

THE NEW OTTOMANS PRESS AND THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

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ABSTRACT

The New Ottomans, who have resisted to the upper layers of an impoverished bureaucracy, emerged in the 1860's and published many newspapers in the Ottoman Empire. This community had spread many ideas such as nationalism, patriotism, westernization, and freedom in the Ottoman society. The contribution of the New Ottomans to the transition period from the empire to the republic cannot be denied, their newspapers has played an important part in the spread of democratic ideas in society. Within the context of this study, the writings of the New Ottomans, the newspapers they published, and in particular Namık Kemal's writings are discussed with the consideration of Hegel's spirit of the age concept, because without an adequate reference to the dominant characteristics of the age, the nature of this community cannot be grasped. The ideas that this community advocated and the reasons for its formation can be linked to the 'spirit of the age' because the New Ottomans have spread the ideas that have long prevailed in the world. They have defended concepts such as the freedom of the press and free thought, which are dominant in most parts of the world. Also the constitutional monarchy which has become dominant in the world has been proposed as a system that can function in the Ottoman Empire by these thinkers.

Key Words: New Ottomans, Namık Kemal, spirit of the age, zeitgeist

YENİ OSMANLILARIN BASINI VE ÇAĞIN RUHU

ÖZ

Yeni Osmanlılar, 1860'lı yıllarda ortaya çıkan ve bürokrasinin üst katmanlarına direnen bir gruptur. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda birçok gazete yayınlayan bu topluluk, Osmanlı toplumunda milliyetçilik, vatanseverlik, batılılaşma ve özgürlük gibi birçok düşünceyi yaymıştır. Yeni Osmanlılar'ın imparatorluktan cumhuriyete geçiş dönemine katkısı inkâr edilemez, bu grubun çıkardığı gazeteler özellikle demokratik fikirlerin toplumda yaygınlaşmasında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Bu çalışma bağlamında Yeni Osmanlılar, yayınladıkları gazeteler, yazıları ve özellikle Namık Kemal'in yazıları, Hegel'in çağın ruhu kavramı göz önüne alınarak tartışılmaktadır; çünkü çağın hâkim özellikleri dikkate alınmadan bu grubun doğası tam olarak kavranamaz. Bu grubun savunduğu düşünceler ve grubun oluşumunun arkasındaki ne-

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denler çağın ruhu ile ilişkilendirilebilir; çünkü Yeni Osmanlılar dünyada uzun süredir hâkim olan fikirleri Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda yaygınlaştırmışlardır. Dünyanın pek çok yerinde egemen olan basın özgürlüğü ve özgür düşünce gibi kavramları savunmuşlardır. Ayrıca, dünyada egemen olan anayasal monarşi, yine bu düşünürler tarafından Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda işleyebilecek bir sistem olarak önerilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeni Osmanlılar, Namık Kemal, çağın ruhu, zeitgeist

INTRODUCTION

In this study, a community that has been decisive in the Ottoman Empire since the 1860's and its contribution to the press is examined. The main aim of this work is to discuss whether the group called as New Ottomans reflects the 'spirit of the age' that is based on the idea that a certain conjuncture is causing certain events to happen. The concept of the spirit of age (zeitgeist) was first used by Herder in the nineteenth century. However, this concept reaches significance with Hegel (Reinelt, 2013: 90). This concept is as old as modernity and it is mentioned in the texts of many philosophers, including Voltaire (Saarinen et. al, 2006: 15). This concept simply means that it is necessary to look at the general characteristics of the age to understand the events that are currently happening. Because the conditions that lead to the emergence of an event or situation are linked to the current conjuncture which is called the spirit of the age. In this sense, it is conceived that every age has its own set of beliefs, ideals and understandings that give rise to collective as well as individual phenomena. Thus, in order to understand the ideas of the New Ottomans, one must first understand the conjuncture that dominates the world. Looking at this community without adequate reference to the dominant characteristics of the age, can offer only a limited perspective and cannot grasp the nature of this community.

The community called as the New Ottomans, should not be confused with the Jeune Turks movement. There are similarities between the two movements, but there are also differences. The community called New Ottomans has been influential in the Ottoman society since the 1860's. However, the ideas that this community advocated and the reasons for its formation can be linked to the spirit of the age, which also prepared the way for the developments elsewhere in the world in those years. The spirit of that age was characterized with the process of change that began with the enlightenment and renaissance reforms. In the political sphere, free will became the main principle of the governance and the emergent states were mainly nation states. This was accompanied with the systematic changes in science, philosophy and many other fields.

Since the end of the fifteenth century, the domination of the church and religion has come to an end, and the supremacy of the mind has begun to be adopted in the society. With the movement of humanism and Renaissance, the feudal form of production collapsed and capitalism was born. There have been significant changes in the political superstructure, the feudal state and its ideologies, as well as the changes observed in the relations of production in this period. The spread of the autocracy across Europe was also a result of these changes. At the end of the Middle Age, autocracy emerged as a temporary agreement between the kingdom's power and the rising bourgeoisie (Tanilli, 1987: 11-14). In the seventeenth century, Europe witnessed the bourgeois revolution in England. In the British Empire, capitalism, which started much earlier than other European countries and developed in its own particular qualities, won these triumphs and the feudal regime was liquidated. Over time, the feudal regime has been completely liquidated as these developments spread throughout Europe. Gradually the medieval period was closed down and the modern period began (Külcü, 2002: 436). The new period characterized by the Renaissance movements that started with the end of the Middle Ages led to the rise of science along with social, cultural, economic, scientific and technical developments (Külcü, 2002: 433). Over time, these changes that started in Europe have begun to affect the whole world. In most parts of the world, it has been seen that the monopoly of religion has come to an end, ideas and beliefs as well as the practices started to be grounded on ideas, philosophies, science and art that were secularly created.

Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw big advances in science and technology that gave way to a new age. Modern society was characterized by the accumulation of human knowledge and by the literacy of this information, mass communication, and distribution of education and training (Huntington, 1976: 29). With the emergence of the printing press, the increase in the number of printed books and the publication of newspapers has also been important developments in terms of new age. These developments can be considered as the turning point in the history of mankind. European states were not the pioneers in printing, but they were the ones who made the most use of this tool. The technological change experienced in Europe spread to other countries over time. Therefore, the newspapers began to be printed in the Ottoman Empire and the number of newspapers increased during the time of the New Ottomans in 1860's. Although the first newspapers were published in French in the Ottoman Empire, Turkish newspapers began to be published and the number of newspapers increased rapidly.

However, these technological developments were not perceived as something totally positive for humanity, critical opinions began to emerge about the technological age. It is insisted that because of the impact of technology, humans were becoming alienated from their nature (Pappenheim, 2002 31-32). Therefore, in various fields of human life the impact of technology has

been severely criticized. As a result of the technological development in the field of printing, new conceptions and ideologies emerged. Especially capitalism and nationalism have largely benefited from these developments in this field. For instance, Anderson (1991: 37) argues that the printing house reinforces the capitalist order. For him, the development of printed products has changed the world because printed stuff became commodities. The main purposes of the books are profit making and selling. Print capitalism, by creating a common space for exchanges and communications, and by creating powerful languages has shaped the formation of national consciousness. Of course, the work of Anderson and other thinkers who question the modern society, are basically based on Marx's views. Marx, questioning the difference between previous societies and capitalist society, has examined how a society that is based on solidarity has become a society that exploits. In the modern age, personal values have vanished and everything has been reduced to exchange value, leaving only trade freedom by destroying all other freedoms (Marx and Engels, 2003: 25). Therefore, it can be emphasized that print and newspapers did not liberalized people. On the contrary, these tools have taken people away from freedom. These critical views must be considered in order to discuss the developments that took place in the history.

In the scope of this work, the characteristics of the group called New Ottomans, are being evaluated considering the major developments of the period. It will be discussed whether this group reflects the spirit of the age or not. Also in this study, the ideas included in the articles of Namık Kemal which were published in the newspaper *İbret*, the first opposition newspaper in the Ottoman press, are being examined as representing the perspective of the New Ottomans. In previous studies scholars examined the New Ottomans, their writings and their prominent ideas. In a completely different way, the innovation that this work brings to the field is to discuss the ideas of the New Ottomans and what they advocated by considering the spirit of the age. In this sense, this study presents a sociological perspective when examining the activities and ideas of this group.

THE NEW OTTOMAN COMMUNITY

The Ottoman Empire began to lose land and its economic potential from the seventeenth century. The empire began to sign free trade agreements with European states and it began to make reforms as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century. With the French Revolution, nationalist ideas began to spread in the Ottoman society as many societies in the world. *The Rescript of Gülhane* was one of the first steps of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire in 1839. Following these developments, Ottoman intellectuals who were influenced by the political and legal developments of the European Count-

ries have argued that the Ottoman Empire should be governed by the constitutional monarchy. And the New Ottomans were also one of the intellectual groups advocating this idea.

Tercuman-ı Ahval which started to be published in 1860, was the first private newspaper in the Ottoman Empire. This newspaper, published by Şinasi and Agah (Budak, 2012: 168), began to be written in a language that people can understand. The struggle for simplification of the language started with this newspaper continued in the following newspapers. In this sense, Şinasi pioneered the New Ottomans. The New Ottoman Community was founded in 1865 under the name of *İttifak-ı Hamiyyet (Patriotic Union)* (Kasalak, 2009: 70). In 1867, the group formed by Mustafa Fazıl, Namık Kemal, Suavi, Mehmed, Reşad and Rıfat decided to establish a new organization in Paris. Ali Suavi and Namık Kemal started to use the expression "New Ottomans" in the title of the groups' publications in response to the letter translated into Turkish on February 1867 in the newspaper *Muhbir* (Mardin, 1998: 17 - 18). The group that is called the New Ottomans was a group of thinkers and action men who seem unique at first sight but have similarities with the thinkers of the Middle East and British and French Muslim colonies (Ortaylı, 2005: 269). These people were not harmonious in their political actions but their mutual desire was providing freedom and constitutional order. However, the intellectuals and their opposition were against the political regime of the time and to the illusion that the country lived (Ortaylı, 2005: 270). It can be argued that the New Ottomans, as in many other countries, were consisted of the intellectuals who were opposed to the existing regime, who desired the constitutional order.

The thoughts of the New Ottomans constitute a colorful spectrum, ranging from constitutionalist liberalism to modernist Islamism, even a mature Turkishism and socialism. The New Ottomans were a group of civil servants who have resisted the upper layers of an impoverished bureaucracy. On the other hand, the recent turbulence of Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz, which closed the period of the intellectual despotism, strengthened this opposition (Ortaylı 2005: 270). New Ottomans began to ask questions about politics, society, religion, country and the West. They criticized the reformist bureaucrats more and more because these bureaucrats imitated the West and ignored the union and harmony in the Empire (Kasaba, 2005: 190). Interestingly, the New Ottomans both criticized Westernization and were pro-Western. We can see that the New Ottomans wrote about the supremacy of the West in their newspaper writings. But at the same time they were directing criticism to the West in some of their writings.

The term "jeune" which was spreading in Europe in the 1840's was also used by foreign observers in Turkey between 1840 and 1850 (Berkes, 2002: 282). According to Berkes, in response to Şinasi being a genuine "jeune", Namık Kemal was "the New Ottoman". Main pioneer of both secularism and

nationalism were Şinasi. He was more modern than Namık Kemal by virtue of language, meaning and terms. According to Berkes, none of the New Ottomans went one step further from the place where Şinasi took forward the state, and language (Berkes, 2002: 282). In the light of Berkes' views, we can say that Şinasi is the mentor and chief architect of the New Ottoman Community.

The Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II, as a person who had well examined the principles of the New Ottomans, was one of those people who could best recognize the weakest sides of this community. He knew that they were state revolutionaries that their effectiveness could be brought to an end by appointing them as civil servants. Even more importantly, he was aware that they were not in perfect agreement even among themselves. When a few of them were sent to exile their efficacy could be eliminated immediately (Koloğlu, 2005: 85). For this reason, Abdulhamid tried to prevent New Ottoman thinkers by assigning them to various places as civil servants. Following the exile of the leading members of the New Ottoman Community in 1867, a community was formed in the name of *İttihad-i Osmani*. This was later turned into the *Committee of Union and Progress* (Bayrakdar, 2005: 154). When evaluated in this respect, it is seen that the New Ottomans are the pioneers of the later groups who demanded a change in the regime.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NEW OTTOMANS TO THE OTTOMAN PRESS

Those who have embraced the ideas of equality and liberty in the West and have brought these ideas to the Ottoman Empire, have spread these ideas through press publications (Aslan, 2008: 79). The New Ottoman Community, which worked to establish a legitimate system in the Ottoman State, also emerged as a product of this thought (Aslan, 2008: 80). When a Turkish column was published in London under the direction of Rıfat in 1864, a Turkish association began to be formed (Ramsour, 2001: 13). The New Ottomans opposed to the arbitrary treatments of the administration (Burak, 2003: 292). New Ottomans started to publish *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and *Tasvir-i Efkar* newspapers in order to be able to systematically maintain their opposition. Şinasi's famous article (which is titled as the *Accusation*) in the first issue of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* states that people have as much rights as they have duties. He had attempted to defend the idea of freedom, also in his other writings. There were open criticisms that were targeting administrators.

Only one year after leaving *Tercüman-ı Ahval* newspaper, Şinasi started to publish the *Tasvir-i Efkar*. Şinasi, who takes the idea of journalism even further, boldly used the words of nationality and constitutionalism. The purpose of the journal was to teach the public to think for their own benefit, and the columnists of the newspaper addressed the problems of science and the

development of education. After Namık Kemal took over the administration of the newspaper when Şinasi was in exile, the newspaper became even more important, as *Tasvir-i Efkar* became the publication of the community. In the second half of the 1860's, the rise of the political crisis in the Ottoman Empire and the seriousness of the eastern problem constituted the main theme of articles. However, the opinion that the newspaper has turned into an instrument of opposition become evident with the publication of the letter of the Mustafa Fazıl Pasha to the Governor of Egypt declaring that "nothing can prevent the implementation of the idea of reform, which arises from experience and sufferings" in the name of the New Ottomans. This was the reason for the closure of the newspaper (Doğaner, 2012: 112). In June 1864, Şinasi had to go to Paris by leaving his newspaper to Namık Kemal (Doğramacıoğlu, 2011: 258). *Tasvir-i Efkar* was closed in 1867 due to publishing the views of New Ottoman Community.

However, the courageous approaches of the *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and *Tasvir-i Efkar* newspapers were very effective in the increase of the number of newspapers. Although they were not long-lasting, in 1867 more than twenty magazines and newspapers were published in Istanbul (Doğaner, 2012: 112). The pressures resulting from their opposition, Namik Kemal and Ziya Pasha escaped to Paris and continued their activities there with the support of Mustafa Fazıl Pasha. The migrations of the new Ottomans to Europe lead to the establishment of free Turkish press (Jeltyakov, 1972: 64). Namık Kemal again with the support of Mustafa Fazıl Pasha published the newspaper called *Hürriyet*. For the first time, the New Ottomans used the concept of liberty in this newspaper (Serin, 2010: 246). New Ottomans published a lot of newspapers; *Hürriyet* and *Muhbir* were the most important ones among them. In the newspaper *Muhbir*, Mustafa Fazıl Pasha's letter to the Sultan Abdulaziz was published. And Ali Suavi criticizes the sublime porte on the grounds that the Serbian rebellion, especially the Crete issue cannot be suppressed and the intervention of the big states cannot be prevented and criticizes social inequality and absolutism in the country in his article *Independence* which led to the closure of the newspaper. It is emphasized in *Muhbir*, which was later published in London by Ali Suavi, that the administrative style must change, ministers' should be responsible for their actions and the government should be supervised by a nationally elected parliament (İnuğur 2005: 220). *Muhbir*, *Ulum*, *Hürriyet* and *İnkılap* were the most influential newspapers published in the first period of 1867, till the return of New Ottomans to the country in 1876 (Doğaner 2012: 116). *Ayine-i Vatan*, *Muhip*, *Utarit*, *Terakki*, *Mümeyyiz*, *Vekayi'i Zaptiye*, *Hadika*, *Diyojen*, *Basiret*, *İbret*, *Asır*, *Memalik-i Mahrusa*, *Hakayık'ul Vakayi*, *Devir* and *Bedir*, *Hulusatul'l Efkar*, *Medeniyet*, *Sadakat* and *Vakit* were also newspapers and magazines published between these dates (Nüzhet, 1931).

In June 1872, Namık Kemal started to publish the newspaper *İbret* in Istanbul. The Newspaper discussed topics such as Ottoman patriotism and the development of a constitutional regime (Ortaylı, 2005: 265). As the nineteenth issue was published on Tuesday, 9 July 1872, it was decided to be closed for four months so that the life of *İbret* lasted for 27 days (Özön, 1997: 32). The writings of these nineteenth issues were generally related with the administration of Mahmut Nedim Pasha. Even the news items were presented with a critical attitude. The New Ottomans, whose views also found support from the administrative zone and the students, discussed issues such as human rights, equality, liberty, justice, love of motherland, constitutional system in newspapers such as *Ulum* and *İbret* (Burak, 2003: 292). Unfortunately, these newspapers, whose writings were ranging from freedom to patriotism, have been closed many times. The publishing life of these newspapers did not last very long. Also, most of the journalists were sent to exile in these years. All of these situations demonstrate that the press was not considerably free at the time.

