



Militarist Turkish-Islamic Synthesis: Official Ideology, Official History and Nationalism in the Second Constitutional Period

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Abstract

The “Promulgation of Freedom” on 23 July 1908 paved the way to the Second Constitutional Period. A clear ideological change occurred in this 10 years period that lasted in 1918. This shift in ideology was a transition from “Islamic-Turkish Synthesis” of Abdülhamid II’s reign to the “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis.” The Committee of Union and Progress could have put into practice “Turkish nationalism” or “militant secularism” as the Republican People’s Party did after 1924 when they took the power after the coup of 23 January 1913. However the Balkan Wars and the World War I enforced them to postpone their will. On the contrary they made use of Islam as a unifying and mobilizing source of power and tried to build Turkish identity between the lines in the education system. That is why, as a result of these circumstances, “Militarist nationalism” and “Militarist Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” came into agenda in the Second Constitutional Period.

Keywords: *The Committee of Union and Progress, Nationalism, Turkish Nationalism, school textbooks, education, Turkish-Islamic Ideology*

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Militarist Türk-İslam Sentezi: İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Resmi Tarih, Milliyetçilik ve Resmi İdeoloji

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Özet

23 Temmuz 1908 tarihindeki “Özgürlük İlanı” İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nin yolunu açtı. Bu tarihten başlayıp 1918 yılına kadar süren bu 10 yıllık dönem içinde fark edilir bir ideolojik değişiklik gerçekleşmiştir. İdeolojideki değişim, II.Abdülhamid'in saltanatı döneminde geçerli olan “İslami-Türk Sentezi”den “Türk-İslam Sentezi”ne geçiş şeklinde olmuştur. 23 Ocak 1913 yılında yaptıkları darbe ile iktidarı ele geçiren İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'nin 1924 sonrasında yaptığı gibi, “Türk milliyetçiliği” veya “militan laiklik” uygulamalarını pratiğe dökmüşlerdir. Ancak patlak veren Balkan Savaşları ve I. Dünya Savaşı, İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası'nın faaliyete koymaya çalıştıkları isteklerinin ertelenmesine neden olmuştur. Bundan dolayı İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası, birleştirici bir güç ve seferber kaynağı olarak İslam'ı kullanıma sokmuş ve eğitim sistemindeki hatlar arasına da Türk kimliğini inşa etmeye çalışmışlardır. Yaşanan gelişmeler aslında “Militarist milliyetçilik” ve “Militarist Türk-İslam Sentezi”nin neden İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde tekrar gündeme geldiği sorusunu ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti, milliyetçilik, Türk milliyetçiliği, ders kitapları, eğitim, Türk İslam ideolojisi

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Introduction

Although it seems at first glance that the Committee of Union and Progress was stuck to the ideology and discourse of Ottomanism, they started to highlight Turkishness and rising Turkish nationalism following the footsteps of the “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” with a special stress on military that appeared during the reign of Abdülhamid II. However, on the other hand Turkish nationalism did not become a coherent full-fledged ideology. The Committee of Union and Progress utilized the unifying and mobilizing force of Islam particularly during the Balkan Wars and World War I. This also contributed to the rise of “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis.”

Compared to the reign of Abdülhamid II, a significant change came out in the Second Constitutional Period in respect to the political culture. Compliance, loyalty and devotion to the “fatherland, nation and party” replaced the loyalty to the god-prophet and the sultan. The loyalty was not anymore religious but something secular. Turkish-Islamic Synthesis contained nationalism with a special emphasis on army. In the education system and textbooks particularly an identity based on Turkishness was in construction. The education, training and militarization of the youth were put into practice as a necessity of war mobilization. Military service was praised with religious values and the religious and national sentiments of the students were galvanized with the texts and illustrations in the textbooks. Besides sport lessons students made also target shootings with real bullets. The students did not sing, “Long Live the Sultan,” as it was done during the reign of Abdülhamid II, but sang hymns and anthems of “fatherland and nation.” Abdülhamid II was portrayed and depicted as an autocrat and “red sultan” and the deeds of the Committee of Union and Progress was legitimized in the school textbooks with sections dedicated to the very recent history after the 1908 Revolution. Furthermore, the promulgation of the constitution started to be commemorated and celebrated as a national festival under the label of “Declaration of Freedom.” Textbooks canonized the concepts and institutions such as fatherland, national, state, constitution, national assembly, election, law, courts etc.

“Declaration of Liberty”¹

The beginning of the Second Constitutional Period meant the reinstatement of the constitution which was suspended in 1878 and the re-opening of the parliament. The imperial decree announcing the restoration of the constitution and the convention of the Chamber of Deputies indicated the beginning of the constitutional regime. It was called “Declaration of Liberty” then. The date was 10 July 1324 by the old Mali calendar and 23 July 1908 under the Gregorian calendar.

On February 13/14 1878, Abdulhamid II closed the parliament by exercising his authority that Articles 7 and 44 of the constitution vested him with. Article 44 noted that, “His Majesty Ottoman Sultan, for convenience of the government, opens the General Assembly before the designated time and he shortens or prolongs the determined duration of session.” According to formal law, it was under sultan’s Jurisdiction. However, the problem was not the closure of the parliament, but not being opened despite the constitutional provision. Abdulhamid II, neither in his public notices nor in his imperial decree mentioned the suspension of the constitution and he just stated that the parliament was closed because of necessities. Though the constitution appeared formally in official annuals every year, it was de facto suspended and abolished. Therefore, on July 23 1908 (or July 10

1 I would like to acknowledge the contribution of two friends to the editing of this article and it is a pleasure for me to mention their names here; Akın Emre Pilgir and Ayşe Gün Soysal.

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1324 for old calendar) it had to be declared that the constitution was re-enacted.

