



**T.C.
SÜLEYMAN DEMİREL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
BATI DİLLERİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI**

SHAW'UN *SİLAHLAR VE KAHRAMAN* VE NAMIK KEMAL'İN *VATAN YAHUT SİLİSTRE* ADLI ESERLERİNDEKİ MİLLİYETÇİLİK UNSURLARI

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

**Hazırlayan
İrem Gökçe TAN
1130224001**

**Danışman
Doç. Dr. Ömer ŞEKERCİ**

ISPARTA-2013



T.C.
SÜLEYMAN DEMİREL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ
SAVUNMA SINAV TUTANAĞI



Tez Savunması 1

Tarih: 13/12/2013

Enstitü Yönetim Kurulunun 28/ 11/2013 tarih ve 93389805.302.14.05/2141 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jürimiz Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Bilim Dalı YÜKSEK LİSANS öğrencisi İrem Gökçe TAN'nın "Shaw'un Silahlar ve Kahraman ve Namık Kemal'in Vatan Yahut Silistre adlı Eserindeki Milliyetçilik Unsurları " başlıklı tezini incelemek ve değerlendirmek üzere 13/12/2013 tarihinde saat 10.0'da toplanmış ve adayı tez savunmasına almıştır.

Lisansüstü Yönetmeliği Madde 25 uyarınca adaya 45 dakika süreyle teziyle ilgili Ek'te sunulan sorular yöneltilmiştir. Yapılan değerlendirmeler sonunda adayın tezinin aşağıda belirtilen sebeplerle,

☒ **Tezin kabul edilmesine**
(Öğrenci, varsa jüri tarafından gerekli görülen düzeltmeleri yaparak, tezinin onaylı son şeklini bir (1) ay içinde Enstitü'ye teslim etmelidir.)

☐ **Tezde düzeltme verilmesine**
(Öğrenci, tezde gerekli görülen düzeltmeleri yaptıktan sonra üç (3) ay içinde savunmasını yineleyecektir.)

☐ **Tezin reddedilmesine**
(Öğrenci, yeni tez konusu belirlemelidir.)

***Tez adı değişikliği yapıldı/yapılmadı.**
oy birliği/oy çokluğu ile karar verilmiştir.
Gereği için arz olunur.

Jüri	Adı Soyadı	İmza
Danışman :	Doç. Dr. Ömer ŞEKERCİ	
Üye	:Prof. Dr. Hüseyiña RZAYEV	
Üye	:Yrd. Doç. Dr. Kaan BÜYÜKKARCI	

Ek : Herbir jüriye ait tez değerlendirme jüri raporları

Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu Kararı	Tarih:	Karar No:
Bu form danışman tarafından düzenlenerek 3 gün içerisinde ilgili Anabilim Dalı aracılığı ile Enstitüye teslim edilir.		



T.C.

SÜLEYMAN DEMİREL ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü

YEMİN METNİ

Yüksek lisans tezi olarak sunduğum The Nationalistic Elements in Shaw's "Arms and the Man" and Namık Kemal's "Fatherland or Silistra" adlı çalışmanın, tezin proje safhasından sonuçlanmasına kadarki bütün süreçlerde bilimsel ahlak ve geleneklere aykırı düşecek bir yardıma başvurulmaksızın yazıldığını ve yararlandığım eserlerin Bibliyografya'da gösterilenlerden oluştuğunu, bunlara atıf yapılarak yararlanılmış olduğunu belirtir ve onurumla beyan ederim.

İrem Gökçe TAN

13.12.2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
1. CHAPTER	4
THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM AND THE TANZIMAT	4
1.1. Introduction to Nationalism and Patriotism	4
1.2. The Historical Development of Nationalism in the 19 th Century in Europe ...	15
1.3. World War I	18
1.4. British Nationalism	20
1.5. The Tanzimat Period and Its Main Characteristics	27
1.6. The General Outline of 19th Century Drama	36
2. CHAPTER	40
BERNARD SHAW AND NAMIK KEMAL	40
2.1. George Bernard Shaw's Biography inBrief	40
2.2. Shaw's Plays	44
2.3. The Main Characteristics of Shaw's Dramaturgy	51
2.4. Criticism on <i>Arms and the Man</i>	65
2.5. Extracts from <i>Arms and the Man</i> on Nationalism and The Concept of Love	71
2.6. Namık Kemal and His Plays	88
2.7. Nationalism and Namık Kemal	98
2.8. Extracts from <i>Fatherland or Silistra</i> on Nationalism and The Concept of Love	105
CONCLUSION	124
REFERENCES	126
CURRICULUM VITAE	130

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our thanks go to teaching staff of the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Science and Letters at SDU, especially to Prof. Dr. Hüseyinağa RZAYEV. I am also grateful to my parents Semra and Ender TAN and my elder brother Emrah TAN who always supported me throughout my studies and life.

My special thanks go to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ömer ŞEKERCİ who is my adviser. He always encouraged me to study hard and broadened my horizons with his colorful personality. His life-giving energies motivated me to come up with such a work.

İrem Gökçe TAN

Isparta, 2013

(TAN, İrem Gökçe, The Nationalistic Elements in Shaw's Arms and The Man and Namik Kemal's Fatherland or Silistra, Master Thesis, Isparta, 2013)

ABSTRACT

This study aims at revealing the reflections of nationalism on English people and the Ottomans during the nineteenth century. *Arms and the Man* by Shaw and *The Fatherland or Silistra* by Kemal are contrasted and compared by applying the textual analysis and the concept of nationalism is exhibited. The concept of patriotism and nationalism have been covered broadly and then narrowed down to two concerning plays. It is observed that the sentiment of patriotism and nationalism mean different things to Turks and English. The concept of fatherland was treated in a different manner by Shaw and Kemal. While the concept of fatherland to Kemal's characters is regarded as a holy thing, Shaw's characters regard it as something to benefit from it. Whereas Kemal's characters are ready to die for their fatherland, Shaw's characters are afraid of losing their lives for their fatherland. Kemal regarded fatherland as religiously oriented. To Shaw, the concept of fatherland has nothing to do with religion so his characters are not loyal to their fatherland.

Kemal's concept of fatherland encompasses the whole Islamic world to enable people to live in peace and harmony. His concept of fatherland includes lots of sublime sentiments and emotions such as freedom, nation, friendship, brotherhood, common benefit, sovereignty and respect for family and ancestors. The concept of fatherland was not sublime for Shaw and his characters at all. Shaw's concept of fatherland does not have any room for nationhood, religion, brotherhood, and respect for ancestors. The English show their respect for their fatherland with symbols.

Key words: Shaw, Kemal, Nationalism, Patriotism, the Tanzimat, Arms and the Man, Fatherland or Silistra.

(TAN, İrem Gökçe, Shaw'un Silahlar ve Kahraman ve Namik Kemal'in Vatan Yahut Silistre Adlı Eserlerindeki Milliyetçilik Unsurları, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Isparta, 2013)

ÖZET

Bu, çalışma 19 yy.da milliyetçilik duygusunun İngilizler ve Osmanlılar üzerindeki yansımalarını ele almaktadır. Metinsel analiz yöntemi kullanılarak Namık Kemal'in *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, George Bernard Shaw'un *Silahlar ve Kahraman* adlı tiyatro eserlerindeki milliyetçilik duygusu karşılaştırmalı olarak verilmiştir. Vatanseverlik ve milliyetçilik genelden özele iki oyun üzerinde işlenmiştir. Vatanseverlik ve milliyetçiliğin İngilizler ve Türkler için çok farklı anlamlar ifade ettiği iki oyun özelinde ortaya konmuştur. Bu iki kavramın hem Shaw hem de Kemal tarafından farklı ele alındığı gözlemlenmiştir. Namık Kemal'in karakterlerinde vatan sevgisi kutsal bir olgu olarak algılanırken, Shaw'un karakterlerinde bu kavram faydalanılacak bir unsur olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Kemal'in karakterleri vatan için ölmeye hazırlanırken, Shaw'un karakterleri bundan korkmaktadır. Kemal'e göre vatan sevgisi din bağlamında ele alınırken Shaw'da din kavramı ve vatana sadakat yoktur.

Kemal'e göre vatan tüm İslam coğrafyasını kapsar ve insanlar barış ve mutluluk içinde aynı vatanda yaşar. Vatan kavramı ulvi duygularla birbirlerine bağlı barış ve kardeşlik içerisinde yaşayan bireylerden oluşurken, Shaw'da vatana ulviyet verilmez ve bireycilik ön plandadır. Kemal'de vatan duygusu din, kardeşlik, ulus ve atalara saygı olarak algılanırken, Shaw'un karakteri bunu yansıtmamaktadır. İngilizler vatan sevgilerini ve saygılarını sembollerle ifade etmektedirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Shaw, Kemal, Milliyetçilik, Vatanseverlik, Silahlar ve Kahraman, Vatan Yahut Silistre.

INTRODUCTION

Namık Kemal and George Bernard Shaw were the leading figures in drama and both contributed a lot to the development of drama in their literatures. What made us to study these prominent playwrights is that their treatment of nationalism and the sentiment of patriotism and nationalism attracted our attention, so the first thing that we did was to search for any study done on these playwrights or not. Even though the time period in which these plays written were not the same they both reflected the Zeitgeist.* After our search we have found that no one wrote a master's thesis on these authors' works: *The Fatherland or Silistra* by Kemal and *Arms and the Man* by Shaw.

These two dramas are unique in themselves as they treat the concept of nationalism and patriotism from different perspectives. Before dealing with our thesis we have collected all necessary literature on that then we have classified those literature as sources: books, articles and web sources. The study is the first of its kind. The main sources that we have used in our study as following: "Bernard Shaw's Theory of Literary Art" by Fred D. Crawford, "Bernard Shaw on Tragedy" by Sylvan Barnet, "The Essence of Shaw's Dramaturgy" by Wilbur D. Dunkel, "Vatan kavramının Türk Tiyatro Edebiyatındaki seyri üzerine bir inceleme" by Büyükarman, "The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism" by Hans Kohn, "Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism" by David B. Knight and "The Nature of Nationalism " by Hans Kohn. All sources in Turkish have been translated by the author in this study.

This study is contrasting and comparing the concept of 'nationalism in the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876) and nineteenth century England. The historical development of nationalism and its impacts on English people and the Ottomans and the reflections of the nationalism in George Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man* and Namık Kemal's *Fatherland or Silistra* have been covered to a certain extent.

* The spirit of the time; the taste and outlook characteristic of a period or generation.

The thesis consists of two chapters. The first chapter mainly covers the following subtitles: Introduction to Nationalism, The Historical Development of Nationalism in the 19th century in Europe, World War I, British Nationalism, English Nationalism, The Tanzimat Period and Its Main Characteristics, and The General Outline of 19th Century Drama. In first chapter we have dealt with sentiment of nationalism and patriotism in order to draw a general picture on the historical development of nationalism in Europe and particularly in England. We have also talked about the patriotism and nationalism during the Tanzimat Period. Namık Kemal's works reflect explicitly the mood of that period. As we have tried to compare and contrast the treatment of nationalism by Kemal and Shaw. It is shown clearly that these playwrights treated it differently from each other.

The second chapter is mainly devoted to the following topics: George Bernard Shaw's Biography in Brief, The Main Characteristics of Shaw's Dramaturgy, Criticism on Arms and the Man, Namık Kemal and his plays, findings and conclusion.

We have used textual analysis methodology to the plays, so the plays have been dealt with from this perspective. While reviewing the literature on this issue in hand we have not come cross any study done on this in Turkey. We also had difficulties to get appropriate sources and literature to be used in our study. The sources and literature collected on that theme were not satisfactory and they were in scope limited and dealt with the theme from different perspective. Shaw's concept of nationalism and Kemal's treatment of nationalism are totally different in scope and nature that caused many difficulties to compare and contrast the treatment of nationalism by both authors.

The Scope of the Study

This study is contrasting and comparing the concept of 'nationalism in the Tanzimat Period and nineteenth century England. The historical development of nationalism and its impacts on English people and the Ottomans and the reflections of the nationalism in George Bernard Shaw's 'Arms and the Man' and Namık Kemal's *Fatherland or Silistra* have been covered to a certain extent. We have tried

to contrast and compare the two works by the leading representatives of their period and literatures. The issue in hand is larger than life so we have narrowed our study to cover nationalism in general and analyzed two plays by Shaw and Kemal. Both of the authors have different style and regarded nationalism from a totally unique different angle that forced us to deal with the plays.

The Aim of the Study

This study aims at revealing the reflections of nationalism on English people and the Ottomans during the nineteenth century. *Arms and the Man* by Shaw and *The Fatherland or Silistra* by Kemal are contrasted and compared by applying the textual analysis and the concept of nationalism are exhibited and it also aims to contribute to those who are interested in Turkish and English literature.

The Limitations of the Study

While reviewing the literature on this issue in hand we have not come across any study done on this in Turkey. We also had difficulties to get appropriate sources and literature to be used in our study. The sources and literature collected on that theme were not satisfactory and they were in scope limited and dealt with the theme from different perspective. Shaw's concept of nationalism and Kemal's treatment of nationalism are totally different in scope and nature that caused many difficulties to compare and contrast the treatment of nationalism by both authors. The available literature on this issue gathered from periodicals and published books are fragmented. The application of textual analysis to drama texts caused some problems to put the point clearly.

The Method of the Study

In this study we have applied and used textual analysis to further our argument. The study has been constructed by applying the methodologies of textual analysis. Other methodologies were not used as they were not compatible with the nature of drama text.

1. CHAPTER

THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM AND THE TANZIMAT

1.1. Introduction to Nationalism and Patriotism

It is wise to look at in short how human beings as well as nations were created as it is told in Bible. According to the story of the creation of nations told in Genesis, at early stages of human history, the world was inhabited by one people who spoke only one language, human beings, because of their vanity, challenged the limits of capability and came together to build a tower reaching up the heaven. It was regarded as a direct challenge to God's domain. The God was furious and apprehensive about this defiance and expansion of human power. God said:

“Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be withheld from them, which they schemed to do. Come, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech” (Genesis 11:1-9)¹.

After this challenge God scattered human beings across the earth. And it is believed they emerged with a different nationality and different tongue. The biblical story urges us to define basic terms as ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ to further our study. The term ‘nation’ needs to be defined here before we delve into the term ‘nationalism’. We could ask such simple questions: what does the concept nation mean? In what ways is it distinct? Anderson argues

“A nation is an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members meet them or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives and image of their community”.²

Anderson's definition is significant because it focuses on the central role played by the image of a nation in creating a national reality. But this definition poses two theoretical difficulties that reduce its quality. The most important is the

¹ Benedict Anderson-Liah Greenfeld-Anthony D. Smith, “The Enigma of Nationalism Imagined Communities by Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity” *World Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 3, Apr., 1995, p. 418.

² Ibid., p. 420.

usage of the term imagined. He perceives community as imagined because it is impossible for community's members participate in direct contact together every time. Thus, members become aware of the nation by the way of image they have analyzed in their minds. However, this use of the term is lacking. Because all human associations are accepted as imagined communities even though they aren't larger than primitive villages or families.³

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines nation(1) "a country considered as a group of people with the same language, culture and history, who live in a particular area under one government, (2) all the people in a country". To many a scholar, nation is an aggregation of persons of the same ethnic family, often speaking the same language or cognate languages. Oxford Advanced Dictionary states its origin as Latin *nātiōn*- (stem of *nātiō*) birth, tribe.⁴

Bearing this categorization in mind we could state that a nation resembles more closely a group of friends than a group of citizens. Its existence cannot be deduced from certain objective features but rather from the feelings of communion among its members. As it is imagined, because its existence is contingent on its members' sustaining a certain image of it that is based on their perceptions and feelings. We could say that the common denominator of all nations is a national consciousness fostering feelings of belongingness and national fraternity.⁵

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines a friend as "one joined to another in intimacy and mutual benevolence". If we look at this definition we cannot see any result on the reason of the feelings which foster intimacy and mutual benevolence between people. The definition of nation is similar to it. Because some features such as descending from common ancestry and sharing friendship and uniqueness are not part of it.⁶

³ Ibid., p. 421.

⁴ "Nation", Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Fifth Edition, p. 847.

⁵ Benedict Anderson-Liah Greenfeld-Anthony D. Smith, "The Enigma of Nationalism Imagined Communities by Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity" *World Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 3, Apr., 1995, p. 424.

⁶ Ibid., p. 424.

To Greenfeld, the term comes from the Latin word *natio*, meaning “something is born,” and it is believed that it was first used to refer to a group of foreigners. It then came to indicate communities of students from geographically or linguistically related regions.⁷

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the term ‘nation’ appeared to be applied not only to the elite but also to the whole population, thus it became the same meaning with the word people.⁸

Although the origin of the Western concept of nation goes back several centuries, it was during the eighteenth century that people in the middle classes in Western Europe and North America came increasingly to identify with the feeling that the “nation” belonged to them. The two oldest examples of modern national consciousness are the French and the English. Interestingly, the development of both nations more or less coincided with the growth and consolidation of those states during the same period.⁹

Various differing factors in the development of national consciousness can be detected for every nation, but that is not our issue in hand here. It is important that the set of ideas that emerged as a doctrine during the eighteenth century called for the freedom of all men. Furthermore, the notion “was advanced that every nation should be allowed to elaborate its own system of laws”. This doctrine evolved into self-determination.¹⁰

Nationalism is the convergence of territorial and political loyalty regardless of competing affiliation, such as kinship, profession, religion, economic interest, race, or language. It is also a modern term because people look for identity with outsiders so it means a combination of identities. To many scholars, all nationalisms include principle of identity which based on impersonal, remote and substitute ties

⁷ Ibid., p. 427.

⁸ Ibid., p. 428.

⁹ David B. Knight, “Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Dec.1982 Vol., 72, No. 4, pp. 518-519.

¹⁰ qtd.in, Ibid., p. 519.

and all of them are intervened by some kinds of general symbols dependent of certain pattern of relations.¹¹

Successful nationalism also implies a minimum of social harmony, an acceptance of the values that the symbols communicate sufficient to maintain social peace and peaceful social change. Legitimate authority under conditions of mass politics is tied up with successful nationalism; when the national identity is in doubt, one prop supporting legitimacy is knocked away.¹²

A nation is made up of socially mobilized body of individuals who believe themselves to be united by some set of characteristics that differentiate them from outsiders, striving to create or sustain their own state and entities...These individuals have a collective consciousness because of their sentiment of difference, or even uniqueness, which is fostered by the group's sharing of core symbols.¹³

Nationalism was unknown to many people and states during the sixteenth and eighteenth century. Because of some revolutions, people acquainted with its concept and scope. However, they changed it in terms of religion and new feelings of life which based on their lifestyles. Actually, nationalism was one of the strongest and oldest feelings of humankind throughout history because it became the decisive factor to form the social groups.¹⁴

We can see a development in the concept of nationalism throughout time. To many scholars, nationality is not only an historical but a political concept and the words "nation" and "nationality" has had some differing concepts and meanings from time to time. Their usages before the nineteenth century and in the age of nationalism indicated something different. People began considering nationality as the center of their political and cultural life in recent history. We could claim that nationality is not an ultimate concept which is the source of all political and cultural life. It can be handled in two ways. In one hand, it is thought that blood or race constitutes the core of nationality and on the other hand, some people identify it as

¹¹ Benedict Anderson et al, "What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study it?", *International Organization*, Summer, 1986, Vol. 40, No. 3, p. 709.

¹² Ibid., p. 709.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 726-727.

¹⁴ Hans Kohn, "The Nature of Nationalism", *The American Political Science Review*, Dec., 1939, Vol. 33, No. 6, p. 1002.

the source of nationality with Volksgeist meaning the spirit of people or national character.¹⁵

These theories offer no real explanation of the rise and the role of nationality; they refer us to mythical, pre-historical pseudo-realities. Rather, they must be taken as characteristic elements of thought in the age of nationalism, and are subject themselves to analysis by the historian of nationalism. Nationalities come into existence only when certain objective bonds delimit a social group. These bonds are most frequently used for the definition of nationality.¹⁶

It is regarded as a necessity for a limitation to it.

None, however, is essential for the existence of a nationality. A nationality generally possesses several of these attributes; very few possess all of them. Usually, the following attributes are enumerated: common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions, and religion.¹⁷

It is well known that nationalism which was aligned with imperialism led Europe to disaster in 1914. It caused the start of devastating the First World War. But meanwhile, many countries in the world colonised by the European powers in the nineteenth century began to oppose imperial domination and its humiliating effects on those colonized nations. That caused the anti-imperial movements against those colonizing western powers. They all struggled to form independent nation-states, and were inspired by a sense of collective national unity, forged in confrontation with imperialism. European ideas of nationalism were nowhere replicated, for people everywhere developed their own specific variety of nationalism. But the idea that societies should be organised into 'nation-states' came to be accepted as natural and universal.¹⁸

Among some scholars, Anthony Smith defines nationalism as an ideology that it is the rival of these terms like liberalism, socialism, fascism and it opposes the other movements. However, for another group, nationalism includes other ideologies and their ideas based on the people's opinion of difference.¹⁹

Scholars favouring nationalism as an ideology they bring about particular policies rather than social processes. But confusion is by no means banished if we opt for the nationalism as group-identity formula. We must then confront the deep division among those who find an

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 1011.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 1011.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 1011.

¹⁸ "The Rise of Nationalism in Europe", Web.01.Apr.2013 (<http://www.excellup.com/classten/ssten/nationalismeurope.aspx>).

¹⁹ Benedict Anderson et al, "What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study it?", *International Organization*, Summer, 1986, Vol. 40, No. 3, p. 712.

“objective” basis for this identity, as opposed to those who see identity in self-conscious acts of individual identification, the “subjective” basis of nationhood.²⁰

It is imperative to talk about fascism as in line with nationalism not to confuse these two terms with each other.

Fascism overlaps with nationalism, but its typical clientele is not the same as the nationalist public. Fascism means race, nationalism means the ethnic community. Fascism venerates the hero and the use of force, nationalism remains neutral on this subject. Communism, of course, is at bottom cosmopolitan and appeals to classes, not nations, though pragmatic Communists will bend the rules occasionally to advance the revolution by exploiting primordial ethnic feelings among the comrades. Nationalism, by contrast, is revolutionary and harks back to ethnic traditions. The Western bureaucratic state, finally, abuses nationalism by pretending to speak for the entire people even though its citizens resent its impersonality, coldness, elitism, and excessive rationality.²¹

Now we can ask what nationalism means? According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, (1) “nationalism is the desire by a group of people who share the same race, culture, language, etc. to form an independent country, (2) a feeling of love for and pride in your country; a feeling that your country is better than any other”.²² Broadly speaking nationalism is a person’s devotion, dedication, loyalty, and love of one’s own nation.²³

The concept ‘nationalism’ has different meanings relating to various levels of contexts. To many scholars nationalism is an ideology. It is believed that nationalism unites people of different classes, races and ideological perspectives. It also enhances same understanding of political, economical and social problems affecting them. Historically, nationalism has been used for national building and spearheading revolutionary wars against oppressive rule.²⁴

Nationalism was used as a strong weapon by the religious, political and economic circles to fulfill their specified targets. It was used by Luther King,

²⁰ Ibid., p. 712.

²¹ Ibid., p. 716.

²² “Nationalism”, Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, Fifth edition, p. 847.

²³ Ibid., p. 847.

²⁴ “Critically analyse nationalism as an ideology”, Web.26.Oct.2012, (<http://tendaimazingaizo-tee.blogspot.com/2011/06/critically-analyse-nationalism-as.html>)

Churchill and Roosevelt to converge their nations against the enemies for political reasons on behalf of conservation of democratic principles.²⁵

While nationalism has also been used to promote barbaric and horrible acts on other races, it has been used by dictators and powerful hungry politicians the likes of Hitler and Mussolini to silence opposition alliances and exclude other races from socio-economic benefits. Therefore from history nationalism can be seen a force for self-preservation, bravery and admiration or for retribution, subjugation, enslavement and discredit.²⁶

In the modern sense, nationalism has been subjected to different definitions, just like any other ideology the definitions are a legion. Advocates from different fields have come up with different definitions; no actual definition can be classified as substantive and fundamental in defining the term nationalism.

Anthony Smith defined nationalism as a “process of formation or growth of nations”, as a “sentiment or consciousness of belonging to a nation”, as a “language and symbolism of the nation”, as a social and political movement on behalf of a nation and lastly as a “doctrine or ideology of a nation”.²⁷ One of the most important questions is whether it can be classified as an ideology or not because some supporters demonstrate nationalism as a concept which deprives of values and features to be categorized as an ideology.²⁸

There are different views on nationalism whether it is an ideology or not, but it should be judged and analyzed to apprehend its pros and cons. According to Freedman “in order of nationalism to be an ideology it has to be unique to itself alone and need to provide a comprehensive range of answers to the political questions that society generate”.²⁹ To him, nationalism serves randomly free from generally accepted intellectual contexts with elimination and substitution of concepts.³⁰

Nationalism can be categorized into patriotism, militarism, jingoism, national pride. In a global and political context, individuals or groups acting upon their deep love for their nation is called ‘patriotism’.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

‘Militarism’ is nations’ attempts to achieve many different forms of victory, especially a diplomatic, cultural, economic, or even political ideology (e.g. The Cold War). To Oxford Dictionaries, ‘Jingoism’, by definition, is “a mood of nationalist enthusiasm and public celebration provoked by military expansion or imperial conquest” also has a strong global and political context. To Toland “Individuals who are enthusiastic about their nation may have a strong desire to not only ensure that their nation retains their social and military conditions, but the jingoist individuals hope that their nation may further increase its sense of global and political power”.³¹

Nationalism regards national pride as a pride is being proud of your country or proud of yourself for being from your country. It can also take on the form of defending your country against the external and internal threats. Patriotism is generally defined as love of one’s country, identification with it, and special concern for its well-being and that of compatriots. The term is generally used by authors interchangeably.³² But when we study this ideology, we must show difference between the terms patriotism and nationalism. There are some interpretations on this subject. We should illustrate one of the most notorious political critic Ashis Nandy’s interpretations on the line between patriotism and nationalism;

Nandy argues that nationalism is an ideology, while patriotism is a sentiment; nationalism is statist, patriotism is not; nationalism gives primacy to national identity as represented in and by the state, while patriotism expects the state to serve the needs of society and culture; nationalism presumes a degree of modernity, while patriotism is more suited to a post-nationalist, postmodern world; nationalist ideology has a positive content against which deviants and traitors are typically identified, but patriotism is fluid and does not benchmark the features of a patriot; and, finally, nationalism is subject to the anxieties of ideology, especially insecurity about the nation, while patriotism is assumed to be free of such anxieties and insecurities.³³

One of the prominent novelist and critic George Orwell also mentioned his opinions on this subject. He compared these terms in terms of aggressive opposite to defensive attitudes. To him, nationalism is about power, its followers want to acquire as much power and prestige as possible for their nation whereas nationalism is

³¹ John Toland, *Battle: the Story of the Bulge*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1999, p. 255.

³² Igor Primoratz, “Patriotism”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/patriotism/>>.

³³ Niraja Gopal Jayal, “Revisiting Nationalism”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Oct. 21-27 2006, Vol. 41, No. 42, p. 4513.

accordingly aggressive, patriotism is defensive and it is a devotion to a particular place and a way of life one thinks best, but it has no aim to impose on others.³⁴

Nationalism is regarded as an individual attitude. National attitudes can be classified as positive, negative and neutral. One natural attitude is the national feeling which means feeling of belonging to one's own people or country. The positive attitudes are national liking which means liking one's people and country, national pride which is being proud of one's country, national preference which means preferring one's own country and people to the others, national superiority which means one's own country is superior to others and the last one is nationalism which means feeling a sense of belonging to a particular nation with common origin accepting it as pure as possible and trying to sustain it as a separate and independent state. These national attitudes have a hierarchy. All of the phases complete each other. If there is an absence of positive attitudes, then negative attitudes step in. They are national alienation that is not feeling comfortable in one's own country, national shame that is being ashamed of one's own country or people, national disgust which means being disgusted with one's own people and country and finally national hate which means hating one's own country or people. These feelings bear a sense of negative self-identity.³⁵

It is imperative to give some philosophers' and authors' views on patriotism before we further our study. It is logical to look at their statements. There are positive and negative statements on this issue. Cicero named it as mother because of its fertility like an umbrella term. The female gender was given to it by him. The following quote from Cicero explains it "Dear are parents, dear are children, dear are friends and relations; but all affections to all men are embraced in country alone. "The Greek, the Roman, the Frenchman, the German, talks about u father land" ; and we are beginning to copy them, though to my ear the English "mother country" is far more tender and true. He furthers it by saying "for her no true son would, if need be, hesitate to die. And his words, themselves an echo of what the poets and orators

³⁴ Igor Primoratz, "Patriotism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/patriotism/>>.

³⁵ Henk Dekker-Darina Malová - Sander Hoogendoorn, "Nationalism and Its Explanations", *Political Psychology*, Jun. 2003, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 345-348.

whose heir he was had repeated again and again, have been reechoed and reiterated in many ages since he bowed his neck to the sword of his country's enemy".³⁶

Bishop Berkeley's defines patriotism as "Where the heart is right, there is patriotism. Yes, in the heart, not in banners and fire crackers and fish horns but in the heart. The heart that swells with pride at the country's success in the arts and industries animates the true patriot. Our country may be represented by men unworthy of their high position, and though bound by their acts to carry the burdens they lay upon us and to be partakers in the common glory as in the common ruin, we may be the truest of patriots and yet not stamp with our approval all that the government does."³⁷ Simon Keller has examined patriotism in terms of ethics. He questioned the patriotism asking "why do you love your country?" or "why are you loyal to it?", a patriot is likely to take the question to mean "what is so good about your country that you should love it, or be loyal to it?" and after that she claims what she believes to be its virtues and achievements. Keller follows up his statement "whereas one's love of and loyalty to a family member or a friend may coexist with a low estimate of the person's qualities, patriotism involves endorsement of one's country. If the patriot is to endorse her country, she must consider her beliefs about the country's virtues and achievements to be based on some objectively valid standards of value and an unbiased examination of the country's past and present record that leads to the conclusion that it lives up to those standards."³⁸

An Italian philosopher, politician and historian Machiavelli is well known for his writing princes that he explained his political views and also dealt with patriotism. His teaching about patriotism is "human nature being what it is, if they propose to do their job well, they must be willing to break their promises, to deceive, dissemble, and use violence, sometimes in cruel ways and on a large scale, when political circumstances require such actions. This may or may not be relevant to the question of patriotism, depending on just what we take the point of princely rule to be." Besides this famous teaching, he has a less well known teaching which he

³⁶ William Everett, "Patriotism", *World Affairs Institute*, Feb.1910, Vol. 72, No. 2, p. 35.

³⁷ Mary A. Haley, "Patriotism", *World Affairs Institute*, Nov. 1898, Vol. 60, No. 10, p.238.

³⁸ Igor Primoratz, "Patriotism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/patriotism/>>.

declared to commoners and politicians; “When the safety of one’s country wholly depends on the decision to be taken, no attention should be paid either to justice or injustice, to kindness or cruelty, or to its being praiseworthy or ignominious”.³⁹

Hegel’s concept of patriotism has three main features. First, he regards it as a distinctly modern virtue and patriotism is limited by Hegel’s account of modernity and its link to “subjective freedom.” Second, patriotism constitutes an important connection between critical reflection and habitual practice, illuminated in a comparison of Hegel’s thoughts on ethical education with Aristotelian practical philosophy. Thirdly, these first two dimensions are brought together in an account of what is a classic measure of patriotism the will to war for one’s country. This decision is based on the free choice to live freely, the highest act of the Hegelian citizen.⁴⁰

The harshest criticism on patriotism belonged to Russian novelist and thinker Leo Tolstoy. He found it not only stupid but immoral. “It is stupid because every patriot holds his own country to be the best of all whereas, obviously, only one country can qualify. It is immoral because it enjoins us to promote our country’s interests at the expense of all other countries and by any means, including war, and is thus at odds with the most basic rule of morality, which tells us not to do to others what we would not want them to do to us.”⁴¹

Patriotism can be classified as Civic Patriotism, Nationalist Patriotism and Trait-Based Patriotism.

