıf ellerimizde kalmış bir emanettir.

Koş yavrum babanın titrek kollarına yakışmayan bu şehid renkli sancağı al, kucakla.
Temiz alnını ona sürmek hakkını sen henüz haizsin.

-Üzerinde gördüğüm 699, 758, 875, 923 gibi rakamlar nedir babacığım_

-Onlar kıyametlerin bile deviremeyeceği birer ibda yerer ihram zağirdir. O büyük arkamın altındaki kıvrımları görüyor musun? Evladım! Osmanlı türklerinin altı yüz senede kazandıkları bütün şanlar şerefler orlarda gizlidir.

9)

...

Her zaman felaket her yerde enin

Ey yurdum bu mudur nasibin senin?

Yok hayır bu senin son felaketin

Bu son didikleniş son koparılış

Artık yok verecek toprak bir karış
Ben türküm imanım ümidim metin
Ümitsizlik değil türkçe kelime
Yarın yetişecek yeni bir nesil
Ben onun kızırım düşman iyi bil
Benim de yaraşır tüfek elime
Türk kızı boynuna zincir vurmaz
...

10)

Vatanınızı seviyorsanız vatandaşlarınızı himaye ediniz. Osmanlı Terzihanesi'nde her nevi yerli kumaşlar, ayakkabılar vardır. Fiyatlar ise gayet ucuzdur.

11)

Nestle Sütü İçmek Vatana İhanettir!

Vatandaşlar! Gözlerinizi açınız. Memlekette çiftçilik hayatı mahvoluyor. Vatanımızın latif ve kokulu otlarıyla, çiçekleriyle beslenen koyunlarımızın, ineklerimizin saf ve temiz sütleri dururken paramızı ecnebilere vermeyelim.

12)

Mor gölgeler yavaş yavaş serpiliyorken tepelere

Dalgacıklar şehidlere okur hazin bir mersiye

İssız yollar matemlerin hicranını fısıldaşır

Karaltılar arasında harabeler bir ruh taşır

Yılan gibi kıvrılarak uzanan Őu siperlerin
İçerisinden gelir gibi ölüm sesi derin derin
Őu sahipsiz kabartılar birer Őehid yatağıdır
Ah o garip yuvacıklar bana neler hatırlatır

BaykuŐların feryadları kayalarda akis ederken
Kanlı günler hayaletler gibi geçer göz önünden
Her zerresi bir mahŐerden niŐan veren bu alma
Solgun yüzlü güzel kamer nur saçacak yine

...

13)

...

Melik yavru sen de bugün
Bu hizmetle mükellefsin
İyi çalıŐ iyi düşün
Silinmeyen pis lekeler
Kanlı kirli hain eller
Bayrağını kirletmesin

Bizim gibi kalma donuk
Hamiyetli serbest vakur
İnsan oln sen melik çocuk
Alnın açık parlak olsun
Kalbin seher güneŐ dolsun

Bayrağının altında dur

...

14)

...Netice olarak kanaatimiz şudur ki adam evladı ceza ile terbiye edilmez sözle düşündürülmekle terbiye edilir. Ceza bhusus suistimale uğramış ceza terbiyenin değil terbiye ve sıhhatin bozulmasının en müthiş bir emelidir.

15)

Toprağın içine gömülmüş kutu gibi dört köşe zindan gibi dört duvar bir bina tasavvur ediniz. Bunun üzerine bir de kubbe geçiriniz. Sonra bu dört duvarı orasından burasından deliniz. Deliklerden birini adam girecek kadar büyük açınız. Bu büyük deliğin karşısına daima kokan bir abdesthane koyunuz. İçerisine de biraz minder atınız, biraz da uzun sıralar döşeyiniz. Yine bu dört duvarın içerisine bir alay ufak çocuklar koyduktan sonra kapısını bacasını iyice tıkayınız. İşte bizim mahallenin “Darülrıfanı”nı kaba taslak hayalhanenizde çizmiş olursunuz.

16)

Fakat siz, ey sarı benizli, kambur, cılız, beyinsiz, korkak, bitik çocuklar! Acaba nesl-i ati siz misiniz? Eğer siz bu mukadderata mahkum iseniz Allah'tan istiyorum ki yerinizi kuvvetli bir nesle terk için sizi yaşatmasın!..

