"STAYING AWAY FROM POLITICS, NOT FORESEEING MILITARISM": THE CASE OF CORPS OF GREEK SCOUTS IN ARMISTICE ISTANBUL, 1918-1923

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"STAYING AWAY FROM POLITICS, NOT FORESEEING MILITARISM": THE CASE OF CORPS OF GREEK SCOUTS IN ARMISTICE ISTANBUL, 1918-1923

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Thesis Abstract

Anna Maria Aslanoğlu, " 'Staying Away From Politics, Not Foreseeing Militarism': The Case of Corps of Greek Scouts in Armistice Istanbul, 1918-1923"

The core of this study deals with the reflection and attribution of nineteenth century values of modernity, Enlightenment and nation-building, to childhood and adolescence, with the aim of bringing up proper citizens of the nation. Within this ground of analyzing the relation between youth and mainstream politics, this study is focused on the *raison d'être* of a particular youth organization, the Corps of Greek Scouts, and their activities during the post World War I years, where Istanbul was experiencing Allied occupation.

This thesis aims to contribute to the historiography of this particular period by analyzing the mentioned youth organization within the scope of its European counterparts flourishing in the second decade of the twentieth century. The Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople, established with the signing of the Armistice, had been spread along and become popular among the *Rum* population, most of which was closely attached to Greek nationalism and Venizelism. The organic relations between the High Commission of Greece, the Corps of Greek Scouts and the local elites of the *Rum* community created an atmosphere of building the 'Hellenic' identity which was attributed to the 'unredeemed' Greeks of Istanbul. Thus, the Corps of Greek Scouts acted as a pedagogical organization educating and mobilizing youth, with the aim of preparing a disciplined, obedient, physically strong and fit, self-sufficient, *ready*, *civilized* and masculine citizen-soldiers of the future. This indoctrination became *visible* for the 'occupied' city with the *performativity* of the whole movement. This is how it was reflected as well in the official Turkish historiography, where the non-muslim populations were named as 'traitors'.

Tez Özeti

Anna Maria Aslanoğlu, " 'Siyasetten uzak durmak, militarizm öngörmemek': Mütareke Dönemi İstanbulu'nda Yunan İzci Teşkilatı, 1918-1923"

Bu çalışma, modernite, Aydınlanma ve ulus-devlet inşası gibi ondokuzuncu yüzyıl değerlerinin, ulusun makbul vatandaşlarını yetiştirmek amacıyla, çocukluk ve ilkgençlik dönemlerinin nasıl algılandığı ve insan hayatının bu dönemlerine nasıl yansıdıkları üzerine kurulmuştur. Gençlik ve anaakım siyaset arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen bu yaklaşımla, bu tez, Yunan İzci Teşkilatı'nın var oluş nedenleri ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası işgal altındaki İstanbul'daki faaliyetlerini incelemektedir.

Bu tezin amacı, bahsi geçen gençlik teşkilatını Avrupa'da yirminci yüzyılın ilk yarısında yaygınlık kazanmış olan benzerleri çerçevesinde incelemek ve bu bağlamda söz konusu dönemin tarihyazımına katkıda bulunmaktır. Mütareke'nin imzalanmasının ardından kurulan İstanbul Yunan İzci Teşkilatı, Yunan milliyetçiliği ve Venizelizm ile yakın ilişki içindeki Rum nüfus arasında hızlıca popülerlik ve yaygınlık kazanmıştı. Yunanistan Yüksek Komiserliği, Yunan İzci Teşkilatı ve yerel Rum elitleri arasındaki organik bağlar, İstanbul'un 'kurtarılmamış' Yunanlarına atfedilmiş 'Helen' kimliğini inşa etmek için uygun ortamı sağlıyordu. Bu bağlamda, Yunan İzci Teşkilatı, geleceğin disiplinli, itaatkâr, fiziksel açıdan güçlü ve idmanlı, kendine yeten, *hazır, medeni* ve eril vatandaş-askerlerini hazırlamak amacıyla, Rum gençliğini eğitmek ve seferber etmeye yönelik bir kurum olarak faaliyet gösterdi. İzci hareketinin *performatif* özelliği, işgal altında bulunan bir şehirde, bu ideolojik ve siyasi eğitim sürecini *görünür* kıldı. Bu *görünür*lük, gayrımüslimlerin 'hain' olarak adlandırılmasıyla Türk resmi tarihyazımındaki yerini buldu.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2010, the Corps of Greek Scouts celebrated their hundredth anniversary; the celebrations took place not only in Athens, but all over Greece, where the scout movement had been well organized from the beginning of its history. The Corps of Greek Scouts, whose headquarters remains in the centre of Athens, in the 'Square of Boy-Scouts', had prepared albums, books, special badges, notebooks, posters for 2010; and shared this 'happy year' with the Greek public through advertorials prepared for mass media and television.

Talking in Athens with friends, it is easy to find out the popularity of scouting, still, as easy as discovering that nearly every young Greek boy had participated in his teenager period to a scout organization of his town. Still, political activists of the left, a group of friends with whom I was acquainted, were claiming that they discovered later that scouting became a means for them to learn sharing and solidarity, but also a means to regain the contact with nature, the contact that was lost with the hegemony of 'our urban worlds'; thus, it was not militarism any more, "as it was in those times" (referring to the period that is the subject of this thesis). Meanwhile, I was experiencing the difficulties of archival research fieldwork in the Corps of Greek Scouts, where trying to find out the 'memory' of this institution, parallel to the national history of Greece. What have been the effects then of such an institution, which celebrated its hundredth birthday in the twenty-first century, among the youth and the educational system of Greece? Stating the conservative and nationalist stance of this 'movement' would be stating the obvious; but how has it

reflected itself in the conflictual periods of the 'nation' and how come it became for some the 'basis of the victorious Greek youth and the show-off of the future soldier-citizens,' and for some it had been transferred to a 'meaningful way of solidarity and contact with nature'? These characteristics surely would keep inside contradictory notions and concepts of what was to be called 'modernity', of ideas that were embodied during the long nineteenth century.[1]

Meanwhile, another recent experience of mine, showed me a path of making sense to the background of the 'feeling' of scouting, or such movements that were directed from the adult world to childhood. Coincidentally, I came across the last movie of Michael Haneke, *The White Ribbon,* which focused on a German town of pre-1914, and merged questions and answers about viewpoints on childhood; on the innocence that is attributed to this period of human life, on the obedience expected from the child, on the discipline awaited from a body of children, adding to these the notion of guilt and punishment. The power of visual may overcome the power of writing (and reading), whereas this film drove me to another path of conceptualizing, and re-thinking about childhood at the turn of century. The movement on raising young soldiers, future citizens of the nation; proud, honored, fit, vigorous, helpful, altruist and ready to sacrifice, respectful, disciplined and trained for obedience, would draw the schemes of new 'models' of modern citizenship that should be transferred to young generations, for 'being always ready' against any threat of war, of decadence, and other 'immoral' circumstances.

The above mentioned experiences and feelings followed me throughout the 'journey' of this thesis. Elaborations on the relation between youth and politics, the

[1] Referring to the terminology of the historian Eric Hobsbawm when defining and theorizing the nineteenth century.

experiences of societies that experienced a 'total war' in the highest level of mobilization, the construction of youth organization for the sake of the Nation and the situation in the last years of the Ottoman Empire were contexts to accompany the above thoughts.

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The last years of the Ottoman Empire saw a major shift as to who played the major roles in world politics. For modern Turkey, this marked a 'transition period' from the Empire to the nation-state combined with joining the 'wrong' side in the First World War (1914-1918) and as such the post-war developments one of which was an occupied Istanbul. Dealing with this particular period of history, this thesis aims to provide a combination of reflections on childhood, youth, 'body politics' and modernity. The specific theme that brought me to such reflections was the boy-scouting activities in Armistice Istanbul, and in particular my discovering the establishment of a bureau of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople during those particular five years from the end of the war until the establishment of the Turkish Republic. The Armistice period experienced in the occupied capital city of the Ottoman Empire has been subject mostly to political and diplomatic histories rather than social ones, reflections of post-war Constantinople in our day has pictured nothing more than a description of 'turmoil'. The intention of this thesis is to constitute a modest contribution to the social historiography of Armistice Istanbul, situating the Greek population[2] of the city and its social life in the center of the analysis.

[2] Even though usually coined as *Rum milleti* in Turkish-language academic and non-academic literature, in this thesis I will use the terms 'Ottoman Greek', 'Istanbul Greek', 'Constantinopolitan Greek' and *Rums* interchangeably. Here I use the term 'Greek', due to the fact that I refer both to

The starting point of this thesis has been a search for understanding a period, which marks partially – or mostly in my opinion – the 'holy-essentials' on which the two nations (Turkish and Greek) have been constructed. Thereby, the idea of this research came out after a long-term, and quite challenging archival research on the Ottoman Greek / Rum community of Istanbul, during the period following the First World War, mostly known as the Allied Occupation years of the city or the *Mütareke* period, in Turkish. These years, which *de facto* took place between the years 1918-1923, leaving behind a mere 'dark' period with scattered information about the social life of an occupied city and a great hole in academic literature themselves, constituted a reason for 'passionate archival research'. However, it is a fact that this period was not an 'armistice' for the Turkish and Greek military forces and the two societies; and this is a reason due to which this 'great hole' in academic literature has been reflected as 'traumatic literature' by non-academic counterparts. Mine, was firstly a historiographical need of questioning, due to the lack of analysis of the social life of non-Muslim populations in this particular period, and the exaggeration of the terminology, i.e. "traitors", used in the Turkish historiography. Hence, the first axis of this thesis is born out of a historiographical concern; a platform to allow 'other' actors to speak about this period of the life in the city.

Whilst the focus period of this analysis is the Armistice period in Istanbul, the main case of analysis is the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople; this research is written with an acknowledgement of the accumulation of past values up to the specific date. The second axis of the study is adjoining the historiography of this narrow period to a general intellectual setting which inevitably includes, combines

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Hellenic Greeks, the population coming from Greece during the Armistice, and Ottoman Greeks together.

and merges the codes and values of the nineteenth century. These values may be, and have been, generally referred to as the values of Enlightenment, modernity and nation-state building. The organization of boy scouting has combined and re-arranged some values inherited from the nineteenth century while focusing on the body and the spirit of adolescent youth. The 'values' that will be referred to in this thesis are mainly related to the ways in which childhood is viewed and the moral burdens attributed to this period of human life; the perception of the child as the future citizen of the society she/he is born in; the value of the human body and its attachment to the spiritual health of the individual but mostly of the collective body – which is attributed generally to the concept of Nation, and finally the role of physical education to these and the moral codes of living attributed through this educational system.

This second axis of the intellectual setting of the thesis provides literature on three sub-axes: studies about childhood, youth (movements) history, and – in relation to the history of physical education – history of sports. I refrain however, from situating the scout movement within the historiography of sports, due to the fact that sports are often closely related to leisure activities. Scouting, in the terms that will be used in this thesis, applies the whole concept of character building, which is valid in physical education and sports, to another level of a 'para-military' understanding of character and young body itself. It is a fact that for the varying populations of the Ottoman Empire, scouting had been born under the auspices of sports associations (particularly the Ottoman Greeks' case). It is obvious as well that sports have been strongly related to militarism[3] whereas, throughout the study, I will situate sports and

[3] The relation of sports and militarism has been widely studied by J. A. Mangan and his follower tradition. See: J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Reformers, Sport, Modernizers: Middle-Class Revolutionaries,* The

scouting mostly within the context of physical education and physical fitness; both because they supply intellectual background to the notion of individual and collective fitness and to the way they paved to the establishment of such an institution as the scout corps.

The prominent historian of childhood Philippe Ariès, in his pioneering study *Centuries of Childhood*, mentions that seventeenth century witnessed the discovery of childhood, which had been approached as a period of human life that is dependent, needs care, tender and love from the family and the society; whereas the nineteenth century is *the century of childhood*.[4] The end of the century witnessed the passage of this period of human life, under the auspices of the state.[5] Studies on childhood have shown that "child anxiety came to constitute a general trend of modernity and by the 1870s it spread to all societies that perceived themselves part of the 'modern and civilizing world'."[6] The Foucauldian legacy of social control on the opposite have created a confrontation of perceptions towards childhood, where "the linear development from 'bad old times' to 'modern love for the child' [and] their opponents, still within the modernity paradigm, talked of 'good old times' and 'modern incarceration of children'."[7] The point that this thesis shall adopt from

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European Sports History Review, Vol: 4, (London: Frank Cass, 2002); J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport,* (London: Frank Cass, 2002).

[4] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). See also Colin Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At: Batı'da Çocukluğun Tarihi,* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003).

[5] Füsun Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi,* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), p. 31.

[6] Cited in Nazan Maksudyan, *Hearing the Voiceless – Seeing the Invisible: Orphans and Destitute Children as Actors of Social, Economic and Political History in the Late Ottoman Empire,* (Ph.d. diss., Sabancı University, 2008), p. 1.

[7] Nazan Maksudyan, *Hearing the Voiceless – Seeing the Invisible: Orphans and Destitute Children as Actors of Social, Economic and Political History in the Late Ottoman Empire,* (Ph.d. diss., Sabancı

studies about childhood is that Scouting, as it has been institutionalized from the beginning of its establishment, represents a group of desires that are attributed to the child for an 'appropriate' and 'acceptable' character training for the future. Thus the child is already seen as the social actor of the future, and in our historical time it is the reflection of the strength of the Nation. Hence, the 'organized' aspect of this perception on child and youth will direct us to studies on organized youth movements, and the discussions that will drive us to the third axis of the thesis. In fact, the one upon which this thesis is built: The desire of a group of middle and upper-middle class adults, who by establishing new institutions which guide in taking responsibility for educating spiritually, and training physically the *masses*, who will be fathers of the future, will have responsibilities in society with the professions that they follow, and essentially will take-up arms and defend the Motherland. The physically strong appearance will symbolize the strength of the nation, and the spiritual health will be attributed to the general health of the nation.

This third axis and the discussions of the thesis will be shaped upon the notions of discipline, obedience, patriotism, and the imagination of nationhood which is expected and cultivated in the minds of the children. The discipline anticipated is a military discipline; thus, through the eyes of the adult world, the children of the nation are the receptors, while their own voice is neglected; they are, and should be the passive agents who *obey.* This thesis will constitute an analysis of the imagination of Greek nationhood, reading it through the moral codes established by the Corps of Greek Scouts, in the aforementioned period of history.

University, 2008), p. 4. Maksudyan provides a more detailed and clear literature review about the historiography on childhood, focusing on the perception of orphans, foundlings and destitute children.

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The principle of this study is compiled of parallel considerations about the historiography of a period, about the social movements during a 'transition period' (as generally referred to), about the remnants of a 'total war' and its impacts in Istanbul; about constructing 'citizenship' and the ideas of modern citizenship through physical education (and particularly the boy-scout movement); about the male anatomy, expressions of masculinity and its relation to the reflection of the 'nation' itself through (but not only) its narrative references and its performative connotations. Researching on the boy-scout movement provides a fertile ground for combining all the above ideas and raise further questions.

J. A. Mangan, a prominent sports historian and sociologist, had emphasized the fact that "In European history war has served sport and sport has served war. To concentrate on one without the other is to be guilty, on occasion, of an incomplete entry in an incomplete ledger – the association is that strong. Military activities have become community recreations and community recreations have become military activities."[8] Even if not inside the context of 'sports', but within the context of physical education; the relation between militarism and physical education shall be questioned within the scope of this thesis. Thus, how were sports and generally massive physical activities related to war and inter-state conflicts in the Ottoman Empire? What was the politics of sports, and mainly of physical education, in the process of creating national bodies, and defining them against the other? How did the process of the 'militarization' of the societies in Europe develop, and who were the

[8] J. A. Mangan, *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War Without Weapons,* (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2003), p. 2.

actors? Certainly, there was a link between the 'fit massive bodies' and the construction or emancipation of a nation or an empire. How would the role of youth be shaped, by the adults that were 'pushing' history? What was the role of the youth organizations, or the organized youth movements? And finally, what is the role of the Boy Scout movements in this period of militarization and construction of nation-states?

By situating the Scout movement at the center of all these questions and conceptualizing it in the general framework of organized youth movements (and in a way 'infant mobilization'), this thesis shall follow the description of the pioneering youth historian John Springhall, who argues that a youth movement will be identified "by its willingness to admit unlimited numbers of children, adolescents, and young adults, with the aim of propagating some sort of code of living."[9] Therefore the 'code of living' marks the keyword for this thesis; a code which refers to a 'construction' of modern citizens according to several written or mostly non-written rules. The 'code of living' that is transferred from Sir Baden-Powell of the British Scout Association and its forerunners to the Corps of Greek Scouts is a fertile ground for analysis due to its references to aspects of settling, adopting and adapting 'modern and Western values' to society, or part of the society, which are then projected upon the notion of the nation. It is obvious that the chain of 'projecting values' starts with educational policies; educational policies have close relations with the projection of modernity, and the construction of the nation through a particular idea of modernity. Thus, a starting point, is that scouting has acted as an institution of education, and as a system

[9] John Springhall, Youth, Empire, and Society: British Youth Movements 1883-1940, (London: Redwood Burn Ltd., 1977), p. 13.

of projecting modernity, constructing citizens of the nation, and transferring 'codes of living' during the last century. Though our particular place and time with its own particularities and specific conditions, the 'spirit of the Armistice period' seem to limit the discussion on the ideas behind boy-scouthood, this thesis shall try to fill a small part in the total gap that is the social history of this precarious period.

Scouting has been an 'invented' phenomenon, referring to the classical conceptualization of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, who coined the term as "a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition"; one of the best 'traditional' examples of which (as per Hobsbawm and Ranger) are the Boy Scouts of Baden-Powell, which, is deliberately invented and constructed by a single initiator.[10] A general look to the large scaled secondary material about the history of the Boy Scouts Association in Britain as a youth movement provides an encounter with a twofold discussion.

This bidirectional discussion on the scout movement, is mainly on the 'aims' and ideological stance of the movement. A group of social historians tend to associate the scout movement as a para-military organization, which at its founding ideas has social/popular imperialist intention; it became a totally militaristic approach to bring up, train and discipline the soldiers of the future. This showed itself in the participation of the boy scouts to the 'nations in arms'[11] via their services on the frontiers. The second approach, as opposed to the first rejects the idea of militarism as a basis of this movement and focuses rather on an individual character

[10] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 4.

[11] Referring to the terminology used by Colmar Von der Goltz, the Prussian general that was invited to modernize the Ottoman army, and his work: Colmar Von der Goltz, *Millet-i Müsellaha,* (Istanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi, 1970).

building oriented attitude whose sole aim is rearing 'good' (disciplined and obedient) citizens.[12]

Even though the stance of the scout movement, and the characteristics of the desired citizen follow the path of "staying away of politics, not foreseeing militarism", it can be observed that in most cases we can neither distinguish these organizations from their para-military counterparts, nor can we differentiate the whole imagination of society and projection of 'citizenship' that these associations offer as 'far from politics'. The mentality of "staying away from politics" is mostly an antipathy against the narrow sense of politics voiced by political parties and social class politics. Even though creating a uniform citizenry, that is scheduled to follow some symbols, codes and hierarchies, is a full-fledged service on politics and a particular political attitude.

"Not foreseeing militarism" refers to a more general stance against the criticisms on the militarist aspect of scouting. Throughout this thesis, I tend to use 'militarism' and 'militarization' interchangeably referring to the broad sense of the word that as such has been defined by Michael Mann: "(As) a set of attitudes and social practices, which regards war and the preparation for war as a normal and desirable activity."[13] Mangan, however, mentions that militarism embraces attitudes as well as systems, and it is perfectly capable of exploring the relationship between the organization for violence and modernity in a sophisticated manner.[14] As the

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[12] This discussion is going to be elaborated below in the following chapters, with the particular arguments of John Springhall and Allen Warren.

[13] Cited in Mehmet Beşikçi, *Between Voluntarism and Resistance: The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War,* (Phd. thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2009), p. 8.

[14] J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War Without Weapons,* (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2003), p. 3.

setting of this thesis is the Armistice period in Istanbul, with the existence of occupying forces, which implies the existence also of military rules and of 'collaborators' and 'occupiers', the term militarism may seem as it refers to the dominance of the military over civilian authority.[15] However, it combines this factual aspect with the changing values among various populations of the city. The case studied in this thesis constitutes a more general mentality which desires to see the citizen always *ready.* This *readiness* involves preparation for military training in the form of gymnastics; the order and obedience of the collective bodies rather than an individual case. The command of 'Be Prepared!' gives birth to the question, 'for what?' Even this expectation of having *ready citizens to sacrifice their lives* in the cases of emergency is part of militarism/militarization of society. This is within itself, a fact, apart from the 'occupation' itself.

In the case of Armistice Istanbul, the local / communal authorities of the Ottoman Greek communities, and mainly the 'reform-minded' middle classes were keen to follow the developments on youth and childhood in Europe and apply a similar practice in this approach towards physical education and citizen-building. The authorities that arrived to Istanbul, due to their responsibilities in the High Commission of Greece had established relations with the local elites and also were in 'collaboration', for 'emancipating the unredeemed Hellenism' and 'strengthen it in order to *be prepared* for the bright future'. Even though the experience of the Corps of Greek Scouts was a short one in Istanbul, the participation shows that it had become quite popular among the Constantinopolitan Greeks. The Venizelism, that was popular and dominant among *Rums* – even after the recovery of the Royalists in

[15] Ibid., p. 2.

Greece, in November 1920 – had been a fact which created a fertile ground for the flourishment of boy-scout troops in Istanbul. (As a note, this flourishment also existed in various cities of Asia Minor and Thrace).

Finally, I would like to emphasize that this thesis neither provides a general picture about the social life of a non-Muslim community that is depicted as 'collaborator' during Allied occupation of Istanbul, nor does it answer further questions on various dynamics within the *Rum* community. It is mostly an endeavor to open a forum for more questions and discussions within the limited borders of the existing historiography on the period. Certainly, the group that is analyzed throughout the thesis does not claim a representation of the whole population, whilst it refrains from the perception of 'homogeneous populations' which has been dominant in the study of the non-Muslim populations of the era. The ideas discussed in the framework of this thesis were shaped by the flow of ideas and values of the nineteenth century as mentioned above, but also the shaping and domination of the social life of this period. Further investigation, further questions and answers will always be needed; this goes beyond the scope and the capability of this thesis.

Sources, Archival Research Field-notes and Content of the Study

The sources and the bibliography of this research may be classified under varied topics among a scattered archival material and a diverse secondary literature. The whole study tried to be an endeavor to merge sources – primary or secondary – from Greek, Ottoman and British archives. However, the main sources have not been the diplomatic archives of the period, which have already been used by some

scholars;[16] but the 'scout sources' as I may classify them. Thus, mainly and primarily I focused on the magazine *O Proskopos* (The Scout), the official gazette of the central committee of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople and the sole scout publication in the city, published with the initiative of the Sports Association *Ermis,* under the direction of Odisseas Thalassinos from the Seventh troop of Mega Revma (modern day Arnavutköy, Istanbul). The Corps of Greek Scouts in Greece has a collection of archival material from the Armistice Istanbul, however this publication was the only one that I could use.[17] The existing sixteen issues, the only ones left form 1919 and 1920, gave the opportunity for the researcher to hear the voice of the initiator elites within the community, and find out about the agents of this movement. Furthermore, it informs us about actual discussions among the scouts, theories adopted and adapted from the British boy scouts tradition, further material for the daily life of youth, and the instructions for the 'desirable' and 'proper' youth population. Coincidentally, the Hellenic Philological and Historical Archive in Athens (ELIA) provided other 'voices' from the scout troops of Istanbul, from the archive of Leonidas Thomaides, high rank scout, with correspondence among several other troops in the city.

Actual and daily news for the period in general and in particular concerning the scout activities was supplied from the daily or weekly Greek press of the period (mainly newspapers and magazines), available dispersedly in libraries and archives

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[16] Alexis Alexandris, "The Constantinopolitan Greek Factor During the Anatolian War 1918-1922", in Alexis Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974,* (Athens: Centre of Asia Minos Studies, 1992).

[17] I owe this to Mr. Christos Stathopoulos, head of the Corps of Greek Scouts in 2009, who let me use this newspaper for my analysis, during a period of despair about the scout archives in Athens. A note here is about the dates of the Greek newspapers. All the dates that are mentioned below are the dates written on the newspaper itself, which refer to the old calendar that was used before 1923 in Greece. It is almost thirteen days earlier from the calender we use today.

such as the Library of the Greek Parliament, the Hellenic Philological and Historical Archive ELIA, *Estia Neas Smyrnis* (The Hall of New Smyrna in Athens), the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul and certainly the Corps of Greek Scouts in Athens. The archives of the *Rum* community (ANTHEMIO), produced with the initiative of the Department of History of Science and Technology in the University of Athens, provide huge information for the institutional structure, local administrations for the twentieth century. This archive also provided me a list of records of the correspondence of the Scout Corps from/to Pera, during the years 1919-1920.

Even the Ottoman archives (BOA) do not provide sufficient information for the activities and the daily lives of the Greek scout groups in Istanbul, apart from some documents and intelligence reports from *Dahiliye* (Ministry of Internal Affairs), *Hariciye* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and *Zaptiye* (Ministry of Gendarmerie) which were included as examples. Recent examples of rewriting official historiography, such as *Mütareke İstanbulu'nda Rumlar* by Hülya Toker[18] (which is the single monograph dealing with the *Rum* community in the period) have proved that the main archives for the period are the military intelligence reports and thus kept in the military archive ATASE,[19] not publicly available. These intelligence reports, while including detailed descriptions for the *Rum* community of Armistice Istanbul and providing new information for the Turkish readers, do not go further

[18] Hülya Toker, *Mütareke Döneminde İstanbul Rumları,* (Ankara: Genelkurmay ATASE ve Denetleme Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2006).

[19] ATASE is the Archive of General Staff in Turkey (Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı).

from repeating the main theme of 'traitors' for the non-Muslim populations organizing secret committees for damaging the integrity of the state.

Due to the fact that this period is marked by 'turmoil' for both countries, Turkey and Greece, and ended up with the disruption of the archives, the experience of archival fieldwork was quite challenging. This seems to be a result of the 'precariousness of the period' and the role it had played for the construction of both historiographies. Still it is obvious that individual archives keep a lot, in order to understand everyday life during those years. Thus, a secondary source such as *Ο προσκοπισμός στις αλησμόνητες πατρίδες 1919-1922: Μικρά Ασία, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Θράκη,* (Scouting in the Unforgotten Motherlands 1919-1922: Asia Minor, Constantinople, Thrace) by Nikolaos Paradeisis,[20] constituted crucial part for sensing the everyday life of the period. This is an album of a devoted scout, with family roots from Istanbul, who formed a collection of photographs, personal lists, correspondences and documents, mainly from his own, but also from his scout-fellows' personal archives. Enough to be elaborated as an archive 'from within', but also to be analyzed by an 'outsider'. Without this source, I would never dare to dive to such an alien world to me, as well as to historiography.

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This study is divided to five chapters, aiming to give a general historical and theoretical setting of the scout movement, as a way of seeing *masses of adolescents that need to be trained as useful citizens for their nation and their Motherland.* The

[20] Published by Mikros Romios, Athens, 2000.

first chapter will give brief information for the extent that youth organizations have been shaped throughout nineteenth century Europe, merging it with a review of the related literature. The second chapter will focus to the emergence of sports and physical education activities in the Ottoman Empire, the Hellenic Kingdom and the Rum community of Istanbul, since it is impossible making the analysis of the spread of the scout corps without an informative background of the attitude to the 'young bodies' in these contexts. Furthermore, sports clubs within or outside schools had created space for the expansion of the scout movement. The third chapter focuses on reconsidering the Greek nationalist ideology and imagination through its reflection to the scout movement. The aim is not recreating a narrative for the Greek national identity, but applying it to the way it was reflected in a particularly constructed identity of the Greek scout. A history of the scout movement in Greece will provide the necessary path to follow for the next step. Following this background the next chapter describes the situation of Armistice Istanbul, the experiences of the Greek community, and the atmosphere in which the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople had been established. Hereby, I will try to supply the spiritual outlook of this institution, whereas the following chapter will concentrate on its performative aspect. Apart from the analysis of the showing-off and power displays of the Greek nation, performativity becomes a tool for the transmission of the imagined values of that adult world to an audience that should be watching the spectacles and the demonstrations. The Venizelist enthusiasm of the Constantinopolitan Greeks and the ambitions of the Hellenic Greeks for the 'redemption of the enslaved Hellenism' shaped the mainstream ideas of the period.

Scouting was 'charming' with all its performativity; thus the very fundamental aspect of the notion of 'occupation' was fulfilled with the *visibility of performativity.*

This thesis tries to open paths for further questions, more than giving answers to judge a period. It is obvious that this period still needs further analysis, accompanied by 'calm' history-writing.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES IN EUROPE

Much work has been produced by 'amateur' historians on the subject of sports history in relation to youth movements – and relevant to this case, the 'organized' ones – a valuable work which should not be neglected. Even though the study of the 'world of youth'[21] was not attractive enough for the academic circles it is still possible to encounter a large amount of 'amateur' histories of sport of athletic clubs and youth organizations. Firstly, it is necessary to emphasize that this study will deal with *organized* youth movements, particularly with Scouting in Armistice Istanbul. I will avoid using the term 'youth movements' alone due to the concept's reference to a more grassroots mobilization rather than an organized one within the 'adult world'. Having limited testimonies of the period of which most are memoirs of the 'great men', will of course limit our analysis; due to the lack of primary materials from the 'participants' in lower levels. Unfortunately this point of view of adults and their writings on youth has been the mainstream tendency in the academic bibliography covering and interrogating the youth movements certainly with several exceptional researches.[22] The lack of oral historical testimonial material from the 'participant youth', and the gap of memoirs and/or speeches of the young/adolescent scouts of the period, may lead to a misperception of such youths as passive agents,

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[21] I borrow the expression from the work of Michael J. Childs, *Labour's Apprentices: Working-Class Lads in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[22] Such examples are: Michael J. Childs, *Labour's Apprentices: Working-Class Lads in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992). Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working Class Childhood and Youth, 1889-1939,* (Blackwell Publications, 1995).

who do not have a voice or simply 'obey'. However, while this lack of 'voices from below' will drive us to the analysis of mostly adult 'discourse' will direct us to decode a code of living designed by the middle-class adult world, denunciations, again by and between the adults; on the other hand, acts of disobediences will be our only source of information for this 'silent' agents of history.

This chapter consists of a historical elaboration of youth movements, combining it to a literature review that will provide a historical and theoretical background in an effort to understand part of the dynamics of the socialization of the young and the contribution of those dynamics to history and history-writing. The pioneering studies of John R. Gillis on 'the world of youth' who focuses, in his own words; "on the interface where the expectations of the young and those of their elders interact in a dynamic manner" provides a pattern of youth history, class-based, interwoven with economic and demographic factors;[23] the issue of what is 'expected from the young' is encountered in many periods of history from antiquity up until the present day. These systems refer to the official school system and public education but also cover the institutionalized leisure time activity models. With the spread of public education through the intellectual currents of the Enlightenment and modernization, educational institutions were ready to act as conveyors of the 'modern' codes of living for the young. Nineteenth century European middle classes felt it a responsibility as well as a burden to cultivate the 'children of the(ir) nation'. That is a very brief summary and introduction to the education on physical training a consequence of which will be the tens and thousands of youth organizations across

[23] John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present,* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1974), p. x.

Europe and the world. It is important to add that these movements followed the European examples (through colonialist practices[24], or via natural implementations).

Organized youth activities that were born through sports, athletics and physical education have been strongly tied to the theories of social control through building character via the body constitution, mainly via the Foucauldian understanding of 'governmentality'; discipline and punishment. The classical analysis of Foucault "docile bodies", "...of the body as object and target of power (...) to the body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces"[25] describes briefly and clearly a point of departure on analyzing the creation of national bodies. The relation of the sovereign power, the state with its population and mainly its youth, has been analyzed through the mainstream and inspiring works on the British youth organizations, which have already created a wide bibliography.

Physical education and its establishment in institutional basis have been seen as a means for educating the human mind and spirit together with the body. This was closely related to the understanding of Protestant morality where the cultivation of citizens, as well as deeply religious personalities was the objective or due to an 'educational naturalism' which is the Rousseauian effect that pupils 'knowledge would enlarge via the cultivation of senses in relation with the nature and a common

[24] A contemporary research for the relation of scouting and colonial practices see: Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout movement in British Colonial Africa,* (Ohio University Press, 2004).

[25] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison,* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 136.

spirit would solidify this commonness'.[26] However, from the nineteenth century onwards, the perception that popular education was "the business of the nation and vital to its welfare"[27] brought new dimensions to physical education. It became 'modernized' as well, and formed part of the racial/scientific struggle of the nineteenth century.

Main educators and thinkers of the nineteenth century agreed that physical education and gymnastics were not solely referring to physical fitness, but also to the general political goal of their powerful nation. The first half of the nineteenth century required that the "physically fit [was necessary for] the idea of not only securing freedom for their nation, but also greater personal freedom and more rights for the masses"[28] whereas, the second half of the century witnessed the *implementation* of this idea upon the masses. The *Leibeskultur* or 'body culture' which found its greatest social resonance in Germany and Russia but surfaced elsewhere in such phenomena as 'muscular Christianity', the Boy Scout movement [and] the origins of the modern Olympics"[29] marked a flow at the turn of the century; a flow of biopolitics, of militarization of the bodies (individually and collectively), towards a period of challenges and wars, and catastrophes of the societies.

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[26] Deobold B. Van Dalen and Bruce L. Bennett, *A World History of Physical Education*, Cultural, *Philosophical, Comparative,* [Second edition], (Prentice Hall, 1971), pp. 188-191.

[27] Ibid., p. 201.

[28] Ibid., p. 209.

[29] Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and The Birth of The Modern Age,* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), p. 37.

Physical education, originating in Germany and Sweden (where this tradition describes the exercises as *Swedish gymnastics*) spread rapidly to Britain which, already had a tradition of sports in its public schools, "rather the public schools have always emphasized the socializing influence of games and their use to promote leadership, loyalty, cooperation, self-discipline, initiative, tenacity, and sportsmanship – all qualities needed in the administration of a great colonial empire".[30] As the prominent 'youth age' historian John Gillis points out, "the failed revolutions of 1848 marked a turning point in the political history of youth, effectively terminating Europe's first period of student unrest" and "not until 1900 would youth again take to the public stage, and then in *very different forms* and in *support of new causes*."[31]

According to Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the father of modern physical education and the founder the *Turnen* movement in Germany, we see that physical education "was not the goal, it was a means to a national goal."[32] This national goal was referring to German national unity; but after the defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the *Turnen* turned out to have a much more conservative and militaristic outlook in supporting the German Empire. *Turnen* movement, became a means to create *ideal masculinities,* and to quote Mosse; it "not only meant to form

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[30] Deobold B. Van Dalen and Bruce L. Bennett, *A World History of Physical Education*, Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative, [Second edition], (Prentice Hall, 1971), pp. 188-191.

[31] John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present,* (New York and London: Academic Press), 1974, p. 95. [the emphasis in the quote is mine]

[32] Cited in Dalen and Bennett, ibid, p. 206.

healthy and beautiful bodies that would express a proper morality but were designed in fact to create new Germans."[33]

After the second half of the nineteenth century, it is possible to say that this patriotic tendencies that were nurtured by the expansion of physical education and gymnastics among public schools and youth, turned to create and organize new movements in various European countries as well. *Turnen* had made a great impact and spread intellectually. This became a source and inspiration to the Zionist project of the *Muskeljuden* and the Slavic gymnastic movement in Eastern Europe. Of the *Sokol* organization of the Czechs, Slovaks and Poles.[34] 'Consciousness of the nation' among vigorous and trained individuals was the goal of both movements. *Muskeljuden,* with its spokesman Max Nordau, was in search of the Zionist imagination, and showed Palestine as the land of the Jews. Whereas the *Sokol* movement, was struggling against the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire, creating a nationalist movement through gymnastic exercise.

Sports and competitions had already been widespread in schools of England. However the English style of sports was dismissed due to their elitist characters and implementation of imperial ideals to high class youth.[35] In England, the process of patriotism entering sports began from the 1850s, during various festivals, the enthusiasm for juvenile marching and drilling in the name of Queen and Country,

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[33] George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity,* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 44.

[34] Yaşar Tolga Cora, *Constructing and Mobilizing the "Nation" through Sports: State, Physical Education and Nationalism under the Young Turk Rule (1908-1918),* MA thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2007, p. 29.

[35] Cited in Cora, p. 32.

and the establishment of university militias.[36] The folk customs became a turning point for patriotic show offs, and eulogies for the British Empire. According to the youth historian John Springhall, the second half of the nineteenth century marked the 'nationalization' of a wide variety of leisure activities,[37] which created ground for the establishment of organizations such as the Boys' Brigade, the Church Lads' Brigade and finally the Boy Scouts. John Gillis refers to this period as the gradual loss of autonomy of youth – with the laboring poor in ole resistance, which will be referred to as the period of the 'organized youth movements'. These youth movements "have functioned as extremely sensitive barometers of shifts in public and governmental attitudes towards the military in British society."[38]

One of the first and influential mass training organizations of Britain was the *Boys' Brigade* founded in 1883 by William Alexander Smith in Scotland. Smith has been brought up with the tradition of Scottish Protestantism. While pursuing commercial education he became an enthusiastic member of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), a Sunday School teacher, and a voluntary soldier in the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle.[39] The aim of the *Boys' Brigade* was shaped upon ideals of middle class merchants who had "launched [an] imaginative experiment to capture and retain the support of teenage working-class boys in Church-oriented activities (...) by using military discipline, organization, uniform, and symbolism for boys

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[36] For detailed information see John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present,* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1974), pp. 95-96.

[37] John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements 1883-1940,* (London: Redwood Burn Ltd., 1977), p. 15.

[38] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[39] Paul Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements, 1908-1930", *Journal of Contemporary History,* 4/2, April 1969, p. 5.

over twelve."[40] By the end of the century, the Brigade had spread across Scotland, England, Wales, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the West Indies, India, Ceylon and the United States of America.

In his analysis of youth movements, George Mosse explains that in the beginning of the twentieth century, emphasis was placed upon the 'glory' and the 'inspiration' of war for mainly middle class youth, and the very strong enthusiasm of voluntarism to war, in the name of "patriotism, the search for a purpose of life, love of adventure, and ideals of masculinity".[41] Mosse mentions the spirit of the German Youth Movement founded in 1901; "youth who wanted to escape modernity and to seek for spiritual renewal in the apparently unchanging German countryside."[42] Thus this enthusiasm had created the "generation of 1914" and the belief by some that war would bring liberation and emancipation. Thus the idea that the youth generation should be ready as a citizen-soldier basing in all its physically fit glory; the definition of the 'ideal German male' as per Mosse, may apply to many other 'enlightened' nations at the turn of the century: the ideal male "has a superbly formed body and is in control of himself; he is modest, restrained, decent, and fair in daily life as well as in battle and sport, and he is chivalrous towards women."[43]

The turn of the century for the British middle class was one of 'national decadence'. It should be noted that this 'decadence' was felt across society; "the

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[40] Wilkinson, ibid., p. 5.

[41] George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars,* (Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 53.

[42] George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers...,* p. 53.

[43] Cited in Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers...,* p. 60.

middle classes were worldly and selfish, the working classes degenerate, society had become immoral, modern literature and art quite decadent, everyday life selfish and materialistic."[44] Middle classes became anxious and fearful for the society's degenerate working class children which would be the future of the Empire and its frontiers – mainly the colonial ones. It should be noted at this point however, that this was simply the way that the working classes were perceived by the middle classes. The turn of the century saw a great period of working class demands of political freedom, the beginnings of the Labor Party movement that would lead to the extinction of the elitist Whig party that held a long tradition of leadership in British politics. The harsh position of the British army during the Boer Wars created demands by the elite society which should go on to secure the survival of the 'sun that never sets'. The idea of the frontier was still potent and romantic to many Edwardians[45] whilst all the conditions for the creation of 'frontier heroes' were ready. This frontier hero would be General Baden-Powell and his boy-scouts that functioned as 'war scouts', which would be his supporters for the image of scouting amongst the middle classes. Robert Baden-Powell born in 1857, served as a lieutenant-general in the colonial sections of the British Army from 1876 mainly in India and Africa. Before resigning from the military and totally devoting himself to the British Boy Scouts, Baden-Powell was the commander of the Northumberland Division of the Territorial Army. His resignation and total devotion to the British Boy Scouts began in 1910 (which would be a life long endeavor) after two years of the publication of the first article of *Scouting for Boys* and the complete book

[44] Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918,* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 4.

[45] Ibid., p. 5.

Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship, which became the holy book of scouting all around the world.[46] It is obvious from the title that this was a handbook, as a series written by Baden-Powell, and thus it aimed to provide British society an alternative morality in response to the general fear about the nation's virility.[47] The alternative ethic of BP (as he called himself) was keeping 'good citizenship' as keywords, while the subtext, keeping the notion of 'virility', was held at the centre of this morality. It was the low level of the virility of the nation that had given birth to all the fears of decadence as well as inspiration. The nation's virility and the empire's survival would be established through patriotism, popular imperialism, and the Protestant ethic; scouting was "a mission to save a generation of boys from Godlessness and degeneracy".[48] While, the 'handbook for good citizenship' would teach youngsters how to be men that are self-sufficient for every kind of survival – from camping in nature to finding food and lighting a fire; love adventure and struggling with nature, and to be ready against every danger – actually to 'Be Prepared' (BP). Thus, the rapidly popularized movement of this ex-lieutenant, with all its discourse of liberalism and humanism, "consciously non-denominational, interracial within limits and bridging the classes favored hard work,

[46] For a reprint of the original edition see: Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys (The original 1908 edition)*, (Oxford University Press, 2004). This book was a compilation of articles written by the author, from January to March 1908, and the book was published in May 1908. Though, Baden-Powell was already experienced in writing manuals for military training and scouts (in the literary sense), such as *Reconnaissance and Scouting* in 1884 and *Aids to Scouting to NCOs and Men* in 1899. All his experiences in the *frontiers of the British Empire,* had made him enthusiastic for the necessity of education for the adolescents before their military service. This was the context and motivation for the publication of *Scouting For Boys.*

[47] Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918,* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 5.