1) Civic Patriotism means the love of citizen’s shared political freedom and the institutions that sustain it. It supports the idea of free and equal citizen so it is based on the tradition of republicanism.⁴²

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Rupert H. Gordon, “Modernity, Freedom, and the State: Hegel’s Concept of Patriotism”, *The Review of Politics*, Spring 2000, Vol. 62, No. 2, pp. 297-298.

⁴¹ Igor Primoratz, “Patriotism”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/patriotism/>>.

⁴² Pauline Kleingeld, “Kantian Patriotism”, *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Autumn 2000, Vol. 29, No. 4, p. 317.

2) Nationalist Patriotism means “devotion to and promotion of one’s country out of love for one’s nation, with the assumption that a country constitutes the political incarnation of a particular nation devotion to and promotion of one’s country out of love for one’s nation, with the assumption that a country constitutes the political incarnation of a particular nation” and it stresses on the national group to which one belongs but not the political commonwealth in which one is a citizen.⁴³

3) Trait-Based Patriotism is a third use of the term that differs from the former ones. It means the love of one’s country that results from reflection on or direct appreciation of its qualities. The most important matter here is that a country has some definite traits which led its inhabitants to love it and do something for it.⁴⁴

1.2. The Historical Development of Nationalism in the 19th Century in Europe

We could trace back the beginnings of modern nationalism to the disintegration, at the end of the middle Ages, of the social order in Europe and of the cultural unity of the various European states. During that time the cultural life of Europe was based on a common inheritance of ideas and attitudes transmitted in the West through Latin, the language of the educated classes.⁴⁵

All Western Europeans belonged to a common religion, that is to say; Catholic Christianity. The breakup of feudalism, the prevailing social and economic system, was accompanied by the development of larger communities, wider social interrelations, and dynasties that fostered feelings of nationality in order to win support for their rule.⁴⁶ It is obvious that there was a conflict between European countries.

In ancient and medieval times in Europe and elsewhere, people’s primary large-group loyalties were to the clan or tribe. People were defined by the social group into which they were born, and their territory could be understood only in terms of “social relations and the juxtaposition of

⁴³ Ibid., p.319.

⁴⁴ Ibid. pp. 320-321.

⁴⁵ “Nationalism”, *Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia*. © 1993-1997 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

social groups.” There was a close territorial identification by the group, with land ownership and division also being closely related to group social identity and organization. By contrast, in modern Western societies and increasingly in areas penetrated by Western ideas, land in its territorial connotation is now seen to be a commodity to be bought and sold, generally-but not entirely-apart from considerations of social relations.⁴⁷

The French Revolution was the great turning point in the history of nationalism in Europe. It is known that national feeling in France until then had centered in the king. As a result of the revolution, loyalty to the king was replaced by loyalty to the *patrie* “fatherland”.⁴⁸

It is well-known that nationalism played a crucial role in the evolution of Europe. But this occurred in different phases with differing ideologies in European countries. French Revolution is well known as the pioneer of nationalistic movements in Europe. Actually, this idea was penetrated into the minds of people centuries ago. However, the Europeans were ready to embrace the spirits of the French revolution with their nationalistic elements.⁴⁹

The starting point of modern nationalism could be traced back to the disintegration, at the end of the middle Ages, of the social order in Europe and of the cultural unity of the various European states. The cultural life of Europe was based on a common inheritance of ideas and attitudes transmitted in the West through Latin which was the main language of the educated classes. Almost all Western Europeans adhered to Catholic Christianity. The breakup of feudalism, the prevailing social and economic system, was accompanied by the development of larger communities, wider social interrelations, and dynasties that fostered feelings of nationality in order to win support for their rule. National feeling was strengthened in various countries during the Reformation, when the adoption of either Catholicism or Protestantism as a national religion became an added force for national cohesion.⁵⁰

Nationalism as we understand it is not older than the second half of the eighteenth century. Its first great manifestation was the French Revolution, which gave the new movement an increased dynamic force.

⁴⁷ David B. Knight, “Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Dec.1982, Vol. 72, No. 4, p. 516.

⁴⁸ “Nationalism”, *Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia*. © 1993-1997 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

⁴⁹ Hans Kohn, “The Nature of Nationalism”, *The American Political Science Review*, Dec.1939, Vol. 33, No. 6, p. 1001.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1001.

Nationalism had, however, become manifest at the end of the eighteenth century almost simultaneously in a number of widely separated European countries. Its time in the evolution of mankind had arrived, and although the French Revolution was one of the most powerful factors in its intensification and spread, it was not its date of birth. Like all historical movements, nationalism has its roots deep in the past. The conditions which made its emergence possible had matured during centuries before they converged at its formation. These political, economic, and intellectual developments took a long time for their growth and proceeded in the various European countries at different pace.⁵¹

We should have a look at how nationalism shaped itself among European countries.

History tells us well that there were no nation-states rather Germany, Italy and Switzerland were divided into kingdoms, duchies and cantons whose rulers had their autonomous territories of which lived diverse people. They did not see themselves as sharing a collective identity or a common culture. Often they even spoke different languages and belonged to different ethnic groups. The Habsburg Empire ruled over Austria-Hungary and also included Alpine Regions, The Tyrol, Austria and the Sudetenland as well as Bohemia, where the aristocracy was predominantly German speaking. It also included the Italian speaking provinces of Lombardy and Venetia.⁵²

It is thought that the major function of nationalism is the transference of loyalty from kinship groups or local and regional levels to the larger national group. But nationalism has both negative and positive aspects. The negative aspects clearly define the separateness and exclusiveness of a group and stress antagonism to others to many people. "The positive aspects try to give meaning to the communality of interests of a given group and to define the rights of membership in the group of all those who are said to belong to it by breaking down loyalties to particularistic subgroups and replacing them by loyalty to the nation as a whole. Interestingly, just as nationalism demands the shifting of loyalties from local and regional groups to the nation, so organizations at supra-state levels also demand a shifting of loyalties".⁵³

There are different approaches to this phenomenon. For example, Dudley Seers perceives nationalism as a kind of economic policy, although Benedict

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 1001.

⁵² "The Rise of Nationalism in Europe", Web.01.Apr.2013. (<http://www.excellup.com/classten/ssten/nationalismeurope.aspx>).

⁵³ David B. Knight, "Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Dec.1982, Vol. 72, No. 4, p. 521.

Anderson sees it in a linguistic perspective. Anthony Smith explains it in a different way, to him it is an ideology of unity and it has pre-industrial base. Ernest Gellner considers the term refers to a specifically industrial principle of social evolution and social organizations.⁵⁴

History tells us that nationalism caused an unnecessary destruction in the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe. “Nationalist riots led to numerous revolts, disturbing order and causing needless death. As well, nationalist stirrings lead to the wars of unification for both Italy and Germany, leading to numerous wars (Franco-Prussian, Franco-Austrian, Italy-Austria, etc.), and the end of an era of general peace in Europe. Nationalist stirrings lead to the assassination of the Habsburg heir, and caused World War I. Nationalism continued onwards after World War I however, and in part, fierce nationalism in Germany led to World War II. Even modern conflicts in the Balkans are almost solely because different nationalist groups seek independence”.⁵⁵

We could infer that it was the result of political turmoil of Europe. These nations’ folks saw one another as enemy and the other so the political upheavals were inevitable. This turmoil planted the seed of nationalism and nationalistic sentiment.

In early nineteenth century Europe allied itself to the ideology of liberalism. It is well known that the term liberalism derives from the Latin root *liber*, meaning free according to the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary.⁵⁶

“For the new middle classes liberalism stood for freedom for the individual and equality of all before the law. Politically, it emphasized the concept of Government by consent. Since the French Revolution, liberalism had stood for the end of autocracy and clerical privileges, a constitution and representative government through parliament”.⁵⁷

1.3. World War I

It is known that after the World War I many nation states emerged and it was the period of collapse of colonialism and perish of the Empire States such as British

⁵⁴ Benedict Anderson et al, “What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study it?”, *International Organization*, Summer, 1986, Vol. 40, No. 3, p. 707.

⁵⁵ “Nationalism was beneficial to 19th and 20th century Europeans”, Web.02.01.2013(<http://www.debate.org/debates/nationalism-was-beneficial-to-19th-and-20th-century-europeans/1/>)

⁵⁶ “The Rise of Nationalism in Europe”, Web.01.Apr.2013 (<http://www.excellup.com/classten/sssten/nationalismeurope.aspx>).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Empire. It fulfilled the national aspirations of the Central European peoples.⁵⁸ When the United States entered the war, President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed the principle of national self-determination as one of the major issues of the conflict.⁵⁹ As a result of the war, the rule of the dynasties in Turkey, Russia, Austria, and Germany was ended, and in Central and Eastern Europe a number of new nation-states arose, notably Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and Hungary.⁶⁰ Others, such as Romania, were greatly enlarged. Nevertheless, nationalist problems continued to disturb Central and Eastern Europe. Many of the new nation-states contained national minorities who demanded independence or changes in frontiers. The conflicting claims of German and Polish nationalism became the immediate cause of the outbreak of World War II. History recorded that the inflammation of nationalist passions during and after World War I led also to the rise of fascism and National Socialism. Fascism in Italy and National Socialism in Germany adopted the totalitarian system introduced earlier in the Soviet Union with Communism.⁶¹

Asia and Africa were heavily affected by the Western ideas an industrialization and World War I led to the rise of nationalism in these continents. It can be shown as one of the most important effects of this war. The form of modern nation caused Asian nationalism and the Turks under command of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk defeated the Western allies and modernized their nation with the spirit of nationalism.⁶²

During the same period the leader of the Indian National Congress, Mohandas Gandhi, deeply stirred the aspirations of the Indian masses for national independence. In China the leader of the Guomindang, or Kuomintang (Nationalist People's party), Sun Yat-sen, "inspired a successful national revolution. Because all these movements were

⁵⁸ Betty Miller Unterberger, "Self-Determination," *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, Web.30.07.2013. (<http://www.gmu.ac.ir/download/booklibrary/e-library-1/Encyclopedia%20of%20American%20Foreign%20Policy.pdf>), pp. 580-582.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.582.

⁶⁰ "World War I", Web.03.01.2013, (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² "World War I", *Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia*. © 1993-1997 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

directed against the Western European powers, they were supported by Soviet communism”.⁶³

The 1830s were the age of revolutions in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The most important one of those revolutions was the Greek one against the Turkish rule. The Greek revolution attracted the attention of the world and Greece was recognized as the father of European civilization. The revolution aimed to separate it from the Ottoman Empire so that, scholars and artists coming from different European countries spread the ideology of freedom and provoked Greek people against Ottoman Empire. It became a success and they accessed their freedom thanks to Treaty of Constantinople in 1832.⁶⁴

The American and French revolutions were based on body politics. Namely, they support the idea of national sovereignty. In the United States and France, the old regimes were overturned by revolutions and the sovereignty became in the hands of people and they affected the fate of other countries. Because these revolutions stirred up the change of international balances of power so that new territories were created during the past two hundred years. These changes divided the world into two polar powers the Soviet Block and USA. It has been made lots of changes from colonial status to independent status since the last decades.⁶⁵

1.4. British Nationalism

It is generally known that nationalism is one of the most striking forces of the twentieth century European revolutions and politics. In Great Britain nation state was different because it didn't take place through a revolution or rebellion. It was a perpetual period. There were different kinds of ethnic groups in Britain. It comprised of Scot, Irish, English and Welsh. Although they were similar, they had different ethnic identities in the sense of cultural and political identities and English identity was dominant on British Isles. But in electoral politics, national sentiments have played little part, so it can be understood that there is an allusive compromise among these ethnic groups.⁶⁶

⁶³ “Nationalism,” *Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia*. © 1993-1997 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ David B. Knight, “Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Dec.1982, Vol. 72, No. 4, p. 519.

⁶⁶ Anthony Heath, et al, “British National Sentiment”, *British Journal of Political Science*, Cambridge University Press, Jan 1999, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 166-168.

These ethnic groups had a free spirit but Scots proclaimed this desire more strongly. Because of their high free spirit, they were exiled and Gaelic language which was spoken by Scots was also prohibited. The case of Irish people were indifferent. The religion was divided into Catholic and Protestants. This was also one of the most driving controversies in the island. They always wanted to independent but it was unsuccessful. English anthem, flag and language became dominant throughout the country and the other ethnic groups were seen as lower identity.⁶⁷

Britain is shown as a nation state. In the four major ethnic groups Scots tried to become popular in terms of regionalism and they wanted be recognized as a separate identity.⁶⁸

“Hugh Seton-Watson has argued that a distinct “English” sense of national consciousness merged into being “British,” which included the Scots and others but which the English tended to appropriate unto themselves with little or no positive acknowledgment of the Welsh, Scots, or Irish as distinctive elements of the whole.”⁶⁹ It can be further claimed that there never was the need for an English nationalism and the Scots and Welsh regarded themselves as separate identities more than just ‘British’. The same issue of identity exists for people in Northern Ireland, but it is more complicated there because of the debate over whether or not there are two nation: an Ulster nation and an Irish nation.⁷⁰

It is worth mentioning about the historical causes of English nationalism before we deal with the English nationalism.

Until the end of the fifteenth century England was a poor and backward country. England’s population of somewhat more than three millions was then only half that of Spain, about a fourth of that of France, and about a fifth of that of Germany. The end of the Hundred Years War and the rise of the house of Tudor marked a milestone in the development of the English nation.⁷¹ The defeat in France and the withdrawal from the Continent in the long run strengthened England and laid the foundations for her greatness. Protected by the wall of the sea she felt herself safe against any attack from across the channel. Thus she could turn all her energies in an entirely new direction, towards the Atlantic Ocean.⁷²“This turning-point in English history coincided with the turning-point of

⁶⁷ David B.Knight, “Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Dec.1982, Vol. 72, No. 4, p. 518.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 518.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 518.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 518.

⁷¹ Hans Kohn, “The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Jan., 1940, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 69.

⁷² Ibid., p. 69.

European economic and political life, when the center of the continent shifted from the Mediterranean, far away from the British Isles, to the Atlantic Ocean, beyond which new worlds of fabulous riches beckoned.”⁷³

These changes led England to develop earlier than other European countries, because necessary conditions were enough for the growth of modern nationhood, thus paved the way for development of nationalism in the seventeenth century.⁷⁴

The most important point was the rise of Tudors. It laid the base of the national homogeneity and it became the first stark for the later development of nationalism. “Henry VIII played for English history and nationalism a role similar to that of the absolute kings on the continent; and the result of his reign was the growth of a conscious English stateism”.⁷⁵

The developments in Elizabethan period also contributed a lot to the development of modern nationalism. This development happened due to the growth of power, wealth, literary activity, and colonial expansion.⁷⁶

We know that in the seventeenth century English people were deeply interested in the new science than other contemporary peoples that made them ahead of any other nation in political theory and political interest.⁷⁷ The case in mainland Europe was “whereas Italy and Spain were declining, Germany was devastated economically and intellectually by the long-drawn horror of the Thirty Years War, and the French nation afforded the magnificent spectacle of a stable society on a classical basis, the English people were being deeply stirred by the convulsions of the Revolution”⁷⁸.

The tendencies of such nationalism which had germinated under the Tudors now broke through in a volcanic eruption. “It filled the English people with an entirely new consciousness, a sense that they, the common people of England, were the bearers of history and builders of destiny at a great turning point from which a new true Reformation was to start”.⁷⁹

⁷³ Ibid., p. 69.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 69-70.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 70.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 71.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 79.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 79.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

It is observed that for the first time the authoritarian and aristocratic tradition on which the Church and the State was challenged in the name of the liberty of man. To Hans, “The English Revolution was a synthesis, far-reachingly important, of Calvinist ethics and a new optimistic humanism. Being a Calvinist revolution the new nationalism expressed itself in an identification of the English people with the Israel of the Old Testament”.⁸⁰

This achievement was not restricted to the upper classes but also lower classes made themselves recognized and they contributed a lot to decide on their fates that helped the flourishing of the national sentiment among themselves. As Hans states:

“It lifted the people to a new dignity, of being no longer the common people, the object of history, but of being the nation, the subject of history, chosen to do great things in which everyone, equally and individually, was called to participate”. These are the first example of modern nationalism, religious, political and social at the same time, although “it was not yet the secularized nationalism which arose at the end of the eighteenth century”.⁸¹

For English people their ancestors who struggled against their Norman master became an example when they constituted the new nationalism and it was naturally liberal, universal and emphasized on the liberty and equality. It was also based on reason. In the light of this universalism based on reason and liberty, English people considered themselves as leading force. They also considered themselves as godly people who were created by Cromwell out of Puritans and bigots out of English, Scots and Jews.⁸² This religious nationalism was practiced as a revival of Old Testament nationalism.⁸³

The seventeenth century English nationalism became memorable part of the minds of English people. Because it had its basis in the Bible. All Protestants knew it and “England became the people of book, and that book was the Bible.”⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 79.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 80.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 80-81.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 81.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

It was above all the Old Testament which inspired Cromwell and his generation. The whole thought and style of the period was deeply colored with Hebraism. The three main ideas of Hebrew nationalism dominated the consciousness of the period: the chosen people idea, the covenant, the messianic expectancy.⁸⁵

“They tend to be younger, less educated, less privileged occupationally and less likely to be religious”.⁸⁶ It is worth mentioning here the English nationalism is the nationalism that asserts that the English are a nation and promotes the cultural unity of the English.⁸⁷ In a general sense, it comprises political and social movements and sentiment inspired by a love for English culture, language and history, and a sense of pride in England and the English people. English nationalists often see themselves as predominantly English rather than British.⁸⁸ On the political level, some English nationalists have advocated self-government for England. This could take the form either of a devolved English Parliament within the United Kingdom or the re-establishment of an independent sovereign state of England outside the UK.⁸⁹

In general, it might be expected that England, “as historically the dominant partner to embrace unionism and British nationalism and the for the English, seems to find it difficult to distinguish Britain from England and have a fuzzy conception of their national identity”⁹⁰

It is imperative to distinguish between national identity and nationalist sentiment. Because the former can be seen as a categorical self-concept and the latter can be seen as a dimension. Gellner defines nationalism as mainly a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be harmonious.⁹¹ As Gellner furthers it “nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind”.⁹²

As Gellner points out, this definition assumes concepts of state and of nation. The former he defines in Weberian terms, as that agency within society which

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 82.

⁸⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, London: Penguin, 1991, p. 5.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 5.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

⁹⁰ Anthony Heath -Shawna Smith, “Varieties of Nationalism in Scotland and England”, *ESRC*, Feb. 2005, No.108, p. 1.

⁹¹ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, p. 1.

⁹² Anthony Heath, et al., “British National Sentiment”, *British Journal of Political Science*, (Jan., 1999), Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 156.

possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence. The latter is defined in subjective terms as groups which share a common culture and which recognize each other as belonging to the same nation.⁹³ What we could infer from that the nation is not a legal concept, but a cultural one, and this is particularly important in Britain where we may all share legal British citizenship but also have differing notions of whether we belong to a Scottish, Irish, Welsh or indeed English nation.⁹⁴

As it was noted earlier, the assumption is that people have relatively stable and enduring values and sentiments shaping their attitudes towards transient political issues. We may argue by asking “whether the notion of British national sentiment provides additional insight into the structure of contemporary political attitudes, or whether the conventional conceptualizations of left and right and of libertarian and authoritarian suffice on their own.”⁹⁵

On the other hand, “official British nationalism can also be expected to have a more inclusive character. Indeed, the more effective it is as an official nationalism, the more consensual we would expect it to be and the weaker its relationship with particular social groups”.⁹⁶ On theoretical grounds it is thought that it is more closely linked with the dominant institutions of the British state, such the established Church of England, the public schools, the military and the monarchy.

Those mentioned institutions are expected to find an important generational basis to national sentiment: “the generation who lived through the Second World War and its aftermath of the Cold War might well exhibit stronger nationalist sentiments than do younger generations among whom, as in Scotland, alternative identities might have more appeal”.⁹⁷

In this respect, the British nationalism could be regarded as opposite to the Scottish nationalism structurally as well as politically. Since Scottish nationalism is to some extent opposed to the continued subordination of Scotland within the British state, we might expect it to appeal to precisely those groups that are least enamoured of Britishness. British nationalist sentiment is strongly related to national identity, the Church of England and education.⁹⁸

⁹³ Ibid., p. 157.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 157.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 162.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 166.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 166.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 166.

Many a scholar claims “English nationalism is not defined by attitudes towards other parts of the United Kingdom. Indeed most English nationalists are relaxed about belonging to the union of the UK. Most accept that it is Scotland’s call whether to stay or go from the union”.⁹⁹ We could argue that the defining characteristic of English nationalism is dislike of EU power, a sense of shame or anger that a once great free country is now bossed around by the institutions of Brussels.¹⁰⁰

It is true that English nationalists now think the deal within the UK union is unfair on England. They want as much self-government for England as Scotland enjoys for Scotland within the union of the UK. They want a fair financial settlement between the differing parts of the UK union. They either want English votes for English issues, or a new English Parliament.¹⁰¹ English *British* nationalism: the British nationalism that appeals to those English people who still make little distinction between England and Britain, and view Britain / the United Kingdom as providing the strongest guarantee of England’s freedoms, security and prosperity”.¹⁰²

We could claim that many British people regard the destinies and freedoms of England and Europe are intertwined, but they see a sustainable defense of England’s national interest in isolation from Europe. In such an atmosphere of national security, some changes occurred in law and rights of people. These are the growth of individual liberty, trading was guaranteed by law and also public opinion was taken into consideration. Private entrepreneurship became free of medieval tradition and feudal society. These changes in public life improved people’s feeling of self-confidence and self-reliance and these features became characteristic of the English in the sixteenth century.¹⁰³ It can be deduced that commoners had chance to get rich.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁰³ Hans Kohn, “The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Jan., 1940, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 70.

1.5. The Tanzimat Period and Its Main Characteristics

It is imperative to talk about the historical developments which caused the Tanzimat. It is undeniable fact that the Ottoman Empire was one of the longest lasting empires in world history. One of the reasons for its longevity was that it tolerated the existence of multiple faith communities. As we know ten million Turks were able to rule over 250 million people on three continents.¹⁰⁴

To Davey and many political historians, the Ottomans ruled their subjects through the Millet (communities) structure; each community had its own autonomous courts and could legislate according to its own religious laws. They also appreciated religious diversity. When the Sephardic Jews were expelled from Spain during the inquisition in 1492, the eighth Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (1447-1512) welcomed them to his dominions and granted them Ottoman citizenship.¹⁰⁵

The Ottoman Empire was at its summit as a world super power during the 16th century, but by the mid-18th Century it had significantly lost its global power. It suffered increasing losses on the battlefields and lost many territories. Internal and external revolts became commonplace and the empire's collapse seemed imminent. These realities pushed reformist Sultans and influential thinkers to look for new solutions to the empire's problems.¹⁰⁶

It is obvious that the Ottoman ruling class had to respond to these crises with a concentrated effort at reform; it replaced the old ways with new ones imported from the West in a reform movement (1839-1876) known as the Tanzimat called as Turkish for 'reorganization'.¹⁰⁷ Mahmud II, initiated it (1876-1909). The Tanzimat modernized the Ottoman Empire by extending the scope of government into all aspects of life, overshadowing the autonomous millets and guilds that previously had monopolized most governmental functions. It led to creation of a modern administration and the army was created along with Western lines.¹⁰⁸

Secular systems of education and justice were created to provide personnel for the new administration. Large-scale programs of public

¹⁰⁴ M. Hakan Yavuz-John L. Esposito, *Turkish Islam and the Secular State*, New York: Syracuse University Press, First Edition, 2003, p. 64.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Davey, *The Sultan and his Subjects*, London: Chatto & Windus, First Edition, 1907, p. 395.

¹⁰⁶ Ishtiaq Hussain, "The Tanzimat: Secular Reforms in the Ottoman Empire", *Faith Matters*, 15 February 2011, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ John Freely, *Inside the Seraglio: Private Lives of the Sultans in Istanbul*, New York: Penguin, 2000, p. 226.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

works modernized the physical structure of the empire, with new cities, roads, railroads, and telegraph lines. New agricultural methods also contributed to Ottoman revitalization.¹⁰⁹

These Western reforms explicitly demonstrate that the Ottoman Empire was in decline in exercising its power over its territories especially after mid-18th century.

The first Sultan to recognise the empire's serious decline was Selim III (1789-1807). After being proclaimed Emperor, he began a programme of reforms along European lines. "He started by initiating changes in education, legal and military systems. However; these reforms were not welcomed by the Janissaries (Ottoman soldiers) who, through the terror of Europe, had now become ineffective on the battlefield. When Selim began developing an infantry force known as the Nizam-i Cedit (New Order) it aroused bitter opposition among the Janissaries who saw this new army as a threat to their existence".¹¹⁰

Because of all these uneasiness on the part of the Janissaries, they eventually declared the European-inspired reforms to be bidah and with the backing of the Shaykh ul Islam (grand scholar of the Ottoman Empire), they revolted. They succeeded in deposing (and later murdering) Selim and replacing him with his brother Mustafa (1807-08). "A year later, after a bloody struggle, Mustafa was removed by supporters of Selim and replaced by his nephew Mahmud II (1808-39). Mahmud, like his uncle Selim, was determined to modernise the empire by adopting European laws over the traditional Ottoman ones (Kanun-i Osmani), which at the time combined religious, customary and secular law through imperial decrees". During this period, European states had also started pressuring the Ottomans to give their non-Muslim subjects equal legal status.¹¹¹

The Tanzimat period lasted about thirty seven years and it achieved significant things in establishing the basic principles and the governmental reforms almost in all fields of life. Order and justice were necessary for substantial social and economic change. The major product of the movement was a huge increase in the power of the central state. The major decrees of the Tanzimat importantly increased the scope of government activity by creating new fiscal, legal, and administrative instruments.

The concentration of power in Constantinople lent itself to abuse. The Tanzimat period would conclude with a far more effective administrative

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 226.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 226.

¹¹¹ Richard Davey, *The Sultan and his Subjects*, London: Chatto & Windus, First Edition, 1907, p. 395.

and legal apparatus, but one that would be commandeered by an autocratic sultan, with the accession of Abdülhamit II in 1876. And in some ways, the Tanzimat was too little, too late. Efforts to strengthen the military and to integrate a population riven with religious and ethnic differences would not proceed quickly enough to avert the dismemberment of the Balkan provinces and the disastrous Russo-Turkish War of 1877/78.¹¹²

The charter issued at the beginning of the period sanctioned equality of all citizens—Muslim and non-Muslim—before the law, and no punishment without trial (due process). The power of the ruler to execute a subject and confiscate his property at the ruler's whim was ended. Tax-farming was abolished. During this period, the Great Powers of Europe were often involved by the reformers to serve as a brake in case the sultan of the day swerved from reform.¹¹³

Rothman states “bureaucratic efforts continued to strengthen, and, in the 1840s, separate ministries of education and justice were put in place to oversee the legal and educational systems in the country. Other departments were also established during this period, including the department of transportation, the department of interior security, and the department of finance. By 1840, there was a Prime Minister in charge of the cabinet”.¹¹⁴ Lots of social and cultural reforms took place during the early to middle of the 19th century. A high council of justice was established as an adjunct to the justice department to supervise judicial appointments. In addition, independent commissions similar to the American Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Federal Trade Commission were put in place to assume economic regulatory powers. Although the traditional Islamic legal code still existed, a separate legal department that administered civil justice began to function in 1840. The council of justice was joined by another council in 1854, the High Council of Reform, which had the power to legislate in matters of civil, penal, and commercial and maritime law. An assembly of notables was also initiated during this period; the purpose of the assembly was to present ideas to the prime minister subject to the approval of the sultans.¹¹⁵

We should narrow our discussion on literature most specifically during the period. In most the Tanzimat plays, what we see is that the main purpose is to look for solutions to social problems and protect the unity and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

The authors wanted to make the Ottoman people conscious about the love of fatherland and its protection. With the influence of ‘Türkçülük’, this developed after

¹¹² Roderic H. Davison *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1963, p. 379.

¹¹³ Norman C. Rothman, “Islam in Turkey and Modernization: The Tanzimat Period”, *Maryland University College* p. 82.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

II. Meşrutiyet and with the hope to re-expand the land which was gradually getting smaller, the definition of fatherland evolves into ‘Turan’ and it was emphasized in the plays. After the declaration of the Republic, Anatolia was the only remaining land as the fatherland. In the plays, how the fatherland, whose borders were determined by Misâk-ı Millî, had been protected and who had sacrificed so much was portrayed. In the whole long history of the Ottoman period, we could not come across any work which dealt with the theme of fatherland issue as the Tanizmat plays did.¹¹⁶

Until the declaration of Hatt-i Humayun* (1839), it is observed that the religious ideology was dominant in social life but it was regarded as a sense of unifying factor for only the Muslim citizens in the Ottoman Empire and the word ‘fatherland’ hadn’t contained a political value yet but it had only a local value. Namely, fatherland reminded everyone their birthplaces. In Hatt-i humayun and treaties, ‘Memalik-i Mahrusa’, ‘Memalik-i scrumptious’ terms are equivalent to fatherland. ‘Memalik-i Mahrusa-i scrumptious’ which was one of the official attributes of the Ottoman Empire itself means well-preserved territories.¹¹⁷

Selin Deringil furthers this issue: “the tragic thing is that the lands couldn’t be protected well at all especially after 17th century. The expression ‘Hüda negerde’ (God forbid) was articulated nearly like the word which is necessary to mobilize the grace of God in all places that the issue is about the disintegration of the state...”¹¹⁸

After the declaration of the Tanzimat reform, the concept of fatherland also assumed a political meaning due to acknowledging the French Revolution’s new idea movements in Ottoman Empire. Throughout the 19th century Bernard Lewis remarked that French ‘patria’ concept affected the Islamic word ‘fatherland’.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Didem Ardalı Büyükarman, “Vatan kavramının Türk Tiyatro Edebiyatındaki seyri üzerine bir inceleme”, *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Erzurum, 2008, Sayı 37, pp. 127-128. (Translated by the author.)

* It is the diplomatics term for a document or handwritten note of an official nature composed by an Ottoman Sultan.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 130.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 130.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 130.

In 1859, Münif Pasha the founder of the Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye published his work called as Muhaverat-ı Hikemiye which was formed in some dialogues from Fontenelle, Fénelon and Voltaire.¹²⁰ Love of country was dealt with sense of the Western values and concepts which were totally different from the Ottoman values.¹²¹

As a fashionable trend the Tanzimat playwrights wrote plays on the theme of fatherland and Turkism. In both Hamid and Namık Kemal's plays, Tanpınar remarked that these ideas were revealed again roughly in the same frame with the pen of new Turkish writers and roughly a whole generation would stir with these ideas.¹²² Tanzimat Intellectuals' initial development of the concept of European-like fatherland which is governed by laws and specified limits are seen for the first time in this period.¹²³

In the unsigned article titled as "Hubbü'l-Vatan Mine'l İman", the concept of fatherland is discussed in Hürriyet newspaper's first issue which was published by the New Ottomans in their exiled years.¹²⁴ Mehmet Kaplan states "insisting on the notion and concept of fatherland assumed by the writers belonged to Namık Kemal."¹²⁵ We can actually follow Namık Kemal's views on fatherland and nation in "Hürriyet" article which he published in Hürriyet newspaper with his signature.¹²⁶ In this article, Kemal also published the translated sections of French anthem 'La Marseillaise'.¹²⁷ It is clearly seen that Namık Kemal's sense of fatherland was affected by the love of nation and the idea of fatherland which progressed throughout the world during and after the French Revolution.¹²⁸ Namık Kemal dealt with the idea of fatherland in two ways as essence of the Ottomanism and as a concept.¹²⁹

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 130.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 130.

¹²² Ibid., p. 130.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 130.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 131.

¹²⁵ qtd.in,Ibid., p. 131.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 131.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 131.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 131.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 131.