After the closure of *İbret*, the change of grand vizier helped Kemal to feel more comfortable with his new job. Therefore he had the opportunity to write in the Magazine *Diyojen*. When the Magazine *Diyojen* began to be published again after the end of its two-month sentence, it discussed the closing of *İbret* for four months. The following publications targeted Mahmut Nedim Pasha. It is generally believed that the writings were written by Namık Kemal, although most of them being unsigned (Özön, 1997: 124). The *Diyojen* magazine was a humor magazine which occasionally featured political writings.

Namık Kemal returned to Istanbul from Gallipoli on December 1872. The Magazine *Diyojen* was closed, shortly after Kemal's return to Istanbul, in the first fifteen days of 1873, because "By pretending as if It is an humorous newspaper, it behaved in a way that the government and the ruling government would not tolerate" (Özön, 1997: 204). Later, Kemal prepared the play called *Homeland or Silistria*. Following the exhibition of the play on April 1873, the audience of the play poured into the streets and went to the management office of *İbret* and tried to find Kemal. After this, *İbret* was closed and the authors were arrested. Later, they were sent to exile. Thus, *İbret* was published 132 times in nine months (Özön, 1997: 209). Although the play *Homeland or Silistria* caused the *İbret* newspaper to be completely closed, without this play sooner or later the newspaper would still be closed because of the views it defended. Therefore, it can be said that this play had become an excuse for the closing of *İbret*.

After 1895, some persons whose views differed from the New Ottomans come together within the Jeune Turk movement. The newspapers *Meşveret* and *Mizan*, the journal called *İçtihat* and Prince Sabahattin's ideas represented these different views (Burak, 2003: 299). By looking at the general cha-

racteristics of the Tanzimat period as a whole, it can be seen that the Ottoman Empire realized the importance of the western civilizations and it took steps toward westernization especially in its administrative and military institutions (Hülür and Akça, 2005: 320). And because the press did not have the potential to write about social and political issues, in general press focused more on literary issues (Doğaner, 2012: 15). But the New Ottomans were out of this generalization. The significance of the New Ottomans arises from their persistence against all the difficulties of the period. They did not give up writing despite the difficulties of the time. Even when a newspaper was closed, they continued writing in other newspapers. Despite all the censures and exiles, the New Ottomans including Namık Kemal and his colleagues were able to criticize the government and write about political issues.

THE WRITINGS OF NAMIK KEMAL AS A REPRESENTER OF THE IDEA OF NEW OTTOMANS

The contribution of the New Ottomans to the Ottoman press life is pretty high. Namık Kemal's writings reflect the ideas of the New Ottomans such as liberty and a freer environment in which people can express their views. For this reason, within the scope of this study, published articles of Namık Kemal in the newspaper *İbret* are discussed as an example in this section. We can see that Namık Kemal defended three main ideas in his articles: The first is the Western civilization, the second is the Islamic-Ottoman culture and the third is the views about the desired homeland.

The authors of *İbret* declared that their aim is to give information to the public about political fundamentals and the rise of civilization in the first issue. They also state that to have the correct discourse is from one of their most important duties (Özön, 1997: 45). In his articles *İbret*, Namık Kemal discussed issues such as the importance of the future, the prosperity of Mahmut Nedim Pasha in Russian politics, and the steps that Europe is taking fast and the necessary steps that should be done for these developments, law, population, and the idea of Islamic Union, family, civilization, book censorship and theater.

Kemal written his article called "Future" in order to overcome the pessimism that has been aroused in the country, the reason of this pessimism was the governance of Mahmut Nedim Pasha, which was approaching to the end. This article generally discusses the future of the country and the security of future (Özön, 1997: 46). In this article it is stated with the following words that the importance of future cannot be fully understood: "They (the west) are already thinking about the supply of coal for five hundred years. We do not even think of five-day-old food that is strictly necessary."

On June 20, the *Phare de Bosphore* newspaper wrote an article which is criticizing the publications of *İbret*. And Kemal and Reşat examined these issues in a paper entitled "Rejection" with a joint signature. The newspaper *Phare de Bosphore* responded to Kemal on June 26th. In the twelfth issue Kemal had an article entitled "Response" targeting this article. Kemal stated that the person who translated the newspaper was wrong, "If *Phare de Bosphore* continue writing about us without understanding the meaning of the things we write, we will not be able to continue like this". He warns the newspaper by saying, "We do not have both the time to teach and time to express intentions" (Özön, 1997: 41). *İbret*'s controversy with other newspapers was not limited to *Phare de Bosphore*. The newspaper entered into a clash with other newspapers as well. *İbret* wrote about the Newspaper *Hakayik-ül Vakayi* in one of its articles and talked about a curious man educating a parrot, saying that his animal was very advanced to speak and that it can give lectures (Özön, 1997: 42). With this sentence, *İbret* resembled the newspaper *Hakayik-ül Vakayi* to a parrot. In short, *İbret* claimed that this newspaper was repeating the owner's ideas instead of discussing new ideas or criticising the current ones.

After a while in *Hakayik-ül Vakayi*, an article took place and most of its writings were allude against the writers of *İbret*. The biggest controversy between the two newspapers was this: *Hakayik-ul Vakayi* said, "In order to eloign the ideas of freedom, people should be assigned as government officials." *İbret* responded it as follow: "it won't be enough to assign the ones who do not defend freedom to any duty, as isn't it enough to say shut up to receive the answer "command belongs to our master"? (Özön, 1997: 42). In short, both newspapers mutually blamed each other. *İbret* accused *Hakayik-ül Vakayi* of being a supporter of the government while *Hakayik-ül Vakayi* stated that authors of *İbret* should be send as civil servants to various places of the country.

In his article called "A remark" Kemal criticizes Mahmut Nedim Pasha as being a supporter of Russian politics. This article was also written as a warning about the movements of Russia in attempting to disrupt the Paris treaty of 1856, taking advantage of the turmoil in the European balance after the war of 1870, when some fortifications and naval forces in the Black Sea paved the way (Özön 1997: 51). This article shows that the New Ottomans were not silent about what was going on in the world. And the government's attitude about what has happened in the world has become one of the criticisms of the New Ottomans.

