

WEAVING FOR WAR & PEACE: EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN IN THE HEREKE FACTORY CAMPUS (1912-1918)*

Didem Yavuz Velipaşaoğlu**

Abstract

This article focuses on the education of the children at Hereke Factory during the turbulent years from the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) through World War I (1914-1918) up to the seizure of the factory by the British in 1918. This article investigates the schooling system at the factory, including both formal and vocational education, and its relationship to those of other workhouses supported by philanthropy within the empire. Charitable and philanthropic institutions within the Ottoman socio-political system provided for the employment of widows and orphans who had lost relatives in the Balkan Wars and World War I. In this philanthropic network, Hereke Imperial Factory, as an institution to create funds to help orphans and widows, became a model of vocational education for needy in general education system. Later, the factory became a center at the target of nationalist-religious philanthropic discourses.

Keywords: Hereke Imperial Factory, formal education, vocational education, dar-üs sanâ'a, The Women's Association of Consumers of Domestic Products

Savaşta ve Barışta Dokuma: Hereke Fabrikası'nda Çocukların Eğitimi (1912-1918)

Öz

Bu makale bir devlet fabrikası olan Hereke Fabrikası'nın çalkantılı savaş yıllarındaki -Balkan Savaşı'ndan (1912-1913) başlayarak Birinci Dünya Savaşı (1914-1918) sonunda İngiliz işgaline kadarki döneminde- çocuk eğitimine odaklanır. Makale, fabrikadaki hem örgün hem de mesleki eğitim sistemini ve bunların imparatorluk içindeki hayırseverlik faaliyetleri tarafından desteklenen diğer ıslahhaneler ile ilişkisini incelemektedir. Osmanlı sosyo-politik sistemindeki yardımsever ve hayırsever kurumlar, Balkan Savaşları ve I. Dünya Savaşı'nda akrabalarını kaybetmiş olan dul ve yetimlerin istihdamında rol oynamıştır. Bu hayırseverlik ağında, Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayûn, yetimlere ve dullara yardım eden bir kurum olarak, genel eğitim sisteminde ihtiyaç sahipleri için bir mesleki eğitim modeliydi. İlerleyen yıllarda, fabrika, milliyetçi-dini hayırsever söylemlerin hedefinde bir merkez haline geldi.

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** PhD, *New Jersey Institute of Technology & Rutgers University*, University Heights, Newark, New Jersey 07102 USA, didemyavuzv@gmail.com

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hereke Fabrika-i Hümâyûn, örgün eğitim, mesleki eğitim, dar-üs sanâ'a, Mamulat'ı Dahiliye İstihlak-ı Kadınlar Cemiyeti

This article focuses on the education of the children at Hereke Factory during the turbulent years from the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) through World War I (1914-1918) up to the seizure of the factory by the British in 1918. During this period, the factory was taken from the remit of the Imperial Treasury and turned into a subsidiary factory under the military regime of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which was pursuing a program of accelerated military mobilization during the period. This article investigates the schooling system at the factory and its relationship to those of other workhouses supported by philanthropy within the empire. Charitable and philanthropic institutions within the Ottoman socio-political system provided for the employment of widows and orphans who had lost relatives in the Balkan Wars and World War I. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, charities focused not only on satisfying the requirements of the needy, but also on their management: controlling the poor, widows, and orphans in order to form a new labor system for an emerging national identity, at a time when the Ottoman Empire was just beginning to introduce modern nation-building practices. Children were not only trained to use the machines at the factory, but were also affected by various nationalist campaigns in alliance with philanthropic agencies. In this philanthropic network, Hereke Imperial Factory, as an institution to create funds to help orphans and widows, became a model of vocational education for needy in general education system. The factory became a center at the target of nationalist-religious philanthropic discourses.

The war years inaugurated a new era that transformed the Ottoman Empire. Hereke Imperial Factory, as a microcosm of this change, offers a window into understanding the transformation of factory children into members of a modern national labor force. This study concentrates on the six years from the beginning of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) to the end of World War I (1914-1918) and the assertion of British control over the factory, looking at mechanization programs, wars, poverty, and, in particular, schooling programs, including both formal and vocational training.

Using children's lives as a focusing lens, this study seeks to shed light on diverse facets of the overarching stages of the transformation of the factory over the war years: the jobs carried out by the child labor force, the types of education they received, their position in the philanthropy industry of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the ways in which they were treated differently according to their race, religion, and gender. Through the schooling system of the factory in particular, we see the late Ottoman ethno-religious segmentation of an industrial society based around cloth making.

Situated to the east of Istanbul, on the waterfront of Izmit Bay on the Sea of Marmara, the Factory started out as a broadcloth plant founded by a local entrepreneur, Hovhannes Dadian, in 1842.¹ It was transformed into an Imperial Factory in 1845 and then, producing textiles and carpets for both local and international markets, became a major hallmark of a series of modernization projects being implemented in the late Ottoman Empire. In 1925, the factory was transformed yet again, transferred to the Turkish Industry and Metal Bank (*Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası*). In 1933, it was transferred to Sümerbank, a state economic enterprise of the Turkish Republic. The factory became subject to privatization in 1990s, but was mostly closed in the following years. Today, a museum sits on the site of one of the original buildings, the filature, while a smaller broadcloth factory operates as a private business.

A. Note on Literature

The existing literature addresses various aspects of the Hereke Imperial Factory specifically, and topics related to it more generally. Abdülkadir Buluş's dissertation focuses on factory production and deals with state industrialization policies, specifically those developed after the Tanzimat Reforms, and how these policies affected administration at the Factory.² However, his reliance on archival materials from only one source, the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives, means that he did not adequately address the everyday lives of the workforce. He also deals with the notion of identity of products of Hereke Imperial Factory. Candan Sezgin's work provides a longer discussion of the links between the education and training offered at the Hereke Imperial Factory and that offered by other schools across the Empire and in Europe.³ She also deals with the labor force by examining the social lives of workers and outlines the current situation of the building stock.

Two books by Önder Küçükerman⁴ and by Mehmet Kenan Kaya *et al.*,⁵ respectively, discuss the high quality and variety of the objects produced in the

¹ Hovhannes Dadian played a significant role in the several state factories. During 1820-22, he was the director of the Paper Mill in Beykoz. He then acted as a director of the Weaving Factory in Eyüp between 1826 and 1829. He became charginan (*barutçubası*) of the Azadlı Gunpowder Factory in 1842. He established a tannery in Beykoz, Izmit Broadcloth Factory, Hereke Cloth Factory, and Zeytinburnu Ironworks. He invented machines for the Spinning Factory in Eyüp and Armory. He also constructed and eighteenmeter-long iron bridge at Çırağan Palace in 1845. Kevork Pamukciyan, *Biyografilerle Ermeniler* (Istanbul, Turkey: Aras Yayıncılık, 2003), 195-198.

² Abdülkadir Buluş, *Osmanlı Tekstil Sanayi Hereke Fabrikası*, PhD thesis, Istanbul University, 2000.

³ Candan Sezgin, "Atölyeden Fabrikaya Geçiş Modeli Olarak Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayunu ve Endüstri Mirasımız Olarak Taşıdığı Değer," in *Sultan Abdülmecid ve Dönemi* (Istanbul, Turkey: Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür AŞ Yayınları, 2015), 214-231.

⁴ Önder Küçükerman, *The Rugs and Textiles of Hereke: A Documentary Account of the History of Hereke Court Workshop to Model Factory*, trans. M.E. Quigley-Pınar (Istanbul, Turkey: Sümerbank Publications, 1987).

⁵ Mehmet Kenan Kaya *et al.*, *Milli Saraylar Koleksiyonunda Hereke Dokumaları ve Hahları* (Istanbul, Turkey: Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1999).

Hereke Imperial Factory. Both books interpret the factory's products as examples of Turkish art, although neither provides any interpretation of the link between the products produced in the factory and the notion of identity. Küçükerman also writes about the industrial schools, but does not address the relationship between the industrial schools and the Hereke Imperial Factory.

Yusuf Utkaner and Özlem Aydın Oral offer an architectural analysis of the Hereke Imperial Factory buildings, the date of their construction, and their current physical state.⁶ They also address technical recommendations for the restoration of the buildings, their later use as a museum, and the current architectural status of the some of the buildings.

