

AGRARIAN ECONOMY AND PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE SALONICAN
COUNTRYSIDE IN THE HAMIDIAN PERIOD (1876-1908)

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Thesis Abstract

Zeynep Küçükceran, “Agrarian Economy and Primary Education in the Salonican Countryside in the Hamidian Period (1876-1908)”

Beginning from the nineteenth century, the rulers of Ottoman Empire realized the importance of education in centralizing the administration. The Ottoman subjects would be educated in accordance with the basic principles of the ruling mentality for the development of the empire. In this manner, for the rulers, education created on the one hand a way to form the subjects and on the other, a way to control them through the knowledge given by education.

In the Hamidian era, such developmental features of education came to be observed more obviously. Primary education, being the first step in the formation, was spread to create loyal and productive subjects who would espouse the principles of rulers as their own and then provide and carry on the necessary developments in the empire. However, could a central program be effective in spreading education in the countryside?

In the countryside of the Ottoman Empire the conditions were much more different than the cities. In the villages the most crucial issue was to produce enough for the next years, therefore everything about agricultural production dominated people’s lives. Hence, the spread of education in the villages was determined by agrarian economy; by the financial and social conditions that it created and by the actors who benefited from these conditions. Most of the time, such conditions in the villages conflicted with the central policies. Therefore, the spread of education in the countryside is the story of the struggle between central efforts and the agrarian economy. And the understanding to the history of the education will be incomplete without a deep observation of the countryside, and an analysis of this struggle.

Salonika was on the one hand a region of agricultural prosperity and diversity on the other its city center was one of the developed places in terms of education. Therefore, the region of Salonika presents a perfect example to observe different conditions than the cities and also to see the struggle between central efforts and agrarian economy in the countryside.

Keywords: Salonika, agrarian economy, villages, countryside, primary education, teachers, Abdülhamid II.

Tez Özeti

Zeynep Küçükceran, “Abdülhamid Dönemi Selanik Kırsalında tarım ekonomisi ve ilkokul eğitimi ilişkisi (1876-1908)”

Ondokuzuncu yüzyıldan itibaren, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu merkezileşen yönetime giden yolda eğitimin önemini fark etmeye başladı. Osmanlı Tebaası, İmparatorluğun gelişmesi için, yönetim zihniyetinin temel prensipleri mucibince eğitilecekti. Bu şekilde, yöneticiler için eğitim, bir yandan tebaayı şekillendirme yolunu, bir yandan da eğitim aracılığıyla onları kontrol etme yolunu yarattı.

Abdülhamid döneminde bu gelişmeci özellik daha açıkça gözlemlenebilir hale geldi. İlkokul eğitimi, şekillendirmenin ilk adımı olarak, imparatorlukta yöneticilerin prensiplerini kendisinin gibi benimseyecek ve sonrasında gerekli gelişmeleri sağlayacak ve sürdürecektir sadık ve üretken tebaa yaratmak için yayılmaya çalışıldı. Fakat, bu kadar merkezi bir program kırsalda eğitimi yaymada etkili olabilir miydi?

Osmanlı kırsalında şartlar şehirlerden çok daha farklıydı. Köylerde en önemli konu gelecek yıl için yeteri kadar üretmekti, bu yüzden insanların yaşamını tarımsal üretimle ilgili herşey yönetiyordu. Bu nedenle eğitimin köylerde yayılmasını yarattığı sosyal ve finansal koşullarla ve bu koşullardan yararlanan aktörlerle tarımsal ekonomi belirledi. Bu koşullar, çoğu zaman merkezi çıkarlarla çatıştı. Bu suretle, eğitimin kırsalda yaygınlaşması merkezi çabalarla tarımsal ekonominin mücadelesinin hikayesidir. Ve eğitim tarihine yaklaşım kırsalın derin gözlemi ve bu mücadelenin analizi olmaksızın eksik olacaktır.

Selanik bir taraftan tarımsal verimliliği ve çeşitliliği olan bir bölge iken bir taraftan şehri eğitimin gelişkin olduğu bölgelerdendir. Bu nedenle, kırsal farklılıkları gözlemlemek ve merkezi çabalarla tarımsal ekonomi arasındaki mücadeleyi görmek için Selanik iyi bir örnek sunuyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Selanik, tarım ekonomisi, köyler, kırsal kesim, ilköğretim, öğretmenler, Abdülhamid II*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century was an era marked by the centralization of empires through various instruments. In order to achieve this, the mentality of the rulers needed to be conveyed to the subjects and the subjects needed to be formed accordingly.

Education, especially primary school education, was one of these instruments used for the formation of the subjects according to the centralization policy. “In the true state the ‘man’ and the ‘citizen’ are united, and education is just the development of that unity”¹, is how Hegel depicted the crucial role of education for the centralizing states at that period. That is, to bring the mentality of the state to the subjects. Thus, in the nineteenth century, having such a role, the empires tried to reach the subjects and shape them through this instrument. “The emergence of public education as a means to create much-needed work force for the modernizing states in the nineteenth century as their bureaucracies were expanding drastically also served to ‘create’ an ideal citizen who was loyal to the state. As the concept of ‘citizenship would emerge, the schools would be at the service of the state...”² In this way, education has become a means to transform the society according to the mentality of the state.³ The

¹ Robin Small, *Marx and Education* (Hampshire, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), , p. 141

² Emine Önhan Evered, *The Politics of Late Ottoman Education: Accommodating Ethno-Religious Pluralism Amid Integral Disintegration* (Ph. D. Diss., University of Arizona, 2005), pp. 22-23

³ For further information about German, French or English Education look at: James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Eda Sagarra, *A Social History of Germany 1648-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1977); Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1976); Raymond Grew and Patrick J Harrigan, *School, State, and Society: The Growth of Elementary Schooling in Nineteenth-Century France, A Quantitative Analysis* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991) ; Pauline Gregg, *A Social and Economic History of Britain 1760-1965* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1966); Frank Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902* (London: University of London Press, 1931)

rulers of the Ottoman Empire also realized the role of education as a way to create the demanded society beginning from the nineteenth century. In fact, all these empires realized its role, but each confronted the challenges from a different perspective. For instance, in France, the struggle between the church and the secular state to gain hegemony over education continued even until the twentieth century. Similarly, in the Ottoman Empire, there was the gradual organization of the education system in the center and in the provinces, however, there was resistance from the local communities. Thus, having such a central role, the history of education was one of the important issues in Ottoman history. Hence, although there were important works to which this thesis will frequently give references, the field still deserves further research.

The story of the development of education in the Ottoman Empire was one of the challenges between the centre and the countryside and was a result of the rural conditions. Akşin Somel has briefly talked about the rural conditions in his important work *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908): İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin [The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908 : Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline]* , but the rural conditions needed further analysis to see the reasons of resistance. Within the context of rural conditions, this thesis will specifically focus on the agrarian factors since the economic activities were the main determinants in people's lives affecting their economic conditions, shaping the relationship among them, organizing the year according to seasonal requirements. When we look at the Ottoman countryside, we see that the bulk of the population living in the countryside was engaged in agricultural activity, and when we consider this activity, we can realize that people were not only engaged in this

activity, but were shaped, organized and directed by it. The spread of education, therefore, being a part of such a life, was deeply influenced by the rules of agriculture. For example, economic conditions affected the enrollment of children and the relationship between people, precisely the hierarchy derived from the agricultural activity which determined the development of education and challenged its spread and the agricultural season shaped the educational terms for children. For this reason, while examining the spread of education throughout the empire, we cannot ignore the effects of economic conditions on it. Thus, this thesis will look at the issue of education in the context of its relations with the agrarian conditions in the countryside and focus on the question of how education was affected and even shaped by such conditions, how the economic conditions in the broadest sense determined the will of people towards education and to what extent the will of people could limit the spread of education, which was another aspect of this broad history of education.

The whole countryside of the Ottoman Empire was too broad to make a research subject for a master's thesis. For this reason, the region had to be limited to one area. At this point, I chose Salonika, because its center was one of the developed ones in terms of the number of schools and the methods of education. Furthermore, it was one of the most prosperous cities of the Ottoman Empire at that period. Even these characteristics of the city were enough to see the differences between the countryside and the city. Salonika was the heart of the Macedonian region as it was the port of the region making it the center for the circulation of products. The boundaries of the province were exposed to a continuous change due to political concerns until the middle of the nineteenth century. For instance, Manastır was

recorded as the *sancak* of Salonika⁴ in the 1296 Ottoman state yearbook, but according to the 1299 provincial yearbook, the province consisted of Drama, Siroz and Selanik *sancaks*.⁵ The *kaza* of these *sancaks* were changed after the 1880s and some of the *nahiyes* were made *kazas*. The boundaries of the province and the territories belonging to it were defined in the provincial yearbook of 1307: “Our province is divided into Salonika, Siroz, Drama *sancaks*. The most important and the largest one of these is the centre of the province, Salonika *sancak*, and it covers half of the lands of the whole province. It is surrounded in the east with the Siroz *sancak*, in the north with the Kosova province and in the west with the Monastır province and in the south with the Sea of Islands (*adalar denizi*) and it unites the whole southern part of the province [...]. Within the province, the total number of cities, *nahiyes*, villages and *çiftliks* added up to ‘2123’”.⁶ The borders of each *kaza* which can be seen in the map given in Appendix I was well defined geographically in the yearbook.

Beside this geographical limitation, the thesis is limited to primary schools in the countryside since primary education was the first step of the intervention of the rulers in the lives of people and primary schools were the first place where people received the intervention and as a response resist or accept it. Thus, through this stage it was easy to see the local dynamics and the responses of people. In addition,

⁴ Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye. Sene 1296.

⁵ Salname-i Selanik. Defa 7, sene 1299

⁶ “Vilayetimiz Selanik, Siroz, Drama, sancaklarına münkasımdır. Bunların en mühim ve cesimi Selanik merkez sancağıdır ki vilayet arazisinin nısfı mikdarını ihata eylemiştir. Şarken siroz, sancağı, şimalen Kosova ve gurban Manastır vilayetleri ve cenuben dahi Adalar Deniziyle mahdud olup vilayetin tamamıyla cihet-i gurbiyesini terkiib eyler [...]. Dahil-i vilayette bulunan şehir, kasaba, karye, mahalle, çiftliklerin mecmuı ‘2123’ adedine baliğ olur” Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307)

except very few cases, there were only primary schools in the countryside for very practical reasons.

The sources that have been used within these limits needs to be mentioned as well. The core of the research is based on archival sources, newspapers and education and provincial yearbooks. The archival sources are the reports of the Inspectors, Directors of Education, the petitions which were sent to the *Maarif Mektubi Kalemi* from the province, the *Yıldız Esas Evrakı* and *Yıldız Mütenevvi Evrakı*. The reports enable a researcher to get an idea of the situation from the eyes of the officials. Although most of these officials wrote the documents having parallel concerns with the state rather than dealing with the real problems and the dynamics of the villages, a researcher can get an idea of the situation by examining the details in the documents. However, it is still very hard to learn about the countryside even from such documents due to the fact that there was no regular registration of educational institutions in the countryside, which is an obstacle in front of the researcher examining the countryside. Therefore, the archival sources needed to be supported and compared with other sources. For instance, it was hard to follow a school in a certain village through a time period. For this reason, although the research is limited to the Salonika province, there are references to other regions to make the situation clear and to enrich the samples in the absence of support from the successive documents belonging to the same region. Most of the documents that have been examined for this thesis in the classification of the *Maarif Mektubi Kalemi* are about the appointments of teachers, the financial problems of the region as regards education, the petitions about the construction or repairing of school buildings and the certification of imams to teach at primary schools. In the Yıldız

documents, the documents reflect the mentality of the bureaucrats regarding the education problem. However, their approach remained unrelated to the countryside most of the time, being far from understanding or even looking at the countryside, because their primary concern was the urban centers.

In addition to the archival sources, the newspapers published in the Salonika region have been used in the study. Especially after the second half of the nineteenth century, education, precisely its spread into the villages, began to be seen as an issue by a variety of contemporary observers. Various journalists and independent writers talked about the importance of the education of the children living in the villages, and they often stressed that the educational conditions in villages had to be improved. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the spread of education to the villages became so important that there was a permanent column in *Yeni Asır*, in which a reporter traveling around the villages of the Salonika province wrote about his observations. These accounts are very helpful in seeing the situation in the villages and learning about real practices, which the archival documents lack most of the time. Nevertheless, the records usually reflected only a part of the picture, so it was almost impossible to follow the case, but still sometimes the situation could be followed from different regions or, very rarely of course, if the situation was so much important, it was possible to follow it as it was in the case of the Education Committee in the Drama *kaza*.⁷

In addition, the provincial yearbooks of Salonika have been used. The education statistics in them were important to have a real sense of the situation for which they constitute a meaning. Yet, there were problems of registration in most of

⁷ See Chapter 3.

the villages, and also the criteria in registration were not reliable enough to be used without being supported by other sources, as was the case in the education yearbook. For example, most of the time, the schools that were established by the state (in terms of financing) were registered. In short, most of the village schools have not been registered as many funded locally. Hence, it was hard to reach the real number of schools in the countryside. Thus, while using the numbers given in the yearbooks, a researcher must take into consideration such occasions.

There are additional primary sources that have been used in this thesis; the agricultural textbook, called *İlmi ve tatbiki çiftçilik dersleri sınıf-ı ibtidaiye mahsusdur: devre-i mutavassıta devre-i aliye (3 ila 6)*, and a book called *maarif-i umumiye yahud bir çiftçinin mütalaaadan istifadesi* made up of the articles published in the *Hidmet* newspaper. *Maarif-i umumiye yahud bir çiftçinin mütalaaadan istifadesi* was used as a supportive source in understanding the life and the relations among the people in the villages, since in the book there were some clues about village life. The importance of the textbook comes from its content and the language. In the book, one can evaluate such questions as what type of information had been given to the village children and the limits of the knowledge allowed by the authorities. This also shows the image of the village children in the minds of the rulers and the authors who were far from being familiar with the real practices of the villages.

Additionally, a further evaluation of the sources is necessary. In the documents, both the archival ones and the newspapers, the landlords and the *kahya*, who represent the centre of power of a village were missing. In the villages, it seems that all the processes of cultivation and everything related to the village were determined by the inhabitants of the village. In this picture, the landlords and the

powerful figures of the countryside who had power over the production process were invisible. Can we think that they were invisible because they were absent? However, we know their presence and interference. The reason behind their absence might have been the purpose of the state that is willing to negotiate with the peasants directly and establish a direct relationship with them. Perhaps, the archival documents and also the newspapers were formed with such an agenda, but when other sources, such as court records, are examined, those actors could be found.

In this thesis, the chapters are organized with these concerns and limits in mind. In the first chapter, I examined the general development of education in the bureaucratic and provincial levels. This chapter shows how the spread and development of education depended, outside the will of the Sultan, on the conditions and organizations, and on the bureaucracies and how they played a central role in this spread. Furthermore, it also shows how education developed as a part of a provincial governmental organization.

In the second chapter, I analyzed the general characteristics of the Salonika region to develop an understanding of the influence of agriculture on people's lives and to see in what ways agrarian conditions could be effective on their lives. Also the number of schools in the Salonika countryside is given so as to understand the effects of the educational problem more clearly prior to the problems and obstacles of the spread discussed in the third chapter. Due to these features, the second chapter can be regarded as the part which provides statistics and information in the thesis.

The third chapter focuses on the problems and conditions which had direct or indirect effects on education. This is the chapter where the argument of the thesis is clearly stated and enriched with examples; the effect of agrarian conditions on the

education in the countryside is also given. This chapter is equally important to see real lives in the villages; the traditions that govern the lives of the people there, the relationship between the people, the role and the position of some important actors in the villages who govern all the spheres of life in a village and resist the center in order not to lose their privileges, and the possible thoughts of children in the face of their parents' decision about their way of lives. Thus, on the one hand, there is a notion about education in the villages and on the other, there is limited information about the lives of ordinary people, which also makes the research equally important for social history in general.

Hence, having in mind the ways in which agricultural conditions affected the development of education, this thesis aims to look at the history of education from a different point of view and open a new area of research in terms of this field of history.

CHAPTER 2

ORGANIZATION OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The importance of education began to be understood by the Ottoman rulers starting with the reign of Mahmud II. From that period on, bureaucratic institutions were established and spread. But it is in the Hamidian period that it started to shape into a system that covered all subjects of the empire, including the people living in its remotest corners. As İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin said, “it can be said that the application of this system [education system] was applied in the Hamidian era which cover all of the empire”.⁸ For this reason, the Hamidian era was the most proper era to see both the efforts and the dynamics that created this resistance since these encountered some resistance. Also, in looking at the Hamidian era, the continuities and differences within this period should be taken into consideration. A comparative examination of the change in the curricula of the primary schools in time perfectly could help to observe the alterations.

In the light of these, the first part of this chapter will focus on, first of all, the organization of the education system in the bureaucratic level until the Hamidian era and in the Hamidian era. Secondly, the creation of the *ibtidai* school as a part of the system, and why there was a need for these schools as a quick response to the needs of the rulers instead of trying to turn the old style *sıbyan* schools, which would have been too slow. Thirdly, in this respect the spheres of the tension between the old style *sıbyan* schools and *ibtidai* schools will be examined. In the second part, the first point to be discussed will be the provincial organization of bureaucracy and how

⁸ İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993), p.75

education was placed in this organization as a result of the aim to spread the education to the remotest corner of the empire and to bring the subjects living in the remotest corner under the authority of the rulers. As regards this point, the duties of various officials from different levels related to the education system will be dealt with. The second point to be discussed will be the tension between the provincial bureaucracy and the central bureaucracy due to the provincial conditions that were unknown and sometimes ignored by the central organization of the ministry of education. As such, this thesis will try to show how the provincial bureaucracy was under pressure between on the one hand the situation in the countryside and on the other the demands from the central bureaucracy and how the local agrarian conditions, and the general impact of these conditions relationship, were central in the countryside, rather than the will of the Sultan or the orders of the Ministry.

The Central Organization of Education System

The Development of Bureaucratic Organization

The first independent institution charged with educational issues was the *Mekatib-i Rüşdiyye Nezareti*, established in 1839 to deal with the *sıbyan* schools, which can be considered to be the religious primary schools. Because there were no *rüşdiyye* schools -which are similar to secondary schools- at that period, the institution was charged with the issues of schools for children. However, in time, this institution seemed insufficient for the desired improvements of Abdülmecid, who wanted to see the reforms that were granted in the *Tanzimat* Decree. Hence, a committee which

was called the Temporary Education Committee (*Muvakkat Maarif Meclisi*)⁹ was established for the reforms in 1845 and this committee offered a reform program to the Sultan for the improvement of the schools. In 1846, this temporary committee was turned into a permanent committee¹⁰ to work on educational problems and on the accomplishment of the reforms.

This committee issued an enactment which defines the curriculum of the primary schools; *Elifba, Kuran, İlmihal* (the history of prophets), *tecvit* (interpretation of the meaning of Quran), *harekeli Türkçe muhtasar ahlak-ı memduharisaleleri, lügat, sülüs* and *nesih*.¹¹ Yahya Akyüz underlines the importance of the Enactment as the first that tries to take a look at children not as little adults, but as children who have a different nature than adults.¹² This approach to children was also important for leading a rearrangement of the punishment methods, especially the bastinado (*falaka*). The method was banned in the enactment. The enactment also brought a new style in teaching which was different than the one in the old-style *sıbyan* schools. It brought some training instruments such as the ink holder, the inkwell and a board for writing called “*taş tahta*”, made of a special kind of stone which was called *arduvaz*. The Committee tried to balance the tension between the need for innovations and the resistance from religious classes governing all the schools via imams who were teaching in the *sıbyan* schools that came to be used as primary schools following their own way to teach the necessary knowledge to the

⁹ Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye’ de Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1964) , p.18

¹⁰ Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991) , p. 14

¹¹ Nafi Atuf Kansu, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* (Ankara: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1930), p.100

¹² Yahya Akyüz, “İlköğretimin Yenileşme Tarihinde Bir Adım: Nisan 1847 Tâlimatı”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, Sayı 5, ss.1 – 48, p.15

children. To achieve this balance, the Committee used the statement in the Enactment “as it had been used in Arabia”¹³ for the innovations.

Despite these actions that this Committee took, only one committee was not enough for the development of the education system of the empire. Therefore, the Ministry of Public Schools (*Mekatib-i Umumiye Nezareti*) was established in 1846¹⁴, working alongside with the permanent Committee as a general directorate, not as a ministry in the sense that it was named, and its first director was Vakanüvis Esat Efendi.¹⁵ Beside the offices that would deal with educational issues, it was necessary to have an organization dealing with textbooks which would be taught at schools since the translation and control of books were necessary as there was not a tradition among the writers to write schoolbooks for children in the Ottoman Empire. To achieve this aim, the Academy of Knowledge (*Encümen-i Daniş*) was established in 1851. It was designated, at first, for the translation and preparation of the schoolbooks of the Imperial University (*Darülfünun*), but until the establishment of the university, the institution was charged with the translation and preparation of the schoolbooks for all levels of the education system. Yet, it was abolished in 1862.¹⁶

These various institutions were not sufficient for establishing a systematic organization for the education system of the empire. Thus, to regulate the educational issues and make the people in charge work more efficiently and for a more organized accomplishment of the reform program, the Ministry of Education was established in

¹³ Ibid, 14.

¹⁴ Aziz Berker, *Türkiye’de İlköğretim 1839-1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945)

¹⁵ Unat, *Türkiye’de Eğitim*, 19

¹⁶ Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (Başlangıçtan 1997’ye)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1997), p.165

1857.¹⁷ The Ministry was composed of two departments: the first one was the Department of Private Schools, dealing with the issues of non-Muslim schools which were for the children of Greek, Armenian, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant communities and the other was *Mekteb-i Umumiye* which dealt with the issues of *sıbyan* schools.¹⁸ An organized and detailed structural change came into existence with the Education Regulation (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) in 1869. According to the Regulation, Ministry of Education was composed of the Department of the Ministry of Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*), Secretariat (*Tahrirat Kalemi*), the Accounting Unit (*Muhasebe kalemi*) and the Great Committee of Education (*Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif*) which was composed of two departments: *Daire-i İlmiye*, in charge of the books of the schools and *Daire-i İdare*, in charge of the staff of the schools, museums, libraries and the press.¹⁹ The Education Regulation also defined the basic rules in education, such as the age of the children who had to be enrolled to schools, the financial management of all levels of schools, the duration of each level of schools the curricula of all levels of schools, the general responsibilities of teachers, the responsibilities of the departments within the Ministry, the new institutions that would be established in the provinces, the rules and the conditions of the exams and the general financial circulation for education among different institutions.²⁰ With this regulation, the enrollment of the children to school was made obligatory, but was this enough to spread education throughout the empire, especially

¹⁷ Berker, *Türkiye’de İlköğretim*, 44

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim*, 19

²⁰ Mahmud Cevad İbnü’ş-Şeyh Nafî. *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcraatı* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 2002), pp. 404-439

in the countryside where the lives of people were directed by different dynamics which mostly derived from the economy in the most general sense?

With this regulation, teaching at primary schools became conditional on the obtainment of a certificate issued from the *Darülmualimin* (Teachers' Colleges) for the imams. It seems that the aim was to bring primary schools under the control of the central bureaucracy which was governed and directed according to the will and the mentality of the Sultan because in this way, through the professionalization of the teaching staff, the mentality of the center could be carried to the subjects. In the third chapter, it will be seen that this remained as an aim, but the real case was far more different than the aim due to the different dynamics that shaped the countryside. Leaving this issue to chapter 3, it should be mentioned that in order to realize this aim, there had to be sufficient number of *Darülmualimin* in different provinces. However, the numbers of such Colleges were far from meeting the needs for all of the empire even at the beginning of the twentieth century. The additional schools like *Darülameliyat* or *Darülmualimin-i Sıbyan* failed to meet the needs because the number of graduated teachers was insufficient for all the regions of the empire. Thus, most of the primary level schools remained in the hands of the imams. Kodaman says that this situation created a dichotomy in the Ottoman education system and in the society in the long-run. However, to talk about a dichotomy there should have been two different types of schools, but the situation was more like coexistence and 'hybridity' of these two.

Apart from some small changes, the next reorganization in the state structure of education came into existence with another important Regulation in 1879 and with this regulation the Ministry of Education was composed of five departments: the

Department of High Schools (*Mekatib-i Aliye Dairesi*), the Department of *Rüşdiye* Schools (*Mekatib-i Rüşdiye Dairesi*), the Department of *Sıbyan* Schools (*Mekatib-i Sıbyaniye Dairesi*), the Department of Commissioning and Translation (*Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi*), the Department of Press (*Matbaalar Dairesi*).²¹ In addition, there were also inspectors and the Committee of Education. This organization changed again in 1882 with the replacement of the Department of Commissioning and Translation with the Council of Inspection and Examination (*Encümen-i Teftiş ve Muayene*) and the inspectors were attached to this new department. In the same year, the name, *ibtidai*, started to be used officially instead of *sıbyan* schools and the department became the Department of *İbtidai* Schools (*Mekatib-i İbtidaiye Dairesi*) and again in the same year, the Department of Press was abolished.²²

After a couple of years, the Ministry was reorganized in 1886 according to the changes in the policy. In addition to the departments mentioned above, the Office of the Examination of Books and Booklets (*Kütüp ve Resail Muayene Memurluğu*) and Inspector of the Non-Muslims and Foreign Schools (*Milel-i gayrimüslime ve ecnebiye okulları müfettişi*) became part of the Ministry.²³ The control and concern of non-Muslim schools took a new form with the establishment of the Inspectorship of the Rumelia Provinces (*Rumeli Eyaletleri Müfettişliği*), but it was abolished after two years²⁴. In addition to these departments and institutions within the Ministry of Education, some institutions were established to control all the processes in education later in the Hamidian era, namely the Commission for the Examination of

²¹ Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim*, 27

²² Unat, *Türkiye' de Eğitim*, 25

²³ Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim*, 33

²⁴ *Ibid*, 52

Published Works (*Tetkik-i Müellefat Komisyonu*) was established in 1896 to control all the books according to the censorship under the leadership of the Minister²⁵, together with the Council of Inspection and Examination (*Encümen-i Teftiş ve Muayene*). On top of all these, in 1903, the Council of Examination of Religious Books (*Kütüb-i Diniye ve Şer'iyeye Tetkik Heyeti*) was established alongside with these two committees.

The change in the education system of the Ottoman Empire at the bureaucratic level took place in this way more or less, however, the core of this change was from the *sıbyan* to the *ibtidai* school; replacing the old-system with the new one, but can we talk about a real and total shift from one to the other?

A Shift From *Sıbyan* to *İbtidai*?

First of all, the basic definitions of these two types of schools should be stated. What are the *sıbyan* and the *ibtidai*? The main differences between these two were in their method of teaching. The *ibtidai* school was characterized with a new method in reading the alphabet based on the sounds of the letters which was called *usul-i savtiye*. The application of the method of *usul-i cedid* as a new way of reading the alphabet was decided firstly in the Education Regulation within the context of the reform program²⁶. This new method could be applied only through new types of schools which had a different curriculum from the older ones. For this reason, the Ottoman rulers tried to spread the new style schools, the *ibtidai*, throughout the

²⁵ Unat, *Türkiye' de Eğitim*, 25

²⁶ Osman Kafadar, *Türk Eğitim Düşüncesinde Batılılaşma* (Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, 1997) , p.182

empire. The first new style school was *Numune İptidai Mektebi*, opened in the mosque of *Nur-i Osmaniye* in 1872.²⁷ The program of this school was organized through a competition announced in the newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, and the curriculum of the school was composed of these courses which can be inferred from the participants of the competition: *Elifba* (the alphabet), *ahlak* (the book of morals which includes the stories about moral teaching), *fezail-i fiiliye* (the important events, probably miracles of religions including Islam), *kavaid-i Türkiye* (Turkish grammar rules), *coğrafya* (knowledge of geography about the five continents and the Ottoman lands), *tarih* (history limited to only Ottoman history), *inşa* (knowledge about formal writing rules that could be necessary in state service), *edebiyat-ı manzume* (basic knowledge about different types of poetry), *şevaz-ı imla* (exceptions in Ottoman spellings), *malumat-ı nafia* (useful knowledge) and *meşk* (music).²⁸ Although the program of the *ibtidai* schools changed in time, related to the concerns of the Sultan and the Ministry of Education the program consisted of these courses at the beginning, especially in the Hamidian era. Beside the courses, teaching was also different at the *ibtidai* schools, at least in theory or at few of these schools. The students sat on rows of benches and the teacher had a platform in front of him. The teacher who was teaching on a platform higher than the children emphasizes the obedience and the respect to him and to what he taught that was set by the Ministry according to the policy of the Sultan, symbolized by the platform higher than the children. Additionally, children sitting on orderly benches was designed to instill in

²⁷ Berker, *Türkiye’de İlköğretim*, 103

²⁸ Ibid, 82-84.

them the notion of order. The *ibtidai* schools were controlled by the Ministry of Education.

On the other hand, the program of the *sıbyan* schools was based on the teachings of the Quran and once the child learned the Quran by heart, he could have graduated from the *sıbyan* school. The children used to sit in front of a reading desk and repeat after the *hoca*. There was not a regular registration. When a parent wanted his child to start school, he brought him to school and delivered him into the custody of the imam. Additionally, each of these schools had their own regulations. Most of them were waqfs and even their curriculum was set by these regulations. So, although they were controlled by the *Evkaf Nezareti* in general, each of them was governed with different regulations. Due to these characteristics, it is essential to ask why there was a need for the *ibtidai* schools instead of implementing the new methods to the *sıbyan* schools.

The *sıbyan* schools were controlled by the *Evkaf Nezareti* and Akşin Somel states this situation and the institutional difficulties that this situation has created as an obstacle in front of the developments of the *sıbyan* schools, together with some financial hindrances.²⁹ Additionally, most of these *sıbyan* schools were pious foundations which were regulated by an act of foundation, therefore, it was impossible to make any changes against the act of foundation. Furthermore, the strict religious character of the *sıbyan* schools that derived from their foundation principles brought a suspicious approach to the new methods and innovations. Such innovations and new methods could also be seen useless for a religious education. For these and

²⁹ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908): İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin* trans. Osman Yener (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), p.59

also many other reasons, the rulers needed new types of schools through which it could be easier to implement the changes. The most obvious intention of the Hamidian era was to spread these new style schools throughout the empire, because these new style schools were under the control of the Ministry of Education as a part of the bureaucracy which was controlled at the center by the Sultan and his bureaucracy, at least that was the aim. Furthermore, rather than changing the traditional and old institutions, the new schools could be more energetic consistent with the aim of Abdülhamid II in the way of the society that he wanted to create. In the long run, the aim was to turn all the schools into *ibtidai*, but as it was stated in the yearbook of the empire, "... because it was decided to be converted gradually (*refte refte*) all the *sıbyan* schools into the *ibtidai*..."³⁰ this could be made only gradually.