The Tanzimat period was as a period in which new perspectives for fatherland were perceived and the first theatre representations of the Western style were officially staged in the theatres in Istanbul. The Western type of theatre was the shortest way to tell it to the illiterate society, so Tanzimat writers saw this type of theatre as a tool for explaining their thoughts, feelings and opinions. Writers brought examples from Europe about some subjects like ideals, social and individual, but they confronted with autocracy government without making offer of civilising. These offers were made by the second constitutional period's writers.¹³⁰

Since the birth of the Western style theatre in our country, lots of dramatists appeared and they handled the social, political and cultural problems of the country in their works. The first published play during the Tanzimat period is Şinasi's *Şair Evlenmesi* (the Poet's Wedding). It aims to change the society for good measure.¹³¹

Namık Kemal regarded the theatre as a tool to change the society in which he lived. To Kemal, the stage was a true platform appealing to both eye and ear to change the society for good causes.¹³² Kemal used the concept of fatherland with the meanings taken from French Revolution and his play *Vatan Yahut Silistria* (the Fatherland or Silistria) became the first Western influenced play in Turkish theatre literature beginning in the Tanzimat Period. The work became very popular with the Turkish patriotic as it dealt with the theme of love for one's own country.¹³³

According to Kemal 'the Fatherland' had various meanings and references overreaching to the borders drawn by pen or sword in battlefield. A land of sacred idea is primarily engaged in the fatherland, it makes society a society is a set of moral ideas and social formations. What makes fatherland is its holy idea and this set of ideas consisting of moral and civil values creates a nation. Kemal said that love of

¹³⁰ Enver Töre, "Türk Tiyatrosunun kaynakları", *International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Winter 2009, Volume 4 /1-II, p. 2208. (Translated by the author)

¹³¹ Didem Ardalı Büyükarman, "Vatan kavramının Türk Tiyatro Edebiyatındaki seyri üzerine bir inceleme", *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Erzurum, 2008, Sayı 37, p. 131.

¹³² Ibid., p. 131.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 131.

fatherland was one of the most holy and greatest virtues in every religion, every nation and every manner.¹³⁴

He also strongly believed that it was impossible to create the idea of a single fatherland by abolishing all borders.¹³⁵ The theme of fatherland is also expressed in Mehmet Kaplan's famous poem "Vatan-ı Osmani". The poem inspires the importance of tradition and religion in the hearts and minds of the people as in line with the idea of fatherland.¹³⁶

To Kemal, 'Fatherland' was the common territory of Muslims and non-Muslims who live on it. It is emphasized that especially Muslims and non-muslims are fraternal. On the other hand, İlber Ortaylı interpreted Namık Kemal's sense of liberty that it isn't based on a nationalist element and his fatherland is the fatherland of Islam.¹³⁷

Şerif Mardin also drew attention to that issue in hand and Mardin claimed; Kemal's ideas about fatherland were conflicting in themselves. On the one hand, these ideas focused and emphasized the survival of the Ottomans as to achieve a future by sticking the old Ottoman values and their bravery, on the other hand, these aimed to rebuild a United Ottoman Empire without any regard to religion and race. The rights of all people were protected by the new constitution.¹³⁸

The clash of ideas also reveals themselves in *Fatherland or Silistra*. In this play the bloods of history and ancestors which he mentioned proudly always refer to the Turkish Muslims. But some scholars found them disturbing as the emphasis on the Turkish race would disturb other ethnicities living under the Ottoman Empire rule so when the new constitution was written by the lawmakers including Namık Kemal, the rights of those ethnicities were protected by the new law equally. Kemal and other Turkish intellectuals and lawmakers were well aware that if the rights of

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 131.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 132.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 132.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 132.

¹³⁸ qtd.in, Ibid., p. 132.

those ethnicities were not protected by the new constitution it would be too difficult to persuade those people to believe the Ottomanship.¹³⁹

Şerif Mardin based Namık Kemal's hastily relegation on this contradictory situation as a result of Vatan play's enthusiastic met by people. According to Mardin, "Namık Kemal's emphasises on the Ottomanism many times in the play was not uniting and strong enough to create a common value over the Turkishness and Muslim".¹⁴⁰

Kemal who influenced the post-Tanzimat Period with his ideas about fatherland continued to handle the subject of fatherland not only in 'Vatan' play but also in *Akif Bey* (1873), *Gülrihal* (1875), and *Celâleddin Harzemşah* (1876). What we see in all these plays is that Kemal ardently focuses on the theme of fatherland to create a stable and united empire in which all people could live in peace and harmony.¹⁴¹

In many of his works Kemal delineates 'fatherland' as it is not a part of territory which surrounded by borders or a bare geographic definition but it is a historical, moral and material unity and integrity blending people's lives. Nevin Önberk put as Namık Kemal's freedom idea was neither pro- sharia nor pro-sultan but only a centralist and uniting one.¹⁴²

What is observed in Kemal's works is that he was against sublime porte despotism and federal system. He worked hard to unite the Christians and Muslims to live together peacefully under the superior sovereignty of the Ottoman lineage with a sentiment of love of fatherland. To Kemal, having a parliamentary system representing all people and stare rightly was imperative.¹⁴³

Namık Kemal didn't delve into the subject of nationalism purposely as he thought that it could divide the Ottoman unity and dismantle the empire so he

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 132.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 132-133.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁴² qtd.in, Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 133.

focused mainly on the Ottomanism and unity of Islam. Kemal's 'Abdülaziz Devr-i İstila' aimed to remind his ancestors' bravery and justice.¹⁴⁴

Failure and lack of administration in the Ottoman Empire were other issues were covered by Kemal in his works. After he experienced the state failures in his time he proposed the Ottoman sultan to read his history to solve the problems facing the state.¹⁴⁵

It is wise to claim that, after reviewing Kemal's and other writers' works all had one aim that was to awaken the awareness of people in the point of protecting fatherland and loving fatherland. Fatherland took her place as an entity which should be saved and always holy in the Turkish thought.¹⁴⁶

Even after Tanzimat period, we see that many writers wrote about the issue of fatherland and its importance as an integration of the Ottoman subjects living in the fatherland whose borders determined by the concept and love of fatherland.¹⁴⁷

At the end of the 18th century and in the beginning of 19th century, Ottoman Empire was the largest state in terms of territory. Besides today's Anatolia, Thrace, Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania, Greece, the Caucasus, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria and east of the Mediterranean islands of Crete and Cyprus, all the islands of the Aegean Sea and three-quarters of the Mediterranean coast were under the Ottoman rule.¹⁴⁸

When the Ottoman Empire began losing its step by step to other states, the importance of fatherland and borders became the subject of discussion for intellectuals. It can be said that as the fatherland's borders shrunk significantly that made the authorities and intellectuals worry about keeping the country's borders. Instead of conqueror warrior who went beyond the borders and to the battlefields in the past, patriotism as a sentiment got stronger and stronger among the people.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 134.

Patriotism was regarded as an ultimate duty to do by many intellectuals and common people.¹⁴⁹

All in all, the Tanzimat plays were thesis plays. They dealt with all sorts of social ills. They were harshly criticized and defended by many circles. The subject matters of the plays were regarded controversial and blamed for causing political unrest in society. Most of these works focused on the social problems such as corrupt officials, family arranged marriages, forcing young girls to marry old men, clash of generation gap, education of women, impossible love affairs and extramarital affairs, blood revenge, honor killings, etc. The cultural and social turmoil created by the Western effect led society and writers to search for new pursuits to find solutions to all these social ills prevailing in the Turkish society.¹⁵⁰

1.6. The General Outline of 19th Century Drama

We should find it necessary to talk about the 19th century drama in brief before we could further our study. The 19th century was the age of many movements and rebellions most importantly it was the age of the Romantic Rebellion. In its basic form, Romanticism concentrated on the spiritual rather than the reason, which would allow humankind to transcend the limitations of the physical world and body and find an ideal truth.

Scholars drew their subject matter from nature and “natural man” not from the unnatural and supernatural. It is widely believed that one of the best examples of Romantic drama is Faust (Part I, 1808; Part II, 1832) by the German playwright Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.¹⁵¹ It tells a story of a legendary man who sells his soul to the devil, this play of epic proportions depicts humankind’s attempt to master all knowledge and power in its constant struggle with the universe. We know that the Romantics focused on emotion rather than rationality, drew their examples from a study of the real world rather than the ideal, and glorified the idea of the artist as a mad genius unfettered by rules. As a result it is known that Romanticism gave rise to a vast array of dramatic literature and production. To literary historians, Romanticism first appeared in Germany, a country with little native theatre before the 18th century. By the 1820s Romanticism dominated the theatre of most of

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 134-135.

¹⁵⁰ Enver Töre, “Türk Tiyatrosunun kaynakları”, *International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Winter 2009, Volume 4 /1-II , p. 2210.

¹⁵¹“19th-Century Theater”, Web.09.04.2013, (www.dramahistory.com).

Europe. Many of the ideas and practices of Romanticism were evident in the late 18th-century Sturm und Drang movement of Germany led by Goethe and the dramatist Friedrich Schiller.¹⁵²

The main characteristics of these plays were strongly emotional, experimental and sensational. The plays had more than one style that's why they were colorful and interesting. The plays of the French playwright René Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt paved the way for French Romanticism, which had previously been known only in the acting of François Joseph Talma in the first decades of the 19th century. Victor Hugo's *Hernani* (1830) is considered the first French Romantic drama.¹⁵³

From the Renaissance onwards, drama seemed to be striving for total realism, or at least for the illusion of reality. When it reached that goal in the late 19th century, a multifaceted, anti-realistic reaction erupted. Avant-garde Precursors of Modern Theatre Many movements generally mingled with together as the avant-garde, attempted to suggest alternatives to the realistic drama and production.¹⁵⁴ "The various theoreticians felt that Naturalism presented only superficial and thus limited or surface reality-that a greater truth or reality could be found in the spiritual or the unconscious. Others felt that theatre had lost touch with its origins and had no meaning for modern society other than as a form of entertainment".¹⁵⁵ As in line with modern art movements, they turned to symbol, abstraction, and ritual in an attempt to revitalize the theatre. Although realism continues to be dominant in contemporary theatre, television and film now better serve its earlier functions.¹⁵⁶

Throughout Europe during the first score years of the century the acted drama was for the most part frankly unliterary and the so-called literary drama was plainly unactable, proving itself pitifully ineffective whenever it chanced to be put on the stage. In Germany the more popular plays were either sentimental or melodramatic; and sometimes they were both. In England the more serious dramas were frequently adapted or imitated from the German, while the comic plays--like those of the younger Colman--were often little better than helter-skelter patchworks of exaggerated incident and contorted caricature. In France tragedy was being strangled in the tightening bonds imposed by the classicist rules; and comedy was panting vainly for a larger freedom of theme and of treatment. But even in France help was at hand; and in certain Parisian

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

theaters, wholly without literary pretensions, two species were growing to maturity, destined each of them to reinvigorate the more literary drama.¹⁵⁷

The Victorian era, from the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1837 until her death in 1901, was an era of some traumatic events affected people's lives. These hardships of social life made writers handle the subjects. Even though romantic forms of expression in poetry and prose dominated English literature throughout the century, the attention of many writers was directed, sometimes ardently, to such issues as the growth of English democracy, the education of population, the development of industrial enterprise and the consequent rise of a materialistic philosophy, and the condition of the newly industrialized worker.¹⁵⁸

The same spirit of social criticism inspired the plays of the Irish-born George Bernard Shaw. He made the greatest effort to awaken the drama from its 19th-century somnolence. His works mainly dealt with the issues as latest economic and sociological theories and problems faced by common people. It is known that he satirically put forward the sickness and foolishness of individuals and societies in England and the rest of the modern world. His remarkable works on such issues are *Man and Superman* (1903), *Androcles and the Lion* (1913), *Heartbreak House* (1919), and *Back to Methuselah* (1921).¹⁵⁹

To Downer, "like the eighteenth, the nineteenth century is mainly a century of great actors rather than great plays, and it is to the actors, rather than to the playwrights, that we must turn to find the theatrical expression of the spirit of the times. Edmund Kean and William C. Macready represent the earlier and later stages of romanticism as accurately as Shelley and Tennyson, and Victorianism is as plainly marked in Alfred Wigan and Irving as in Ruskin or Trollope."¹⁶⁰

All in all, it is well known that the Romantic Movement did not develop in French drama and mainland Europe drama until the 1820s. The works of Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas contributed to the growth of drama during that period.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ "Victorian Era", Web.30.07.2013.

(<https://www.google.com.tr/#q=The+Victorian+era%2C+from+the+coronation+of+Queen+Victoria>)

¹⁵⁹ "English Literature", *Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia*. © 1993-1997 Microsoft Corporation.

¹⁶⁰ Alan S. Downer, "Players and Painted Stage: Nineteenth Century Acting", Jun.1946, Vol. 61, No. 2, p. 522.

We know that in England the great Romantic poets did not write significant plays. Lord Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley were regarded as the first practitioners of the closet drama. Burlesque and melodrama dominated the English stage.¹⁶¹

Melodrama was very popular in the 19th century it caused superficial excitement, its development, coupled with the emergence of realism in the 19th century. Initially, the melodrama dealt with superficially exciting materials as the gothic castle with its mysterious lord for a villain. The characters and settings moved closer to the realities of contemporary life. The concern for generating excitement led to a more careful consideration of plot construction, reflected in the smoothly contrived climaxes of the “well-made” plays of Eugène The ‘well-made’ plays of Scribe and Victorien Sardou of France and Arthur Wing Pinero of England were very popular among the audience and they caught the attention of many people from the all walks of life.¹⁶²

Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen brought drama to its climax in the realistic movement of the 19th century. His works are thought to have served as a bridge to 20th-century symbolism. His realistic dramas of ideas surpass other such works because they blend a complex plot, a detailed setting, and middle-class yet extraordinary characters in an organic whole. Ibsen’s later plays, such as *The Master Builder* (1892), are symbolic. Two leading playwrights, Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw, are well-known as they contributed a lot to English theatre by writing comedies of manners. Congreve and George Bernard Shaw brought the play of ideas to fruition with penetrating intelligence and singular wit.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ John Peck –Martin Coyle, *A Brief History of English Literature*. Great Britain: Mackays of Chatham, pp. 161-162.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 162.

2. CHAPTER

BERNARD SHAW AND NAMIK KEMAL

2.1. George Bernard Shaw's Biography in Brief

We should, shortly, talk about Shaw's biography to understand his works better. George Bernard Shaw was born in 1856 in Dublin, in a lower-middle class family of Scottish-Protestant ancestry.¹⁶⁴ On his father's side, he was descended from a branch of a Scottish clan which, according to reasonably reliable accounts, had settled in Ireland from Hampshire in the late seventeenth century. His mother was a member of the Gurly family, landowners in Carlow and Galway, whose ancestry in Ireland has also been traced back to the late seventeenth century.¹⁶⁵

It is well-known fact that Shaw did not like to use "George" either personally or professionally. His father was a failed corn merchant, with a drinking problem and a squint. Medical treatments on his father failed to cure him. His mother was a professional singer, the sole disciple of Vandeleur Lee, a voice teacher claiming to have a unique and original approach to singing.¹⁶⁶ As the time passed, the family getting poorer and poorer while the head of it had been fighting a losing battle in a decaying business, and when GBS was about thirteen an effort was made to turn him into a source of income.¹⁶⁷ He learned the cruelty of life when he was very young. It can be understood that these hardships formed basis for his plays.

When Shaw was sixteen, his mother left her husband and son and moved with Vandeleur Lee to London, where the two set up a household, along with Shaw's older sister Lucy. Shaw remained in Dublin with his father, completing his schooling. To many scholars, he did not like formal schooling at all. He worked as a clerk for an estate Office. As Mazer states "he hated working as a clerk" as well.¹⁶⁸ It is clearly that he was a

¹⁶⁴ Cary M.Mazer, "Bernard Shaw: a Brief Biography", Web.24.Aug.2013, University of Pennsylvania,(<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~cmazer/mis1.html>).

¹⁶⁵ A.M.Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, p. 7.

¹⁶⁶ Cary M.Mazer, "Bernard Shaw: a Brief Biography", Web.24.Aug.2013, University of Pennsylvania, (<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~cmazer/mis1.html>).

¹⁶⁷ Hesketh Pearson, *Bernard Shaw*, House of Stratus, 2001, p. 38.

¹⁶⁸ Cary M.Mazer, "Bernard Shaw: a Brief Biography", Web.24.Aug.2013, University of Pennsylvania, (<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~cmazer/mis1.html>)

rebel. He didn't like programmed life like working for somebody. His soul likes freedom.

In 1876, Shaw left Dublin and his father and moved to London, moving in with his mother's *menage*. There he lived off of his mother and sister while pursuing a career in journalism and writing. The first medium he tried as a creative writer was prose. We know that he completed five novels titled 'Immaturity'. None of them were published. Many sources state that Shaw loved reading much so he spent most of his time in the public libraries and in the British Museum reading room. As his age progressed, he was involved in progressive politics. He did not miss out any political activities.¹⁶⁹

He was seen standing on soapboxes, at Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park and at socialist rallies. According to many scholars, he was a good orator, so he managed to hold the attention of the crowd with his energetic and aggressive speaking style that is evident in all of his writing.¹⁷⁰ Although he didn't get the formal education, he became a pioneer person for Irish people thanks to his ability of speech. He was an extraordinary person who interested in wide fields of interest from literature to arts. He also thought about ways for his country's development. He knew that he could accomplish it via politics and so, he founded Fabian Society.

Fabian Society was a socialist political organization dedicated to transforming Britain into a socialist state, not by revolution but by systematic progressive legislation, bolstered by persuasion and mass education. It would later be instrumental in founding the London School of Economics and the Labour Party. Shaw lectured for the Fabian Society, and wrote pamphlets on the progressive arts, including *The Perfect Wagnerite*, an interpretation of Richard Wagner's Ring cycle, and *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, based on a series of lectures about the progressive Norwegian playwright, Henrik Ibsen. Meanwhile, as a journalist, Shaw worked as an art critic, then as a music critic, from 1895 to 1898, as Theatre Critic for the *Saturday Review*, where his reviews appeared over the infamous initials "GBS."¹⁷¹

According to Mazer, in 1891, at the invitation of J.T. Grein, a merchant, theatre critic, and director of a progressive private new-play society, The

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

Independent Theatre.¹⁷² Shaw became very successful whatever he did but sometimes he met with an obstacle. He wrote his first play, *Widower's Houses*. For the next twelve years, he wrote almost a dozen plays but most of the London theatres refused to stage his plays. A few were produced abroad such as *Arms and the Man*. It was produced under the auspices of an experimental management. *Mrs. Warren's Profession* was censored by the Lord Chamberlain's Examiner of Plays. Several of his plays were presented in single performances by the private theatre societies.¹⁷³ It is obvious that he had clash of ideas with contemporary people and institutions and his plays reflected his views.

He was really embebbbed in politics. He was an active member of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF). He read lots of works on Marxism such as Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*. As a member of the Fabian Society, he delivered many lectures on transformation of the British society for a Marxist cause. As a Fabian, Shaw learned to verbalize his ideas and philosophies. He quickly became a spokesman for the Fabians and their ideals. This gave him his first opportunity to express his beliefs in a public forum, and brought his name to the public as his writing never had.¹⁷⁴ In 1898, after a serious illness, Shaw resigned as theatre critic, and moved out of his mother's house. He married Charlotte Payne-Townsend, an Irish woman of independent means. Their marriage lasted until Charlotte's death in 1943.¹⁷⁵ It was an unconsummated marriage.

In 1904, Harley Granville Barker, an actor, director and playwright twenty years younger than Shaw who had appeared in a private theatre society's production of Shaw's *Candida*, took over the management of the Court Theatre on Sloane Square. He set up it up as an experimental theatre specializing in new and progressive drama. Barker produced ten plays by Shaw and Shaw began writing new plays with Barker's management specifically in mind. Over the next ten years, all but one of Shaw's plays *Pygmalion* in 1914 was produced either by Barker or by Barker's friends and colleagues in the other experimental theater managements around England.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Azher Suleiman, "George Bernard Shaw", Baghdad: *Mena for printing & publishing*, 2010, p. 5.

¹⁷⁵ Cary M. Mazer, "Bernard Shaw: a Brief Biography", Web. 24. Aug. 2013, University of Pennsylvania, (<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~cmazer/mis1.html>).

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

Thanks to royalties from his plays, Shaw became financially independent and his marriage to a well-off woman made him quite wealthy.¹⁷⁷ It shows us Shaw got his success step by step and stepping logically.

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 changed Shaw's life dramatically. To Shaw, the war was a total bankruptcy of the capitalist system. It was a groundless and unfair war which caused very devastating tragic waste of young lives, all under the guise of patriotism. He expressed his opinions in a series of newspaper articles about the war under the title *Common Sense About the War*. These articles proved to be a disaster for Shaw's public fame.¹⁷⁸

He was treated as a rogue in his adopted country, and there were also rumours of alleged treason. His performance decreased during the war years and he could write only one major play; *Heartbreak House*, into which he projected his bitterness and despair about British politics and society.¹⁷⁹ He was a blunt talking person and because of it, sometimes he was criticized harshly.

After the war, his dramatic voice and his reputation were restored once again. He became once again a productive playwright. The series of five plays about "creative evolution," *Back to Methuselah*, and then, in 1923, with *Saint Joan*. In 1925 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. He did not need the money, so he donated the cash award towards an English edition of the Swedish playwright August Strindberg.¹⁸⁰ Shaw's plays were regularly produced and revived in London. Several theatre companies in the United States began producing his plays, old and new, on a regular basis. The Theatre Guild in New York, and the Hedgerow Theatre, in Rose Valley, PA were the most notable ones.¹⁸¹

It is known that Shaw lived the rest of his life as an international celebrity, travelling the world, continually involved in local and international politics. In 1950, Shaw fell off a ladder while trimming a tree on his property at Ayot St. Lawrence in Hertfordshire, outside of London, and died a few days later of complications from the injury, at age 94. He had been at work on yet another play *Why She Would Not*.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

2.2. Shaw's Plays

We do not intend to cover all Shaw's play here. What we are trying to do is that we aim to give the audience some insights of his leading plays. Shaw's plays are categorized as "Plays Pleasant and Plays Unpleasant" and most of his plays deal with the problematic parent-child relationships including *Misalliance*(1910) especially about children who are brought up in isolation from their parents; with foundlings, orphans, and adopted heirs; and with parents who wrongly presume that they are entitled to their children's obedience and affection.¹⁸³

Because of his discussions on these subjects his plays are regarded as social-realistic plays in general.¹⁸⁴ Pearson, in his book *Bernard Shaw*, gives some clues about his literary taste and writing:

I remember once buying a book entitled *How to Live on Sixpence a Day*, a point on which at that time circumstances compelled me to be pressingly curious. "I carried out its instructions faithfully for a whole afternoon; and if ever I had an official biography issued, I shall certainly have it stated therein, in illustration of my fortitude and self-denial, that I lived for some time on sixpence a day."¹⁸⁵

There was an element of truth in a personal confession that appeared in one of his dramatic criticisms, written in 1896: "My main reason for adopting literature as a profession was, that as the author is never seen by his clients, he need not dress respectably."¹⁸⁶

As a stockbroker, a doctor, or a man of business, I should have had to wear starched linen and a tall hat, and to give up the use of my knees and elbows. Literature is the only genteel profession that has no livery – for even your painter meets his sitters face to face- and so I chose literature. You, friendly reader, though you buy my articles, have no idea of what I look like in the street. If you did, you would probably take in some other paper.¹⁸⁷

Between 1892 and 1900, Shaw completed ten plays, only two of which were performed in theaters where the public could pay its money to see them. All had been

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Hesketh Pearson, *Bernard Shaw*, House of Stratus, 2001, p. 57.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 57.

published by 1901. Readers found a man already obnoxious as a street-corner rabble rouser, Fabian pamphleteer, and dramatic critic, publishing plays about slum-landlordism, a keeper of bawdy houses who credited Capitalism with her success, a soldier who preferred chocolates to bullets, and an avuncular Caesar who gave Cleopatra his advice instead of his love.¹⁸⁸ In Shaw's plays what we observe is that his plays directly or indirectly attack the hallowed institutions and accepted morality. Each published volume had its preface with such titles as "Mainly about Myself," or "Better than Shakespeare?" a question interpreted at once as rhetorical.¹⁸⁹ Pearson claims that Shaw was deeply influenced by the Norwegian dramatist and poet Henrik Ibsen. He wrote *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, in order to bring Ibsen's philosophy into complete harmony with his own.¹⁹⁰

As Morgan exhibits "by nature, by study, and by practice, Bernard Shaw was a master of the theatre. "Anyone could have done the propaganda," he remarked, "no one else could have written my plays. I had to write them; they were a part of me." They were a part, also, of a dramaturgy venerable in the theatre.¹⁹¹

At the age of thirty-six, Bernard Shaw was a notorious socialist and a bachelor, living with his musical mother and sister in London. He was a critic of art. He wrote essays on music. In 1891 a young Dutch friend and fellow critic, Jacob T. Grein, produced Ibsen's *Ghosts* to inaugurate the new Independent Theatre in support of Shaw's almost solitary campaign for the New Drama.¹⁹² Grein sought to find an adequate English play in the new vein. "This was not to be endured," Shaw later recalled.¹⁹³ "I had rashly taken up the case, and rather than let it collapse, I manufactured the evidence."¹⁹⁴ He had embarked upon *Widowers Houses* in 1885 only to lay it aside uncompleted; he now finished it, and Grein produced it on 9 December 1892 at the Royalty Theatre, on quite unfashionable Dean Street in Soho. It was Shaw's first appearance on any stage.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁸ L. N. Morgan, "Bernard Shaw the Playwright", *Books Abroad*, Spring 1951, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 102.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁹⁰ Hesketh Pearson, *Bernard Shaw*, House of Stratus, 2001, p. 178.

¹⁹¹ L. N. Morgan, "Bernard Shaw the Playwright", *Books Abroad*, Spring 1951, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 102.

¹⁹² Irving McKee, "Bernard Shaw's Beginnings On The London Stage", *PMLA*, Sep. 1959, Vol. 74, No.4, p. 470.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

Widowers' Houses became Shaw's first published as well as acted play, through the generosity of Grein, who had faith in the Irishman as a dramatist.¹⁹⁶ In the preface to the *Widowers Houses*, Shaw answered the criticism posed by his opponents as "How any man in his senses can deliberately take as his model the sterile artifice of Wilkie Collins or Scribe, and repudiate the natural artistic activity of Fielding, Goldsmith, Defoe and Dickens, not to mention Aeschylus and Shakespeare, is beyond argument with me."¹⁹⁷ What we infer from is that Shaw was struck out by the concept of New Woman.¹⁹⁸

He wrote two more satiric dramas, *The Philanderer* and *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. The first did not reach the stage for fourteen years, when it was stillborn. The second was defused by the Lord Chamberlain, Britain's censor, who declined to license it; it exploded in New York in 1905 when its cast went to jail for obscenity. The facts so far made it abundantly clear that the playwright had failed popularly, critically, and financially. But the journalist's income had risen much.¹⁹⁹

Before we further our point on Shaw's plays it is wise to look at the nineteenth century in brief concerning letter writing.

"The early nineteenth century was a period of letter-writing of long letters. Witness the interminable ones among Hood's to Charles Wentworth Dilke and Maria Dilke. At the beginning of Hood's stay in Europe these were hilariously funny, particularly on the language difficulties the family encountered in Coblenz. Toward the close of their stay the long missives become critical and badly soured towards Germans".²⁰⁰

We know that the early nineteenth century was famous for comic writers. The fusing of comic and tragic in Hood's writing, his volatile courage, his vitality in spite of weakness, his humour which persisted to the very close of his life, the poetic qualities of that outlook. Shaw wrote comedy as in line with these trends.²⁰¹

Berst discusses "Shaw's plays in the light of what the title of his book implies, dramatic art, promising us in his preface to keep his focus broad,

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 470.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 470.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 470.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 470.

²⁰⁰ Charles A. Berst-Alan P. Barr- Vincent Wall, "Bernard Shaw and the Art of Drama, Victorian Stage Pulpit, Bernard Shaw, Pygmalion to Many Players", *Victorian Studies*, 1973, Vol. 18, No. 1 p. 122.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 122.

clear, positive, and aesthetic”²⁰² Berst states that Shaw’s major plays – *Mrs. Warren’s Profession*, *Arms and the Man*, *Candida*, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, *Man and Superman*, *Major Barbara*, *Heartbreak House*, *Pygmalion* and *Saint Joan* have an enduring popularity, aesthetic depths and strengths which prove that Shaw was a classical standing dramatist.²⁰³

Berst discussed his plays critically and it doesn’t matter if his discussions were in the standard critical line or is based on his own critical insights and sensibilities is shown to have unique dramatic action, “Dickensian” characterization, and a “pervasive, cohesive poetic spirit.”²⁰⁴

Berst lays down two major criticisms on Shaw’s plays. “The notion that the plays are all talk and no action; and the notion that Shaw’s characters are pretty much alike, i.e., all Shavian mouthpieces. The third classical quality of Shaw’s plays that Berst perceives, the poetic spirit, shows perhaps his most important insight into Shaw’s plays as dramatic art. That poetic spirit, which Berst calls a unitive drive and a prevailing, thrust for expansion of consciousness”.²⁰⁵

His early plays were not successful because of his sharp wit and elusive sense of humour. Spectators had difficulty in understanding his plays. Shaw divided into his plays as “Plays Unpleasant” and “Plays Pleasant”. The former brought to light such issues as political and social problems of spectator. He also wanted to show the illegitimate ruling class people who exploit the labouring class and he criticized them harshly in his plays. We can generally see a class system in his “Plays Unpleasant”. These plays are as *Widower’s Houses* (1892) dealing with the question of slum landlords; *Mrs. Warren’s Profession* (1893), a critical study of the Victorian attitude toward prostitution and women and *The Philanderer* (1898) revolves around women and marriage.²⁰⁶

The ‘pleasant’ plays are *Arms and the Man* (1894), ridiculing the romantic attitudes toward love and war and they are shown as false ideals; *Candida* (1894) is about a woman who is a demonstrator of virtue but she wonders about a fall from grace and she wants to evaluate the problem of being immoral and respectable. He wrote *The Man of Destiny* in 1895. It is a one act comedy. Shaw creates one of his

²⁰² Ibid., p. 122.

²⁰³ Ibid., pp. 122-123.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 123.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 123.

²⁰⁶ Henry L. Mencken, *George Bernard Shaw: His Plays*, U.S.A, J.W. Luce & Company, 1905, p. 53.

first “superman” characters, an early sketch for Caesar, Jack Tanner, Undershaft, or Higgins. *You Never Can Tell* (1897) is a four-act play which is set in a seaside town and the story turns around Mrs. Clandon and her three children. The children have no idea who their father is and, through a comedy of errors ends up inviting him to a family lunch.²⁰⁷

The Devil's Disciple (1897) is a melodrama about the American Revolution. The plot of the play takes place in America and we can show a different location here. It shows well both Shaw's play on “Puritan” and the pleasures of creative moral thought. In *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1898), spectators are stunned because Shaw illustrates Caesar as a kind man who can easily leave his prisoners and behaves them as a guest. In the play Cleopatra is a spoiled and wicked sixteen year old child instead of thirty eight year old femme fatale of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (1899) is a sermon against various kinds of folly masquerading as duty and justice.²⁰⁸ Shaw closed out the Victorian era with *The Admirable Bashville* (1901), a joking, based on the novel called as *Cashel Byron's Profession* (1882), the location is Morocco and it emphasizes the pointlessness of revenge.²⁰⁹

Man and Superman (1902) offers a discussion of Shaw's Great Man theory. John Tanner and Ann Whitefield are main characters and he is chosen a guard for Ann by her father. She falls in love with him and persuades him to marry her adopting his ideas about anarchism. *John Bull's Other Island* (1904) gets some specialties from nineteenth century sentimental comedy and he wants to give message to his audience on the nature of capitalism.²¹⁰ *How He Lied to Her Husband* (1904) is a one- act bit of silliness which resembles farce. Known as one of Shaw's “discussion plays,” *Major Barbara* (1905) is mainly revolved around such issues as a series of conversations on morality, religion, and socio-political engineering. *Passion, Poison and Petrification* (1905) is a one-act farce intended for cheap and easy productions to benefit The Actors' Orphanage.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 63.