Abdulhamid II declared constitutional regime for the second time, brought the constitution into effect for the second time and convoked the parliament for the third time. Even though the Assembly of Notables consisting of appointed representatives was closed in 1878, its members were occasionally called for meetings conducted in the Palace. Also they kept their titles since they were lifelong members. Only three members of this assembly were alive when the Second Constitutional Period began and they would have taken office after the opening of the parliament. Those figures were Sadrazam (Grand Vizier) Küçük Sait Pasha, Abraham Pasha and Logafet Beg.

Declaration of the Second Constitution. Was it a revolution?

Was the declaration of the Second Constitution a “revolution”? Three different answers are given for this question. First, it is stated that a radical political transformation which began by force and public support should be defined as revolution. For the restoration of the constitution and the convocation of the parliament after elections were considered as political transformation. Besides it was a revolution against Abdulhamid and was organized by an illegal political party, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) primarily by its military members –and supported by petite bourgeoisie and producers who made themselves heard in previous insurrections and reactions.

The second answer is that the declaration started a revolution, but it couldn't finish it. So it is argued that it was the first step of an unfinished revolution that would be finished with the Republic.

The third argument is that it was an “evolution” or “reform”, rather than a “revolution”. According to this, political system was partially changed virtually the system was revised. It was not a revolution that masses supported and participated; rather it was merely a coup being conducted from above and organized under the flag of the military. Simply it was a changeover between elites, as a result of their rivalry.

No matter which argument is accepted, “The Declaration of Liberty” started a deep-rooted and irreversible transformation in Turkish history. It would have caused important events that are still subjects of discussions or

effect discussions in contemporary Turkey and that were hard to imagine they happened in only 10 years. The Second Constitutional Period includes the decade between 1908 and 1918; it starts with “The Declaration of Liberty” on July 23 1908 and ends on October 30 1918, the date when the Armistice of Mudros was signed and CUP abolished itself by transforming into Regeneration Party. This period is the longest decade when the empire disappeared after political, social, democratic, economic and diplomatic developments.

In this decade, CUP which began to grab power after the declaration used education as an ideological apparatus to create its own new society. The Second Constitutional Period is a period when various important transformations occurred in terms of education among others.

Modernization in terms of Education

In terms of education, Tanzimat era can be symbolized with junior high schools (rüştüye), Abdulhamid era with high schools (idadi), and the Second Constitutional Period with sultani. Since education was approached with a “tree of life” understanding in this period, making changes in few high schools, sultani schools and academies, giving priority and importance to those schools became more practical and realist approach for policy-makers, rather than making changes in thousands of primary schools. In this period, some of the high schools were turned into sultani schools; also new sultani schools were established. Moreover, for schoolgirls special high schools, sultani schools and one university were established. Although there were serious projects for modern education it was a period of quantitative decline. Regional wars, WWI and limited budget did not let any increase in numbers of schools and schooling rate. One of the characteristics of education in the Second Constitutional Period is that a process of transformation in which more or less laic/national values and a participative political culture were transferred to students. Constitutionalism as a regime, the normalization of political activities by which political power takes office by elections, giving votes as a civic duty and transfer of national values were elements of this educational process. It is possible to divide this decade into three sub-periods. The first, the period between the declaration and 31 March Incident when Abdulhamid was deposed; the second, the period between 31 March Incident and Balkan Wars; and the third the period between Balkan Wars and the end of WWI. These are the major characteristics of these

three sub-periods: In the first period, there was no radical transformation in curriculums and syllabuses. However, “constitutionalist” values started to be transferred. In the textbooks written after Abdulhamid’s deposition, his era was identified as a period of “tyranny/autocracy”, 31 March Incident was called as a “reactionary” insurrection demanding Islamic rule/Sharia. Since Balkan Wars revealed the irresistible importance of nation and nationalism, Turkishness and Turkism was transferred in a militarist content mixed with Islamic discourse. With the First World War, Turkish nationalism became a distinctive property of textbooks.

Official Ideology in the Second Constitutional Period: “Turkification, Islamization, Modernization ”

Although the Second Constitutional Period left the impression that apparently Ottomanism was preferred, “Islamic-Turkish Synthesis” of the Hamidian era turned into “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” and the stress on Turkism and Turkish nationalism increased. Yet it was a bulk of thoughts under construction rather than a systematical ideology. Title of the article series, written by Ziya Gökalp and collected as a book in 1918, summarizes the official ideology of this period: “Becoming Turk, Islamized and Civilized.” Indeed, this motto was also the ideology of CUP. This party ideology began to be formed in Salonika², and became apparent in Balkan Wars. This ideology of the party determined the official ideology.

The discourse of “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” contains a militaristic nationalism in itself. When possible military service was glorified and legitimized with religious values. Texts and illustrations that would exhilarate students’ religious and national affections in order to reclaim lost territories started to take place in textbooks. At school, students began taking physical training and doing target practice with real weapons. Unlike Hamidian era, students did not shout as “long live Sultan” at the beginning and the end of their lectures; rather they began singing national songs, marches, chants and “nationalist” poems. In textbooks, recent political history was narrated in such a way that Young Turks and CUP

2 Mehmet Ö. ALKAN; “Laik Bir İdeolojinin Doğuşu Ya da II. Meşrutiyet’te Türkçülüğün Toplumsal İdeolojisi: Yeni Hayat ve Yeni Felsefe Mecmuası” [The Emergence of a Laicist Ideology or Social Ideology of Turkism in the Second Constitutional Period: The Journal of Yeni Hayat (New Life) and Yeni Felsefe (New Philosophy) Tarık Zafer Tunaya’ya Armağan (Istanbul: Istanbul Barosu Yayınları, 1992)

rulership were legitimized; Abdulhamid II was portrayed as a “despotic” sultan. The restoration of the constitution, also called as “the declaration of liberty”, for the first time started to be celebrated as a national holiday and schools were suspended on that day. Conceptions like motherland, nation, state, constitution, assembly, election, law and court that were banned in Hamidian era were sanctified. Education turned into a process in which a participative political culture came into being with more or less laic/national values.