Yet, first of all, a system had to be established. The change in the programs of the *ibtidai* schools clearly reflect the intention of the central bureaucracy to penetrate into the daily lives of the people. In fact, even the frequent changes in the program of the *ibtidai* schools show the control over them, at least as an objective. The obstacles in front of the objective will be mentioned in chapter 3, but before that, the changes in curriculum will be discussed first in order to draw the picture more clearly.

The Change in the Curriculum of *İbtidai*

Akşin Somel talks about the era of Abdülhamid II and the impact of his reign in the program of the *ibtidai* schools throughout his book. He says that the dilemma

³⁰ "... bi'l-cümle sıbyan mekteplerinin refte refte ibtidaiye tahvili mukarre idiğinden..." Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Umumiye, sene 1299 (İstanbul: Mahmud bey Matbaası, 1299)

between the mentalities of creating loyal state officials and productive individuals at the beginning of the creation of the *ibtidai* schools could be traced well in the programs. He adds that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the weight of the aim of creating productive individuals merging with the concerns about the Ottoman economy and production showed itself in the curriculum of the schools in the form of agricultural courses in the village *ibtidai* schools (the introduction of the course will be examined in chapter 3 in details) although *ibtidai* schools maintained their character as the place to raise state officials.³¹ In addition to this, another characteristic of the change in program was the change in the program to a more conservative form (in terms of religion and censorship). The weight of the religious courses increased day by day while the history and the geography courses were removed from the curriculum of the *ibtidai* schools. For instance, in 1878, the curriculum of the *ibtidai* schools was organized in the following way; *Kuran-ı Kerim, ilm-i hal, tecvid, kavaid* (rules of Ottoman Turkish), *imla* (spelling), *hesap* (counting), *coğrafya* (geography), *tarih* (history), *kıraat-i türkiye* (readings in Ottoman Turkish), *sülüs* (a writing form)³². Between the years 1891-1892, the weight of the religious courses in the curriculum and the emphasis on Islam increased.³³

A differentiation between schools in the countryside and schools in Istanbul and other towns came with an *irade* about primary schools in the same period. Akşin Somel gives the date of the reorganization of schools as 1891-2, but in an archival document about the books which would be read at primary schools and the

³¹ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 227

³² Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Umumiye, sene 1295 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i amire, 1295)

³³ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 228

reorganization of the curriculum, the date was stated as 1893.³⁴ Although the date was not very certain, we are still talking about the same period and an important differentiation between the town and countryside, and thus implementation in the countryside. According to the reorganization, education at schools in Istanbul and in towns would last three years and the courses to be taught were: *Elifba*, *Quran*, *Tecvid*, *İlm-i Hal*, *Ahlak*, *Sarf-ı Osmani*, *İmla*, *Kıraat*, *Mülahhas Tarih-i Osmani*, *Muhtasar Coğrafya-yı Osmani*, *Hesap*, *Hüsn-i Hat*.³⁵ On the other hand, primary education in the village schools were to last for four years and the courses to be taught there were: *Elifba*, *Ecza-yı Şerife*, *Hesab-ı Zihni*, *Quran*, *İlm-i Hal*, *Kıraat*, *Hat*, *Kuran-ı Kerim maa Tecvid*, *Hat ve İmla*.³⁶ As we see, there weren't any history or geography courses in the village schools. Probably, they were considered as useless for the village children since village schools were still tried to be taken under some control and discipline. Most of the village schools were in the hands of the imams who had been educated in the new style education just in a short period of the summer months. Hence, in the absence of this control, the courses that were potentially dangerous in terms of containing political ideas which could challenge the imperial political agenda were totally removed from the curriculum to prevent possible problems. In addition to this, the reorganization shows that primary education in the countryside was considered as something practical, which was reflected by the introduction of the agriculture course, therefore, it was deemed needless to fill it with irrelevant knowledge of daily life, such as history and

³⁴ BOA, BEO 275/ 20622, 2 Rebiyülevvel 1311 (13 september 1893)

³⁵ İbnü'ş-Şeyh Nafi, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*, 278; for further information about the courses pp.278-287.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 288

geography. However, the introduction of the agriculture course was not a solution. Furthermore, it could even become an arena for the struggle among the power holders in the village as it will be shown in Chapter 3.

This is more or less the same period in which the state officials tried to adjust education into the village conditions. For example, the Minister of Education Ahmed Zühtü Paşa offered a booklet about agriculture to be read in the village *ibtidai* schools with the intention of attract the attention of the peasants to school³⁷ (This document will be examined in detail in Chapter 3). In this way, the rulers tried to extend the intention behind the creation of the *ibtidai* schools as an intermediary to penetrate the subjects of the Sultan to the countryside. The objective of the extension of the *ibtidai* school education and the increase in the religious courses evolved in parallel ways: to get the attention of the peasants, to discipline them through religious courses and to make them loyal to the Sultan, who was the protector of religion. For instance, in the booklet of the Morals (*ahlak*) course, obedience to the Sultan was repeated again and again under the title of good dispositions (*iyi huylar*).³⁸

The curriculum was reorganized again in 1904. With this reorganization, history and geography courses were removed from the curriculum³⁹ altogether, because they were deemed open to interpretation and thus dangerous to state. If all these changes are taken into consideration, it is possible to talk about an alteration parallel to the state mentality and for this reason, the *ibtidai* schools can be evaluated

³⁷BOA, Y. MTV 115/39, 22 şevval 1312 (18 april 1895)

³⁸ *Rehniüma-yı Ahlak* (kasabat mekatib-i ibtidaiyesinde okutdurulması maarif-i umumiye nezaret-i celilesince tensib kılınmıştır) (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1315) , p.4

³⁹ Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1991) , p.129

as instruments used to bring the state mentality to the subjects. However, is it possible to say that this objective could be accomplished like a heavenly power from above? Weren't there any other dynamics, especially when different regions, specifically in the countryside, are considered? Also, was Abdülhamid II able to apply the policies without provincial bureaucracy from his throne at the center? Thus, he needs a provincial level of organization to spread the organization there, but before moving to that issue, the duality that the *ibtidai* education created should be examined.

Can we talk about a conversion from *sıbyan* schools to *ibtidai* in spite of all the efforts of Abdülhamid II? Leaving aside the countryside which will be discussed in chapter 3, even in Istanbul, there was a considerable number of *sıbyan* schools even at the very end of the nineteenth century. There were 198 old-style primary schools and 45 state primary schools in Istanbul and 13894 students were attending these schools⁴⁰. Hence, the weight of the *sıbyan* schools can easily be seen even in the registered data. Surely, it should be mentioned that there were lots of non-registered *sıbyan* schools in the remotest places of Istanbul. In addition, it was expressed in memoirs that the *sıbyan* schools were more widespread in Istanbul than the *ibtidai* schools.⁴¹ In such circumstances, is it possible to talk about a two dimensional education system in the empire? On the one hand, we have something new and on the other, something old and traditional and familiar to the people.

⁴⁰Alkan, Mehmet Ö (ed.). *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri 1839-1924/ Education Statistics In Modernization From the Tanzimat to the Republic: Tarihi İstatistikler Dizisi/ Historical Statistics Series* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), pp.53-63

⁴¹ Kara, İsmail and Ali Birinci (eds.), *Bir Eğitim Tasavvuru Olarak Mahalle/ Sıbyan Mektepleri: Hatıralar, Yorumlar, Tetkikler* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005)

First of all, at the bureaucratic level, there were two types of educational bureaucracy with different concerns in mind. On the one hand, there was the Ministry of Education, which ran the state mentality and on the other, there was *Evkaf Nezareti*, which had more religious concerns and which tried to maintain the positions of the imams and the old order. Yahya Kemal Kaya says that with the reforms, education which was under the control of the *ulema* through the *sıbyan* schools, began to be taken under the hegemony of the state through *ibtidai* schools.⁴² Besides being aware of the differences between these two types of educational bureaucracy, can we talk about a total separation of these types? We cannot ignore the integration of the *ulema*, as the cases of imam-teachers in *ibtidai* schools suggest. Perhaps there were still groups that were resisting against the integration, but in fact the existence of the *ulema* depended on their success in integration themselves. The coexistence and hybridity of *ibtidai* and *sıbyan* schools was like a reflection of the situation of these two types of bureaucracies.

Having this situation in mind, it should be noted that *ibtidai* began to be used as the name to cover all the schools in the documents after 1882. This could be evaluated as the indicator of the objective to turn all types of schools into *ibtidai*. However, this situation creates some problems for the researcher due to the fact that it prevents the researcher from observing the situation in place; for instance, if a repair job is carried out in the *sıbyan* school or an *ibtidai* school is important to see, whether the community reject or accepted the new style education. Or, for instance a

⁴² Yahya Kemal Kaya, *Education, Developments and Politics in Turkey* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: A Xerox Company, 1972), p.63

demand to construct a new building for an old or new type of school also shows the tendency of the community.

Coexistence of *Sıbyan* and *İbtidai*

Apart from these, it should also be underlined that in most of the cases, the differentiation remained at the bureaucratic level, especially in the countryside of the provinces because the old style education in which the imams were teaching continued there, that is, in the region outside the boundaries of Istanbul. Hence, it is possible to say that there is some confusion in the names according to the official definitions. Therefore, other indicators in the education style that could give an idea should be considered as well. For instance, in the villages, although it was officially called *ibtidai* in the documents, we see that the imams were teaching there with their certificate which they had taken from the provincial *Darülmualimin*. One of the reasons for this was the inadequacy of the number of teachers. This resulted in the interpenetration because as I mentioned before, the teachers who were graduates of the *Darülmualimin* were few in number, since even the schools were inadequate to meet the need of the empire. For this reason, the imams continued teaching with limited knowledge of what they had acquired in a short-term summer course at the *Darülmualimin* to get the necessary certificate. We cannot say for sure that all the imams had gotten the certificate. In addition, thinking that the imams changed the teaching after they got the certificate would be very optimistic. Most probably, they continued using their methods with extra knowledge about some courses which were had to be taught at schools.

Furthermore, it would be very optimistic to think that the *ibtidai* schools were totally different when they were first established and when they began to be spread. Some writers who attended an *ibtidai* school at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century stated in their memoirs that at their *ibtidai* school, the bastinado, for instance, continued to exist alongside with the new style alphabet teaching although it was forbidden at the *ibtidai* schools⁴³, or in another memoir the writer said that the children were still sitting on a piece of sheepskin and reading *Amme cüzü* by rocking back and forth.⁴⁴ Thus, we cannot talk about a shift from the old one to the new one since we have seen the coexistence of these two types, and to some extent an interpenetration of these two. Hence, what Benjamin Fortna states is notable: “the hybridity of the new-style schools suggests that instead of looking for contrasts between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’, we should be prepared for a continuum of possible permutations combining elements of both traditions...”.⁴⁵ In a way, we can talk about interpenetration, however, in terms of the perception of people, the differentiation of these two types was still there. Sometimes people tried to merge their traditions with the *ibtidai* schools and sometimes they resisted the schools. For example, even in İstanbul, sending a child to an *ibtidai* school was seen as adopting the unbelievers’ habits (*gavur adeti benimsemek*).⁴⁶ The perception of Muhtar Nasuhoğlu of *ibtidai* education was that *ibtidai* education remained mostly for the

⁴³ Tefvik Sağlam, “Mahalle Mektebinde” in *Bir Eğitim Tasavvuru Olarak Mahalle/ Sıbyan Mektepleri: Hatıralar, Yorumlar, Tetkikler*, (eds.) Kara, İsmail and Ali Birinci (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), p.303

⁴⁴ Yahya Kemal, Beyatlı, “Hayatımızın Bazı Seneleri”, *Ibid*, 118.

⁴⁵ Benjamin Fortna, “Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman ‘Secular’ Schools” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Aug., 2000), pp. 369-393, p.375

⁴⁶ Zeki Mesud Alsan, “Aydın’da Mahalle Mektebi” in *Bir Eğitim Tasavvuru Olarak Mahalle/ Sıbyan Mektepleri: Hatıralar, Yorumlar, Tetkikler*, (eds.) Kara, İsmail and Ali Birinci (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), p.167

people from the palace circles even at the very end of the nineteenth century⁴⁷ according to what remained from his childhood memories. Some parents were sending their children to *ibtidai* school at the very beginning of the twentieth century but in fact, they first had sent them to a *sibyan* school at the age of 4-5 and then to an *ibtidai* school. As a result of this, the numbers showed that the coexistence continued, even under the name of old-style *sibyan* schools. For instance, in Salonika, even at the end of the nineteenth century, there were 931 old-style schools⁴⁸ which is the official number and which should be suspected due to the unknown situation in the villages of the provinces.

Taking all these factors into consideration, we can see the limits of the spread of education in the state controlled form. However, in order to talk about the limits, we should be aware of how the bureaucratic institutions from the provinces to the villages were organized. For this reason, the provincial bureaucracy with all its duties in the spread of the education and the limits of the spread that it confronted will be discussed. In addition to the general limits that I mentioned so far, different regions could have had different causes of resistance but since it is almost impossible to examine all the different regions, the situation in Salonika will be examined after giving the basic characteristic of the provincial organization in general.

⁴⁷ Muhtar A. Nasuhođlu, "Mektep Hayati", Ibid, 194.

⁴⁸ Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaret-i Celilesi İstatistiki (1310-1311) sene-i dersiyeye-i maliyesine mahsusdur (Istanbul)

The Provincial Organization of Education System

The Bureaucratic Level

There was a need for provincial organization at the bureaucratic level so that education could reach all of the subjects living in the empire. Such a need was stated in the Education Regulation of 1869. To meet this need, at the provincial level, the solution was the establishment of Provincial Education Councils, "... under the direction of the education director (*maarif müdürü*), with a Muslim and non-Muslim assistant, staff, and inspectors to tour the province to examine operations and enforce standards. The councils were given the state funds available for educational purposes".⁴⁹ So, with a multi-tier bureaucracy, the aim was to control the spread of schools and the application of the curriculums. However, the establishment of these councils took a long time. In fact, the regulations of education at the provincial level had to go hand in hand with the general provincial governmental organizations because the educational organizations were a part of the general provincial bureaucracy. For this reason, the aims to organize the provincial educational organization could not be considered apart from the general provincial bureaucracy, and we will see how they were directed together. Taking this into consideration, the successive chains of organizations in the villages and the duties of the educational organizations at different levels will be examined in the first part. Then, the thesis will cover some occasions of tension between the provinces and the center deriving

⁴⁹Ezel Kural Shaw and Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977) , p.111

from the local conditions, and examine how the provincial authority sometimes took responsibility.

The Provincial Education Councils and Provincial Education Directors

In the 1869 Education Regulation, the establishment of the Provincial Education Councils, whose duties were clearly defined in the education yearbook of 1898-9 were decided.⁵⁰ However, these Education Councils had to be placed within the Provincial Organization in the provinces. The provincial law of 1871 placed the Provincial Director of Education within the provincial organization under the direction of the Provincial Governor. The duties of the provincial governor included monitoring educational issues and the provincial director of education was responsible for educational matters under the direction of him.⁵¹ The educational matters that the education director was responsible for were stated in two articles: the first was "... to chair the Provincial Education Council, and to take care of the current educational affairs of the province and the actual achievements (*icraat-ı fîliye*) of the decided reform, and the execution of the articles of the Education Regulation and the directions from the Ministry of Education, and the inspection of schools and libraries and especially middle schools (*idadiye*) and lycee (*sultani*) and high schools (*aliyye*), and to take care of the spending and the use of the allowance of

⁵⁰Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye, sene 1316 (İstanbul: matbaa-i amire, 1316)

⁵¹ Mehmet Seyitdanlıođlu, *Tanzimat Döneminde Modern Belediyeciliđin Dođuşu, Yerel Yönetim Metinleri* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınlar, 2010), pp.69-77

education within the arrangement and decision...”⁵² and the second was “the education director delivers the achievements and reforms within the boundaries of the province in the context of general education to the provincial governor by making a summary of them to be presented to the Sublime Porte”.⁵³ The Councils of which the Education Director was the chair were designed similar to the decision-making bodies. Thus, the educational matters at the provincial level were run by the Council and its Director, but the Council depended on the General Council of the Province and the Director to the General Governor. In this way, the educational matters were tried to be organized under the provincial organizations and the governors also had to take care of them, at least officially.

In the 1890s, the duties of the Provincial Education Directors had been revised with an insistence on the control over schools with an instruction.⁵⁴ The instruction reflects the strong efforts to spread education, but only spreading it was not enough. It had to be in accordance with the state mentality. Thus, the Provincial Education Directors had to undertake greater responsibilities, and their duties were clearly defined in the instruction. It seems that the instruction resulted from a need to increase control. In the instruction, we see that the Directors had the authority to control the incomes of the smaller administrative units the instruction of schools,

⁵²“Maarif müdürinin vezâ’îfî vilâyet Meclis-i Maarifine riyâset etmek ve vilâyetin maarife müteallik mesâlih-i câriyyesine ve ıslahat-ı mukarrerinin (kararlaştırılan reformun) icrâat-ı fiiliyyesine ve maarif nizâm-nâmesi ahkâmının (hükümlerinin) ve maarif nezâretinden alınacak t’alimâtın tamami-i icrasına ve merkez-i vilâyetde bulunan mekteb ve kütübhânelerin ve ale’l-husus i’âdiye ve mekatib-i sultaniyye ve aliyenin teftişine ve vilâyet maarifi tahsisâtının (ödeneginin) karar ve nizamı da’iresinde sarf ve isti’maline nezaret ve dikkat eylemek...”, Ibid, 77

⁵³ “Maarif Müdürü bir sene içinde dahil-i vilâyetde terbiyye-i umumiyeye vak’i olan icrâat ve ıslahatın fezlekesini yapub Bâb-ı Alî’ye takdîm kılınmak üzere vâliye i’tâ eyler”, Ibid.

⁵⁴ “Vilâyat-ı Şâhane Maarif Müdürlerinin Vezâifini Mübeyyin Talimat” 8 Recep 1314 ve 1 kanunievvel 1312 (13 December 1896), *Düstur*, Cild 7 15 Şevval 1312-14 Zilhicce 1321; 29 Mart 1311- 19 Şubat 1319 (10 April 1895- 3 March 1904)

including the teachers and the schoolbooks⁵⁵, which shows us that the sphere of their authority and their duties were expanded. Hence, the instruction can be seen as a push from the center to the provinces to spread education and to increase control while having in mind the dominant concerns of the Ministry and the Sultan. However, spreading them independently without considering the local dynamics was very hard to achieve. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Expanding the Organization To The Smaller Administrative Units

Returning to the development of the organization at the bureaucratic level, it should be noted that besides giving the authority to the provincial centers, further organizations were needed in order to reach local levels deeply. For the sub-divisions of the provinces, the reforms were applied according to the decisions taken by the Provincial Committees. For instance, at the *sancak* level, it was stated that the Administrative Council of *Liva* (*Liva İdare Meclisi*) had to carry the decisions to the *kaza* and the *kaza* to the *nahiyes*.⁵⁶ Hence, it seems that the reforms from above and the efforts symbolize the aim of penetration into the society. Furthermore, the need to find quick solutions to educational matters resulted in the precautions taken by the center and the obligatory directions that needed to be applied to the smaller units of the provinces. On the other hand, four members of the Council of Elders will represent the village, at the *nahiye* level.⁵⁷ These four members had to bring local

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶ Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat Döneminde Modern Belediyeciliğin Doğuşu*, 91-92

⁵⁷Ibid, 93.

matters to the *Nahiye* Councils to make the final decisions, however, the decisions of the County Councils would not be conclusive. Instead, they were allowed to be applied only if the *kaza* governor permits.⁵⁸

After the provincial level, educational matters were included in the duties of the Councils only at the smallest level: the village. Although there was not much details, the Councils of Elders in villages were responsible for all educational matters in the village⁵⁹, including the maintenance of schools and the attendance of the students.⁶⁰ Although it was agreed that the Council of Elders would decide on educational matters at the village level, in the Provincial Regulation, it seems that educational issues were governed from the top to the bottom because the representativeness of smaller levels were limited, except the relationship between the village and the *nahiye* level. It seems that the application of the reforms through these organizations was the primary concern regardless of knowing what was going on at the smaller levels of the provincial organizations. A report presented to Abdülhamid II by the Minister of Education Ahmed Zühtü Paşa implies that the application of the reforms from above did not work. Instead, the local conditions had to be taken into consideration.

In 1895, Ahmed Zühtü Paşa presented a report about the situation of the village primary schools to Abdülhamid II in order to make the necessary reorganizations at primary schools. He claimed that there were several interruptions at the village level which caused the education at this level to decline. He says that

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid, 95

⁶⁰BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

because most of the children of the peasants worked on lands during the agricultural season, a reorganization of educational terms was regarded as necessary. Zühtü Paşa listed the necessary arrangements that needed to be done, and in the sixth article he said, “Although regular attendance to schools is obligatory, the attendance of the children who are to work on the lands of their fathers during the agricultural season will be regulated by the Education Commissions according to the conditions”.⁶¹ However, we cannot know whether this was applied or not. Most probably it was not because the situation was already under the control of the communities and they continued their way regardless of the arrangement. But this is important because until that period the situation in the villages were ignored by the center and the regulations came from above.

To return to the bureaucratic organizations in the administrative units of provinces, the early organization included these levels. The establishment of the Provincial Education Councils was ordered and Akşin Somel says that the formation of the administration of the provincial education in the form of Provincial Education Councils was not the result of a central policy, but rather, they were the result of the efforts of Provincial Governors, prior to 1881.⁶²

When it came to the Hamidian era, in which they tried to spread education as quickly as possible and apply the reforms as far as possible, the existing organizations could not meet the needs. At the provincial level, the establishment of the Councils could not deal with the wide-range problems and works in the

⁶¹ “Okula devam mecburi ise de ziraat mevsiminde ebeveynine yardım ile mükellef olan köy çocuklarının devamı maarif komisyonlarınca duruma göre bir kaideye alınacaktır”; BOA, Y. MTV 115/39, 22 şevval 1312 (18 april 1895)

⁶² Ibid.

educational sphere and the Councils were separated into two departments in the 1890s: the Department of Education to carry on routine bureaucratic activities and the Committee of Education to deal with the local educational problems.⁶³ Apart from the terms of duties, the main difference between the two was that the Department had to consist of only Muslim Turks, whereas the Committee was a mixture of Muslims and non-Muslims.⁶⁴

These departments were not sufficient to spread education as far as the provinces. The educational organizations in the smaller governmental units were necessary. Akşin Somel points out the committees of education (*maarif encümeni* or *komisyonu*) and smaller governmental units of them for further development in the spread of education in the provinces during the 1890s.⁶⁵ As he has depicted them, they were like the smaller organizations of the Provincial Education Councils in the provincial centers⁶⁶, but since they were unable to reach smaller governmental units, such committees were designed. However, the actual dates were questionable because like the Provincial Education Councils these committees depended on the will of the communities, and even their establishment depended on more local conditions. Akşin Somel emphasizes that with the establishment of these committees and councils, the center aimed at getting the local notables to participate in the educational process with their financial power, however, the process worked totally differently from the intention of the Ministry. With the establishment of these councils, the local powerful people took possession of the local incomes which were

⁶³Ibid, 29.

⁶⁴ Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eđitim*, 44

⁶⁵ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eđitimin Modernleşmesi*, 137

⁶⁶Ibid.

supposed to be spent on educational expenses. In some cases the local notables even managed to abolish the Committee. For instance, in Drama, they prevented the establishment of the Committee for five years.⁶⁷ Such cases will be examined in detail in Chapter 3. Either, instead of abolishing the committees, they could become co-members of different committees. In this way, they could supervise and use the incomes. Such interpenetration reflects the educational situation. For instance, in the Salonika's Provincial Yearbook of 1889-90, the deputy fiscal director of the *kaza* (*mal müdürü*) was also in the Education Committee of the Yenice *kaza*. Again in the same yearbook, we see that in the Tikveş *kaza*, Hacı Kazım Bey and Sinanzade Ali Ağa were in the Council of Public works (*nafia komisyonu*) and the Education Committee.⁶⁸ In the Salonika's Provincial Yearbook of 1893-94, in the Ustrumca *kaza*, Hasan Efendi was in the Chamber of Trade, Agriculture and Industry and he was also in the Education Committee. In Zihne *kaza*, the head of the Chamber of Trade, Agriculture and Industry and the head of the Education Committee were the same person. Again in the same yearbook, the head of the Education Committee in Pravişte *kaza* was the member of the Commission of Pious Foundations.⁶⁹ In the Salonika's Provincial Yearbook of 1902-3, we see that in the Sarışaban *kaza*, Ali Sezai Efendi was the head of the Agricultural Bank fund (*Ziraat Banka Sandığı*) and member of the Education Committee.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, we cannot follow these

⁶⁷ "Mülhakat-ı Vilayet", *Asır*, No: 85, birinci sene, 16 muharrem 1314- 15 haziran 1312 (27 june 1896) , p. 3

⁶⁸Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307)

⁶⁹Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. 1315 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus. On beşinci defa olarak (Selanik: Selanik Hamidiye Matbaası, 1315)

⁷⁰Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi, sene-i hicriye 1320, on yedinci defa olarak (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1320)

people to the village level, but we know that these people were responsible for the reforms in the countryside.

The Provincial Education Inspectors

As part of the provincial organization, the inspectors should also be mentioned. In the Education Regulation of 1869, the inspectors were included into the system under the central organization of the Ministry, and also, they were placed under the authority of the Provincial Education Director at the provincial levels. After the Education Regulation, the Office of Inspectors was established on 16th September 1869⁷¹ under the Education Council and this Office included the Inspectorate of the *Sıbyan* and *Rüşdiye* Schools of Rumelia and the Inspector of the *Sıbyan* and *Rüşdiye* Schools of Anatolia⁷². The inspectors were in charge of inspecting the schools, reforming the buildings, spreading the newly opened *rüşdiye* schools throughout the empire as well as the instructions and the teaching staff.⁷³ Bayram Kodaman states that the main role of these inspectors was to provide coordination between the provinces and the center, like a bridge between the local communities and the governors in the Ministry.⁷⁴ The system was appointing the inspectors from the center to certain provinces to get information about the situation. Kodaman emphasizes that some difficulties including the ignorance of people prevented an

⁷¹ Berker, *Türkiye'de İlköğretim*, 76

⁷² Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim*, 92

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim*, 92

efficient inspection.⁷⁵ Can we still say this after we take the local practices into consideration? The notion of ‘ignorance of people’ seems very similar to the point of view of most of the inspectors who reported their observations to the center, but was everything so simple that we can summarize the situation with the ignorance of people?

An independent Office of Inspectors was established under the Ministry in 1887.⁷⁶ This was probably the result of the increasing control over schools according to the state mentality and of the effort to provide a more rapid spread of education. In addition, as it can be inferred from the instruction issued in 1890 for the inspectors, the aim of the Ministry was like an upper state control over the local institutions. According to the third article of the instruction, the inspector had the authority to control the Provincial Education Councils. Thus, they were appointed as the representative of the state.⁷⁷ In 1892, the Education Inspectorate of the Rumelia Provinces (*Rumeli Vilayetleri Maarif Müfettişliği*) was established. This was probably established as a separate institution to increase the focus on the region according to the governing concerns of the Ministry and the Sultan. Since the sole charge of the inspectors was a detailed surveillance of the situation of education in the villages and to report the results to the Sultan and Ministry to increase the spread of the *ibtidai* schools in the region. In the reports the situation could be seen in detail. This means a further and in-place control through this additional source of information. The Department was abolished two years later, but the inspectors

⁷⁵Ibid, 92-93.

⁷⁶Ibid, 94.

⁷⁷Ibid, 95.

appointed to the provinces continued to work and some inspectors' reports survived providing information about the perception of the inspectors and of the situation, especially in the countryside.

The Reports of the Inspectors, Members of Education Councils and Education

Directors

Some of the inspectors relied more on the economic side of the problems, such as lack of income or the budgetary problems, or some concentrated on health conditions, some focused on the absence of schools and the attendance problems, others focused on the effects of parents' attitudes on the attendance of the children whereas some others were concerned with the general situation of the schools in the villages. The inspector of Salonika depicted the general situation of schools in the countryside of Salonika in 1901.⁷⁸ The main points in his report are the enrollment of the children and the factors that affect the enrollment. He attributes the greatest role to poverty. Although he does not directly mention this point, his references to poverty over and over reflect this. Then, he depicts the general situation of schools which, according to him, could hardly be called schools. Another important point which he stresses is this common concern of all inspectors and the Education Directors: the lack of religious knowledge among the people. They see education as a way to give the necessary religious knowledge which they believe is crucial to raising good subjects and people. This was in a way the reflection of the official discourse, because in the moral schoolbooks, we see the same causality between

⁷⁸ BOA, MF. MKT. 589\31, 22 recep 1319 (4 november 1901)

religion and being a good person with good dispositions. Besides, he also focuses on the economic problems of education and talks about alternative ways for educational expenses and here again, he attributes a great role to the rulers for the spread of education. It is important that here, the inspector was aware of the situation in which the rulers put most of the financial burden on the communities regardless the financial condition situation of the people. Furthermore, he says that the rulers had to take responsibility to have real and successful results. Hence, here, we see that the inspector tried to monitor the conditions in the villages and it is possible to say that he did not simplify the situation by labeling them as ignorant.

Ten years after this report, another inspector in Erzurum observed the situation in the countryside.⁷⁹ First of all, he mentions the lack of teachers, which kept schools empty. Additionally, he gives some numbers about the schools in the villages and he says that in the villages, it is hard to talk about the spread of education. On the one hand, he accuses the system, though not explicitly, and on the other hand, he relates the problems to people's disinterest. He says that the children work on their parents' farms instead of going to school because the parents are not so much familiar with education. He further states that they are reluctant to give money. In this way, he blames the parents for affecting in a negative way the disciplined and regular attendance of children to school. He also talks about an interesting case in which the community sent the teacher back.

In addition to the reports of the inspectors, we also have the reports of the members of the Education Councils and reports of Education Directors about the local educational conditions. For instance, a member of the Council in Salonika

⁷⁹ BOA, MF. HTF 1/62, 29 zilhicce 1328 (1 January 1911)

wrote a report to the Inspector⁸⁰ and in this report we see that the main concern of that member was to constitute a proper and stable budget for educational expenses. It can be inferred from the same report that the relationship between the provincial budget and the central budget and the transfer of the incomes to the center constituted the main problem in educational issues. As someone at the top of the pyramid at the provincial center the main concern was the income of the center, rather than the local problems and people.