²⁰⁸ Azher Suleiman, “George Bernard Shaw”, *Mena for printing & publishing*, 2010, Baghdad, pp. 6-7.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

The Doctor's Dilemma (1906) satirizes the British National Health System. The criticism is on the ill-treated doctors who serve for the humiliated people in the suburbs.²¹¹ *The Interlude at the playhouse* (1906) is an extremely humorous one-scene playlet. *Getting Married* (1908) is about the divorce law and we can see Shaw's views on marriage. *The shewing – up of Blanco Posnet* (1909) is a melodrama about a man who is mistakenly seen as a horse theft but he saves from being hanged thanks to a witness and he becomes the pioneer of the population.²¹²

Press Cutting (1909) is a burlesque about the ideas of conservative men's on women rights of vote. *The Glimpse of Reality* (1909) is a one act tragedietta. *Misalliance* (1910) is an ironic examination of the mating instincts of a varied group of people gathered at a wealthy man's country home on a summer weekend. *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* (1910) is a one – act play and it takes place in London around 1600. Shaw shows another immoral artist in the character of 'Shakespeare' in the play. *Androcles and the Lion* (1912) is about martyrdom and persecution portrayed through the vehicle of comedy.²¹³ *Overruled* (1912) discuss on polygamy and unconventional ideas about it. *Pygmalion* (1912) deals with a girl coming from lower class and he emphasizes how she turns into a respectable lady thanks to education.²¹⁴ *Great Catherine* (1913) demonstrates Russian court life during the eighteenth century. *The Music-Cure* (1913) is a one-act piece of utter nonsense. *O'Flaherty, V.C.* (1915) is considered as a minor play in which political figures and army types are parodied and criticized. *The Inca of Perusalem* (1915) is almost a one-act historical comedietta (little comedy) with a prologue. *Augustus Does His Bit* (1916) is a one-act true-to-life farce of crude satire on the military mind. *Annajanska, the Wild Grand Duchess* (1917) is a one-act revolutionary romancelet. *Heartbreak House* (1919) is a three-act Fantasia in the Russian manner but on English themes. *Back to Methuselah* (1921) is a five-act play with an elaborate preface on creative

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 7.

²¹² Ibid., p. 7.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 8.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

evolution as the creed of the twentieth century. Man must work hard and feel himself to be fully used if he is to develop in the future.²¹⁵

Saint Joan (1923) is about a brave and young girl whose name was Joan who had been wrongly executed by corrupt in 1455.²¹⁶ *The Apple Cart* (1929) is a three-act political extravaganza. *Too True to be Good* (1931) is another three-act political extravaganza. One of the most important themes of the play is Shaw's belief that most of the fallacies reason is extra tolerance. *Village Wooing* (1933) is an amusing trifle, consisting of three conversations between a man and a woman. We can see Shaw's different views on marriage. *On The Rocks* (1933) is a two-act political comedy.²¹⁷ *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles* (1934) is a two-act play with a prologue. We can see the theme of Creative Evolution. *The Six of Calais* (1934) is a one-act medieval war story. *The Millionairess* (1936) is a four-act Jonsonian comedy with social criticism. It emphasizes that earning money is a talent. *Cymbeline Refinished* (1937) is a revised work for William Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* in which Shaw challenges early Elizabethan dramatic verse. *Geneva* (1938) is a fancied page of history in three acts.²¹⁸

In Good King Charles's Golden Days (1939) is a full-length comedy which may be described as a true history that never happened. One of the characters who meet King Charles II is the great mathematician Isaac Newton, *Buoyant Billions* (1947) was written when he was nineties and it is his last full-length work and he reacted against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *Shakes versus Shav* (1949) is a novelty marionette play and we can see puppet character of Shaw and Shakespeare fight literally. *Farfetched Fables* (1950) includes a character that shows the futility of atomic bomb because it perishes the cities and human race so war is outdated. Finally, Shaw's last play was *Why She Would Not* (1950) but it has never been published and performed but it is in the transcript form.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

In conclusion, it is all clear from his major plays that he uses comedy and wit as a means to an end, and if he does not feel this end is met, he considers his efforts a failure. His readers may at least keep in mind Shaw's own earnest declaration: "All genuinely intellectual work is humorous."²²⁰ But he thinks too much laughter at his comedies may cause a failure, as he believes it is distracting and physically fatiguing. And even though it would be easy to construe some of Shaw's remarks, witticisms and opinions as harsh and conceited, the truth is he writes for an audience whom he believes to be intelligent, and with the faith that society has hope to improve.²²¹

Shaw was one of the greatest figures of the 20th century life and literature. It is undoubtable fact that his influence on English people's thought and behaviour was so huge. A short look at his plays written over 60 years renews our amazement at his extraordinary range and versatility.²²²

Shaw was part of a relatively new generation of thinkers who recognized that social change could be accomplished through the arts. That's why he used theatre as a means to give his messages. In plays like *Candida*, he gave us a glimpse backward into the older comedies of manners, stretched us with dialogue full of moral passion and intellectual conflict, and asked us to see the symbolism in farcical situations. In short, Shaw helped usher the theatre into the 20th century.²²³

Even today his plays continue to fascinate many people all over the world with their witty nature and stimulating nature.

2.3. The Main Characteristics of Shaw's Dramaturgy

It is aimed at surveying Shaw's dramaturgy in brief. It is known that tragedy appeals to the heart while comedy appeals to the mind. Shaw is a comic dramatist, and thinks of himself as a philosopher. He suggested that his ideal audience was not one of quickened sensibilities but of acute minds.²²⁴

"He insists that the dramatist does not merely depict the chaos around us, but interprets life, sees the significant relationships, and transforms us

²²⁰ Azher Suleiman, "George Bernard Shaw", Baghdad: Mena for printing & publishing –, 2010, p. 9.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 9.

²²² Paul Hamlyn, *The Complete Plays of Bernard Shaw*, London: Paul Hamlyn Ltd. 1965, p. ii.

²²³ Azher Suleiman, "George Bernard Shaw", Baghdad: Mena for printing & publishing –, 2010, p. 10.

²²⁴ Sylvan Barnet, "Bernard Shaw on Tragedy", *PMLA*, Dec., 1956, Vol. 71, No. 5, p. 893.

from bewildered spectators into men intelligently conscious of the world and its destinies”.²²⁵

Shaw saw theatre as a vehicle to correct social ills. He wanted to change the society for good measure. As a good evolutionist he adds “his plays will not say the final word either, for as society evolves (partly through the instruction of the artist) it has new needs, and future geniuses will supply new art”.²²⁶

One should bear in mind that Shaw not only served an apprenticeship as a dramatic critic but also he was very good at rereading of his volumes.²²⁷ To many drama critics, he ridiculed Sir Arthur Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones for their treatment of artificial morality in their serious plays as well as for faulty dramaturgy. As an opposition to his contemporary playwrights he favoured real life issues by avoiding artificial morality.²²⁸

Shaw’s great gift was to wake up people to see the hypocrisies and stupidities in life. Whatever he wrote he wrote was an attack on shams, hypocrisies and stupidities prevailing all spheres of life. His primary weapon for doing this was his wit.²²⁹ He made people laugh at their own silliness and pretentiousness in his plays. But that laughing made them ashamed of themselves and made them reform their ways.²³⁰ It is known that The English make an institution of everything. As Fraser puts “they soon became used to Shaw’s irreverence; they would have been disappointed if he had been respectful, and he acquired almost the position of the official national jester - whose jokes, like those of jesters in old feudal courts, were often a pungent, but licensed, expression of unwelcome truths. Behind the jokes, indeed, there was a high and serious purpose and a coherent philosophy of life”.²³¹

Gilbert Murray, the renowned professor of Greek at Oxford University, in his book on Aristophanes dedicated to Shaw, states “My old friend G. B. S., Lover of Ideas and Hater of Cruelty; who has Filled Many Lands with

²²⁵ Ibid., p. 893.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 894.

²²⁷ Wilbur D. Dunkel, “The Essence of Shaw's Dramaturgy”, *College English*, 6 Mar., 1949, Vol. 10, No. 5., p. 308.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 308.

²²⁹ George S. Fraser, “Bernard Shaw: 1950”, *Bulletin (Shaw Society of America)*, May 1954, No. 5, p. 13.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 14.

Laughter and whose Courage has Never Failed... “For Shaw’s wit, like Aristophanes’, is directed against the false standards of society with such skill that the unwary may take his apparent effortless as lack of method”²³².

Because of that, Shaw’s technique is particularly unique which is not apparent; it does not stand between the reader and the thought or between the audience and the stage action.²³³

From the late 1930’s onwards, Shaw was writing plays like *The Apple Cart* and *On the Rocks*, which are among the most acute commentaries on the English political and social crises of these years. He had a kind of gift of eternal youth. Fraser emphasizes “as a critic, as a dramatist, as a political propagandist, as what the English call a character, Shaw’s influence on English literature in the last fifty years has been incalculable. His vigour as a writer and a person is related to a tough though slender physique, and one may be permitted to hope that this accident will not prove fatal; for Shaw’s almost monkish asceticism has kept his mind burning like a lamp, and his body free of the ordinary maladies of old age, and if he is spared he will still have splendid things to write”²³⁴.

Shaw had the longest life in English literature. His life was full of achievements and honour. Drama scholars appreciate his gaiety, the extraordinary energy of his genius, and his passionate committal, from his earliest days, to the ideals of justice and truth.²³⁵

We get much more on Shaw’s dramaturgy and his ideas on life as Barnet reveals in his work titled “Bernard Shaw on Tragedy” Shaw’s conversation with Paul Green “My plays,” he said, “are interludes, as it were, between two greater realities. And the meaning of them lies in what has preceded them and in what follows them. The beginning of one of my plays takes place exactly where an unwritten play ended. And the ending of my written play concludes where another play begins. It is the two unwritten plays they should consider in order to get light on the one that lies between”²³⁶. “This statement strikes at the very roots of tragedy because tragedy depicts an action which is complete, “but it is exactly such complete actions as the career of, say, Hamlet, that Shaw cannot abide. He insists that there must be more; the story cannot end as

²³² Wilbur D. Dunkel, “The Essence of Shaw’s Dramaturgy”, *College English*, 6 Mar., 1949, Vol. 10, No.5., p. 309.

²³³ Ibid., p. 309.

²³⁴ George S. Fraser, “Bernard Shaw: 1950”, *Bulletin (Shaw Society of America)*, May 1954, No. 5, p. 14.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

²³⁶ Sylvan Barnet, “Bernard Shaw on Tragedy”, *PMLA*, Dec.1956, Vol. 71, No. 5, p. 899.

Shakespeare presents it because life is not really like that. Granting Shaw's premise of an evolving universe, tragedy is obsolete"²³⁷.

In order to understand what Shaw meant in his dramaturgy we should talk about his philosophy on 'Life-Force' which is energy in all living beings. To Hoffsten, his creed is:

"To life, the force behind the man, intellect is a necessity, because without it he blunders unto death." He complains of the lack of this so called "life-force;" he has a grievance against the marriage law; he discusses knowingly the natural antipathy between blood relations."²³⁸

What it is seen in Shaw's plays and life philosophy is that he has great a passion for reforming the world. "He discusses at length the hope lessens of an ideal world; but sets out bravely to institute a series of reforms, mainly by means of that dreadful weapon, satire."²³⁹

It is undeniable fact that many drama critics claim that Shaw has a keen intellect, he is an admirable satirist, and he is one of the most talented observers who can see through almost anything. But Hoffsten state:

"His satire has the effect of destroying his dramas to a degree, because they become but the medium for it, and are not true representations of life. Mr. Shaw possesses, too, a fund of wit and humour. His dialogue is a continual feast. But since he dominates his characters, it little pays him to exercise his unbounded wit, for as Dr. Meyerfeld ingeniously observes"²⁴⁰.

His dramas exhibit the art of effective construction. There is no division of the acts into set scenes, but the scenes blend into each other with nicety.²⁴¹

Shaw regards Shakespeare among the group of artists to interpret life, he generally believed that Shakespeare lacked the encompassing worldview of Ibsen, Nietzsche, or Wagner whose music dramas, dealing with fate and conflicting

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 899.

²³⁸ Ernest Godfrey Hoffsten, "The Plays of Bernard Shaw", *The Sewanee Review*, Apr. 1904 Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 218-219.

²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 218-219.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 222.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 222.

passions.²⁴² Perhaps the most important feature of his dramaturgy is his ability to laugh at himself.

In the famous words of Shakespeare's Falstaff, "I am not only witty in myself but the cause that wit is in other men,"²⁴³ Those who study Shaw's dramatic method realize the enduring quality in his plays. Shaw's capacity for laughing at himself, notwithstanding the precision of his method, reminds us of another Shakespearean wit: "Dost thou think because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?"²⁴⁴

His wit extends every method which he used in writing plays for the theatre. We could say, as many drama critics claim, wit is at the core of his dramaturgy.²⁴⁵ To Shaw critics, his dialogue is often described as long-winded, or talky, and it is hardly eligible for such disparagement if the critic perceives the author's intention of reproducing the effect of actual conversation. Some other critics claim that Shaw's plays are full of heedful ideas for readers and spectators, so the reader may disregard the triangle plot as a commonplace of drama or as something with which Shaw did not bother about it. In *Man and Superman*, however, the grouping of characters into several triangles reveals Shaw's mastery of the complicated business of organizing a large group into several smaller units.²⁴⁶

Hoffsten reveals some criticism on Shaw's plays by some circles as "Mr. Shaw has no taste for what is called popular art, no belief in popular morality, no belief in popular religion, no admiration for popular heroics. He is a socialist intolerant of fashionable life yet neither a skeptic nor a cynic in these matters, but simply understanding life differently from the average respectable man".²⁴⁷

The continuing success of Bernard Shaw's plays in the Broadway theatres suggests that underneath the aphoristic fireworks are the methods of the master-craftsman. Although his scintillating wit and iconoclastic ideas have accounted for his reputation, the time may come, as it has for Ibsen's social plays, when the problems discussed will have lost their

²⁴² Sylvan Barnet, "Bernard Shaw on Tragedy", *PMLA*, Dec. 1956, Vol. 71, No. 5, p. 893.

²⁴³ Wilbur D. Dunkel, "The Essence of Shaw's Dramaturgy", *College English*, Mar. 1949 Vol. 10, No. 6, p. 312.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

²⁴⁷ Ernest Godfrey Hoffsten, "The Plays of Bernard Shaw", *The Sewanee Review*, Apr., 1904 Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 218.

immediacy and topical significance. Then, if Shaw is as great a dramatist as we believe him to be, there must be universality in his dramaturgy.²⁴⁸

Dealing with Shaw's plays one thing is clear that he creates no flesh and blood characters. You see there is just the skeleton brain filled with ideas. His characters are all one. They don't have multiple dimensions and Shaw hardly draws tridimensional characters in his works. Examining all of his plays we observe that the development of the plot, the situations, and the scenes are of main interest rather than the characters as such. It could only be explained by Shaw's disposition. His characters, one way or another, resembles his own disposition. He is an idealist. When we take "Candida," one of the "Pleasant Plays", we will find that the only excuse for the existence of the play is the unnatural weakness and unmanliness of Morell, the husband of Candida. The plot is concerned with the two lovers of Candida, one her husband, and the other, a weak-minded, silly, mysterious boy of eighteen years, who called himself a poet. The boy has a fancy that he loves Candida, and Morell knows he loves his wife, and feels confident that she loves him, yet he allows the boy to carry on in a very silly manner.²⁴⁹

From the drama critics and different sources we know that Samuel Butler inspired Shaw in his writings. To a great extent, Bergson's theory of creative evolution was very influential on him as well. He believed that behind human history there was what he called a 'life-spirit'. The same spirit in other words soul-spirit is the main theme of Ibsen, so another influential figure on Shaw was undoubtedly the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen. Thus in his later years he welcomed every new political movement that seemed to make for radical change - not only Communism, which would have been explicable, but Fascism and National Socialism. Shaw contributed a lot to the British Liberal tradition.²⁵⁰

Shaw's plays reflect his view of life which is a progress of development from maturity to decay. It is known that the characters in comedy are static in general whereas in tragedy they are dynamic and the tragic hero develops into someone different from the protagonist at the beginning of the drama. Shaw's characters may

²⁴⁸ Wilbur D. Dunkel, "The Essence of Shaw's Dramaturgy", *College English*, Mar., 1949 Vol. 10, No. 6, p. 307.

²⁴⁹ Ernest Godfrey Hoffsten, "The Plays of Bernard Shaw", *The Sewanee Review*, Apr., 1904 Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 221-222.

²⁵⁰ George S. Fraser, "Bernard Shaw: 1950", *Bulletin (Shaw Society of America)*, May. 1954 No. 5, p. 14.

seem to be static ones but they have vital role in promoting their messages for society's ends.²⁵¹

To Barnet, "Shaw's comedies do not follow the theoretical pattern. Traditional comedy, conceiving of society as having arrived at a satisfactory fixed or static code, censures deviations, but Shaw, subscribing to an evolving cosmos, insists that a consistent allegiance to a code is necessarily ludicrous for it becomes outdated. His comic hero, then, develops, or adopts, a new realistic morality beyond that of his society's idealism".²⁵²

Shavian comedy does not criticize the individuals but the society's norm. Shaw converts to a comic pattern the material of tragedy, for the traditional protagonist of tragedy was a heroic variation from the norm who was destroyed.²⁵³

Henderson, in his 'George Bernard Shaw, claims "Bernard Shaw does not appeal to us primarily as a dramatist. In his plays we look almost in vain for those crucial emotional conjunctures, those climactic soul crises, which dramatic critics announce to be the criteria of authentic drama the *scéné a faire* of a Sareey or a Brunetière".²⁵⁴

It is vivid that Shaw's main struggle was to take our attention to the false ideals prevailing in the society. He worked hard to destruct those false ideals and illusions obsessing the soul of man. To him, the false ideals leading men astray and blinding them to a sense of the real truth are the downfall of his existence.²⁵⁵

He aimed to tear the mask of idealism from the face of fact. In his attack upon illusions was neither blind nor narrow one. It is clearly revealed in Shaw's writing appeared in 'L'Humanité Nouvelle', Shaw says "Suppress that phase of human activity which consists in the pursuit of illusions, and you suppress the greatest force in the world. Do not suppose that the pursuit of illusions is a vain pursuit: on the contrary, an illusion can no more exist without reality than a shadow without an object. Unfortunately the majority of men are so constituted that reality repels, while illusions attract them."²⁵⁶

Henderson reveals some critics' views on Shaw's plays. He claims that the most significant striking characteristics of his plays is their argumentative and

²⁵¹ Sylvan Barnet, "Bernard Shaw on Tragedy", *PMLA*, Dec.1956, Vol. 71, No.5, p. 892.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 892.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 892.

²⁵⁴ Archibald Henderson, "George Bernard Shaw", *The North American Review*, Jun. 7, 1907, Vol. 185, No. 616, p. 300.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

controversial character. They are expository lectures, in dramatic form, on the ‘Shavian philosophy’.²⁵⁷

“One of his plays he has actually sub-entitled: “A Discussion in Three Acts.” And yet, with consummate shrewdness, Mr. Shaw fully realizes that, if the dramatist takes sides in a dramatic wrangle, he is lost. A sense of the most absolute fairness and impartiality pervades and dominates his plays. Every character has his say without let or hindrance; and the whole play is signalized by the “honesty of its dialectic.”²⁵⁸

The elucidative prefaces make his plays pass unnoticed. He adds enormously to the effectiveness and carrying power of his plays, creating of his readers a sort of Shavian microcosm. His plays make us grasp absolute truth, but only our perception thereof never reality, but only appearance, the appearance of an actual life leaving a bitter-sweet after-taste upon our tongue. According to Henderson, he has learned the secret of reaching the clearest solution by the simplest means.²⁵⁹

We can say it is the demonstrator of his extra ordinary life. Barnet, in his *Bernard Shaw on Tragedy*, notably writes Shaw is basically a romantic.

“Definitions of romanticism come and go, but most scholars today feel that an essential part of romanticism is its belief in the universe as an evolving organism, rather than the static machine of classical thinking.”²⁶⁰ In that sense we could see that Shaw is in the romantic tradition. He was stuck to a teleological principle, believing that the universe is not a chaos of discrete phenomena but an evolving purposeful organism. Most teleological views are hostile to the idea of tragedy, for they see some great purpose in the bafflements and defeats which are the stuff of tragic drama.²⁶¹

“Bernard Shaw, as Alfred Kerr has put it, “is a distinct ethical gain for our generation. His prime characteristic as a propagandist and his deficiency as a dramatist, so called is found in his assertion that the quintessential function of comedy is the destruction of old-established morals”.²⁶²

It is seen in his plays that Shaw used the technique of reiteration, “to make the “weak” points as vital as the “strong” ones, but this has caused many to assume that the points Shaw pressed are the ones most important to him. Since Shaw was a skilled rhetorician and wit engaged in promoting his own worth as well as his theories, his statements cannot be

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 303.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 303.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 303.

²⁶⁰ Sylvan Barnet, “Bernard Shaw on Tragedy”, *PMLA*, Dec.1956, Vol. 71, No.5, p. 888.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 5, pp. 888-889.

²⁶² Archibald Henderson, “George Bernard Shaw”, *The North American Review*, Jun. 7, 1907, Vol. 185, No. 616, p. 302.

taken literally but must be evaluated in terms of the resistance he had to overcome.”²⁶³

Pygmalion, one of Shaw’s master pieces, deals with nature vs. nurture. Shaw tries to prove the importance of education as a key to open all gates for one’s fulfillment. This play is an example of showing the power of education to achieve any target set by one. Nurture is the winner over nature.

Throughout his long career Shaw created very memorable characters in dramatic history. From Saint Joan and Eliza Doolittle to John Tanner and Andrew Undershaft, they come to life on the stage. “Yet Shaw created almost as many intriguing characters that never appear. The characters in this category run the spectrum of development, from those implied but never mentioned (like Hesione’s and Ariadne’s mother in Heartbreak House) to those who are given names but not much more (like Iky Jacobus, a politician in The Apple Cart) to those for whom fairly detailed histories can be given (like Lazarus in Major Barbara)”.²⁶⁴

The tragic hero of Saint Joan is, the title character isolated from the people surrounding her. Joan, the protagonist, is not hubristic, either in an Aristotelian or Shavian sense. She represents a typical Shavian hero, she is convinced she is right. She takes no more credit than is due her, and is properly submissive to the spiritual forces above her. She is betrayed neither from without nor from within; she is simply caught between two levels of truth. Such a predicament might seem tragic, and some dramatists might have been able to make a tragedy out of it, though more likely her judges or the archbishop who sees hubris where there is none would be the tragic heroes, but Shaw takes care that we do not see in his play an image of the greatness of man at the moment of his recognition of defeat. The play ends not with the death of Joan, but with an epilogue in which she wants to return, but her will is rejected by all.²⁶⁵

From *The Doctor’s Dilemma* to *Heartbreak House*, we see somehow new type of play. Heartbreak House is not the English Chekhovian play which Shaw probably thought he created, but it embodies new ideas and techniques. Because the Shavian hero is usually surrounded not by madness but only by human folly. Joseph Wood Krutch sees in Heartbreak House Shaw’s realization that progress is not

²⁶³ Fred D. Crawford, “Bernard Shaw’s Theory of Literary Art”, *The Journal of General Education*, Spring 1982, Vol. 34, No. 1, p. 20.

²⁶⁴ Tracy Simmons Bitonti, “Shaw’s Offstage Characters”, *Shaw* 1992, Vol. 12, p. 229.

²⁶⁵ Sylvan Barnet, “Bernard Shaw on Tragedy”, *PMLA*, Dec. 1956, Vol. 71, No. 5, p. 898.

automatic, and that man's plight will not easily be bettered.²⁶⁶ And Thomas Mann, placing *Heartbreak House* at the top of Shaw's work, sees in it a "comedy, a play of sparkling dialogue and a fanciful cast of characters, supremely humorous, yet filled with things cursed and condemned, pitched in the mood of a doomed society."²⁶⁷ But if we allow Shaw to have a last word, and reread the play with his own statement in mind, we may adopt a different view. "My favourite," he told Paul Green, "is *Heartbreak House* and the reason for it is obvious. It has more of the miracle, more of the mystic belief in it than any of my others, and, too, it is a sort of national fable or a fable of nationalism."²⁶⁸

In "The Revolutionist's Handbook," appended to that play, he said that "the dog will return to his vomit and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire; and we may as well make up our minds that Man will return to his idols and cupidities, in spite of all 'movements' and all revolutions, until his nature is changed."²⁶⁹ In an evolving cosmos, to be static is to die, and Shaw was never so complacent as to believe that man would simply awaken one morning to find himself in a golden age.²⁷⁰

Barnet furthers that "the relevant point here is that for Shaw man can will his future, while for the tragic dramatist man's intentions often produce unforeseen results. Shaw does not allow for tragic irony. We can save ourselves if we only wish to, and if we do not, we are not worth the weeping. The trouble with our world, Shaw concluded, is that we do not live long enough."²⁷¹

What we conclude from that as an answer to that is that we must live longer and this we can do by so willing.²⁷² It is the sole solution.

Arms and the Man (1894), like *Candida*, was one of Shaw's Plays Pleasant, "his compromise with audiences who expected the kinds of dramatic conventions he did not want to give them. In this play, the offstage character of Bluntschli's father provides one such convention. We learn that he was the owner of several hotels and liveries, and in Act III Bluntschli receives word that his father has died and left these properties to him."²⁷³ Raina married Bluntschli for his money. As Bitonti says "the

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 895.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 895.

²⁶⁸ qtd.in, Ibid., p. 895.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 896.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 896.

²⁷¹ Ibid., p. 896.

²⁷² Ibid., p. 896.

²⁷³ Tracy Simmons Bitonti, "Shaw's Offstage Characters", *Shaw* 1992, Vol. 12, p. 231.

sudden provision is an artificial device that allows for the play to have the conventional happy ending that the audiences of the time would have wanted. In addition to being a sort of *deus ex machina*, Blunschli's father adds other dimensions to the play."²⁷⁴ Namely, we can't see him throughout the play but he influenced his son's happiness by his inheritance.

In order to get a true picture of Shaw's views on art, it is imperative we should look at his letter to Leo Tolstoy (14 February 1910), in that letter he explains to Leo Tolstoy what he meant in his preface to *Man and Superman*. He clearly puts it as that for art's sake he would not write a single sentence; Shaw is denying the implicit contradiction that something created exists for no other reason than that it has been created. In reply to a questionnaire by Frank Harris, printed in *The Candid Friend* (11 and 18 May 1901), Shaw made a curious and revealing admission: "All my attempts at Art for Art's sake broke down; it was like hammering ten penny nails into sheets of note paper." Shaw's problem was to find a doctrine which would justify appreciation of "purposeless" art, but would also avoid the inconsistencies in its metaphysics."²⁷⁵

We could state that Shaw's third purpose was an instructive one. His plays directly or indirectly have instructive function.²⁷⁶ He always wanted to spread his knowledge about life via his plays. Everybody can find something from their parts of lives in his plays. He also wanted to change the society's mind.

In *Mrs. Warrens Profession* (1893), Kitty Warren justifies her chosen path in life to her daughter; she mentions the fates of the other women in her family. She implies that her mother was also a prostitute - "Do you know what your grandmother was... She called herself a widow" and describes the other options open to her: that of one half-sister who was poisoned working in a white lead factory, or that of another half-sister who married a "respectable" drunk. These women are barely mentioned, and only one is given a name: Anne Jane, the factory worker. But Kitty's full sister, Liz, has a name and a more detailed history because she had the greatest influence on Kitty's choice.²⁷⁷ This play also gives a moral lesson to the readers also we can see the sacrifice of a mother for her daughter. And with this play he wanted

²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 231-232.

²⁷⁵ Fred D. Crawford, "Bernard Shaw's Theory of Literary Art", *The Journal of General Education*, Spring 1982, Vol. 34, No. 1, p. 23.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 23.

²⁷⁷ Tracy Simmons Bitonti, "Shaw's Offstage Characters", *Shaw* 1992, Vol. 12, pp. 229-230.

to focus on honesty and may be importance of the saying “wearing one’s heart on one’s sleeve”.²⁷⁸

According to Crawford, Shaw, as leading playwright, distinguishes between an artistic work or non-artistic one. The distinction comes up as sense and supreme sense “In all the arts there is a distinction between the mere physical artistic faculty, consisting of a very fine sense of colour, form, tone, rhythmic movement, and so on, and that supreme sense of humanity which alone can raise the art work created by the physical artistic faculties into a convincing presentment of life.” What we understand from that quote is that Shaw does not invalidate sense in place of super sense. To Shaw the latter one was fine art.²⁷⁹

Shaw’s comedies deal with the cardinal virtues which are one of the four important elements of good character (prudence, fortitude, justice, temperance) with combination of his cynical realism, and exposes the moral fraudulency in the society.

As Henderson notably puts “against the ideal of self-abnegation, the Christian ideal that supreme goodness is supreme martyrdom, he sets the ideal of self-realization, the Nietzschean ideal that supreme greatness is supreme individualism. Romantic sentiment synonymous in his opinion with the sensualistic cater waulings abhorred of Thomas Huxley he would replace by pure science in physics the attitude of a Lester Ward or a Westermarck”.²⁸⁰ As Henderson claims that he opposes the practicality of common sense.²⁸¹

Shaw is quick to criticize harshly when he feels most strongly about an unjustifiable condition in society.

As Dunkel reveals it clearly “the audience laughs heartily at the absurdities in The Doctors’ Dilemma, but the attack upon professional jealousies and the false standards of so-called professional etiquette, cloaked under the hypocrisy of impersonal science, leaves a pungent morsel for the audience to digest.”²⁸²

Pygmalion is a good case for that argument to be furthered. It contains an implicit social critique as acute as any of his other plays, all the more effective for its worry-free and indirect expression. Concentrating only on speech and accent, Shaw

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 230.

²⁷⁹ Fred D. Crawford, “Bernard Shaw’s Theory of Literary Art”, *The Journal of General Education*, Spring 1982, Vol. 34, No. 1, p. 26.

²⁸⁰ Archibald Henderson, “George Bernard Shaw”, *The North American Review*, Jun. 7, 1907, Vol. 185, No. 616, p. 302.

²⁸¹ Ibid., p. 302.

²⁸² Wilbur D. Dunkel, “George Bernard Shaw”, *The Sewanee Review*, Apr. - Jun., 1942, Vol. 50, No. 2, p. 259.

exhibits the absurdities of a class-based society prevailing during the nineteenth century Europe. The plot itself of the flower-girl turned into a lady by a teacher of phonetics is a fantastic comment on the false nature of gentility.²⁸³

To Grene, “the high point of Shaw’s satire on the social shibboleths of speech comes when Clara Eynsford Hill takes Eliza’s all too natural profanities - the notorious ‘Not bloody likely’ - for the latest upper-class mode”.²⁸⁴ It is explicit that laughter is abundant in *Pygmalion*. The horrible pronunciation of the flower girl, the artificial standards of the aristocracy all afford defenseless points for the attack of his satire. What Shaw is trying to prove here is that even though beneath this amusing array of human weakness lies the idea that a girl of the lowest birth can become a lady, if given pride in speech, grace in posture, beautiful costumes, and the assurance which comes with being accepted. Thus Shaw criticizes harshly the English ruling class and its superiority of breeding. To many scholars, there is always an urge within the lowest social class that is the Life Force, to climb up the ladders of social system.²⁸⁵

According to the Shavian philosophy, there are two fundamental realities: matter and the Life-Force. Matter is, or may be, eternal. At a point in time the other and spiritual reality, the Life-Force, pervades matter and begins to build its atoms into simple living things, which it animates. Then comes the long story of the evolution of life, the ascent from level to level of organization. Some (materialists) hold that this upward procession was due to the struggle of living things and the changes in their surroundings: some theists believe that it was directed by a supreme, intelligence.²⁸⁶ The theme of Life-Force underlies *Man and Superman* and *Back to Methuselah*. It is obvious to see that Shaw may regard himself as a creative evolutionist in writing these plays, because he depicts the causes of the gradual development of man and the slow process of refining his primitive instincts in these

²⁸³ Paul Hamlyn, *The Complete Bernard Shaw Plays*, Paul Hamlyn Ltd., 1965, p. 717.

²⁸⁴ Nicholas Grene, “Bernard Shaw: Socialist and Playwright”, *The Crane Bag*, 1983 Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 139.

²⁸⁵ Wilbur D. Dunkel, “George Bernard Shaw”, *The Sewanee Review*, Apr. - Jun., 1942, Vol. 50, No. 2, p. 259.

