

THE GREAT WAR AND THE VISUAL MOBILIZATION
OF THE OTTOMAN PUBLIC SPHERE:
THE CASE OF “DONANMA” JOURNAL

by

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ABSTRACT

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*Keywords: The Great War, the Navy League, Donanma Mecmuası, mobilization, visual
propaganda*

This study tries to explore the Ottoman experience of the Great War through a preliminary analysis of the visual propaganda of the journal *Donanma*. Although the Ottoman war propaganda suffered from serious infrastructural and superstructural setbacks and hence doomed to fail eventually, this thesis argues that the attempt of the government to penetrate the Ottoman public sphere, to manipulate the public opinion and to incorporate the society as a whole to the state's war effort cut across the social, economical and cultural aspects of the Ottoman war experience and thus offers a valuable insight into it. In this perspective, the present thesis proposes that *Donanma* was an efficient and preferable channel for the dispersion of the governmental propaganda due to its popular character, and that visuals aided the journal by improving the accessibility of its propagandist message to the highly illiterate Ottoman society. In this context, this study tries to analyze and identify the main arguments and symbols embodied in the journal's visual propaganda during the last three months prior to the Ottoman intervention to the war and the war years.

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ÖZET

BİRİNCİ DÜNYA SAVAŞI VE OSMANLI KAMUSAL ALANININ GÖRSEL SEFERBERLİĞİ: "DONANMA" MECMUASI

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Anahtar kelimeler: Dünya Savaşı I, Donanma Cemiyeti, Donanma Mecmuası, seferberlik, görsel propaganda

Bu araştırma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Birinci Dünya Savaşı tecrübesini *Donanma Mecmuası*'nın görsel propagandasının bir ilk incelemesiyle ele almaya çalışmaktadır. Osmanlı savaş propagandasının ciddi alt ve üst yapısal yetersizliklerden muzdarip ve dolayısıyla başarısızlığa mahkum olmasına karşın, bu tez, hükümetin Osmanlı kamusal alanına nüfuz etme, kamuoyunu manipüle etme ve toplumun tamamını devletin savaş gayretine dahil etme girişiminin, Osmanlı savaş tecrübesini toplumsal, ekonomik ve kültürel eksenlerde kestiğini ve dolayısıyla bu tecrübeye yönelik önemli bir içgörü sağladığını öne sürmektedir. Bu açıdan sözkonusu tez, *Donanma*'nın popüler karakteriyle devlet propagandasını yaymak için etkili ve uygun bir kanal olduğunu, görsellerin ise büyük çoğunluğu okur yazar olmayan Osmanlı toplumunda dergiyi daha geniş kitlelere ulaşabilir kıldığını savunmaktadır. Araştırma bu bağlamda derginin hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun savaşa girmesinden önceki son üç ayındaki ve hem de savaş sırasındaki görsel propagandasının ana konularını ve sembollerini incelemeye ve belirlemeye çalışmaktadır.

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to peace...

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
Özet.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
List of Figures.....	x
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I – “Donanma” as a Means of Propaganda.....	7
I.1. The Navy League and the Ottoman Public Sphere.....	10
I.1.a Post-1908 Ottoman Public Sphere.....	10
I.1.b The Navy League (Osmanlı Donanma-yı İane Cemiyeti).....	13
I.2. “Donanma”: A Printed Campaign.....	19
I.2.a General Characteristics of “Donanma”.....	21
I.2.b An Overview of “Donanma”’s Textual Content.....	24
I.2.b.i . News Stories.....	25
I.2.b.ii. Articles.....	26
I.2.b.ii.A. Military and Scientific Articles.....	26
I.2.b.ii.B Historical Articles.....	30
I.2.b.ii.C. Social and Political Articles.....	31
I.2.b.ii.D. Articles on Economy.....	33
I.2.b.ii.E. Articles on Women.....	34
I.2.b.ii.F. Articles on Pedagogy.....	34
I.2.b.ii.G. Articles on Morality.....	35
I.2.b.ii.H. Articles on Peasants.....	36
I.2.b.iii. Literary Pieces.....	36
I.2.b.iii.A. Poems.....	37
I.2.b.iii.B. Short Stories.....	38
I.2.b.iii.C. Biographies and Memoirs.....	39
I.2.b.iii.D. Literary Articles.....	39
I.2.b.iii.E. Fantasy Literature.....	40

I.2.b.iv. Announcements and Advertisements.....	41
I.2.b.v. Sports.....	42
I.3. World War Propaganda, visuals and “Donanma”.....	42
I.3.a. The Ottoman Empire and the War Propaganda.....	42
I.3.b. Visual Propaganda and “Donanma”.....	49
CHAPTER II – “Lâ’lî’s Choice”.....	58
II.1. Taking Sides: Extremists versus Moderates.....	63
II.2. Forging Order and Peace at Home: A Search for an “Eternal Tranquility” ⁷¹	
II.3. Call to Arms: The Ottoman General Mobilization.....	78
II.4. Swift Victories and the “Secrets of the German Glory”.....	84
CHAPTER III – “A War to End All Sufferings”.....	91
III.1. The Propaganda of Jihad: A Selective Campaign.....	92
III.2. The Representation of the Enemy.....	97
III.3. The Self-image.....	100
III.4. The Call for Support.....	102
III.5. The Technology of Destruction: “Good” versus “Evil” Machines.....	105
III.6. The Prisoners of War.....	111
III.7. “Spy Scare”.....	113
III.8. Social Darwinism.....	117
III.9. The Aftermath.....	120
CONCLUSION.....	124
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	129

LIST OF FIGURES

I.1 - The cover page of <i>Donanma</i>	51
II.1 - The last page of <i>Beyaz Lale</i>	62
II.2 - The dead body of Mahmud Mazhar.....	77
II.3 - Mahmud Mazhar being carried away.....	77
II.4 - Cemal Pasha and Talat Pasha in Gülhane Park.....	79
II.5 – “Soldiers to arms”.....	81
II.6 – “Smilingly marching to the duty for the homeland”.....	81
II.7 – Soldiers off to lunch.....	84
II.8 – Soldiers waiting for the lunch.....	84
II.9 – Soldiers eating their lunch.....	84
II.10 – “Victorious Germany”.....	86
II.11 – “The secret of the victory”.....	88
II.12 – Austrian heavy artillery.....	88
II.13 – The queen of Bavaria sewing for the German soldiers.....	90
II.14 – A German father and his seven sons going to the war together.....	91
II.15 – The children of the German auxiliary soldiers.....	91
III.1 – “To the attention of all Muslims”.....	95
III.2 – “On the path of the God”.....	96
III.3 – “On the way of the Jihad”.....	97
III.4 – “The great isolation”.....	99
III.5 – “The caravan of crippled donkeys”.....	100
III.6 – On the Sinai Front.....	102
III.7 - “Our heroes at the station”.....	104
III.8 – “Enlist today”.....	104
III.9 – “Money and Gun”.....	105
III.10 – “Crush the Germans”.....	106
III.11 – A destroyed British tank in Palestine.....	109

III.12 – Bouvet sinking.....	110
III.13 – “The broken wings of the enemy”.....	111
III.14 – “The 38 cm calibre enemy shells that could not shatter the Ottoman’s courage”.....	111
III.15 – British prisoners of war on the Western front.....	113
III.16 – French prisoners of war under treatment.....	113
III.17 – “Russian spies caught by the Austrian army”.....	117
III.18 – Russian spy under disguise.....	117
III.19 – Cevad Rüşdü Bey.....	119
III.20 – Selahaddin Bey.....	120
III.21 – Self-defense trainings.....	120
III.22 – <i>Yadigâr-ı Millet</i> under repair.....	122
III.23 – “The limits of the German army and navy”.....	123
III.24 – The surrender of the German navy.....	124

INTRODUCTION

“This war requires the awakening of the national feelings and the taking place of these within the people’s spirit.”

-Talat Pasha-¹

The Great War was a novel phenomenon that destroyed and consumed beyond any imagination.² The belligerent countries fought over an unlimited geography with vaguely defined aims, pushing their economic and military capabilities to the ultimate end. A war that was expected to end quickly turned into an elongated, vain and gory confrontation. The unlimited nature of the new warfare required the participation of the societies as a whole into manufacturing violence, which in return, necessitated the manipulation of the public opinion for this end. Talat Pasha’s emphasis as the minister of the interior addressed at the same need: the incorporation of the entire Ottoman public into general war effort and the transformation of popular feelings into material and spiritual support.

This study is a preliminary work that attempts to analyze the Ottoman government’s propaganda effort to convert the masses to this particular goal. In order to serve this purpose, the study adapts a particularistic approach and sets its framework around a single journal, *Donanma*, and its visual propaganda.

There are two prominent reasons that determined this particular choice. The first one bases on the fact that *Donanma* was the official publication of a popular semi-governmental organization, the Navy League. After its establishment in 1909, the

¹ “Bu savař milli duyguların uyandırılmasını ve bunun halkın ruhunda yer almasını gerektiriyordu.” Talat Pařa, *Talat Pařanın Anıları*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), p.46.

² Eric J. Hobsbawm. *The Age off Extremes*, (London: Abacus, 1991), p.41

organization managed to launch massive popular campaigns and achieved to gather a huge public support and credibility. The widespread organizational network of the League inside and outside of the Empire provided it with a significant public appeal. Therefore, *Donanma* found the opportunity to reach a larger audience in comparison to the most of the Ottoman periodicals at the time, reaching at significant circulation numbers. Its accessibility by the people was further enhanced by its relatively cheap price. Right from its initiation, the journal tried to parallel and to substantiate the popular image of the League by identifying its audience as the whole of the population. It reserved particular coverage for each and every group of the society ranging from peasants to state servants and military officers. The journal posed as a social forum for writers and thus contained a dynamic and various authors cadre. Hence, on the eve of the war, the journal was already familiar and significantly experienced in mobilizing the masses and stimulating the people to serve for patriotic and nationalistic ends.

As the League gradually forged closer ties with the ministry of the interior and turned informally into an office of the ministry, the journal adjusted to this alignment as well and became merely a propaganda tool of the government in the latter half of 1914. In this sense, it would not be inaccurate to regard *Donanma* as an affluent source to track the components of the government's war propaganda for the period of 1914-1918.

The second factor, on the other hand, directly relates to practical reasons concerning the emission process and the efficiency of the propagandist message. The Ottoman Empire in comparison to the industrialized Western powers suffered from critical infrastructural and superstructural shortcomings in its ability to meet the demands of the total war. This was also true for the planning and execution of organized wartime propaganda. The Ottoman society was scattered over a large territory and deeply divided alongside social and ethnic lines. Transportation and communication networks were too weak to alleviate the physical separation of people and to arouse the feeling of togetherness. Governmental schools were limited in numbers and coverage, curbing further down the possibility to manufacture a standardized society by the imposition of common values and symbols. In contrast to the great powers, the Ottoman leadership found itself obliged to deal with a profoundly heterogeneous society.

The popular character of the Navy League and *Donanma* could offer a partial solution to overcome these setbacks. Yet, how could a printed campaign expected to be feasible in a society where nearly 90 per cent of the population was illiterate? One part of the answer is embodied within the public reading practices. The illiterates were by no means isolated from the textual materials and reading aloud during public gatherings transformed the written culture into verbal form. However, since this was a second hand testimony for the textual content, the credibility of the dispersed message might be lost partially or completely during this transmission depending on the public appeal of the individual that acted as the agent between the printed medium and the audience. At this juncture, the intense illustrated character of the journal served to enhance the reliability of the message by providing the illiterate observer with the chance to bear first hand testimony to the emitted message.

On the other hand, the image itself posed a powerful medium to disperse the propagandist message to the public. The visual language used by it could easily communicate both with the literate and illiterate alike and blur the gap between them. The efficiency of propaganda depends by and large on its ability to deliver its message simply, swiftly and permanently. In all these terms, visuals preside over the textual content to a significant extent. The reader or the observer could grasp the content of the image in less than a few seconds and recall it at the same rate. The visuals could be physically separated from the pages and circulated among the public with the capability of delivering their messages on their own.³

In this context, the analysis of *Donanma* bears a considerable potential in providing an insight into the Ottoman war propaganda as it encapsulated the governments' propagandist messages on the one hand, and on the other offered a popular public appeal. The particular focus put on the visual propaganda proposes that the examined material could communicate with a larger section of the Ottoman population in a more efficient way and thus was more compatible with the totalistic nature of the world war propaganda aiming at the mobilization of the masses as a whole.

³ Palmira Johnson Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 26-40.

The initial impetus of this study stems from the lack of interest shown to the Ottoman experience of the Great War by the national and international historiography. The affluent international academic literature on the war treats it largely as a European phenomenon and studies considering the experience of the English, French and German speaking countries dominate the field when compared to the ones on the rest of the participants of the war.⁴ Within this hierarchy of academic attraction and numbers of studies, Russia is followed by the Ottoman Empire and then by the Balkan countries, whereas stateless ethnic groups are studied only in terms of their relations to the great powers.⁵ The war is generally perceived as a European incident and the linguistic obstacles played a determinant role in the shaping of the academic literature.

Another major factor for this negligence seems to be the established linkage between the modernity and the Great War. One generally accepted assumption in the field is that the war separated the traditional 19th century and the modern 20th century. Assessed as an Oriental and Islamic field, the Ottoman Empire was considered for the most part outside of the modernity which was regarded as a Western phenomenon and hence outside of the scope of the Great War as well.⁶

On the other hand, within the general narrative of the Turkish historiography, the First World War appears as a mere detail in the transition to the Republican Turkey. Social, economical, and cultural aspects of the Ottoman war experience could find little if any coverage. In comparison to the War of Independence, the First World War appears almost as an unclaimed and alien series of battles. The only exception to this negligence is the Gallipoli War. It equaled to the War of Independence in terms of defending the “homeland” which is perceived as Anatolia and was appraised as a glorious antecedent to it. Hence, a significant portion of the national historiography on the First World War deals with the battles at Gallipoli whereas it ignores other aspects of the war to a large extent.

Another fundamental concern of this thesis is that academic studies regarding the 19th and 20th centuries’ Ottoman Empire resort on printed visuals mostly as

⁴ Erol K rođlu, *T rk Edebiyatı ve Birinci D nya Savaşı, Propagandadan Millî Kimlik İnşasına* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), p.18.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p.19.

complementary sources. Although images were used independent from the textual content as of the last quarter of the 19th century, there exists only a limited literature that directly studies this type of imagery, and most of these works deal with the period before the Great War.⁷ Unfortunately, this study failed to spot any academic work that examined the wartime visuals separately. Hence, this thesis humbly attempts to contribute to the field by analyzing the visual propaganda of *Donanma* during the First World War. In this context, this study argues that the Ottoman experience of the war could have an independent and popular aspect that could transcend beyond a textual content and thus offers a historical and semiotic reading of *Donanma*'s imagery.

The present study attempts to address that despite its fatal infrastructural and superstructural shortcomings, the Ottoman Empire tried to adapt and respond to the requirements of the total and modern warfare by utilizing and optimizing every available means it possessed, and thus argues that its experience of the war deserves a deeper and more comprehensive attention than already reserved. Therefore, it aims to explore certain economic, social and cultural impacts of the war on the Empire through the analysis of the wartime visual propaganda.

This study consists of three main chapters. The first chapter will try to assess the propaganda value of *Donanma* by positing it within the general framework of the Navy League and the Second Constitutional Era. In order to serve this purpose, the chapter will first focus on the League separately. It will try to lay out its individual characteristics and examine its suitability to assist the state to pursue a massive propaganda campaign. Then, the chapter will try to evaluate the significance of

⁷ Palmira J. Brummett's work on the Ottoman revolutionary press is an exceptional study for the period 1909-1911. Brummett, *Ibid.* Tobias Heinzelmann's study on the Balkan crises and the Ottoman cartoon is another important work on the Ottoman visual media yet it also deals with the period before the Great War. Tobias Heinzelmann, *Osmanlı Karikatüründe Balkan Sorunu* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004). Eyal Gino's article on the Balkan Wars is a crucial study that covers the utilization of visuals for propagandist ends. Eyal Gino, "Mobilizing the Ottoman Nation during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913): Awakening from the Ottoman Dream," *War in History* 12, no. 2 (2005): 156-177. The only academic analysis of the Ottoman visual propaganda in the First World War that I came across during the process of this present thesis was a short section within Erol Köroğlu's seminal work *Türk Edebiyatı ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı, Propagandadan Millî Kimlik İnşasına*. Köroğlu, *Ibid.*

Donanma for the League and give a detailed insight into the journal's general characteristics as a printed medium. The rest of the chapter will try to evaluate visuals as a means to disperse propaganda within the context of the Great War and the journal itself.

The second and the third chapters will try to analyze the Ottoman experience of the Great War in two periods. The period prior to the Ottoman intervention from June to October 1914 will be covered by the second chapter, and the period thereafter by the third. Although there is a significant imbalance between these two periods in terms of the time they covered, the present study will try to put a relatively equal emphasis on both. The primary concern behind this approach is that the pre-intervention Ottoman social and political dynamics are subjected to an oversimplifying treatment within the current historiography. The Ottoman entry to the war is generally explained by the *fait accompli* of the Unionist leadership, yet the question how a war weary society was made to assume a pro-war stance is not asked. Thus, the chapter will aim to delve into this period via the analysis of *Donanma*'s visuals and to locate a partial if not a complete answer to this question.

The third chapter will try to deal directly with *Donanma*'s wartime propaganda and attempt to identify its major narratives to rally the support of the Ottoman public for the ends of the war. The chapter will first focus on the representation of Jihad, and how it was designated as a selective call that limited its definition of the enemy only to the Entente powers. Then, the chapter will look at the journal's depiction of the enemy and to underline how its image was depreciated to boost the morale of the Ottoman population trying to convince them of the certainty of an oncoming victory. In this sense, the chapter will undertake to venture through the self-image that the journal embarked upon its readers. The rest of the chapter will try to go through the journal's visual call for the material support of the Ottomans, the utilization of the photographs of the prisoners of war to prove the enemies' decay, and the confrontation of the Ottoman armies with the new war technology and the journal's effort to integrate the Empire into the experience of the modern warfare by propagating the Ottomans' ability to effectively cope with it.

CHAPTER I

“DONANMA” AS A MEANS OF PROPAGANDA

On February 4, 1919, just two days before committing suicide, Doctor Reşid Bey⁸ recorded the following entry into his diary: “...*There is nothing important in the newspapers. Only that the properties of the Union [and Progress] were confiscated. The strange thing is that they also abolished the Navy League and the National Defense Society, which were founded at the time of the Union. No government has ever been as heedless and immoral as them.*”⁹ The first part of the statement was written in an indifferent tone, attributable to the psychology of loss at the downfall of the CUP and to an environment marked with intense anti-Unionist feelings.¹⁰ The anti-Unionist policies of the Damat Ferit Pasha government, even the confiscation of the CUP’s properties did

⁸ Dr. Reşid Bey (Mehmed Reşid Şahingiray) was among the founding members of the Committee of Union and Progress, in 1897, together with İbrahim Temo, İshak Sukûti and Abdullah Cevdet. During the course of the World War I, he was the governor of Diyarbakır and then Ankara. After the signing of the Mondros Armistice, he was held responsible for the exodus and massacring of the Ottoman Armenians, and was dispatched to the military court on January 25, 1919. Two weeks later, on February 6, he committed suicide. Ahmet Mehmetefendioğlu, *Dr. Reşid Bey’in Hatıraları ‘Sürgünden İntihara’* (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1993), p.15.

⁹ “...Gazetelerde mühim bir şey yok. Yalnız İttihad’a ait emâkine vaz’ı yed edildiğini yazıyorlar. Garibi şu ki İttihat zamanında teessüs eden Donanma ve Müdâfaa-i Milliye Cemiyetleri’ne vaziyet edilmiş. Bu kadar gaflet veya sükut-u ahlak hiçbir hükümette görülmemiştir.” Ibid, p.108.

On February 2, 1919, The Navy League was integrated into the Ministry of Marine, and The National Defense Society into the Ministry of War by the government under Damat Ferit Pasha. The properties of both were confiscated as well.

¹⁰ Adjectives frequently used for the CUP triumvirate and the Unionists during the Armistice could be listed as follows: “Robber, thug, of the ominous party, bandit, loathsome, ignorant, greedy, rascal, sanguinary, murderer, mob, despicable, wretched gang, marauding government, damned, bad spirited, crows acting as eagles, children of Salonica, infidels.” Orhan Koloğlu, *Aydınlarımızın Bunalım Yılı 1918: Zafer-i Nihai’den Tam Teslimiyete*, (İstanbul: Boyut, 2000), p.95..

not surprise Dr. Reşid Bey. Nevertheless, the part on the fates of the Navy League (*Osmanlı Donanma-yı İlane Cemiyeti*) and the National Defense Society (*Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*) seems to have touched him deeply.

Dr. Reşid Bey's lines express, thus, a rather ambivalent position. His frustration with the government over the abolition of these two organizations directly contrasts with his composure over the confiscation of the CUP's properties. A clear explanation is quite hard to infer from his lines. Nonetheless, a joint allusion in two specific words, "heedless" and "immoral", could be traced at a larger socio-political and historical framework that linked the Navy League, its main means of propaganda *Donanma Mecmuası* (henceforth *Donanma*¹¹) and the CUP's attempts to transform and mobilize the Ottoman public sphere on a patriotic and militaristic axis, together.

In the Post-1908 period, The Navy League and The National Defense Society – together with the Ottoman Red Crescent (*Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*)- emerged as semi-official civil initiatives and extensions of the Ottoman public sphere.¹² Marginalizing other charitable associations, these three *menafii-i umumiye hadim* (Service for the Public Good)¹³ associations possessed a patriotic and later a nationalistic tone and paved the way for the militarization and nationalization of the public sphere.¹⁴ At a time of ongoing wars, intensified patriotism and civil mobilization, these associations attempted and to a larger degree managed to transform the material and spiritual energy of the Ottoman elite and the masses to the fronts.¹⁵ Thus, the abolishment of two of these organizations could be regarded as to obstruct the channels of translation and manufacturing of popular sentiments into "patriotism" and "nationalism."

¹¹ During its publishing life, the journal was printed under two names. For the first 129 issues the journal was titled as *Donanma* and then onwards as *Donanma Mecmuası*. For practical reasons I prefer to use the shorter version.

¹² Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşrutiyet: 1876-1914*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 260-269

¹³ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler, İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, Vol. I, (İstanbul, 1984), p. 449. *Donanma*, No:6, 6 August 1910, p.525.

¹⁴ Özbek, *Ibid*, p. 271.

¹⁵ Hüsnü Ada, *The First Ottoman Civil Society Organization in the Service of the Ottoman State: The Case of the Ottoman Red Crescent*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Istanbul, 2004), p. 9.

Dr. Reşid Bey, besides being a founding member of the CUP, was also an active member of the political and cultural organizations such as “Circassian Union and Solidarity Association,” “Northern Caucasus Association” and “The Committee of Free Caucasus.”¹⁶ Identifying himself as a “patriot” and a “nationalist”, he was most likely aware of the functionality and of the propagandist value of these associations in penetrating the public sphere and inciting civil mobilization. Therefore, as the Entente powers occupied different parts of the Empire and pressured the Ottoman government to close these associations down, his emphasis on “immorality” and “heedlessness” might have intended to refer to an abeyance in terms of “patriotism.”¹⁷ It could also be argued that Dr. Reşid Bey saw the abrogation of the CUP’s legal framework as a replaceable process. Once the crises were dealt with, it could re-establish itself as a political power. Thus, the closing down of the Navy League and the National Defense Society could have meant to cut down the CUP’s power basis and its major means of mobilizing the masses.

In this context, this chapter will try to elucidate the particular historical context through which *Donanma* rose up to be one of the most significant propaganda mediums on which the CUP headquarters resorted during the First World War. In order to serve this purpose, the chapter will be divided into three main parts. In the first part, the Navy League itself will be put under focus within the particular context of the Second Constitutional Period and the Ottoman public sphere. The second part will delve into *Donanma* as a publication and try to delineate its main characteristics within the framework of the League. The last part, on the other hand, will theoretically and historically try to assess the value and the role of the visual propaganda in penetrating the public sphere and transmitting the messages of the Leaguers.

¹⁶ Mehmetefendioğlu, *Ibid*, p. 10.

¹⁷ Selahittin Özçelik, *Donanma Cemiyeti*, (Published PhD Dissertation, Ankara, 1987), p.366.

I.1 The Navy League and the Ottoman Public Sphere

I.1.a Post-1908 Ottoman Public Sphere

Surrounded by a *sui generis* aura, the Constitutional Revolution of 1908 gave birth to a massive social rapture that rapidly translated itself into great expectations and immense hopes.¹⁸ As ecstatic crowds shrouded the streets of Istanbul, people rejoiced the advent of a new regime and regarded it as a panacea that would alleviate their distress and sufferings.¹⁹ Halide Edip, in her memoirs, reflected on the early days of the Revolution as follows:

“There was a sea of men and women all cockaded in red and white, flowing like a vast human tide from one side to the other. The tradition of the centuries seemed to have lost its effect. [...] Men and women in a common wave of enthusiasm moved on, radiating something extraordinary, laughing, weeping in such intense emotion that human deficiency and ugliness were for the time completely obliterated. [...] In three days the whole empire had caught the fever of ecstasy. [...] To the crowd the change in the clearest sense spelled the pulling down of a regime which meant oppression, corruption, and tyranny, while the new, whatever it was, spelled happiness and freedom. [...] The motley rabble, the lowest pariah, were going about in a sublime emotion, with tears running down their unwashed faces, the shopkeepers joining the procession without any concern for their goods. [...] It looked like the millennium. [...] In every street corner someone stood up on a chair or on the box of a carriage and made a speech to an admiring crowd.”²⁰

What Halide Edip resembled to the “millennium” was indeed the sprouting of a civic spirit among the Ottomans. A flood of newspapers and magazines accompanied the street orators on chairs and boxes, and in less than a year the number of the newspapers and journals culminated to 353.²¹ The free press was identified as the

¹⁸ Ahmet Emin [Yalman], *Turkey in the World War*, (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1930), p.41

¹⁹ Ibid, p.41

²⁰ Halide Edib Adivar, *Memoirs of Halidé Edib* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004), p.258-259

²¹ Until the end of the year 1918 this number raised to 918: 1908-1909 (353), 1910 (130), 1911 (124), 1912 (45), 1913 (92), 1914 (75), 1915 (6), 1916 (8), 1917 (14), 1918 (71). Hıfzı Topuz, *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*, (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2003), p.84.

symbol of the Revolution as opposed to the censorship in the Hamidian era.²² A similar burst was to be observed in the numbers of the volunteer organizations established in the following months of the revolution. Before the end of 1909, 153 new associations were founded.²³ The press hastily became a significant part of the expanding public sphere²⁴; whereas, the public associations rather than political parties started to shape and define the Second Constitutional Era.²⁵

Incited by the vibrant atmosphere of the revolution, people from all parts of the society started to question the fate of their state and sought solutions to improve its position with high self-confidence.²⁶ The ordinary people of the empire found themselves entangled within Juergen Habermas' definition of civil society, which had an institutional core formed by voluntary organizations that remained outside the sphere of the state and the economy. Thus, within the boundaries of a public sphere, the people transformed their self-assigned duty of saving the empire into the public opinion through the process of "people's public use of their reason."²⁷

The application of Habermas' conceptualization of civil society; however, needs further elaboration to be able to reflect the Ottoman case in general and the Navy League in particular. Nadir Özbek merges Habermas' triadic paradigm with the Gramscian notion of "hegemony" and formulates a non-conflictual state-society model that offers a more effective analytical framework suiting the Ottoman context. According to this model, the public-private sphere segmentation was rather blurred than

²² Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

²³ Whereas only 7 new associations were founded in 1907, within the five months following the Revolution 83 associations were established. In 1909' da 70 more were founded. Mehmet, Ö. Alkan, "İstanbul'da Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları 1856-1945: Toplumsal Örgütlenmenin Gelişimi", *Tanzimattan Günümüze İstanbul'da Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p.99.

²⁴ Kayalı, *Ibid.*

²⁵ Tunaya, *Ibid.*

²⁶ Tunaya, *Hürriyetin İlanı* (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1996), p. 1.

²⁷ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), p.26.

strictly defined, and this very particular aspect indeed facilitated the transformation of the policies of prevailing political factions into dominant and hegemonic ideologies.²⁸

A public sphere formulated by diverse, competing and conflicting publicities needs thus to be taken into account, as it alludes for the Constitutional period a prominent transformation in itself that paralleled the Revolution. The Unionist elite, as diverse as these publicities, was not indeed organically separate from them. Hence, for the CUP it was not a difficult task to position itself within the ecstatic aura of the Revolution and utilize it for the consolidation of its power within the public sphere. In this sense, charity (*fukaraperver*) organizations and semi-official associations founded by the adherents of the CUP played a key role in facilitating the consolidation of the Unionists' political hegemony. For the CUP, the penetration of the society on various points and diffusing its political influence turned out to be a feasible outcome. This, on the other hand, meant the hasty disenchantment of the Hamidian monarchical welfare system by restructuring it on an increasingly more bureaucratic basis.²⁹ The former system that aimed at forging the feeling of belonging and loyalty to a paternal family and its patriarch was to be replaced by one that sought to strengthen the idea of loyalty to the state and the homeland.³⁰

In this framework, the sequence of political traumas faced immediately after the Revolution and the wars that followed, triggered the accumulated social energy of the Ottomans and enabled the Unionist elite to mobilize and rally the masses under the themes of patriotism and militarism via voluntary organizations.³¹ Three semi-official *menafii-i umumiye hadim* institutions, The Navy League (*Osmanlı Donanma-yı İlane Cemiyeti*), the National Defense Society (*Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*)³² and the

²⁸ During the Hamidian era the Sultan's and the post-1908 period the CUP's.

²⁹ Özbek, *Ibid*, p.44

³⁰ *Ibid*.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.295-296, 306.

³² The National Defense Society was founded on 1 February 1913 in order to pursue a patriotic propaganda campaign during the Balkan War. The organization executed aid campaigns for the army as well as establishing voluntary troops. Also it formed a hospitals committee to aid the military health organization. Nazım H. Polat, *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*, (Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991), p.50-59.

Ottoman Red Crescent (*Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*)³³ managed to marginalize other voluntary institutions, channeled the material and spiritual energies of the public into action and translated the public self-fulfillment into mass campaigns. In return, this process resulted in the transmission of the public reasoning into militarism and patriotism, which simultaneously reshaped the public sphere alongside these lines.

I.1.b The Navy League (Osmanlı Donanma-yı İane Cemiyeti)

The initiation of the Navy League could be perceived as a direct public response to the ongoing social traumas. Already distressed with the inability of the navy during the Cretan Crisis of 1908,³⁴ the Ottoman public would further be concerned with the condition of the navy after the Naval Parade of 4 July 1909.³⁵

³³ Ottoman Red Crescent was established as a result on going attempt since 1868 to form an organization to help the wounded soldiers. Nonetheless, until 1908 a permanent organization could not be founded. Especially, Abdülhamid II was not sympathetic towards such a permanent organization and supported temporary committees instead. The organization could be launched on 21 April 1911 during the Second Constitutional Era. The organization defined itself as the civilian extension of the military health organization. Its main purpose was the total mobilization of the civilian population to support the military action. Thus, Ottoman involved in various activities such as helping the poor, people suffering from catastrophes, fighting against contagious diseases, establishing soup houses and provision of shelter and food to the immigrants. In this context, the organization marginalized other philanthropist associations and voluntary activities by extending its activity field and centralizing these services. Özbek, p.307-322. For more detailed information see also: Ada, Ibid. Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of Poor Relief in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1876-1914," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no: 21, (1999). Zuhul Özaydın, *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Salnamesi*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1987)

³⁴ In May 1908, Crete declared its union with Greece. It was the conclusion of an ongoing crisis that began on 1897 and ignited Greco-Turkish War of 1897. The Young Turk government of the Revolution could not do anything against the unification but protest. It was taken as a display of the military weakness, particularly of the navy, by the Ottoman public. Among various laments published by the press over the years, one from *Donanma* was as follows: "*Crete! My precious Crete! Our Crete! Until we will meet again; farewell to you momentarily. Now we are feeble and helpless; we are poor! Yet, surely, sons of the country will wake up and the country will be saved.*" Ahmed Hilmi, "Girit'e Selam", *Donanma*, no: 1, March 1910, p. 32.

³⁵ After the parade various articles and competitions took place to figure out a way to ameliorate the navy. Özçelik, Ibid, p.7.