To İnalçık, the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire was a modern welfare state; the health, education, and living needs of individuals were supplied by the state. The fundamental aim of an Islamic ruler was seen as the promotion of public welfare.⁷ A self-sustained habitat, the Hereke plant had its own school, mosque, bathhouse, communal vegetable gardens, vinery, and shops. This system was a part of a rental agreement (*akaret-i seniyye*)⁸ with its gardens and shops, and it shares similar properties to the system of vocational orphanages (*ıslabhanes*).⁹ Promoting public welfare served as one of the basic principles of the economy.¹⁰ Wage-earning workers, composed of mostly children and single adults, dwelled in multistory, high-density cellular dormitories. For instance, in 1898, there were 1,500 workers living at the sex-segregated factory dormitories: 500-600 were male and 1,000 female. The cellular rooms of the dormitories were occupied by 15-20 people each, a condition that fostered epidemics.¹¹ The salaried technical staff, in contrast, had their own houses, where they lived with their families in comfortable conditions.¹²

⁶ Yusuf Utkaner and Özlem Aydın Oral, "Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayunu'nun Mimari Analizi ve Koruma Önerileri," *Mimarlık* (November-December 2009), 46-51

⁷ Halil İnalçık with Donald Quataert eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1600-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 45-52. Also, Amy Singer, "A mixed economy of charity," in *Charity in Islamic Societies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 181-182.

⁸ Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, (hereafter BOA) HH.HRK.27.19 1307.B.25, (March 17, 1890).

⁹ Maksudyân, in her article, discusses the connection between the rental agreements and vocational orphanages. Nazan Maksudyân, "Orphans, Cities and the State: Vocational Orphanages (*Islabhanes*) and Reform in the Late Ottoman Urban Space," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 43 (2011): 493-511.

¹⁰ Singer, "A mixed economy of charity," 181-182.

¹¹ BOA HH.THR.293.14 1316.Ra.26 (The hospital was constructed for the use of the workers. BOA HH.THR.293.14 1316.Ra.26 (August 14, 1898).

¹² The housing of the director and the clerks was located on the railway side of the factory: BOA HH.THR 277.23 1310.Ca.28 (December 18, 1892); the documents regarding the repair of the roofs of the houses demonstrates that there was housing for the officials BOA HH.THR 272.100 1312.R.8. (October 9, 1894). The land for the housing of the officials of the *Diyun-u Umumiye* (Public Debt Administration) was provided from the lands of the telegram house of the factory BOA HH.THR 272.102 1312.Ş.27 (February 23, 1895); The teachers at the factory school had two

The state factories set up were the Fez Factory, the İslimye Broadcloth Factory, the Zeytinburnu Ironworks, the Bakırköy Print Works, the Yeşilköy Land College, the Izmit Broadcloth Factory, the Hereke Textile Factory, the Balıkesir Wool Factory, the Bursa Silk Factory, and the Samakov Iron Izmit Broadcloth Factory.¹³ Throughout the empire, beside the domestic service, children were also used in industrial occupation; poor male children worked mostly in the mining industry, while female children were employed in the textile industry. The mechanization programs in the textile industry enabled the employment of a workforce made up of children and women as low-cost labor.¹⁴ If we direct our attention to children at the mill, an examination of the schooling system at the plant site provides a way to identify some of the children who worked in the factory. On Hereke Factory Campus, there were two types of schooling, each of which was distinct in character. One was formal training given in the school premises on the plant site. The latter was vocational training held in the workshops.

Formal Training

Even though there were primary and secondary schools on the factory campus, the archival materials show evidence that the formal schools were for the education of the children of the officials, technical staff and workers.¹⁵ Almost no information exists about the exact date on which the Primary School (*İbtida-i Mektebi*) was founded at the Hereke Factory Campus, but a *varak* (folio) from the folders of correspondence (*tahrirat dosyaları*) in the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive shows that there was already a primary school by 1887.¹⁶ A Junior High School (*Rüşdiye Mektebi*) was launched at the Factory as an addition to the existing program of formal training on 5 September 1900.¹⁷ Thanks to the Sultan's charity, as stated in the official documentation, the main goal of the school was to provide education for both male and female children of officials, technical staff, and workers from the factory, along with the children of the surrounding villages.¹⁸

Consulting the folders of correspondence of the Imperial Treasury (*Hazine-i Hassa*) allows for a closer study of the educational infrastructure. In addition to information about several construction projects at the plant site, and about appointments, rankings, and funds for the workers' services, the folders also shed

houses on the factory campus (*Hereke Fabrikası Muallim-i Evveli Musa Efendi'nin Hereke Fabrikası'nda Balıbağları'nda mutasarrif olduğu arazi üzerine inşa etmiş olduğu iki hane bakımında olunacak muamele.*), BOA ŞD.63.7 1325 Ş 09 (September 17, 1907)

¹³ Buluş, *Osmanlı Tekstil Sanayi Hereke Fabrikası*, 102.

¹⁴ Yahya Araz, "Yoksulluk ve Çocuk Emegi," in *16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıl Başlarına: Osmanlı Toplumunda Çocuk Olmak*. (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2013), 143-144.

¹⁵ BOA HH.THR. 362.36 1318 R 27 (August 24, 1900).

¹⁶ BOA HH.THR.334.22 1304.N.10 (June 2, 1887).

¹⁷ BOA HH.THR 362.37 1318 Ca 13 (September 8, 1900).

¹⁸ BOA HH.THR. 362.36 1318 R 27 (August 24, 1900).

light on the structure and curriculum of the formal school, along with profiles of the students taught there, through its charts of examination.

Considering the student agency as cohorts, rather than thinking of them as individuals, B.C. Fortna suggests that education was thought of as an implement of “mechanical engineering”. Privileging the group over the individual and collecting data expressing quantity, however, leans too far towards erasing the broad range of potential human reactions.¹⁹ Therefore, I shall attempt to describe the children in the formal schools (Primary and Junior High Schools) in the context of the programs taught to the student body as they are represented in the documents. The examination charts from the Primary School and Junior High School show not only the curriculum taught in the schools, but also the demographics of the students in 1912-13 (see Appendix A for a full chart).²⁰ A parallel reading of these sources helps us to shift our focus from the educational campaign as a part of a ubiquitous educational pattern applied across the Empire to one focused on the experiences of individual students. Since these were the children of the Factory’s staff and workers, this reading not only helps us to look at family patterns, but also unearths the process of cultural and social reproduction found in the intertwined relationship between state power and students.

The examination results for the school year 1912-1913 illustrate the multi-ethnic composition of the student body and the emergence of a standardized education system. The students registered for courses the year before the outbreak of World War I were a mixture of Muslims and non-Muslims, with most of the latter being Greek Orthodox. Even though Muslim and non-Muslim students were taught jointly in these classes, non-Muslims were exempted from religious courses such as the Quran, Religious Studies, Memorization of Sections of the Quran, and Catechism.²¹ From the Hamidian era onwards, Muslim children who were educated by the state learned a distinct ideology through these religious classes, one designed to turn into imperial staff. As in other imperial states, the aim of mass education was to produce a population that was both obedient and unindoctrinated by rival educational systems, such as those of Christian minorities and missionary schools. Mixed schooling with Muslims and non-Muslims taught side by side therefore became the norm in the state primary schools.²²

According to the examination chart, the factory school was also co-educational in 1912-1913, with boys and girls attending the same courses. However,

¹⁹ B. C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6-7.

²⁰ BOA HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21 (September 23, 1913).

²¹ BOA HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21 (September 23, 1913).

²² Selim Deringil, “Education: The Answer to All Evil?” in *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London, UK: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 94.

the existence of an *ih̄tiyat* (girls' junior high) school²³ in 1907 and a list of female students enrolled into lectures separate from the program for male students²⁴ is evidence that male and female students were not taught together in the school's early years. The Girl's Junior High School's main aim was to prepare the girls to be teachers. This situation must have changed and the school must have been restructured in later years, as girls and boys attended classes together by 1912-1913. The widespread education of Ottoman girls began in the mid-nineteenth century. Earlier, from the sixteenth century onwards, there had been only an infant's school (*sıbyan mektebi*) for girls, which was limited with Quran and Arabic language in its curriculum at elementary school level. Twenty years after the Junior High Schools were established for the male students in 1838, the Girl's Junior High School was founded. The main goal of these schools was to prepare children for industrial employment.²⁵ The girls also attended scientific knowledge and positive science courses.