²⁸⁶ Joseph McCabe, *George Bernard Shaw; a critical study*, New York, M. Kennerley, 1914, p. 60.

works.²⁸⁷ In *Man and Superman* Jack Tanner, a young social revolutionist shocks his complacent friends with his liberal theories about property and marriage. But the main point of the play is the urge and Ann Whitehead to find a husband.²⁸⁸ *Back to Methuselah* depicts clearly Shaw's substitute for orthodox religion, the culmination of his thinking about miracles in *Androcles and the Lion* and in *Saint Joan*.²⁸⁹

In *The Apple Cart and Geneva*, Shaw ridicules the course of modern world politics harshly. The ineffectiveness of the nations torn with dissension and jealousy disturb Shaw. Shaw's laughter at human weaknesses puts an obstacle on his meaning for the people whom he most needs to convince in order to bring about his reforms.²⁹⁰

Shaw, in his landmark work *Quintessence of Ibsenism*, lays down most explicitly his views on such thorny issues of the society. What we observe in his that he purposely couches in the most provocative terms. In a recent book, "Dramatic Opinions and Essays," he remarks, "In this world, if you do not say a thing in an irritating way, you may just as well not say it at all, since nobody will trouble themselves about anything that does not trouble them."²⁹¹ In other words what we infer is that it is not the ultimate aim of Shaw to say the truth simply and scientifically as his object, nor "does it determine his method or style; he wants to influence people, and he is not scrupulous as to the use of means, any more than many a preacher is".²⁹² This shows that fact that Shaw is a preacher which is his own kind.²⁹³

To many drama scholars, Shaw was the most versatile and cosmopolitan genius in the modern drama the Great Britain has produced ever. He was a penetrating and bright critic of contemporary civilization. Actually he was a writer about ideas, a populariser of facts and opinions about which the average, common and conservative person could hardly think.

Shaw is seen as a reformer and a teacher but distinguished from all others by the scintillating and pervasive quality of his wit by drama circles. He was a prototype

²⁸⁷ Wilbur D. Dunkel, "George Bernard Shaw", *The Sewanee Review*, Apr. - Jun., 1942, Vol. 50, No. 2, p. 259.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 259.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 260.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 261.

²⁹¹ William Mackintire Salter, "Mr. Bernard Shaw as a Social Critic", *International Journal of Ethics*, Jul., 1908, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 448.

²⁹² Ibid., p. 448.

²⁹³ Ibid., p. 448.

of the modern ideological dramatist. He managed to unite his philosophy in his drama of ideas and the comedy of manners. Shaw is like a teacher and he had an effective wit and a great sense of humor. He was so unique that he reflected his philosophy in his drama of ideas and the comedy of manners.²⁹⁴

All in all, Shaw's mocking style gives him the air of being very ironic indeed. But his point of view cannot be regarded as really ironic in the modern sense at all. It is all clear in his works there are no ambiguities or hidden points. He is as definite a dramatist fighting against all sorts of dogmas. After all arguments, we can claim that the moral legalism, Kantianism, the nineteenth century utilitarianism, and altruism are the skeleton of Shaw's dramaturgy.²⁹⁵ Shaw is regarded by drama critics as the founding father of modern British drama. He contributed a lot to the development of the modern drama the evolution of the modern drama in literature owes much to his dramatic talent.

2.4. Criticism on *Arms and the Man*

There are lots of different criticisms on this play. It attracted critics' attention because its subject was open to interpretation and reinterpretation. Because of its subject matter it was criticized positively and negatively by many drama critics. Some eight months after the April 1894 opening of *Arms and the Man*, Bernard Shaw continued to brood about its reception. Although the play was chiefly responsible for launching his fledgling career as a playwright, he was still deeply bothered that its message was "completely misunderstood" by the audience.²⁹⁶

Arms and the Man was Shaw's first play to receive a production in London's West End, the first to be performed in both the United States and Germany, the first to inspire a musical version (The Chocolate Soldier), the first to become a full-length motion picture, and the first to

²⁹⁴ Wilbur D. Dunkel, "George Bernard Shaw", *The Sewanee Review*, Apr. - Jun., 1942, Vol. 50, No. 2, p. 256.

²⁹⁵ Charles Carpenter, "The Study of Shaw, Bernard Shaw and the Art of Destroying Ideals: The Early Plays", *University of Nebraska Press*, Winter 1969/70, Vol. [43], No. 4, p. 416.

²⁹⁶ David Satran, "The Chocolate Cream Soldier and the "Ghastly Failure" of Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man*", *Shaw: the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, 2008, Vol. 28, p. 11.

credit Shaw as his own director. Critics have noted the play's antiwar sentiments since its premiere.²⁹⁷

According to William Archer, "Here he has set himself to knock the stuffing, so to speak, out of war; to contrast a romantic girl's ideals of battle and its heroic raptures, with the sordid reality as it appears to a professional soldier".²⁹⁸

It seems to us that Shaw's aim in this play was misinterpreted by audience because it was sensed as a farce. But Shaw focused on the false ideals of war and love and asked them to rethink about these issues, thus; he choosed a character like Bluntschli and on him he wanted to show and these false ideas.²⁹⁹ It deals with his ideas of war, bravery and love.

Once Shaw wrote to his contemporary playwright Henry Arthur Jones and he remembered his impressions of the audience's reaction to the play's London opening:

"I had the curious experience of witnessing an apparently insane success, with the actors and actresses almost losing their heads with the intoxication of laugh after laugh, and of going before the curtain to tremendous applause, the only person in the theatre who knew that the whole affair was a ghastly failure."³⁰⁰

Many years later it also attracted the Federal Theatre Project (FTP) so, *Arms and the Man* was produced in four cities by it. These cities were San Diego on 27 October 1937; Salem, Massachusetts, on 15 November 1937; Des Moines on 26 November 1937 (followed by a tour of at least nine other cities throughout Iowa); and Detroit on 1 March 1938 (followed by a tour of several suburban neighborhoods). In these cities there were some reported works with FTP's national office range from the summaries to technical staffs. The commentaries and criticisms may bring out more about both the FTP and Shaw's play.³⁰¹

The FTP directors' interpretations was smoother if we compare with the other interpretations. Of the four directors of *Arms and the Man*, only Detroit's Verner

²⁹⁷ Michael O'Hara, "Arms and the Man and the Federal Theatre: Love and War in Troubled Times", *Shaw*, 1992, Vol. 14, pp. 145-146.

²⁹⁸ qtd.in Satran, p. 12.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

³⁰¹ Michael O'Hara, "Arms and The Man and The Federal Theatre: Love and War in Troubled Times", *Shaw*, 1992, Vol. 14, pp. 146-14.

Haldene writes, “Like O’Neill, Shaw is one of our best writers for the theater... [and] is a master at stinging satire, and high comedy.”³⁰² Clearly, he liked the play: *Arms and the Man* “is not dated. His [Shaw’s] political and social implications seem and play as up-to-the-minute as his later writings.”³⁰³ The prompt book for this production also concentrated on Shaw’s themes of militarism. It includes a preface arguing that the play’s most timely subject is “barbarity militarism which raises its horrid head from time to time to cast a doubt on the reality of our civilization.”³⁰⁴

Salem’s director, Eliot Duvey, is more optimistic. He said that the play’s mood was “light and spirited” and that it required actors who “had demonstrated possession of a comedy sense of the higher order.”³⁰⁵ His aim was to create “a colorful, pictorial effect with stressing on just important relevant details and elimination of unnecessary details,” but he fails to elaborate on these “details.”³⁰⁶

Des Moines’s director, Clarence Talbot, reported similar concerns about the play: When the comedy in this is played broad enough to reach large audiences, it loses [sic] some of its subtlety and easily slips over into what is termed the “menace of the modern theater.” ...Comedy lines and situations were pointed up and seldom, if ever, was serious philosophy allowed to break through the light satirical comedy.³⁰⁷

In sum, three of the four FTP productions of *Arms and the Man* made no attempt to illustrate or reinforce any of the controversial issues embedded within the text. According to them, this play was a puffy romantic comedy. Only Detroit’s production regarded this play as a social satire and just this production was taken seriously by the press.³⁰⁸

Besides these criticisms, he was also harshly criticized. Because in *Arms and the Man*, it is can be easily sensed a humiliation of Balkan people. Because there are some mockery elements about Balkan people, thus; it led turmoil in some countries related to this play and it was desired to censor. These turmoils became the subjects

³⁰² qtd.in , Ibid., p. 147.

³⁰³ qtd.in , Ibid., p. 147.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 147.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 147.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 147.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 147.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 149-150.

of some newspapers and criticism. Shaw got news about the evaluation of his play when his play was translated into German.

His play was forbidden in Vienna because of the political turmoils in Macedonia and Bulgaria. But thanks to Trebitsch who translated *Arms and the Man* into German, he blazed in Germany and in Austria.³⁰⁹

Newspapers followed this issue ambitiously. One of the newspaper repoted that it had been banned at the Burg because it was feared that the comedy “would inflame the Balkan States”.³¹⁰ Other papers then rushed to interview Shaw, and the next morning the Daily Mail, in a version that Shaw repudiated as “all nonsense,” reported that Arms had been banned because of “its dangerous revolutionary tendencies” and quoted Shaw as follows: “I am charmed and flattered by the action of the Austrian Government. It has paid me the most flattering compliment in its power. Here the critics would persist in treating ‘Arms and the Man’ as comic opera or a burlesque. It has been left for the Austrian Government to see my original purpose and to discover that it is really a serious study of humanity with a revolutionary tendency” (“A Forbidden Play”).³¹¹

Besides his justification of Austrian censorship of his play, he also defended his play. To him, there is no reason not to produce this play after the turmoil calmed down. He also focused on some historical facts on the Serbo-Bulgarian War in terms of their officers’ nationality. Because almost all of the opposing sides’ officers were Russians and Austrians.³¹²

After these allegations, two days later (28 February), the Westminster Gazette published a letter by Shaw contradicting certain portions of the interview dealing with the Shaw “boom” in Germany and Shaw’s alleged views about the superiority

³⁰⁹ Samuel A. Weiss, “Shaw “Arms and the Man”, and the Bulgarians”, *Shaw*, Vol. 10, 1990, pp. 27-28.

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 28.

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 28.

³¹² Ibid., p. 28.

of the German audience but it was indifferent to his comments about the censorship.³¹³

It seems wise to have a look at political situation of Balkans in 19th century. It gives credence to Shaw. It is known that the Balkans since the early nineteenth century was in turmoil with national movements and rebellions against the Ottoman rule. By the end of the century, those countries such as Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro won their independence. Macedonia was claimed by Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece.³¹⁴ We can see that there was a political upheaval in Balkans and the national movements in there changed the map of Europe. But for Shaw how they defend their country was very important and he argued on this issue in terms of the military skills of Bulgarians.

Shaw purposely draws a Swiss Bluntschli as the real hero, in comparison with whom the Bulgarians were inferior culturally. However, true heroism appears at last in Sergius, and the saving of Bluntschli's life by the Bulgarian woman is celebrated. But the reader paid attention to some passages which bore on Austro-Hungarian foreign relations and thus, against the Balkan Question, perhaps gave cause for concern.³¹⁵

“The questionable passages were no doubt those which mentioned the role of the Austrian and Russian officers in the Serbo-Bulgarian War, Raina's indignant outcry against the Austrians' setting on the Serbs to rob Bulgaria of its freedom, Catherine's anger at letting the Austrians force peace on Bulgaria instead of annexing Serbia, and Petkoff's rejoinder that he would have had to conquer the whole Austrian empire in that case”.³¹⁶

Shaw wrote about Bulgarians and the Serbo-Bulgarian War in “A Dramatic Realist to His Critics” (July 1894). He wanted to please Bulgarian people as well as he again concentrated on the historical facts on this war. He congratulated them on their efforts for their independence from Turkish rule. But their insufficient military abilities again became the subject. He revealed that “Bulgarians were in the hands of Russian military power and their patriotic feelings weren't enough to make them

³¹³ Ibid., p. 28.

³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

³¹⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 30.

powerful in the war. And their attempts at Western civilisation were much the same as their attempts at war - instructive, romantic, and ignorant. They were a nation of plucky beginners in every department.”³¹⁷

We should look at Bulgaria’s political situation of the time. Russia was interested in Bulgarian issue so as to create a pro-Russian regime after a possible split up from the Ottoman rule. So the Russian government supported the Bulgarians with their uprising against the Ottoman Rule. Turkey lost the war against the Russians in 1878, Russia negotiated for an autonomous Greater Bulgaria, only to have the other Great Powers split Bulgaria into an autonomous principality in the north and an Eastern Rumelia in the south.³¹⁸ Macedonia was also cut off. Russia remained in control of organizing the new principality, and the kinship relationship became prominent to choose the new ruler of Bulgaria. Alexander of Battenberg, a nephew of the Czarina, was elected Prince of Bulgaria (1879). Russian officers continued to train the Bulgarian army and held all the higher ranks in that army. The Minister of War was also a Russian.³¹⁹ It is obvious that all of the control was in the hands of Russian army.

However, Prince Alexander wanted to act individually. But it was a brave step. Prince Alexander gave reaction to a rebellion against the Ottoman Empire and proclaimed the union of northern and southern Bulgaria. The Czar didn’t expect such an act from Alexander and withdrew his army to leave him alone in the political sphere. But envious Serbia invaded Bulgaria when it was left alone because of its expansionist policy.³²⁰

We could conclude that those criticisms on *Arms and the Man* were so differing in covering the theme of nationalism and the national sentiment in the Balkans. As some critics observe that Shaw’s plays harshly satirizes the uselessness of a futile war and its cost on the innocent people. On the other hand, other critics

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

³¹⁸ Reşat Kasaba, *The Cambridge History of Turkey (Volume 4)*, Cambridge University Press, U.K., 2008, p. 53.

³¹⁹ Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia. © 1993-1997 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

³²⁰ Samuel A. Weiss, “Shaw “Arms and the Man”, and the Bulgarians”, *Shaw*, Vol. 10, 1990, p. 39.

exhibit that the play is about the national sentiment which arose about during that time.

2.5. Extracts from *Arms and the Man* on Nationalism and The Concept of Love

CATHERINE. Such news. There has been a battle!³²¹

CATHERINE. A great battle at Slivnitsa! A victory! And it was won by Sergius.³²²

Catherine seems to be so delighted with war because the battle was won by her would-be bride groom, Sergius.

RAINA (*with a cry of delight*). Ah! (*Rapturously*) Oh, mother! (*Then, with sudden anxiety*) Is father safe?³²³

Raina is very dedicated to her father she is deeply worried about her father as he is at war.

CATHERINE. Of course: he sent me the news. Sergius is the hero of the hour, the idol of the regiment.³²⁴

RAINA. Tell me, tell me. How was it! (*Ecstatically*) Oh, mother, mother, mother! (*Raina pulls her mother down on the ottoman; and they kiss one another frantically*).³²⁵

Raina loves being boasted and boasting as her mother does, she is happy as she has something to boast about because her fiancée is at battlefield.

CATHERINE (*with surging enthusiasm*). you can't guess how splendid it is. A cavalry charge—think of that! He defied our Russian commanders—acted without orders—led a charge on his own responsibility—headed it himself—was the first man to sweep through their guns. Can't you see it, Raina; our gallant splendid Bulgarians with their swords and eyes flashing, thundering down like an avalanche and scattering the wretched Servian dandies like chaff". And you—you kept Sergius waiting a year before you would be betrothed to him. Oh, if you have a drop of Bulgarian blood in your veins, you will worship him when he comes back.³²⁶

³²¹ Bernard Shaw, *Arms and the Man*, Dodd Mead & Company Publishers, New York, 1926, I. p. 4.

³²² Ibid., I. p. 4.

³²³ Ibid., I. p. 5.

³²⁴ Ibid., I. p. 5.

³²⁵ Ibid., I. p. 5.

³²⁶ Ibid., I. p. 5.

It is obvious here that Catherine is also a patriotic woman but her patriotism is based on her gains from the war. She expects that on the condition that the war were won then her income and fame will increase hugely and she believes that they will have higher positions in their lives.

RAINA. What will he care for my poor little worship after the acclamations of a whole army of heroes? But no matter: I am so happy—so proud! (*She rises and walks about excitedly.*) It proves that all our ideas were real after all.³²⁷

Sergius wins Raina's heart by his victory at war because Raina worships to power.

CATHERINE (*indignantly*). Our ideas real! What do you mean?³²⁸

RAINA. Our ideas of what Sergius would do—our patriotism—our heroic ideals. Oh, what faithless little creatures girls are! I sometimes used to doubt whether they were anything but dreams. When I buckled on Sergius' sword he looked so noble: it was treason to think of disillusion or humiliation or failure. And yet and yet.³²⁹

RAINA. Well, it came into my head just as he was holding me in his arms and looking into my eyes, that perhaps we only had our heroic ideas because we are so fond of reading Byron and Pushkin, and because we were so delighted with the opera that season at Bucharest. Real life is so seldom like that—indeed never, as far as I knew it then. (*Remorsefully*) Only think, mother, I doubted him: I wondered whether all his heroic qualities and his soldiership might not prove mere imagination when he went into a real battle. I had an uneasy fear that he might cut a poor figure there beside all those clever Russian officers.³³⁰

What we see here is that Raina has doubts on Sergius' talents as a soldier and his intellect as a man and she seems to be scared of Sergius possible failure at war as a soldier.

CATHERINE. A poor figure! Shame on you! The Servians have Austrian officers who are just as clever as our Russians; but we have beaten them in every battle for all that.³³¹

³²⁷ Ibid., I. p. 5.

³²⁸ Ibid., I. p. 5.

³²⁹ Ibid., I. p. 5.

³³⁰ Ibid., I. p. 5.

³³¹ Ibid., I. p. 6.

What we infer from those dialogues is that the Serbs and Bulgarians are not talented to stage a war and win it because while the Serbs put great confidence in Austrian commanders, the Bulgarians trust the Russian commanders.

MAN (*in the darkness, subduedly, but threateningly*). Sh—sh! Don't call out or you'll be shot. Be good; and no harm will happen to you. (*She is heard leaving her bed, and making for the door.*) Take care, there's no use in trying to run away. Remember, if you raise your voice my pistol will go off. (*Commandingly.*) Strike a light and let me see you. Do you hear?...Excuse my disturbing you; but you recognise my uniform—Servian. If I'm caught I shall be killed. (*Determinedly*) Do you understand that?³³²

RAINA. Yes.

MAN. Well, I don't intend to get killed if I can help it. (*Still more determinedly.*) Do you understand that? (*He locks the door with a snap.*)³³³

As it is seen above, the man is too scared to fight in the war so he threatens Raina.

RAINA (*disdainfully*). I suppose not. (*She draws herself up superbly, and looks him straight in the face, saying with emphasis*) Some soldiers, I know, are afraid of death.³³⁴

MAN (*with grim good humor*). All of them, dear lady, all of them, believe me. It is our duty to live as long as we can, and kill as many of the enemy as we can. Now if you raise an alarm...³³⁵

Bluntschli claims that the first duty of a soldier is to survive not to die as an idiot at a battlefield. What we can infer from that saying is that for many European soldiers to stay alive is much more important to die for one's fatherland. We observe it in Bluntschli's acts and behavior. Raina invests huge expectation on Sergius's possible victory at war to gain from it but she does not hesitate to claim that Sergius is afraid of dying at battlefield.

RAINA (*cutting him short*). You will shoot me. How do you know that I am afraid to die?³³⁶

The above dialogues prove that even Raina seems to be braver than the man.

³³² Ibid., I. pp. 8-9.

³³³ Ibid., I. p. 9.

³³⁴ Ibid., I. p. 9.

³³⁵ Ibid., I. p. 9.

³³⁶ Ibid., I. p. 10.

MAN (*cunningly*). Ah; but suppose I don't shoot you, what will happen then? Why, a lot of your cavalry—the greatest blackguards in your army—will burst into this pretty room of yours and slaughter me here like a pig; for I'll fight like a demon: they shan't get me into the street to amuse themselves with: I know what they are. Are you prepared to receive that sort of company in your present undress? Stop! (*She stops.*) Where are you going?³³⁷

The thing is that Sergius is scared to die at a battlefield.

RAINA (*with dignified patience*). Only to get my cloak.³³⁸

MAN (*darting to the ottoman and snatching the cloak*). A good idea. No: I'll keep the cloak: and you will take care that nobody comes in and sees you without it. This is a better weapon than the pistol. {He throws the pistol down on the ottoman}³³⁹

It is clear that Bluntschli is scared to death as he thinks that Raina might tell the soldiers his whereabouts.

RAINA (*revolted*). It is not the weapon of a gentleman!³⁴⁰

MAN. It's good enough for a man with only you to stand between him and death... Do you hear? If you are going to bring those scoundrels in on me you shall receive them as you are... No use: I'm done for. Quick! wrap yourself up: they're coming.³⁴¹

The above dialogues are quite striking as they reveal how Raina ridicules Bluntschli, he is not even a man in her eyes. She easily finds out that he is a coward soldier. To Sergius the thing is not to lose his life rather than fighting against the enemy soldiers.

RAINA (*impulsively*). I'll help you. Hide yourself, oh, hide yourself, quick, behind the curtain. (*She seizes him by a torn strip of his sleeve, and pull him towards the window.*)³⁴²

MAN (*yielding to her*). here is just half a chance, if you keep your head. Remember: nine soldiers out often are born fools. (*He hides behind the curtain, looking out for a moment to say, finally*) If they find me, I promise you a fight—a devil of a fight!³⁴³

³³⁷ Ibid., I. p. 10.

³³⁸ Ibid., I. p. 10.

³³⁹ Ibid., I. p. 10.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., I. p. 10.

³⁴¹ Ibid., I. pp. 10-11.

³⁴² Ibid., I. p. 11.

³⁴³ Ibid., I. p. 11.

Bluntschli is such a coward that he needs a young girl's shelter. Raina takes pity on him and gives protection to him. Bluntschli finds the soldiers as total idiots so what we infer from his saying is that he does not like being a soldier and his dislike for his comrades.

MAN. A narrow shave; but a miss is as good as a mile. Dear young lady, your servant until death. I wish for your sake I had joined the Bulgarian army instead of the Servian. I am not a native Servian.

RAINA (*haughtily*). No, you are one of the Austrians who set the Servians on to rob us of our national liberty, and who officer their army for them. We hate them!³⁴⁴

The man is a traitor so he betrays his comrades. What is striking is that after getting help from Raina, he wanted to change the sides as well. It is quite normal because he is mercenary. For him only money matters are important but not to die the country for which he fights.

MAN (*irritably*). Don't frighten me like that. What is it?³⁴⁵

RAINA. Your pistol! It was staring that officer in the face all the time. What an escape!³⁴⁶

MAN (*vexed at being unnecessarily terrified*). Oh, is that all?³⁴⁷

RAINA (*staring at him rather superciliously, conceiving a poorer and poorer opinion of him, and feeling proportionately more and more at her ease with him*). I am sorry I frightened you. (*She takes up the pistol and hands it to him.*) Pray take it to protect yourself against me.³⁴⁸

The man proves that he is a coward and he seems like he likes behaving in that way. It is obvious that it is not a shame for him.

MAN (*grinning wearily at the sarcasm as he takes the pistol*). No use, dear young lady: there's nothing in it. It's not loaded. (*He makes a grimace at it, and drops it disparagingly into his revolver case.*)³⁴⁹

RAINA. Load it by all means.³⁵⁰

MAN. I've no ammunition. What uses are cartridges in battle? I always carry chocolate instead; and I finished the last cake of that yesterday.³⁵¹

³⁴⁴ Ibid., I. p. 13.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., I. p. 13.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., I. p. 13.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., I. p. 13.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., I. p. 13.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., I. p. 13.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., I. p. 14.

³⁵¹ Ibid., I. p. 14.

RAINA (*outraged in her most cherished ideals of manhood*). Chocolate! Do you stuff your pockets with sweets—like a schoolboy—even in the field?³⁵²

MAN. Yes. Isn't it contemptible?³⁵³

(*Raina stares at him, unable to utter her feelings. Then she sails away scornfully to the chest of drawers, and returns with the box of confectionery in her hand.*)³⁵⁴

RAINA. Allow me. I am sorry I have eaten them all except these. (*She offers him the box.*)³⁵⁵

The dialogues clearly show us how Bluntschli takes the war so lightly as he carries chocolates with him. It is clear that he is an adventurer soldier rather than a true soldier. After finding out this, Raina keeps on ridiculing him lightly.

MAN (*ravenously*). You're an angel! (*He gobbles the comfits.*) Creams! Delicious! (*He looks anxiously to see whether there are any more. There are none. He accepts the inevitable with pathetic good humor, and says, with grateful emotion*) Bless you, dear lady. You can always tell an old soldier by the inside of his holsters and cartridge boxes. The young ones carry pistols and cartridges; the old ones, grub. Thank you. (*He hands back the box. She snatches it contemptuously from him and throws it away. This impatient action is so sudden that he shies again.*) Ugh! Don't do things so suddenly, gracious lady. Don't revenge yourself because I frightened you just now.³⁵⁶

RAINA (*superbly*). Frighten me! Do you know, sir, that though I am only a woman, I think I am at heart as brave as you.³⁵⁷

Even though Raina is a woman, she seems to be braver than Bluntschli. Under the normal conditions such treatment would hurt a man's honor but he does not take it seriously.

MAN. I should think so. You haven't been under fire for three days as I have. I can stand two days without shewing it much; but no man can stand three days: I'm as nervous as a mouse. (*He sits down on the ottoman, and takes his head in his hands.*) Would you like to see me cry?³⁵⁸

RAINA (*quickly*) No.³⁵⁹

³⁵² Ibid., I. p. 14.

³⁵³ Ibid., I. p. 14.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., I. p. 14.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., I. p. 14.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., I. p. 14.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., I. p. 14.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., I. p. 14.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., I. p. 14.

MAN. If you would, all you have to do is to scold me just as if I were a little boy and you my nurse. If I were in camp now they'd play all sorts of tricks on me.³⁶⁰

What we see in the interaction between Raina and Bluntschli is that he is like a small child rather than a soldier. It seems that he likes the way Raina treats him.

RAINA (*a little moved*). I'm sorry. I won't scold you. (*Touched by the sympathy in her tone, he raises his head and looks gratefully at her: she immediately draws back and says stiffly*) You must excuse me: our soldiers are not like that. (*She moves away from the ottoman*)³⁶¹

What degrades Bluntschli in Raina's eyes is that he is such a coward even it makes her to pride of her country's soldiers.

MAN. There are only two sorts of soldiers: old ones and young ones. I've served fourteen years: half of your fellows never smelt powder before. Why, how is it that you've just beaten us? Sheer ignorance of the art of war, nothing else. (*Indignantly*) I never saw anything so unprofessional.³⁶²

RAINA (*ironically*). Oh, was it unprofessional to beat you?³⁶³

Actually, Bluntschli is trying to say that the Bulgarian soldiers are not good at war matters. He furthers his claim by saying that most of them have not had the opportunity to use real arms, it shows us that he ridicules them. On other hand, Raina does not agree with him on that by claiming that they are brave and perfect soldiers.

MAN. Well, come, is it professional to throw a regiment of cavalry on a battery of machine guns, with the dead certainty that if the guns go off not a horse or man will ever get within fifty yards of the fire? I couldn't believe my eyes when I saw it.³⁶⁴

It shows us that now it is Bluntschli's time to ridicule Raina and Bulgarian soldiers. He claims that the Bulgarian soldiers won the war by accident not by a strategy.

MAN (*prosaically*). You should see the poor devil pulling at his horse.³⁶⁵

RAINA. Why should he pull at his horse?³⁶⁶

³⁶⁰ Ibid., I. pp. 14-15.

³⁶¹ Ibid., I. p. 15.

³⁶² Ibid., I. p. 15.

³⁶³ Ibid., I. p. 15.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., I. p. 15.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., I. p. 15.

MAN (*impatient of so stupid a question*). It's running away with him, of course: do you suppose the fellow wants to get there before the others and be killed? Then they all come. You can tell the young ones by their wildness and their slashing. The old ones come bunched up under the number one guard: they know that they are mere projectiles, and that it's no use trying to fight. The wounds are mostly broken knees, from the horses cannoning together.³⁶⁷

What we see here again is that the war was won by not bravery at battlefield but by chance so it is pointless to declare Bluntschli as a hero. His relentless acts and ignorance helped him win.

MAN. A regular handsome fellow, with flashing eyes and lovely moustache, shouting a war-cry and charging like Don Quixote at the windmills. We nearly burst with laughter at him; but when the sergeant ran up as white as a sheet, and told us they'd sent us the wrong cartridges, and that we couldn't fire a shot for the next ten minutes, we laughed at the other side of our mouths. I never felt so sick in my life, though I've been in one or two very tight places. And I hadn't even a revolver cartridge—nothing but chocolate. We'd no bayonets—nothing. Of course, they just cut us to bits. And there was Don Quixote flourishing like a drum major, thinking he'd done the cleverest thing ever known, whereas he ought to be court-martialled for it. Of all the fools ever let loose on a field of battle, that man must be the very maddest. He and his regiment simply committed suicide—only the pistol missed fire, that's all.³⁶⁸

Here it is obvious that Bluntschli is making fun of Sergius and he resembles him to Don Quixote. Even though Sergius is presented as the bravest soldier but in reality he is the stupidest soldier.

RAINA. First One!—the bravest of the brave!³⁶⁹

RAINA. But I don't believe the first man is a coward. I believe he is a hero!³⁷⁰

RAINA. That is a photograph of the gentleman—the patriot and hero—to whom I am betrothed.³⁷¹ The fact is that Raina is not ready to accept the fact that her fiancé is a coward one because his success is a boasting stuff for her. Her fiancé cannot be labeled as a coward. What we come across once again is that Raina is boasting about her fiancé.

RAINA. Why do you laugh?³⁷²

³⁶⁶ Ibid., I. p. 15.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., I. pp. 15-16.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., I. p. 16.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., I. p. 15.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., I. p. 16.

³⁷¹ Ibid., I. p. 17.

³⁷² Ibid., I. p. 17.

MAN (*shamefacedly, but still greatly tickled*). I didn't laugh, I assure you. At least I didn't mean to. But when I think of him charging the windmills and thinking he was doing the finest thing—(*chokes with suppressed laughter*).³⁷³

MAN (*with sincere remorse*). Of course. Certainly. I'm really very sorry. (*She deliberately kisses it, and looks him straight in the face, before returning to the chest of drawers to replace it. He follows her, apologizing.*) Perhaps I'm quite wrong, you know: no doubt I am. Most likely he had got wind of the cartridge business somehow, and knew it was a safe job.³⁷⁴

The above dialogues exhibit how Bluntschli keeps on ridiculing Sergius and his fake bravery. He believes that Sergius cowardness helped him win the war by chance.

RAINA (*coldly*). And now I will do a soldierly thing. You cannot stay here after what you have just said about my future husband; but I will go out on the balcony and see whether it is safe for you to climb down into the street. (*She turns to the window.*)³⁷⁵

RAINA (*rushing to him*). Stop! (*She catches him by the shoulder, and turns him quite round.*) They'll kill you.³⁷⁶

RAINA (*clinging to him*). They're sure to see you: it's bright moonlight. I'll save you—oh, how can you be so indifferent? You want me to save you, don't you?³⁷⁷

RAINA. Come away from the window—please. (*She coaxes him back to the middle of the room. He submits humbly. She releases him, and addresses him patronizingly.*) Now listen. You must trust to our hospitality. You do not yet know in whose house you are. I am a Petkoff.³⁷⁸

Raina seems to help Bluntschli so as to fulfill her ego. She thinks that he needs her shelter desperately. In reality, Raina treats her like a doll baby.

MAN. What's that?³⁷⁹

RAINA (*rather indignantly*). I mean that I belong to the family of the Petkoffs, the richest and best known in our country.³⁸⁰

RAINA. I must tell you that my father holds the highest command of any Bulgarian in our army. He is (*proudly*) a Major.³⁸¹

³⁷³ Ibid., I. p. 17.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., I. p. 17.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., I. pp. 17-18.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., I. p. 19.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., I. p. 19.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., I. p. 19.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., I. p. 19.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., I. p. 19.

What the dialogues show us is that Raina is boasting about her family's power rather than their characters.