The parade, organized to celebrate the first anniversary of the Revolution, was supposed to symbolize the unleashing of the Ottoman navy from the Golden Horn, where it was “trapped” by Abdülhamid II.³⁶ The dominant anti-Hamidian tone of the day prevailed upon the first reactions, and the liberation of the navy was contrasted with the Hamidian “despotism.” Hence, the initial excitement and the interest of the public over the parade emerged as a corollary of these feelings and shared by the press. One year later, the chief propagandist of the Navy League still referred to the parade as, “*A memorable day for the Ottomans. On this day, our navy makes a great parade... Freed from an alongated despotism it has reached to the dawn of felicity and now sails with the wind of liberty.*”³⁷

Nonetheless, a simultaneous disappointment with the condition of the navy was already felt by the public and explicitly pronounced by the press.³⁸ The article by Hüseyin Cahid published on July 5, 1909, voiced this concern as well.³⁹ He regarded the event as an official induction of the navy rather than a ceremony and added: “*If we do not want to delude ourselves we should confess that we will start to form the basis of our navy from now on; we will have a navy henceforth that is harmonious in itself, congruent to the current needs, and proportional to the requirements of the country.*”⁴⁰

³⁶ In the post-1908 period, Abdülhamid II has been associated with the deterioration of the navy. He was identified with a great fear of the navy that it might dethrone him. Although this aspect might have been overplayed, it was by and large true that the navy was downsized during his reign. His preference to cut down the military expenses caused in return to lag behind in the armament race on the Mediterranean. Mehmet Beşikçi, *The Organized Mobilization of the Popular Sentiments: The Navy League, 1909-1919*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1999), p.13.

³⁷ “Osmanlılar için unutulmaz bir gün. O gün donanmamız büyük bir resmi geçit yapıyor...Medid bir delil-i istibdattan kurtulup subh-ı sa’adete eren donanmamız nesim-ı hürriyet içinde cevelan ediyor....” Dr. Fazıl Berki, “Donanma Cemiyeti Nasıl Doğdu ve Nasıl Büyüyor?”, *Donanma*, No: 1, March 1326/1910, p.11.

³⁸ Özçelik, *Ibid*, p.7. Hüsnü Kınaylı, “Donanma Cemiyeti”, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. IX, (İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1968), p.4966.

³⁹ Hüseyin Cahid was the chief editor of the Unionist daily newspaper *Tanin*.

⁴⁰ “Dünkü merasim Osmanlı donanmasının bir resmi geçidi değil, bir resmi küşadı idi... Kendimizi aldatmak istemezsek itiraf etmeliyiz ki biz bahriyemizin esasını bundan sonar kuracağız; mütecanis, ihtiyacatı hazıra ile mütenasib, memleketimizin icabatına muvafık donanmaya bundan sonar sahip olacağız.” Hüseyin Cahid, “Donanmamız,” *Tanin*, 5 July 1909/22 June 1325, cited in Beşikçi, *ibid*, .15.

In the same article, he proposed several solutions to ameliorate the condition of the navy, including the launching of a semi-official organization.

Apparently, Hüseyin Cahid's article matched the public concerns on the topic. On 10 July 1909, Dr. Hafız İbrahim, Dr. Petraki Papadopoulos, Dr. İsmail Hakkı and chief engineer Haşım Bey initiated an extensive campaign to form an association and invited reputable merchants, clerical authorities, executives of the press, municipal staff, representatives of legal clubs and associations to join.⁴¹ The initiative resulted in the establishment of the Navy League on 19 July 1909. Yağcızade Şefik Bey was voted as the president of the League at the same day and headed the League until it was abolished on 2 April 1909. The League was also granted the protectorate of the Sultan.⁴²

The constitution of the League, signed on 4 November 1909, defined the *raison d'être* of the organization as to form a naval force that would be capable of meeting the empire's needs in restoring its position among the great powers. Thus, the League rendered itself responsible for utilizing every moral and material means as long as they were legitimate.⁴³

The organization indeed complied with this principle and engaged in a wide variety of economical activities. The range and diversity of the League's enterprises was quite impressive. On the one hand, it managed a quicksilver mine in İzmir and on the other a theater hall in Istanbul.⁴⁴ Other activities included sale of matches, cigarette

⁴¹ Beşikçi, Ibid. p.17

⁴² Beşikçi, Ibid, p.18.

⁴³ “Donanma-yı Osmani Muavenet-i Milliye Cemiyeti Osmanlı Devleti'nin düvel-i mu'azzama arasındaki mevkiini muhafaza ve menafi'-ı umumiyyeyi ve münasebat-ı ticariyesini te'min için ihtiyacatımızla mütenasib bir kuvve-i bahriye vücuda getirmek maksadıyla teşekküş etmiştir. Ve bu maksada vüsul için maddi ve ma'nevi lazım gelen tedabir ve vesa'it-i meşru'aya müraca'atla mükelleftir.” *Donanma-yı Osmani Muavenet-i Milliye Cemiyeti Nizamname-i Esasisi ve Usul-i Cibayet Talimatnamesi* (Dersaadet: Edeb Matbaası, 1911), cited in Beşikçi, Ibid, p. 19.

During the Republican Era, the naval parade of 1909 was regarded in a much more acerbic tone than the day. One common description was “the tragic parade of the musty ships”. Kınaylı, Ibid, p.4697

⁴⁴ Millet Tiyatrosu. Özçelik, Ibid.

papers, postcards, flags; running a “Seyr-ü Sefain”⁴⁵ company, management of navy fields, organizing sports events, gathering of animal skins⁴⁶ and filming military exercises to display at schools and theaters.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, for the entire ten years of the League, all these activities equaled only to 32 per cent of its total income of 3.517.436 Ottoman Liras (OL).⁴⁸ The remaining 68 per cent was generated by donations.

Right from its establishment, the League had to thus reach to a maximum number of people first and then to convince them to donate. In return, this meant a wide structural network and an effective means of propaganda to succeed. Inclusion of all sections of the Ottoman public, regardless of ethnic, religious, professional and regional differences, was essential, and everyone donating 1 *guruş* (piaster)⁴⁹ during a year was welcomed.⁵⁰ As an Ottoman non-Muslim and one of the founding members of the League, Dr. Petraki Papadapulo dealt with this point in the first issue of *Donanma* as follows:

“This nation consists of thirty million individuals. Within this thirty million, I cannot imagine anyone that would not want to contribute to the advancement of his nation and homeland. Hence, we should address to this thirty million. Yes, we should reach to the whole, to the old, the young and the children, to men and

⁴⁵ Maritime transportation company

⁴⁶ It would be interesting to note that this practice continues today as an indirect legacy of the Navy League. The confiscated properties of the League were transferred later to the Turkish Aviation Society (*Türk Tayyare Cemiyeti*). During the Republican Era, the organization was renamed to Turkish Aviation Institution (*Türk Hava Kurumu*). The latter organization is officially entitled to gather animal skins as a form of donation today.

⁴⁷ Özçelik, Ibid, p.218.

⁴⁸ In this sense it could be regarded as a medium scale company.

⁴⁹ Until 1914, non-Muslims were an essential part of the Navy League’s structure. Besides being donators, they were also active members of the organization. A considerable number of the branches included non-Muslim members. It was not uncommon for a branch to have more non-Muslim members than Muslims in their executive committees. In this regard, it is worth to note that only 6 out of 23 members of the Merchant Commission of the League’s Central Executive Committee were from Turkish origins. Monsieur Sadof, the head of the Ottoman Bank’s Istanbul branch, chaired this commission. Beşikçi, Ibid, p.19.

⁵⁰ Beşikçi, Ibid.

women, to the Turk, Arab, Albanian and Bulgarian, to the porter, to the peasant and to the urban.”⁵¹

With the backing of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs and local administrations, the League spread its organizational network quite fast. In its first year, the organization achieved to establish 122 branches, and at the end of June 1910, the number of the League’s members just in Istanbul reached to 36.000.⁵² The effectiveness and largeness of its network became so well known that it was publicly praised and appreciated by other newly sprouting organizations.⁵³ Soon, the empire-wide organization of the League was to become an international one. Within a few years of time, the organization’s branches spread from Argentina to Java Islands and from Edinburgh to South Africa. The main goal of these branches was to incite the non-Ottoman Muslims to donate. To a limited extend, the League’s campaigns abroad succeeded to attract non-Muslim donations as well.⁵⁴

The Leaguers perceived the Muslims of India and Indian China as potentially wealthy and generous donators. Thus, the abroad campaigns of the organization focused particularly on them and missions were dispatched to India as early as November 1909.⁵⁵ First Ali Asgar Bey and then Muhammed Abdurrahman Han of Haydarabad, took decisive roles in these campaigns. Although both of them managed to create a high degree of social sensitivity and to initiate widespread donation activities, the amount of the financial support came from these regions never met the Leaguers’ expectancies.⁵⁶

⁵¹ “Bu millet otuz milyon efraddan teşekküldür. Bu otuz milyon içerisinde hiçbir ferd tasavvur edemem ki milletin, vatanının te’alisini arzu etmesin. İşte biz bu otuz milyona müraca’at etmeliyiz. Evet biz bu otuz milyonun kaffesine, ihtiyarına, gencine, çocuğuna, erkeğine, kadınına, Türk’üne, Arap’ına, Arnavut’una, Bulgar’ına, hamalına, köylüsüne, şehirlisine müraca’at etmeliyiz.” Petraki Papadapulo, “İlk Hatve,” *Donanma*, No: 1, March 1326/1910, p.6-7.

⁵² Özçelik, *Ibid*, p. 134.

⁵³ One example was the Turkish Hearths which stated that they should become as large as the Navy League. Beşikçi, *Ibid*, p.21.

⁵⁴ Özçelik, *Ibid*, p.192-198.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 59-61

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 277.

On the other hand, the establishment of a wide structural network provided a feasible infrastructure for a massive propaganda campaign that would gain the voluntary support of the people. In return, this would guarantee the continuous flow of donations. The campaign within the empire sought to realize this goal by addressing at the patriotic feelings of the people and to manufacture them if needed. A fundamental part of this effort included the explanation of a dire need for a navy that would serve to the people's own well being. The manipulation of the anxiety of disintegration accompanied these efforts. In this framework, the League's propaganda employed Ottomanism (until the end of the Balkan Wars) and Pan-Islamism as uniting discourses. Indeed, the latter one constituted the core of the campaigns abroad. Pan-Turkism only made a limited appeal up until the beginning of the First World War.

Over a short time, the League's efforts turned out to be a unique campaign and exceeded the sole purpose of obtaining donations. The organization increasingly aimed at inciting people to get rid of social inactivity and to display to the whole world that they could make a collective effort towards the patriotic ends. Thus, gradually expanding its institutional network and its appeal to the people, the League established itself as an effective channel within the Ottoman public sphere and contributed to the expansion of it.⁵⁷ In return, this blurred the segregation between the state and the society further and emerged a political context that rendered state-society distinction irrelevant.⁵⁸ As the First World War drew nearer, the League and the state forged closer ties. The semi-official character of the League became more intense, and the League nearly became a branch of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs. The CUP; thus, found a very powerful means through which it tried to mobilize the Ottomans materially and spiritually for the ends of a total war that would start in 1914.

⁵⁷ Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet*, p. 303-304.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

I.2 “Donanma”: A Printed Campaign

During the Second Constitutional Era, printing posed an essential medium to diffuse ideas and affect the public opinion. Books, handbills, leaflets, posters, journals and newspapers were extensively used to manipulate popular sentiments and stimulate popular action.⁵⁹ Pursuing a massive popular campaign, the Navy League utilized these means right from the beginning.⁶⁰ In less than a year after its establishment, the League launched its own journal *Donanma* in March 1910. The League, already having set up an extensive structural network, faced little difficulty in distributing its journal and making it accessible to a large number of people.

Donanma reached a considerable circulation as by its first issues. The first two issues sold ten thousand copies in a very short time. Due to popular demand, it needed to publish five thousand copies more.⁶¹ In comparison to two popular newspapers, *Tanin* and *Sabah*, these numbers are remarkable. The circulation of *Tanin* was estimated to be around 7.000 in 1909, and *Sabah* reached to a maximum of 15.000 right before the First World War.⁶² Although *Donanma*, as other publications kept its circulation numbers secret, it is estimated that it retained a constant readership level.⁶³ The journal frequently referred to a “popular demand” and “pressure from the readers.”⁶⁴

On the other hand, it is also worth to note that the sale of the journal was not limited to the Ottoman territories. Through the League’s international branches,

⁵⁹ Beşikçi, *Ibid*, p.30

⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

⁶¹ *Donanma*, no: 5, July 1910, p.527, 537-538

⁶² Kemal H. Karpat, “Traditionalist Elite Philosophy and the Modern Mass Media”, *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p.268. Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye’de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (İstanbul: Literatür, 2000), p.96.

⁶³ Beşikçi, *Ibid*, p.32.

⁶⁴ *Donanma*, no: 5, July 1910, p.537-538. *Donanma*, no.129, 23 July 1917, p.1274.

Donanma reached to a wider audience.⁶⁵ Significant numbers of readers from quite different parts of the world, such as Germany, Crete, Egypt and Romania, subscribed to the journal.⁶⁶ The stock market of Bern specifically demanded *Donanma* for its library.⁶⁷ In this sense, *Donanma* emerged as an important medium that had a domestic and international appeal and a potential to diffuse the Leaguers' messages.

A quick look at the Navy League's budget would be helpful to assess what *Donanma* meant for the League. For its entire publishing life, the expenditure done for the journal was 1.232.293,15 *guruş*s and the income recorded by the sale of *Donanma* equaled to 888.726,07 *guruş*s.⁶⁸ This basically refers to a loss of 343.567,08 *guruş*s. In other words, the loss made by the journal worth slightly more than one transportation ship. On the other hand, if the Leaguers have not had invested any money on *Donanma*, they could have bought four transportation ships instead. At a time when each of these vessels counted, and the lack of them felt deeply as in the Tripolitian War, the Leaguers could not have ignored such a loss.⁶⁹

The financial reports of the League indicate that each issue of *Donanma* cost 50-60 *para*, whereas the journal was sold for 40 *para* right until the end of the World War I.⁷⁰ Considering that the Leaguers occasionally had to rely on imported paper to publish *Donanma*, their insistence on keeping the journal at 40 *para* becomes more striking. It is also worth to note that *Servet-i Fünun*, another popular journal of comparable quality at the time, was sold at 100 *para*.⁷¹

Thus, the Leaguers should have obviously seen the loss made by the journal as a form of investment and regarded the journal as a propaganda channel worth of spending their hardly earned *guruş*s. As *Donanma* defined its goal to record, publish and facilitate the efforts of the League, the specific emphasis on "facilitating" implied that *Donanma* was never a naval journal only.

⁶⁵ Özçelik , p.380

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Beşikçi, Ibid, p. 32.

⁷⁰ Özçelik, Ibid, p.284.

⁷¹ Ibid.

I.2.a General Characteristics of “Donanma”

Donanma published 192 issues between March 1910 and March 1919. From the first issue until the 47th-48th on January 1914, it had been a monthly journal.⁷² After six months break, it was transformed into a weekly magazine. The last five issues of the journal appeared again on a monthly basis. The shift from a monthly periodical to a weekly one also marked a watershed in terms of the journal’s publishing policies. For the former period, the journal had a more literary and historical character as opposed to a newsreel for the latter.⁷³

The change corresponded to the beginning of the World War I, and the journal tried to keep up with the rapidly altering political situation inside and outside the Empire. Parallel to the intertwining of the League with the state mechanism, *Donanma* transformed itself into a propaganda tool of the CUP for the following period. Its mission of manipulating the public opinion for the navy campaign was turned into arousing public support for the ends of a total war and the party that executed it.

Besides its high accessibility and relatively cheap price, *Donanma*’s popularity was also largely due to its illustrated character. As an extension of an organization that aimed to mobilize the totality of the population, the journal’s goal was to attract as much people as possible. Thus, accessing to a loosely defined and largely illiterate audience could not solely be achieved by the written word. In order to overcome this problem, as well as raising its appeal, *Donanma* utilized visual materials intensively to attract and convince its readers. During the wartime, the weekly issues applied to visuals more often than the earlier period in parallel to its new character. To optimize the utility of the visuals, the journal also changed its size. From the 49th issue onwards, *Donanma* was printed on newspaper size paper of 25 cm to 36 cm instead of a magazine

⁷² This was a bundled issue. *Donanma*, no: 47-48, January 1913.

⁷³ Kınaylı, Ibid, p.4698.

size paper of 17cm to 23 cm.⁷⁴ This aspect of the journal will further be discussed in the next part of this chapter.

The volume of the journal ranged from 65 pages to 110 pages for the first 48 issues and then 16 to 30 pages until the last issue. It had an outer front cover, an inner front cover and a back cover. The outer front cover of *Donanma* did not change much over time. The first issues of the journal had an illustration of a ship and a plane with Turkish flags on them. From 40th issue onwards, this was replaced by the picture of Ottoman people from all sections of the society welcoming a battleship with a plane flying over it. The inner front cover differed in each issue, and for the most of the time reflected the agenda of that month or week, if it was not reserved for a generous donator.⁷⁵ The back cover was reserved for the advertisements and announcements.

Between its 128th issue on 10 February 1916 and 129th issue on 23 July 1917, *Donanma* was inactive for 28 months. Although the journal did not make an announcement about ceasing its publication, the 129th issue stated that they began their publishing life again.⁷⁶ The journal addressed at the shortage of paper as the reason behind this long break, and stated that it will ardently continue to serve:

“After a long and obligatory break, *Donanma Mecmuası* starts its service for the homeland again. Exposed to the increasing demand of the reverend nation, the journal managed to overcome the shortage of paper and took over its duty taking the national holiday as a fortunate sign.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Putting the photograph of the most generous donator of the month was a common practice for the Leaguers to incite the rich Ottomans to donate. However, after the earlier issues, this method was gradually abandoned, and after the journal turned into a newsreel never used.

⁷⁶ *Donanma*, no: 129, 23 July 1917. It would be also interesting to note that Server İskit mentioned *Donanma* among the new publications of the year 1917. Server R İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat Rejimleri* (İstanbul: ülkü matbaası, 1939), p.110.

⁷⁷ “İztırârî ve medîd bir vakfeden sonra “Donanma” mecmuası yine hizmet-i vataniyesine başlıyor. Muhterem milletin mütezayîd bir rağbetine mazhar olan “mecmua” ta’tîl-i ihtiyarîye sebep olan kağıtsızlık ma’nisini son günlerde izâle edebilmiş ve millet bayramını fâl-i hayr bilerek işe başlamıştır.” *Donanma*, “Muhterem Millete”, *Donanma*, no:129, 23 July 1917, p.1274.

The varying quality of the journal's paper also indicated that the Leaguers quite often experienced this kind of a crisis. Instead of white paper, *Donanma* was printed on yellow or pink paper as well.

Over its publishing life, different presses printed *Donanma*. For the first 21 issues, Matbaa-1 Hayriyye, Matbaa-1 Ahmed İhsan, Sırat-1 Müstakim and Matbaa-1 Osmani printed the journal, varying from one issue to another.⁷⁸ Between 22 and 129 issues, *Donanma* worked with Matbaa-1 Hayriyye and then with Matbaa-1 Ahmed İhsan and Ayyıldız Matbaası.

The journal had its own executive commission under the CEC of the Navy League, the function of which did not exceed administrative duties.⁷⁹ Although, it is known that Midhat Cemal [Kuntay] was assigned as *Donanma*'s editor from February 1913 onwards, the data for the prior period is ambiguous.⁸⁰ Thus, it could only be speculated that Dr. Fazıl Berki Bey⁸¹ or Ali Şükrü Bey⁸² were responsible for publishing *Donanma* for the earlier period.

⁷⁸ Selahattin Özçelik referred to two different agreements with printing houses. One was signed Matbaa-1 Osmani on 28 October 1911 and the other on 16 March 1912 with Matbaa-1 Hayriyye. The latter agreement seems to have been much more consistent, as following 107 issues of the journal was printed by Matbaa-1 Hayriyye. Özçelik, *Ibid*, p. 280.

⁷⁹ Some of the League' incumbents that worked for this commission and their monthly saaries were as follows:

Kemal Bey (Director and chief accountant) 400 *kuruş*
Suphi Bey (Sales and subscription incumbent) 600 *kuruş*
Mehmet Efendi (Post office incumbent) 300 *kuruş*
Asım Efendi (Caretaker) 250 *kuruş*
Mürsel Efendi (Caretaker) 250 *kuruş*
Haparsom Efendi (Caretaker) 250 *kuruş*
Süleyman Efendi (Caretaker) 259 *kuruş* Özçelik, p. 346.

⁸⁰ It is also unknown for how long Mithad Cemal [Kuntay] retained this position.

⁸¹ Dr. Fazıl Berki, apparently a doctor as the founding members of the League, represented a typical public activist profile coming from Ottoman schools of natural sciences, the students and graduates of which had been the most active element in social movements and the revolutionary ideas in the Ottoman Empire. After joining the Navy League as early as 1909, he quickly became the chief of propaganda of the League and became the voice that spoke about the goals, the campaigns and the achievements of the League via *Donanma* and other written channels in order to substantiate the Navy League as a popular association. This particular aspect is quite important since most of the articles or announcements on the deeds of the League were signed by the journal's

I.2.b An Overview of “Donanma”’s Textual Content

Donanma defined itself as an “illustrated, moral, literary, historical, scientific”⁸³ periodical that belonged to the nation. Therefore, it embodied a simply written and wide textual content, which was designed to appeal to every strata of the society. The range of its substance varied from talks with peasants to naval technology and from international relations to literature and sports. In this context, the journal possessed a dynamic and varying writers cadre instead of a constant one. The contributors included popular and influential pens of the time, and young writers were also encouraged to participate (see Table-1). All of the writers of *Donanma* took part on a volunteer basis and without any financial demand.

Name of the Author:	Appearances:	Name of the Author:	Ap..
Ali Rıza Seyfi	122	Ebu’f-Fuad Refik	14
Abidin Daver	83	Ferid Vecdi	13
Ali Şükrü	41	Haşim Nahid	13
Hüseyin Kazım Kadri	38	Kazım Nami [Duru]	13
Ali Fahri	34	Hakkı Tarık [Us]	12

own name “Donanma”, whereas, Dr. Fazıl Berki Bey openly put his name under such articles on different occasions. Considering the regulation of the Navy League that members of the CEC could not take part in other commissions of the League, including *Donanma*, it would be meaningful to note that he was absent from the CEC only for the period of 1910-1911, for the entire ten years of the League’s existence. Thus, for the initial period of the journal, Dr. Fazıl Berki Bey emerges as a very proper candidate for the editorship of the journal.

⁸² Ali Şükrü, on the other hand, appeared as another important propagandist of the League, who engaged in written polemics on the campaigns of the Navy League and tried to dissolve public suspicions about the necessity of contributing to the navy, mainly through *Donanma* and substantiated himself as the vanguard of the League in the public eye.⁸² He carried this stance even outside the boundaries of the empire and tried to influence the British public opinion on the Italian invasion of Tripoli. Taking this background into account together with the fact that his name has been offered for the editorial post in the general meeting of the CEC on 25 October 1913, Ali Şükrü could be treated as a second possible candidate for the editorial post, prior to Midhat Cemal.⁸²

⁸³ *Donanma*, no. 1, March 1910, inner cover.

Necmeddin Sahir	29	Safvet Nezihi	12
Mahmud Muin	26	Ömer Seyfeddin	11
Ahmed Rasim	25	Şahabeddin Süleyman	10
Ahmed Kemal	24	Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad	10
Ahmed Vahid	24	Ali Canip [Yöntem]	9
Salime Servet Seyfi	24	Aka Gündüz	9
Mithad Cemal [Kuntay]	19	Süleyman Nutkî	9
Halid Fahri [Ozansoy]	18	Dr. Fazıl Berki	7
Ali Haydar Emir	16	Enis Behiç [Koryürek]	5
Cenab Şahabeddin	18	Nezihe Muhlis	5

Table-1: The list of authors with the most appearances

The textual content of *Donanma* could roughly be grouped under five major headings: i. News stories ii. Articles iii. Literary pieces iv. Sports and v. Announcements and advertisements.

I.2.b.i News Stories

The shift in the character of *Donanma* could be traced in the bursting numbers of the exclusive news stories. During the first four years of the journal, texts that could be treated under this heading did not exceed 35, and 11 of them were simple reports on the general meetings of the Navy League. From the 49th issue onwards⁸⁴, for the rest of the five years, there were 95 exclusive news stories, which were accompanied by many smaller ones. This was indeed an outcome of the World War I and its wide coverage by *Donanma*. In this sense, *Donanma* appeared as a “war magazine” rather than a “naval journal.”

Throughout the war, the journal depicted the Entente powers in a weak position and always on the losing side. As opposed to that, it provided an extensive German propaganda and overstated the successes of the Central powers.⁸⁵ The declaration of the

⁸⁴ *Donanma*, no:29, July 1912.

⁸⁵ Beşikçi Ibid. p. 33

“Cihad-ı Ekber”⁸⁶ on 14 October 1914 and its perception by the Muslims were strongly emphasized and represented in a way that it was welcomed with great excitement.⁸⁷ The invasion of Britain by the Germans was also a frequently used theme as in “The British Fear of Invasion”⁸⁸ or “The Bombardment.”⁸⁹ The Ottoman armies on the fronts received a special attention. Abidin Daver, for 37 issues between 29 April 1915 and 10 February 1916, appeared as a war reporter and tried to inform the readers on Ottoman fronts. The Gallipoli Wars received a special coverage in these narratives, whereas the deeds of the torpedo boat “Muavenet-i Milliye” or the sea mines were epitomized, which were indeed bought by the League.⁹⁰

I.2.b.ii. Articles

Donanma, throughout its printing life, published articles on various topics. The quantitative balance among the articles shifted in relation to the socio-political context. First World War particularly played a determinant role on the types of the articles as well as their content. According to their substance, *Donanma*’s articles could be divided into nine subgroups: Military articles, scientific articles, historical articles, social and political articles; articles on economy, women, pedagogy, morality and peasants.

I.2.b.ii.A. Military and Scientific Articles

In terms of their content, military articles could be separated into two periods. Up until the beginning of the World War I, the main emphasis had been put on the battleships of the future, the weakness of the Ottoman navy during the Balkan Wars and

⁸⁶ The Great Jihad

⁸⁷ “Arabistan Cihad’ı Nasıl Karşıladi?”, *Donanma* no:79, 25 January 1915, p. 465.

⁸⁸ Arif Cemal, “İngilizler’de İstila Korkusu”, *Donanma*, no: 79, p. 488-490. (Referring to the British newspapers, the news told that the British were anxious and were in dire need of soldiers to dispatch to the fronts.)

⁸⁹ Anonymous, “Bombardıman”, *Donanma*. no: 85, 15 March 1915, p. 577. (This particular news told that, although the Entente powers were losing both on the fronts and on politics, they insisted on bombarding the Dardanaelles.)

⁹⁰ Abidin Daver, “Muavenet-i Milliye’nin Gazası”, no:158-159, 18 March 1918, p. 1761-1763.

the Tripolitian War.⁹¹ Most of the articles of this period used the Greek Navy as a reference point for its stronger position vis-à-vis the Ottoman Navy.⁹²

With the outbreak of the World War I, military articles started to deal also with in depth analyses of the prominent naval forces of the day.⁹³ However, the constant

⁹¹ Some examples of these kind of articles can be listed as follows:

Ali Fahri, “Nasıl Gitmişler”, *Donanma*, no: 53, 27 July 1914, p. 69-70. (On how the Italians managed to go Tripoli without any interference. This article was a series and continued to be published after the Ottoman Empire’s entry into the World War I)

Ali Kâmi, “Sedefde Pırlanta”, *Donanma*, no: 36, February 1912, p. 539-543. (On the surprise attack of the Italians and that the Ottoman navy was 24 hours away from the African shores.)

Ali Rıza Seyfi, “Trablus Donanmasızlıktan Yanıyor”, *Donanma*, no: 17, July 1911, p. 1528-1541.

Ali Rıza Seyfi, “Tarihi Müşebâhatlar”, *Donanma*, no: 34-35, December 1911-January 1912, p. 499-509. (On the reasons of the Ottoman losses during the Italian and Balkan Wars)

Ali Haydar Emir, “Donanmasızlık”, *Donanma*, no: 43-44, September-November 1913, p. 868-878. (On the weakness of the Ottoman navy and its effect on the fate of the empire)

Mustafa Kemal, “Müstâkbel Zırhlılar Nasıl Olacak?”, *Donanma*, no: 8, November 1910, p. 690-695.

Mehmed Rauf, “En Yeni ve En Son Zırhlılar”, *Donanma*, no: 19, September 1911, p. 1756-1760.

Yunus Nadi [Abalıoğlu], “Hâdisât- Cârîyye Karşısında Hasbihâl” , *Donanma*, no: 31, September 1912, p. 295-299. (On the first Balkan War and the role of the Ottoman Navy in it)

⁹² İsmet, “Zenginlerimize,” *Donanma*, no:8, October 1910, pp.684-685.

⁹³ Some important examples can be given as:

Abidin Daver, “İngiltere Muhasara Edebiliyor mu?”, *Donanma*, no: 81, 15 February 1915, p. 519-523. (About the surrendering of the British navy by German ships)

Ahmed, “Baltık Denizi’nde Rus Müdafaası’nın Esasları”, *Donanma*, no: 15, 3 January 1918, outer front cover.

Ahmed, “Fransa’nın Sakit Donanması”, *Donanma*, no: 133, 23 August 1917, p. 1345-1347. (The condition of the French navy during the war and the German naval assault on French shores.)

Ahmed, “İtalyan Donanması”, *Donanma*, no: 134, 30 August 1917, p. 1360-1361. (A review on the Italian navy since the beginning of the war)

Ahmed, “Düvel Müttehide-i Amerika Donanması”, *Donanma*, no: 139, 4 October 1917, p. 1440-1441. (About the new navy building program of the USA and its support to the Entente powers)

emphasis on the “Greek threat” never disappeared from the content of the journal.⁹⁴ The situation of the Ottoman army and navy was watched closely. In this regard, the language of the articles became more optimistic and encouraging for the duration of the World War I. The journal ceased to refer to the vulnerability of the Ottoman navy, and instead put strong emphasis on the bravery and the strength of the Ottoman soldiers.⁹⁵ The Gallipoli Wars were reserved a special place. All the regarding articles overwhelmingly addressed at the incapability of the Entente powers to penetrate the Dardanelles and at their losses.⁹⁶

The Central powers and Germany in particular, were praised and represented as invincible vis-à-vis the Entente forces. The journal reserved considerable space for these articles and identified Ottomans with those victories as well.⁹⁷ The Battle of

Ahmed, “Düşmanların Sefâin-i Harbiye Zayıyatı 1.000.000 Ton”, *Donanma*, no: 160, 4 April 1918, p. 1779-1782. (An analysis on the destroyed Entente ships)

Anonymous, “Japon Donanması”, *Donanma*, no: 139, 4 October 1917, p. 1441-1442 (On the new Japanese naval program)

Anonymous, “Bahr-i Sefid’de”, *Donanma*, no: 69, 22 November 1914, p. 328-330 (On the military strength of Germany, Austria and France)

Anonymous, “Alman Donanması”, no: 169, 13 Haziran 1918, p. 1931-1932. (Accounts on the last 15 years of the German navy)

⁹⁴ As an example:

Ahmed, “Yunan Ticaret Donanması ve Sûret-i Tekâmülü”, *Donanma*, no: 143, 1 November 1917, p. 1507-1509. (About the condition of the Greek navy during the World War I)

⁹⁵ Ali Rıza Seyfi, “Yiğitlik Meşaleleri”, *Donanma*, no: 185, 13 October 1918, p. 2176-2179. (On how brave and self-sacrificing were the Ottoman soldiers on the seas and on the land)

Anonymous, “Türk Neferinin Nasıyesi”, *Donanma*, no: 27 September 1917, p. 1427.

⁹⁶ Some articles on this aspect:

Anonymous, “Zafer ve Harekât-ı Mezbuhan”, *Donanma*, no: 82, 22 February 1915, p. 529. (About the British defeat and the bombardment of a slaughterhouse by the British ships)

Anonymous, “Çanakkale Bombardımanı”, *Donanma*, no: 83, 29 Şubat 1915, p. p. 545. (On the inconclusive bombardment of Gallipoli)

Anonymous, “İkinci Çanakkale Muzafferiyeti”, *Donanma*, no: 91, 29 April 1915, p. 673. (On the defeat of landing Entente powers. Talks about the humiliation of the Entente soldiers.)

⁹⁷ Von Mavki, “Eamden’in Menâkıbı”, *Donanma*, no: 172-187, 4 July 1918-24 October 1918. (A series of articles, translated by Ali Haydar Emin from the original

Jutland posed a great example to this. Fought between British and German fleets on 31-1 June 1916, the battle was regarded with high esteem and referred as a remarkable German victory, although the outcome of the war was inconclusive for both sides.⁹⁸

The fascination and curiosity about the new warfare technologies became prominent themes of the military articles as well as the scientific articles. Besides dreadnoughts, which were hailed as swimming castles, zeppelins, warplanes and submarines were put under a closer look.⁹⁹ Anything and everything about these war devices tried to be explained to the public in a simple language.