The curriculum aimed to impart a child with knowledge of practical and positive sciences, a child who master the Ottoman, Arabic, Persian, and French languages, and a child who was religious, patriotic, and polite. The curriculum was designed to create future citizens who were modern but bonded to the Empire at heart. Within the school's modern curriculum, which was ranged from social sciences to positive science, the civics course (*Ma'lûmât-ı Medenîyye*)²⁶ becomes particularly notable. Added to the curriculum after 1908, this course reflected the premise of the Second Constitution, by which a child became a public subject. The child no longer belonged only to his family as a potential public actor; rather, the child was seen as the nation's future. The child was foreseen as the producer, the military, and the citizen of the future, and as such citizenship became the main pedagogical aim of primary and secondary education. The Constitutional pedagogues perceived the civics course as a compulsory lesson to develop political affiliation and loyalty to the Empire some fifty years later than similar views emerged in Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the United States of America.²⁷ With all these courses, a child became part of the imperial modernization project and the building block of social economic development.

²³ Corresponding to *rüşdiyes*, which were High Schools for male students, the *İh̄tiyat* schools were created in 1893 as female teacher training programs. Şefika Kurnaz, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadınların Eğitimi," *Millî Eğitim*, (July-August-September 1999), 143.

²⁴ BOA HH.THR 374.33 1325.B.3 (August 12, 1907).

²⁵ Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi*, 89.

²⁶ *Ma'lûmât-ı Medenîyye* could be translated as Knowledge of Civilization. However, the content of the course shows that this course was about civics. For further information, see Füsün Üstel, "Makbul Vatandaş," in *Peşinde II. Meşrutiyetten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (Istanbul, Turkey: İletişim Yayınları, 2005).

²⁷ Üstel, "Makbul Vatandaş," 32, 35.

The curriculum, and thus the social structure of the school during and after World War I, is not documented in the files of correspondence at the Imperial Treasury, yet one document from the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives concerning the Treasury's supply of books and paraphernalia to the school provides evidence that it was still operational in November 1914, just after the war began.²⁸ In addition, the books cited in the school's curriculum in 1913 expand the scope of the discussion about formal education at the factory (see Appendix B for a full list).²⁹

The books were mostly supplied by the press of the *Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeriye* (Library of Islam and the Military) in 1913³⁰, and while they had a materialist outlook they also emphasized religious values. Besides Islamic tenets and history of the empire, the books that make up the curriculum of the formal school also show us a philosophy that supported science, the humanities, and linguistics. The *Kitabhane-i İslam* (Islamic Library), the books of which were taught in Hereke Primary and Junior High School, was founded in 1896 by İbrahim Hilmi, a famous publisher, thinker, and author during the transitional period from the Second Constitutional Era (which began in 1908) to Early Republican Turkey. Later the name of the press was changed to *Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri* and, after the foundation of the Turkish Republic it was called *Kitabhane-i Hilmi* (Library of Hilmi).³¹ In addition to more than 1,000 books about history, literature, politics, religion, and social theory, the press also published educational books,³² most of which were ordered for the Factory's school. The book *Maarifimiz ve Servet-i İlmiyyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (Our System of Education and Science: The Reasons for Our Catastrophe) -which was published as a part of the oeuvre of the *Kitabhane-i İntibah* by the founder of the press, İbrahim Hilmi, in 1913- yields an explicit description of his inclinations regarding schooling in the Empire. The book begins with an expression by Satı Bey, an Ottoman educator:

the Ottoman of tomorrow will be prepared in the schools of today... if there is one more thing that is more devastating than the most brutal wars, the most

²⁸ BOA HH.THR 1238.36 1333.Ra.16 (February 1, 1915). In the last year of the war, 1918, reports written from the factory to Refik Bey in the Directorate of the Imperial Treasury reveal that there were then 120 students enrolled in these courses. *Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayun'un Tarz-i İdaresi*, 1918. Hayri Tokay Documents, Edhem Eldem Personal Collection. Indeed, the number of students increased during the war years from eighty-four to 120. There were twenty students enrolled in the first year of the primary school, nineteen in the second year of the primary school, twenty-three in the third year of the primary school, eleven students in the first year of the Junior High School, eight students in the second year of the Junior High School, and three in the third year of Junior High School. BOA HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21 (September 23, 1913).

²⁹ BOA HH.THR. 1237.46 1331.L.13 (September 15, 1913).

³⁰ BOA HH.THR. 1237.46 1331.L.13 (September 15, 1913).

³¹ İsmail Erşahin, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Kuran Meali Yayıncılığı: İbrahim Hilmi Örneği," *Toplum Bilimleri* (January 2011), 149-160.

³² Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarifimiz ve Servet-i İlmiyyemiz*, transcribed/transliterated Melek Dosay Gökdoğan, (Ankara, Turkey: TC Kültür Bakanlığı-HAS-SOY, 2000), xiii.

*destructive earthquakes and devastating hurricanes, it is our and the Islamic worlds' ignorance and lack of education.*³³

Writing just after the Balkan Wars (1912-13), İbrahim Hilmi pointed out the victimization of Islamic societies and the difficulties confronted by the Ottomans in the military and administrative fields, claiming that the invasion of Morocco and Egypt was caused by these societies' aloofness from education and science (*ilimsizlik*).³⁴ According to him, the Ottomans were not defeated by the Balkan Army, but defeated by their system of education. His aim was to strengthen the educational system of the empire to aid it in its recovery from the trauma of the Balkan Wars.³⁵

According to Hilmi, his proposed education system would bring about an intellectual and social revolution that would save Ottomanism, Turkishness, and Islamism.³⁶ Hence, he devoted himself to writing a history of Ottoman Empire³⁷ as a part of the goal of cultivating religious nationalists. The books on the syllabus and the curricula both represent cultural domination through ideas codified by state power, which legitimated its control through the dominance of religious nationalism in the war years. One could argue that the strategies of exclusion of non-Muslims in specific courses in mass education fostered already existing social hierarchies segmented along ethno-religious affiliations.

The *Shorter General History (Küçük Tarih-i Umumi)*³⁸ starts with Egypt civilization, then looks at Anatolian civilizations. The Roman Empire was covered in the book, followed by the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was articulated with its artifacts, specifically architectural monuments. The book also looked at Arab civilizations, the exploration of America, and European civilizations. The *Illustrated Ottoman History (Muhtasar Resimli Osmanlı Tarihi)*³⁹ was prepared for primary school children. It starts with the migration of the Turks from Central Asia to Eastern Anatolia because of the attacks of Genghis Khan, the founder of the Mongol Empire. The book looks at the period of principalities, then focuses on the reigns of the various sultans of the empire. The conquest of Istanbul during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, and the reign of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent are highlighted. The recent history of the Ottoman was also covered in detail. For instance, the Ottoman Basic Law (*Kanun-i Esasi*) of 1876, the Treaty of San Stefano of 1878, the independence of Bulgaria, the New Ottoman Party (*Yeni Osmanlılar*

³³ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarifimiz ve Servet-i İlmîyemiz* 1.

³⁴ Ibid., 2.

³⁵ Ibid., 14.

³⁶ Ibid., 8-9.

³⁷ Ibid., 59.

³⁸ Ahmed Refik, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi, Küçüklere Tarib Dersleri* (Istanbul, Turkey: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri (Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekası) 1330 (1914)).

³⁹ Ahmed Refik, *Küçük Tarih-i Osmanî* (Istanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri (Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekası) 1327 (1911)).

Cemiyeti) and the dethronement of Abdülhamid II were highlighted. Maps and illustrations accompanied the historiography.

These books appear to have been meant for primary school children. The most recent dates and the latest technologies were presented to them, while they also offered a closer look at the history of the world, in which the Ottoman Empire plays a leading role as a successor of the Eastern Roman Empire and as the protector of Arab civilizations. The orbits of the Ottoman Empire are visualized with maps that introduce the Ottoman lands to children. The books aimed to create intelligent, pious, nationalist, and patriot citizens who had a good command of technology and natural science. All these history books were written to improve Ottoman identity, both nationalist and religious, and world citizenship among the children.