17)

- Güm!.. Güm!..

Ah! Ne müthiş feryat bu feryat. Bana san'atı zelil gören demiri, tahtayı, toprağı sevmeyen, çekici, örsü, rendeyi istihkar eden bu memlekette san'atı seven, çekici, örsü, rendeyi muhterem ve muazzez gören sanatkar, faal bir neslin teşkilini ilan eder.

18)

... Mektebin geniş kapılarından içeri girince, bizi hem gür bir kahraman sesi hem de askeri bir manzara karşılamıştı. Bu ses medhalin yakınına dizilmiş sekiz on arkadaşına kumanda veren küçük zabıtın sesidir. Manzara ise duvarlara direklere asılmış tüfenkleri, trampetleriyle kışla halini alan avlunun manzarasıydı... Biz kendimizi artık mektepte değil mektep şekline girmiş bir kışlada buluyorduk...

19)

... Sınıfa sükun ile girilmeli ve bu sükun dersin sonuna kadar muhafaza olunmalıdır. Muallim derse gelince bütün çocuklar ayağa kalkarlar ve kendisi oturmadıkça ve oturulmasını işaret etmedikçe oturmazlar. Ders esnasında muallimin canını sıkacak onu yoracak her türlü hareketlerden sakınmalıdır. Arkadaşlarını işgal edecek, dikkatlerinin başka taraflara teveccühünü mucib olacak muameleler, kitaplarlar meşgul olmak, kuvvetle çekmece açıp kapamak, sırayı sarsmak, gürültü ile sümürmek, başını avuçları içine almak, esnemek, sıra üstüne yamanmak gibi haller mektep adab-ı muaşeretinin kabul edemeyeceği uygunsuzluklardandır.

20)

...

Erkeklerin dalına

Kadınlar da ortak oldu

Gecelerden çıktı güne

İşte artık güneş doğdu

Bu gün doğan güneş

Yüzümüzü güldürüyor

Kadın erkek müsavi, eş

Kara cahili öldürüyor.

...

Kadınları küçük gören

Daha akli ermemiştir

Kadınlara mihnet eden

Nine sütü emmemiştir.

21)

Daha çok zaman evvel defterin hanımlara ait samimi sahifelerinde kadınlarımızdan da doktorlar yetişmesi için hayali yazılar yazılmış, mercii aliyesinin nazar-ı dikkati celb edilmişti. Haber aldığımızı göre sıhhiye müdriyetinin kadınlarımızın icra-i tababet etmelerine mücade olunması tensib ve müteakiben kabul edilerek tıp fakültesine devamları esbabının istikmalıyla uğraşılmakta bulunmuştur. Maarif Nezareti celilesi de hanımların fakülteye devamlarına mücade etmiştir.

22)

... Kendisine çok defa: “İştirak, teavin: işte bizi içinde bulunduğumuz sefalet ve hatta esaret-i iktisattan kurtaracak bu kevvetlerdir” diyordum. Bizi ezmekte olan kuvvetler ancak bu sayede kuvvet kesb etmişlerdir. Biz de ancak bu sayede zaafımızdan, aczimizden

kurtulabiliriz. İnsanlar için iktisatta iştirak ve teavin kadar kavi bir dost olamaz. Fakat iştirak için, teavin için de mühim bir tebiye-i iktisadiyeye lüzum vardır.

23)

... Memlekette bir emniyet sandığı vardır ki tam bir artırma sandığıdır. Fakat buna yalnız gençler değil babalar da rağbet etmiyor. Bu rağbetsizlik acaba neden ileri geliyor? Şüphesiz artırmanın tamamıyla kader ve kısmetini anlayamamaktan. Memleket bu halde iken bir gencin artırma sandığı tesisini gaye-i emel edinmiş olması şayan-ı takdirdir. Biz de bir kere bunun meydana çıktıktan ve bahusus öyle bir sandığın tesisine delalet etmek hizmeti de bizden arandıktan sonra bu meseleyi açıklamadan, buna dair buna dair etraflı malumat vermeden kapatmağa bir türlü kail olamadık ve bu vesile ile bazı mülahazatımızı izah etmek istedik.