[48] Ibid., p. 12.

selflessness, and universal brotherhood."[49] The best aspirations to unite a seemingly decadent society, and keep an Empire as glorious as it is with its strong frontiers, rely on a vigorous and ready youth, and future citizen-soldiers equipped with a 'militant masculinity'.[50]

Having these ideas and inspirations in mind BP would follow the path of the Boys' Brigades and create his own Boy-Scouts which he juxtaposed with the "woodcraft romanticism" of Ernest Thompson Seton.[51] The Boys' Brigades, whilst keeping the discourse of 'Christian manliness' mixed the military drills of the Volunteer Force with the Sunday School teaching of [the] evangelical church, the Free College Church".[52] Ernest Thompson Seton, an anti-militarist and internationalist in outlook, certainly did not envisage his novel and romantic educational method being harnessed by a patriotic or imperialist movement.[53] What Baden-Powell did, was a combination of open-air woodcraft and adventure with the notion of social-imperialism. Thus as Robert MacDonald argues, BP's work, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* had two layers; rhetoric and symbolic. In other words, the imperative voice of instructing the social codes of Scout Law on one side while the visual side and the codes of adventure are on the other; 'the glamorous military figure' of a scout is a combination of these two

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[49] Ibid., p. 8.

[50] I borrow the term from the description of George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars,* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[51] For further information see John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present,* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1974), p. 146.

[52] While the Boys' Brigades became so popular, many copies of it were born, such as Jewish Lads' Brigade, Catholic Boys Brigade, Boys' Life Brigade. See Robert MacDonald, *Sons of Empire,* p. 12.

[53] Paul Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements, 1908-1930", *Journal of Contemporary History,* 4/2, (April 1969), p. 9.

parts.[54] The influence of Seton's anti-militaristic tendencies would function later, when the disagreement on the movements' notion would show up. Francis Vane and his followers would be the pacifist side of the movement who would reject the militarist tendencies of Baden Powell's tradition; and Vane himself, would become the President of the pacifist British Boy Scouts.[55]

An analysis of the boys' magazines in contemporary Britain, such as *The Boy's Own Paper, Young England, Chums* and *The Captain,* all printed at the turn of the century will provide evidence of the middle class morality towards youth.[56] *The Boy's Own Paper* was on the side of peace scouting, while the popular *Chums* was more militaristic; *Young England* had its religious background, while *The Captain* was horning scouting. Whilst their arguments varied, all of them saw youth as "weak and often confused, easily led, corruptible creature[s] in need of saving", referring to the "sacred cause of purity" – "Christian selflessness, sacrifice and brotherly love which formed the real gentleman".[57] Apart from this discourse of 'purity' and 'Christian moralism', influences upon the Boy-Scout movement could be listed as such: popular imperialism, social Darwinism, the crisis of masculinity,

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[54] Robert MacDonald, *Sons of Empire,* p. 132.

[55] John Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?", *The English Historical Review,* Vol: 102, No: 405, 1987, p. 935.

[56] For further information look at Robert H. MacDonald, "Reproducing the Middle Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914", *Journal of Contemporary History,* 24/3, July 1989, pp. 519-539.

[57] Ibid., pp. 520-522.

search for 'national efficiency', social concerns about poverty and slum conditions, new theories of education and value of fresh air.[58]

Popular imperialism was one of the main concepts that identifies the Edwardian period and the viewpoint of the empire frontiers. Social Darwinism marked all of the above mentioned youth organizations, which took as principle the idea that 'the strongest survives in nature, the most vigorous survives in the society and the nation'. Juvenile texts, school readers, popular histories and boys' magazines disseminated the idea that "might was right, England was strong, what she had she held".[59] In the words of Baden Powell, each nation had become "blind to the fact that other nations were gradually pushing up to destroy it."[60] The search for 'national efficiency' was hidden well in the words of Baden-Powell: "The main cause of the downfall of Rome is similar to that which resulted in the downfall of other great empires and that cause may be summed up in each case as the decline of good citizenship and the want of energetic patriotism".[61] Baden Powell was dealing with the notion of the Empire; prevention of the downfall would be the main goal of the British Empire now, and this only would be realized with the effective patriotism and mobilization of its future citizens; actually the young.

New methods of education with fresh air and close contact to nature in a way was typical middle-class Romantic appreciation in the second half of the nineteenth

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[58] Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918,* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 13.

[59] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[60] Baden Powell, *Scouting for Boys (The original 1908 edition),* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 296.

[61] Ibid., p. 296.

century to the beginning of the twentieth; "The countryside in its beauty was opposed to the grim and ugly city; the countryside meant harmony, peace and ease; whatever man had not made, whatever was natural seemed superior to the work of man's hand. Nature was innocent and unspoiled as was the child until corrupted; put the child back in nature, and the child's response was a measure of his pureness of heart. Nature was a moral test."[62] Scout education as supplementary to school would direct children to a 'pure' leisure time environment; where the decadence of modernity and the bad-habits of urban life would be handled to lead to healthy growth and thus a future citizen-soldier. Moreover, scouting was a masculine project; methods of distancing male children from 'feminization', while it would create free spaces far from the 'feminine' house environment. Even though there were girl scouts established within two years (with the initiative of Baden Powell's wife Olave Lady Baden-Powell), scouting was a male project and was based upon an ideal of masculinity. Hence, the appreciation of the male body, particularly after the Great War, marked a beginning rather than an end; it was "the beginning of a process in which that experience was framed institutionalized, given ideological content, and relived in political action".[63] Another aspect of institutions such as scouting was the multidimensional characteristic of masculinity; where fortitude and tenderness coexist.[64] Coexistence in the codes of scouting seems to be the combination of virility and chivalry; Christian morality and physical fitness,

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[62] Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918,* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 21.

[63] Cited in Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War,* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 19.

[64] Ibid., p. 126.

philanthropy and discipline, altruism and hierarchy. All of these moral/citizenry codes were the codes of scouting, and more generally of the ideal citizen.

These ideals, particularly at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, marked a boom for the Boy Scout movement. Whereas other organized youth movements started to lose their popularity. The popularity of this movement seen in survey results completed in 1966 shows that: "34 per cent of males born between the years 1901-1920 claimed to have belonged to Boy Scouts, and that a further 14 per cent claimed membership in the Boys Brigade."[65]

On the eve of the First World War we see for the first time two organizations devoted to the adolescence provision; the *Boy-Scouts* in England, and the *Wandervogel* in Germany. Both founded in the first decade of the century. The *Wandervogel* movement was the equivalent but at the same time different to that of the Boy Scouts; Gillis mentions that even though it was like the *Boy Scouts* a middle-class movement for boys there was no homogeneous boyhood as there was in the English case, this mainly due to the ambiguity in the German educational system.[66]

"Baden-Powell saw scout training as travelling to *the same destination* of greater military efficiency as cadet training but, by a different route of character formation and training in individual citizenship."[67] This evaluation takes place in the

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[65] Paul Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements 1908-1930", *Journal of Contemporary History,* 4/2, April 1969, p. 3.

[66] John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present,* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1974), p. 150.

[67] John Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?", *The English Historical Review,* 102/405, 1987, p. 937.

answer given to the argument by Allen Warren who claims that Scouting had been a peaceful organization, that "maintain an opposition to military training and claimed the peaceful object of making better future citizens of their boy members"[68] and "its non-militaristic bias was emphasized by the strong revival of enthusiasm for woodcraft and outdoor education which characterized not only scouting but much of the progressive wing of education (...)"[69] Thus, the main discussion that was dominant in the primary sources on the subject and that which drove ideological divisions and polarizations within the scouts was carried to the academic level. Had boy-scouting militaristic subtexts or was it a new way of constructing citizenship? At a first glance; from today's anachronistic approach it surely seems easier to link these two concepts due to the construction of citizenship amongst a huge mechanism of codes and traces, a whole "code of living" as indicated by Springhall towards the militarization according to the order and notion of obedience that is created through these codes. Springhall emphasizes the fact that "in the years during Baden-Powell's preparation of his Scouting scheme, ideas of national efficiency, racial deterioration and social Darwinism were much more central to intellectual debate than the amorphous concept of citizen training" and goes on to say that; "[i]t is citizen training which should be seen as peripheral (a passing genuflection to current educational fashion) to Scouting's central concern with the threat of national decadence and inadequate military preparation ('Be Prepared') for a potential war

[68] Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920", *The English Historical Review,* 101/399, 1986, p. 376.

[69] Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell....", p. 396.

against Germany".[70] The motto 'Be Prepared' (which notably carried Baden-Powell's initials) had become the motto for all scout movements across the world, translated to their own language. It is possible to observe a *bizarre* solidarism and internationalism and it deserves the question: Being prepared, against whom and what, and in what manner? Nature was a way of dealing with difficulties, a notion of adventure and escapism, mimicry of the frontier and colonial naturalism. The German boy of the unified Germany, or the English boy of the Empire, all of them were supposed to be capable first of all against any situation of war, anywhere and at any time and mostly in their colonial frontiers.

All these seemingly theoretical concepts behind the birth of boy scouting lead to the interest in the scouting experience in other European and Balkan countries, and subject to this thesis, the Ottoman Empire. Scouting and all of these ideals of virility, of a vigorous nation with physically and mentally fit citizen-soldiers created an intellectual setting and hegemony of the middle classes and elites (who had the opportunity of creating this network in concrete terms). The social and intellectual setting in Greece was ready for this ideal for youth; as it would expand its border towards the Ottoman Empire amongst particular populations. Finally it would mark the vision of the Turkish Republic for youth as well.

The purpose of the following chapters is to propose questions about physical education, character building and boy-scouting, as it's experienced among various populations in the Allied Occupation years of Istanbul. The focus will be on the Ottoman Greek community, the relations of its middle class and upper class elites

[70] John Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?", *English Historical Review* 102/405, p. 941.

within the concept of Venizelist liberalism and the spread of the 'Hellenic ideals' towards the community via a youth organization. This youth organization, under the umbrella of Greek scouting, was a method to prepare the ground of implementation of the above mentioned British ideals of 'good citizenship' born from very similar departure points and concerns. An application of the analysis of the 'original' British Boy Scout movement, to the Greek case in the Ottoman Empire, leads to the necessity of analysis first of the tradition of physical education and secondly the social, political and intellectual condition within the Greek Kingdom, together with Armistice Istanbul.

CHAPTER II

TRACING THE HISTORY OF SPORTS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXTS OF THE GREEK KINGDOM, THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE *RUMS*

Several specific literatures and study areas have been devoted to define and discuss 'modernity' and the process (and impact) of 'modernization' during the nineteenth century. The impact of 'nationalism' and the 'nation' was one of the subjects that instigated a whole literature.[71] Either an ideology, or a mobilizing force and movement, throughout all this literature, I prefer to refer to nationalism as an invented and mobilizing 'wave', and the 'nation' as a constructed phenomenon that have constituted parts of this modernization, affecting Europe and Balkans, via influential intellectual currents. Either the Young Turk rule of 1908-1918 in the Ottoman Empire, or the Venizelist liberal current of the Greek Kingdom, had been inspired by and tensely adopted the 'codes' of modernity, to 'their' societies. The notion of citizenship here comes forward when related to the modern citizen, physically fit and certainly 'masculine'. This relation includes sports, physical education and

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[71] 'Nationalism', the concept of the 'nation' and its redefinition in the Greek case, will remain as a departure point in this thesis, as the concepts of rearing 'proper' citizens for the nation and the relation of European modernity to the Greek one is obvious. Hence, the extensive literature on nationalism studies will remain out of the limits of the thesis. Instead, due to the particular historical time and place of our case, the following chapter will be an endeavor to situate the discourse of the organized youth movements to the national Hellenic discourse, the one of the 'Megali Idea'[Great Idea/Vision]. However the intellectual setting and theoretical background of the thesis, has been built up, on the prominent and classical works on nationalism studies: Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation,* (London, New York: Verso, 1996); John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism,* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism,*(London, New York: Verso, 1991). Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983. Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). For the Greek case see: Pashalis Kitromilidis, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-eastern Europe,* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994). Thanos Veremis and Giannis Koliopoulos, *Greece: The Modern Sequel, from 1831 to the present,* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

gymnastics very much into the process of modernization; which became a natural aspect of the second half of the nineteenth century until the end of the great wars. At this point I will follow the argument that "citizenship is more than just categorical rights and obligations but it is a dialectical relationship between the state and its 'citizens'."[72] The idea of 'national efficiency' lies in the basis of this type of *governmentality*, where the whole process is born out of concepts such as training and character building, emanating in the adult worlds.

All the concepts used in the previous chapter to describe and give meaning to the physical education and 'mass body politics' established through youth movements in Europe (mainly the Western European cases) may already be applied to the cases of the 'Turkish' and 'Greek' youth organizations. Through the evolution of physical education and 'bodily' narrative, it is possible to observe a whole mentality of nation-state citizen building; of obedience, efficiency, classless and unprivileged, homogeneous, massive, uniformed, patriotic and heroic, religious, respectful, racially strong, fit and healthy, while certainly masculine. Moreover, all of the mentioned societies, experiencing contemporarily wars, were ready to question and organize the state of their youth; "will they be ready and willing to act as fit guardians of the traditions of the past and the values of the present, and will they take this cargo in the future?"[73]

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[72] Yaşar Tolga Cora, *Constructing and Mobilizing the "Nation" through Sports: State, Physical Education and Nationalism under the Young Turk Rule (1908-1918),* (MA thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2007), p. 2.

[73] Michael J. Childs, *Labour's Apprentices: Working Class Lads in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), p. 14.

Hence in this chapter, I would like to provide a background to physical education traditions in two different states, the Greek Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire, while adding the 'inner rules' of an ethno-religious community/population of the Ottoman state; the Ottoman Greeks. I prefer to consider scouting under the umbrella of physical education, rather than sports or other leisure time activities; due to its relationship with the above mentioned codes of living. The concepts used in the history of physical education, were the ones used in scouting, all around the world; and the notion of physically and mentally fit citizens, or in Foucauldian terms 'biopolitics' has been applied strongly in the theory of scouting. Thus, a historical background of physical education, and through this, of sports clubs and associations would be necessary for our analysis, as they had created the grounds for the scout movement as well.

The Greek case: From German Militarism to British *Pseudo-pacifism*

Similar to the case of Western Europe described in the previous chapter, the Greek Kingdom also has witnessed the emergence of sports clubs, in the last decades of the nineteenth century (particularly after 1870). This is a new era of spread of sports clubs and associations, which start being organized independent by educational institutions. Thus it marks a new era that emphasizes physical education and the

notion of a new use of leisure time, is closely related to the rise of urban life and the concentration of the population to the big cities.[74]

The distinguished analysis of Christina Koulouri on the sports club in Greece during the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, offers a solid ground for the academic study of youth in Greece. Koulouri associates the emergence and the expansion of the physical exercise as a means of entertainment and school activity, connected with the development and expansion of a Greek urban class and development of cities, together with a series of ideological transformations about the value of the human body.[75] These ideological modifications may only pass through the 'institutionalization' of athletics, which will express all the political values of liberalism together with the codes of living of the urban class: equality, masculinity, leisure time and entertainment [...] which offer as well a new mode of socialization.[76] Koulouri summarizes five characteristics of the 'spirit' of the sports clubs in Greece: 1) the strict and 'nostalgic' connection to Ancient Greece and to the antique sports and body culture; 2) the effects of the Bavarian culture, that merges the pedagogical aspect and the national ideology, with the physical training; 3) the main personalities that supported the development of athletics were from the area of education; 4) less urban centers, and the accumulation of such activities around

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[74] Look at Christina Koulouri, *Αθλητισμός και Όψεις της Αστικής Κοινωνικότητας: Γυμναστικά και Αθλητικά Σωματεία 1870-1922 (Sports and Views of Urban Sociability: Gymnastics and Sports Associations 1970-1922)*, (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1997). Christina Koulouri, "Η Ώρα του Σώματος: Αθλητισμός, Άσκηση και Ψυχαγωγία στο Ελληνικό Κράτος (1870-1922)" [Time for the body: Sports, Exercise and Entertainment in the Greek State (1870-1922], *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Οι Χρόνοι της Ιστορίας: Για μια Ιστορία της Παιδικής Ηλικίας και της Νεότητας, (Proceedings of the International Symposium Times of History: For a History of Childhood and Asolescence)*, (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1998).

[75] Christina Koulouri, *Αθλητισμός και Όψεις της Αστικής Κοινωνικότητας .....*, p. 12.

[76] Ibid., p. 12.

Athens; 5) the spread of sports activities that took place outside of the Hellenic Kingdom; in grand centers such as Smyrna and Alexandria, and their relations with the Hellenic sports world.[77]

Even though the urban characteristics of the sports clubs include the notion of leisure time, and a population that needs entertainment in this leisure time, I leave this as a secondary tool of analysis. This is to say, with the new notion of leisure time, and urban life, new codes of living come up. Even clubs specialized only to tennis, or cycling, had a specific aim of bringing together specific strata of the society, and 'create' a social/collective activity. These new codes of living do not only include or refer to the creation of collective activities, with an entertaining matter; rather, they answer to the necessities of urban life of the end of the nineteenth century. The physical health of the individual was reflected from the individual to the *collective act*, which would drive to the *behavior of a nation.* One of the reasons of the references to military readiness in any time, with the virtuous bodies, may seem to be this relation. "The development of military national spirit and the creation of the perfect organization of the defensive forces of the Nation"[78] was mentioned at the regulation of the *Kerkyraian Association of Volley,* in 1869. It is possible to come across similar phrases in sports club regulations; where the pedagogical, physical and

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[77] Christina Koulouri, "Η Ώρα του Σώματος: Αθλητισμός, Άσκηση και Ψυχαγωγία στο Ελληνικό Κράτος (1870-1922)" [Time for the body: Sports, Exercise and Entertainment in the Greek State (1870-1922)], *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Οι Χρόνοι της Ιστορίας: Για μια Ιστορία της Παιδικής Ηλικίας και της Νεότητας (Proceedings of the International Symposium Times of History: For a History of Childhood and Asolescence),* (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1998), pp. 274-275.

[78] Quoted in Koulouri, "Η Ώρα του Σώματος: Αθλητισμός, Άσκηση και Ψυχαγωγία στο Ελληνικό Κράτος (1870-1922)", p. 277.

entertainment aspects of sports / gymnastics seem to be juxtaposed with the 'national goals' that every citizen has to be respectful.

Similar was the case with Western Europe; while the revival of the Olympic Games seems to strengthen the references to physical appearance and spiritual cultivation,[79] philhellenism took a new form with biopolitics. This nostalgia to the archaio-hellenic classicism, of balanced growth of the body and the spirit, the ideal of 'wisdom', had been the means to transgress the alienation of the individual of modern times; in other words, the pedagogy of the citizen happens to be in spiritual, mental and physical aspects, where the individual is perceived as a whole psychosomatic entity and a fraction of a national society.[80] Thus, the revival of the Olympic Games, in 1896, had a meaning of transcending the national context. Koulouri emphasizes that Olympic Games, were a *modern* phenomenon, which was born out of the interaction of Greek sports and Western sports, where Western societies were ready to accept this *revival* with the propagation of the European middle classes.[81] Moreover the preparations and the background for the revival were ready with various experiences before in England, Germany and France, but also in Greece with

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[79] For further research on studies about youth in Greece, the Historical Archive of the Greek Youth provide a wide range of publications.

[80] Giorgos Kokkinos, "Υγεία, Αλκή, Καλοκαγάθεια: Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία και Σωματική Αγωγή. Οι Αντιστάσεις και η Βαθμιαία Προσαρμογή" (Health, Strength, Benevolent: The Orthodox Church and Physical Education. Oppositions and the Gradual Adaptation), in *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Οι Χρόνοι της Ιστορίας: Για Μια Ιστορία της Παιδικής Ηλικίας και Νεότητας, Αθήνα, 17-19 Απριλίου 1997,* (Proceedings of the International Symposium Times of History: For a History of Childhood and Asolescence, Athens 17-19 April 1997), Vol: I, (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1998).

[81] Christina Koulouri, "The First Modern Olympic Games at Athens, 1896 in the European Context", *European Studies* 5, (2006), p. 62. [Find the article online at this website, (last accessed in June 2010): http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es_5_Koulouri_2.pdf]

the Zappas Olympiads.[82] However the 1896 Olympic Games mark a turning point for sports in Greece, if we consider the date together with the defeat the Greek Army experienced in 1897 in the Greco-Ottoman War. Thus the Olympic Games would create a ground for the relation between sports and international diplomacy; this ground would function not only among the Greek public as a support of national confidence or a component of national mythology, but also it would function as a tool of foreign policy.[83] The role of Europe as 'a threat, a model and a judge'[84] would come up again; an important fact to determine the policy of Greece from its establishment onwards. This time sports, and particularly Olympics would be part of this 'dependency' and would pave the path for further 'sport-diplomacies'. At this point I need to emphasize that the second part of the nineteenth century is the period of 'idealistic internationalisms' and Olympics functioned in a way similar to institutions such as Red Cross and Scouting.[85]

After the defeat at the war of 1897, the depiction of the young as a future-soldier and defender of his motherland is emphasized again;[86] Greek authorities

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[82] The Zappas Olympiads were attempts for the revival of the Olympic Games and were held in Athens four times; in 1859, 1870, 1875 and 1888. Koulouri mentions that these Olympiads were mainly agro-industrial and cultural contests badly organized. C. Koulouri, "The First Modern Olympic Games at Athens...", p. 61.

[83] C. Koulouri, "The First Modern Olympic Games at Athens...", p. 74.

[84] Cited in C. Koulouri, "The First Modern Olympic Games at Athens...", p. 63.

[85] The notion of internationalism particularly in the context of Scouting will be examined below. I borrow the term 'idealistic internationalism from C. Koulouri who links Olympism with Scouting as well, as two institutions foreseeing internationalism, claiming to be worldwide, apolitical, classles, non-racial. She gives the examples of Red Cross (1863), the Esperando Movement (1887), Olympic Movement (1894), and Scouting (1908). See C. Koulouri, "The First Modern Olympic Games at Athens...", p. 69.

[86] Vicky Patsiou, *Η Διάπλασις των Παίδων(1879-1922): Το Πρότυπο και η Συγκρότησή του,* [The Magazine 'I Diaplasis ton Paidon' (1879-1922): Its Model and Formation], (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1987), p. 132.

decided to pass a law on physical education; this law would encourage a whole program, the establishment of gymnastics performances, school races, the institution of inspection, the founding of a two-year college for the gymnasts, the spread of open-air exercise (mass gymnastics), the establishment of gymnasiums and rifle ranges all over the state.[87] One of the benefiters of this law was I. Hrisafis, who brought the tradition of Swedish gymnastics to the country, after studying for a while in Britain. An enthusiastic supporter of Venizelos and his liberalism, Hrisafis, having the support of the palace and most politicians, combined the ideological orientation of the Ancient Spartan and Athenian tradition, with the 'emancipation' of the Greek nation.[88] Parallel to the European examples, confronting tendencies towards the aim of physical education were there: Fokianos, was the forerunner of the pacifist side, that emphasized the redundancy of military training at schools, under the name of gymnastics, and claimed that this would only tire children, rather than cultivate good and useful citizens.

Even though there were discussions in the role of gymnastics and its relation to military training, it was obvious that the atmosphere in the post-1897 period would bring these two closer. The editor-in-chief of the well-known magazine for children *Diaplasis ton Paidon* (Education of Children) Grigorios Ksenopoulos would write as such in 1906: "We would like the students to be first athletes, in order to become

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[87] Sotiris G. Giatsis and Maria A. Karadaidou, "Τομές στην Πορεία της Ελληνικής Φυσικής Αγωγής Κατά Τον 20ο Αιώνα – Μεταρρυθμιστικές Προσπάθειες", p. 21. [Find the article online at: http://dspace.lib.uom.gr/bitstream/2159/4037/1/giatsis_p.21-p.42_1995.pdf (Last accessed in 5 June 2010)] The authors note as well that there was a small effort of the disarmament in school gymnastics, by I. Fokianos until 1896.

[88] Giatsis and Karadaidou, p. 24.

afterwards soldiers. The coming athletic generation will defend the motherland better than the previous one, which had neglected sports."[89]

Crucial developments for physical education and youth organizations take place during the second decade of the twentieth century. In 1910 we see the establishment of the Organization of Greek Scouts, by Athanasios Lefkaditis, a gymnast who had personally visited the British Boy-Scouts and was inspired from the evolution of this powerful youth movement in Britain. The German and Swedish tradition that was established during the second half of the nineteenth century was completed with the British Boy-Scout tradition. In fact, Hrisafis had prepared all the ground, with his combination of gymnastics and military training, or in other words creating citizens and future soldiers. Moreover the intellectual ground has been prepared by the juvenile press up to that period; for instance *Diaplasis ton Pedon* (Education of Children) was preparing its readers for the military readiness and devotion: "Soldier should be somebody throughout his whole life, useful every moment to his motherland and to his society" was writing Daniil Mihailidis, one of the first Greek scouts and subscribers of *Diaplasis ton Pedon*.[90]

Even though the scout-movement wished to be seen far from politics and rejected militarism, from the very beginning they were the 'children of Venizelos, the future of the recovered Greek nation'. Giatsis and Karadaidou, in their analysis of the reshaping of physical education in the twentieth-century Greece, claim that scouting

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[89] *"Οι μαθηταί θέλομεν να γίνουν πρώτα αθληταί, δια να γίνουν έπειτα στρατιώται. Η ερχόμενη αθλητική γενεά θα υπερασπισθή την πατρίδα πολύ καλλίτερα από την παρελθούσαν, που είχε παραμελήσει τον αθλητισμόν."* Cited in Patsiou, ibid., p. 132.

[90] Cited in Vicky Patsiou, *Η Διάπλασις των Παίδων(1879-1922): Το Πρότυπο και η Συγκρότησή του,* [The Magazine 'I Diaplasis ton Paidon' (1879-1922): Its Model and Formation], (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1987), p. 133.

functioned clearly as a means of military preparation.[91] Both the Venizelist ideology and the royalist one were in favor of the importance of the establishment and the institutionalization of physical education in Greece, and this created a convenient ground for policymaking.[92] The Organization of Greek Scouts, at least until the dictatorship of Metaxas in 1936, acted closer to Venizelism, rather than monarchy. However, after the dictatorship of Metaxas, corps of scouting contributed to and mostly turned to be part of the youth of the National Organization of Youth (EON), which was established under the auspices of the dictatorship.[93]

Mobilizing 'Vigorous Youth' in the Ottoman Empire

As many other 'products' of modernization and Westernization, the idea of sports – apart from wrestling and archery – entered the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century, parallel to their European developments. Educational institutions such as the Robert College, Imperial College (Mekteb-i Sultanî) and Istanbul College were the first ones to adopt gymnastics in their curriculum; however classes of physical education were firstly applied in military schools. 'Healthy body' was promoted and displayed, while physical education was

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[91] Giatsis and Karadaidou, ibid., p. 24.

[92] In 1910 the Association of Education is founded. In 1913, the state publishes detailed legislations for gymnastics in the primary schools. In 1914, the decision of teaching gymnastics for 3 hours a week in Greek schools is taken. In 1915, the legislation obliges every province to establish its own gymnasiums and training areas. And these continue during the vital period of 1917-1920. Giatsis and Karadaidou, p. 25.

[93] This is a debated issue for the *official* historiography of Greek scouting which had created a dichotomy about the relation between the Corps of Greek Scouts and the National Organization of Youth (EON) established under the auspices of the dictatorship. This discussion was shaped on the dilemma of 'dissolution' and 'merge/amalgamation'. The Corps of Greek Scouts were banned during the dictatorship period (as all the other social, political and cultural associations) and in a way components of the institution was transformed to EON. Many scouts continued their *service* in EON. For more about this discussion see Giannis Kouris, "Προσκοπισμός, ιστορία, κοινωνία και πολιτική: Σχολιασμός 10+1 περιπτώσεων" [Scouting, history, society and politics: Discussion on 10+1 cases], (unpublished paper), June 2004.

gaining popularity in entering the school curricula throughout the Empire.[94] Cem Atabeyoğlu, in his article summarizing sports history in the Ottoman Empire, emphasizes the 'prejudice' that all sports facilities, were suppressed under the rule of Abdülhamid II and his controlling attitude of any organized association out of the imperial coverage.[95] On the contrary, this period of Abdülhamid II, is also marked as one that the Ottoman athletes participate to international competitions for the first time, news about physical culture have become visible through the press, lots of sports clubs were established, lots of sports competitions were organized, and finally physical exercise started to be related directly with individual and social welfare.[96] A graduate of the military academy Selim Sırrı [Tarcan], apart from being one of the leading figures of Ottoman/Turkish modernity, he is considered as the 'founding' father of modern sports and physical education in the Ottoman Empire. Selim Sırrı [Tarcan], an Enlightenment figure for modern sports and physical education in the Ottoman world, had the opportunity to learn Swedish gymnastics in Sweden (sent by Committee of Union and Progress in 1909), taught gymnastics to the Sultan, organized the first gymnastics competition in Istanbul (1916) and represented the Ottoman Empire to the Western world; while with the initiative of Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Games, Selim Sırrı was able to form the National Olympic Committee in 1911.[97]

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[94] See Yiğit Akın, *"Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar": Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor,* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004).

[95] Cem Atabeyoğlu, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Spor", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansikloedisi* 6, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1985), pp. 1474-1507.

[96] Yiğit Akın, *"Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar",* pp. 53-54.

[97] See Hande Özkan, "Selim Sırrı Tarcan", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm,* Vol: 2, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 276-281. Mutlu Öztürk, "Tarcan Zeybeği ya da Bir Aydınlanmacının Düşüdürdükleri", *Dans-Müzik-Kültür Folkora Doğru,* Vol: 61, (Istanbul, 1992), pp.

The flourishing of sports and athletics, in the narrowly written sports history of the Ottoman Empire, is generally related to the modernizing attitudes of the elites, and the interference or support of foreign experts. However, the post-Constitutional period of 1908, marks a bounce back to the 'serious sports', or in other words to the dominance of the military on training or physical education. Scouting enters to the Ottoman Empire in 1910, introduced by Ragıb Nureddin's writings in *Sây ve Tetebbu* as 'keşşaflık', and thus the scouting corps were directly organized in the Imperial College, Istanbul College and Darüşşafaka, by the prominent names Nâfi Atuf, Ethem Nejat, Ahmet and Abdurrahman Robenson brothers.[98] However the Balkan Wars marked a turning point, a period requiring the urgent mobilization of the population, and mainly of the youth. Zafer Toprak, in his article mentioning the 'Vigorous Youth Associations', mentions that scouting was mainly organized under the auspices of 'Turkish Strength Association' [*Türk Gücü Cemiyeti*] in 1913, with the aim of spreading physical education, sports facilities and military education, in order to prevent and defend the society from the decadence around: compulsory defense of the country in three continents, ignorance, epidemic diseases, prostitution, alcohol, and tobacco...[99] War was the reason of this 'decadence', then physical education for a healthier society would be the antidote. After a while, in 1914, when Enver Paşa became war minister, he appointed M. Parfitte, a British citizen who was the Head of the Belgian Scouts, for public courses of physical education, under the auspices of Ottoman Power League [*Osmanlı Güç Derneği*] (which would be transformed to

155-193. Arzu Öztürkmen, "Modern Dance *Alla Turca:* Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Turkey", *Dance Research Journal* 35, no. 1, (2003), pp. 38-60.

[98] Zafer Toprak, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 2, p. 531.

[99] Ibid., p. 531.

Youth League after 1916, inspired by Germany), where all the Ottoman youth – Muslim and non-Muslim – would be 'educated' under the responsibility of the War Ministry.[100] Youth League was established in order to fulfill the responsibility of mobilizing unschooled peasant boys; however Mehmet Beşikçi argues that due to the lack of strong infrastructure of Ottoman educational system, this league could not fulfill a remarkable contribution to total war mobilization.[101] Thus, youth movements especially during the World War I had been organized under the state authority and with the demands of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Selim Sırrı [Tarcan] was again an important figure for these paramilitary youth organizations, as he collaborated with Von Hoff in the Youth League. 1916 marked also the date when for the first time the 'Feast of the Children' (*Çocuklar Bayramı*) and the 'Feast of Training' (*İdman Bayramı*) was celebrated. While sports and physical culture became highly nationalized and militarized in favor of the Turkish nation, the youth organizations that were created under the auspices of the CUP were used as a tool for the 'total mobilization' during the First World War experience of the Ottoman population. With all the accumulation of knowledge and perception about the value of the human body, with the relation of individual health and strength to the collective

[100] Ibid., pp. 532-534. It is interesting to note here the enthusiasm of Mr. Parfitte in the beginning of his shift, from an article he wrote in the *Headquarters Gazette* of the Scouts Association in August 1914. As it is going to be referred below, corps of scouts around the world participated to, but also were fed from the national historiographies of the nation-states they were established in. In his article entitled 'Turkish Boy Scouts' Mr. Parfitte, emphasizes the historicity and ancientness of the Turkish boy scouts, relating their relation with nature to the Tartar tribes and their symbols (badges, coat of arms, signs) with the sacredness and importance they carry for the Turkish nation. Concludes his words saying that: *"Every boy has to be a soldier, a regimental training corps will be formed in every Troop for boys over sixteen. This it is hoped will keep the scouts together." Headquarters Gazette,* August 1914. I thank Patricia Styles from the Scout Association in London, who shared me some newspaper excerpts from the archive of the association.

[101] Mehmet Beşikçi, *Between Voluntarism and Resistance: The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War,* (Ph.d diss., Boğaziçi University, 2009), p. 269.

one, the experience of youth training in the period of war could have been nothing else than militaristic.

The experience of war and the establishment of paramilitary youth organizations by the state itself, had made the adult world of the Armistice Istanbul aspired to national showing-offs, to which contests between military forces took place apart from scouting. Undoubtedly, either British physical educational ethics or German military training, the collaboration of the 'adults' in organizing youth movements came out of clearly political considerations, which would clearly apply and continue in the period of Armistice. Sport and physical training show-offs, like football matches or mass displays of training education activities, while hiding the tension of the atmosphere, presented as fair-play fraternity games, their participants were mainly soldiers or state representatives. For instance, the participants of the 80 matches that were played by the three big sports clubs of the period, Fenerbahçe, Beşiktaş and Galatasaray, were the French and the British garrisons, British Lightning, British Mixed Territorials, British pilots, Irish Guard's, British Revenge, British Malaya, British Goldstream, British Royal Sovereign, British Cosmos, French Patrie, British Navy, British Officers, British Occupational Forces etc.[102] This situation was transferred to a whole narrative of the Armistice period. A very characteristic account is below:

> In these matches (particularly in the football matches), the success and the triumph of the Turkish teams against the Occupational Forces' teams, was the greatest source of relief of the sorrowful and wounded soul of the nation. The nation, that found the relief of the sorrow and the frustration in its soul, with the victories against the occupational forces, grasped 'sports' as a savior,

[102] Cem Atabeyoğlu, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Spor", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 6, p. 1498.

> thereby sports started to gain meaning in the eyes and the hearts of the people, while the successful teams obtained a large audience.[103]

The narrative of Ottoman sports history, in Atabeyoğlu's words, follows the line of the Turkish one. In other words, throughout his summary of Ottoman sports history, non-Muslim populations are the ones that represented the Ottoman Empire in the international sports arena, when needed and because there was no Turk to represent the 'Ottoman' in that particular sports branch. Nor he mentions Sports Clubs established by the non-Muslim populations, neither he includes these to his version of Ottoman sports history. And concludes, emphasizing the development of the notion of sports, due to the "bitter state of Istanbul during the occupation years".

From Sports Clubs to Institutionalized Citizen-Pedagogy Among the Ottoman Greeks

The second half of the nineteenth century marked the flourishing of Ottoman-Greek associations, concentrated on literary societies, philanthropic activities and women's clubs. Social, economic and cultural changes of the Christian Orthodox communities, bound with the Western influence of new consumption patterns shaped the institutional evolution of the community. Even though the Greek Revolution of the 1820s marked a temporary setback for the middle-class Christian Orthodox groups that remained in the Ottoman Empire, this did not prevent these groups from

[103] Atabeyoğlu, p. 1498. For details about the football 'events' during Armistice in Istanbul see: Pars Tuğlacı, "Spor Temasları", *Çağdaş Türkiye* 1, (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1987), pp. 483-485.

achieving dominant social position in the second half of the nineteenth century.[104] What is called here 'western influence' comes through the complex relationship of the economical advantages – which created new consumption patterns, and the new identity formation of the community. The 'reshaping of urban space' due to the modern institutions, is a part of this whole change, which introduced modern institutions such as schools, hospitals, literary associations, and orphanages, designed to promote the cultural and linguistic integration of the urban lower classes with the rural Christian Orthodox population to create a 'national' community.[105] I intend to use the analysis of Exertzoglou to understand the cultural uses of consumption, adapting it to sports and athletics clubs, and gymnastics associations. It is possible to adapt his three-dimensional analysis of identity-shaping through the emergence of self-sufficient middle class individuals, the re-conceptualization of domesticity and the negotiation of national identity. At this point, I would like to add a fourth point, mentioning the cultural uses of the 'body' itself, and the formation of the national identity through the 'mass-bodies', if possible. The flourishing of sports clubs and gymnastics associations among the community institutions, in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly after the 1870s (parallel to the European cases), marks a new period where the identity, is defined through 'bodies', re-conceptualized through these 'additional' educational institutions where leisure time is reorganized. Thus, it is possible to observe an institutionalization of physical education, parallel to the European cases, and particularly the Greek one.

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[104] Haris Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers During the 19th Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 35, (2003), p. 78.

[105] Haris Exertzoglou, ibid, p. 78.

However, in the example of the Western European societies, physical education is tied with the Protestant ethics, and Church and religious institutions have adapted the idea of physical training to a religious context (the example of YMCA). The 'respect' and 'obedience' to the nation, was covering a respect to religion as well; moreover, the factor of 'open-air' in decadent societies was strong enough, for pure and clean minds. This was the formula that incorporated Protestant morale to physical training and bio-politics. However, for the Ottoman Greek community, and in the context of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, we observe the opposite reaction. Even though, I have mentioned a new secular middle-class, appeared keen to Western values and institutions; a flourishment of associations and a new way of living in an urban space; in the official level, physical education and training was kept outside the curricula. Physical training, in a typical conservative stance of mind, is treated as a product of modernity that drives to decadence and to individualist values. Whereas, examples of 'non-formal practices' may be seen among the Empire, as far as it's concerned with sports, associations and competitions. A characteristic example of the merge of the traditional values and the habits of modernity is the athletic games of Ortaköy, in the region of Bythinia, that were organized for the celebration of the day of Saint George.[106] None of the above official practices of the Orthodox Patriarchate in order to stay away from such 'habits of modernity' could have been effective, in a period where stadiums, sports clubs, associations, competitions and athletic

[106] Giorgos Kokkinos, "Υγεία, Αλκή, Καλοκαγάθεια: Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία και Σωματική Αγωγή. Οι Αντιστάσεις και η Βαθμιαία Προσαρμογή" (Health, Strength, Benevolent: The Orthodox Church and Physical Education. Oppositions and the Gradual Adaptation), in *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Οι Χρόνοι της Ιστορίας: Για Μια Ιστορία της Παιδικής Ηλικίας και Νεότητας, Αθήνα, 17-19 Απριλίου 1997,* (Proceedings of the International Symposium Times of History: For a History of Childhood and Asolescence, Athens 17-19 April 1997), Vol: I, (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1998), pp. 327-328.

demonstrations had become such a fashion of a new mode of leisure activity; a new life-style, an urban one; an expression of modernity.

This was one of the conflictual points between the elites; and a point of criticism to the conservative values. Louizos Iliou, a prominent scout leader as we will see below, and a professor of Robert College, was the first name to introduce the need of 'open air' for young, due to the danger of their enclosure for seven hours between the walls of the school, and the lack of exercise and game; Iliou was warning against the suggestions of *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia,* the official organ of the Patriarchate[107] while offering new pedagogical methods; methods of the Anglo-Saxon world.

In the Educational Assembly of the 28 December 1909, the common themes were the obligation of the classes of Physical Education, the fate of the German system of gymnastics, the fate of athletics, the types of gymnastics activities – according to sex, age, biological function, and to the social role of each youngster, and also the promotion of the Greek state as an prototype of the integration of gymnastics to the Greek-orthodox pedagogical system, and the need of instructors from Greece.[108] Even quite later than its contemporaries, the moral character of physical education was obvious; and the references to the British system of moral education were rediscovered via some quotes from Pierre de Coubertin.[109]

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[107] Giorgos Kokkinos, ibid, p. 335.

[108] The participants of this assembly were A. Kritikos, I. Balsamaki, N. Fotiadi, A. Zamaria, M. Afthentopoulou, D. Damaskinou, I. Hazapi, O. Andreadis, G. Pahtikou, L. Dimitriadi, H. Gouda. Giorgos Kokkinos, p. 338.