Submarines and dreadnoughts were at the center of the military and scientific articles. Military articles discussed their effectiveness and importance in the war strategies, whereas scientific articles focused more on their functioning.¹⁰⁰ The new

article German by the second captain of the German ship Eamden. This ship was known with its pirate attacks on the Entente ships in the open seas, throughout the war)

Anonymous, “Muharebe ve Alman Metanet-i Ahlkaiyesi”, *Donanma*, no: 92-93, 2 May 1915-13 May 1915. (On the dignity, resilience and bravery of the German soldiers in the War)

Yekta Bahir, “Alman Bahriye Topları”, *Donanma*, no: 96, 20 May 1915, p. 729-730. (On the efficiency of the German artillery)

⁹⁸ Abidin Daver, “İskajerak Muharebesi”, *Donanma*, no: 135-156. (A series of articles on the analysis of the Battle of Jutland, which was regarded as the greatest naval battle of the time. Daver argued that the “proud” German navy instead of the British navy despite its superior number won the war)

⁹⁹ M.B İdris, “Zeplinler”, *Donanma*, no: 80, 8 February 1915, p. 508-510. (About Zeppelins their functions and importance in terms of war strategies.)

M.B İdris, “Saç Teyyareler”, no: 84, 8 March 1915, p. 573-574. (On hydroplanes and their impact)

¹⁰⁰ Examples for military articles on this aspect:

Abidin Daver, “Alman Tahtelbahirleri”, *Donanma*, no: 68-69, 16 October-22 October 1914. (Underlined the effectiveness of the German submarines vis-à-vis the Entente powers, and shifted the balance in the naval force towards Germany)

Abidin Daver, “Tatelbahirler Düşmana Aman Dedirtebilecekler mi?”, *Donanma*, no: 129, 23 July 1917, p.1284-1286. (About the abilities of the submarines)

Anonymous, “Tahtelbahir mi Zırhlı mı?”, *Donanma*, no: 52, 20 July 1914, p. 63-64. (A comparison between battleships and submarines)

S.B, “Drednought Müsabakası”, *Donanma*, no: 54, 3 August 1914, p. 90-91. (On the significance of dreadnoughts determining the power of a navy and the competition among the European powers to possess more dreadnoughts than others)

Ottoman dreadnought “Yavuz”, former Goeben, was regarded particularly as the “star” of the Ottoman navy and represented as a source of proud.¹⁰¹

I.2.b.ii.B Historical Articles

The dominant theme of this category had overwhelmingly been the narrative of the Ottoman naval victories and the heroes of the seas. In this sense, the battles of Preveza, Djerba and Lepanto appeared as constant subjects and the names of Barbaros Hayreddin, Turgut Reis and Oruç Reis were frequently used.¹⁰² Considering this on the one hand, and the constant search for a golden past for the Ottoman navy on the other, most of the writers addressed at the 16th century as the heyday of the Ottomans on the sea.¹⁰³ The conquest of Istanbul and the deeds of Mehmed II were also constantly

Tevfik, “Tahtelbahirler”, *Donanma*, no: 149, 26 December 1918, p. 1603-1604, no: 151, 17 January 1918, p. 1636-1637. (On increasing importance of submarines in the war and their development)

Some of the scientific articles regarding this theme:

Abidin Daver, “Tahtelbahirler Mağlub Edilebilir mi?”, *Donanma*, no: 130, 15 August 1917. (Explains how to deal with the submarines and pinpoints methods to defeat them.)

E. Naci, “Bir Drednot Nasıl İnşa Edilir?”, *Donanma*, no: 37, March 1913, p. 590-599. (Elaborates on how a dreadnoughts were built and technical details of them)

¹⁰¹ Tahsin Nuri, “Yavuz’un Karadeniz Seferlerinden”, *Donanma*, no: 175, 25 July 1918, p.2023-2028. (On the “victories” of Yavuz in the Black Sea)

Anonymous, “Yavuz ve Midilli’nin Menâkıbı”, no: 162-163, 18 April 1918-25 April 1918. (An account of Yavuz and Midilli during their services for the Ottoman navy)

¹⁰² A.R., “İnebahtı Muharebesi”, *Donanma*, no: 13, March 1911, p. 1198-1207.

Ahmed Refik, “Cerbe’den Dönerken”, *Donanma*, no: 1, March 1910, p. 57-63.

Ali Rıza Seyfi, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Deniz Muharebeleri”, *Donanma*, no: 168-188, 19 June 1918-1 December 1918. (A series of articles on the lives and deaths of Oruç Reis, Hızır Reis, and Barbaros Hayreddin)

H[üseyin]K[azım] [Kadri], “Barbaros Hayreddin”, *Donanma*, no: 129, 23 July 1917, p.1280-1282. (Depicted Barbaros Hayreddin as the most prominent Ottoman seaman and recited is career)

¹⁰³ Anonymous, “Osmanlı Donanması 966-1000”, *Donanma*, no: 131, 9 August 1917, p. 1319-1320. (The article regards the Ottoman Navy of the 16th century as the most glorious and victorious military force of all the time)

reminded to the people; whereas the *Donanma* writers tried hard to establish a linkage between him and Mehmed V, the honorary chairman of the Navy League.¹⁰⁴

Anti-Russian tones were heavily felt among the historical articles as they were in every other section of *Donanma*. Particularly during the World War I, the journal attempted to give the message that Ottomans were always victors against the Russians. Thus, the Battle of Prut, Ahmed III and Baltaci Mehmed Pasha became strong reference points to justify this argument.¹⁰⁵

Using Islam as a mobilizing force inside and outside the Empire, the journal also tried to forge closer ties among the League's Muslim supporters via articles on the early Islamic history and the military achievements of the time.¹⁰⁶ During the World War I, the journal put peculiar emphasis on the German history and tried to arouse pro-German sentiments among the people.¹⁰⁷

I.2.b.ii.C. Social and Political Articles

This category covered an extensive range of issues. A major branch was the analysis of international relations and shifting political balances during the World War

¹⁰⁴ Faruk Ahmed Muhtar Paşa, "İstanbul ve Fethinin Ehemmiyet-i Maziye ve Hatırasına Atf-ı Nazar", *Donanma*, no: 169, 13 June 1918, p.1917-1921. (On the history of İstanbul and its conquest by the Ottomans)

Anonymous, "Fetih ve Fatih", no: 100, 17 June 1915, p. 791. (About the conquest of İstanbul and Mehmed II)

Necmeddin Sahir, "Sultan Mehmedler", *Donanma*, no: 177-186, 8 August 1918-17 October 1918. (On the lives of the Ottoman sultans with the name "Mehmed". Relates Mehmed II and Mehmed V with each other)

¹⁰⁵ Hüseyin Ulvi bin Hacı Ahmed Bursevi, "Miratüzzafer", *Donanma*, no: 58-68, 7 September 1914-7 December 1914. (A series of articles on the War of Prut, Ahmed III and the commander of the Ottoman army at Prut Baltaci Mehmed Pasha)

¹⁰⁶ Hüseyin Ruhi, "İlk İslam Donanması", *Donanma*, no: 16, p.1500-1504.

M. Safvet, "İslam'ın İlk Ordusu", *Donanma*, no: 15, May 1911, p. 1377-1380.

M. Safvet, "Tarih-i İslam'ın Şanlı Sahifelerinden", *Donanma*, no: 13, March 1911. (Accounts on the early Islamic conquests)

¹⁰⁷ Yusuf Osman, "Almanya'nın Terakkiyat-ı Ahiresi", *Donanma*, no: 105-111, 22 July 1915-14 October 1915. (A series of articles on the historical development of Germany with a specific emphasis on its progress in heavy industry)

I.¹⁰⁸ Within this context, *Donanma* writers focused particularly on the Muslims in the world and their attitude vis-à-vis the Jihad and the Great War. A remarkable attempt of the writers was to try to represent the position of the Ottoman Empire as the defender of the Islam and to list the numbers of Muslims around the world according to the countries they lived in.¹⁰⁹ After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, *Donanma* also laid claim on the Russia's Black Sea fleet and published articles demanding the handing over of the Russian ships to the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁰

Donanma put a special emphasis on "patriotism" right from the beginning. The definitions of "homeland" and "patriot" were handled over and over again.¹¹¹ The

¹⁰⁸ Abdurrahman Şerif, "Harb-i Hazırın Menşe-i", *Donanma*, no: 107-156, 2 September 1915-7 March 1918. (A series of articles dealing with the emergence of the World War I, the expectancies of the states involved in, and the developments during the war and their effects on international politics)

¹⁰⁹ *Donanma*, "Hem de Müslümanlığın Şiarı Budur", *Donanma*, no: 102, 18 June 1915, p. 818. (On the differences between the Muslims who fought against the enemy and who did not)

M.C, "Arzda Ne Kadar İslam Var?", *Donanma*, no: 115, 11 November 1915, p. 1050-1053. (An account on the population of the Muslims and where they lived)

Lütfullah Ahmed, "Müslümanları Tanıyalım", *Donanma*, no: 74, 28 December 1914, p. 407-410. (About the numbers of Muslims with a specific emphasis on Russia)

Anonymous, "İslam ve Muharebe", *Donanma*, no: 65, 26 October 1914, p. 262-263. (The article states that all other Muslim states did follow the position of the Ottoman Empire throughout the World War I)

¹¹⁰ Abidin Daver, "Karadeniz Filosu Bizim Olmalıdır", *Donanma*, no: 166, 23 May 1918, p. 1869-1870. (The author claimed that the Russian fleet belonged to Ottomans)

Abidin Daver, "Karadeniz Filosu Meselesi", *Donanma*, no: 167, 12 June 1918, p. 1895-1897. (The article emphasized on the importance of Russian Black Sea Fleet and the necessity to confiscate it)

Ali Şükrü, "Rus Filosu Kimindir?", *Donanma*, no: 165, 9 May 1918, p. 1868.

¹¹¹ Mustafa Haluk, "Terbiye-i Vataniyyenin Avamili", *Donanma*, no: 30, August 1912, p. 257-259. (The article dealt with the importance of raising the children as patriots)

Mustafa Haluk, "Vatanperverlik İhtiyacı", *Donanma*, no: 28, June 1912, p. 149-154. (About the dire need of patriotism during the time of wars)

Mustafa Haluk, "Vatanperverlik Tarz-ı Telakkisi ve Fikr-i İnsaniyyet", *Donanma*, no: 27, May 1912, p. 10-106. (On different models of patriotism in various countries)

M. Safvet, "Halet-i Ruhîyemiz", *Donanma*, no: 17, June 1911, p. 1571-1573. (The article dealt with the "inherited feeling of homeland" in Ottomans)

M. Ali, "Vatanperverlik", *Donanma*, no: 41, July 1913, p. 795-797.

classical question of the 19th century reformers on “progress” was continuously asked and comparisons between the Ottoman Empire and Japan were drawn.¹¹² For the duration of the World War I, German politics also became a major point of interest for *Donanma* writers.¹¹³

I.2.b.ii.D. Articles on Economy

Maritime trade was the main focus of the economical articles in *Donanma*. In this regard, the capacity of the Ottoman Empire and prominent international powers were compared and analyzed.¹¹⁴ Questioning the condition of the Ottoman economy, *Donanma* writers sought solutions mostly in terms of maritime trade.¹¹⁵ The effects of the World War I on the Ottoman and foreign economies were also tried to be

¹¹² Ali Şükrü, “Bir Millet Nasıl Terakki Eder?”, *Donanma*, no: 144-185, 8 November 1917-13 October 1918. (A series of articles on the ways of progressing the Ottoman Empire. The articles usually referred to Japan as a role model)

Mehmed Rauf, “Türkiye Niçin Terakki Edemiyor”, *Donanma*, no: 22, December 1911, p. 2002-2008. (An account on the reasons for the failure of the Ottomans to progress)

¹¹³ Ali Rıza Seyfî, “Alman Hükümdarları”, *Donanma*, no: 70, 30 November 1914, p. 343-346. (The article accounted on German rulers, their policies and how long they did reign)

Ali Şükrü, “Almanları İyi Tanıyalım”, *Donanma*, no: 128, 10 February 1916, p. 1267-1270. (A political comparison of Germany with USA)

¹¹⁴ Abidin Daver, “Sefain-i Ticariye Buhranı”, *Donanma*, no: 191, 1 March 1919, p. 2274-2275. (An overall assessment of the maritime trade during the first World War)

Anonymous, “Amerikan Ticaret Filosu”, *Donanma*, no: 190, 1 February 1919, p. 2263-2266.

¹¹⁵ Ahmed, “Bahr-i Ticaret Meselesi”, *Donanma*, no: 167, 30 June 1918, p. 1891-1895. (The article states that the maritime trade was neglected in the Ottoman Empire for a long time, and that this played a determinant role in the economical stagnation of the empire)

Mustafa Suphi, “Deniz Ticareti”, *Donanma*, no: 11, January 1910, p. 990-993. (About the Ottoman maritime trade)

Soysallıoğlu, “Memleketimizde Ticaret-i Bahriye”, *Donanma*, no: 179, 22 August 1918, p. 2083-2086. (The article deals with the maritime trade of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the World War I)

assessed.¹¹⁶ Midhat Cemal [Kuntay]'s translations from Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* constituted a remarkable part within the economical articles.¹¹⁷

I.2.b.ii.E Articles on Women

Although the numbers of the articles on women remained quite limited in *Donanma*, the ones that were published should be noticed in terms of their content. Despite the scarcity of their numbers, one important subject of this category was on women's right to vote. An anonymous article titled as "Suffrage Rights for Women" was published on the inner front cover of *Donanma* in four parts, between the 136th and 139th issues of in 1917.¹¹⁸ Also, the 137th issue had in its inner front cover an article titled as "The Land of Free Women."¹¹⁹ Women's increasing participation into the public working life constituted another important theme with an emphasis on the employment of women in the unoccupied "male professions."¹²⁰ Kazım Nami [Duru]'s article on the female volunteers of the Hungarian Red Cross is also worth to mention as he addressed them as role models for the Ottoman women and referred their involvement into civic mobilization with high esteem.¹²¹

I.2.b.ii.F. Articles on Pedagogy

The articles under this category could be divided into two groups; military education and education of children in general. The first group focused on specific

¹¹⁶ Abidin Daver, "Tahtelbahirler Kaç Ton Batırdı?", *Donanma*, no: 146, 22 October 1917, p. 1556-1557.

Ahmed, "Harbde Tüccar Sefaini", *Donanma*, no: 110, 7 October 1915, p. p. 967-968. (The article underlined that navy was not just a significant part of a state's wealth but also was an important tool in terms of trade, politics and military)

¹¹⁷ Midhat Cemal [Kuntay] "Sermaye", *Donanma*, no: 30, August 1912, p. 242-245.

¹¹⁸ Anonymous, "Kadınlar İçin Hakk-ı İntihab", *Donanma*, no: 136-139, 26 September 1917-4 October 1917.

¹¹⁹ Anonymous, "Hür Kadınlar Memleketi", *Donanma*, no: 137, 20 September 1917, p. inner front cover. (An article on feminism and freedom of women)

¹²⁰ Kazım Nami [Duru], "Harb ve Kadınlarımız", *Donanma*, no: 129-130, 23 July 1917-2 August 1917.

¹²¹ Kazım Nami [Duru], "Macar Salib-i Ahmer Kadınları'nın Faaliyeti", *Donanma*, no: 162, 18 May 1918, p. 1810-1812.

issues on the training, disciplining and education of the students at the Ottoman naval schools.¹²² The latter group, on the other hand, focused on the “proper” ways to raise and train children.¹²³ It would also be crucial to note that a partial translation of Herbert Spencer’s *Essays on Education and Kindred Subjects* appeared within this category.¹²⁴ Considering that Spencer had been regarded as the father of “Social Darwinism,” and that he applied the term “survival of the fittest” to the human societies, it would not be inappropriate to state that this idea was adopted and utilized by *Donanma* for social mobilization and child education in the context of the World War I.¹²⁵

I.2.b.ii.G. Articles on Morality

The social and economic depressions triggered by the continuous wars, also had their reflections on the pages of *Donanma*. Besides numerous other articles that dealt indirectly with this issue, some writers put specific emphasis on the topic. The journal’s writers addressed at “moral decay” in the Ottoman society and underlined it as a major obstacle in front of the state’s progress. Within this context, suicide and beggars appeared as frequently recited themes.¹²⁶

¹²² Yunus Nadi [Abalıoğlu], “Heybeliada Mektepleri”, *Donanma*, no: 172, 4 July 1918, p. 1966-1968.

Abidin Daver, “Mekteb-i Bahriyemiz”, *Donanma*, no: 169, 13 June 1918, p. 1924-1926. (A comparison of the Ottoman and European naval schools)

Hami, “Kâtib Mekteb-i Bahriye-yi Şâhânesi”, *Donanma*, no: 180, 29 August 1918, p. 2099-2100. (About the first graduates and the new education system in these schools)

¹²³ Haşim Nâhid, “Tecdid, Mâruf”, *Donanma*, no: 106, 13 August 1915, p. 905-906. (About the relationship between child development and education)

Ömer Kemal, “Talim ve Terbiye”, *Donanma*, no: 96, 20 May 1915, p. 730-731. (The article stated that education is a mean not an end)

Midhat Cemal [Kuntay], “Darüşşafaka Talebesine”, no: 14, April 1911, p. 1255. (Advices to the students)

¹²⁴ Herbert Spencer, “Talim ve Terbiye”, translated by Ahmed Kemal, *Donanma*, no: 87, 1 April 1915.

¹²⁵ James G. Kennedy, *Herbert Spencer*. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1978).

¹²⁶ Bedî Nuri, “İntihar”, *Donanma*, no: 14, April 1911, p. 1278-1284. (The article dealt with the moral and philosophical dimensions of suicide)

I.2.b.ii.H. Articles on Peasants

Written in a conversational format, these articles attempted to inform peasants on everything about the Navy League and the ongoing events with a simple language.¹²⁷ Applying to naïve examples and manipulating the anxiety of peasants, these articles mainly aimed at the civil mobilization in the rural areas and tried to substantiate navy as an essential means to save the people. In these articles, the journal assumed the role of a father or a wise person and tried to dispose the League's and the CUP's propaganda in a didactic way.

I.2.b.iii. Literary Pieces

Donanma could be regarded as a colorful and rich periodical in terms of its literary content. Prominent literary figures made frequent contributions to the journal and improved *Donanma*'s ability to appeal to people's sentiments. Although it was not only a literary journal, in terms of arousing and manipulating popular sentiments, literary texts proved to be essential in the general content of the journal. Thus, it would not be inaccurate to say that this category posed as a medium through which the Leaguers and *Donanma* communicated with the popular masses on an intimate level. Categorization of the literary content can be done under five major headings: Poems, short stories, biographies and memoirs, literary articles and fantasy literature.

Kâzım Nami [Duru], "Sadaka ve Dilencilik", no: 127, 3 February 1916, p. 1249-1250. (An article about beggars)

Kâzım Nami [Duru], "Ahlak Endişesi", no: 143, 1 November 1917, p. 1503-1504. (Accounts on the continuous press coverage on moral decay in the empire)

¹²⁷ *Donanma*, "Köylüyle Konuşma", *Donanma*, no: 50-59, 68, 71, 81, 98, 5 July 1914, 3 June 1915.

Anonymous, "Gel Köylü Seninle Dertleşelim", *Donanma*, no: 101, 24 June 1915i p.801

Anonymous, "Köylü ile Dertleşme", *Donanma*, no: 102, 1 July 1915, p. 818.

Anonymous, "Köylü ile Konuşma", *Donanma*, no: 130, 15 August 1917, p. 1293.

I.2.b.iii.A. Poems

Among the literary texts in *Donanma*, poems had been the most frequent form of writing and seem to have been preferred over other forms with their high capacity of delivering messages in terms of memorization and oral recitation.¹²⁸ Thus, language of poems seems to have been kept as simple as possible.

Poems in *Donanma* can be divided into two categories according to their themes. The first category includes pieces mostly from the pre-World War I era and focuses on sea and the Navy League itself. These poems emphasized on the necessity of a strong navy and the good deeds of the League.¹²⁹ The second category covers poems on war, bravery, martyrdom, homeland and the flag.¹³⁰ During the World War I,

¹²⁸ The numbers of the literary pieces in *Donanma* can be listed as follows: Poems (316), prosy poems (5), stories (53), biographies (12), memoirs (37), literary articles (64), Zehra Çakmaktepe, *Donanma Mecmuası*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erzurum, 2002), p.654.

¹²⁹ Ali Rıza Seyfi, “Akdeniz ve Ben”, *Donanma*, no: 161, 11 April 1918, p. 1798.

E.A, “Deniz”, *Donanma*, no: 21 October 1915, p. 1001.

Ispartalı Hakkı, “Donanma Cemiyeti’ne”, *Donanma*, no: 155, 28 February 1918, p. 1968.

Mehmed Hikmet, “Deniz Aşkı”, *Donanma*, no: 182, 12 September 1918, p. 2136-2137.

Tahir ül Mevlevi, “Verelim Haydi Donanmaya Bütün Varımızı”, *Donanma*, no: 8, October 1910.

Üsküdarlı Talat, “Sancak”, *Donanma*, no: 111, 14 October 1915, p. 985.

¹³⁰ A.E, “Yiğitlik”, *Donanma*, no: 121, 23 December 1915, p. 1151.

A.Kazım, “Vatan Şühedası”, *Donanma*, no: 31, September 1912, p. 319

Aka Gündüz, “Genç Türk Kahramana”, *Donanma*, no: 52, 20 July 1914, p. 51.

Ali Rıza Seyfi, “Askerin Nişanlısı”, *Donanma*, no: 19, September 1911, p. 1716.

Ali Rıza Seyfi, “Sevgili Yurd”, *Donanma*, no: 59, 14 September 1914, p. 166

Ali Rıza Seyfi, “Vatanıma”, *Donanma*, no: 44-45, July 1911, p.963-964

Cemal Edhem, “Şehidler Mezarlığı”, *Donanma*, no: 163, 25 April 1918, p.1828.

E. İlhami, “Türk Askeri”, *Donanma*, no: 3 October 1919, p. 2166.

Hızırzâde Rüştü, “Seferber Oğluma”, *Donanma*, no: 124, 13 January 1916, p.1203

Hızırzâde Rüştü, “Şahadet Anı”, *Donanma*, no: 121, 23 December 1915, p. 1151.

İzzet Ulvi, “Ey Sancak”, *Donanma*, no: 17, July 1911, p. 1542-1543.

Şeyh Abdülbaki, “Osmanlı Bayrağı”, *Donanma*, no: 41, July 1913, p. 788.

numbers of these poems increased significantly, and the Gallipoli Wars received a specific emphasis due to its profound impact on the lives and psychologies of the people.¹³¹

I.2.b.iii.B Short Stories

Short stories dealt with the same topics as the poems. Bravery in war, self-sacrifices of the Ottomans and the immorality of the enemies were dominant themes.¹³² They tried to depict horrifying war scenes and “cruelty” of the enemy in a more vivid and detailed way. Thus, short stories by and large focused on manipulating the imagination of the people and provoking their phobias. In this sense, an increasing tendency towards naturalism, nationalism and romanticism was to be felt in style. Short stories by Ömer Seyfeddin and translations from Emile Zola were prominent examples to these.¹³³ On the other hand, it could also be speculated that *Donanma*, as in the

¹³¹ Mehmed Fevzi, “Çanakkale Kahramanzâdelerine”, *Donanma*, no: 116, 18 November 1915.

Ömer Fevzi, “Çanakkale Kahramanlarına”, *Donanma*, no: 115, 11 October 1915, p. 1055

Ömer Fevzi, “Çanakkale, 5 Mart 1315”, *Donanma*, no: 158-159, 18 March 1918.

¹³² Ahmed, “Muharebeye Hazır Ol”, *Donanma*, no: 141, 18 October 1917, p. 1478-1479.

Aka Gündüz, “Yarım Türkler”, *Donanma*, no: 65, 26 October 1914, p. 268-269.

Nüzhet Haşim, “Şehid Anası”, *Donanma*, no: 120, 16 December 1915, p. 1142.

Seraceddin, “Kumkale Siperlerinde”, *Donanma*, no: 148, 13 December 1917, p. 1586-1587.

Salime Servet, “Çocuklarımı Hür Büyütelim”, *Donanma*, no: 15, May 1911, p. 1354-1357.

Nüzhet Haşim, “Şehid Anası”, *Donanma*, no: 120, 16 December 1915, p. 1142.

¹³³ Emile Zola, “Madam Nejon”, translated by Ziya Gevher, no: 52-55, 7 July 1914-10 August 1914. (Published as a series)

Ömer Seyfeddin, “Beyaz Lale”, *Donanma*, no: 53-62, 27 July 1914-5 October 1914. (Published as a series)

Ömer Seyfeddin, “Yeni Bir Hediye”, *Donanma*, no: 140, 11 October 1917, p. 1460-1462.

example of translated Sherlock Holmes stories, tried to attract popular interest as well as addressing public paranoia and spy-mania throughout the World War I.¹³⁴

I.2.b.iii.C Biographies and Memoirs

As a way of increasing public support for the navy, *Donanma* utilized the biographies of the famous Ottoman admirals. The journal used these figures as role models and symbols of a golden past, as it did in the historical articles.¹³⁵ Although, the journal obtained a clear pro-CUP character over the time, only Talat Pasha's biography found space on its pages.¹³⁶ Thus, this point would be worthwhile to note, as it might clue on the power struggle within the triumvirate of the CUP.¹³⁷ Since Talat Pasha was the Minister of the Domestic Affairs, and the Navy League intertwined with the ministry on an increasing rate over time, it would not be misleading to expect that he exerted his influence over the journal as well.¹³⁸

Memoirs were overwhelmingly on war, sea and the crew of the Ottoman battleships.¹³⁹

I.2.b.iii.D. Literary Articles

Drawing comparisons between the Eastern and the Western literatures, literary articles in *Donanma* sought a proper form for the Ottoman case. One crucial theme of these articles was the issue of language. Aiming at reaching to the whole of the

¹³⁴ Arthur Conan Doyle, "Sherlock Holmes 'Tehlike' ", *Donanma*, no: 130-149, 15 August 1917-30 January 1918.

¹³⁵ Ali Haydar Emir, "11. Asrın Barbaros Hayreddin'i Cezayirli Hüseyin Paşa", *Donanma*, no: 2-12, April 1910-February 1910. (Published as series)

T.T, "Osmanlı Amiralleri", *Donanma*, no: 2, April 1910, p. 154-155.

¹³⁶ Anonymous, "Talat Paşa", *Donanma*, no: 129, 23 July 1917, p. 1275-1276. (On Talat pasha and his contributions to the voluntary associations)

¹³⁷ Köroğlu, *Ibid.*, pp.62-68.

¹³⁸ Özbek, *Ibid.*, p.304.

¹³⁹ Ahmed Rasim, "İzmir Kruvazörü'nde Bir Gece", *Donanma*, no: 51, 3 July 1914. p. 35-38.

Ali Haydar Emir, "Barbaros'un Baş Taretinde", *Donanma*, no: 83, 29 February 1915, p. 556-558.

Ottoman society, *Donanma* defended the simplicity in the language.¹⁴⁰ Debates on “national literature,” and the efforts to define what it should be like, appeared as another prevailing topic.¹⁴¹ In this context, even the writers of the journal engaged into debates among them and replied each other via *Donanma*. The most noticeable debate of this kind could be shown as the one between Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad and Hakkı Tarık [US] on prosody.¹⁴² As an essential part of their lives, *Donanma*’s writers also dealt with the influence of the war on literature.¹⁴³

I.2.b.iii.E. Fantasy Literature

Among the rich literary content of *Donanma*, fantasy literature had its own particular part. The overwhelming theme of this category was sea, and various aspects of the life on the seas were put under the focus. Death, darkness and fog appeared in these texts quite frequently, and the prominent Ottoman sea captains occasionally took part in these stories, physically or spiritually.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ M.B İdris, “Lisan Bahsi ve Avam Dili”, no: 118, 2 December 1915, p. 1107-1108.

Hüseyin Kazım [Kadri], “Halka Doğru”, no: 22 August 1917, p. 1322. (About the debates on language)

Hüseyin Kazım [Kadri], “Evet Zavallı Türkçe”, no: 130, 15 August 1917, p. 1291-1292.

Hüseyin Kazım [Kadri], “Pek Eski Bir Kavga”, no: 131, 9 August 1917, p. 1306.

¹⁴¹ Yusuf Ziya, “Yamaçlarda Kaval”, no: 138, 27 September 1917, p. 1424-1426. (On the debates of “national literature)

¹⁴² Hakkı Tarık [US], “Milli Vezin Makalesi”, no: 138, 27 September 1917, p. 1419-1421.

Hakkı Tarık [US], “Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad Bey”, no: 133, 23 August 1917, p. 1340-1341.

¹⁴³ Ali Canib [Yöntem], “Garba İlk Nazarlar”, no: 82, 9 February 1915, p. 535-536. (On the effect of the war on literature)

¹⁴⁴ Ali Haydar Emir, “Sis tabakalarında”, *Donanma*, no: 33, November 1912, p. 440-441.

E. Naci, “Ölüm Olmasaydı”, no: 43-44, September-October 1913, p. 915-916.

M. Şemseddin, “Barbaros’un Mevlidi’nde Bir Gece”, *Donanma*, no: 30, August 1912, p. 271-275.

I.2.b.iv. Announcements and Advertisements

Announcements were the most direct communication channel between *Donanma* and its readers. The journal informed its audience on anything and everything on the Navy League and specifically reported on the amounts of the collected donations with the names of the donators and their professions.¹⁴⁵ The latter type of announcements had a specific importance for the Leaguers as they assured people that their money was safe. This was also a way to honor the donators and had in return a very positive effect on the people to donate. *Donanma* appealed to the support of everyone and asked to donate at least 40 *para* or 1 *guruş*.¹⁴⁶ In this context, the journal also promoted products of the Navy League including cigarette papers, matches, calendars and lottery tickets.¹⁴⁷

The advertisements not directly related to the League, provided hints on the economical livelihood of the Ottoman Empire, as well as minor glimpses on the readers' profile of *Donanma*. The majority of the advertisements came from Istanbul based enterprises or entrepreneurs. The advertisements by large and medium scaled textile and clothing shops and banks were accompanied by individual advertisements ranging from tailors to doctors.¹⁴⁸

Rabbani Fehmi, "Çanakkale Abidesi", *Donanma*, no: 127, 21 January 1916. p. 1251.

¹⁴⁵ *Donanma*, "Millet Ne Vermiş?", no: 49-148, 19 June 1914-13 December 1917. (Detailed accounts on the amount of donations)

¹⁴⁶ *Donanma*, "40 Para", *Donanma*, no: 54, 3 August 1914, p. 81.

¹⁴⁷ *Donanma*, "Sigara Kağıtları", *Donanma*, no: 26-97, May 1912-27 May 1915.

¹⁴⁸ "Şarkın En Büyük Elbise Mağazası [Tring]", *Donanma*, no: 3-4, 7-12, 21, April 1910-November 1911.

"Macid Mehmed Karakaş", *Donanma*, no: 13, March 111, back cover.

"Nevr-I İntibah", *Donanma*, no: 96, 20 May 1915, outer back cover. (The advertisement of a tailor named Osman Zeki. The title was read as "Would not you like to promote a genuine Muslim artisan")

"Diş Tabibi Mehmed Hüdaverdi", *Donanma*, no.184, 19 September 1918, outer back cover.

I.2.b.v. Sports

Donanma regarded the age in which they lived as a time when power conquered the right. Thus, it reserved a special meaning to the physical power. According to the Leaguers, Ottomans had to be powerful on every aspect of the life to survive, which implicitly referred to social Darwinism. The journal's writers established solid linkages between a strong body and a brilliant mind. *Donanma*, in its supplementary pages called as "the Columns of Physical Training" (*İdman Sütunları*), dealt with this theme and provided information on different forms of physical and self-defense training, ways of improving bodily strength and various other sorts of sports events.¹⁴⁹

I.3. World War Propaganda, visuals and "Donanma"

I.3.a. The Ottoman Empire and the War Propaganda

The advent of the Great War meant a drastic break from the traditional warfare. It was the first total war in modern history, and the belligerent countries found themselves in a novel phenomenon that was to exhaust all of their available material and human resources. The ability to survive such a war equaled to the capability of responding to its demands at the same rate. Thus, the Great War required not only the mobilization of armies, but also of societies as a whole for the ends of manufacturing violence.¹⁵⁰ The new definition of the war incorporated military and civilian spheres,

¹⁴⁹ Ali Seyfi, "Tabii Kuvvet, Mukteseb Kuvvet", *Donanma*, no: 187, 24 October 1918, p. 169-170. (On the training of the body and mind)

Anonymous, "Müdafaa-i Nefis İdmanları", *Donanma*, no: 102, 1 July 1915, p. 72. (Self-defense trainings)

Anonymous, "Kriket Oyununun Usul Kavaidi", *Donanma*, no: 110, 7 October 1915, p. 108.