24)

Dünyada ilm-i ahlakı layık olduğu ehemmiyetle telakki etmeyen hiçbir mütemeddin millet yoktur. Hele Japonya'da ahlak dersi en itinalı programlarla tatbik edilir. Fransa'da bu maksatla birçok mektep kitapları , eserler vücuda getirilmiştir. Bunlar yalnız mekteplerde değil, aileler arasında hatta her sınıf halk arasında makbule geçer ve okunur.

25)

... Biliyorsun ki insanın her tarafını besleyen şu vücudumuzdaki ve beynimiz rahat etmek, faaliyette bulunmak için damarlarımızda dönen kanın da sıhhatte ve temiz olması lazımdır. Bunun için temiz hava teneffüs etmemiz muzır ve abur cubur şeyleri yemekten daima ihtiraz etmemiz lazım gelir. Çünkü böyle yapmazsak midemiz bozulur, kanımız kirlenir ve hasta oluruz. Hasta olunca da hem o kadar iyiliklerini gördüğümüz insanları elemlere meraklara

düşürürüz hem de maişetimizi temin için o kadar çalışan yorulan babamızı doktorlar için, ilaçlar için bir takım fazla masraflara sokarız.

26)

Ser varın zevk hayatın, sıhhatle kaim olduğu binlerce kereler söylenmiş bir sözdür. Fakat bu saadet-i hakikiyeye mazhariyetin yegane vasıtası (faaliyet-i muntazama-i bedeniyye) olduğundan henüz lüzumu kadar bahs edilmiyor. Çünkü bu bedahet olan kulaklarda yer etmemiş, ehemmiyeti nisbetinde takdir olunmamış ve binaenaleyh bir ekseriyet azime tarafından düstur-u amel-i ittihaz olunmamıştır. Bizde öteden beri yanlış bir fikir kökleşip kalmış: “Jimnastik gençlere mahsus bir şeydir, hem tebiye-i bedeniyyeye çalışmak için mutlaka vasi ve muntazam salonlar oralara devam edebilmek için de günde iki üç saat boş vakit ve bir sa-i maliye lazımdır.” Sıhhatin genç ihtiyar, kadın erkek herkes hakkında pek kıymetli bir hazine-i devlet ve şıtareti olduğunu, insanlar için bir zaruret-i mutlaka mevkinde bulunan her şeyin esbab, sefahat ve ziynete nisbetle pek ucuz bulunduğunu düşünmek bu batıl fikirleri insanları meskenete, sıhatsızları felakete sevk eden evhamı silip atmak için kafidir.

27)

... Fakat bugünün parkları, bahçeleri, dünün bahçeleri, bostanları kadar çok değil çünkü bugün onları istihkatr edebilecek, “Bize park, bahçe lazım değil” diyecek kafalar pek çok. Fakat kim ne derse desinbahçeler bu milletin yaşamak hem de milleti yaşamak kabiliyetinin en büyük delilidir. Çünkü parklarla bu memlekete giren toprak, kum, çiçek, ağaç değil, sıhhat, hayat, kalp, ruh, terbiyedir. Hiçbir mektep bir memleket için parkların, bahçelerin yapacağı hayırlı tesirleri yapamaz.

28)

Keşşafın Yemini

Her hususta vicdanıma tevfik hareketle vezaifimi hüsn-ü ifa edeceğime merd ve alicenab olacağıma vatanımı sevip gerek sulh gerek harb zamanında ona hadım olacağıma ve keşşaf nizamına matı olacağıma namusumla yemin ederim.