Rewriting Official History and the Legitimization of Power

Satı Beg, one of the prominent theorists of education, in his article, emphasized the importance of history lectures for its role in the development of patriotism and love for homeland. He explained the political function of history lectures as follows:

“History shows how absolutist regime caused great evil, while constitutionalist regime led to fortunate outcomes; it tells us zealous struggles and challenges by which we acquired our liberty and constitutionalism. Thus history serves to give a more evident idea about the legitimacy of the constitutionalism and creates a more intimate allurement and attachment towards it. In brief, history constitutes a powerful foundation for civil information and political culture.”³

The emphasis on “Turkishness” outweighed as it can be seen in textbooks being read in military schools of the Hamidian era. Now Ottomans were also called Turks.⁴ The most serious break point between Hamidian era and the new one is about the history and (therefore) the origin of the state. Origins of Ottomans no longer dated back to the emergence of Islam; rather it started with the ancient Turkish history going back a long way to the first age. Religious explanations about the creation were narrated with few sentences; after religious creation passage titled as “Nature of Universe”, the other one whose title is “Creation” states that Earth is a distinct part split from Sun.⁵ Last but not the least, national identity began to be narrated within a militarist characteristic. During lectures, subjects

3 Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası, No:8 (1327) p.88-92.

4 Ali Reşad; Devlet-i Osmaniye Asr-ı Hazır Tarihi (Dersâdet: Matbaa-i Kader, 1328)

5 Midhad Sadullah; Mücmel Tarih... p.4-5.

like military achievements of Turks, their heroic actions, janissaries' achievements were taught. Great political figures from Islamic, Turkish and Ottoman history were taught, the story of their tombs (if possible) were narrated and visited.⁶

After Abdulhamid's deposition, new subjects like "Era of Despotism", "His Reactionism, Domestic and Foreign Affairs in Hamidian Era," "Young Turks", "Great Transformation", "Despotic Hamidian Era," "Struggles for Liberty", "July the 10th" were added to syllabuses.⁷ French Revolution was another important topic.⁸ Indeed, Unionists (İttihatçılar) considered themselves as Turkish agents of French Revolution and the Declaration of Liberty as French Revolution of Turkey.

School as Ideological Apparatus of the Party and Rewriting Official History

Transformations in the field of education help us to trace ideological changes. First of all, after CUP started to dominate the regime with the 31 March Incident, these changes were clearly reflected on syllabuses, curriculums and textbooks. Unionists, to start with, increased the duration of compulsory education by uniting primary and junior high schools. Then they accepted the principle of *free* education⁹ and made provisions for compulsory education. Committee of Union and Progress made school the ideological apparatus of both state and party. In order to realize their ideology and thoughts on education, they established special schools owned by the Party in different parts of the country and prepared curriculums.

6 Ticari, Sanayi, Zırai, Umumi Şubeleri Havi İdadilere Mahsus Müfredat Programı... p.42.

7 Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Mekatib-i İbtidaiye Ders Müfredatı.... p.26-35.

8 Midhad Sadullah; Mücmel Tarih-i Umumi Dersleri Son Programa Tevfikan Yedi Senelik İdadilerin Üçüncü ve Dördüncü Sınıflarıyla Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyyenin Muntehi Sınıflarında Tedris Edilmek Üzre Tertib Olunmuştur. ([Istanbul:]Kasbar Matbaası, 1329) 257-281, Ali Reşad [Istanbul Vilâyeti Maarif Müdürü ve İstanbul İdadisi Tarih-i Umumi Muallimi]; Asr-ı Hazır Tarihi [İdadiler için] (Istanbul: Kader Matbaa, 1327). Diran Keleşyan; Onsekizinci Asırda Tarih-i Siyasi-i Umumi (Istanbul: Cihan Matbaası, 1329) Ali Tefik; Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi... p.224 and others.

9 Kavânin ve Nizamât-ı Cedideden Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kanun-i Muvakkatı Fi Zilkade Sene 1331 ve fi 23 Eylül Sene 1329 Tarihli Şerefsüdur Buyurulan İreda-i Hazret-i Padişahî Mucibince 1620 Numerolu Takvim-i Vekayi Ceride-i Resmîyesiyle Neşr Olunduktan Sonra Tab' Edilmiştir. (Dersââdet: Zerafet Matbaası, 1331)

CUP, after the 31 March incident, changed textbooks and curriculums in such a way that they could legitimize their history and power. Political developments going back to Tanzimat era were narrated along the history of constitutionalization (democratization). Figures and developments neglected in Hamidian era – Murat V, Abdulaziz, Midhat Pasha who was never mentioned before, Association of Young Ottomans, their members Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, Ali Suavi and others, the declaration of the constitution, the first meeting of the parliament – were taken as important historical agents or events. Complaints of “young people” by means of press, the declaration of the constitution by Abdulhamid II as a result of Midhat Pasha’s insistence, the opening and closing of the Assembly, Abdulhamid’s despotic regime, CUP and New Ottomans, July 10 Revolution became important topics of textbooks.¹⁰ After Abdulhamid’s deposition, with the changes in curriculums Hamidian era left its mark as a “despotic” era. Topics like arbitrary administration, journalism, atrocity, mismanagement, corruption, tarnishing the dignity of the state, the exile and imprisonment of people who demanded reforms and the question of the survival of the state took part in this narration. On the other hand, according to this narration Young Turks are patriotic youngsters who organized CUP whose main objective was the opening of the parliament and the declaration of the constitution that Abdulhamid “extorted”. Finally on July 28 1908, Liberty was declared, the constitution was re-enacted and the Parliament was opened again.¹¹ (This narration would have passed to textbooks of the Republic without one exception: The exclusion of CUP in the process of the declaration of the constitutionalism.)