[109] Giorgos Kokkinos, ibid, p. 340.

While these discussions were going on in the Patriarchal and official committees, new modes and codes of living were implemented in various centers of the Ottoman Empire, such as Smyrna, or Alexandria. The capital Constantinople was certainly the center for these activities. One of the first sports' clubs in Constantinople was the *Αθλητικός Σύλλογος ΕΡΜΗΣ* (Athlitikos Sillogos Ermis, Ermis Sports Association) which was founded in 1877, by three individuals (K. D. Kostarakis, I. A. Zervoudakis and A. K. Stefopoulos) in the district of Pera. Following a path for the "intellectual development of the inhabitants of the East" (*η διανοητική ανάπτυξης των κατοίκων της Ανατολής*), the main goals of the association were marked as, "organizing public conferences, creation of a periodical publication [which took the name of the association later on, 'Ermis'], organization of races and sports competitions, supporting the poor students of the community, creation of a public library and formation of the Sunday Schools."[110] From this declaration of the goals, which takes place in the regulation of the association it is possible trace the formation of a 'middle-class citizen' by middle class adults/initiatives, but also to tightly connect the sports club which is a part of the community leisure activities structure, with identity formation.

Αθλητικός Γυμναστικός Σύλλογος ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ (Athlitikos Gimnastikos Sillogos Heracles, Athletics and Gymnastics Association Heracles), which was founded in 1896, in the Tatavla region and then expanded to an institution supplying labor for deprived children with the collaboration of *Fraternity Proodos* and *Filoptohou*

[110] "Αθλητισμός και Αθλητικοί Σύλλογοι των Ρωμιών στην Κωνσταντινούπολη" (Sports and Sports Association of the Rums in Constantinople), *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού* (Encyclopedia of Larger Hellenism), Find online at: http://constantinople.ehw.gr/ (Last accessed in 5 June 2010)

Adelfotis, in 1899.[111] The sports association of *ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ,* was proud of sending its two famous athletes to the 1906 Interim Olympics of Athens.

These two associations, possibly the most popular ones, were followed by sports club such as Ahilleus, Aris, Thiseus, Iason and Feidippidis, which were mainly devoted to sports and classical athletics, such as saltation, pitch, street races, wrestling and boxing. All these clubs were participants to the *Pan-Constantinopolitan Races,* which started in July 1910 (repeated yearly until 1922), under the auspices of the *Σύνδεσμος Ελληνικών Αθλητικών Γυμναστικών Σωματείων* (Association of Greek Athletics and Gymnastics Organizations). This association functioned as a coordinator among the sports clubs, and as an organizer of both local and international competitions, until its last one in May 1922, in the Taksim Stadium.[112]

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The second half of the nineteenth century had witnessed a spread of clubs and associations in the urban centers of the Ottoman Empire such as Constantinople, Smyrna, Thessaloniki and Alexandria. The institutionalization of sports and physical education was part of this process, while part also of the flourishing upper strata of the Ottoman society. In the Greek community of the Ottoman Empire, the emergence of bourgeoisie is marked by the emergence of a chain of bankers, merchants, ship-owners, arms dealers, national benefactors and philanthropists. Apart from the

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[111] Ibid.

[112] The 'Taksim Stadium' and the areas that the demonstrations and the mass gymnastics took place below refers to either the *Talimhane* area, or the 'Taksim Gardens' (modern day Gezi Parkı and the Opera House). We know that during the First World War *Talimhane* was a place for military training. See Çelik Gülersoy, *Taksim: Bir Meydanın Hikâyesi,* Istanbul: Istanbul Kitaplığı, 1986. But also we have lively descriptions and memoirs on the activities in the 'Taksim Gardens', see: Giorgos Theotokas, *Leonis*, (Athens: Estia, 2004).

establishment of common public places for the upper classes among various communities and a new sociability within civil society,[113] this public sphere brought out a new civic consciousness for the educated, urban elite/middle classes to take initiatives for urban administration, public education and civil organizations.[114] Haris Exertzoglou argues that the term *middle class* surpassed the notion of a class of entrepreneurs, but referred to a wider range of professionals with a particular social status, such as doctors, lawyers.[115] Moreover thinking the public sphere that is created among the Ottoman Greeks via this quick spread of associations and social networks, this stratum of the middle classes may be defined by "a collective self-fashioning conducted within an emergent public sphere" rather than by occupation or income.[116] Within this public sphere was created the discourse and the perception of modernization for these middle classes; in other words apart from all the above definition attempts, being member of middle class was closely related to the way they asserted their modernity.[117] I assume that the path that paved the emergence of the middle classes as a stratum of the society based upon perceiving and transmitting modernity and *civilization* in public and communal sphere, while creating a civil

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[113] Cited in Merih Erol, *Cultural Identifications of the Greek Orthodox Elite of Constantinople: Discourse on Music in the Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Centuries,* (Ph.d. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2009), p. 41.

[114] Ibid., p. 42.

[115] Haris Exertzoglou, *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19ο αιώνα* (National identity in Constantinople in the nineteenth century), (Athens: Nefeli, 1996).

[116] The argument of Simon Gunn, in "Globalising Middle Classes: Questions and Perspectives"; cited in Merih Erol, p. 45.

[117] This is the approach of Keith Watenpaugh to the concept: *Being modern in the Middle East. Revolution, nationalism, colonialism, and the Arab middle class,* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006).

society within and outside the communal boundaries, drove the way towards the establishment and the quick spread of the scout movement.

The newly created social and cultural space, with the inclusion of the sports and gymnastics club, for the middle class Christian Orthodox population, may be closely related to the "new body of knowledge about society and self" through the remaking of everyday life and "of social boundaries and the successful social model to be followed by those with 'proper' qualities."[118] This new body of knowledge reflected itself in the athletic clubs as well, inevitably, and created an interdependent area in the community life itself. This is to say that, while physical education and sport activities started taking part in the school programs and through additional institutional structures were included to the leisure time as 'entertainment' activities supporting education, a whole body of identifying the Christian Orthodox youth, the middle class *Rum* adult of the future, began to be defined. In physical aspects the 'body' had to be educated in accordance to a spiritual progress, which would lead to a 'national' one. Physical educational institutions, which were financially supported by the benefactors of the community, maintained organizing activities for the financial support to community schools. This space inside the community, offers a ground of all this 'adult world' of institutional administration, decide, define and promote the role of the youth.

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[118] Haris Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers During the Nineteenth Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 35, (2003), p. 95.

Still there is a need to follow the path of Eugen Weber, who asks "what for?" for the evolution and establishment of institutional physical education in France.[119] The question remains the same, while a need for a path for analyzing the social and cultural domain of sports history and 'organized youth movements' remain valid. Moreover, this process of modern institutionalization and adoption of Western social, educational and consumption patterns while searching for tradition, gives clues for the evolution of the Greek Orthodox communities in the Ottoman Empire, in the second half of the nineteenth century. Even though the applicability of the projections of the middle class, to the 'proper' citizens of the future may be questioned, and should be certainly. Being able to search on the applicability of these projections needs further information from the participants themselves; however the popularity and the expansion of sports associations and – via them – of youth movements, seem to have addressed community members of various social classes in a varying neighborhood basis in the urban centers.

The search for the impact of the scout movement is an effort to try to understand this popularity, in the completely different environment of the wars-and-aftermath period, during the first three decades of the 20th century, but with the whole experience of a community, in managing its communal and cultural identity. To sum up, the aim of this chapter was a general overview to the accumulation of a sports culture and institutionalized physical education, which provided a ground for the scout organizations to expand in the following period. In other words, the sports clubs mentioned above, particularly *Ermis* of Pera and *Heracles* of Tatavla, in

[119] Eugene Weber, "Gymnastics and Sports in Fin-de-Siécle France: Opium of the Classes?", *The American Historical Review* 76, no. 1, (February 1971), pp. 70-98.

collaboration with community schools, became grounds for the flourishment and the popularization of the scout movement, as it arrived with a wave from Greece.

CHAPTER IV

FROM 'THIS GREAT IDEA' TO THE CORPS OF GREEK SCOUTS

This chapter aims to provide a background to the scout movement in Greece, relating its aims and discourse with the aspirations of the 'Megali Idea'. In other words, one of the aims of this thesis is to analyze how the scouting elites in Greece, and eventually the middle class 'adults' (that played important roles in the formation and spread of such youth organizations) took advantage of an institution such as scouting, as part of an educational instrument for the transfer of the 'national past' which became 'national history' to the generations that followed. Hereby, this essay will try to provide a brief overview of the decisive intellectual background for the establishment of the Greek national identity and Greek modernity; namely 'Megali Idea' [The Great Ideal/Vision].

Thus, first, I argue that the Corps of Greek Scouts, throughout its existence, undertook the 'difficult' task of pedagogy. This includes the transmission of the 'national' vision and identity from an 'enlightened' generation to the ones that followed. As emphasized consistently by the institution itself, scouting was a supplementary method for education, the third in line after family and school. That is to say that the authorities of the Corps of Greek Scouts, apart from being the founders, are mainly from the field of pedagogy or had a military background. They furthermore internalized the *responsibility* of 'rearing youth' according to the necessities of the Greek nation. Apart from 'middle-class morality' that constitutes the basis of the 'scout culture', the second pillar of this pedagogical responsibility

included the transmission of national ideals. A glance at the historical moments that the Corps of Greek Scouts existed in the post-war Constantinople will reveal the importance of 'Megali Idea' in this pedagogical endeavor.

The very fact that the national values and ideals of the Hellenic Kingdom are included within the scope of the Scout movement in Greece brings us to the second argument on which this chapter is built; that the Scout movement in Greece had become *a vital tool in promoting Great Idea.* The Corps of Greek Scouts functioned as a means to mobilize youth, for the one and only aspiration of the Nation. This explains the reason of its popularity, both in terms of the density of the participants, but also in terms of its relations with state institutions. The Corps of Greek Scouts departed with the sanctioning of Eleftherios Venizelos and thus Venizelism, together with the blessing of the Royal family. The aspect of 'mobilization' is also obvious in the direct spread of the Scout associations/corps to all of the Greek-speaking populations[120] as it is in the particular case of Asia Minor and Constantinople. Eventually, the relation of Greek Scouting and the 'Megali Idea' functioned similar to the concept that has been defined as 'popular imperialism' in the Edwardian period and the mood it created for the British Scouts movement, as mentioned in Chapter II.[121] In other words, it can be argued that scouting has functioned for Greek

[120] After the establishment of the first Athenian Scout Troop, the organization of the scout troops outside of the Hellenic Kingdom was promoted. In less than a decade, there were scouting organizations for Greek-speaking populations in Egypt (Alexandria, Cairo, Port Said, Ismailia, Mansoura, Kafr-Zaiad, Suez, Heliopolis, Helouan), in Asia Minor and Constantinople, in Cyprus, but also in Britain and France. See Isaias Isaias, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Προσκοπισμού (History of Greek Scouting*), Vol: 1, (Athens: Corps of Greek Scouts, 1949).

[121] For a detailed description of the notion of 'frontier' in the British Empire, during the Edwardian period see Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire. The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993. Whereas the concept of 'popular imperialism' has been examined in various studies such as: John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850-1950,* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1992).

expansionism. Quoting Stathis Gourgouris; "the Grand Idea is not an inherently Greek invention, being rather the necessary inflection of every nationalist idiom. The Panslavism of the Russians or the notion of "the Empire" for the English are similar grand ideas – expressions of an expansionist politics. The 'Grand Idea' is a commonplace *topos* in the geography of nineteenth-century European politics, part and parcel of colonialist logic."[122] A glance to the activities and the discourse of the Corps of Greek Scouts particularly in Constantinople and in Asia Minor shows clearly the 'colonialist logic' behind this institution.

Lastly, closely tied with this logic, it is possible to argue that the 'civilizing mission' of the Great Idea, coincides with the mission of the scout movement (particularly fits exactly with the discourse of the Corps of Greek Scouts in the first decades of its establishment.) The 'scout ideology' in the Greek case, direct copy of the British case, is perceived as an aspect of modernization; therefore, as *megali idea* foresees, the ancient Greek civilization – as one that had given birth to the European civilization – was once more confronting a *mission civilizatrice.* This is to say that, during the establishment and spread of the Greek scouts movement, the 'Hellenolatry'[123] functioned again, both from the side of the Europeans referring to the past experiences of the Greek Independence movement of 1821, but also from the side of the Greek elites who were employing this discourse during the crucial moments of the Allied diplomacy after the First World War.

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[122] Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece,* Stanford, (California: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 146.

[123] I borrow this term from Constantine Tsoukalas, "European modernity and Greek national identity", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 1, no. 1, 1999, p. 8.

The historian of the Megali Idea Elli Skopetea emphasizes that education can be considered as the third element of national identity after language and religion, and contrary to those two "that can be thought of as pure and verifiable elements of identity; education served to the consciousness of identity, but also to the consciousness of contact with or to the perspective of equation with Europe".[124] This is what exactly was happening with the scout movement; it was an amalgam of pedagogy and bringing up children that endorse the national identity with the *military readiness* that was attributed as a responsibility for the future generations.

As a 'victor' in the post World War excitement, the Greek elites internalized this European identity even more; but the task of 'civilizing' the East was still before them. This mentality was well reflected in the words of the scouts corps authorities whose aims were clearly defined as, to educate, cultivate, and 'civilize' youth populations of the East; the populations that would form the healthy and vigorous citizens of the united nation of future.

To sum-up; the scout movement, apart from being seen as a pedagogical tool for youth, it was a strong means to redefine national identity, and reassess new values and the self-confidence that are necessary ingredients for the national pedagogy. The scout movement was easily integrated to the mobilization of the wars and to the excitement of the Megali Idea that reached its peak during the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922. This chapter provides a brief historical overview to this vision that has shaped the Greek national discourse throughout the nineteenth century – though this emphasis changed at times; while the second part will give a brief historical account of the scout movement in Greece. The Megali Idea came to an end

[124] Elli Skopetea, *"Το Πρότυπο Βασίλειο" και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα: Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)* [The "Model Kingdom" and the Great Idea: Visions of the national question in Greece (1830-1880)], (Athens: Polytypo, 1988), p. 137.

with a 'national catastrophe' after the defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor; where the scout organizations disappeared from Anatolia and Constantinople. This part of the study is not a search for the basics of the Greek national identity, but more a re-reading of this identity, with its relations to a youth movement, its impact and the excitement it was able to transfer with such a type of 'mobilization'. Moreover, this 'mobilization' and this movement in parallel created its own historiography, to call it as an 'essential-scout-historiography'.

A General Overview: Reconsidering the 'Megali Idea'

Whether a slogan, a formulation of myths, or as a term and a vision the Megali Idea, has formed a set of intellectual debates of Greek national imagination. In other words, it has been institutionalized with the forms it took in various periods of the nineteenth century, as per to the political and social developments of the Hellenic Kingdom, and the concerns in the intellectual arena. Apart from its ideological ground, the Megali Idea created a process for the intervention of the Hellenic Kingdom, to the 'Eastern periphery of Hellenism'; this is a process of creating intellectual, commercial, educational, social and political networks.[125] A lot has been said for this process of institutionalization of a *national ideal*; thus I will give a brief account of its appearance and its establishment[126].

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[125] See Paschalis Kitromilides, "Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus", in *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: studies in the culture and political thought of South-Eastern Europe,* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994).

[126] The prominent work on Megali Idea is Elli Skopetea's *"Το Πρότυπο Βασίλειο" και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα: Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)* [The "Model Kingdom" and the Great Idea: Visions of the national question in Greece (1830-1880)], (Athens: Polytypo, 1988). For an edition of articles about the Greek national ideology see: D. G. Tsaousi (ed.), *Ελληνισμός-Ελληνικότητα: Ιδεολογικοί και Βιωματικοί Άξονες της Νεοελληνικής Κοινωνίας (Hellenism-Hellenicity: Ideological*

If we consider the process of nation-building in the Greek case the first phase marks the Greek Enlightenment period, with names such as Adamantios Korais or Rigas Velestinlis, whose writings shaped the necessary historiography; "the dark years of the Ottoman yoke, the awakening of the nation through its contact with the European Enlightenment; the intimate relation of modern Greeks with their ancient past; the progressive character of the bourgeois mercantile groups; and the heroic character of the people".[127] The final chapter of this phase was the Greek uprising, thus 'the national awakening', which would mark the beginning of a new process; of constructing the identity and belonging of the Hellenic nation, and constituting the national historiography as the backbone. The Hellenes were already identified with their *antique* roots; however the question of belonging (to the East or to the West) would remain still until the establishment of continuity in the historiographical canon. This was achieved with the discovery of Byzantium[128] with the "Jules Michelet of the Greek nation"[129] Kostantinos Paparrigopoulos, and his grand work

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and Practical Axes of the Neohellenic Society), (Athens: Estia, 2001). Paschalis Kitromilides, "The Dialectic of Intolerance: Ideological Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict", in *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: studies in the culture and political thought of South-Eastern Europe,* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994).

[127] Vangelis Kechriotis, "Context" (on Adamantios Korais), "Report on the Present State of Civilization in Greece" (1803), in Balász Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeastern Europe 1770-1945, Texts and Commentaries: Late Enlightenment-Emergence of the Modern 'National Idea'*, Vol: 1, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006), p. 143. See also the texts of Adamantios Korais, "Report on the Present State of Civilization in Greece" (1803), pp. 141-147 and Rigas Velestinlis, "War March & Revolutionary Proclamation" (1797), pp. 297-303.

[128] See the influential article of Markos Renieris, "What is Greece? West or East?" (trans. Mary Kitroeff), in Trencsényi and Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeastern Europe 1770-1945, Texts and Commentaries....*, pp. 289-296.

[129] I quote the phrase from Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece,* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996).

entitled *The History of the Hellenic Nation.*[130] Thus the chain of Ancient Greece-Byzantium-Ottoman past [Tourkokratia] and modernity/today would be completed, together with the chain of identity of the West and the East.

This construction of the national identity ran parallel to the practices on the foundation of the Greek state. In 1830, despite the establishment of the new state, for part of the elites this would be still an incomplete task. This task would reach its final goal, only when a Greek state, embracing all the 'Hellenic populations', in the 'unredeemed Hellenic lands' would be established; thus, it would not be a decision any longer "about the fate of Greece, but of the Hellenic race."[131] The very famous speech of the parliamentarian Ioannis Kolettis, in 1844, in the National Assembly, had already defined the Great Idea: "The Kingdom of Greece is not Greece. It constitutes only one part, the smallest and feeblest. The name Hellenes describes not only those who live in this kingdom, but also those who live in Jannina, in Thessaloniki, in Serres, in Adrianople, in Constantinople, in Trebizond, in Crete, in Samos and in any territory associated with Hellenic history and the Hellenic race. [...] There are two prime cores of Hellenism: Athens, the capital of the Hellenic Kingdom, and the City (Constantinople), the vision and hope of all Hellenes."[132]

Elli Skopetea emphasizes the threefold interpretations of the Hellenic centers in this vision during the nineteenth century: the first interpretation points out Constantinople as a national centre, while the prevalent vision is the Eastern or Hellenic Empire; the second one, which comes about after the coming of King

[130] This work would be completed in 1876, and from then on Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, (together with Spiridon Zambelios) would be the national historians of the Greek state.

[131] Ioannis Kolettis, "Of this Great Idea", in Trencsényi, Balász and Michal Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeastern Europe...,* (trans. Mary Kitroeff), p. 229.

[132] Ibid., p. 230.

George and the joining of the Seven Islands to the Kingdom territories, interprets Athens as the national centre, and at its core lies the expansion of the Greek territories; and the third one, particularly starting from 1860s, marks the effort of settling a compromise between the two centers (Athens and Constantinople), which drives towards Helleno-Ottomanism.[133]

"The City" here represents a symbolic reference to the Byzantine past and history of the Hellenes, merging the Eastern identity with the Western one. One which has been the basis of the European identity through Antiquity; the 'Hellenic race' would thus bring enlightenment to the Eastern peoples, similar to the way it had brought to Western civilization. For Kolettis, "Greece is the center of Europe; positioned thus, and having to its right the East, and to its left the West, it has been destined, on the one hand, by falling, to enlighten the West and, on the other, by being reborn, to enlighten the East."[134] The City symbolized the encounter of the East and the West; the capital of the two empires, the historical continuity from the ancient to the medieval waiting for the modern, one of the two centers of Hellenism – and the centre of the 'unredeemed' one; "her loss was viewed both as a political and a spiritual catastrophe" while "the dreamed-of Greek restoration of the city was understood in both apocalyptic and political terms".[135]

K. E. Fleming claims that the Megali Idea had been dealt its first and harshest psychological blow with the defeat in 1897. The Kingdom confronted "for the first

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[133] Elli Skopetea, *"Το Πρότυπο Βασίλειο" και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα: Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)* [The "Model Kingdom" and the Great Idea: Visions of the national question in Greece (1830-1880)], (Athens: Polytypo, 1988), pp. 269-270.

[134] Ioannis Kolettis, "Of this Great Idea", in Trencsényi, Balász and Michal Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeastern Europe...*, p. 229.

[135] Quoted in K. E. Fleming, "Athens, Constantinople 'Istambol': Urban Paradigms and Nineteenth-Century Greek Identity", *New Perspectives on Turkey,* (Spring 2000), Vol: 22, p. 2.

time the possibility that the Megali Idea was more a matter of impracticable nostalgia than a reasonable proposition for actual territorial growth."[136] This nostalgia gave birth to myths, more appropriately to the exaggeration of myths of a besieged city which had been for centuries under alien occupation, whilst housing a Hellenic population, in need of redemption. Particularly for the side of Helleno-Ottomanism and its spokesman Ion Dragoumis,[137] Constantinople was the 'natural' national centre, while Athens was the 'artificial' one.[138]

The occupation of Smyrna in May 1919 by the Greek military forces, and the continuation of the warring status quo for both states in the post-World War era, marked a new step towards the realization of this "national dream" to come true, and this excitement was enough for popular mobilization. For the Greek state and politicians, this period would be the last phase of this 'grand nostalgia'. Moreover, this last phase would cover a fluctuation between the Western identity of the Hellenes, which needed to be proven once more with alliances in the international arena and in the emancipation of the East.

Megali Idea, Philhellenism and Scouting

The British Philhellenist diplomacy of Lloyd George who at the time focused on the necessity of Thrace to be given under Greek control "for the spread of

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[136] K. E. Fleming, "Athens, Constantinople 'Istambol', p. 4.

[137] Ion Dragoumis was a politician and intellectual, an important figure of Greek nationalism and the idea of Helleno-Ottomanism. He had fought for the Greek cause in the Macedonian Struggle, and has founded the secret *Organization of Constantinople* with Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis, in the period of 1908.

[138] K. E. Fleming, ibid., p. 9.

civilization"[139] and the sympathy of the French mentioning that the "the best means of satisfying the ancient claims of the Hellenic nation and of at least completing the work of independence begun by the Liberal Nations of Europe a century ago"[140] provided grounds for the Greek political elites to take advantage of this diplomacy and move closer to the realization of their dream.

Parallel to these tendencies, the 'sons of antiquity', were rediscovering their ancient roots; the spirit of scouting was related to the Antiquity, to the teachings of Plato, and emphasized that the notion of physical education, amongst others, was part of the civilization transferred to Europe. Therefore, as the protagonists of the scout movement, were also the protagonists of the political arena in Greece, these parallel references were inevitable. The culture of scouting that was 'discovered' and sanctioned by the British political elites, provided a new ground for re-discovering the ancient identity of the Greeks and its civilizing mission. The education for 'civilization' was mutual: Greek scouting borrowed (and copied actually) the whole details of a movement, from its discourse to the performative aspects; referring to an ancient identity and expecting admiration by the European powers in the 'youth' arena, once more after a century, when again the diplomatic maneuvers are at its peak, where any maneuver to the realization of the incomplete task of the past would be able to create miracles.

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[139] Cited in Maria Georgiadou, "Doğu'daki Yunan Uygarlaştırma Misyonunun Smyrna (İzmir) Örneği: İyonya Üniversitesi", *Toplumsal Tarih* 142, (October 2005), p. 64.

[140] P.R.O., FO 608/37/92/1/4/2350. Minutes of 1st meeting of Greek Territorial Committee, 12 Feb. 1919. Cited in Erik Goldstein, "Great Britain and Greater Greece 1917-1920", *The Historical Journal* 32, no. 2, (June 1989), p. 344.

Scouting was thus, an identification of the national-self through a form of parallel education. All kinds of scout guides, newspapers, magazines, postcards and photographs seem to follow this parallel national education, paving the path of the Megali Idea, to the youth. Hence, scouting formed an intermediary, as pedagogical institutions are to the national identity; to the creation and *transmission* of social and political myths, that constitute crucial elements of this identity. It was a tool to "mobilize, collectivize and adjoin by creating a sense of unification".[141] This unified body of new citizens (this time) with the intermediary of scouting had a lot to learn from Europe (especially Britain) and transmit this civilization to the Eastern peoples. Thus scouting, with all its ability to reach all different segments of the youth, would be a crucial part of this chain of transferring 'culture' and 'civilization mission' to the East.

This is how scouting and scout institutions were internalized so quickly by the Greek political elites, and in a way collaborated with the 'scout press.'[142] One example among many others is this: The newspaper *Ο Πρόσκοπος της Μακεδονίας* (The Scout of Macedonia), transferred the speech of the governor of Pelli, Mr. P. Tsitsilia, who celebrated the anniversary of the "union of two Greeces", saying that "Greece, the land of the *liberal ideals*; Greece, the land of the *democratic principles*

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[141] Cited in Georgia Eglezou, *The Greek Media in World War I and Its Aftermath: The Athenian Press on the Asia Minor Crisis*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009), p. 38.

[142] From 1914 until 1922, there are seven scout magazines published in Greek, apart from *O Proskopos* of Constantinople; such as: *Έσο Έτοιμος* [Be Prepared, Alexandria, 1914-1916], *Πρόσκοπος* [Scout, Athens, 1914-1915], *Ο Έλλην Πρόσκοπος* [The Greek Scout, Port-Said, 1914], *Η Νέα Γενεά ή Γενεά των Προσκόπων* [The New Generation or the Generation of Scouts, Athens, 1915-1917], *Η Ζωή των Προσκόπων* [Athens, 1917-1921], *Ο Πρόσκοπος Μακεδονίας* [The Scout of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 1918], *Έσο Έτοιμος* [Be Prepared, Athens, 1922]. For a record of juvenile press in Greek see: Martha Karpozylou, *Ελληνικός Νεανικός Τύπος (1830-1914) Καταγραφή* [Greek Juvenile Press (1830-1914) A Record], Athens: Historical Archive of Hellenic Youth, 1987. Kostas G. Tsiknakis, *Ο Ελληνικός Νεανικός Τύπος (1915-1936)* [The Greek Juvenile Press (1915-1936)], (Athens: Historical Archive of Hellenic Youth, 1986).

and traditions, extends her weaponed arm for living the life of a free Nation, for reaching its destination, for continuing her brilliant history of struggles in favor of Justice."[143] That was to be the way of the youngsters; the destination was a free and civilized unified Nation; the governor was observing that "Greek youth came back to the way of duty!"[144]

Historical Background: Scouting in Greece and 'Scouting Memory'

The greater picture of scouting in the Hellenic Kingdom and the 'Hellenic lands', whose role in the ideological background is revealed in the above discussions on Megali Idea can be read through the life stories of 'great men' in the Greek national historiography: such as Eleftherios Venizelos, Konstantinos Melas, Miltiadis Negropontis, and et al. While these names played crucial roles in the institutionalization of the scout movement in Greece, the Corps of Greek Scouts has produced its own great names: Athanasios Lefkaditis, Dimitris Glinos, A. Antipas[145], Markos Mindler, Isaias Isaias...

What Sir Baden Powell is for Britain, Athanasios Lefkaditis is for Greece; as an upper-class physical education and gymnastics instructor.[146] Greek scouting has

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[143] *O Proskopos tis Makedonias* (The Scout of Macedonia), Thessaloniki, 6 August 1918. (italics are mine)

[144] *O Proskopos tis Makedonias* (The Scout of Macedonia), Thessaloniki, 6 August 1918.

[145] See Appendix A. Magazines I.a. The cover of *O Proskopos* honors Andreas Antipas, 30 April 1920.

[146] Athanasios Lefkaditis was born in Athens, in 1872; studied gymnastics in the National Gymnastics School, where he later became a professor. He taught in this School, which later took the name of National Academy of Physical Education, from 1899 until 1922. Later, he started working as a trainer in the Marasleion Academy (stayed there until 1934) while he was, in parallel, organizing volleyball tournaments for scout groups, and he was struggling for women's athletics. He came forward with climbing and cycling, took place in the committees of various tournaments, was the head of the

honored him as the 'founder' and the 'grandfather of the Greek scouts'; while his enthusiasm when he first saw the boy scouts of Baden Powell in his voyage to London, had become one of the founding myths of the institution. In 1910, after a joyful experience he had during the observation of the British boy scouts for two years, A. Lefkaditis founded the First Group of Greek Scouts, in Athens. This would create a newly vivid atmosphere for youth that would soon impress state authorities, the Prime Minister E. Venizelos first of all, and would then be the pushing force to gather a group of upper and upper-middle class individuals, "the forerunners of modernity" for the Greek society.

Konstantinos Melas,[147] "a handsome man with rare psychic and spiritual abilities, and a passionate lover of nature,"[148] officer in the Greek Naval Forces during the Balkan Wars, would be the first one to pay attention to this new movement in 1911; and later be the outstanding figure in the administrative level of the institutionalization of Greek scouting. 1912 was the year, that with a new regulation, scouting would be introduced to the Greek society. "I promise that I will adhere my belief to the Motherland and the King; that I will always help people and whatever

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Smyrna Pan-Ionian tournaments in 1907, and was a member of the committee of the Olympic Games in 1924. He died in 1944, in Athens under German occupation. See Nikos Kourkouris, *Ελληνικός Προσκοπισμός, 1910-1935: Αθανάσιος Λευκαδίτης (Greek Scouting 1910-1935: Athanasios Lefkaditis)*, (Athens: Idrima Meizonos Ellinismou, 2009).

[147] Kostantinos Melas was born in Marseilles, France, in 1874; in a wealthy and well-known family, his father being the ex-mayor of Athens, and his brother the ethno-martyr of the Macedonian Struggle, Pavlos Melas. Took place in the Greek Army, during the 1897 Greek-Ottoman War; then worked as the military assistant of Prince Yeorgios in Crete; and after 1900, became the assistant of Pavlos Kountouriotis, the famous naval officer. In 1915, he founded the Greek Association of the League of Nations, and in 1919 he supported YMCA. Apart from his work in military and political aspects, it is possible to find out his intellectual work about the discipline of young, and Scouting. He was a close collaborator of Venizelos, a liberal and a passionate anti-monarchic. Died in 1953. See Nikos Kourkouris, *Ελληνικός Προσκοπισμός 1910-1935: Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος (Greek Scouting 1910-1935: Eleftherios Venizelos)*, Vol: 1, (Athens: Idrima Meizonos Ellinismou, 2009).

[148] Nikos Kourkouris, Vol: 1, p. 17.

happens, and I will obey blindly to the Law of Scouts"[149] would be the oath of the Greek scouts, which would change within the coming years; while in parallel, the aim of the corps was determined: "the moral and physical growth of the Greek children, in a way securing the creation of good and virtuous citizens and soldiers".[150] 1912, was also the year that the institution of Greek scouting, became the Club of Greek Scouts and started to organize itself, firstly in Athens, and then in islands such as Lesbos, Limnos, Chios, Samos, Crete (1914), and large "Hellenic" centers such as Alexandria (1912).

In 1915, the Greek Boy Scouts, obtained the status of Guild, and in 1917, it took the ultimate status of an Institution. As the first general administer in 1915, Konstantinos Melas had already given the first command to the administrators and the heads of the groups: "The duties all of us offer to the Great Idea in the Association, are selfless and that's why we should, by constituting examples to our scouts, be, as much as possible, devoted and disciplined."[151] The discipline and the devotion shown in the experience of the fronts of the Balkan War, against Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire, should keep on in the name of the Nation. During the Balkan Wars, the scouts served as courriers, first aiders carrying the wounded, nurses, distributors of correspondence, and pre-trainers of newly selected ones; the military had supplied the

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[149] Nikos Kourkouris, *Ελληνικός Προσκοπισμός 1910-1935: Κωνσταντίνος Μελάς (Greek Scouting 1910-1935: Konstantinos Melas)*, Vol: 3, (Athens: Idrima Meizonos Ellinismou, 2009), p. 66.

[150] Nikos Kourkouris, Vol: 3, p. 23.

[151] The Greek version is as such: *"Αι υπηρεσίαι ας πάντε προσφέρομεν εις την μεγάλην Ιδέαν, ην το Σώμα εκπροσωπεί, είναι αφιλοκερδείς και ως εκ τούτου πρέπει, δίδοντες το παράδειγμα εις τους προσκόπους μας, να είμεθα όσο το δυνατόν αφοσιωμένοι και πειθαρχικοί."*, Command No. 1, 9 May 1915. See Kourkouris, *Ελληνικός Προσκοπισμός 1910-1935: Κωνσταντίνος Μελάς (Greek Scouting 1910-1935: Konstantinos Melas)*, Vol: 3, (Athens: Idrima Meizonos Ellinismou, 2009), p. 23.

scouts with bicycles for better services.[152] According to Isaias, "this contribution of the Scouts to that War, showed in practice that Greek Scouting, apart from having a pedagogical purpose, is useful as human force, due to its ability to offer services behind the front in war times."[153] This would be the period where the discourse of self-sacrificing and altruism would become the first and foremost for the Boy-Scout morale.

Greece remained neutral during the first two years of the First World War. This changed in September 1916, when E. Venizelos established the government of Thessaloniki against the monarchic government, and entered the war on the side of the Allies. The government of Venizelos would gain the struggle against the Monarchy, when in 1917 all the head forces would settle in Athens together with the advancement of the Scout Association. The regulation of 1917, would mark little changes in terms of the aim of the Corps, repeating the fact that "the aim of (SEP)[154] is the growth of the physical treatment and the healthy molding of the character of the Greek children, for the consolidation of the moral values and their life education, and the military pre-training of the Greek children."[155] This would be the year, when the Groups of Military Pre-Training would be established among the Greek Scouts: "10-12 year-old children would be considered as 'student scouts', 13-16 years would be 'scouts' and the ones between 16 and 20 years would be considered in the group of

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[152] Isaias Isaias, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Προσκοπισμού (History of Greek Scouting)*, Vol: 1, Greek Scouts Association, Athens, 1949, pp. 45-46.

[153] Ibid.

[154] The abbreviation of *Soma Ellinon Proskopon* (Corps of Greek Scouts).

[155] "Regulation: Article 2", *I Zoi Ton Proskopon (The Life of Scouts)*, September-October, 1917.

military pre-training."[156] An education of three years, would offer the boy-scouts a military-skills-diploma, which would provide rights and duties such as enrollment to the army voluntarily before the call for *levée en masse;* if not, to serve six months less than the appointed period etc.[157] The Corps of Boy Scouts were to take part in the total or half mobilization at wartime, while receiving financial support from the state (including monthly soldier wage for the scouts).[158]

Linking the scouting association with state policies, would be rather stating the obvious, particularly in the 'flourishing' years. However, the existence of the five members from the Ministry of Military, two members from the Ministry of the Naval Forces, and eight members from the Ministry of Education in the Committee of the Scout Association is telling. Moreover, it is stated in the regulation that the budget is formed with the support of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Military. Apart from the incomes from the celebrations, the sport demonstrations, the services of the Corps, and the donations.[159]

Greece had entered the Great War, and took her part in the 'total mobilization'; mobilization on the side of the scout groups, were highly

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[156] "Regulation: Article 7", *I Zoi Ton Proskopon (The Life of Scouts)*, September-October, 1917.

[157] "Regulation: Article 9", *I Zoi Ton Proskopon (The Life of Scouts)*, September-October, 1917.

[158] "Regulation: Article 17", *I Zoi Ton Proskopon (The Life of Scouts)*, September-October, 1917.

[159] "Regulation: Article 6", *I Zoi Ton Proskopon (The Life of Scouts)*, September-October, 1917.

accelerated. In Thessaloniki alone, the number of scout troops was 19 in 1917, (but it would become 45, in 1920).[160]

Such was the atmosphere of the 'mobilization' of the scout groups, across the Hellenic Kingdom, but also among the 'expatriate' Hellenism [*apodimos Ellinismos*]. This term considered Hellenic populations of Egypt, Cyprus, Britain and France, and most importantly it referred to the 'unredeemed populations, suffering under the Ottoman rule', in Asia Minor, and Constantinople.

According to Kourkouris, Konstantinos Melas, "believed in the visions of Venizelos about the redemption of our enslaved brothers and the great importance of scouting."[161] The Scout groups in Constantinople were set up in October 1918, and in February 1919, Konstantinos Melas had already travelled to Smyrna, for the establishment of the scout groups there; even before the Greek army had intervened and the Greek administration had settled in the areas.[162]

Apart from 'ancient' roots, Philhellenism, modernization and 'civilization' discourses, the National Greek scout history, has been constructed upon the memory of the "ethno-martyrs of Aydın". In May 1919, when the Greek Army occupies İzmir and the vilayet of Aydın, these places had already become centers for Greek scouting associations, with 33 troops of 1500 scouts

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[160] Nikos Kourkouris, *Ελληνικός Προσκοπισμός 1910-1935: Κωνσταντίνος Μελάς (Greek Scouting 1910-1935: Konstantinos Melas)*, Vol: 3, (Athens: Idrima Meizonos Ellinismou, 2009), pp. 29-30.

[161] Nikos Kourkouris, Vol: 3, p. 17.

[162] Within two years, there have been established 11 troops in various cities of Propontida (the region that covers the coasts of Marmara sea) and 63 troops were established in Asia Minor. The most popular one was Smyrna (with 17 troops); cities such as Dardanels, Urla, Aydın, Karaağaç, Ayvalık had from 3 troops each. For further details see Paradeisis, pp. 34-115.

each, at the end of 1920.[163] The leader and head-scout of the Aydın scouts Nikos Avgeridis, took the responsibility of the youngsters in the area, "finding out the passion for renaissance, that boils in the souls [of the young and the peoples of our lands]" and the great contributions that these scouts had made to the Greek army.[164] A great enthusiasm follows among the narrations of the scouts in Asia Minor, which is accompanied with the charm of the arrival of the Greek Army and the 'redemption' coming with it. The narrative goes as such: During the occupation of the Greek Army at the vilayet of Aydın; the boy-scouts took part in the struggle between the two armies, during which Turkish brigands killed and tortured the troops of Nikos Avgeridis. This is a reflection of the experiences of an occupation, with the scout point of view; and the narrative of the little-soldiers. The scouts in Asia Minor, participating in the front of the Greek Army, took part in the wars and atrocities happening between the Greek and the Turkish forces.[165] These events of June/July 1919 have various narratives in both historiographies, but if we consider the 'national scout historiography' these incidents which ended up with the death of a troop of scouts and their leader, marks not only the contemporary perception of this group as 'ethno-martyrs', but it also constitutes one of the strongest elements of

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[163] N. Paradeisis, p. 49.

[164] "Τραγικαί Λεπτομέριαι" (Tragic Details), *I Zoi Ton Proskopon (Life of the Scouts)*, 1 July 1919. And see, B. A. Lambropoulou, *Προσκοπισμός: Εξήντα Χρόνια Στην Υπηρεσία της Πατρίδος και της Νεότητος (Μικρή Ιστορία του ΣΕΠ)*, [*Scouting: Sixty Years of Service to the Motherland and her Youth (A Small History of the Corps of Greek Scouts)]),* (Athens: Eptalofos EPE, 1971), p. 61.

[165] Tasos Kostopoulos, *Πόλεμος και Εθνοκάθαρση: Η Ξεχασμένη Πλευρά Μιας Δεκαετούς Εθνικής Εξόρμησης, 1912-1922 (War and Etnic-cleansing: The Forgotten Side of a Decade of National Campaign),* (Athens: Bibliorama, 2007), pp. 99-101.

national history in Greece.[166] The official organ of the Greek Scouts Association, announces the incident with the title "To the Murdered Scouts of Aydın", emphasizing the altruism and the sacrifice of these 20 youngsters:

> Rushing about the villages of Aydın, Nazilli and Söke, [N. Avgeridis] promulgated the principles of Scouting in lectures with totally devoted to the benefit of the public and the nation, and collaborated with eagerness in the 'Association of the Hellenes of Aydın' and in various Greek gymnastics associations of Ionia. (...) They are not the first victims fighting for the Scouting Ideal and the accomplishment of Scout Commands, however the tragic events that accompanied the crime against the benefactor citizens and innocent children touches the whole Greek and Christian heart.[167]

The official gazette of the Corps of Greek Scout of the district Constantinople, *O Proskopos,* [published its first issue in 9 November 1919] refers to this 'massacre of Aydın', for the first time in the issue of 20 March 1920, through the words of the correspondent of *O Proskopos* in Smyrna Evangelos Ioannidis:

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[166] Still, many streets and public squares of Greece, have adopted the name 'Scouts of Aydın' (*Πρόσκοποι Αϊδινίου)*; such as the streets in Nea Smyrni and Nikaia districts of Athens, Thessaloniki, Volos, Lesbos, Crete; statues for the memory of these young ethno-martyrs remind to the citizens of Greece this catastrophe; and still there are commemorations devoted to this event. Lastly, in 2003 and 2004, some streets of Komotini have been renamed to the 'scouts of Aydın'. Also in May 2010, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the 76th Troop of Cypriot scouts, the murdered scouts of Asia Minor were commemorated for the first time in Cyprus. See also Paradeisis, Nikolaos K. *Ο προσκοπισμός στις αλησμόνητες πατρίδες 1919-1922: Μικρά Ασία, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Θράκη. (Scouting in the unforgotten motherlands 1919-1922: Asia Minor, Constantinople, Thrace)*, (Athens: Mikros Romios, 2000), pp. 128-135. We find the programme of a commemoration in the archives of the Corps of Greek Scouts; the speech is of Dimitrios Makridis, "Sacrifice of the Scouts of Aydın, Söke and Down Panagia (1919-1922)", *Commemorating the Memory of the Murdered Scouts in Aydın, Söke and Down Panagia, in the Unforgotten Motherlands,* Hall of the Aristotle University Thessaloniki, 31 March 2003.