The article entitled "Lesson" insists that we should take lessons from the newly formed Europe. The press, the developments in the eighteenth century, the French Revolution, steam, electricity, oil, medicine, law, economics, art, trade and technology, and the question of what we have done to keep up with this progress are taken into consideration in this article (Özön,

1997: 54). In the article "Rules of Law", Namık Kemal distinguishes international law, political law and administrative law from each other. According to Kemal, these three laws are also laws that are in line with the laws of individuals. The nations that regulate international relations are the sum of the legal rules regulating inter-individual relations. Political law regulates interstate relations. The state is not a separate concept. Administrative law regulates the relationship between administration and individual. Public law is the sum of them. The superiority of the West is due to its leap in law and its respect for the law (Otacı, 2006: 218). An important issue that Namık Kemal emphasizes in his articles is why the Ottoman Empire did not realize progress, even though it have established a high civilization in every field in the past. According to Kemal, the main reason of this progress is knowledge. Namık Kemal points out the importance of reading in the "knowledge" article. As for America's ninety-percent of literacy skill, Kemal says that reading is not just about reading a street name, in America everyone has knowledge about important subjects. According to Kemal, even American sailors and coolies knows important issues (Özön, 1997: 201). These three articles clearly show that the New Ottomans accept the supremacy of the West. But we see that the New Ottoman thinkers both praised and criticized the West in their newspaper writings.

In the article called "Population" Kemal, mentions that the population which was more than a hundred million in the time of Süleyman the Magnificent is now less than forty million, so the population is decreasing. In the article the reasons for the decline in population were examined. According to Kemal, the reasons for the declining population were war, plague and revolt. He says; "Our property is five times bigger than France but our population is less than the French people. With such a population, how can we be able to continue our ancestor's efforts now in the age of revolution?" This article shows Kemal's positive attitude towards West.

Namık Kemal had written several articles on issues such as law and equality. In the article entitled "Law", Kemal expressed that "there is a Kingdom in London, it is possible to talk about its destruction, there is a Republic in Paris, but it is impossible to say a word about its prosecution" (Çadırcı, 1991: 52). This article emphasizes that the West has both good features that should be taken as an example and bad features that should be criticized.

In his article titles "West Does not Know East" Kemal claims that Europe does not know the East properly. He says "We have not seen a book that has been published in European languages until now that examines East." He also states that it is not easy to understand the East because Europeans know the East on the basis of what is told rather than through a real observation. He criticizes West because they think of harem rooms of the Ottoman Palace as a place of pleasure and entertainment which is full of kept woman (Özön, 1997: 69). This article is an example of the views that Namık Kemal critici-

zed the West for being orientalist. So it can be said that Namık Kemal was one of the pioneer of the discourse on orientalism.

In the article entitled “Incorporation of the Tribes”, Kemal said that “We are a community in which all the individuals are equal in terms of law, partner with each other in terms of mutual interests but different in terms of language, gender, ideas.” Kemal thinks that inner conflicts of the society create barriers to the actions of individuals. The author asks the question of why we cannot be united by asking himself: “Why should we want to separate from each other in language and school when we are all legal citizens in our country and have mutual interests?” In the article which is entitled “Islamic Union”, by giving examples from the unions of Europe and America Namık Kemal argues that the Muslim Countries should be united: “Multilingual languages are spoken in Switzerland and Belgium; It is the reason why it is not wise for us to dissolve our unity despite our history, our culture, our geography, and our geography” (Doğramacıoğlu, 2011: 1007). In all these articles, Kemal emphasizes that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire must be preserved. He also expresses the belief that an Islamic unity could be useful for society as well.

In another article Kemal conveys that “no one is able to stay on a slope for three or five years, even a civilization cannot stay the same for ten years or fifteen years”. The article highlights the changes of society; he told that now rifles, steel cannons, ships and ferries are available while they were nonexistent in the past (Özön, 1997: 201). In this article Kemal emphasizes the importance of change. Again, Kemal underlies the importance of future in his article called “Family” by stating that as a society, it is necessary to live by targeting the future, while the capture of the future can be achieved by providing social peace. According to Namık Kemal, the households of the country are like the rooms of a house. If there is peace in these rooms, happiness will emerge (Doğramacıoğlu, 2011: 1008). In the same article, Namık Kemal mentions the self-sacrificing behaviors and love of the individuals who make up the family: “We see that there are fathers who cannot feel comfortable if their sons cannot reach to their dreams. We see mothers who cries for an hour if her son does not laugh for a minute, gets sick for a month if her son cries for an hour and loses a year of her own life if her son gets sick for a month” (Özön, 1997: 201). In this article we can see that Kemal cares about traditional values such as family. We can even understand that he saw family as one of the basic condition for society.

According to Namık Kemal, Turkey’s existence in the world has the same importance with the existences of our homes in the country. As stated in the article “Civilization”, the solution for getting rid of underdevelopment is to work hard, not to beg for help unilaterally from the developed countries. As a result of the hard work, civilization will eventually born. But first, people should be convinced that they have to work. Namık Kemal states that there

are people who are asking why they should work and what does civilization serve for. He stresses that people misunderstand the concept of Europeanization. Namık Kemal produces answers to questions such as what will happen if there is no civilization, what it is, what it was, and why it exists. Namık Kemal insists that people misinterprets the concept of civilization. He thinks that to get rid of laziness, it is necessary to start working for family at first, then for society. He thinks that society should be informed and then people can take new steps to improve the society (Doğramacıoğlu, 2011: 1004). In these and similar articles, we see that Kemal has ideas about the development of the Ottoman society and civilization. The civilization that is mentioned in his articles are undoubtedly the civilization of the West and again, in this article we observe Kemal's praise of the West.