Keşşafın Nizamı

Keşşafın sözü mukaddestir. Keşşaf namusunu her şeyin hatta hayatının fevkinde tutar. Keşşaf matı olmalıdır. İnzibat ve itaatin nefi em muktezası olduğunu bilmelidir. Keşşaf müteşebbis bir adam olmalıdır. Keşşaf her hareketinin mesuliyetine muthemeldir. Keşşaf diğer keşşafı sınıf-ı içtimai farkı gözetmeksizin tanınmalıdır. Keşşaf cesur ve alicenap olmalı ve zayıf muhtaç olanlara muavenet için hayatını bile tehlikeye atmalıdır. Keşşaf velevki ehemmiyetsiz olsa bile her gün iyi bir hareket bir iyilik yapmalıdır. Keşşaf hayvanatı sevmeli ve onlara karşı yapılacak zalim ve tecavüzü men etmelidir. Keşşaf şen bir adam olmalı ve her şeyin hoş cihetini aramalıdır. Keşşaf muktesad bir adam olmalı ahirin malına katiyen göz koymamalıdır. Ciddiyetini ve hayatiyetini muhafaza etmek keşşafın yegane kaygısıdır.

29)

Genç Dernekleri

Mukaddime

Elbette hepimiz duydunuz. Bir senden beri Osmanlı gençliği genç dernekleri teşkilatını yaptı. Bu sayede istikbal için sağlam vücudlar gubur askerler sahibi olacağız. Mütteliklerimiz bizimle iftihar edecekler, düşmanlarımız da ilelebet titrayecektir. Genç derneklerinde yapılacak pek faydeli ve hoş oyunlar bize mahur idrakli zeki bir gençlik hazırlayacaktır. Bunlara sıhhi yaşamanın usulü kaza vukuunda yapılacak tedbirler muvenetler öğretilecektir.

Gençler bütün oyunlar dersler sayesinde nuşu ve nema buldukları zaman rehber olacaklardır. Bu gün derneklerin ehemmiyet ve fevaidleri takdir edilmiş her tarafta talimler icrasına mübaşerat olunmuştur. Hatta Samsun, Tokat, Sivas, Diyarbakır, Urfa ve Suriye gibi uzak mahllerde bile teşkilat ehemmiyetle devam olunmaktadır. Bilhassa tekrar-ı salah iade edildiği zaman bütün memalik-i Osmaniye dahilindeki her mıntıkanın mahalli dernekleri olacaktır. Lakin şimdiden rehberlerimizin çok olduğu yerlerde mahalli dernekler teşkil etmeliyiz. İleri Daima ileri sözleri genç derneklerinin ruhu ve misali ve terakkiye-i saikidir.

Ey gürbüz ve dinçler! Ey Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun istikbalini hazırlayacak yavrular! Bu sözler kalbinize yer tutmuş olduğu halde hepiniz genc dernekleri sancağı altında toplanınız ve mazisi gibi istikbali de parlak olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na daha parlak bir saadet daha fazla bir terakki ve refet izharına gayret ediniz.

APPENDIX D

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Turkish scout with Ottoman flag



Figure 2. Future in the presence of the past.



Figure 3. A war scene from the fall of Edirne in 1913.



یگی شبکہ تحصیل
اور تافلوق
یاراقلر دوکولوبور
بارام انوابی
عبدالفیاض توفیق
احمد جواد
عثمان فخری
سعادک باباسی
طاغیر چوجوغی
ماضی ملی
اندلس ماصالی
گوزاکلی بابانک معرفتاری
معلومات متنوعه ، بوبوک هدیه من ، سابقہ ملر ، مخبرات ، مکافاتار ، یگی آنرلر وسائرہ . . .
محترم قارہ وقارنہلر : بوتون کتابلریکیزی [طالبہ دفتری] کتابخانہ سندن آلیکنز .

Figure 4. Violence of enemy soldiers.

برنجی سنہ
 نومبر - ۱۴
 ۱۳۲۲

طلبہ دفتر

تشریح نمبر ۲۱
 ۱۳۲۹

دارسی ۳۰ پارہ
 ازبہ پیش کورسہ برہیقارہ
 سڈلگی ۱۰ نمبر سڈلہ

«اونون فلاکت شخصیه کنگ مسیبنی
 فقط حقارتی عشو ایتہ والدہ مک وطنہ»

اور نالقی احمد جواد توریکہ محبتی حسین رانج آدلن ماسکی خواجہ مانا کوزلکی بلالک معرفتلی چیرانی	جالبقم صنعی عبدالقیاس توفیق مستقبل والدہ معلم کتعمان کمالی عنالی شعریک فاتحہ سی ناحی صغیر طاغیر جو جوئی ج . ج
معلومات متنوعہ - مکافاتر - طلبہ یازسی - یگی ازرا وسائرہ	