[167] "Εις τους Σφαγέντας Προσκόπους Αϊδινίου", *I Zoi Ton Proskopon (Life of the Scouts),* 1 July 1919. *"Περιτρέχων τα χωρία του Αϊδινίου, του Ναζλίου, των Σωκίων, εκήρυττε τας αρχάς του Προσκοπισμού δια διαλέξεων προσερχόμενος άμα αρωγός εις πάν εθνικόν και κοινωφελές έργον και συνεργαζόμενος μετά ζήλου και εις τον «Σύνδεσμον των Ελλήνων Αϊδινίου» και εις τα διάφορα ελληνικά γυμναστικά σωματεία της Ιωνίας. (...) Δεν είναι οι πρώτοι, οι οποίοι έπεσαν θύματα αγωνιζόμενοι υπέρ της Προσκοπικής Ιδέας και εν τη εκτέλεσει των Προσκοπικών Εντολών, αι τραγικαί όμως περιστάσεις αι οποίαι συνώδευσαν το διαπραχθέν έγκλημα κατά φιλονόμων και ευεργετικωτάτων πολιτών και αθώων παίδων συγκινεί πάσαν ελληνικήν και χριστιανικήν καρδίαν."*

"Don't disregard the commemoration of the scouts of Aydın, whose blood sprinkled the tree of Greek scouting, so that it could never parch and collapse."[168]

The 'Scouts of Aydın' whose death became a national symbol, a date of recalling the 'atrocities suffered by the Turks' among the Greek scouts during the days when the Greek Army was in Asia Minor in order to 'realize the ambitions' of the nation. For 'national scout historiography' which is mainly symbolized by Isaias Isaias, the narrative follows the line of the "heroic city of Aydın, with its population welcoming the Greek soldiers full of enthusiasm and tears of deep emotions, had suffered from the 'barbaric acts' of Turks", whereas "the heroic scouts (some of them besides the soldiers, the younger ones with the fighting population), being loyal to their duties and having adopted the education of scouting, have sacrificed their lives for mother Greece."[169] This was a 'duty' of the young, as it was for the older soldiers: to fight for their motherland and sacrifice their lives for it. The young scouts were *ready* with the education they had taken, while they would never be forgotten by Greek scouting but also by world scouting. Also the Corps of Greek Scouts would be honored with the Military Diploma, in March 26, 1922, for their service to the motherland with the sacrifice of the 'Scouts of Aydın'.[170]

It is possible to read the 'national scout historiography' parallel to the official Greek one. Despite the fact that the publications of the corps

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[168] "Προσκοπική Κίνησις" (Scout Movement), *O Proskopos,* 20 March 1920, p. 15.

[169] See Isaias Isaias, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Προσκοπισμού (History of Greek Scouting)*, Vol: 1, Greek Scouts Association, Athens, 1949, pp. 193-197.

[170] See Appendix A. Photograph II.

(contemporary to the period, or newer ones) seemingly offer a totally new world of pedagogy on youngsters, it is obvious that these scout troops (particularly the ones in Asia Minor where the war was going on with all its violence) played a role both in the military affairs and in 'high politics'. Asia Minor was the second battle field of the Corps of Greek Scouts, after the Balkan Wars, who participated actively in the front as little-soldiers, and left behind the narrative of ethno-martyrs. Eventually, the Corps of Greek Scouts had fulfilled their role for the sake of the Greek nation, with their 'ethno-martyrs'; thus they were supposed to share the remnants of a national catastrophe, as agents of the institutions fighting for the 'Greek cause'. The 'district of Constantinople' would follow these incidents closely, and enhance the attributed importance of scouting among the youth of the city.

CHAPTER V

ALLIED OCCUPATION IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND SCOUTING

The last article of the Armistice of Moudros, signed on the 30 October 1918 which marked the end of the Great War in Ottoman territory stipulated the termination of hostilities between the Allies and Turkey from 31 October 1918.[171] However, this treaty would carry with it unsolved problems and would legitimize the *de jure* occupation of Constantinople on 16 March 1920.[172] Up until that point the sole concern was the evacuation of German soldiers from the capital city and their replacement by the Allied Forces whilst at the same time trying to keep 'order and neutrality' with the existence of the Ottoman governments. These five years of *de facto* and *de jure* 'occupation' and their partitioned control of the city[173] would have various meanings for the Ottoman government, the Kemalist movement, and mainly for the inhabitants of Constantinople. For part of the inhabitants of the city, the period of Armistice would symbolize a ceaseless crisis of foreign occupation and need of a nationalist revival or decadence after the Great War with demoralization and the suffering of society. For other parts it might have been the 'promised day' of emancipation. It was a concomitant crisis to the ongoing war in Anatolia; a

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[171] For the whole text of the treaty (in Turkish, comparing with the English and French version) see Seha L. Meray and Osman Olcay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Çöküş Belgeleri: Modros Brakışması, Sevr Andlaşması, İlgili Belgeler,* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1977), pp. 1-5.

[172] This legitimization comes due to the famous Article 7, that gives the right of occupation to any of the Allied powers, for 'strategically crucial points'; which in our case would be Constantinople.

[173] After the *de jure* occupation, quartiers such as Pera, Galata and Şişli were controlled by the British; Üsküdar by the Italian, and Western suburs by the French forces. See Nur Bilge Criss, *İşgal Altında İstanbul 1918-1923,* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), pp. 95-123.

'decadence' due to the fact of existence of a society that had experienced the Great War and was still involved in another war suffering all its social, economical and psychological maladies. The 'date of salvation' was for those experiencing similar maladies of war an expectation of their 'dreams', their 'national imaginations' being realized. These observations are valid for the whole population of the Ottoman Empire who, after years of experiencing continuous turmoil and even still at the end of the Great War in 1918 cannot physically feel the Armistice in real terms.

The social unrest rampant while the diplomatic negotiations were taking place in Paris, was inevitable for both the Muslim and non-Muslim population of Istanbul. The national struggles and interests of the diplomatic arena were inevitably reflected upon the populations. Particularly the occupation of Smyrna by the Greek military forces during the Paris Peace Negotiations which played a decisive role in the continuation of the *status-quo*-war, and the inter-ethnic hostilities were apparent in Istanbul. The Prime Minster of the Greek Kingdom Eleftherios Venizelos strived to determine the position of Greece amongst the Allied powers and safeguard her interests in the post-war settlements and her destiny [to claim] territories in the Ottoman Empire.[174] Venizelos claimed the islands of the Aegean together with the Dodecanese which remained under Italian occupation for six years, almost the whole of northern Epirus and Western and Eastern Thrace. However, he offered no formal claim for Cyprus, neither for Constantinople due to the vital international interests in the city and the possibility of a future international status.[175]

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[174] For a contemporary analysis of the diplomacy going on between Greece and the Allied Powers see: G. F. Abbot, *Greece and the Allies 1914-1922,* (London: Methuen & Co., 1922).

[175] Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ioanian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922*, (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), p. 72. For further discussions about the future status of Constantinople, the demands of Venizelos and the process of 'chosing' Smyrna, see: Nikoloas Petsalidis-Diomidis, "1919: Τη

Throughout this chapter I aim to focus on the intellectual setting of the Corps of Greek Scouts in Constantinople – considering it together with the previously mentioned example of Britain and Europe – in a period where the *megali idea* would be at its peak at the Kingdom as well as amongst the Ottoman Greek population in the city. For the Ottoman Greek populations in Constantinople, it was the first time that a scouting organization was established, immediately following the Armistice under the name of Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople [*Σώμα Ελλήνων Προσκόπων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*-SEPK]. The nation would return address its 'childhood' again offering it a new duty in Constantinople. This time, a new type of education (keen to military education) would take place carrying all its intellectual background from Britain to Greece and to the Ottoman Greeks. Whether it was a 'national showing-off' or a 'leisure activity'[176] with all its intellectual background, middle-class morality and patriotism churned to serve Venizelism within the Greek community in Istanbul. Scouting was fitting to the mission it had to fulfill with its "auxiliary and supplementary to the family and to school"[177] character. After providing brief information about the situation of the Greek community of Istanbul during the Armistice, this thesis aims to 'read' the spiritual ground of scouting from

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Σμύρνη ή την Πόλη; Μια Εναλλακτική Λύση που ο Βενιζέλος Απέρριψε Μάλλον Βεβιασμένα" (1919: Smyrna or the City? An Alternative Solution that Venizelos Probably Refused Hurriedly), in *Μελετήματα Γύρω από τον Βενιζέλο και την Εποχή του (Studies about Venizelos and his Period)*, (ed.) Thanos Veremis and Odisseas Dimitrakopoulos, (Athens: Ekd. Filipoti, 1980), pp. 101-117.
See also: "He was certain, however, that once the Thracian hinterland was translated to Greece, the huge Greek minority within *Konstantinoupolis* would dominate that city." Alexis Alexandris, "The Constantinopolitan Greek Factor and the Anatolian War 1918-1922", in *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974,* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), p. 53.

[176] This is the way the scout movements are categorized in: Clarence Richard Johnson (ed.), *İstanbul 1920,* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007), pp. 224-245.

[177] "Αντί Προγράμματος" (As a Programme), *O Proskopos*, No: 1, 9 November 1919, p. 2.

the sole publication of the Greek scouts in Constantinople, *O Proskopos* (The Scout) linking it together with other publications in the Greek state.

Venizelism on Stage

During the ongoing diplomacy in the post-World War era, the Ecumenical Patriarchate was one of the major actors to express the pro-Venizelist approaches to the international arena. Thus the Patriarchate, due to the traumatic experiences of the World War I and the failure of the 'Ottomanist' identity of the Young Turk rule, was convinced once more that the *megali idea* was about to become a reality.[178] The locum tenens of the Patriarchate Dorotheos Mammelis of Bursa was to embrace this idea and started to function as a politician taking part in diplomacy. In his report to Georges Clemenceau president of the Peace Conference, he emphasized the "sacred character of Hellenism for Constantinople" as "the brilliant capital of the Greek Empire of the Orient"[179] and continued: *Tant que Constantinople ne sera pas grecque, la question d'Orient ne sera pas définitivement résolue.*[180] The declaration of 16 March 1919 openly states the intention of "union with the motherland Greece" and released the Ottoman Greeks from their civic responsibilities as Ottoman

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[178] Alexis Alexandris, "The Constantinopolitan Greek Factor and the Anatolian War 1918-1922", in *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974,* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), p. 55.

[179] *Lés Grecs de L'Empire Ottoman: Mémoire Soumis a la Conference par le Patriarcat Oecumenique,* (Paris, 1919), p. 8.

[180] Ibid., p. 10.

citizens.[181] Similarly the Patriarchate ceased to act as an Ottoman authority, and created its own "megaloideatism".[182]

A similar resolution was offered with the signatures of delegates from 154 committees of associations, societies, unions, corporations, organizations and Greek lodges of Constantinople each claiming representation of the Greek population of the city and declaring their persistence in "demanding union with their motherland".[183]

Due to this stance of the Patriarchate and more generally due to the mood of the community, the Ottoman governments reacted. Turkish nationalism was rising in the city particularly after the occupation of Smyrna. Reactions at meetings in several Muslim neighborhoods of Istanbul,[184] pamphlets demanding the boycott of Greek commerce[185] and secret underground organizations established for supporting the nationalist movement of Anatolia.[186]

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[181] Alexis Alexandris, "The Constantinopolitan Greek Factor and the Anatolian War 1918-1922", in *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974,* Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992, pp. 56-57 and p. 61. A later report of Dorotheos to Lloyd George was as such: *"The idea of a Greek nation will not be realised so long as Constantinople is not united to Greece by a strong tie... We, therefore, ask for the union of Constantinople with the Mother Country, and we propose this argument, together with the internationalization of the Straits, as the best solution, because it guarantees the right of self-determination and the interests of the Powers concerned. If for reasons which we can appreciate, this solution appears to be of too radical a nature we should propose that Greece should receive a mandate to govern the state of Constantinople."* Alexandris, p. 61.

[182] See Sia Anagnostopoulou, "1919-1922: Ο εθναρχισμός του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου στο πλαίσιο της Μεγάλης Ιδέας", *Historica* 47, Athens, (December 2007), pp. 373-420.

[183] FO 371/5190, *Views of Greek Communities of Constantinople on future of Constantinople,* 18 March 1920. See Appendix B. Sources IV.

[184] For a lively narration about the protests and demonstrations see: İ. Hakkı Sunata, *İstanbul'da İşgal Yılları,* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), pp. 33-43. Kemal Arıburnu, *Milli Mücadele'de İstanbul Mitingleri,* (Ankara: Yeni Desen Matbaası, 1975).

[185] For instance see: Archive of Foreign Ministry Greece, Central Office, 1/5, 1922, 27 April 1922.

[186] See Bilge Criss, *İşgal Altında İstanbul,* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), pp. 143-203. Also see: Hüsnü Himmetoğlu, *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda İstanbul ve Yardımları,* (Istanbul: Ülkü Matbaası, 1975). During the Armistice period 12 cabinets were established for the government. While the cabinets of Damad Ferit Paşa would be opposing the nationalist movement while the others would keep better dialogue. For detailed information about the Ottoman governments during the Armistice period see:

Apart from the developments in the Ottoman government and the nationalist movement in Anatolia, the Greek community of Istanbul had its internal problems. Even after the defeat of the Venizelists in the 1920 elections and the restoration of the Royalist government, the political atmosphere in Constantinople remained supportive of Venizelos and Venizelist circles formed the Constantinopolitan National Defense League (generally referred to as Amyna / *Εθνική Άμυνα Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*).[187] "This was a turning point in the political life of the unredeemed Greeks, because for the first time Constantinople would openly challenge the political predominance of Athens."[188] Parallel to this, following changes within the military ranks in favor of the Royalists, Venizelist officers arrived to Constantinople, and the effect of this polarization was obvious within the Greek High Commission.[189] The *Amynites* acted as an autonomous organization for the realization of the ambitions of the Greek nation in Constantinople; negotiating with the British government and at the same time struggling against the Royalist circles in

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Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler: Mütareke Dönemi, Cilt: 2,* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003). Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele,* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1976).

[187] FO 371 4685, *Situation in Greek Circles in Constantinople produced by recent developments in Greece,* 1920. Alexis Alexandris, "The Constantinopolitan Greek Factor and the Anatolian War 1918-1922", in *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974,* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), p. 69.

[188] Dimitris Kamouzis, *The Constantinopolitan Greeks in an era of secular nationalism, mid-19th century to 1930,* (Ph.d. diss., King's College London, 2009), p. 119.

[189] FO 371 4685, *Situation in Greek Circles in Constantinople produced by recent developments in Greece,* 1920. These officers had either refused to serve in the Constantinist armies or were dismissed by the new régime. Most prominent among them were the generals E. Zimbrakakis, D. Ioannou, A. Mazarakis, G. Katechakis and Colonel G. Kondylis. Alexis Alexandris, "The Constantinopolitan Greek Factor and the Anatolian War 1918-1922", in *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974,* Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992, p. 70. For a detailed study on this polarization between the Venizelists and the Royalists see Chapter 3 in Dimitris Kamouzis, *The Constantinopolitan Greeks in an era of secular nationalism, mid-19th century to 1930,* (Ph.d. diss., King's College London, 2009), pp. 92-162.

the city,[190] collaborating with the Patriarchate and finally acting intermediaries in the election of the Patriarch which would be the Venizelist Meletios Metaxakis (after a long period, in 25 November 1921, until when the throne remained empty).[191] However, the endeavors of the Patriarch during the negotiations with the Allies – with the British in particular –failed when the Allies started recognizing the Kemalist movement of Ankara.

The scene in Istanbul within the Greek forces and the Rum community had been polarized with 'internal' struggles. Constantinople had become the center of the Venizelists in opposition to Royalist Athens,[192] while "the ultimate goal of the nationalist movement shifted from unification with Venizelos' Greece to the creation of a separate state for the unredeemed Greeks in the Near East, as a reaction to the policy of Constantinist Athens."[193]

As the Patriarchate had become the speaker of these Greek nationalist ambitions, it played a crucial role within the negotiations with the Allies as well. Also, with Patriarchate's authority and impact as the head of the community (*ethnarch*), the grandiose ambitions of the Venizelist dream were the 'visible' ones for the historiography of the period. Even though the *Amyna* had functioned as an underground organization, the spectacular festivals and organizations for fund-raising and national showing-off made such organization 'visible'.

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[190] For instance see: "Δράσις Λιποτακτών Αξιωματικών" (Activities of Deserter Officers), Archive of Foreign Ministry Greece, Central Office, 2/2, 1921.

[191] Amyna acted as one of the conficting *interest* centers in the election of the Patriarch; the struggle was going on between the Patriarchate itself, the Amyna, and Athens. Sia Anagnostopoulou, "1919-1922: Ο εθναρχισμός του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου στο πλαίσιο της Μεγάλης Ιδέας", *Historica* 47, Athens, (December 2007), pp. 410-414.

[192] Anagnostopoulou, p. 402; Kamouzis, p. 160.

[193] Kamouzis, pp. 166-167.

At this point it needs to be emphasized that a part of the community was not represented throughout this historiography; the part which was not affected by the grandiose ambitions of the Venizelists and shared 'other solutions for the ongoing war'. While the occupation of Smyrna by the Greek military forces continued, the *International Workers' Union* in Istanbul was presenting its aim as the "organization of the Eastern workers and the revolutionary education of the proletariat of the East".[194] As per Seraphim Maksimos; they didn't refrain from expressing their antimilitarist and anti-war feelings in their reports. This long quote will be enough to give an idea about their intentions:

> The profiteering policies of the Allied states that provoked the Greco-Turkish war, increase the enmity between the Greek and Turkish subjects. The furious campaign that the press of both sides conduct, sharpens national controversy. The Turks are supported by the Kemalist agents and the nationalist party in power, and depending on the situation and the conditions, by the French and the Italians. The Greeks are supported by the [King] Constantinists, which support the military authorities; and thus the leader of the Venizelists the Patriarchate agreed with Constantinists; while the Greek party is supported by the British. All of this, is martial law, censorship, the military dictatorship of the soldiers and terror![195]

Thus a group of intellectuals and the participant workers of the *International Workers' Union,* were in favor of "an urgent end to the Anatolian war".[196]

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[194] Erden Akbulut and Mete Tunçay, *Beynelmilel İşçiler İttihadı: Mütareke İstanbulu'nda Rum Ağırlıklı Bir İşçi Örgütü ve TKP ile İlişkileri,* (Istanbul: Sosyal Tarih Yayınları, 2009), p. 18.

[195] Ibid., p. 59.

[196] Erden Akbulut and Mete Tunçay, *Beynelmilel İşçiler İttihadı: Mütareke İstanbulu'nda Rum Ağırlıklı Bir İşçi Örgütü ve TKP ile İlişkileri,* (Istanbul: Sosyal Tarih Yayınları, 2009), p. 133. This is one of the decisions given in the Grand Assembly of Workers, in the Kağıthane district of Istanbul, on 1 May 1922. Intellectuals such as Serafim Maksimos and Nikos Zahariadis, two Constantinopolitan Greeks, that played important role in the socialist movement in Constantinople during the Allied Occupation, were names that became known later in the communist movement of Greece. They had to migrate to Greece, together with many others, when the Union was closed with the blame of "collaborating with Greece", in 1923. For more information see, Akbulut and Tunçay, *Beynelmilel İşçiler İttihadı;* Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar-I 1908-1925,* (Istanbul: BDS Yayınları, 2000).

These brief descriptions offer a general outlook on the situation of the Constantinopolitan Greeks. Despite the existence of political ideologies such as royalism (in support of the King of Greece), or socialism, the main tendency remained 'liberal Venizelism', even after November 1920; the date when Venizelos lost the elections to the Royalists and had to step down from the political scene.

War, Occupation and 'Decadence'

The general picture of the Armistice in Istanbul is not more than 'decadence' for the Turkish/Muslim population as far as it is seen in a quite wide literature of memoirs and novels written in Turkish.[197] This can be rephrased as 'decadence' that acts in two dimensions: firstly, it remains as the concrete dimension of a post-war sanitary and mental condition (which is valid not only for the Muslim populations, but also applies to the whole population of Istanbul). Secondly, the abstract notion of decadence of the nation; this refers to the betrayal of the populations of the Ottoman Empire – the betrayal of part of the non-Muslims against the Muslims. Thus the Muslim population was facing two threats, apart from the warring situations; it was the threat of the Western 'moral corruption' that entered the borders of the Empire. The West was violating the East, and a total corrupt society came out of these facts. Even the ongoing diplomatic negotiations the Allied didn't hesitate to enjoy their 'glory' in the streets of the city, with all their impertinence and immoral attitudes. However the second corruption came from 'within'; there were 'collaborators' to

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Panagiotis Noutsos, *Η Σοσιαλιστική Σκέψη στην Ελλάδα 1875-1974 (Socialist Thought in Greece)*, Vol: 2, (Athens: Gnosi, 1994).

[197] One of the most decisive and influential novels for the depiction of the Armistice years in Istanbul is classical *Sodom ve Gomore* (Sodom and Gomorra) by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. [Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984 (first edition in 1924)]. The following literature on the Armistice period has been widely influenced from the stance of *Sodom ve Gomore* and adopted its language easily.

this decadent situation. The role of the 'collaborators' was even more traumatic than the occupiers. The 'Greek factor' was an even more decisive and prominent factor in the perception of *decadence* or *decline* for the Muslim populations; the Greeks were transmitters, the intermediaries, or the want that do not resist to this decline of immorality against the integrity of the state.

However the experience of the population that considered itself occupied and resisted to the occupation because of the whole despair, frustration and decline it was carrying was not the only one. The feeling of moral decadence was not absent in the minds of Ottoman Greeks as well; even though the period of Armistice was seen as *the victory* (at least in the beginning) the Greek society had to face its problems originating from the whole experience of War itself. This started as a period of *victory* for the Greek populations, however realizing the conditions of war would be soon. The charm of the victory but the despair of war would call the *grandeur of scouting.*

The magazine *Ap'Ola* published articles on the "many benefits and the damaging effects" of war: "The benefits are material, spiritual, are social – but the damages are not less. The huge number of graves and the beautiful ruins may answer this."[198] However, for the same source, the damages of war could not be listed only as material damages; the notion of 'general health' was part of the 'decadence' from the Ottoman Greek viewpoint. The result was "the catastrophe of something really valuable – of general health" and the comparison between 1914 and 1919 brought only "social cases such as syphilis, alcoholism, tuberculosis,

[198] *Ap'Ola,* 16/29 January 1919.

barrenness."[199] At the end of the year the moral emphasis was obvious at the anonymous article of *Ap'Ola* which complained that "the family [was] poisoned" and that "the disruption of the family is a hole, from which all the bacteria of social illnesses can get through. Society without a family, is not a society, in other words it doesn't have bonds."[200] All of these descriptions about the collapse of bonds in the family and the social illnesses, was related with overdose alcohol and the bad habits that couldn't be controlled in the chaotic atmosphere of the wars.

The young would be the ones affected the most from this decadence. The urban middle classes among the Ottoman Greeks had the possibilities and would carry the responsibility for the 'recovery' of the young. It should be noted that orphanages were full of infants who had experienced the war. Out of this decadence the young would recover themselves as the fit and powerful, as the efficient and obedient youth of their glorious nation which was at the edge of realizing a dream. Scouting was born out of such an environment in Constantinople.

Corps of Greek Scouts and Scouting in Constantinople

As an idea, scouting was not new to the Ottoman Empire; newer was its institutionalization among the Greeks during the Armistice period. The idea of instructing citizenship, or guiding and mobilizing citizens in becoming 'proper' for the nation had in itself already been as valid as the mainstream idea of the middle classes of various populations from the end of the nineteenth century. This is how physical education entered curriculums in public education and how it became institutionalized as an obligatory course in the direction of instructors from abroad.

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[199] *Ap'Ola,* 16/29 January 1919.

[200] *Ap'Ola,* 15/25 October 1919.

The idea of 'scouting' in particular, flourished parallel to the Anglo-Saxon example in the second decade of the twentieth century. Apart from the flourishment of scouting groups during the Armistice period, we know that boy-scouting was spread parallel to the British case among the Young Turks,[201] but also it became quite popular among the Armenian communities of the Empire. In fact, the Armenian scout groups as well started to be formed as part of educational activities, by Savars Krisyan in 1909, and by Hovhannes Hintliyan, in March 1912; but they are banned by the Committee of Union and Progress before the World War starts.[202] Meanwhile, we know that a scout troop was established in connection with the English High School for Boys, in May 1914, and "not only do the Scouts consist of British boys, but also Turkish, Greek and Armenians."[203]

The reason of the flourishment of the scout groups and the appearance of scouting as a pedagogical method appears as similar to the British case: Organizing the state of youth, in periods of eminent social decadence; "will they be ready and willing as fit guardians of the traditions of the past and the values of the present, and

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[201] See the cases mentioned in Chapter III.

[202] See the chapter on Armenian scouts in Paradeisis, Nikolaos K. *Ο προσκοπισμός στις αλησμόνητες πατρίδες 1919-1922: Μικρά Ασία, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Θράκη (Scouting in the Unforgotten Motherlands 1919-1922: Asia Minor, Constantinople, Thrace)*, (Athens: Mikros Romios, 2000), pp. 153-156. Hovhannes Hintliyan (1866-1950) had been the director of various Armenian schools of Istanbul, such as Tarkmanchats, Beyoglu and Getronagan; and the founder of Nor Tıbrots (New School) in 1909. Kevork Pamukçiyan, *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler,* (Istanbul: Aras Yayınları, 2003), p. 242. Moreover it is possible to see the existence of scouting and physical education newspapers and magazines published in Armenian, in Istanbul before the World War and during the Armistice; such as *Marmnamarz* (1911-1914), *Mangatz Giyank Gam Mer Portzeri* (1914), *Hay Isgaud* (1919-1922), *Isgaud* (1921-1922), *Marzaşğarh* (1922). I owe this information to Zakarya Mildanoğlu who has opened for me a new world for the Armenian physical education and scouting culture; while Altuğ Yılmaz made me think about comparing and thinking about the Armenian scout activities.

[203] *The Scout,* 30 May 1914. *The Scout* was the official gazette of the Headquarters of the Boy Scouts Association in Britain and was announcing developments about scouting all around the world. This was the announcement for the troop in Istanbul: *"CONSTANTINOPLE: On St. George's day a troop was started here in connection with the English High School for Boys. Not only do the Scouts consist of British boys, but also Turkish, Greek and Armenians."*

will they take this precious cargo into the future?"[204] The 'occupied Constantinople' with the picture frame described above had the burden of social decadence created by the remnants of a total war; the Greek community seemed to enter a new era of realizing the national dream of liberal Venizelism which would serve the accomplishment of the 'larger' nation-state building. This nation-state had to have its youth always 'ready'. The sports clubs, culture of physical education and gymnastics already institutionalized in the community were thus ready to adopt the brilliant idea of scouting.

The scout groups of various nationalities were organized under the auspices of the International Boy Scout Council of Constantinople, headed by the British Colonel Maxwell. A total of 3.145 scouts from Armenian, Greek, Turkish, Jewish, British, American, Russian and Italian scout troops were represented in this council. Each nationality had two representatives and one secretary.[205] These scout groups were mainly organized through clubs in schools, sports associations and orphanages. The American boy scouts were organized mainly in the Robert College; the British scouts had two troops organized within the auspices of the British High School for

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[204] These are the words for the organized youth movements of Michael J. Childs, *Labour's Apprentices: Working Class Lads in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[205] "America was represented by Mr. Pritchard and Mr. Edgar Harty by Robert College, Armenia by Mr. Ardaches Kavanassian, Gérair Karassandjian and Leon Agopian; England by Mr. Claude de Berry, Bert. Whiteley and Edward Harty; Jewish by L. N. Bercovitz, Ziffer and Ed. Meschoulam, Greece by Mr. Fotiadis and Mr. Aristoboulos, Russia by the author [Alfred de Berry], and finally France by Mr. Garnier, S. M. Godefroi, and secretary Mr. Fevre. The Council will gather ragularly once a month, apart from extraordinary casesç The address will be: H. Q. 1st Constant. Troop British B.P. Scouts, Rue de Brousse, Péra." From the declaration of Alfred de Berry, General Secretary of the Commissioner British Boy Scouts Constantinople, 19 November 1919; find in "Προσκοπική Κίνησις Ν. Ρωσσίας και Κων/Πόλεως" (Scout Movement of New Russia and Constantinople), *O Proskopos,* No: 2, 1 December 1919.

Boys[206] (the First Constantinople Troop of British Boy Scouts and the First Constantinople Troop of International Boy Scouts). The Italian boy scouts were organized under the name 'Corpo Nazionale Giovani Exploratori Italiani' and the Russian troops were organized through the Russian YMCA.[207]

The Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople was established within an atmosphere based upon the mentality of rearing citizen-soldiers and 'civilizing' adolescents. In Istanbul, the Corps had been established with an organic tie to the High Commission and the Greek Red Cross as can be observed from the active names participating in scout activities. During 1919 and 1920, all the parishes and districts of Constantinople had established their own troops.[208] The magazine *O Proskopos* printed and distributed fortnightly in Istanbul (first published in November 1919) provides a guide to the reflection of the spirit and perception of the middle-class Hellenic and/or the Ottoman Greek citizen merged within the

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[206] "Scouting", *Magazine of the English High School for Boys, Constantinople,* No: 7, June 1921, pp. 24-25.

[207] It is known that the Italian Scouts Organization was founded in July 1st, 1920; while the Russian scouts were organized by the White Russians that migrated to Constantinople, after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The population of each group is provided by the contemporary research edited by Clarence Richard Johnson, where it is stated that American Scouts Organization had 46 members in 3 groups; the Armenian Scouts were 1000 in 32 groups, the British scouts were 42 in 2 groups, the Greek scouts were 2000 in 42 groups, the Italian scouts were 147 groups in 1 group, the Jewish scouts were 450 in 9 groups, the Russian scouts were 90 in 10 groups and the Turkish scouts were 230 in 5-6 groups. Detailed information about these scout groups may be found in: Clarence Richard Johnson (ed.), *İstanbul 1920,* Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007. Zafer Toprak, "II. Meşrutiyet'ten Mütareke yıllarına: Türkiye'de İzciliğin İlk Evresi", *Tombak Antika Kültürü Koleksiyon ve Sanat Dergisi,* 24, 1999, pp. 19-27.

[208] Troops were established in such parishes of the city: Cibali, Agios Stefanos (Yeşilköy), Bathiriakas (Büyükdere), Vaniköy, Vafeohorio (Boyacıköy), Vlanga (Langa), Bebek, Galata (2 troops), Diplokionio (Beşiktaş), Kontoskali (Kumkapı), Makrohorio (Bakırköy), Mega Revma (Arnavutköy), Mesohorio (Ortaköy), Beykoz, Nihori (Yeniköy), Pera (Beyoğlu, 10 troops), Pringipos (Büyükada), Paşabahçe, Çengelköy, Tatavla (Kurtuluş, 5 troops), Fanari (Fener, 2 troops), Hrisoupolis (Üsküdar), Psomathia (Samatya), Halkidona (Kadıköy, 2 troops) and various other neighborhoods (5 more troops). See Paradeisis, pp. 12-13. The protocols of the Corps of Greek Scouts of the District of Constantinople (Anthemio), with the list of the petitions, provide as well the wide range of neighborhoods actively participating in the movement.

atmosphere of the period. The popularity of the magazine among the Greek community is unclear as it is not documented but relevant to this thesis it can be seen that after 8 months from its first publication the decisions of the Corps emphasize the fact that it is obligatory for all scout troops and for each scout to buy and read the magazine; this issue in itself is more than a simple problem.[209]

This part is also an endeavor to understand the behaviors of the participant adolescents of this new organization. However, as we see in the persistence of the distribution of this official magazine of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople our main departure for analysis will be the male adult world; a world imagined and constructed for the future nation. The main discussion that occupied the studies on the British scout movement of Baden-Powell concerning the dilemma of whether scouting aimed to rear 'proper citizens' or has totally para-militaristic connotations. In the case of the Corps of Greek Scouts; from its beginning with its organic ties with the military and authorities from the state establishment to their active participation in the Balkan Wars on the front, the morality which lies behind the idea of 'readiness' is closely related to the persisting wars and exhausted feeling of rearing 'steady and ready' citizens for preserving the stability of the nation's health (in concrete and abstract means).

[209] Circular for all the Troops of Constantinople, ELIA, 12 June 1920.

'Helping and teaching them!'

With sacrifice moves ahead
For offering help to the others
Manhood, kindness and verity
Is the whole life of the Scout[210]

The state of turmoil that came about from the Balkan Wars onwards, the extraordinary experience of the First World War for the populations of Anatolia, and the forced migration flows had all created the need of shelter for war refugees and war orphans in the big cities of the Empire. The issue of war orphans particularly created a serious problem for the communities, which was reflected in a struggle on national-religious and demographic terms over these children.[211] The Greek community was a part of this struggle through the activation of communal possibilities for these children with the help of and the facilities of the Greek Red Cross. It is clear that the Corps of Greek Scouts had been one among the many intermediary institutions for the inclusion of the war orphans within the communal boundaries.

The Corps of Greek Scouts, which has institutionalized its troops in Constantinople, and had already organic ties with the High Commission of Greece and the Greek Red Cross was established as one among the many other communal associations during the Armistice period in Istanbul (as well as in other regions of

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[210] "*Με θυσία προτείνει τα στήθια / Για να δώση στους άλλους βοήθεια·/ Λεβεντιά, αγαθότης, κι αλήθεια / Του Προσκόπου είν'όλ'η ζωή*". Mihail Fakis, "Our Hymn", *O Proskopos,* No: 4, 15 January 1919.

[211] See Konstandina Adrianopoulou, "Social Policy and 'National Mission': 'Little ethnomartyrs' in the Christian Orthodox community of Istanbul during the First World War", Paper presented in the workshop *The Greek Experience Under Ottoman Rule,* organized by Princeton University, Santoriny, 23-24 June 2007.

Asia Minor).[212] Thus among many other institutions struggling within the community, the Scout Corps purpose was to fulfill the role of 'relief' for the orphans. This was apart from the other roles and values of scouting: such as promoting the morality of the citizen-soldiers of the future which would then teach them to 'be prepared' in cases of peace and war; this can be summed as indoctrinating 'ethnic optimism' and the values of liberal Venizelism. The instructive teachings of Ancient Greece combining the 'Spartan spirit with the 'benignity' [*καλοκαγαθία*]; and promoting 'moderate behaviors' where exaggerated and disrespectful attitudes would be punished.

Almost every issue of the journal *O Proskopos,* ended with a call such as "Scouts! Help them! Teach them!'[213] This was a call for the war-orphans, that were settled through the initiatives of the communal authorities to the National Philanthropical Institutions; and a call that connected scout education with education in the orphanages. A moving and distressed call from Mega Revma (Arnavutköy) expresses the general tone of the publication:

> You, chosen children that promised to practice philanthropy, help those children! Thousands of them are scattered in the streets naked, hungry, and barefoot. If Philanthropy does not take them, and above all does not educate them with a few letters, they will be destroyed. (...) Help them. Teach them. Let each of you gain a little dependant, a student. This is the great duty of

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[212] We see a flourishment in the associations established in the Greek community of Istanbul, some examples are: Hellenic Association of Phanar 'Foibos' (1919), Hellenic Cultural Association of Youth in Phanar (1921), Hellenic Girls' Football Club in Tatavla (1919), Hellenic Cultural Association of Boyacikoy 'Ta Eleftheria' (1918), Association of Liberals in Boyacikoy (1920), Women's Association of Constantinople (1921), Central Foundation of Relief (1919), Association of Pontic Greeks from Chaldia 'O Metalleus' (1920). See Akillas Millas, *Σφραγίδες Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Ενορία Αγιωτάτης Αρχιεπισκοπής (Stamps of Constantinople: From the Parish of Holy Archbishopric)*, (Athens, 1996).

[213] *O Proskopos,* "Ta Orfana" (The Orphans), No: 2, 1 December 1919, p.15.

> philanthropy (...) You will be able to say 'I've saved a human'. What else could be better, nobler, more chivalrous, more moral than this?[214]

Short tales that refer to orphans or observations of the situations of the orphanages were often mentioned throughout the magazine also. The scout had the responsibility of transferring the 'national catechism' which he had absorbed from his education in the scout corps; he had to protect these unprotected children and fulfill his philanthropical duty to his fellow-brothers. The scout could easily perform as an assistant to the teacher in those night shelters participating in the indoctrination exercises of 'ethical Christian percepts'.[215] In practice we know that even the National Orphanage of Prinkipos requested support and protection from the executive committee of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople in order to receive scout uniforms and to legitimize the existence of the troops in [there].[216]

As a note, in 1920 the orphans welcomed good news. The Head of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople had asked for financial help from the General Commander of the Scouts of the United States. This resulted with the 'generous funding from America' to the American Committee of Relief for the Near East, a fund of 30 million dollars to be spent on the Armenian and Greek orphans.[217]

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[214] *"Εκλεκτά παιδιά που ωρκίσθητε να ασκήτε την φιλανθρωπίαν, βοηθήστε τα παιδιά αυτά! Κατά χιλιάδας ευρίσκονται διεσπαρμένα στους δρόμους, γυμνά, νυστικά, ξυπόλυτα. Αν δεν τα μαζεύση η Φιλανθρωπία και προ παντός αν δεν τα μορφώση με λίγα γράμματα, θα καταστραφούν. (...) Θα μπορήτε να πείτε «έσωσα έναν άνθρωπον». Τί άλλο καλλίτερο, ευγενέστερο, ιπποτικότερο, ηθικώτερο μπορούσατε να κάμετε;"* "Ta Orfana" (The Orphans), *O Proskopos*, 1 December 1919, pp. 14-15.

[215] *O Proskopos,* "Ta Orfana" (The Orphans), No: 2, 1 December 1919, pp. 14-15. The short story was as such: "Their scout teachers – because this night school has scouts as teachers – stand in a corner of the room, while the respectable professor who verbalized and realized the idea of establishing this night shelter, teaches the children ethical Christian precepts."

[216] *Protocols of the Corps of Greek Scouts in Constantinople*, Archives ANTHEMIO, 25 May 1920.

[217] P. Al. Xanthopoulos, "Το Δ.Π.Σ.Κ. (Διεθνές Προσκοπικό Συμβούλιο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως)" [The International Boy Scout Council of Constantinople], *O Proskopos,* No: 4, 15 January 1920, pp. 8-9.

According to *O Proskopos,* the Greek scouts should imitate and follow the example of the British scout-fellows as exemplary citizens; they should participate in 'real life' on the streets i.e. as shoe shiners, collecting financial aid for the blind and working in the restaurants of the local municipality.[218] Apart from the philanthropical responsibility of the scout, here we see aspects of solidarity and the emphasis to a classless society as well; the society without politics which is supposed to divide and ruin the inter-class relations.

Thus, while scouting strived to cultivate altruism and prevent selfishness in youth through an emphasis on philanthropy, fraternity and solidarity; it cultivated the notion of entrepreneurship of the young and their specialization in their occupations for being useful citizens to their nation. The reflection on this point of view comes from the emphasis placed upon the "skills". Moreover, while the skillful ones would be awarded with promotion in rank unsuccessful scouts would be punished. "Even though *solidarité* was based on the idea of equality between the members of the 'group', there is always need for someone to be in command."[219]

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[218] "Μια Καλή Πράξις: Μιμήθωμεν τους Άγγλους" (A Kind Act: We Imitate the English), *O Proskopos*, No: 1, 9 November 1919, p. 10.

[219] Yaşar Tolga Cora, *Constructing and Mobilizing the "Nation" through Sports: State, Physical Education and Nationalism under the Young Turk Rule (1908-1918),* (MA thesis, Central European University, Hungary 2007), p. 54.

Middle-class Morality, 'Proper Citizens' or 'Citizen-Soldiers of the Future'?

The sole pride of our army
The dreadful executioner of the enemy
Will take back all we have lost
This is a holy desire[220]

A historical account of scouting in Greece, published in 1971 defined the spiritual content of scouting as a "national pedagogical movement". A "system that while adding and supporting the school and family education, offers practical and useful information whilst creating obedient citizens."[221] The definition continues with the rigid promises of respect to the "religion, Motherland and Family; to believe in the ideals of the Hellenic race", "ready for social service and patriotic acts of faith".[222] For some, scouting was an indoctrination of nation's children, for others a solidarity movement supporting the recovery after degenerate periods of social and political life. For both, it was an organization created with the initiative of a stratum of the society, and was based mainly upon middle-class morality. *O Proskopos* was defining the program and the responsibility of the scouts as such: The scout, would keep and be a representative of the "a) dignity of the individual, and the consistency of the character, b) solidarity and knighthood, c) respect and devotion to religion, family and the Motherland."[223]

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[220] "*Του στρατού μας το μόνο καμάρι / Του εχθρού τιμωρός φοβερός / Όσα χάσαμε πίσω θα πάρη / Είναι πόθος αυτός ιερός*". Evangelos Ioannidis (Head of the 1st Scout Troop of Smyrna), "Hymn to the Scout of Ionia", *O Proskopos,* No: 9, 5 April 1920, p. 15.