Among the reports written by the Education Directors, the most important one was the report written by Radoviřli Mustafa Bey.⁸¹ In this report, he depicts the situation of the schools in the countryside and he underlines the informal education given by the imams. His most important concern seems to be the distribution of the incomes, such as the income coming from the boats on the Vardar River to educational causes in alternative ways. In this way, it is possible to say that he also regards economic difficulties as the main obstacle in the spread of education and he tries to take responsibility as a representative of the state. Besides, in his report, we also see that the most important effect of the absence of education is people's ignorance about their religion and the Ottoman language. Akřin Somel calls this relationship between religion and the language as the proto-national case in which religion and nationality were not differentiated.⁸² In this situation, we can say that

⁸⁰ BOA, TFR. I. SL. 1/59-2, 25 Ramazan 1320 (26 december 1902)

⁸¹ BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

⁸² Akřin Somel, "Maarif Mdr Radoviřli Mustafa Bey'in Raporları ve Mslim ve gayrimslim eđitimi: II. Abdlhamid Devri Selanik Tařrasında Maarif Meselesi (1885-1886)", *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklařımlar*, Gz 2005, pp.113-147, p.130

Mustafa Bey considered the situation and the people from a point of view which was not independent from the general discourse of the rulers at the center.

Taking all these into consideration, to what extent can we talk about an efficient spread of education? As we have seen, even the local officials were somewhere in between the local situations and the central concerns. For instance, none of the inspectors-at least the ones that have been considered for this thesis- or the Directors talked about the local dynamics and communal organizations in the villages which have effects on the entire sphere of the lives of people including education. Why the imams were educating the children, the fact that the hierarchy among the people living in the villages derived from agricultural knowledge, the notables of the villages and their effects on educational matters through the Council of Elders, all of which will be discussed Chapter 3, were not present in the reports. Rather than understanding the dynamics that govern the lives of people in various ways, the reports were like snap-shots of the villages at a certain time. For this reason, the reforms often seemed strange to the people. Therefore, there occurred a conflict between the people and the local officials and between the local ruler who was mostly in-between due to his confrontation with local issues and the Ministry.

The central organization, the Ministry, tried to regularize the situation in the provinces and most of the time, enforced the reform programs to be applied. The program was applied through provincial institutions. Therefore, we should look at the conflicts between provincial institutions and the central ministry and also how these conflicts and the situation in the countryside were expressed in the reports of the officials.

The efforts to apply the reforms came from above, but it is possible to see the limits through the reports written from the provinces. One of the main problems that limited the spread was financial difficulties. In the Ottoman education system the expenses of *ibtidai* schools needed to be met by *evkaf-ı münderise* (the income from the religious waqfs that lost their basis of existence) and by the community. The provincial governor of Aydın wrote a petition to the Ministry and asked for the Ministry to finance the salaries of the teachers.⁸³ The response from the center emphasized the problems in the payment of teachers' salaries from the center without asking reasons for budgetary problems and without considering the local problems that the provincial governor had faced. However, according to another document, because the salary of the teacher could not be paid by the community and because these regions were sensitive ones, the Minister approved the payment of the teachers' salaries from the central budget of the Ministry.⁸⁴ So, it seems that the concerns of the ministers or the central bureaucrats set the policy of the Ministry, rather than the concerns of the provincial governors, which shows the gap between the center and the provinces. It seems that the provincial governors or the educational organizations in the provinces were seen as the hand of the central bureaucracy to apply the necessary reforms in their agenda. However, on some occasions concerning different problems, the local conditions were taken into consideration in the decisions of the Ministry. For instance, according to a petition which came from the Education Council in Salonika, the community in Doksad village complained about the teacher

⁸³ BOA, MF. MKT. 237/ 27, 10 rebiyülahir 1312 (11 october 1894)

⁸⁴ BOA, MF. MKT 716/6, 1 rebiyülahir 1321 (27 june 1903)

for interrupting the local business.⁸⁵ In this case, the Minister decided to act on behalf of the community, perhaps not to break the balance. In another case, the conflict between the provincial organization and the central one, and only the effort to apply the reforms regardless the reasons seemed much more clear.

According to a petition written by the provincial governor to the Minister of Education,⁸⁶ the communities in Sokol and Bayasallı villages in Salonika did not want the teacher in their villages and they did not send their children to school. Consequently, the Ministry decided to send the teacher to another village, since it seemed that the presence of the teacher would not lead the children to go to school. Although the Minister accepted the situation, the Ministry stated that in time another teacher would be appointed and the community should encourage their children to go to school as education was compulsory. The reason behind the rejection of the parents to send their children to school was mentioned neither in the petition of the Council nor in the response coming from the Ministry. Therefore, we can say that the agenda was to impose the conditions set by the central rulers who were unaware of and even disinterested to the local situation rather than understand the local conditions causing the situation. Actually, this represents the gap between the center and the provinces and the failure of the provinces to act as a bridge between the people and the center.

We have seen different decisions coming from the central bureaucracy. What provided the differences? Was it the fact that different problems- for instance, the primary concern could be financial issues for a period- were included among the

⁸⁵BOA, TFR. I. SL. 37/3667, 12 safer 1322 (28 april 1904)

⁸⁶BOA, MF. MKT. 826\66, 18 zilkade 1322 (24 january 1905)

primary concerns of the Ministry? Or was it the fact that the priorities of the Ministry changed from time to time according to the policy of the Sultan or did it depend totally on the concerns of the Ministers who positioned differently according to various problems? These are difficult to answer at this point, since they require deeper and detailed research to compare the responses, however, it is important to ask these questions in order to highlight the gap and conflict between the provinces and the center. While the responses came from the center elucidated the conflicts between center and provinces and the central attitude towards the provincial and local issues, the reports of provincial officials set forth their perception of local situation and give some clues about the conflict between the provincial officials and local people.

Some reports written by officials from different levels concentrated on the ignorance of the peasant communities. The general tendency was to relate the situation there to peasant ignorance which the peasants were willing to preserve despite all the efforts of the center. Sometimes, they also remained ignorant outside of their will. For instance, in the report of the inspector of the Erzurum province⁸⁷, it was stated that the peasant parents left their children ignorant consciously in spite of the efforts of the center and they even forced the teacher to resign and did not send their children to school as a result of their ignorance. Hence, the perception of the inspector about the people living in the countryside could not exceed his elitist point of view. Instead of questioning why these people did not send their children to school or why they did not want the teacher, the situation was evaluated by the inspector as the result of such attitudes of the local communities. In the report, the inspector

⁸⁷BOA, MF. HTF. 1/62, 29 zilhicce 1328 (1 January 1911)

mentioned the need of schools, but it seems that the inspector was talking about the need against the will of the community according to the state policy to spread the education. Of course, we cannot say that all of the reports ignored the living conditions in the villages. The report of the Provincial Inspector of Salonika, which I mentioned before is a good example of this. But still, the reports were far from revealing the main cores of village lives. In another report which focused on the ignorance of the peasants again the reporter mentioned that the state should pay attention.⁸⁸

Thinking about the point of view of the officials, we should also consider their background. These officials were very much driven by the Enlightenment ideology as Deringil quoted from one of them says: “The people of a country without education are like so many lifeless corpses, not benefiting humanity in any way...”.⁸⁹ Seeing education as something so crucial made education the primary of concern of officials and led them to ignore other things when there were conflicting issues. But still, we should note their intermediary role in the expansion and therefore, the in-between position with people and the central authority attributed them a crucial place in this process of application.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to draw a line from the center to the provinces and villages to show how the centrally planned reforms depended on local organizations. There was

⁸⁸ BOA, Y. EE.. 11/4, 10 kanunievvel 1314 (22 december 1898)

⁸⁹Ibid, 98.

a reform plan from the center, but the will of the Sultan or the agenda of the Ministry of Education was not sufficient to spread the reforms. There was a need for provincial educational organizations which could carry the necessary reforms to the smallest part of the empire. However, even the will and the efforts of the provincial organization were not sufficient to extend the reforms because local dynamics and the acceptance of people played a crucial role. The dynamics of village life shaped people's ways of living including education. The fundamental dynamics in a village life were determined by economic conditions usually shaped by agriculture which was the dominant economic activity that most of the Ottoman population living in the countryside was engaged in. In other words, as İsmail Hakkı Tonguç summarizes the situation "... living entities and the nature and the natural events constitute the grains (*nesiç*) of the weave of life. These elements influence both each other and the schools..."⁹⁰

Having this picture in mind, I asked in what ways agriculture affected education in the villages and to what extent do we have a close relationship between agriculture and education? In order to consider the situation in more depth, I needed to narrow my research to a specific area, so I have chosen Salonika as my focus while having references to other regions. My basis of research was Salonika because the city of Salonika was the place where the *usul-i cedid* movement started almost at the same time as and in relation with Istanbul. The encounter of Muslims with foreigners and non-Muslims and the relatively high level of the non-Muslim education in contrast with the inadequacy of the Muslim state schools must have

⁹⁰ "... hayat örgüsünün nesiçlerini canlı varlıklarla tabiat ve tabiat hadiseleri teşkil etmektedir. Bu unsurlar hem birbirlerine hem de okula tesir yaparlar"; İ. Hakkı Tonguç, *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı İlkokul Öğretmen Kılavuzları No.8 Köyde Eğitim* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1938), p.179

been a driving role in the reforms. Hence, the curious reformers tried to make something for education. This was the situation in the city, but can we say the same things for the countryside? In this way, we can even see the difference between the city and the countryside: in the countryside, the spread of education depended on other factors, mainly economic ones. Furthermore, Salonika was one of the most prosperous cities in the empire. Due to tobacco cultivation, for instance, peasants got richer, but was this enough for the spread of education or could the increase in wealth of people be the necessary incentive for the peasant parents to send their children to school? In order to see the situation clearly, it is first necessary to touch upon the agricultural characteristics of the region so that it would be possible to show how much they were crucial in the lives of people, which is the subject of Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 3

SALONIKA

Salonika was a demographically mixed region. This characteristic of the region determined on the one hand its appearance and on the other its destiny, since the region became the arena of national struggles among these ethnic groups that lasted from nineteenth century until the seizure of the city by Greece.

According to the provincial yearbook of Salonika in 1307, the numbers of the ethnic groups was as the following: Muslim 494,656; Greek 243,991; Bulgarian 222,316; Jewish 37,174.⁹¹ Hacısalihoglu gives the numbers of Ottoman population based on the census in 1904 as: Muslims 1,508,507; Bulgarians 896, 497; Greeks 307,000; Serbians 100,717; Vlachs 99,000.⁹² However, the actual numbers of these ethnic groups are problematic, because the population numbers became a mainstay in the national claims, thus, all the ethnic groups tried to prove their majority in comparison to other ethnic groups. Furthermore, Arslan says for the Drama *sancak* that, for instance in the 1888-9 population census, the numbers were problematic, because the people who lived in unreachable regions and the nomadic tribes were not counted.⁹³ Having these problems in mind, the numbers draw a picture of an ethnically mixed region. These ethnicities struggled against Ottoman Empire and against each other for the hegemony of the province. The fear derived from these national struggles

⁹¹ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307)

⁹² Mehmet Hacısalihoglu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu (1890-1918)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), p.35

⁹³ İsmail Arslan, *Selanik'in Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama (1864-1913)* (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2010), p.55

among the ethnic groups became a part of the lives both in the countryside and the city.

However, Salonika was not a region of fear and ethnic fights. “Selanik [...] was the city as one of the laboratories of city reforms that were applied in the context of the strategy of the Empire’s in the second half of the 19th century...”⁹⁴ and it was “one of the Eastern Mediterranean port cities that was a candidate for development under the influence of the strengthening relations with Europe as of the 1840s and under the influence of modernization”.⁹⁵ Anastassiadou depicts Salonika with these sentences. She says that in this context of development and modernization, Salonika was one of the richest cities in terms of the numbers of schools⁹⁶. However, in the countryside, the penetration of modernization, the development and the spread of schools were related to other dynamics. They were in a close relationship with agricultural production. In its broadest sense, the development and the spread of schools had a very close and, in a way, a mutual relationship with the economic development in its most general meaning since the economic conditions in which people lived were determined by their income from the economic activity that the people living in the countryside dealt with and most of these people dealt with agriculture.

⁹⁴ “ Selanik [...] 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlı iktidarının imparatorluğu yenileme stratejisi içinde uygulamaya koyduğu şehir reformlarının laboratuvarlarından biriydi”; Meropi Anastassiadou, *Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Selanik* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001) , p.3

⁹⁵ “... 1840’lardan itibaren Avrupa ile ilişkilerin güçlenmesinin ve modernleşmenin etkisi altında büyümeye aday Doğu Akdeniz liman şehirlerinden biriydi”; Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid, 4.

As Tevfik Güran has stated about the empire in general, “Economic and agricultural development were closely related to each other”⁹⁷ because such a rural society could mostly be occupied with agriculture. For instance, in the *sancak* of Drama, the total population was 256,000 and the population living in the countryside was 207,000 whereas 49,000 people were living in the center of the Drama *kaza*⁹⁸ according to the consulate reports from which İsmail Arslan has quoted. There were about 1939 *çiftlik*s and villages in the countryside of the Salonika province. The number of the population living in these villages and the *çiftlik*s was approximately 715,000⁹⁹ around the years 1890 and 1894¹⁰⁰ out of the overall population of 996,298 as was stated in the provincial yearbook of the same periods.¹⁰¹ The number has a margin of error, but still it indicates that a considerable proportion of the population was living in the countryside. In addition, the population living in the countryside was mostly occupied with agriculture. Therefore, in this thesis, the focus will be on agriculture and its effects on people’s live including education, which is the central issue of this thesis, however, first of all, the countryside of the province should be

⁹⁷ “Ekonomik ve ziraî gelişme birbirleriyle yakından alakalıdır”; Tevfik Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı Üzerine Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Eren, 1998) , p.63

⁹⁸ İsmail Arslan, *Selanik’in Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama (1864-1913)* (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2010), p.121

⁹⁹ I have found the number by summing up the population numbers of the centers of the *kazas* and *sancaks* and then deducting the sum from the overall population number basing on the data in the yearbook of 1311 and 1307. However, because some of the data were missing, I have rounded the sum. Hence the number is not a certain one but an approximate one; *Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307); and Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1311).*

¹⁰⁰The details of the number could be found in the yearbook; *Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. sene-i hicriye 1311, on ikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1311).*

¹⁰¹ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik, 1307 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)*

introduced in terms of agricultural characteristics so as to have a look at the relationship.

In order to understand the countryside in detail, this chapter will provide some factual information and firstly, the general agricultural characteristics of Salonika will be discussed. These cover such points as what was produced and under what conditions. The second point to be discussed in this chapter is how agriculture was governing people's lives, that is, to what extent agriculture formed people's lives, to what extent agrarian activities were central in people's lives and in our case, how education was related to an agrarian economy. Finally, the numbers of schools in the countryside which will give us an idea about the situation of education will be evaluated before going into the details about the relationship between the dynamics of the production process and the development of education in the next chapter. The aim of giving these details is to see the elements of the general question: in what ways could agriculture and economic conditions affect education in the villages?

The General Character of Agriculture In The Region

The first striking feature of the Ottoman peasants was their use of primitive agricultural methods according to Tefik Güran: "...the agricultural tools were primitive. There was not much benefit from the methods of fertilizers and good seeds which could increase productivity".¹⁰² For such a community which was governed by traditional tools and methods, the adoption and acceptance of new methods was

¹⁰² "... tarım araçları iptidâî idi. Gübre ve iyi tohum gibi verimliliği arttırıcı girdilerden pek yararlanılmazdı"; Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, 69

difficult. Agricultural knowledge and methods were something that was hereditary from father to son and something that was learned from the elders of the village. For this reason, someone from the village trying to apply new methods or someone trying to teach them new methods were not welcomed (*bin yıllık rençberliğimizi bize mi öğretecek?*).¹⁰³ In addition to this, Donald Quataert says that the peasants were resistant in their production methods and doubtful about innovations.¹⁰⁴ Thus, due to this tendency of the majority of the peasants, the application of traditional methods continued. In fact, the underlying reason for this was that for the majority of peasants who were cultivating their small plots of land the adoption of new methods was a matter of finance, so it was hard for them to adapt to new methods as Tefvik Güran has pointed out: “... it was hard for the small agricultural producers who had insufficient capital equipment to adopt modern and advanced agricultural methods”.¹⁰⁵ May Diaz has also stated “Within the local context the peasant’s economic goal is to use his resources- land and its natural products, labor, water and sun, and his knowledge of technology- to maintain his family directly rather than to use the products of his labor as an investment for a money return”.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Hakkı. *Maarif-i umumiye yahud bir çiftçinin mütalaadan istifadesi*. Pp.19-20, Hıdmet gazetesine tefrika suretiyle derc olunmuştur (n.p: n.p, 1312)

¹⁰⁴ Donald Quataert, *Anadolu'da Osmanlı reformu ve tarım, 1876 – 1908* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008)

¹⁰⁵ “... sermaye donatımı yetersiz olan küçük işletmenin modern ve ileri tarım metodlarını benimsemesi oldukça güçtür”; Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, 81

¹⁰⁶ May N. Diaz, “Introduction: Economic Relations in Peasant Society” in *Peasant Society: A Reader* (eds.) Potter, Jack, May Diaz and George Foster (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), p.51

The Financial Features of Agriculture

According to the provincial yearbook, there were 262 çiftlik villages registered out of a total of 1939 villages¹⁰⁷, and in some of these çiftlik villages, the populations were 6, 5, 10 or 20. For instance, in the Kavala *kaza*, the populations of two çiftlik villages were 7 and 4 and in one of the çiftlik villages of Kesendire *kaza* there was only one house.¹⁰⁸ Although there could be some more that were not registered, the number could not much exceed the registered one, and we could say that the dominant form of cultivation was carried out by the small farmers. These small farmers did not have sufficient capital to make further investments since most of them were doing subsistence farming as Güran has pointed out. In fact, they had to do it inevitably due to the burden of the expenditures. Güran lists the expenditures of a small farmer as “...one fifth for the taxes, two fifth for the consumption expenditures [bread: 213 piastre, butter: 22 piastre, other food stuff: 84 piastre, clothes: 122 piastre, other monetary expenditures [which included again food mostly]: 119 piastre]¹⁰⁹ and the remaining two third was for the producing expenditures [seeds: 402 piastre, wages: 54 piastre, renovation expenditures: 89 piastre, animal feeding expenditures: 25 piastre]¹¹⁰.”¹¹¹ In such a situation, the peasants could not gain and save much for

¹⁰⁷ Salname-i vilayet-i Selanik, sene-i hicriye 1311, on ikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahriyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1311)

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, 92

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ “... beşte biri vergi ödemelerine, beşte ikisi tüketim giderlerine [ekmek: 213 guruş, yağ:22 guruş, diğer yiyecekler: 84 guruş, giyim:122 guruş, diğer nakdi harcamalar [yine beslenme için ayrılıyordu]: 119 guruş] ve geriye kalan beşte ikisi de üretim harcamalarına [tohum: 402 guruş, ücret ödemeleri: 54 guruş, yenileme giderleri: 89 guruş, hayvan yemi giderleri: 25 guruş]”; Ibid, 91

further investments. George Foster says: “Most peasants were poor, and they had to struggle desperately for their small share of the economy and other goods available in their village”.¹¹² Issawi calculates the expenditures and the income of the peasants and states that the cost of cultivation to the owner for rice paddies was 98 piastre¹¹³ and for other crops (wheat, rye, etc.) it was 63.5 piastre per *dönüm*¹¹⁴ and he calculates the net profit from wheat as 27 piastre.¹¹⁵

Hence, the low income from agricultural activities could affect the position of the peasant parents towards education in such a situation because, after all, it is a matter of subsistence. How the economic situation affected the positioning of the peasants towards education will be discussed in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, under the light of this data indicating the economic situation of the peasants owning a small farm, it is important to examine what was cultivated in Salonika, how their productivity was and how much income the peasants earned from these products.

The Agricultural Products

According to the yearbooks of the province, the main agricultural products of the Salonika region are basic foodstuffs¹¹⁶; such as wheat, barley¹¹⁷, corn, rye, crown

¹¹² George M. Foster, “Introduction: Peasant Character and Personality” in *Peasant Society: A Reader* (eds.) Potter, Jack, May Diaz and George Foster (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), p.297

¹¹³It should have been 94.

¹¹⁴ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980) , p.226

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307 (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

¹¹⁷ In the yearbook they are called *hınta* (wheat) and *şa'ir* (barley) as the local usage; Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik (Vilayet Matbaası: Selanik, 1303, 1307, 1311, 1315, 1318, 1320, 1322, 1324, 1325)

vetch, lentils, oat, rice in the husk, millet, beans, and grape. The percentage of the cultivation of these basic foodstuffs per the total cultivated lands are as follows: barley 25%, wheat 22% (mostly in Salonika, Yenice, Köprülü, Avrathisarı, Siroz, Zihne, Drama), corn 21% (mostly in Salonika, Yenice, Katrin, Avrathisarı, Petriç, Nevrekop, Drama), rye 19% (mostly in Nevrekop, Köprülü, Langaza, Petriç, Razlık), oat 9% (Avrathisarı, Salonika, Nevrekop, Langaza, Kesendire) millet 2% (Kesendire, Vodine, Langaza, Siroz, Kavala), rice in the husk 1% (Karaferye, Vodine, Ustrumca, Zihne, Drama), other productions 1%.¹¹⁸

The plantation season of these stuffs changed from region to region. Wheat has two types; one is the winter wheat and the other is the summer wheat.¹¹⁹ The summer wheat was cultivated in relatively cold regions and it was planted in April, and winter wheat was cultivated in relatively hot regions and planted in the middle or at the end of October.¹²⁰ In some regions, the winter wheat was planted from September until the end of October and in some places it was planted until the middle of October whereas in some other places, it was not planted before the end of October.¹²¹ This was determined according to the temperature. “In Thrace, the plantation of wheat extends to the months of October or November”¹²² as Mehmet Oluç mentions in his book about Thrace, but the season can change according to the

¹¹⁸ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307(Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

¹¹⁹ Hüseyin Kazım. *İlmi ve tatbiki çiftçilik dersleri sınıf-ı ibtidaiye mahsusdur: Devre-i mutavassıta devre-i aliye(3 ila 6), maarif nezaretinin en son ibtidai sınıflarına göre yapılmıştır* (Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şirketi: Dersaadet, 1331)

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ “Buğday Ne Zaman Ekilir?” *Ziraat gazetesi*, No: 28, 11 Şevval 1325- 4 teşrinisani 1323 (17 october 1907)

¹²² Mehmet Oluç, *Trakya Ziraat Ekonomisi* (Istanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946) , p. 66

temperature. The weather conditions of Salonika could be comparable to those of Thrace: so were the plantation periods.

The work did not finish with the plantation of the wheat seeds. At the end of April, the farmers had to weed their farms and in the season of reaping (*orak mevsimi*), the mature plant had to be reaped.¹²³ From one acre of good (*'alâ*) soil, 8 kilos of wheat “was attained” (*husule gelir*)¹²⁴, 4 kilos from poor (*'âdî*) soil and 6 kilos from average soil. For instance in 1307 (1889-90), the overall product was 354,011,904 *kıyye* from 614,604 acre lands on which wheat was cultivated and it cost 309,760,416 piastres.¹²⁵ However, it was stated that a large part of the total amount coming from the overall income of the products was spent on the peasants' local requirements (*ihtiyâcât-ı mahallî*).¹²⁶ Thus, we have a period from October until April, which coincides with the educational period. Can we say that these agricultural works impeded the education of the children? With a simple prediction, we can say that the children would help their parents. The effects of this situation will be discussed in details in Chapter 3.

In addition to wheat, barley was another important basic food-stuff for the peasants. Barley has also two types; winter and summer. “In Thrace, it was planted beginning from fall until the end of February”.¹²⁷ In Salonika, probably the season resembles that in Thrace. According to the provincial yearbook of Salonika, the productivity of barley was 10 kilos per acre on good soil and 5 kilos per acre on poor

¹²³ Kazım, *İlmi ve Tatbiki Çiftçilik Dersleri*

¹²⁴ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307(Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ “Sonbaharda başlamak üzere şubat sonun kadar...” Oluç, *Trakya Ziraat Ekonomisi*, 77

soil the average of production was 8 kilos.¹²⁸ In 1307 (1889-90), barley was cultivated in 729,965 acre of lands in Salonika and the production was 379,581,800 *kıyye* which worthed 237,238,625 piastre.¹²⁹

Other than wheat and barley, rye, oat, corn, millet and rice in the husk were important products in Salonika. The productivity of rye was 6 kilos per acre on good soil and 3 kilos per acre on poor soil whereas on average soil it was 5 kilos. It was cultivated on 564,650 acres which gave 271,032,000 *kıyye* and this cost 169, 395,000 piaster, in 1307(1889-1890).¹³⁰ Oat has also two types; the winter one was planted in October, mostly in November but in high and cold places, it was planted in the spring (in March or April).¹³¹ In Salonika, it was probably planted in October or November, in the spring time depending on the temperature. On a good soil, 8 kilos of oat per acre could be produced whereas on a poor soil it was 4 kilos per acre. The average production was 6 kilos.¹³² In 1307 (1889-90), oat was cultivated on 239,653 acres of land which gave 89,150,000 *kıyye* of products and it cost 55,719,322 piastre. Corn was cultivated in a relatively high temperature since it needs more temperature and humidity than wheat.¹³³ On a good soil, 10 kilos of corn per acre and on a poor one 5 kilos per acre could be cultivated and the average was 9 kilos.¹³⁴ It was cultivated on

¹²⁸ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307(Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Hüseyin Kazım, *Çiftçi çocuğu: Köylerdeki ve kasabalardaki ibtidai ve rüşdi mekteblerinde, idadilerin ilk yıllarında okutturulmak üzere yazılmıştır*. Müdafaa-i milliye cemiyeti tarafından tabb ve neşr ettirilmiştir. Meccanen verilir (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye Şirketi, 1331-1329)

¹³² Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307(Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

¹³³ “Oluç, *Trakya Ziraat Ekonomisi*, 81

¹³⁴ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307(Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

604, 376 acres of land in Salonika. In 1307 (1889-90), the total production was 522, 180,864 *kıyye* which cost 326, 363, 040 piastre.¹³⁵ Millet was especially important in the feeding of animals which is crucial when plowing the fields. The productivity of millet per acre was as follows: 10 kilos per acre on a good soil, but on a bad soil the productivity changed dramatically: 3 kilos per acre.¹³⁶ On average, the productivity was 5 kilos per acre for millet.¹³⁷ In Salonika, millet was cultivated on a relatively small amount of land. The total amount of land was 47,415 acres that gave 17,069,400 *kıyye* of millet. Its cost was also few than the others: 8, 534,700 piastre. In addition to millet, the rice in the husk was also cultivated in Salonika as basic food stuff though it was not as widespread as the other products. The suitable fields were anyhow limited because it was planted on the riverside. On one acre of field, 150 *kıyye* of rice in the husk could be cultivated¹³⁸ which was, in fact, a high amount. It was cultivated on 26,273 acres of land which gave 3,284,125 *kıyye* of product that cost 4,926,187 piaster.¹³⁹

Thus, we see that beside the economic conditions that agricultural work created, the planting of the plants and the agricultural work they required throughout the season overlapped with the education period. Based on this situation can we say that the parents should have left their children out of this work in order not to prevent their education even though the work was so heavy for them? Furthermore, the peasants should have believed the necessity of the education for their lives to choose

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

education rather than employing their children on farms. However for most of the peasants, they are the instructor of their children and what was needed for education was learned from farms.

In addition to the basic foodstuffs, Salonika was famous for its industrial plants such as tobacco, cotton, opium, sesame, linen, hemp, red pepper and grapes. Sericulture was also mentioned among the industrial plants in the yearbooks as one of the most important productions of the province¹⁴⁰, but the most important ones that will be examined are opium, tobacco and cotton. All of them, especially tobacco, were important because they affected the lives of peasants in various ways such as the role in the peasants' lives of the different agents and their intervention into agriculture. For instance, imams were the tax collectors and the tobacco commissioners in the villages as Tahsin Uzer has mentioned in his book¹⁴¹ and in addition, they were teachers in most of the villages. Hence, the whole process was resembled a circle of chain in terms of their effects on people's lives. Chapter 3 will focus on this point in details.

Opium was cultivated in more than 20,000 acres in the province and Tikveş was the region where it was mostly cultivated. Some other regions were Köprülü, Ustrumca, Siroz, Petriç, Toyran, Gevgili and Menlik.¹⁴² The overall opium production in the province was 40,280 *okka*, half of which was produced in the

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Tahsin Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979), p.32

¹⁴² *Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik*. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307(Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

Tikveş region. The income coming from opium was 8,000,000 piaster.¹⁴³ The cultivation of opium was not widespread in the 1880s, however, it spread gradually.

Among the industrial plants, tobacco was the most widespread and crucial in terms of the economic conditions of peasants. Salih Zeki says that the most suitable conditions of lands for tobacco cultivating are the fields that are open to northeast, facing south, on slightly inclined ridges, on little hillsides and low hills.¹⁴⁴ The process of tobacco cultivation was a long one. First the field had to be plowed. The first plow was in the fall after the soil was fertilized, the second was the at the end of the winter, the third one was with black plough or with plough in the spring just before the tobacco seedlings were planted and the peasants having a tractor would have had more benefits if they fallow the land.¹⁴⁵ The tobacco seedlings were firstly planted to seed beds in places having soft weather from the middle of December to the end of February and in relatively cold places, from the fifteenth of February to the middle of March.¹⁴⁶ Then the tobacco seedlings were planted mostly in the spring. In Salonika, the seedlings were probably planted in June because Zeki has stated that the tobacco peasant immigrants from Rumelia continued to plant the tobacco seedlings even until the middle of June in Izmir as they used to do back in Rumelia¹⁴⁷, whose temperature was not much similar to that of Izmir and as Zeki has further emphasized this caused the immigrants to harm the tobacco products.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Salih Zeki, *Türkiye'de Tütün Ziraat, Sanat ve Ticareti* (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1928), p.32

¹⁴⁵Ibid, 47.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 59

¹⁴⁷Ibid, 79.