The content of the curriculum of the education system was clearly reflected in the textbooks made compulsory by the central educational administration. It is generally accepted that political regimes interfere in the content of textbooks in order to legitimize themselves and their political systems through “their perceived duty of transmitting culture, reflecting values, and as a springboard for the intellectual development of the individual and the nation.” From the middle of the Tanzimat era, state institutions began to state which textbooks were part of the curriculum in state schools, including those at the Hereke Imperial Factory.⁴⁰

The number of students, especially non-Muslim students, enrolled in courses in the third year of Junior High School suddenly dropped in 1912-1913 -representing the switch from education alongside employment to full-time employment at the factory. Few students completed and graduated from school. The reduction in the number of non-Muslim students may have been particularly drastic because the secondary schooling system supported Muslim students in an attempt to position them as the Empire’s emerging elites.⁴¹ The graduates of the Junior High School were a part of a mass formal training; the documents of earlier periods also show that the graduates of the Junior High School were sent to colleges such as the Imperial School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane İdadîyyesi*) and the Ottoman University for Orphans (*Dar’ü’ş Şafaka Mekteb-i ‘Aliyyesi*).⁴² Correspondence between the director of the factory and the Ministry of Education in 1913 imparts a sense of the key role that the director of the factory played in the placement of the graduates of the factory school into these colleges (*Mekâtîb-i ‘Aliyye*).⁴³ Similarly, by 1918 five ethnic Turkish students had been selected to be sent for technical training to Jozefis, a factory in Austria that produced the broadcloth factory parts and machinery for Hereke. The factory directors preferred to send their own staff to Europe to be

⁴⁰ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı’da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 236.

⁴¹ For the *rüşdiye* as a school for the emerging elites and bureaucrats of the Ottoman Empire, see Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*.

⁴² BOA HH.HRK. 61.16 1310 (1892).

⁴³ BOA HH.THR.1237.47 1331.L.21 (September 23, 1913).

educated, according to the report, rather than invite European technicians to the factory. For this role, *Turkish* students (*evlad-ı vatandan bususiyile Türk olmak üzere*) were selected, as was noted in the *Hayri Tokay* set of documents, and their travel expenses were covered by factory funds while their living expenses were met by Jozefis Machine Factory. As there is no indication of the exact date for the students' departure from the factory to Austria, all we know from the report is that they took two years to complete their education.⁴⁴

In the last year of the war, 1918, reports written from the factory to Refik Bey in the Directorate of the Private Treasury of the Sultan reveals that there were currently 120 students enrolled on these courses.⁴⁵ Indeed, the number of students increased during the war years from 84 to 120.⁴⁶

The Vocational Training and Employment of Children

The vocational education offered in the Hereke Factory workshops was distinct from the formal training given in the Primary and the Junior High School.⁴⁷ The workshops were divided into two sections: the spinning mill (*iplikbane*) and the broadcloth weaving/fullery (*çubabane*). The spinning mill was composed of a velour workshop (*kembabane*), a bobbin workshop (*masurabane*), a carpet workshop (*bahbane*), a flannel workshop (*fanilabane*), a dyeing plant (*boyabane*), engine rooms (*makinist dairesi*), and a drawing office (*resimbane*). The fullery was devoted to fez making and broadcloth making.⁴⁸ The trainees were taught weaving, knotting, and dyeing. A broadcloth factory was added to the factory in 1903.⁴⁹ While this new

⁴⁴ *Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayun'un Tarz-ı İdaresi*, 1918. Hayri Tokay Documents, Edhem Eldem Individual Collection.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ By 1912-13, there were a total of 84 students. There were 20 students enrolled in the first year of the primary school, 19 in the second year of the primary school, 23 in the third year of the primary school, 11 students in the first year of the Junior High School, 8 students in the second year of the Junior High School, and 3 in the third year of Junior High School, BOA HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21.

⁴⁷ In Europe, response to the labor needs in industry merged with charitable endeavors. The needy was sheltered through industrialization. In the Ottoman context, sheltering the needy coupled with vocational training for industrial production was included on the imperial agenda following excursions to similar European programs. The creation of Ottoman trade schools was first proposed by an ambassador, Sadık Rifat Paşa, after a visit to Vienna in the 1830s. Beginning in 1863, though mostly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, trade schools were opened in Niş, Ruse, Sofia, Salonica, Damascus, Diyarbakır, Bursa, Kastamonu, Baghdad, and Konya. Yaşar Semiz and Recai Kuş, "Osmanlıda Mesleki Teknik Eğitim: İstanbul Sanayi Mektebi (1869-1930)," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15 (2004): 275-95. For further information about vocational training in the management of orphans see Nazan Maksudyan, "Hearing the Voiceless-Seeing the Invisible."

⁴⁸ *Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayun'un Tarz-ı İdaresi*, 1918. Hayri Tokay Documents, Edhem Eldem Individual Collection.

⁴⁹ BOA HH.THR. 315.28 1321.Za.10 (January 28, 1904).

section was employed in broadcloth, serge, yarn making, and later fez making, the factory continued to produce carpet and textile fabrics.⁵⁰

The state never labelled the school at Hereke Factory Campus an industrial school or a trade school (*sanayi mektebi*). Rather, the term “home for manufacturing and art”⁵¹ (*dar-üis sanâ’u*) was used to differentiate its status within the comprehensive organizational context of teaching.

Imperial policy of the second half of the nineteenth century was oriented towards the creation of an industrial network that would demonstrate the Empire’s independence in industrial power and that would shape modern Ottoman civilization. The first prototypes of trade and industrial schools in the Ottoman Empire emerged during the Tanzimat reform period as part of an imperial modernization process and later evolved into full time schools after a special decree was issued to regulate technical education. In the late nineteenth century, the students of these schools, mostly orphans and poor children, increased in number, and so were assigned their own buildings and other technical facilities. After the circulation of the Imperial order, many industrial orphanages were opened simultaneously for destitute and orphan children in the provinces. These included Bursa (province of Hüdavendigâr), Sivas (Sivas), Aleppo (Aleppo), Kastamonu (Kastamonu), Izmir (Aydın), Kandiye (Crete), Salonika (Salonika), and Diyarbekir (Diyarbakir). By 1899, there were thirty-four vocational orphanages operating, including in the provinces of Mamuretülaziz, Adana, Konya, Jerusalem, Kosova, Monastir and Janina.⁵²

The trade and industrial schools in the Ottoman Empire taught weaving, textile making, carpentry, tailoring, photography, cabinetmaking, shoemaking, bookbinding, and agriculture.⁵³ At the factory, the trainees could also practice their art and received scientific technical training in the campus workshops. The education at the Hereke Imperial Factory relied on master-apprentice relationship: the students learned by doing.

In this network, the trade (industrial) schools encouraged modernization and the establishment of factories, providing many qualified staff for the workshops at the Hereke Imperial Factory. It was not a one-way process, either: some well-trained masters at the Hereke Imperial Factory were sent to serve in the trade schools. The Hereke Imperial Factory’s position of leadership allowed them to promote new techniques of weaving and teaching among other schools and workhouses in the

⁵⁰ BOA Y.MTV. 313.58 1326.Za.4 (November 28, 1908).

⁵¹ BOA DH.MKT.931.42 1322.Z.4 (February 9, 1905).

⁵² Maksudyan, “Hearing the Voiceless-Seeing the Invisible,” 200-281. To Maksudyan, the local elite, merchants, large-scale producers, and industrialists could also profit from the training provided in industrial orphanages. The opening of factories and the resulting need for unskilled and cheap labor tied the orphans and orphanages to the industrial production in a very curious way.

⁵³ Semiz and Kuş, “Osmanlıda Mesleki Teknik Eğitim: İstanbul Sanayi Mektebi,” 275-95.

empire.⁵⁴ To be trained to use the Singer sewing machines, which were introduced to the factory in the 1890s, Behram Efendi of the poorhouse (*dar-ülaceze*) in Istanbul was sent to the Hereke Imperial Factory in 1905. The poorhouse administration wanted to send ten students for vocational training in the use of Singer machines the same year.⁵⁵ Karelkeyan Mıdırıç Efendi came from Sivas with his family a few years before 1896 to receive weaving training.⁵⁶ To learn dyeing techniques to improve the silk and wool prayer rugs of Kayseri, Mehmed Efendi and Simon Anastas were sent to the factory for scientific technical training (*fenn-i taallüm*) in 1899.⁵⁷ A graduate of Hereke Imperial Factory, Mehmet Galip Efendi, was appointed to Kastamonu Trade School as a teacher of weaving in 1899⁵⁸ and the director of the poorhouses (*dârü'laceze*) visited the Hereke Factory in 1905 to research weaving techniques so that he could apply them in poorhouses. The director of the poorhouses investigated Arabic design techniques to apply them in the poorhouse workshops, which were still producing in the European style.⁵⁹ The factory's fame would later lead people from across the Empire and abroad to visit with the intention of learning trade techniques. The director of the Tabriz Carpet Factory, Mehmed Ali Bey, requested to work in the Hereke Imperial Factory in 1906,⁶⁰ while students from Tripoli Industrial School were appointed to Hereke Imperial Factory in 1909.⁶¹

In the earlier stages of the foundation of the factory, the ideology of the state was a multicultural one, and workers were encouraged to use their knowledge of local weaving practices in their designs for rugs and textiles that were produced in the factory. These were then used as symbols of the greatness and diversity of the empire in international expositions, as gifts for foreign notables, as furnishings for imperial buildings and in other prestigious buildings and embassies.