31 March Incident as a “Reactionist” and Counter-Revolutionary Movement

In the Second Constitutional Period, one of the major topics that reflected on Turkish historiography and passed to the Republic was the narration of 31 March Incident. The role of Young Turks and military officers in Rumelia in the declaration of the Liberty was underlined. In the narration of the incident, the topics being mentioned were the publication of the journal

10 Ahmed Hilmi; Resimli ve Haritalı Milli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi... p.134-140. Ahmed Reşid; Haritalı ve Resimli Ayine-i Tarih-i Osmani ... p.175-211.

11 Midhad Sadullah; Mücmel Tarih.. p.298.

Volkan under Dervish Vahdeti's leadership, the establishment of İttihad-ı Muhammedi organization, "expert plotters" in the incident and their slogans like "we want Sharia", "Sharia is lost", "Committee of Union and Progress will make all of you non-believer". This movement is identified as a reactionary action supported by pro-Hamidian people who could not accept the progress of the nation.¹² One of the critical points in this narration is the prominent role of *Military* and *Rumelia*. However in Republican era, textbooks hardly mentioned about CUP in their explanations about political developments. If there are any notes about CUP, they are mentioned in a negative way. 31 March Incident, the most serious political event after the Second Constitutional Period, was evaluated as a reactionary and rebellious movement. This religious and reactionary movement will become one of the most important references for Republican laicism.

Militaristic Turkish Nationalism

In the Second Constitutional Period, lectures that were devoted to the transfer of civic and nationalist values and that were seen as important elements for the political culture were added to curriculums (*the knowledge*

12 This event was narrated in detail way in 3 pages of the book. The narration starts with this sentence: "furthermore, a Vagabond called Dervish Vahdeti Formed the organization "İttihad-ı Muhammedi" and published the newspaper *Volkan*." Then it tells that they provoked people as well as rifle battalions by chanting "We want Sharia, Sharia is lost", that lots of people were killed and that Mahmud Sevket Pasha repressed the uprising, coming to Istanbul from Salonika. Aydın. Rıza; *Küçük Tarih-i Osmanî*. . . p.86-95. In another book, 31 March Incident was depicted as the military coup in Istanbul. While it mentions that reactionaries demanded Sharia, it commented that "Sharia was not lost, on the contrary the Constitution was the work of Sharia." The book ended with these sentences: "On 10th of July, helpless people moaning in prisons and poor exiled people were saved. Now it is time to work and serve for homeland, nation and the state. Turks, Arabs, Albanians, Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and others gathered for the name of Ottomans (sic.). From now on - equality, justice, brotherhood will predominate and people will be equal." Ahmed Rasim; *Küçük Tarih-i Osmanî*. . . p.58-64. Another essay is titled as "31 March Incident". For slogans like "We want Sharia, Committee of Union and Progress will make all of us heathens." See Ahmed Hilmi; *Resimli ve Haritalı Millî Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi*. . . p.134-143. It is stated that "the Declaration of Liberty" was the movement organized by Young Turks whose members were influential in the third army; "Reactionary Incident" was provoked by pro-Hamidian conspirators who could not stomach the progress of nation. Ahmed Reşid; *Haritalı ve Resimli Ayine-i Tarih-i Osmani*. .p.212-213. Particularly the chapters of Industry and Sciences in Ottomans highlight the military victories.

of morality, civilization, religion and economy, military exercises/training). Contents of existing lessons such as history and religion changed; militaristic nationalism was reflected on curriculums. Even though CUP seemed to support Ottomanism, particularly Balkan Wars and War of Tripoli created a fertile environment for the concepts of “nation” and “national sentiments to come out and also justified the revelation of the government’s nationalist tendencies revealed the nationalist tendencies of the government. The lack of “national sentiment” started to be thought as the cause of defeat. Therefore in all schools, militaristic lessons such as “weariness”, “physical training, sanitary matters, military discipline, game and medal” were added to curriculums.¹³ They put military subjects in both curriculum and also indirectly in physical trainings in order to ingratiate and glorify military service and prepare students for the service.¹⁴ For example, *Military Training* lessons added to curriculums had a strong militaristic characteristic and they were intertwined with military games. These games included “attack order”, “flag” and “capture moreover students did shooting exercises with rifles. They also exercised shooting in official target ranges by kneeling down or lying on the ground.

As a necessity of the militaristic nationalism, History teachers were warned with a notice titled “Warning”. They were asked to mention Ottoman victories, Janissaries’ lives, causes of the decline whenever it is possible and to visit Ottoman monuments and buildings with their students. In primary schools for girls, religious and national heroines had to be highlighted in history lessons For example “national” women such as “Cevri Kalfa, Kara Fatma from Sivastopol Campaign, Bosniak Şerife who showed usefulness in 1292 Montenegro War, Mebruke Hanım who fought in the War of Tripoli and women from ahlul bayt (Prophet’s family).¹⁵

“Free and Independent Homeland” and “Captive Homeland”

At schools teachers began to emphasize more and in length that Turks were the ancestors of Seljuks and Ottomans.¹⁶ In history textbooks, the chapter of

13 Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Mekatib-i İbtidaiye Ders Müfredatı... p.111-112.

14 Ahmed Nazmi-Bekir Sıdkı; Yeni Usûl Osmanlı Terbiye-i Bedeniye Dersleri (Dersââdet: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1327)

15 Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Mekatib-i İbtidaiye Ders Müfredatı...p.113-114.