Tobacco was cultivated in Salonika in 58,490 acres.¹⁴⁸ Sarışaban, Drama, Kavala, and Pravişte were the regions where tobacco was mostly cultivated and Gevgili, Siroz, Nevrekop, Cuma, Kesendire and Zihne were the following regions.¹⁴⁹ But the production in the Drama, Sarışaban, Kavala and Pravişte regions was one-third of the overall production and the most valuable tobacco was the one from Sarışaban. According to Salih Zeki, the productivity rates of tobacco plants were as follows: 50-70 kilos small-leaved tobacco per acre of field, 80-100 kilos middle leaved tobacco per acre and 130-150 kilos large-leaved tobacco per acre.¹⁵⁰ In the provincial yearbook, the productivity of tobacco per acre was given as 60 *kıyye* and each *kıyye* of tobacco was sold on average for 15 piaster by the producer peasants.¹⁵¹ The overall production was 3,509,400 and the income coming from this production was 52,641,000 piaster between the years 1898-9.¹⁵² Regarding the income of the producer peasant, Issawi talks about the sharecroppers in 1865 as “... a 5-acre tobacco farm worked by the two families required an outlay of £17 [approx. 17,170 piaster] by the landlord and £15 [approx. 15,150 piaster] by the peasants, and after payment of the tithes, brought a profit of £80. 10s.0d., [approx. 88,100 piaster] which was shared equally by the landlord and peasants”.¹⁵³ Hence, the remaining part was £25 (25,250 piaster) for two families and it was £12.5 (12,500 piaster) for one

¹⁴⁸ But it was growing from day to day according to the consulate reports that İsmail Arslan quoted; Arslan, *Selanik'in Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama*, 317. However, in the later provincial yearbooks the increased amount of land was not stated.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Zeki, *Türkiye'de Tütün Ziraat, Sanat ve Ticareti*, 152

¹⁵¹ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik*. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307 (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey*, 208. The currency is; 1£ = 1,1 Ottoman Lira = 1000 piastre

family. Despite these conditions, some of the peasants who cultivated tobacco had a chance to make money from its sale, since this was the most demanded export product when they had a just tobacco commissioner and could establish a relationship with a just merchant, although Tahsin Uzer mentions opposite cases as discussed below.

Tobacco was very important to the entire Salonika region as most of its production was exported. Due to this fact, especially the community of the Drama *sancak* got richer in time as Tahsin Uzer mentions in his memoirs. But, besides being a money making product, tobacco fits the rules of a Muslim life very much according to Arslan because it had to be harvested in the daybreak time, which is the time of the morning prayer for Muslims.¹⁵⁴ He says that the non-Muslims were not engaged in tobacco cultivation so much, which was not totally true as Soctarets Petmezas mentioned in his article the importance of tobacco for Greece's economy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁵⁵ Yet, tobacco cultivation was very hard work for the peasants as it required labor-intensive farming. On the other hand, the income was more problematic than its cultivation, especially when the commissioners entered into the picture. As I previously mentioned, the commissioners could be the imams of the villages. Tahsin Uzer tells about the cruelty of the imam of Leştan village as a tobacco commissioner.¹⁵⁶ Another imam called Hacı Muhammed Efendi of the Cura village "... tyrannized the peasants in collecting the share of treasury

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 356

¹⁵⁵ Socrates D. Petmezas, "Agriculture and Economic Growth in Greece, 1870–1973" in *Agriculture and Economic Development in Europe Since 1870* (eds.) P. Lains and V. Pinilla (London : New York : Routledge, 2009)

¹⁵⁶ Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi*, 32

from one eighth of the harvest of the village”.¹⁵⁷ In addition to the imams, as Tahsin Uzer has said there were also the *agas* of the village and the *nahiye*¹⁵⁸ who bought from the producer in the villages and sold them to foreign merchants. Thus, they acted as an intermediary and the problem derived from their intermediary situation since they and the merchants had to gain money from this business and to make money, they bought the tobacco from the producer for a cheaper price than its worth. He talks about a case in which a commissioner buys the tobacco for the cheapest price and he manages to do this in some tricky ways but the peasant does not understand the trick.¹⁵⁹ İsmail Arslan talks about a method of the intermediaries to buy the products from the peasants, called *selem*, which was widespread in the Drama region in the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁰ This method was based on an oral agreement made for the not-yet harvested tobacco at a certain price. Arslan says that this method was used mostly on behalf of the merchant and the intermediaries to increase their incomes.¹⁶¹

In addition to the role of the imams as intermediaries, their products were sold at a higher price than the ones of the ordinary producer as Talip Apaydın states in his book.¹⁶² Since the book was a literary work and thus was subjective, it is necessary to support it with primary sources. And the ideological background of the writer should be noted. Considering these, the book is still important to draw a

¹⁵⁷ “... köyün harmanlarından alınan sekizde bir hazine hissesinin toplanışında yapmadık zulüm bırakmadığı...”, Ibid, 41.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 60

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Arslan, *Selanik'in Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama*, 281

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Talip Apaydın, *Tütün Yorgunu* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1975) , p.14

picture of the countryside, when supported with other primary sources. The reason behind this privileged situation of the *agas* was probably their intermediary role and relationships with the buyers. Thus, considering all this information about the tobacco producing process, it should be emphasized that the income from tobacco for the peasants was in a very complex situation and in our case, education was also influenced from this situation in terms of the income of the peasants, the roles of the imams as tobacco commissioners and the teachers and the heads of the council of elders. In addition to the imams, the *agas* were also in this picture as tobacco commissioners and members of the councils. Therefore, the effects of tobacco (i.e. the economic situation, the heavy work that it requires and the complex relationship that it creates in the villages) took their places among the other factors that affect education. This will be discussed in details in Chapter 3.

In addition to tobacco, cotton is another plant that was very important for the peasants living in Salonika. It was cultivated in the province in 110,140 acres and it was mostly cultivated in the Zihne and Siroz regions, where one-third of the products was cultivated.¹⁶³ The regions following these two are Timurhisarı, Menlik, Drama, Petriç, Kesendire, Avrathisarı, Ustrumca And Yenice. The productivity was 50 *okka* per acre and one *kıyye* was sold by the peasant for 5 piaster.¹⁶⁴ The annual product was about 5,500,000 *okka* which gives 27,539,250 piaster income to the province.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307(Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 1307)

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

In the region of Drama, there were two kinds of seeds as Arslan has mentioned.¹⁶⁶ One was the American seed and the other was the local seed. The American seed was cultivated after May. The local seed was cultivated from the middle of March to the middle of April according to the weather conditions of the place.¹⁶⁷ According to Hüseyin Kazım, the seeds ripen in about 130-150 days and the harvest season comes in July or in August¹⁶⁸, however, Arslan gives a different date.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, the American seed was harvested 10-15 days before the local one.¹⁷⁰ Thus, it is clear that the harvest season changed from July to September.

The works in Agricultural Season

As we have seen, the peasants had to work for a long period to cultivate the plants. As Hüseyin Kazım mentions, the period starts in the spring and he says that the spring has a lot of work in which the peasant gets prepared for the reap season, extracts the weeds in the crop field, plants the summer crops to the fallowing lands which he prepared in the winter and waits for the summer.¹⁷¹ Summer was mostly the harvest season and in the fall, the soil was tilled and new plants were prepared for the next season. As we have seen, the work of a peasant begins from the spring and continues until the fall. James Reilly made a yearly schedule of the working periods

¹⁶⁶ Arslan, *Selanik'in Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama*, 309

¹⁶⁷ Kazım, *Çiftçi çocuğu*

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ He mentions the harvest season as the month of september; Arslan, *İsmail. Selanik'in Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama*, 311

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Kazım, *Çiftçi çocuğu*

of Palestinian peasants which probably resemble those of the peasants living in Salonika not in terms of the products, but in terms of the yearly work that had to be done:

November/ December: preparatory ploughing
December/ January: ploughing and sowing the winter crops
February: first preparatory ploughing or summer crops (sesame and dura)
March: second preparatory ploughing for summer crops, sowing chick-peas
April: sowing dura, third preparatory ploughing for sesame
May: sowing sesame, uprooting grass and overturning the earth near sesame seeds
June: barley harvest, bean and fenugreek harvest
June/ July: bean and chick-pea harvest
August: dura harvest
September: dura harvest
September/ October: threshing dura and sesame
July through October: scattering and sifting the wheat¹⁷²

Although the types of crops and the beginning as well as the ending periods of cultivation could be different, the length of the work must have been similar. Hence, the peasants had to work hard in such a long period and they had to work for long hours so as to have a good season in terms of production. Tefik Güran depicts the situation with numbers: “at the beginning of the 20th century, 314 hours of work was required starting from the preparation of the soil to the cultivation and the harvest of the product on one hectare of land. This took 40 days with a work of 8 hours a day on average”.¹⁷³ 40 days, as Güran says, was probably the total number of work days for the process of harvest because as we have seen, the whole work of cultivation needs a large season extending from mostly April to November, which requires

¹⁷²James Reilly, “The Peasantry of Late Ottoman Palestine”, *Journal Of Palestinian Studies*, Vol. 10, No: 4, Summer 1981, pp.82-97, p.87

¹⁷³ “... yirminci yüzyıl başlarında 1 hektarlık tarlanın, toprağın ekime hazırlanmasından ürünün kaldırılmasına kadar yapılan tüm işleri için 314 iş saati gerekiyordu”; Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, 87

waking up early and physical labor in the field. In his book, Talip Apaydın tells the story of a tobacco peasant who became insane due to the work on the tobacco field.¹⁷⁴

Such an intense labor requiring the hard work of all family members (who owns a small or middle sized-farm), especially the work of the sons who would be the heirs of the father caused the peasants to form communities and organize all spheres of their lives according to this agricultural work. In fact, the work of a family's son or sons was very important to the village community: he "... takes on his father's work: he knows how to harvest the crops...".¹⁷⁵

How Agriculture Govern the Lives of People: Based on the Observation of A
Traveler, Frederick G. Abbott

In the Ottoman villages, mostly, the peasants were engaged in agriculture, as Tefik Güran also agrees on.¹⁷⁶ For this reason, in most of the Ottoman villages the lives of the community were governed by the rules of agriculture. As May Diaz has mentioned "His [peasant's] actions and choices must be very directly related to the natural sources of land, water, weather and sun [...] he is close to nature"¹⁷⁷ because

¹⁷⁴ Apaydın, *Tütün Yorgunu*

¹⁷⁵ Tomas Hofer and Edit Fel, *Proper Peasants, Traditional Life in A Hungarian Village* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co. , 1969) , p.122

¹⁷⁶ Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, 116

¹⁷⁷ Diaz, "Introduction: Economic Relations in Peasant Society", 50

“peasants obtain their livelihood predominantly from the land by cultivation of crops and raising livestock”.¹⁷⁸

George Frederick Abbott, a British traveler and an author in the Macedonia region, has observed the lives of the non-Muslim Macedonian peasants. Abbott says that “Time among the peasantry of Macedonia is measured not so much by the conventional calendar as by the labors [...] seed time, harvest and vintage [...] some of landmarks in the peasant life”.¹⁷⁹ These are landmarks for the peasants like the beginning of the year in the conventional calendar. Their year begins and ends with agricultural activities. Time was formed according to the works that had to be done for cultivation. As I previously mentioned, in the story of a tobacco cultivator that Talip Apaydın tells, from the wake up time until dinner time, everything was set by the harvest period of tobacco. That is, the family could eat their lunch when the harvest of the day ended.¹⁸⁰ As the times of the days were set according to cultivation, the months of a year also had a different meaning for the peasants due to the cultivation as Abbott has observed.

The names of the months were different among a peasant community. They were set by what they meant to the peasant in terms of their agricultural work. He says, for instance, they call February as the “Great Long Month” when they “... prune and trim the trees and vines”¹⁸¹ and among the peasants its name was “‘Vein-sweller’ because during this month, the veins of the earth are swollen with water”.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸Frank Ellis, *Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) , p. 7

¹⁷⁹Abbott, G. Frederick. *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge: University Press, 1903), p.11

¹⁸⁰ Apaydın, *Tütün Yorgunu*

¹⁸¹Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*,13

¹⁸²Ibid, 14.

This shows us how sensitive the peasants were about what was going on in nature and when this was happening. Actually, this sensitivity derived from their agricultural work which requires knowledge about nature and the soil. They were also sensitive about the weather which provides the necessary conditions for agricultural work and a good season. Even the religious matters were strongly related to weather and agricultural activity. For instance, on the 2nd of February, there was the feast of the Purification of the Virgin and “The weather which prevails on that day is expected to last for forty days”.¹⁸³ After February, “During the first days of the month [March] the peasants [...] rise early in the morning and hurry to the fields...”.¹⁸⁴ The busy period of the peasants starts with March and as we can see, their time to wake up and the rest of the day had to be formed according to the work in the field. In addition to the importance of March to the peasants, as it has been stated previously, the weather conditions were crucial to them. The unstable weather of the month was also the subject of adages;

March, like a baby spoilt, is full of whims:
At times he cries, at times with fun he brims¹⁸⁵

June has also another name among the peasants according to what the peasants do as agricultural work in this month: it “... is known as the ‘Harvester’ because the harvest begins in it. In fact, it is the beginning of the busiest time in a peasant’s year...”.¹⁸⁶ For instance, July “... is known as the ‘Thresher’ to the peasant as the

¹⁸³Ibid.

¹⁸⁴Ibid, 16.

¹⁸⁵Ibid, 22.

¹⁸⁶Ibid, 50

threshing of corn begins in this month...”.¹⁸⁷ September is “... the ‘month of vintage’”¹⁸⁸, October is “... the commencement of seed-time...”¹⁸⁹ and November “... is known as the ‘Sower’ par excellence. Sowing is so essentially a characteristic of the season... “. ¹⁹⁰ Hence, the agricultural work of the month sets the meaning of that month and how it is called among the peasants.

The agricultural works were so crucial to the peasants that they became the subject of adages. For example, as Abbott says, in an adage which was widespread among the peasants, the importance of sowing in October was emphasized:

If in October, you forget to sow,
Expect a passing scanty crop to now¹⁹¹

As we see, the agricultural work was so central in the lives of the peasants that the elders felt the need to transmit their advice to next generations. Additionally, this shows that agricultural knowledge was a traditional one transmitted from the elders to next generations. The necessary work to be done for the month could be the subject of adages so that other generations would learn a lesson from an experience. The older generations felt the need to transmit their knowledge, since they are important and crucial and needed to be shared with the future generations. Sanctifying this traditional knowledge over the scientific and learned one creates the conflicting situation, as will be shown in Chapter 3

In addition to the adages, the festivals were organized according to the agricultural season and the agricultural work. Edmund Spencer says “ [The

¹⁸⁷Ibid, 59.

¹⁸⁸Ibid, 64.

¹⁸⁹Ibid, 66.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹Ibid.

Agriculturists] celebrate the advent of spring, and the last day of the harvest...”¹⁹² since the end of the harvest was like the end of a year and the coming of a new one for them. The communities celebrate important events in their lives and as we see, even the celebrations of the peasant communities were formed according to agricultural practices. In addition to these celebrations, some of the religious festivals were affected by these practices. Especially the days of saints could easily be related to the fertility of the soil. For instance, as Abbott mentions, “the great Christian feast of Resurrection- redemption and universal renovation-should fall at the time of the year when Nature herself is awakening...”.¹⁹³ Another example could be shown from the month of September, the “Day of St. John”, as Abbott talks has mentioned. The importance of this day was that the peasants did not eat any meat and grapes and “in return, the pious peasant expects the saint to protect him against fevers”.¹⁹⁴ The period of the day falls at the period of the harvest and the eve of the new plantation of the seeds. A much clearer example belongs to the month of November. Abbott says that “Sowing is so essentially a characteristic of the season [the season of November], and it concerns the peasant so nearly that even religion is forced to enlist the prevailing spirit in its service. The virgin whose feast occurs on the 21st [...] generally goes by the name of ‘Patroness of the Seed-time’”¹⁹⁵. As we see, agriculture was so crucial for the peasants at that period that the religious festivals were related to it and expectations revealed themselves on this day. The expectation revealed

¹⁹²Edmund Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey, in 1850 : through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, and Epirus; with a visit to Greece and the Ionian Isles ...* (London: Colburn & Co., 1851), p.219

¹⁹³Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, 25

¹⁹⁴Ibid, 65.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 66

more clearly on another religious day: “On the 18th is held the Feast of St. Plato the Martyr [...], whose name ingenious ignorance was transformed into St. Plane-tree [...]. This is a very important date in the weather-lore of the coast especially. It is said that this holy day witnesses all known kinds of meteorological vicissitude”.¹⁹⁶ So, as we see, even religious festivals were somehow related to nature and the peasants who were living according to the rules of nature because of the agricultural activity made this relationship exist in themselves, as Diaz claims, “calendar customs, weather omens [...] rituals, which are part of peasant culture [...] attests to his awareness of participating in an ecology”.¹⁹⁷ The expectations from the feast days were mostly related to productivity and a good season. They were mostly displayed in the form of adages or turned into practices. In this way, we can see that all the spheres of the lives of peasants were affected by agricultural practices rooted in the past. According to Abbott, this strong relationship shows that the old pagan practices survived among the peasants, but leaving aside questioning the source of the practices which is irrelevant to our issue, these practices show us the strong inter-relation between the religious faiths of that period and the agricultural activity.

Agricultural work was so central in the people’s lives that they call the stars with the name of the tools they use. “... the Great Bear [...] is called ‘Plough’ [...], and the different parts of that implement furnish names for other groups of stars, such as the ‘Yoke’ [...], the ‘Plough-feet’ [...]...”.¹⁹⁸ The stars were also the address of their expectations for a good harvest like the days of Saints. “... great attention is

¹⁹⁶Ibid, 67.

¹⁹⁷Diaz, “Introduction: Economic Relations in Peasant Society”, 50

¹⁹⁸Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, 70

paid by the peasants to the conditions attending the setting of this constellation [of Pleiades], and from those conditions are drawn omens as to the quantity of the forthcoming crop and fertility of cattle. If it sets in a cloudy sky, it is said to portend a rich harvest".¹⁹⁹ As we see, all the things around them were related to agriculture and the tools they used. Agricultural work was their way of life. Therefore, everything revolved this.

So far, we have seen to what extent and in what ways agriculture and the economic activities of the villagers could affect education: through the economic conditions that it creates, through the seasonal overlapping, through the complex relationship it created within the villages and the same relationship determines educational issues in the villages through the institutions. In addition, we have seen to what extent agriculture influenced and shaped the lives of the peasants, which create a specific world of thoughts. Thus, where and how could we locate the education of children in such a life and in such an economy where "the first concern of the productive units is to grow food crops to feed themselves"²⁰⁰, and where the main concern to provide this was working for a better harvest? How was it provided by the peasants? Chapter 3 will cover this point and the complex relationship, but as we see above, the agricultural practices were so dominant in the peasants' lives that everything in their lives carries the influence of agricultural rules and education, especially the one that was tried to be provided by the central system, could not be isolated from the influence of the agricultural practices. As a compromise, an

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 71.

²⁰⁰ Daniel Thorner, "Peasant Economy as A Category in Economic History" in *Peasants and Peasant Readings* (ed.) Shanin, Teodor (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., Ringwood: Penguin Books Australia Ltd., 1971), p.206

agricultural course was introduced to make education and schools attractive for the peasants. Nonetheless, this created another problem by threatening the traditional order of the villages with new scientific knowledge against traditional knowledge although it was considered as something that could attract the village people by the rulers at the beginning. The struggle between scientific and traditional knowledge will be discussed in Chapter 3.

A part of the attempt to introduce such a course was to raise the school numbers which were remarkably low because the increase of the school numbers was strongly related with the interest of the village people in schools. Therefore, the aim was to encourage the peasant parents to send their children to schools, however, the introduction of the course was not enough for the delicate balance and complex relationships between agricultural production and education in villages. Was the aim of the center enough to spread education? Before talking about the situation of education in the villages and its spread, it is necessary to focus on the numbers to get an idea of the situation and to know what we are talking about.

Number of Schools

According to the reports of the inspectors about the Salonika region on different dates, there weren't any schools in most of the villages. The ones that existed were in such a bad condition that no one would call them a school. In 1895, despite the report of the provincial education director of a village in which he stated that the teaching, the administration and the health conditions of all the schools [that he inspected]

were suitable²⁰¹, Radoviřli Mustafa Bey claimed in his report, written in the same year, that in most of the villages there weren't any schools. For Tikveř, he underlines that at the center of the *nahiye* and in relatively big villages there were schools, but they can hardly be called schools and for the province, in general, he says that it was even hard to find someone literate in the Muslim villages and they did not even know the religious practices.²⁰² Shortly after this, another inspector stated similar things about the ignorance of people. He says that in the villages and *nahiyes*, a man who can read the Quran a little pretends to be a scholar.²⁰³ In the same period, the provincial inspector of Salonika stressed that there weren't any schools in almost all of the villages.²⁰⁴ In addition to that report, another inspector also mentioned in his report that in the villages there weren't any schools, and those in the *nahiyes* were in a regrettable situation.²⁰⁵ In addition to these, there were also writings in newspapers. In *Zaman*, a peasant parent complains about the absence of teachers in the countryside and he says that because there weren't any schools in the countryside, he made his child work on his land and tried to educate him with an imam at home that he paid.²⁰⁶ Although this article belonged to an early date, the situation did not change much as we have seen above from the archival data. Thus, primary schooling was in a very bad state even at the end of the nineteenth century. Was that a general

²⁰¹ BOA, MF. MKT. 246/22, 24 recep 1312 (21 january 1895)

²⁰² BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

²⁰³ BOA, Y. EE.. 11/4, 10 kanunievvel 1314 (22 december 1898)

²⁰⁴ BOA, MF. MKT. 589\31, 22 Recep 1319 (4 november 1901)

²⁰⁵ BOA, TFR. I. SL. 1/59-2, 25 ramazan 1320 (15 december 1903)

²⁰⁶ "Selanik ahalisine bir numune", (ibret). *Zaman*, No:177, dördüncü sene, p.3, 27 ramazan 1293- 4 teřrinievvel 1291 (16 october 1875)

exaggeration of the inspectors because they idealized the situation or was the situation as bad as they had complained and reported?

As far as the numbers are concerned, firstly, it should be noted as a caution that the number of schools in the countryside includes a debate in itself because of the tendency to count the new-style *ibtidai* schools, especially at the end of the nineteenth century and to register the government-made schools to the yearbooks. These problems will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

The first detailed document from which we can infer²⁰⁷ some numbers for the countryside was the yearbook of the Salonika province in 1303 (1885-6).²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, using this document only cannot be adequate to have an idea about the progress in the number of schools. In order to draw a picture, it should be compared with the numbers given in the yearbooks of the following years.²⁰⁹ Hence, these numbers are the result of this comparison. The numbers are shown in the tables below for each *sancak*.

Based on the numbers given in the provincial yearbook of 1300s, the numbers are as follows: in the kaza of Salonika, there were 103 *çiftlik*s and villages, but except the schools whose names were mentioned in the in the education yearbook, we do not have any information to estimate a total number of schools in the *kaza*.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷I use the verb infer, because I found the numbers of the primary schools in the countryside by following the method: I deducted the number of schools in the center of the *kaza* that were mentioned in the Salonika yearbook of 1311 from the number of the schools in the 1303 yearbook in which it was mentioned the overall numbers for each *kaza*. Therefore, the numbers are not certain, but they can give us a notion about the situation in the villages.

²⁰⁸ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi, sene 1303, defa 9.

²⁰⁹ I have compared with the numbers in the yearbook of 1311; Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir, 1311.

²¹⁰ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307)

In 92 villages and *çiftlik*s²¹¹ of the Yenice-i Vardar *kaza*, there were 73 Muslim and non-Muslim primary schools (including the *sıbyan* schools and the new-style *ibtidai* schools). In the education yearbook only four of them were mentioned: the *ibtidai* schools in Karahamza and Kasablar (1293)²¹², Bağköyü (1300) and Tristenik (1305).²¹³ In 1312, two *ibtidai* schools were added to the 73 schools: Foştan and Gayrişte (1312).²¹⁴ As we see, the numbers cannot be based on education yearbooks only because according to the education yearbook, in the countryside of Yenice-i Vardar *kaza* there were only 6 primary schools. The remaining ones were probably *sıbyan* schools and they were not counted and registered among primary schools. The difficulties in estimating a total number of primary schools will be talked about below in a while.

The opening and the spread of schools did not take place according to the density of the population of villages because we know that some places where there were no schools were more populated than some other places where schools were opened. For instance, the population of Karahamza was 234, but there were more crowded villages such as Kadılar with a population of 474 and Gömünce *Çiftliği* having a population of 2522.²¹⁵ The spread of schools depended on the will of the community of the villages and there were such villages according to the

²¹¹ In the 1311 yearbook the total number of the villages of the *kaza* became 89; Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1311)

²¹²The number in parenthesis was the date of their establishment.

²¹³ Salname-i nezaret-i maarif-i umumiye. Birinci sene, 1316 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus (matbaa-i amire: İstanbul, 1316)

²¹⁴Ibid.

²¹⁵ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1311).

documents²¹⁶, or there were some villages in which schools were opened by personal efforts²¹⁷ and some peasant parents' tendency to send their children to school was, as the writer talked over his protagonist peasant, as a result of their belief that their children would develop their agricultural activity after they received education.²¹⁸ Whether the proximity of these villages played a role in the spread of schools is another question that should be asked. Frederick Frey gives an example on this: in one the communities "shun the schoolteacher [...] while [...] similar masses in a comparable region do exactly the opposite".²¹⁹ He says that it would be wrong to expect the neighboring communities to give similar responses to similar events. Hence, the attitudes of the neighboring villages could be different and for this reason, the proximity could rarely be the reason behind the spread or non-spread of schools. Furthermore, there were some cases about a village, the community of which did not want to send their children to school and therefore, the teacher was appointed to a nearby village.²²⁰ In addition to the difference between the neighboring villages, due to the physical character of the region, the attitudes of the inhabitants of different *kazas* and the spread of education varied from one to another. As we see from the table, schooling was different in different *kazas*. Abbott says that "The mountainous character of the province [Macedonia] keeps the various *kazas*, and their inhabitants

²¹⁶ There are such documents in the classification of BOA, MF. MKT.

²¹⁷ *Asır* gazetesi, No: 42, 7 şaban 1313 (23 january 1896); No: 91, 7 safer 1314 (18 july 1896); No: 1012, 26 Recep 1323 (26 eylül 1905); and the accounts of Tahsin Uzer about Çeç and Pürsıçan *nahiyes*; Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi*

²¹⁸ Hakkı, *Maarif-i umumiye yahud bir çiftçinin mütalaadan istifadesi*

²¹⁹ Frederick W Frey, "Surveying Peasants in Turkey", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol.27, No:3, Autumn 1963, pp.335-355, p.335

²²⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 826\66, 18 Zilkade 1322 (24 january 1905)

separated from each other”.²²¹ Furthermore, the sectarian differences among the Muslim villages (i.e. Sunni and non-Sunni villages), the nomadic and sedentary communities, the character of agricultural production (i.e. self-sustaining production and market-oriented production) were some reasons that determined the number of schools and the attitude of the communities towards the schools alongside the economic and agrarian factors that I will talk about in Chapter 3. It is difficult to elaborate such specific characteristics of the villages, but such reasons should be kept in mind as the additional reasons in lack of schooling. In addition to all these, the railway that permitted attainability to the villages around the railway lines, could also be questioned in the framework of schooling. Unfortunately, we cannot follow its impact on numbers, since we have already problems in estimating the numbers, the railway is very much important in other ways. Through the railways, the writers and the officials could reach the villages, at least to the attainable ones, and the situation in these villages became a public matter. For instance in *Mütalaa* newspaper, a series of articles started based on the observation of the villages by a teacher travelled along railway line.²²² Hence, in this way the interests of the writers reified through the observation. Although its penetration seemed questionable due to the dominance of other factors in the villages, it should be noted.

If we get back to the numbers, in the 46 villages and *çiftlik*s²²³ of the overall Karaferye *kaza*, there were 3 Muslim and 22 non-Muslim primary schools. In the 75

²²¹ Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, 1.

²²² Muallim Hasan Pertev. “Selanik- Dedeğaç Hattı Üzerinde”, *Mütalaa*.

²²³ In the 1311 yearbook the number became 71; Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil idilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1311).

villages and *çiftlik*s of the overall Vodine *kaza*²²⁴, there were 31 Muslim primary schools. In the 90 villages²²⁵ and *çiftlik*s of the Tikveş *kaza*, there were only 23 Muslim primary schools and among these schools only the one in the Timyanik village, which was opened in 1305²²⁶ was registered to the yearbook of 1316. In the 110²²⁷ villages and *çiftlik*s of the overall Köprülü *kaza*, there were only 22 Muslim, 1 Greek and 9 Bulgarian primary schools, and 8 of the Muslim primary schools were registered to the 1316 education yearbook: Ayvanlı, Mahmudcılar, Çalışlar, Ciçove-i Zir, Vincan, Duran and Çeltik (1298) and Bala-Karaslar.²²⁸ In the 47 villages²²⁹ and *çiftlik*s of the Ustrumca *kaza* there existed 18 Muslim and 6 non-Muslim primary schools. In the countryside of the Toyran *kaza*, which consisted of 68 villages and *çiftlik*s²³⁰, there were 43 Muslim, 3 Greek and 2 Bulgarian primary schools. In the Avrathısarı *kaza*, there were 143 villages and *çiftlik*s²³¹ and in them there were totally 88 Muslim and 37 non-Muslim primary schools. We do not know how many primary schools there were in the 58 villages and *çiftlik*s of the Gevgili *kaza*. According to the education yearbook, an *ibtidai* school was opened in 1300 in the village of Notye, but based on the former data about the missing *ibtidai* schools in the education

²²⁴ The number was 65 in the 1311 yearbook; Ibid.

²²⁵ 124 was the number in the 1311 yearbook; Ibid.

²²⁶ Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye. Birinci sene, 1316 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus (Istanbul: Matbaa-i amire, 1316)

²²⁷ In the 1311 yearbook, the number was 89; Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir, 1311.

²²⁸ Salname-i nezaret-i maarif-i umumiye. Birinci sene, 1316 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1316)

²²⁹ The number in the 1311 yearbook was 65; Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1311).

²³⁰ The number became 83 in 1311 yearbook; Ibid.

²³¹ 141 was the number in 1311 yearbook; Ibid.

yearbook, we are almost sure that there were other *ibtidai* and *sıbyan* schools in the overall countryside, For instance in the part of orders (*evamir*) of the yearbook of Salonika, dated 1315, it is mentioned that 7 more *ibtidai* schools were opened in the countryside of different *kazas*²³², but these were not registered in the 1316 or in later education yearbooks. In the countryside of Langaza *kaza*, which consisted of 140 villages and *çiftlik*s²³³, there were 48 Muslim and 27 non-Muslim primary schools. In the 88 villages and *çiftlik*s²³⁴ of the Kesendire *kaza*, there were 39 Muslim and 75 non-Muslim primary schools. Unfortunately we do not have any information about the school numbers in 72 villages and *çiftlik*s²³⁵ of Katerin *kaza*. Table 1 enables to see the numbers in a well-organized form.