Anonymous, "İdman Havadisi", *Donanma*, no: no: 102, 1 July 1915, p. 77.

Burhan [Felek], "Sporda Fikri Milliyet", *Donanma*, no: 146, 8 November 1917, p. 1555-1557. (About the purposes of physical training)

¹⁵⁰ Corey Ross, "Mass Politics and the Techniques of Leadership: The Promise and Perils of Propaganda in Weimar Germany," *German History* 24, no. 2 (April 2006), p.186

and the ultimate victory could only be won by succeeding on the home front as well.¹⁵¹ Hence, controlling and manipulating the public opinion both at home and within the enemies' territories were prerequisites to prevail for the warring parties.¹⁵²

In this context, a simple definition of war propaganda appears as “converting masses of people to desired view points.”¹⁵³ By significant symbols, it influences opinion, saturates the public with selected and biased information and creates new desires.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, it is epistemologically defective by essence.¹⁵⁵ All forms of social communication -including visuals, reports, rumors and stories- could be employed by the propaganda effort. It attempts to isolate counter-propaganda as well as demoralizing the enemy. Mobilization of neutral and allied opinion in favor of the belligerent state parallels the effort to manipulate the home opinion.

As an attempt of mass persuasion, the success of the propaganda depends on its ability to penetrate the unconscious.¹⁵⁶ This, in return, requires an appeal to emotion rather than reason.¹⁵⁷ Theoretical profundity and complexity are hence not desired.¹⁵⁸ Instead, the message should be simple, short, shallow, striking and easy to remember; nevertheless, at the same time elaborately designed and executed. Thus, war propaganda needs a total and organized effort, which could only be diffused effectively through a strong and established material infrastructure and a relatively standardized society.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Eberhard Demm, “Propaganda and Caricature in the First World War,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, no. 1 (January 1993), p.163.

¹⁵³ Ralph Haswell Lutz, “Studies of World War Propaganda, 1914-33,” *The Journal of Modern History* 5, no. 4 (December 1933), p.497.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Sheryl Tuttle Ross, “Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and Its Application to Art,” *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2002). The definition of the “epistemic merit model” to be added.

¹⁵⁶ Demm, Ibid, p.186.

¹⁵⁷ Nicholas J O'Shaughnessy, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p.41.

¹⁵⁸ Koroğlu, Ibid, p.28

At the advent of the war, advanced European states had already completed their industrialization processes. The shift from agrarian society to industrial capitalist form necessitated, in a Gellnerian sense, forging a uniform working force that would consistently and with an increasing efficiency support the needs of the novel complex economy.¹⁵⁹ In return, this meant an effort to transform the populations of the industrialized countries into standardized societies and to integrate people around common norms, values, symbols and motives.

A conversion of this sort simultaneously replaced heterogeneous rural cultures with uniform national ones. Introduction of national education exposed pupils from different backgrounds to standardized national history, literature and geography. A cultural industry consisting of newspapers, journals, printing and publishing houses dispersed national cultures through efficient transportation and communication networks, even to the most remote parts of the countries.¹⁶⁰

Already by 1900, male literacy rate in England reached at 97 per cent.¹⁶¹ At the advent of the war, elementary education rates within Germany and France together with England converged to hundred percent.¹⁶² Thus, people found themselves incorporated into a designed common whole at an increasing rate. They started to develop a feeling of belonging to their “imagined communities” through new symbols that were created by cultural industry and distributed through a strong material infrastructure.¹⁶³

Within this framework, countries such as Germany, France and England found little difficulty to execute and disperse their war propaganda.¹⁶⁴ They possessed the resources to organize and control, as well as the ability to emit this power into all parts of the country.¹⁶⁵ National culture was diffused into every aspect of people’s daily

¹⁵⁹ Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997).

¹⁶⁰ Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.27-28.

¹⁶¹ Carl F. Kaestle, “The History of Literacy and the History of Readers,” *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 12, (1985), p.26.

¹⁶² Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.29.

¹⁶³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. ed., (London & New York: Verso, 1991), 37-46.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

lives, and nationalism could be activated and utilized against any apparent crisis.¹⁶⁶ Hence, these states could run extensive propaganda campaigns throughout the war and mobilize the masses for the ends of the war. The major factor to determine the success of their efforts was to be the organization and the content of their messages.

In these terms, the Ottoman Empire was at a quite disadvantageous position vis-à-vis the Great War. It had neither managed to industrialize its economy to meet the exhaustive demands of the new warfare, nor did it have the social and cultural infrastructure that would facilitate massive war propaganda. The economy of the Empire was still agrarian, and 80 per cent of its population was engaged in agriculture.¹⁶⁷ On the other hand, its social structure was multi-ethnic, far from uniform and spread on a wide geography in isolated groups. Religious and ethnic subgroups demanded a high degree of autonomy, and were disinclined to subjugate themselves to a strong central rule.¹⁶⁸

Unlike the major belligerent powers of the Great War, the empire's education system was limited in coverage.¹⁶⁹ Despite serious attempts for the nationalization and standardization of education in the post-1908 period, the state was unable to expose its population to a uniform national education.¹⁷⁰ The school network directly under the control of the state was listed in the statistics of 1912-1913 as follows: 12.814 elementary schools (596.460 students and 19.212 teachers), 153 middle schools (27.461 students and 1.518 teachers) and 17 high schools (1.518 students and 368 teachers).¹⁷¹ Private, foreign and non-Muslim schools were beyond the state's sphere of influence. For the years 1913-1914, elementary schools that belonged to non-Muslim Ottomans

¹⁶⁶ Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.28.

¹⁶⁷ Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında Bir Tetkik*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1994), p.235.

¹⁶⁸ Tilman Lüdke, *Jihad Made in Germany: Ottoman and German Propaganda and Intelligence Operations in the First World War* (Münster: Lit, 2005). p.21.

¹⁶⁹ Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.75-79.

¹⁷⁰ In the post-1908 period, the budget of the Ministry of Education was six folded from 200.000 OL in 1904-1908 to 1.230.000 in 1914. Taking the territorial losses into consideration, the effect of this shift meant a 10-12 fold increase. Within the same period elementary education became compulsory and free. *Ibid*, p.78.

¹⁷¹ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri 1839-1924*, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000).

numbered to 2.596 with 4.000 teachers, and foreigners had 215 elementary schools, 80 middle schools and 1.600 teachers.¹⁷² The education within the Empire had hence a cosmopolitan character, and its limited nature was not feasible to forge a standard citizenship identity injected with a homogeneous national culture.

A major outcome of the inadequate education system was high illiteracy rates within the empire. Although definite statistics are not available for the period, it is estimated that at the turn of the century, literacy level was around 15 per cent at best.¹⁷³ Accounts for the Early Republican era were not more optimistic. Nearly ten years after the war, in 1927, literates constituted only 10.6 per cent of the whole population.¹⁷⁴ For places with 10.000 or more inhabitants, male literacy was at 41.5 per cent as opposed to 1.4 per cent female literacy in villages.¹⁷⁵ Considering that 80 per cent of the population still lived in the countryside, literates among male villagers was at 11.4 per cent.¹⁷⁶ Since the majority of the military recruits came from among them, this number also provides a clue on the literacy within the army.¹⁷⁷

Communication, on the other hand, was not a lesser problem. In 1914, an estimated level of 19-23 million people were scattered over an area of nearly two million square kilometers.¹⁷⁸ The population density in Rumelia doubled Anatolia; whereas, Anatolia's population density was three times higher than Iraq and Syria, and

¹⁷² Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, (Ankara: Pagem Yayıncılık, 2006), p. 277-278.

¹⁷³ Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), p.244.

¹⁷⁴ Erik Jan Zürcher, "Between Death and Desertion: The experience of Ottoman soldier in World War I", *Turcica*, 28 (1997), p.236. It should also be noted that by this time non-Muslim groups the literacy rate of which were quite higher, had either already left the country or killed during the wars.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. Different accounts from the war also testify low levels of literacy among recruits. For example, a former anonymous prisoner of war accounted that he was the only person in the camp who was literate. M. Rauf İnan, *Bir Ömrün Öyküsü 2: Köy Enstitüleri ve Sonrası* (Ankara: 1988), p.135. Memoirs by army commanders also dealt with the same issue. Friedrich Freiherr Kress von Kressenstein, *Mit den Türken zum Suez Channel*, (Berlin: Otto Schlegel, 1938), p.39, cited in Zürcher, Ibid, p.235.

¹⁷⁸ Edward J Erickson, *Size Ölmeyi Emrediyorum!: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusu* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003), p.33-34.

five times higher than the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁷⁹ The only available fast and efficient communication medium to connect these groups was telegraph. Although it had been in use for more than fifty years, available lines were only around 50.000 kilometers.¹⁸⁰ In return, this network was inept to integrate a dispersed demography, and particularly during the war, failed to suffice the state's needs. Telephone had been in use since 1909; however, it was not efficient at all, if practical. The Istanbul Telephone Company, a British-American enterprise, had only 4.159 subscribers.¹⁸¹ The available telephone network during the war was able to connect Istanbul to Sofia, Vienna or Berlin, but not to the battlefronts.¹⁸²

The physical mobility of people and goods was limited by the inadequacy of the transportation system. Land roads were scarce in number and bad in quality. The quantity of motored vehicles was ignorable.¹⁸³ By 1914, there were only 187 of these, and the majority of them were in Istanbul.¹⁸⁴ In terms of land transportation, the railroads appeared as the best option.¹⁸⁵ However, the Empire had only 6.486 km of railroads in 1911¹⁸⁶, 1.700 km of which was on the Balkan lands. After the Balkan Wars, a significant portion of this network was lost.¹⁸⁷ In comparison to the Ottoman Empire, Germany had a railroad network of 64.000 km over an area of 540.000 km², France 51.000 km over 536.000 km², India 55.000 km over 3.160.000 km² and USA 388.330 km over 7.739.524 km².¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Eldem, Ibid, p.113.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p.114.

¹⁸² Köroğlu, Ibid, p.75.

¹⁸³ Ibid, p.73.

¹⁸⁴ Eldem, Ibid, p.96.

¹⁸⁵ In 1911, Ottoman railroads carried 16 million passengers and 2,6 million tones of good. 8 million people traveled on the Balkan railroads, 7 million on the Anatolian and 0.9 million on the Arabian railroads. Quataert, Ibid, p.186.

¹⁸⁶ Quataert, Ibid, p.186.

¹⁸⁷ Ahmet Emin Yalman recorded the railroad network of the Ottoman as 5.759 km for the year 1914. Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Turkey in the World War*, (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1930), p.85.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p.85

Most of the Ottoman railroads were built by foreign consortiums, and aimed at connecting affluent commercial zones with their hinterlands.¹⁸⁹ Thus, these railroad networks linked only a small fraction of the Empire, and the eastern and the western territories did not have a direct railroad connection.¹⁹⁰ During the war, this was to mean a two months trip for the army from Istanbul to the eastern front.¹⁹¹ In this context, a major part of the land traffic had to rely on transport animals, the population of which was low and troubled by contagious diseases.¹⁹²

Maritime transportation was more effective, yet impractical to connect all parts of the Empire. Relatively shorter sea voyages were to be followed by lengthy land routes. River transportation was fast and cheaper than the land routes for carrying goods. However, it functioned only in one direction.¹⁹³ The majority of the maritime fleet was consisted of small vehicles, and many of them were sailboats.¹⁹⁴ 90 per cent of the total tonnage of this fleet belonged to the European enterprises.¹⁹⁵

Thus, the Ottoman population was to a large extent immobile and physically separated. Most of the people left their birthplaces only for obligatory reasons such as military duty or governmental appointment.¹⁹⁶ Different localities outside the cities had little to share in common, and there was little visible evidence around them to feel or believe that they were part of a greater whole. Mobility of the people and goods was limited even within the cities.¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁹ Ericksson, *Ibid*, p.35-36.

¹⁹⁰ These railroads were not designed for defensive purposes. The mobilization and transportation of the army through this network was quite impractical. Mountains interrupted the railroads to Mesopotamia and Syria, and cargos had to be unloaded, carried to the next station and reloaded. One of the two tunnels that were planned to connect this network was completed as late as 1917 in Amanos. The other tunnel in the Taurus Mountains was still to be finished at the end of the war. *Ibid*.

¹⁹¹ Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.74.

¹⁹² *Ibid*.

¹⁹³ Quataert, *Ibid*, p.182.

¹⁹⁴ Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.73.

¹⁹⁵ Quataert, *Ibid*, p.183.

¹⁹⁶ Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.73.

¹⁹⁷ Eldem, *Ibid*, p.92-94

Perceptibly, the infrastructure of the Empire lacked the capacity to forge organic as well as virtual bonds among the people. A coherent superstructure that would arouse a strong solidarity among the population was absent as well. The CUP was by and large a reflection of various publicities, and represented a loose coalition of differing ideologies.¹⁹⁸ Pan-Turkists, Pan-Islamists, Westernists, Ottomanists and even separatists of various degrees were incorporated within the CUP.¹⁹⁹ The Committee pursued varying policies before and throughout the war. Until the end of the Balkan Wars, Ottomanism had the greater emphasis. During the earlier periods of the Great War, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turkism and even Ottomanism were utilized on varying degrees. After the Arab Revolt, and the losses on the Iraqi and Syrian fronts, a Turkish nationalism that identified itself with Anatolia became prominent.²⁰⁰

I.3.b. Visual Propaganda and “Donanma”

On a rather unfeasible and futile infrastructural basis, post-1908 Ottoman governments had to find ways to forge a togetherness that linked different strata of the society. Partial attempts at reforming the infrastructure had been taken as a long-term remedy. Nevertheless, the omnipresence of a constant state of crisis necessitated short-term policies and pragmatic solutions. Thus, in the absence of a strong infrastructure, optimization of the existent means seemed as the best possible option for the state.

Donanma stood at the crossroads of two promising solutions. On the one hand, the state had already applied to the semi-official organizations as a means to penetrate discrete social groups and been utilizing them for the mobilization of the masses on a patriotic and militaristic basis. The Navy League was one of these institutions, and by 1914 it had already executed a successful and massive propaganda campaign.²⁰¹ It had established a wide structural network and forged a reputable profile among the Ottoman public, which the journal explicitly exposed as a point of reference (figure I.1). In this

¹⁹⁸ Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.29.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*.

framework, *Donanma* had an ease of access to different social groups, and posed a feasible medium to dispatch the state propaganda.

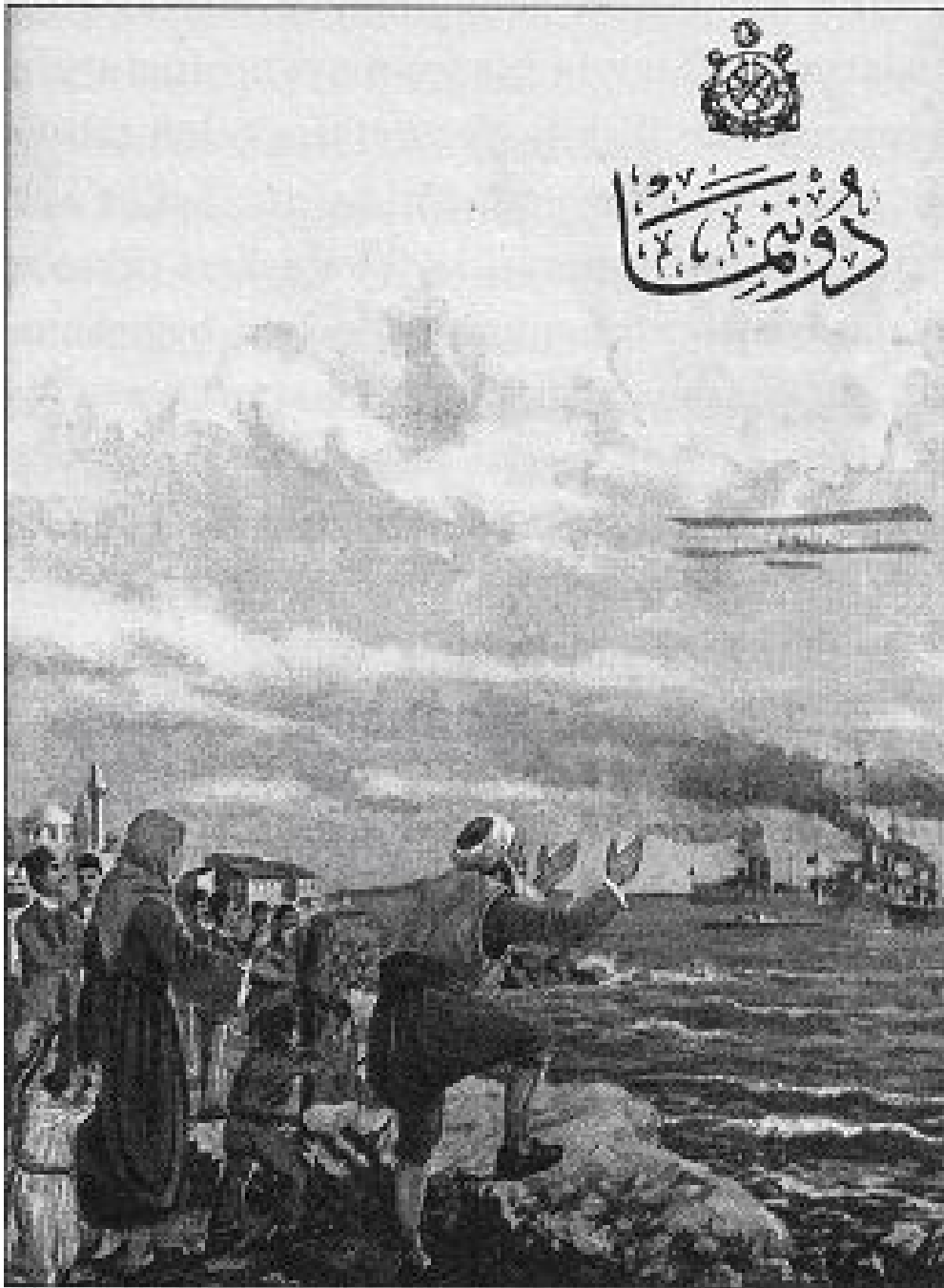


Figure I.1- The cover page of *Donanma*²⁰²

²⁰² *Donanma*, no: 50, 5 Temmuz 1914, outer front cover.

On the other hand, *Donanma* represented a case for optimizing the effect of the printed material in penetrating a highly illiterate society, which was to come by the use of visual materials. As any other culture in which the majority of the people cannot read, the Ottoman society relied by and large on oral communication. It was apt to emit any kind of message, in this case uniting and mobilizing, via oral expression, symbols and rituals. In turn, illiterates or semi-literates could articulate their reactions and participate in the formation of a collective memory.²⁰³ However, the efficiency of such a culture was limited by its capability to enable people to communicate face to face. For the Ottoman case, this was possible within localities yet limited among them. Hence, the construction of a common memory still depended on a uniform medium that could expose these localities to a standardized message, which could yet be done by the printed media.

Illiteracy was by no means an obstacle to access the written information. Printed or manuscript materials were exposed through public readings from very early periods on.²⁰⁴ In the latter part of the 19th and the early 20th century, Russia, China and Meiji Japan with high illiteracy rates resorted on public readings and manipulated this process to mobilize and transform their societies. In China and Meiji Japan, village leaders, religious personalities and schoolteachers were assigned for reading aloud the newspapers to the illiterate rural populations.²⁰⁵ In Japan, participation to the public readings was compulsory.²⁰⁶ *Zemstvos*²⁰⁷ in Russia organized public lectures

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middleclass, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2004), p.96.

²⁰⁵ Henrietta Harrison, "Newspapers and Nationalism in Rural China 1890-1929," *Past and Present*, no. 166 (February 2000), p.181.

Albert A. Altman, "The Press and Social Cohesion during a Period of Change: The Case of Early Meiji Japan," *Modern Asian Studies* 15, no. 4 (1981) p.874.

²⁰⁶ Altman, Ibid.

²⁰⁷ A form of local government that was launched in Tsarist Russia by Alexander II in the second half of the 19th century.

throughout the World War I on historical, literary and scientific topics to which literate and illiterate peasants attended.²⁰⁸ Local teachers read newspapers aloud during these meetings, which in return led the Russian peasants to imagine themselves connected to a larger community.²⁰⁹

In the Ottoman Empire, one major medium to access the public readings and the consumption of the periodical press was the coffeehouses.²¹⁰ From its first appearance until the latter part of the 20th century, the coffeehouse was at the center of the Ottoman and post-Ottoman men's public life.²¹¹ Those who were illiterate or could not afford the price of a newspaper could easily get an insight into the printed media. Newspapers were circulated both physically and verbally. In other words, these were places that contributed to the reproduction of the oral culture and the transliteration of the written messages into verbal medium.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Scott J. Seregny, "Zemstvos, Peasants, and Citizenship: The Russian Adult Education Movement and World War I," *Slavic Review* 59, no. 2 (Summer 2000), p.304.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p.314.

²¹⁰ Palmira Brummett, "Dogs, Women, Cholera, and Other Menaces in the Streets: Cartoon Satire in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-11," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27, no. 4 (November 1995), p.437.

²¹¹ Quataert, Ibid, p.233.

On the Ottoman coffeehouses also see: Ralph S Hattox, *Kahve ve Kahvehaneler: Bir Toplumsal Icecegin Yakindogu'daki Kokenleri* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfi, 1998); Cengiz Kırılı, "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," in *Public Islam and the Common Good* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

²¹² Various travelers' accounts also addressed to the function of the coffeehouses as male public spheres and to their contribution to the oral culture. Carmen Sylva's impression in 1890's Istanbul was as follows: "Their officers too, halt here for a smoke, in the humblest cafes frequented by the poorest of the people. Moreover, these very democratic interminglings of rich and poor are peculiar to Turkey : pachas and beys drinking in public in the company of the poor, chatting with them and explaining the news all without loss of dignity, for Mussulmans never drink to the point of intoxication." Pierre Loti, *Carmen Sylva and Sketches from the Orient* (London & New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), p.105. For a compilation of the stories told in the Ottoman coffeehouses see also: Cyrus Adler and Allan Ramsay, *Told in the Coffeehouse: Turkish Tales* (London & New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898).

In the post-1908 period, coffeehouses functioned also centers of propaganda. At the advent of the Great War, the CUP utilized the coffeehouses to spread rumors favoring

Nevertheless, the public reading was not exclusive to the coffeehouses. In the privacy of homes, a less crowded but more gender balanced form of articulated reading was practiced.²¹³ Inferential references to both forms can be found in *Donanma*: “Hello! The Navy League hears that the word of navy has been circulating within the villages often; in the coffeehouses, homes, whenever a newspaper is read everyone has been paying attention to hear some words of it.”²¹⁴

Although literacy was not a fundamental obstacle between the public and the printed material, it was not completely feasible for the emission of propaganda. The transmission of the written message into oral medium meant the transformation of the printed material into rumor. The illiterate receptor of the voiced message received the message via an agent, and thus was alien to the written message itself. Indeed, the receptor witnessed the articulated testimony of someone who read the written testimony of an unknown person. One way to actively incorporate the illiterate into the public reading process and to render the orally transmitted written message credible was the use of visual material.

Visuals in various forms (i.e. cartoons, photographs and drawings) blurred the gap between the literate and the illiterate cultures. Using common symbols, drawing on instincts and dramatic visual imagery, these were apt to communicate with the receptor independently from the textual content.²¹⁵ Indeed, until the first years of the Republic, visuals and textual materials were generally treated as different objects, and for the most of the time the image and the written material on the same page did not necessarily conform to each other.²¹⁶ The visual could be loaded with its own message and accompanied by little or no descriptive text. In this context, the image provided the

Germany and taking sides with the Central Powers. Kâzım Karabekir, *Birinci Cihan Harbine Nasıl Girdik* (İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 1994)

²¹³ Hannah, *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ “Merhaba! Donanma Cemiyeti işitiyor ki, köylerde donanma sözü sıkça, sıkça oluyormuş, kahvelerde evlerde ceride okunduğu zaman herkes kimi sözü işitmek için kulak kesiliyormuş.” Donanma, “Köylüyle Konuşma,” *Donanma*, no: 53, 27 Temmuz 1914

²¹⁵ Brummett, *Image and Imperialism...*, p.26.

²¹⁶ Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye’de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (İstanbul: Literatür, 2000), p.94.

illiterate a way of communication without an agent and the receptor could consume the message at first hand.

On the other hand, the independency of the image also freed itself from the physical integrity of the printed media. In comparison to the textual content, they were freer and hence more mobile. It could be ripped off from its printed medium, circulated among people, pinned up and posted in the streets.²¹⁷ In this aspect, the independency of the image provided the illiterate with the printed material that they could also consume individually. Hence, the narratives and symbols of propaganda could extend its influence from the public world of the illiterate individual to the private world of his/hers. A letter published in *Türk Yurdu* in 1917 addressed to such a need in the war: “Should you know how much desire do our soldiers in the trenches have to hear a newspaper to be read to them, even though they are illiterate? Could they lay their hands on a piece that they could understand, even if they would have memorized it they would not hesitate to read it again.”²¹⁸ The image, independent from the text, had the potential to provide the symbols and the narratives on which the people could lay their hands on, and make a meaning of it.

Besides its ability to individually deliver the message, the image could also be employed to testify to the accuracy of the written material. Photographs in particular, were regarded as to be able to reproduce the image of the reality and highly esteemed for their perceived truthfulness on an explicit and implicit level.²¹⁹ Providing the reader and the listener with the experience of the event visually, the image could allow its receptors to a virtual testimony, which in return added up to the credibility of the text itself.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ “Siperlerdeki askerlerimizin okumak yazmak bilmedikleri hâlde okunacak bir gazeteyi dinlemek için ne büyük istekleri vardır bilseniz? Ellerine anlayacakları bir dilde yazılmış bir parça geçse onu ezberleseler de gene okumaktan çekinmezler.” R. T. “Mektuplar: Giresun’da Bulunan Muhterem Karilerimizden Biri Yazıyor,” *Türk Yurdu* 130 (15 Mart 1333/1917) cited in Köroğlu, Ibid, p.53.

²¹⁹ Nancy C. Micklewright, “Personal, Public, and Political (Re) Constructions: Photographs and Consumption,” in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p.263.

Nonetheless, the influence of the increasing incorporation of visuals into the printed media was not limited to the illiterate. In reference to John Berger, seeing comes before words in communication and interacting with the environment.²²⁰ The image could convey a message much quicker than the text and could create a more pungent impact.²²¹ Arousing an illusion of testimony as in the photographs, reanimating the event via drawings or satirizing people, politicians and during the war time the enemies with cartoons, the visuals can create highly sentimental responses and express what cannot be openly said in the text. Hence, they can penetrate the unconscious and be remembered easily. In terms of propaganda, they could easily suffice the need to deliver the message simply.

Within this framework, image and visual propaganda had been highly esteemed by the belligerent countries throughout the World War I. Relying on the efficiency of the visuals in the short term, countries engaged in the production of films, photographs and paintings of the war. Images of the war were utilized to boost the moral of the people in the home front and the soldiers at the battlefield. The military and the civilian propaganda bureaus of the belligerent countries ardently designed one-sided representations of the war to express their glory in the battles both to the inside and the outside.

The influence of the visuals was not a recent discovery for the Ottoman vis-à-vis the World War I. The integration of the image into printed media came within the last quarter of the 19th century in the Empire, and Abdülhamid II was among the first to appreciate and utilize it as a means of political propaganda.²²² His account on the image clues on the perception of the visual as such a means: “*A picture is an idea. A picture can inculcate political and sentimental meanings that could not be expressed with a 100 pages text.*”²²³ Possessing an extensive photo collection of approximately 34.879

²²⁰ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972), p.7.

²²¹ Thomas Milton Kemnitz, “The Cartoon as a Historical Source,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4, no. 1, The Historian and the Arts (Summer 1973), p.84.

²²² Micklewright, *Ibid*, p.278.

²²³ “Bir resim,, bir fikirdir. Bir resim, yüz sahifelik yazı ile ifade olunamayacak siyasi ve hissî manaları telkin eder.” Tahsin Paşa, *Sultan Abdülhamid: Tahsin Paşa'nın Yıldız Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi, 1996), p.351

images, Abdülhamid II put these into use to impress the public via periodicals.²²⁴ On the other hand, the advent of the Second Constitutional Era marked a breakthrough for the use of the image. With the abolishment of the censorship, satirical press that heavily relied on caricatures and cartoons became a prominent actor.²²⁵ At the same time, periodicals in affluent numbers started to use the title *musavver* (illustrated) as a means to enhance their prestige and attract the interest of the readers.²²⁶ Nevertheless, publishing an illustrated periodical was costly and almost impossible to continue without a strong financial support.²²⁷ The publishing lives of these mostly weekly periodicals usually varied between a couple of issues and 30-40 issues.²²⁸ Only rarely these numbers were exceeded.

As already mentioned in the previous section, *Donanma* was a costly enterprise for the Navy League as well and in total meant a significant financial loss. However, its functionality as an illustrated propaganda medium rendered the journal as a profitable establishment and a means to optimize the available infrastructure of the empire for the ends of influencing the public opinion and establishing a common memory, in this case a visual one. By 1914 the journal was quickly incorporated within the state's attempts at visual propaganda.

Donanma's transition from a monthly magazine to a weekly one could be regarded as a part of this integration. From its 49th issue onwards the journal was turned into a newsreel, and its visual character was enhanced. *Donanma* abandoned its 17x25 cm size for 25x36 cm and increased the numbers of the images it published as well as their sizes. Excluding the affluent number of ship photographs, the journal used approximately 1.552 images throughout its 9 years and 192 issues. For the first 48 issues, the number of the visuals amounted to 596 and for the rest of the 144 issues to 956. Considering that the journal had 65 pages on average for the former period, this

²²⁴ Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1993), p. 59,67-68; Micklewright, *Ibid*, p.278.

²²⁵ Brummett, *Ibid*.

²²⁶ Nâzım H Polat, *Rübâb Mecmuası Ve II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Türk Kültür, Edebiyat Hayatı* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2005), p.54.

²²⁷ Tokgöz. *Ibid*.

²²⁸ "Hakkı Tarık Us Kütüphanesi Süreli Yayınlar Kataloğu," https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/sureli_yayinlar/ (accessed June 26, 2007).

meant 0.18 visuals per page.²²⁹ Estimating the average page number for the latter term as 16 (excluding the last five issues which were published as monthly), the rate of the visuals per page was 0.44. The frequency of the images increased more than double times in the post-1914 period. On the other hand, the sizes of the visuals were also enlarged in parallel to the paper size. The diagonal length of the images on the inner front cover of *Donanma* ranged between 13.5-14 cm for the pre-1914 period. In the latter period, this range was extended to 19-21 cm, corresponding to an increase of 1.5 times. Hence, the journal's visual appeal was boosted significantly in the latter period that in return added up to its capability in emitting the visual propaganda.

In this context, *Donanma* as an illustrated propaganda tool was comparable almost only to *Harb Mecmuası*, which was published as an expression of the state's prestige.²³⁰ The latter journal was printed on a paper of best quality, and its textual content was dwarfed by its visuals. Hence, it appeared more as a photography journal rather than an illustrated periodical. In terms of its material quality and the frequency of the visuals used per issue, *Harb Mecmuası* was clearly superior to *Donanma* and a complete novelty by itself with regard to visual propaganda. However, *Harb Mecmuası* was titled as a bi-weekly journal yet published -except January and February 1916- as monthly.²³¹ The journal had 27 issues from its first publication in October 1915 to the last in June 1918; whereas, in the same period, *Donanma* published 105 issues. Therefore, it could be argued that *Donanma* reached the Ottoman public on a more frequent basis than *Harb Mecmuası* did and hence was more dynamic in responding to the ongoing events.²³²

²²⁹ Including the lists of the donators the amount of the pages per issue equaled to 78 and images per page reduced to 0.15.

²³⁰ Koroğlu, Ibid, p.190

²³¹ The journal had on average 16 pages per issue as *Donanma*.

²³² Nonetheless, it should be noted that *Donanma* ceased its publications for 28 months between February 1916 and July 1917. *Harb Mecmuası* was not published for September 1916, January/February 1917, June 1917, September 1917 and January/February 1917-April 1918.