CATHERINE (*springing erect, with flashing eyes*). The war over! Paul: have you let the Austrians force you to make peace?³⁸²

CATHERINE. You could have annexed Serbia and made Prince Alexander Emperor of the Balkans. That's what I would have done.³⁸³

Again Catherine is mingling with her husband's military duty even though she has no idea about it. She talks ignorantly about it. She thinks that her husband will conquer Serbia and she will make Prince Alexander come to the throne. But we know that these are only her vanities and unrealized dreams.

CATHERINE. You are a barbarian at heart still, Paul. I hope you behaved yourself before all those Russian officers.³⁸⁴

PETKOFF. I did my best. I took care to let them know that we had a library.³⁸⁵

Petkoff is boasting about himself even at battlefield. Catherine is paying too much emphasis on her husband's fame, all these prove that even at war time money matters to them greatly.

PETKOFF. You must talk to him, my dear, until Raina takes him off our hands. He bores my life out about our not promoting him—over my head, mind you.³⁸⁶

CATHERINE. He certainly ought to be promoted when he marries.

RAINA. Besides, the country should insist on having at least one native general.³⁸⁷

PETKOFF. Yes, so that he could throw away whole brigades instead of regiments. It's no use, my dear: he has not the slightest chance of promotion until we are quite sure that the peace will be a lasting one.³⁸⁸

What is interesting and striking in these dialogues is that to get promotion in Bulgarian army ranks does not depend on one's skills and bravery but money. Even

³⁸¹ Ibid., I. p. 20.

³⁸² Ibid., II. p. 28.

³⁸³ Ibid., II. p. 28.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., II. p. 29.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., II. p. 29.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., II. p. 29.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., II. p. 29.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., II. p. 30.

though Sergius had no military training and education he managed to get a place in the army thanks to power or money.

CATHERINE. You look superb—splendid. The campaign has improved you. Everybody here is mad about you. We were all wild with enthusiasm about that magnificent cavalry charge.³⁸⁹

SERGIUS (*with grave irony*). Madam: it was the cradle and the grave of my military reputation.³⁹⁰

CATHERINE. How so?³⁹¹

SERGIUS. I won the battle the wrong way when our worthy Russian generals were losing it the right way. That upset their plans, and wounded their self-esteem. Two of their colonels got their regiments driven back on the correct principles of scientific warfare. Two major-generals got killed strictly according to military etiquette. Those two colonels are now major-generals; and I am still a simple major.³⁹²

Sergius seems to be dissatisfied with his current position as major rather than being promoted to a higher rank. Actually he does not deserve being a major as well. It proves how selfish he is.

CATHERINE. You shall not remain so, Sergius. The women are on your side; and they will see that justice is done you.³⁹³

Catherine wants to see Sergius promoted to a higher rank as he will be her daughter's husband then they will boast about it.

SERGIUS. Of course he over-reached us. His father was a hotel and livery stable keeper; and he owed his first step to his knowledge of horse-dealing. (*With mock enthusiasm.*) Ah, he was a soldier—every inch a soldier! If only I had bought the horses for my regiment instead of foolishly leading it into danger, I should have been a field-marshal now!³⁹⁴

It is striking that Bluntschli regards military as a trade rather than duty.

PETKOFF (*Chuckling*). We shouldn't have been able to begin fighting if these foreigners hadn't shewn us how to do it: we knew nothing about it; and neither did the Servians. Egad, there'd have been no war without them.³⁹⁵

³⁸⁹ Ibid., II. p. 31.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., II. p. 31.

³⁹¹ Ibid., II. p. 31.

³⁹² Ibid., II. p. 31.

³⁹³ Ibid., II. p. 31.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., II. p. 33.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., II. p. 33.

Once again the dialogue proves how untalented and useless the Bulgarian soldiers are as they are hugely in need of others' help and support.

RAINA. Are there many Swiss officers in the Servian Army?³⁹⁶

PETKOFF. No—all Austrians, just as our officers were all Russians. This was the only Swiss I came across. I'll never trust a Swiss again. He cheated us—humbugged us into giving him fifty able bodied men for two hundred confounded worn out chargers. They weren't even eatable!³⁹⁷

To us, it is the most striking thing is that we see that many young Serbian boys escaped from war that proves the fatherland does not mean much to them.

SERGIUS. My queen! (*He kisses her on the forehead with holy awe*).³⁹⁸

RAINA. How I have envied you, Sergius! You have been out in the world, on the field of battle, able to prove yourself there worthy of any woman in the world; whilst I have had to sit at home inactive,—dreaming—useless—doing nothing that could give me the right to call myself worthy of any Man.³⁹⁹

What we experience here is that Raina cares for Sergius not for his bravery and character but for his fame and money. Power tempts her to marry him.

SERGIUS. Dearest, all my deeds have been yours. You inspired me. I have gone through the war like a knight in a tournament with his lady looking on at him!⁴⁰⁰

RAINA. And you have never been absent from my thoughts for a moment. (*Very solemnly.*)Sergius: I think we two have found the higher love. When I think of you, I feel that I could never do a base deed, or think an ignoble thought.⁴⁰¹

SERGIUS. My lady, and my saint! (*Clasping her reverently.*)⁴⁰²

RAINA (*returning his embrace*). My lord and my g—⁴⁰³

SERGIUS. Sh—sh! Let me be the worshipper, dear. You little know how unworthy even the best man is of a girl's pure passion!⁴⁰⁴

RAINA. I trust you. I love you. You will never disappoint me, Sergius. (*Louka is heard singing within the house. They quickly release each other.*) Hush! I can't pretend to talk indifferently before her: my heart is

³⁹⁶ Ibid., II. p. 33.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., II. p. 33.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., II. p. 36.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., II. p. 36.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., II. p. 36.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., II. p. 36.

⁴⁰² Ibid., II. p. 36.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., II. p. 36.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., II. p. 36.

too full. (*Louka comes from the house with her tray. She goes to the table, and begins to clear it, with her back turned to them.*) I will go and get my hat; and then we can go out until lunch time. Wouldn't you like that?⁴⁰⁵

SERGIUS. Be quick. If you are away five minutes, it will seem five hours. Louka: do you know what the higher love is?⁴⁰⁶

SERGIUS. Louka: do you know what the higher love is?⁴⁰⁷

LOUKA (*astonished*). No, sir.⁴⁰⁸

SERGIUS. Very fatiguing thing to keep up for any length of time, Louka. One feels the need of some relief after it.⁴⁰⁹

SERGIUS (*coming clear of the table and drawing her with him*). I am surprised at myself, Louka. What would Sergius, the hero of Slivnitza, say if he saw me now? What would Sergius, the apostle of the higher love, say if he saw me now? What would the half dozen Sergiuses who keep popping in and out of this handsome figure of mine say if they caught us here? (*Letting go her hand and slipping his arm dexterously round her waist*) Do you consider my figure handsome, Louka?⁴¹⁰

LOUKA. Let me go, sir. I shall be disgraced. (*She struggles: he holds her inexorably.*) Oh, will you let go?⁴¹¹

SERGIUS (*looking straight into her eyes*). No.⁴¹²

These dialogues prove that Raina and Sergius want to get married not on the basis of mutual love and respect but for money and power and to take advantage of each other's social status. No matter how much they talk about love and respect, these are all fake utterances.

PETKOFF (*too preoccupied to notice her as he shakes Bluntschli's hand heartily*). Those stupid people of mine thought I was out here, instead of in the—haw!—library. (*He cannot mention the library without betraying how proud he is of it*) I saw you through the window. I was wondering why you didn't come in. Saranoff is with me: you remember him, don't you?⁴¹³

SERGIUS (*saluting humorously, and then offering his hand with great charm of manner*). Welcome, our friend the enemy!⁴¹⁴

PETKOFF. No longer the enemy, happily. (*Rather anxiously.*) I hope you've come as a friend, and not on business.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., II. p. 36.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., II. pp. 36-37.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., II. pp. 36-37.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., II. p. 37.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., II. p. 37.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., II. p. 37.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., II. p. 37.

⁴¹² Ibid., II. p. 37.

⁴¹³ Ibid., II. p. 45.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., II. pp. 45-46.

SERGIUS (*sardonically*). Impossible, Bluntschli. We want you here badly. We have to send on three cavalry regiments to Phillipopolis; and we don't in the least know how to do it.⁴¹⁶

BLUNTSCHLI (*suddenly attentive and business-like*). Phillipopolis! The forage is the trouble, eh?⁴¹⁷

PETKOFF (*eagerly*). Yes, that's it. (*To Sergius*) He sees the whole thing at once.⁴¹⁸

BLUNTSCHLI. I think I can shew you how to manage that.⁴¹⁹

SERGIUS. Invaluable man! Come along! (*Towering over Bluntschli, he puts his hand on his shoulder and takes him to the steps, Petkoff following...*)⁴²⁰

Although Petkoff and Sergius know that this Swiss man is a dishonest merchant, they ask him to help them. We can clearly see that these men are ordinary and they can trust an enemy soldier. It also shows us they are incapable man.

PETKOFF (*He goes to the door importantly, but hesitates on the threshold.*) By the bye, Catherine, you may as well come, too. They'll be far more frightened of you than of me.⁴²¹

CATHERINE (*putting down her embroidery*). I daresay I had better. You will only splutter at them. (*She goes out, Petkoff holding the door for her and following her.*)⁴²²

BLUNTSCHLI. What a country! They make cannons out of cherry trees; and the officers send for their wives to keep discipline!...⁴²³

Bluntschli is surprised about the inability of Bulgarian military officer. Because they trust their wives to keep discipline in the army and the way of making cannonball is a subject of mocking. It is clearly seen that Bulgarian army is not powerful. Its military officers make strange decisions.

RAINA (*full of reproach for his levity*). Can you realize what it is to me to deceive him? I want to be quite perfect with Sergius—no meanness, no smallness, no deceit. My relation to him is the one really beautiful and noble part of my life. I hope you can understand that.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., II. p. 46.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., II. p. 46.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., II. p. 46.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., II. p. 46.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., II. p. 46.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., II. p. 46.

⁴²¹ Ibid., III. p. 53.

⁴²² Ibid., III. p. 53.

⁴²³ Ibid., III. p. 53.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., III. p. 54.

It is obvious that she tells lie. She is not faithful to Sergius and she loves Bluntschli at first sight. She is interested in another man even though she is engaged. It shows us her fake love and the reason of her relationship with Sergius.

BLUNTSCHLI (*sceptically*). You mean that you wouldn't like him to find out that the story about the ice pudding was a—a—a—You know.⁴²⁵

RAINA (*wincing*). Ah, don't talk of it in that flippant way. I lied: I know it. But I did it to save your life. He would have killed you. That was the second time I ever uttered a falsehood. (*Bluntschli rises quickly and looks doubtfully and somewhat severely at her*) Do you remember the first time?⁴²⁶

BLUNTSCHLI. I! No. Was I present?⁴²⁷

RAINA. Yes; and I told the officer who was searching for you that you were not present.⁴²⁸

BLUNTSCHLI. True. I should have remembered it. III.55

RAINA (*greatly encouraged*). Ah, it is natural that you should forget it first. It cost you nothing: it cost me a lie!—a lie!!(*She sits down on the ottoman, looking straight before her with her hands clasped on her knee. Bluntschli, quite touched, goes to the ottoman with a particularly reassuring and considerate air, and sits down beside her*).

To tell lie is not a difficult behaviour for Raina. Actually, she doesn't care about telling lies.

BLUNTSCHLI. My dear young lady, don't let this worry you. Remember: I'm a soldier. Now what are the two things that happen to a soldier so often that he comes to think nothing of them? One is hearing people tell lies (*Raina recoils*): the other is getting his life saved in all sorts of ways by all sorts of people.⁴²⁹

RAINA (*furious—throwing the words right into his face*). You have a low, shop keeping mind. You think of things that would never come into a gentleman's head.⁴³⁰

BLUNTSCHLI (*phlegmatically*). That's the Swiss national character, dear lady.⁴³¹

⁴²⁵ Ibid., III. p. 54.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., III. pp. 54 -55.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., III. p. 55.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., III. p. 55.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., III. p. 55.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., III. p. 58.

⁴³¹ Ibid., III. p. 58.

Sergius lets Raina insult on his nationality. Clearly, he cannot be a patriotic man. He doesn't mind his nationality. He can say negative things about his nationality.

RAINA. Oh, I wish I had never met you. (She flounces away and sits at the window fuming.)⁴³²

Even though Raina loves a man, she can angry with him if he makes a mistake to her. She loves a man as long as he makes her happy.

CATHERINE (*loftily polite*). I doubt, sir, whether you quite realize either my daughter's position or that of Major Sergius Saranoff, whose place you propose to take. The Petkoffs and the Saranoffs are known as the richest and most important families in the country. Our position is almost historical: we can go back for nearly twenty years.⁴³³

PETKOFF. Oh, never mind that.

CATHERINE (*To Bluntschli*). We should be most happy, Bluntschli, if it were only a question of your position; but hang it, you know, Raina is accustomed to a very comfortable establishment. Sergius keeps twenty horses.⁴³⁴

BLUNTSCHLI. But what on earth is the use of twenty horses? Why, it's a circus.⁴³⁵

CATHERINE (*severely*). my daughter, sir, is accustomed to a first-rate stable.⁴³⁶

Catherine and Petkoff value material things very much so, when they learn that Bluntschli is very wealthy they want to have such a son in law. We can clearly see that Bluntschli gets his value because of his wealth in their eyes. Even though Bluntschli is a greedy merchant, he is surprised about their behaviour. Because they can compare their daughter with material things.

RAINA. Hush, mother, you're making me ridiculous.⁴³⁷

Raina is ashamed of her mother's talk because she behaves like she wants to sell her daughter like a thing when the matter is about her marriage.

⁴³² Ibid., III. p. 58.

⁴³³ Ibid., III. p. 78.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., III. p. 78.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., III. p. 78.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., III. p. 78.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., III. p. 78.

BLUNTSCHLI. Oh, well, if it comes to a question of an establishment, here goes! (*He goes impetuously to the table and seizes the papers in the blue envelope*) How many horses did you say?⁴³⁸

SERGIUS. Twenty, noble Switzer!⁴³⁹

BLUNTSCHLI. I have two hundred horses. (*They are amazed*) How many carriages?⁴⁴⁰

SERGIUS. Three.⁴⁴¹

BLUNTSCHLI. I have seventy. Twenty-four of them will hold twelve inside, besides two on the box, without counting the driver and conductor. How many tablecloths have you?⁴⁴²

SERGIUS. How the deuce do I know?⁴⁴³

BLUNTSCHLI. Have you four thousand?⁴⁴⁴

SERGIUS. No⁴⁴⁵

BLUNTSCHLI. I have. I have nine thousand six hundred pairs of sheets and blankets, with two thousand four hundred eider-down quilts. I have ten thousand knives and forks, and the same quantity of dessert spoons. I have six hundred servants. I have six palatial establishments, besides two livery stables, a tea garden and a private house. I have four medals for distinguished services; I have the rank of an officer and the standing of a gentleman; and I have three native languages. Show me any man in Bulgaria that can offer as much.⁴⁴⁶

When Bluntschli sees that her family care about only material things, he begins to tell about his wealth instead of telling about his sentiments for their daughter.

PETKOFF (*with childish awe*). Are you Emperor of Switzerland?⁴⁴⁷

BLUNTSCHLI. My rank is the highest known in Switzerland: I'm a free citizen.⁴⁴⁸

CATHERINE. Then Captain Bluntschli, since you are my daughter's choice, I shall not stand in the way of her happiness. (*Petkoff is about to speak*) That is Major Petkoff's feeling also.⁴⁴⁹

PETKOFF. Oh, I shall be only too glad. Two hundred horses! Whew!⁴⁵⁰

⁴³⁸ Ibid., III. p. 78.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., III. p. 78.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., III. p. 78.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., III. p. 78.

⁴⁴² Ibid., III. pp. 78-79.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., III. p. 79.

Petkoff and Catherine adore Bluntshli's wealth and they want to have such a son in law. They don't even ask Raina's opinion and they don't inquire about his character but his wealth.

SERGIUS. What says the lady? ⁴⁵¹

RAINA (*pretending to sulk*). The lady says that he can keep his tablecloths and his omnibuses. I am not here to be sold to the highest bidder. ⁴⁵²

BLUNTSCHLI. I won't take that answer. I appealed to you as a fugitive, a beggar, and a starving man. You accepted me. You gave me your hand to kiss, your bed to sleep in, and your roof to shelter me— ⁴⁵³

RAINA (*interrupting him*). I did not give them to the Emperor of Switzerland! ⁴⁵⁴

BLUNTSCHLI. That's just what I say. (He catches her hand quickly and looks her straight in the face as he adds, with confident mastery) Now tell us who you did give them to. ⁴⁵⁵

RAINA (*succumbing with a shy smile*). To my chocolate cream soldier! ⁴⁵⁶ III.80

Raina helps him without knowing his wealth status and loves him. But she can choose Sergius even though she loves Bluntschli because she knows about Sergius's wealth. Material things overweigh for her. But when she learns that Bluntschli is very wealthy, he becomes an ideal husband for her because she also finds love. Anymore, Sergius is not ideal husband for her because he can satisfy her with only two things; equal family status and equal wealth but he doesn't satisfy her emotions. We can clearly see that she finds both love and a great fortune together.

2.6. Namık Kemal and His Plays

Namık Kemal was born in 1840 in Tekirdağ. His real name was Mehmet Kemal but he assumed the pen names Ahmet Nafiz, Hitam-ı Acemi, and Sabir. Kemal came from a prominent family, and as a youngster he took Arabic, Persian and history lessons. As an adult, he worked as a state official and held many

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁵² Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., III. p. 79.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., III. p. 80.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., III. p. 80.

important positions. Kemal moved to Istanbul and met Şinasi, who was one of the illustrious literary and political figures of the time. This meeting was to become a turning point in Kemal's life. Namık Kemal joined the staff of Şinasi's newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, who upon moving to Paris handed the publication over to Kemal.⁴⁵⁷

Kemal was soon sentenced to exile by the Ottoman government because of the paper's critical coverage of the government and escaped to Paris in 1867. This move proved to become a turning point in his life. In 1868, he began publishing the newspaper 'Hürriyet' in London, and continued his support for political freedom in the Ottoman Empire. He eventually parted ways with fellow intellectuals at this paper and decided to move back to Istanbul upon the invitation of the Ottoman grand Vizier. Namık Kemal returned to Istanbul in 1871 and resumed his career at the 'Diyojen', but he never published under his real name again. In 1872, fate repeated itself and Kemal was forced to leave Istanbul for Gelibolu (Gallipoli) where he published his newspaper 'İbret', and sought solutions to the various troubles that the country was experiencing.⁴⁵⁸

Namık Kemal's national fame came to him with his dramatic play *Fatherland or Silistra*. The play was a call for patriotism and freedom and had just that impact on audiences throughout the Empire. When Namık Kemal returned to Istanbul, excited and enthusiastic masses paid visits to the office of his newspaper 'İbret', much to the discontentment of the government of the period. 'İbret' was closed for an indeterminate time, and Kemal was again sent on exile to Famagusta for 38 months. Following the demise of the government during the coup of 1876, he returned to Istanbul to become the first Turkish literary figure to deal with modern concepts such as individual freedoms and nationhood.⁴⁵⁹

Rather than focusing on the ideal state, Namık Kemal draws the portrait of an ideal human being, and concentrates on the issue "what kind of an individual should one be." Namık Kemal maintains that the individual must follow ideals and personally struggle to attain freedom, progress and development. His drama was an appeal to personal responsibility, demanding that "the people" rise to the challenge to secure their freedom.

⁴⁵⁷ Yeşim Gökçe, "Namık Kemal", Web. 30 Jul. 2013.

(<http://www.turkishculture.org/literature/literature/turkish-authors/namik-kemal-637.htm>).

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

His eulogy to ‘Hürriyet’(Freedom) contains seven essential concepts; the individual and his personal attributes, love of fatherland and the defense of its territorial and political integrity, freedom and the fight for freedom, reverence to ideals, the need of a national history, the current state of the fatherland, and the portrait of a new and ideal human being or individual. When he wrote this text that epitomizes his philosophy of freedom, Kemal was in exile in Famagusta.⁴⁶⁰

Namık Kemal proclaimed, “Literature does not have a fatherland,” and emphasized its universality. He also maintained that literature had to be true to life. Kemal managed to unify his political struggle with his prolific literary career, and during his short life he made valuable contributions for the improvement of the political structure of the Ottoman government. Namık Kemal died on December 2nd 1888 on the island of Sakız (Chios).⁴⁶¹

Kemal’s patriotic writings became a source of inspiration for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the leader of the Turkish nationalist movement and the founder of the Republic of Turkey. He was married to Nesime Hanım; they had two daughters (Feride and Ulviye) and a son (Ali Ekrem).⁴⁶²

The discussions on theatre began in some Istanbul newspapers when he was in Gelibolu for a short time work (in July- on 25 December 1872) as a governor. This new kind of art which was translated from another language and mostly performed by Christian performers had been just known by middle class.⁴⁶³

Sarap Hekimyan* was educated in Italy and his actions which suitable to the concept of theatre was fifteen years ago. Vaspuragan community was found ten years ago and it was directed by Güllü Agop**. In this period, new theatre were opened and closed. There were disassociation and association among performers. But this new art reached at some neighbourhood like Üsküdar, Ortaköy, Gedikpaşa, Beyoğlu and

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Şükran Kurdakul, *Namık Kemal (Yaşamı, sanatçı kişiliği, gazeteciliği, oyun ve eleştiri yazarlığı ile yapıtlarından örnekler)*, Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1991, p. 61. (Translated by the author).

* He was an Ottoman Armenian theatre actor, dramaturg and director.

** He was an Ottoman Armenian theatre director and founder of modern Turkish theatre.

especially Güllü Agop's efforts led to the establishment of Ottoman theatre(1869). In 1870, this establishment was supported by state and obtained qualification of state theatre.⁴⁶⁴

Namık Kemal joined the discussions with his writings published in 'Dyogenes' and these discussions began in Istanbul newspapers. In his articles like 'Theatre Article', 'Ottoman Theatre', 'Theatre Matter' he put forward to the necessity of Turkish actors getting on the stage. "Supported the ethical function of theatre, he supported that instead of translated and adapted works, native and national works should be performed. He also emphasized on an important problem in his articles. This problem was theatrical language and this language should be distinctive. After he returned from İstanbul, it was given task to Güllü Agop, Raşit Pasha, Mr. Halet etc. and also Namık Kemal in the community (on January 1873)which was constituted to develop Ottoman Theatre".⁴⁶⁵Therefore, the writer had an opportunity of a more intimate relationship with art of theatre. He wrote *Fatherland or Silistra* soon abiding by thoughts he put forward to in his articles and provided its staging. And then he became one of the pioneers of stage literature with his plays Young Rose, Akif Bey, Poor Boy and Celaleddin Harzemşah.⁴⁶⁶

Namık Kemal played a significant role in changes and innovation of Turkish literature under Western influence. "Turkish literature began to diverse from Ottoman poetry and Turkish historiagraphy from chronicler in the Tanzimat Period. Especially after the translation of Western literatures, new world of ideas began to be gained and thus; Turkish literature and ideas changed and renew in this way".⁴⁶⁷ Even though Namık Kemal and New Ottomans didn't have a systematic thought tradition to create the Western style thought system in Tanzimat, their function cannot be delayed.⁴⁶⁸

Namık Kemal's ideas and political-social opinions can be concluded from his hundreds of articles and from his writings like theatre, history, novel. His ideas

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 61.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁴⁶⁷ Lütü Şehsuvaroğlu, *Milliyetçilik ve Namık Kemal*, Elips kitap,2008, p. 35. (Translated by the author).

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 35.

which can be concluded from his proposals and his main opinions are; reliable state government, Ottomanism and Islamic unity. Actually, Young Ottomans came out as a society and shook the state government and Turkish intellectuals and the reason of these were the matters like the way of reacting against Eastern question, weakness of Ottoman state, scatter of Muslims , troubles of the state and how to get rid of the label of ‘ sick man’.⁴⁶⁹

Tasvir-i Efkar’s owner Şinasi was a defender of parliamentary system and follower of constitutionalism. These were also the main opinions of Kemal: constitutionalism and parliamentary government. According to one of his articles published in ‘Hürriyet’ (on 30 July,1285) managing bodies were; Grand Assembly, ümmet (the Ottoman subjects) and Senate. Namık Kemal who didn’t abandon sultan’s supervision on them, he also supported a powerful state but a government based on consultancy. Such a government which was purified from corruption and based on consultancy actualize this programme with ‘two big ideals’ and awaking traditions but using contemporary-modern lever. One of them was Ottomanism conscious and the other one was Islam unity. Namık Kemal’s views and ideas were the first forms of the much discussed Turk-Islam synthesis or Turk-Islam ideal which were cleared out later in the life of Turkic political and idea. We can see that some concepts were the pioneer of actualizing the main ideas and applying of social politics. ‘Fatherland’ and ‘freedom’ concepts are the heads of these concepts. The concept of fatherland was brought forward so much by Namık Kemal for the first time. This theme was also frequently the subject of literary works. Ottoman unity project’s vitality was provided with the idea of conscious of fatherland. Love of fatherland is superior to all kinds of loves and simultaneously, it includes all of them. Actually, all things that we love inherent with it. The life of Ottoman conscious and saving the Empire can only be possible with sticking these ideals only. The love of fatherland is the greatest virtue for mankind. The theatre play called as *Fatherland or Silistra* is nearly among the most superior and first models of Turkish literature. The concept of freedom found its function with Namık Kemal for the first time. People are free by birth and in this sense, his sense of freedom overlaps with believer of

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 35-36.

Turkish thought architects mystic believers and especially with the sense of freedom which was discussed in action idea and Anatolian idea. The superiority of law and codes is the only condition of making the concepts meaningful in a reliable society.⁴⁷⁰

Kemal was in favour of pursuing the concept of westernization but he strongly believed preserving national values which were vitally important for him. He was a follower of staunch right-wing nationalistic movements. In fact, He, personally, originated this idea of nationalism. On one hand, he attacked the conventions of old literature mercilessly on the other hand he had great interest in staging and western theatre techniques. As an artist he was inspired by some Western authors such as Victor Hugo and he became the pioneer of Romanticism in Turkey.⁴⁷¹

It is known that during that time the art of theatre was a new thing for the society as a whole, but there were traditional low comedies and other spectacle arts which were the artifacts of conventional style. With the staging and publication of *Fatherland or Silistra* the society had the chance to see a new kind of play which was unique in its style and manner and theme. Its spectacle attracted many audiences. It made people taste a new style and convert into a civil society from a conventional one.⁴⁷²

Namık Kemal cared about theatre very much and as well as his six plays, he also wrote about the art of theatre so that he informed public opinion about theatre and he stressed on the importance of theatre. According to him, theatre was recognized as one of the greatest art of civilization in Europe. He thought that theatre's role was great in terms of emerging reforms and developments in Europe. He argued that the Turkish theatre should contribute to people's intellectual development by helping them gaining proper Turkish. Kemal worked hard to make the Turkish dramatists' works to be staged only Turkish performers rather than foreign nationals. Many of his writings focused on the importance of Turkish plays

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 36.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁴⁷² Ibid., p. 53.

written in Turkish. To him, theatre was one of the most important mediums which could develop the Turkish language.⁴⁷³

According to Kemal, it is the most vital expression of utterance power of nation and literature. While he was in Paris, he had the chance and opportunity to get familiar with western theatre. He realized that theatre could be used as an effective weapon for awakening the national conscience.⁴⁷⁴

Namık Kemal's first theatre work was *Fatherland or Silistra* (Vatan Yahut Silistre 1873) which dealt with the theme of the nationalistic feelings of nation. He began to write this play in Gelibolu and finished in İstanbul and got it published in 'İbret' newspaper on 31 March 1873. After its publication and staging it attracted huge attention from audiences and readers. The exclamation 'long live the fatherland' and 'long live Namık Kemal' became well known clichés and popularised with people immensely. It brought him fame but also it was one of the well-known reasons of his being sent into exile to Famagusta (today Gazimağusa) in the Northern Cyprus. However, even the Sultan liked this play very much and let it be performed in palaces many times.⁴⁷⁵

The play is about the siege of Silistra and protagonist Islam Bey and Turkish soldiers' success and bravery. The following mottos of the play echoed in people's ears for years. "We will protect the fatherland and God will protect us. No one can live when they see their fatherland and benefactor are downtrodden. If they see this situation and still live without them, they are inferior to a dog. Islam Bey another lover is Zekiye except fatherland. She also joined the fatherland defense coming after him".⁴⁷⁶ The curtain falls on with a poem of the poet:

Fatherland is the mother for all of us;

She is her who feeds on everybody with favour

Enemy stepped on her when we were alive,

⁴⁷³ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 54.

The ninth heaven heroes help fatherland!⁴⁷⁷

After this ballad, Islam Bey and the others shouted ‘long live the fatherland’. After the Silistra defense which revealed a great resistance against Russians, this play was translated into Russian, German, French and Arabic as well.⁴⁷⁸

Fatherland or Silistra was considered as a milestone in 19th century life of art and thought which fought for attaining new possibilities. Namık Kemal adopted an opinion and went this way. It was; “theatre is an entertainment but it is the most useful entertainment...”⁴⁷⁹ While he was a governor in Mytilene Island, he wrote about his play’s success in ‘Şark’ newspaper. He alleged that this play’s success depended on its native theme but its success was not because of its organisation or technical superiority. The writer was of the opinion that ‘the theatre was seen as the demonstrator of national virtue.’⁴⁸⁰

An article written on *Fatherland or Silistra* in Russian press alleged that this play was copied from French writer Victorien Sardou’s play which named as *Fatherland*. Namık Kemal’s response to this allegation in ‘Mecmua-i Ebüzziya’ was as following:

“My aim was to describe the patriotic feelings and I didn’t write it to show skills of theatre. My work’s theme was a man’s preference of fatherland to his life and his lover. Victorie Sardou’s theme was a man’s acceptance of panderism on behalf of patriotism.”⁴⁸¹

After comparing these two plays, researchers were of the opinion that there were no similarities between these two plays except name. However; the judgement of Victor Hugo’s influence on Namık Kemal’s opinions was almost like shared.⁴⁸² It is a Four-Act play and it was the most staged plays of Kemal. It is about the Crimean

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁴⁸² Ibid., p. 63.