The first column is for the *kaza* names. The second column is for the numbers of *çiftlik*s and villages in the *kaza*. The data in the column was organized based on the information given in the provincial yearbook of 1311. However, to provide comparative approach, the differences in number of villages and *çiftlik*s between the provincial yearbook of 1307 and 1311 were stated in the paragraph written for each *sancak*. The third column is for the number of the all primary schools in the villages. In the provincial yearbooks, sometimes the number of primary schools was separately categorized as Muslim and non-Muslim, sometimes even the non-Muslim schools were divided into ethnic origins, sometimes Muslim schools were separately categorized as *sıbyan* and *ibtidai*. In the case of *sıbyan* and *ibtidai* discrimination, it

²³² Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. 1315 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus. On beşinci defa olarak (Selanik: Selanik Hamidiye Matbaası, 1315)

²³³ In the 1311 yearbook the number was 99; Ibid.

²³⁴ 147 was the number of the villages and *çiftlik*s in *kaza* in the 1311 yearbook; Ibid.

²³⁵ The total number of villages and *çiftlik*s became 36 in the 1311 yearbook.

seems that their differentiation was not much obvious in the writers' minds, since in some occasions both words were used in the same sentence while talking about the school numbers. Therefore, unless a certain division did not stated, the number includes the two. So, if it is not stated in the parenthesis the number indicates total number of Muslim, non-Muslim, *sıbyan* and *ibtidai* schools. In addition, if the total number is not available, it is shown with n/a. The forth column is for the *ibtidai* schools whose names were available in the yearbooks; the dates in parenthesis is their establishment date. But, it should be noted that the date 1324 refer to the schools that were established in 1324 and after 1324. Also, it should be marked that since the numbers of schools were calculated basing on 1303 and 1311 provincial yearbooks, the schools which were established after 1311 should be considered as additional to the total number of schools in the third column. All the tables for *sancaks* were organized based on this categorization.

Table 1: Primary School in Villages of Salonika *Sancak*

<i>Kaza</i>	Villages and <i>çiftlik</i> s	Primary Schools	
Selanik	100	n/a	Yaylacık Aksaklı Adalı Kebirpınar
Yenice-i Vardar	89	73(<i>sıbyan</i> and <i>ibtidai</i>)	Karahamza (1293) Kasablar (1293) bağköyü (1300) tristenik (1305) foştan (1312) gayrişte (1312) korşar (1324) nedrice (1324)
Karaferye	71	3 (Muslim) 22 (non-Muslim)	n/a
Vodine	65	31 (Muslim)	Çerliniş(1324) Polan(1324)
Tikveş	124	23 (Muslim)	Timyanik(1305) Marine (1324) Kurşunca(1324) Derenuve (1324) Kuruşnik(1324) Komarlin(1324-

			non-Muslim)
Köprülü	89	22 (Muslim) 1 (Greek) 9 (Bulgarian)	Ayvanlı (1298) Mahmudcılar(1298) Çalışlar (1298) çiçove-i zir (1298) vincan (1298) duran (1298) çeltik (1298) bala-karaslar
Ustrumca	65	18 (Muslim) 6 (non-Muslim)	Seydivice(1324) Baniska (1324) Dobroveşin(1324)
Toyran	83	41 (Muslim) 3 (Greek) 2 (Bulgarian)	Kızıldoğanlı(1324) gorbaş-ibala(1324) hodve (1324) bayram obası(1324) perve(1324- non-Muslim)
Avrathısarı	141	88 (Muslim) 37 (non-Muslim)	Görgün (1324) Payrat (1324) Sarıgöl (1324)
Gevgili	58	n/a	Notye (1300) Koşmarlı (1324) Selimli (1324) Bograç (1324-non-Muslim) Boymitçe (1324-non-Muslim) Boğdanca (1324-non-Muslim)
Langaza	99	48 (Muslim) 27 (non-Muslim)	bayramdere <i>mahalatı</i> (1324) istifaniye(1324) kelbe(1324) karacaköy(1324) alanlı (1324) ökrek (1324)
Kesendire	147	39 (Muslim) 75 (non-Muslim)	Avanlı (1324) Gorgore (1324)
Katerin	36	n/a	n/a
Total ²³⁶			610

Source: Based on Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik, sene 1303, 1311, 1324, 1325 (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası); Salname-i nezaret-i maarif-i umumiye. Birinci sene, 1316 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1316)

In the *sancak* of Siroz, the central *kaza* of Siroz had 219 villages and çiftlik²³⁷ which were reduced to 168 based on 1311 provincial yearbook.²³⁸ In the 47 villages and

²³⁶ The total number is the sum of the schools in the third column, of the schools established after 1311 and of the schools whose dates were not indicated. However, due to the not available numbers we cannot estimate the real number of the schools in the countryside. The total number is to have an idea about the situation in the villages.

çiftliks of Zihne²³⁹ *kaza*, there existed 18 Muslim and 20 non-Muslim primary schools. In the 80 villages and *çiftliks* of the Demirhisar *kaza*, the number of primary schools was 29 Muslim and 11 non-Muslim. For the countryside of the Petriç *kaza*, in the 1303 yearbook of Salonika province, it was stated that all the primary schools were the old-style *sıbyan* ones, but the total number was not given.²⁴⁰ In the 63 villages and *çiftliks* of the Menlik *kaza*²⁴¹ there were only 10 Muslim and 3 Bulgarian primary schools. Nevrekop *kaza* had 179 villages and *çiftliks*²⁴² and in them there were totally 153 primary schools of Muslims and non-Muslims. In addition to these primary schools, according to the education yearbook of 1316, two more *ibtidai* schools were opened in Iskara Potina and Islaştan in 1308 and 1310.²⁴³ According to the education yearbook, we see that in the countryside of Cumaibala, there were primary schools only in four villages: Firunik(1295), Semenli(1295), Çarçu(1297), Osnive(1294). Unfortunately we do not have any information about the number of primary schools in the countryside of Razlık *kaza* which constituted of 12 villages and *çiftliks*. In the Table 2 below, the schools could be seen in a more organized form.

²³⁷ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik vilayeti salnamesidir. Onuncu defa olarak vilayet matbaasında tab olunmuştur (Selanik: Vilayet Matbaası, 2 rebiyülevvel 1307)

²³⁸ Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil idilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1311).

²³⁹ 43 was the number in 1311 yearbook; Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi, sene 1303 defa 9.

²⁴¹ In 1311 the number was 48; Ibid.

²⁴² 128 was the number in the 1311 yearbook; Ibid.

²⁴³ Salname-i nezaret-i maarif-i umumiye. Birinci sene, 1316 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1316)

Table 2: Primary Schools in the Villages of Siroz *Sancağ*

<i>Kaza</i>	Villages and <i>çiftlik</i> s	Primary schools	
Siroz	168	n/a	Kumaryan (1324) Carişte (1324) Arneköy (1324)
Zihne	43	18 (Muslim) 20 (non-Muslim)	Porta (1324-non-Muslim) Nıska (1324-non-Muslim) Mendebel (1324-nonmuslim) Eğridere (1324-non-Muslim) Resluve (1324-non-Muslim)
Demirhisar	80	29 (Muslim) 11 (non-Muslim)	Mahmutlu (1324) Gücenli (1324) Banuve (1324-non-Muslim)
Petriç	71	n/a	Maşetice (1324) Kotarine (1324) Makomana(1324) Dimidove (1324)
Menlik	48	10 (Muslim) 3 (Bulgarian)	Çukure (1324) Garancan(1324)
Nevrekop	128	153	Iskarapotina(1308) Islaştan (1310) Dire-i nüve-i zir (1324)
Cuma-i bala	31	n/a	Firunik Semenli Çarçu Ostive Gramada (1324-non-Muslim) Bıravove(1324-non-Muslim) Oranuve (1324-non-Muslim) Bayırlar (1324-non-Muslim) Kırcalar(1324-non-Muslim) Gayruve(1324-non-Muslim) Dipoçiçe(1324-non-Muslim)
Razlık	12	n/a	n/a
Total		269	

Source: See Table 1.

In the central Drama *kaza* of Drama *sancağ* there were 184 villages and *çiftlik*s in the countryside.²⁴⁴ We have information only about Pravişte *nahiye* of the *kaza*; in the countryside there were 37 Muslim primary schools. According to the education yearbook, *ibtidai* schools were opened in the Sultaniye, Karakavak, Hamidiye, Yedipire, Şimşirli, Pazarlar, and Eski Köy villages.²⁴⁵ In 1311 the *nahiye* was registered as *kaza*, but we do not have any information about the numbers of its villages and *çiftlik*s. The *kaza* of Sarışaban had 67 village and *çiftlik*²⁴⁶, but we do not have any data about the primary schools only in these villages. In the overall *kazas*, there were 85 *ibtidai* schools and 1360 male and 852 female students according to the 1303 yearbook.²⁴⁷ In the yearbook of 1322, the numbers raised to 90 primary schools in the overall *kaza* and 1600 male and 1000 female students²⁴⁸, which is a very small increase. In the Kavala *kaza* there were 35 villages and *çiftlik*s²⁴⁹ and there were 23 Muslim and 2 non-Muslim primary schools in them.

²⁴⁴ The number of villages and *çiftlik*s became 106 in 1311 provincial yearbook; Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. Onikinci defa olarak vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir (Selanik: Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1311).

²⁴⁵ Salname-i nezaret-i maarif-i umumiye. Birinci sene, 1316 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1316)

²⁴⁶ In 1311 the number was 60; Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi, sene 1303 defa 9.

²⁴⁸ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi, sene-i hicriye 1322, on sekizinci defa olarak (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1322)

²⁴⁹ The total number of the villages and çiftlik was 25 in 1311 yearbook; Ibid.

Table 3: Primary Schools in the Villages of Drama *Sancak*

<i>Kaza</i>	Villages and <i>çiftliks</i>	Primary schools	
Drama	106	n/a	Sultaniye (1305) karakavak(1302) hamidiye(1307,1312) yedipire(1303) şimşirli(1304) pazarlar(1297)
Pravişte ²⁵⁰	n/a	37 (Muslim <i>ibtidai</i>)	Samakol (1311) Pedohor (1324)
Sarışaban	60	85 (<i>ibtidai</i>) ²⁵¹	İlhanlı (1324)
Kavala	25	22 (Muslim) 2 (non- Muslim)	n/a
Total		146	

Source: See Table 1

According to the yearbooks of the Salonika province, in totally 372 villages (Muslim and non-Muslim), there weren't any schools out of 1939 villages (*sıbyan* and *ibtidai* schools were also counted as schools). However, the actual number was significantly different than this, because they might not be used or they might have been rejected by the community as it was in the case of Sokol village, where the school had to be moved to another one because the peasant parents were not much willing to send their children to school.²⁵² In the newspaper *Mütalaa*, a writer talks about the schools that were registered and opened but used by the local community as animal sheds²⁵³.

In the provincial yearbooks published after 1324, the schools that were opened in the countryside of the province were also registered. According to the provincial yearbook of Salonika of 1325, Yaylacık, Aksaklı, Adalı, Kebirpınar; in Ustrumca Seydivice, Baniska, Dobroveşin; in Yenice-I Vardar Korşar, Nedrice; in

²⁵⁰ Pravişte was a *nahiye* of Drama *kaza* until 1889. For further information see; Arslan, *Selanik'in Gölgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama*, 61

²⁵¹ The number includes the schools in villages and in *kaza*. The total number was increased into 90 in provincial yearbook of 1322; Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi, sene-i hicriye 1322, on sekizinci defa olarak (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1322)

²⁵² BOA, MF. MKT. 826/66, 18 Zilkade 1322

²⁵³ Remzi hamdi, "Ziraat", pp. 4-6, *Mütalaa*, Sayı: 73, 17 kanunievvel 1313 (29 december 1897)

Tikveş Marine, Kurşunca, Derenuve, Kuruşnik; in Avrathısarı Görgün, Payrat, Sarıgöl; in Langaza Bayramdere *Mahalatı*, İstifaniye, Kelbe and Karacaköy, Alanlı and Ökrek; in Kesendire Avanlı, Gorgore; in Toyran Kızıldođanlı, Gorbaş-I Bala, Hodve, Bayram Obası; in Vodine Çerliniş, Polan; in Gevgili Koşmarlı, Selimli; in Karaferye Ağustos; in Taşoz Liman; in Siroz Kumaryan, Carişte, Arneköy; in Nevrekop Dire-I Nüve-I Zir; in Demirhisar Mahmutlu, Gücenli; in Petriç Malşetice Kotarine, Makomana Dimidove; in Menlik Çukure, Garancan; in Sarışaban İlhanlı; in Pravişte Pedohor; in Robçoz Dolan, Timraş were the villages where new Muslim *ibtidai* schools were opened and the non-Muslim primary schools were opened in Gevgili Bograç, Boymitçe, Bođdanca; in Toyran Perve; in Tikveş Komarlin; in Zihne Porta, Nıska, Mendebel, Eğridere, Resluve; in Cumaibala Gramada, Bıravove, Oranuve, Bayırlar, Kırcalar, Gayruve, dipoçiçe; in Demirhisar Banuve villages.²⁵⁴

Despite these newly opened *ibtidai* schools, in the same yearbook, the number of the villages in which there weren't any schools did not change. Probably the number was copied in the provincial books of the following years because, for instance, a mistake about the numbers continued in that of the following year. In the provincial yearbook of 1324 (1906-7) the first figure of the number of the Muslim villages in which there weren't any schools was a bit undistinguished.²⁵⁵ In the provincial yearbook of the following year, the number became 18 instead of 118, and the number of the non-Muslim villages did not change.²⁵⁶ So, the data was probably copied without updates.

²⁵⁴ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Sene-i hicriye 1325. Yirminci defa olarak (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1325)

²⁵⁵ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Sene-i hicriye 1324. Ondokuzuncu defa olarak Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaasında tab ve temsil olunmuştur (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1325)

²⁵⁶ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Sene-i hicriye 1325. Yirminci defa olarak (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1325)

Hence, we cannot be sure about the numbers mentioned in the yearbooks.

Furthermore, in the archives, there are documents about the *ibtidai* schools that were opened with a financial aid from the peasant community of the village and they were not registered in the yearbooks.

The Problems in Estimating the Actual Number of Schools and of Students

Although we know the number of the schools opened in the countryside, we do not know whether these schools were used by the community or not. As I previously exemplified, in the Sokol village, the school remained empty and the teacher was appointed to another village because the community rejected to send their children to school. Similarly, in the *Mutalaa* newspaper, a writer talks about the abandoned schools in his article. The writer of this article stresses the vital role of education for agricultural development and he talks about the mentality of the elders in the village communities and the bad situation of the primary schools in the countryside. The peasant families do not want to send their children to the schools opened by the local government. He says “you must have heard that primary schools in the new-style (*usul-i cedide üzere*) were opened in the Menlice, Çeltik-i bala, Ayvanlı, Mahmudcılar, Kociler and Karaslar villages. Haven’t you? What bad news!... They were opened in those villages, but these schools were inhabited by the *mültezims* and *mühtekirs*. Some of them were made warehouses”.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ “ ‘Menlice, Çeltik-i bala, Ayvanlı, Mahmudcılar, Kociler ve Karaslar’ karyelerinde usul-i cedide üzere mektebler küşad edildiğini elbette haber aldınızdı değil mi? ne kadar yanlış haber!... gerçi bu köylerde mektebler küşad edildi fakat bu mektebler talebe yerine mültezimler. mühtekirler iskanına hasır olundu. Bir takımı da anbar ittihaz edildi”; Remzi hamdi(?), “Ziraat”, p.5, pp. 4-6, *Mütalaa*, Sayı: 73, 17 kanunievvel 1313 (29 december 1897)

He says that first of all, the mentality of the peasants should be changed so that education can develop, and this can be achieved through some developments such as newspaper articles talking about the necessity of education for agricultural development or short stories emphasizing the role of education in agricultural development through the example of a peasant who uses his knowledge and applies it to his land. Hence, the number of schools was not enough to understand the real educational situation in the countryside. As regards this point, the relationship between agricultural production and education should be analyzed in all their dimensions.

The second reason of the problematic situation of the numbers is that the newly opened schools were not counted in the educational and provincial year books, as I stated earlier. The reason behind this might be the lack of a consistent control or it may be the lack of updating the data in the yearbooks. Although new schools were opened in the countryside, the number of the villages in which there weren't any schools remained the same. Furthermore, we cannot trace the increase of primary schools in the countryside because we can only reach the total numbers of schools in the yearbooks. A detailed number of the schools in the countryside and in the cities does not exist. In addition, we cannot see a change in the number of the schools in the countryside unlike the register of the newly opened schools mentioned in the same yearbooks. Moreover, not all of the newly opened schools were registered to the yearbooks as we check the names in the archives.²⁵⁸ There are more schools opened in the countryside than it was mentioned in the yearbook although the use of them was not certain.

²⁵⁸ For further information; BOA, MF. MKT.

Another problem about the numbers of the schools derived from the non-registered schools. This situation reduces the credibility of the numbers of primary school students stated in the provincial yearbooks. According to the provincial yearbook of Salonika, the number of children attending school was 81,039 in 1315.²⁵⁹ Three years later, the number was 80,102.²⁶⁰ Two years later, the number of primary school students was 80,650²⁶¹. Two years later, the number increased drastically to 88,564²⁶² and in 1324, the number became 88,785²⁶³ with a small increase. However, does this increase in numbers show the situation in the countryside? In fact, we have seen in the table above that the numbers of schools in the countryside did not change. In addition to this, if we can trust the number that the inspector gives, there were nearly as many children who were not enrolled to schools as the enrolled children.

In some of the villages, the children were educated by the imam of the village for only a few months. For that kind of education, there was no registration of the children and the numbers. In the report of the inspector of Salonika, the schooling in the villages is depicted as: “In the villages the place that is called a school [...] is composed of just little village rooms and the students in these rooms are the children of the parents who were willing to educate their children and therefore send them to

²⁵⁹ Salname-i vilayet-i Selanik. 1315 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus. Selanik vilayeti Salnamesi, on beşinci defa olarak (Selanik: hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1315)

²⁶⁰ Salname-i vilayet-i Selanik 1318 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus. Selanik vilayeti Salnamesi, onaltıncı defa olarak (Selanik: hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1318)

²⁶¹ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. 1320 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus. Selanik vilayeti Salnamesi, onyedinci defa olarak (Selanik: hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1320)

²⁶² Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. 1322 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus. Selanik vilayeti Salnamesi, onsekizinci defa olarak (Selanik: hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1322)

²⁶³ Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. 1324 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus. Selanik vilayeti Salnamesi, ondokuzuncu defa olarak (Selanik: hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1324)

the imam of the village in winter for a couple of hours [...] this [attending to school] remained unique for the children of the parents who wanted to send them to school...”.²⁶⁴ Hence, there was no registration for the students attending school. Also, it is impossible to learn how many of them attended school for how long. As we have seen here, the children in the villages were attending school just for the winter. Hence, when were the students counted? In the winter term or in the summer term? If they had been counted in the winter term, then again in the summer term, there must have been fewer students. Or did the number given in the yearbooks show only the ones that had been registered? If this had been the case, there must have been significantly more students than the stated ones. Thus, again we cannot be sure about the numbers of students and the total number of the students in Salonika remains in doubt.

It should be emphasized that the number of schools does not give us a notion about the numbers of students. Put in more precise words, it does not tell us how many students attended those schools and how many of these students had a regular attendance throughout the school terms? Due to poverty or due to some duties such as helping the family with land cultivation or taking care of the other family members, the children could not attend schools. According to a report in 1319, there were 50-60,000 children in the province who were not attending a school.²⁶⁵ Hence, the numbers in the education or provincial yearbooks do not mean much for the

²⁶⁴ “Kurada mektep nam verilen mahallerin [...] bir ufak odadan ibaret olup bu odalarda bulunan şakirdan ahaliden arzu edenlerin okutmak için imam efendiye mevsim-i şitada günde birkaç saat kadar gönderdikleri [...] bu da arzu edenlerin evladına münhasır kalmasıyla...”; BOA,MF. MKT. 589\31, 22 recep 1319 (4 november 1901)

²⁶⁵ BOA, MF. MKT. 589\31, 22 Recep 1319 (4 november 1901)

situation in the countryside. In order to understand the numbers related to the situation in the countryside, we should focus on the local conditions.

Conclusion

The agricultural production was so laborious for the peasants that they had to dedicate their lives to the production activity. Because of this, agricultural activity became the dominant factor in their lives and they organized and formed their lives in terms of the basic necessities of this activity.

Salonika was the province for agricultural production, and according to Tevfik Güran it was the place where the power of productivity was preserved for a relatively long time by cultivating different seeds in a year at certain intervals and in this manner it provided the rotation which enabled a higher benefit from the soil.²⁶⁶ Güran calls the region as the place where peasants were more conscious about agricultural productivity. However, even in such a region, because of the labor-intensiveness of agricultural work, the peasants of the region had to organize their lives according to its demands. In order to know the province, one should, first of all, know what was produced in the region, how the productivity of the products was and what the most widespread or the most well-known product of the region was in addition to the season of the cultivation to see the conflict with the period of education. I discussed the products that were cultivated in the countryside of the province as well as the production details to elaborate the difficulties and the inconvenient work of the agricultural process. Then, I wanted to show how the lives

²⁶⁶ Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, 88

of people were affected from this process, and how agricultural production became the way of life of people. In this way, there was a chance to look at people's lives, their beliefs, the traditions. There was a close relationship between the economic activity in villages and the lives of people in terms of customs and organizations, and education was actually a part of it: a way to look and expose the relationship within the community. In such a life, education was affected from the established order that derived from agricultural production and also it was affected from the economic situation in its broadest sense. I gave numeric data in this chapter in order to have a notion about the situation. In chapter 3, the details of how education was affected from this and how it became the arena of struggle between the old and the new will be discussed. Thus, I will try to answer in what ways these months, stated above as the agricultural season, were influential on education and also in what ways the heavy work on the land affected the children's schooling. Additionally, I will try to find answers to these questions: in what ways the actors that participated in this production process as tax collectors or beneficers were crucial in educational matters and in the development of education, how were the lives of the peasants and the relationships between them shaped by agricultural works, how did the rules of nature affect the positioning of the peasants towards the education of their children and how did the central role of the economic activity in the peasants' lives and its sustainability through heirs affect the education of the children? Thus, considering education from the point of view of local lives is quite worthwhile as we have thus far had limited knowledge about them.

CHAPTER 4

AGRARIAN ECONOMY AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

In the Ottoman education system, the communities had to shoulder all the expenses of primary school in their villages. In the Education Regulation, issued in 1869, this was stated as follows: “Fourth Article- The building and the reparation costs of the buildings and salaries of the teachers and other expenditures will be arranged by the general committee of the communities of that village or quarter”.²⁶⁷ So, although education was compulsory, building primary schools was under the responsibility of the communities. Therefore, all the elements that govern the lives of the peasants also influenced the spread and the development of education in the countryside. There, we see a strong and interpenetrated relation between agriculture and education in terms of the economic conditions deriving from agricultural activities and in terms of the relations created by the agricultural work. Therefore, the relations between economic difficulties and education will be evaluated first and then, the relationship between the established traditional orders based on agricultural work and education will be discussed. Following this, the struggle between the old established order and the new one which was forced to be established from above and therefore which was seen as a threat by the benefiteres of the old orders will be dealt with.

²⁶⁷ “Dördüncü madde Sıbyan mekteplerinin masarır-ı inşaiye ve tamiriyesi ve muallimlerin muhassasatı ve masarır-ı sairesi mahalle ve karyesinde bulunan cemaatlerin heyet-i umumiyesi tarafından tesviye olunacaktır”; İbnü’ş-Şeyh Nafi. *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*, 405

Economic Difficulties and Education

The Problems and The Offerings For The Expenses

As I previously talked about in detail, in the Ottoman education system, the Ottoman village communities had to provide all the expenses of schools. Therefore, the effects of the economic situation of the peasants first appeared in the form of affording the expenses of schools. For instance, in the Poliroz village, the inhabitants of which were mostly non Muslims, the Muslim officers of the village built a school for their children with money collected among themselves, but they could not afford the salary of the teacher, so they wanted the teacher to be paid from the local government budget.²⁶⁸ Not only the Muslim communities, but also the non-Muslim communities demanded the payment of the expenses of their schools. The Bulgarian community of the Delihamralar *çiftlik* could not afford the salary of the teacher anymore and they wanted the teacher to be paid from the state budget, but the petition was rejected.²⁶⁹ However, there are some cases in which the demand was accepted. For instance, a village community near the border asked for the payment of the teacher's salary from the center because they couldn't afford the expense.²⁷⁰ It was immediately accepted as the region was one of the tender (*nazik*) regions.²⁷¹ This was probably due to the political situation of the region. So, in some cases, the state accepted to take responsibility, but still, we cannot say that the state did this in all of

²⁶⁸ BOA, MF. MKT. 118/80, 12 zilkade 1307 (30 June 1890)

²⁶⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 1092/30, 20 zilhicce 1326 (13 January 1909)

²⁷⁰ BOA, MF. MKT 716/6, 1 rebiyülahir 1321 (27 June 1903)

²⁷¹ Ibid.

the tender regions. Therefore, we cannot know all the variables of this situation.

Emine Önhan Evered states in her Ph.D. dissertation “the state made exceptions for the very important areas where the people could not afford to establish those schools and took the responsibility upon itself”²⁷² and “the Ministry of Education’s final solution [after many discussions as a result of the petitions coming from the peripheries] and suggestion to the state was reducing the number of the schools [that were necessary to be established such as *ruşdiyye* schools] and funding only the ones that they viewed ‘crucial’”.²⁷³ According to state policy, ‘crucial’ means the places that are politically in danger. But still because the state did not respond to all of the petitions concerning the need for schools, we cannot know all the variables of the rulers even in the tender regions.

A writer from Filibe also mentions the problem of affording the expenses despite the need for *ibtidai* education in the villages.²⁷⁴ Although this belonged to an early date, we continued to see such petitions and complaints in newspapers even with an increase in their numbers in late periods. The writer says that the state should take responsibility because the non-Muslim communities were better than the Muslim ones in terms of reading and because the state should establish primary schools in villages, send teachers to villages and undertake the responsibility of the financing and inspection of these villages.²⁷⁵ So, the need to primary schools was stimulated the rivalry with the non-Muslim communities. The writer considers the

²⁷² Evered, “The Politics of Late Ottoman Education: Accommodating Ethno-Religious Pluralism Amid Integral Disintegration”, 103

²⁷³ Ibid, 114.

²⁷⁴ “Filibeden Mektup”, *Zaman*, No: 152, dördüncü sene, pp.3-4, 17 safer 1293- 1 mart 1291 (13 march 1875)

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

establishment of the education commissions and the appointment of an inspector in the *kaza* as the first step in the development of education in the region and being aware of the financial difficulties, he suggests that the salaries be paid from the town chest (*menafi sandıkları*) in the *kaza*.²⁷⁶ Inspectors were important in terms of seeing the situation and the relationship between the community and education much more clearly, but to what extent they could observe the real situation was a matter of question that I discussed in Chapter 1. The reports to the Education Ministry includes the cautions that they had to take as well as the situation of the communities, according to their concerns, and most of the time the situation of the communities was observed in terms of the economic conditions. For instance, Radovişli Mustafa Bey says that the villages needed primary schools and to build and afterwards to afford the expenditures of primary schools, the income from the boats on the Vardar River could be transferred to these expenditures²⁷⁷ since he observed that the communities could not afford the expenses of the schools. He says that the income of the boats on the Vardar River belongs to the state and a part of this income could be spent for the establishment of schools in villages and he made some arrangements for the use of boats: the boats would be free for peasants, woodcutters and the laborers of the region and the former payments taken from the merchants and renters would be left to the educational income.²⁷⁸ Another offer for educational expenses came from a community living in the Menlik *kaza*. Through a petition to the provincial education directorate, they asked that the tax of *zebhiye* (the tax comes from killed

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

[*zebh edilen*] animals) be increased by a small amount and the increased amount be transferred to the expenditures of primary schools.²⁷⁹ Another organized solution came from a teacher writing in a newspaper. Upon seeing the need of the villages for the *ibtidai* schools parallel with their poverty, Hasan Pertev offered a method of *idare sandıkları*, a method about saving money and transferring it equally when needed in the newspaper *Mütalaa*.²⁸⁰ He related the poverty of the peasants directly to the education problem and its spread. However, these demands were not often responded by the Ministry of Education and the establishment as well as the payment of all the expenses continued to be under the responsibility of the communities.

In such situations, personal efforts played an important role in the spread of schools. Since the Ministry often did not respond, the local governors or the preeminent people of the cities established schools in the villages. For instance, a writer says in the *Zaman* newspaper that he built a school with someone else in his village as he wanted to send his son to school and there was not a school in his village.²⁸¹ Another personal effort was stated in the memoirs of Tahsin Uzer. In a case, for instance, Hacı Amamin, from the Orgalı quarter of the Kırlar village established a school with his personal money.²⁸² In addition to these personal efforts, the endeavors of the local governors should also be mentioned. A journalist reports an example from the Gargara village of the Kesendire *kaza* for this. There, when the governor of the *kaza* (*kaymakam*) came to the village, a primary school was

²⁷⁹ BOA, İrade Maarif, 2 cemazilahir 1310 (22 december 1892)

²⁸⁰ Muallim Hasan Pertev. “Mekatib-i ibtidaide idare sandıkları” *Mütalaa*, No: 57, 27 ağustos 1313 (8 September 1897)

²⁸¹ *Zaman*, No:191, dördüncü sene, p.2, 5 safer 1294- 7 şubat 1292 (19 February 1877)

²⁸² Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi*, 268

established with his efforts²⁸³ Another example was from the Pravişte *nahiye*, reported by another journalist. According to the reporter, the head of the Education Council established primary schools with his own efforts there.²⁸⁴ As for the Pürsıçan *nahiye*, the reporter says that the personal efforts of the governor of the *nahiye* developed the schools of the villages in the region and he says that primary schools were good in the region both in terms of number and quality.²⁸⁵ In addition to these accounts from the newspapers, Tahsin Uzer talks about his efforts to develop education in the villages of different *nahiye* of the Salonika region. He says about his governorship in Çeç, that he got some people to establish some schools in the villages according to their situation (he meant their financial situation).²⁸⁶ He says that he has established an inn to provide income for education²⁸⁷, and that he has encouraged the people in Drama to open and establish schools at a later period.²⁸⁸ As we have seen, the efforts of the governors of the *kazas* and the efforts of the rich people were very important for the spread of the schools where the central response remained weak²⁸⁹ as Tahsin Uzer has mentioned in his book. Furthermore, although there were strong endeavors from the governors or from notables, the financial difficulties were apparent as we have seen in the documents and the difficulty which received the most complaints was the salary of the teacher as this was a continuous

²⁸³“Mülhakat-ı Vilayet”, *Asır*, No: 42, birinci sene, p.2, 1 Kanunısani 1311- 27 recep 1313 (13 January 1896)

²⁸⁴“Mülhakat-ı Vilayet”, *Asır*, No: 91, birinci sene, p.3, 6 Temmuz 1312- 7 Safer 1314 (18 July 1896)

²⁸⁵ “Evrak ve Mekatib” *Asır*, No: 1012, onbirinci sene, p.3, 26 Recep 1323- 12 Eylül 1321- 25 Eylül 1905

²⁸⁶ Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi*, 40

²⁸⁷Ibid, 54.