Figure 5. Violence of enemy soldiers in Balkans

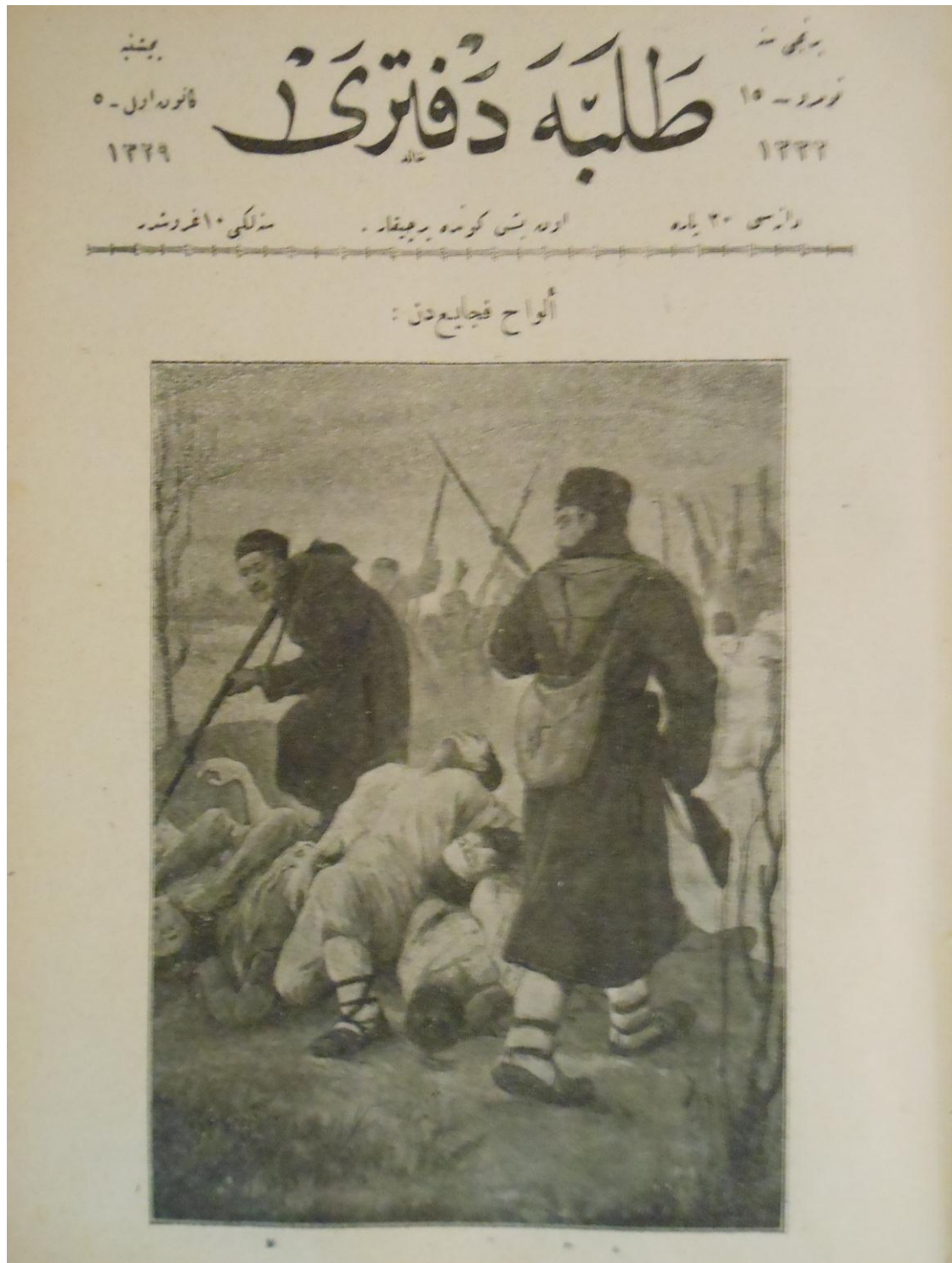


Figure 6. Violence of enemy soldiers in Balkans.

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