[221] B. A. Lambropoulou, *Προσκοπισμός: Εξήντα Χρόνια Στην Υπηρεσία της Πατρίδος και της Νεότητος, Μικρή Ιστορία του ΣΕΠ (Scouting: Sixty Years of Service to the Motherland and to Youth),* (Athens: Eptalofos, 1971), p. 35.

[222] Ibid., pp. 36-39.

[223] "Αντί Προγράμματος" (As a Programme), *O Proskopos*, No: 1, 9 November 1919, p. 1.

'Be optimistic' as Venizelos said to the prominent writer of 'Scout Catechism' in *O Proskopos* Louizos Iliou; "Because a very obvious characteristic of the scout is the positive action and the accomplishment of duty, for these the most significant support is faith, which emanates from optimism."[224] The Greek scout is sanctioned by the Venizelist principles, and adopts the 'optimism' of liberalism. The Venizelist optimism was meant to represent the equivalent of "national optimism"- in other words it was a belief in the person of Venizelos; to "his faith in the Greek people, or rather the(ir) susceptibility".[225] Certainly condition for the Greek people had been pessimistic; this is why Venizelos was invited to govern:

> He was invited, because the Greek army, and the Greek people, also the officers of the Greek army, had deeply felt the weakness of the Greek state, abjection and insolence of the enemies and the danger of their self-existence, and they rebelled against themselves, against their weaknesses and defects, their intolerance and transactions, their shiftlessness and their reluctance, their inactive and segmented dynasty, against the ancestor-worship of the people and the powerful relatives of the royalty. These were the attitudes that the Greek people invited Venizelos to govern...[226]

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[224] *"Διότι χαρακτηριστικόν επιφανέστατον των προκόπων είναι η πράξις του καλού και η εκτέλεσις του καθηκόντος, εις πράξιν δε του καλού και εκτέλεσιν του καθήκοντος σπουδαιότατον στήριγμα είναι η πίστις, εξ ης πηγάζει η αισιοδοξία." O Proskopos*, "Proskopiki Katixisis, Έσο Αισιόδοξος" (Scouting Teachings, Be Optimistic), No: 2, 1 December 1919, p. 1.

[225] Ibid.

[226] *"Ο Βενιζέλος προσεκλίθη να κυβερνήση την Ελλάδα. Προσεκλίθη δε κάθ'ον χρόνων ο Ελληνικός στρατός, και ο Ελληνικός λαός, μάλιστα δε η αξιωματικοί του Ελληνικού στρατού ησθάνθησαν βαθιά τον εκ της αδυναμίας του ελληνικού κράτους εξεφτελισμόν και την θρασύτητα των αντιπάλων και τον κίνδυνον της αυθυπαρξίας των, και εξηγέρθησαν και επανεστάτησαν και εσάρωσαν τα παλαιά κόμματα, τα συντελέσαντα ποικιλοτρόπως εις την αδυναμίαν και τον εξεφτελισμόν και τον κίνδυνον, επανεστάτησαν δε και κατά του εαυτού των, κατά των αδυναμιών και ελαττωμάτων των, κατά της θεσηθηρίας και συναλλαγής των, κατά της οκνηρίας και απροθυμίας των, κατά της αδρανούσης και διαιρούσης δυναστείας, κατά της προγονοπληξίας του λαού και της από των ισχυρών συγγενών επαιτείας της βασιλείας. Τοιαύτας έχων διαθέσεις ο ελληνικός λαός προσεκάλεσε τον Βενιζέλον να κυβερνήση" O Proskopos*, "Proskopiki Katixisis" (Scouting Teachings), No: 3, 20 December 1919, pp. 1-2.

Venizelos was bestowed with the honorary title of the First Honorary Scout of Greece due to his support to the movement; Venizelos was fulfilling all the necessary sacrifices for the emancipation of the 'enslaved brothers'.

It's not a coincidence that the official organ of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople emphasizes in its writing that it is not foreseeing militarism; and that 'only a superficial examination of the institution of Scouting would claim that it has a militaristic character.'[227] The need for establishing an acquaintance with the institution which would make it popular among the Greek youth of Constantinople is an obvious one. Besides, the need of 'defending' scouting as a pacifist pedagogical institution proves that the reaction of the community was not homogeneously positive towards such an institution. There were criticisms; after some months the magazine stressed that "scouting is not only confined in wearing a uniform! (...) but scout is every man who follows every civilized and moral human, even though he never wore the scout uniform or never had been registered to a scout troop. The soldierly bearing, the rhythmic steps, the parades and the deployments, and generally the military appearance of the scout troops, are the most dispensable, are the last characteristics of scouting. Scouting does not covet these; and if these happen, the only reason is the advertisement of scouting and nothing else."[228] If we observe the numbers of participation to the scout troops in Constantinople the 'advertisement' seems to be successful.

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[227] "Ατί Προγράμματος" (As a Programme), *O Proskopos*, No: 1, 9 November 1919, p. 1.

[228] "Προς τον Ελλην. Κόσμον" (To the Hellenic population), *O Proskopos*, No: 2, 28 May 1920, p. 1.

In the Grand Oath-taking Ceremony of the Constantinopolitan Scouts speeches were obviously done to aspire a group youth that would become the soldiers of the future:

> Today we are happy to see the enslaved youth of yesterday giving their oath for the sake of the Scout Law; we are happy to see the idea and the power of the nation. History will praise the achievements of the next generation, and you are the soldiers of the future, of the defense, of progress, of the peaceful period of the History of the Nation. (...) You should dedicate something to the life of the Nation. This 'something' is the implementation of your Law. Appreciate the oath you gave; it reminds me of the oath that your ancestors gave whilst joining the military...[229]

Scouting in occupied Constantinople became an amalgam for displaying an ethnic identity and a kind of 'military morality' of sacrifice and readiness. Moreover, it offered a substitution to the parents, to the church, to gymnastics, and to school.[230] The values that are expected of these children are Knighthood; being ready to fight for the sake of Greece. Abnegation, discipline, honor, bravery, patience, gratitude, friendship, respect, chivalry towards women, kind behavior, knowledge of the Morse code, knowledge of first-aid, condemnations and punishment, degrees and rewards. Abnegation, altruism or sacrifice, were keywords in scout education. As example of sacrifice for the Greek Scouts of Constantinople is offered in the experience of Pavlos Melas in the Macedonian Struggle, a hero who had sacrificed

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[229] *"Σήμερον ευτυχούμεν βλέποντες υμάς τους σκλάβους νεανίας της χθές, δίδοντας τον όρκον των προς τον Προσκοπικόν Νόμον, ευτυχούμεν βλέποντες την ιδέαν και την δύναμην του Έθνους. Η ιστορία θα υμνήση τα κατορθώματα της απερχόμενης γενεάς, και σεις είσθε οι στρατιώται της αύριον, της αμύνης, της προόδου, της ειρηνικής περιόδου της Ιστορίας του Έθνους. (...) Πρέπει να αφιερώσετε κάτι στην ζωήν του Έθνους. Αυτό το κάτι είναι η εφαρμογή του Νόμου σας. Εκαταλάβετε τον όρκον που δόσατε· μου θυμίζει τον όρκον που έδιδαν οι πρόγονοι σας νέοι κατετάσσοντο στον στρατό...."* "Η Ορκωμοσία των Ελλήνων Προσκόπων" (The Oath-Taking Ceremony of the Scouts), *O Proskopos*, No: 2, 28 May 1920, p. 4.

[230] N. Tavridis (Trainer), "Τι Εστί Προσκοπισμός & Ποιός ο Σκοπός του" (What is Scouting and What is its Aim), *O Proskopos,* 1 February 1920, p. 1.

his life "neither for reputation, nor for holding a place in the army, but because they had the confidence of fighting for their duties to the motherland; they were heroes and victims of the duty."[231]

From the regulation, particularly the one which was issued for the Greek Scouts of Constantinople, we see that the scout pedagogy is offered in stages. For instance a young scout-fellow of 13-16 years, has to learn firstly "the history of the flag and the honor owed to the flag. Secondly, the two quatrains of the National Anthem 'for the sake of patriotism' while according to the Scout Code he is responsible to keep the Law of the Scouts, the encoded elements and the salutation. Whereas the scouts of the second grade would have to learn more; in the name of patriotism: the history of the Greek flag from the ancient times and the honors given to her; the four quatrains of the National Anthem; while salutation had a rank within itself: "Firstly, we salute the Flag, the Cross, the dignitaries of the State Authorities and the officers of the Land Army, and the Navy."[232]

This education of military readiness, the education of being ready for any kind of 'sacrifice' until death, had its reason. In March 1922, the 'bureau' in the Greek Consulate in the Rue Agha Djami in Pera had already recruited 2850 male volunteers to join the Greek Military Forces in Asia Minor.[233] Furthermore, the

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[231] *"(...) ούτε δια να δοξάσθωσι ούτε δια να προαχθώσι εις τον στρατόν αλλά διότι είχον την πεποίθησθν ότι έπραττον εντίμως το προς την πατρίδα καθήκον μαχόμενοι, ήρωες και θύματα του καθηκόντως."* N. Tavridis (Trainer), "Τι Εστί Προσκοπισμός & Ποιός ο Σκοπός του" (What is Scouting and What is its Aim), *O Proskopos,* 1 February 1920, p. 1.

[232] *"Ούτω χαιρετώσι την Σημαίαν, τον Σταυρόν, τας ανωτέρας του Κράτους Αρχάς και τους αξιωματικούς του Στρατού ξηράς και θαλάσσης."* "Εκ του Οργανισμού του Σώματος Ελλήνων Προσκόπων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως" (From the Regulation of the Corps of Greek Scouts in Constantinople), *O Proskopos*, 9 November 1919, p. 9.

[233] FO 371/7926, *Activities of Greek military mission in Constantinople, 1922.*

Daily Orders that were announced by the Local Office of Pera, gave clues as to what scouts were 'sent' to the front when they had completed their training. The office at Pera decides to "provide indefinite regular permission to the chiefs of the 18th troop and the twenty-sixth troop Mr. Konstantinos Metsis, and Theodoros Soumbouloglou, but also the vice-chief of the nineteenth troop Panagiotis Stroggylos, to move through the Greek Front of Asia Minor."[234] The good wishes of the scout-fellows will be following them: "All the wishes of the scouts accompany them, so that they return victorious and atrophied on the glory of the Scouting of Constantinople. We shake their hands and congratulate them."[235]

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As mentioned above, the morality of the scouts (apart from the necessity of *military readiness*) and all the other characteristics described above, were supposed to bring up prudent and restrained citizens. The *decadence* described in the post-war condition should not affect the behaviors of these youngsters in every-day life. As it was mentioned later when describing scouting; this institution should fulfill its roles as the "breakwater against corruption, against 'teddy-boyism', ignorance, egoism and malevolence".[236] Some moral codes urged the young boys to avoid the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, hanging around with girls. Angelos Palaitzakis, a scout from the eighteenth troop of Constantinople, "was caught on

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[234] Declaration of Local Administration of Pera, ELIA, 30 April 1920.

[235] Declaration of Local Administration of Pera, ELIA, 30 April 1920. *"Αι ευχαί όλων των προσκόπων τους συνοδεύουν όπως επιστρέψουν νικηταί και τροπανοφόροι προς δόξαν του προσκοπισμού Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Τους σφίγγομεν το χέρι και τους συγχαίρομεν."*

[236] B. A. Lambropoulou, *Προσκοπισμός: Εξήντα Χρόνια Στην Υπηρεσία της Πατρίδος και της Νεότητος, Μικρή Ιστορία του ΣΕΠ (Scouting: Sixty Years of Service to the Motherland and to Youth),* (Athens: Eptalofos, 1971), pp. 36-39.

Sunday 5/18 [September] at 21:00 hours, in the street Aslan, while hanging around with girls most probably from abroad", while even doing this, he had the courage and the 'arrogance' to say that they are girls from his neighborhood and he is not afraid of any denunciation.[237] A similar incident took place with a scout from the twenty-sixth troop, named L. Karpouzakis, who was seen walking wearing civilian clothing (with his scout uniform) from the street Çeşme of Pera, where all the brothels are *[πορνοστάσιο]*.[238] Eventually, it was forbidden for scouts and the officers, "to hang around with their uniforms in neighborhoods with bad reputation or with girls with suspicious education."[239] Moreover, the members of the Scout Committee would follow the misbehaviors of the scouts in public places such as gardens, theatres and cinemas. Hanging around in breweries or coffee-houses was also forbidden for the scouts; for the head-scouts only beer is permitted, and for all scouts smoking with uniform is strictly forbidden.[240] Moreover carrying guns is strictly forbidden for scouts and head-scouts with civil or scout dressing, except by special permission of the military police or in case of night excursions.[241]

Discipline, Punishment, Rewards & Degrees

Denouncing the insolent and rewarding the obedient seems to be an inevitable part of the scout-morality. *O Proskopos,* as the official organ of the Corps, had the responsibility to announce and publicize the awards and promotions,

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[237] From the Head of the Sixth troop Dimitrios Kontos to Leonidas Thomaidis, ELIA, 6/20 September 1920.

[238] From the Thirty-sixth Troop of Pera to Leonidas Thomaidis, ELIA, 3 March 1921.

[239] Declaration by L. Thomaides, ELIA, 1 December 1920.

[240] Declaration by L. Thomaides, ELIA, 1 December 1920.

[241] Ibid.

together with the punishments. Punishments may include the dispossession of the diploma of the scout, the removal of the right of participating in the gatherings of the troops, or delay in promotion; as we see in the example of Pl. Petaloudis and D. Karabidas.[242]

Denunciation functions as a tie between the regional troops and the police forces of the Greek High Commission. Outstanding reason for punishment is inappropriate behavior towards the leader of the scouts, Venizelos. In a denunciation written to the chief of police Leonidas Thomaides; a scout named Iraklis Magoulas of the forty-first troop is condemned due to his display of disrespectful behavior against Venizelos; he is condemned of having "the bad effect of expressing himself maliciously, using the worse abuses against Mr. Eleftherios Venizelos, and generally he does this in all the gatherings in front of his fellows."[243] Despite all the efforts of the scoutmaster (who is the author of the letter) to explain that "in scouting there is no politics," the scout Magoulas had continued this behavior in the name-day ceremony of Venizelos, scratching out the eyes from his picture. According to the author of the letter, one of the main reasons of this misbehavior comes about because "he drinks too much *raki*, so that he is always drunk."[244]

Rewards are also part of scout education. This means the promotion of the scout to a higher rank in the hierarchy of the scout troops system; but also it means that the scout has gained means to enter a scout troop after a 'testing period'. Konstantinos Kanonarhopoulos, took part in a trial period before entering the 13th

[242] *O Proskopos*, 20 December 1919, p. 8.

[243] Letter to L. Thomaides, ELIA, 31 December 1920.

[244] Letter to L. Thomaides, ELIA, 31 December 1920.

troop of Constantinople. From the sources he seems to have succeeded through his "blind obedience" because the deputy commander of the 13th troop Daniilidis asks for his acceptance to the troop.[245]

As mentioned above 'skills' were important in scout education; this in itself was the backbone of the scout education. The scout would be educated according to his skills and his 'fitness' in order to confront nature, to survive against natural disasters, to cope with fires, to learn about first aid and how to deal with urgent sanitary cases. Degrees were various: such as the degree of farmer, architect, astronomer, sportsman, driver, apiarist, aeronaut, blacksmith, clerk, carpenter, chemist, electrician, barracks commander, fireman, forester, gardener, jockey, engineer, sculptor, sharpshooter etc.[246]

The above mentioned denunciation letters are the only places to trace the voices of the participant youth to the scout movement; and sometimes they are 'lively'. It is obvious that the "blind obedience" of these young boys was not taken for granted by the Corps' authorities. This is why at such a 'crucial' period this population needed proper education [*terbiye – διαπαιδαγωγή*]. Letters to newspapers from young scouts provide us with an understanding of what that meant for these scouting youngsters, stuck within a war that changed their lives [which] forced them migrate from their birth-places.[247]

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[245] From the Thirteenth troop to the Nineteenth troop of Pera, ELIA, 13 June 1920.

[246] N. Tavridis, "Περί Πτυχιών Ειδικοτήτων" (About the Specialties of the Diplomas), *O Proskopos,* 30 April 1920, pp. 2-8.

[247] I tried to trace the path of the participant scouts – with the limited information that I had – and search about their post-war life-stories. The photographs and the names (from the identity cards of the Corps of Greek Scouts) were my only sources to go through. From a inquiry of 'activists' of the Corps, still living in Athens, it is possible to observe that many of these names continued their lives in

This chapter throughout has tried to follow the spiritual paths that Greek scouting has followed, in the social and political atmosphere of Armistice Constantinople. A chain of events and 'successes' for the Greek scout movement would reach an end after 10 years of experience 'in the front'. This front took place either in the Balkan Wars or in the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922. But also in Constantinople under Allied occupation. The uncertain situation of the future status of the city and the diplomatic negotiations that were going on for peaceful post-war settlements provided a last chance to the Greek administrative elites to fulfill the century old dream of the *megali idea,* and reach the "Great Greece of five seas and two continents".[248]

The role of the Corps of Greek Scouts were twofold for the fulfillment of this *ideal.* Firstly, the Corps of Constantinople would work parallel to the committees established by the High Commissioner of Greece and would have organic ties with the Venizelist circles, being elites/upper middle classes of the Greek community or the officers themselves. Secondly, the Corps would fulfill the role of substitute pedagogical institution in an era of 'decadence' in a post-war city. This included all the moral attributions on the child as a future citizen-soldier; respect to religion and national elements, proper education, disciplining through rewards and punishments,

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Greece, mainly in Athens; and continued serving the scout movement for a while – particularly until the Metaxas period. For instance, the scout Ioannis A. Pergis, an engineer, was an active scout in Athens until 1935; or Konstantinos D. Iordanidis was still active until the 1950s; or the father-son Haritis were seen active until 1970s. I. K. Stroggylos, seems to be very active particlarly after the Second World War. I owe this information to Mr. Nikos Kalogeras, who actively participated in the scout movement of Greece, and had also presidential positions in various periods.

[248] This is a general reference for the 'achievement' of the irredentist claims of *megali idea.* I encountered this expression lastly in the foreword of the biography a big name of Greek scouting, Dimitris Makridis. Thomais A. Kiziridou, *Δημήτριος Μακρίδης: Ο Αετός του Ελληνικού Προσκοπισμού, Από την Πανόρμο της Προποντίδος στην Ελλάδα* (Dimitris Makridis: The Eagle of Greek Scouting, From Bandırma of Marmara to Greece), (Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis, 2004), p. 9.

manliness and chivalry, order and neatness, obedience, skillful and specialized, abstaining from alcohol and tobacco. Even bringing up 'proper' citizens had been issued among the educational committees of the elites in the communities, scouting had utilized uniforms, military parades, social services for the sake of the injured of war, and national showing-off. These national showing-off through which this patriotic feeling entered the every-day life apart from the written and intellectual level, varied from parades to welcoming celebrations to feasts of 'name-days' and religious ceremonies. There was a performativity in the whole act of scouting, where the stage was occupied Istanbul, the audience was "we and the foreigners". This aspect of the Corps of Greek Scouts in Constantinople will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

"SMASHING FOR THE EYES, ENJOYMENT FOR THE NATIONAL FEELING": ICONOGRAPHY; PERFORMANCE AND VISIBILITY[249]

The Garden of Taksim hadn't seen such a glory before. It was a huge ball of the nations with thousands of costumes and so many music. (...) The Greeks got into the patriotic events. Every day there was a celebration, a parade, a national day or a grand public entertainment; every ally tried to outperform the other.[250]

Nobody would reject the idea that scouting exists within the scope of the power of its 'iconography' and its performative characteristics. Not only in occupied Istanbul, but all over the world, scout associations, were symbolizing youth in 'order', youth out of decadence – in other words emancipated and emancipating youth; but also youth that has adopted the principles of obedience, not a blind but a conscious one, foreseeing the individuals' responsibility together with the capacity to take initiatives. The language of scouting (even until today) found the grounds to express itself through spectacular festivals, mainly adopting the genres of *parades* and gymnastic demonstrations. It is obvious that scouting, while creating its own 'rituals' and inventing its own traditions, has 'borrowed' many performative aspects from the military parades.

As a social phenomenon scouting itself necessarily would create its own 'social phenomena': its *festivals* and its *rituals*. Accordingly, the study of the

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[249] "Η Εορτή των Προσκόπων" (The Festival of the Scouts), *Proodos,* 1 July 1922. The phrase in Greek is as such: *"...χάρμα εις τους οφθαλμούς και απόλαυσις δια το εθνικόν αίσθημα."*

[250] From the lively descriptions of Giorgos Theotokas (Constantinople, 1905 – Athens, 1966); see Giorgos Theotokas, *Leonis*, (Athens: Estia, 1998), p. 77. The writer himself experienced the First World War and Armistice years in Constantinople, as a young scout; thus the novel *Leonis* (written in 1940, again in an atmosphere of war) is an autobiographical one with lively narratives from the war and armistice Istanbul from the eye of a child.

performative language of scouting is equally important to the written and oral expressions, and thus without a study of the rituals invented in occupied Constantinople, this study wouldn't reach its final pages. Regarding the general definition of the term 'festival', all the 'activities' of the scouts of Istanbul, may be named as such; on the one side they consist of "annual celebration of a notable person or event"[251] or they can be described as "a periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview."[252] The genres of the festivals and the performativity will consider here various ways of display, of showing-off; this may be in the direct way, such as mass gymnastics, celebrations and parades, the displays of any kind of 'docile bodies', or in the indirect way of displaying 'presence'. Both of these would lead to the *visibility* of such performances to an audience.

Hence, this chapter shall be devoted to a 'performative look' of this social organization. This 'performative look' includes not only specified ceremonies, celebrations and generally festivals, but it refers to the analysis of the iconography of a 'movement' from the photographic archive that we hold, with all its military codes, uniforms, hats and scarves; to the expressivity of the celebrations and their verbal and visual expressions; and to the language of the international scout meetings – the World Jamborees. For instance, the First World Jamboree that took place in London in June 1920 was as important for the scouts of Istanbul as it was for world history.

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[251] Alessandro Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology", in Falassi, Alessandro (ed.), *Time Out Of Time: Essays on the Festival,* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), p. 2.

[252] Alessandro Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology", p. 2.

This is an effort to analyze the discourse of 'fraternity' that lies beneath the theoretical assumptions of scouting; and the *pseudo-internationalism,* as argued below. This *pseudo-internationalism* may be added to the theoretical considerations on scouting, after *pseudo-pacifism* that was mentioned in the previous chapters.

One of the most important aspects of the performative characteristics of the boy scouts, particularly in the case of an occupied city, seems to be the visibility of all these spectacular celebrations. So, who was the audience of these performances, and eventually, for which part of the society this visibility would be 'harmful' and 'traumatic'? The issue of 'visibility' through performative action will be discussed in the second part of this chapter, where all this 'showing-off' of the celebrations would be related to the narrative of Turkish historiography through the perceptions of the 'occupied nation'. Not only the performances and the celebrations were to expose this visibility, but even the daily life of the soldiers and the 'occupiers' dressed in uniforms, and their presence in every day life with their 'iconographic' looks, will define the effects of this visibility for the 'occupied nation'. At this point, I find it crucial to argue for the visibility of these populations, that reached to be the visibility of the 'occupiers', and their *tour de force* for the inhabitants of Constantinople.

In many cases, these displays of strength, do not solely address the 'occupied nation', which according to the narratives of Turkish historiography seem to be only the Turkish nation; however, it seems to mark a showing-off amongst the occupying forces as well. Not only the performances, with cultural connotations and show-offs, but also the football matches and competitions, with seemingly 'fair-plays' which

bring us to another part of visibility through performance, adding 'games' to the concept, as the "cathartic moments".[253]

Thus, it can be said that scouting has created its own ceremonies, festivals, celebrations; expressing them with military codes, not only iconographically but also practically, with parades and mass gymnastics. The agents and the participants to such festivals in the occupied Istanbul, apart from the scouts themselves who were the actors already; were the officers of the Allied Occupational Forces, and the authorities of the scout corps; the trainers, the doctors, the lawyers, and all the *ephoroi* (in the Greek case – which means the local administrators of the parishes). They were there to admire "the new life of Hellenism",[254] the morally-educated, physically strong, synchronized and collectively moving future-citizens. The function of the festival was accomplished in a "historical disorder before the establishment of the culture, society or regime where the festival happens to take place."[255]

Certainly, mass gymnastics was included in most of these performances, and was given its share of the admiration of the adults. Therefore, on one side, the 'transformed, used and improved docile bodies', in Foucauldian terms, were displayed; while the "political liturgy of nationalism"[256] took place. Mass gymnastics, being part of these festivals, served as a liturgical aspect to an outward

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[253] Alessandro Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology", in Falassi, Alessandro (ed.), *Time Out Of Time: Essays on the Festival,* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), p. 5.

[254] This is the expression used by the daily Greek newspaper *Proodos*, 22 January 1920.

[255] Alessandro Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology", in Falassi, Alessandro (ed.), *Time Out Of Time: Essays on the Festival,* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), p. 3.

[256] George Mosse, "Mass Politics and the Political Liturgy of Nationalism", in *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea,* ed. Eugene Kamenka, (London: E. Arnold, 1976), pp. 38-54.

and expressive nationalism, emphasizing a system of ordered, obedient, synchronized and fit citizens; behaving in the area that is reserved for them, acting loyal to the time that limits their performance.

Finally, the aim of these performances may be listed according to several dimensions. Most of them cover the assumptions of 'cultural performance', where the "a culture is encapsulated, enacted and placed on display for itself and for outsiders."[257] However, the semiotics of these performances, provide grounds for the analysis of nationalization, and militarization of part of a society. The display of power, of a powerful and vigorous future nation, would be the one which will go on to realize the 'Hellenic dream'.

Visual Codes: Ready in the Front, Uniformity in Appearance

The iconography of scouting is worth analyzing, due to the fact that it constitutes one of the main 'codes' of the 'movement', as I mentioned above. Apart from the advice and actually 'orders' given in providing for the ways of behavior for adolescents (generally under the terms of respectfulness and obedience), in other words the 'code of living' that is provided with specific visions cannot be neglected. As photographic material, within the limited archives remaining from the period present us the visual codes of scouting may be generalized in two dimensions: First, and mainly in 'imperial cases' such as the British one, the 'code of adventure' and the perception and reflection of the frontier nature/authenticity.[258] This visual code of adventure,

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[257] Stoeltje and Bauman, p. 589.

[258] For the code of adventure and a general iconographic analysis of *Scouting for Boys* by Baden-Powell, see: Robert MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

with its roots found in popular juvenile literature of the late nineteenth century Britain,[259] represents adolescent young boys, dressed with their khaki colored short pants and shirts, their hats and boots, their tracking sticks and backpacks. This visuality of adventure is not only based in the notion of nature, that is felt through the drawings in *Scouting for Boys,* or in various representative pictures from boy-scouts, but it gives the feeling of fronts and frontiers; of young boys keeping the front and watching over for the enemy.

Closely related to the first dimension, the second visual code reflects the militarist outlook of the scout-boys, with the codes of uniform. In *Scouting for Boys,* Baden-Powell advices the scouts as follows: "A scout does not use a showy uniform, because it would attract attention; but scouts in a patrol should, as far as possible, dress alike, especially as regards hats, or caps and neckerchief"[260] and continues with the description of a standardized uniform style; "flat brimmed hat if possible, or wide-awake hat", "colored handkerchief loosely tied round neck", "a bunch of ribbons of patrol color on left shoulder", belt, haversack, "trousers cut short at knee", "boots or shoes", "staff as high as scout's shoulder", "badge" and finally, "whistle with cord round neck for patrol leader".[261] It should be noted that, in the Greek translation of the book, of which the title was *The Future Soldiers: Scouts and Trackers*,[262] an illustration which shows a patrol leader with a scout, when describing

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[259] This is mainly seen in the books of the famous Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book* (1894), and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895).

[260] Baden Powell, *Scouting for Boys,* p. 43.

[261] Baden Powell, *Scouting for Boys,* p. 43.

[262] Baden-Powell, *Οι Μέλλοντες Στρατιώται: Πρόσκοποι-Ιχνηλάται (The Future Soldiers: Scouts-Trackers)*, (Athens: Syllogos Pros Diadosin Ofelimon Biblion, 1910).

the uniform, is being presented in the first pages; and the emphasis of 'tracker-scout' which is highlighted in the British version, has turned to a direct emphasis to the 'soldier-scout' in the Greek translation.[263]

It is possible to find out various photographs from the 'adventure' of Greek scouts, both in Constantinople, and in Asia Minor. All of this photographic material proves the 'uniformity' of scout appearance and the tradition that has been directly copied/transferred in the framework of the rules and orders made by Baden-Powell in Britain. We see the Greek scouts of Tatavla, Constantinople, in a photograph dated 1919, in preparation for the 'Day of Venizelos', with their trumpets and drums.[264]

Everything in the scout-world carries a meaning, from the uniforms to the symbols, but especially the badge, which is the '*fleur de lis*', the universal symbol of scouting in "the 212 countries where the Scout movement takes place."[265] The photo-history of Greek scouting mentions the *antiquity* of this flower, with three-leaves, attributing it to Chinese, Roman, Egyptian and Indian ornaments; and quotes from Lady Powell, saying "Our symbol shows the right way."[266] In the traditional scout-badge, each of the three leaves have a meaning: the one on the right is "the maintenance of the Scout Law," the one on the left symbolizes "the duty to the country, to the fellow man, to the society", and the one in the middle is "the duty

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[263] Baden-Powell, *Οι Μέλλοντες Στρατιώται: Πρόσκοποι-Ιχνηλάται,* p.1.

[264] Photographs from, Christos Stathopoulos (ed.) ΦωτοΙστορία από την δράση των Ελλήνων Προσκόπων: Τα πρώτα 50 χρόνια 1910-1959, (PhotoHistory from the activities of the Greek Scouts: The first 50 years 1910-1959), (Athens: Publications of the Organization of Greek Scouts, 2003), p. 78. See also Appendix A. Photograph VI.

[265] Dimitris Alexatos, *Προσκοπισμός: "Ενας Ωραίος Κόσμος"* (Scouting: "A Beautiful World"), (Athens: Corps of Greek Scouts, 1997), p. 245. For the 'fleur de lis' see: Appendix A. Photograph XII. For the symbol of internationalism in scouting see the famous picture showing the 'fraternity' of the nations: Appendix A. Photograph XIII.

[266] Dimitris Alexatos, *Προσκοπισμός: "Ενας Ωραίος Κόσμος",* p. 246. These are all quoted and translated from the Greek explanations in Appendix A. Photograph XII.

towards God". The rope around the flower is the symbol of the "universality of the scout movement," the two stars on both leaves mean "truth" and "knowledge" with the ten corners of the stars representing the ten articles of the Scout Law. Finally the circle that unites the leaves is "the bond of universal fraternity"; while the node below says that "nobody can untie it in any way, because it is the symbol of universal scout fraternity and unity."[267] Last but not least, are the colors, where the white color emphasizes the "innocence of the purposes" and the lilac font which stands for "hegemony and offering services."

Even the salutation of the scouts was enough to tell all the mentality behind the movement: The three fingers united; while they reminded of the Scout Promise; the duty towards God, the duty towards Motherland, the fellow man and the society and the duty towards the self. [268]

Even though there are Girl Scouts, or as they are better known as Girl Guides, the scout world seems to be male dominated. It is a males world, where 'grand symbols' speak; respectfulness, obedience, universal fraternity of manhood (but of a uniform type of citizen), the flags, God and the Motherland. The precarious nature of the period it was born, backs the argument that it resembled a war-game for adolescent youngsters, and now, at least in Greece, even not a 'war-game' any more, it keeps its symbols, its 'Bibles' and its discourse, which keeps this institution as one of the establishment, closely related to the state institutions and ideology.

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[267] Dimitris Alexatos, *Προσκοπισμός: "Ενας Ωραίος Κόσμος"*, (Scouting: "A Beautiful World"), (Athens: Corps of Greek Scouts, 2003), p. 246.

[268] Ibid., p. 249.

Invented Festivals in Armistice Istanbul: Heroes and Visibility

In the Greek-Orthodox tradition, the fifteenth of December is revered as the day of Saint Eleftherios; thus, automatically it became the 'Day of Venizelos' for Greece and the Constantinopolitan Greeks. The celebrations aimed to experience and fully embrace the meaning behind the name of the national hero, *eleftheria* which is 'freedom' in Greek. This coincidence would trigger the whole enthusiasm. Contemporary newspapers describe the celebrations of 15 December 1918, as spectacular and of striking appearance. The magazine *Ap'Ola*, mentions that the day began with an official prayer that took place in the Church of Eisodia, in Pera [modern day Panagia of Beyoğlu], "with the presence of the Greek political, military and naval mission" and almost life stopped, "The shops were closed and decorated with flags. The stock exchange did not work."[269] The celebrations of December 1920 however, would be realized in a tenser atmosphere among the Greeks in Constantinople; this time the demonstrations would be realized despite the opposition of the Royalists.[270] The program was announced on 14 December, in *Hronos,* with the invitation of the National Defense Organization (Amyna), warning the citizens to be careful for any kind of bitter incident.[271] In this announcement of Amyna, apart from the prayers in the churches and the flag decorations everywhere,

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[269] *Ap'ola,* 19 December 1918.

[270] Dimitris Kamouzis mentions that Aleksandros Pantazis, director of the Intelligence Office of the High Commission and appointee of the Royalist regime in Athens was trying to sabotage the celebrations for the name-day of Venizelos, by asking Athens to order the Patriarchate to abstain, to convince the Boy Scouts stay out of it and prevent students from participation. This was one among the many incidents showing the rivalry between the Venizelists and the Royalists. Cited in Kamouzis, pp. 126-127.

[271] *Hronos,* 14 December 1920.

the shops would remain closed (with the decision of the Association of Merchants) and would hang a notice saying *"Eleftherios Venizelos was found worth to the gratefulness of the Nation."*[272] The participants to this grandiose organization were, apart from Amyna, the Greek Literary Association, the Secular Party of the Liberals, the professional unions and the Greek Orthodox Community of Pera.[273]

It is obvious that the Ottoman authorities were aware of these celebrations and the rivalry between these two camps within the Greeks. The daily newspaper *İkdam* was transmitting all these with the title "In defiance to Athens" referring to this conflict between Venizelists and Royalists: "All the Rum shops of our city remained closed and there were prayers in all the public churches to the name of Venizelos. The *Rum* boy scouts paraded in the Grand Rue de Pera, but also all the students and school personnel paraded separately."[274] *İkdam* also mentions that the Patriarchate sent celebration cards to Venizelos who was in Nice,[275] while the Greek newspapers were publishing the letters going to Venizelos often. It is obvious that these celebrations, especially the Day of Venizelos, symbolized a form of loyalty attributed to the sacred figure of the nation; and this loyalty was inspected by the 'forces of the nation'.

The preparations for the grand Day of Venizelos, began a month before the celebration, and the Head of the Executive Committee of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople was signing the circular, for the ceremonies performed all the

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[272] *"Ο Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος κατέστη άξιος της ευγνωμοσύνης του Έθνους". Hronos,* 14 December 1920.

[273] *Hronos,* 14 December 1920.

[274] "Atina'ya İnad!", *İkdam,* 18 Rebi-ül Ahir 1339 (30 December 1920). For the whole article see: Appendix B. Newspapers II.

[275] Ibid. See also the response of Venizelos to the community of Tatavla, in *Proodos*, 14 April 1920.

groups in the city: "Accompanied with music, the scouts will sing the National Anthem and the *Μαύρη είν'η νύχτα στα βουνά* [Black is the night on the mountains].[276] You should teach these, for a synchronization and order in the programme of the day".[277]

Spectacular events and performances in honor of grand personalities took place continuously; on the arrival of 'great names of scouting' and victorious generals. It was seen as the duty of every scout-boy, to participate in these celebrations; and the responsibility of every scout troop to organize the participation of its members. An incident which stands out among many is the visit of the 'Scout of All Scouts in the World' Sir Baden-Powell to the occupied Constantinople. This turned out to be a spectacular show with the participation of 2500 Greek scouts from Constantinople and the suburbs, 150 Armenians and 40 Jewish scouts, where 80 drummers, 250 trumpet players and 45 scouts holding the Greek flag took the front places of the Greek troops.[278] This glorious and spectacular event fascinated Baden-Powell, emphasizing that it was the first time in his life that he saw such a beautiful performance; where the Greek sources relate this to an inspiration to the spectacular

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[276] This song-anthem is a very common one among the nationalist circles, still in Greece; an English translation of the lyrics may be tried as such: *Black is the night on the mountains/ snow in the rocks./ In the wild, in the dark/ in the rasping stones, in the straits,/ the klepthes draws the sword./ In the right naked hand/ holds a lightening/ Mountain is his palace/ sky is his cover/ hope his weapon./ The tyrants run away pale/ his black knife/ with sweat he wets the bread,/ knows to live with honour,/ knows as well to die./ Malice governs the world/ and the unfair fate/ The richness is of the bad/ and here in the rocks lives/ virtue, hidden.* [The translation is mine] This song-anthem is based on the poem "Klephtes" of Aleksandros Rizos Rangavis, a Phanariot intellectual and diplomat, born in 1809 in Constantinople and died in 1892 in Athens. It is possible to listen a version of the anthem in: http://students.ceid.upatras.gr/~maurakis/DMS/mayrh-ein_h_nyxta.mp3 (Last accessed in 17 May 2010). This has later been the anthem of the National Organization of Youth (EON), the organization of youth established under the auspices of the dictatorship.

[277] Declaration to the Heads of the Scout Troops, ELIA, 18 November 1920.

[278] Nikolaos Paradeisis, *Ο προσκοπισμός στις αλησμόνητες πατρίδες 1919-1922: Μικρά Ασία, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Θράκη, (Scouting in the Unforgotten Motherlands 1919-1922: Asia Minor, Constantinople, Thrace*), (Athens: Mikros Romios, 2000), p. 2.

First World Jamboree [the International Scouts Meeting], which took place two months later in London.[279] A similar spectacle took place in the welcoming celebrations of Francis D'Esperey, the French General Commander of the Occupational Armies.[280]

Oath-taking ceremonies (until today), in other words the first step to scouting ceremony seem to be signed as another memory of glory for the participants; both the first one of 1919 and the second one of May 1920 in Constantinople. The journalist and editor of the official scout magazine in Istanbul Odisseas Thalassinos, while describing the "perfect organization, the obvious presence of elite figures and the enthusiasm of the audience.... and the touching moments for the participants and the inhabitants that saw their children performing with trumpets and drums" emphasizes that "it was the first time from the Armistice onwards, that people saw their children performing and admired the future citizens of Great Greece, the vigorous, the pro-motherland, the honorable youth of today, and men perfect physically and spiritually of tomorrow."[281] From his detailed description of the day, we learn that the 'distinguished guests' of the performances are, apart from the

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[279] Nikolaos Paradeisis, *Ο προσκοπισμός στις αλησμόνητες πατρίδες...*, p. 2. Meanwhile, we learn that the first committee meeting about the Jamboree was on 26 July 1916, in order to organize a Jamboree in 1918, provided that the war would finish in 1917. *The Jamboree Book,* (London: Boy Scout Association, 1920), http://www.pinetreeweb.com/1920-wj1-tjb-01.htm. (Last accessed on 5 June 2010).

[280] See a lively report of the Greek High Commissionar Kanellopoulos to Politis: *"The City was ornamented with flags, Greek men and women in crowds carry flags. (...) The crowd, carrying small photographs of Venizelos shouts phrenetically for him, and all the celebrations were done in enthusiasm. During the visit of the officer Mr. Kakoulidis the Grand Rue de Pera remained closed for hours; the same happened during the name-day of Venizelos, but also during the arrival of the general D'Esperey."* Central Office, 5/1, 14 Mart 1919.

[281] Paradeisis, pp. 2-3.

Organizing Committee of the Corps,[282] the Head (*ephoros*) of the Corps of Constantinople and the head doctor of the Greek Red Cross Andreas Antypas, high officers of the Greek delegation and the consulate (with the consul Mr. Nikolopoulos) in the city, the head of the Greek Navy Base Mr. Zalokostas, and other Greek generals from the military delegation, religious representatives, foreign elites such as the representative of the International Scouts Council of Constantinople, the son of Alfred de Berry, the head of Armenian scouts Mr. Agopian, Mr. Vincent of the French, and Mr. Soukanof of the Romanians.[283] The oath-ceremony would be performed in front of the distinguished guests, after a prayer and a paying tribute to the flag, with the famous Scout Oath, promising the fulfillment of the duties towards God, Motherland and the Scout Law. The sanctioning speeches of the generals would follow. Thalassinos, in his description about the day, expresses his feelings:

> We are happy today of seeing the enslaved youth of yesterday, giving the scout promise, and we are happy to see the idea and the strength of the Nation. History will praise the achievements of the next generation, and you are the soldiers of tomorrow, of the defense, of progress, of the peaceful period of the History of the Nation. To you [we] entrust the Motherland's future; you have the great responsibility of fulfillment, making Greece instance of lawfulness, justice, civilization.[284]

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[282] For that date, the organizing committee of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople consists of P. Miliotis (the chairman), N. Prinaris, D. Oikiadis, K. Fotiadis, I. and M. Karrotsieris, Fabiatos, Galanos, Sarros and Poimenidis. See Nikolaos Paradeisis, *Ο προσκοπισμός στις αλησμόνητες πατρίδες,* pp. 4-5.