War which was a successful war for Turks. It was more like oratory than spoken language.⁴⁸³

It is imperative to say something about the play. Most of the scenes pass inaction. Except Islam Bey, Zekiye and Abdullah, the other characters like the characters that were put on the scene to prove their existence. Sub-events are abounded without anxious about if they are necessary or not. But it was the most accessible play to public among the plays of the national theatre. It was put on the stage hundreds of times in 1908 because of its artistic and theatrical merits.⁴⁸⁴

Before furthering our talk on the play, we should have a look at the historical and political climate of that period. In 1850 Ali Pasha became the grand vizier and he was the man who didn't get on well with Kemal who was educated by Mustafa Resit Pasha. On 22 June 1853 Russian armies stepped in Wallachia and Moldova and on 23 October 1853, Crimean War began on 30 December 1853. It is believed that the Russian armada first fired Ottoman armada deployed in Sinop. Between 18 May-30 June 1854, Silistra castle was defended against Russians.⁴⁸⁵

The Crimean War's pains are exhibited in *Fatherland or Silistra* staged in 1873. The setting is Kars. Kemal depicts successfully the signs of these pains: 'a Kurdish girl follows her fiancé as a registered soldier and comes to Kars. She becomes a martyr although she works as a drummer in a troop. I see her corpse because I was in Kars in this time.' From there, it can be concluded that this girl was Zekiye who followed Islam Bey.⁴⁸⁶

Young Rose, (Gülnehal, 1875) is the second play of Kemal. It didn't become popular and famous among audience as much as the first play even though it was more successful than the first play. It includes criticism toward the arbitrary administrators. It was written as Raz-ı Dil (secret of heart) but then it was censored and got the name of *Gülnehal*. In this play, the flag officer whose name is Kaplan Pasha' torment to people and his bad administration is criticized. Muhtar and Ismet

⁴⁸³ Ibid., p. 63.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

⁴⁸⁵ Efdal Sevinçli, *Namık Kemal ve Tiyatro*, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Yayınları, 1991, p. 9. (Translated by the author)

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

love each other but Kaplan pasha sends Muhtar to a dungeon because he desires Ismet. In that play we could see the Shakespearean influence in terms of quoting the vernacular. According to Ahmet Hamdi Pinar, in the play Kaplan Pasha is Macbeth.⁴⁸⁷

Akif Bey (1874), is his third play. He wrote it in exile. In this Five-Act play, he awakens inspires people's patriotic feelings. It deals with both love and thrill of people to pieces and handling sea triumphs. In this play, romantic perceptions and descriptions are mingled with patriotism, national passion is glowed and therefore national romanticism comes up.⁴⁸⁸

Tanpınar said that "the play is the most remarkable play of him in terms of both topic and character".⁴⁸⁹

Miserable child (Zavallı Çocuk 1873) reminds Victor Hugo's Hernani. Şefika gets engaged to a wealthy pasha to absolve her father. She loves Ata but they can't come together and both of them die at the end of the play. It was staged in both Istanbul and Mytiline Island.⁴⁹⁰

Misfortune (Karabela 1910) was written in Famagusta (today Gazimağusa) while he was in exile there, but he could not witness the success of it and its publication in his life time. To some critics it was one of the weakest plays of him. According to Dr. Rıza Nur, Kemal wrote it while in huge financial problems that led him focus on the art work's form and content.⁴⁹¹

Kemal started penning down Celaledin *Harzemşah* (1885) in Fagamusta and but it was completed on Mytiline island. It has fifteen curtains. It was written as closet-drama. It is about the life of the last Harzemşah ruler, Celaledin Harzemşah. There are dramatic death scenes of noble rulers like in Hamlet and high speeches: deaths, heroisms and infidelities... After deceived a few times and lost his state, he tried to organize his state at four times. Celaledin said that if God gave me power, I

⁴⁸⁷ Lütü Şehsuvaroğlu, *Milliyetçilik ve Namık Kemal*, Elips kitap, 2008, p. 54.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

⁴⁸⁹ qtd.in Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 55.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 55.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 55.

would establish one more state. He took a vow that he would struggle against Muslim enemies who delivered their wives and children to the Genghis pagans. According to Namık Kemal, the play is only about religion and written neatly. Even though Namık Kemal didn't satisfy with it, he saw it superior than his other plays.⁴⁹²

In the first constitutional era, there was a powerful performer staff including Güllü Agop and theatre was always on public agenda thanks to the press. *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), *Telemak* (1862), *Leyla and Mecnun* (1535), *Ayyar Hamza*(1871), and *Zor Nikah*(1868), all these plays dealt with its time matters. They contributed a lot to the importance of concept of freedom among the New Ottomans. Independence brought by the new constitution and centralization disappeared over time since 1908. A watch-dog theatre closed down a lot of theatres. Gedikpaşa theatre was demolished.⁴⁹³

Many political events occurred during that time. This was *Fatherland or Silistra's* performance, Kemal's sending into exile and the closing of 'İbret' newspaper. There were demonstrations against it.⁴⁹⁴

2.7. Nationalism and Namık Kemal

The emergence of the movements such as the Turkism, Pan-Islamism and Ottomanism were the natural results of the influence of the Western thought on Eastern world. Those movements caused inspirations among Turkish scholars during the Tanzimat Period. That is called the contemporary Turkish thought influenced greatly by the Western thought. Namık Kemal and his friends managed to form and shape the new contemporary Turkish thought without losing their own values to sustain the Ottoman Empire even though they were deeply affected and influenced by the Western thought and ideas after the German union and French Revolution. To Kemal the new western concepts were not in clash with Islam and its tenets. Unlike many Ottoman intellectuals whose judgements made from their ivory towers without any touch to the real people, Namık Kemal was involved in people and took on

⁴⁹² Ibid., p. 55.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., pp. 55-56.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

responsibility by using all constituents like newspaper, arena, scene, exile, organisation etc. as a mediator.⁴⁹⁵

As an originator of final period's intellectuals, Namık Kemal became a cliché with his sonorous and liberal manner. He is said to have been a mastermind in terms of striking the Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism, Turkism and then new versions like Kemalism and socialism.⁴⁹⁶ He obviously opened a new era in Turkish intellectual mind. His contemporary intellectuals owe to him much. Because they gained a different point of view.

It is well known that Kemal was in love with his country and he was also the lover of independence. When the brave and idealistic character combined with a fearless character who is not afraid of any trouble the rest are information, experience and aesthetic pleasure. Kemal had all these specialties and so it is wise to claim that he was regarded as the sole renovator of the century.⁴⁹⁷

The 19th century was an intertwined century for Ottoman Empire. Almost whole Europe was under great transformation because of the effects of the French Revolution. An Empire whose downfall was more magnificent than its rise prepared the base of going out of existence with the other Empires. The New Ottomans looked for the ways to take part in new arena which came out with French Revolution. We could say the Ottomanism was the nationalism of this period.⁴⁹⁸

Namık Kemal redefined the concepts like independence, fatherland, council, assembly, natural law after he absorbed the new concepts originated in Europe and made them sound to be more Turkish than European. It was a question and mystery for many scholars including Kemal what function nationalism will have whether it will unite the country and people or it will divide it.⁴⁹⁹

It should be born in mind that the constituents of nationality do not only consist of race union. Naturally, when appropriate time comes and the period's

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

language is in question then it will be a process that is about origin. In this sense, the race unity issue which lies on a wide geography stands as a great potential. But language unity, cultural unity, unity of religion, geographical unity, political unity, and command of mutual life, mutual past and a lot of issues will be used when appropriate time comes.⁵⁰⁰

During that time nationalism was the potentially greatest unity project to unite country. It is inspired by the past but it was an agreement conscious to build the future and specified which one would be given to priority. The Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism, Turkism and also Pan-turanism were regarded as grand unity project in this sense at that time.⁵⁰¹

Politically speaking, during that era the Ottomanism was the name of nationalism which was organized around the nation in the state concept. There was the Ottoman society and its nationalism was the Ottomanism. When the Christian constituents separated by the common Western strategy, the Pan-Islamism became the name of the new nationalism and the concept of nation took its new form in this frame. The most reliable constituent was crystallized. But when the practitioners who carried out the Eastern question as a rooted strategy split into Muslim constituents by tricking, then the Turkism necessarily emerged as the new Turkish nationalism. The Pan-Turkism was the name of the new and passionate project which union and progress pashas hastily stick to it after they saw how Russian tsardom got a new vision by communism and sustained the imperial fortune with the blend of this new kind of nationalism and grand unity project.⁵⁰²

Namık Kemal played a crucial role in leading that movement and shaping and directing the Turkish thought. The judgement that Namık Kemal formed a milestone in the Ottoman period's revolution to republic period was not surprising considering Kemal's contribution to the development of the Turkish nationalism.⁵⁰³ Besides his

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p. 33.

pioneering role in the development of the contemporary Turkish nationalism history, he is known as the father of Islamist thought and the Ottomanism as well.⁵⁰⁴

Regarding that era with its political and social developments we could say that the Ottoman Empire was experiencing a historical turning point in its whole history, it was logical for the Ottomans to develop a survival strategy for organic intellectuals in their natural conditions. The three manners of politics' reason aimed definitely to hold the nation together and protect the state from any possible turmoil which could lead to its downfall. The Ottomanism could match up with liberalism, the Islamism with conservatism, the Turkism with socialism and the intellectuals who took their position in these circles and these could smooth the way for intellectuals to achieve the universal.⁵⁰⁵

In this regard, Namık Kemal who was the main vein of these systems can be asserted as an unsystematic intellectual. Actually, Namık Kemal was the father of the contemporary Turkish thought and main political manners rode on Kemal's coattails.⁵⁰⁶

In the 19th century the Ottoman Empire had supranational system while Europe was in the form of a torn apart society. They didn't proceed to nation-state phase because the feudal rulers, serfs and clans didn't build a multipartite and serious grand unity project before bourgeois revolution. Before Europe Union, the Ottoman Empire reclaimed a multi-national, multi-faith grand unity project which belonged to Muslim Turks and its aim was to make the Turkish language a world language in three continents. Even crusades failed to provide a unity consciousness among Europeans.⁵⁰⁷

The Ottoman-Turk project put forward to a serene government sense and also peace, so that the synagogues, churches and mosques could stand in peace. They didn't adopt the Western style of nationalism which came out after French Revolution, but they considered nationalism as a divine mission whose source came

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 34.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 84.

from Bilge Kagan and carried it as a social character and they didn't even try to describe. But its duration was until the Western countries decided to sweep the Turks out Europe. After the French Revolution, Europe took aim at some countries to exploit and they struggled against each other to exploit more and anymore; the Ottoman lands were their target and nationalism definitely became the art of preserving unity of all constituents which consisted of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁰⁸

Namık Kemal was the spokesman for the Ottoman nationalist intellectuals and he perceived the storms which came from the West and accordingly tried to struggle against them with his own methods. He was the common source of three styles of politics. He was the original master mind of the Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and nationalism. To the supporters of Kemalism and Anatolianism, Namık Kemal was reference and main source to make solid their own assumptions.⁵⁰⁹

Orhan Okay indicated the senses of weak nationalism which clear the difference between the Ottoman nationalism and today's nationalism and its application to all times and places as an absolute truth.⁵¹⁰ He claims "when the subject of discussion is Namık Kemal's sense of fatherland and nation sense, generally the thought of the Ottoman nationalism and accordingly the thoughts of fatherland and nation are referred. He was known as the fatherland poet in all records for more than one century. When Namık Kemal is put forward as a dispute point concerning the nature of nationalism, it should be stressed that the Ottoman nationalism had nothing to do with today's sense of nationalism. Meaning and value of being Ottoman nationalist in Namık Kemal's time was the same thing being Turkish nationalist in today's land. It was definite that as the fatherland map changed and as the generation and time changed, it was expanded new horizons in the sense of nationalism. The difference between today's nationalism and Namık Kemal's nationalism is the demonstrator of the one year gap's development."⁵¹¹

To many critics it would be misleading to assert that the New Ottomans were Kemal's partners and shared his opinions in their cause. What made Namık Kemal so

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 85.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 85.

⁵¹⁰ qtd.in Şehsuvaroğlu, p. 85.

⁵¹¹ Ibid., p. 86

different from many others was that his sense of unique nationalism were passed down to the next coming.⁵¹²

In his forty-eight years of life span, he both gained the Western styled literary genre and tried to constitute the core of the Western styled thought system. Since the III. Selim's period, there had been some reforms on education, administration and army but while these modernization acts developed the works of reforms and applying to the parliamentary system, there were not serious developments on behalf of thought. Namık Kemal was one of the first leading figures in the sense of "man of ideas" and "man of creativity and struggle who tried to do his best about establishing the modern thought without breaking away traditions with his own past. But what we have observed is that his ideas were not systematic."⁵¹³

He was an action minded man and he inspired many people to act without sticking to romanticism, spiritualism, inner action and internal freedom. To Kemal it was almost impossible to act properly and wisely and achieve freedom if romanticism and spiritualism were adopted. As we have already discussed the foundations of the Turkish thought and nationalism were undoubtedly laid down by Namık Kemal.⁵¹⁴

These three manners of politics came out as a Western reflex. These kinds of politics sometimes compromised by each other but sometimes they conflicted with each other. All of them were based on a fatherland protection instinct. It is known that there were few occasions that the followers of the Ottomanism conflict with the other two followers of ideologies but it is also known that Pan-Islamism followers conflicted with the Turkism followers.⁵¹⁵

It has been seen that the classification, regimentation, standardization and controlling each of them sociologically blunted the style thought of East. Definitely

⁵¹² Ibid., p. 86.

⁵¹³ Ibid., p. 87.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., p. 87.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., p. 87.

the categorization tradition is useful. In this sense, it is possible to integrate Namık Kemal into Romantic nationalists.⁵¹⁶

It should be stated that “Namık Kemal’s nationalism was on a sensational level, rather than scientific one so it would be right to call him as a romantic nationalist. Scientific and realistic opinions were reached by a romantic way in all of the arts like in literature and also in all idea system. If Namık Kemal hadn’t planted the seeds of these sentiments in youngsters’ hearts, it would have been very late to achieve a new nationalism scientifically. Nearly forty years later his planted love seeds, nationalism’s new offsprings grew up. In this aspect, the idea of nationalism was based on sociological and historical grounds from which the next generation of Turkish nationalists and scholars emerged as Ziya Gökalp, Mehmet İzzet, Fuat Köprülü, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Mümtaz Turan and Erol Güngör; the concept of nationalism which based on Islam would be developed by Mehmet Akif and Nurettin Topçu and cultural nationalism which depended on aesthetic values laid down by Yahya Kemal and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar.”⁵¹⁷

When the subject is East, we can compare the fatherland where Islam Bey imagination and today’s Turks’ fatherland. The difference isn’t only greatness. It is thought that all the constituents of a beloved country with nationalistic sentiments unite one another. Every nation cares about their unity differently so that makes them differ from other nations.⁵¹⁸

Namık Kemal, the social reformer, is best-known as the propagator of two basic ideas: vatan “fatherland” and hürriyet (“freedom”), ideas modelled after European concepts that he virtually introduced into the Turkish language. Although a liberal thinker, Kemal never rejected Islam in his plan of reform.⁵¹⁹

He believed that the religion was compatible with a thoroughly modernized Turkey having a constitutional government modelled after that of the English. His best-known novels include *Awakening or Ali Bey’s Experiences*(*Intibah yahut Ali*

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., p. 88.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., p. 88.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., p. 89.

⁵¹⁹ Erdal Yavuz, “The decline or reform”, http://pdf-world.net/pdf/106493/The-decline-and-reform-the-Ottoman-Odyssey*-pdf.php, p. 8 (15.07.2013).

Bey'in Sergüzeşti; 1874) and Cezmi (1887/88), a novel based on the life of the 16th-century khan of the Crimean Tatars, Adil Giray. A widely read social work is Rüya "The Dream", expressing his desire for a Turkey free from oppression.⁵²⁰

2.8. Extracts from *Fatherland or Silistra* on Nationalism and The Concept of Love

ZEKİYE—... If you really love me why should we part?⁵²¹

ISLAM BEY— Because I will go...⁵²²

ZEKİYE (*interrupting his speech angrily*)— ... I have no desire for nothing. You didn't leave anything in my heart except you and now you will strip yourself of me and it is you who say it. Is this your mercy? (walking around angrily and murmuring herself) what will be in the end? He leaves this country and I leave this world. What is wrong with black earth after I lose all of my life's pleasures? Is it possible to be afraid of death pain which lasts a few minutes?⁵²³

ISLAM BEY (*He can't help and stands out*)— I will go.⁵²⁴

ZEKİYE (*she goes to him interrupting*)—Then kill me first.⁵²⁵

ISLAM BEY(*as if he didn't hear*)— I will go.⁵²⁶

ZEKİYE (*interrupting again*)— If you are not a manly man, then I kill myself.⁵²⁷

ISLAM BEY (*with a persistent seriousness*)— I will go...I will go ... I will go. Even if the hellfires are scattered on my way, I will go, even Azrael (the archangel of death) paws me, I will still go, If it is necessary to step on my parents' graves under my own feet, I will go and even if I know you will die for me, I will go again.⁵²⁸

ZEKİYE (*walking angrily, she speaks by herself*)— Oh! He doesn't believe me! He doesn't believe that I will die for him... Perhaps he doesn't also believe if I really die. (*She turns to him*) You will go... You will go... Why do you go?⁵²⁹

ISLAM BEY (*seriously*)—You visit the cemetery during the Holy nights, don't you?⁵³⁰

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵²¹ Namık Kemal, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, Bordo Siyah Klasik Yayınlar, İstanbul, 2008, I.ii. p. 30. (Translated by the other)

⁵²² Ibid., I. ii. p.30

⁵²³ Ibid., I. ii. p.30

⁵²⁴ Ibid., I. ii. p. 30.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., I. ii. p. 31.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., I. ii. p. 31.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., I. ii. p. 31.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., I. ii. p. 31.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., I. ii. p. 31.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., I. ii. p. 31.

ZEKİYE (*angrily*)– I visit... so? ⁵³¹

ISLAM BEY– Have you ever seen my ancestors lying there? There are forty two martyrs from my lineage and I have never heard a man who died peacefully in his bed. Can you see? ... How can I just deal with your love while the love of fatherland is the most holy thing? How can I be inferior to my ancestors and father? Fatherland! Fatherland! Fatherland is in danger I say....Don't you hear me? God created me but the Fatherland brought me up. God feeds me to serve my fatherland. When I came out from my mother's womb, I was hungry. The fatherland fed me ... I was naked and I got dressed thanks to fatherland. My fatherland's blessing resides in my bones. My body and my breath come from the soil of fatherland... If I don't sacrifice myself for my fatherland, why was I born? Aren't I a man? Don't I have a mission? Don't I love my country? Oh! How can you expect love from a man who doesn't love his country?⁵³²

Zekiye loves Islam Bey madly. She wants to die when he tells her he will go to the war. But Islam Bey's patriotic feelings are much more important than his personal feelings. He ignores her beseeching.

ZEKİYE–If... fatherland... fatherland is the matter... I... What can I say? Go! Go my lord! The world has also such matters! I know fatherland and I heard about it but I don't know why it separates two lovers. It breaks off my heart and its blood is still shed straight into me. I know it as I see. It can be shed as it likes. Go my lord! I only shed a few tears. If you don't let me, I don't shed these tears, either and I save them in my heart. Are you going for fighting? Are you going for your fatherland? Please forget me and forget the world, too. I don't even wish your letter. I hope you return safe and sound. Then, you will find a slave here. I'm your slave everytime... But if you.... Oh! It is very difficult to talk... (*She cries severely*)⁵³³

It is obviously understood that the fatherland love is also very important for Zekiye, too and so she gives up the idea of being together with her great love Islam Bey. She knows that he leaves her because of the fatherland. She pays no attention to her personal feelings because the matter is the fatherland's salvation. It is obvious that she is not a selfish girl.

ISLAM BEY– If so let me complete. If I'm lucky to die as a martyr for my fatherland, then you can choose a man you like. ⁵³⁴

ZEKİYE– You will make me break my neck. Do you become martyr? Then what is my mission in the world? Why do I live? (*lovely*)Come my

⁵³¹ Ibid., I. ii. p. 31.

⁵³² Ibid., I. ii. pp. 31-32.

⁵³³ Ibid., I. ii. pp. 32-33.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., I. ii. p. 33.

lord... Do you want me to swear? I swear on thousands of names of God who creates everything that Zekiye is your slave and she is yours.⁵³⁵

Zekiye loves him so much that it is impossible for her to love another man.

ISLAM BEY– I’m the slave of God...⁵³⁶

ZEKIYE– Shut up! I don’t want you to swear. If I know that you tell me lies, I go mad in this minute. Oh! I wish you could know how my eyes see you and my heart know you. You are a man...may be such thoughts don’t come to your mind. Do you know what I am thinking as I see you? I am jealous of your imagination and I want you to forget me thoroughly. Isn’t it madness?⁵³⁷

ISLAM BEY–For God’s sake, let me say goodbye please. Do you think I have an iron heart? (*by himself*) While I want to sacrifice everything I have for my fatherland on behalf of mission, I don’t become equal to a seventeen year old girl. If I die after this, I won’t be sorrowful. To see a girl like you in this land is superior than belonging to you. (*In a sleepy manner*) Actually... be sure that I will not die even the enemy throws me into comets and volcanoes let alone cannonball.⁵³⁸

Islam Bey adores Zekiye. Because she lets him go to the war even though she knows that he can die in the war, so that she sacrifices her happiness for the sake of fatherland. She doesn’t give up loving him and promises him to love even though his choice is not her but the fatherland.

ZEKIYE– Hope... Dream...⁵³⁹

ISLAM BEY–Don’t you know God’s justice?⁵⁴⁰

ZEKIYE– What if I know?⁵⁴¹

ISLAM BEY– Think once please. The fatherland saves everybody’s rights and lives but when the matter is its protection, fatherland’s children are expelled in the borders by whipping. Although fatherland is everybody’s real mother and men lean on it when they are healthy and when they are unhealthy, but no one wants to shed tear for it although all of its lands are kneaded with blood of our ancestors! It is a fatherland that feeds forty million people but it still doesn’t have forty volunteer people who protect it at the expense of their lives! It is a fatherland that a few countries live thanks to its sword but now it is a fatherland of which protection depends on the help of a few countries! It is a fatherland that our country’s men don’t know its meaning, our women have never heard

⁵³⁵ Ibid., I. ii. p. 33.

⁵³⁶ Ibid., I. ii. p. 33.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., I. ii. pp. 33-34.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., I. ii. p. 34.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., I. ii. p. 34.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., I. ii. p. 34.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., I. ii. p. 34.

about it; you can regard it as arrogance, madness, pride and whatever you want! I assume the fatherland as a dependent thing to me or you. We will both live and see the fatherland's future fortune and also we will bring up children who beneficial for our fatherland. In a short time, you can see me as a wounded man with bullet and bayonet scars.⁵⁴²

Islam is very keen on going to the war. Even if he doesn't become martyr, he wants to be a veteran soldier. He wants to die for fatherland. He is a real hero. It is obvious that he sees this mission as a national service. Because the fatherland brought him up and fed him. If it is possible to live, he has some aims like to see the welfare of the fatherland and to bring up patriotic children who can die for this holy cause. It obvious that life means peace of fatherland for Islam Bey.

ISLAM BEY– I entrust you to God... Don't forget to pray for our fatherland... you see... you see... I go... I go... long live the fatherland!(*she falls to the ground, Islam Bey gets outs*)⁵⁴³

ZEKIYE (*After a few minutes, she glances thorough the room*)–In the end, he goes but does he think that I am as durable as him? Oh there is a fire starting in my heart and poison shed from my eyes. If he knew my situation, he would mercy to kill me before getting out. My lord! You leave me for your fatherland, For whom do I leave you?... parting... parting...parting. You are both my fatherland and my life... Why do I wait for death? As if I breathe... Actually I can't live three days in this situation. So what I die today? My heart is thorn into pieces. Is it too much to have a knife scar on it? But what if he kills himself after me?... Why? Why does he kill himself? He has a fatherland; he will serve for his fatherland... If he didn't love his fatherland more than me, he wouldn't go...⁵⁴⁴

Zekiye's love for Islam Bey is as powerful as her love for fatherland. But she never thinks of herself. She is not a selfish girl. The fatherland and Islam Bey are the most important things in her life.

ISLAM BEY–My friends, are all of us here?⁵⁴⁵

A VOLUNTEER(*he makes eyes at surroundings*)– All of us are here.⁵⁴⁶

ISLAM BEY– Brothers! I am pride of you because you gather under my flag. But I don't know whether you will be glad to me or not. I am going for fighting. But I intend to die. I have no salary, volunteers can come with me. I have no intention for plundering. If there is one who has this idea, they can withdraw. I don't seek comfort. If you seek comfort, please

⁵⁴² Ibid., I. ii. pp. 34-35.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., I. ii. p. 36.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., I. iii. pp. 37-38.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., I. iv. p. 39.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., I. iv. p. 39.

don't follow me. I am not afraid of cannonball or bullet, If there is someone who is afraid of these, they should stay with their spouses. If it becomes possible for me to use my poor body as a shield, I will use it for my fatherland friend. If it is possible, I will save my fatherland in my heart. I will not let anybody touch even one stone of my fatherland unless my heart is broken to pieces... Are you ready to die for your fatherland? Don't you beware to die in the shore of the Danube? Unless we die, enemy can't pass over the Danube. The ones who pass find us dead or injured. I say I will die. Who isn't afraid of dying among you? Do you swear upon God for not leaving me?⁵⁴⁷

VOLUNTEERS– We swear upon God. We swear! We swear! We swear!⁵⁴⁸

ISLAM BEY–Those who love me and believe me won't leave me alone in my fight against the enemy.⁵⁴⁹

Even though Islam Bey tells about the difficult situations of war, Ottoman volunteers don't want to retreat. It is clearly seen that Ottoman volunteers are very brave and they have patriotic feelings. They aren't afraid of death. All of them want to save the fatherland at the cost of their life.

ZEKIYE (*she is alone and smiling painfully*)– He says the people who love him will never let him walk alone in his struggle against the enemy. Does he think anything other than fatherland while he speaks? Does he remember that there is a poor girl here who can't find a way not to separate from him considering separation is worse than her own death! The one who loves you doesn't leave you for even one moment, is that right? Here it is, I will not leave you... Even if I am not male... Who knows?⁵⁵⁰

Zekiye wants to be together in the war with Islam Bey at the cost of her life. She disguises herself and goes to the war area.

SIDKI BEY–Those who want to stay in the castle step aside, please.⁵⁵¹

A VOLUNTEER– We come here because we want to stay here every time. Why should we split up from each other?⁵⁵²

SIDKI BEY (*he doesn't indulge anybody*)– Aghas! Enemy passes over the water. Everybody tangles with each other in the other side of the city. The fatherland will possibly be thoroughly besieged in one or two days. God does not let us harm, the government can protect its castle with its

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., I. iv. pp. 39-41.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., I. iv. p. 41.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., I. iv. p. 41.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., I. v. p. 41.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

⁵⁵² Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

soldiers so that, if there is someone who doesn't want to stay here, they are allowed to leave right away.⁵⁵³

A VOLUNTEER—There are many enemies, soldiers are few, do you want to diminish us?⁵⁵⁴

SERGEANT ABDULLAH—Is there great trouble to arise if there are few soldiers?⁵⁵⁵

SIDKI BEY—Is there great trouble to arise? Is there great trouble to arise? Please be silent and let the others talk.⁵⁵⁶

SERGEANT ABDULLAH— Ah! When I say, is there great trouble...?⁵⁵⁷

SIDKI BEY (*interrupting him*)—Good grief! Great God! Aghas... There is thirst, starvation among us. If there is someone wants to save himself...⁵⁵⁸

A VOLUNTEER—Sir! Sir! We are here for a holy cause. Our arrival was for today. You show us the enemy with one hand and exit door with the other hand! Do you take into consideration my hair becomes grey? It is enough for me to live. I take risk to die. I am here for this holy cause from Baghdad.⁵⁵⁹

SIDKI BEY (*not indulging, to volunteer*)— Brother, I didn't mean you...⁵⁶⁰

A VOLUNTEER— Are they for all one?⁵⁶¹

ANOTHER VOLUNTEER—Which one of us do you think are too coward to flee from the enemy?⁵⁶²

SIDKI BEY—Alright! You also want to be killed for the sake of our country. Your sacrifice will be awarded by the Almighty. If you lose your life, your name will be remembered. It is more favorable. Please relieve yourself, don't be scared of death and it will come one day whether you like or not. It is irrational to escape from death. (*He addresses to Zekiye*) Child!⁵⁶³

Sıdkı Bey tells the volunteers that they can leave the castle and he says that this castle can be saved by soldiers. But they rebel this idea. It is clearly seen that Ottoman people have heroic abilities and they can't stand cowardness. To them this castle should be saved by them. Even for this castle they want to die. We also see

⁵⁵³ Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., II. ii. p. 47.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., II. ii. p. 48.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., II. ii. p. 48.

⁵⁶² Ibid., II. ii. p. 48.

⁵⁶³ Ibid., II. ii. p. 48.

that Sıdkı Bey isn't afraid of death. To him, It is very nonsense to worry about death. It shows us his hero soul and it can be implied that he performs his mission without looking for material things.

ZEKİYE—Am I not allowed to stay here?⁵⁶⁴

SIDKI BEY— My child! You can't help us. Why do I retain you here?⁵⁶⁵

ZEKİYE— I will die for my fatherland. What another service do you want me to do?⁵⁶⁶

SIDKI BEY—You can't even use a gun.⁵⁶⁷

ZEKİYE— I offer my life for my fatherland but you say I am too young to fight. Do you come here to kill or die? If you are here to kill people then please kill me too. When it comes to death, I will easily die for my fatherland.⁵⁶⁸

ZEKİYE— What do you want me to do? Is the fatherland a god's monastery? Is the victim's weakness taken into consideration? Please let your children die for fatherland. Lots of youngsters die of tuberculosis, so what if some of them die of cannonball or bullet?⁵⁶⁹

Even though Sıdkı Bey pities Zekiye as she looks like a poor boy, she doesn't accept his proposal of leaving the castle. She is also a real patriot and fearless girl although she is very young. She burns with two loves; one is the love of fatherland and the other one is Islam Bey.

ISLAM BEY (*He runs towards Sıdkı Bey to tell about the fight between the enemy and his friends without caring about his scars*)— Sir! Sir!⁵⁷⁰

ISLAM BEY—They passed over the water.⁵⁷¹

ISLAM BEY All of my friends became martyrs but all of them killed at least two enemy soldiers. I also wanted to join them and I was in front of them... My ammunition finished, my sword was broken, they held my arms and I couldn't save my arms. They hardly pulled me to the castle. I followed the death. I was a captive but I wish I hadn't been the captive of my countryman. Oh, Fatherland! Fatherland! Your life is in danger and I'm still alive.⁵⁷²

(*Zekiye comes close to him but he faints and falls on her lap. Everybody gathers around him*)

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., II. ii. p. 49.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., II. ii. p. 49.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., II. ii. p. 49.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., II. ii. p. 49.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., II. ii. p. 49.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., II. ii. pp. 49-50.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., II. iii. p. 50.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., II. iii. p. 50.

⁵⁷² Ibid., II. iii. pp. 50-51.

Islam Bey gets injured after he fights with enemy soldiers. But lots of his friends become martyr and the fatherland is in great danger so, he feels sorrow because he is still alive while the fatherland is in such a danger. He can't stand it and he faints.

SIDKI BEY—(...) When Ahmed Bey gets the first letter, he learns that his wife dies of tuberculosis after lying sick for five years. Two years later, he gets the news of his son's death. His son says two words in his last breath; the first one is "daddy!" and then "fatherland..." When he says daddy, he gazes upon the sky and his eyes seem to be looking for his father. When he says fatherland, looking around as if his glance says "don't let the enemy step on my grave's land..." Do you think the calamity finishes? He gets a letter too, and it is about his daughter. It reads "your daughter is lost". Actually he means that she also dies. Here it is the situation of Ahmed. Perhaps he has a higher echelon than yours now. For God's sake, if you come across him somewhere, behave as if you didn't know him. If they hear his name may be he is again drummed out of army. He can't see his wife's, his daughter's and son's grave, may be, they don't let his grave stand in the fatherland. They prevent him to live in his fatherland, may be they also prevent him to die for his fatherland.⁵⁷³

RÜSTEM BEY— Sir! Ahmed Bey was my friend and brother... He died such that you can't find his imagination in my mind. But I need a brother again. Can you replace him? I know that Ahmed died and I desire Sıdkı Bey's affection now.⁵⁷⁴

We see that Sıdkı Bey's real name is Ahmed. But he changes his name as Sıdkı when he turns back the army. He is such a patriot that he turns back the army even if he is drummed out of the army. Because he wants to serve for his fatherland and wants to die for it and so, he doesn't want to reveal himself to even his beloved friend Rüstem Bey. It is clearly seen that he is real patriot and the reason of his presence in the army is to serve the fatherland and to die for it.

(Islam Bey wakes up and Zekiye hides in a corner of the room)

ISLAM BEY— Throw! Throw! Awaken the sleeping lions. Now you see their face and find their paws on your chest... What are these on my chest? Oh! I'm wounded... Unfortunately, fightings which I win... Swords which I break... Parties which I scatter... All of them are only dreams! Oh my God! Which sin I commit to?.. The poor and smoothy villagers disappear and hero souls appear. They are obliged to provide the sticks and whips to our soldiers to face with the enemy. Now, the enemy appears and we can't prevent these soldiers to move ahead. This castle

⁵⁷³ Ibid., II. iv. pp. 58-59.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., II. iv. p. 59.

can't be surrounded by your cannonball. If you have chance, be friends with Azrael. First it must come and kill us and then may be...⁵⁷⁵

Islam Bey talks in his sleep about the Ottoman people's heroism and he dreams fighting. Even in his sickbed, these thoughts are in his mind. It shows us he is not only a hero but he is also a great warrior. To survive is not important for Ottoman people only the fatherland's survival is important for them and for this reason this castle's protection is more valuable than their lives. It shows us Ottoman people's heroic efforts.