They children were conscripted on the promise of receiving a vocational education. For instance, one of the earliest examples of the Ottomans perceiving their cultural diversity as a motivator of the workforce in the Imperial Factories comes from the 1850s. A document from 1855 demonstrates that, similar to the employment of Orthodox Greek girls in the Bursa Silk Factory -which was another Imperial Factory founded in the second half of the nineteenth century- there was a requirement for the “use” of thirty Orthodox Greek girls in weaving work at Hereke Imperial Factory. With the approval of their parents, these thirty girls were chosen from among the inhabitants of Karasi (*karasi abalisi*), selected according to their chastity and skills. The factory guaranteed the families that they would receive some

⁵⁴ Sezgin, “Atölyeden Fabrikaya,” 214-231.

⁵⁵ BOA DH.MKT.931.42 1322.Z.4 (February 9, 1905).

⁵⁶ BOA DH.TMIK.M. 11.57 1314.S.23 (August 3, 1896).

⁵⁷ DH.MKT.2169.80 1316.L.12 (February 23, 1899), also in Sezgin, “Atölyeden Fabrikaya,” 214-231.

⁵⁸ BOA DK.MKT.2297.85 1317.N.16 (January 18, 1900).

⁵⁹ BOA DH.MKT.931.42 1322.Z.04 (February 9, 1905).

⁶⁰ BOA Y.PRK.AZJ. 50.78 1322.Z.29 (March 6, 1905).

⁶¹ BOA DH.MKT. 2868.96 1327.C.18 (July 7, 1909).

of their daughters' wages and that the girls' honor and religion would be saved by the factory. The girls received vocational training, according to the document, which also emphasizes that the factory foundation should not be perceived as a scary place.⁶² Monsieur Martel's 1885 report also demonstrates that vocational education was a significant factor in attracting workers to the factory: local workers would be trained since the factory needed workers who had a good command of their vocation (*sanatlarına layıkıyla vakıf adamlar*).⁶³ The factory was thus an educational institution, where the pupils were turned into trained craftsmen and craftswomen.

The recruitment of the young girls and the acceptance of their migrant families continued in the following years. According to Quartaert, between 1895 and 1905, over 1000 female knotters produced custom-ordered carpets in the state factory. Muslim and Orthodox Greek girls from the ages of four to fifteen worked in the three great knotting halls, on 150-180 knotting frames of varying size. The knotters worked eleven hours per day -except the youngest girls- and for low wages. Some of the female workers walked to work from their nearby homes while others came from distant districts. The Greek and Turkish girls lived apart from one another in separate furnished factory dormitories, under the supervision of "old" women.⁶⁴ In the last years of 19th century, Armenian female workers, including children, migrated from Sivas, Ladik, and Manisa to the Hereke Imperial Factory and started to work in the carpet section.⁶⁵

In an article in *Servet-i Fünun* published on 12 July 1906 (29 Haziran 1322), it was stated that there were 2000 workers composed of both adults and children at that time at the factory. However, due to the increasing demand for Hereke products in the market and the desire to strengthen the textile industry in the Ottoman Empire, it was decided to increase the number of the workforce to 4000 including many poor children and orphans (*nice etfal-i fukara ve yetime*); they would be put on the payroll and taught this vocation.⁶⁶

⁶² There was a requirement for the "use" of thirty Orthodox Greek girls in weaving work at Hereke Imperial Factory (*...akmeşe-i nefîsenin nesci hidmetinde dahi otuz nefer rum kızlarının kullanılması lazım gelmiş...*). BOA MKT.UM.209.56 1272 M 10 (September 22, 1855).

⁶³ BOA Y.MTV. 15.7 1301.N.21 (July 15, 1884).

⁶⁴ Donald Quartaert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1600-1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quartaert. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 918.

⁶⁵ Dominique Séréna-Allier, Raymond H. Kévorkian and David Vinson, *Trames d'Arménie: Tapis et broderies sur les chemins de l'exil (1900-1940)*, (Marseille: Images en Manoeuvres Editions, 2007), 64-83.

⁶⁶ "Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayunu Ziyaret," *Servet-i Fünun*, (794-29 Haziran 1322) (12 July 1906), 216-219.

The number of female workers at the factory reached 1800 in 1906. However, this number was reduced to 1200 in 1918.⁶⁷ The employment of children went on during the war years even though some regulation of child labor by the state was introduced, as it was not put into practice. The employment of children continued during the war years: despite the introduction of some regulations around child labor, no changes were put into practice. A proposal for the regulation of child and female labor by the public authorities in 1910, the Draft Law about the Work of Male and Female Children and Women in Industrial Institutions (*Müessesat-ı Sinaiyede Erkek ve Kız Çocukların ve Kadınların Çalışmaları Hakkında Kanun Layihası*), attempted to forbid workplaces from employing children under the age of twelve, while requiring a sanction from physicians for children at and above twelve years old. An authorization would also be given to sanitary controllers (*sıhhye müfettişi*) to forbid the employment of children under seventeen years old where deemed necessary. Meanwhile, it was suggested that the daily working hours for children under the age of seventeen should be limited to nine hours, including a one-hour lunch break. Children and female laborers would not work overnight and would have one day of vacation during the week along with vacation on their holy days. Children under the age of eleven who did not hold a certificate of primary education could not be made to do hands-on training for more than three hours a day. However, the state council decided that the proposal contained practices harmful to the freedom of production and labor (*serbest-i ameli*).⁶⁸ In addition, the governing Committee of Union and Progress did not impose essential regulations on the working hours and living conditions of the labor force. The workers went on working twelve to fourteen hours a day, and sometimes sixteen hours a day, as they had done previously.⁶⁹ If the Draft Law was accepted, there would be a great protection on children's and women's working rights. Moreover, the regulations on ages had great importance for children's rights.

In her article on female participation in industry during the war years, Charlotte Lorenz provides a vantage point to understand the working conditions there in 1918. Lorenz states that workers worked eleven hours a day apart from a one hour lunch break. The dormitories of the girls were strictly divided according to their nationalities. However, there were some common spaces, such as dining rooms. The youngest ones were managed carefully according to their performance capacity, so that they could leave work when they got tired. Workers received a one month paid vacation every year. This payment was calculated according to the average of

⁶⁷ Charlotte Lorenz, "Die Frauenfrage im Osmanischen Reiche mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der arbeitenden Klasse", *Die Welt des Islams*, 6, H. 3/4 (Dec. 31, 1918), 72-214, 165. Lorenz does not provide any reference for the figure 1800 in 1906.

⁶⁸ Kadir Yıldırım, *Osmanlı'da İşçiler (1870-1922) Çalışma Hayatı, Örgütler, Grevler* (Istanbul, Turkey: İletişim Publications), 347-348.

⁶⁹ Erik Jan Zürcher and Mete Tunçay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Sosyalizm ve Milliyetçilik, 1876-1923* (Istanbul, Turkey: İletişim Publications, 2004), 136.

their wages for one month. Daily wages ranged from three to ten *kuruş* for pieceworkers while their salaried masters earned 400-600 *kuruş* monthly. The workers also got a free meal as a daily allowance.⁷⁰ At the Hereke Imperial Factory, a retirement fund was founded in 1895 to provide income when workers retired and to help orphans and widows left behind when male workers died. The fund was not only for the benefit of the elderly, widows, and orphans, but also to repay the cumulative payments made by female workers, who retired when they got married.⁷¹ Girls who worked for fifteen years at the factory retired when they got married.⁷² Before the war years, the wages and salaries of workers in addition to the expenses of essential construction at the plant site were covered by the earnings of the company store in Istanbul and by the rental income from the shops and vegetable gardens on the factory campus.⁷³ When the war broke out, the economic crisis left the factory unable to compensate for even one percent of the salaries and wages of the workers with the sales revenue from the company store, the Ministry of War (*Harbiye Nezareti*), and Palace. To overcome this financial scarcity, by December 1914, the Imperial Property Division (*Emlak-ı Hümayun*) began subsidizing the factory to the amount of 210 *lira* monthly to cover operating expenses.⁷⁴

In difficult wartime conditions many technical problems and especially a lack of raw materials caused a reduction in the size of the workshops and in employment. According to a report written to the Directorate of Private Treasury of Sultan, the situation of the factory just at the end of the war was:

In the velour workshop, under the head teacher, there worked two assistants, three masters, thirty-three soldiers, fourteen male workers, and four apprentices. The 115 wooden handlooms in the workshop produced clothes while the automatic looms produced drapery fabrics, sheeting fabrics, and various kinds of cloths. The main raw material was used in this section was silk. The bobbin and spinnery workshop was not operational in 1918 due to raw material shortages. This section included automatic spinning wheels worked with hydraulic turbines that prepared the silk required for the carpet workshop. A clerk, two female teachers, 120 female weavers were working in the carpet workshop operated by an official of the factory in 1918. There were 68 carpet looms for the weaving of silk and woolen carpets and prayer rugs. Currently, only 11 carpet looms were operational. The flannel workshop consisted of 29 machines for the production of silk and woolen undervests and socks in 1918. However, this section was not then operational. In the dyeing plant, the engine rooms and the drawing office, the numbers of the workforce were reduced to

⁷⁰ Lorenz, "Die Frauenfrage im Osmanischen Reiche," 161-162.