²⁸⁸Ibid.

²⁸⁹Ibid, 43.

expenditure for the community. The monthly salary of a teacher was set as 100 piasters by the Minister of Education in his regulation²⁹⁰, but in practice, the salary of a teacher was around 150-200 piastres.²⁹¹ The reasons behind this diversity among the salaries were related to some factors. One of them was the proximity of the villages to the center. In some documents the local people stating that they could not find a teacher for their villages since the salary of a teacher they could give was so low considering the distance to the center. For instance, the community of the Solita village was demanding a teacher who would educate their children and teach religion and knowledge (*ilim*)²⁹², but they say that no one has demanded this because the salary is 120 piastres.²⁹³ According to the same document, another community could not find a teacher due to the fact that this village was the last point of the *kaza* and its proximity to the center was 8 hours, and the teachers found the salary low compared to its distance from the center.²⁹⁴ In some cases, the salaries were found low by the teachers even for the schools not far from the centers, and they gave petitions for an increase in their salaries.²⁹⁵ Hence, only the payment of the salary was not enough for the community to find a teacher. In some cases, they had to ask for an increase in the teachers' salaries from the provincial governments. Because they could not afford an extra payment, they had to use another income or they believed that the center would pay the salaries. As we have seen, the ministry might accept the payment according to political concerns or perhaps, they did not respond to the demand

²⁹⁰ BOA, Y. MTV 115/39, 22 şevval 1312 (18 april 1895)

²⁹¹ BOA, MF. MKT. 879/68, 5 recep 1323 (5 september 1905)

²⁹² BOA, MF. MKT. 716/6, 1 Rebiyülahir 1321 (27 june 1903)

²⁹³ Ibid

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ BOA, BEO 3766/282438, 11 Cemazilahir 1328 (20 june 1910)

coming from the provincial governors. In that case, they continued to leave a financial burden of education to the communities or ambitious local governors or, rarely than the others, to the will of the notables.

Financing of Primary Schools: Applications, Institutions and Corruptions

The income of primary schools in the villages were composed of the local incomes which were financial aids from people and *evkaf-ı münderise*²⁹⁶ for the local educational expenses including the establishment of schools or the payment of the teachers' salaries. Before discussing the problems about this income, we should first define *evkaf-ı münderise*. It was the income from the religious waqfs that lost their basis of existence.²⁹⁷ All the income from these waqfs was directed to the expenses of local primary education with a decree in 1881.²⁹⁸ Radovişli Mustafa Bey says that the *evkaf-ı münderise* would be sufficient to meet the local needs.²⁹⁹ However, there were some cases where *evkaf-ı münderise* was not sufficient. For instance, in the document presented by the Minister of Education to the Sultan, it was said that the *evkaf-ı münderise* incomes were not sufficient to afford the expenses of primary schools in some villages, therefore, the state had to make some financial aids to such places.³⁰⁰ In another document including a petition from the community, because there was not an *evkaf-ı münderise* income in the village, they had difficulties in

²⁹⁶ BOA, TFR. I. SL. 1/59-2, 25 Ramazan 1320 (26 december 1902)

²⁹⁷ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 29

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 194.

²⁹⁹ BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

³⁰⁰ BOA, Y. MTV 115/39, 22 şevval 1312 (18 april 1895)

paying the salary of the teacher and they were demanding central financial aid.³⁰¹ As one of the journalists claims, the income was not sufficient for the expenses in the Pürsican *nahiye*.³⁰² In another document about the villages of the Erzurum province, the inspector says that not even one school could be built there without the financial aid of the center.³⁰³ Hasan Pertev writes in the newspaper *Mütalaa* that *evkaf-ı münderise* income in Kılıkış was 30 liras and it was not sufficient for the school there.³⁰⁴ Sometimes there was no income at all, but when there was, it was insufficient for the local expenses because the rich people took possession of the incomes of these old waqfs. This is more important than the absence of the income because these were the notables of the village and they had the power even to prevent the establishment of local education councils in the village as we will see below.

Journalists also reported the situation in villages in the *Asır* newspaper. A reporter talks about the center of the Zihne *kaza* saying that the local notables of the place took possession of the *evkaf-ı münderise*, let alone thinking building schools (*mektepe yapmayı düşünmek şöyle dursun, bütün evkafl da yedd-i istifadelerine geçirmişler*).³⁰⁵ The state officials of the village tried to provide the appointment of a teacher, but they could not succeed because the notables were keeping the income in their hands³⁰⁶ and the *Muflti* was hiding the income (*varidatı muflti efendinin yedd-i*

³⁰¹ BOA, MF. MKT. 118\80, 20 zilkade 1307 (8 july 1890)

³⁰² “Evrak ve Mekatib”, *Asır*, No:1012, onbirinci sene, p.3, 26 recep 1323- 12 eylül 1321- 25 eylül 1905 (25 september 1905)

³⁰³ BOA, MF. HTF. 1/62, 29 zilhicce 1328 (1 january 1911)

³⁰⁴ Muallim Hasan Pertev. “Selanik- Dedeagaç Hattı Üzerinde”, *Mütalaa*, No:62, p.3, 1 Teşrinievvel 1313- 16 cemazievvel 1315 (13 october 1897)

³⁰⁵“Mülhakat-ı Vilayet”, *Asır*, No: 96, birinci sene, p.2, 25 safer 1314- 24 temmuz 1312 (5 august 1896)

³⁰⁶Ibid

hikmanına geçiyor).³⁰⁷ He says that in the village of Pravişte, there were about 5000 liras as the fountain waqf, but the income from them was in the possession of two people, so there remained neither the fountain, nor the water³⁰⁸, as he stated ironically. In Zilhove, the *nahiye* center of the Zihne *kaza*, Celaledin Bey took the income from the pasture which had to be spent on educational expenses. He kept the profit to himself.³⁰⁹ The reporter tries to get the attention of the Education Director of the Zihne *kaza* so that he can take some precautions about them. We see a similar case in the report of Radovişli Mustafa Bey. He says that the income from the boats running on the Vardar River belongs actually to the state, but in some places the income from them passes into the hands of village notables.³¹⁰ We see a similar case in another document from the report of another journalist. He says that in the Gargara village, Mahmud Ağa from among the notables of the village took possession of the incomes from winter quarters (*kışlak*) and from fountain waqf.³¹¹ In fact, these people had local power and they could be influential in conspiracy not to lose the income. Such a case was seen in the Drama *kaza*. According to the reporter, the Education Committee was founded in the center of the *kaza* two months before, in April. The Committee had to collect all of the *evkaf-ı münderise* incomes first in order to carry out some of its duties. However, the Committee was disbanded due to the conspiracies of the people who had been taking the income and did not want to

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

³¹¹“Mülhakat-ı Vilayet”, *Asır*, No: 92, birinci sene, p.3, 11 safer 1314- 10 temmuz 1312 (22 july 1896)

give it up.³¹² Hence, the local notables had influence even to disband a Committee. Nonetheless, although they were influential in disbanding the Committee, they could not prevent the reestablishment of the Committee, but this took 5 years as we learn from the reporter. He says that the Committee was reestablished, but education in the Drama region was not much developing.³¹³ According to him, the reason for this was that people continued to take possession of the incomes. He says he heard that a couple of imams and some heads of villages rented the pastures and used the profit as they wished, whereas the profit had to be spent on education.³¹⁴ Here we see that even though they had to accept the reestablishment of the Committee, they found a way to take the incomes under their possession. These imams and heads of villages were the people responsible for schools in the villages, but as we see they tried to find their way to earn more money. Additionally, they were the people who collected taxes from producers, and they were the people who gained their power from the agriculture in the form of tax collector or in the form of being intermediaries or in the form owning more lands than the ordinary peasants in the villages. Thus, their power came from agriculture, and in this way they were the symbol of the complex relationship between agricultural productions and education in the villages.

In addition to these people, even the appointed teachers took possession of incomes. For example, a journalist reports that the teachers were doing other jobs to earn their living. In the Drama region, the teachers took the incomes from the

³¹²“Mülhakat-ı Vilayet”, *Asır*, No: 85, birinci sene, p. 3, 16 muharrem 1314- 15 haziran 1312 (27 june 1896)

³¹³*Asır*, No: 546, altıncı sene, p.2, 14 kanunievvel 1316- 27 kanunievvel 1900 (27 december 1900)

³¹⁴*Ibid.*

fountains and therefore, this income could not be spent on primary schools.³¹⁵ This is the symbol of a more complex situation between economic conditions and education. The complex relationship between education and the economic condition of the region became much more complex when the teachers, the imams and the notables of the villages were involved in agricultural production and when they took over responsibilities related with education as members of the council of elders.

Office of Head of Villages

Offices of the head of villages (*muhtarlık*) were founded between 1833-6 as Musa Çadırcı stated.³¹⁶ They were the result of a need for an organization in villages in terms of security and fiscal issues. In the 1871 Provincial Regulation, it was stated that each community (Muslim and non-Muslim) would elect two heads in mixed villages³¹⁷, one for the Muslim community and one for the non-Muslim community. To have a notion about the position and power of the heads of village, we should ask firstly who these people were. According to Mahmut Makal, who wrote about a village in the 1950s, the first condition to be elected as the head of a village was to be wealthy. Then, it was necessary for the candidate to have a lot of relatives in the village. The dependent poor would beg for the candidate. In this way, he would win

³¹⁵ “Evrak ve Mekatib”, *Asır*, No: 1011, onbirinci sene, p.3, 22 recep 1323- 8 eylül 1321- 21 eylül 1905 (21 september 1905)

³¹⁶ Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991) , p.38

³¹⁷ İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* (İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1985) , p.105

votes and be elected as the head of the village.³¹⁸ Mahmut Makal was a writer and these are his opinions or at best his observations limited to a specific area, but what Makal says is important in terms of what the story suggest us. This is the power of the candidate to be elected.

The Council of Elders was founded with the same Provincial Regulation in 1871 and the imams and the priests (depending on the ethnicity of the village community) were members of the Council.³¹⁹ Other members of the Councils were the notables of the village and the head of the village who was also the head of the Council. The elections for the head of the village and the members of the Council of Elders were made annually.³²⁰ Educational issues were under the responsibility of the Council of Elders. In the 1871 Provincial Regulation, this was stated among the responsibilities of the Council of Elders: "... supervise the administration of the schools"³²¹, but the Councils were not much interested as we see such a case in the report of Radovişli Mustafa Bey. He says that an officer would be sent from the center to force the head of the village and the Council of Elders to do their duties and provide the attendance of the children.³²² So, they were responsible for the attendance of the children, school issues and the control of the incomes that should have been spent on educational expenses including the reparations, establishment of schools and the salaries of the teachers. However, these were also the people who

³¹⁸ Mahmut Makal, *Bizim Köy* (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1950) , p.69

³¹⁹Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim*,105

³²⁰Ibid.

³²¹ "... mekteblerin idaresine nezaret etmek"; Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat Döneminde Modern Belediyeciliğin Doğuşu*, 95

³²² BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

took possession of the income that should have been spent on education as we have seen in the cases of the notables.

Educators in Tobacco Business

Tobacco was one of the main agricultural products in the countryside of Salonika, and selling tobacco was an important activity for the peasants to gain money. In this situation, most of the imams were involved in the process as tobacco commissioners to earn money. Tahsin Uzer talks about the imams as commissioners. An example was Adil Ağa, the imam of the Leştan village, who worked as a tobacco commissioner.³²³ Selling tobacco which was the product of a yearly hard work at a good price was in the hands of these imams and the notables.³²⁴ These imams and notables were also members of the Council of Elders, which was supposed to organize and arrange educational issues and these people often worked as the teachers of the villages. In addition to the imams and notables, the teachers were also involved in different jobs, especially in the tobacco business, rather than teaching as we can see in the cases stated in some newspapers. A reporter says that the teachers in the Drama region were engaged in tobacco cultivation.³²⁵ He says that education did not much develop in the region due to such cases. The tobacco business was more profitable than teaching, so the teachers preferred it in order to make more

³²³ Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi*, 38

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ “Evrak ve Mekatib”, *Asır*, No: 1005, p.3, onbirinci sene, 19 ağustos 1321- 1 eylül 1905 (1 september 1905)

money as the reporter stated in another issue of the newspaper.³²⁶ Hence, we see a complex process of education which was related to economic dynamics and the agricultural work in the villages: the notables who use the *evkaf-ı münderise* incomes for themselves; the imams who were tax collectors, tobacco commissioners as well as members of the Council of Elders and the teachers who were engaged in different jobs instead of teaching. However, regarding the teachers, we should consider who these teachers were. Although they were appointed by a central order, most of the time the teachers were appointed to their region, therefore most of the teachers in the villages were people from nearby regions. So, they were not so much unfamiliar with businesses such as the tobacco business, so we should think of someone who was doing what his parents or neighbors or someone familiar used to do, which actually makes the situation in the villages more complex.

The Imam-Teachers

Previously I mentioned that imams also acted as teachers in the villages. The Minister of Education Ahmed Rüştü Paşa says in his report presented to the Sultan and which included a regulation of primary schools in villages that the imams could be teachers.³²⁷ The most important reason for the imams' working as teachers was economic both for the state and for the communities because he says that in every village there were already imams who were paid by the community and they were

³²⁶ "Evrak ve Mekatib", *Asır*, No: 1011, p.3, onbirinci sene, 22 recep 1323- 8 eylül 1321- 21 eylül 1905 (21 september 1905)

³²⁷ BOA, Y. MTV 115/39, 22 şevval 1312 (18 april 1895)

already educating the children in the villages.³²⁸ Radovişli Mustafa Bey says that if the imam is also teaching, the community pays him in kind, with wheat or barley or as grain.³²⁹ In another document, it was stated that in the Akhisar *nahiye* of the Geyve *kaza*, the imam-teacher did not have any payments and was paid in kind by the peasants.³³⁰ The reporter wrote from the Köprülü *kaza* saying that due to the financial difficulties, in the villages, the imams continued teaching.³³¹

The imams were obliged to have a certificate to teach at schools according to the Education Regulation.³³² This was provided by the *Darülmualimin* schools with a kind of a course during the summer and imams received a certificate by completing it. They were educated in the courses that were included in the programs of the new-style village primary schools. There are documents about imams asking for an allowance from the local government to go to the city center to attend the course and to turn back³³³, which indicates the application of the program and the demand of some imams, but the spread of this is questionable. The implementation of this system was a problem, since the imams had other concerns. In addition, the educational matters of villages were in a complete disorder. For instance, Radovişli Mustafa Bey says that the imams having a certificate from *Darülmualimin* were not capable of teaching.³³⁴ In addition to that, they were not willing to devote all of their time to the education of the children. A journalist reports that the imam teachers were

³²⁸ BOA, Y. MTV. 115/39, 22 şevval 1312 (18 april 1895)

³²⁹ BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

³³⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 241/ 27, 29 Cemazilahir 1312 (28 december 1894)

³³¹ “Mülhakat-ı Vilayet”, *Asır*, No: 68, p.2, birinci sene, 12 zilkade 1313-13 nisan 1312 (25 april 1896)

³³² İbnü’ş-Şeyh Nafi, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*, pp.435-6

³³³ For details look at; BOA, MF. MKT.

³³⁴ BOA, Y. MTV. 37/56, 1 cemazilahir 1306 (2 february 1889)

shepherding the children (*çocuk çobanlığı*) only for six months and then they left with 10 liras in the villages of the Poliroz *nahiye*.³³⁵ An inspector says in his report that education in the villages consisted of going to the house of the imam for 1 or 2 hours in the winter season.³³⁶ The imams having other concerns and duties probably found teaching an extra burden. Furthermore, when the community was not so willing to send their children to school, schooling was most of the time out of the question. In addition, as I talked about earlier, the imams were in the Council of Elders, supposed to control schooling in the villages. Generalization of the situation is risky, but still we should be aware that there were substantial problems at the local level.

Another reason behind the presence of imam teachers was the scarcity of the *Darülmüallimin* graduate teachers who were educated in the new-style education, as I elaborated in Chapter 1. For instance, as a practical solution to such a need, in 1312, Memduh Paşa stated that for the time being the imams in the villages would be educated in the townships during the summer and then turn back to the villages and continue teaching.³³⁷ Hence, even at the end of the nineteenth century, there was a scarcity in terms of numbers. For instance, the inspector who has been sent to investigate the situation of education in Erzurum and nearby regions wrote that some primary schools remained empty because teachers could not be found.³³⁸ Besides, we cannot talk about the widespread new-style primary school organization in the

³³⁵ “Mülhakat-ı Vilayet”, *Asır*, No: 92, p.3, birinci sene, 11 safer 1314- 10 temmuz 1312 (22 July 1896)

³³⁶ BOA, MF. MKT. 589\31, 22 recep 1319 (4 november 1901)

³³⁷ BOA, Y. EE.. 131/19, 28 Teşrinievvel 1312 (9 november 1896)

³³⁸ BOA, MF. HTF 1/62, 29 zilhicce 1328 (1 january 1911)

villages as in most of the cases education was something unregistered and continued in the imam's house. Therefore, in the villages we see imams with a greater proportion in numbers when we consider education because there were not many new-style primary schools. In the cases about registered primary schools, the imams were appointed with a greater proportion than the *Darülmualimin* graduates. We also see cases in which teachers were appointed to primary schools, but the presence of the teacher was another question for the community, which will be discussed. Thus, overall we should not expect to see teachers in great numbers in the villages. Surely, there were teachers, but due to the social structure of the villages, in most of the villages the presence of the imam teachers was the case in the nineteenth century as we have seen from the complaints of the inspectors.

Rejection of Schools: Affording the Expenses as an Excuse or as a Reason?

Sending children to school was, in fact, a matter of finance, that is, a great one for ordinary poor peasants. An inspector who visited the villages of Salonika at the beginning of the twentieth century says that the children of the poor families do not attend school³³⁹. If they do not send their children to school, they do not have to pay for the teacher or for other expenses of the school and if they display a communal rejection of schools, they may get rid of the school completely as was the case of the Sokol village in Salonika. In this village, the community rejected building a school and sending their children to school and the teacher had to be appointed to a nearby village since the permanent residence of the teacher would not result in the

³³⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 589\31, 22 recep 1319 (4 november 1901)

demanding way (the demand to persuade the community to send their children to school).³⁴⁰ The reason behind this could be economic or religious (sectarian differences). Or the situation can also be emanated from the parents' will of working the children on farms.

An inspector says that the peasant families abstained from giving 5 or 10 piasters by claiming that they were poor.³⁴¹ In this way, the inspector accuses the parents for concocting an excuse and not giving the necessary importance to the education of their children and making them remain ignorant. Another writer also talks about the same concerns of the families in the countryside and he says that the parents were not sending their children to school not to give 5 or 10 piastres.³⁴² However, from another point of view, when we think about the expenses of the peasant family³⁴³, even 5 or 10 piasters can be an important amount to be saved. Having the children work in the fields make the family save the amount of money that they would give to seasonal workers to help them in the harvest, when it was taken into account that a worker cost at most 12 and at least 10 piasters per day in the Salonika region.³⁴⁴ Furthermore, the children would be the future owner of the farms, and therefore their work on fields has an additional meaning which I will talk about below. Hence, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, making the children work on farms, which was the direct influence of agriculture on educational

³⁴⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 826\66, 18 zilkade 1322 (24 January 1905)

³⁴¹ BOA, MF. HTF 1/62, 29 zilhicce 1328 (1 January 1911)

³⁴² *Zaman*, No: 152, dördüncü sene, p.3, 15 rebiyülevvel 1293- 10mayıs 1292 (22 May 1876)

³⁴³ Look at Chapter 2

³⁴⁴ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Sene-i hicriye 1303, defa 9.*

issues, could be regarded both as an excuse and a real reason for the peasant families, when their economic conditions were taken into account.

Peasant Children Going To School

Beside the indirect relationship between agriculture and education mainly by determining the economic conditions of the peasants, agriculture has also direct effects on education. The most obvious one was making children work on land. The children worked on land during the long agricultural season to help their family. Beginning from the age of seven or eight, a child started to be engaged in serious works (*ciddi iş*), which mean agricultural works, as İsmail Hakkı Tonguç mentions in his book.³⁴⁵ The mentality behind this act was to teach the work to the children, especially to the sons because they were the future owners of the farm, to reduce the work by dividing the labor and to save the money that they would have to give to seasonal workers during the harvest. In addition, agriculture had another direct effect on education: establishing a social order in the village which determines the position of the teacher as the accepted one or the undesirable person. The first discussion will be about making the children work on farms.

In the Education Regulation of 1869, the parents were compelled to send their children to school. Otherwise, they would be punished. But there were some excuses, one of which was stated as “a child who is engaged in agriculture in the cultivation

³⁴⁵ Tonguç, *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı İlkokul Öğretmen Kılavuzları No.8 Köyde Eğitim*, 156

and harvest times”.³⁴⁶ On a date later than the Regulation, Ahmed Zühtü Paşa tried to find a way to increase the numbers of schools and the attendance of children in the villages. Perhaps as a solution, he preferred to leave the decision to the local committees, but to what extent these committees were willing to tackle with this issue is a matter of question as we have seen the members of the committees before. He states “Although attendance to school was compulsory according to the rules of Education Regulation, the condition of school attendance of the village children who were bound to help their parents in the agricultural season would be taken under a regulation according to the local conditions by the Education Commissions”.³⁴⁷ The decisions of the Education Commissions were unknown because we do not have documents in the archives including the decisions. It is possible that the Commissions did nothing about this issue, since its members were the same notables who tried to take the possession of the *evkaf-ı münderise*. Here, the important thing was the effort of the Minister and what his efforts suggest us. On the one hand, he was aware of the complex and various conditions in the villages, and on the other, he aims to spread education even to the farthest corners of the empire. He was also aware of the incapability of the centre to bring up an absolute solution to this problem, therefore he left the situation under the responsibility of the local Committees. In this situation of leaving the decision to the local Committees, the aim of finding a compromise between on the one hand a way of not harming the

³⁴⁶ “çocuğun ekin ve harman vakitleri çiftçilik ile iştilig olunması”; İbnü’ş-Şeyh Nafî, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*, 407

³⁴⁷ “Mekteplere devam Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi ahkamına tevfikeyn mecburi olacaksa da zürre’in iş güc mevsiminde ebeveynine muavenet eden köy çocuklarının suret-i devamı maarif komisyonlarınca icabat-ı mevkiye göre bir usul ve kaide altına alınacaktır”; BOA, Y. MTV 115/39, 22 şevval 1312 (18 april 1895)

agricultural production process and on the other a way of educating the children must have been influential.

James Reilly says, in the villages, “every able-bodied person would assist in the harvest, including women and children. Boys would be put to work harvesting at an early age, and gradually given other, heavier responsibilities”.³⁴⁸ Most of the burden was given to boys because they were the future owners of the land; “when he becomes an adult, the son takes on his father’s work...”.³⁴⁹ Tefvik Güran says that there was only one school in every four village and “a small number of the boys at school age attended school only in winter when there was no agricultural work”.³⁵⁰ This was the general case in the countryside of the empire as most of the inspectors stated in their reports.

The provincial inspector of Salonika who visited the countryside around 1901, claims in his report that the students were not attending school in the summer due to various reasons. He says that the children were going to the house of the imam in the winter and they forgot what they had learned because of their absence during the summer.³⁵¹ The inspector did not develop the reasons, but as we have seen in documents and in the reports of other inspectors, one reason was their work on lands. In 1911, a provincial inspector of the Erzurum province complained about the absence of schools, but more importantly he says that at the present few schools, the children attend schools only in winter and from the spring to the fall they help their

³⁴⁸ Reilly, “The Peasantry of Late Ottoman Palestine”, 88

³⁴⁹ Hofer and Fel, *Proper Peasants*, 122

³⁵⁰ “okul çağındaki erkek çocukların küçük bir bölümü, çiftçilik işlerinin bulunmadığı kış mevsimlerinde okula devam etmekteydi”; Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, 127

³⁵¹ BOA, MF. MKT. 589/31, 22 recep 1319 (4 november 1901)

parents in the field and do the agricultural works without attending school.³⁵² The child labor was very important so that the work would be done quickly and in this way, no money would be given to seasonal workers. As Salih Zeki mentions “because some peasants were handling the tobacco with their children, the expenses were relatively low”.³⁵³ Furthermore, the child would be the future peasant as agricultural work was something hereditary, so he needed to learn his job instead of going to school and he would learn it by working rather than at school and all the necessary knowledge were taught him by his elders who carried on this knowledge from the older generations and this knowledge place them on the top of the social hierarchy both in the family and the village. I will come this later.

The children in the villages attend school in the winter as I stated before. As a case in 1895 from Adana suggests through a table that was prepared in every three months to be sent to provincial education directorate to present the situation of the teachers and students of a primary school. This table reveals how the absence of students changed according to the months. Although the table includes data about a school in the *kaza* center, the children were probably the children of the peasants having lands nearby the center. In the attendance table, the categories were organized as the number of the students who left the school and the number of the students who reenrolled to the school.³⁵⁴ In March, none of the present students left school, but in April, 15 students left and the overall number was written as 73³⁵⁵, in May, 21 more

³⁵² BOA, MF. HTF. 1/62, 29 Zilhicce 1328(1 january 1911)

³⁵³ “Bazı rençberler ektikleri tütünü kendi çoluk çocuklarıyla idare ettikleri için az masrafla...”; Zeki, *Türkiye’de Tütün Ziraat, Sanat ve Ticareti*, 153

³⁵⁴ BOA, MF. İBT 20/75, 11 ramazan 1303 (13 june 1886); the date on the cover is wrong because in the document the date was given as 1312 (1895)

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

students left school and the number of overall students remained as 52³⁵⁶ as was shown in the table. In the bottom of the document, it was stated that the table was to show the absence of the teachers and the students, but here the table shows only the students leaving and reenrolling. The category was called as reenrolling and leaving, because the inspectors that describe the situation in the villages about the children's working on lands instead of going to schools also use similar terminology.

Furthermore, Selim Sabit Efendi, as an advisor to the teachers in his book, about the maximum attendance of the children stated that the student who left school without an excuse would be cancelled from the register by communicating with (*bi'l-muhabere*) his or her family.³⁵⁷ For this reason, it seems that children left school to work on lands during a long period because their names were cancelled from the register book and when the winter came, they were enrolled again.

Table 4: Number of Students During Spring Term

May			April			March		
Overall number	Those who have been reenrolled to school	The number of students who have left school	Overall number	Those who have been reenrolled to school	The number of students who have left school	Overall number	Those who have been reenrolled to school	The number of students who have left school
52		21	73		15	88		-

Source: BOA, MF. İBT 20/75, 11 ramazan 1303 (13 june 1886)

The months could not be a coincidence because the busiest time of the agricultural work began in March or April. We cannot be certain, but the students might have begun to be absent at school beginning from the middle of March and their names were cancelled in April because they exceeded their absence limit. We have to accept

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Selim Sabit, *Rehnüma-yı Muallimin*, (n.p: n.p, n.d), p.31

that there might have been other reasons, but the increasing numbers of students leaving school towards the agricultural season could not be a coincidence. Thus, we can see that even in the centers of *kazas* the children were leaving school in the agricultural season.

The situation becomes clearer in other documents. The provincial inspector of Maraş claims in his report that he inspected a village primary school in September. At that time the number of students was 90, but he states in his report that the number would be 200 in one or two months.³⁵⁸ The increase depends on the ending of the agricultural season because in most of the regions of the empire, the agricultural season ends in November, and because the children remain free beginning from November, the parents send their children to school. In another report, the provincial inspector was also talking about the increase in the number of students in the winter. He says that the number of students at school increases to 120 in the winter.³⁵⁹ The reason behind the increases in numbers in the winter and the increases in the numbers of students leaving school beginning from the spring was the agricultural season during which these children work on land.

Seasonal migration, especially in very warm places was also a reason behind the absence of the children beginning from the spring until the winter. In *Zor sancak*, most of the village inhabitants were migrating to the plateaus and in a document it was stated that due to that reason, the children of the peasant parents could not attend school beginning from the spring, so education was delayed.³⁶⁰ The demand of the

³⁵⁸ BOA, MF. HTF. 1/59, 30 zilkade 1328 (3 december 1910)

³⁵⁹ BOA, MF. HTF. 1/37, 9 zilkade 1326 (3 december 1908)

³⁶⁰ BOA, MF. MKT 1003/63, 20 cemazilevvel 1325 (1 july 1907)

Provincial Education Director from the Ministry was to make special arrangements for these people and according to the decision of the Ministry of Education, the program of primary schools in the villages would be arranged according to the circumstances of the villages and the people. The decision of the Ministry was to break up the schools according to the temperature of the region. Here, we see that in addition to the agricultural activity in seasons, the climate had an effect on the living conditions of people and educational matters had to be adapted into these conditions. Moreover, since the children were working in farms, they had to adjust to these circumstances and their education was thus affected. Another important factor here was the position of the Minister and his orders to the provincial Education Director to organize the situation accordingly. In 1907 as part of the schooling policy, in the report, the Minister ordered the Director to organize education according to the regional circumstances so that the community would be encouraged for education.³⁶¹ This is to shape education in terms of the local conditions, which will make it familiar to families and something not against their lives but a supportive one. There is a very similar intention behind the introduction of the agricultural course at village primary schools: to make school familiar to them, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Some of the peasant parents did not send their children to school at all instead of sending them to school only in the winter. In the villages of Sokol and Bayasallı, as I previously illustrated, the parents rejected to send their children to school and the teacher had to be appointed to somewhere else.³⁶² Although its reason was not stated

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² BOA, MF. MKT. 826\66, 18 zilkade 1322 (24 January 1905)

in the report, it was important in that the conscious and insistent rejection of the peasant parents could be noticed because we see that although the provincial governor insisted on the presence of the teacher in the village, he saw that there was no other choice, since the presence of the teacher would not convince the parents to send their children to school. The reasons could be poverty, opposition or having the children work in farms, all of which were in a way related to the agricultural activity in the villages. Additionally, there could be religious (i.e. the sectarian differences such as the Sunni education vs. *Alevi* or *Bektaşî* communities) reasons or political reasons (such as resistance against to be taken under registration as a way to prevent their children's conscription). Although these reasons deserve a further research and explanation, they are beyond the scope of this thesis. Beside these, there could also be another reason: the opposition to the teacher representing something new or in some cases, the teacher's being a foreigner or an alien to the order in the village (although in most of the cases the teacher was appointed to the villages from among the people born nearby or from among the people living in the village, as the case in a document reveals, the teacher was appointed to his village: İbrahim, the son of Ahmed Ağa from the Boğdanca village.³⁶³ Sometimes the teachers could also be foreigners, for example, a teacher was appointed from Konya to the Pravişte *nahiye*³⁶⁴).