CHAPTER II

PRELUDE TO THE WAR: “LÂ’LÎ’S CHOICE”

“What would she do? What would she do now? Here, every part of her was smeared with the wicked spittle of the enemy that did not respect purity. Her chastity was being torn apart violently. Nobody responded her screams, nobody came to her succor. So, she was going to be the toy of a wild beast’s most filthy and loathsome pleasures. No, no, no... No! But how would she escape? Her power was exhausted, she was unable to move. She could hardly budge her arms. It was as if iron rings were put around her neck, as if she was dressed in an invisible and leaden straitjacket. She stuttered sobbingly: Stop, stop, let me, I am fainting... Let me rest... Let me rest and then... [...] Lâ’lî walked to the open window tottering like intoxicated. And disappeared with a sudden move.”²³³

Appearing first within the pages of *Donanma* between July 27 - October 5, 1914, Ömer Seyfeddin’s *Beyaz Lale* embodied a gory hate story filled with extreme nationalist repulsion. Its “innocent” and “heavenly” Turkish female protagonist Lâ’lî stood for a metaphor par excellence that denoted the “fallen” Ottoman Empire. She was trapped in her house with a Bulgarian major Radko Balkanesky alluding the “West”, who murdered Lâ’lî’s family, ordered the massacre of the Turkish inhabitants of her town, deceived Lâ’lî with lies to enter her home and was now trying to rape her. She was depicted in an ultimate despair: “an ambrosial and obstinate prey in Radko’s claw,”²³⁴

²³³ “Ne yapacaktı? Şimdi ne yapacaktı? İşte her yerine mukaddesat tanımayan düşmanın şeni’ tükürükleri sürülmüştü. Namusu zorla parçalanıyordu. Bağırmaalarına hiçbir cevap aksetmiyor, imdadına kimse yetişmiyordu. Demek o, bir vahşi hayvanın en kirli ve en iğrenç eğlencelerine alet olacaktı. Hayır, hayır, hayır... Hayır. Ama nasıl kurtulacaktı? Kuvveti bitmiş, kımıldayacak hali kalmamıştı. Kollarını zorla oynatıyordu. Sanki, boğazına demirden halkalar geçirilmiş, arkasına görünmez ve kurşundan bir işkence gömleği giydirilmişti. Hıçkırarak kekeledi: Dur, dur, bırak, fena oluyorum... Dinleneyim, dinleneyim de de öyle... [...] Lâli sarhoş gibi sallanarak pencerenin önüne gitti. Ve bir anda gözle görülmeyecek derecede ani bir hareketle orada kayboldu” Ömer Seyfettin, “Beyaz Lale,” *Donanma*, no: 62, 5 October 1914, p.223.

²³⁴ Ibid.

alone, vulnerable and defenseless. The only way to avert disgrace seemed as a solemn death which Ömer Seyfeddin reserved to her. Nevertheless, even death itself could not help Lâ'îf's body. Radko took her back to the bedroom and fulfilled his "most wicked desires."²³⁵

The story was written nearly one year before its publication, on 15 September 1913. It reflected an extreme nationalist response to the Balkan Wars that deprived the Empire from most of its European territories, exhausted its material and human resources and caused a profound social trauma.²³⁶ The defeats suffered during the period explicitly displayed the military incapability of the Empire, and the ruling cadres of the state found themselves increasingly isolated within the international power play.²³⁷ The Empire apparently lacked the means to recover and seemed inapt to hold itself up alone.²³⁸ The treaties that settled the Balkan Wars during the summer of 1913 divided the Empire into influence zones among the Western powers.²³⁹ The capitulations were perceived more burdensome and malevolent than ever.²⁴⁰ The prevailing fear was that the "Eastern Question" was about to be concluded, and that the future of the Empire was left at the mercy of its arch enemy Russia.²⁴¹ The militarist wing of the CUP predicted this as an inevitable process that would result in the partition of the country.²⁴² Until the later part of 1914, there seemed little hope for a change in these circumstances. The Empire was in dire need of outside assistance to carry out major reforms at a time when a great European war was expected. The attempts at securing an alliance with the major groupings of Europe seemed futile, and the Empire even failed to convince the Balkan states to agree upon such a pact.²⁴³

²³⁵ Ibid, p.224.

²³⁶ Ali İhsan Sabis, *Harp Hatıralarım* , vol.1, (İstanbul: Nehir Yayınları, 1990), p.42.

²³⁷ *Donanma*, no: 62, 5 October 1914, p.224.

²³⁸ Lüdke, Ibid, p.40.

²³⁹ Stefanos Yerasimos. *Az Gelişmişlik Sürecinde Türkiye*, vol.2, (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1975), p.1101

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Yerasimos, Ibid. The moderate wing of the government perceived the situation more optimistically.

²⁴³ Erickson, Ibid, p.67.

However, the historical context in which *Beyaz Lale* was written and published differed notably, hence its metaphorical value and utility as well. The last episode of the story portraying Lâ'î's struggle with Balkanesky and her suicide appeared on the 62nd issue of *Donanma* on October 5, 1914; at a time when the Empire had already signed a secret alliance with Germany and was drifting into war as a payoff for ending its diplomatic isolation.²⁴⁴ The story ended with the depiction of Lâ'î lying on the bed, "her arm hanging over a bloody pillow as if she was trying to hold on the abysses of the nonexistence."²⁴⁵ These lines were accompanied by two photographs on the same page, that of a German cruiser "Emden"²⁴⁶ on the top left corner and that of a British torpedo boat "Bullfinch," being sunk by German torpedoes on the bottom (see figure II.1).²⁴⁷ Lâ'î's screams that fell on deaf ears within the text were now compensated by the military potency of Germany, and she was now given something to hold on instead of an abyss. Further, the reader was even assuaged by the tragic image of "Bullfinch," as it was represented as a retaliation for the atrocity done to Lâ'î, at the expense of intermingling fantasy with the reality.

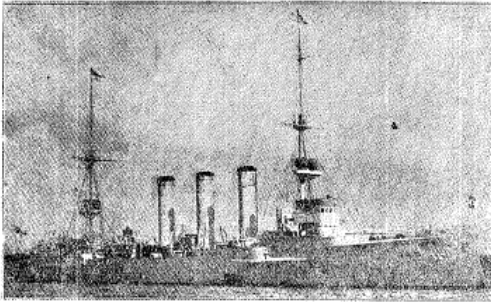
The original story, intact from visual manipulation, crystallized the general theme of the nationalist propaganda in the post-Balkan Wars period: the exploitation of the collective anxiety and the popular sentiments for the ends of mobilizing the masses to act materially and spiritually against the detrimental effects of the war. It intended to forge a strong repulsion and a need for revenge among the public to redeem the disgrace suffered during these wars. Indeed, the story was a literary effort that paralleled the CUP's attempts to nationalize and to militarize the public sphere. Yet, the published version of *Beyaz Lale*, modified the propagandist message of the story and utilized the very same feelings aroused by it to justify the alliance with Germany, to buttress the general mobilization announced on 2 August 1914 and to convince the public for the need to intervene the war. The element of insecurity was going to play a pivotal role in managing the public opinion for the next three months following the Ottoman-German alliance and to establish a popular support around it.

²⁴⁴ Yerasimos, Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ömer Seyfeddin, Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Emden earned an instant fame after the beginning of the Great War because of its unpredictable pirate raids on the Pacific Ocean against the Entente powers.

²⁴⁷ *Donanma*, No: 62, 5 October 1914, p.224.



انگلیزی هندستان سولنده دهشته افا ایدن: آلمان قرووا زوری (ممره)

اما یورولدی. براز دوردی. اوررتیی برصو ثوقاق ائلبه، دامارلرینه، کیکلرینه یا بیلغمه باشلابوردی. اورکدی کیری چکیلدی بر برینه قاریشان اوزون و قیورجق کیری کیکلرینه باقدی. مورارمش اغزی، وسوبله نلر شکایتلری صوصاراق هایقیران سیاه و مینی مینی بر چوقور حالنده آچقدی. ایصیره ایصیره بارجالادینی مەمەلری یا صصیلانمش، قارنی ایجیری چوکشیدی. ممرلشن باجاقلری، کری و بوکوک، سەرلیوردی. و اولدکن صوگرا بو محو اولان مقدس مانی کبی، لکسز و نورانی قاصیلرندن، صولنون ورنکسز قان دامالاری صزییوردی. باقدی، باقدی، باقدی. باقدیجه اورکەسی، آرتەجق برده کیدی. و... بیکدن اشتالاندی. اوڭ طرفی خراب بو اولوبی، باشقا دورلوده خیر بالامق و کیرلتمک ایچین، بوسفر یوزی قویون چورمک ایسته دی. دیزلرینک اوسته قالفارکن...

آجی برجنغراق سسی...
رادقو اولبه قالدی. و قولاغنی قاپارتدی. بو آجی چینغراق سسی بر دفعه دها دریندن، غالباً بودروم قاتندن عکس ایتمدی. ایشته دیمچو کندیسسی چاغیر یوردی. دیمک مهم بر ایش واردی. قاربولادن ایندی. جینلکک چوزلمش و قومیش برده لرینه شاقاقلرینک، آلتنک، اگسه سنک ترلرینی سلبدی. برده کی ائوابلرینی، کهرینه رەك و اُسنه رەك، کینرکن اوسونمز وحشی حرصک آله بولند بر دیک دیک و دالغین کوزلرینی حالایا قادن آیرامیوردی. و اوراده لعلینک شیمیدی صوغویان، دونان، قاتیلانسان جسدی غایت اغیر و جهنمی برطاشک آلتنده ازیلش بوبوک، بیاض، معنوی و اخروی بر لاله سکونیه یاتیور، قانلانش یا صدیقک اوزرندن آشاخی به صارقان بر قوی صانکه طوونمق ایچین عدمک نهایتسز بوشلقلری آرییوردی.

- خنام -

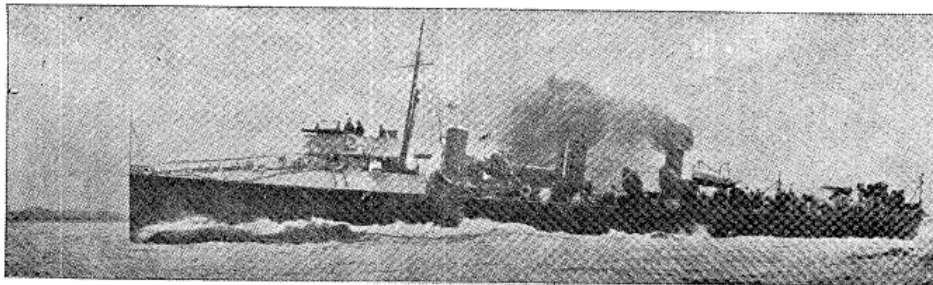
۱۵ ایلول ۱۳۲۹ .

دالره، اوزاق چیچکلره کربابلاشان نهایتسز بر اوچوروم کبی درینله شور؛ قوی و صیق چینلرک اوستده لعلی یوزی قویون یاتیوردی. دماغنده باقچی، پارچالایی بر ییلدیریم چاقدی: ه یا اولدیه... « اوت یا اولدیه؟ بو قدر یا قلاشدینی، قوینه آلدینی، قوقلادینی، اوبدیکی، ایصردینی حقیقت اولمش بر سعادت؛ خیالی، بالایی و اکیسک بر اختلاج رویایی کبی سونو ویره جکمدی؟ قودورمش بر هجانه دوندی. صفیه یوردی. مەردیوه نلری دردر، بشر آتلادی. صاپاندن قورتولمش بر چاقیل طاشی چابوقغیله ایکیچی ورنجی قاپلردن کیدی. باغچه چیقدی. لعلی نك اوزرینه آیلدی. هان آرقه سی اوستی چوریدی. نبضلرینی طوتدی. آتما یوردی. ایلبه قلدنی یوقلادی. اکیلدی. قولاغنی قویدی. دیگه دی، دیگه دی. هیچ چاریم یوردی. او ایشیدی. آه بو کوزل لاله قوجاغندن قاجارق روحی اولومه ویرمش فقط... فقط ایشته حالا صولامشیدی. تازه حیانتک، امثالسز کوزل لککنک علوی و مهتابدن رنگی هنوز طور یوردی. و صوغومەدن، دیه میریلاندی، صوغومەدن... بو بها بیچیلز اولو داهاصی چاقدی. صوغومەدن... بیر اتمامش عشقتک، طوقونلماش قیزلنک کیم بیلیر نه قدر باشقه اولان اومستنا لذتی بیر بارچه اولسون طادیلانمز میدی؟ دوشومەدی. چابوجاق صوغویا چغندن قورقور یوردی. اوموزلری برلنمش، کورونمز قانلره یختیلانمش صاجلری کوشنه و مەمەلرینه دولاشمش نارین جسدی قوجاغنه آلدی. جنتک حوربلردن و مؤمنلردن اوزاق و تنها بر کوشه سنده اللهنه عبادت ایدرکن اوومش قالمش بر ملائکه جکی قاجیران خائن بر شیطان اعتدالیه، قوشاراق ایندیکی مەردیوه نلری یته یاواش یاواش چیقدی. او طهیه کیدی. لعلینک اولوسنی بر دقیقه اول، صاغ ایکن ایچنده چیریندردینی، چارشافلری بوروشمش، یا تاغه اوزاتدی.

آرتیق بو کوشه ن نفیس قوللر فارشی کله میور، آرتیق کوشه ن و دمنیکی کبی سوکوله زبر اصرا دایله کیلدله نه مین باجاقلر کندیلکندن آچیلوردی.

رادقو بو اولوبه ایسته دیکی وضعیتی ویردی. و اوستده شنیع آرزوسنک اُک قارانلق، اُک پيس، اُک کیرلی آتشلرینی طوتوشوردی. اونک صوگ قالان حرارتلرینی ایچدی. امدی، ایصردی. حتی ییک ایسته دی. قانی چیقما یان یا ناقلری دیشلریله قویاردی.

قنمادی، دویمادی، بیقمادی.



شمال دکزنده آلمان طورپیلار لیه غرق اولان انگلیز طورپیدو غیری: (بولغینیج)

Figure II.1 – The last page of *Beyaz Lale*

In this context, the propaganda of *Donanma*, as it was the case for other pro-war publications, appeared as an optimistic call for the people to assault its enemies and offered great promises dressed in Pan-Turkist and Pan-Islamist dreams.²⁴⁸ On the one hand, the war was represented as a struggle for existence, yet on the other, it was depicted as an irredentist campaign that would merge the whole Turkish and Islamic world together. Nevertheless, it was clear that such grandiloquent pledges were ill-founded without addressing at a benefactor even with an ardent and zealous popular support. Thus, the guarantor of these dreams was designated as Germany, the image of which was exalted as a great victor whom the Ottomans ought to follow along the path to the glory.

On the other hand, the catastrophic outcome of the war gave rise to a series of apologetic arguments by the CUP's leaders, which shared the metaphorical fabric of *Beyaz Lale*. The portrayal of a graceful death versus an ignominious passivity prevailed in their statements. Cemal Pasha, as a member of the CUP's triumvirate, advocated their decision by claiming that to fight heroically as a "brave and chivalrous" nation until the last drop of its blood, and to say that "*I have lost everything but my chastity*" was preferable over submitting itself passively and dishonorably to the "cruelties" of Russia, Britain and France.²⁴⁹ Said Halim Pasha, the grand vizier of the Empire until 1917, regarded neutrality as something that would end in "*an eternal shame, depriving the Empire even of a graceful death that would suit its glorious past.*"²⁵⁰ As another prominent figure of the CUP and the triumvirate, Talat Pasha spoke in a similar tone in the post-war period. Addressing at a British authority he stated: "*However, you were avoiding us. [...] And we were trying to find a way to hold us up. [...] You pushed us to the arms of Germany. We did not have any other choice. Other options were either death or being divided.*"²⁵¹ The prevailing expression depicted the Empire as "*a prey in*

²⁴⁸ Koroğlu, Ibid, p.165

²⁴⁹ Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar: İttihat Ve Terakki, I.Dünya Savaşı Anıları* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2001), p.160.

²⁵⁰ Mehmet Sait Halim Paşa, *Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri* (İstanbul: İz yayıncılık, 1991), p.310.

²⁵¹ Yalman, Ibid. p.68.

the claw of Russia” and “*a man beset in a forest by robbers.*”²⁵² In this context, it was “Lâ’li’s choice” between death and disgrace that would be utilized to justify and legitimize the Ottoman intervention in the post-1918 period.

Basing on this framework, this chapter will try to provide an insight into the politics of insecurity, and how this element was used by *Donanma* through visuals to fuel the public support for the ends of the war in the antebellum Ottoman Empire. In order to serve this purpose, first the pre-war dynamics within the Empire will be analyzed, and then looked at how insecurity was switched on and off to consolidate the CUP’s power. Subsequently, the journal’s efforts to support the Ottoman general mobilization will be evaluated. The rest of the chapter will deal with how Germany was casted as a role model for the Ottoman mobilization and recovery, with the promise of absolute victory.

II.1. Taking Sides: Extremists versus Moderates

At the advent of the Great War, the Ottoman government was far from a united front vis-à-vis the Great Powers and the war itself. The preferences and intensions of its members were deeply divided. For the time, Ali İhsan Sabis identified four major factions: (i) the ones who were “blindly” adherents of Germany; (ii) the proponents of France, Britain and Russia; (iii) those who preferred neutrality until the deficiencies were ameliorated and advocated an intervention on the German side only after; and (iv) those who were complete pacifists.²⁵³ Ahmet Emin Yalman, on the other hand, drew a simpler picture. According to Yalman, there were just two groups: the extremists and the moderates.²⁵⁴ The latter formulation seems preferable as it takes the pragmatic orientations of the Unionists’ into account, whose attitudes were anything but fixed. Their personal sympathies and proclivities towards particular European powers were

²⁵² Corrigan, H. S. W., ‘German-Turkish Relations and the Outbreak of War in 1914: Re-Assessment’, *Past and Present*, Vol. 10, Issue 36 (April, 1967), pp. 147.

²⁵³ Sabis, *Ibid.*, p.65

²⁵⁴ Yalman, *Ibid.*, p.251.

only of marginal importance.²⁵⁵ The essential difference between both parties emerged at picking the most profitable course of action that would serve the state's interests.²⁵⁶

On the one hand, the moderates suggested keeping the Empire out of the war. A major European confrontation would give the state the time it direly needed to recover from the trauma of the Balkan Wars. Domestic reforms could be instigated, the army and the navy reinstated and the empire could have been gradually raised out of misery by patient work.²⁵⁷ Hence, the war seemed as an exceptional opportunity that would assure the Empire's survival.²⁵⁸ They calculated that it was unlikely for a belligerent state to assault a neutral country that possessed a military force of one million hardened soldiers.²⁵⁹ The clock would tick in the favor of the Empire, and as major powers curbed each other's power down, Ottomans could strengthen themselves and remain fresh for the aftermath of the war.²⁶⁰

Yet, the predictions of the moderates suffered from one miscalculation. The Empire lacked the resources to engage in any kind of reform and required the assistance of one great power or the other. Since all of them would be in war and would therefore need all their materials for their own war effort, it was quite unlikely for the Empire to secure any significant form of help from the belligerent parties by staying neutral.²⁶¹ At the outbreak of the war, the initial position of the moderates was to be replaced with averting the intervention as long as possible.

On the other hand, the extremists regarded moderation as the imposition of the current status quo, and sought to alter it in the first apposite occasion.²⁶² They drew upon mainly from the newly awakening Turkish nationalism that called aggressively for the cleansing of the smirch cast upon the Empire by the Balkan Wars.²⁶³ Within the

²⁵⁵ Lüdke, *Ibid.*, p.40.

²⁵⁶ Ahmad, *Ibid.*, p.67

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; Yalman, *Ibid.*, p.63.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Yalman, p.73.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ Lüdke, *Ibid.*, p.41

²⁶² Yalman, *Ibid.*, p.63.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

discourse of the extremists, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism fed upon each other and formed a common ground around their discontent with a merely passive attitude.²⁶⁴ The extremists' sided with the Central Powers right from the start since their irredentist aims could only be realized at the expense of Russia, Britain and France.²⁶⁵

The moderates and the extremists were in agreement on one fundamental ground: the need for a strong ally. Both parties were aware of the fact that neither of them could realize their projections with the resources available to the Empire. For the moderates, the state needed a guarantor that would provide protection against any further aggression and for the extremists a war partner that would help it to reshape the new status quo on the Empire's favor. Thus, a frantic search for such an ally was launched immediately after the Balkan Wars.²⁶⁶ However, the outcome of this effort was to come quite late. The German ambassador Freiherr von Wangenheim wired Gottlieb von Jagow, the German foreign minister, about Ottomans' pragmatic attitude as late as 14 July 1914 as follows: “[...] Turkey, in her present situation could assume no other position than that of swinging like a pendulum between powers, eventually joining the stronger and more successful group.”²⁶⁷

The new international status quo that brought France, Britain and Russia together around *Entente Cordial* rendered it impossible for the Empire to exploit the balance of power among these three states.²⁶⁸ Desperately in need of Russia's help against the Central Powers, France and Britain were not interested in resorting to their pre-Crimean War policies, and it seemed futile to seek any help against Russia on the side of the Entente.²⁶⁹ In return, the Entente would politely turn down the alliance offers by the Empire during the course to the war, narrowing the options of the Ottoman leadership further.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ahmad, Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ernest Jackh, *The Rising Crescent: Turkey Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, (New York: Farrar& Rinehar, Inc., 1944), p.10-11.

²⁶⁸ There seemed no hope to restore the status quo prior to the Crimean War of 1856.

²⁶⁹ Yalman, Ibid, p.65.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

At this juncture, the alliance signed with Germany on 2 August 1914, came as a relief for both sides rather than creating a source of controversy on the preferred camp.²⁷¹ It was largely accepted as a decision taken “uninfluenced in any way by the Entente, but under an overwhelming pressure by the Germans.”²⁷² The treaty was highly confidential that was kept undisclosed even to the majority of the cabinet members, and concluded among Enver Pasha, Said Halim Pasha and Wangenheim.²⁷³ Even two other prominent members of the triumvirate -Cemal and Talat- were informed later, and the treaty was shared as a secret between the Triumvirate, Said Halim, Halil [Menteşe]²⁷⁴, Cavid²⁷⁵ and Mustafa Hayri for a while.²⁷⁶ The prominent source of discontent for the moderates, represented by Cavid Bey, was the terms of the treaty which were regarded as unfavorable.²⁷⁷

The document was written on 24 July 1914, and when it was signed on August 2, its content was already obsolete as Germany had declared war on Russia just hours ago.²⁷⁸ The stipulations of the treaty were quite ambiguous, and it was not clear what it really stood for.²⁷⁹ On paper, the alliance did not directly force the Empire into the war and was limited in its sanctioning power.²⁸⁰ However, the real worth of the document stemmed from its secrecy. The physical existence of the document, rather than its terms, emerged as a means of influence and presented a value in enforcing secondary actions.²⁸¹ The mere presence of the treaty threatened the Entente on the one hand, and on the other enabled Germany and the extremists to manipulate the Empire into the war as swiftly as possible.

²⁷¹ Cemal Pasha: “El hayru fi ma vaka’a”. Cemal Paşa, *Ibid.*, p.79.

²⁷² Yalman, *Ibid*, p.71.

²⁷³ Erickson, *Ibid*, p. 69.

²⁷⁴ The president of the Ottoman parliament.

²⁷⁵ The minister of finance.

²⁷⁶ The sheikh-el-islam.

²⁷⁷ Feroz Ahmad, *Ibid*, p. 45.

²⁷⁸ Erickson, *Ibid*, p.46.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*.

²⁸¹ *Ibid*.

On the eve of the war, the moderates as well as the extremists acknowledged that the Ottoman Empire would have to intervene in the European confrontation whether to secure its survival or to protect its interests.²⁸² It was of general recognition that the state was “virtually committed to fight at least in a limited war.”²⁸³ As of August 1914, the question of “when” rather than “why” seems more relevant for the conflict between both parties. The moderates resisted on adjourning the intervention as long as possible to take advantage of the intra-imperialistic clash, to reserve the Empire the time it needed to rest and recover, and to join the war at the most favorable point.²⁸⁴ The extremists, on the other hand, were encouraged by the initial victories of Germany, and wanted to side with the seemingly victorious faction as promptly as possible. They predicted a short war that would end soon around Christmas, or in the summer of 1915 at the latest.²⁸⁵ Thus, they seemed eager to risk to drive an unprepared empire into the war vis-à-vis an exceptional chance of glory.²⁸⁶ The time spent in neutrality, which the moderates perceived as an advantage, occurred to them as to miss the opportunity to sit at the peace table with the winning side.

The functioning of the Ottoman diplomacy complicated the struggle between the moderates and the extremists further. The state lacked a centrally defined, coherent foreign policy, and relied on the individual efforts of the CUP’s inner circle members. This, in return, resulted in a total chaos in terms of foreign policy making. Personal charismas and contacts of the individuals prevailed over general institutional framework accompanied by multiple *fait accomplis* and secret plots. In this context, the period up until October 1914 was marked with tremendous discrepancies in which almost no one was fully in control of the situation.²⁸⁷ The lack of coordination prevented the government from establishing a balanced control mechanism that could alleviate or at least delay the Empire’s drift into the war.²⁸⁸ The cabinet could array its diplomatic goals only as late as October 12, 1914, seemingly marking a victory for the moderates.

²⁸² Ahmad, Ibid, p.67.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Yalman, Ibid, p. 257.

²⁸⁵ Ahmad, Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Yalman, Ibid, p.73.

²⁸⁷ Erickson, p. 53.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

The decision of the cabinet was to procrastinate the intervention at least for a further six months. However, the general accord was undermined in just two weeks of time by another *fait accompli* as the Ottoman fleet bombed Russian harbors on 29 October 1914 by the order of Enver Pasha, the minister of war.²⁸⁹

Although the extremists seemed to be in the minority within the government, they had the upper-hand in terms of their influence over the party organization and the army. This, in return, rendered them far more powerful than the moderates when it came to individual politics.²⁹⁰ Enver Pasha headed the extremists in zeal for war and controlled the army. Yet Talat Pasha's siding with him as the minister of the interior and the head of the general committee of the CUP was at least as important as Enver's influence over the military.

Talat Pasha had the means to control and to manipulate the public opinion at his disposal, including the general directorate of the press.²⁹¹ Kazım Karabekir, the head of the Ottoman military intelligence at the time, noted that already on August 3 the ministry of the interior was planning to take measures to control the press in order to prevent anti-war publications.²⁹² İsmail Canbulat, the undersecretary to Talat Pasha, uttered the intention of the ministry to Karabekir as follows: "*All the newspapers and the journals except Tanin will be closed down. [...] What we fear is that other newspapers might oppose the war. [...] We can coalesce the whole press under the title of Tanin and let them publish in equivalent volumes and numbers.*"²⁹³ In response, Karabekir criticized Canbulat for trying to array the members of the press into military brigades and to offer them to the order and the commandment of Talat Pasha.²⁹⁴ The newspapers did not get closed; nevertheless, the general censorship announced on 7 August 1914 brought the press under the strict regulation of the ministry.

Tanin, the official publication of the CUP, quickly sided with the extremists. The change in its discourse was quite remarkable. On July 30, the newspaper stated that

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Yalman, Ibid. p.64.

²⁹¹ Karabekir, Ibid, p.165.

²⁹² Ibid, p.167-168.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

it did not foresee a general war, and the next day it claimed that there was still hope for a peace in Europe.²⁹⁵ On August 2, it predicted only a limited local war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary.²⁹⁶ On August 3, *Tanin* claimed that there was not any single person supporting risky policies in İstanbul, yet three days later it suggested that it was almost impossible to remain neutral.²⁹⁷ On August 8, the newspaper published Ziya Gökalp's *Kızıl Destan* (The Crimson Saga) that said:

“The lands of the enemy will be ruined!
Turkey would grow into Turan!
[...] The lands of the civilization will be covered in red blood!
A piece of its ends will become the new Balkan!”²⁹⁸

The general centre of the CUP encouraged *Tanin* for further pro-war publications. When Kazım Karabekir complained about these to the general director of the press, Hikmet Bey, he received the following response: “*The general centre and the government, to be more precise Talat Bey, have pro-war intentions. Tanin gets inspired by them! They would sympathize anything but anti-war publications. For this, Tanin's writing cadre has been promoted.*”²⁹⁹ Karabekir also received an indirect warning by Hafız Hakkı Pasha, the second chief of the Ottoman General Staff:

“There had been several complaints to Talat Bey about soldiers and some staff officers. Supposedly they were propagating against war! It has been now ordered by Enver Pasha to warn these friends. [...] By no means oppose the war! About the press: Do not bother with their regarding publications. Our duty is to check and censor the military news. Issues other than these belong to the ministry of the interior and the newspapers themselves.”³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ *Tanin*, “Siyasi Faaliyet,” 30 July 1914.

²⁹⁶ *Tanin*, “Hal ve Mevki Avrupa'da Balkanlar'da,” 2 August 1914.

²⁹⁷ *Tanin*, “Vukuattan Alınacak Dersler,” 3 August 1914

²⁹⁸ “Düşmanın ülkesi viran olacak!
Türkiye büyüyüp Turan olacak!”
“Medeniyet yurdu al akan olacak!
Her ucu yeni Balkan olacak!” Ziya Gökalp, *Tanin*, “Kızıl Destan,” 8 August 1914.

²⁹⁹ Karabekir, *Ibid.*, p.184.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.186.

When Karabekir objected Hafız Hakkı, the latter kindly reminded: “*You know Kazım, to whom Tanin belongs! For sure they know something. Neither do have we the right to force them, nor do we have the power to do so!*”³⁰¹

The ministry’s efforts were paralleled by the itinerant pro-war campaigns of several Unionist deputies.³⁰² Indeed, Enver Pasha felt the need to dispatch the above-mentioned warning in reference to one of them. The deputy of Istanbul Yağcızade Şefik Bey together with Übeydullah and Nesim Mazelyah Effendis organized a conference in the municipality of Bandırma and propagated for the immediate intervention of the empire into the war. When they asked for the reaction of the audience, Cafer Tayyar Bey, the 4th Corps’ chief of staff, objected by avowing that such a case would result in a disaster.³⁰³ After their return to Istanbul, these deputies complained about Cafer Tayyar’s attitude to Talat.³⁰⁴ The minister conveyed their grievances to Enver and the latter to Hafız Hakkı.³⁰⁵

This particular event also provides a glimpse into the Navy League’s standpoint vis-à-vis the war. Yağcızade Şefik Bey was the president of the League, and the ministry of the interior utilized the organic ties it had established with the institution right from the beginning of the war.³⁰⁶ *Donanma* followed the League in its campaign to arouse a popular pro-war support among the public with rising intensity. On the eve of the empire’s intervention, the journal was full of pro-German and pro-war imagery supported by Pan-Turanist and Pan-Islamist textual content. Kazım Karabekir noted with great displeasure one such issue of *Donanma* dated on 19 October 1914. The issue contained photographs of German commanders grouped under the title of “the ones who drive Germany to the glory” which were followed by a poem under the name of “The Path of the Turk” signed by Fuad Nevzad.³⁰⁷ One verse of the poem was as follows:

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid, p.187.

³⁰³ Karabekir, Ibid, p.187.

³⁰⁴ Karabeki, Ibid, p. 188.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Talat Pasha had been a member of the League’s central committee since 1912.

³⁰⁷ *Donanma*, no: 64, 19 October 1914, p.249-251.

“Look with careful eyes you would feel,
The deep longing for Algeria, Morocco
India, Tunisia, Zingiber, Java and Caucasia
The love of the Turk is definitely all there”³⁰⁸

However, the ministry of the interior was by no means alone in manipulating the press and the public opinion for the ends of the war. The German embassy ardently engaged in emitting its own propaganda and provided the press with news stories, articles and clichés.³⁰⁹ The provision of the latter was of utmost importance in shaping the visual preferences of the press. Clichés were quite expensive and only a few of the Ottoman periodicals could afford them. The ample supply of these plates suddenly flooded the pages of the periodicals with pro-German visuals.³¹⁰ At the same time, the newly emerging German intelligence offices around the empire provided the public with illustrated war magazines and photo albums.³¹¹ Kazım Karabekir grudgingly regarded their own propaganda attempts as dim and unappealing in comparison to the German and Austrian embassies’ efforts which he described as affluent and attractive. Drawing upon Ahmed Emin; “*long before Turkey’s entry into the war, every Turkish paper had openly taken the German side.*”³¹²

II.2. Forging Order and Peace at Home: A Search for an “Eternal Tranquility”

At the advent of the war, the international isolation and the perceived outside threat to the state’s existence was the preponderant source of insecurity felt by the empire, nevertheless not the only one. The post-1908 period witnessed a series of

³⁰⁸ “Çeşm-i dikkatle bak eder ihsas
İştıyak-ı derun Cezayir, Fas
Hind, Tunus, Zengibar, Cava, Kafkas
Aşkî oralarda hep ayan Türk’ün”
Fuad Nevzâd, “Türkün Yolu,” Ibid. p.251.