We can see that Kemal wrote his views on many different issues. In *İbret*, which is published on 31 March, in his article titled "Theater" Kemal described the need for theatre and the progress of theatre in European countries. And Namık Kemal wrote three articles in a row about book censorship. Those issues of the newspaper were sold quite a lot, and even those articles were published as a booklet.

DISCUSSION: DO THE NEW OTTOMANS REFLECT THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE?

The New Ottomans are the first political opposition group. These intellectuals have touched every field from literature to journalism, from secondary education to childhood, from history to economy and attracted the attention of nineteenth century society to these issues. Newspapers of the New Ottomans such as *Hürriyet* and *İbret* have opened a new window to the West for those who are educated, and the monitoring of world politics has started to settle in this class (Mardin, 2011: 90). They discussed the role of these institutions in Ottoman society comparing them with the European ones in civilization and they argued that the institutions in Ottoman society had to be changed. No matter they were against the West or defending the West, they are the forerunners of the Ottoman thinkers who tried to make the Ottoman society closer to the West (Ortaylı, 2005: 272). But when evaluating the desire of the New Ottomans for change it should not be forgotten that globalization transforms local characteristics through an ideology of universalism. This gives way to an ideological contradiction in this process; although globalization transforms the local characteristics, it is legitimized on a local ground. And it is carried through an indigenous ideology. Therefore, the discourse and ideology on locality creates an illusion of the local (Hülür, 2000: 115). On the basis of this, it can be said that New Ottomans were carrying the principles based on universalism into the Ottoman society. In other words they were carrying the spirit of the age.

The New Ottoman Community had for the first time introduced the idea of liberty and had also pioneered the ideas for a free society in which people can express their views. The spread of such ideas gave way to questioning the traditional social structure and values that inhibit freedom. Consequently, most of the people began discussing issues such as the taste of literature, European politics, methods of modernization, and these discussions have been made through media and publications, not through coffeehouse conversations (Ortaylı, 2005: 264). But most of the ideas that the New Ottomans defended were ideas that already existed in the West. The New Ottomans actually advocated a western type of freedom, although in their writings they spoke of the Ottoman culture and traditional values.

By publishing many magazines and newspapers, the New Ottomans contributed to the enrichment of the cultural life in the Ottoman society, namely they published the newspapers such as *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, *Tasvir-i Efkar*, *Hürriyet*, *İbret*, *Muhbir* and *Ulum* which were the first newspapers that came out with the thought of New Ottomans. While in the period of Constitutional Monarchy, only four daily newspapers were found in Istanbul, the number of magazines and newspapers reached 350 in a short time with the efforts of New Ottomans (Karpaz, 1964: 268-269). In the newspapers they published in Europe the New Ottomans gave a struggle for a democratic attitude by openly advocating the legitimacy of thought. Their views were the pioneers of democratic developments in the late Ottoman society (Ortaylı, 2005: 269). The contribution of the New Ottomans to the transition period from the empire to the republic cannot be denied. There is no doubt that the press has played an important part in the spread of democratic ideas in society. But yet, the democratic ideas advocated by the New Ottomans have long been advocated in Western countries and in this sense what was really spreading was the spirit of the age.

If we question whether the New Ottomans carry the spirit of the age, we can see that this group carried the developments in the world to the Ottoman Empire. The developments in the world began to affect the Ottoman Empire as early as the eighteenth century. In the Ottoman Empire, one of the main consequence of the developments in the West was the economic and political centralization that emerged since the administration of the Selim III period. Also the formation of nation states as an extension of capitalism in the Western countries began to affect the Ottoman Empire (Hülür and Akça, 2007: 313). As a result of the expansion of the West mainly because of its military technology the Ottoman Empire sensed the need of the similar kind of changes that was happening in the West. The Empire started to adopt the socio-economic, socio-political and military institutions of the West (Akça and Hülür, 2008: 264). Particularly the Western ideas of nationalism and liberty began to spread with New Ottomans. So westernization, as the spirit of the age, was one of the fundamental views defended by the New Ottoman community.

In 1860's, we see that the political views prevailing in France and England have become influential in the Ottoman society as well (Kupchan, 1995: 4). Over time, the Ottoman society has begun to have nationalist perceptions similar to that of France. According to Kohn (1945: 19), the idea of nationalism reached maturity during the French Revolution. This idea was filled with a consciousness that all citizens could share, and it made possible to convert the masses into nation through political and cultural integration. The translation of French manifestos and news from France has helped familiarize the concept of liberty in the Ottoman society. Ottoman society first perceived the concepts such as liberty and nationalism with suspicion; because these two concepts were powerful enough to cause the destruction of the empire, but then society adopted these ideas. Interest in liberty, equality and law increased. Ottoman society began to notice the backwardness and poverty of its own country when compared to Europe. The question "Why is the Empire collapsing?" was not important anymore. "Why did the Ottoman Empire collapse when Europe was developing?" become the main question in the society (Lewis, 1996: 129 -130). The change experienced in Europe began to be perceived as progress in the Ottoman society. Thus, the current events that are happening in many places of the world have started to affect the Ottoman Empire.

Of course, the influence of England on the Ottoman society cannot be denied. In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire became more tolerant in commercial affairs, while England became the supporter of Ottoman reforms, because in this period the mutual interests of the two states coalesced at the same point. Recognition of the Ottoman Empire as a part of the European state system, was an important step towards the guarantee of the long-term existence of European empires. From the point of view of the English government, a modernized, centralized and secularized Ottoman administration could have been more effective in preserving the territorial integrity of the empire; and by this Britain would have secured the roads that leads to India (Kasaba, 2005: 53). In short, the westernization of the Ottoman Empire was not only the wish of the Ottoman society, but also the desire of Western states.