[283] This information is quoted from the writings of Odisseas Thalassinos, by Nikolaos Paradeisis, *Ο προσκοπισμός...,* pp. 4-5.

[284] Paradeisis, p. 7.

The day had started at 10.00 am, while the parade to the Grand Rue de Pera would take place at 3 pm; thus the route starting from Şişli, followed the way to Taksim, Grand Rue de Pera, and ended in front of Pera Palace.

Meanwhile, it should not be forgotten that all these celebrations, particularly the ones after the *de jure* occupation of the city which is after 16 March 1920. The following day, *Proodos* announces two "Proclamations to the Inhabitants of Constantinople," signed by the Commander of the Inter-Allied Corps in Constantinople H. F. M. Wilson. These proclamations, apart from warning the inhabitants of the city about issues such as not behaving hostilely to the allied forces, or not keeping weapons in their houses, they announce that any kind of demonstration is strictly forbidden, and the ones that are responsible of the organization of any demonstration will be judged in military court, and will be punished to death or with a punishment according to the decision of the court.[285] Despite these warnings however, we know that there were demonstrations of the inhabitants in the historical part of the city, and we follow from the newspaper articles the enthusiasm of the Turkish nationalist press for those meetings against the occupational forces. Also, as we explained in this chapter, we observe the enthusiasm of the Greek Venizelist press, for the demonstrations, the performances, and the mass gymnastics of the boy-scouts. Statements in newspapers show us that these demonstrations mainly took place in the area of Taksim, starting from the direction of the district of Şişli, actually the last station of the tram. We do not have exact information about the frequency of the proclamations of the occupational forces; however, it is possible to see the scouts parading, apart and separately from the

[285] "Προκηρύξις Προς Τους Κατοίκους Της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως" (Proclamations to the Inhabitants of Constantinople), *Proodos,* 4/17 March 1920.

military forces. Moreover, we can say that the visibility of the 'soldier-like' people walking around in the city became 'a spectacular display' with the demonstrations of 'soldier-like' boys. Thus, we may claim that performances of the scouts in any aspect of everyday life became one of the 'visible' features of the occupation. However, it can be seen that the Executive Committee, in the circular of 24 June 1920, warns all the scout groups of the periphery of Constantinople, about the usage of "trumpets and drums within the city and in the suburbs, and in distance less than a kilometer to neighborhoods," due to the fact that they have been aware of many scout leaders judged before the court because of the usage of trumpets and drums.[286] Consequently we may say that in some cases the scout groups of the occupied Constantinople were limited in the usage of the percussion instruments, which play always a "meta-communicative role in many cultural performances"[287].

Meanwhile the celebrations continued, after the *de jure* occupation of the city as well. The newspaper *Proodos,* Venizelist in approach, followed all the celebrations of the scouts closely, and prepared its audience for the spectacular performances. On 3 July 1922, the Greek Scouts of Constantinople celebrated 'their day', in the Taksim area, with the participation of the local parish administration of Tatavla, Pera, Galata, Western Bosphorus, Eastern Bosphorus and Byzantium [refers to the communities of today's historical peninsula of Istanbul], with more than 1000 scouts, under the direction of Odisseas Thalassinos[288] (who is the general director of the official newspaper of the Scout Corps of Constantinople). We learn that apart

[286] Declaration for all the troops of Constantinople, ELIA, 24 June 1920.

[287] Beverly J. Stoeltje and Richard Bauman, "The Semiotics of Folkloric Performance", in Thomas A. Sebeok and Jean Umiker-Sebeok (eds.), *The Semiotic Web 1987,* (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988), p. 92.

[288] *Proodos,* 5 July 1922.

from "many women and much crowd", the Head of all Scouts of Constantinople General Maxwell, General Ioannou and the head of the Bank of Athens were all present in the ceremony; where scouts celebrated their day, with competitions and sports, such as hurdles, Swedish gymnastics, relay race, 'building bridges', camping simulations, demonstration of their communication skills with their own signs, and simulation of lighting fire at the end of the program.[289]

Performativity and Accomplishment of Moral Codes: Charity Nights & Philanthropy

The first anniversary of the establishment of Scout Corps in Constantinople offered grounds for charity nights aimed at providing financial aid and support the scout associations. For instance, due to this anniversary, with the initiative of the head-doctor of the Greek Red Cross lieutenant-colonel Mr. Antipas, and the associations Ermis of Pera and the community of Tatavla, the Company of Greek Theatre had prepared a show where all sums raised would be used as a donation to the Association of Greek Scouts of Constantinople.[290] At the head of the organizing committee we see the name of Mr. Katechakis, the High Commissioner of Greece in Constantinople, who has also been honored as the Head of the scouts of Constantinople, and the programme would include the comedy "The Return of Wicked" [Epistrofi tou Asotou] and a concert by the Orchestra of the battleship

[289] *Proodos,* 5 July 1922.

[290] "Night for the Boy-Scouts", *Proodos,* 22 January 1920.

Kilkis.[291] The community institutions were used to such charity nights for the sake of the Nation, however it was not used to something else: The young soldier-like children were hanging around for the sake of the Nation, and for philanthropy aimed at the war-orphans and widow women. Greek scouts would campaign for such a national goal, where they would be "newspaper sellers, shoeshine boys, cigarette, chocolate, water etc. sellers, and the product of their work would be disposable for the [mentioned] national goal."[292] This may be considered as a performance, not solely with a philanthropical role, but as one that would show the sacrifices of the scouts to the *Rum* population. Here 'sacrifice' means, not only working a whole-day for the sake of the nation, but doing jobs attributed to working-class, and in fact, empathizing with the wounds of war and the sorrows of the lower classes of the society, with an inclusive stance towards them. If the nation was a grand family, it should content philanthropy, in order to include the excluded or alienated 'brothers' to this big circle. Not only organized celebrations of spectacular shows and emotions would be part of the performativity of the scouts in Constantinople, but their experience of everyday life, their visibility with all their symbols in the streets, in the community places, in their fulfilling 'sacred' goals which in itself was a method of cultivating a respect to this institution.

[291] Other names of the organizing committee are listed as such: Mrs. İliaskou, I. Konstantinidou, T. Sgourdaiou, K. Spanoudi, D. Kritikou, and Misters A. Antipas, B. Aristoboulos, K. Galanis, G. Zapraidis, K. Konstantinidis and T. Teberios. *Proodos,* 22 January 1920.

[292] *Proodos,* 22 June 1922.

If we consider the desire of universality of the movement and the discourse on the fraternity among scouts, the post-war period constitutes a landmark for world scouting history, as the first largest meeting of the worlds' scouts took place in the Grand Hall Olympia, in London, from 30 July until 8 August 1920. The album dedicated to this First Jamboree provides information about the participants: around 8.000 scouts from 34 countries.[293] Among the names of the participant countries in the list, it is not possible to see the name of the Ottoman Empire; therefore we could guess that the Greek scouts that have participated from Istanbul took place in the team of Greece. The Greek team consisted of the commander Athanasios Lefkaditis, and the deputy commander Isaias Isaias, and 43 more scouts;[294] among who we know that nine scouts had participated from Constantinople representing Greece.[295] Isaias Isaias, in his detailed history of scouting in Greece, provides the whole programme of the performance of the 'Hellenic Scouts':

> Greece claims, perhaps not unjustly, to be the country in Europe whose scouting dates back to the remotest period, because the aims and ideals of Modern Scouting coincide with the system of training for boys that the Spartan Lycurgus (800 BC) and the Athenian Solon (600 BC) adopted from the systems in Crete working at least 1000 years before the birth of Christ. Nothing new under the sun!! This does not – it cannot – detract from the world's honor due to the Founder of the Modern Boy Scouts, Sir Robert Powell, but confirms us in the belief that Modern Scouting

[293] *The Jamboree Book,* Boy Scout Association, London, 1920. For the electronic version of the whole book see: http://www.pinetreeweb.com/1920-wj1-tjb-01.htm (Last accessed on 5 June 2010)
[294] Nikos Kourkouris, Vol: 3, p. 28.

[295] Paradeisis, p. 10. See also *Protocols of the Corps of Greek Scouts of the District of Constantinople,* 15 May 1920. Petition requesting to send the Head of the First Troop of Constantinople to the International Jamboree. The request was accepted.

> will once more give to the world men such as were the Ancient Hellenes.[296]

Hence the performance of the Greek Scouts in the World Jamboree, would refer to what was seen traditional both in the Greek and the British legacy: the Antiquity and the roots of European civilization that were born out of the Ancient Greek one. The programme of the performance was prepared according to this pattern of history; relating the Ancient to the modern, and making sense of continuity in scouting itself. It seems as a total play of civilization; scouting is related to the modern and civilized individual with high moral values, as it was the Ancient Greek citizen, with differences between the city-states: the Athenians were to symbolize the democrats, and the Spartans the soldiers and chivalry. Hence, the performance would consist of two parts, the first one to be Ancient Greece and the second one Modern Greece. Apart from "ancient physical training", "ancient weaving" and "the pyrrhic dances", the first part was a simulation of the day of ancient Greek boys, and their promises in front of Athena, "a vow that is almost identical with the Promise of the Modern Scout":

> I will not dishonor the holy weapons I will not abandon my comrade, whatever it cost me. I will defend what is sacred, alone with the others. I will try to leave my fatherland stronger and better than I found it. I will obey my superiors. Obey the laws and resist their subversion. I will honor the gods and my country. The gods be my witnesses![297]

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[296] Isaias Isaias, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Προσκοπισμού (History of Greek Scouting)*, Vol: 1, Athens, 1949, p. 207.

[297] Isaias Isaias, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Προσκοπισμού (History of Greek Scouting)*, Vol: 1, Athens, 1949, p. 207.

Furthermore, with reference to the part concerning modern Greece, the performance piece involved parts of the 'War of Independence', some modern Greek dances [Kalamatianos (from Kalamata), Tsamikos (from Continental Greece) and Cretan], and some training which would cover "Sphairinda, an ancient game, perhaps the origin of Football".[298] The structure, and the discourse of the programme, is clearly a proof that for the Corps of Greek Scouts, the World Jamboree had been a means to consolidate the Philhellenic feelings among the British, and other Allied elites; while the War of Asia Minor was still continuing.

Consequently, we arrive to the concepts of 'international fraternity' of scouting, which constitute a grand display through these world meetings, the World Scout Jamborees. The national element is always embedded in such international meetings, and all the display, symbolizes the readiness of the nation / or the state you represent. Scouting always emphasizes brotherhood, between scout-fellows; thus world jamborees, have become means to display how to teach and 'spread' the scout ideals; the Chief Scout who took place in the World Jamborees until the end of his life, was writing that: "If the proposed National contribution materializes, as we hope it will, we shall be placed on a sound footing for spreading our citizenship, training a large percentage instead of merely a large number of boys, so that within a short time there should be a tangible leaven in the nation of cheery balanced citizens, close comrades with their brothers abroad, and reliable men to whom the peace and happiness of the country will be the first aim."[299] At this point it is obvious that the context of the 'brotherhood of appropriate citizenship' was not, as Springhall

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[298] Ibid.

[299] *The Jamboree Book,* Boy Scout Association, London, 1920. For the electronic version of the whole book see: http://www.pinetreeweb.com/1920-wj1-tjb-01.htm (Last accessed in June 2010)

indicates, "the intention of Boy Scouts to turn out citizens who might become pacifists or conscientious objectors."[300] Thus, this scout-brotherhood was taking for granted the well-established nation-state borders and their subjects; it was not rejecting the possibility of another war, nor was it organized in order to prevent a war. On the contrary it was organized in order to "Be Prepared!" and the brotherhood with the other scout-fellows would act 'fairly' in times of conflict between the nations.

Moreover, the official newspaper of the Corps of Greek Scouts, was providing explanations for the term 'fraternity' for the Greek scout. According to an article of G. Haritakis, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of Egypt, described a chain for the Greek scout; the Greek scout meant being Greek citizen who belongs to the grand family of the Greek Nation, and all the Greek citizens are brothers that share the fate and happiness: "For the Greek citizen, the only way of prospering and being happy is loving his Hellenic motherland, and only that. If he asks happiness in another motherland, he will be in a sorrowful fallacy. He will never become brothers with the citizens of another Nation. (...) He will understand that the citizens of the other Nation, treat him as a foreigner."[301] Thus the fraternity is interpreted as the fraternity of the scouts of the same ethnic identity, as the brothers within a family; thus the scouts do not have the rights to chose from which 'family' they are going to participate to this brotherhood, thus they are born with this citizenship and moral values. The brotherhood that unites the scout, and in our case

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[300] John Springall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?", *The English Historical Review,* 102 /405, (October 1987), p. 942.

[301] G. Haritakis, "Εθνική Κατήχησις: Ο Πρόσκοπος Έλλην Πολίτης" (National Education: The Scout Greek Citizen), *I Zoi Ton Proskopon,* 15 February 1921.

the Greek scout, is nothing more than the brotherhood of the concept of 'nation', a nation that is constructed through invisible kinship ties.

While I suppose that it is possible to call the internationalism of scouting as one of constructing standardized citizens of the world, with strongly cultivated moral values of hierarchical respects and obedience to the values of the Nations.

Performing – For Whom?

Who was the audience for these celebrations of such spectacular welcoming to the Generals of the Allied Forces and the mass gymnastics, to the celebrations and international meetings, to the 'simulations' for philanthropical reasons? It seems that each genre, each staging had its own audience; there was a trilogy of audiences which created a line about the imagination of the Greek-self, and the audience in general of the Greek nation-state. In our particular case of the occupied Istanbul, the audience for the middle-class organizers of the scout movement, either 'Hellenic or Ottoman' Greeks would be three-fold: European powers, Turks, and members of the *Rum* community as well.

The case of the European audience, reflects a case of confrontation with Philhellenism; a showing-off to the Allies, a spectacular display of the glory of the Greek nation, whilst at a war, similar to the one of the war of independence exactly a century ago, was in fact taking place again. The actors were all the same; the 'tyrant' and the 'unredeemed' fellows of the Christian civilization, part of the European identity and the descendants of the Ancient Greeks, therefore ancestors of the European civilization as well. At an instance, from the magazine *Ap'Ola,* when

introducing the spectacular welcoming to the French High Commissioner of the Allied Forces, Francis D'Esperey, the anonymous article complains about the lack of the Greek scouts there:

> [T]here were American and Armenian boy scouts. But where were our boy scouts? What happens then? We have scouts and they are hidden, or don't we have? (...) Why couldn't we present a troop of boy scouts, why couldn't we show that our kids are not inferior to their European brothers? If the adults didn't want, they, on their own, should have been organized for participation to this welcoming.[302]

The notion, and endeavor of getting out of the status of the 'inferior nations' and regain the admiration of the European, would be inevitably a decisive factor for the selection of audience.

During the preparation of the oath-taking ceremony of the Scouts, the writer of the newspaper *Proodos*, emphasizes the crowded Greek scouts, and their superior organization in Constantinople in comparison to the other nations'; "so there will be the opportunity, for all the Greek and foreign communities to admire Greek youth, who will perform with all her liveliness and organization, that distinguishes her."[303] Therefore, it is not only the 'foreign communities' but the 'domestic-audience', when displaying power, should be considered as part of the audience.

On the first day of July 1922, the newspaper *Proodos* was inviting all the inhabitants of Istanbul to the celebration of the Day of the Greek Scouts, where "in the Stadium of Taksim, due to the oath-taking ceremony of those young [Greek scouts], the strength and the spiritual power of Greek youth will be displayed; the

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[302] *Ap'ola*, 16/29 January 1919.

[303] *Proodos,* 19 June 1922. *"Θα δοθή λοιπόν η ευκαιρία και η ομογενής και η ξένη κοινωνία να θαυμάση την Ελληνικήν νεότητα, η οποία θα επιδειχθή με όλην την ζωήν και την οργάνωσιν, η οποία την διακρίνει."*

youth that constructs the future of the Nation, forges the progress and its grandeur."[304] Considering that all these articles are written in Greek and Venizelist newspapers, it seems that a second audience, is the *Rum* community as well; the Hellenic and the Ottoman Greek parents altogether, that would be astonished by the grandeur of the spectacle of their children, would believe in the 'strong' future of their Nation, and therefore would consist healthy citizens of the grand family of the Greek Nation. "The Greeks of our City are responsible of participating in large numbers."[305] This is both an invitation in particular to the Greeks of Istanbul, but mostly it seems a call to duty for all the members of the performing nation thus an obligation to be there in the audience.

It is remarkable that, in Greek sources, it is not possible to encounter, or to hear the voice of the Turks, in narrations of the 'process of the realization of the dream'. The Turks seem to be the outsiders; as they do not appear in the 'occupied' areas of the city. The main space that we encounter in the narratives of the Greek sources is Taksim and Grand Rue de Pera, which is reflected already as a Greek territory. In the Name Day of Venizelos, where "Armenians also participated together with the Greeks (...) the Greek character of the City was proved to Turks and foreigners who couldn't hide their amazements."[306] While a letter to the

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[304] "Η Εορτή των Προσκόπων" (The Fiest of the Scouts), *Proodos,* 1 July 1922. *"Εκεί εις το Στάδιον του Ταξίμ ια επιδειχθή εξ αφορμής της ορκομοσίας των νέων τοιούτων η αλκή και η ψυχική δύναμις της Ελληνικής νεολαίας, αυτής που παρασκευάζει το μέλλον του Έθνους και σφυρηλατεί την πρόοδον και ίτο μεγαλείον του."*

[305] "Η Εορτή των Προσκόπων" (The Fiest of the Scouts), *Proodos,* 1 July 1922.

[306] "Η Καταπληξις των Ξένων δια την Ισχύν των Ελλήνων" (The Amazement of Foreigners About the Power of Greeks), *Makedonia,* 17 December 1920.

newspaper *Embros*, was saying that "The Turks in Edirne were admiring the Greek soldiers, and were talking about their discipline."[307]

In other words, the Turkish audience had always had a place – somewhere in Greek national identity – especially during this period of war where the *megali idea* had reached a new potential. However, this time diplomatic maneuvers were taking place and the confrontation with an audience was multilateral: In the case of the European powers, especially for British, Philhellenism should take over once more, and pledge its full support of the Greek ideals against the 'Ottoman yoke' of nearly five centuries. For the Turks, this time it was the display of the collaboration with the 'civilized powers', the victorious ones after the war. This is why Konstantinos Melas wrote in a criticism about the arrival of an English consultant for the Greek scouts, that "Since scouting is the development of character, we cannot insist that we know everything; we need the British, in order to be like them"[308], while around a year ago he was declaring that "one day, when the Turk stops suppressing brutally civilized peoples and lives on his own, we will make him Scout as well."[309] Thus the chain of civilization was going from the British to the Greek, and from the Greek the Turk. All the performative actions of the Greek scouts, could be considered as a display of transferring 'civilization' with the support of the Great Powers. However, for the Turkish audience, all this performativity was making visible the occupation, and the betrayal of populations that has experienced the 'tolerance' of the Empire for years.

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[307] *Embros,* 8 August 1922.
[308] *Embros,* 22 April 1919.

[309] *I Zoi Ton Proskopon,* 15 March 1919.

To sum up; the 'children of the nation' and the 'future citizen-soldiers' of the Greek nation, existed in the social life of the occupied city; they were displaying their fit, healthy and vigorous bodies, their synchronized behaviors, the obedience they have been taught and the loyalty to their motherland Greece. The Greek Red Cross was demanding scouts for carrying the duty of messengers;[310] they were taking up their duties in the everyday life. For the sake of the widowed women of war, and the orphans, they went out to the streets and worked for collecting financial support to them. Certainly this happened with their uniforms, registration numbers and scout identities; because, if not, they were punished with dismissal from the group, or denunciation. All of these activities were making occupation itself, and the betraying non-Muslims *visible*; or it showed these populations as collective bodies, out of the limited boundaries of their communities.

This is why, we cannot say that Turkish historiography has neglected the existence of non-Muslim minorities in the historiography of the Armistice Istanbul; on the contrary, despite the lack of a well-written research about the situation or the social history of these populations in the war and post-war period, dispersed information about the "collaborators" is easily found almost in every monograph, memoir, and novel. For the Turkish historiography this period is marked with the "ambitions of Greece" which were summarized in a recent publication: "1) secret associations, riots, collaboration with the Armenians, sabotage, crime, 2) braking the public order in Istanbul via establishing gangs, and diminishing the Turkish

[310] Declaration to the Fifth and Nineteenth Troops of Constantinople, ELIA, 10 June 1920.

population, 3) recruiting the *Rums,* 4) establishing scout troops for incorporating the youth to Greek ambitions, 5) making propaganda for affecting the foreigners."[311] This had been a note, a reflection of the Armistice Istanbul to official Turkish historiography; the historiography that either neglects the non-Muslim populations, or adds them as sources of danger. The visibility that was a consequence of all the new perfomativity in the city that is described above, I argue, had become one of the main sources of the arguments on "collaboration with the occupiers".

The behavior of the 'collaborators' [not necessarily non-Muslim populations always] and the 'occupation' itself, was a mark of 'decadence', 'corruption', 'perversion' and 'degeneration'. According to the 'occupied', Istanbul was 'out of the scene',[312] Pera/Beyoğlu was the center of the 'enemy newspapers'[313]; and while 'Istanbul was crying, Pera was laughing'.[314] According to Necip Fazıl [Kısakürek], the situation could be described as "swearing to the dead and their ancestry in the house of the dead" [*ölü evinde ölüye ve silsilesine sövmek*];[315] while the Istanbul of Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu] was a 'raped city', represented with the metaphor of Sodom and Gomorra.[316] Reasoning for these can be defined twofold; the city was occupied by European forces, which had already divided the 'Turkish nation' as the

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[311] Hülya Toker, *Mütareke Döneminde İstanbul Rumları.* (Ankara: Genelkurmay ATASE ve Denetleme Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2006), pp. 54-55.

[312] Referring to Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar, *Sahnenin Dışındakiler,* (Istanbul: Büyük Kitaplık Yayınları, 1973).

[313] Ahmed Emin Yalman, *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim,* (Istanbul: Rey Yayınları, 1970).

[314] Kemalettin Şükrü, *Mütareke Acıları,* (Ankara, 1930), p. 46.

[315] Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Sultan Vahidüddin: *Vatan haini değil, büyük vatan dostu,* Istanbul: Büyük Doğu Yayınları, 1975, p. 138. *"İstanbul'un ahlâkında en derin yarayı açmış olan Beyaz Ruslara ait batakhaneler her tarafı sarmakta, Tatavla rumlarının laterna ve koroları, mezar kadar sessiz İstanbul'u gümbürdetmekte... Ölü evinde, ölüye ve silsilesine söven bir cümbüş..."*

[316] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomorre,* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984).

pro's and the anti's; and the empire was going to be almost a colony of – mainly – the British. Parallel to this was the behaviors of the Christian populations that finally, they showed their real feelings of betraying the integrity of the Empire, and continued their show-off under the auspices of the Great Powers. At this point I argue that, the 'expressivity' of the non-Muslim populations, with their demonstrations and such performances as described above, had been decisive in the creation of such a literature; more decisive than the issues of high politics, such as the acts of the Orthodox Patriarchate, or the relations of the Occupational Forces with the local communal administrators / elites of the non-Muslim communities. The performative scene of the Armistice Istanbul, had been decisive to the terminologies and discourse of the contemporary Turkish writings, lately published academic researches and memoirs, and still continues in academic and non-academic writing. Academic writing today still describes the 'Day of Venizelos' as such; "they made performances that were hurting the religious and national feelings of the Muslim people".[317]

National Turkish historiography, apart from the 'feelings' has revealed little for the Greek society of the period. The boy scouts of Istanbul are seen under the denomination of "the associations founded with the support of Greece, in order to install brigands, cause confusions and provide armament."[318] According to these theses, "the most important Greek terrorist organizations established after the

[317] Fatma Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerine Göre İşgal Döneminde İstanbul (16 Mart 1920 – 31 Aralık 1922)*, Marmara University, Unpublished MA thesis, 2009, p. 60.

[318] Hülya Toker, *Mütareke Döneminde İstanbul Rumları,* (Ankara: Genelkurmay ATASE ve Denetleme Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2005).

Armistice of Moudros was Mavri Mira"[319] and the Scouts Corps were acting under the auspices of this organization, collaborating with Armenians in order to "terrorize, and if needed to kill the Muslim population."[320] Ottoman archives supply little intelligence information about the establishment of scout groups and not more.[321] All the 'extravagances' and the 'impertinence' that is attributed to the non-Muslims/minorities has dominated the field until now, particularly for the period mentioned in this thesis; for which I think that has already put barriers to new ways of history-writing.

[319] Ibid., p.129.

[320] Cited in Toker, p.130.

[321] See BOA DH. KMS 49-2/34; BOA DH. EUM. AYŞ. 48/42; BOA DH. KMS 60-2/47. BOA DH. EUM. AYŞ. 16/84. See also an elaboration of military intelligence sources of ATASE in Hülya Toker, *Mütareke Döneminde İstanbul Rumları,* (Ankara: Genelkurmay ATASE ve Denetleme Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2005).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION: SCOUTING, CODES OF LIVING AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The Corps of Greek Scouts was one of the institutions that ceased to exist with the withdrawal of the Allied forces from Istanbul. Certainly this was not the sole motive for the dissolution of a movement that was organized in a very short period of time after the Armistice; particularly after the defeat of the Greek Army in Asia Minor the situation and the 'security' of the Hellenic and Ottoman Greeks in Istanbul was under question. This precarious period ended with the migration of a great number of Greeks to various parts of Greece, even before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. For the scout movement, this migration ended up with dissolution in the "unforgotten lands" but it created a ground for re-organization. That is to say that the social networks that were created by the scout movement established in Istanbul, Thrace and Asia Minor continued in a different context. Baden-Powell was inviting the scouts of Greece to take care of these refugee scouts, around 2000 in number.[322] Thus, the Corps of Greek Scouts in Greece became one of the means for 'relief' and networking; while scouts were reorganized in this institution, and functioned as the agents of 'recovery' after the 'Asia Minor catastrophe' for the Greek refugees. This burden and responsibility attributed to the young scouts for the 'recovery' was another testing ground of the scout morality and proper citizenship. Following the teachings of scouting, young scouts that migrated to Greece would be used as agents to fulfill their role to the nation offering social service for relief.

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[322] See the letter of Sir Baden-Powell in Isaias Isaias, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Προσκοπισμού (History of Greek Scouting)*, Vol: 1, (Athens: Greek Scouts Association, 1949), pp. 247-248.

Going back to the ideas that appeared in my mind in Athens, while the Corps of Greek Scouts celebrated their 100th anniversary via various ceremonies, parades and media tools, and become visible again in an era where this institution is almost forgotten, it seems easier to understand the reasons and the connotations of this anniversary for such an institution. Closely related with the state establishment, the Corps of Greek Scouts had been proud throughout the twentieth century, of bringing up proper citizens deserving the Greek national identity, and was performing for the sake and the visibility of its social services among the Greek population.

Scouting had become an antidote for nations, states, empires in conflictual conditions, with all the 'nationalist hysteria' spread along the nineteenth century. That's why it became so popular, was appropriated and embraced by official and military establishments. Meanwhile, it had created its own national history within the national history that it has been appropriated by; it has mystified heroic personalities; and constructed its own symbols and myths. It has invented its own traditions and sanctioned them repetitively, while 'respecting the God, the Motherland, the fellow men and the society it has been born in'. Scouting became quickly universalized, something that it wished for from the beginning; however this universalization and the fraternity of the fellow scouts, kept the borders and the national myths around the universal system.

'Modernizing' societies of the Ottoman Empire and the Greek Kingdom appropriated easily such a youth movement, which was seemingly targeted to create 'appropriate' and 'proper' citizens. Each population in the Ottoman Empire had appropriated scouting within the limits of their institutions, and within the scope of

the discussions on Westernization or conservatism. In the Greek case, not only for scouting, but also for physical education in general, the Ottoman Greek community remained in between the ideas of the conservatives and the reformists. However, the merge of the two parts at this aspect of education would get realized after a short period, where the ground for a movement of 'moral codes' would be ready to embrace the whole population.

The development of the Greek national identity, the position and the importance of the 'redemption of the unredeemed Hellenism' within this identity and the creation of the intellectual ground of the *megali idea* in irredentist terms and as a *mission civilizatrice* (as described in Chapter IV) paved the ambitious way of the Greek nation until the post-First World War period. The traumatic experiences of the 'unredeemed Hellenes' during World War I in Asia Minor had once more emphasized the need of this irredentist and 'civilizing' aspirations on the part of the Greek elite.

The nationalization, and in fact 'hellenization' of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate, and thus the Ottoman Greek community would play a decisive role during the Allied occupation period of Istanbul, which meant a total adoption of the Hellenic discourse rather than the Ottoman one, of an imminence to the Greek Kingdom and the Venizelist policies and the rejection of Ottoman citizenship rights and obligations. The spread of institutions, clubs, associations and social networks foreseeing the consolidation of the Greek identity among the *Rums* of the Ottoman Empire, embraced and welcomed Venizelism. The Corps of Greek Scouts that were established in Constantinople, Smyrna and other cities of Asia Minor, flourished in collaboration with the local elites, in a setting ready to fulfill the above aspirations.

While the tragic events of Aydın in June 1919 which ended up with the death of a whole scout troop had already provided the sanctioning of sacrifice of these young soldiers as ethno-martyrs, they had also supplied the necessary morale for the spread of the troops throughout the 'occupied lands'. The second front experience (the first was the Balkan Wars) provided 'maturity' to the movement while coming closer to the realization of the national dream. As a consequence of this ambition, there were 45 scout troops established under the auspices of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople, in close collaboration with the local administrations (the parishes).

The Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople had the responsibility of transmitting both the moral codes of the institution of scouting that were indoctrinated in Britain, and the codes of Hellenic identity. The *middle-class morality*, which by considering childhood and adolescence as periods requiring cultivation, discipline, education for obedience; treated boy scouts not any more as pupils but also intermediaries to transfer these teachings to generations that follow. Notions such as knighthood, chivalry, solidarity, fraternity, philanthropy, masculinity and 'preparation' were cultivated spiritually to these young boys, who were expected to become the soldier-citizens of the future. This notion of morality in the indoctrination of Lord Baden-Powell had been adjusted for the young Greek boy. Scouting had been a tool for transferring the nationalist and conservative aspirations of the Greek elites, but also to develop morality for the 'proper-citizen'. Thus, the *mission civilizatrice* that was foreseen by *megali idea* itself in theoretical level, happened to be undertaken by the Greek scouts. According to this thought, the civilizing mission was transferred now to the British (with the achievements of the

Ancient Greek one), who was civilizing Greeks with such an indoctrination, and this would as well be indoctrinated to the 'Turkish brothers'.

Throughout the thesis I tried to use the scout movement as a tool, as well, to get an insight into the social history of the armistice period in Istanbul. Scout movement itself had been employed as a pedagogical tool to indoctrinate uniform citizens respectful to values such as nation and religion, which was entirely in line with the context in which the Greek state elites had found themselves. Thus, mass media was a powerful means to reach the target audience; the performative aspect of the movement –which involved events like parades, spectacular gymnastic shows, ceremonies etc.– was even a more powerful one (Chapter VI). Furthermore, I have argued that in the context of the post-war period, the performativity of *philanthropy* aimed and practiced by the scouts, for the contested population of the war-orphans made them 'little-missionaries', besides their 'little-soldiering'.

The discussion on scouting, and if it has foreseen bringing up modern, urban, morally skilled *citizens* rather than *citizen-soldiers* may go further with comparing examples from the scout movements internationally. However in the establishment of the Corps of Greek Scouts and their functioning as paramilitary youth organization behind the front, I've argued, is obvious. Apart from the whole iconography and the visual codes, the whole morality of *readiness*, *altruism* and *social responsibility* in a 'civilizing' manner and a collective level, should not be undermined. Even the organic ties of the institution of scouting with military institutions, is far from "staying away from politics, not foreseeing militarism".

All of these visual codes made this movement obviously *visible* in the occupied Istanbul, for the occupied populations. Greek and Turkish sources speak of

two different worlds in the same periods, within the same city; while the emphasis in the Greek sources is on a national pride and glory and after the defeat vice versa, the emphasis of the Turkish sources has been on the 'extravagance' of the non-Muslims and then the glory despite the existence of 'traitors within'. The post-war catastrophes reflected in both essential historiographies require analysis, but I argue that the showing-offs were one powerful mechanism that spread the seeds of this discourse of 'extravagance of the non-Muslim' populations.

Even in *Nutuk,* the speech that was delivered by Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] in 1927, and has become the 'primary sourcebook' of the Turkish national historiography, the 'betrayal' of the Greeks is expressed via the activities of the Greek boy-scouts and their commander *Mavri Mira Cemiyeti.*[323] This information has taken part in the history school books, under the chapter of 'harmful associations during the national independence movement'. Thus, memoirs, novels, and studies that shaped Turkish historiography later were constructed upon this information supplied in *Nutuk.* Thus this thesis tried to leave behind the traps of conflictual discourses for the discussion of the politics of Greeks against Turks, and Turks

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[323] *A Speech Delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal, President of the Turkish Republic, October 1927,* Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Publisher, 1929, p. 5. *"The Entente Powers did not consider it necessary to respect the terms of the armistice. On various pretexts, their men-of-war and troops remained at Constantinople. (...)At last, on the 15th of May, that is to say, for days before the following account of events begins, the Greek Army, with the consent of the Entente Powers, had landed at Smyrna. Christian elements were also to work all over the country, either openly or in secret, trying to realise their own particular ambitions and thereby hasten the breakdown of the Empire. Certain information and authentic documents that fell into our hands later on prove that the Greek organisation "Mawrimira" (Document I), etsablished by the patriarchate in Constantinople, was forming bands, organising meetings and making propaganda in the vilayets. The Greek Red Cross and the official Emigrants Commission supported the work of the "Mawrimira." The formation of Boy Scouts in the Greek schools directed by the "Mawrimira" were reinforced by the admission even of young men over twenty years of age. The Armenian Patriarch, Sawen Effendi, also worked in connection with the "Mawrimira." The preparations made by the Armenians progressed side by side with those made by the Greeks."* This is how the situation is depicted in the first sentences of the speech of Mustafa Kemal. Most probably he is mentioning the National Defence Organization [Amyna] founded by Venizelists, whereas there is no such an organization even in the intelligence reports of Greek with the name of "Mavri Mira" (Black Fate).

against Greeks. The departure point was to understand the 'feeling' of a period, situating it to general European context, with the broader trends of modernity and anxiety for the futures of the nations, as an accumulation of the nineteenth century; staying away of the widely known speculative discourses of popular and politically-engaged historiographies. It is inevitable though to hear the voices and see the seeds of fascism in the guidance of these children, which are the next generation adults; children that are seen as *utilities for the state, society and nation* on one side, but also enemy soldiers of the warring sides.

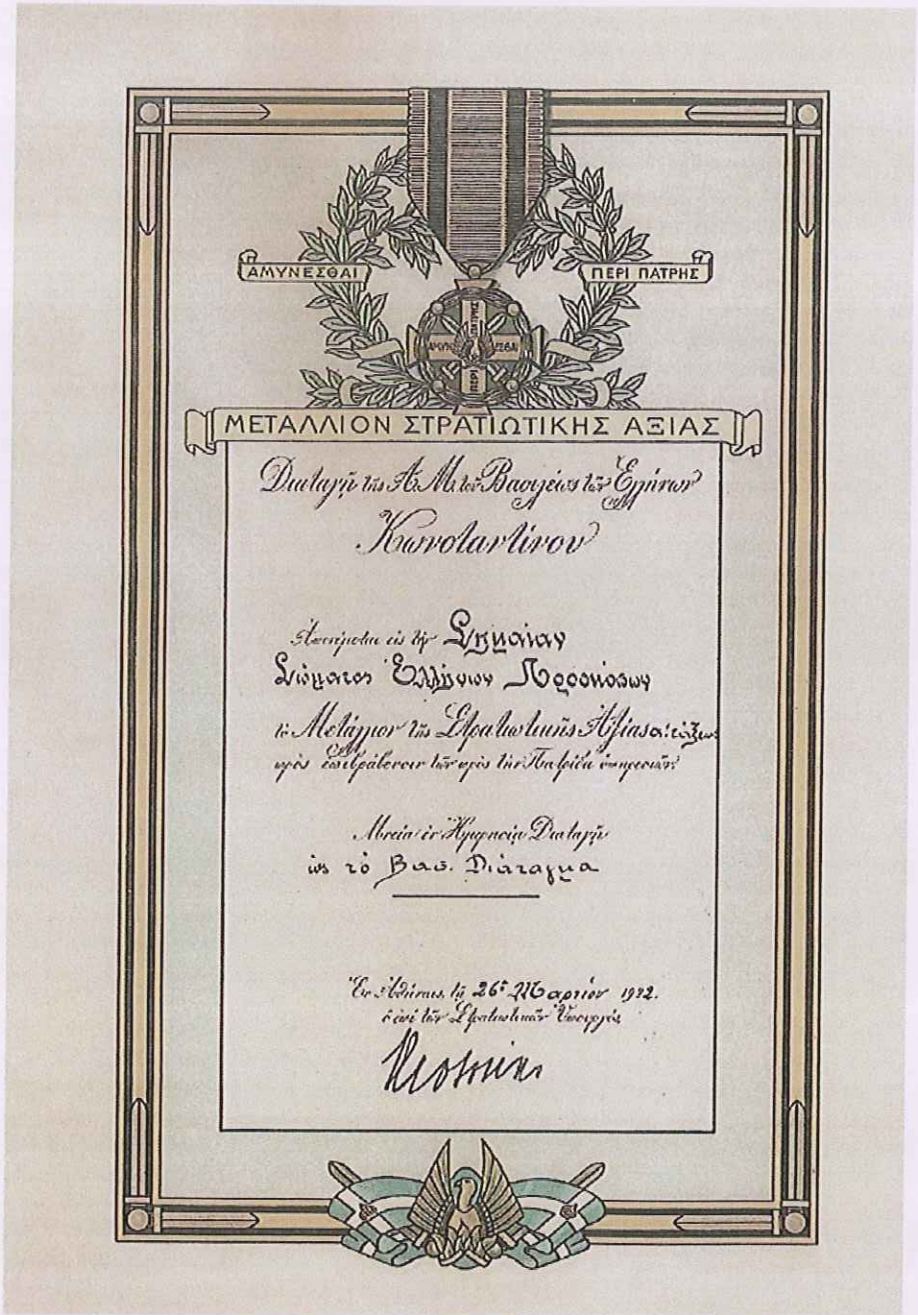
APPENDIX A: SELECTED PHOTOGRAPHS

Photograph I. Photograph of a Greek scout, Dimitrios G. Andoniadis, born in 1900 in Constantinople. Participated to scout troops in 1914 in Chios island, then continued his scout service in Pera (modern day Beyoğlu).[1]



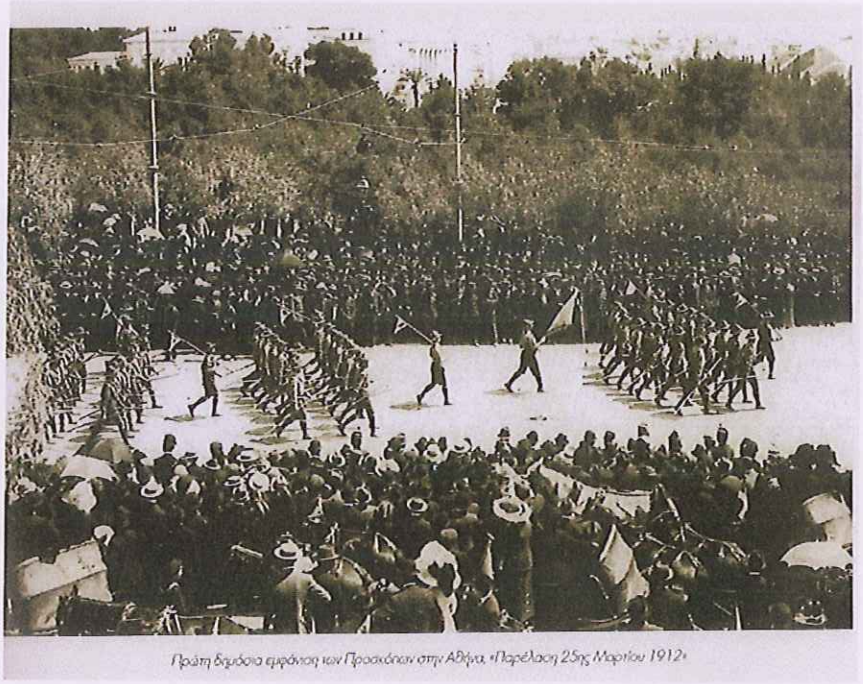
[1] [From the personal archive of Ellis Solomonidou-Balanou] Nikolaos K. Paradeisis, *Ο προσκοπισμός στις αλησμόνητες πατρίδες 1919-1922: Μικρά Ασία, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Θράκη.* [Scouting in the Unforgotten Motherlands 1919-1922: Asia Minor, Constantinople, Thrace], Athens: Mikros Romios, 2000, p. 3.

Photograph II. The Military Diploma to the Corps of Greek Scouts for its service to the motherland with the sacrifice of the scouts of Aydın. [2]



[2] Archive of Corps of Greek Scouts, Paradeisis, p. 120.