³⁶³ BOA, MF. MKT. 903/13, 4 zilkade 1323 (31 december 1905)

³⁶⁴ BOA, MF. MKT. 127\87, 26 safer 1308 (11 october 1890)

A Child's Desire to Attend School

The desires of the children were missing in this picture. In fact, in the Ottoman documents, the voice of the ordinary people was missing. If we are fortunate, we can find some clues which are still important to fill in some blanks though they may not be representative. In a *kaza* of the Edirne province, the local tithe official Emin Ağa took Hüseyin, a *rüşdiye* student, to work for him by force. Hüseyin managed to escape from Emin Ağa.³⁶⁵ Afterwards, the decision was that the child who wanted to attend school was right and that no one had the right to keep a child like this.³⁶⁶ In fact, the document is in the form of a rough draft, so it does not include who made the decision and who made the complaint but it is important for several reasons. Firstly, we see here, the interference of a tithe collector to the education process. Furthermore, it shows how these notables were closely involved in people's lives because we do not see any comments about the attitudes of Hüseyin's parents in the document. Secondly, it shows us how children might be willing to have education. Of course, we cannot say that all the children had the same wish as regards education, but at least, we may talk about the unwilling workers on lands in some cases. However, we do not have information which can give us some clues about the children's attitudes. Therefore, we had to talk about them as passive voices in this thesis but in fact, they have the leading role. In addition to that, we cannot know how the children's perception of school was, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç stresses a very

³⁶⁵ BOA, MF. İBT. 9/41, 10 zilkade 1293 (27 november 1876)

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

important issue: language and the world of ideas that shaped the language.³⁶⁷ The language of a child was shaped according to the conditions that he or she confronted in his/her life in a village and according to Tongu, it was mostly shaped by agricultural conditions. Language was the perfect reflection of the way of thinking of a child and it was formed according to the village life. However, the language of the teacher was full of abstract words that were so strange for the child. And the children learned the language by force. For this reason, the child felt ashamed to speak in front of the teacher who speaks an alien language. This is very much important also in terms of destroying the world of the child's thoughts as Eugen Weber talks about.³⁶⁸ This issue was also strongly related to the introduction of the agricultural course in terms of making the education language familiar with the nature of the children. Although this issue remained in the realm of theory, without seeing the real examples of that, it is still important to bear in mind the nature of the children which was missing in the Ottoman documents.

Peasants' Attitudes Towards Schools and Teachers

Back to the reasons for the rejection of schools, there were even some parents who were proud of not sending their children to school as İsmail Arslan has quoted from a newspaper in his book.³⁶⁹ Such positioning of the peasant parents against schools was in fact not much clear, but the article in the *Mutalaa* newspaper could be related

³⁶⁷Tongu, *T.C. Kltr Bakanlığı İlkokul ğretmen Kılavuzları No.8 Kyde Eėitim*, 161-2

³⁶⁸ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*

³⁶⁹ *Asır*, No: 203, 22 aėustos 1897; Arslan, *Selanik'in Glgesinde Bir Sancak: Drama*, 158

to this attitude as a possible reason. A writer in the newspaper *Mütalaa* conveyed his observations about some villages. He says that the state established schools in Menlice, Çeltik-i bala, Ayvanlı, Mahmudcılar, Kocılar and Karaslar. However, the community there rejected to send their children to school and they even used the school as an animal shed or storage.³⁷⁰ In the same article, the writer gives a more important example about the rejection of the community. He says that in the village of Viranokçe-i bala in the Köprülü *kaza*, there was not a school but the situation was consulted by the Education Commission and the Administrative Council (*Meclis-i İdare*) and it was decided that there should be one, so a teacher was sent there. But the peasants rejected the teacher with full hatred (*kemal-i nefretle reddetti*). The peasants and the notable of the village (*ağa*) sent him to the center.³⁷¹ He says that the community could not accept someone younger than them to teach something to them because in this way village hierarchy would be threatened and their order would be broken down. Thus, especially the notables made the community consider the teachers as enemies³⁷² because “even a teacher of a non peasant background, as the ‘lone representative of the intelligentsia in the village’ could exert a ‘sustained influence on peasant affairs communal decisions, and conflicts with officials, priests, and landowners’”.³⁷³ Even such aspects of the presence of a teacher could be enough for the resistance of the local power holder to protect their economic and social authority among the peasants. In Russia, as Seregny stated, the teachers played a

³⁷⁰ Remzi hamdi, “Ziraat”, pp. 4-6, *Mütalaa*, No: 73, 17 kanunievvel 1313 (29 december 1897)

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Scott J. Seregny, *Russian Teachers and Peasant Revolution: The Politics of Education in 1905* (Indianapolis and Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) , p. 89

revolutionary and idealized role in the countryside³⁷⁴, but in the Ottoman Empire, the presence of the teachers conflicted with other dynamics in the villages in most of the cases. As a result, the teachers sometimes had to resign or sometimes they adjusted themselves into the conditions of the villages and took their places in the order instead of fighting against the local authority. Hence, as we have seen here, another very important reason behind the rejection of schools by the community was the traditional social order in the villages derived from the agricultural relations and knowledge which give the power in the village and family hierarchy.

Traditional Knowledge vs. Scientific Knowledge

The traditional order was established by agricultural knowledge and relations. The handed-down knowledge of agriculture provided the elders with a high position in the village and according to the community, agricultural knowledge was something needed to be transferred to the future generations. The probable reason for this was the hereditary position of the lands. The sons needed to come to the lands to learn how to work on the land, how to cultivate it and how to maintain the soil since they are the future owners, and the elders were the experienced ones who were supposed to teach them, which was the basis of their social position in the village. In addition to them, imams who taught them to read the Quran and who were also engaged in the production process in many ways were the traditional teachers of the children. The notables were the people who benefited from this social order both in terms of the economy and the hierarchy. Hence, in such a system, the teacher was someone who

³⁷⁴Ibid; 89,97.

tried to break this order representing the new order and the new-scientific knowledge against the traditional order and knowledge. In addition, the situation of the schools in the villages were also determined by this struggle between traditional knowledge represented by the notables as well as the imam and the new order-scientific knowledge represented by the teacher. On the one side, there were the possible losers due to the new system and on the other side there were the representatives of the new system and knowledge. İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin talk about the general picture of the empire and they state that the losers could constitute a powerful front against the reformers. In this way creating a front against the reformers constitute another limit against new order.³⁷⁵ Based on this account, we can interpret the situation in the villages in this manner: the struggle between the possible losers of the village and the representatives of the new order was taking place as regards the traditional knowledge of the elders and the imams against the scientific and new knowledge of the teachers.

On the one side of this struggle there were the imams, elders and the notables who were the benefitters of the old system. Imams were benefiting from the system as the collector of taxes, as the teachers who were receiving some kind of a payment either in kind or in cash and the respected people in the villages due to this situation, so they personify in themselves the complex and strong relationship among agriculture, education, the social order and hierarchy in the village. Notables were members of the Council of Elders, which controlled educational issues and they had been benefiting from the *evkaf-ı münderise* incomes which would be cut down with

³⁷⁵ Tekeli and İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda eğitim ve bilgi üretim sisteminin oluşumu ve dönüşümü*, 54

the coming of a teacher. In addition to that, they benefited from the ignorance of the peasants both by collecting more money and by providing authority in settling their problems, and when the peasants were educated, their authority in this manner would be meaningless and unnecessary. Hence, they also represent the complex relationship between the economic situation, hierarchy and education. Besides, the elders were at the top of the hierarchy in their own family and they were the respected ones due to their knowledge. In fact, they were the necessary people for future generations to sustain their agricultural activity, and their social position would also be threatened with the existence of a teacher who is the representative of scientific knowledge. And the teacher himself was someone appointed from the center and even this situation would make him untrustworthy for the ordinary peasants who do not trust government, since the government means tax-collecting and conscription for most of the peasants in the village. In addition to all these, everything new was suspicious for the peasant community, since the new system could be considered to be irreligious, as I alluded in Chapter 1. For this reason, there were such cases in which we see the rejection of the teacher. We see a similar case in one of the villages of the Erzurum *kaza*. There, the community was not much eager (*heveskâr*) for education, so they forced the teacher to resign; they insulted the teacher and he had to resign.³⁷⁶ In some cases, the teachers were not forced to resign by the community, but the actions of the teacher were restricted by the provincial authority. In such cases, the community sees the teacher as a threat and complains about him. For instance, the village community in the Drama sancak lodged complaints against the teacher to the local government

³⁷⁶ BOA, MF. HTF. 1/62, 29 zilhicce 1328 (1 january 1911)

about their interference to the village affairs.³⁷⁷ The teachers were representing something new and this was suspicious for the peasants most of the time. Therefore, their position in front of the imams representing religion and the traditional order depends very much on the attitudes of the community. C. R. Day, depicts the role of the teacher among the French community as accessory; “[peasant] considers the teacher's functions as accessory rather than essential”.³⁷⁸ Day depicts the position of the teacher among the French community, but as we have seen, the Ottoman case was not so much different than the French one. The document about the village in the Drama region was also important as the response of the provincial ruler. It was strongly advised (!) to the teacher not to interfere with the affairs of the village.³⁷⁹ Hence, we see the mentality of the local authority was not to bother the local order and not to turn against the people. And as we see from this case, “the local society (that) decided in the first place what a crisis was and what was not”.³⁸⁰ The local society wrote the petition and complained about the teacher to the local authorities to preserve the traditional established order of the village and they decided about the interference of the authority and in fact, they demanded it. The document could also be considered to see the limits of the central authority. The central authority could only interfere with local issues in the time and limits which the community allowed. They did not want any outsider to interfere with their business and this could also be the agents of the local authority in another occasion. Thus, one side of the struggle

³⁷⁷ BOA, TFR. I. SL. 37/3667, 12 safer 1322 (28 april 1904)

³⁷⁸ C. R. Day, “The Rustic Man: The Rural Schoolmaster in Nineteenth-Century France”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Jan., 1983), pp. 26-49, p.40

³⁷⁹ BOA, TFR. I. SL. 37/3667, 12 safer 1322 (28 april 1904)

³⁸⁰ Antonis Anastasopoulos, “Crisis and State Intervention in Late Eighteenth-century Karaferye (mod. Veroia)” in *The Ottoman Balkans 1750-1830* (ed.) Frederick F. Anscombe (Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 2006) , p.22

became that the villages became an arena of struggle of the local state authority and the established traditional order which resist any possibility to break the order.

The imams were using their advantageous position against the teachers thanks to the community because as we learn from the memoirs and the newspapers most of the people continued to send their children to imams for education since the peasants suspected anything new and since it was considered as adopting the unbelievers' habits (*gavur adeti benimsemek*).³⁸¹ Furthermore, some of the peasants wanted their children to be Muslim preachers in the future, so they did not send their children to new-style schools with teachers, they send to imams.³⁸² Hence, this might have been another reason for the rejection of teachers. However, as I illustrated before, there was the adaptation of the teachers to the old system and the structure of the village and there were teachers who were involved in other business such as the ones in the Drama case, who were engaged in the tobacco cultivation and trade instead of only teaching or those who took the income of the waqf of fountain to themselves.³⁸³

Agricultural Books and Courses at the Primary School

Returning to the elders, as I mentioned earlier their social status in the hierarchy came from their experiences and knowledge. This was stated in a book called *Maarif-i Umumiye Yahud Bir Çiftçinin Mütalaadan İstifadesi* published in 1312

³⁸¹ Kara and Birinci, *Bir Eğitim Tasavvuru Olarak Mahalle/ Sıbyan Mektepleri*

³⁸²“Mülhakat-ı Vilayet”, *Asır*, No:74, p.2, birinci sene, 4 mayıs 1312- 3 zilhicce 1313 (16 may 1896)

³⁸³ “Evrak ve Mekatib”, *Asır*, No: 1005, p.3, onbirinci sene, 19 ağustos 1321- 1 eylül 1905 (1 september 1905) and “Evrak ve Mekatib”, *Asır*, No: 1011, onbirinci sene, p.3, 22 recep 1323- 8 eylül 1321- 21 eylül 1905 (21 september 1905)

(1894-5)³⁸⁴, consisting of a series of articles about the importance of education to the peasants by a writer, called Hakkı. It was about the peasants who, at first, rejected education and did not recognize its importance, but then someone wise among them sent his son to school and when they realized his knowledge about agriculture and the increased productivity of the land of the child's parent, they decided to send their children to school. The book was also like an overt advisory for the peasants by depicting very strictly the ideal type of peasant vs. the peasant who eventually comes round to the ideal peasant's point of view, which reflects the point of view of the state towards the peasants from the eyes of the writer. Leaving aside the advisory side and thus the question about the possible reality of the book, it is important to depict the mentality of the peasants. Of course, they could not be representative ones, but when we compare this to other sources, we can see the peasants' way of thinking, at least of those that have been mentioned. The elders were belittling the boy who was going to school and their agricultural knowledge. They did not relate the agricultural activity with education (*okumakla rençberlik mi olur?*).³⁸⁵ They questioned the education of the child by belittling him and his knowledge: would this child teach us what we know already (*bizim bildiğimizi bize mi öğretecek?*). The writer of the book says that the old peasants were trying to counsel all the people³⁸⁶ because they were the representatives of the traditional agricultural knowledge which needed to be transmitted to future generations and the younger generations needed

³⁸⁴ Hakkı, *Maarif-i umumiye yahud bir çiftçinin müatalaadan istifadesi*

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

their knowledge. This is how they established their social position in the villages. And this position would be threatened with the presence of the teacher.

The introduction of the agricultural course in the primary school programs was also very important in terms of the struggle between the traditional agricultural knowledge and the new scientific knowledge because this was the most visible threat to the elders and the imams and in this, there was a direct challenge to their authority and knowledge. Before the introduction of the course, the knowledge that the children got at school from the teacher could be a threat in terms of a general mentality, but now there was a direct challenge.

The relationship between agriculture and education was a matter of discussion among the writers in the newspapers. Although they did not give the solution of the introduction of an agricultural course, they stressed that education should have a practical meaning for the lives of the peasants. For instance, Faik asks in his article how could agriculture develop without education.³⁸⁷ Remzi Hamdi also relates agricultural development to primary education and he tries to present a kind of practical primary education to provide a quick solution to the educational and agricultural problem. He writes in the article: "I am not, myself, for a long [*uzun uzadıya*] education at village primary schools".³⁸⁸ He says that education that would help the peasants in their daily lives would be enough for them. However, their daily lives were shaped mostly by agricultural activities, hence, the school had to have a crucial practical-meaning to be attractive. In his report to the Sultan, Ahmet Zühtü

³⁸⁷ Faik. "Mütenevvia- Yine Ziraat", *Mütalaa*, No: 71, p.4, 3 kanunievvel 1313- 20 recep 1315 (15 december 1897)

³⁸⁸ "bendeniz köy mekteplerinde uzun uzadıya tahsil fikrinde değilim"; Remzi hamdi, "Ziraat", pp. 4-6, *Mütalaa*, No: 73, 17 kanunievvel 1313 (29 december 1897)

Paşa, the Minister of Education, suggested that a booklet be written for the village children and read at schools³⁸⁹ to take the attention of the peasants because it was believed that in this way the school would bear a more important meaning for the lives of peasants. He offered this in 1895, but it was officially claimed in the education yearbook of 1318 (1900-1). There it was stated that “this year [third year] for the type of reading [*kıraat nev’inden*], the booklet called (*malumat-ı mücmele-i ziraiye*) would be read [...] this book would not be read at the primary schools of the capital city [*dersaadet*], but it would be taught only at the primary schools of the *nahiyes* and the villages...”.³⁹⁰

The introduction of agricultural course at the primary schools was not unique to Ottoman Empire. It was tried before the Ottomans in France. “The first attempt to develop popular agricultural teaching in primary school goes back to 1866, but nothing was really done till the law of 1879, which started agricultural teaching at normal schools [the schools other than the religious ones] and made it compulsory after three years at elementary schools...”.³⁹¹ Cloudesley Brereton says that the aim of the introduction of an agricultural course in France was “... to inspire the children with a love of country life, and convince them of the superiority of an agricultural occupation...”.³⁹² In addition to the explicit statements about the superiority of agricultural occupation, implicitly, the love could also be created through learning

³⁸⁹ BOA, Y. MTV 115/39, 22 şevval 1312 (18 april 1895)

³⁹⁰ “bu sınıfta kıraat nevinden (*malumat-ı mücmele-i ziraiye*) nam risale okutturulacak [...] bu kitap *dersaadet* ibtidai mekteplerinde okutturulmayıp yalnız kasabat ve kura mekatib-i ibtidaiyesinde kıraat surette tedris edilecek”; *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*. Üçüncü sene, 1318 sene-i hicriyesine mahsusdur (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1318)

³⁹¹ Cloudesley Brereton, “French Rural Education” *Journal Of The Society Of Arts*, 51 (1902: Noev. 21- 1903: Nov. 13) pp. 54-66, p.61

³⁹² *Ibid.*

about it, since the child would love something about which he has detailed information and the work what he can really do. Charles Day has stated in his article the intention of the French government: "... ignorance could be eliminated from the countryside without eliminating the peasantry...".³⁹³ We can see the same aim in the insistence of the introduction of the agricultural course here. Taking the attention of the peasantry through something related to their real practices would bind them to the land and bring them closer to the aim of the rulers; İsmail Hakkı Tonguç stated the reason behind that as the following; "...the worth and the meaning of school would disappear spontaneously if the nature of the school was not in the character of supporting the agricultural works, namely the nature of the occupational works".³⁹⁴ However, the application of this took some years after it was stated in the education yearbook. For instance, in the newspaper *Resimli Çiftçi*, a writer talks about the necessity of an agricultural course at schools. He says that the agricultural courses should be added into the curriculum of the village primary schools.³⁹⁵ The article dated back to 1904, so we can say that the statement in the education yearbook was not applied until that date. According to Akşin Somel, the application took place after 1904³⁹⁶, which fits the date of the article. In the provincial yearbook of Salonika, the need was again stated. It was mentioned that to increase productivity, the usage of the new tools was necessary and they could be achieved only by education, so "in our country, first of all agricultural knowledge should be extended

³⁹³Day, "The Rustic Man: The Rural Schoolmaster in Nineteenth-Century France", 46

³⁹⁴ "... köy okullarının mahiyeti, ziraat işlerini, yani mesleki mahiyetteki işleri besleyecek karakterde olmazsa, köyde okulun kıymeti ve manası kendiliğinden kaybolur"; Tonguç, *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı İlkokul Öğretmen Kılavuzları No.8 Köyde Eğitim*, 173

³⁹⁵ "Köylerde Maarif", *Resimli Çiftçi*, Her Hafta Pazartesi Günleri Neşr Olunur, p.2, No: 1, 30 Mart 1320 (12 april 1904)

³⁹⁶ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 227

and generalized...”.³⁹⁷ Hence, based on this account, even in 1906-7, we cannot talk about a total application, because the necessity of knowledge was still at issue.

We have seen the intention behind the application, but to have a much clearer idea, the content of the course should be considered. In this respect, the book called *çiftçilik dersleri*, written in 1331 to be taught to the primary school students by Hüseyin Kazım will be analyzed. The book starts with some advice about agriculture. At the beginning, Hüseyin Kazım says that “agriculture is not something about tilling the soil one or two times and then waiting for the products because to have good and plenty produce from the seeds there should be other things”.³⁹⁸ This sentence is like a summary of the first part which actually includes the aim of the book. This book tries to show the significance of scientific agricultural knowledge which could increase productivity, the real aim of agriculture. To be real peasants, the peasants should know the weather, the soil, the fertilizers and also the qualities of the seeds. This was actually the challenge to the traditional order and traditional knowledge because with such knowledge the children could teach the elders new techniques of agriculture which they lack and in this way, their authorities through an order of master- apprentice relationship would be broken. In the second chapter, to demonstrate the soil to the children, the writer talks about different types of the soils and in what way these different types of soils were important. In the third chapter, he demonstrates and talks about herbs with some drawings showing how they sprout. In

³⁹⁷ “memleketimizde evvel be evvel malumat-ı ziraiyyeyi tevsi’ ve ta’ mim etmek...”; Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi, sene-i hicriye 1324, on dokuzuncu defa olarak (Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası: Selanik, 1324)

³⁹⁸ “ziraat tarlaları bir iki defa sürüp tohumu saçmak ve ondan sonra bu tohumun neşv ve nemasını ve topraktan çıkıp mahsul vermesini beklemek.. değildir çünkü bu tohumdan iyi ve çok hasılat alabilmek için daha başka şeyler lazımdır”; Kazım, *İlmi ve Tatbiki Çiftçilik Dersleri*,8

the fourth chapter, he talks about the healing of soils and the importance of good irrigation. The fifth chapter is about the types of fertilizers. In the sixth chapter, he talks about pastures which affect fertilizers and in the seventh chapter, he talks about hoeing and the farming issues including some pictures of the different tools for farming. In chapter eight, he talks about grain cultivation. In this chapter he mentions the ideal season for seed cultivation and step by step he tells the process of cultivation. This is actually very important because in this way he assumes that the peasant children know nothing about the cultivation process. In the book, he never mentions that the children already know something about the process of cultivation. This shows that the writer wants to create a different kind of peasant who relies only on scientific knowledge rather than on traditional knowledge.

To return to the book, in the ninth chapter, the writer talks about the diseases of grain seeds and the weeds, the birds and the insects that harm the grain seeds. In the tenth chapter, he discusses the weeds that are cultivated on the unsowed lands. In the eleventh chapter, he talks about industrial plants and in this chapter, he again starts from the very beginning assuming that the children know nothing about it. In the twelfth chapter, he explains oil plants. The thirteenth chapter is about viticulture and the fourteenth one is about vegetable gardens. In the fifteenth chapter, he talks about fruit gardens. The sixteenth chapter is about animal feeding and the seventeenth is about dairy and cheese (*peynircilik*). The eighteenth chapter covers apiculture and sericulture. The nineteenth chapter is about fowls and finally, the twentieth chapter is about flower gardens.

As the chapters of the book suggest, the writer tried to demonstrate every aspect of agriculture and farming. As I mentioned earlier, he assumed that the

children did not know anything about the issue and he tried to teach them everything from the start. For instance, at the end of chapter eight, he gives the summary of it in the form of questions, one of which is: “what do you know about wheat, rye, barley, oat, rice, corn, buckwheat and millet”³⁹⁹ and while depicting those seeds and explaining the cultivation of them, he wrote from the very beginning as if the children knew nothing. This attitude, in fact reflects how this writer perceived scientific knowledge at that period; something that needed to be based on science and then needed to be tested with the experiments that were applied according to the scientific rules. This is actually an attempt to create a new type of knowledge which was a threat to the established order of the elders. In addition to this, another important aspect of the book in terms of teaching was the practice part at the end of each chapter which also carried the same intention. For instance, at the end of the eighth chapter about grain cultivation, he tries to teach the importance of digging. As a practice, he offers to dig two types of wheat seeds into different depths of soil to see how digging is important. He also offers the teachers to plant different seeds into the garden of the school and ask the children what type of plants they are. This provides a much clearer picture about the perception of the writer about peasant children.

As such, the book was nothing but a scientific manual. It does not carry any political messages about the Sultan or about the governors that could have been imposed on the children but it had another intention as was the case in the French system as Cloudesley Brereton mentioned: “The aim was to inspire the children to

³⁹⁹ “buğday, çavdar, arpa, yulaf, pirinç, mısır, kara buğday, ve darı ziraati hakkında ne biliyorsunuz”; Ibid., 82

love country life, and convince them of the superiority of an agricultural occupation for industry...”.⁴⁰⁰ We see such intentions mainly in the introduction part. There the importance of agriculture is emphasized: “mankind, as the animals, depends on plants and fruits that soil gives them”.⁴⁰¹ “Agriculture is the chestiest craft in the world”⁴⁰² and all other crafts and civilizations have begun with agriculture⁴⁰³ he says. This is the same as the depiction of Brereton. In this way, the writer Hüseyin Kazım sanctifies agriculture in the eyes of the children over all other crafts. Probably, this was the result of the effort to increase productivity and to raise productive individuals as Akşın Somel says.⁴⁰⁴ Hence, they had to love agriculture and what they do to earn their living in order to become such individuals.

Aziz Berker said that the agricultural courses at village schools did not include much knowledge.⁴⁰⁵ This statement should be questioned because as we have seen in this case, the book that was written in 1311 includes very detailed and general scientific knowledge about agriculture and even about the themes related to agriculture. There was another book written earlier: *malumat-ı mücmele-i ziraiye*. Aziz Berker might have looked at this book, and ended up in this statement, but still the change within such a short time, that is ten years, seems doubtful. Because that book could not be found, it was impossible to make a viable comparison, but still such a change seems doubtful.

⁴⁰⁰ Brereton, “French Rural Education” , 62

⁴⁰¹ “hayvanlar gibi insanlar da toprağın verdiği otlara ve meyvelere muhtacdır”; Kazım, *İlmi ve Tatbiki Çiftçilik Dersleri*, 5

⁴⁰²“ziraat dünyanın en namuslu sanatıdır”; Ibid, 12

⁴⁰³Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 227

⁴⁰⁵ Berker, *Türkiye'de İlköğretim*, 154

The introduction of agricultural courses in primary schools took place later than the establishment of agricultural schools. There might have been several reasons for this. One could be that the rulers aim to constitute a basis for higher agricultural education, another could be the aim of spreading agricultural education among those who did or could not come from villages and other reasons could be added and questioned accordingly. Hence, we may talk about a successive relationship, especially when we compare the program of the school and the content of the book, we can see that the book is like a basic simplified version for children. First of all, the structure of the book from general to specific resembles the program of the agricultural school when we have a look at it from the first year to the third which begins with general scientific knowledge about the earth and ends up with specific areas related to agriculture. This will be discussed later in the chapter. Secondly, in the content of the book we see the precise chapters about different aspects of agriculture such as stock breeding which also resembles the program of the agricultural schools. The book was, of course, a simplified version of the school program, but since it seems like the school's summary, we can still talk about an impact of the school. In this manner, the mentality of the school can also be seen in the context of the course on agriculture at the primary school level.

In addition, the scientific knowledge of the book is important for the order of the villages. By glorifying scientific knowledge, the writer helps to create the new peasants who rely on their own knowledge rather than the experiences of the elders. Another book *Maarif-i umumiye yahud bir çiftçinin mütaadan istifadesi*, talks about a child trying to teach peasants something with his knowledge acquired from school, but the elders belittle his knowledge. In this book, the elders accept the

successful results at the end of the book and they even decide to send their children to school, but that was an idealized example. Was the situation that easy in every village?

Agricultural Schools and Model Farms

Agricultural schools could also be discussed in this respect. There was an established training center (*talimhane*) in 1847 in Yeşilköy, Istanbul, but it was not thought as a college or university. Widespread efforts that could cover agricultural education all over the empire began in 1878-9 via Amasyan Efendi. Due to his efforts, the High Agricultural School was established in Istanbul in 1891 at a university level under the Civil Medicine School (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*) and it was separately established in 1892 in Halkalı. Within the framework of these efforts of agricultural education, an Agricultural School was established in Edirne in 1881, but because the number of students remained below the required level, the school was closed three years after its establishment. The second school was established in Salonika, which will be discussed in detail later in the chapter and the third one was established in Bursa in 1891 and it was like a technical college. The expectations from these schools were high, but how was their effects in the local sense? Did they really work? To answer these questions, it is necessary to talk about the Agricultural School in Salonika, the terms of acceptance to this school, the situation of the graduates and their effects on local education.

The Agricultural Practice School (*Ziraat Ameliyat Mektebi*) was established in Salonika in 1887-88 on the *Sedes çiftlik*. The school was designed for the peasant

children to be educated and to turn back to their lands eventually as Donald Quataert says.⁴⁰⁶ In the provincial yearbook, the acceptance term was stated as:

Because the school pertained both theoretical and scientific education of agriculture, in order to be registered and accepted to the school, the children had to be among the inhabitants of Salonika and Kosovo, among the children of the peasants, among the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, among the primary school graduates, more than 15 years-old and less than 20 years-old, among the healthy and of a good moral character ones⁴⁰⁷

It was stated that only the children of the peasant families would be accepted to the school. In the *Asır* newspaper, the emphasis on the peasant children was also stated; “it was necessary (*muktezi*) that the children that would be enrolled to the school should be among the children of the peasants”.⁴⁰⁸ Hence, the students of the school were the children of the peasants and the aim was clear: productivity would be increased with scientific knowledge that these children acquired from the school. In addition to the children, the landowners and the police chiefs (*subaşı*) were invited to the school.⁴⁰⁹ The writer, in the *Asır* newspaper, says that the people were invited to the school to see and learn the new methods and then to teach them in their villages to the ordinary peasants. They were informed according to the new methods with the new tools. This was probably an effort for the introduction of the new methods and new tools in agriculture because these are the people who control ordinary peasants.