³⁰⁹ Yalman, Ibid, p.70. Karabekir, Ibid, p.119,165,194.

³¹⁰ Quite many of *Donanma*’s visuals wore the signature of a German or an Austrian artist during this period as well as during the war.

³¹¹ İsmail Hakkı [Sunata], receiving his military training as a prospective reserve officer at the time, recorded that: “The Germans had opened an intelligence office in Beyoğlu. I was used to visit there, take illustrated war magazines and look at their pictures under the somber light of the yellow and pale lamps of the war academy.” İsmail Hakkı Sunata, *Gelibolu’dan Kafkaslar’a*, (Istanbul: Kültür Yayınları, 2003), p.33.

³¹² Yalman, Ibid, p.70.

political disturbances accompanied by intra-factional power conflicts that were characterized by unpredictable parades of violence.³¹³ Assassinations, plots, counter-plots, coups and incessant rumors referring to these plagued the domestic politics.³¹⁴ For a Unionist like Hüseyin Cahid [Yalçın], it was an act of dangerous acrobatics that aided the CUP to survive as “[...] *various powers were trying to bring it down and dissipate it.*”³¹⁵ Nevertheless, it was the very same act and the eagerness of the Unionists to resort on every possible means to hold onto power that oriented coercion and bloodshed as a part of the daily life.

Hence, throughout the period, the CUP’s name was strongly associated with violence. The “big stick elections” of 1912 and the raid on the Sublime Porte on January 23, 1913, added up to its reputation.³¹⁶ Even as late as the period of the general mobilization, a rumor such as that Enver and Cemal Pashas dueled during a cabinet meeting, and the latter shot the other, could be revered publicly.³¹⁷ In this context, the CUP found itself in a continuous need to remedy its menacing image on the one hand, and on the other to sooth the profound public anxiety stirred by the international and domestic traumas.

Having restored its power against the opposition as of the first months of 1913, the CUP tried hard to alleviate itself as the guarantor of the internal peace and the protector of the empire in the international arena. The assassination of the grand vizier Mahmut Şevket Pasha provided the Unionists with the opportunity to put a public display of its “power” on both spheres.³¹⁸ Foreign and Ottoman statesmen, military personnel and prominent civilians were invited to the funeral by the order of Cemal Pasha, the Guard of Istanbul at the time.³¹⁹ The people of the capital showed a great interest in the event as well.³²⁰ In his memoirs, Cemal Pasha estimated the number of

³¹³ Feroz Ahmad, *İttihat Ve Terakki, 1908-1914* (İstanbul: Kaynak, 1995), p. 214.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ “İttihat ve Terakki adeta tehlikeli bir canbazlık marifetiyle ayakta tutunabildi. Muhtelif tesirler onu yıkmaya ve dağıtmaya çalışıyordu.” Hüseyin Cahit, p.41

³¹⁶ Ahmad, Ibid.

³¹⁷ Cemal, Ibid., p.163.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ The guard of Istanbul at the time.

³²⁰ Ibid.

the participants as 150.000 and took pride of himself and the impact of the funeral by quoting an Italian admiral:³²¹

“That Cemal Bey must be a great entrepreneur! To organize such a funeral the next day of the assassination, at a time when not all of the killers are arrested, assembling all the foreign ambassadors and particularly the foreign admirals in such a narrow place, should indicate a moral courage and a trust in the perfection of the security measures. If someone would throw a hand grenade at us now, and some of us would get hurt even slightly, Istanbul would be occupied by the crews of our battleships. [...] Yet we are here and nothing has happened. If he could apprehend the murderers and their aides, Cemal Bey would pay a great service to his country. Because, in my opinion, the first outcome of it would be the departure of foreign fleets from the capital and the restoration of the normal conditions in the Bosphorus.”³²²

Regardless of the historical validity of this statement, Cemal Pasha’s narration and wording of it refer to the CUP’s aim to modify its image as the patron of the empire’s security, strongly relating domestic and international safety together. On the same page with the quote, it is possible to underscore his emphasis on “*establishing an eternal tranquility from now on,*” and on the following page “*the intention to illuminate the public both at home and at the outside, and to prove how monstrous [were] the accusations casted upon the CUP.*”³²³

On the other hand, internal order did not only suffer from the violent political confrontations. The law enforcement was quite problematic, and the police forces were derided and criticized for their inaptitude to prevent crime.³²⁴ The satirical press in particular, regarded the efforts to reform the police forces as cosmetic, and depicted the police as brutal, inefficient, corrupt, lazy, and indifferent.³²⁵ Thus, the CUP had to either resolve or to redress the urban crime and lawlessness in order to be able to enhance its image as the safeguard of order and peace. In the face of a major European conflict, the persuasion of the public to this seemed more crucial than ever to mobilize it for the ends of the war.

³²¹ Cemal, Ibid. p.58.

³²² Ibid, p.58-59

³²³ Ibid., p. 60.

³²⁴ Yalman, Ibid., p. 70.

³²⁵ Brummett, Ibid, p.267-269.

Donanma, in its pre-war propaganda, assisted the CUP to forge the image of domestic tranquility and the strength of the government to effectively prevent crime. The set of visuals published in the 54th issue of the journal, on August 2, 1914, were quite remarkable in this sense. Printed in the middle pages of the journal, these images portrayed the preferred aspects of the assassination attempt on the life of the Khedive of Egypt, Abbas Hilmi Pasha, which created a great tumult in Istanbul at the time.³²⁶

The attempt took place right at the heart of the government, in the Sublime Porte on July 25, 1914. Having visited the grand vizier Said Halim Pasha and the minister of interior Talat Pasha, the Khedive was leaving the Sublime Porte through its main gate in the presence of mounted officers, gendarmerie and police forces. A popular crowd, wishing to see the Khedive, was piled up on both sides of the road, out of which an Egyptian student Mahmud Mazhar came running towards the Khedive's car and managed to fire his pistol five times.³²⁷ Two of the bullets hit the Khedive's right cheek and wrist, and a third one wounded his son-in-law, Celaleddin Pasha, crippling him permanently.³²⁸ Yet none of the hits were deadly. The would-be assassin injured a civilian incumbent shortly before killed, and some of the people within the crowd also got hit by stray bullets.³²⁹

Having heard the gunshots, Said Halim, Enver and Talat Pashas came to the scene of the assassination as the Khedive received his first aid in the headquarters of the 1st army corps, the seat of the Guard of Istanbul.³³⁰ The incident was an international one, and the Khedive was paid visits by the foreign ambassadors in Istanbul as well as the prominent Ottoman figures. The telegraph office in Çubuklu required additional incumbents to deal with the excessive numbers of messages wishing health to the Khedive.³³¹

³²⁶ *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, "Abbas Hilmi Paşa'ya Suikast," Vol. 1, p. 15.

³²⁷ Çelik Gülersoy, *The Khedives and the Çubuklu Summer Palace* (İstanbul: Touring and Automobile Association of Turkey, 1993), p. 179.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, *Ibid.*

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ *Ibid.*

The attempt was unsuccessful; however, it had failed only slightly. Taking the place of the assault into consideration, the incident could be regarded as a fiasco on behalf of the Ottoman security forces. The Khedive was shot right after a meeting with the grand vizier, in the middle of the Sublime Porte and just meters away from the seat of the Guard of Istanbul. This was a strong challenge to the CUP's claim for the patronage of security both on the internal and the international spheres, and the Committee needed to find a way to maneuver out of the humiliating situation. This time, the CUP would resort on printed visual propoganda instead of a grandiose political ritual of power as was in the case of Mahmut Şevket Pasha's funeral.

Donanma published three images regarding the incident (see figure II.2 and figure II.3), and presented them to the readers as the "latest" photographs of the scene. These were accompanied by a two paragraphs story announcing that although the incident might have created a tumult among the ones who heard the gunshots, it did not result in a regrettable situation.³³² The journal praised the government stating that it "[...] gave an exemplary lesson to the ones with evil intentions by proving that it was alert and anticipatory with regard to the instantaneous incident."³³³ *Donanma* also added that the bullets targeting the Khedive and his son-in-law did not hit anywhere dangerous, and the assassin was killed immediately by the security forces.³³⁴

³³² *Donanma*, "Hidiv-i Mısır'a Suikast," No: 54, 3 August 1914, p. 88.

³³³ "[...]hükümet, vakay-ı aniye karşısında müteyakkız ve mütebassır olduğunu faaliyet ile isbat eylemek itibariyle bed-hâhâne ders-i ibret olmuştur." Ibid.

³³⁴ Ibid.



II.2 - The dead body of Mahmud Mazhar³³⁵



Figure II.3 – Mahmud Mazhar being carried away³³⁶

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

The journal's publication was a full testimony in favor of the government's aptitude to prevent crime by turning the incident into a complete success story. The coverage even dismissed the threat that the attempt presented by leaving unclear whether the Khedive got hurt. The images enhanced this testimony further. Figure II.2 portrayed the inanimate body of the would-be assassin lying at the feet of a soldier. The scene was a brutal one yet it was also a display of the government's strength, and how quickly and powerfully it could repress crime. The face of the soldier standing next to Mahmud Mazhar's body was left out of the frame. His mere presence in attention position with a proper uniform, military boots and holding his rifle seems as the depiction of the government, representing an omnipresent, alert and anticipatory stance. The frame displayed the superiority of the government over the criminal that was literally crushed by its legal forces. The criminal was completely neutralized as he lied in blood, and his pistol stood unreachable under the feet of the anonymous soldier. Hence, the photograph alluded two points; the presence of crime and the effectiveness of the government to stop it.

On the other hand, figure II.3 portrayed the removal of the assassin's body from the street, which in return could be regarded as the restoration of the order, as the last remnants of the menace was being put into a car. Once the body was cleared away from the street, the incident would end merely costing the life of the criminal and leave the prior status quo intact as no one else got hurt.

This was in harmony with another image published five pages before, on the same issue (see figure II.4). The photograph was independent from the textual content and portrayed Talat Pasha and Cemal Pasha with other ministers and deputies at the new section of the Gülhane Park. They enjoyed a public appearance, possibly for the celebration of the anniversary of the Constitution. The park was situated just a few hundred meters from the scene of the attempt, yet the two members of the Triumvirate looked quite pleased and relaxed. Although the precise date of the photograph is unavailable, the image seemed to be utilized to testify for the undisturbed order and peace as the prominent political figures were depicted among the public in a clearly comforted pose and without any sign of worry.

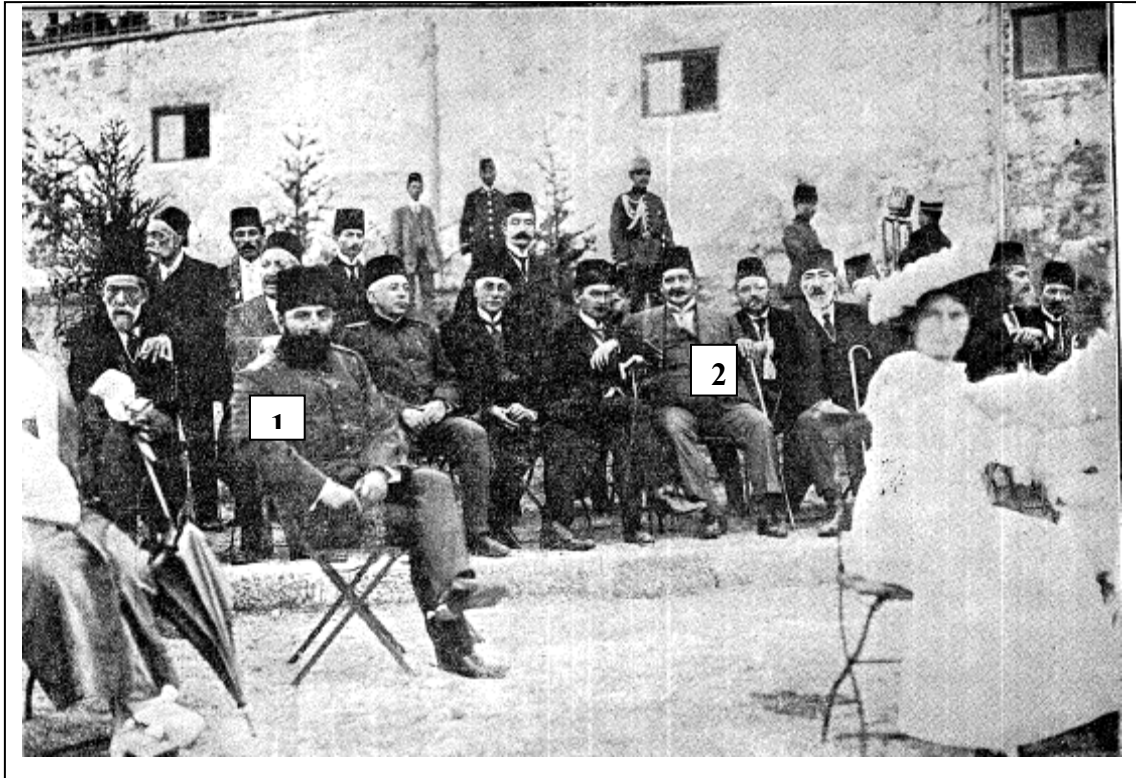


Figure II.4 - Cemal Pasha (1) and Talat Pasha (2) in Gülhane Park with other prominent members of the CUP³³⁷

II.3. Call to Arms: The Ottoman General Mobilization

The Great War was referred as *seferberlik* (mobilization) among the Turkish public even many years after its end.³³⁸ Indeed, the war did not earn this name for nothing. Issued on August 2, 1914, the order of mobilization requested all men between the ages of twenty and forty-five to apply to the nearest enlistment office within three days.³³⁹ The order did not exempt anyone including the disabled until their conditions were documented by medical tests.³⁴⁰ The ones who were late or did not show up at all were subjected to death penalty.³⁴¹ The number of the obligators that applied for enlisting just in Istanbul was not less than 250.000, and the overall number for the

³³⁷ Ibid, p. 85

³³⁸ Yerasimos, Ibid, p.1108

³³⁹ Yalman, Ibid, 107.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Köroğlu, Ibid, p.179

whole empire was estimated around a million.³⁴² For the first time in the empire's history, pamphlets and posters were used in order to announce mobilization.³⁴³ The launching of the enlistment offices were a novelty as well.³⁴⁴

The pro-government press assisted the mobilization effort with their publications and *Donanma* took its place within it. The visual propaganda of the journal was two-folded with regard to mobilization. On the one hand, it tried to represent the order as a cheerful call to which everyone responded with great enthusiasm to protect the future of the empire, and on the other it tried to redress the tremendous repercussions caused by the mobilization.

Figure II.5 and figure II.6 represented the first part of this campaign. The former photograph depicted a group of young Ottomans circled around a boy dressed in a white mariner's uniform and gazing at the announcement of the mobilization. Two of the figures addressed with their fingers at the poster, attracting the attention of the readers to it. Their poses were in harmony with the caption of the photograph that said "Soldiers to arms: The posters printed for the mobilization."³⁴⁵ The image, on the one hand, tried to raise awareness to the announcement posters, and on the other, intended to remind the public why they were called up to arms. The boy at the centre of the scene served to emit this message. Ever since the beginning of its campaigns in 1910, *Donanma* used the image of boys in uniforms and girls holding flags in white dresses to represent the future of the empire, which required the aid of the people for protection and was yet to grow eventually. Rallying under the poster and surrounding the boy, the young men in the photograph seemed to secure him. All of the figures looked pleased vis-à-vis the call, and even the boy appeared eager to enlist in the army. The officer marching towards the building next to them addressed the direction of the call; the enlistment office.

³⁴² Yerasimos, Ibid.

³⁴³ Köroğlu, Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz] regarded these in his memoirs as follows: "One day we noticed that some announcements were glued on to the walls of each street. On these announcements by the ministry of war, it was written with bold fonts that 'there is general mobilization!' and soldiers were called to arms all around. The newspapers of the government explained this as that 'this is just a precaution, we will stay ready, we do not have anything to do with the war.' [...]"³⁴⁴

³⁴⁵ *Donanma*, no: 56, 17 Ağustos 1914, s. 125.



Figure II.5 – “Soldiers to arms”³⁴⁶



Figure II.6 – “Smilingly marching to the duty for the homeland”³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ *Donanma*, No: 56, 17 August 1914, p.125.

Figure II.6 portrayed an excessive crowd of obliged men of Istanbul marching up from Sirkeci towards the Sublime Porte, and the caption of the photograph was read as “cheerfully to the service of the homeland”³⁴⁸ Consisting of various age and social groups, the crowd was unified under a single flag to enlist into the army. The obligators were headed by elder figures who in return presented an example to the readers of the journal. Despite the apparent heat of August, most of the figures seemed quite happy and smiled towards the public watching them. The reader was situated by the positioning of the camera right next to the spectators. Hence, the image seemed to testify for its caption and called the readers overtly to join the happy crowd for enlistment.

However, the execution of the mobilization was quite chaotic and suffered from poor planning.³⁴⁹ The sheltering, nourishing and clothing of large masses of obligators were not taken into consideration.³⁵⁰ When the would-be soldiers showed up at the enlistment centers, they found out that these offices were quite small and inadequate to deal with the excessive amount of the applicants.³⁵¹ The obligators had to wait in queue for weeks and even months.³⁵² Their position was quite ambiguous as they were neither regular soldiers nor free men. They were not provided with military rations and hence quickly ran out of food which they brought with them. Most of them had to seek shelter in the mosque halls.³⁵³ Yalman noted that the circumstances in large cities quickly turned into “congestion, misery, hunger and sickness.”³⁵⁴ The parents of the obligators yearned aloud for the gloomy conditions of their sons and carried food, blankets and clothing to them.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p.124.

³⁴⁸ Ibid

³⁴⁹ Yalman, Ibid, p.107

³⁵⁰ Karabekir, Ibid, p.163.

³⁵¹ Yalman, Ibid.

³⁵² Yalman, Ibid., p.108.

³⁵³ Karabekir, Ibid., p.164.

³⁵⁴ Yalman, Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Karabekir, Ibid, p.163.

The general mobilization was about to turn into a deadly blow for the pro-war campaign. The populations of the cities were depressed and traumatized by the suffering masses which they saw amassed in the mosques.³⁵⁶ A considerable number of peasants deserted and took the risk of death penalty as they could not afford to supply themselves.³⁵⁷ Eventually, they turned into outlaws having no other option.³⁵⁸ In the long run, the empire's economy also suffered from this large recruitment attempt, as all the economic and productive classes of the empire were called to arms at once. The promising harvest of 1914 could not be completely gathered, and the empire faced famine during the war.³⁵⁹

In this context, *Donanma* participated in the government's effort to cover the repercussions of the general mobilization by the images it published under the title "towards an armed nation." Using this caption, the 58th issue of the journal put particular emphasis on the alimentation of soldiers by displaying their photographs at different stages of their nourishment (see figures II.7-II.9), and the explanatory subtitles of the images repeated "eating" and "food" persistently.³⁶⁰ The soldiers appeared as carrying the cauldrons of food, waiting in proper order for the delivery of their rations or sitting on the ground in groups and eating. The content of the photographs seemed quite trivial and a regular part of the daily lives of the soldiers. Nevertheless, within the framework of the mobilization they addressed one preponderant failure of the government; to feed the masses of men called to arms. Thus, these visuals appeared to testify for the government's capability to take care of its soldiers and tried to respond the public concern over the condition of the obligators piled up in large groups in the cities.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Yalman, Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ *Donanma*, No: 58, 7 September 1914, p. 153.



Figure II.7 – Soldiers off to lunch³⁶¹



Figure II.8 – Soldiers waiting for the lunch³⁶²



Figure II.9 – Soldiers eating their lunch³⁶³

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid.

II.4. Swift Victories and the “Secrets of the German Glory”

An essential part of *Donanma*'s pro-war campaign was to portray the Central Powers as the triumphant party. The name of Germany was always prefixed with the title “victorious” and the visuals depicting battle scenes narrated crushing defeats of the Allied forces at the hands of the Central Powers. The armies of the former were represented as scared, routed, annihilated and deserting from the battlefields, whereas the forces of the latter were designated as determined, powerful, disciplined and in the pursuit of the running enemy. Generals of the double Alliance were portrayed as glorious military geniuses who marched their countries to the ultimate conquest. The power gap between both parties was largely exaggerated, and the setbacks of the German offense in the initial phase of the war were not mentioned at all. The language of the images assumed an absolute victory on the side of the Central Powers, addressing at a quick and easy win over the Entente.

Indeed, the messages embedded in these figures were the transliteration of the extremists' pro-war arguments into the visual field. The publication of these images within *Donanma* was a part of the massive persuasion campaign that tried to manipulate the public opinion to favor the Central Powers and the war. It was an attempt to assure the masses that the Entente was doomed to collapse, and the glory was to come swiftly. Hence, the Ottoman public, profoundly traumatized by a series of humiliating defeats, was called overtly to restore its losses by joining the victorious Germans and Austria-Hungarians and to avenge the grievances caused by the Entente states.

³⁶³ Ibid., p.160.



لومر: مظفر آليا

Figure II.10 – “Victorious Germany”³⁶⁴

³⁶⁴ *Donanma*, No: 60, 21 September 1914, p. 192.

Published on the back page of *Donanma*'s 60th issue, figure II.10 presented a vivid example to this set of images. The scene depicted German soldiers charging on French forces, and the former side was represented as winning a heroic victory. At the centre of the illustration, a German private captured the worn out French flag, signifying the prevailing of the Germans over the French. The French soldier right behind him was most likely the standard bearer who just lost the flag and gazed at it in great despair and pain as a German soldier next to him was about to thrust his bayonet into his chest. Acting faster than his enemy, another German pierced his opponent with his bayonet and was possibly shouting a battle cry that epitomized the scene. Right between them, a different German soldier was depicted in a heroic act. Falling on the ground in the middle of the chaotic scene, he managed to fire his gun killing the opposing French soldier before the other could point his pistol. The French army looked incapable to stand against the German assault and more German soldiers seemed about to appear from the right end of the illustration. The journal added the caption "triumphant Germany" under the image, enhancing the visual narrative further. It would be worthwhile to note that the illustration was painted by Arno Grimm, a famous German propaganda artist at the time.

The swiftness of the Central Powers' victory occupied a particular place in *Donanma*'s visual propaganda prior to the empire's intervention into the war. Images within this category embodied flamboyantly dynamic elements in high velocities such as soldiers running after a routed enemy or cavalries rushing their horses. Figure II.11 depicts such a scene. German mobile artillery forces were photographed in a rapid and aggressive move lifting dust and dirt from the ground, while other German troopers on the scene looked at them with reverence and astonishment. Riders on the horses sat ostentatiously and gave the impression of a strong determinacy as they seemed to go after the enemy. The caption of the image addressed the scene as "the secret of the glory: the German gunners on four heels."³⁶⁵

³⁶⁵ "Sırr-ı muzafferiyet: Alman topçuları dört nala."



Figure II.11 – “The secret of the victory”³⁶⁶



Figure II.12 – Austrian heavy artillery³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ “The famous 42,5 caliber motored Austrian cannons. [They had a great effect in the conquest of Namur and Maubeuge].” *Donanma*, no: 65, 26 October 1914, p.364-365.

³⁶⁷ *Donanma*, no: 66, 2 November 1914, p.375

On the one hand, the title referred to the pace and rapidity of the victory, and on the other, to the military might of Germany which was greatly exalted and admired within the pages of *Donanma*. In this context, the journal strongly emphasized on the Central Powers' technological advancements and tried thus to assure the readers of their certain victory. Images of German and Austria-Hungarian weapons were published to testify this message (see figure II.12).

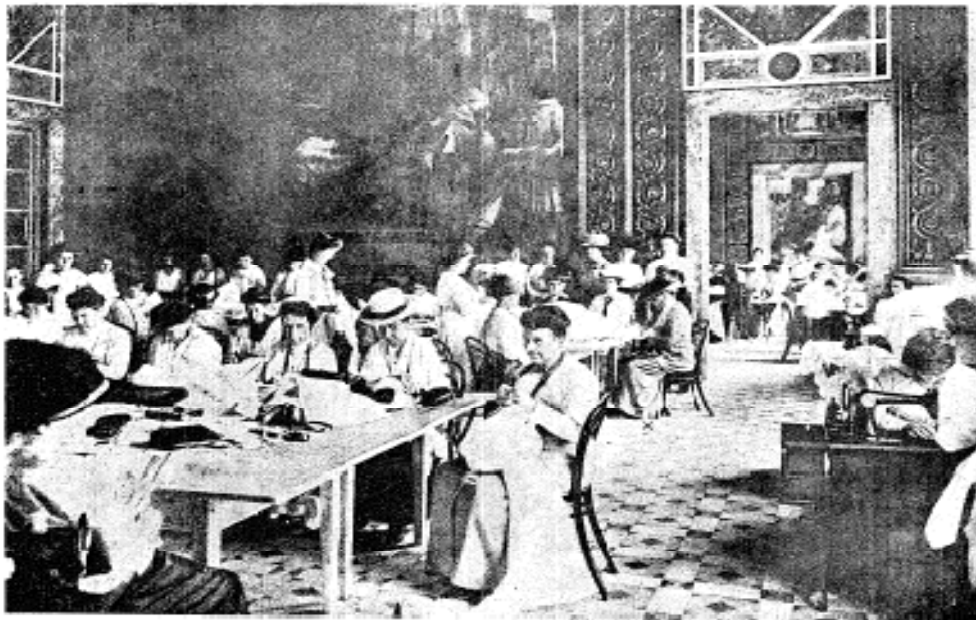
Yet, the journal did not limit the secrets of glory merely to military and technological might. Germany, in particular, was presented as a raw model for the Ottoman society in terms of its social cohesion and solidarity. *Donanma* explicit stated that the most prominent benefit from the ongoing war would be to watch and learn from the Germans and underlined boldly which aspects of German society should be adopted:

"What earned Germany the glory as promptly as this is the respect for order and self-sacrifice of the people. It is to serve to the ideal, to serve to the cause. It is if necessary to die voluntarily. [...] That is the greatest benefit for our nation to take from the Great War. We should confess that we have lost a lot from our old virtues."³⁶⁸

In this context, the journal published numerous images testifying for these aspects of the Germans and alluded that the Ottoman public should act accordingly. Figures II.13 and II.15 propagate for the social solidarity among the Germans regardless of their social status. The former image shows the queen of Bavaria and the princes sewing for the German soldiers on the fronts, at the Women Association of Mainz. The image suggests a high level of social unity among the Germans as they were depicted as serving for the common good of the country together. The latter image, on the other hand, displays the children of the German auxiliary soldiers being served food by a voluntary organization. The photograph exalts the German social unity by overtly claiming that the country acts as one while a part of it fights the other part takes care of the rest.

³⁶⁸ "Almanlar'a bu derece ceraiti neticede muvaffakiyeti temin eden intizamperverlikti, fedakârlıktır. Mefkureye hizmet, gayeye hizmettir. İcabı takdirinde vatan için güle güle ölmeyi bilmektir. [...] İşte milletimizin harb-i umumiden edeceği en büyük istifade budur. İtiraf etmeliyiz ki, biz eski fazailimizden pek çok şey kaybettik." *Donanma*, "Umumi Harp'ten İstifadeler," *Donanma*, No: 58, 7 September 1914, p.146.

Furthermore, *Donanma*'s regarding imagery also addressed at the German mobilization as a success while praising and lionizing the self-sacrifice of the society. Figure II.14 presents a vivid example to this message. The photograph shows a German family that sent the father and the seven sons of the house to the fronts. The mother sitting in the middle of the picture completes the family appearance while explicitly displaying her proud. The captions of all three images referred to the scenes they displayed either as the "soul of the victory" or "the secret of the German glory." In this context, the journal called its readers to follow the German example in order to march to the ultimaye triumph.



آطافه فلیورنٹک اسرائیلی: آویز فرانکیسی (وسمده زائماناوتیله کوراندور). و دیگر پر نسلیه ویتیک لادیلر جعی ایله بر لکده شکره دیکیش دیگر (کن)

Figure II.13 – The queen of Bavaria sewing for the German soldiers³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ *Donanma*, No: 59, 14 September 1914, p.165.



سر مظفریت : بدی اوغلیله حربہ کیدن بر بدر

Figure II.14 – A German father and his seven sons going to the war together.³⁷⁰



سر مظفریت : آلمان ددیقلرینک بوجودارینک بیک طافیقیداس

Figure II.15 – The children of the German auxiliary soldiers.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ Ibid., p.173.

³⁷¹ Ibid., p.169.

CHAPTER III

“A WAR TO END ALL SUFFERINGS”

“With the desire of wisdom and maturity, I have retreated to the school of knowledge
A brusque wind has blown, and I have retreated to a mountain in the desert
Why should I not cry, the ephemeral life is wasted away
And now, on a ferocious mountain, I have retreated to the stage of the hereafter
Although there is silence in the front, it is as if it does not exist
Forgive me my commandant, for now; I have retreated to the Sinai Mountain
As we are alert to destroy the army of the infidel
The soldiers are in the trenches, and Ragıp has retreated to his pleasant torment.”

-“A Voice from the Cave,” Başkatıpzade Ragıp Bey, 30 April 1915-³⁷²

Neither were the lines of Ragıp Bey written in a cave in the desert, nor were they supposed to form a classical poem. Indeed, Ragıp Bey commanded a small station on the hills of Sarıkamış covered in snow, and “A Voice from the Cave” was his first attempt to inscribe an official military report which intended merely to state that silence continued at the front. Ragıp Bey was a *medrese* student when the general mobilization was announced, and even six months after the empire’s entry into the war, he seemed firmly held to this tradition. His poetic account was anything but ordinary in any military sense and received with great frustration by the brigade commander in Sultantepe. Ragıp Bey was immediately called back to the headquarters for investigation resulting in his repositioning as a teaching officer.

³⁷² “Hâhiş-i ilm ü kemalle medrese-yi irfana çekildim
Bir muhalif rüzgâr esti kûh-, beyâbâna çekildim
Ben nice giryan etmeyeyim ki mahv oldu ömr-i şitâban
Şimdi de bir gar-ı vahşette menzil-i ukbâya çekildim
‘Cephede sükûnet var’ sa da elbette yok gibidir
Affet kumandanım şimdilik ben Tûr-ı Sînâyâ çekildim
Düşman-ı dinin ordusunu mahv için her ân bîdar iken
Asker siperinde Ragıp’sa çile-i tûbâyâ çekildim” Başkatıpzâde Ragıp Bey, *Tarih-i Hayatım*, (Ankara: Kebikeç Yayınları, 1996), pp.61-62

The case of Ragıp Bey provides only a minor glimpse into the widely diversified experience of the Great War by the Ottomans. His generation was the first in centuries that was called up to arms from *medreses* and had to go through the novel phenomenon of total war with the rest of the population. The new warfare required the participation of the people as a whole to the war effort, which in return necessitated the stimulation of the consent and the willingness to do so. Hence, the government had to forge a common perception of the war and create shared symbols in order to rally the public opinion to sustain the costs of the war that seemed to last much longer than expected. What the Empire faced was indeed a war which the British preferred to represent as “a war to end all wars.”³⁷³ Yet, for the Ottomans, it was one that was hoped to end all their sufferings. The government shaped its propaganda accordingly throughout the war and made its demands as the last sacrifice to put an end to the ongoing catastrophies of the Empire.

At this juncture, *Donanma* assumed its part in controlling the public opinion through symbols, which Harold D. Laswell addressed as the most prominent aspect of war propaganda.³⁷⁴ In order to serve this purpose, the journal would emphasize on the unrighteousness and the barbarism of the enemy on the one hand, and on the other, would designate it as feeble and beaten. In this sense, the journal would suggest that the victory was near, and the sacrifices demanded from the people this time would be the last. The war would be justified as a fight for saving the empire and a battle for the ultimate good of the people against the “greedy” Entente powers. By veiling the bitter face of the war, *Donanma* would try to create the illusion that the empire was winning the war, and enhance this delusion by identifying itself with the military might of Germany.

III.1. The Propaganda of Jihad: A Selective Campaign

Two weeks after its entry into the Great War, the Ottoman Empire proclaimed the Jihad on November 14, 1914. The expectancies from the Holy War were high on the side of the empire and the Central Powers. It was hoped that the declaration would

³⁷³ Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), p.92.

³⁷⁴ Lüdke, *Ibid*, p. 96.

create chaos on the colonies of the Entente powers, as Britain was the foremost “Muslim Power” in terms of its demography, followed by Netherlands, Russia and France.³⁷⁵ In this context, the call for the Jihad and its perception by the Muslims constituted a significant part of *Donanma*’s wartime propaganda. Although the textual propaganda of the journal had almost a balanced tone between Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism, the visuals in the journal were dominated by the former.