16 Ahmed Reşid; Haritalı ve Resimli Ayine-i Tarih-i Osmanî Mekâtib-i İbtidaiye ve

the First Age indicates Turks as one of the oldest civilizations of the world and Turkishness is taken as an ancient Asian civilization.¹⁷ At the same time Central Asia is emphasized as “the original homeland, Anatolia as “homeland””.¹⁸ Furthermore it indicates that Hungarians are Turks, Wallach people are originally Turks and Bulgarians emerged as the integration of Slavic people and Turkish tribe known as Kanklı residing in Kıpçak.¹⁹ Another important topic is that the emphasis the on the Turkishness of *Anatolia*.²⁰

The textbooks of the period began to call the Turkish world as fatherland. Beyond its narrow meaning as the place where people were born in “homeland/fatherland was all the states we belong. Moreover not only the present situation but also the past one is fatherland. ”Fatherland was distinguished as “free and independent one” and “captive one.” Similarly nation was divided into “free Ottomans” and “captive Ottomans.” For instance Bosnia, Albania, Salonika, Janina, Crete, Komotini, Plovdiv,

Rüşdiye Tedrisatı İçin Son Def’a Olarak Tanzim ve Tahrir Olunub Meclis-i Maarifce Bittasdik Kabul Olunan Müfredat Programına Tevfikana Tertib Edilmiş ve Mekâtib-i Mezkûrede Tedris Olunmak Üzere Tab ve Neş Olunmuştur. (Desaadet: Artin Asadoryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1328) p.3-5 Ayın. Rıza; Küçük Tarih-i Osmanî Yeni Programa Tevfikana Tertib Edilmiştir. (Dersaadet: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1327) p.3. Ahmed Hilmi; Resimli ve Haritalı Milli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi Son Programa Tevfikana Bilumum Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyede Tedris Edilmek Üzere Tertib Olunmuştur.(Dersaadet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1330) p.3-6. Ahmed Reşid; Haritalı ve Resimli Mükemmel Tarih-i Osmanî Umum Mekâtib-i İdadiyelerde Tedris Edilmek Üzere Tertib Edilmiştir. (Dersaadet: Artin Asadoryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1328) p.3-5. Ayın Nüzhet; Musavver Osmanlı Tarihi 1325, 1326 Sene-i Tedrisiyesine Mahsus Olmak Üzere Erbâb-ı İhtisasdan Müteşekkil Komisyonlar Tarafından Mekatb-i Rüşdiye ve İdadiye Tedrisatı İçin Tanzim ve Tahrir Olunup Meclis-i Maarifce Bittasdik Kabul Olunan Müfredat Programına Tevfikana Tertib Edilmiş ve Mekâtib-i Mezkûrede Tedris Olunmak Üzere Tab’ ve Neşr Olunmuştur. (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan and Mahdumları Matbaası, 1327) Ahmed Rasim; Küçük Tarih-i Osmanî Umum Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyelerde Tedris Edilmek Üzere Maârif Nezareti Tarafından İntihab ve Kabul Olunmuştur. (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan and Mahdumları Matbaası, 1331) p.3-5 Ahmed Hilmi; Resimli ve Haritalı Yeni Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi...p.6.

17 Ali Tevfik; Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi... Midhad Sadullah; Mücmel Tarih... 202.

18 Ali Seydi; Mekâtib-i İdâdî ve Sultaniye Şakirdanına Mahsus Devlet-i Osmanîye Tarihi Resimli ve Haritalı Tab’ı Sani (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1337) Ahmed Agayef; Tarih-i Umumi Derslerinden Kurun-u Vusta ([Tab eden Darülfünun Ulûm-u Edebiye Subesinden Hamid Sadi] 1330)

19 Ali Tevfik; Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi... p.25.

20 Ahmed Reşid; Haritalı ve Resimli Mükemmel Osmanlı Tarihi... p.4.

Romania, Caucasia, Egypt, Benghazi, Tripoli, Tunisia and Algeria were occupied and suffer from this situation. These places were the parts of captured fatherland. After this was ascertained the students were assigned as such: “Our duty is to love homeland as a whole and to nourish the desire to save the captive and try to save them.” In this determination, historical, religious and linguistic commonalities were emphasized. In the narrowest sense, nation was formulated as all brothers and sisters who were voluntarily subject to common laws of the common fatherland and who were loyal to their homeland at heart even if they were torn off temporarily from its sovereignty; however in the broadest sense, it was all of the Muslims. Finally Ottomans Constituted the most important element of the Islamic nation destined to save Islam. The most primary civic duty was to reclaim the parts of homeland that were lost; therefore military service was sanctified.

Balkan Wars rendered the entrance of “them/others” into the textbooks. On every occasion, the places occupied by the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians and Montenegrins were pointed out.²¹ The great disaster after the war, particularly the loss of Rumelia, the protection of Anatolia (Ottomans’ natural homeland) and avoiding its occupation became a very important task.²² The illustrations depicting persecutions towards Muslim people during the War took place in textbooks.²³ There are also series of pictures showing inhuman behaviour committed by Bulgarians.²⁴ (Foetuses ripped from mothers and bolted, torture and persecution to children and old people, etc...) The most treacherous ones among “them” were Greeks and Bulgarians.²⁵

21 Ahmed Cevad; Musahabat-ı Ahlakıyye Sıhhiye, Medeniye, Vataniye ve İnsaniye Maarif Nezaretinin 1330 Müfredat Programına Göre Yazılmıştır. Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin Beşinci ve Mekatib-i Sultaniye Sunuf-i İbtidaiyesinin Dördüncü Senesine Mahsusdur. (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslâm ve Askeri, 1330) p.107-113., Ali Seydi; Musahabat-ı Ahlakıyye Altı Dershaneli Mekteblerin Devre-i Mutavassıta İkinci Sınıfına Mahsusdur Maârif Nezaretince Kabul ve Tertib Edilen En Son Programa Muvafıkdır (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiyye Matbaası, 1332)

22 Ali Seydi; Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyye Mahsus Musahabat-ı Ahlakıyye (Dersâadet: Şirket-i Mürettibiyye Matbaası, 1332)p.73-87.