Photograph III. The first parade of the Greek Scouts during the celebrations of national independence of Greece, 25 March 1912.[3]



Πρώτη δημόσια εμφάνιση των Προσκόπων στην Αθήνα, «Παρέλαση 25ης Μαρτίου 1912»

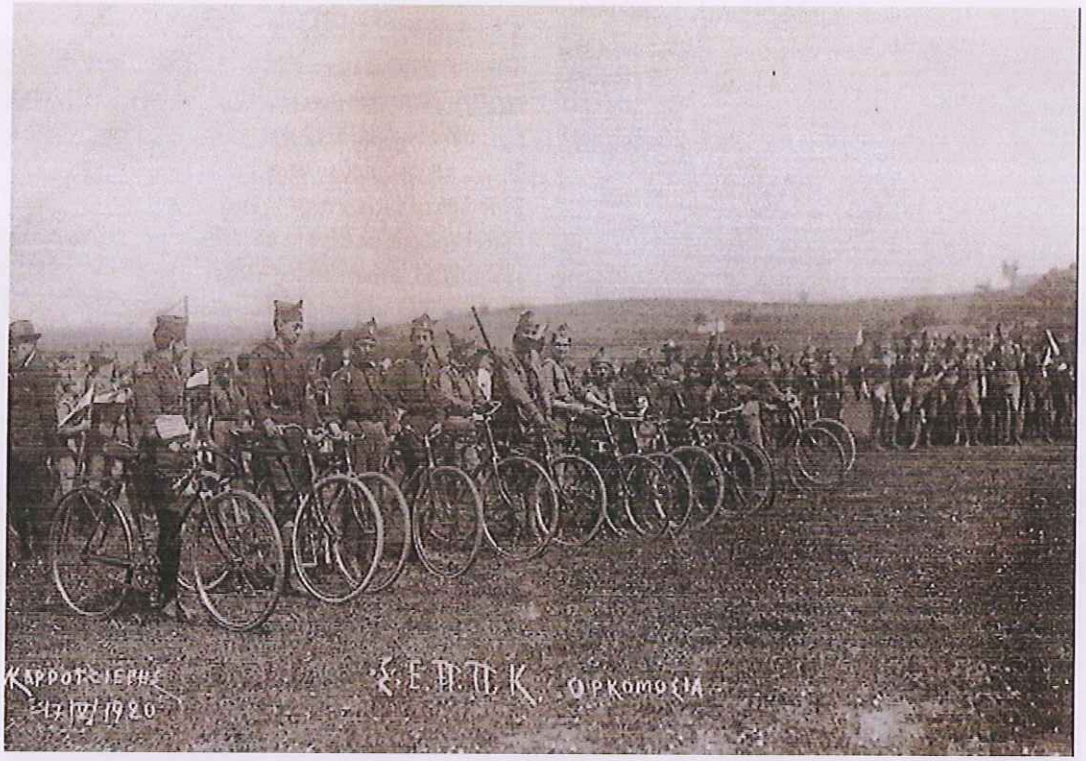
[3] Dimitris Alexatos, *Προσκοπισμός: «Ένας Ωραίος Κόσμος»,* [Scouting: "A Beautiful World"] Athens: Organization of Greek Scouts, 1997, p. 55.

Photograph IV. Photographs from various boy-scouts in Istanbul, obtained from the identity cards. The names of the scouts are as such: Sof. Dimitriadis, Dounias, Georgios Theotokas[4], Konstantinos Theoharidis, Eleftherios Thomareis, Ioannidis, Kon. D. Ioannidis, Kon. Kalemkeris, Dim. M. Kalogiannidis, Giorgos Kamfonas, Iordanis G. Kaplanoglou. [5]



[4] Georgios Theotokas, (first in the third column) who is the author of the novel-memoir *Leonis*, was a scout in Constantinople. See Giorgos Theotokas, *Λεωνής* [Leonis]. Athens: Estia, 1998.
[5] Paradeisis, p. 19.

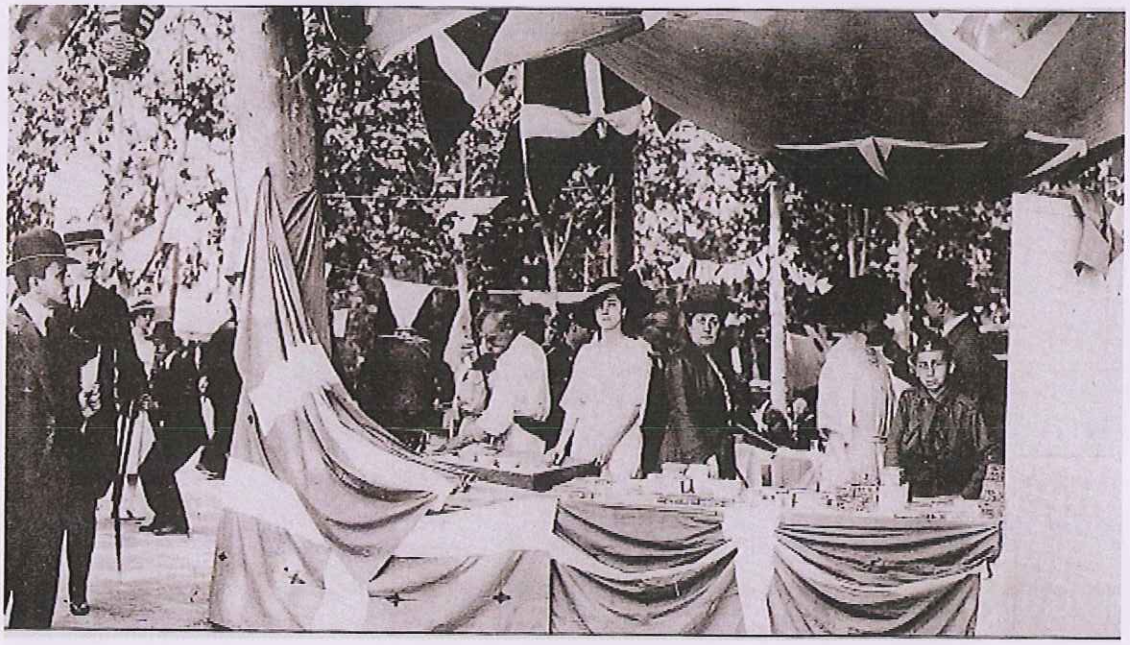
Photograph V. Boy-scouts preparing to go to the parade in Pera, after the oath taking ceremony, 17 May 1920.[6]



[6] Paradeisis, p. 4.



Photograph VI. The scouts of Tatavla (modern day Kurtuluş), 15 September 1919.[7]

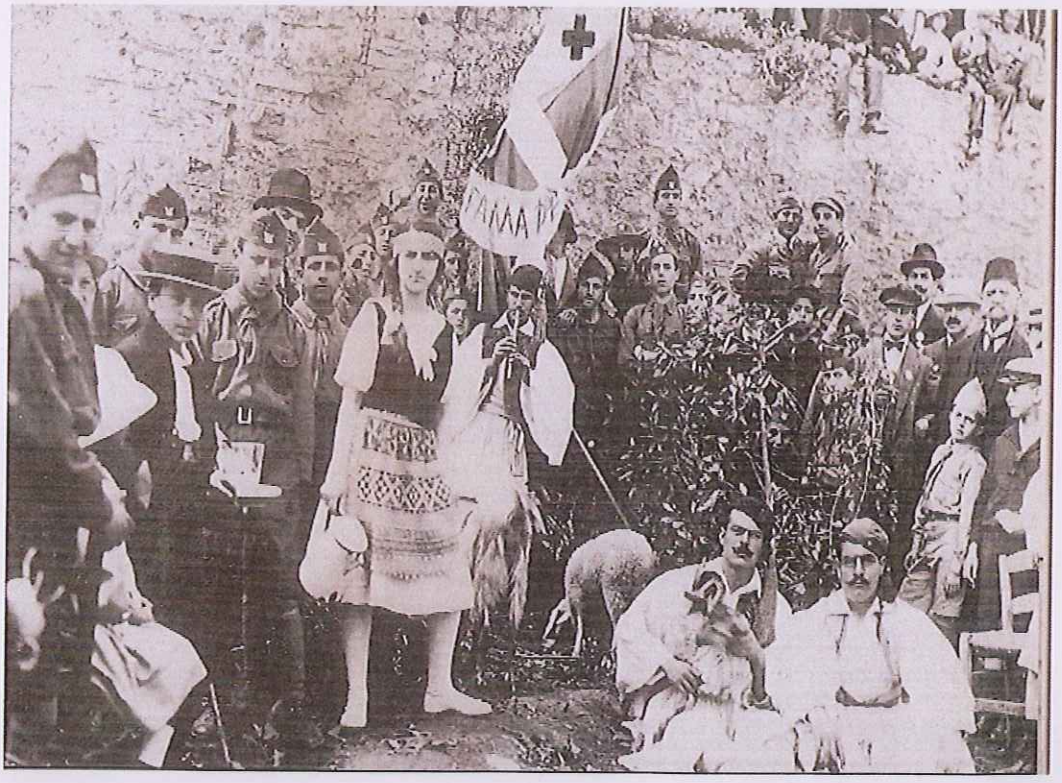


Photograph VI. Galata district in Istanbul; a scout taking place in social services and fund-raising.[8]

[7] Archive of Akillas Millas, Paradeisis, p. 15.
[8] Archive ELIA, Paradeisis, p. 25.

Photographs VII and VIII. Fund-raising for the community, in Fener.[9]





[9] Paradeisis, p. 8 and p. 23.

Photograph IX. Souvenir after a fund-raising activity in Smyrna.[10]



Photograph X. From the parade in Pera.[11]



[10] Paradeisis, p. 58.
[11] Paradeisis, p. 9.

Photograph XI. Courrier scouts in the Balkan Wars.[12]



[12] Dimitris Alexatos, *Προσκοπισμός: «Ένας Ωραίος Κόσμος»,* [Scouting: "A Beautiful World"] Athens: Organization of Greek Scouts, 1997, p. 54.

Photograph XII. The 'fleur de lis' of the scouts.[13]



[13] Dimitris Alexatos, *Προσκοπισμός: «Ένας Ωραίος Κόσμος» (Scouting: "A Beautiful World")*, Athens: Organization of Greek Scouts, 1997, p. 246.

Photograph XIII. "Aspiring internationalism" and fraternity among the fellow-scouts of the world.[14]



«Πρόσκοποι από κάθε ήπειρο βαδίζουν αδελφωμένοι», ελαιογραφία Norman Rockwell, σκηνή από το 11ο Παγκόσμιο Τζάμπορη του Μαραθώνα (1963).

[14] Dimitris Alexatos, *Προσκοπισμός: «Ενας Ωραίος Κόσμος» (Scouting: "A Beautiful World")* Athens: Organization of Greek Scouts, 1997, p. 35.

Photographs XIV. From the First World Jamboree, London 1920.[15]





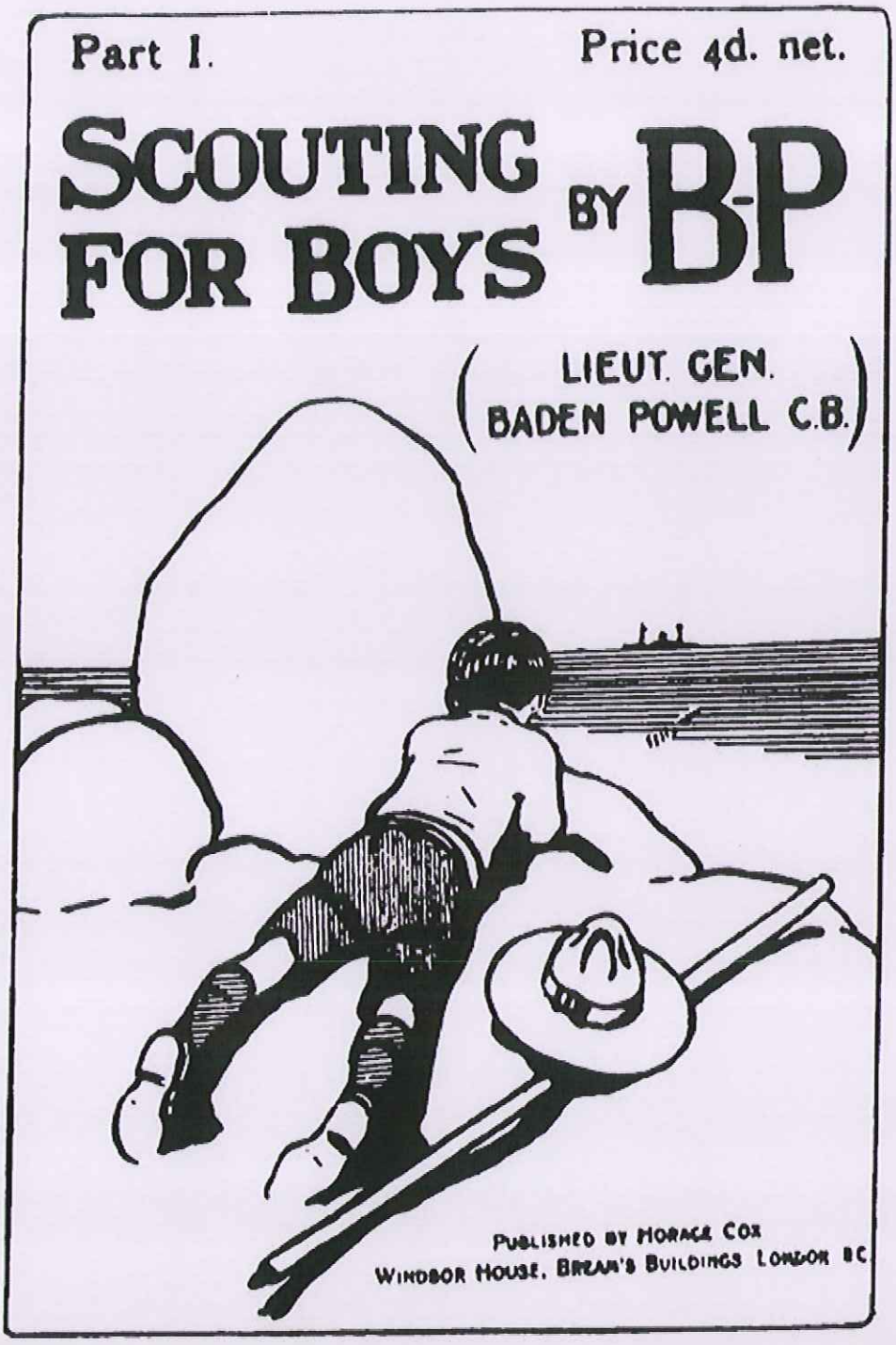
[15] www.pinetreeweb.com/1920-wj1-tjb-00.htm (Last accessed on 5 June 2010).

Photograph XV. The Greek Scouts in the World Jamboree (1920) before the performance of the national independence.[16]



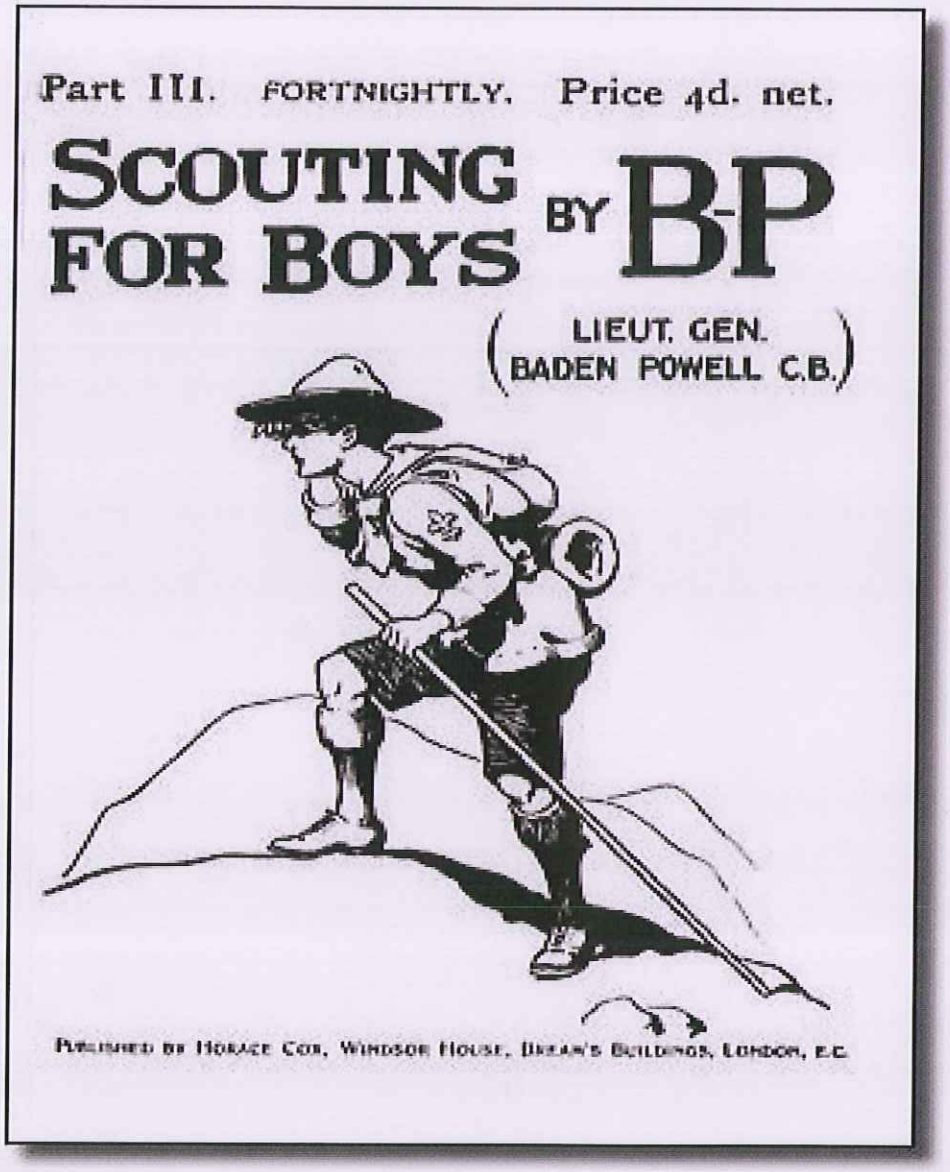
[16] www.pinetreeweb.com/1920-wj1-tjb-00.htm

Photograph XVI.a. Baden Powell's "Scouting for Boys" in its first editions.[17]



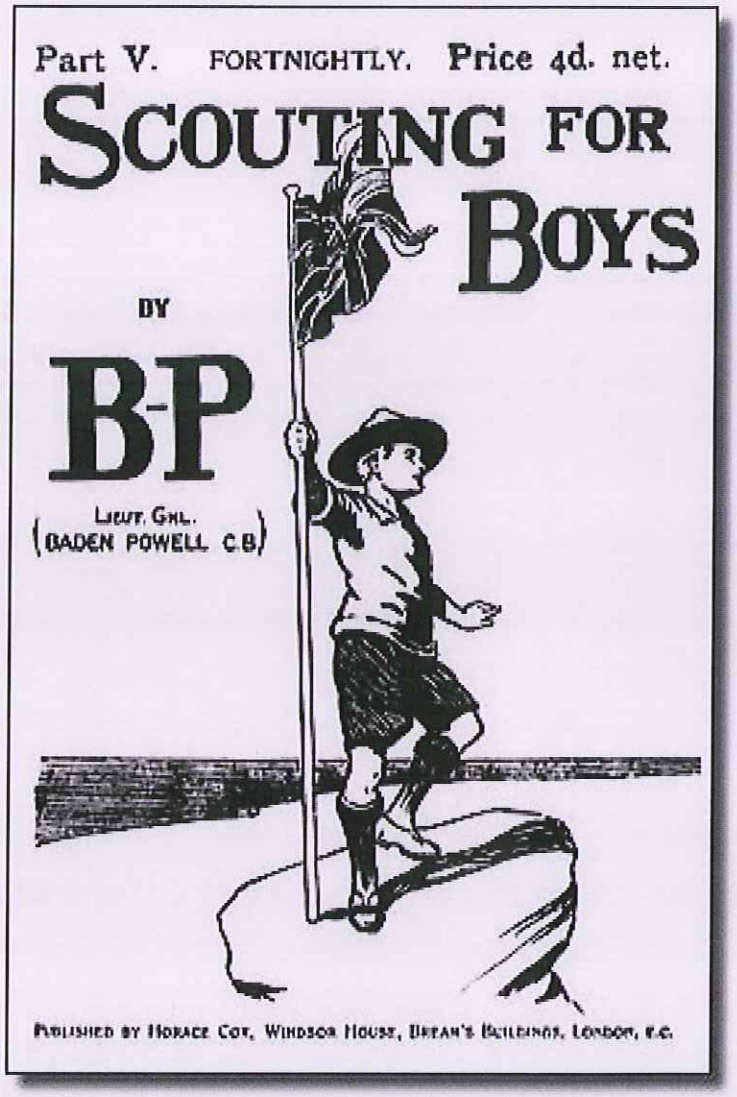
[17] www.pinetreeweb.com/1920-wj1-tjb-00.htm

Photograph XVI.b. The third part of "Scouting for Boys".[18]



[18] Ibid.

Photograph XVI.c. The fifth part of "Scouting for Boys".[19]



[19] Ibid.

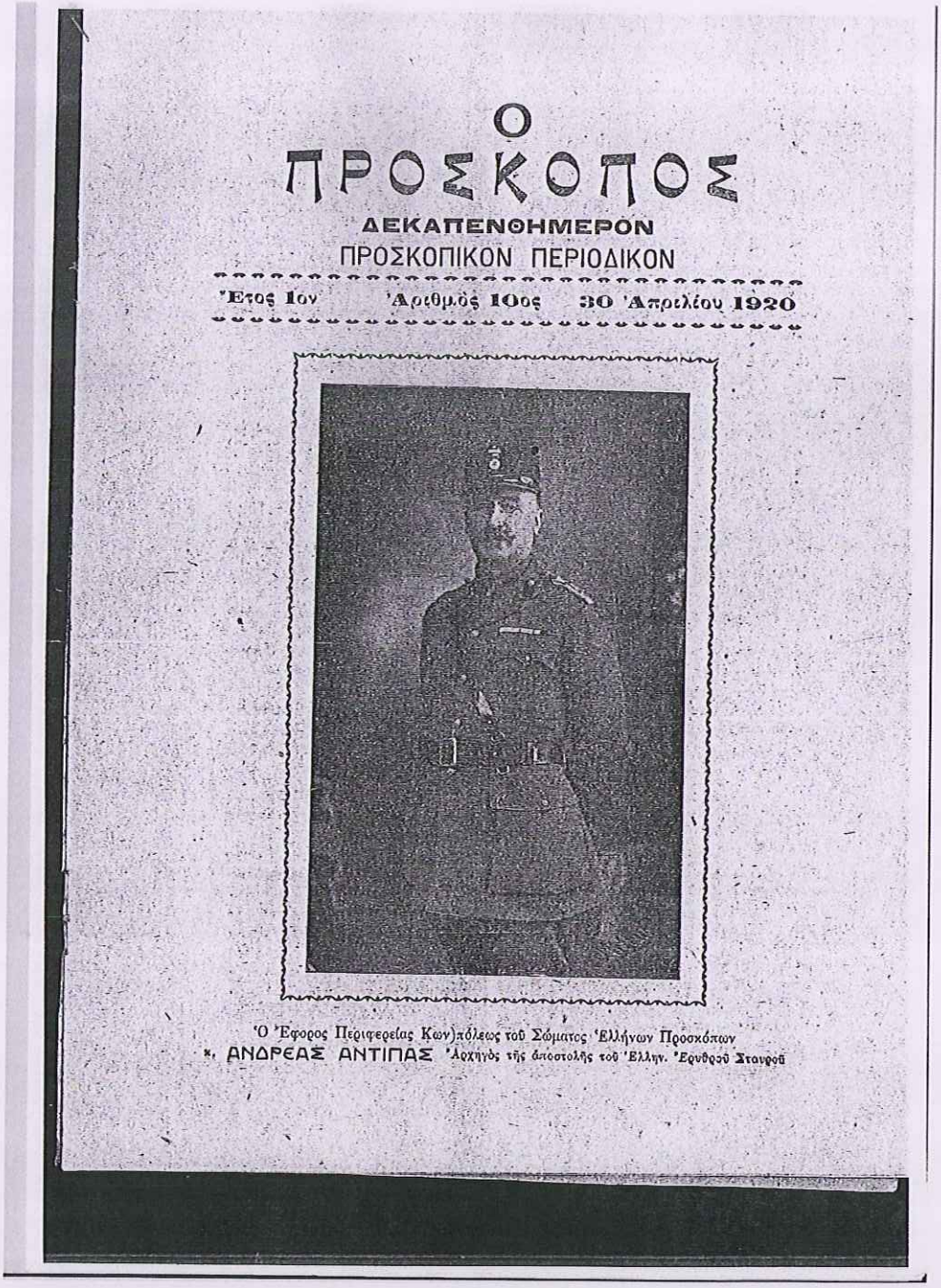
APPENDIX B. SOURCES

Magazines I. The first issue of the magazine *O Proskopos* [The Scout] published in Armistice Constantinople.[20]



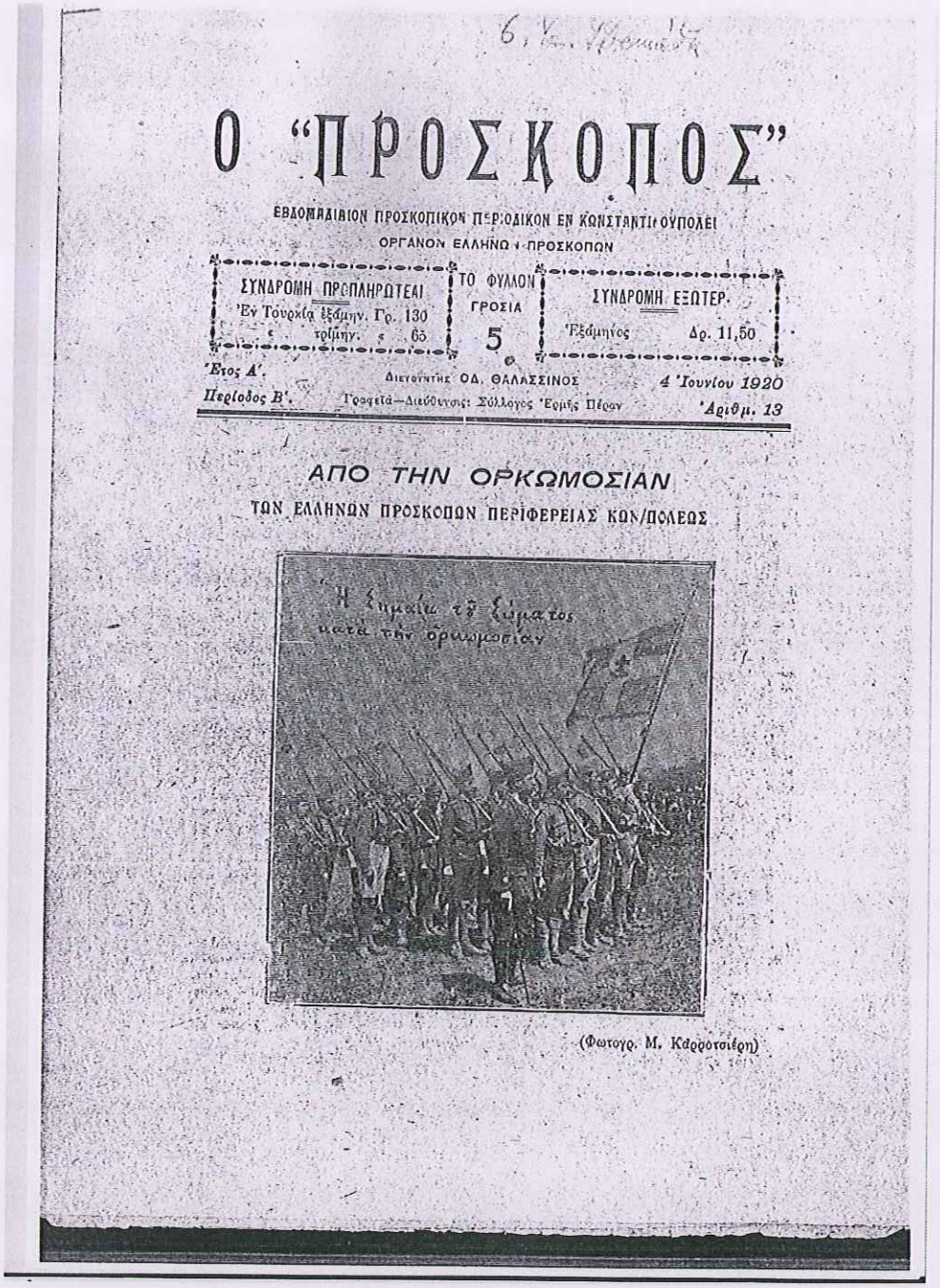
[20] Archive of Christos Stathopoulos, the head of Corps of Greek Scouts, in 2009.

Magazines I.a. The tenth volume of *O Proskopos,* presenting Mr. Antypas, the Head of the Corps of Greek Scouts of Constantinople, and the head-doctor of the Greek Red Cross in the city, 30 April 1920.[21]


Ο
ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΟΣ
ΔΕΚΑΠΕΝΘΗΜΕΡΟΝ
ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΙΚΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΝ
Έτος Ιον Άριθμός 10ος 30 Απριλίου 1920
Ο Έφορος Περιφερείας Κων)πόλεως τοῦ Σώματος Ἑλλήνων Προσκόπων
κ. ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΣ Ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ Ἑλλην. Ἐρυθροῦ Σταυροῦ

[21] Archive of Christos Stathopoulos, the head of Corps of Greek Scouts, in 2009.

Magazines I.b. The thirteenth volume of *O Proskopos,* presenting a photo from the oath-taking ceremony in Istanbul, 4 June 1920.[22]



Ο "ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΟΣ"

ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΙΑΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΙΚΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ

ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΩΝ

ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗ ΠΡΟΠΛΗΡΩΤΕΑΙ
Ἐν Τουρκίᾳ ἑξάμην. Γρ. 130
» τριμην. » 65

ΤΟ ΦΥΛΛΟΝ
ΓΡΟΣΙΑ
5

ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗ ΕΞΩΤΕΡ.
Ἑξάμηνος Δρ. 11,50

Ἔτος Α'. Διευθυντὴς ΟΔ. ΘΑΛΑΣΣΙΝΟΣ 4 Ἰουνίου 1920
Περίοδος Β'. Τυπογρ.-Διεύθυνσις: Σύλλογος Ἕλλης Πέραν Ἀριθμ. 13

ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΟΡΚΩΜΟΣΙΑΝ

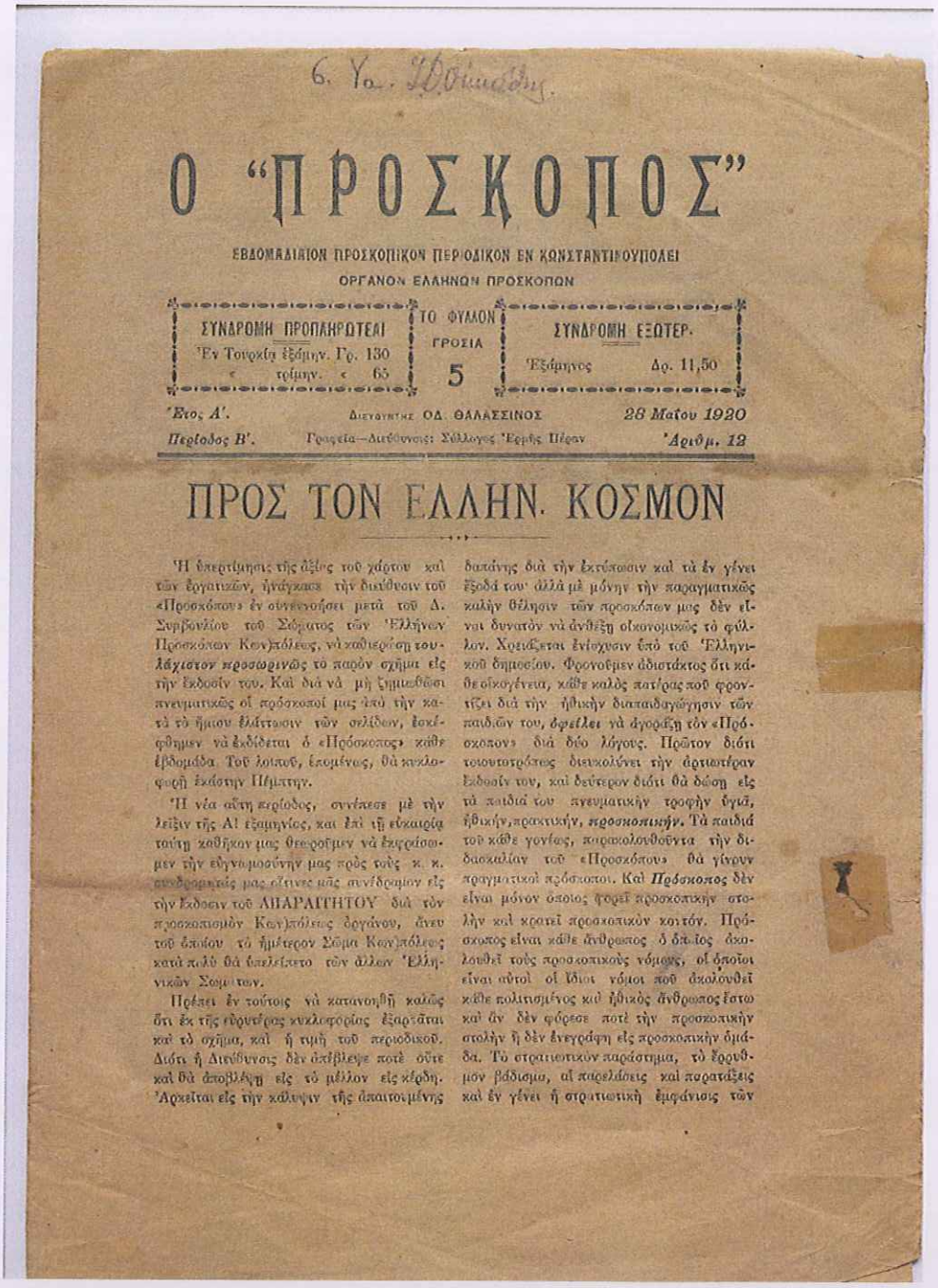
ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΩΝ/ΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Ἡ ὁμαδικὴ τῶν ὁμιλητῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁρκωμοσίαν

(Φωτογρ. Μ. Καρρατσιέρη)

[22] Archive of Christos Stathopoulos, the head of Corps of Greek Scouts, in 2009.

Magazines I.c. The twelfth volume of *O Proskopos,* 28 May 1920; addressing the Greek population on the front page.[23]



6. Υα. Δόκιμος.

Ο "ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΟΣ"

ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΙΑΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΙΚΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ

ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΩΝ

ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗ ΠΡΟΠΛΗΡΩΤΕΑΙ
Ἐν Τουρκίᾳ ἑξάμην. Γρ. 130
» τριμην. » 65

ΤΟ ΦΥΛΛΟΝ ΓΡΟΣΙΑ 5

ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗ ΕΞΩΤΕΡ.
Ἐξάμηνος Δρ. 11,50

Ἔτος Α'. Διευθυντὴς ΟΔ. ΘΑΛΑΣΣΙΝΟΣ 28 Μαΐου 1920

Περίοδος Β'. Γραφεῖα—Διεύθυνσις: Σύλλογος Ἕρμῆς Πέραν Ἀριθμ. 12

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝ. ΚΟΣΜΟΝ

Ἡ ὑπερτίμησις τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ χάρτου καὶ τῶν ἐργατικῶν, ἠνάγκασε τὴν διεύθυνσιν τοῦ «Προσκόπου» ἐν συνεννοήσει μετὰ τοῦ Δ. Συμβουλίου τοῦ Σώματος τῶν Ἑλλήνων Προσκόπων Κων)πόλεως, νὰ καθιερώσῃ τουλάχιστον προσωρινῶς τὸ παρὸν σχῆμα εἰς τὴν ἔκδοσίν του. Καὶ διὰ νὰ μὴ ζημιωθῶσι πνευματικῶς οἱ πρόσκοποί μας ἀπὸ τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἐλάττωσιν τῶν σελίδων, ἐκρίθημεν νὰ ἐκδίδεται ὁ «Πρόσκοπος» κάθε ἑβδομάδα. Τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἑπομένως, θὰ κυκλοφορῇ ἑκάστην Πέμπτην.

Ἡ νέα αὕτη περίοδος, συντάσσει μὲ τὴν λῆξιν τῆς Α! ἐξαμηνίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ εὐκαιρίᾳ τούτῃ καθήκον μας θεωροῦμεν νὰ ἐκφράσωμεν τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην μας πρὸς τοὺς κ. κ. συνδρομητάς μας οἵτινες μᾶς συνέδραμον εἰς τὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ ΑΠΑΡΑΙΤΗΤΟΥ διὰ τὸν προσκοπισμὸν Κων)πόλεως ὀργάνου, ἄνευ τοῦ ὁποίου τὸ ἡμέτερον Σῶμα Κων)πόλεως κατὰ πολὺ θὰ ὑστέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν Σωμάτων.

Πρέπει ἐν τούτοις νὰ κατανοηθῇ καλῶς ὅτι ἐκ τῆς εὐρυτέρας κυκλοφορίας ἐξαρτᾶται καὶ τὸ σχῆμα, καὶ ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ περιοδικοῦ. Διότι ἡ Διεύθυνσις δὲν ἐπέβλεψε ποτὲ οὔτε καὶ θὰ ἀποβλέψῃ εἰς τὸ μέλλον εἰς κέρδη. Ἀρκεῖται εἰς τὴν κάλυψιν τῆς ἀπαιτουμένης δαπάνης διὰ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐν γένει ἔξοδά του· ἀλλὰ μὲ μόνην τὴν παραγματικῶς καλὴν θέλησιν τῶν προσκόπων μας δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἀνθέξῃ οἰκονομικῶς τὸ φύλλον. Χρειάζεται ἐνίσχυσιν ἐπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ δημοσίου. Φρονοῦμεν ἀδιστάκτως ὅτι κάθε οἰκογένεια, κάθε καλὸς πατὴρ ποὺ φροντίζει διὰ τὴν ἠθικὴν διαπαιδαγώγησιν τῶν παιδιῶν του, *ὀφείλει* νὰ ἀγοράζῃ τὸν «Πρόσκοπον» διὰ δύο λόγους. Πρῶτον διότι τοιουτοτρόπως διευκολύνει τὴν ἀρτιωτέραν ἔκδοσίν του, καὶ δεύτερον διότι θὰ δώσῃ εἰς τὰ παιδιά του πνευματικὴν τροφὴν ὑγιᾶ, ἠθικήν, πρακτικήν, *προσκοπικήν*. Τὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ κάθε γονέως, παρακολουθοῦντα τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ «Προσκόπου» θὰ γίνουν πραγματικοὶ πρόσκοποι. Καὶ *Πρόσκοπος* δὲν εἶναι μόνον ὁποῖος φορεῖ προσκοπικὴν στολὴν καὶ κρατεῖ προσκοπικὸν κοντόν. Πρόσκοπος εἶναι κάθε ἄνθρωπος ὁ ὁποῖος ἀκολουθεῖ τοὺς προσκοπικοὺς νόμους, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶναι αὐτοὶ οἱ ἴδιοι νόμοι ποὺ ἀκολουθεῖ κάθε πολιτισμένος καὶ ἠθικὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔστω καὶ ἂν δὲν φόρεσε ποτὲ τὴν προσκοπικὴν στολὴν ἢ δὲν ἐνεγράφη εἰς προσκοπικὴν ὁμάδα. Τὸ στρατιωτικὸν παράστημα, τὸ ἔρρυθμον βάδισμα, αἱ παρελάσεις καὶ παρατάξεις καὶ ἐν γένει ἡ στρατιωτικὴ ἐμφάνισις τῶν

[23] Archive of the Corps of Greek Scouts, Athens.

Magazines II. *I Zoi Ton Proskopon* [The Life of Scouts], the official gazette of Corps of Greek Scouts, Athens. The issue of 1 May 1919 (14 May) below, shows the enthusiasm of the occupation of Smyrna by the Greek Army, saying "Long Live Free Smyrna! (...) This time [our magazine] is going to reach the liberated Smyrniot scouts. [24]



Η ΖΩΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΩΝ

ΕΙΚΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΗΜΕΝΗ ΔΕΚΑΠΕΝΘΗΜΕΡΟΣ

ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΝ ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΩΝ

Τὸ Τεῦχος ΥΠΟΧΡΕΩΤΙΚΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΚΑΘΕ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΟΝ Λεπτὰ 25

ΕΤΟΣ Β΄ ΑΡΙΘ. 27 1 ΜΑΪΟΥ 1919

Αἱ δύο τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἀρχηγίνοι Ὑδρικοῦ συντάγματος Ὀμάδων κ. Ἀγγέλου Φίντη, δύο Προσκόπων, δύο Μαθητευομένων Ἀθηνῶν καὶ 14ης Προσκόπων Ἑλληνο-Γαλλικῆς Σχολῆς κ. Γ. Μιτσῆ κατευθυνομένων εἰς τὸ Κεφαλάρι τῆς Κυρίσσης.