Positioning the empire as the center of the caliphate, *Donanma* addressed it as the only protector of the Islamic world and called for the support and the obedience of all the Muslims:

“Over many centuries only the Ottoman state, the great Islamic government, has been the only defender of Islam...Our religion now asks for the greatest political obligation from us. From now on, each Muslim should augment the power of the holy Caliphate of Islam and the great Sultanate of Ottoman State, and should serve for the elevation of their fortune and power.”³⁷⁶

The journal represented the Jihad as an opportunity for the liberation of the Muslims all over the world from oppression and identified the source of it as the Entente powers, asking the Muslims to take immediate action against them:

“There are more than three hundred Muslims on the Earth. How many believers of Islam have freedom of religion? Tell how many of you are happy? Did not you become tired of living miserably in this world? [...] Do not listen to those mean people who are occupied with the Russian bread, English and French wine...Free yourself from the Russian slavery, the English whip, the French sword.”³⁷⁷

In this sense, the visual propaganda of the journal depicted the Entente powers as the ones who oppressed the Muslims, stole their freedom and tortured them. The images that were used to testify this, aimed at transforming the worries of the readers

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ “Nice asırlardan beri ancak Osmanlı devleti, hükümet-i muazzama-yi İslamiyesi hemen yalnız başına hami-yi İslam olmuştur...Artık dinimizin gösterdiği en büyük farz-ı siyasi şudur ki min ba’d her müslüman hilafet-i mukaddese-yi İslamiye, ve saltanat-i seniye-yi Osmaniye hükümet-i muazzamasının velev bir zerre kadar olsun tezayüd-fer ve şevketine, te’aliyi ikbal ve satvetinehidmet etsin...” “Müslümanların Bugünkü Vecaibi”, p. 770-775, cited in Beşikçi, p.44.

³⁷⁷ “Dünyada üç yüz milyondan fazla Müslüman var. Kaç müminin iman-ı serbestisi var? Söyleyin kaçınız memnun? Bu alemde hor görülmekten bıkmadınız mı? [...] Rus ekmeği yiyen, İngiliz ve Fransız şarabı içen zalimlere inanmayın. Kendinizi Rus köleliğinden, İngiliz kırbacından ve Fransız kılıcından kurtarın” “Cihad Ya Müslimin”, *Donanma*, no: 68, 16 November 1914, p. 48, cited in Beşikçi.

into fear and stimulate them to act immediately. As it could be observed in figure III.1, the Allied forces were portrayed as prepared to harm even old and defenseless Muslims without hesitation. Tied to the barrel of a desert cannon, an elderly Muslim seemed in great pain alongside with numerous others, whereas the Entente soldiers stood indifferent to their suffering. The scene gave the impression that the cannons were almost to be fired, and hence, symbolized the “cruelty,” “barbarism,” and “inhumane nature” of the Allied forces. Titled as “To the attention of the Muslims,” the photograph called upon the immediate aid of the Islamic world.



Figure III.1 – “To the attention of all Muslims”³⁷⁸

³⁷⁸ *Donanma*, No: 73, 21 December 1914, front cover.



حق یولنده : ناپولیونك مصر استیلاسی اوزرینه اورابه نصب ابتدکی
 جنرال قلهیرك سلیمان اسمندهکی فداکار دین و وطن
 طرفدن اتلافی مصور تابلودرکه بو نظمای مسعودیه عائد

Figure III.2 – “On the path of the God”³⁷⁹

³⁷⁹ *Donanma*, no: 81, 15 February 1915.

The form of the aid was also vividly defined by *Donanma*. Each Muslim was supposed to take up a weapon and resist the occupying Entente forces. In order to serve this purpose, the journal used historical references and romanticized former rebellions as in figure III.2. The illustration depicted the assassination of General Claire, who was assigned by Napoleon as the commander of the French army occupying Egypt. The image was originally an Orientalist painting that displayed the romanticized and lionized death of a Western figure at the hands of a “noble savage.” Referring to the assassin as a “self-sacrificing coreligionist,” *Donanma* reversed the roles in the painting and exalted the killer as a hero. In contrast to the former message of the image, the assassin’s dreadful act was transformed into the “virtuous” resistance of the Muslims. The person who killed the general, leaned with a nearly impossible move to the forth and stabbed his dagger into the heart of his enemy. The mosque and the minaret appearing right behind the two characters previously reflecting Orientalist elements, were shifted in meaning and came to suggest that the victim did not belong to that geography. Thus, the assassination was turned into a legitimate act that was performed for the sake of the religion.

In this context, *Donanma* intended to convince its readers that the Jihad was received with great enthusiasm in the Islamic world, and all the Muslims were unified fervently against the Entente powers (see figure III.3).



Figure III.3 – “On the way of the Jihad”³⁸⁰

³⁸⁰ “Cihad Yolunda”, *Donanma*, no: 77, 18 January 1915, inner front cover.

III.2. The Representation of the Enemy

An essential part of *Donanma*'s visual propaganda was to portray the enemy as deprived of any chance to win the war. Thus, the enemy appeared as feeble, weak, desperate, helpless and deteriorating within the pages of the journal. In this way, *Donanma* tried both to sooth its readers' concerns suggesting that the Entente powers were not to be feared of and to testify that the victory would come swiftly and easily.

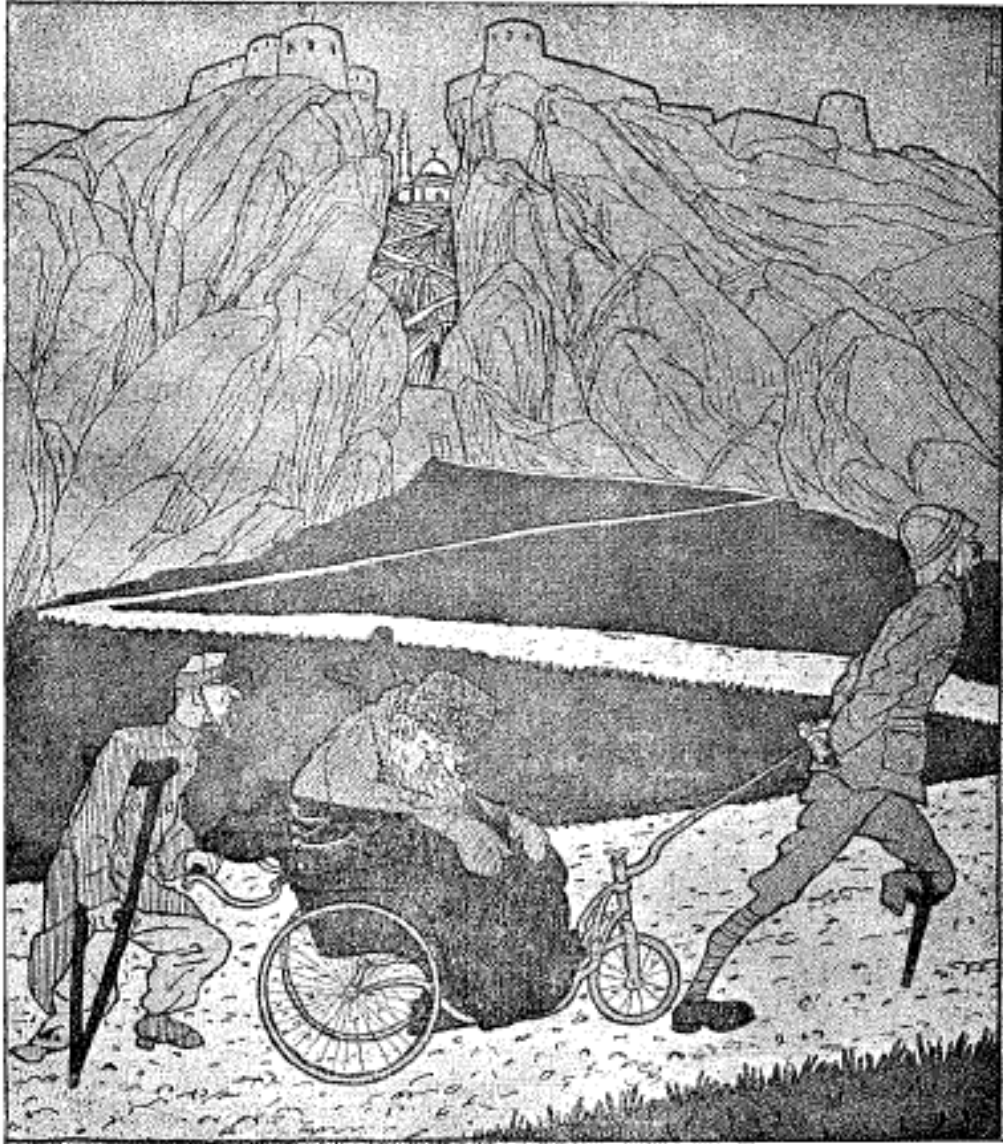
Figure III.4 portrayed Britain as a fat and old man who was confined on its island, surrounded by German submarines which were drawn as sharks. The man looked in great fear and desperation as he was isolated on a small piece of rock and had nowhere else to run. A submarine lifting its head over the water seemed to be waiting for a minor mistake of its "prey." The game between the man and the sharks offered a certain victory for the latter as the old man would not be able to last without any outside help. The scene intended to refute the perception of Britain as a naval giant, and to prove that its geography did not offer any immunity versus the Central Powers. On the other hand, the image also reversed the Ottomans' perception of themselves as a prey by positing the empire among the hunters and the former hunter as the prey.

Figure III.5 ridiculed the triple Entente further by calling them "the caravan of the cripple donkeys." The Allies were depicted on the road to Istanbul, yet they completely lacked the capability to reach the city. The one-legged British officer seemed hardly be able to pull the cart that carried a needy old man representing Russia, while a French soldier resting on his crutch tried to pull the cart up the hill. The road looked long and acclivous, whereas at the end of it a mosque stood, emphasizing on the Islamic character of the city. The road went through a deep valley overseen by two strong looking fortresses, presenting an allegory for the Dardanelles. The attempt of these three figures to reach the city looked more than implausible. The cartoon overtly aimed to assure the Ottomans that Istanbul was secure by all means, and it was unlikely that the Entente could reach city.



Figure III.4 – “The great isolation”³⁸¹

³⁸¹ *Donanma*, No: 88, 8 Nisan 1915, p.640.



استانبول يولى : طوپال اشكار كاروانى

Figure III.5 – “The caravan of crippled donkeys”³⁸²

³⁸² *Donanma*, No: 97, 27 May 1915, p.749.

III.3. The Self-image

The general Ottoman propaganda from August 1914 to March 1915 resorted predominantly on the expansionist discourses and dreams of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.³⁸³ It was both short termed, and unrealistic in terms of its goals.³⁸⁴ The prevailing argument of this rather aggressive propaganda was “not to miss the opportunity.”³⁸⁵ Yet, after the Empire’s intervention to the war, it was accompanied also by the themes of “salvation” and “independence.”³⁸⁶ As the Pan-Turkist and Pan-Turanist propaganda gradually dwindled through the course of the war, the latter themes became even more decisive in determining how the general propaganda tried to shape the self image of the Ottomans. The Great War was largely perceived as an alien series of battles –except the Gallipoli Wars- that was fought outside the homeland, and the Ottoman propaganda that tried to render it as a war of salvation was an attempt to make the public internalize it and to exalt the war effort as a righteous one.³⁸⁷

Donanma’s wartime propaganda could be analyzed in the same framework. The journal designated the image of the Ottomans as brave, heroic and powerful fighters that defended their homes, families and children. In contrast to the “feeble,” “coward,” and “desperate” image of the enemy, the Ottoman soldier was depicted as always ready to fight and defeat his enemy with skill and honor. In this sense, the journal’s imagery largely avoided to represent the impersonal and non-heroic nature of the new warfare and portrayed the battle scenes as epic struggles in which the Ottoman soldiers prevailed upon their opponents.

Figure III.6 provides a compendium for the journal’s representation of the Ottoman’s self image. The illustration, published as late as August 2, 1917, animates a battle between the Ottoman and British soldiers on the Sinai front, which could hardly be considered as a homeland for the Ottomans at the time. Yet, the babies tied to the waist of the Ottoman soldier from their swaddles create an intimate connection with

³⁸³ Koroğlu, *Ibid*, p.175.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid*.

³⁸⁷ Özge Özgür, *The Great Wars of the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century and the Representation of War In Selected Works In European and Turkish Literature*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2001), p.91.

home and family. The soldier attacking his British counterpart seems to protect the defenseless and innocent against the Entente “threat.” On the other hand, the scene also propagates for the Ottoman dominance against its enemies. The Ottoman private piercing his enemy with his bayonet looks strong, determinant and valiant, whereas his opponent shivers in fear and pain throwing his rifle away. The abandoned rifle and hat of another British soldier together with the Ottoman soldier on the background chasing his opponent signal that the enemy has routed and running away. The illustration contrasts the desperation of the “enemy” with the glory of the Ottomans. In this context, the image argues both that the Ottoman war effort is a righteous one as it intends to defend the homeland and that the victory is near as the Ottomans are stronger than their enemies and constantly defeating them.



Figure III.6 – On the Sinai Front³⁸⁸

³⁸⁸ *Donanma*, No: 130, front cover.

III.4. The Call for Support

The mass naval aid campaign of the Navy League in the pre-war years had been a significant experience for *Donanma*. Using a dense patriotic discourse, the journal managed to manipulate the public to participate in the campaign and to mobilize the spiritual and material energies of the people for militarist ends. During the Great War, this experience proved to be invaluable for the journal. It tried to stimulate the Ottoman public to support the Empire's war effort and called for the physical and material participation of the people.

An essential part of this propaganda was to sustain the supply of manpower. As mentioned in the second chapter, the call for the general mobilization was poorly executed and caused catastrophic repercussions during the pre-intervention period. However, military recruitment became even more problematic for the Empire throughout the war, as only around 4 per cent of the population could be mobilized for active duty.³⁸⁹ The picture gets more pessimistic when this ratio is compared to France which was one of the major belligerent powers. Having a population almost twice as big as the Ottoman Empire, France managed to mobilize 10 per cent of its population, which in return meant an army nearly five times larger than the former.³⁹⁰ The size of the Ottoman army at any one time during the war was estimated to be around 800.000.³⁹¹ Considering that nearly 500.000 Ottoman soldiers deserted up until 1918, military recruitment seems to have shifted gradually from problematic to appalling.

In this context, *Donanma*'s visual propaganda tried to address particularly to this issue by trying to render the military service as a jolly and heroic journey towards victory. Photographs of jocund Ottoman soldiers marching to the fronts were published frequently on the pages of the journal, inviting the readers to join them in the fight. The images of small children that seemed eager to march with the soldiers were also utilized to stimulate the public both as an encouragement and as a fear factor which alluded that the future of the Empire was indeed under danger.³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Zürcher, *Ibid.*, p. 242.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.241.

³⁹² *Donanma*, No: 115, 11 November 1915, p.1047

As an example of this, figure III.7 displays a group of Ottoman soldiers being transferred to their posts from Haydarpaşa train station. In terms of its composition, this photograph is almost identical with the British propaganda poster shown in the figure III.8. Titled as “our heroes at the station”, the image depicts the soldiers in the wagon as happy and in high spirits. Indeed, they seem to invite the readers among them. The British poster issues the same call accompanied by a text in a more direct and perceptively in a more efficient way. However, considering that only a small fraction of the audience that the journal had to address could read, *Donanma* gave the message by the positioning of the camera. Thus, the readers of the journal look from the angle of the person that bids Godspeed to the British soldiers in the figure III.8. The two Ottoman soldiers kneeling in the front row seem ready lean to the front and draw the reader into the wagon.



Figure III.7- “Our heroes at the station”³⁹³

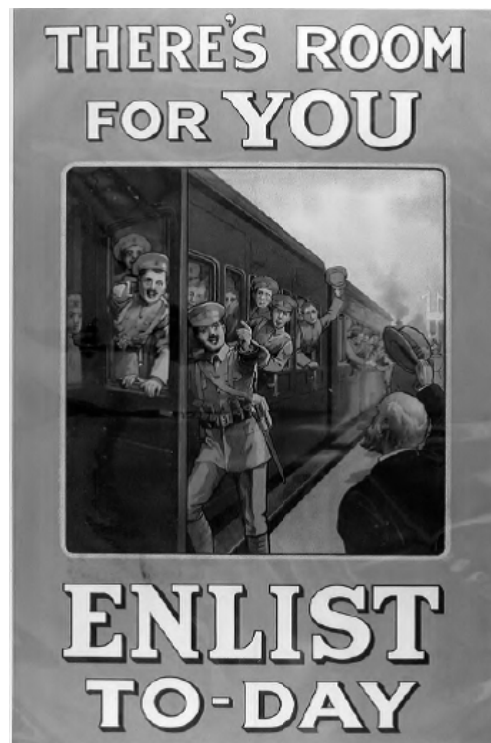


Figure III.8 – “Enlist today”³⁹⁴

³⁹³ *Donanma*, no: 82, 22 Şubat 1915, p. 197.

³⁹⁴ University of Georgia Library, [http://fax.libs.uga.edu/wwpost/1f/world_war_posters.pdf], p. 35.

On the other hand, the journal also called excessively for the material support of its readers during the course of the war. As in the figure III.9, *Donanma* addressed at money and guns as the two paths that would take the Empire to the victory. Accordingly, even the humblest donation would transform into a weapon and trample over the “feeble” and “coward” enemy within the “heroic” hands of the Ottoman soldier. The rolling 1 *guruş* coin was indeed a metaphor that had been used by the journal ever since the beginning of the naval aid campaign. Similar calls for donations could be observed in other belligerent states as well. The British propaganda poster in the figure III.10 depicted a 5 shilling coin with an armored knight carved on it crashing a German soldier. Emphasizing on the valiance and bravery of the belligerent factions’ soldiers, both visuals claimed that the only thing they needed was the support of the people.



Figure III.9 – “Money and Gun”³⁹⁵

³⁹⁵ *Donanma*, no: 158-159, 18 Mart 1918, s. 791.

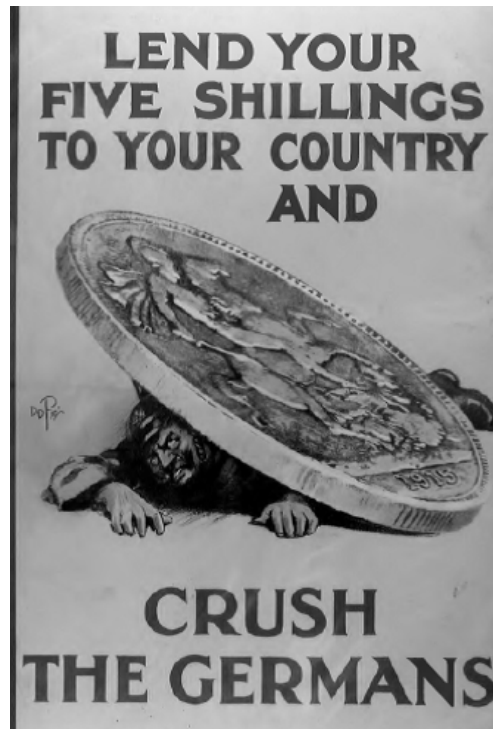


Figure III.10 – “Crush the Germans”³⁹⁶

III.5 The Technology of Destruction: “Good” versus “Evil” Machines

An essential concern of the post-revolutionary Ottoman periodical press was the image of the “new” (*yeni*), which, in turn, could be regarded as a simpler expression of modernity.³⁹⁷ The “new” was closely linked with the technologies of the West and thus with the European progress.³⁹⁸ The press turned the novel machines of transportation, communication and production into symbols of power, progress and modernity.³⁹⁹ The possession of these technologies was considered as the essential factor behind the achievements of the West, and the salvation of the Empire was strongly related to the acquirement of them.⁴⁰⁰

As it was discussed in the first chapter, *Donanma*’s pre-war publications were also intensively preoccupied with the image of the “new.” However, the “new” for the journal was the novel war technologies. *Donanma* issued articles in affluent numbers

³⁹⁶ University of Georgia Library, *Ibid*, p. 47.

³⁹⁷ Brummett, *Ibid*, p.289.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

on how the new machines of war functioned, and what they could do during a battle. It lionized and glorified them by publishing impressive images of the new war tools and asked the public for help to obtain them.

Yet, once the Great War began, the new technology started to cast blight upon the battle fields, bringing about what Modris Eksteins calls “a panorama of devastation.”⁴⁰¹ The new form of war was one that brought machines against machines as well as machines against men within an “impersonal storm of destruction.”⁴⁰² The battlefields became industrial wastelands, at the opposing ends of which the soldiers of the confronting sides took cover in the trenches and shared the horrific view of charred stumps, endless mud, incessant gunfire and the dead bodies of fellow and enemy soldiers.⁴⁰³ The “wonderful” and silent machines of the pre-war era brought havoc, moral frustration and desperation, creating a deadlock that extended the duration and the geography of the Great War over time. In return, the result was even more casualties.

The experience of the Ottoman soldier with the new war technologies was further problematic. The “new” also meant the “alien” as the Empire lacked both the industrial infrastructure and the know-how to produce it. The state depended on the major European powers to import the “new”, yet still suffered from financial setbacks and international alignments to do so. Thus, the Empire had to rely upon the German and Austrian military aids as of August 1914 to be able to respond the severe challenge of the new technological warfare. Nevertheless, even with the assistance of the Central Powers, the Empire had to face a serious technological disparity against the Entente on the ground, in the air and on the sea. Through the course of the war, the Ottoman soldier found himself fighting an extensive war against dreadnoughts, airplanes and tanks in many cases without the proper means to resist against them.

In this context, *Donanma*'s wartime visual propaganda deviated from the all glorious and magnificent vision of the new warfare and assumed a more selective discourse. The journal kept exalting the German and Austrian machines and regarded them as the examples of “good” technology that destroyed the Empire's enemies, while

⁴⁰¹ Eksteins, p.146.

⁴⁰² Cecil and Liddle, *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

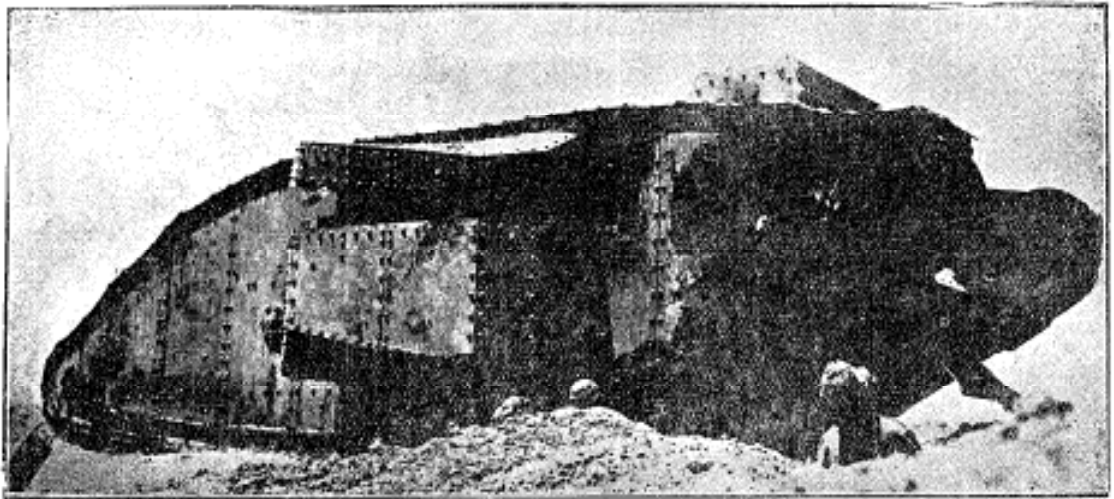
it cursed the war technology of the Entente Powers as “evil.”⁴⁰⁴ The propaganda of the journal attacked this particular “evil” in order to make up the collective psychological deficit of the Ottoman public by claiming that these new machines of war were not indeed invincible and that the Ottoman soldiers could “heroically” destroy them despite the lack of resources and proper technology. It would be worthwhile to note that the notion of the “evil” technology would evolve into a “one toothed monster” against which the Turkish soldiers set their” chests filled with “faith” within the national anthem of the Turkish Republic over the years to come. In this sense, it is possible to identify certain precursory elements of the Turkish nationalism among the visuals of the journal.

The figures III.11, III.12 and III.13 constitute vivid examples to this type of imagery that depicted the destruction of the “evil” machines of the Entente at the hands of the Ottoman soldiers in the air, on the sea and on the ground. The first figure shows a blown up British tank on the Palestinian front. Introduced to the battle fields first in 1916 by the Allies, tanks were the mightiest war machines on terrain and the symbol of the latest technology. In this sense, the journal utilized the image of the British tank as a testimony of the enemy in constant atrophy, which was indeed not the case. The caption of the photograph claimed that the British were being defeated every day by the Ottomans and that the scene represented one such occasion. On the other hand, the figure III.12 was an illustration of the French battleship Bouvet that was sunk during the first phase of the Gallipoli Wars. The image depicted the ship as heavily hit by the artillery fire and going slowly under water covered in smoke.⁴⁰⁵ It was a scene at which the Ottomans prevailed over the strong Entente navy without a navy on the sea. A similar claim was stated in the figure III.13 which displayed a French warplane crashed by the Ottoman soldiers and thorn into pieces. The journal presented the photograph as one of the wings of the enemies that was broken by the Ottoman army. The scene, as the previous two, was the propagation of the Ottoman domination against the Entente powers and its ability to deal effectively with the symbols of their military might representing them as feeble and dysfunctional.

⁴⁰⁴ *Donanma*, “Ruh-ı Zafer,” no: 85, 15 March 1915, p. 580.

⁴⁰⁵ It should be noted that the main damage dealt to Bouvet came from the sea mines, as the most of the Ottoman artillery at Gallipoli were desert cannons incapable to pierce through the armor of a battleship.

Yet, while the journal claimed that the “new” was not invincible it also tried to render the Ottoman soldier indestructible against it. As a regular Ottoman soldier could bring down a plane or destroy a tank, he was immune versus the shells, bombs or bullets fired by them. The figure crystallizes this message in a quite concrete way. The photograph displays a group of Ottoman soldiers from different age groups gathered around unexploded shells. The caption of the image addresses at them as “incapable to shake the courage of the Ottomans.”



انگلیز لڑک هر کون یکی بر مغلوبه اوغرادلری فلسطین جبهه سی انطباعاتدن
قطعاتی طرفدن تخریب و اغتنام ایدیلن برانگلیز (تانک) ی

Figure III.11 – A destroyed British tank in Palestine⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁶ *Donanma*, No: 176, 1 August 1918, p.2030.

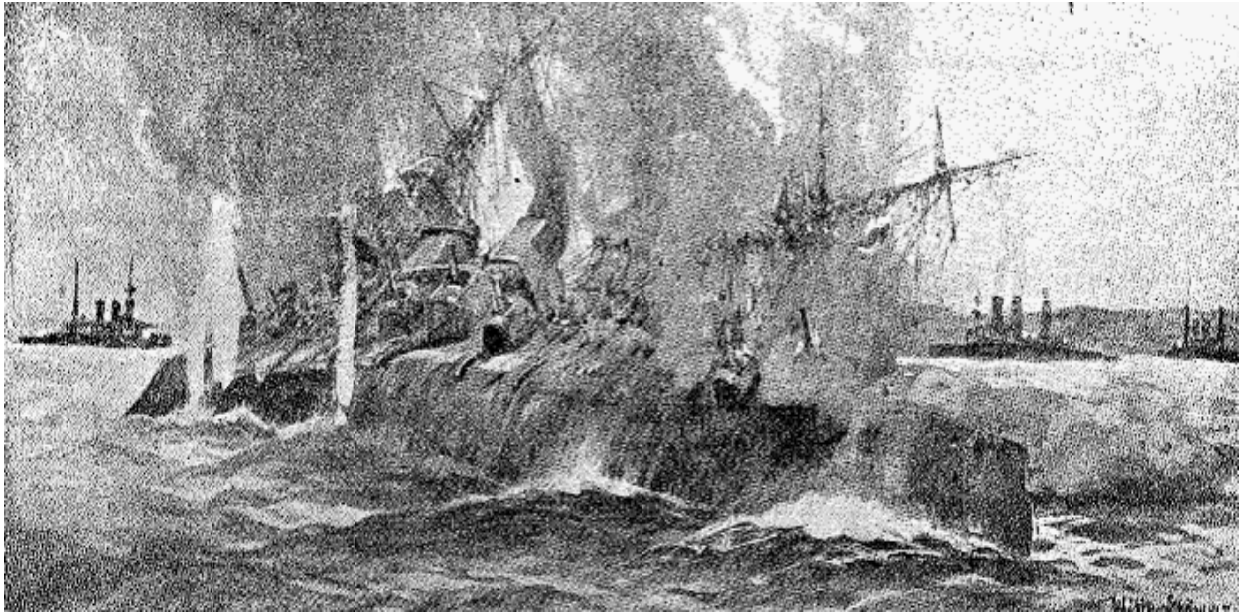


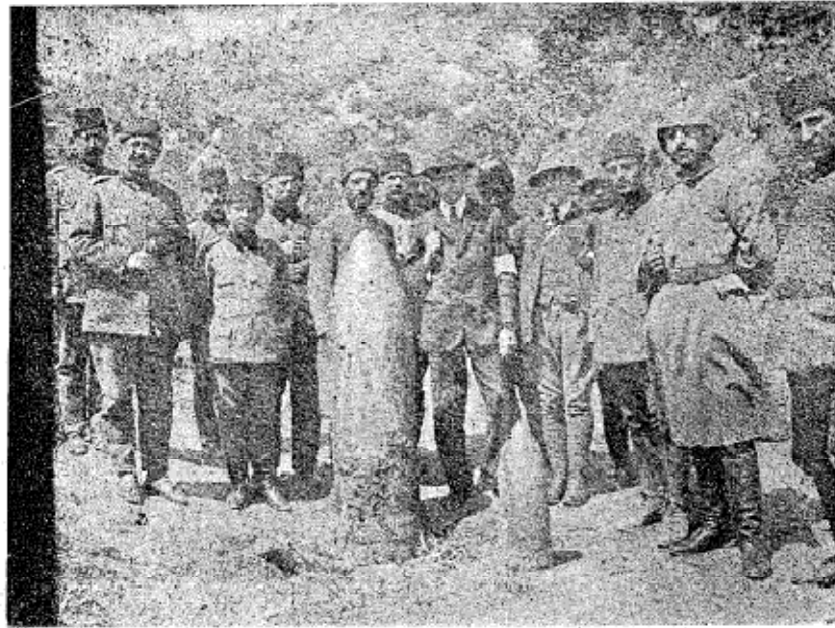
Figure III.12 – Bouvet sinking⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁷ *Donanma*, No:101, 24 June 1915, p.804.



چناق قلعه ده قيردينمز دشمن قانادلرتدن : بر فرانسيز طيارسي

Figure III.13 – “The broken wings of the enemy”⁴⁰⁸



عثمانليرك قلعه حماستي صارصامايان ۳۸ لك دشمن كولهلري

Figure III.14 – “The 38 cm calibred enemy shells that could not shatter the Ottoman’s courage”⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., front cover.

⁴⁰⁹ *Donanma*, No:102, 1 July 1915, p.821.

III.6. The Prisoners of War

Perhaps, no other propagandist message could match the photographs of the prisoners of war (POW) in effect and intensity to convince the public on the “helplessness” and “spiritual decay” of the enemy. In this context, *Donanma* reserved a special importance for this type of imagery within its visual propaganda throughout the war and tried to address at the “depleting” hopes of the enemy via the unwilling visual testimony of the POWs. The journal integrated this message into its general propaganda as a proof of the approaching victory and that with a slightly more effort and zeal they could win the war.

These photographs referred indeed to what Ernst Jünger called as the “new objectivity.” The camera, turning into a mechanical eye, captured the element at which its objective was directed with a great indifference.⁴¹⁰ It separated the element, in this case the prisoner, from time and space, transferring its possession to an alien gaze.⁴¹¹ Hence, the photographs of the POWs through mechanical reproduction reached the readers of the journal, and the POWs became not only the prisoners of the Central Powers but also of the readers as well.

Figure III.15 constitutes an apposite example to this type of visuals. Formed by the mug shots of five different prisoners, the collage exposes the POWs in a reluctant state of submission to the gaze of the reader from various angles. The image entitles the reader with the authority to freely investigate them as objects, to penetrate their privacy and to possess their reproduced views. The prisoners look jaded, desperate, shaken and feeble in apparently dowdy uniforms and bad personal hygiene conditions. They seem in a completely war weary position and do not show any willingness to resist, let alone to fight. In this sense, the image explicitly refers on the one hand to the atrophy of the “enemies” and on the other to the ability of the Central Powers to subdue them.

⁴¹⁰ Ernst Junger, "Photography and the 'Second Consciousness: An Excerpt from 'On Pain'", *Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913-1940* (New York: Aperture, 1989), s. 208.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.