As one of the founders of the New Ottomans, Namık Kemal's political ideas demonstrate that New Ottomans ideas were derived from France and England. Kemal's ideas were inspired especially by the "Esprit des lois" of Montesquieu and Rousseau. Kemal's ideas about how the government should operate were influenced by the parliaments of England and France (Lewis, 1996: 142). His ideas supporting the view that the Ottoman Empire had to be westernized was probably the result of his observations towards these parliaments. The basic ideas that Kemal defended were homeland and freedom. Despite the fact that many of his writings defended these ideas, Islam was also at the center of his thinking. He argued that Islamic traditions should be

well protected. He even defended an Islamic union under the leadership of the Ottoman Empire. According to him, one of the basic laws of divine law is liberty and his ideas that defend liberty arise from his conception of divine law (Lewis, 1996: 141-142). Kemal mentioned Islamic unity in his writings, but this is also an idea that is inspired by the unity of Western nations.

CONCLUSION

This study focuses on the New Ottomans, a group that emerged in the 1860's in the Ottoman Empire. Also one of the prominent names of the New Ottomans, Namık Kemal's articles which were released in the Ottoman Empire's first opposition newspaper *İbret* has been discussed. Namık Kemal, who is an important name of the New Ottomans, written articles in *İbret* about what should be done in the Ottoman Empire by expressing some problems he saw. In his articles, Namık Kemal defended three main ideas. The first is the Western civilization, the second is the Islamic-Ottoman culture, and the third is the views about the desired homeland. We can see that Namık Kemal mentioned Islamic unity in his writings, but this is also an idea that is inspired by the unity of Western nations. According to Kemal, the Islamic Union can also be formed by considering the unions of Europe and America. As Kemal describes the good side of the West, he also mentioned some of the negative aspects of the West in some of his other articles. The article which is titled "West does not know East" is an example of this criticisms. In addition, Namık Kemal had been evaluating what should be done in issues such as law, equality and family. In addition to these, he has protested the book censorships and pointed out the importance of the theater. Above all, in his articles Namık Kemal described the supremacy of the West which emerged in the nineteenth century, and said that these superior aspects should serve as a model for the Ottoman Empire. The articles of New Ottomans also give an idea of the diversity of ideas related with westernization. In the writings of the New Ottomans, the West is both criticized and praised.

New Ottomans became the pioneers of the development of the newspapers in the Ottoman Empire. Although the newspapers did not survive for a very long time at that period, the ideas which were advocated in these newspapers gave way to changes in the society. Issues such as Westernization, liberty, nationalism, modernization, constitutional monarchy, patriotism, and the importance of education have become widespread in society through the ideas advocated in these newspapers. It can be said that the New Ottomans attempted to liberate society with such ideas they were defending, but it is also possible to make the opposite interpretation. Although New Ottomans ideas such as; uniting Muslim countries under the roof of an Islamic Union and the preservation of the Ottoman culture demonstrate the local emphasis of their writings, most of their articles reflect the influence of globalization.

Moreover, as Anderson argued, press reinforces capitalism and the globalization trend which is an extension of capitalism also sustains current world order. The capitalist order, which affected a large majority of the world, had spread to the world through various means. Capitalist order and globalization trends inevitably affected the Ottoman Empire over time. The Westernization, which started in the period of Selim III, continued in later periods. The New Ottomans, which emerged in the 1860's, also continued this idea of innovation and westernization.

While the newspapers and ideas of the New Ottomans were examined, it is argued that this group reflects the Hegelian notion of 'the spirit of the age'. In other words, New Ottomans and their ideas reflect the notion of 'the spirit of the age' that is based on the idea that a certain conjuncture is causing events to happen. At that time, the nation states began to take over the empires. In this case the influence of the emerging nationalist trends is great. It can be concluded that the New Ottomans have spread the ideas in the Ottoman Empire that have long prevailed in the world, such as nationalism and patriotism. The constitutional monarchy which become dominant in the world was proposed by these thinkers as a system that could also function in the Ottoman Empire. They have defended concepts such as the freedom of the press and free thought, which were becoming dominant in most parts of the world.

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Uzun Öz

Avrupa’da, on beşinci yüzyılın sonundan itibaren kilisenin ve dinin egemenliği sona ermiş ve aklın üstünlüğü toplumda benimsenmeye başlanmıştır. Orta Çağ’ın sonuna doğru başlayan Rönesans hareketleri ile karakterize olan yeni dönem, bilimin, sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik, bilimsel gelişmelerin yanı sıra teknik ve teknolojik gelişmelerin de yükselişine sahne olmuştur. Bu gelişmeleri takiben Avrupa ülkelerinin siyasi ve hukuksal gelişmelerinden etkilenen Osmanlı İmparatorluğu da, on yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren benzeri gelişmeleri benimsemeye başlamıştır. Topraklarını ve ekonomik potansiyelini de kaybetmeye başlamasının etkisiyle Osmanlı, Avrupa devletleriyle serbest ticaret anlaşmaları imzalamaya başlamış ve on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinden itibaren de reformlar yapmaya başlamıştır. Ayrıca Fransız Devrimi ile birlikte, milliyetçi fikirler dünyadaki pek çok toplum gibi Osmanlı toplumunda da yayılmaya başlamıştır. Osmanlı toplumu ilk önce özgürlük ve milliyetçilik kavramlarını şüphe ile algılamıştır; çünkü bu iki kavram imparatorluğun yıkılmasına neden olacak kadar güçlüdür, ancak toplum zamanla bu fikirleri benimsemiştir. 1839’da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Batılılaşmanın ilk adımlarından birisi olan Tanzimat Fermanı yayınlanmıştır. 1860’lı yıllarda ortaya çıkan ve bürokrasinin üst katmanlarına direnen Yeni Osmanlılar da Batı’da çoktandır hakim olan batılılaşma, değişim ve anayasal monarşi gibi fikirleri savunmaya başlamışlardır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda birçok gazete yayınlayan bu topluluk, Osmanlı toplumunda milliyetçilik, vatanseverlik, batılılaşma ve özgürlük gibi birçok düşünceyi yaymıştır. Yeni Osmanlılar siyasi olarak ortak tek bir fikri savunmasalar da, bir konuda ortak bir zeminde buluşabilmişlerdir. Özgürlük ve anayasal düzenin sağlanması bu grubu oluşturanların temel arzusu olmuştur. Yeni Osmanlılar, 1860’lı yıllarda pek çok gazete çıkararak hem bu arzularını vurgulayan, hem de mevcut yönetimi eleştiren birçok yazı yazmışlardır. Yeni Osmanlılar, savundukları bu fikirlerle rejimde değişiklik olmasını isteyen sonraki grupların da öncüleri olmuşlardır. Yeni Osmanlılar’ın imparatorluktan cumhuriyete