ISLAM BEY—You need a piece of dry bread here. You leave behind your comfortable life. Although you have a few servants at home, you serve a wounded man today. How can it be possible not to leave you for God who created me out of nothing. I think the fatherland and faith are together. If one don't like the fatherland it means that they don't like God, either.⁵⁷⁶

ZEKIYE— Oh! You become magnificent as you think about your fatherland; I see your greatness as I see you. Tell me! Tell me such words. When you say such words, my life is getting elevated as if it would overflow. The sun is rising in my thought. Thanks to your words, I become a man. Also my heart is manlier than my dress. I'm closer than everyone. I can take risk of all kinds of self-devotion. Maybe, we can't share death...You have heroism and greatness... You work for your fatherland. I work for you. You develop yourself and I develop myself thanks to you.⁵⁷⁷

Islam Bey says that the fatherland and faith are together. It is obvious that Islam Bey has a strong religious faith. This faith makes him powerful. To him the love of fatherland means love of God and he can leave his earthly love for it. Zekiye is proud of Islam Bey because she serves for the fatherland thanks to him. He infects her with his ideas about the love of fatherland.

(Sidki Bey and a few officers go to room successively)

SIDKI BEY—We gather together to understand what we want.⁵⁷⁸

DISTRICT GOVERNOR— Is there any misunderstanding on what we want? Who will protect the castle? Doesn't the government deliver it to the Pasha? One cannonball comes and kills him. How can leaderless soldiers fight? We should stop and...⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., III. i. pp. 62-64.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., III. i. pp. 62-64.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., III. i. p. 66.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., III. ii. p. 66.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., III. ii. p. 67.

SERGEANT ABDULLAH– when a pasha dies, then what will happen?⁵⁸⁰

DISTRICT GOVERNOR– Be silent men... pity the poor men in the castle! If it was an urgent matter for the government, then the sirdar would send a distress signal.⁵⁸¹

The district governor is the only negative character in the play. He thinks about the lives of soldiers in the castle not the castle.

ISLAM BEY (*angrily*)– Are you a demon? Are you something worse than a demon? Spy... Certainly, he is a spy. Shameless!.. Why do you wait here? Why don't you execute him by shooting? Why are you looking blankly? Isn't there an Ottoman man except me? (*He wants to attack him but officers prevent it*)⁵⁸²

RÜSTEM BEY– I answer the traitor who proposes the delivery of castle with muzzle.⁵⁸³

FIRST OFFICER–Why do you let him live?⁵⁸⁴

SECOND OFFICER–We are facing the enemy now. It is a pity to use gun powder or a bullet for this traitor.⁵⁸⁵

ISLAM BEY– I will cut him into two pieces by the sword.⁵⁸⁶

SECOND OFFICER– It is not necessary to kill this shameless man.⁵⁸⁷

SIDKI BEY (*to Sergeant Abdullah*)– Bring him! Lock him up into one of the underground rooms. Put two guards in front of his room.⁵⁸⁸

ISLAM BEY– Sir, Why don't you think about the danger?⁵⁸⁹

SIDKI BEY– Prison is also as affective as grave to prevent spread of intimidation.⁵⁹⁰

Nobody can talk about the delivery of the castle. Even one stone of it is much more valuable than their lives. We clearly see that Ottoman people are never tired of struggle and they are devoted to their country.

SIDKI BEY (*He stops Islam Bey*)– Stop there! The number of them is enough to strike such attacks. Don't you know the castle is really in

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., III. ii. p. 67.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., III. ii. p. 67.

⁵⁸² Ibid., III. ii. p. 67.

⁵⁸³ Ibid., III. ii. p. 68.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., III. ii. p. 68.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., III. ii. p. 68.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., III. ii. p. 68.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., III. ii. p. 68.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., III. ii. p. 68.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., III. ii. p. 68.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., III. ii. p. 68.

danger? There is neither food nor money and also there is no help and no officer. God knows but the government may discard it.⁵⁹¹

ISLAM BEY– Sir, how can you say this? Is it possible for the government to discard the castle? What can the sirdar do? They trust our efforts and they don't derange. I wish I died instead of hearing such words from you.⁵⁹²

SIDKI BEY– My son, I will never hand the castle to the enemy. If I had such a thought, I wouldn't discuss this issue with you.⁵⁹³

ISLAM BEY–Best way... we fight... we die... we don't surrender...that's all.⁵⁹⁴

SIDKI BEY– There is a better way to save the castle. It needs a man who can really want to die for it.⁵⁹⁵

ISLAM BEY– I'm still alive.⁵⁹⁶

SIDKI BEY–You are alive but wounded.⁵⁹⁷

ISLAM BEY– Good grief! Great God! Can't a wounded man die? Please tell me your thoughts, sir. I die for my fatherland when I'm wounded and even when I'm alive. I die even if I died and revived.⁵⁹⁸

SIDKI BEY– Can you fire the ammunition entering into the enemy's troops tonight?⁵⁹⁹

ISLAM BEY– Yes I can. If it is necessary, I can sit on the ammunition and then I can fire. But I don't know whether it is possible for me to give any damage and harm to the enemy?⁶⁰⁰

Islam Bey can't stand the idea of delivery of an Ottoman castle. Sıdkı Bey thinks about the ways to save the castle. He focuses on this issue and finds a dangerous way for it. Someone should fire the enemy's ammunition. This mission is bloody but Islam Bey fervently accepts this dangerous mission even though he is wounded. We can see that he is a loyal soldier to his country.

SIDKI BEY– It is the problem! My proposal looks like madness. There may not be one in a hundred hope. If you are caught, your punishment will be execution by shooting... I can find a thousand men who can take great risks if it is possible for me to bring them to the ammunition. It is necessary to try the ways which look like as if they were impossible to

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., III. iv. p. 69.

⁵⁹² Ibid., III. iv. p. 69.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., III. iv. p. 69.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., III. iv. p. 69.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., III. iv. p. 69.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., III. iv. p. 70.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., III. iv. p. 70.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., III. iv. p. 70.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., III. iv. p. 70.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., III. iv. p. 70.

apply. I think it is a belief! I agree. In the evening, I will go to the army. But I'm looking for a friend who can escort me.⁶⁰¹

ISLAM BEY—Am I not enough for this mission?⁶⁰²

SIDKI BEY— If I thought only one person was enough, I would go alone.⁶⁰³

ISLAM BEY— What a strange thought it is, sir? This bastion's life depends on you. For a brave action, do you want to sacrifice for the holy cause?⁶⁰⁴

SIDKI BEY—Oh sir! Don't mind the shameless man's words. There are lots of educated soldiers here. There are lots of officers that gain all their ranks in a fight. They don't abstain from death. Oh! You were in sickbed! You didn't see any of them. One sword fought with fifteen bayonets. Some men threw the bombs to the enemies' heads; some of them used their broken arms like a sword. If you saw our fighting, you would be convinced of our success in war. It was like the Şehname saga. Be sure! These soldiers are ready to die here and sacrifice their lives even if they had a thousand lives, they would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for their fatherland rather handing a single stone of the castle to the enemy let alone the castle.⁶⁰⁵

ISLAM BEY (*wiping his tears*)—I cry like a little girl because I'm pleased that soldiers don't give even a stone of the castle. But the enemy usurps it. The pasha becomes martyr. If you sacrifice yourself, who will head the war? Do another men have the same power of thought as much as you do? Unless they get your advice, who can do something? You will both sacrifice yourself and you will render the brain of our army; you say that arms and legs work. For goodness sake don't do it! Have mercy for your fatherland.⁶⁰⁶

Islam Bey is a volunteer to fire the ammunition and he doesn't let Sıdkı Bey perform this mission. It is clearly seen that Islam Bey thinks that Sıdkı Bey must be alive because he is the brain of the army and so the army needs him. It can be also implied that Islam Bey and Sıdkı Bey aren't the only heroes of this play. There are thousands of heroes.

SIDKI BEY—What can I do, my son? How can I deliver the last solution to a man? What if there is a matter dealing with me when I go there. We will go the army disguising... who knows, just in case.⁶⁰⁷

ZEKİYE (*She gets out from corner*)— If you need two people, then I can be one of them.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., III. iv. p. 70

⁶⁰² Ibid., III. iv. p. 70

⁶⁰³ Ibid., III. iv. p. 70

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., III. iv. p. 70

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., III. iv. pp. 70-71.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., III. iv. p. 71.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., III. iv. pp. 71-72.

SIDKI BEY—Who is he? Oh, poor boy! Sit down please!⁶⁰⁹

ISLAM BEY (*to Zekiye*)—What do you say?⁶¹⁰

ZEKIYE (*to Islam Bey*)— Merciless man, do you deny a piece of your grave to me? (*to Sıdkı Bey*) Let me please. You are looking for a man who can die. If my power isn't enough to fight and kill the enemy, then I will find the power to die. I said before that I could die more easily than you. You ordered to disguise when we went to the army. I'm from Rumelia; I know language a little bit. It is easier for me to disguise than you. I can hide my real identity easily when I disguise. If you don't believe me, you can ask Islam Bey.⁶¹¹

ISLAM BEY (*hesitantly*)—The child seems to be ok.⁶¹²

It can be implied that Sıdkı Bey gains his ranks thanks to his military ability. He can make very good plans to overcome the enemy. But we can witness his affectionate side when he doesn't want to let the child send the enemy's ammunition. If we say something about Zekiye, she disguises for her love and she regards her life completely unimportant to follow her love Islam Bey. She wants to go to the enemy's ammunition not only for Islam Bey but also for her fatherland. Their love goes to the grave.

ISLAM BEY— It seems that I'm an unlucky man! When I see you I begin thinking that an angel leaves behind the sky and lands on black earth. I see myself inferior than a demon. Demon deceives man but I deceive an angel. Oh child! Why are you in such a trouble? Why do you want to pass away in my way?⁶¹³

ZEKIYE— Oh! Why do you want to send me the other world with heartbreak? Do you think that I'm an angel? If I was an angel, I would follow you leaving behind the sky... Thanks to you I'm not alone... I haven't known the value of life before but now I appreciate my life. I would rather die than live. You love death more than me but I love you more than my life... (*crying*) Sometimes you go to army and leave me, and sometimes you want to leave me. Your wish is to leave me. You aren't thinking about any other thing but leaving me.⁶¹⁴

We are the witness of their great love again. Islam Bey regrets because he leads her to follow him. But Zekiye is never tired of her mission because she is with

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., III. iv. p. 72.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., III. iv. p. 72.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., III. iv. p. 72.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., III. iv. p. 72.

⁶¹² Ibid., III. iv. p. 72.

⁶¹³ Ibid., III. vii. pp. 74-75.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., III. vii. pp. 75-76.

her love and she wants to share death if he dies. We can see one more time that he is the meaning of her life.

ISLAM BEY—Don't speak please!.. Oh Zekiye! Zekiye! Don't compare my fatherland love to your love. This kind of comparison definitely kills me. But it kills me for my fatherland once again. I said "The proposal was a proposal of fatherland service", surely I would go for it but sadly. It would be such a sorrowful departure that may be those who have seen think that I don't like my fatherland. The colonel is also surprised at it. Because I knew that you would come with me. I don't want to live without you. But I know that we will live together. The enemy's bullet will take apart our bones and flesh but it can't disembody it. We are running to die for fatherland every minute but we won't die easily. That means we were created to wake and raise the fatherland.⁶¹⁵

ZEKIYE— Sir, it is undoubted. Because if you had such a fate, you would die of your wounds and I would die of looking at your wounds and your pains. Death was walking around your bed for months(...) As the doctors said there was no hope for the patient, I always murmured "My lord will be get better and serve for fatherland." It is God's miracle. God doesn't show miracles without a reason. I hope we will remain alive from this mission.⁶¹⁶

ISLAM BEY—Who knows! ⁶¹⁷

ZEKIYE— Does God have power to show one more miracle? Did you forget God's justice for believers and fatherland's greatness?⁶¹⁸

ISLAM BEY— I never forget. God is great and fatherland is sacred.⁶¹⁹

Islam Bey and Zekiye have such powerful patriotic feelings that they believe this land is holy and they were created to save it. It is clearly seen that they think that they are chosen people to save this land.

SERGEANT ABDULLAH— A soldier gets out from Arabic bastion. Islam Bey streaks when he sees them. He screams "I make a vow to fire one more ammunition wagon and God doesn't let me arrive at the castle if I fail." He spears up and breaks in the hell. We come across with the enemy. In his one hand there is a sword and in his other hand a gun... He says "God!" He steps forward to the ammunition wagon and with his just one bullet, horse, soldier and wagon are destroyed. Each of their pieces flies in the air.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., III. vii. pp. 76-77.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., III. vii. p. 77.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., III. vii. p. 78.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., III. vii. p. 78.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., III. vii. p. 78.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., IV. iv. pp. 85-86.

Islam Bey does his mission successfully. He disperses the enemy's ammunition. It is a very difficult mission and it is nearly impossible to get out alive but because of his fatherland love, he achieves the impossible. We can see that only such a patriot can do it.

SIDKI BEY– Come my son! Come my lord! Come my lion! What a great lesson you give to the ones who love their fatherland. If the love of fatherland was shaped in the bones and flesh, definitely it would be you because of your great contribution. I heard of your heroism from Abdullah. If someone see you once and listens to you, they will know what kind of man you are. My lord, May God have mercy for you and for our fatherland. I hope you forgive me because I give you unnecessary mission for you. How can I know that they withdraw? ⁶²¹

ISLAM BEY– Sir! What do you say? I have never received more kindness than this mission which you give me throughout my life. You commend me to one of the benefits of my fatherland, you expect that my efforts will save the castle. I have been wounded and laid in the bed for three months. I cannot serve for my country. But you prefer my efforts, love of fatherland, patriotism to ten thousands hero. You see me as an equal to you... What an honour it is that; to make millions of population cry like orphans who are separated from their mothers, fighting like twelve thousand heroes and becoming martyrs after that and accounted as the one army in the history. Let alone fatherland, If I saved this castle, I would over estimate myself. I neither die nor save the castle or fatherland. But it is not matter. My conscious knows well that my intention was to die for my fatherland. Actually, I would die for my fatherland's a few walls which were made out of a few stones. My lord! You call me as son and I will call you as father. Give me your hands I will kiss them. ⁶²²

Islam Bey thanks to Sıdkı Bey as he gives him the mission of firing ammunition. Because Sıdkı Bey prefers him to the other volunteers and he gets the success by his own efforts. It can be concluded that he has chance to perform his heroic abilities in there and so he has chance to complete his mission for his fatherland, thus; he is very happy and Sıdkı Bey bestowed upon this success to him.

ISLAM BEY– Is it very easy to fulfill a mission? If everybody weren't see you as a leader, it would be questionable how many people would try to fulfill their mission. ⁶²³

SIDKI BEY– Don't you know our people? The love of fatherland is embodied in the blood of our people. Everybody is born with the sentiment of patriotism. ⁶²⁴

⁶²¹ Ibid., IV. v. p. 87.

⁶²² Ibid., IV. v. pp. 87-88.

⁶²³ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 93.

ISLAM BEY – Perhaps I believe these words more than you. But can you deny that this community need an exemplary figure and leader, huh?⁶²⁵

SIDKI BEY– They are dependent but they are dependent as they think they are dependent...⁶²⁶

To Islam Bey, Sıdkı Bey is a leader and thanks to him the volunteers know how to act at war. But Sıdkı Bey is very modest and he says that heroism is in public's soul.

SIDKI BEY (*to Islam Bey*) – Do you love me too a little bit?⁶²⁷

ISLAM BEY – You can't guess how much I love you. I can't say I love you as much as my fatherland. If I say I love you as much as Zekiye, you don't believe it. I don't love you as much as my life because it seems worthless to me. I have just found sir! I love you as much as my father...⁶²⁸

SIDKI BEY – When is our wedding? I mean when is your wedding? (*Zekiye is embarrassed*)⁶²⁹

ISLAM BEY (*hesitantly*) – Wedding? I don't know... You... How wedding? Again the will is yours.⁶³⁰

SIDKI BEY – If the will is mine then we can wait until tonight. Four hours! What a long time! God gives us patience.⁶³¹

Sıdkı Bey is very happy about Islam Bey's and Zekiye's love. He desires such a groom. Because he is only interested in Islam Bey's character and also he finds a new son. We can clearly see that in this play personal emotions are important. We don't know about Islam Bey's family statute or wealth. They are not important qualifications for both Zekiye and her father Sıdkı Bey. Sıdkı Bey never looks after his own benefits from his daughter's marriage. He doesn't see her like a thing to sell.

ZEKIYE – Daddy! Do you mock with your daughter?⁶³²

Zekiye is shy when the matter is about her marriage because of her upbringing manner.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 93.

⁶²⁵ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 93.

⁶²⁶ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 94.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 95.

⁶²⁸ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 95.

⁶²⁹ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 95.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 95.

⁶³¹ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 96.

⁶³² Ibid., IV. vii. p. 96.

(March begins far away and the sounds of volunteers are heard.)

SIDKI BEY – Look! They are also amusing. I swear that this happiness comes from the release of the castle not because of their release. We experienced lots of siege and troubles but nobody complained about it other than the shameless man.⁶³³

ISLAM BEY – Our public shows great effort for it.⁶³⁴

Sıdkı Bey is proud of Ottoman people. Ottoman people are honorable. They satirize the district governor again as he talked about the delivery of the castle. We can see that Ottoman volunteers make a big effort to save the castle and they do this mission without complaining.

SIDKI BEY – It is doubtless. Please listen to it! This tune has an effect on me. Its music and words must come out of the heart that the fatherland's efforts fire.⁶³⁵

Sıdkı Bey's patriotic feelings are so powerful that even the tune of the fatherland march affects him very much.

(Soldiers and volunteers sing the fatherland ballad.)

SIDKI BEY – Brave lions, where are you going? The enemy leaves. We don't have to rush. Stop and listen to you colonel. Isn't it possible to eat meal five minutes later?⁶³⁶

SERGEANT ABDULLAH – If you order, we will eat five hours later, if not, will it be a big trouble?⁶³⁷

SIDKI BEY – You see this bastion more valuable than your life. Each of you stood up to ten people. You have experienced lots of trouble for ninety days. You praise the Ottomans' virtue to the skies. You show that you are the son of your glorious father. Wherever you go, don't be afraid after that. In the eyes of God, you have purity. God loves the ones who love their fatherland. Fatherland pleases with you. If these lands and stones knew your patriotic efforts, they would be like mothers who enthusiastically shiver as they touch after finding their child. Mankind is pleased with you. Be sure that your names will be written in the history books. It is doubtless that angels will commemorate your services with honour. I know the value of your service. I can't say you save the fatherland; because its welfare is under the world's security. Please look! Three countries come and make an effort with us.⁶³⁸

⁶³³ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 96.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 96.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 96.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 97.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 9.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., IV. vii. pp. 97-98.

Sıdkı Bey makes a speech to the soldiers and he focuses on the heroism of Ottoman people. We can see compliments on Ottoman soldiers. Because they were ready to die for only one Ottoman Castle. Ottoman soldiers want to have their names written in gold letters.

SERGEANT ABDULLAH – If they didn't come, would it be a big trouble then? ⁶³⁹

SIDKI BEY – No but we would have difficulty. ⁶⁴⁰

ISLAM BEY – I was ready for this difficulty. We could save these lands without help. We would die, we would be destroyed but we can't be defeated. ⁶⁴¹

It is obvious that there is help from other countries at war. But their success doesn't depend on their help. They don't need their help but some countries see their rightfulness and they want to help them.

SIDKI BEY – Yes, we could. But why do we complain about the help? The mankind, civilization knows that we are right and so they want to help us. The befitting thing for us is the love of fatherland not pride! Soldiers, we save one of the ***'s (Sultan's) castle, we give lots of martyrs. Come on, let us all cheer together: long live***! (the Sultan) ⁶⁴²

SOLDIERS – long live*** (the Sultan)! ⁶⁴³

SIDKI BEY – (*to the public*) Brothers! We have risked our very lives. We fought for the good of the fatherland. We will do it again. We will do it any time. Aren't we Ottomans? The reputation of the Ottomans is that they die for even the smallest benefit of the fatherland. We too, are always ready to die for this cause. Long live the fatherland! Long live the Ottomans! ⁶⁴⁴

ISLAM BEY – Come on, or did you lose your voices? Shout! Long live the fatherland! Long live the Ottomans! ⁶⁴⁵

ALL OF THEM – Long live the fatherland! Long live the Ottomans! ⁶⁴⁶

Sıdkı Bey glorifies the Ottomanism. He focuses on the superiority of fatherland love. It is obviously seen that the play ends with the fatherland shouts. All

⁶³⁹ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 98.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 98.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 98.

⁶⁴² Ibid., IV. vii. pp. 98-99.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 99.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 99.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 99.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., IV. vii. p. 99.

of the characters achieve their mission successfully and they proud of being Ottoman.

CONCLUSION

Namık Kemal regarded fatherland as religiously oriented. His works and articles clearly exhibit that his concept of fatherland is religiously deep rooted. To him, fatherland was the most effective factor to keep all nations within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. His concept of fatherland encompasses the whole Islamic world to enable people to live in peace and harmony. Kemal's concept of fatherland includes lots of sublime sentiments and emotions such as freedom, nation, friendship, brotherhood, common benefit, sovereignty and respect for family and ancestors.

To Shaw, the concept of fatherland has nothing to do with religion so his characters are not loyal to their fatherland. The concept of fatherland to Shaw and many western playwrights was not religiously oriented. The concept of fatherland was not sublime for Shaw and his characters at all. Shaw's concept of fatherland does not have any room for nationhood, religion, brotherhood, and respect for ancestors. The English show their respect for their fatherland with symbols.

Shaw's characters seem to be greedy, and they give high esteem to morality as long as it serves for their purposes. Shaw's characters are not loyal to their partners or spouses as Kemal's characters. While success is highly appreciated by Shaw's heroes provided that it brings benefits and advantages to them, Kemal's heroes regard success a means to serve for their fatherland.

Kemal's characters regard the love for their fatherland as a divine duty and love for their fatherland is above everything and it is a holy thing to do in their lives as a prerequisite for their faith as well. For Turks, the love of fatherland, faith, and their families are the most important thing and a divine cause to live in this mortal world while Shaw's characters care for only their own personal interests and worship to the material pleasure rather spiritual pleasure. Concerning the love for their fatherland is not a holy duty for them as for the Turks. Whereas Kemal's characters seek for spiritual pleasure in their fatherland and families, Shaw's characters seek for material pleasure in their world affairs. *The Fatherland or Silistra* ends with the

slogans; “Viva Fatherland!”, “Viva Ottomans!” after the Ottoman army’s victory over the enemy. Long live...[our Sultan]

The scope of this study has not covered all concepts of nationalism with all its implications but we strongly believe that the researchers who have an interest in that will further it.

REFERENCES

Books

- COLLEY, L., *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- DAVEY, R., *The Sultan and his Subjects*, London: Chatto & Windus, First Edition, 1907.
- DAVISON, R., *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- FREELY, J., *Inside the Seraglio: Private Lives of the Sultans in Istanbul*, New York: Penguin, 2000.
- GELLNER, E., *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.
- GIBBS, M. A., *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- HAMLIN, P., *The Complete Plays of Bernard Shaw*, London: Paul Hamlyn Ltd. 1965.
- KASABA, R., *The Cambridge History of Turkey (Volume 4)*, Cambridge University Press, U.K., 2008.
- KEMAL, N., *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, İstanbul: Bordo Siyah Klasik Yayınlar, 2008.
- KURDAKUL, Ş., *Namık Kemal (Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği, Gazeteciliği, Oyun Ve Eleştiri Yazarlığı İle Yapıtlarından Örnekler)*, Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1991.
- MCCABE, J., *George Bernard Shaw; a critical study*, New York, M. Kennerley, 1914.
- MENCKEN, L. H., *George Bernard Shaw: His Plays*, U.S.A., J.W. Luce & Company, 1905.
- NICOLL, A., *A History of English Drama 1660-1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946.
- Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Fifth Edition, 1995, p.847.
- PEARSON, H., *Bernard Shaw*, House of Stratus, 2001.
- ŞEHİSUAROĞLU, L., *Milliyetçilik ve Namık Kemal*, Elips kitap, 2008.
- SEVİNÇLİ, E., *Namık Kemal ve Tiyatro*, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Yayınları, 1991.
- SHAW, B., *Arms and the Man*, New York: Dodd Mead & Company Publishers, 1926.
- SMITH, D. A., *National Identity*, London: Penguin, 1991.
- TOLAND, J., *Battle: the Story of the Bulge*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1999.
- YAVUZ, H.M., ESPOSITO L.J., *Turkish Islam and the Secular State*, New York: Syracuse University Press, First Edition, 2003.

Articles

- ANDERSON, B., ET AL., "What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study it?", *International Organization*, the MIT Press, Vol. 40, No. 3 , Summer, 1986, pp. 707-744.
- ANDERSON, B., GREENFELD, L., SMITH, D. A., "The Enigma of Nationalism", *World Politics*, Cambridge University Press , Vol.47, No.3, Apr., 1995, pp.418-440.
- BARNET, S., "Bernard Shaw on Tragedy", Modern Language Association, *PMLA*, Vol. 71, No. 5, Dec., 1956, pp. 888-899.
- BERST, A., C., BARR P. A., WALL, V., "Bernard Shaw and the Art of Drama", *Victorian Studies*, Indiana University Press, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1973, pp. 122-124.
- BITONTI, S. T., "Shaw's Offstage Characters", Penn State University Press, *Shaw*, Vol. 12, 1992, pp. 229-240.
- BÜYÜKARMAN, A., D., "Vatan Kavramının Türk Tiyatro Edebiyatındaki seyri üzerine bir inceleme", *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Sayı 37, Erzurum, 2008, pp.127-145.
- CARPENTER, C., "The Study of Shaw, *Bernard Shaw and the Art of Destroying Ideals: The Early Plays*", *Prairie Schooner*, University of Nebraska Press, Vol. [43], No. 4, Winter 1969/70, pp. 414-416.
- CRAWFORD, D. F., "Bernard Shaw's Theory of Literary Art", Penn State University Press, *The Journal of General Education*, Vol. 34, No. 1 , Spring 1982, pp. 20-34.
- DEKKER, H., MALOVÁ, D., HOOGENDOORN, S., "Nationalism and Its Explanations", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Jun. 2003, pp. 345-376.
- DOWNER, S.A., "Players and Painted Stage: Nineteenth Century Acting", *Modern Language Association*, Vol. 61, No. 2, Jun.1946, pp. 522-576.
- DUNKEL, D.W., "The Essence of Shaw's Dramaturgy", *College English*, National Council of Teachers of English, Vol. 10, No. 5., 6 Mar., 1949, pp. 307-312.
- EVERETT, W., "Patriotism", *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)*, World Affairs Institute , Vol. 72, No. 2, Feb.1910, pp. 35-40.
- FRASER, S.G., "Bernard Shaw: 1950", *Bulletin (Shaw Society of America)*, Penn State University Press, No. 5, May 1954, pp. 13-14.
- GORDON, H.R., Modernity, Freedom, and the State: Hegel's Concept of Patriotism, *The Review of Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 62, No. 2, Spring 2000, pp. 295-325.
- GRENE, N., "Bernard Shaw: Socialist and Playwright", *The Crane Bag*, Vol. 7, No.1, 1983, pp. 135-140.
- HALEY, A.M., "Patriotism", *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)*, World Affairs Institute, Vol. 60, No. 10, Nov.1898, p.237-238.

- HANS KOHN, "The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism", University of Pennsylvania Press, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan., 1940, pp. 69-94.
- HEATH, A., ET AL, "British National Sentiment", Cambridge University Press, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Jan.1999, pp.155-175.
- HENDERSON A., "George Bernard Shaw", *The North American Review*, University of Northern Iowa, Vol. 185, No. 616, Jun.7, 1907, pp. 293-305.
- HOFFSTEN G. E., "The Plays of Bernard Shaw", *The Sewanee Review*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Vol. 12, No. 2, Apr.1904, pp. 217-222.
- HUSSAIN, I., "The Tanzimat: Secular Reforms in the Ottoman Empire", *Faith Matters*, 15 February 2011, pp. 1-17.
- JAYAL, G. N., "Revisiting Nationalism", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Oct. 21-27, Vol. 41, No. 42, 2006, pp. 4513-4515.
- KLEINGELD, P., "Kantian Patriotism", *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Wiley, Vol. 29, No. 4, Autumn, 2000, pp. 313-341.
- KNIGHT, B. D., "Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism", Taylor & Francis, Ltd., *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol., 72, No.4, Dec.1982, pp.514-531.
- KOHN, H., "The Nature of Nationalism", *The American Political Science Review*, The American Political Science Association, Vol. 33, No. 6, Dec., 1939, pp. 1001-1021.
- MCKEE I., "Bernard Shaw's Beginnings on the London Stage", Modern Language Association, *PMLA*, Vol. 74, No.4, Sep., 1959, pp. 470-481.
- MORGAN, N. L., "Bernard Shaw the Playwright", *Books Abroad*, Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, Vol. 25, No. 2, Spring 1951, pp. 100-104.
- O'HARA, M., "Arms and the Man and The Federal Theatre: Love and War in Troubled Times", *Shaw*, Penn State University Press, Vol. 14, 1992, pp. 145-152.
- ROTHMAN, C.N., "Islam in Turkey and Modernization: The Tanzimat Period", *Maryland University College*, pp. 2009, 76-92.
- SALTER, M.W., "Mr. Bernard Shaw as a Social Critic", The University of Chicago Press, *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 18, No. 4, Jul., 1908, pp. 446-458.
- SATRAN, D., "The Chocolate Cream Soldier and the "Ghastly Failure" of Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man*", *Shaw: the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, Vol. 28, 2008, pp. 11-32.
- SULEIMAN, A., "George Bernard Shaw", *Mena for printing & publishing*, Baghdad, 2010, pp. 3-77.
- TÖRE, E., "Türk Tiyatrosunun Kaynakları", *International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Volume 4 /1-II, Winter 2009, pp. 2182-2348.

WEISS, A.S., "Shaw, "Arms and the Man", and the Bulgarians", *Shaw*, Penn State University Press, Vol. 10, 1990, pp. 27-44.

Web Sources

"Critically analyse nationalism as an ideology", Web.26.Oct.2012, (<http://tendaimazingaizo-teee.blogspot.com/2011/06/critically-analyse-nationalism-as.html>).

"Nationalism was benefical to 19th and 20th century Europeans", Web.02.01.2013 (<http://www.debate.org/debates/nationalism-was-beneficial-to-19th-and-20th-century-europeans>).

"Nineteenth-Century Theater", Web.09.04.2013,(www.dramahistory.com).

"Victorian Era", Web.30.07.2013. (<http://www.studymode.com/essays/Victorian-Era-139855.html>).

"World War I", Web.03.01.2013, (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I).

Betty Miller Unterberger,"Self-Determination."Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, Web.30.07.2013.(<http://www.gmu.ac.ir/download/booklibrary/e-library-1/Encyclopedia%20of%20American%20Foreign%20Policy.pdf>), pp. 570-1187.

Cary M. Mazer, "Bernard Shaw: a Brief Biography", Web.24.Aug.2013, University of Pennsylvania, (<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~cmazer/mis1.html>).

Erdal Yavuz, "The decline or reform", Web.15.Jul.2013.(http://pdf-world.net/pdf/106493/The-decline-and-reform-the-Ottoman-Odyssey*.pdf.php), p.8.

Igor Primoratz, "Patriotism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/patriotism/>>.

Microsoft® Encarta® 98 Encyclopedia.© 1993-1997 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

Yeşim Gökçe, "Namık Kemal", Web. 30 Jul. 2013. (<http://www.turkishculture.org/literature/literature/turkish-authors/namik-kemal-637.htm>).

CURRICULUM VITAE

Kişisel Bilgiler

Adı ve Soyadı : İrem Gökçe TAN

Doğum Yeri : Merzifon

Doğum Yılı : 30.05.1987

Medeni Hali :Bekâr

Eğitim Durumu

Lise : Suluova Lisesi(Yabancı Dil Ağırlıklı) 2001 / 2005

Lisans : Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı2007 / 2011

Yüksek Lisans : Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı 2011 / ---

Yabancı Dil(ler) ve Düzeyi

İngilizce : İleri Seviye

Almanca : Orta Seviye

İş Deneyimi

2011-2013 : Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi YDYO,Isparta