⁷¹ "Kuruluşundan Cumhuriyete Kadar Hereke Fabrikası."

⁷² Centre for Asia Minor Studies (CAM), *Bithynia-Izmit-Hereke B110*, 12.

⁷³ *Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayun'un Tarz-ı İdaresi*, 1918. Hayri Tokay Documents, Edhem Eldem Individual Collection.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

*one third of the required number. The soldiers worked for the production of materials for the military.*⁷⁵

To Mumford, the First World War was a large-scale industrial operation.⁷⁶ In Hereke Factory's case, accelerated mechanization programs were added to the agenda almost a decade before the Balkan Wars with the inclusion of a broadcloth line in the factory.

A fullery was added to the factory in 1903.⁷⁷ While the factory continued to produce carpet and textile fabric, this new section was employed in the production of broadcloth, serge, yarn, and, later, fezzes. With this expansion, the factory became a mass-production system after 1908. The fullery produced undervests for the Ottoman Army (*Asakir-i Şabane*) in 1908⁷⁸ to replenish their stocks. On 28 November 1908, 2,008 undervests were produced for the Ottoman Army and sent to the warehouse of the Imperial Treasury.⁷⁹ In addition, archival materials demonstrate that the factory also produced public goods. For instance, 1,000 meters of fabric were set aside for clothing the destitute and the janitors in the poorhouses (*dâr'ülaceze*) in 1908.⁸⁰ In 1909, the factory produced fezzes for students in Ottoman schools for orphans (*dâr'ü's şafaka*).⁸¹

In the last years of the nineteenth century, Hereke Imperial Factory was administrated by the Imperial Treasury while the other factories, such as Izmit Broadcloth Factory, Fez Factory, and Bakırköy Print Works, were under the control of the Serasker (Ministry of War).⁸² While the factory had concentrated on provisions for the military since the Balkan Wars, it saw an intensified military campaign during World War I. Indeed, Hereke Imperial Factory became a subsidiary factory under the directorship of the military regime during the war years, like other Imperial Factories such as Feshane and Izmit Factory.⁸³ By 1915, these subsidiary factories produced the half of the required provisions for the military, such as coarse wool (*aba*) and serges (*şayak*). By 1915, Hereke Imperial Factory and the other six factories under the control of the military produced 1,833,971 meters of coarse wool and serge, 174,374 rugs, and 28,441 blankets.⁸⁴ In 1915 and 1916, Akif Bey, the

⁷⁵ *Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayun'un Tarz-ı İdaresi*, Hayri Tokay Documents, Edhem Eldem Individual Collection.

⁷⁶ Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, (New York and London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934), 84.

⁷⁷ BOA HH.THR. 315.28 1321.Za.10 (January 28, 1904).

⁷⁸ BOA Y.MTV. 313.58 1326.Za.4 (November 28, 1908).

⁷⁹ BOA Y.MTV.313.58 1326.Za.4 (November 28, 1908).

⁸⁰ BOA DH.MKT.1261.64 1326.Ca.16 (June 16, 1908).

⁸¹ BOA MF. MKT. 1125. 70 1327.Ca.14 (June 3, 1909).

⁸² Buluş, *Osmanlı Tekstil Sanayi Hereke Fabrikası*, 102-103.

⁸³ Küçükerman, *The Rugs and Textiles of Hereke*, 55-56. Also in Gündüz Ökçün, *Osmanlı Sanayii: 1913-1915 İstatistikleri*, (Istanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1984), 131-132.

⁸⁴ Ökçün, *Osmanlı Sanayi*, 131-132.

director of the factory, announced that since the factory worked for the military of the empire, its fleece would thenceforth be used to make garments only for the army, and that it would be impossible for it to provide for policemen⁸⁵ as it had done in previous years. The factory produced coarse wool for the Ottoman army, so the loom was expanded in 1916 to meet the additional war requirements of the army.⁸⁶

During the war years, the factory not only clothed the country's military forces but also those individuals rendered destitute by the war years who were sheltered in charitable institutions. Hereke Imperial Factory is a lens through which we can understand the war years; the changing artifacts associated with child labor at Hereke Imperial Factory draw attention to the rapid social transformation undertaken by the state, while the colors in the dyeing workshop changed at this time from vibrant colors to khaki. The products depict the years of war. For instance, 2,000 blankets were woven for the Red Crescent in 1914.⁸⁷ In 1915, the factory provided 1,350 meters of flannel fabrics for clothing destitute children in orphanages.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, at the end of World War I, after receiving medals from the Senate of Hamburg, the Ottoman Empire sent two carpets to the Senate of Hamburg on 23 July 1918 "in memory of the times that they had warred together."⁸⁹

Blurring Borders: Philanthropy and Nationalism

Indeed, under CUP governance, capitalist production methods gathered pace. The National Turkish Industry Incentive Act, which came into law in 1913, facilitated the buying and selling of state and foundation (*vakıf*) lands by Turkish businessmen. Local channels of capital thus became capable of making investments in the commercial and industrial fields during the war years.⁹⁰ Hereke Imperial Factory was not privatized, but during this period, it became the center of attention of Turkish women's associations, prompting public interest in modern trends of national consumption. To illustrate, to increase the demand for domestic goods, The Women's Association of Consumers of Domestic Products (*Mamulat'ı Dabiliye İstiblak-ı Kadınlar Cemiyeti*) opened tailoring workshops in Istanbul where young girls and women were trained in dressmaking and worked for a fee, obtaining the basic materials from Hereke Imperial Factory.⁹¹ The association was founded in March 1913, and its main goal was to introduce locally manufactured goods to Ottoman

⁸⁵ BOA DH. EUMLVZ 32.2 1334.R.2 (February 7, 1916); BOA DH. EUMLVZ 32.54 1334.Ca.27 (April 1, 1916).

⁸⁶ BOA HH.THR.1239.2 1325.S.27 (April 11, 1907).

⁸⁷ BOA HH.THR.1238.33 1333.M.19 (December 1914).

⁸⁸ BOA MF.EYT 1.12 1333.R.7 (February 22, 1915).

⁸⁹ BOA HR.SY.S 2456.60 1918.07.23.

⁹⁰ Zürcher and Tuncay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Sosyalizm ve Milliyetçilik*, 136.

⁹¹ Serpil Çakır, "XX. Yüzyılın Başında Kadın ve Aile Dernekleri ve Nizamnameleri," in *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi*, Volume III, (Istanbul: Ülke Yayın, 1993). See also: Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, (Istanbul: Metis Yayın, 2011), 100.

women consumers.⁹² The first workshop opened in Istanbul with 100 trainees, and eventually grew to 10,000 women employees, including many of the wives of the soldiers at the front. This web of workshops founded by the association was responsible for the preparation of dresses and clothes for domestic trading by 1918.⁹³ According to an article in *Sıyanet*, a periodical owned by the association, the association's ties with Hereke Factory led the association to help sell the factory's products; this helped promote the visibility of the textile products of the factory and stimulated an intense interest among the public when they were sewn into blouses, lady's suits, dress clothes, and veils (*çarşaf*) in the tailoring workshops in Istanbul. Prior to this, the article stated, goods went unsold and "became mouldy on the shelves of the stores" because of the high cost of the factory's products and the domination of European textiles in the market.⁹⁴ Portraying women as the prime consumers in the domestic market and brandishing the warrant of the state economy gained the factory's products a widespread currency during the war years. Articles in *Sıyanet* suggested that the boost in the domestic economy was related to the expenditure on locally manufactured goods by Ottoman ladies, who were the main consumers in society, being, for the most part, responsible for the dressing of the whole family.⁹⁵

The employment of young Muslim girls at the factory itself was also important, transforming the factory in line with the shifting labor demographics during the war years. The Muslim girls and women at the factory were the focal point of the Women's Association. They found employment for Muslim girls and women at Hereke Imperial Factory and arranged excursions from Istanbul to Hereke Factory to promote public interest.⁹⁶ These excursions included members of the association⁹⁷ as well as ladies from families belonging to Istanbul's high society (*şehrimizin kıbar ailelerinden kıbar misvanından bir çok hanımlar*),⁹⁸ who would be welcomed by the Muslim female workers of the factory.