Figure III.15 – British prisoners of war on the Western front ⁴¹²



[عوطو یوسف رازی]

طاش قشله خسته خانه سنده تحت تدابیر بولان انگلیز و فرانسیز اسیر لری

Figure III.16 – French prisoners of war under treatment ⁴¹³

⁴¹² *Donanma*, No: 139, 4 October 1917, p.1444.

⁴¹³ *Donanma*, No: 115, 11 November 1915, p.1062.

The journal also utilized the photographs of POWs in order to substantiate the image of the state as benevolent and merciful, while trying to justify its war effort as a fair one. In contrast to the “barbaric” and “heinous” image of the enemy, the Ottoman Empire was depicted as a benign state that treated its prisoners kindly and munificently. Figure III.16 displays a group of wounded British and French prisoners receiving their treatment in the Taşkışla Hospital. The personal hygiene of the POWs at the picture looks relatively decent. The prisoners are dressed in clean clothes, and their wounds were apparently taken care of by the medical staff. The Ottoman doctor standing in the middle of them seem to be diagnosing and looking after the POWs. In this manner, the photograph emits a dual message that the Empire is beneficent enough to bestow civilized living conditions even to the POWs who were wounded while fighting against it, and hence that it pursues a just war.

III.7. “Spy Scare”

A fundamental requirement of the war was to be able to monitor the enemies’ military activities, communications and capabilities to sustain their war efforts. This, in return, necessitated well organized and properly supported intelligence services. Yet, prior to the war, the existent organizations were quite amateurish and suffered considerably from lack of funding and staff.⁴¹⁴ They could launch only small scale operations with agents of limited skills and abilities.⁴¹⁵ In general, they were incapable of uncovering any valuable information which further curbed down their credibility in the eyes of the governmental authorities.⁴¹⁶ For the Middle East in particular, there were not any professional agents who could extract accurate information, and the specialists on the area were too few to cross-check the obtained information. Therefore, the intelligence organizations found themselves obliged to rely on the local informants for the most of the time.

⁴¹⁴ Lüdke, *Ibid.*, p.57.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Still, at the advent of the war, the existence and the activities of these services seemed to trouble their counterparts. Kazım Karabekir, the head of the Ottoman military intelligence at the time, expressed his uneasiness with the espionage operations within the boundaries of the Empire as follows: “*While spies could easily wander around in the country, missionaries among the people could poison the public with vulgar propaganda and facilitate the actions of the spies.*”⁴¹⁷ For Karabekir, there were three main factors that assisted spies: (i) the hostility of the non-Turkish groups against the Turks and their avarice; (ii) the almost traditional trust and respect of the Turks in swindlers and (iii) intensive foreign influence and population that came through capitulations.⁴¹⁸ Karabekir also listed possible disguises for spies, according to which anyone could be suspected as an agent ranging from a cook to a driver, from a journalist to a watchmaker, or from a translator to a maid. Even though Karabekir’s lines seem to reflect an intense nationalist suspicion, similar concerns were also shared by his contemporary counterparts. Walter Nicolai, the head of the German intelligence, complained also about the successful integration of spies among the German public and people’s cooperation with them.⁴¹⁹

It is beyond the scope of this study to assess the collaboration of the individuals with spies or their services as agents within the Ottoman Empire. Rather, what constitutes a major concern for this work is that particular cases in which non-Muslims were accused of espionage fueled a government manipulated spy scare. Espionage cases related to non-Muslims were indeed not rare. Military and intelligence reports mentioned several assassination attempts against prominent officers.⁴²⁰ As a contemporary observer, Nicolai did not conceal his respect for Jewish and Armenian spies whom he regarded as “determinant”, “ruthless” and “very anti-Turkish” whereas he carped the Greek spies referring them as “cowards.”⁴²¹ He even went further to

⁴¹⁷ “Casuslar istedikleri gibi memlekette cirit atarken, halk arasındaki misyonerler de istedikleri gibi amiyane propagandalarla halkımızı zehirleyebiliyorlar ve casusların hareketini kolaylaştırıyorlardı.” Karabekir, *Ibid*, p.104.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.103.

⁴¹⁹ Walter Nicolai, *Birinci Dünya Harbinde Alman Gizli Servisi*, (Istanbul: Kamer, 1998), p.69.

⁴²⁰ In one case, a Greek cook tried to poison General Limon von Sanders during one of his inspection visits in Gallipoli. It was reported that the poison was provided by a British agent. FA/MA, Gempp-Report, 121, cited in Lüdke, *Ibid.*, p.61.

⁴²¹ Walter Nicolai, *Geheime Mächte*, (Leipzig, 1924), p.92, cited in Lüdke, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

claim that the fear of the Armenian spies had a significant role for the severe sanctions taken against the Armenian population of the Empire.

Although the extent of these activities remains vague, existent cases provided the CUP government with the means to launch a public campaign through the course of 1915 that based on the exploitation of the fear of spies. A decree issued by Enver Pasha on 31 December 1915 marked the zenith of the process: *“papers had been found proving the excessive level of enemy espionage against which now decisive steps will be taken. Naval and army officers are instructed to maintain silence about any crucial information, as well as civil officials. Those violating this directive are liable to suffer severe punishment.”*⁴²² Accordingly, all non-Muslims, regardless of the significance of their positions, were to be removed from military or civil service upon the receipt of the order within 24 hours, and the individuals under suspicion were ordered to be sent to non-sensitive areas.⁴²³

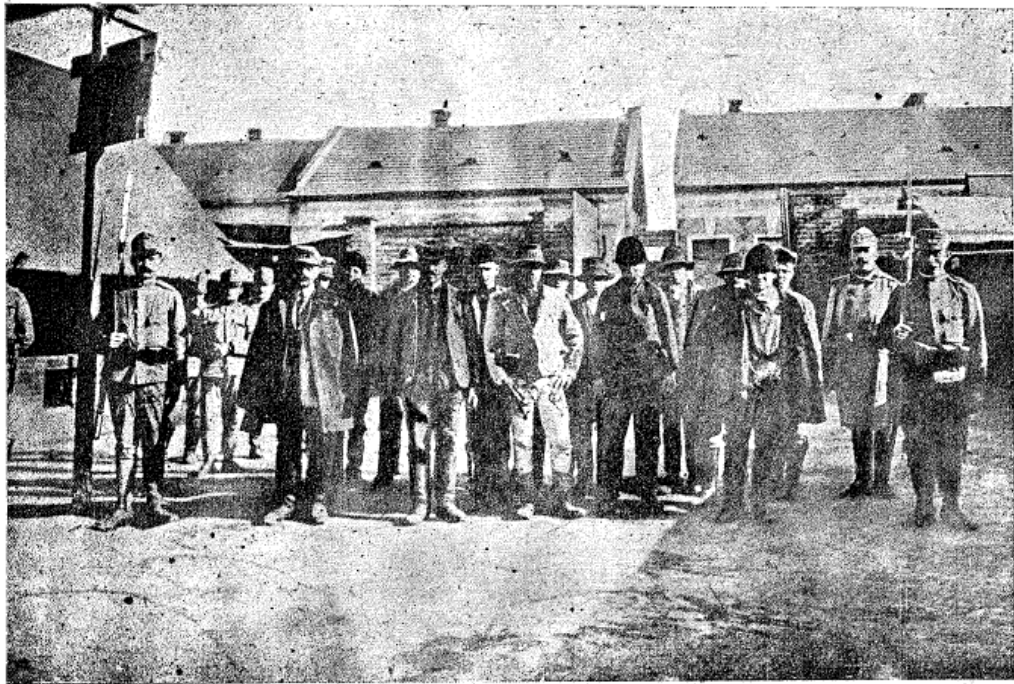
The state media gave full support to the campaign via their publications and took their part in the creation of a spy scare propaganda. The public was fed with stories of “dangerous” and “heinous” individuals serving for the enemies in disguise. In return, a tacit consent for the extreme governmental sanctions, as Enver Pasha’s directive, was created among the population. Thus, the CUP government managed to stiffen its political authority further and to eliminate its opponents while still representing itself as the disinterested guarantor of the peace, order and national integrity.⁴²⁴

Donanma participated in this “spy scare” campaign as well and stimulated the public fear via its visual propaganda. The messages entailed in the journal’s regarding imagery were of two types. On the one hand, they served to render the “invisible threat” visible by repeatedly publishing the images of the arrested agents and spies. As in the figure III.17, they were exposed to the reader in groups alluding that they were not

⁴²² FA/MA, File RM40/V.20, 31.12.15, cited in Lüdke, p.79.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.



آوستریا اردوسنک یاقلادیغی روس جاسوسلاری

Figure III.17 – “Russian spies caught by the Austrian army”⁴²⁵



دائما ملعون : شرقی پروسییاده کویلو قییا فئنده یاقلانهرق جزای
ستراسی بولغه کیدن روس جاسوسی

Figure III.18 – Russian spy under disguise⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ *Donanma*, no: 102, 1 July 1915, p.825.

less in number, and that the danger was bigger than imagined. The image showed a group of Russian spies imprisoned by the Austrian soldiers and exposed to the camera.

On the other hand, as in the figure III.18, the journal published disguised spies in different appearances. The figure displayed a Russian spy concealed as a peasant. He was arrested by the German soldiers in the Eastern Prussia, and the caption called him “forever devilish.” This was partly because that he was Russian and thus the “eternal enemy” of the empire. However, the main emphasis of the image was that the agent was undercover and disguised as a common citizen. Hence, he was represented as more “malign” than ever. At this juncture, the journal’s propagandist discourse converged to Kazım Karabekir’s overly suspicious approach that spies could be anywhere in any guise and addressed to a constant threat for the public that evoked a strong apprehension and alarm.

Both of the figures above, as various others under this category, depicted the agents as arrested and neutralized, suggesting that the Empire and its allies were powerful enough to detect and subdue the concealed threat. Yet, the continuous publications of this imagery served to alert and scare the public that there were numerous others out that persistently posed peril to the Empire. In this context, the government was singled out as the only potent defender against this menace, and its harsher measures were tried to be legitimized as a necessity of high priority.

III.8. Social Darwinism

Donanma regarded the era in which they lived as a time when the “might prevailed over the right” and assumed a particular “social Darwinist” tone that claimed that the Ottomans should be strong on every aspect of life to be able to survive⁴²⁷ One source of this power was seen in the physical strength of the people, and thus received an intensive and exclusive coverage by the journal under the heading “Columns of Physical Training”, the journal expressed this idea in a quite vivid way:

⁴²⁶ *Donanma*, no: 75, 4 January 1915, p.429.

⁴²⁷ Fatma Aliyye, “Donanmamız”, p. 629.

“Power is such a quality that gives dignity, virtue, respectability to those who possess it. Even unskilled laborers who are remarkably powerful fellows hold a different status among their colleagues... Even the school children realize today that neither intellect nor muscle can alone achieve something in life...[Young people] should work, run and jump for maintaining their bodily strength just like they run to the frontier to fulfill their military service.”⁴²⁸

Thus, *Donanma* related physical training not just to physiology but also to psychology, and addressed the German victories over Russians as the victory of “trained and firm” bodies over the “miserable” others.⁴²⁹ The representation of Ottoman athletes through visuals and frequent emphases on the scientific aspects of “beautiful body” were completed by showing the readers the ways to defend themselves vis-à-vis a physical threat.

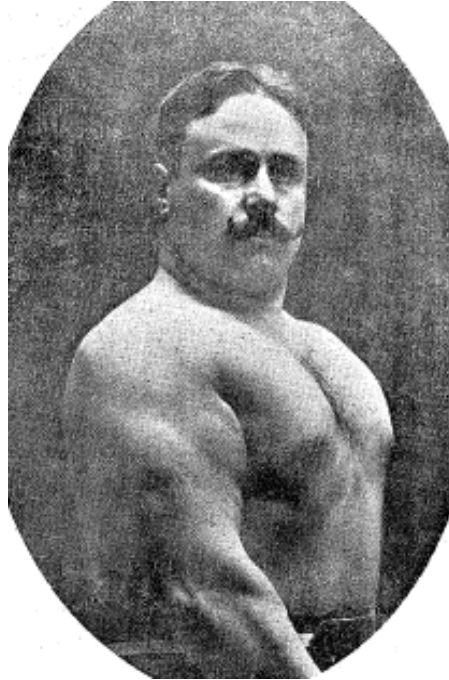


Figure III.19 – Cevad Rüştü Bey⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ “Kuvvet öyle bir vasıfıdır ki temellük edebilenlere fazla bir vakar, bir meziyet, bir hürmetbahş eder... Kendi muhitinde, meslekdaşları arasında müstesna kuvvetteki hamalların bile başka bir mevkiivardır... Yalnız dimağın veya yalnız adalenin iş göremeyeceği bugün mekteb çocuklarına varıcaya kadar anlaşıldı” Ali Seyfi, “Anasır-ı Kuvvet”, *Donanma*, no: 105, 24 June 1915, p. 66-67, cited in Beşikçi, p.69.

“...veazif-i askeriyesini ifa için serhada koştuğu gibinerede olursa olsun metanet-i bedeniyesini muhafaza için çalışmalı, uğraşmalı, koşmalı, sıçramalıdır.” B. “Niyetimiz”, *Donanma*, no: 83, 29 February 1915, p. 1. Cited in Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ *Donanma*, no: 98, 3 June 1915, p.770.

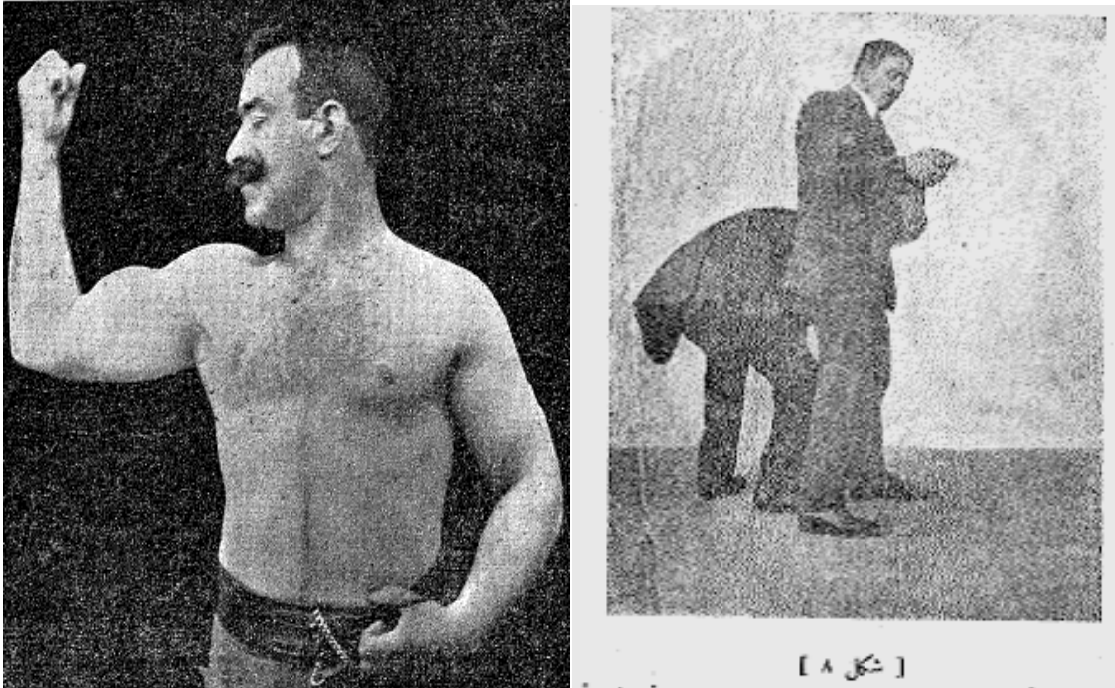


Figure III.20– Selahaddin Bey⁴³¹ **Figure III.21** – Self-defense trainings⁴³²

The images of athletes, as in figure III.19 and figure III.20, depicted them as ultimate symbols of muscular power. In both visuals, the athletes reflected the pride they felt over their bodies. The journal presented them as example to its readers and showed them as the result they could achieve by proper disciplining of their bodies.

Nevertheless, the journal did not confine the bodily strength and the ability to survive just to brute power. It published a series of illustrated self-defense trainings depicting regular civilians in daily clothes engaged in hand to hand combat (see figure III.21). This was indeed an extension of the attempt to militarize the public sphere and symbolized the mobilized civilian power.

⁴³¹ “Selahaddin Bey”, *Donanma*, no: 102, 1 July 1915, p. 70.

⁴³² *Donanma*, No: 116, 18 November 1915, p.130.

III.9. The Aftermath

The sudden and swift collapse of the Central Powers in the last quarter of 1918 resulted in ultimate defeat before the end of the year. First Bulgaria, and then the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary and Germany surrendered to the Entente forces respectively, triggering dramatic fractures in the domestic politics of these countries. The Mudros Armistice, signed on October 30, 1918, meant the end of the CUP's political hegemony which it enjoyed since 1913. The Committee grew largely unpopular among the public as the party that drove the country to the war and then lost it. Accused by various war crimes, the Triumvirate alongside with many other Unionists absconded from the country. Thus, the fading away of the CUP's political power and its replacement by anti-Unionist governments forced *Donanma* to change its pro-CUP and pro-German propaganda.

In this context, the journal shifted the focus of its criticism from the Entente powers towards Germany. While billing the responsibility of the defeat to this country, the journal emphasized that the empire still stood on its feet despite all the sufferings caused by the war and utilized visuals for the sake of a different propagandist message.

Figure III.22 is a photograph of the battle ship *Yadigar-ı Millet* (Memorial of the Nation) in the post-war period. The ship was depicted as being put on the stocks in a dockyard. *Yadigar-ı Millet* was among the first battle ships that were bought with the money collected by the Navy League's aid campaign, and hence symbolized the dreams and the hopes of the people accrued around this campaign. During the war, the battle ship was heavily damaged and half-sunk but was about to be repaired and floated again. Despite its serious wounds, *Yadigâr-ı Millet* was on the verge of a rebirth. In this sense, it was strongly associated with the Ottoman Empire, and denoted the hurt yet surviving optimism of the people.

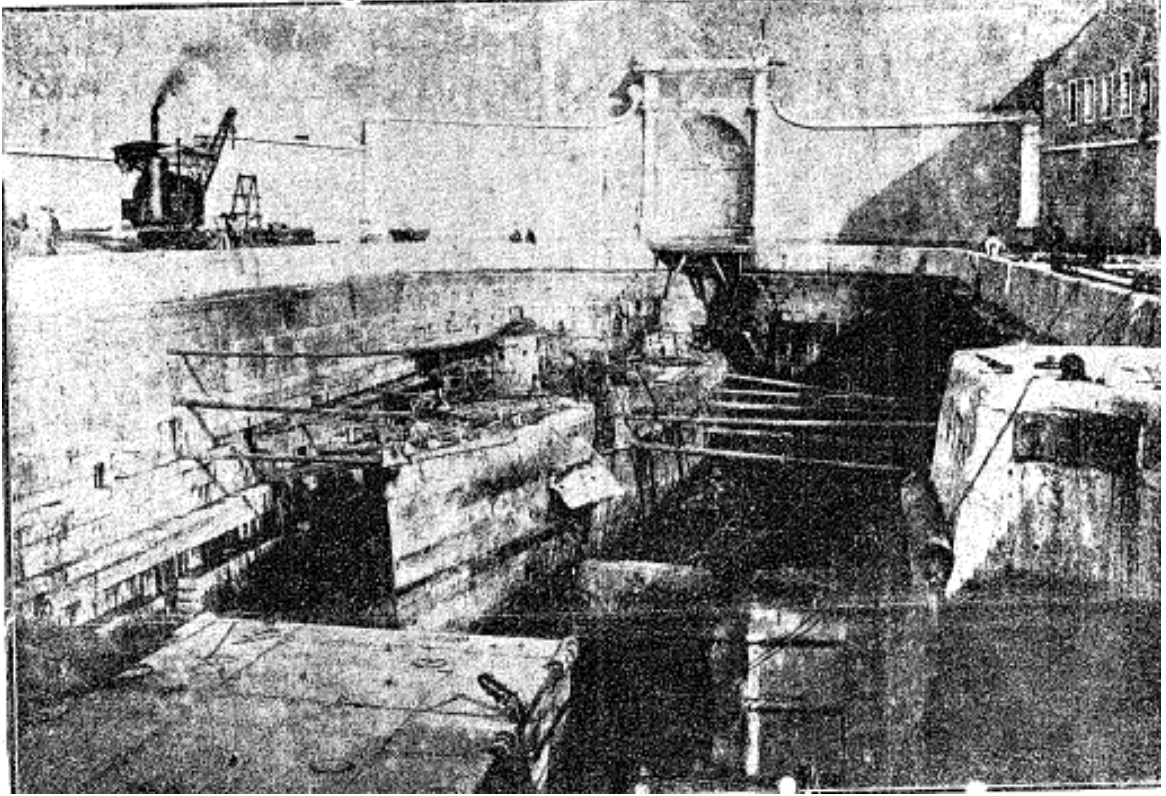


Figure III.22 – *Yedigâr-ı Millet* under repair⁴³⁴

On the other hand, the journal represented Germany as the ultimate loser of the war, and referred to its weakness as the cause of the Ottoman defeat. Figure III.22 illustrated the pre- and post-war German army and the navy. The soldier in the first frame stood for the pre-war German army, and the soldier that could hardly be seen represented the latter period. The same comparison was also done for the navy in the second frame. In this sense, the journal implied that the admiration felt for German might was indeed for nothing.

The failure of Germany was also depicted by photographs that showed the surrender of the German forces to the Entente powers. Figure III.23 depicted German

⁴³⁴ *Donanma*, no: 189, Ocak 1919, p. 77.

cruisers and battle ships while being taken over by the British forces. The massive German ships were seen following a smallish British battle in submission.



Figure III.23 – “The limits of the German army and navy”⁴³⁵

⁴³⁵ *Donanma*, no: 192, 1 April 1919, p. 42.

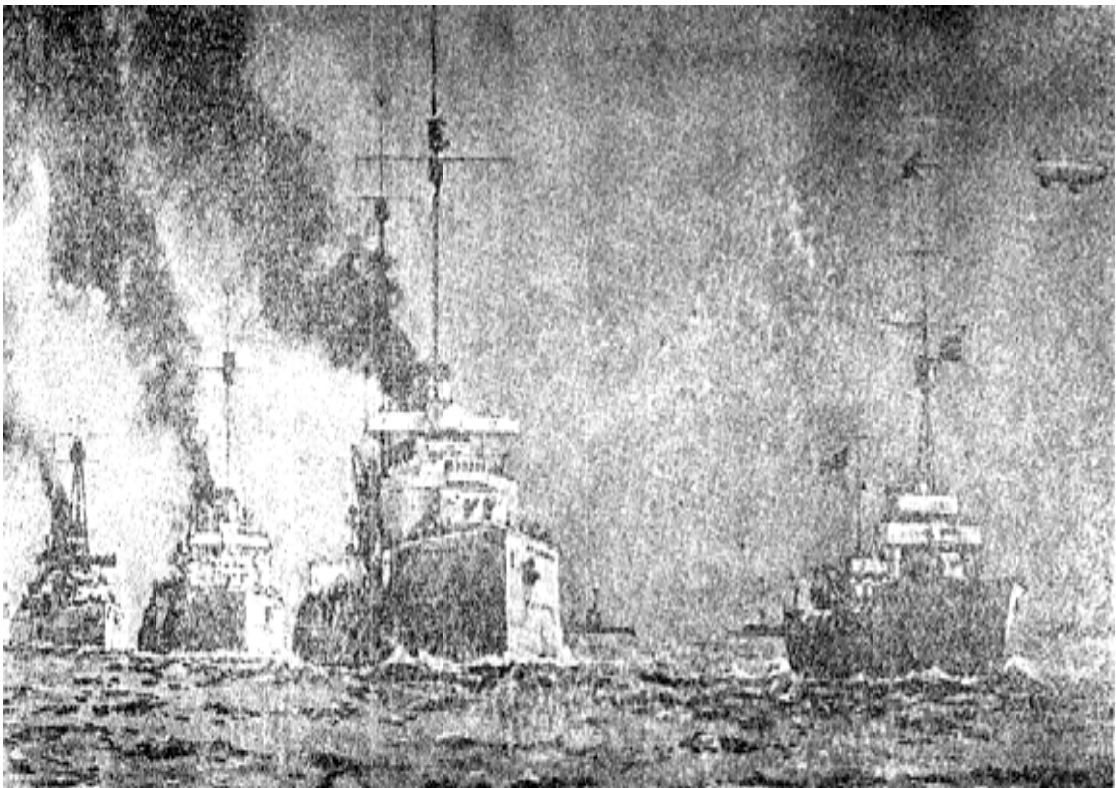


Figure III.24 – The surrender of the German navy⁴³⁶

⁴³⁶ *Donanma*, no: 189, Ocak 1919, s. 97.

CONCLUSION

This study tried to explore the Ottoman experience of the Great War through a preliminary analysis of *Donanma*'s visual propaganda. Although the Ottoman propaganda suffered from serious infrastructural and superstructural setbacks and hence doomed to fail eventually, this thesis argued that the attempt of the government to penetrate the Ottoman public sphere and to manipulate the public opinion cut across the social, economical and cultural aspects of the Ottoman war experience and thus offered a valuable insight into it. In this perspective, the present thesis proposed that *Donanma* was an efficient and preferable channel for the dispersion of the governmental propaganda due to its popular character and that visuals aided the journal by improving the accessibility of its propagandist message.

The theoretical ground of this study rested upon the rapidly extending Ottoman public sphere in the post-1908 era and its blurring boundaries with the state. The study argued that voluntary associations came to define the post-revolutionary public sphere and posed as mediums where the Ottoman citizens could translate their sentiments and ideas into organized action. At a period of high expectations and great disappointments, these organizations unearthed the accumulated social energy via thrusting public channels into it. The state utilized semi-official associations to mobilize this energy on a nationalistic and patriotic axis, which in return resulted in the marginalization of non-governmental associations. The Navy League was one of the most efficient and popular semi-official institutions, achieving to arouse a huge popular interest and mobilizing popular affections into one "collective destiny", the navy.

Donanma, as the mirror of the ideas of the Leaguers, appeared as the means to disperse the League's propaganda. Reaching a high and consistent circulation rate and expanding over a time span of ten years, it became the most vivid symbol of the popularity of this mass mobilization campaign. It managed to achieve this; first, by addressing each and every group of the society; second, by acting as a social forum through which prominent figures and writers together with their young counter parts

could raise their voice for supporting the campaign; third, by keeping its price at a maximum low for a long time; fourth, by adopting an illustrated character that alleviated the gap between the literate and illiterate; and fifth, by using the widespread national and international network of the League for distribution

This thesis put emphasis on visual propaganda as a valuable analytical framework as it promised a higher potential to communicate with a greater amount of people within the highly illiterate Ottoman society. As of June 1914, *Donanma* enhanced its illustrated character and put a greater emphasis on its visual propaganda. This paralleled the League's increasing alignment with the ministry of the interior and the extremists within the government. The journal turned into a newsreel and the CUP's war propaganda tool from this time onwards.

The study analyzed the journal's war propaganda in two periods: before and after the Ottoman entry to the war. Although the former period expanded over less than a four months period, it has been equally emphasized as the latter by this study. The choice was directly related to one particular concern. The literature on the Ottoman experience of the Great War usually regards the intervention as a mere *fait accompli* of a few extremist Unionist leaders. Yet, it overlooks the preceding complex social process and the heated confrontation among the moderate and the extremist groups within the government over the decision of intervention. It is true that the Empire entered the war as a result of a *fait accompli*; however, it was preceded by an intensive pro-war public campaign that attempted to win over the public opinion and to convince it over the benefit of the intervention. The campaign was rather successful and *Donanma* took its role within it. Thus, the present study tried to render this largely overlooked aspect more visible by analyzing the components of the journal's visual propaganda for the period preceding the intervention.

The social insecurity deeply felt by the Ottoman public played a key role in shaping the propaganda of this period. As *Donanma* adopted a clear pro-Alliance and pro-war position, the Central Powers were depicted as an element of power and safety. The ominous image of Germany and Austria prior to 1913 was replaced by a beneficent and a friendly one, whereas the revered position of Britain and France was relegated to treacherous and malign. The Central Powers were represented as superior to the Entente in every aspect. The former side was depicted as absolute victors on the battlefield literally crushing the armies of the Entente powers, whereas the latter were

represented as doomed to failure. The triumph of the Central Powers looked swift and inevitable. Hence, the journal tried to convince the Ottoman public that an immediate intervention on the side of Germany and Austria would be highly beneficial and the Empire should join them as quickly as possible. Germany was addressed as a role model for the Ottoman Empire. Its social cohesion, solidarity and technological advancement was highly praised and shown as an example to the readers.

The Ottoman general mobilization constituted a significant part of the journal's pre-intervention propaganda. It represented the process as a cheerful event to which the Ottomans responded positively as a whole and tried to veil the catastrophic repercussions caused by it through encouraging imagery. The German mobilization constituted a strong reference point as *Donanma* called for the participation of the Ottomans into the process. On the other hand, the journal also attempted to enhance the image of the CUP by representing the Committee as the guarantor of the internal peace and emphasized upon its ability to prevent crime and disorder. The visuals of the journal regarded the CUP and its leaders as a remedy for the acute social insecurity.

The Ottoman society was largely diversified along social, economical and ethnic lines. Hence, the perception and the experience of the war by the population showed a great variety. In response to that, *Donanma*'s visual propaganda after the intervention, tried to create a common war experience for the Ottoman society as a whole and tried to rally it under common symbols for the ends of the Great War. The most prominent component of the journal's wartime propaganda was Jihad. *Donanma*'s imagery depicted the Entente powers as oppressors of the Muslims all over the world and called upon them to join hands in a war against those powers. The journal suggested that Jihad was welcomed by all Muslims with great enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the call for Jihad was a selective one and excluded the Central powers by designating them as "faithful," "devotional" and "god-fearing" people.

The image of the enemy was a rather ambivalent one. On the one hand, it was represented as "greedy," "dangerous" and "barbarian" and on the other, as "helpless," "feeble," and "beaten." For both cases, the journal designated the enemy as "unrighteous" and tried to persuade the public that the victory was near and the sacrifices made and demanded would soon be concluded by a decisive and swift victory. The visual propaganda of the journal represented the war of the Ottomans as "virtuous" and "heroic." The fight was claimed to be for the salvation of the Empire

and the protection of its future. The image of the Ottoman population and the soldiers were depicted as a march to the victory and the Empire was closely identified with the German and Austrian successes throughout the war and forged a close identification with them.

The propaganda of the journal reflected a vivid social Darwinist character putting a bold emphasis on physical strength and assigned it a key role for the survival of the nations in a highly chaotic international environment which the journal defined as where the “might prevailed over the right.” The journal displayed the images of athletes as role models to the Ottoman society and reserved a special section for the self defense trainings designed for the civilians.

On the other hand, the highly technological character of the Great War received a special emphasis among the journal’s imagery. The confrontation of the Ottoman soldiers with the new war technology was represented as the victory of the former over the other. Regarding images showed the Ottoman soldiers bringing down planes, destroying tanks and sinking battleships in an attempt to provide a psychological remedy for the material and technological lack of military equipment.

The images of the prisoners of war (POW) were used to address the eventual and absolute fall of the enemy. On the one hand, they expressed the desperateness of the enemy and on the other provided the readers and the observers the satisfaction of capturing and dominating the enemy. The war weary POWs were displayed both to show the benign nature of the Ottomans and the Central Powers as they treated them mercifully and to celebrate the Central Powers’ victory as trophies of the war. The images of the captured spies were used to assuage the feeling of insecurity and enhance the feeling of safety at home.

There were two fundamental goals of *Donanma*’s visual propaganda throughout the war: First, to keep the morale high both at home and at the fronts by claiming that the Ottomans and their allies were winning the war and the triumph was near; and second, to translate the popular feelings aroused by the war into material support by calling out for the contribution of the public.

The anti-Entente propaganda of *Donanma* ended right after the surrender of the Empire in the Great War. The journal shifted its visual propaganda for its last five issues to the survival of the Empire and tried to promote the idea that despite all of its

sufferings the state stood upon its feet. Adopting a neutral tone over the Entente powers, *Donanma* directed its critics against Germany and depicted it as the loser of the war.

This study tried to venture through the largely neglected Ottoman experience of the Great War within a very particular perspective. Yet, in the final analysis, it is still far from being able to claim to be an exhaustive study of the Ottoman war propaganda. The major concern of this thesis was to put emphasis on the state's effort to manipulate the public opinion for the ends of the war and the socio-political context upon which it based its propaganda. *Donanma* offers an affluent source to pursue such a study and manages at least partially to address at the complexity of the Ottoman experience of the war overlooked by the national and international historiography.

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