⁴⁰⁶ Quataert, *Anadolu'da Osmanlı reformu ve tarım*, 106

⁴⁰⁷“ mekteb hem nazari ve hem ilmi ziraat tahsiline mahsus olduğundan mektebe kayd ve kabul edilmek için Selanik ve Kosova vilayetleri çiftçi evladından ve tebaa-i devlet-i aliyyeden olmak ve tahsil-i ibtidaisini ikmal etmiş bulunmak, 15 sinden dun ve 25den efzun olmamak, her türlü arazdan salim ve ahlak-ı hassa eshabından olmak şartdır”; Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. 1312 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1312)

⁴⁰⁸“ziraat ameliyat mektebine kabul olunacak öğrencilerin çiftçi evladından olması muktezidir”; *Asır*, No: 102, birinci sene, p.2 14 ağustos 1312- 16 rebiyülevvel 1314 (25 august 1896)

⁴⁰⁹ *Asır*, No: 37, birinci sene, p.2 23 Kanunievvel 1311- 19 recep 1313 (5 january 1896)

The influence of them on the peasants and the spread of the new methods, however, remained as a question which will be discussed.

The school was designed not as a university, but as a place to provide practical information for the students so that they return to their homeland and apply the new methods and their knowledge. It was designed as three years after the accomplishment of primary school education. Hence, the school was like a technical college. The program of the school included both learning basic knowledge about agriculture and also applying that knowledge. The students would have five and a half hour classes and discussions and three and a half hours practice⁴¹⁰. Hence, the application was equally important as the knowledge and in fact, it was the aim as it was stated again in the yearbook, “the student who would graduate from the school had to use the harvester and other tools skillfully...”.⁴¹¹ As we see here, practice was one of the main targets of the school.

The program lasted three years as I stated before. There were two sections. One was based on social sciences and the other one was based on applied sciences. In the social science section, the courses for the first year were; Quran and the rules of religion, reading, writing and orthography, calculation and geography. In the other section the courses were science of the layers of the earth (*ilm-i tabakatü'l-arz*), chemistry, botanic, algebra, general and local geography, zoology and geometry. The courses were the same for both of the sections for the second year. The courses of the second year were science of agriculture, essay writing, botanic,

⁴¹⁰Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. 1312 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1312)

⁴¹¹ “mektebden çıkacak talebe harman, orak makineleriyle sair alatı istimalde kesb-i meleke-i kamile eyledikten [...] bilmeğe mecburdur”; Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. 1312 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1312)

agricultural accounting, medical knowledge, science of beasts, and science of lands, inorganic chemistry and French. In the third year the courses were science of agriculture, French, science of viticulture and horticulture, methods of directing the rules of cultivating (*usul-i idare-i felahat- ve nizamat-ı ziraiye*), *böcekçilik* and apiculture and fishing, agricultural geometry, agricultural and organic chemistry and agricultural industry.⁴¹² The program changed until the beginning of the 1900s according to the provincial yearbook of 1902-3. The program of the school changed ideologically, Ottoman Turkish and religious courses were increased and a history course was added into the program.⁴¹³ The ideological changes in the program fall at the same time of the general changes carried out at all levels of schools, but beside these changes, the more important thing was how the effect of the school was at the local level? Was the school popular among the peasants or did its impact remain limited?

According to the provincial yearbooks of Salonika in different dates, the total amount of students at the schools was around 60, which actually shows that there were no updates in the provincial yearbooks. However, in the education yearbook, we can get some data about the student number although the data was not regularly mentioned in all education yearbooks. According to the 1898-99 education yearbook, the total amount of the students in the Agricultural Practice School in the educational year of 1313-14 (1896-97) was 35 Muslims and 32 non-Muslims.⁴¹⁴ In the education

⁴¹²Ibid.

⁴¹³Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. 1320 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1320)

⁴¹⁴ The total number of the students was 58, but the number of the Muslim was 35 and the non-Muslim was 32 and the total should have been 67; probably the number of the non-Muslim one should

yearbook of 1318 (1900-1) the total number of students was 60; 35 Muslims and 25 non-Muslims.⁴¹⁵ In the education yearbook of 1319 (1901-2), the student number of the school was stated as 60 for the educational year of 1316-17 (1898-99).⁴¹⁶ What happened to these 60 graduate students? Could they be influential in the spread of the new agricultural methods?

Donald Quataert says that the influences of these schools were limited on the peasants because the graduates of the schools mostly took part in the government bureaucracy, either in the capital or the provincial level.⁴¹⁷ Hence, most of them did not turn back to their lands in the villages. In the 1906-7 provincial yearbook of Salonika it was stated “recently a decision has been taken about the employment of the graduates of the Agricultural Practice School of Salonika who do not want to attend Halkalı Agricultural School as village teachers to educate the peasants according to their understanding”.⁴¹⁸

Hence, we can say that even until that date it was a rare situation for the graduates to go to their villages and teach what they had learned because the local government felt the need to take such a decision. In one of the documents, it was stated that a teacher among the graduates of the Agricultural Practice School of Salonika was appointed to the primary school at the center of the Ustruve *nahiye* as

have been 23 not 32; Salname-i nezaret-i maarif-i umumiye. Birinci sene, 1316 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus (İstanbul:matbaa-i amire, 1316)

⁴¹⁵ Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye, sene 1318 (İstanbul: matbaa-i amire, 1318)

⁴¹⁶ Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye, sene 1319 (İstanbul: matbaa-i amire, 1319)

⁴¹⁷ Quataert, *Anadolu'da Osmanlı reformu ve tarım*, 107

⁴¹⁸ “... ahiren vilayetimizce ziraat ameliyat mektebinden mezun olup halkalı ziraat mekteb-i alisine devam etmeyecek olan efendilerin köy muallimliklerinde istihdamlarıyla bunların ahaliye anlayacakları bir lisanla tedrisat-ı ziraiyyede bulunmaları hakkında bir karar ittihaz edilmiştir ki...”; Salname-i Vilayet-i Selanik. Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi, sene-i hicriye 1324, on dokuzuncu defa olarak (Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası: Selanik, 1324)

the first teacher (*birinci muallim*).⁴¹⁹ However, from the appointment documents in the archive we do not see many appointments of the graduates of the school. Most of the teachers were graduates of the *Darülmualimin* or the imam of the village who had taken the necessary certificate to be a teacher in the village.

In addition to this, even if the teachers had been appointed, they could not have taught the peasants how to use the new-tools as these were not present due to the fact that even in 1906-7, the agricultural methods were primitive among the peasants. Hence, even if the teachers had been appointed and welcomed by the community, they could not have taught the new methods the new-tools. Furthermore, due to the established order, most of the peasants were accustomed to cultivating the soil according to their traditional knowledge, and they were suspicious about new things. Therefore, since the teacher represents something new, the peasants become suspicious about the things that he will teach. Hence, they avoided new things. Donald Quataert says that in most of the regions the spread of the free seeds failed⁴²⁰ as a result of this tendency.

In addition to Agricultural Schools, Donald Quataert mentions another attempt to spread scientific knowledge in case the Agricultural School could not reach the country: sample farms (*örnek tarla*).⁴²¹ These lands were the result of an effort to introduce modern methods to the peasants for which Agricultural Schools remained slow and insufficient⁴²² to reach to peasants. They were near the practice farms of the schools, and limited and practical education was also given in these

⁴¹⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 900\31, 22 Şevval 1323 (20 december 1905)

⁴²⁰ Quataert, *Anadolu'da Osmanlı reformu ve tarım*, 117

⁴²¹ Ibid, 108.

⁴²² Ibid.

lands and the peasants were free to participate in these training activities.⁴²³ And even in some cases free seeds were distributed to the peasants to apply new methods. So, these lands were supplementary for these schools, a more popular one for the communities without access to schools. However, they also failed to reach the peasants in the demanded way, according to Quataert. The reasons were not different than the ones mentioned above.

Thus, the influence of the Agricultural Practice School of Salonika and the example farms remained in a very limited form for the countryside of the region. There were complex reasons behind this such as the primitive situation of the villages, the scarcity of the number of graduates of the schools and the established traditional order that I discussed above.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the impact of agriculture and the living conditions derived from it on educational matters. On the one hand, we have seen the attitudes of the village communities towards education. On the other hand, we have seen the beneficiaries from the established traditional order in the villages and therefore, their rejection of the introduction of something new which had the possibility of breaking their superiority and advantages. And also we have seen how agriculture and economic conditions in the villages had an impact on peasants' lives including education.

⁴²³Ibid, 109.

Yet, there were also communities who were very willing to educate their children. For instance, the community in the Poprek village undertook the establishment of a primary school in their villages with their will and after they completed it, they requested a teacher from the province.⁴²⁴ In addition to them, in some villages the communities were willing to pay the expenditures of the schools and the salaries of the teacher by themselves. For instance, the community pays the salary of the primary school teacher in the Babıyek village.⁴²⁵ Or in Nusretli village, with the financial aid of the community, people decided to build a primary school.⁴²⁶ The community in Beklemiş village in the Sarışaban *kaza* also built a primary school with their financial aid.⁴²⁷ Even the community in the Notye village built a school and wrote a petition to give the school the name of the Sultan.⁴²⁸ Hence, we see that in different periods the communities built a primary school and became eager to educate their children. We cannot know the exact difference between those villages and the other ones where education is rejected. The reasons behind the desire to education might have been the absence of a powerful traditional social order or the increase in wealth of the community in time or their beliefs in education for their well-being in the future. Tahsin Uzer says that the increase in wealth of the villages through tobacco business in time played an important role in the spread of the education among the villages⁴²⁹, and the communities were competing with each

⁴²⁴ BOA, TFR. I. SL. 127/12651, 14 şevval 1324 (1 december 1906)

⁴²⁵ BOA, MF. MKT. 973/43, 29 zilkade 1324 (14 january 1907)

⁴²⁶ BOA, MF. MKT. 464/36, 26 rebiyülahir 1317 (3 september 1899)

⁴²⁷ BOA, MF. MKT. 895/15, 22 ramazan 1323 (20 november 1905)

⁴²⁸ BOA, İrade Maarif 1, 2 cemazilahir 1310 (22 december 1892)

⁴²⁹ Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi*, 268

other to establish schools.⁴³⁰ However, can we set a direct causality between the enrichment of the people and increase in education? We have seen above the opposite cases, in which the parents were proud of not sending their children to school regardless of their economic situation, or the cases in which the inspector addresses the excuses of the peasant parents. Furthermore, we have seen above that the economic condition was just one side of this issue. There must have been other incentives behind the will of communities as Irwin Sanders clearly stated in his interpretation of cases based on his observation in 1937 in a Bulgarian village. He says that the older peasants in the village "... still regarded the government school as an outside, and therefore, a slightly suspicious innovation"⁴³¹ because "... accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community".⁴³² Hence, the values, organizations and innovations that the school might bring were in question and the peasants hesitated to adopt them. The traditional order that they tried to protect and maintain is the key here. Furthermore, although they are beyond the scope of this thesis, other reasons such as the character of agricultural production, the sectarian differences of the village and the situation of nomadic and sedentary communities should also be kept in mind which affected the attitude towards the schools. Still, it should be noted that neither this type of community nor the other one rejecting education was the general type of the communities in the Salonika region. Yet, the aim of the chapter and the thesis is not to construct an ideal typical village community in the countryside of the Salonika

⁴³⁰ Ibid, 270.

⁴³¹ Irwin T. Sanders, *Balkan Village* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1949), p.136

⁴³² Ibid, 145.

province. Instead, the aim is to have a deeper look into the villages and the lives of the people in these villages to be aware of the limits of the spread of education and to show how close agriculture and the dynamics emerging out of an agrarian economy were related to educational issues and how the spread of education depended on deep local dynamics at the village level rather than the will of the central bureaucracy and the Sultan.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In the nineteenth century, reaching and shaping the subjects as a part of a unified and centralized empire against the separatist movements became one of the main concerns of the rulers of empires. In order to reach this aim, education was used “to produce a population which was obedient, but also trained into espousing the values of the centre as its own”⁴³³ as well as to respond to some economic and social changes at that period. The system of primary education directed and controlled by the rulers was a perfect way to provide necessary economic development since, as Orhan Türkdoğan has stated, the economic development was fundamentally related to human behavior⁴³⁴, and education was a perfect way to control and direct such behavior. Primary education during the Hamidian era involved a paradox of providing not only development but also political stability and loyalty to the regime towards which total control over schools and school materials had been tried to be achieved. On the other hand, in the countryside, the peasants and other actors saw education mostly as a threat to their way of life. Therefore, the spread and the character of education in the countryside was shaped by such a central fear on the one hand and the local social and economic dynamics on the other.

In the Ottoman Empire, *de facto* educational developments took place during the reign of Abdülmecit with his enactment about establishing a temporary education committee in 1845. However, the most energetic efforts to spread education came in the Hamidian era. First of all, in the center, bureaucratic organization was improved

⁴³³ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 94

⁴³⁴ Orhan Türkdoğan, *Türkiye’de Köy Sosyolojisi* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006) , p.343

and arranged to increase the control over every sphere of education. Furthermore, to accelerate the spread and to achieve total control, Abdülhamid II tried to replace the *sıbyan* schools with the new-style *ibtidai* schools. *Ibtidai* schools could be formed according to the concerns of the Sultan and the Education Ministry. However, rather than a replacement, the situation in the empire was more like a coexistence, or hybridity, as Benjamin Fortna stated. The reluctant attitudes of the people towards the *ibtidai* schools and their favoring attitude towards *sıbyan* schools played also a role in this coexistence. In the villages, even such discrimination remained totally meaningless, since most of the time the imams acted as teachers and the old system was maintained by these imams.

Central organization was not sufficient to spread the *ibtidai* schools. Education could only spread as a part of the provincial governmental organization. As a result of such a need, a great part of the efforts of Abdülhamid II was increasing the organizations at the local level. At that point, since the urgent aim was to spread local organizations according to the agenda of the center, the local conditions were not so much taken into consideration, especially at the village level. Therefore, the result was sometimes a tension between the Minister and the provincial person in charge and sometimes between the community or the leader of the community and the provincial person in charge.

In the countryside, the economic activities dominate the lives of the people. The relationships between the people and the social structure in a village were formed through such activities, and when the Ottoman and nineteenth century world contexts were considered, the dominant form of economic activity was agriculture, since the majority of the population live in the countryside at the beginning of the

twentieth century. Agricultural activity was present in every sphere of people's lives, so most of the time it occurred as a determinant. And in the context of the nineteenth century, the efforts were to make education a part of these lives with the notions of the center regardless of the dynamics of the countryside. The rulers tried to introduce education into the people's lives without considering the various elements governing the lives in the villages. In this case, the acceptance and the spread depended on the adaptation of education into the agrarian conditions and the lives of the village communities. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to analyze the relationship between agrarian economy and primary education in the villages and in what ways they influenced each other.

In order to elaborate this relationship between agrarian economy and education a deep understanding of the countryside is necessary. Since, a research throughout the empire exceeds the boundaries of a Master's thesis, a certain location was chosen: Salonika. Salonika was chosen, because, first of all, it was one of the leading education centers where new-style *ibtidai* education started more or less at the same time in Istanbul in the 1870s. However, during the same period, the situation in the countryside was totally different, which lead us to question the different dynamics that direct the lives in the countryside. Secondly, it was the region of agricultural prosperity and diversity.

To see the effects of economic conditions, firstly the agricultural characteristics of the region was analyzed. Beside the grain production, industrial plants played an important role in the agriculture of the region, especially cotton and tobacco. The production of these plants was important for every sphere of the lives of people. Especially tobacco business dominates various fields of peasants' lives, since

the actors involving in this business were present at various spheres of village life, such as imams who were religious leaders, tax-collectors, intermediaries and also teachers in primary schools.

The peasants had to organize their lives according to the heavy agricultural work and agricultural seasons. Even the wedding ceremonies took place after the harvest when the peasants got their money and finished their work. Also all other expectancies were formed according to the harvest. Education tried to be the part of this life, but the educational season conflicted with the agricultural season which lasted generally from November to March. Beside this seasonal conflict, the economic conditions being determined by the agricultural activity affected the school numbers in the countryside in the form of funding problems. Primary education was obligatory, but because the financial burden of the schools were left to the communities, the communities were not so willing for funding education or sometimes were even resistant to education. This was one obstacle in front of the spread of education. The total school numbers in the villages reflect the insufficiency of schooling in the countryside. Besides the insufficiency of the numbers, most of the time estimating the real number of schools and students in the villages includes problems. Firstly, due to seasonal conflict we know that most of the children went to school only in the winter, therefore different times of registration of students creates big differences in numbers. Secondly, we know that there was no formal registration of the students in the schools, since the real number of students in the villages remained obscure. Thirdly, there was not a continuous registration of newly-established schools. In the villages, since the *sibyan* schools were not considered as schools by the officials, sometimes they were not included in the total number.

Considering these problems in estimating school numbers, the situation in the villages that became more or less concrete with these numbers deserves a more detailed analysis of the problems.

Since the financial burden of primary education was left to the communities, the financial conditions of the village community were determinant for education. The expenditures of the schools, the salary of the teacher, and the repair expenditures of the schools constituted the main complaints coming from the communities. It was allowed the educational expenses to be afforded from *evkaf-ı münderise* income, but most of the time it was insufficient, so it was expected from the community to shoulder the expenses. However, as we learn from the documents, generally it was not the insufficiency, instead, the control of this income by the local notables was the problem. The inspectors and various writers in the newspapers interested in the problem of finding resources for the school expenditures and they came up with several offers. Some of them offered extra resources such as other taxes. However, in response to the offers, the tendency of the Ministry was insisting on leaving the financial burden to the village community, with some exceptions stemmed from political concerns. Sometimes the necessary resource was provided by the insistent efforts of the local governors such as by encouraging the rich people to afford the expenses.

Agrarian economy determined the financial situation of the peasant parents, but the effects on education did not remain within the limits of funding problems derived from financial situation of the peasant parents. Various actors who involved in this economy partook in the process of development of education in villages and constituted a multi-dimensional relationship between agrarian economy and

education. The village notables who took the possession of *evkaf-ı münderise* income were the members of the Council of Elders, which began to supervise the administration of schools, according to the 1871 Provincial Regulation. In such a system the development of education in the villages was determined by the interests of these notables. The actors who made the situation more complex were the appointed teachers who engaged in tobacco business, and the imam-teachers. The appointed teachers, being most of the time from among the inhabitants of the region, interested in making profit from the business rather than educating children, which caused a retardation of the development in education, especially when combined with the indifference of the peasant parents to send their children to school. The imam-teachers were important part of not only the agrarian economy but also education. They were the tax-collector, religious authority, tobacco commissioner, member of Council of Elders and also educator in the schools. Furthermore, the education given by imams fit to the perception of the schools in the minds of the peasant parents. Most of the time, education meant a religious training for the parents, and the imams, being the religious authority, were real trainer for education. Since this religious training was not in the form of an organized education and disciplined attendance, the parents did not much interested in sending their children to school regularly. And imams were also not interested in a regular attendance of the children. Also the parents did not have to pay extra fee for this education, the payments were mostly in the form of gifts. Hence, such a system for both the peasant parents and imams became a part of village life.

Another very important reason behind the rejection of the peasants was the social hierarchy that was created through the traditional agricultural knowledge

which was transmitted from the older generation to the younger one. The peasant children had to work on farms both to help their parents in work and to acquire this traditional agricultural knowledge. According to peasant parents school was something useless, because the children learn the knowledge that was necessary for him from the older generations by working on farms. Through such a chain of knowledge within the relationship of patriarchal family, the older generations, the elders, created on the one hand some kind of an authority and on the other a vital position for themselves. In addition to that, by working their children on farms the peasants parents could save the money that they give to the agricultural workers. Therefore, during the long agricultural season, the children had to help their parents most of the time instead of attending school. In this picture, unfortunately we do not have information about children's desires, due to the unavailability of the documents, except the case of Hüseyin, a *rişdiye* student, who escaped from the official tithe collector to go to school. Although one document was not representative and although it includes some questions such as where his family were and who brought the case to the court, still it is important to hear a voice from the real actor in this complex web of relationships.

Another reason that lay behind the problem of rejection of the communities was that the schools that were enforced by the state represented state authority which was considered to be an intrusion into rural life and it was often recognized as something that challenged the local social structure. For this reason, the negative attitude of the communities towards schools were often influenced by that pressure or those locals who stand against the reforms in order to prevent a challenge to their authority. Among the locals, elders had established a social hierarchy through their

traditional agricultural knowledge which needed to be transmitted to younger generations. The presence of the teacher and his new knowledge was perceived by them as a potential threat to their social position, since the younger generation would no longer see their knowledge as advisory and necessary. In addition to elders, imams had achieved different positions; as the tax-collector, as the educator, as the religious authority in the village. With the presence of the teacher, the loss of imams would be both financially and socially. Financially, they would be precluded from the *evkaf-ı münderise* incomes which had to be spent for education with the presence of teachers. Socially, their superior and respected position as religious authority and educator would be deprived only to the religious authority and they had to share their authority with the young teacher. Additionally, the notables who took the possession of the income of *evkaf-ı münderise* would lose the income and their authority over the peasants. For all these reasons, the presence of the teacher as someone appointed from the center have been perceived as interference to their established order, unless the teacher did not adapt himself to the local conditions and did not become a part of the established social order. In such circumstances, teachers were often the targets. They could be sent from the village by pressure or forced to resign, or in some cases they adjusted themselves to the local conditions and did business rather than teach especially when they were from among the local community. There were even the cases in which the local notables managed to have the education councils abolished. Hence, economic activities created a social order and its beneficiaries could act against the impositions that came from the center, because education was perceived against the position of the beneficiaries. For that reason, sometimes they provoked the peasant communities to reject sending their children to school or even to force

the teacher to resign. These provocations constituted another reason behind the rejection of the peasant communities.

For the spread of education the rulers tried to arrange schools so that they could answer the needs of the village communities, which would make the school be considered as something necessary rather than an alien and irrelevant as Frank Smith quoted the meaning of education for the peasants; “If we speak of education here it will naturally carry our Ideas to the Spade, The Plough...”⁴³⁵, which are the cores of their lives. Regarding such conditions, the introduction of the agricultural course could be seen in the context of the efforts trying to make education familiar and a part of the lives of the people with the help of agricultural course as a mid-way.

In addition to making the school attractive for the peasant children, the introduction of the agricultural course aimed at creating a love of land, agricultural activity and village life. In the introduction part of the agricultural books the emphasis was such a love. In that manner, with knowledge about what and why they were doing the love of agricultural activity tried to be created. Through such an attempt education and the village life tried to be brought together.

With the introduction of agricultural course the aim was to find a compromise between the agricultural activity and the useless position of the schools according to the peasants. But, the course introduced a new kind of knowledge to the children; scientific agricultural knowledge. This scientific knowledge was the most obvious threat to the traditional agrarian knowledge of the elders and imams. Thus, the course added a new dimension to the struggle between the actors of the traditional social order and the new-comers.

⁴³⁵ Smith, *A history of English Elementary Education*, 46

However, the implementation of the course took a long time and in fact, when we consider the abovementioned features of the social structure in villages, the efforts of implementation must have received a lot of resistance from the local beneficiaries as it constituted an open threat for them. Since, in such situation the position of the actors who were benefited from the established traditional order would be challenged and their power shifted to young generations and teachers.

In addition to the introduction of the agricultural course, the Agricultural Schools could also be seen within the efforts of the rulers trying to make the village children a part of the system. The children would be the representatives of such a type of agricultural education that was under the control of the Ministry and they would spread this certain type of education to the villages. Through the students of the school who were from among the peasant children, the intention was to interfere the social order in the village. However, again the success of such an attempt depended on the acceptance and the will of the local communities, and in such circumstances it proved very difficult. Also we do not any information about who these students were. Were they the children of the local notables or the landlords? It seems doubtful for ordinary peasants to go to school, since they even lacked the primary education as a prerequisite for the School.

Finally, we can say that local agrarian conditions influenced social and educational reforms. Educational reforms proved very difficult to be implemented at the local level. Agrarian economy in the villages affected the educational reform in various ways as I mentioned above: determined the financial situation of the communities, appeared as a problem in the funding of education, created social hierarchy in the villages, agrarian production defined the powers and the presences of

local actors, the production created traditional knowledge that needed to be transmitted from older generation to the younger one. Such conditions created the basis of motives behind the various forms of resistances of the communities. Hence, the efforts from the center failed in adapting itself into the local conditions and thus became unsuccessful in representing itself as part of the community life. For that reason, the development of the education in the villages remained as a struggle arena and its development became strongly related to the agrarian economy.

The story of the spread of education in the villages is the story of the struggle between on the one hand the traditional social order that based on agrarian economy and on the other the new knowledge and the order imposed from the center. Taking this struggle as the starting point this thesis could open up new discussions about such as social order, traditional agricultural knowledge, scientific agricultural knowledge, the origins of them, the transformation from the traditional agricultural knowledge to the scientific agricultural knowledge, the change of the village society and the actors in this change. In that manner, with great modesty, a contribution of this thesis could be opening up new fields beyond the history of education through the discussions it contains.

APPENDIX A

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⁴³⁶ Kazım, İlmi ve Tatbiki Çiftçilik Dersleri

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APPENDIX B

CURRICULUM OF AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL IN SALONIKA⁴³⁷

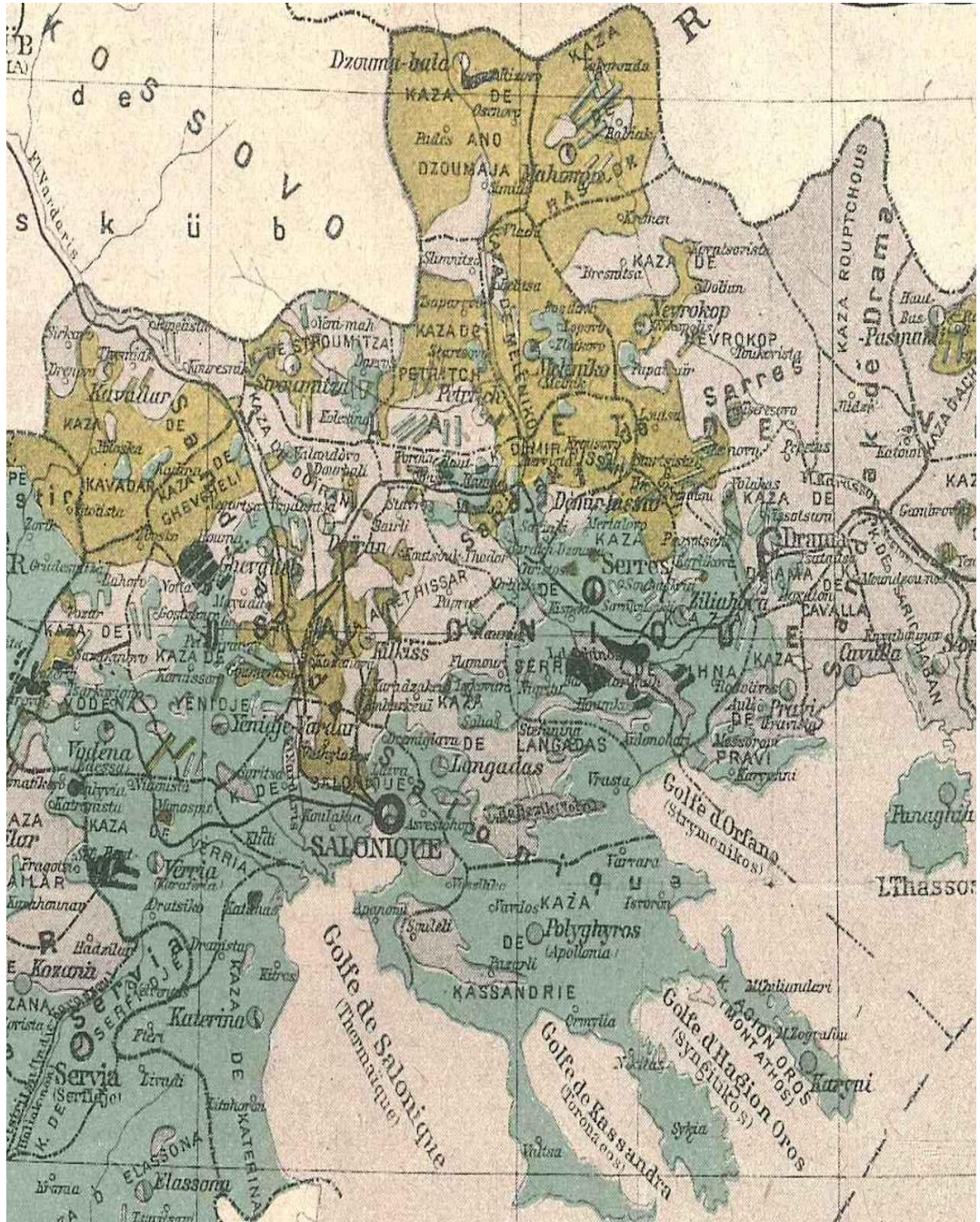
PROGRAM

Birinci Sene	
Birinci Şube	İkinci Şube
Kuran-ı Kerim Akaid-i Diniye Hesab (imal-i Erbaa) Talim-i Kıraat Muhtasar Coğrafya Yazı İmla	Akaid-i Diniye ve Ahlak Fransızca Türkçe(Sarf-ı Osmanî) Hendese Coğrafya-yı Umumi ve Osmanî Hesap Hüsn-i Hat Hikmet Resm-i Hattî
İkinci Sene	Üçüncü Sene
Akaid-i Diniye ve Ahlak Türkçe Nahv-ı Osmanî Fransızca Hesap Coğrafya-yı Umrani ve Zirai Tarih-i Osmanî Ziraat Kimya-yı Madeni İlm-i Tabakat ve Maden Henedese-i Ziraiye Nebat (Umumi) Hayvanat (Teşrih) Hüsn-i Hat Resm-i Hattî ve Taklidi	Türkçe (Kitabet) Fransızca İnşaat-ı Ziraiye Sanayi-i Ziraiye ve İpekçilik Fen-i Mevâşî ve Baytari (Teksir ve Terbiye-i Hayvanat) Hayvanat (Tasnif ve Haşerat-ı Muzırira) Nebat (Fasılalar) İlm-i Servet-i Ziraiye ve Usul-i Defteri Bağçuvanlık Ziraat Bağcılık Kimya-yı Uzvi ve Zirai Resm-i Hattî ve Taklidi

⁴³⁷ Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi. 1320 sene-i hicriyeye mahsus (Selanik: Selanik hamidiye mekteb-i sanayi matbaası, 1320)

APPENDIX C

MAP OF SALONIKA PROVINCE⁴³⁸



⁴³⁸ Vasileios Colocotronis, *La Macédoine Et l'hellénisme: Étude Historique Et Ethnologique* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1919). Basing on the original map, it is resized in order to show the kazas of Salonika in detail.

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MF. İBT: Maarif Nezareti Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kalemi
MF. MKT: Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi
TFR. I. SL: Rumeli Müffetişliği Selanik Evrakı
Y. MTV: Yıldız Mütenevvi Evrakı
Y. EE.: Yıldız Esas Evrakı

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