One primary goal of the excursions was to introduce the industrially produced domestic fabrics of the factory to female visitors. The visual charm of the locally manufactured goods was attributed not only to a new aesthetic sensibility in the modern world, but also to a patriotic sense of the nature of the homeland. Being a part of the soil of the homeland was deliberately connected to dressing with local fabrics. An article in *Kadınlar Dünyası* stated that the female members of the Women's Association "veiled with the elegant cloths of domestic manufacture in various

⁹² Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 100.

⁹³ Lorenz, "Die Frauenfrage im Osmanischen Reiche," 161-162.

⁹⁴ "İstanbul Postası," *Sıyanet*, (15, 19 Haziran 1330), (2 July 1914), 2.

⁹⁵ "İstanbul Postası," *Sıyanet*, (11, 22 May 1330) (4 June 1914), 2.

⁹⁶ "İstanbul Postası," *Sıyanet*, (15, 19 Haziran 1330), (2 July 1914), 2.

⁹⁷ Mükerrerem Belkıs, "İstihlak-i Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesinin Herekeye Ziyareti," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, (27 September 1913), 6-7.

⁹⁸ "İstanbul Postası," *Sıyanet*, (16, 26 Haziran 1330), (9 July 1914), 2-3.

colors” (*cemiyete mensub hanımların... emtia-i dabiliyyemizin renklerinin nefis ve zarif kumaşlarıyla müzeyyin çarşaf lar giydikleri görü lüyor*) and depicted them as picturesque components of the landscape comparable to the “green heights” (*zümüriddin şabikalar*) surrounding the “calm seawater” of Izmit Bay during their voyage from Istanbul to the factory.⁹⁹

One dateless document containing a speech made by the organization in the Hereke Imperial Factory, likely during Balkan Wars (1912-1913), crystallizes the multi-pronged facets of the various relationships involved and the process in which Hereke products became cultural signifiers:¹⁰⁰

When the Turkish Army attacks for victory over the universe, Turkish women, whose children are at their bosoms and daggers at their waists, fight behind the Turkish army and become the comrades of Turkish men; therefore, they hold a share of the supreme glory. Today, Turkish men are faced with a war that overshadows the most dreadful fights begun by the West and the whole Christian world. In this combat, sharp wits and a sense of patriotism will be the bullets that are going to be fired. Thank God, Turkish women today are not condoning this economic war. They rather act as leaders in defending the innocents and the sacred life of the Turks against the World of Christianity, revealing the Christians' lies to the entire world when they claim that the West does not discriminate according to religious differences. The organization is a zealous populace, which will animate the women of the Turkish Army to heroic deeds, which will not allow the extinction of the descendants of Ho'elun (Alangoya, the mother of Genghis Khan, who was emperor of the Mongol Empire); ..., Tomyris (Tomrus, ancient Iranian Massagetæe queen from central Asia), the shah of the world..., or Bala Hanim (the wife of Osman I, the founder of the Ottoman Empire); who comprise the female individuals in this population, who aim at continuing the glory and honor of the Turks. They will prove, if God allows them, in the near future, that there is no difference between the male and the female individuals of this population in terms of valor and honor. Therefore, this supreme organization,[will support?] the Turkish hands that are capable of crafting the most marvelous works of the most masterly arts, ...¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Ibid, 6-7.

¹⁰⁰ This document, ZE 86.2413, in the Center for Islamic Studies Archive /Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (ISAM) archives, is entitled “‘Mahsulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlak-i Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayunu Ziyareti’ başlıklı Türk kadınının Savaş yıllarında aldığı rolü anlatan metin.” The same title appears on the original document in Ottoman handwriting. The excursions of the women’s association happened more often during the war years. The documents in the journal *Syanet* inform us that some excursions concluded with a speech, although they are not included in the texts of *Syanet*. This speech must be one of them. The context of the text demonstrates that this was most likely presented during the war years.

¹⁰¹ “‘Mahsulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlak-i Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayunu Ziyareti’ başlıklı Türk kadınının Savaş yıllarında aldığı rolü anlatan metin.” (The text entitled the Hereke Imperial Factory visit of The Women’s Association of Consumers of Domestic Products reveals the role of Turkish women during war) ISAM ZE 86.2413.

This masculine rhetoric, with its rigid dichotomy between the Muslim world and Christian world, was addressed to the Muslim female workers at the factory, but this language also characterized the speeches of the women's association to all the workers in the factory, regardless of religion. Just as the massed children were calculable and controllable for the sake of industrialization, their identities were also moldable and manipulable. Visitors imbued with the "patriotic spirit" (*biss-i vatanperveri*) needed to be aware, according to an article by Mükerrerrem Belkıs in *Kadınlar Dünyası*, that the affluence of the country was dependent upon the consumption of locally manufactured goods.¹⁰² The rhetoric of the association also encouraged the factory to find employment for Muslim girls in particular, reflecting the increasingly ethno-religious character of Ottoman ideology during wartime.

A sisterhood was constructed around the individual Muslim girls at the factory, the association, and consumers, who united around Hereke products as insignia of the national spirit with its new decorum and domestic market. One might argue that the philanthropic intentions of the women's association in favor of Muslim girls blended with capitalist consumption trends during the war years.¹⁰³ The female association programs of the Young Turk Revolution (1908-1918) took over charitable work in society with their agenda being determined by elite and middle-class women.¹⁰⁴ Not only did these societal benefactors support the consumption of domestic products made at Hereke Imperial Factory, but also nationalist campaigns were associated with the employment of Muslim girls and women in the factory and its tailoring workshops in Istanbul.

As has been shown, the factory had concentrated on providing for the military since 1912, when the military campaign intensified. However, the performance of the factory had declined a great deal by the end of World War I. Therefore, the privatization of the factory was considered by the Directorate of the Imperial Treasury on 30 January 1918. It was suggested that the factory be operated like a joint-stock company under the control of the Imperial Treasury.¹⁰⁵ Charlotte Lorenz states that the factory was operated by an Armenian firm, Agopian and Sons, in 1918.¹⁰⁶ However, the factory was soon taken over by British forces after World War I and remained in their hands for the duration of the truce period, with the later support of Indian troops and the Greek army. When the British and Greek armies

¹⁰² Mükerrerrem Belkıs, "İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesinin Herekeye Ziyareti," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, (27 September 1913), 6-7.

¹⁰³ For the change of the forms of philanthropy see: Amy Singer, "A mixed economy of charity," in *Charity in Islamic Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 176-216.

¹⁰⁴ Singer, "A mixed economy of charity," 176-216.

¹⁰⁵ National Palaces Archive (MSHHA) E. II.nr.0012.003. (received in 2012, MSHHA folders later transferred from National Palaces to Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives.)

¹⁰⁶ Lorenz, "Die Frauenfrage im Osmanischen Reiche," 161-162.

took over the factory, it became a headquarters and the school was used as a barracks.¹⁰⁷ Despite all this, production would go on.

Conclusion

The educational program of the factory, including both formal and vocational training, was part and parcel of the great religious nationalist campaign that took place during the war years. Segmentation of factory girls and boys according to their ethno-religious identities was fostered by the schooling program, while orphans were controlled by the social mechanisms of charity. Children became an interface for the legitimization of social hierarchies between the state and their families; the books in the curriculum, the spatial polarization of public housing, and the employment of Muslim girls in the factory by women's associations all demonstrate how a factory child was transformed into part of the modern national labor force through a blurring of boundaries between macro-political tools and micro-ethnic structures centered on cloth making. Not only had spinning been mechanized—the organization of the labor force itself was restructured on the basis of new social paradigms. The tacit communication of the state with the children in an industrial society crystallized in the changing genres of products: national dresses for women, provisions for the military, and clothing for the destitute.