23 Ali Seydi; Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyye Mahsus Musahabat-ı Ahlakıyye.. 1332)

24 Ali Seydi; Musahabat-ı Ahlakıyye Altı Dershaneli Mekteblerin Devre-i Alisinin İkinci Sınıfına Mahsusudur. Maârif Nezaretince Kabul ve Tertib Edilen En Son Programa Muvafıkdır (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiyye Matbaası, 1332)

25 Ahmed Cevad; Resimli Osmanlı Lisanı Sarf ve Nahiv-Kıraat-Ezber-İmla Yazı Me-

Obedience and Loyalty Triad: Fatherland-Nation-State

Since the principles of French Revolution were also sacred values of CUP and the Constitutional regime, freedom, equality, fraternity and justice became the most discussed topics. Likewise concepts like fatherland, nation, state and union are discussed elaborately.²⁶ The most important duties in the name of the fatherland were to love country, obeying laws, being loyal, “being soldiers for the protection of country and paying taxes for the development, prosperity and security of homeland.”²⁷ It was also necessary to make sacrifices, die a martyr when necessary, work hard and become rich citizens for the fatherland.

In lessons students were obliged to display their loyalty to their sultan on religious grounds; however “fatherland” was sanctified as the real subject of loyalty. Nation and the state were also mentioned as sacred values. Authorities put “the adventures of children and men who made sacrifices for their homeland” in the historical essays used in lessons. Subjects that were desired for lessons were patriotism, country’s land, national duties, making sacrifices and working hard for homeland, paying taxes, blessings of the country, love for country, respect for flag, military service, and the dignity of military, taxes and obedience to law. Moreover, the topics like the harmful effects of “despotic regimes”, benefits of the constitutional regime, obedience to law, obedience to police and officers, election right, “general idea on the struggles for the constitution”, civil law, personal rights, right to speak, right of assembly, military service, taxes, respect for barracks, schools and national institutions, the headquarter of government and municipalities were constantly taught in details.²⁸

kâtib-i Sutanîye Sunuf-ı İbtidaiyesinin Ve Umumi Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin İkinci Senesine Mahsusdur Maârif Nezareti'nin 1330 Programına Göre yazılmıştır. (Dersaâdet: Kitabhane-i İslâm ve Askeri, 1330)

26 Ali Nizama; On Temmuz Malumat-ı Medeniyye ve Tatbikat-ı Ahlakıyye Vesaireye Dair Kıraat Kitabı 1. Kısım (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1328) p.3-10.

27 Ali Seydi; Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyye Mahsus Musahabat-ı Ahlakıyye (Dersaâdet: Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1332)p.95 and others.

28 Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Mekatib-i İbtidaiye Ders Müfredatı.... p.6-1, Da'vâvekili Giridi Ahmed Saki; Tedrisat-i Medeniyye ve Ahlak-i İçtimaiye Osmanlı Birinci Cild Mekâtib-i Sultaniyye ve İdadîyyede Tedris Olunmak Üzere Tertib Edilmiştir. (Dersaâdet: Matbaa-i Hayriyye, 1327), Malumat-ı Medeniyye İkinci Kısım Umum Mekâtib-i Rüştiyelerin Üçüncü Seneleriyle Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyeleride Tedris Edilmek Üzere Tertib ve Tahrir Edilmiştir. [There is Mâidha Pasha's portrait on the cover] and Ali Seydi;

From “Islamic-Turkish Synthesis” to “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis”

In the Second Constitutional Period, the aim of primary schools was bringing up “*pious and patriot*” people. The preference of political power on “the integration of nation and religion” (Turkish-Islamic synthesis) led primary schools to bring up “people who are pious and patriot, and love his country and nation”.²⁹

Actually, the concepts “national” and “nation” have more than one meaning and Constitutional Turkism (nationalism) made use of this fact. First, it was associated with the multinational Ottoman nation and Ottomanism denoting the unity of different ethnic groups and religions. Secondly, it evokes a religious community (ummah) with its religious and traditional meaning, thus equals to Islamic nation. Thirdly, nationalism that was the dominant movement of the era was used as the equivalent of Turkism. Therefore, “national manners” could bear different meanings according to target groups. Indeed, in the constitutional era the concepts such as “National Economy”³⁰, “National Literature”³¹ and “National Manners/Culture”³² had national emphasis. The motto of education in the era was “*national manners/culture*”. Lots of books and articles were written on this concept.³³ Texts in Köprülü Mehmed Fuad’s reading book that won the first place in the contest of the Ministry of Education and that was used in lessons were written by nationalist, eminent and influential literary figures.³⁴ This book clearly reveals the nationalist tendency in the Ministry of Education. The first text of the book was the poem “Turan”

Musahabat-ı Ahlakıyye Altı Dershaneli Mekteblerin Devre-i Mutavassıta İkinci Sınıfına Mahsusdur Maârif Nezaretince Kabul ve Tertib Edilen En Son Programa Muvafıkdır (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiyye Matbaası, 1332)

29 Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi, 2 Mart 1333 İkinci devre, Üçüncü içtimâ’, No:205, p.769-784.narrated by Halil Aytekin; a.g.e. p.47.