ΖΗΤΩ Η ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ ΣΜΥΡΝΗ!

Τὴ στιγμὴ ποὺ μπαίνει τὸ φύλλο μας στὸ πιεστήριο ὅλη ἡ Ἀθήνα σείεται, χλονίζεται, ἀλλαλάζει ἀπὸ χαρὰ καὶ κλαίει ἀπὸ ἱερὴ συγκίνηση στὴν εἴδηση ὅτι ἡ ΙΜΕΡΑΡΧΙΑ ΑΝΕΧΩΡΗΣΕ ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΒΗ ΤΗ ΣΜΥΡΝΗ!

Ἡ «Ζωὴ τῶν Προσκόπων» θὰ φθάσῃ αὐτὴν τὴ φορὰ στοὺς Σμυρνιοὺς Προσκόπους ἐλεύθερους πιά!

ΖΗΤΩ Η ΝΕΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΜΑΣ!

[24] Archive of the Corps of Greek Scouts, Athens.

Newspapers I. The Greek newspaper *Proodos* [Progress], published in Istanbul. First page, celebration of the Scout-Day, 3 July 1922; entitled "Today's feast of the Scouts. Display of National Health and Power".[25]



ΠΡΟΟΔΟΣ

ΠΡΩΙΝΗ ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡ[Ι]Σ ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤΗΣ Κ. Π. ΣΠΑΝΟΥΔΗΣ

Η ΣΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ ΕΟΡΤΗ
ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΩΝ

ΕΚΔΗΛΩΣΙΣ ΕΘΝΙΚΗΣ ΥΓΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΚΗΣ

Ο ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΟΣ που ΕΟΡΤΑΖΕΙ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ

ΟΛΟΙ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ

ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛ

[25] Archive of Estia Neas Smyrnis.

Newspapers II. The *İkdam* newspaper was announcing the celebrations of the Venizelist *Rums.*[26]

Atina'ya İnad!
Venizelos lehinde Rumların tezahüratı

Yazdığımız gibi dün Venizelos'un isim gününe müsadif olduğu cihetle şehrimizdeki Rum dükkânları kapalı kalmış ve umum Rum kiliselerinde Venizelos namına dualar okunmuş, ayin-i ruhaniyeler icra edilmiştir. Rum izcileri Beyoğlu Cadde-i Kebirinde resm-i geçit icra ettikleri gibi Rum mektepleri talebe ve talebatı ayrıca resm-i geçit yapmışlardır. Şehrimizdeki Rum müssesat ve cemiyyat-ı milliyesi tarafından Nice'te bulunan Venizelos'a tebrik telgrafnameleri keşide edilmiştir. Patrikhane tarafından keşide edilen tebrik telgrafnamesinde Yunan amal-i nihaiyesinin tamamen husûlü ve ümidi izhar edilmiştir.

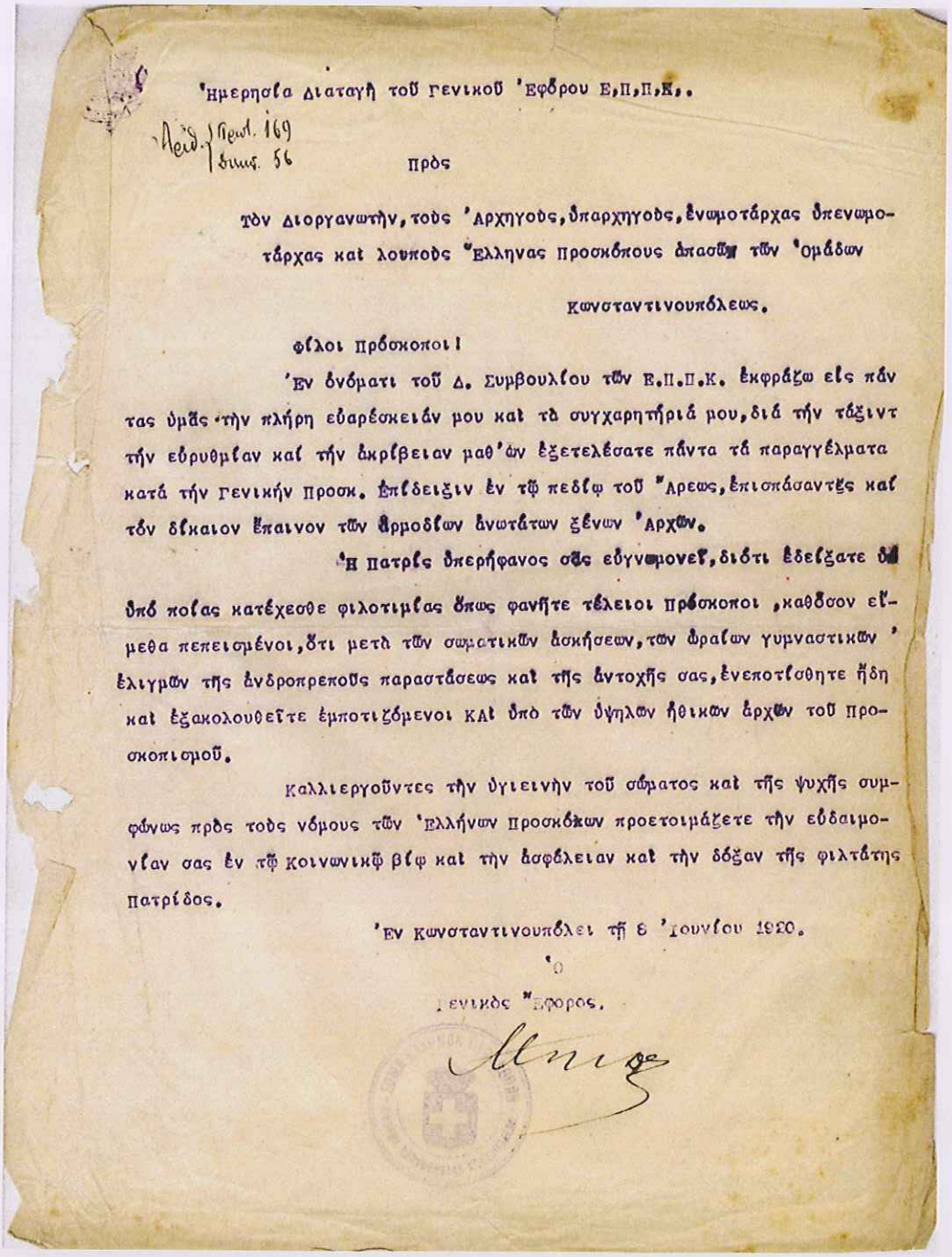
Venizelos'un isim gününü tes'ide, bazı pek ateşin taraftarları daha evvelki geceden itibaren başlamışlardır. Evvelki gece Galata ve Beyoğlu'nda bazı fazla taşkınlıklar vukua gelmiş ise de, zabıtaca men edilmiştir.

Taksim'deki Aya Triada kilisesindeki ayinde hazır bulunmağa (...) eden Rumlar, dün sabah pek erkenden gelmişlerdi. İzdiham o kadar çok idi ki geç kalanlar hariçte kalmışlardır. Rumlar arasında büyük bir heyecan ve telaş müşahede olunmakta idi. Tam ayinin başladığı sirada "Zito Venizelos" avazeleri ayyuka çıkmış ve (...) takılan Yunan bayraklarıyla Venizelos'un resimleri defne dalları arasında sallanmağa başlamıştır. Ayin bu asabi velvele ve gürültü arasında 2 saatten fazla devam etmiştir. Beyoğlu Caddesi'ndeki izdihamdan dolayı, sabahtan itibaren Beyoğlu tramvayları tatil-i sefer eylemiş ancak saat buçuğa doğru işlemeye başlamışlardır. Merasimden sonra kiliseden çıkan Rumlar caddedekilere iltihak eyleyince Beyoğlu Cadde-i Kebiri şimdiye kadar hiç müşahidi olmadığı gürültülerle inlemiş durmuştur. Köşede bucakta bazı Konstantin taraftarları bu taşkınlığı ıztrapla temaşa ediyorlardı. Saat iki buçuğa kadar devam eden tezahürat esnasında bazı küçük vakalar zuhur eylemişse de mühim bir hadise olmamıştır. Galata, Beyoğlu ve İstanbul'daki Rum dükkânlarının hepsine Yunan bayrağı çekilmiştir.

[26] *İkdam,* 18 Rebi-ül Ahir 1339.

SOURCES. II

Correspondance I. Declaration to all the troops of Constantinople, from the head of the Corps, expressing his admiration and congratulations after the mass gymnastics display in June 1920.[27]



Ἡμερησία Διαταγὴ τοῦ Γενικοῦ Ἐφόρου Ε.Π.Π.Κ.

Αρ.Δ.Γ. 169
Διαμ. 56

Πρὸς

Τὸν Διοργανωτὴν, τοὺς Ἀρχηγοὺς, Ὑπαρχηγοὺς, Ἐνωμοτάρχας Ὑπενωμοτάρχας καὶ λοιποὺς Ἕλληνας Προσκόπους ἁπασῶν τῶν Ὁμάδων

Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

Φίλοι Πρόσκοποι!

Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Δ. Συμβουλίου τῶν Ε.Π.Π.Κ. ἐκφράζω εἰς πάντας ὑμᾶς τὴν πλήρη εὐαρέσκειάν μου καὶ τὰ συγχαρητήριά μου, διὰ τὴν τάξιν τὴν εὐρυθμίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν μεθ' ὧν ἐξετελέσατε πάντα τὰ παραγγέλματα κατὰ τὴν Γενικὴν Προσκ. Ἐπίδειξιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ Ἄρεως, ἐπισπάσαντες καὶ τὸν δίκαιον ἔπαινον τῶν ἁρμοδίων ἀνωτάτων ξένων Ἀρχῶν.

Ἡ Πατρὶς ὑπερήφανος σᾶς εὐγνωμονεῖ, διότι ἐδείξατε ὑπὸ ποίας κατέχεσθε φιλοτιμίας ὅπως φανῆτε τέλειοι Πρόσκοποι, καθ' ὅσον εἴμεθα πεπεισμένοι, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν σωματικῶν ἀσκήσεων, τῶν ὡραίων γυμναστικῶν ἐλιγμῶν τῆς ἀνδροπρεποῦς παραστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀντοχῆς σας, ἐνεποτίσθητε ἤδη καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖτε ἐμποτιζόμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἠθικῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ Προσκοπισμοῦ.

Καλλιεργοῦντες τὴν ὑγιεινὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς συμφώνως πρὸς τοὺς νόμους τῶν Ἑλλήνων Προσκόπων προετοιμάζετε τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν σας ἐν τῷ κοινωνικῷ βίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς φιλτάτης Πατρίδος.

Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῇ 6 Ἰουνίου 1920.

Ὁ
Γενικὸς Ἔφορος.

[27] Corps of Greek Scouts Constantinople, Archive no: 537, ELIA.

Translation:

Daily Declaration of the General Administrator of Greek Scouts of Constantinople

To

The Organizer, the Chiefs, deputy-chiefs, police sergeants, deputy police sergeants and the Greek Scouts of all Troops

Constantinople

Friends! Scouts!

In the name of the Administrative Council of the Greek Scouts of the District of Constantinople (EPPK), I would like to express to you my deepest pleasure and my congratulations, for the order, the synchronization and the perfection of all of you here that accomplished all task during the General Scouts Demonstration in the [Pedio tou Areos (Taksim Stadium], gaining the compliments of the authorized higher foreign Authorities.

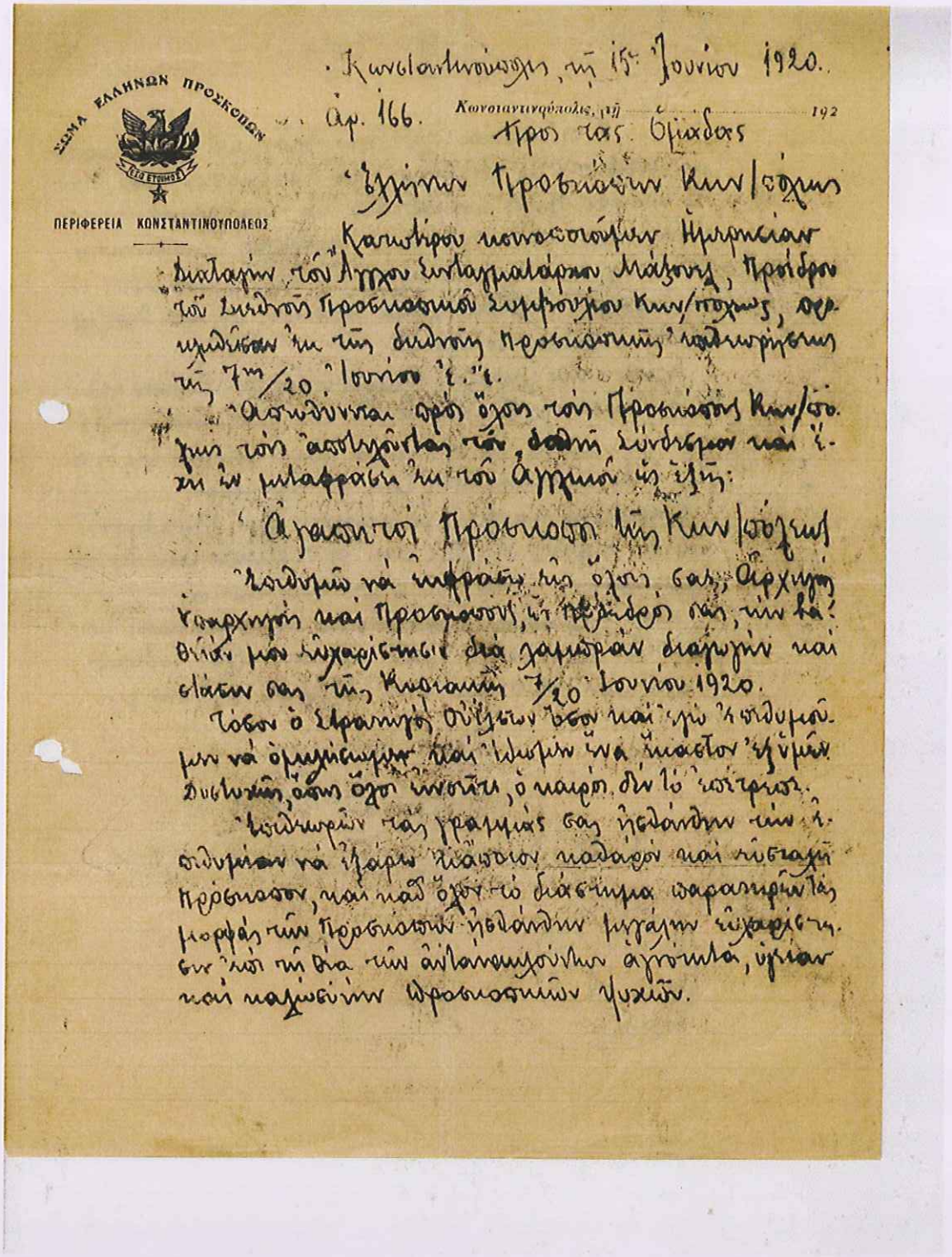
The proud Motherland is grateful to you; you have shown your sportsmanship appearing as perfect Scouts - as we all are sure - that after the physical education exercises, the beautiful gymnastics maneuvers of the masculine performance and your endurance, that you all are already blessed, and you continue being blessed with the high moral values of Scouting.

Cultivating the health of the body and the spirit, according to the rules of the Greek Scouts you you have learnt to perserve your felicity in the social life and the security and the glory of the beloved Motherland.

Constantinople, 8 June 1920,
The General Administrator

[SIGNATURE]

Correspondance II. Congratulations from General Maxwell to the Greek Scouts.[28]



ΣΩΜΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΩΝ
ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Κωνσταντινούπολις, τῇ 15ῃ Ἰουνίου 1920.

Ἀρ. 166. Κωνσταντινούπολις, τῇ ... 192

Πρὸς τὰς Ὁμάδας

Ἐξ ἐντολῆς Προβοσίων Κων/πόλεως

Καταθέτω πανσεβάστως ὑμῖν ἐπισήμως διαταγὴν τοῦ Ἄγγλου Συνταγματάρχου Μάξγουελ, Προέδρου τοῦ Συμβουλίου Προβοσιακοῦ Συμβουλίου Κων/πόλεως, ἀφορώσαν εἰς τὴν διάθεσιν προβοσιακῆς καθωρίσεως τῇ 7ῃ/20 Ἰουνίου ἐ.ἔ.

Ἀσυνδύνατα ὁρὸς ὅσον τοὺς Προβοσίους Κων/πόλεως τοὺς ἀσυλήπτους τῶν ὁδῶν συνάπτομεν καὶ ἐ-χει ἐν μεταφράσει καὶ τοῦ ἀγγλικοῦ ὡς ἑξῆς:

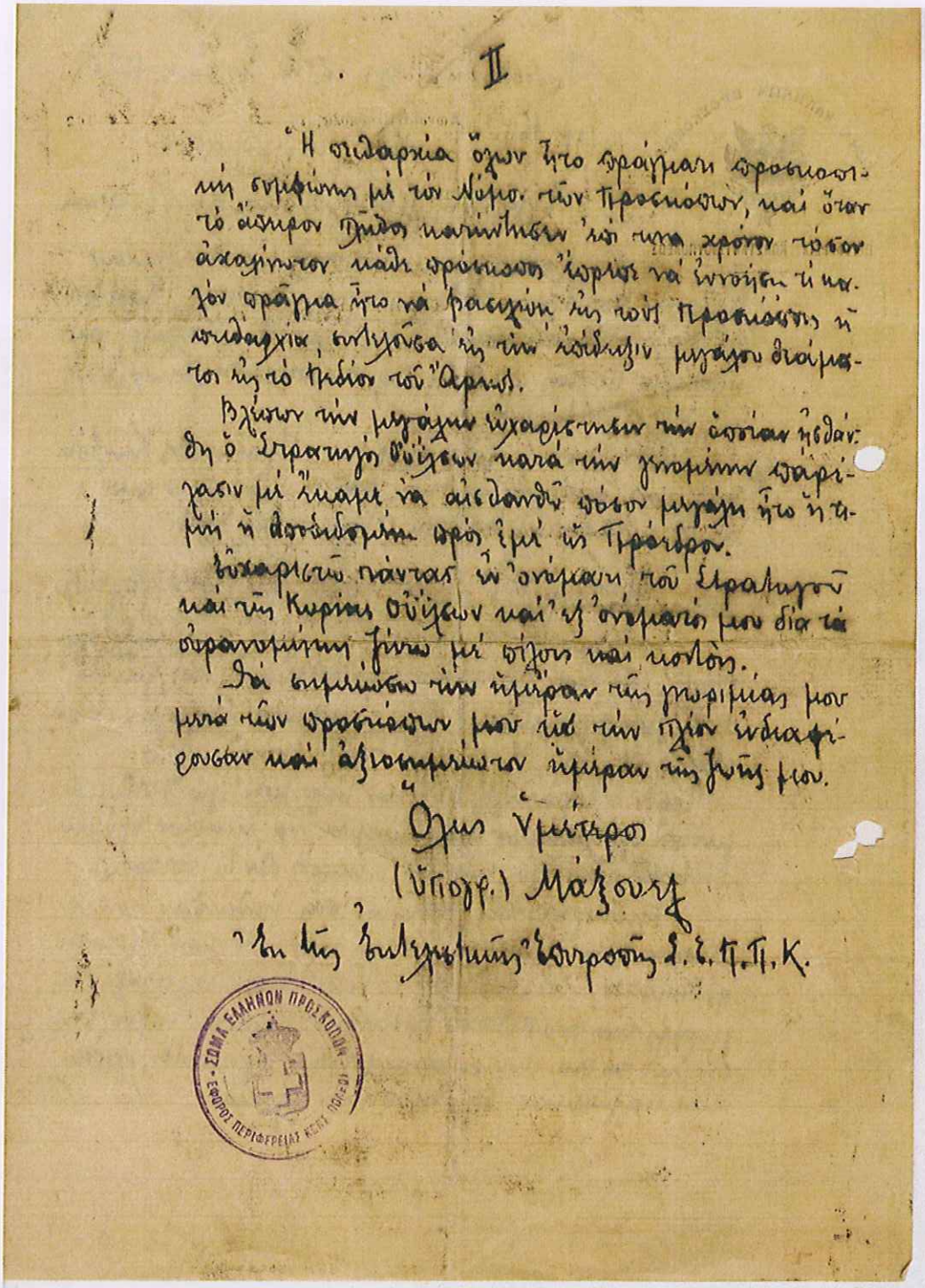
Ἀρχηγοὶ Προβοσίων τῆς Κων/πόλεως

Χαίρω νὰ ἐκφράσω τὴν ὅσην σας, Ἀρχηγοὶ Ἀναρχηγοὶ καὶ Προσκοποί, εὐχαρίστησιν, ὅτι περάσεσι σας, ὅπου ἐθέλω μου ἐπιφυλάξει διὰ χαμόρραν διαφορὰν καὶ εἶδεν σας τὴν Κυριακὴν 7/20 Ἰουνίου 1920.

Τόσον ὁ ἐφαπτὸς σύζυγος σου καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπολαύομεν νὰ ὁμιλήσωμεν καὶ ἐλπίζω ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐξ ὑμῶν δυνατὸν σὰν ὅσον ἐνωρίτερον, ὁ καιρὸς δὲν ἐὸ ἐπιτρέψει.

Ἀπολαύομεν τὰς γραμμὰς σας ἐπιδεικνύουν τὰν ἀπολαύσιν νὰ ἴδωμεν ἑλληνικὸν παιδαρὸν καὶ κόρας περάσουσαν, καὶ παῦ ὅρον τὸ διάστημα παραμονῆς μορφὰς τῶν προσκόπων ἐπιδεικνύουν μεγάλην ἐπιφάνειαν ἐν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τῶν ἀπολαυομένων ἀγρόκτα, ὑγείαν καὶ καλωσύνην προσκοπικῶν ψυχῶν.

[28] Corps of Greek Scouts Constantinople, Archive no: 537, ELIA.



II

Η συνάρτηση όταν ήτο γραμμική συνεχής με τον Λόγο των προσπόνων, και όταν το άκρον πρώτος παντοτινός ήτο ένα χρόνον τόσον αναγκαίον και σύνολον ώστε να έννοήσει τι να-
χον σημαίνει ήτο να βασιχθή εις τους προσπόνους η συνδαχθή εντεύθεν ή την ύπαρξιν μεγάλου διαστή-
του ή το πλήθος του Αριθμ.

Βλέπων την μεγάλην ευχαρίστησιν την οποίαν ήδαν-
θη ο Στρατηγός Σύνγαν παρά των γνωρίμων σαρί-
χασιν μι ένα με να αισθανθή τόσον μεγάλη ήτο η τι-
μή η αποδοθείσα προς εμέ εις Τρόπαρον.

Ευχαριστώ πάντας εν ονόματι του Στρατηγού και της Κυρίας Σύνγαν και εξ ονόματός μου δια τα σημαντικά ήτο μι σέβας και τιμήν.

Δια συμπλήρωσιν των ημέρων της γνωριμίας μου μετά των προσπόνων μου έως των πρώτων ενδιαφέροντων και αξιομνημονεύτων ημέρων της ζωής μου.

Όλως Ντέτερος

(Υπογρ.) Μάζουγ

Προς την Διευθυντήν Κοντρόλ Σ.Ε.Π.Π.Κ.

ΣΩΜΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΩΝ
ΕΦΟΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΕΝΤΡ. ΜΑΚΕΔ.

Translation:

CORPS OF GREEK SCOUTS
DISTRICT OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Constantinople, 15 June 1920

To the Troops of
Greek Scouts of Constantinople

Below is published the Daily Declaration of the English Colonel Maxwell; Head of the International Council of Boy Scouts of Constantinople, after the international scout inspection of the 7/20 June.

This is directed towards all scouts in Constantinople members of the international Council, and is translated from English as such:

Dear Scouts of Constantinople
I would like to express to all of you; to chiefs, deputy-chiefs and scouts, as your head, my deepest pleasure for the bright discipline and stance of Sunday, 7/20 June 1920. Both General Wilson and me, would like to talk to each of you separately. Unfortunately as you all know, the time limits have not permitted us to do so.

While inspecting your lines, I felt the desire to bring forth one clean and felicitous scout, and during the whole time of the inspection – the very look of the scouts, I felt great pleasure in seeing a reflection of pureness, health and kindness in these scouts' spirits.

The discipline in all was a scout discipline in accordance to the Scout Law. As the already huge crowd increased, so much, each scout should realize what a great thing the dominance of discipline is, it is that which was contributing to the grand performance in the [Pedion tou Areos (Taksim Stadium)].

Seeing the great pleasure that General Wilson took during the parade, made me feel honoured as [his pleasure] was attributed to me as the Head.

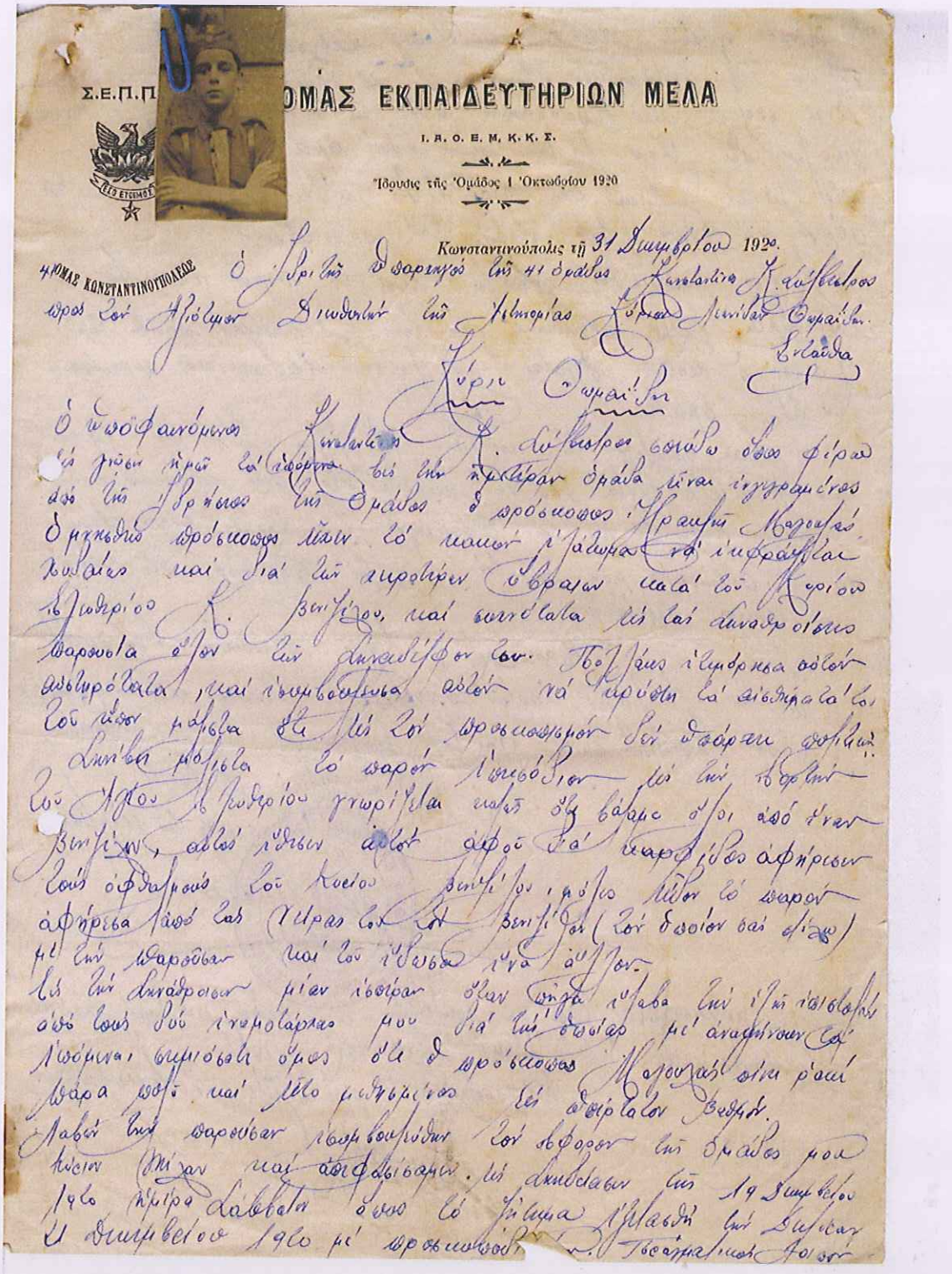
I thank you all in the name of General and Mrs. Wilson, and in the name of myself, for the (...) hats and shorts.

I will note the day of my acquaintance with the scouts as the most interesting and most special day of my life.

Yours,
[Signature] Maxwell

Of the Executive Committee of the SEPPK [Corps of Greek Scouts of the District of Constantinople]

Correspondance III. Denunciating the misbehaviour of a scout, with his photo attached on the letter.[29]



Σ.Ε.Π.Π

ΟΜΑΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΜΕΛΑ

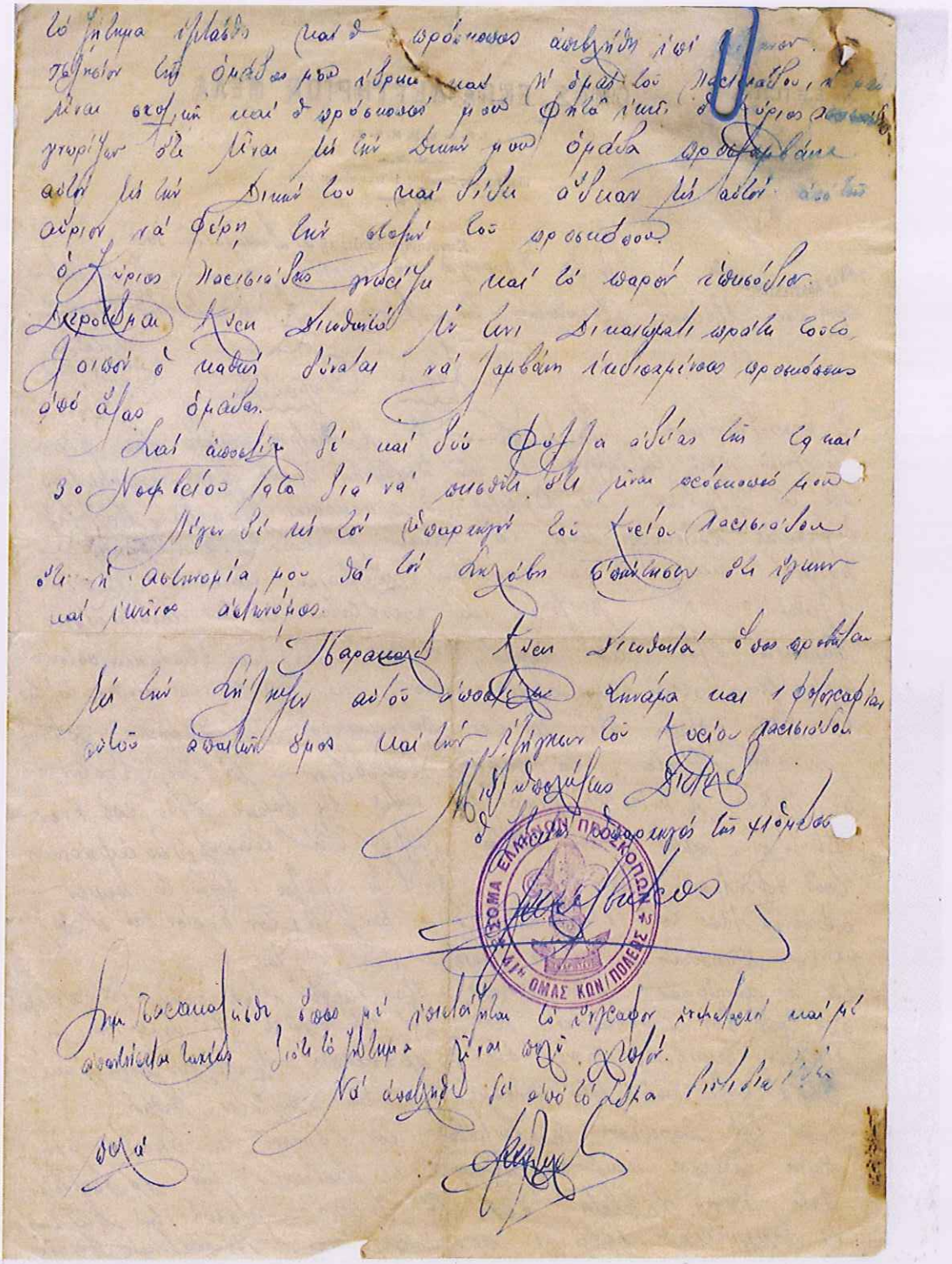
Ι. Β. Ο. Ε. Μ, Κ. Κ. Σ.

Ἱδρυσις τῆς Ὁμάδος 1 Ὀκτωβρίου 1920

Κωνσταντινούπολις τῇ 31 Δεκεμβρίου 1920.

ΟΜΑΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

[29] Corps of Greek Scouts Constantinople, Archive no: 537, ELIA.



Translation:

CORPS OF INSTITUTE MELAS

Date of establishment of the Troop, 1 October 1920

Constantinople, 31 December 1920

The founder of the 41st Troop Konstantinos K. Sylvestros,
To the Honorable Head of the Police Mr. Leonidas Thomaides

(Constantinople)

Mr. Thomaides,
I, appearing below, Konstantinos K. Sylbestros, would like to make you aware of the following; The scout Heracles Magoulas is registered to our troop from establishment. The mentioned scout had the defect to express himself scurvily with the most foulest words used against Mr. Eleftherios K. Venizelos and he mostly commits these acts at gatherings in the presence of all his colleagues. Many times I had punished him and suggested that he hide his sentiments. Also I told him that in scouting there was no room for politics.

Such an incident also occured at the feast of Saint Eleftherios; you well know that each of us hold a (picture of) Venizelos; Magoulas spat on the picture and then proceeded to scratch out the eyes of Mr. Venizelos. When I saw this, I took Venizelos from his hands (which I give to you) and I gave him another picture. One afternoon at a gathering, I received such a letter from two of my police sergeants that declared the below information; note here that the scout Magoulas drinks too much raki and was completely intoxicated.

Receiving this letter I consulted the administrator of my troop Mr. Milan (?) and together we decided on Saturday 19 December 1920 that this subject was to be inspected on Monday 21 December 1920 at the scout court. The issue was inspected and the scout was expelled from my troop (...) which is a school troop, of the school where our scout study. Mr. Harisiadis, while knowing that he is in my troop, employed him with his troop and gave him permission to wear the uniform of the scout on the next day.

Mr. Harisiadis is aware of this incident as well. I ask Mr. Director, if it would be possible for everybody to employ scouts who are expelled from other troops?

I send you the permission letters of 29 and 30 November 1920 as evidence that he was my scout.

While I told the deputy-chief of Mr. Harisiadis that my police is going to arrest him, he replied that he became police as well.

I request Mr. Director that you proceed to arrest him; I attach as well one photograph of him, as a note I am awaiting an explanation from Mr. Harisiadis.

[Signature]

P.S. I would like you to answer as soon as possible because the issue is very urgent.

SOURCES III. "Views of the Greek communities of Constantinople on the future of Constantinople", from Admiral de Robeck, Constantinople to the Foreign Office.[30]

Constantinople, 7th March 1920
To His Excellency
The British High Commisioner

Sir,
We the undersigned delegate of all the Committees of the Associations, Societies, Unions, Organisations of Greeks at Constantinople, have the honour to submit to you this resolution passed by the above mentioned Committees, united in full meeting the 5th of March 1920., and to pray you to have the kindness to transmit this to your Government.
Yours respectfully,
(9 signatures)

The Committees of all the Associations, Societies, Unions, Corporations, Organisations, and Greek Lodges of Constantinople to the number of 154, representing the Greek population of this city, united in full meeting under the painful impression of the news of the eventual maintenance of the sovereignty of the Turks and of the caliphate at Constantinople and considering

1. that the maintenance of the Turkish sovereignty at Constantinople under whatever guarantees, in as much as it constitutes in the eyes of the Turks the amnesty of a past made up of extortions and crimes, will result fatally, as experience up to the present has proved, in the perpetration of a regime the creation of which makes tremble with horror not only Hellenic but the whole civilised world.

2. that the conscience of the Christian people of the Orient revolts at the idea that in the event of a city such as Constantinople, Christian and Greek par excellence, becoming the official seat of the Caliphate, a principle that the brutal force of the conquerors had not been able to make prevail in the course of centuries, would find itself for this reason sanctioned for all time by an international act.

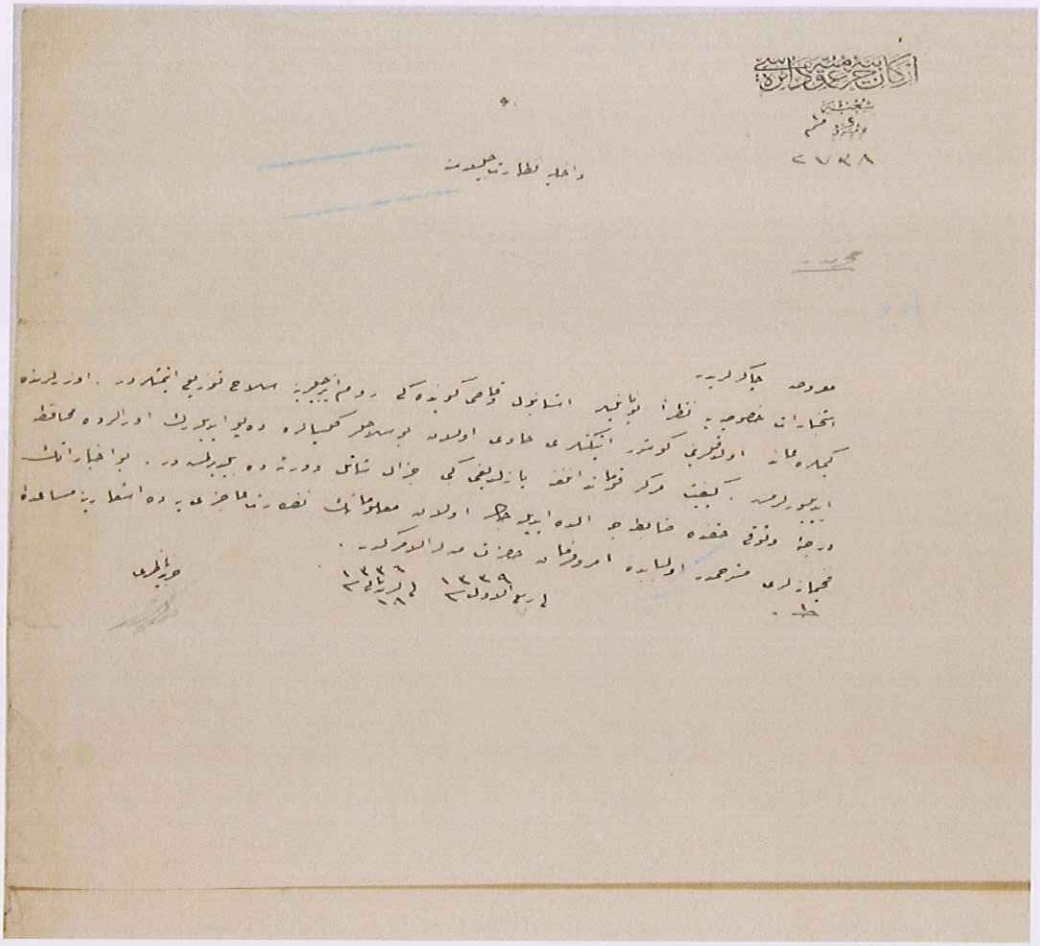
Declare in the name of the Greeks of Constinople that they cannot under any title tolerate the maintenance of the Turkish sovereignty at Constantinople and that, as they have already proclaimed on various occasions, they persists in demanding union with their mother country.

They therefore charge their representatives to submit this resolution to the High Commisioners of the Allied Powers at Constantinople and to pray them to have the kindness to transmit it to their respective Governments.

Constantinople, 7th March 1920

[30] FO 371/5190, *Views of Greek Communities of Constantinople on future of Constantinople,* 18 March 1920.

SOURCES IV. Document from the Ministry of Military Affairs, informing that the Greeks are supplying weapons to the scouts.[31]



Transcription:

Dahiliye Nezareti Celilesine

Maruz-ı çakerlerleridir
İstihbarat-ı hususiye nazaran Yunanlılar İstanbul ve Kadıköyündeki Rum izcilerine silah tevzi etmişlerdir. Üzerlerinde kimlere ait olduklarını gösterir etiketlere havi olan bu silahlar kiliselere depo edilerek oralarda muhafaza ediliyorlarmış. Keyfiyet merkez kumandanlığına yazıldığı gibi Ceneral Şatel Varsede (?) bildirilmiştir. Bu ihbaratın derece-i vüsukı hakkında zabıtaca elde edilecek olan malumatın nezaret-i aciziye de işarına müsaade-i fehmiyaneleri müsterhemdir. Ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i min-lehül-emrindir.
Harbiye nazırı, 1339

[31] BOA, DH.EUM.AYŞ. 48/42, 19 Ra 1339

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Ap'Ola
Embros
Hronos
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I Zoi Ton Proskopon
Makedonia
Nea Genea
O Proskopos
Proodos
The Scout

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