¹⁰⁷ A document demonstrates that school had been made into a headquarter by 9 April 1921. BOA DH.EUM.AYŞ. 53.18 1339 Ş 08 (April 17, 1921). During his visit, the governor of Uskûdar also reported that the factory had become a headquarters of the Allied Forces (*düvel-i mutelife*) on 19 September 1922. BOA DH.KMS.62.50 1341.M.28 (September 20, 1922).

APPENDIX A
CURRICULUM AND THE STUDENTS OF THE FACTORY SCHOOL

In this appendix, the charts provide information about the courses at the curriculum of the Factory School and the students enrolled to the school.

Table A.1 The First Year of Primary School at Hereke Factory in 1912-13 (Continued)

Source: BOA HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21 (September 13, 1913).

Good Behavior (<i>Hüsn-ü Hareket</i>)	Calligraphy (<i>Hüsn-ü Hat</i>)	Arithmetic (<i>Hesab</i>)	Orthographics (<i>İmlâ</i>)	Reading (<i>Kıraat</i>)	Islamic Catechism (<i>İlm-i hal</i>)	Memorization of Sections of the Quran (<i>Süre Ezğeri</i>)	Quran (<i>Kırm-ı Kerim</i>)
10	9	10	10	10	10	10	İhyar İhsan
10	7	10	10	10	7	8	Sarı Hüseyin
10	10	10	10	10	10	9	Mehmed Eşref
10	9	10	10	10	--	--	Vasıl Tanaş
10	7	10	10	10	10	10	Hüseyin Remzi

Table A.1 (Continued) The First Year of Primary School at Hereke Factory in 1912-13

Source: BOA HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21 (September 13, 1913).

Good Behavior (<i>Hüsn-ü Hareket</i>)	Calligraphy (<i>Hüsn-ü Hat</i>)	Arithmetic (<i>Hesab</i>)	Orthographics (<i>İmlâ</i>)	Reading (<i>Kıraat</i>)	Catechism (<i>İlm-i hal</i>)	Memorization of Sections of the Quran (<i>Süre Ezğeri</i>)	Quran (<i>Kırm-ı Kerim</i>)
10	6	10	10	10	10	10	Ahmed Mustafa
10	6	10	9	10	--	--	Andreyar Goço?
							Akif İsmail
10	6	9	7	10	10	10	Mustafa Mehmed
10	6	6	6	9	8	10	Raşid Ali
10	7	10	10	10	10	10	Mehmed Ahmed

10	5	3	8	7	4	6	6	Fehmi Mustafa
10	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	Şahin
10	8	6	6	8	6	10	9	Mustafa Arif

Table A.1 (Continued) The First Year of Primary School at Hereke Factory in 1912-13
Source: BOA.HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21 (September 13, 1913).

Good Behavior (<i>Hüsn-i Hanekâr</i>)	Calligraphy (<i>Hüsn-i Hat</i>)	Arithmetic (<i>Hesab</i>)	Orthographics (<i>İmlâ</i>)	Reading (<i>Kurâh</i>)	Islamic Catechism (<i>İlm-i İlahî</i>)	Memorization of Sections of the Quran (<i>Surre Ezheri</i>)	Quran (<i>Kurân-ı Kerim</i>)	
10	6	8	8	8	6	7	9	Hüseyin Esad
10	8	8	10	10	--	--	--	Anaştaş
10	8	7	6	9	--	--	--	Hüsto Lazni?
10	8	8	6	10	--	--	--	Tiryano? Koço?
10	8	3	4	4	--	--	--	Anesti Nikola
10	7	10	8	7	6	6	10	Mehmed Ali
10	10	10	9	10	--	--	--	Nikola Yani

Table A.2 The Second Year of Primary School at Hereke Factory in 1912-13 (Continued)
 Source: BOA HH. THR 1237,48 1331 L 21 (September 13, 1913).

Good Behavior	Calligraphy	Mathematics	Orthographics	Readings	Islamic Catechism	Memorization of Sections of the Quran	Quran	
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	Hüseyin Ali Osman Efendi
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	Eyyüb Hasan Efendi
10	10	6	10	10	10	10	10	Yaşar Mustafa Efendi
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	Ali Selim Efendi
10	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	Halil İbrahim Efendi
10	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	Nevber Hanım
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	İrfan Efendi
10	7	5	10	10	8	10	10	İsmet Hanım
10	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	Celaleddin Efendi
10	4	5	5	6	8	10	10	Zehra Hanım

Table A.2 (Continued) The Second Year of Primary School at Hereke Factory in 1912-13
 Source: BOA HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21 (September 13, 1913).

Good Behavior	Calligraphy	Mathematics	Orthographics	Readings	Islamic Catechism	Memorization of Sections of the Quran	Quran	
10	8	8	10	10	8	10	10	Sadi Cemil Efendi
10	7	8	8	9	10	10	10	Sıdki Efendi
10	9	10	10	10	--	--	--	Yorgi Dimitri Efendi
10	8	10	10	10	--	--	--	Yorgi Andon Efendi
10	10	10	10	10	--	--	--	Elsasr Efendi
10	7	6	10	10	10	10	10	Rabia Hanım
10	7	6	10	10	8	10	10	Şükriye Hanım
10	6	7	10	10	10	10	10	Cemil Mustafa Efendi
10	5	8	10	8	7	9	10	Fehime Hanım

Table A.5 (Continued) The Second Year of Junior High School at Hereke Factory in 1912-13
 Source: BOA HH. THR 1237.48 1331 L 21 (September 13, 1913).

	Hüseyin Efendi	Mustafa Efendi
Good Behavior	9	8
Art (<i>Resim</i>)	5	8
Calligraphy	10	10
French	4	4
Civics (<i>Makûmât-ı Medeniyet</i>)	7	8
Science	6	6
Geometry (<i>هندسه</i>)	4	4
Mathematics	4	4
History of the Ottoman Empire	9	8
Geography	8	7
Orthographics	10	10
Reading	9	9
Ottoman Letters	7	7
Persian	3	6
Arabic	4	7
Religious Studies	9	8
the Applied Study of the Quran	10	9

APPENDIX B

BOOKS ON THE CURRICULUM AT THE FACTORY SCHOOL

In this appendix, you will find the books on the curriculum of the Hereke Factory School.

Table B.1 Books on the Curriculum At the Factory School (Continued)

Source: BOA HH.THR. 1237.46 1331.L.13 (September 15, 1913)

The Quran (*Kuran-ı Kerim*)

Prayers and Surah books [*Amme cüzü, Surah of Tebareke (Tebareke cüzü), Fursi?... cüzü*]

The Great Ottoman Alphabet (*Mükemmel Elifba-i Osmani*)

Selected texts from Sadi (*Müntahabat-ı Gülistan*)

Mathematics (*Hesab-ı Ameli*)

Mathematics part two (*Hesab-i Ameli İkinci Kısım*)

Mathematics part three (*Hesab-i Ameli Üçüncü Kısım*)

Special Geometry (*Mubtasar Hendese*)

The Shorter General History (*Küçük Tarih-i Umumi*)

Science Knowledge (*Ma'lûmât-i Fenniye*)

French (*Fransızca*)

Introduction to Geometry (*Mebadi-i Hendese*)

Geography (*Coğrafya*)

New Knowledge of Science (*Yeni Ma'lûmât-i Fenniye*)

Table B.1 Books on the Curriculum At the Factory School (Continued)

Source: BOA HH.THR. 1237.46 1331.L.13 (September 15, 1913)

French the Easy Way (*Fransızca Tesbil-ül Lisan*)

Knowledge of Islamic Tenets (*Akaid-i İslamiyeden İmal-i Ulum-ı Diniyye*)

Ottoman Letters (*Harf-i Osmani*)

History of Islam (*Tarih-i İslam*)

Science (*Ma'lûmât-i Fenniye*)

Reading the Quran (*Tecvid*)

Teaching Mathematics (*Mubtasar Muallim-i Hesab*)

Illustrated Ottoman History (*Mubtasar Resimli Osmanlı Tarihî*)

The Golden Book (*Altun Kitab*)

New Catechism for Muslim Children (*Müslüman Çocuk Yeni İlm-i Hal*)

The Golden Key (*Altun Anahtar*)

Introduction to the Golden Book (*Altun Kitaba Medhal*)

The Book of Minerology, Botany and Animal Science (*Mücellid Meralid-i Selase Hakkında İlm-i Eyya Kitabı*)

Readings in Arabic (*Arab-i Kıraat Kitabı*)

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