geçiş dönemine katkısı inkâr edilemez; çünkü bu grubun çıkardığı gazeteler özellikle demokratik fikirlerin toplumda yaygınlaşmasında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Yeni Osmanlılar çıkardıkları gazetelerde özgürlükten vatanseverliğe kadar çeşitli konularda yazılar yayınlamışlardır. Ancak ne yazık ki, bu gazetelerin yayın hayatları çok uzun süreli olmamıştır. Yeni Osmanlıların önemi, dönemin tüm zorluklarına karşı mücadele etmelerinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Sürgünlere, uzaklaştırmalara ve dönemin getirdiği tüm diğer kısıtlamalara rağmen görüşlerini savunmaya devam etmişlerdir. Çıkardıkları bir gazete kapatıldığında, diğer bir gazetede yazmaya devam etmişlerdir. Bu çalışma kapsamında Yeni Osmanlılar, Yeni Osmanlıların yayınladıkları gazeteler, bu gazetelerdeki makaleler ve özellikle Namık Kemal'in makaleleri, Hegel'in çağın ruhu kavramı göz önüne alınarak tartışılmaktadır. Bu tartışma da, dönemin başlıca gelişmeleri dikkate alınarak gerçekleştirilmektedir. Temel olarak bu grubun çağın ruhunu yansıtip yansıtmadığı tartışılmaktadır. Namık Kemal'in Osmanlı basınında ilk muhalefet gazetesi olarak bilinen İbret gazetesinde yayınlanan makalelerindeki fikirleri de bu çalışma kapsamında değerlendirilmektedir; çünkü Kemal'in yazılarının Yeni Osmanlı'nın bakış açısını temsil ettiği düşünülmektedir. Önceki araştırmalarda, Yeni Osmanlıların gazeteleri, makaleleri ve bu makalelerde öne çıkan fikirleri incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada farklı olarak Yeni Osmanlıların fikirleri, Hegel'in 'çağın ruhu' kavramı göz önüne alınarak tartışılmaktadır. Bu anlamda bu çalışma, bu grubun faaliyet ve fikirlerini inceleyen kuramsal ve sosyolojik bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır. Yeni Osmanlılar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda gazetelerin gelişmesinin öncülerinden biri olmuşlardır. Gazeteler o dönemde çok uzun süre ayakta kalamamış olsa da, bu gazetelerde savunulan fikirler toplumda değişikliğe yol açmıştır. Batılılaşma, özgürlük, milliyetçilik, modernleşme, anayasal monarşi, vatanseverlik ve eğitim gibi önemi konular, bu gazetelerde savunulan fikirler aracılığıyla toplumda yaygınlaşmıştır. Yeni Osmanlıların savundukları düşüncelerle toplumu özgürleştirmeye çalıştıkları söylenebilir; ancak bunun tersi bir yorum yapmak da mümkündür. Yeni Osmanlıların; Müslüman ülkeleri bir İslam Birliği çatısı altında birleştirme ve Osmanlı kültürünün korunması şeklindeki fikirleri yazılarındaki yerellik vurgusunu yansıtsa da, Yeni Osmanlılar'ın yazılarının çoğu küreselleşmenin etkisini yansıtmaktadır. Basın, kapitalizmi ve kapitalizmin bir uzantısı olan küreselleşme eğilimini güçlendirmektedir. Dünyanın büyük çoğunluğunu etkileyen kapitalist düzen, çeşitli yollarla dünyaya yayılmıştır. Kapitalist düzen ve küreselleşme eğilimleri, zamanla Osmanlı İmparatorluğunu da kaçınılmaz biçimde etkilemiştir. III. Selim döneminde başlayan Batılılaşma hareketleri sonraki dönemlerde de devam etmiştir. 1860'lı yıllarda ortaya çıkan Yeni Osmanlılar da bu yenilik ve batılılaşma fikrini sürdürmüşlerdir. Bu grubun savunduğu düşünceler ve grubun oluşumunun arkasındaki nedenler çağın ruhu ile ilişkilendirilebilir; çünkü Yeni Osmanlılar dünyada uzun süredir hâkim olan fikirleri Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda yaygınlaştırmışlardır. Dünyanın pek çok yerinde egemen olan basın özgürlüğü ve özgür düşünce

gibi kavramları savunmuşlardır. Dünyada egemen olan anayasal monarşi, yine bu düşünürler tarafından Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda işleyebilecek bir sistem olarak önerilmiştir. Ayrıca, Yeni Osmanlıların kurucularından biri olan Namık Kemal'in İbret gazetesinde yayınlanan makaleleri incelendiği zaman, bu makalelerde savunulan hukuk, eğitim, eşitlik, ilerleme, Batı'nın örnek alınması gereken yanları gibi fikirlerin ve işlenen konuların da dönemin ruhunu yansıttığı söylenebilir. Namık Kemal'in politik fikirleri de, Yeni Osmanlıların fikirlerinin Fransa ve İngiltere'den temel aldığı görüşünü desteklemektedir; çünkü Kemal'in fikirleri, özellikle Montesquieu ve Rousseau'nun metinlerinden esinlenmiştir. Kemal'in siyasal işleyişin nasıl olması gerektiği konusundaki fikirleri de İngiltere ve Fransa parlamentolarından etkilenmiştir.