30 “For the competent and unique example of the narration of “National Economy” see Zafer Toprak; Milli İktisat (1908-1918) (Ankara: Yurt yayınları, 1982)

31 Cahit Kavcar; II. Meşrutiyet Devrinde Edebiyat ve Eğitim (Ankara: A.U. Eğitim Fakültesi yayınları, 1974)

32 Written in the II. Constitutional period İsmail Hakkı; Talim ve Terbiyede İnkılab (Der-saâdet: Matbaa-i Hayriyye ve Şurekası, 1328)

33 Halil Aytekin; İttihad ve Terakki Dönemi Eğitim Yönetimi (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Yayını No:20, 1991)

34 Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad; Milli Kıraat Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin Son ve Sultanilerin İlk Sınıfına Tedris Edilmek Üzere Maârif Nezareti Tarafından Bilmüsabaka Birinciliğe Kabul Edilmiştir. Beşinci Kısım (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1331)

written by Ziya Gökalp in his Kızıl Elma (Red Apple). Other examples written by Turkish nationalists like Mehmed Emin, Mehmed Ali Tevfik, Hamdullah Subhi, Ahmed Hikmet, and Ziya Gökalp, İsmail Safa, Halide Edip and Ali Canib followed the first one.

Official Islam and Laicism or National Identity – Religious Identity

Unionists refined and used official Islam policy of Abdulhamid II. Although they did not lean towards religion, they did not hesitate to use the power of religion in the mobilization of masses. One of the most distinctive characteristics of the education in terms of ideology is that it used Islamic and Turkish identity together, with the priority of Turkish one. After Balkan Wars in particular, it could be observed that there was an impatient and inexperienced effort to create a *Turkish-Islamic Synthesis*. Its primary reason was *to take advantage of the power of Islam for mobilizing society*. It has two aspects: First, gaining support of Muslims living in Ottoman Empire and other countries; secondly, sanctifying nationalist values like homeland, nation and the state with Islamic values like holy war (cihat) martyrdom and being war veterans (gazilik) with militaristic purposes. They aimed to have men accept to do their military service, make them obey their commanders and reduce desertions. Likewise the First World War led Unionists to create a Turkish-Islamic synthesis despite their nationalist tendencies. The declaration of holy war is the most typical example. Turkish-Islamic synthesis created by the political power aimed to raise “pious, patriot, nationalist people” in primary schools.³⁵

Religious obligations, National obligations

Students who had been forced to fulfil their religious duties in Hamidian era were forced to do their militaristic nationalist duties in the Second Constitutional Period. Students who had shouted as “Long Live Sultan” in Hamidian era began singing national anthems as well as religious chants in the new period. While forming associations was forbidden in Hamidian era, people had to become members of Power, Youth and Scoutcraft associations under the strict control of political power. Even military students had to do their trainings without bullets and weapons in

35 Halil Aytekin; i.b.i.d. p.47.

Hamidian era; however in the constitutional era both civilian and military students took military lessons and did target practice with real weapons. For the first time a “national festival/holiday” was accepted – “10th of July National Festival”. In this era the obligation to worship at schools was abrogated.³⁶ They changed the contents of religious lessons and reduced their hours. Ethics lessons had religious contents in Hamidian era, but in this period they acquired “national” contents. For instance, Knowledge of Ethics was taught as a secular/social and political ethics one hour a week.³⁷ New topics like “idea of entrepreneurship” and “savings” were added to ethics. Religion became the sub-title of ethics rather than vice-versa; in addition they argued that ethics could be taken as a different science. It was indicated that ethics was discussed as distinguished from religion since Socrates up to Kant; therefore it was taken as a social fact.³⁸ In this new lesson differently entitled as “knowledge of ethics, civilization, religion or economy” different sub-titles like civil ethics, political ethics and religious ethics were discussed. Opponents were swift to protest against this new lesson added with the name of “religious ethics”. For them ethics and religion were the same, ethical principles were not contrary to religion and ethics was the subsection of religion.³⁹

In religious books, it was still emphasized that official sect was Hanafiyah school of Sunnism. Yet the most critical change was that there was no emphasis on loyalty and obedience to Sultan any more.⁴⁰ Finally holy war had a sacred and refined meaning.⁴¹

36 Mekteb-i Sultani Ders Programı (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1327)

37 Ahmed Cevad; Musahabat-ı Ahlakıyye Sıhhiye, Medeniye, Vataniye ve İnsaniye Maârif Nezaretinin 1330 Müfredat Programına Göre Yazılmıştır. Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin Beşinci ve Mekâtib-i Sultaniye Sunuf-i İbtidaiyesinin Dördüncü Senesine Mahsusdur. (Istanbul: Kitabhane-i İslâm ve Askeri, 1330)

38 Mim. Adil; Malumat-ı Ahlakıyye ve Medeniye (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1331/1333)

39 Ali Seydi; Zeaif Nazariyesi Üzerine Müretteb Ahlak-ı Dini Ulûm-u Ahlakıyye-i Kadime ve Cedidenin Ahkâm-ı Diniye-i İslamiyeye Suret-i Tatbiki (Dersâdet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1329) p. 1-2. İsmail Hakkı; İlm-i Ahlak (Dersâdet: Hukuk Matbaası, 1330)

40 Yusuf Ziyaeddin El-Üsküdarî; İlm-i Hal Müslüman Çocuk İbtidai Sınıfları İçin Tertip Olunmuştur İstanbul: Keteon Matbaası, 1331)

41 Halim Sabit; Ameli İlm-i Hal Üçüncü Kitab Bilumum Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin Üçüncü Sınıflarında Okutturulmak Üzere Maârif Nezaretince Maeltakdir Birincilikle Resmî Programa İdhal Edilmiştir. (Istanbul: Tevsii-i Tıbaat matbaası, 1331) for holy war p.113-117.

Shiites-Alawites-Ismailis-Safavids-Dervishes

It is surprising to observe that classical approach towards Shiites in Hamidian era did not change in the constitutional period. These classical expressions continued to be emphasized: Yavuz Sultan Selim “made provisions against insurrections in order to solve the question of Iran by killing 40,000 Shiites residing in Anatolia, disciplined them and slaughtered/killed/massacred approximately 44,000 Ismaili people in Anatolia.”⁴²

Us and Others: “We have too many enemies but the most treacherous ones are Bulgarians and Greeks.”

Turkish nationalism that became the official ideology of this period was swift to take place in textbooks. Therefore, dominant elements of the political culture in the era appeared in all textbooks including reading ones.⁴³ The nationalist characteristic of the government became apparent in the First World War. One of its typical examples is Köprülü Mehmed Fuad’s reading book that came first in the contest of the Ministry of Education. Reading texts were chosen from among the works of eminent, patriot and nationalist writers.⁴⁴ Even in grammar books, “enemies” were

42 Ayn. Rıza; Küçük Tarih-i Osmani... p.20, Ahmed Rasim; Küçük Tarih-i Osmani... p.24, Ahmed Hilmi; Resimli ve Haritalı Milli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi... p.56-58,, Ahmed Reşid; Haritalı ve Resimli Ayine-i Tarih-i Osmani... p.68-69, Ahmed Reşid; Haritalı ve Resimli Mükemmel Tarih-i Osmani Umum Mekâtib-i İdadiyelerde Tedris Edilmek Üzere Tertib Edilmiştir. (Dersâdet: Artin Asadoryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1328) p.212, Ali Seydi; Mekâtib-i İdâdî ve Sultaniye Şakirdanına Mahsus Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi... ,Ali Tevfik; Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi...

43 Ali Nizama; Meşrutiyet Kıraati İkinci Kısım Asar-ı Müntehibeden Mürekkeb Kıraat Kitabıdır (Dersâdet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1328) This books contains selected articles and passages from other texts.

44 Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad; Millî Kıraat Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin Son ve Sultanilerin İlk Sınıfına Tedris Edilmek Üzere Maârif Nezareti Tarafından Bilmüşabaka Birinciliğe Kabul Edilmiştir. Beşinci Kısım (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1331) This book shows the dominant role of nationalism in the Ministry of Education. The first article of the book edited by Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad is Ziya Gökalp’s poem “Turan” (Kızıl Elma). It is followed by “Türklük Menakıbından: Altın Ordu-Ahmed Hikmet” [From Turkism Anecdotes: Altın Ordu (Golden Army)-Ahmed Hikmet, “Vatanımız-Ali Ulvi” [Our Homeland-Ali Ulvi], “Felaket Hatıraları: Osmanlı-İtalyan Muharebesi-Piyer Loti” [Memories of Disasters: Ottoman-Italian War-Piyer Loti]. There are also articles like “Anadolu-Mehmed Emin [Anatolia]”, “Kanın İsyanı-Mehmed Ali Tevfik [Rebellion of Blood]”. There are samples from poems, stories and articles written by nationalist-Turkist writers like Hamdullah Subhi, Ahmed Hikmet, Ziya Gökalp, İsmail

identified in terms of “us” and “others” within the scope of nationalist ideology. “Others” were particularly Greeks and Bulgarians; there are various illustrations depicting their tortures and persecutions in Balkan Wars. This expression is particularly striking: “We have too many enemies but the most treacherous ones are Bulgarians and Greeks.”⁴⁵

Both in lessons and physical trainings, there are subjects implicitly related to military service in order to glorify it and get people to love the service and prepare for it.⁴⁶

Conclusion: Legacy

Major phenomena inherited by the Republican Turkey are official ideology and official institution of history itself. The “six arrows” of the Republican People’s Party became the principles of the state/official ideology. Revolutionism, populism, nationalism, statism, republicanism and laicism gained official status in the constitutional level. Republican rulers/elites evaluated these principles with different comments in different periods. The official ideology turning into “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” in the Second Constitutional Period was crystallized as Turkish nationalism in the Republic. Now the nationalism of the Republic is processed within the nation-state system. “Turkism” was reformed as the mixture of legal, cultural, ethnic and religious qualities. The definition of “Turk” was interpreted with different contents according to different periods; some elements dominated the scene while others were forgotten about. These preferences were reflected on historical approaches and textbooks.

History books changed in such a way that they legitimize the new

Safa, Mehmed Emin, Halide Edib, Ali Canib. One the one hand they remind of the golden days of Ottomans; on the other hand they evoke nationalist emotions with defeats in Balkan Wars.

45 Ahmed Cevad; Resimli Osmanlı Lisanı Sarf ve Nahiv-Kıraat-Ezber-İmla Yazı Mekâtib-i Sutanıye Sunuf-ı İbtidaiyesinin Ve Umumi Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin İkinci Senesine Mahsusdur Maârif Nezareti'nin 1330 Programına Göre yazılmıştır. (Dersaadet: Kitabhane-i İslâm ve Askeri, 1330) “We have too many enemies, but the most treacherous ones are Bulgarians and Greeks.”

46 Ahmed Nazmi-Bekir Sıdkı; Yeni Usul Osmanlı Terbiye-i Bedeniye Dersleri (Dersaadet: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1327) It was written for military purposes. Writers were physical training teachers in Kuleli Military High School. It emphasizes the importance of military service and argues that it is necessary for Turkey surrounded by enemies.

regime. Islam continues to be an element used by official ideology when necessary. Republican laicism became the main characteristic of the political system. To sum up, in the Second Constitutional Period, Ottoman Commission of History would be renamed as Turkish History Commission; then in the place of it Turkish Historical Society would be established.

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